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# AGENDA

ANN ARBOR'S ALTERNATIVE NEWSMONTHLY

## THE Big Picture

Noam Chomsky is Institute Professor in the Department of Linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He has made important and radical contributions to his field and has written some of this century's most celebrated texts on language.

He is more widely known as a political activist and outspoken critic of U.S. foreign policy. His active opposition to the Vietnam War began in 1965 and is reflected in his books: "American Power and the New Mandarins" (1969), and "At War with Asia" (1970).

His more recent books include "The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, & the Palestinians" (1984), "Turning the Tide: U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Struggle for Peace" (1985), and "Pirates and Emperors: International Terrorism in the Real World" (1986).

The following speech was given at the University of Minnesota in April of 1985. It aired on WBAI-FM New York and was transcribed from a recording by AGENDA staff. The subheadings were added by AGENDA.

The National Academy of Sciences published a study of nuclear strategic issues a couple of weeks ago; their poll results indicate that 75% of the American population has come out in favor of the nuclear freeze. Of that 75% some portion, probably small, knows that that's also official Soviet policy. The reason why that proportion is probably small is that it has barely been mentioned in the American press. And probably some still smaller proportion knows that the position has been overwhelmingly supported by the United Nations over the rather adamant objection of the United States.

So here we have a situation where 75% of the American population supports something, the Soviet Union supports it, most of the world supports it, and as you know it's not an issue in American politics. It was barely mentioned—and only in rhetorical flourishes—in the last campaign, and in fact it's not really on

### The Drift Toward Global Nuclear War

by Noam Chomsky

the agenda in the American political system. And the vast military buildup which was initiated by President Carter and then extended by President Reagan continues unabated, quite significantly escalating the already severe threat of a terminal nuclear war. The only detectable effect of this very substantial success of the nuclear freeze campaign—75% is not a small number to reach—the only detectable effect is that it impelled the United States into negotiations which were obviously designed to deflect public concern, so that the arms buildup could continue without interference. And in effect that is exactly what happened.

Well, all of that raises some obvious questions about democracy and other things. A nuclear war is certainly not unlikely. I don't think that there is any rational person that thinks it's unlikely. In fact we have come very close to it many times. It's kind of a miracle that we're even here to discuss the matter and it's not too likely that that miracle will persist very long.

Even now—just to talk for a moment about the scale of armaments—the United States has approximately 13,000 nuclear weapons targeted against the Soviet Union. [If you include] France and England [you can] add about 1,000 more (and they're rapidly increasing their arsenals). The Soviet Union has about 8,500 weapons targeted against the United States.

Of the 13,000 U.S. missiles targeted against the Soviet Union about 11,000 are classified as strategic. Of those about half are invulnerable on submarines. Of the 8,500 Soviet missiles—mostly land based—about 95% are liquid fueled. The Center for Defense Information (from which I have just taken those figures) concludes that despite the numbers, neither country is superior in nuclear weapons; rather they say, we are mutually inferior because there's no superiority in mutual destruction, and that's a plausible conclusion.

#### Mutual Inferiority

Now the American government regularly issues warnings which are designed to terrify the taxpayer (who has to pay the costs of these military buildups) and sometimes those warnings are rather on the fanciful side. For example, a couple of weeks ago there was a major interview published in The New York Times with President Reagan and a group of New York Times experts in strategic issues (Leslie Gelb and others), and Reagan started off by stating, as he has before, that since 1967 the United States has been engaged in unilateral disarmament. Well, he was not called to account for that statement (which is a falsehood so extraordinary that it defies comment).

Now, notice that I call it a falsehood, not a lie. Technically speaking it wasn't a lie, just as the random babble of a child can't be a lie. That is, it requires a certain competence to be able to tell a lie: you have to have mastered the concept of truth otherwise you just can't tell a lie. But the point is that it is plainly, grotesquely false, and what's interesting about it was that it elicited no comment. His interlocutors didn't feel it was necessary to say anything about this; there was no further editorial comment. In fact it's apparently considered quite appropriate for the president to say we've been engaged in unilateral disarmament during the period when we've vastly increased our strategic weapons.

Well, sometimes these warnings are not fanciful. Sometimes they're in fact quite accurate. Every year the Pentagon puts out a glossy booklet explaining how dire our plight is and how weak we are in comparison to the Russians and so on. In 1983, the booklet actually managed to say something that was true. It said that the Russians have an ominous advantage over us in liquid fueled missiles (which is in fact correct). Ninety-five percent of

(see BIG PICTURE, page 10)



# LETTERS

## Advice

Keep up the good work—the paper is "rounding out" nicely. Having worked on a radical "rag" eighteen years ago in Ann Arbor I can tell you that Annarboreals are (were) too intelligent and/or sophisticated for straight radical-line stuff. More analysis and perspectives are always good.

Also maybe if you could reduce some of the "info" of each group that puts its blurb in—make it concise—you wouldn't have such a big publication bill.

Good luck!

Rex Hauser  
MOUNT PLEASANT, MI

## The Secret Team

### Legal Accountability our Hope

The nation might have to pay a heavy price for this latest and most serious blow to the credibility and competence of U. S. foreign policy. The prestige of the President has been seriously weakened by the basic facts of an illegal operation that contradicts Mr. Reagan's public principles. Western allies and other world leaders are incensed over the seeming duplicity of an administration that says one thing publicly and does the opposite in secret.

But those who stand to suffer most are the people of Central America. In supplying weapons to the CIA Contra army, the Reagan Administration has put itself in opposition to the legitimate aspirations of deeply oppressed people in the region who have for too long been the victims of U. S. sponsored repression. The strength of the nation, not its weakness, comes from the fact that it has a government of laws run by officials who can be held accountable. This moral principle, more than even its arsenal of nuclear missiles, accounts for the fundamental strength the U.S. exerts in its dealings with people around the world. That is why any

operation—whether it be political assassination, the covert shipment of arms to Iran or the secret diversion of funds to the Contras—that is run in a manner designed to skirt legal accountability, represents such a deep danger that it ultimately could threaten our own freedom.

The President and those who carry out his policies should not forget the words of Richard Henry Lee as he stood before the First Continental Congress in 1776: "Let this happy day give birth to a new republic. Let her rise not to devastate and to conquer, but to re-establish the reign of peace and of law, one set in a new standard of freedom for all the peoples of the earth."

Alfonso Hernandez Lozano  
ANN ARBOR, MI

## Been Looking for it

I've been looking for information about the Christic lawsuit since December, so your recent issues were most gladly received. Thank you! Could I have a couple extras of the May issue for friends?

Mary Hathaway  
ANN ARBOR, MI

## Round II: Activist looking to KO Pursell

# Baker Declares Candidacy Early

On May 25th Dean Baker announced that he will challenge Carl Pursell for the Second District Congressional seat in 1988. Baker, an activist in progressive causes, gave Pursell his most serious challenge in a decade as the Democratic nominee last year. The campaign was a massive grassroots effort that involved over 1000 volunteers.

In his announcement Baker made clear his commitment to maintain the grassroots focus of the campaign. Baker restated his determination to end U.S. involvement in Central America, to push for real arms control, and to divert money from the military to meeting social needs. He also laid out a detailed plan for reducing the deficit, a "Boesky tax" aimed at financial speculators, as well as an innovative low-cost plan to combat unemployment resulting from plant closings. Baker also attacked the corruption and criminality that's being uncovered in the Iran-contra affair, arguing that we must not only pass

good legislation, but must be prepared to confront any administration that will not abide by the law.

Baker is confident that an early start and the experience gained in the last campaign should make it possible to unseat Pursell. Baker acknowledged the possibility of a primary challenge from Democratic politicians, since the last campaign had shown that Pursell is vulnerable. However, he said the early start was in part "designed to show the party that we are serious. We showed last time that the people will back a campaign that sticks to the issues." He said, "nearly everyone I bump into who worked on the last campaign asks when we're going to get started again. There just didn't seem any point in waiting". A supporter commented on the possibility of a primary challenge, "we'll be the only ones running with a serious commitment to the issues, anyone else would just be getting in there to advance their career."

# Michigan Quest to Top \$1 Million Mark This Month

On Saturday, June 13 organizations from across Michigan will converge on Ann Arbor bringing truckloads of humanitarian aid for the people of Nicaragua.

Under the auspices of Michigan Quest for Peace, the organizations will load the supplies onto a cargo container for shipment directly to Nicaragua. The loading will take place near the Burns Park shelter from 12 noon until 5 pm Saturday, June 13. The public is welcome and food, refreshments, and entertainment will be on hand.

Michigan Quest for Peace is a network of 70

organizations collecting humanitarian aid for Nicaragua. Its goal is to raise \$3.8 million worth of aid in the period from July 1, 1986 to September 30, 1987, Michigan's per capita share of the national goal of \$100 million.

"The average value of a cargo container is \$300,000", says Jim Burchell, coordinator of Michigan Quest. "This shipment will bring our tally to over \$1.1 million".

Over half of the materials have been donated by Ann Arbor citizens, according to Burchell, through a clothing drive for Ann Arbor's sister city of Juigalpa sponsored by the Interfaith

Council for Peace's Religious Coalition on Central America. The Sister City Task Force will send a Clivus-Multrum composting toilet, donated by that company. Other materials will include powdered milk, medical supplies, and educational materials. The size of a cargo container is 40 ft x 8 ft x 8 ft and costs \$7,000 to ship to Nicaragua.

Donations for shipping costs may be sent to Michigan Quest for Peace, 1910 Hill St., Ann Arbor MI, 48104. For more information call Jim Burchell at 769-5051.



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# Gelman Second Worst Environmental Disaster in Michigan

by Jeff Gearhart and Mark Weinstein

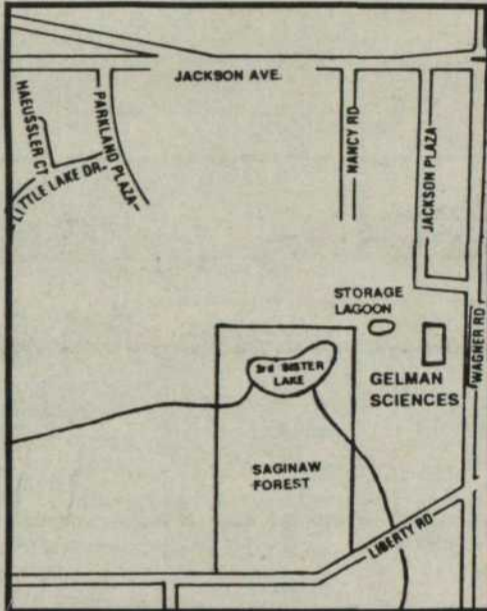
The United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has called toxic chemical contamination "the most grievous error in judgement we as a nation have ever made." Scio township and Ann Arbor residents have become painfully aware of this in their effort to get water pollution in the vicinity of Gelman Sciences, Inc. cleaned up. Last month the site was ranked second worst environmental hazard in Michigan. Despite this high ranking, there is no evidence that the contamination has stopped or that clean-up of the site will be initiated in the near future.

Gelman Sciences, Inc., which is located on 600 S. Wagner Road in Scio Township, has used dioxane to make filters since the mid-1960s. As early as 1978, there were warnings of the dioxane contamination which was "officially" discovered in 1984. Today this contamination has spread over two miles from the Gelman site. In a May 22 letter to The Ann Arbor News an official in the EPA's Hazardous Waste Enforcement Branch said this contamination has caused "... terrible public health and environmental problems that were created by the unscientifically sound and unconscionable act of disposing of tons of dioxane, a known animal carcinogen, into a sand-and-gravel, unlined backyard waste pond as a means to get rid of Gelman's industrial wastes."

The dioxane has contaminated many parts of the local environment including a wetland area north of Gelman, two local creeks, Third Sister Lake and three smaller lakes near the site. Both the extent and the source of the contamination are still unknown.

Gelman has used two systems to dispose of the dioxane waste. Prior to 1981 these chemicals were piped into a holding lagoon and then spray-irrigated on to company property. In 1981, Gelman installed an underground injection well waste disposal system which pumps the waste into rock formations a mile underground. Both disposal systems are possible sources of the contamination.

Despite this, Gelman continues to operate an underground injection well system. Dr. James Tuchan of the Michigan Department of Natural Resources claims underground injection into deep wells is "... the worst place you want to put toxic wastes." Common problems associated with deep well injection include leakage due to corroded pipelines, underground migration of wastes, cracking of containing rock formations, and leakage of surface containers. Suzi Ruhl of the Legal Environmental Assistance Fund (LEAF) recently called deep



well injection "a classic out-of-sight, out-of-mind technology" which is "... just postponing a day of reckoning with the hazardous waste problem."

### Lapses and Violations

The current contamination has evolved due to a complex web of interrelated lapses and violations on the part of Gelman, and state and federal environmental officials. A lack of monitoring and inadequate state and federal regulations has allowed Gelman to repeatedly violate their discharge permits

with little fear of reprimand. "Essentially, there is very little downside risk to anybody who illegally disposes of chemicals in such a way as to be harmful to the public health," stated James Moorman, U.S. Department of Justice, Asst. Attorney General for Land and Natural Resources, in testimony given in a House Subcommittee hearing on toxic waste disposal.

Residents in the immediate vicinity of the contamination first complained about bad odors coming from Gelman property in the 1960's. As a result of these complaints Gelman was given an "E" rating by the Michigan Water Resources Commission in 1969. This rating is the lowest the Commission gives in its assessment of industrial waste treatment.

In May, 1977 Gelman was granted a groundwater discharge permit by the Michigan Water Resources Commission. This permit stated that "... the discharge could not injuriously affect public health or welfare, or the uses of the underground waters or surface waters of the state," but did not mention or set testing guidelines for any particular toxic chemicals. The Michigan Department of Natural Resources (DNR) has stated that although monthly reports are required for these permits, they do not monitor the reports unless there are complaints.

During the time when Gelman was operating under the initial permit, a series of complaints were filed with the Michigan DNR regarding potential illegal dumping which was occurring on the site. Citizen complaints were filed as early as 1978 and in 1980 former Gelman employees told Michigan DNR criminal investigators that "barrels of hundreds of different chemicals ... are being dumped" and that one of the storage lagoons had been drained into Third Sister Lake, which is University of Michigan, School of Natural Resources property. DNR records show that no legal action was taken as a result of any of these complaints.

According to reports submitted by Gelman to the Michigan DNR, Gelman often

(see GELMAN, page 17)

With two projects underway, Ann Arbor's Sister City Task Force shows no signs of slowing down in the face of Mayor Jernigan's veto of a Council passed resolution continuing the Task Force's ties with city government.

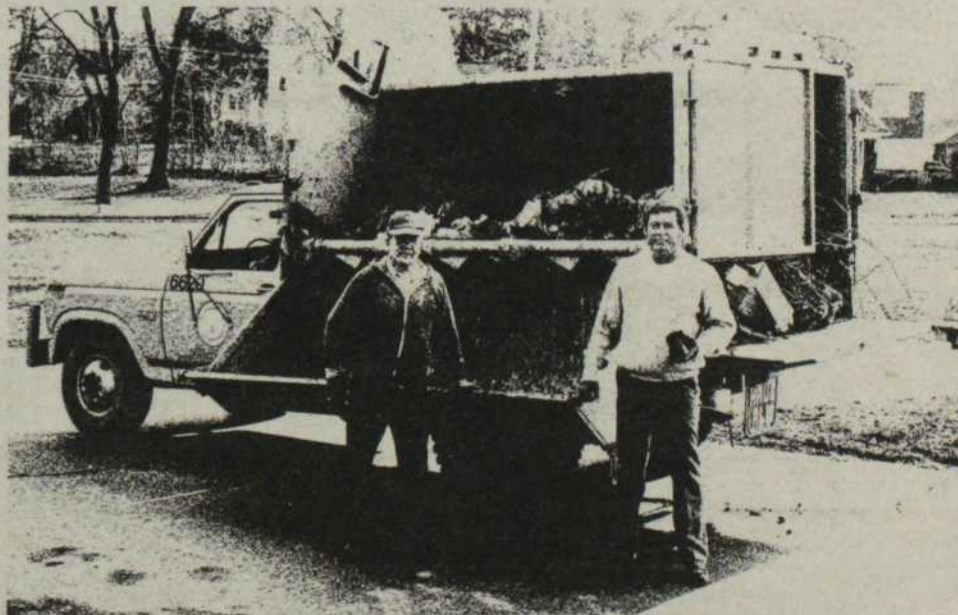
During the first week of June Task Force volunteers will go door-to-door throughout Ann Arbor raising funds in what is being called the "Over the Top Canvass."

"With enough volunteers we can raise thousands of dollars which will take us over the amount we need to purchase a garbage truck for our sister city," said fundraiser Jim Burchell. "We will also use the money to help send a truckload of humanitarian aid to Nicaragua under the auspices of Michigan Quest for Peace."

The Sister City Task Force has organized a twelve member delegation which will visit Nicaragua and the sister city of Juigalpa from June 20 through June 30. Members of the delegation are: Pierce Barnard, Mary Dorst, Thomas Gomez, Walt Karas, Elisa McCabe, Joshua Meisler, Mike Peltier, Beth Pleins, Leonard Quenon, Gary Rothberger, Kate Warner, and Kathie Williams.

Each delegate will pay her or his own travel expenses. Persons wishing to assist members of the delegation with these costs may call Kim Groome at the Interfaith Council for Peace at 663-1870. People wishing to assist with the canvass are asked to call Jim Burchell at 769-5051.

## Sister City Task Force Forges Ahead



This is an example of the 12 cubic yard, Canadian-made, hydraulic non-compacting "Haul-All" garbage truck the people of Ann Arbor will be sending to the people of Juigalpa. Claudio Vallecillo, the Mayor of Juigalpa, is on the right.

# AGENDA

Ann Arbor's Alternative Newsmonthly

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## Take Back the Night and Every Day

By Karen Klein

The eighth annual Ann Arbor Take Back the Night March and Rally to protest violence against women and children was the culmination of many women's continuous efforts to end violence. This year's march and rally was a huge success. It generated awareness about sexual assault and other forms of violence such as racism and the economic inequalities which pervade the lives of women and children. For one night each year in Ann Arbor, women unite to celebrate both diversity and similarity, to raise consciousness and power, to express the fury which the threat of rape instills in us, and to turn anger into empowerment.

Anger, strength, and hope are some of the feelings which sustain the women in the Ann Arbor Coalition Against Rape, a

growing feminist group which has been organizing the yearly Take Back the Nights since 1981. Members of the collective work in many ways to end violence against women and children.

Barb Bureau, a special education teaching consultant and Coalition member, joined the group largely because she felt that the demands provided her with a concrete objective to work toward. "I feel very strongly about the tender years law which allows children under five years old who have been abused to be videotaped instead of being examined by an insensitive lawyer in court," says Bureau. The demands, which try to be representative of all women's needs, vary with the interests and diversity of the Coalition. "Our main focus this whole year

has been outreach," says Bureau. "We want the Coalition to be bigger and stronger."

Take Back the Night draws attention to many problems, and women bring their own perspectives and issues to the meaning of this night. This year, the coalition demonstrated its strong commitment to women of color. This was reflected in a number of demands such as: crisis intervention center outreach to women of color; the end of forced sterilization; and the divestiture of city and University funds in South Africa and the end of support for multi-national corporations and oppressive regimes in other countries. The Coalition also asked only women of color to speak and perform at the rally before the march.

For this reason, the Washington Sisters, a dynamic women's music pair from Columbus, Ohio, became interested in performing at Take Back the Night. Their politically conscious music and entertainment added to the spirited tone of the Rally. Other women who contributed to the Rally included: locally based Pamela Brown-Peterside, a T.A. in Women's Studies at UM; Michelle Bradford's martial arts defense club from Detroit;

Charita Ford, an English PhD candidate at U-M; D. Gosh, a long time feminist activist; Heong Dug Tark, a Women's Studies student at U-M; and Jamina Vasconcellos on the drums. "One of the purposes of the March and Rally," explains Cathy Cohen, a U-M doctoral student in political science and Coalition member, "is to let women know that there are women out there who will support them." The Coalition hopes that more women of color will participate in the organizational process in the future.

As Kata Issari, a staffperson at the Assault Crisis Center (ACC) and Coalition member points out, the patriarchal structure of society is a divisive one which weakens the potential of collective strength. Such division, says Issari, "... is a shame and contrary to our purpose. I see real hope in working together. There is a place for each of us."

Some of the tangible objectives of the Coalition which have been met recently include: improved lighting; the removal of the Black Velvet Billboard from North Main

(see NIGHT, page 17)

## Rent (Out of) Control

by Ken Garber

*The vast amount of new rental property building in the area, particularly between Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti, will stabilize the overall rental market through free competition.*

—Lou Belcher, March 25, 1974, explaining why he opposed the rent control proposal on the ballot that year.

Belcher, a Republican, won a seat on the Ann Arbor City Council in 1974, and went on to serve seven years as mayor. He proved to be a better politician than prophet. New construction, sluggish since 1974, has not solved the problems of high rents and low vacancies. These problems are worse than they were thirteen years ago—much worse, by some accounts. The current situation has led to a new effort to put rent stabilization (rent control) on the ballot in 1988.

In 1974 the rental vacancy rate was critically low at 3.5%. It is now about 2.2%, according to the University of Michigan Housing Office's most recent figures. Belcher's "free competition" has led to no competition. "In general, it seems to me, the way the market is now the landlords can charge as much as they want and they're going to get it," according to Jen Faigel, a staffer at the Ann Arbor Tenants Union. Statistics confirm that rents have been rising more and more rapidly in the last six years. Median rent is now \$414, up 60% from \$275 in 1980. In the last two years, according to a study conducted by the city's Information Services Department, rents have been increasing at an average rate of over ten percent a year. Much larger increases are common. "I'm hearing about rent increases averaging 25 to 35 percent a year" says Faigel. "A lot of people ask, 'Isn't there a law to limit how much my landlord can raise the rent?'"

There isn't yet, but work has begun. A core group of volunteers is meeting to draft a rent stabilization ordinance for presentation to the voters sometime in 1988. About five thousand valid petition signatures will be necessary to place the ordinance on the ballot. In drafting the law, proponents



(photo by Gregory Fox)

are adapting existing rent control laws from other communities to fit Ann Arbor's needs.

Rent stabilization will be highly controversial, to say the least. Many acknowledge our current housing crisis but resist any tampering with the free market. Michael Appel, a graduate student who is working on the rent stabilization effort, believes that some restriction of market forces is desirable, since housing is a basic necessity. "What rent stabilization says is that we will not allow the market to continually raise rent levels, since housing is such a fundamental community need," he sustains. This is not a new or radical concept. Utility rates, Appel points out, are strictly regulated. Nor is profit to be eliminated; Appel stresses that landlords will be guaranteed a fair return on their invest-

ment." Rent stabilization tries to balance the right of tenants to have affordable housing in their community."

Although rent stabilization laws have been approved by voters in dozens of cities as diverse as Berkeley, Baltimore, and Boston, nobody in Ann Arbor believes winning here will be easy. "There's a chance," says Faigel. "I think it's a real uphill battle but it can be successful." Although 60 percent of Ann Arbor residents are tenants, most do not vote. Besides mobilizing renters, Faigel believes, proponents must convince homeowners that rent stabilization will work. "They're a very large swing vote that needs to be targeted," she says. Appel believes that can be done, since many homeowners are disturbed by Ann Arbor's conversion into an exclusive enclave of the rich: "Are residents of Ann Arbor comfortable living in a community where long term residents of that community can no longer afford to live?"

The 1974 rent control initiative, although it won 42 percent of the vote, got little support from homeowners. The main reason, according to Julie Steiner, an activist at the time, was the huge sum of money spent by landlord interests. "They had a tremendous amount of money, remembers Steiner who now directs the Sexual Assault and Awareness Center on campus. "It seems to me they did weekly mailings. Every resident of Ann Arbor got at least one mailing during the campaign." Records show that the landlord-interest group, Citizens for Good Housing, spent \$ 46,000 to defeat rent control, an unheard of amount for a local election (in contrast, Jerry Jernigan spent \$27,000 this year in his successful campaign for mayor, the second highest total ever spent by a candidate for office). The Human Rights Party, which promoted rent control in 1974, could only raise a few thousand dollars.

Jonathan Rose, a local attorney who helped draft the 1974 law (and a revised 1975 version, which also lost) agrees that money won the election. "The landlords were a lot more sophisticated about advertising than we were," he says. "They used the ad techniques of Madison Avenue to sway the voters." Rose also believes the law may have been too strict to win. "The way the law was drafted was too idealistic—they may have taken too big a bite the first time. We should put forth a moderate ordinance this time. Whether we can get homeowner support or not I think depends on

(see RENT CONTROL, page 23)

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# State-Funded Abortion Issue to be Decided by Legislature

by Jeff Zeth

State legislators will soon be deciding whether low-income women in Michigan will continue to have the right to obtain state-funded Medicaid abortions. Anti-choice groups throughout the state have gathered the signatures necessary to force the state senate and house of representatives to vote on the issue. The governor will not have veto power over the outcome of this vote.

The proposal does not, as many believe, ban all state-funded abortions; only Medicaid and other welfare-related programs would be affected. (The ban would not apply, for example, to workman's compensation claims for state employees.) Therefore, those primarily affected would be low to moderate income women.

Over 450,000 signatures have been collected which, though more than the number needed to force the legislature to decide the matter, is representative of only 2% of the state's population. A May article in The Ann Arbor News reported that the signed petitions may be valuable campaign tools for conservative political candidates, but over the short term, the lists may be effectively used as political leverage by anti-choice organizers to lean on state politicians to vote their way. If the vote to ban state Medicaid abortions is successful a small, but well-organized minority will be having an unproportional influence on the entire state. Many of the signatures were collected in conservative parts of the state, especially western Michigan, where Right to Life has strong support.

But even 450,000 signatures may not truly represent what people want. According to pro-choice worker Margy Long, abortion foes have misled the public during their petition drive by making it sound as if they want to put the issue before the voters in a statewide referendum. Right to Life's campaign is not for a referendum, but for a closed vote involving only the state politicians—two very different things.

Pat Rose of Washtenaw County Right to Life says that the organization has in fact been straight forward with people. "They knew ex-

actly what they were doing," she said, adding that obtaining the signatures was much easier than they thought it would be. "We hardly had to go out and solicit signatures," she said, claiming that many people came to them on their own initiative.

But the question of deception is secondary to the question of why Right to Life chose the strategy it did. A petition drive to force a vote in the legislature takes more signatures, and is more difficult to explain to people out on the streets, than a drive for a statewide referendum. Why choose the method involving the most work?

Pro-choice advocates have indicated that Right to Life knows it would lose if there was a statewide referendum. Whereas the Michigan house and senate are Republican-controlled and stand a good chance of passing the measure when the vote comes up, given their past voting record.

But many progressive organizers and politicians feel that the voters, if left to decide, would choose to leave state-funded Medicaid abortions intact. Governor Blanchard has said that if the proposal were to be worded fairly, voters would approve the issue in a referendum.

A referendum drive is exactly the type of campaign that progressives intend to wage if the measure passes the legislature. The vote will take place once the signatures have been validated; validation may take anywhere from 30 to 50 days, perhaps longer. It is not clear whether this will happen before the legislature's recess in July.

Advocates of free choice are encouraging people at this point to learn more about this process. Significant in the debate is the fact that the issue as it stands is being decided by the legislature and 450,000 Michigan residents, comprising a total of 2% of the state's population and 8% of its re-gistered voters. Those that favor freedom of choice are being encouraged to write and call their legislators and tell them that they do not want a minority of the state's citizens deciding this issue for them.

# Building an Anti-Racist Progressive Coalition

by Barbara Ransby

It is hypocritical for American activists to be outraged about the crimes committed against our brothers and sisters in other parts of the world if they are not at the same time aware of and outraged by the atrocities being committed in their own backyards.

On Saturday, April 25th, a rainy spring day in Washington D.C., more than 100,000 people from communities across the nation, came together to participate in a National Mobilization for Peace and Justice in Central America and Southern Africa. The national organizers worked tirelessly to put the event together and should be commended. At the same time, however, the event reflected a number of small political weaknesses and one major one. The minor weaknesses will take care of themselves. The major weakness needs to be seriously addressed.

The relatively low number of Blacks and other people of color within the ranks of the demonstrators was disturbing to many of us, even more striking in that the population of Washington is overwhelmingly Black. The lack of truly multiracial participation in the March does not reflect a failure solely of the national organizing effort; it also reflects a very serious and longstanding weakness of many local progressive organizations, including many in our own community. The problem is the failure of many people to seriously and aggressively address the question of racism, both within the larger society and within our pro-

gressive movements as well. Racism has always been a critical issue confronting the American Left. It remains critical today. In light of the upsurge in violent racist attacks across the country, compounded by daily racist violence of social service cutbacks, an economic military draft, the erosion of affirmative action gains, and 50% unemployment among Black and Latin youth, every progressive activist must begin to take the issue of racism much more seriously. This means that white activists must recognize the centrality of racism to all progressive causes, must accept the importance of Black and Third World leadership, particularly that of women of color, and finally, must be willing to grapple with and confront their own racism and that of people around them in the process.

Racism and anti-racism are connected to all progressive movements today because racism has been the ideological fuel the Reagan Administration has used to propel its policies at home and abroad. U. S. support for the Contra terrorists in Nicaragua, and support for fascist policies in Southern Africa represent attacks against people of color struggling for self-determination. It is easier to defend foreign policy initiatives that

(see RACISM, page 1x)

## 6 GOOD REASONS TO CALL YELLOW CAB



It's too hot



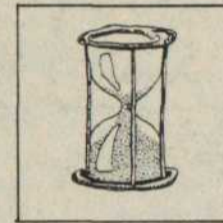
It's too cold



It's storming



Car won't start



In a hurry



Because I deserve it!

663-3355



# Ben Lives On

by Ellen Rusten

The following piece is an expanded version of a May 5 speech given at the memorial service for Benjamin Ernest Linder, held on the steps of the Federal Building in Ann Arbor.

My name is Ellen Rusten, and I am a member of the First Baptist Church of Ann Arbor. I lived in Nicaragua for about two years from 1984 to 1986. I met Ben when I returned to Nicaragua in November.

I knew Benjamin Linder only a very little. He was a diminutive, wirey man with scraggly whiskers. The strong Nicaraguan sun had bleached his brown hair and burnt his skin until he became mostly rust in color.

He was intense and quick in his movements. He seemed nervous, and—to be honest—really didn't make all that good of a first impression. But when he walked into a room full of those who knew him, it was as if he had turned on a switch connected to all their smiles. He was an outrageous jokester. Neither Nicaraguan nor U. S. political leaders were safe from his wisecracks.

Ben worked as an electrical engineer in the very northern reaches of Nicaragua in the lush mountains of the Department of Jinotega. He brought electric lights to several villages using hydropower, and was working on a new project when he was ambushed by six contras and killed by one of five grenades, along with two peasant workers.

He lived in a town named El Cua, in a region that has been barraged by terrorist attacks. It was not too far from where a land-mine exploded killing thirty-four civilians last July—most of them from one extended family. It takes courage and dedication to continue to live in that area. Ben's commitment to helping the poor caused him to forget about his own comfort and safety.

I knew him more for his exploits as a clown than as an engineer. Long before I met him, an Australian friend told me of the exploits of the "puny Yank" who had come to a party dressed as Rambo. She told me how he would visit wounded children in clinics—masking his natural shyness with a clown's white face and preposterous humor. I'm told by a family friend that he had been seriously "clowning around" since he was fourteen years old.

At his funeral in Matagalpa, where he was buried, children dressed up as clowns in remembrance of the joy he had given them.

Benjamin Linder, the twenty seven-year-old Oregonian, joins at least three other North Americans who have been killed in Reagan's war. The other three were mercenaries—two shot down with Hasenfus, the other killed in 1984 while flying a helicopter gun ship which killed two little girls and, I believe, two mothers. He also joins nine Europeans and more than 25,000 other Americans—Central Americans—who are casualties of this terrible conflict. Of those, about 16,000 were civilians, and about 3,000 of those were children.

Alongside Ben's body lay two Nicaraguans—their names rarely mentioned in the press. They were two peasants, Paulo Rosales and Sergio Hernandez, from San Jose de Bocay, a town about a mile from where they were murdered.

The contras say they were justified in attacking these peasants and this engineer because there were four armed militia with them. As it was during our own revolution, militia in Nicaragua are civilians who resort to arms only because of an aggressive threat against their lives and their homes.

For example, in 1985 in Matagalpa, I met nine-year-old



(photo by Gregory Fox)

Gilberto who proudly told me he was in the militia and had already seen two attacks. In a scorching field in Managua, I met eleven-year-old Maria who took part in an afternoon's "military" training. She said she wanted to learn how to protect her grandmother from an expected invasion by the "Yankees." This is the militia that the contras say they have the right to attack: schoolchildren, retired teachers, farmers, all fighting to protect their families.

Lately, I have been remembering the murders at Kent State more than a decade ago. A great chasm divided our society then. While an unjust vicious war raged on another country's shores, we fought a war back here at home. Political corruption grew and brought down a president.

Those days are with us again, with minor differences. The war is in Nicaragua and El Salvador. We hire brown-skinned foreigners to fight the war for us. Red-baiting is popular once again, and branding someone a Communist is reason enough for murder. An even a more deadly political corruption is eating away at the people entrusted with our government.

And we are killing our own again.

Ben Linder was one of about 2,000 U. S. citizens estimated to be living in Nicaragua right now. Forty thousand U.S. citizens have been to Nicaragua each year for the last several years to observe or participate in this experiment that dares to hope that people working together can end centuries of injustice and devastating poverty; that dares to support with the strength of a government the revolution that comes with the theology of liberation.

How many of these sojourners will end the way Ben did? Will we be sending our sons, our brothers, our husbands and the women who aid them, from our homes to their shores to commit murder en masse?

We have no alternatives. We must stop this terror. Together, united, bound together by our grief, our love of humanity and the potential for good, we can end this war. But we must act. We cannot feel our fatigue nor heed our doubts.

Today, tonight, I ask you to write your congressional representatives one more time. This time demand that justice come down on the heads of those who have the responsibility for Ben's murder. Write letters to the editor

thanking the city council for continuing the Ann Arbor Sister City Task Force. Make plans to visit Nicaragua so you can see first hand the faces of the people we are killing, and make up your mind for yourselves whether Nicaragua is truly Ronald Reagan's totalitarian dungeon.

I also ask you to join with the First Baptist Church of Ann Arbor by contributing to a memorial fund in Ben Linder's name. We have a sister church in a tiny town named Nandasmo. A work group is going there in August, and we want to take street lamps to this village of 3,000. So we have begun the Benjamin Linder-Nandasmo Electrification Project—continuing in his name, what he cannot finish.

Ben is not dead, you know. He lives in us as we struggle—as he did—for justice, peace and light.

## NOTE

It is evident from statements published by the contras that the murder of Linder was intended to frighten U.S. volunteers into leaving Nicaragua. In response, TecNica, a group that arranges work in Nicaragua for technical volunteers, has launched a Ben Linder Volunteer Campaign to double the number of U.S. delegations to Nicaragua this summer.

In addition, a memorial fund has been established to support the rural development project on which Ben was working at the time of his death. Contributions should be sent to: Ben Linder Memorial Fund, Portland CASC, P.O. Box 6443, Portland, Oregon 97228.

In Ann Arbor, the Latin American Solidarity Committee (LASC) has initiated a campaign for a Benjamin Linder memorial. Call 665-8438.

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and the Arms Race

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# READERS WRITE

## A Life Worth Living Benjamin Linder, 1959-1987

By Alan Wald

On April 28, Benjamin Linder, a 27-year-old mechanical engineer performing volunteer humanitarian service as one of 1300 North American "internationalists" in Nicaragua, was murdered by Contras in northern Jinotega Province. The assassination, sponsored by the Reagan administration, occurred at 8 am as Ben, an associate of the Nicaraguan Energy Institute, was working on a concrete channel to measure the water flow of a creek that might be used for a small hydroelectric plant.

An autopsy reviewed by Ben's father, Dr. David Linder, a retired pathologist from Portland, reached the following conclusion: First, Ben was immobilized by hand grenade injuries to his arms and legs; shortly after, he was executed by a gunshot wound to the head from a distance of less than two feet.

Many details of Ben's life and activities have not yet been disclosed, but the information we have to date suggests that he would resent being depicted as a martyr. It is also likely that Ben would have felt strongly that the Nicaraguans murdered along with him—Sergio Fernández and Pablo Rosales—be equally mourned and remembered, along with the 16,000 Nicaraguans slain since the Contra war began. I also suspect that he would have felt uncomfortable with the continual references in the U. S. press to his fate as "tragic."

On the contrary, all the indications are that Ben knew exactly what he was doing and what was likely to happen to him in the Nicaraguan war zone, only forty miles from Contra headquarters in Honduras. In my judgement, he deserves our admiration, not our pity, for he was living his life to the fullest; that is, in accord with his convictions and in solidarity with the human community. What is "tragic" is that individuals of Ben's quality, who seek to act systematically in the interests of humanity, end up on the "hit list" of their own government.

Indeed, if there is anything positive to be gained from this disgraceful execution, it may be that greater attention will be drawn to the remarkable group of U.S. citizens who have joined with Linder in seeking to preserve and extend the achievements of the Nicaraguan revolution. By all accounts, Ben was not a political "heavy," although he was a founder of the Seattle Chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and at the age of 17 had been arrested with 100 other people at a sit-in at the Trojan nuclear power plant outside of Portland. Ben seems to have primarily been a decent person who happened to care, who could see where simple injustice was being committed and who was willing to take sides.

One aspect of Ben's unique personality can be seen in his love of entertaining children. Ben began his association with the Nicaraguan people as a clown and juggler in the National Circus. He was also a devotee of the unicycle. Only a few days after moving to El Cua from Managua, Ben decided to promote a measles vaccination campaign for children by wearing a clown outfit and riding his unicycle through the town. By the end of his ride he was leading hundreds of cheering, laughing children to the health clinic chanting, "Death to measles! Death to measles!" This is why his April 30 funeral procession in Matagalpa, the capital of the region

where Ben worked, was led by a sad-faced clown, and included jugglers and other clowns.

But Ben was also a very serious person. When he returned to the United States to study engineering at the University of Washington in Seattle, it was not to initiate a career but to learn skills that he could put to use on behalf of the Nicaraguan people. Since 1983 he had been working in a dangerous area of the war zone to bring electricity to the Cua Valley for the first time.

Some reports have claimed that Ben, who was well aware that he was a Contra target, was armed with a rifle or pistol at the time of his murder, although he had never received any military training. If so, this is hardly to Ben's discredit. Indeed, the fact that this warm-hearted juggler, unicyclist, and clown, may have been forced to spend his final days carrying a weapon to defend himself and his Nicaraguan brothers and sisters as they labored in the mountains, only underscores the sickness of a world in which the Oliver Norths hold power.

Ben was a member of New Jewish Agenda, and Hebrew prayers were said at his funeral, which was attended by Daniel Ortega, Rosario Murillo, the Linder family, and thousands of Nicaraguan friends. Yet it is no secret that the Israeli state plays a despicable role on the side of the oppressors in Central America, South Africa, and the Middle East. As is to be expected, Linder's murderers in the Reagan administration—such as Elliot Abrams—are enthusiastic defenders of Israeli policy.

Moreover, at the very moment of Ben's execution a trial was opening in France for Klaus Barbie, "The Butcher of Lyon," who was saved from punishment for his Nazi atrocities after World War II by the U.S. government, which wanted to collaborate with Barbie in "fighting communism." It is not unlikely that some elements in the Jewish community will use the emotions generated by the Barbie trial to increase support for Israeli nationalism and expansionism. This approach is tantamount to responding to one form of nationalism and chauvinism by fomenting another. The immediate result will be to worsen the situation of oppressed people in the Middle East, South Africa, and Central America. In the long run the situation of people of Jewish origin will be worse as well, especially if continued Israeli aggression precipitates international war.

In this regard, the life of Ben Linder presents an important alternative. Ben's choice was to combat nationalism and chauvinism not with its mirror image but with internationalism. It is precisely his decision to ally himself with the Nicaraguan people in their struggle for independence and economic justice that points the way toward a world of social justice—and social justice is the absolute prerequisite for international peace.

Not all of us have the talents, personal fortitude, and courage of Ben Linder. But I think Ben would never "guilt trip" us for this; he would have been happy for us each to do what we can in our own ways. Moreover, our motivation for following Ben's example should not be from a sense of charity or self-righteousness; I believe it is in our own self-interest to live a full life, as Ben did, in accord with our principles and at one with humanity. Ben only lived twenty-seven years—but it was a life truly worth living.

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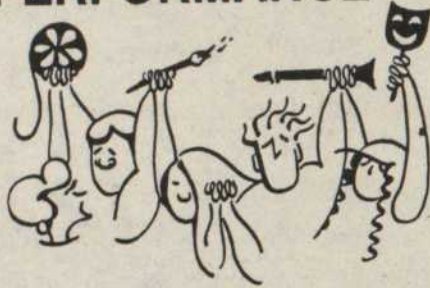
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# GRAFFITI

## Theatre Grottesco's "Fortune" Confusing Cookie

by June Loffler

The Performance Network has once again brought challenging alternative theatre to the community. Theatre Grottesco, an international company of performers, has been touring in the United States and the Western World for the past three years. Their work draws upon many traditions, including commedia dell'arte, Greek tragedy, European expressionism, dance theatre and performance art. "Fortune" is their first full company production created entirely in the United States, and is the first specifically about America. They brought the play to Ann Arbor in late April.

Watching "Fortune," it is the images, created by Theatre Grottesco's understanding of the physicality of the stage, that stick. The narrative, however, is never as compelling as these images.

Poles and platters arc through the air and meet in a rhythmic clatter, while the performers, their faces blank, work to establish the complex machinery of a fortune cookie factory with these simplest of elements.

A table, covered with a white tablecloth, is moved from place to place on the stage, creating with each space a new and different setting. And the actors work with such precision timing that the movement of the table is as much a part of the scene as the dialogue it splits up and separates.

Dark red wine is poured into a glass, overflowing onto the white tablecloth, accenting and illuminating the triangle created between the impoverished young man who writes fortunes and the young husband and wife that help produce the fortune cookies.

And the masks, oversized and white, with their lumps and angles, are so effectively used by Theatre Grottesco's performers to find and build a series of characters—lovers, loners, parent and child—each in turn touch-

ed by the messages of the fortune cookies.

The images in "Fortune" are sometimes funny, sometimes moving, and often simply entrancing, but if you find them difficult to follow in terms of story or narrative, you're not alone.

The audience watches the small factory become enormously successful after it hires a new writer of fortunes. This success alters the relationship between the workers and boss, Mr. Vincent; and between the fortune writer, Merik, and Mr. Vincent.

Mr. Vincent's rising greed is depicted in a wonderful scene drawn directly from commedia. Mr. Vincent, in mask, enters carrying a jingling purse, then counts the money and discovers a coin missing. His mounting hysteria as he searches for the coin is both comic and revealing, and is wonderfully played by John Flax. Merik finds the coin, which informs the action in the scene that follows, in which Merik asks for a 50% share in the profits.

In the most confusing sequence, Mr. Vincent is in the hospital with a heart attack (the result of his greed), where he is visited by the workers. After the other workers leave, the young husband stays to give the boss a gift.

The gift is a fortune cookie that opens to reveal a thin red ribbon, which he hands to the boss. The boss, continues to pull out the ribbon, to the sound of a beeping heart machine, as the light slowly fades on the scene. The next scene is the young husband's funeral. It is a beautiful and intriguing image, the boss pulling the life's blood from the young worker—but nothing in the rest of the play supports the power of that image.

These powerful images don't ultimately create a narrative cohesive enough to support the ideas the play suggests. But the images make for an entertaining evening of theatre, theatre that is significantly different from that generally available to Ann Arbor audiences.

## Charlie King is Coming to Town

by Jeff Alson

Topical singer/songwriter Charlie King is one of those fortunate individuals who makes a living doing something that he not only enjoys, but that helps make the world a better place. King will be performing at the Ark June 21 to raise money for HAP-NICA and A2MISTAD. The concert promises to be both fun and relevant.

While King's repertoire runs the gamut from songs with serious messages to hilarious parodies, his greatest talent lies in his ability to tell true stories that not only touch the heart but the social conscience as well. Two of his most famous songs are "Acceptable Risks," about the use of military personnel as guinea pigs, and "Two Good Arms," the story of Sacco and Vanzetti recorded by Holly Near and Ronnie Gilbert on their Life-line album.

The goal of King's music is to energize

audiences through alternative ways of analyzing our lives and the world. Despite the complex problems we all face, King constantly reminds us that individuals can, in fact, make a difference. "Our life is more than our work, and our work is more than our job" is not only one of his refrains, but characterizes his career as well. King uses his concerts as fundraising tools for grass-roots citizens groups; he has previously played in Ann Arbor for groups as diverse as A2MISTAD, the Ecology Center, and the Ann Arbor Alliance.

Because he is not a "big name," word of mouth is the primary way to introduce people to Charlie's music. I always guarantee my friends that they will have a great time at his concerts, and I haven't lost any friends yet! So please come to the Ark for a night of great music and good politics—and bring a friend! (see CALENDAR for details).

Hey You!

Send us your fun stuff: any two dimensional art or any arts related matter is acceptable. Help us develop a real alternative to other arts and entertainment sections!



# Secret History Anarchy and Death in Chicago

by Henry E. Hardy

A crowd of demonstrators have gathered at a public park in Chicago to listen to revolutionary speeches and to protest for better conditions for workers. Although the rhetoric is fiery, the demonstration is peaceful. The rally is attended by many local dignitaries, including the Democratic Mayor of Chicago. As the Mayor leaves the rally, he directs the police to allow the rally to proceed to its conclusion peacefully. Soon after the mayor leaves, however, a group of more than 200 policemen, acting apparently without orders from higher authority, gather and confront the crowd, demanding that it disperse immediately. As the speakers are leaving the podium to remonstrate with the police, a bomb is thrown into the police lines. More than seventy police are injured, and one is killed. The police open fire on the fleeing crowd. When it is over, the streets run red with blood. Hundreds of demonstrators lie dead or severely wounded in the square.

Is this a scene from 1968? 1970? No, this was Chicago on May 4 of 1886, one hundred and one years ago. Like the other famous killing of demonstrators on May 4, 1970 at Kent State University, the Haymarket Square massacre shocked the conscience of America and helped to shape the future history of the United States. An understanding of the incident is critical in understanding the impact of the radical movement in the United States one hundred years ago.

At this time (c. 1886), anarchists in the United States were in the forefront of a mili-

## Attention Workingmen!

### MASS-MEETING

TO-NIGHT, at 7.30 o'clock,

HAYMARKET, Randolph St., bet. Desplaines and Halsted.

Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.

Workingmen Arm Yourselves and Appear in Full Force!

## Achtung, Arbeiter!

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Heute Abend, 7 1/2 Uhr, auf dem  
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Unsere Redner werden den neuesten Schandthaten der Polizei, den Mord an unseren Kameraden gestern nachmittag, öffentlich an den Tag legen.

Wir bitten die Arbeiter, sich in voller Anzahl zu zeigen!

Announcement of Haymarket meeting

tant labor movement in the United States in favor of the establishment of an eight hour work day. Both strikes and unions were illegal at this time in the United States.

The International Working Peoples Party (IWPA) had been founded in 1872 after the split in the Communist Internationale between Marx and Bakunin. The IWPA was the "black," or anarchist, anti-authoritarian wing of the international socialist move-

ment. With the inspiration of many German Socialists who had fled from Bismarck's brutal political purge of 1873, the IWPA formed local working people's associations throughout the United States. The IWPA was one of the wellsprings of the union movement in the United States.

At this time, the right of the people to organize armed militias was still secured by the Second Amendment of the US Constitution. The anarchists organized popular armed militias in Chicago, Detroit, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Omaha, Newark, New York, San Francisco, Denver and other cities.

In 1884, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions passed by a nearly unanimous vote a resolution mandating that eight hours would constitute a legal day's work from May 1, 1886 onward. Another union, the Knights of Labor, added an eight hour plank to its constitution in that same year. During the period spanning 1884 to 1886, the eight hour movement experienced growing support in liberal circles and moderate labor organizations, and was subjected to increasing repression by employers and the state. In 1885, the Metalworkers Union also formed a paramilitary arm, due to the brutal suppression of a strike at the McCormick Harvester (now "Navistar") plant.

On January 4, 1886, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that the U.S. Constitution did not include the right of the

(see HAYMARKET, page 23)

# Culture Shock

by John Mire

Back in the U.S.A. with no money and no honey. But no sweat, I have enough friends who have jobs and apartments, and they are generous to a fault. I am lucky to have friends. I wonder about those Americans who don't have any friends, any body at all to help them out when they are wandering stark-eyed insane through the Mission or begging numbly on Market Street. Did they used to have friends or relatives, people whose patience and resources have been entirely used up now? Or is it that the Government, the former ally of these miserables, by cutting off their Welfare and turing them out of the mental hospitals, has removed the only thing that ever passed as friendship for these poor people?

I flew from the Far East into LA, late February 1987. Los Angeles can be a cold place, and this time around, it was so with a vengeance. I was not able to contact anyone I knew in town, so I decided to hitch immediately to San Francisco. I took an RTD bus to Canoga Park, and while waiting for a bus to Thousand Oaks, the freezing rain turned to snow. I briefly thought of the guys living in cardboard shacks downtown near Union Station. Then my bus came to carry me even deeper into the land of walled apartment complexes and shopping malls that is the San Fernando Valley.

My first 24 hours back in the States, I saw four people who were so overweight they literally belonged in a circus or a hospital. One was a truck driver who picked me up in Santa Barbara. He was easily over 300 pounds, and fat just poured out from every part of his body. In King City, he offered me \$10 if I would let him perform fellatio on me. When I declined, he was taken aback. After a long silence, he said, "Well, no hard feelings, eh?"

"Not at all," I replied. He put his truck into gear and we were off again. He told me that he was surprised at me; most hitchhikers solicited him. Later he gave me \$10 for being "so understanding."

It took five rides to get from Thousand Oaks to the Vermont St. exit on US-101 in San Francisco. They all had plenty of disposable income, or at least a generous amount of credit.

My first few days back in the U.S., I spent a lot of my time standing on street corners, gaping at



Americans and all their accessories. Lots of great-looking cars: new Audis, shiny old Chevys, and the occasional Jag. Neon-lit dinnerspots with steak and potatoes for \$7.95 (sales tax extra). Everything seemed to be bursting with energy. Maybe a better word might be impatience. Go, go, go!

I walked down to the Financial District. I passed a guy in a leather jacket at Powell and Market. He was playing chess for money with passers-by. Ten-minute games, or longer ones, if they wanted. He had a cushion to keep his rear

end warm and a queue of willing opponents. I made a note of him and went on.

Down in the canyons of finance, the frenzy is at its most intense. Managers, cops and bike messengers all race by in a terrible blur. It never looked this way to me before I went abroad. Has it changed, or have I? I can't say.

The only ones who aren't racing around like sharks are the guys with the signs. There are definitely a lot more of them now. HOMELESS AND JOBLESS. PLEASE HELP. They are on almost

(see SHOCK, page 23)

# Michigan Theater

603 East Liberty, Ann Arbor

## JUNE MOVIES

- M. 1—Working Girls, 8:00
- T. 2—The Mosquito Coast, 7:30, 9:45
- W. 3—The Long Goodbye, 7:30  
—The Big Sleep, 9:45
- T. 4—The Fly, 7:30, 9:30
- F. 5—The Killing (1957), 7:30  
—Dr. Strangelove, 9:15
- S. 6—Home of the Brave (Laurie Anderson), 7:00, 9:00, 11:00
- S. 7—No Film
- M. 8—The Official Story, 8:00
- T. 9—Liquid Sky, 7:30, 9:45
- W. 10—Dirty Harry, 7:30  
—Kiss Me Deadly, 9:25
- T. 11—Twist and Shout, 7:30, 9:15
- F. 12—2001: A Space Odyssey, 7:00  
—2010: Odyssey Two, 9:45
- S. 13—Round Midnight, 7:00, 9:30, 12:00
- S. 14—The Best of Warner Brothers' Cartoons, 5:30  
—More of the Best of Warner Brothers' Cartoons, 7:15
- M. 15—Dim Sum: A Little Bit of Heart, 8:00
- T. 16—The Magic Flute, 7:00, 9:30
- W. 17—The Maltese Falcon (1941), 7:30  
—Chinatown, 9:30
- T. 18—To Kill a Mockingbird, 7:00, 9:30
- F. 19—Barry Lyndon, 7:00  
—Clockwork Orange, 10:25
- S. 20—Little Shop of Horrors (1986), 7:00, 9:00, 11:00
- S. 21—This Time for Keeps, 6:30  
—Somewhere in Time, 8:30
- M. 22—Marie: A True Story, 8:00
- T. 23—The Name of the Rose, 7:30, 9:10
- W. 24—Spellbound, 7:30  
—Blood Simple, 9:45
- T. 25—Waiting for the Moon, 7:30, 9:30
- F. 26—No Film
- S. 27—The Three Musketeers, 8:00
- S. 28—A Midsummer Night's Dream (1935), 5:30  
—Romeo and Juliet (1968), 7:45
- M. 29—Say Amen Somebody, 8:00
- T. 30—The Best of W.C. Fields, 7:45  
—A Night at the Opera, 9:00
- W. 1—Aikido Demonstration
- T. 2—The Color Purple, 8:00
- F. 3—PeeWee's Big Adventure, 7:30, 9:15
- S. 4—Brazil, 7:00, 9:30, 12:00

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(FROM PAGE 1)

their missiles are liquid fueled and none of ours are, which is quite an advantage. The reason is that we abandoned this technology 20 years ago since it was worthless, dangerous and unreliable. It didn't go on to say that the Russians have an ominous advantage over us in horse-drawn artillery, but I presume that that's also correct; well, maybe even with soldiers without shoes, I presume too.

The recent developments that have taken place are very ominous. They really are frightening in many respects. For example, the Pershing II missiles in West Germany have a few minutes flight time to Russian targets. Cruise missiles are now all over the world, in the seas, on land and in the air. They are theoretically undetectable or will be with stealth technology. The MX missile, according to the Air Force Chief of Staff Lewis Allen, has what he calls a counterforce first-strike capability; the same is true of the Trident II missiles on submarines.

Now, the effect of all of this is well understood and has been pointed out by many people—for example, former Secretary of Defense MacNamara—the effect is to compel the Soviet Union to adopt a computerized response strategy, a "launch on warning" strategy, which of course increases significantly the danger of war. It means that war can break out by error or inadvertence or technical failure or misassessment of rising international tension because there isn't any time for human intervention.

Now we know that we also have such systems but fortunately don't rely on them. The systems have repeatedly failed and human intervention has aborted a programmed nuclear response. Russian systems are undoubtedly going to be far worse than ours and they are going to fail all over the place (because their computer systems are much more inefficient and degraded). All of this means that what we are doing is with conscious awareness very significantly increasing the danger to us, that is, increasing the danger that we will be destroyed. And actually it would be difficult to imagine actions that we could undertake that would so endanger our own security as these latest developments.

The Russians typically lag behind us in technology by approximately two to five years which means that in a couple of years they will duplicate what we're now doing, driving us to a comparable strategy which again is going to escalate the risk of nuclear war. The so-called Star Wars Program (even research on it) again escalates the threat to us; this is its most obvious effect. No serious person believes that the Star Wars system will ever come near to blocking a first strike (or at least nobody will ever know whether it works until it's tried). Anybody who's ever

played with a computer knows that it's going to fail, but the question is what people's expectations will be. It might carry with it the expectation that it could block a second-strike, a retaliatory strike. But that means it's a first-strike weapon. Nevertheless we are certainly going to proceed with it.

The debates that go on are generally between two positions. There's a technical debate that's going on about how well Star Wars is going to work, and you know the outcome of that debate before it's finished; basically nobody knows. And there are some who say, "Well, if we're smart enough we can overcome this and that Soviet technique to outfox it." And then there are others who say "No" because they can think up some other trick. It's uncertain. It really is uncertain. And when you're uncertain what you do is "try." So therefore, we're going to try. Those who are taking part in the debate are in fact contributing to that outcome, whether they're for it or against it.

Well, what are the reasons for what appears to be a kind of inexorable drift toward escalation of the threat of war and probable nuclear destruction? And what are the reasons for the almost total irrelevance of public opinion or of international willingness to terminate the madness? What are the reasons for that? That's worth thinking about, and that's what I want to talk about.

### A monolithic and ruthless conspiracy

There is a conventional answer to this. We know the conventional answer. The conventional answer is that we have to defend ourselves against what the president called a "monolithic and ruthless conspiracy" to block our benevolent intentions throughout the world and to conquer the world. Actually, I'm quoting John F. Kennedy at the time when he launched the current phase of the arms race (with the huge buildup of nuclear weapons in the early sixties). And Kennedy's "monolithic and ruthless conspiracy" (which is supposed to be the source of all the trouble in the world according to Kennedy) has recently been renamed the "Evil Empire" by Ronald Reagan, who's policy has incidentally very closely resembled Kennedy's, exactly as he says (much to the discomfiture of Democrats) and that also tells us something interesting about the spectrum of American politics.

Well, what about the conventional answer, you know, "the monolithic and ruthless

**Well, what are the reasons for what appears to be a kind of inexorable drift toward escalation of the threat of war and probable nuclear destruction? And what are the reasons for the almost total irrelevance of public opinion or of international willingness to terminate the madness? What are the reasons for that? That's worth thinking about, and that's what I want to talk about.**

conspiracy" and "the Evil Empire" or whatever the next person says? The first observation to make about the conventional answer is that it is very uninformative, in sort of the technical sense. In the technical sense of information theory it carries zero information. The reason is that it is totally predictable. That is, every action of every state is explained on the basis of defensive need. Therefore we learn nothing from the fact that these actions of this state are interpreted that way.

For example, when Hitler took over the Sudetenland or attacked Poland, if you look back, you'll notice that those actions were justified in terms of "the need for self-defense." It was necessary for Germany to defend itself against "Polish aggressiveness" or against "Czech terror" or against Germans and so on and therefore [they say]: "What do we do? Everyone's refusing peace. We are compelled to do this."

Incidentally, Hitler seems rather sane by the standards of senatorial "doves" like Paul Tsongas or Christopher Dodd, (I won't talk about Dave Durenburger), but these people who say that Nicaragua is such a threat to us that if they obtain weapons to defend themselves against our attack, we must therefore bomb them. That's the position of the senatorial "doves," and by those standards Hitler is in fact rather sane because if Nicaragua is a threat to us then undoubtedly Czechoslovakia was a threat to Germany; in fact, a far greater threat.

If you want to evaluate the

defensive rhetoric of some state, (since the defensive rhetoric itself carries no information), what you've got to do is look at the historical record. You have to see if they were in fact defending themselves and that's what we've got to ask about ourselves. Have we indeed been involved in any form of defense over the past years? That's what I want to talk about. There's no time to give a detailed account but I'm going to try to mention some salient points which bear on this.

### Let's begin with World War II

Let's begin with World War II. After World War II the United States was in a position of global dominance that probably had no parallel in human history; at least it's hard to think of one. This dominance showed up in two dimensions: first, in the economic dimension, and second, in the strategic and military dimension. As far as the economic dimension is concerned, at that time the United States had about 50% of the world's wealth and it was producing about 50% of the world's production, and as far as I know there has never been a moment like that in history.

Now that was understood. It was very well understood and American planners tried to formulate policies based on that fact. This is a very open society, and therefore we can find out what they were planning. The documents are available and they are rather revealing. It's an open society but that doesn't seem to matter much because nobody

looks at the facts, but let's look at them. I should say, incidentally, that if you look at the planning record, the documentary record, it was pretty well set in the mid-forties, and nothing has changed very much since. What has happened since is the application of the same essentially invariant, geopolitical conception to various situations. But the basic framework of thinking was developed quite expressly and quite lucidly in the mid-forties, and there's a good documentary record on it, and then it's been applied (sometimes successfully, sometimes not), but it's been consistently applied.

Some of the best accounts of this were presented by George Kennan, who is one of the most thoughtful and lucid of American planners. Let me stress that he is on the "doveish," humane side of the spectrum of planning, which also makes what he said quite interesting. And he was head of the State Department Planning Staff in the late 1940s, and in that position he wrote a series of planning statements which are called Policy Studies—such-and-such. One of these, PPS 23—Feb. 1948, gives an extremely precise and the most lucid account of post-war American foreign policy that I have ever seen. It runs approximately like this: Kennan says we have 50% of the world's wealth, and that disparity creates envy and resentment elsewhere. The primary purpose of our foreign policy, he said, must be to maintain this disparity. Now he proceeds to say that "we must abandon vague and unrealistic ideas such as democratization, raising of the living standards, and human rights. We must recognize that to maintain the disparity we're going to have to use forceful measures, and the less we are hampered by idealistic slogans the better." That's the message and it's correct, accurate and pointed.

### The Grand Area

This message grows out of a geopolitical framework that in fact had already been formulated quite elaborately in earlier years. During the early 1940s—in fact from 1939 to 1945—American planners met extensively to deal with what they knew was going to emerge from the war, namely a position of substantial American global dominance. There was very little doubt by the early 1940's that the United States was going to emerge in a world dominant position. The reasons were pretty obvious. The United States entered the war with by far the largest and most powerful industrial economy in the world.

Every rival was being either destroyed or severely damaged while the U.S. gained enormously from the war. Since the United States was not attacked and the government was able to control a command economy effectively, American industrial production grew by leaps and bounds, by probably three or four times during the war.

Obviously we were going to emerge in a dominant position. Planners were aware of this—they're not stupid, in fact they are highly class conscious in the United States, and always have been—and they met to deal with the issue. The most interesting of these programs that I know of was what was called the War-Peace Studies Program. It was organized by the Council on Foreign Relations (which is the major business input into foreign policy planning and it included all the top planners in the State Department). They met for six years to plan out the post-war world and developed a certain concept which they called "The Grand Area."

"The Grand Area" was regarded as what one of them called "an area strategically necessary for world control." It was an area that had to be subordinated to the needs of the American economy. And then they did a careful geopolitical analysis. It turned out that the Grand Area had to include: obviously all the Western Hemisphere, the Far East—the former British empire which we were then in the process of dismantling and taking over (that's what's called "anti-imperialism" in American historical writing)—and certainly the oil-producing regions in the Middle East, and by 1943 it was obvious at least Western Europe. And in fact that's the minimum part of the Grand Area (the maximum would be everything if we can get it). That's the area strategically necessary for world control, and as Kennan explained, that area has to be subordinated to our needs. In that area we have to act forcefully without regard for "vague and unrealistic slogans like human rights, democratization and raising the living standards"; not hampered by such conceptions, because it's going to take forceful means to maintain the disparity.

Remember that's the message from the liberal, humane side of the spectrum. Kennan was in fact thrown out of the State Department a couple years later because he was considered too soft, and harder-line people came in. Incidentally, that geopolitical concept was developed by Kennan specifically with regard to the Far East but the United States is a global power so its policies are applied everywhere. And Kennan himself explained how that policy applied to Latin America in a 1950 briefing for Latin American ambassadors, where he explained to them that one of the main concerns of our foreign policy must be what he called, "protection of our raw

materials."

Notice "our" raw materials; no mincing of words there.

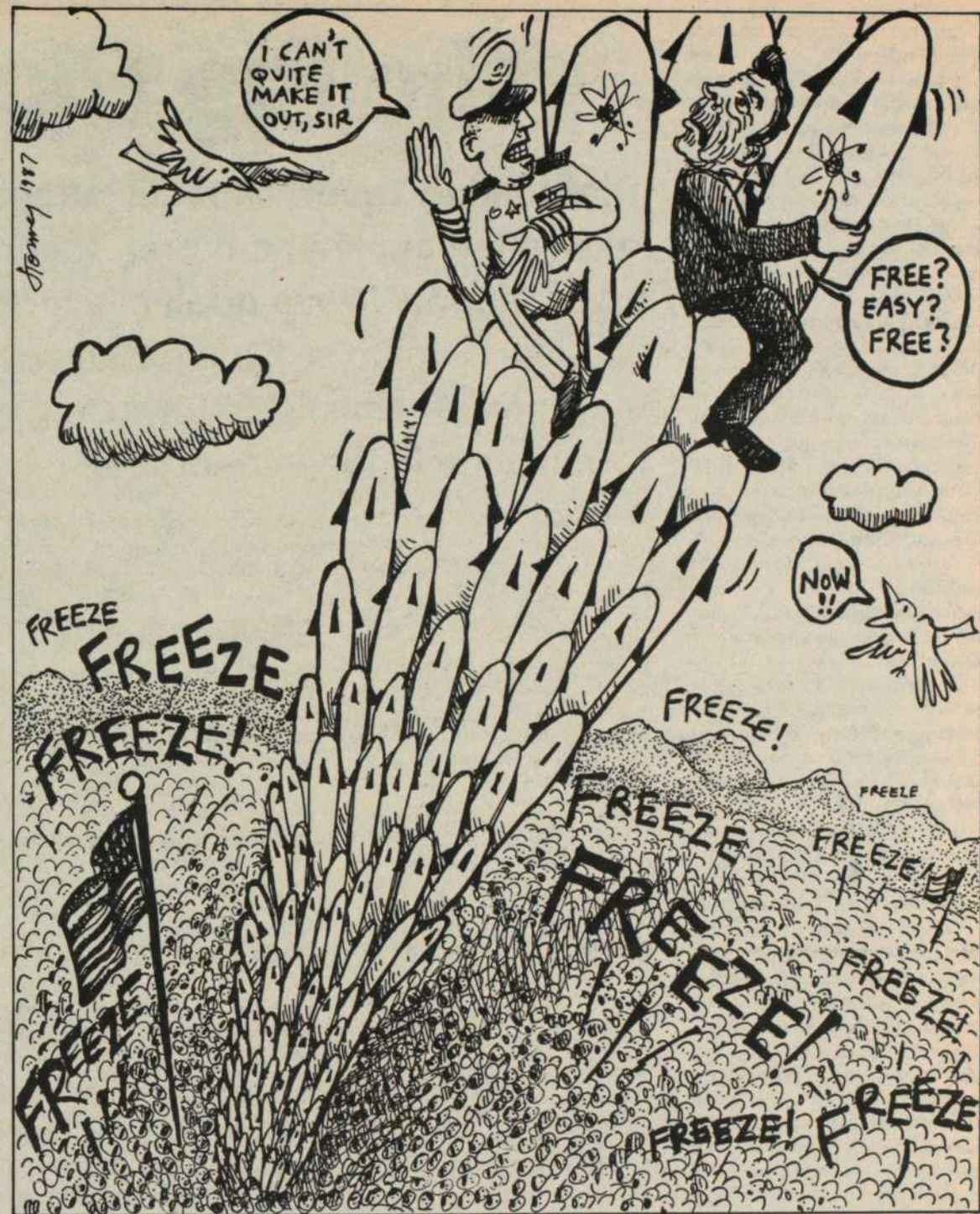
And who do we have to protect our raw materials against in Latin America? Well, as you know, there aren't any Russians around. We have to protect our raw materials from the indigenous population who might try to carry out moves that would threaten the disparity. For example, they might begin to use their resources for their own purposes in which case they would be stealing from us because they're "our" resources, so we have to protect their resources from them. And how do we protect them? Well, he explained, the final answer might be an unpleasant one but we should not hesitate before using police repression by the government. He said a liberal government that allows the communists to function is more dangerous than a harsh and brutal government that blocks them. And he said that it's not shameful to repress the communists because they're essentially traitors.

Who are the communists? Well in fact a good operational definition of that notion had been given in a State Department Intelligence Report about a year earlier which warned of a grim and dangerous doctrine that was spreading over much of the world, in particular the Western Hemisphere; namely the belief that the government should have a concern for the welfare of the population. Anybody who holds on to that belief automatically becomes a communist, that's the definition.

That concept has been elaborated in other studies. For example, the important study of the Widrow Wilson Foundation and National Planning Association in 1955, directed by well known Harvard political scientist William Randall Elliot, in which they said the primary threat of the communist powers is that they are undergoing an economic transformation which makes them unable to complement the industrial societies of the West. That is, they are proceeding in a direction which threatens the disparity. They are going to use their resources for their own purposes and obviously that's intolerable and anyone who does that is a communist no matter what their beliefs are.

### The freedom to rob

This geopolitical conception remains fixed and it explains why the U.S. has been so hostile to democratization, raising the living standards and human rights, as we are in fact. Because any move of that sort in any country is probably going to be associated with limitations on the fundamental freedom, namely the freedom to rob and that's the only one we really care about. The freedom to rob has to be maintained, everything else is just rhetoric. And countries that move toward democratization tend to be concerned about their own



population, this dangerous doctrine about the concern for the welfare of one's own population that will increase with all the problems that are associated with it.

One can learn quite a lot about post-war history if you understand this doctrine of the world's most powerful country, which was quite clearly and explicitly articulated, no mincing words about it. It's of course suppressed in the historical record, so if you look at the historical studies, you don't find it. For example, the best scholarly study of Kennan's position is the book by John Louis Gatis called "Strategies of Containment," a careful, important, scholarly study. In it he claims that Kennan never expressed any geopolitical conception. He says the only thing he expressed, and he gives some examples, were just banalities. But Kennan did present geopolitical conceptions like the ones I've just quoted. However they're not appropriate for the public to hear so therefore we say he didn't produce any geopolitical conceptions. Now it's not that Gatis is unaware of these documents, in fact he couldn't be unaware of them and we know he is not unaware of them because I happen to be quoting from a

collection of documents that he edited.

Remember, I was quoting before from a top secret document when Kennan said "we should put aside vague and unrealistic objectives such as human rights, democratization and raising the living standards and we should not be hampered by those idealistic slogans." That's a top secret document in which the people who matter are talking to one another. It's of course understood and need not be said that scholarship and the media and the schools must continually trumpet all of these vague and idealistic slogans in an effort to pacify the domestic population. But among the serious people, we realize the significance of things like human rights, democratization and raising the living standards: they're going to stand in the way of maintaining the disparity, of subordinating the Grand Area to our need to dominate and control the world's wealth.

### For the record

Well, that's the economic side. What about the strategic and military side? Here too the United States was in a position of enormous power at the end of WWII, again I think unparalleled

in human history. The United States had no enemies nearby, that is, there was no power in the Western Hemisphere that could conceivably threaten it. The United States controlled both oceans, which meant that no power could reach us in any other way. In fact there was only one possible threat to American security at that time. That threat was a potential threat in the late 1940s but it was on the horizon. The threat was ICBMs and thermal nuclear weapons. Now hydrogen bombs are small (as distinct from atom bombs) so they could be put in the nose-cone of a missile and that meant that if inter-continental missiles were developed and hydrogen bombs were developed it would be possible for some enemy to threaten the United States. Apart from that there's no conceivable threat to the United States, to its security.

Recognizing that, we immediately raise an obvious question: what did American planners do to try to prevent the sole threat to the security to the United States? Let's take a look at the documentary record and find what efforts were made to undertake negotiations which would prevent the development of hydrogen bombs and ICBMs. The histor-

ical record, as far as I'm aware, contains no indication that any such effort was ever made or that it even crossed anyone's mind. Maybe you can find a case, I haven't been able to find one; it just wasn't an issue. Nobody seemed to care about the development of the only weapons that could possibly threaten the United States.

Well, that teaches us something too. It's one of many things that teach us that the questions of security have never been relevant to the arms race. They're not significant. At most, they are of very marginal significance. It could have been possible to stop them, maybe. We don't know without trying.

But it could have been possible to enter into the kinds of negotiations with the super-power enemy that would have blocked the development of the sole weapon that could have possibly threatened us, but nobody wanted to do it. That must mean that there were other things driving the system, forcing it to go that way, for which questions of security were quite irrelevant.

### The case of Nicaragua

That is another observation to add to the former ones, to the matter of irrelevance of public opinion. Incidentally that point remains constant throughout, up until today. Take for example the current idea that Nicaragua is a military threat to the United States. Let's note first that the idea is so ludicrous that it's hard to proceed: if Nicaragua is a threat to the United States, then Denmark is a far greater threat to the Soviet Union. And they certainly ought to bomb Denmark because they already have dangerous weapons, and they are a part of a hostile military alliance.

But let's put aside the odd idea of applying to ourselves the same rational standards we apply to anyone else and let's consider the concept of Nicaragua as a threat to the United States. Well, suppose it is. Then how do we mitigate that threat. The threat is supposed to be that Nicaragua is a Russian base or has Russian weapons or something. Well, how do we mitigate that threat? The answer is pretty obvious (obvious at a moment's reflection): if we want to reduce that threat, what we do is call off the war against Nicaragua, enter into normal trade relations with it, allow it to proceed with its own programs, at which point it will stop being a Russian base, so we've eliminated the threat.

But that idea doesn't cross anybody's mind. The reason is that we don't care whether Nicaragua is a threat; in fact we want it to be a threat. We want Nicaragua to be a threat because we're trying to drive it to become a Russian base because then that will offer a justification for the use of violence against Nicaragua

# The Big Picture

**The Domino Theory: It really ought to be called "the-rotten-apple-in-a-barrel" theory because that's the way it was originally formulated; later it became Domino's. "One rotten apple in the barrel may infect them all," that was the original formulation in the mid-forties.**

which has to be undertaken for other reasons. The reason is that Nicaragua is by definition "communist" since the government is concerned with the welfare of its own population and is unwilling to complement the industrial economies of the West; rather they are trying to do something domestically. Hence, they are by definition communist, part of that grim and evil doctrine, that monolithic and ruthless conspiracy.

It doesn't matter if the Russians are there or not. In fact it would be better for us if the Russians were there, because then we would have a reason (for our own population) to carry out the forceful acts that must be undertaken if we're going to "maintain the disparity" (Kennan's idea), if we're going to ensure that the freedom to rob and to exploit is not hampered (and obviously we have to be committed to that since we're interested in freedom).

### The Domino Theory

If Nicaragua proceeds, it's not just Nicaragua that is a problem. Part of this geopolitical conception that I outlined from the very beginning was what is now called the "Domino Theory." Now, the "Domino Theory" has two variants and you've got to distinguish them. One variant is the kind that Ronald Reagan produced when he said, "if we don't stop them over there they're going to be in Long Beach." And that version has been presented by everybody; by Johnson, by Kennedy, by everyone. "We've got to stop them over there or they're going to come over here and rape your grandmother," and that-sort-of-thing. That's one version of the Domino Theory and everyone laughs about that one and says how ridiculous it is.

However there's another version of the Domino Theory which is not ridiculous, is very sound, is never challenged and underlies most American action in the world. The concern is that if some country falls under this terrible concept of using its resources for its own population, of concern for the welfare of its own people, and if it works, then there might be a demonstration-effect. It might be picked up elsewhere. "The rot will spread,"

that's the way the planners describe it, the "rot" being successful social and economic development outside the framework of control and domination by the United States, (blocking the freedom to rob). And that could have a demonstration-effect and therefore we've got to stop it. "We have to prevent the contagion which is going to infect others," as Kissinger put it when he undertook the overthrow of the Allende government.

It really ought to be called the "rotten apple in a barrel" theory because that's the way it was originally formulated; later it became Domino's. "One rotten apple in the barrel may infect them all," that was the original formulation in the mid-forties.

**And the point is, the weaker the country, the more dangerous the threat. And that's rational, because people can think if even this weak, nothing, little place can do something for its own population with its mineral resources, then we can do it too. And the weaker the country, the worse the threat. So naturally you have to go after these countries [Laos, Grenada, Nicaragua] with really savage ferocity; the weaker they are, the more dangerous they are. Well, all of that has a certain kind of rationality to it.**

Now that makes sense. That is, if successful social and economic development takes place somewhere, others may try to emulate it. Incidentally, it fits into the general conception of "Grand Area" planning and Kennan's version of it.

Notice if you think about it this explains an otherwise rather curious and paradoxical fact about American policy. People are always puzzled, especially Europeans, when they try to understand why the United States dedicates itself with such savage ferocity to trying to destroy tiny, marginal countries like Grenada, or Laos, you know—countries that barely exist. Laos, for example, is probably the weakest country in the world. Most of the

people in Laos didn't even know they were in Laos. They just knew they were in their village. I'm not joking. The first time they knew there was a world out there was when bombers started coming, driving them into holes in the ground where they had to hide for a couple of years.

Why did we have to attack Laos with fanatic ferocity? That was in fact the heaviest bombing in history by the late 1960's. It was later exceeded in Cambodia. The American government conceded openly that this had nothing to do with the war in South Vietnam. It was on its own. And the reason was, transparently, that there was a mild social revolution beginning in Laos. And that was intolerable.

Why do we care about Laos?

There are no resources in Laos that the United States cares about. We weren't doing it because we wanted their resources: we were doing it because the rot might spread. The same with Grenada. As soon as Grenada underwent the Bishop revolution, we had to destroy it. Grenada has nothing (a little nutmeg, 100,000 people) but we had to stop it.

And the point is, the smaller the country, the more dangerous the threat. The weaker the country, the more dangerous the threat. And that's rational, because people can think if even this weak, nothing, little place can do something for its own population with its mineral resources, then we can do it too. And the weaker the country, the

worse the threat. So naturally you have to go after these countries with really savage ferocity; the weaker they are, the more dangerous they are. Well, all of that has a certain kind of rationality to it.

### Rotten Apples

Coming back to the problem of the threat to the United States: we want these countries to be threats. We want Nicaragua and Grenada to appear to be threats so then Senator Durenburger will be able to pursue his idea that we should stop supporting the contras—instead we should invade Nicaragua directly, which is what he wants, because that's what we have to do to prevent the rot from spreading.

To get back to the main point, the same is true of Cuba, Guatemala, and of China for years. If we can't control the country, if we can't insure that the freedom to rob is maintained, then we want to turn them into Russian allies. We want them to be Russian bases. We'll attack them until they get Russian weapons for defense—they're certainly not going to get weapons from our allies—and then we have a justification for attacking and overthrowing them, which we'll have to do anyway. This is actually consistent if you think about it. It happens over and over again and it shouldn't be difficult to perceive or understand. It's always described as some sort of odd curiosity, but it's not odd and it's not curious, and there's a reason why it happens always. It makes sense.

What it does indicate however, is that once again security issues, questions of national security, have not been of any significance. In fact, we don't care about security, or at most, care about it marginally. Other things are driving the system and let's ask what they are. We have a lot of documentation now from the 1940s about what U.S. planners expected with regard to Europe. At that time they were all screaming about how the Russians were going to take over Europe, but it now turns out as any rational person should have known all along, that they never expected a Russian attack on Western Europe. They never expected that.

The concern was something else. The concern was national capitalism, or socialism, or a communist participation in democratic politics, all of which could begin to erode the Grand Area and threaten the disparity. That had to be stopped. The Russian attack on Europe was never considered in the cards. Again, it indicates that security issues were at most marginal. They are not the reason for the buildup. Our war against South Vietnam, what is called here the "defense" of South Vietnam, was motivated on the same principles. The same is true of our actions in the Middle East, and elsewhere (there's not time to go into that). But if you look through them, you'll find that it

all follows in the same geo-political conception. It's quite rational planning of course if you accept the assumptions.

### Military buildups: excuses vs. reasons

Let's take a look at the actual military buildup and see what that tells us about the motivating forces, again asking the question whether security of the United States has ever been a significant factor. There have been three major periods in which there was a big military buildup. It always goes on, but there have been three major periods when it escalated. One was the early 1950s, the second was the early 1960s under Kennedy, and the third from about 1979 until today (the latter part of the Carter administration, then picked up and extended by Reagan). Those are the three periods. Each of those times there was a reason given, so let's take a look at the reason.

The reason given in the early 1950s was that the Korean War proved that the "monolithic and ruthless conspiracy" was trying to take over the world, so therefore we needed strategic weapons to defend ourselves. That was the official reason then. Well, there are a number of things wrong with that reason. One thing is that it's obviously fraudulent since the plans had already been laid explicitly prior to the Korean War. In fact, the plans appear explicitly in an important document called NSC 68 (National Security Council memorandum written by Paul Nitze), which came out a couple months before the Korean War broke out and gave an extensive and detailed analysis of why we needed a vast arms buildup. Now that couldn't have been the Korean War because it hadn't happened yet. And they give a different reason. This is an internal document, again.

The reason was that we had to pursue a rollback strategy, a strategy aimed at breaking up the Soviet Union so that we could then deal with successor states and ultimately incorporate it into the Grand Area. And to carry out this strategy, they said, we have to introduce sacrifice and discipline in the United States. We can't afford to waste resources on consumer goods and we cannot afford the danger of freedom of speech and debate because we're really at war. They also pointed out that we're vastly stronger than the Soviet Union in any measurable respect: military, economic or whatever, but that's not to the point. The Soviet Union was stealing our resources, very much the way others in the Grand Area sometimes do, and we therefore had to defend ourselves by undertaking a military strategy. And the background documents for that call for approximately tripling or quadrupling the military budget which was done after the Korean War offered the excuse for it. But it's transparent that the Korean

War was not the reason because the plans were all there prior to the Korean War and what we were waiting for was an opportunity to carry out the plans that were already laid. The Korean War offered that opportunity.

Incidentally, the Korean War is not exactly what it's presented to be in American doctrine. The Korean War actually began in 1945, not in 1950. It began when American forces landed in Korea. What they did was eliminate the Korean government. There had been a Korean resistance against Japanese fascism and they set up an indigenous Korean government. It was a popular government all over South Korea and the first task of the American forces was to destroy it and to restore the fascist collaborators. They even used the Japanese police to put down the local government.

Then followed five years of quite bloody repression. About 100,000 people were killed in South Korea before the Korean War. Also, the United States had to block reunification which just about everybody wanted. There was a lot of fighting across the border, most of it incidentally initiated from the South. In 1949, most of it was going North, not South. Then after all of this came the Korean War.

Now, our history starts with the Korean War, but real history doesn't. And to see what it means, let's imagine that some superpower had conquered the western half of the United States, had destroyed the local government, had instituted a regime of collaborators (let's say

former Nazis or something), and then carried out a repression so severe that 100,000 people were killed. Suppose that across the border between the occupied West and the East there was constant fighting going in both directions and suppose then that the East attacked the West. Well, that wouldn't just be aggression. It would be something else, and that's what the Korean War was even if we assumed that it was a

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**What we really have to do is be able to use our conventional forces against local enemies—enemies somewhere in our domain, South Vietnamese or Filipinos or whatever—that's what we really have to do. But we have to be able to do that without concern. We have to be able to do that under the umbrella of nuclear forces which will insure that we can pursue these policies without caution.**

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North Korean attack. Incidentally, there isn't the slightest evidence, nor was there ever any evidence the Russians had anything to do with it. That's the Korean War, but all that's a matter of correcting a severely distorted historical record.

But anyhow it's irrelevant because whatever the Korean War may have been, it couldn't have been an excuse for the arms buildup as was claimed, since the decisions preceded the Korean War. Well, that tells us something too about the first

case. It tells us that the reason it was offered was a fraud and it wasn't the real reason, so there must have been some other real reason.

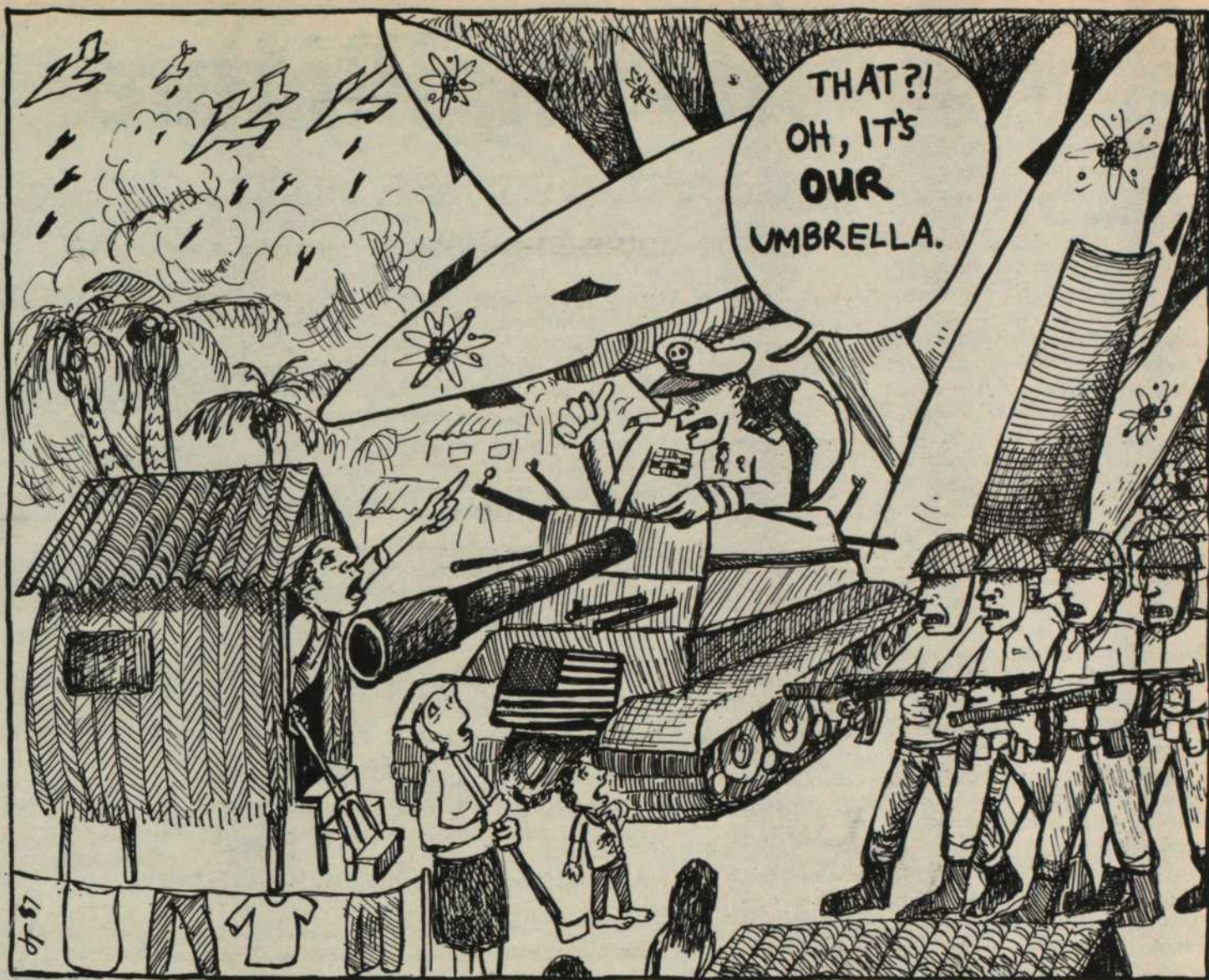
Well let's take a look at the second case, the Kennedy buildup that was motivated by the famous Missile Gap. Now the Missile Gap was also a fraud. Eisenhower pointed that out during the campaign and the Kennedy people certainly knew it within a couple

of weeks after coming into office. In fact, the Russians had four missiles at the time, maybe operational, but there was certainly no missile gap. Nevertheless the United States proceeded with the buildup of 1,000 minutemen. After the Missile Gap was conceded to be a fraud, the planned military buildup went on anyway. So, obviously, that was not the reason.

What about the third time around? Well this time around, it was supposed to be the "window of vulnerability." That's why we

had to have the big military buildup. We needn't discuss that because the President's own commission, the Scowcroft Commission, pointed out that there never had been a "window of vulnerability," and to the extent that there had it was opened wider by Reagan since old weapons were phased out faster than new ones came in. So according to the theory, the Russians should have been running wild all over the world. But nobody talks about it anymore. In fact, Administration spokesmen in Congressional hearings are now denying that they ever said there was a "window of vulnerability." The point is that the official reason was withdrawn as fraudulent but the planned arms buildup went on anyway. So once again we see that something else was involved.

What was involved? Before going into that, let me make an observation for quite good reasons which I'll come back to if there's time. But just as a description, it's a fact that big military buildups tend to coincide with an aggressive, adventurous foreign policy. It's not too surprising that that should be the case and in fact it is the case. For example in the early 1950s, the United States also began the training of Latin American officers and that predictably led to a series of military coups in Latin America. In fact by 1954, 13 out of 20 Latin American states were under military dictatorships. That was a high for the period. That was just one concomitant of the big military buildup at home.



## A nuclear umbrella for a Cold War

In 1961, the Kennedy administration made a decision which in terms of its impact is one of the most important of modern history. In 1961 the Kennedy administration changed the mission of the Latin American military. Notice, incidentally, that the United States can determine the mission of the Latin American military—that tells you something—but they changed it. It had been "hemispheric defense" and now it became "internal security." Well, hemispheric defense was kind of a joke, you know. There was nobody to defend the hemisphere against except us and that's not what was intended. Internal security, however, is no joke at all. Internal security means war against your own population. And that's exactly what happened under the impetus of the Kennedy administration and then Johnson followed.

The United States backed the war against the population on the part of the Latin American military which was being trained and advised by the United States. Government after government, country after country throughout Latin America fell into the hands of national security states, modeled basically on the Nazis, which introduced high technology torture, terror, and a degree of suppression and violence leading to what a later commission called the "plague of repression" that was unparalleled in the whole bloody history of the continent. That was the result of the American decision in 1961 to turn the Latin American military toward war against its own population, and it happened.

We have to defend the Grand Area against what in American terminology is called "radical nationalism." That's another term that has a specific meaning in American doctrine. "Radical nationalism" is a term that is not affected by what your beliefs may be. They may be right, left, center, anything. "Radical nationalism" means nationalism that doesn't obey American orders. That's "radical nationalism." And it's opposed to something else, namely "moderate nationalism." That's nationalism that obeys American orders. And naturally, we have to block "radical nationalism" and we have to defend ourselves against it and we have to defend the Grand Area against it.

In that sense, the defensive rhetoric is quite plausible. However, why do we need strategic weapons to defend ourselves against indigenous populations? Plainly we're not going to use nuclear weapons against them, because they're too weak. So why do we need strategic nuclear weapons to defend ourselves against indigenous populations in the Grand Area? Well, that actually makes a certain amount of sense and the point has been made explicit again in American planning documents.

# The Big Picture

So for example, National Security Council Document 141 dated January 1953, this one written by Paul Nitze, points out that "Soviet nuclear capacities are an extremely grave threat to the United States." And then he gives two reasons: one is that they "might inhibit us in carrying out a first strike against the Soviet Union." Well, that's a threat to us. The second and more significant one is that they "would tend to impose greater caution in our Cold War policies to the extent that these policies involve significant risks of general war." And that's a rather pithy comment if you think about it. It's correct.

**What got us out of the Great Depression was war. What the war did was teach the lesson of Keynesianism: if the government pours resources into subsidizing production a capitalist economy can pull itself out of a depression and keep moving. That lesson, sometimes called "military Keynesianism," was learned by everybody whether they had read Keynes or hadn't read Keynes. The fascist powers learned it, we learned it, and so on, and nobody's forgotten it.**

If the Soviet Union has strategic nuclear forces, that might impose caution on us in our Cold War policies.

What are our Cold War policies? Our Cold War policies are intervention and aggression against enemies inside our own domain. And we want to proceed without caution. We want to be able to attack anybody without caution, but Soviet military forces might impose caution on us. Why? Well, we'd be afraid that if we proceed to attack somebody, they might do something and that will lead to a nuclear war. In fact, Paul Nitze was outlining what nowadays is called in the peace movement, "The Deadly Connection": the concern that a Third World conflict might engage the superpowers and lead to nuclear war. And of course, concern over that might impede American planners, and we can't be impeded. We have to be able to proceed without impediment as we attack indigenous populations.

### The real meaning of deterrence

This rests on the phenomenon that nobody is going to impose any caution on us. We will be able to proceed without concern in what Nitze correctly calls our "Cold War policies" and notice that our Cold War policies are not directed against

the Russians of course but rather against people in our own domain.

Well that point is quite accurate and in fact is the real meaning of deterrence. This point has been emphasized over and over again by American planners. I won't go through the records. But just to come down to the near present, Harold Brown, President Carter's Secretary of Defense, in his last testimony to Congress in 1980, explained that our strategic nuclear forces provide the framework within which our conventional forces become "meaningful instruments of military and political power." That's the same idea. What we

really have to do is be able to use our conventional forces against local enemies, enemies somewhere in our domain, South Vietnamese or Filipinos or whatever; that's what we really have to do. But we have to be able to do that without concern. We have to be able to do that under the umbrella of nuclear forces which will insure that we can pursue these policies without caution.

If we have these strategic nuclear forces, then we can use our conventional forces as "meaningful instruments of military and political power." That's what it's all about. And in fact that gives us the first real reason, having dispensed with all the fraudulent reasons about security, for the development of the strategic weapon system. And it's a reason that grows out of deep concerns about world control having to do with the nature of power in the United States and the way of maintaining domination over others and assuring that we have the world's wealth under our control, very deep-seated institutional concerns.

### The world according to Keynes

There is a second major reason for the strategic weapons buildup that you can perceive if you look over the years, again

having nothing to do with security. The second major reason is that capitalism in the United States, as in every modern capitalist economy, is really state capitalism. The state has to play a major role in organizing the economy, inducing production, and so on. That's not even a question; that's been obvious since the Great Depression, which we never got out of (those New Deal measures have very limited effect). What got us out of the Great Depression was war.

What the war did was teach the lesson of Keynesianism: if the government pours resources into subsidizing production a capitalist economy can pull itself out of a depression and keep moving. That lesson, sometimes called "military Keynesianism," was learned by everybody whether they had read Keynes or hadn't read Keynes. The fascist powers learned it, we learned it, and so on, and nobody's forgotten it. The government is going to have to intervene to maintain production and in our case that means it's going to have to continually intervene to subsidize high technology production, the advanced sectors of industry, the cutting edge of industry.

How it is going to do it is the question. You can imagine theoretically all kinds of ways, but there's only one way that any government tends to turn to—certainly that ours has—and that's military spending. There are a lot of reasons for this, and they're in fact explained in the literature. But we certainly have done it and that's become our system of industrial policy. Our system of industrial policy, the way the state manages the economy, is by subsidizing advanced sectors of industry. This means the taxpayer subsidizes advanced sectors of industry through creation of a guaranteed market, a state guaranteed market for high technology production. That's the military system.

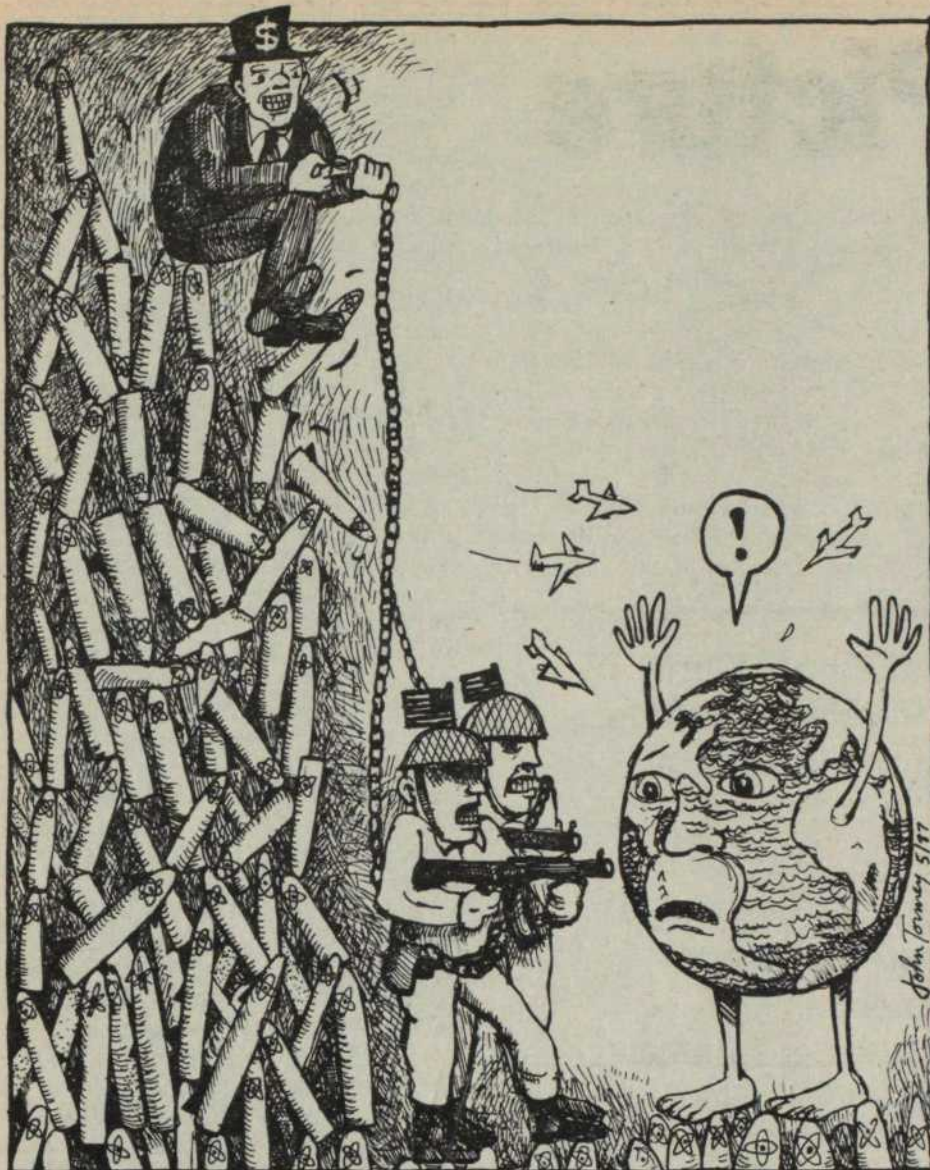
Occasionally you read sort of ludicrous justifications of it like one in The New York Times this morning by Malcolm Brown where he points out that nuclear weapons are great because they, in fact, have even contributed to the development of smoke detectors. I mean, obviously, if you want to improve smoke detectors, the best way is to have nuclear weapons because then maybe they'll invent some sort of metal that you can later use in smoke detectors. That's one of the ways you sell a story.

But the point is, advanced technology, the advanced sectors of industry, have to be subsidized. The country is repeatedly in the position where it's drifting into recession. The government is going to have to intervene to get the country moving again, the way Kennedy put it, or to reindustrialize, the way Reagan put it, and the same concerns were true of the early 50s and the way you do it is by state intervention. Reagan is called a conservative, but he is probably the most extreme Keynesian in American history. The ratio




  
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of government spending to Gross National Product increased more rapidly under Reagan than in any government since the World War II. It has nothing to do with conservatism. The government has to become directly involved in the economy—that's one of the respects, incidentally, in which Reagan mirrors Kennedy—but of course it has to do it for the benefit of those who own and run the economy. And in our case, that means advanced industry.

Why do we have to use the military system? You go to the economics department and they'll point out to you that you can do it in all sorts of other ways. Well, business has been aware of this. They know that there are other ways and in fact there are interesting discussions about this. This whole system, again, was set up in the forties. And once it's set up, it's very hard to extricate yourself from it. But it was set up for quite good reasons if you look back.

### How to frighten the taxpayer or "Is Stalin's Peace Offensive Real?"

For example, in 1949, there was a discussion in *Businessweek* (the major journal for the liberal sectors of business), about precisely this question. The article is headed something like: "Is Stalin's Peace Offensive Real?" This was one of Stalin's periodic peace offensives and they were kind of concerned about it. The article starts off by saying: so far, Washington has succeeded in deflecting Stalin's peace offensive, but what if they are insistent? What if we can't deflect it, then what will happen? And then they ask the following question: can the American economy still function, still proceed, if we don't have a wartime situation? Or will we just sink back into depression? And they go on with analysis in which they conclude that, technically speaking, there won't be any great problem in adapting the economy to

a peacetime world. So even if Stalin's peace offensive is real, we can still adapt our economy to it.

Then comes the clincher. They say, well, we've got to stop this. We've got to insure that Stalin's peace offensive doesn't work and that there's no turning to a peacetime economy. Well, why, if it's technically possible? They explain that from the point of view of the businessman, a military order from the government is basically a gift. It's a subsidy, the best possible thing. It doesn't interfere with the businessman's prerogatives, his decision making capacity or whatever. It's just an order which says you produce any kind of garbage and we'll buy it and furthermore, we'll destroy it. Now that's important because it means you can produce more and we'll destroy that too. Well, that's what a military order is. It's production of high technology waste, which is subsidized, and that's perfect. You can't imagine anything better from the point of view of the businessmen. Best possible kind of gift from the taxpayer.

On the other hand, they point out that if Truman (it was then Truman) is not able to resort to this device to subsidize us, he is going to have to turn to some other mode of state intervention in the economy. And that's going to lead to welfare state measures, the building of infrastructure, to social programs of all sorts and that's no good. It's going to have, as they point out, redistributive effects. It's going to organize other constituencies. It's going to change the institutions to the detriment of business, and therefore, we can't have that. So let's have military spending. And that's a good reason for it, incidentally.

There are other good reasons. You somehow have to get the taxpayers to be willing to pay. One way of doing that, in fact the best way, is to frighten them. And you can always frighten them because the monolithic and ruthless conspiracy is out there, which you can invoke whenever you feel like it. And there's always something

awful going on in the world you can point to as an example of its inexorable drive to take over the world. And it's pretty hard to think of an alternative, an alternative way of terrifying the taxpayers into subsidizing advanced industry. So therefore, we naturally tend to build that system. Once it's established, it's very hard to pull yourself out of.

Those are two quite solid reasons why the arms race continues, and in fact, I think those are the real reasons. One, the internal domestic need to maintain a subsidy toward the advanced sectors of the economy to keep them going, to pay the cost of research and development and so on. And the other, the need to provide an umbrella within which we can act without caution in our Cold War policies. And that requires that we be extremely intimidating, that we be superior in every respect, so that we can then proceed without caution (no problem with deterrence).

Those are good reasons and from such considerations I think you can see quite easily why it doesn't make any difference what public opinion is. You could have 95% of the population supporting a nuclear freeze and it wouldn't make any difference. It still wouldn't enter the political system because there are serious issues at stake. You know, there are really serious issues at stake. There's the question of dominating and controlling the world. There's the question of robbing the world. There's the problem of insuring that domestic power is enhanced, that even internal to American society, those who have power get that power strengthened. Now, they're the ones who own and run the society and also run the political system largely, so obviously they're not going to say: "let's have a nuclear freeze," which is going to change all this. It's going to change it radically. It's not a small thing.

So, it's not going to happen. I think it could happen, but the point is, just telling people: "come out in favor of a nuclear freeze and everything will be wonderful"—that's misleading. You can come out and say you're in favor of a nuclear freeze, and nothing's going to happen because there are serious issues at stake. You'd better understand the issues and be prepared. If you want a nuclear freeze, if you want the world to survive for some period, then you're going to have to face those issues. Just writing your name on a petition isn't going to have any effect. I think that ought to be learned. It would be interesting to see whether it is going to be learned.

You see, the people who organized the nuclear freeze, did succeed in their terms. They did succeed. In fact, they got a huge proportion of the population to support it. And that was supposed to work because we have a pluralistic democracy and so on and so forth. Well, okay, it didn't work. Therefore we have to ask something. I'm sure a lot of you have been involved in this and you ought to ask yourselves why it didn't work.

Well, some of the people involved, like the Randall Forsberg Institute in Brookline, have drawn an answer already and it's a very odd answer. The conclusion in their most recent literature is that the reason it didn't work is that although we convinced the population, we didn't convince the experts. You see, there's still a technical argument going on about whether the missiles are going to work and this and that.

So now we have to dedicate ourselves to convincing the experts. Okay, that's a certain way to make sure that the arms race goes on because the debate among the experts can have only one outcome: let's keep building. Because you really don't



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know if it's going to work, and you can have this argument and that argument. If the problem is to convince the experts, that's just like saying: okay, great, let's have more and more missiles, let's have Star Wars, let's have the next crazy thing they think of, let's have whatever it is that's going to be needed to maintain an intimidating posture so that we can proceed with our Cold War policies and to keep the economy functioning. That's what it's saying. Now that's the wrong answer. There are other answers. They are not very easy ones to face, but they're there.

### Costs & Consequences

Let me point out that the consequences of all this. Apart from the threat and the waste of resources and the likelihood of destruction and so on, the actual consequences have been pretty grim. We tend to overlook them often but they're not small. There was a study about a year ago by the Institute of World Order, by Ruth Sevard, a disarmament expert, in which she tries to roughly estimate the costs. She's considering the number of military interventions during this period and she counts 125 military interventions: 95% of them were in the Third World, 79% initiated by the West (meaning primarily the United States), 6% initiated by the communist powers.

You can play around with the numbers and maybe challenge this or that, but qualitatively it's of the right order. That's essentially the rough distribution.

The human consequences have been incredible. Take just Indochina alone. We were at war with Indochina for about thirty years and we really still are if you're serious about it. During the first phase of the Indochina War, the phase when we were supporting France in its effort to reconquer its former colony, about half a million Vietnamese died. From 1954 to 1965, while the United States was engaged in massive terror against South Vietnam, over 160,000 were killed in South Vietnam. From 1965 till 1975, the outright invasion—land invasion, expansion of the war—while nobody knows the numbers precisely, the estimates are that about three million

# The Big Picture

Vietnamese and one million Laotians and Cambodians were killed. That's about four million in that decade and about five million over the whole period. That's a lot of people dead.

Incidentally, that led to an American victory, I should say. It's called an American defeat, but if you think about it, it isn't really an American defeat and in fact it couldn't be. It's impossible for a country with the power of the United States to be defeated against such an adversary. And we weren't. There isn't

vention in Vietnam, we were able to back these wonderful developments in Indonesia where about 700,000 landless peasants were killed. The largest Communist Party in Asia was destroyed and the country was turned over to be robbed by American investors, which is of course the main concern of our foreign policy. So that was all wonderful and the same thing has gone on in the surrounding areas.

If you look at what was happening in 1972, when the United States was allegedly being defeated, the United States supported a

**It's not true, of course, that all problems of the world result from U.S. initiatives, but we have quite an ample share, a major share. And that is a rather hopeful fact, I think. The fact that we have a major share, and we certainly do, means that there's a great deal that we can do about it, because it's our initiatives that are responsible.**

going to be any social or economic development in Vietnam. Maybe forever, but for a century they'll be lucky if they can survive. The country was destroyed, millions of people were killed. We're keeping it that way by keeping maximal pressure against them since.

And at the same time the United States built up its support in the surrounding regions, to insure that the rot wouldn't spread. So for example in 1965, the United States backed a military coup in Indonesia which led to the massacre of about 700,000 people in four months. And that was great. In fact, that was lauded by American liberals as a wonderful development and given as an argument for the war in Vietnam, which in fact it was. The argument was that behind the shield of American inter-

military coup in the Philippines. There was a threat there not of socialism or anything like that. There was a threat of national capitalism. That is, of a capitalist regime that might try to use its resources for its own purposes. For example, the Philippine Supreme Court was considering laws limiting repatriation of profits, that is, impeding the right to rob. They were part of the monolithic and ruthless conspiracy to take our resources. So therefore, that had to be overthrown and the United States backed a military coup, installing in power one of the typical Latin American-style terror and torture states which we select when we have to find somebody to do our bidding. That was when the United States was supposed to have been losing the war. But it was just another part of building up the surrounding areas and incorporating them within the Grand Area, behind the shield of the effective destruction of Vietnam. That system pretty well worked. It was by no means an American defeat.

### Superpower Global Management

One final comment about this: these are just some of the costs. I won't review the rest of the world. You know, if you start thinking about Latin America and elsewhere, the costs of all of this have really been enormous. One part of the cost, as I've said, is the constant threat of nuclear war. In the last 20 years or so, the main place where that threat has existed is in the Middle East. We've come very close to nuclear war in the Middle East. The fact of the matter is that in the Middle East, the United States has been the primary factor preventing a political settlement. Our American rejectionism has blocked the political settlement for the past 15 or 20 years, and that has maintained the situation of military confrontation with the very strong likelihood of nuclear war.

That's a big topic in itself, but I think it's widely recognized that that's the most likely flashpoint. For example, the Pentagon recognizes it. There was an Air Force study leaked about a year and a half ago, called Air Force 2000, which pointed out that without settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, war is virtually inevitable and the prospects for global peace are remote. And we're maintaining that situation by rejecting and

blocking the kind of political settlement which has in fact been feasible for at least a decade.

These comments can be generalized to the other superpower. There's no doubt that each of the superpowers would be delighted to see the other one disappear from the face of the earth. However, long ago, each recognized that this is unfeasible. The United States was pursuing rollback policies in the early fifties, but that never became a major part of American policy.

Both superpowers understand perfectly well that the other can be eliminated only through mutual annihilation, and they're not willing to face that. So what's happened is that they've settled into a system of accommodation, a system of interaction, which is a joint policy of global management. This is a policy in which each creates a nuclear umbrella deterrent system to allow it to carry out, without caution, its own Cold War policies. And those policies are directed against its own satellites. For the Russians that means Eastern Europe, and now Afghanistan. For us it means most of the rest of the world. Within those regions, the two superpowers have to be able to proceed without caution and they each have to have enough of a nuclear umbrella to do it.

This is basically a system of global management. And it's a functional system. It's a highly functional system. It's useful for the leaders of the superpowers. They'd like to get rid of each other, that being unavailable, this is the next best. In fact, it's a very useful system because each of them is then able to mobilize its own population in support of quite brutal and costly actions within its own domain, and that's often hard. But you can do it by appealing to the threat of the monolithic and ruthless conspiracy. And as long as you have fanatics around like Kennedy and Reagan and others who people pay attention to, that's always going to work. It's always going to work . . . that's an old thing, way back in history.

### Can a young dog learn new tricks?

It's not all that easy to see how we can extricate ourselves from these systems. Until major institutional changes take place, what we're doing (anybody who's trying to oppose destruction and war, intervention or nuclear war) is engaging in kind of a holding action, trying to avert catastrophe somehow. It's a little bit like putting a band aid on a cancer, but that's about the best we can do as long as institutions remain what they are; trying to create a larger space in which survival is possible and in which intervention declines, so that maybe major changes can happen which will modify this whole system which is just churning onwards towards destruction. There is kind of a short term rationality to this system, but it's obvious that in the long term it's suicidal. It can't go on forever that way.

By far the most imminent of all the dangers, is in fact, "The Deadly Connection," the concern that a Third World conflict will engage the superpowers and will lead to nuclear war. Again, it's the Middle East that's the most dangerous area, and there the U.S. role has been major and decisive.

It's not true, of course, that all problems of the world result from U.S. initiatives, but we have quite an ample share, a major share. And that is a rather hopeful fact, I think. The fact that we have a major share, and we certainly do, means that there's a great deal that we can do about it, because it's our initiatives that are responsible. That, of course, on the condition that we can muster the courage and the integrity to face the facts honestly and with determination, and then proceed to act in some fashion to change the structures that are causing all of this.

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## Gelman

(from page 3)

exceeded permitted levels for daily discharge and nutrient content between 1980 and 1982. These violations were either not noticed or ignored.

On April 30th, 1982, when deep wells were still under state jurisdiction, Gelman's initial groundwater discharge permit expired but the company was allowed to continue to legally operate for two and a half years while their current application was being reviewed. In September, 1984, after seven and a half years of discharging dioxane on this permit, the Michigan DNR finally notified Gelman that their permit did not allow them to dispose of dioxane and other organic chemicals. The toxic hazard was confirmed in 1985 when the site was given the 89th worst rating in the state on the Priority List of Michigan Sites of Environmental Contamination.

In early 1986 residents of the area were notified by county health officials not to use the contaminated water for drinking, bathing and washing dishes, and Gelman made arrangements for the affected residents to bathe at a local Holiday Inn. At the same time U.S. EPA officials began sampling the soil, water, and sediments of the area to document the extent of the contamination. Four months after the samples were taken it was reported that the results had to be thrown out because the testing lab failed to

meet quality assurance standards. To date, these samples have not been repeated. Currently, Gelman continues to dispose of its wastewater into the underground injection well even though there is evidence to suggest it might be a contributing source of the contamination.

While some corrective actions have been taken by Gelman, the company has not done anything to reverse the environmental damage which has occurred. Moreover, Gelman has repeatedly downplayed the danger of the contamination. As recently as 1984 they requested that their site be removed from the Priority List of Michigan Sites of Environmental Contamination. In April 1987 the site was declared the second most hazardous site in Michigan. Yet the company continues to urge the public not to be preoccupied with the problem.

### Citizen Action

While Gelman continues to study what may be an expanding plume of contamination people are becoming increasingly insistent that a clean up begin. Last year a series of heavily attended hearings were held as the scope of the problem unfolded. Many residents came prepared with questions and felt that they only received lip service from company and government officials. One area resident described the situation saying, "One of the most frustrating things for me was that the County Health Department and other governmental agen-

cies did not communicate with us at all. Most of the information we received was through other neighbors or by other unofficial means. So, I didn't know if the information I was receiving was reliable and what steps we could or should take next."

Many residents who had been receiving bottled water were finally hooked up to the Ann Arbor city water lines last year. For them the cost of the groundwater contamination was annexation from Scio Township to Ann Arbor. This meant a higher property tax rate, and monthly water bills in place of previously free well water. This change in the status of the locality has created bitterness among residents who claim that they have already suffered enough and believe that Gelman should be required to bear the full economic and political consequences of the contamination.

In the fall of 1986, as part of its assumption of jurisdiction over deep wells, the EPA held hearings on the federal permitting of Gelman's deep well. Residents of the affected area challenged the EPA's intention to grant the permit in public testimony.

During this period, a coalition of affected citizens established the group "Tocsin." (Tocsin is a word for the sounding of a warning bell.) In January, Tocsin uncovered and released information concerning a leak which had developed in the deep well's injection tubing; information which Gelman, the DNR, and the EPA failed to release. Since

that time the DNR and the EPA have been more forthcoming in revealing subsequent problems at the site. Tocsin has been reviewing data on groundwater contamination and keeping the pressure on the DNR to have Gelman begin groundwater clean up. In addition, the group is exploring and encouraging the development of alternative methods of waste disposal by Gelman.

Presently, the coalition is requesting a judicial review of the EPA regional decision to grant a permit to Gelman. The groups' efforts have been supported by letters to officials in Washington and more than 1,700 signatures collected on two petitions. Tocsin claims the regional EPA evaluated the well using flawed data, analyses that are often superficial and incomplete, and interpretations of fact that are grossly inaccurate. The U.S. EPA's Chief Judicial Officer is considering the requests for a review.

Meanwhile, the EPA continues to allow operation of the deep well despite citizens' concerns of health hazards, continuing environmental damage and the possibility of leakage from the deep well.

In the next issue, the authors will examine community attitudes and actions in relation to this local crisis.

## NIGHT

(from page 4)

St.; and the domestic violence ordinance which mandates the arrest of batterers and provides the survivor with support. Work continues on changing the marital rape law to make marital rape a crime in Michigan.

As one of its projects this summer, the Coalition plans to help the Assault Crisis Center with fundraising. In the political context of a rape culture which dehumanizes women and glorifies violence, it is especially important that the community recognize the serious financial problem that

ACC faces this year. The diminishing amount of money for victims of crime, combined with lack of public commitment to sexual assault survivors has caused real problems for the agency, which serves all of Washtenaw county.

AACAR's demand for increased mandatory funding of women's services in Washtenaw county, shows how the Coalition supports agencies such as ACC. Though the work that each group does differs, it is actually inter-connected. As Andrea Reubin, an ACC staffperson and Coalition member explains, "Rape is a political issue. The politics of rape are at the core of devasta-

tion.

Working with individuals through counseling to regain their rights and status in the world is part of the recovery from rape." Issari points out that, "There is a need for services like ACC as well as activist and political change work. Take Back the Night is one way for women to work together on these issues. Groups can work together, not duplicating each other's work, but collaborating and harmonizing."

One of the reasons working with the Coalition is such a positive experience, says Cohen, "... is because people are open and receptive to new ideas and back-

grounds and trying to learn. Everybody brings something unique to the Coalition." She adds, "When I read the statement of purpose (at the Rally) I felt proud to be a member of the Coalition. But all 2000 women who marched are Coalition members. Different women have different responsibilities. Even if I don't help organize the March and Rally one year I will come to march and again I will feel like a member."

The Take Back the Night March ended with the spectacular energy of drumbeat and dancing. Says Reubin, "The drum beat was like a call to come again and gather."

## Racism

(from page 5)

lead to the murder of Brown children in Central America and the detention and torture of Black children in South Africa if you have already promoted the notion that those people are not really people anyway—that is, they are not rich or white or American and are therefore not important. To argue that U.S. foreign policy is motivated primarily by racism would be an oversimplification, but racism is used to defend and justify U.S. policy. Similarly, on the domestic front, racist stereotypes have been called forth to justify cutbacks in vital social services to all poor and working class people. Reagan and his associates have pushed the notion that lazy and undeserving welfare recipients are sopping up American tax dollars, and that "canceling their meal tickets" is the way to make them work harder and be more resourceful. These misrepresentations ignore the reality that increasing numbers of Americans are homeless, jobless and hungry, and that economic strife has always hit poor people of color the hardest. Nevertheless, one of the chief ways such callous and inhumane policies are made palatable to millions of Americans is that, despite the fact that numerically more whites receive welfare than Blacks, the stereotypical welfare recipient is a poor Black woman, someone that most white Americans cannot and do not identify with, someone who is "different" and somehow inferior and less deserving. Clearly, racism has been key in promoting, defending and popularizing unjust foreign and domestic policies. It has served to divide progressive movements and has created convenient, visible scapegoats and targets for the rage and frustration of others. For these reasons it is essential that anti-racism become a central focus in all progressive movements. Unfortunately during the intense anti-racist struggles at

the University of Michigan this year, many veteran white Ann Arbor activists were conspicuously absent. However, at the same time, the organizers of the annual "Take Back the Night" march made the decision to turn the entire program over to women of color this year which was, at least, one step in the right direction, and cause for optimism. Also, more than two dozen progressive faculty members made financial contributions to UCAR to demonstrate their support.

Finally, the question that many progressives have in terms of building multi-racial anti-racist coalitions is not why, but how? There are three initial responses to this question. First of all, progressive whites must take the issue of racism seriously. This means sensitizing oneself to the various manifestations of racism all around us, and also attempting to analyze and understand the complex dynamics of racism in our society. It is hypocritical for American activists to be outraged about the crimes committed against our brothers and sisters in other parts of the world if they are not at the same time aware of and outraged by the atrocities being committed in their own backyards. For example, when the President of Columbia University can bring New York City police onto campus to beat Black students; to handcuff and arrest a Black faculty member, and to place 50 students in "preventive detention" for protesting racism, as happened three weeks ago, every progressive activist should be outraged and mobilizing. When the Tampa police are accused of murdering three Black suspects over a two month period, there should have been memorials and vigils throughout the country. In essence, anti-racist ideas, slogans and demands must move from the "margin to the center" of progressive political agendas, if

these agendas are to be truly progressive. There can be no progressive feminist movement that does not deal with racism seriously. There can be no progressive peace movement that does not aggressively point out the intimate links between racism and militarism.

There can be no progressive solidarity movements that do not examine the racist character of American foreign and domestic policies.

The second step in forging this anti-

(see RACISM, page 23)

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**AGENDA CALENDAR**  
 P.O. BOX 3624  
 Ann Arbor, MI 48106

**FORMAT:**  
 Event: Sponsor. Time and place. One to two sentence description, (fee), phone number.  
 Unless otherwise noted, all events listed in the CALENDAR are free and open to the public. All addresses are in Ann Arbor unless otherwise noted.

# CALENDAR

Meeting: November 29th  
 Committee for Palestine  
 7 pm (see 5 Fri.)

## 20 Saturday

**Lesbian-Gay Pride Day**  
 10 am at West Park: Ecumenical Service; 11 am at Federal Plaza: Rally with M.C. Connie Webb and Keynote speaker Helen Gallagher; 12 pm at Federal Plaza: March; 1 to 8 pm at West Park: Solstice Festival with comedian Connie Webb and poet Felicia French. 994-5403 or 763-4186

## 21 Sunday

**Coordinating Council Meeting: New Jewish Agenda**  
 4 pm at Benjy Ben-Baruch's 2208 Packard. For agenda call Ruth Kraut 769-5680



**Benefit Concert with Charlie King: HAP-NICA and A2MISTAD**  
 8 pm at the Ark, 637 1/2 S. Main. King's songs touch both the heart and the social conscience. The concert welcomes home A2MISTAD volunteers from Nicaragua. Proceeds will support a bee cooperative there. Tickets are \$5 in advance at Schoolkids' and Herb David Guitar Studio and \$7 at the door. 761-7960

**Meditation service: Zen Lotus Society**  
 5 to 7 pm (see 7 Sun)

## 22 Monday

**Lesbian-Gay Pride Week**  
 12 pm at Liberty Plaza: Brown Bag Lunch; 7 and 8:30 pm at Michigan Union: Workshops addressing a variety of lesbian and gay male issues. 994-5403 or 763-4186

**Lesbian-Gay Male Open House: Gay Liberation**  
 8:30 pm (see 1 Monday)

## 23 Tuesday

**Lesbian-Gay Pride Week** (see 22 Monday) 10 pm at Regents Plaza: Memorial Vigil remembering victims of violence, especially a gay male Ann Arborite. 994-5403 or 763-4186

## 24 Wednesday

**Lesbian-Gay Pride Week** (see 22 Monday)

## 25 Thursday

**Spirit of Place: Ecology Center**  
 7 pm at Leslie Science Center, 1931 Traver Rd. Environmental psychologist Jim Swan will take you on a 2-

## 1 Monday

**Lesbian-Gay Male Open House: Gay Liberation**  
 8:30 pm at Canterbury House, 218 N. Division. 665-0606 or 763-4186

## 4 Thursday

**General Meeting: HAP-NICA**  
 7:30 pm in the Michigan Union. Ask at the desk for the room. All are welcome.

**Meeting: AGENDA**

7:30 pm at Dominick's, 812 Monroe  
 Staff meeting to evaluate the June issue and plan future editions. 996-8018

## 5 Friday

**Gay Men's Coffee House: Gay Liberation**  
 8 pm at Guild House, 802 Monroe. 763-4186

**Meeting: November 29th Committee for Palestine**  
 7 pm at the Mug in the Michigan Union.

## 6 Saturday

**Benefit Yardsale: Lesbian-Gay Pride Week**  
 8 am to 1 pm at 1725 Wells near Ferdon. 994-5403 or 763-4186

**"From Shards Of Broken Dreams To Fragments of Hope": New Jewish Agenda**  
 8 pm at Trueblood Theater, Frieze Bldg., 105 S. State St. Readings in commemoration of the 20th year of Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza—from early Zionists, Palestinian under occupation and Palestinian and Israeli hopes for peace. \$3. 662-9217

## 7 Sunday

**Presentation on Women and Substance Abuse: Women's Crisis Center**  
 2 to 4 pm at the Women's Crisis Center, 306 N. Division in St. Andrew's Church. Use the Lawrence St. entrance. It has long been considered "unladylike" for women to drink or use any other

substances. A discussion breaking through the myths and stereotypes surrounding women and substance abuse will be led by a U-M Hospital RN from the substance abuse ward. 994-9100

**Meditation service: Zen Lotus Society**  
 5 to 7 pm at Zen Buddhist Temple, 1214 Packard Rd. Open to all. 761-6520

## 8 Monday

**Monthly Meeting: Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays**  
 7:30 pm at the First Methodist Church, State at Huron. 763-4186

**"Self-Defence" Forum: Gay Liberation**  
 7:30 pm at Canterbury House, 218 N. Division. All members of the lesbian-gay male community are urged to attend. 665-0606 or 763-4186

**Lesbian-Gay Male Open House: Gay Liberation**  
 8:30 pm (see 1 Monday)

## 10 Wednesday

**Plowsharers Actions: New Jewish Agenda**  
 7:30 pm at Friends Meeting House, Hill St. A discussion on the destruction of military weapons and other direct actions. Two Jewish activists will share their experiences. TENTATIVE. Call Amy Rosenberg 662-8760

## 11 Thursday

**Class in the Universal Mental Laws: School of Metaphysics**  
 7:30 pm at the School of Metaphysics, 719 W. Michigan Ave, Ypsilanti. You'll learn concentration, memory improvement, dream analysis, meditation, healing and how to develop psychic abilities. With Metaphysician Mark Moverman. \$8 tax-deductible donation. 482-9600

**Discussion on Incest: Womens's Crisis Center**  
 7 to 9 pm at the Women's Crisis Center, 306 N. Division in St. Andrew's. Use the Lawrence St. entrance. Barb Eagle and Laurie White will lead a discussion focusing on women who are survivors of incest and how the violence affects their lives now. They will also be starting a support group for women who are survivors of incest and child sexual assault in late June. 994-9100

## 12 Friday

**Reincarnation Lecture: School of Metaphysics**  
 7:30 to 10 pm in room 213 Student Center Bldg. Washtenaw Community College. "Haven't I Met You Some Lifetime Before?" by Director/Teacher Mary Griffin. 482-9600

**Shabbat Potluck Dinner:**

### New Jewish Agenda

7:30 pm at 206 W. Madison. Exerpts from the dramatic readings of "From Shards of Broken Dreams to Fragments of Hope" (see 6 Sat. and NJA CRD entry) Middle East Committee members will then lead a discussion on the 20th anniversary of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank. Bring a veggie dish to pass. RSVP by 6/10 to Amy Rosenberg at 662-8760

### Artists and Community Struggle in Ann Arbor: Alliance for Cultural Democracy (ACD)

An annual gathering of midwestern members of ACD. Culture and social change will be covered in discussions, workshops and performances. Admission for three days is \$25. Separate admission for Saturday's performance is \$5. Registration info: 761-2370

## 13 Saturday

**Massage Workshop: School of Metaphysics**  
 1 to 5 pm at American Red Cross, 2729 Packard Rd. Learn massage techniques, accupressure points, energy meridians and reflexology. \$25/person or \$40/2 persons. 482-9600

**Garrison Keillor Party: WEMU**  
 2 to 8 pm at Dome's Expo. Activities include: games, bike expo, prizes, and a raffle along with Garrison's last live broadcast from satellite of A Prairie Home Companion, 6 to 8 pm. Bring your picnic basket.

**Artists and Community Struggle in Ann Arbor: Alliance for Cultural Democracy (ACD)** (see 12 Fri.)

## 14 Sunday

**Service: Zen Lotus Society**  
 10 am to noon at Zen Buddhist Temple. "Not to Harm but to Cherish all Life" conducted by Master Samu Sunim followed by a potluck picnic. All welcome.

**Benefit: "Popular Reality"**  
 3 to 7 pm at The Bird of Paradise, 207 N. Ashley. A benefit for the local "marginal" periodical Popular Reality. Music provided by the band Accidental Suitcase and Righteous Dervish. A solo performer. \$5 donation suggested. Proceeds will be used to fund a gala 48 page 3rd Anniversary issue and to lay the foundations of further mutations. Call Nisi at 665-2270 or 663-3773

**General meeting: Wellness Network**  
 3:30 to 5:30 pm at St. Joseph Mercy Hospital Education Center (enter through the outpatient entrance). 663-2706

**Meditation service: Zen Lotus Society**  
 5 to 7 pm (see 7 Sun)

### General meeting: Women's Action for Nuclear

**Disarmament: (WAND)**  
 7:30 pm at First Baptist Church, 512 E. Huron, Ann Arbor. Board of Education member Annetta Miller will speak about establishing a peace curriculum in Michigan schools. Doors open at 7 pm

**Artists and Community Struggle in Ann Arbor: Alliance for Cultural Democracy (ACD)** (see 12 Fri.)

## 15 Monday

**Lesbian-Gay Male Open House: Gay Liberation**  
 8:30 pm (see 1 Monday)

**Summer Training Retreat: Zen Lotus Society**  
 At Zen Buddhist Temple. Opportunity to deepen spiritual practice and to learn about North American Buddhism. Runs to August 15. 761-6520

## 17 Wednesday

**Open Community Forum: Ann Arbor Citizens for Fair Rents**  
 7:30 pm at First Baptist Church, 512 E. Huron. Discussion of rental housing difficulties in A2 and the possible placement of a rent stabilization initiative on the ballot in 1988. 665-5950

## 18 Thursday

**Feminist Interest Group Meeting: New Jewish Agenda**  
 7:30 pm at Jack Stanzler's and Laurie White's, 332 E. Washington. 665-7371

**General Meeting: HAP-NICA**  
 7:30 pm (see 4 Thurs.)

## 19 Friday

**Second Annual Awards Dinner & AIDS Benefit: Lesbian-Gay Pride Week**  
 7 pm at the Ann Arbor Inn, 4th Ave at Huron. Keynote speaker: Councilperson Jeff Epton. Entertainment: Ozer-Moore Duo. \$15 minimum donation, proceeds go to Wellness Networks/ Huron Valley. 994-5403 or 763-4186

**Dream Lecture: School of Metaphysics**  
 7:30 pm at the School of Metaphysics, 719 W. Michigan Ave., Ypsilanti. "Who Is That Stranger in My Dreams?" by teacher of Mental Law Mark Moverman. 482-9600

**Gay Men's Coffee House: Gay Liberation**  
 8 pm (see 5 Friday)

**WIRE: Prism Productions Inc.**  
 9 pm doors open at St. Andrew's Hall, 431 E. Congress, Detroit. Advanced tickets \$10.50 available at all Hudson's and other Ticketmaster locations and Schoolkids' Records. For 24-hour concert info dial 99-MUSIC.



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travels to places like: Stonehenge, Mecca, the Western Wall, and the Black Hills of South Dakota. Dr. Swan explores each site and probes into the attractions of such special places. \$3 donation. 761-3186.

**Membership Meeting: New Jewish Agenda**  
7:30 pm at Temple Beth Emeth, 2309 Packard Rd. Come discuss plans for the next quarter. Call Benji at 662-9217

**Film: Lesbian-Gay Pride Week**

Time and place to be announced. "Polyester" with Divine. 994-5403 or 763-4186

## 26 Friday

**Lecture: School of Metaphysics.** 7:30 to 9 pm in the Muehlig Room (downstairs) of the Public Library, 343 S. Fifth Ave. "Finding the Physics in Metaphysics," by teacher Mark Moverman. 482-9600

**Beginners' Weekend Retreat:** Zen Lotus Society

At Zen Buddhist Temple with Master Samu Sanum. \$140 or \$120 for full time students and unemployed. Please pre-register. 761-6520

## 28 Sunday

**Monthly Potluck and Gathering: Women's Crisis Center**  
12 to 3 pm at Canterbury House, 218 N. Division. Today is Gay Pride Day, and the WCCinvites everyone to gather in order to celebrate our sexualities. There will be a discussion led by two

women from the University of Michigan's Lesbian and Gay Male Programs Office from 1 to 3 pm. Bring a vegetarian dish or a beverage to share if you can. 994-9100.

**Statewide March and Rally: Lesbian-Gay Pride Week**  
1 pm from Detroit Art Institute: March; 2 pm at Kennedy Square: Rally. 763-4186 or 869-MOHR

**Meditation service:** Zen Lotus Society  
5 to 7 pm (see 7 Sun)

## 29 Monday

**Lesbian-Gay Male Open House: Gay Liberation**  
8:30 pm (see 1 Monday)

## 30 Tuesday

**Benefit: Ecology Center**  
At The Blind Pig. Local rock band Before Or After will perform in a benefit for the Ecology Center and its Recycle Ann Arbor program. 761-3186.

# COMMUNITY RESOURCE DIRECTORY

**ATTENTION READERS:** It is the intention of the **COMMUNITY RESOURCE DIRECTORY (CRD)** to be a forum where community organizations can publicize their activities and resources.

Each group submits its own copy: the views expressed herein are not necessarily those of the editors or publishers.

# AGENDA

Ann Arbor's Alternative Newsmonthly

## AGENDA Publications

P.O. Box 3624  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106  
(313)996-8018

**CURRENT NEWS:** This issue marks the inception of an alternative arts section. In the past we have published a Graffiti section, but want to open things up a little more and support the rich and diverse cultural arts in the area. We welcome people interested in reviewing theater, books, music, the work of individual artists, or wild and wierd events in general! If you are interested in something specific, give us a call

**MEETINGS:** At the beginning of every month there will be a staff meeting to evaluate the previous month's paper and plan future editions (see 4 Thursday, CALENDAR).

**FINANCES:** This month we sent out 200+ renewal letters to June through August 1986 subscribers and have been getting a good response. We are very grateful to everyone who has renewed or plans to and especially to our Ann Arbor subscribers whose support has been essential to our survival.

We now have a fundraising committee that is meeting on a regular basis to write grant proposals, plan a benefit, and contact

possible donors. We welcome all participation and advice; please call for meeting times and locations.

**COMMUNITY RESOURCE DIRECTORY (CRD) PARTICIPANTS:** Please be careful in following listing guidelines. Remember there must be 75% fresh content each month with a major emphasis on current news. We will not repeat a listing that has not been updated. Press releases are not acceptable as listings. All calendar items are put into the Calendar, thus are not considered part of the CRD copy unless your group has information that is not applicable to the Calendar. Also, please send us your logo, as well as photographs and artwork. We are at your service if you have any questions.

**COMPUTER HINTS:** We are now in possession of a 1200 Baud modem. For those of you who have access to MTS or another network, please contact us at 996-8018. It would probably be most efficient for us to get your account number and use it to access your AGENDA files. For those of you who have your own modems, let's set up a monthly date and time at which you can send us your copy over the phone. We will publish instructions on modem use if necessary in coming months. For those of you who have transportation problems, this should be a real blessing!

**FORMAT:** When setting up a new file do not set up a left indent or a first line indent—just set one tab at .18. Also please use only one space after all punctuation. Our format specs are: 12 point bold letterheads, 4 point leading between topics, 9 point bold type for headings and 9 point plain type for copy. Calendar items should be listed at the bottom of your CRD as follows: Event: sponsor (in bold type), time and place, one to two sentence description, fee, phone number (in plain type). If this is not clear, look at any AGENDA Calendar and follow the order you see for each event. (2936)

## ENVIRONMENT

### Ecology Center

417 Detroit St.  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
761-3186

**CURRENT ACTIVITIES:** Thank you everybody who helped make our 16th Annual Bike-A-Thon a great hit. Despite the fact that we were rained out and had to use our rain date, we raised nearly \$40,000, the most ever for an Ecology Center Bike-A-Thon. The only thing left to do is to collect those pledges.

April was a record month for our curbside recycling pickup program. There were 4,765 pick-ups, 390 more than the old record that was set last April. If you've been thinking about recycling but don't quite know how to get started, call us at 665-6398.

The Recycle Week Waste Awareness Awards were recently announced. Partner's Press was selected as the "Most Waste Conscious Business of 1987." They won because they are willing to stock and use recycled paper. You could try recycled paper too. To borrow a phrase, "It costs a little more, but it's worth it."

Styrofoam won the award for most wasteful consumer product. Styrofoam is non-recyclable, non-biodegradable, and is suspected of releasing chlorofluorocarbon gases into the atmosphere, thereby destroying the earth's ozone layer. If you have a choice, don't use it. Look for paper cups and plates when you're having a picnic—show your preference for paper when you shop.

The winners (losers?) in the "Most Wasteful Business" category were several local restaurants for their excessive use of styrofoam and other plastic throw-aways. Caffè Fiore (302 S. State St.), Donburi (215 S. State St.), and Zingerman's Delicatessen

(422 Detroit St.) tied for most wasteful business. Let their management know that you would rather they used china or paper.

**PURPOSE:** The Ecology Center of Ann Arbor is an environmental organization committed to environmental advocacy and education. We provide recycling services (curbside pickup and a recycling station) and free home weatherization visits to residents who qualify under low-income guidelines. We also have a library that is open to the public on weekday afternoons and on Saturdays from 9:30-1 pm. (2086)

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## JULY DEADLINES

- JUNE 13: News and feature first drafts
- JUNE 15: Ad space reservation
- JUNE 19: Calendar & Directory listings, photos, graphics, and logos
- JUNE 21: Camera-ready ads

# Ashley's



What's new at Ashley's?

Lobsterfest is back! Every Friday and Saturday from May 29 to June 27, from 4:30 to 11:00 pm you may choose one, two or all you can eat lobster dinners at the best prices in town.

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**Gay Liberation**  
c/o 4117 Michigan Union  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
INFO: 763-4186  
HOTLINE: 662-1977**CURRENT NEWS:** Members of the lesbian and gay male community discussed their concerns about the need to establish a supportive atmosphere in the Ann Arbor public schools and about the Ann Arbor Board of Education's intrusive and repressive AIDS policy during a recent forum attended by candidates for seats on the Ann Arbor Board. The forum was hosted by Integrity/Ann Arbor and was sponsored by the Washtenaw County Lesbian-Gay Political Caucus.

Candidates in attendance were Ellen Offen, longtime teacher and community activist, and Lynn Rivers, a teacher and current Vice President of the School Board. Tanya Isreal, a former Board member, was not present but submitted a written response to the caucus's questions.

**Wellness Networks**  
P.O. Box 3242  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106  
662-6134**CURRENT NEWS:** The Ann Arbor School Board elections on June 8th will provide residents of the city with an opportunity to support several candidates who have expressed informed attitudes about AIDS: Lyn Rivers, Ellen Offen, and Tanya Isreal. Such attitudes need to be represented on the school board not only because of its enormous importance to the city, but also because of its record on the AIDS issue. In April, 1986, the school board adopted an AIDS ("Communicable Disease") policy openly at variance with both federal (CDC) guidelines and Governor Blanchard's Public Health Advisory Council Report. (The governor's report was submitted in mid-March; though it was not publicly released until mid-April, the tenor of its findings were widely known in advance). The school board policy was apparently prompted by the case of an employee with ARC (AIDS-Related Complex). That case has long since been settled privately, in keeping with the demands of professionalism and**GAY RIGHTS**

Ms. Offen and Ms. Rivers agreed that lesbian and gay male students are in need of a supportive school environment. Ms. Rivers noted that a positive identity and self image should be encouraged; Ms. Offen suggested that workshops on homosexuality for students, staff, and faculty, and "lesbian-gay awareness trainings" for faculty and staff are strongly needed.

The candidates stated that under no circumstance can violence or harassment be tolerated and that individual values and diversity are to be honored.

Both Ms. Offen and Ms. Rivers are opposed to the current AIDS policy adopted by the Board, noting that the policy breeds suspicion and that mandatory testing is a violation of the right to privacy.

The candidates also suggested that a School Board member serve as liaison to the lesbian-gay male community.

As a consequence of the awareness and support offered to lesbians and gay men by Ms. Rivers and Ms. Offen, the Caucus is pleased to endorse these candidates for election.

In her written statements Ms. Isreal supported some of the Caucus's concerns but did not approve the concept of consciousness-raising workshops or trainings, nor did she seem to agree with changes in the School Board's AIDS policy that the Caucus advocates. Candidate Robert Gamble, in a telephone conversation with a Caucus member, noted that he believes in "fair play" for all individuals and groups and that he is aware of the Caucus' concerns. No response was received from candidate Philip Stetson.

We urge all lesbians and gay men and their supporters to vote for candidates Offen and Rivers in the June 8 election.

The next Forum, focusing on "self-defense", will be held Monday, June 8th at 7:30 pm at Canterbury House. All members of the lesbian-gay male community are urged to attend. For more information call 665-0606 or 763-4186.

Please note also the schedule of events for lesbian-gay Pride Week, organized by the Gay/lesbian Organization for Human Rights in Ypsilanti/Ann Arbor (GLOHRYA2). See AGENDA calendar for details or call 994-5403 or 763-4186 for more information. (2903)

**HEALTH ISSUES**

privacy). But the unfortunate policy is still on the books.

The school board policy provides that "a student or staff member reasonably suspected of having" AIDS or ARC "may be excluded from school or the work place." This decision is to be made by physicians and school district officials after a careful review of the evidence. But the superintendent has the final say if the review panel is not unanimous, and the "suspect" may be excluded during the review. The notion of "reasonable suspicion" is itself suspicious. Given that "it is the responsibility of all staff and students to implement" the policy, it is certainly possible for people to turn others in, and for the general atmosphere of the schools to be poisoned by that possibility. The policy is, at any rate, hardly calculated to promote education about AIDS prevention or to encourage compassion toward people with AIDS and ARC. Federal and state policies, in contrast to the school board's, are based on the presumption that AIDS, since it is not transmitted through social contact, should not be a basis for exclusion.

The designation of the policy as a "communicable disease" policy is a bureaucratic deception. The policy cites contagious diseases other than AIDS and ARC, but all of them are

covered by existing laws. It therefore refers only to disease states related to HIV infection, and honesty would require that this fact be acknowledged.

Sixteen months after the Ann Arbor policy was passed, it is no more defensible than it was in April, 1986. Lynn Rivers and Tanya Isreal voted against the policy then, and both Rivers and Ellen Offen, of the current candidates, have indicated that they will oppose it in the future. Isreal has also said that she would welcome renewed scrutiny of the policy. There are a host of major issues facing the school board, but the befuddled thinking and the threat to civil liberties of the AIDS policy make its reversal imperative.

**PURPOSE:** WNI-HV seeks to educate the public about AIDS and to provide support for people with AIDS and ARC, and the individuals concerned about AIDS. We have a support group for people who have tested positive for the virus (HIV), and another for loved ones of PWA's.**MEETINGS:** General meetings are held the second Sunday of every month and are open to all. The next meeting is June 14th, 3:30 to 5:30 pm at St. Joseph Mercy Hospital Education Center (enter through the outpatient entrance). (3474)**HUMAN RIGHTS****November 29th Committee for Palestine (N29)**4203 Michigan Union  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
Hilary S. at 665-2028**PURPOSE:** N29 is an American organization working to build U.S. solidarity with the Palestinian people by sponsoring educational and political programs. We believe that the United States government is a major obstruction to Middle East peace and therefore it is incumbent upon us to educate our fellow Americans about the Palestinian people and their history and aspirations. Only when Americans know the complete story of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict can we make educated and intelligent decisions regarding Middle East policy.**MEMBERSHIP & MEETINGS:** N29 is open to everyone who will agree with our bylaws. We do not in any way discriminate on basis of race, ethnic identification, religion, sexual orientation, or anything else. During the summer we will meet bi-weekly for study sessions on Palestinian history, sociology, and current events. Anyone who is interested is welcome to attend. We meet alternate Fridays at 7 pm at the Mug in the Michigan Union, beginning May 22.**FROM PALESTINE:** On April 13, Israeli soldiers shot and killed one Birzeit University student and wounded three others. The old and new campuses of Birzeit University in the Occupied West Bank have been shut down for four months by Israeli military authorities. These events and the murder of two other students in

December, 1986, suggest that Birzeit University and its students have become military targets. (FYI: Birzeit has been shut down 11 times in 10 years.)

Birzeit Vice-President Baramki writes, "in closing Birzeit University . . . the military authorities are treating the process of education as callously as they have treated individual students . . . the army has arbitrarily cancelled the rest of our academic year. We are barred from entering our classrooms . . . we have not even received permission to enter the campuses briefly to retrieve vital records or to attempt to rescue ongoing research projects in our laboratories."

Vice-President Baramki asks for international help to reopen Birzeit. You can help by writing to our elected officials and to Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Ministry of Defense, Tel Aviv, Israel, to protest the killing of student Musa Al Hanafi and to demand the immediate reopening of both campuses of Birzeit University.

**REPRESSION AT HOME:** N29 is part of the "Committee for Justice" working on the case of the detainees in Los Angeles. The Reagan administration's FBI and Immigration and Naturalization Service are trying to deport seven Palestinians and one Kenyan, originally on charges that they "fostered Palestinian terrorism."

The government's tactics in this case are quite sinuous. Originally the eight were accused of subversion by advocating world communism. The distribution of certain literature by the defendants is considered subversive under the McCarran-

Walter Immigration Act. However, the government dropped all subversion charges against the accused. Six of the eight are now charged with routine visa violations, while the other two are charged (under yet another McCarran-Walter provision) with affiliation with an organization advocating "the unlawful damage, injury or destruction of property."

On May 11, Judge Ingrid Hrycenko dismissed the charges against the eight because the government did not produce an immigration official to testify. The government has refiled identical charges against the defendants.

The government is determined to deport these individuals. Since it cannot prosecute them on criminal charges, it harrasses them with McCarthy-era laws and visa technicalities. Obviously it aims to stifle debate, political and educational action on the question of Palestine by making an example of the Los Angeles activists. What's the government afraid of?

We urge you to support the Los Angeles 8 by writing letters protesting the INS's attack on democratic freedoms to: Alan Nelson, 425 "Eye" Street NW, Wash. DC, 20536; and William Webster, Dir. of FBI, 9th &amp; Penn. Ave NW, Wash. DC 20535. Also, lawyers' fees are costing a bundle, so if you have the means to contribute please send a check made out to the "Committee for Justice" to us at the above address and we'll pass it on to the folks in Los Angeles. (4316)

**LABOR**

**Graduate Employees Organization (GEO)**

American Federation of Teachers/Michigan Federation of Teachers Local #3550

802 Monroe #3  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
(313) 995-0221

**CURRENT NEWS:** GEO is seeking interested people to be on the Research Committee. Some projects to be undertaken are: a Peer Institution TA salary comparison; monitoring departmental compliance with GEO contract terms; and comparing and contrasting employment responsibilities of TAs, RAs, and Instructors. People interested contact the GEO office. Note: GEO spring and summer office hours are 1 pm to 4 pm MTW and F (closed Thurs.).

**PURPOSE:** To represent all Graduate Student

Assistants in collective bargaining with the University of Michigan, thus protecting Staff and Teaching Assistants against deterioration in economic compensation, real wages, working conditions; and to address graduate employees' common concerns, such as: excessive class size, teacher training, reallocation of University funds from administration overhead to actual teaching, and the ideals of non-discrimination and affirmative action.

**MEETINGS:** There are no regularly scheduled membership meeting during the Spring and Summer Terms; time and location will be announced ten days in advance and posted on GEO bulletin boards and published in the University Record. (1314)

**LATIN AMERICA**

**HAP-NICA**

802 Monroe St.  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
769-1442

**CURRENT NEWS:** HAP-NICA and its daughter group, A2MISTAD are pleased to co-sponsor Charlie King at the Ark on Sunday, June 21st, 5 to 7 pm. This groovy event has been scheduled in part to help raise funds for the honey bee project, one of three current HAP-NICA projects listed below. We are now searching for organizations or individuals who can contribute money and/or effort to assist in each of these projects:

1. Honey bee cooperative: The Nicaraguan Farmworkers Union (ATC) operates a school of labor studies in the mountainous Matagalpa region where 65% of Nicaraguan coffee is grown. This school for coffee workers teaches the history, law, and politics of labor in Nicaragua. The ATC has requested HAP-NICA's help in establishing a honey production cooperative to allow the school to raise its own operating funds through the sale of honey and wax.

2. Oil Palm project: The small farmers association has requested funding to help finance two oil palm plantations on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua. At present Nicaragua must import almost all of its cooking oil, and the Atlantic Coast region is badly in need of development. The plantations will raise african oil palm trees and eventually employ hundreds of families

3. HAP-NICA continues to watch the progress of the highly successful A2MISTAD construction brigade, which is building a soil testing facility in Nicaragua. The building is going up, but we need more volunteers. If you can spare a month of your life, think about helping the A2MISTAD workers that are still in Nicaragua, and think about helping the Nicaraguan people.

**MEETINGS:** General meetings are held on alternate Thursdays, June 4 and 18 of this month, 7:30 pm, in the Michigan Union. Ask at the desk for the room. All are welcome.

**PURPOSE:** The Humanitarian Assistance Project for Independent Agricultural Development in Nicaragua (HAP-NICA) is a nonprofit organization conducting a national campaign to aid Nicaraguan agriculture. Our goal is to help the Nicaraguan people achieve economic development and self-sufficiency. Toward that goal we work with the Nicaraguan Union of Small and Mid-sized Farmers and Ranchers, the Farmworkers Union, and the Higher Institute of Agricultural Science.

We review project proposals from each of these organizations. Tasks carried out by HAP-NICA members in Ann Arbor are related to establishing and coordinating a network of support groups across the country to raise money for those projects that are accepted. We are a project of the Guild House Campus Ministry of Ann Arbor (an ecumenical ministry devoted to principles of human justice) and the New World Agriculture Group (NWAG). (2724)

**MISCELLANEOUS**

**ACLU of Michigan  
Washtenaw County Branch  
277 E. Liberty  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104**

The concept of limiting the majority is part of the genius of the traditional American system, invented 200 years ago. While the rest of the United States Constitution authorizes the government to act, the Bill of Rights sets limits. It describes what the government may not do. Even a democratically elected government is not permitted to take away from the people their inherent rights to freedom of expression, belief and association, to procedural fairness, to equal treatment before the law, to privacy.

To protect these rights, to enforce these limits on government, is the sole purpose of the American Civil Liberties Union. Without legal guarantees of individual liberty, even American Democracy can revert to acts of tyranny, to a despotism of the majority. The ACLU exists to make sure this doesn't happen, and to fight back when it does.

**CURRENT ACTIVITIES:** On Monday, May 18, 1987, Reverend Donald A. Coleman, member of the executive board of the Washtenaw County Branch of the ACLU, testified before the Ann Arbor City Council in support of the proposed AIDS policy designed to protect the health of the public and the right to privacy of municipal employees. The ACLU was instrumental in the review and revision of the proposed policy.

On March 9, 1987, a speaker for the Branch addressed the Ypsilanti School Board about the baccalaureate service, separate from graduation, which the board regularly sponsors at EMU for its

high school graduates each year. The content of the baccalaureate is religious and the Branch took the position that sponsorship and financial support of this service by the Ypsilanti School Board is a conflict of church and state and a violation of the First Amendment. The Branch sent a speaker upon request of an ACLU member.

In the last two months the Branch has undertaken representation of two women prisoners at Huron Valley Women's Prison, one who died in the yard in a severe asthma attack for which medical attention was provided slowly or not at all, and a second who is presently in the infirmary and may lose her leg because of what her family claims is failure to provide adequate medical attention.

The claim of restriction of right to travel on the part of a U-M student was investigated by ACLU attorneys this month. Permission to pay in-state tuition was withdrawn from her because she took a Russian language course during the summer at the University of Washington. The Branch has in the past received many complaints about denial of in-state tuition by the University and is willing to investigate any such complaint.

On May 17, 1987, the Board passed a resolution condemning the U-M Board of Regents for denying emeritus status to Professor Daniel Fusfeld for his remarks about the Regents, made eight years ago at the time the Board failed to divest the University's South African investments. Professor Fusfeld is a former board member of the Branch.

**CONTACTS:** Inquiries should be directed to Jean Ledwith King, 277 East Liberty Plaza, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104 (phone 313 662-1334). Inquiries for legal assistance should be made in writing to attorney Nancy Francis, ACLU Branch Lawyers' Committee, 201 East Huron, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104. (3505)



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**SPARK**

3909 Michigan Union  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109

**PURPOSE:** 45,000 human lives are lost to starvation every day, even though the United States produces enough wheat to feed everyone on earth two loaves of bread, or 3000 calories daily. One hundred acres of rain forest are destroyed every minute, threatening our oxygen supply, as well as the entire ecosystem and climatic balance of the planet. Sixty wars currently rage, \$800 billion a year is being spent worldwide for military

programs, and the megatonnage in the world's stockpile of nuclear weapons is already enough to kill every person now living 12 times over. Everywhere racism and sexism smother the potential of millions of human beings. In sum, the unfathomable devastation of countless human lives and even the earth itself are in fact realities in the world today.

We are communists and revolutionaries. We are fighting for a humane world that is not threatened by these monstrous problems: all of which are rooted in the capitalist economic system. This is a system based on profit, a system meeting the interests of a minority of individuals at the expense of the rest of the world. In order to rid ourselves of these problems, in order to build a society that meets the needs of all of humanity, we must rid ourselves of the capitalist system itself. Toward that goal, we must be

organized—we must build a revolutionary organization.

**REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY SERIES:** We must learn from history in order to change its course today. With this in mind, Spark holds the Revolutionary History Series every Tuesday at 7 pm in Room 2407 Mason Hall. These classes give people a chance to learn a history which has been kept from us: a history of the struggles of oppressed peoples to change their lives and their society. Anyone who is interested in ideas, in history, in changing things, is welcome.

We also have a literature table on Mondays in the basement of the Michigan Union from 12 to 5 pm and on Wednesdays on the Diag, from 10 to 1 pm. Stop by and talk with us about how we can change our society and our world. (2100)

**PEACE & DISARMAMENT****Washtenaw County Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Inc. (WAND)**

P.O. Box 1815  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1815  
761-1718

**PURPOSE:** WAND's goals are to educate ourselves and the public about the dangers of continued nuclear arms buildup, to influence our congressional representatives by informed lobbying, and to empower people, especially women, personally and politically.

**MEETINGS AND MEMBERSHIP:** Meetings are held the

second Sunday night of the month at the First Baptist Church, 512 E. Huron. Call our Information Hotline at 761-1718 for a message announcing important lobbying information, meeting times, and upcoming events. Our Speaker's Bureau provides trained speakers who will address groups, classes, and public forums and rallies on a variety of issues. Contact Jean Carlson at 426-2232.

**CURRENT NEWS:** WAND sponsored a major peace event on May 10: the third annual Mother's Day Festival of Peace was held in West Park. More than 2,000 people concerned about the nuclear arms race and other peace and justice issues were there.

Sayre Sheldon, the former national president of WAND, addressed our group on "Trends in the Peace Movement Nationally." She has been in the forefront of the peace movement in this country for years, and gave us a very interesting perspective on the current situation.

Annetta Miller, a member of the State Board of Education, will speak at the June general meeting. She will speak on what can be done locally in an effort to create a peace curriculum in our state's schools. The meeting will be held on Sunday, June 14 at the First Baptist Church, 512 E. Huron. New members are always welcome. Doors open at 7 pm and the meeting begins at 7:30. (1692)

**PROGRESSIVE RELIGION****New Jewish Agenda (NJA)**

2208 Packard  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
662-9217

**PURPOSE:** NJA is comprised of Jews from a variety of backgrounds and affiliations who are interested in working for social and political justice within the framework of Jewish tradition. We are committed to building an inclusive Jewish community and therefore place particular importance on addressing issues which traditionally exclude many Jews.

**EVENTS:** The next few months will be very exciting. We have a national convention in Los Angeles in July to which a number of local members will be going. It will not only inspire those who attend, but should provide a great deal of information that can be used here in the chapter. This month, we invite everyone to attend our June 6 program, "From Shards of Broken Dreams to Fragments of Hope." It will be an evening that deals with the tragedy of 20 years of Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, the initial hopes for co-existence of some early Zionist settlers and current dreams of peace shared by Israelis and Palestinians. Dramatic readings will be presented. It will be held at the Trueblood Theater in the Frieze Bldg. on the U-M campus, 105 S. State St., \$3.

The following list includes contacts for the different interest

groups of NJA. We hope you will call the relevant people if you share any of our interests.

**Committee and Interest Group Contacts:** Call these people if you are interested in knowing more about the work of NJA's committees and interest groups:  
Middle East—Benjy Ben-Baruch, 662-9217  
Central America—Judy Lipshutz, 995-5210  
Feminist—Laurie White, 665-7371  
Disarmament—Amy Rosenberg, 662-8760  
Economic and Social Justice (ad hoc)—Dan Steinmetz, 665-6735  
Fundraising—Ruth Kraut, 769-5680  
Newsletter—Rebecca Kanner, 994-5717. (1820)

**SENIOR CITIZENS****Housing Bureau for Seniors, Inc.**

1010 Wall St.  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
763-0970

The Housing Bureau for Seniors is a housing-referral and information agency serving senior citizens and their families who have senior housing-related questions. Primarily staffed by volunteer counselors, the Housing Bureau is open weekdays from 9 to 5 pm. You may make an appointment to speak with a housing counselor by calling the Bureau at 763-0970. Though donations are accepted, Bureau services are free.

**CURRENT NEWS:** The Housing Bureau for Seniors continues to be involved with housing issues in Washtenaw County. Housing stock (the number of available living units) is low in Ann Arbor; the

vacancy rate is about one to two per cent. This translates into high rental costs and relatively few vacancies. We are taking every opportunity to lobby for appropriate, affordable housing for all citizens of Washtenaw County by attending committee meetings, hearings, letting those with influence in the housing market know what we want, based upon hearing from you what you want.

In the meantime, we are trying to make our community aware of our Homeshare Program, which we feel has great potential. Homesharing is not a new idea, but a relevant one for our times. Homesharing is exchanging something you have for something you need. Homesharing is a "partnership" whereby two unrelated persons share a dwelling, each having their own space and sharing common areas. Homesharing can mean companionship, friendship, and a working relationship whereby each participant

shares in the daily chores associated with any living arrangement. Homesharing can provide the security of knowing that "someone is in the house at night" or that "someone else will be here on a regular basis to see that I am all right." Our agency facilitates introductions, checks references, and follows up on all of our Homeshare matches. Call us for further information.

The Housing Bureau for Seniors is affiliated with the University of Michigan Medical Center and Turner Geriatric Services. However, we must raise many of our own funds for operation, and to that end we are having our second annual Phon-a-Thon on May 31st. We are also planning our first annual Housing Fair, which will be held on August 14th. The Fair will feature input from concerned housing interests, including housing owners, product dealers, and service providers, whom we hope will present displays and products for examination. We will be telling you more about this as the summer progresses. Watch for information here, as well as our flyers, advertisements, and radio announcements. (2620)

**WOMEN'S ISSUES****Women's Crisis Center-WCC**

P.O. Box 7413  
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107  
CRISIS LINE : 994-9100  
Business line: 761-9475

**CURRENT NEWS:** We finished another peer counseling training in mid-May. Thank you to all the women who are volunteering on the phones now. It's great to have you all at WCC! Another training will be held in September, so if you missed this one give us a call. We also hired two women to work part-time as peer counselors; through an Ann Arbor city grant, WCC receives funding to hire two women to work twenty hours a week during the summer when many counselors are out of town. Thank you to all the women who applied for the positions and to the women who accepted the positions!

Also, thank you to all the women who volunteer at WCC in other ways. We couldn't keep helping women help themselves without you!

We at WCC believe that sexuality is a personal and a political issue in our society. Heterosexuality is enforced both formally and informally. Further, women's sexuality in particular is not treated as something which is ours to personally define. Advertisements, movies, and men on the street all reflect this society's attitude that our bodies do not belong to us. WCC invites everyone—women and men who define themselves as straight, bi-sexual, lesbian or gay—to gather in order to celebrate our sexualities on Sunday, June 28, Gay Pride Day. There will be a discussion led by two women from the UM Lesbian and Gay Male Programs Office from 1 to 3 pm. Bring a vegetarian dish or a beverage to share if you can. (If you can't, that's okay. This is a guilt-free potluck!) We're located at 306 N. Division in St. Andrew's Church. Use the Lawrence St. entrance. For further information, call 994-9100.

**PURPOSE:** The purpose of the Women's Crisis Center is to help women help themselves gain control and dignity in their lives by

providing non-judgemental support, education, information and resources.

WCC volunteers provide free peer counseling and crisis intervention for all women in the Washtenaw County area. We also organize education and support groups, workshops, and activities.

WCC is a non-profit, collectively run organization made up of community women concerned with the needs of all women. Our funding is primarily from private donations. We depend on community support to be able to continue providing the services we have been for the past 14 years. We strongly encourage all women who want to change society to get involved in active, empowering work with other women.

**COMMUNITY SERVICES**

**The Crisis Line:** 994-9100, operates every day, 10 am to 10 pm. Callers are guaranteed anonymity and can talk with a peer counselor who is there to provide non-judgemental support.

**Referrals:** WCC offers over 600 referrals to agencies and individuals in and around Washtenaw County. WCC also sells low-cost, do-it-yourself divorce kits. (2869)

**Rent Control**

(from page 4)

how the law is written."

Regardless of the details of the law, local landlords are likely to fight just as hard this

time around. "It would be a bloodletting of the first magnitude," says Jim Morris, former president of the Ann Arbor Apartment Association, the principal landlord organization in town. Morris, who supported the affordable housing millage which lost at

the polls in April, agrees that the poor are being gradually excluded from Ann Arbor. Yet he doesn't think rent stabilization is the answer. "I haven't seen a single case where it's worked," says Morris, adding that since 1974, "rent control has become less rather

than more of a solution because of all the failures." Morris claims that rent stabilization is fundamentally unjust, since all tenants are helped, whether or not they're in need, while all landlords and taxpayers foot

(more next page)

## RENT CONTROL (from page 4)

the bill. He points out that the student population is increasingly wealthy, and that rent stabilization could largely benefit students, producing "a basic shift of wealth from the have nots to the haves."

Larry Fox, staff member of the Housing Law Reform Project of the University of Michigan Student Legal Services, agrees that the student body has become very affluent in recent years. He sees high rents as partly to blame. "High

housing costs compound high tuition, so qualified students are going to Eastern Michigan, Wayne State, or Michigan State," says Fox. One way of having a more heterogeneous student population is to make it more affordable for poorer students to live here."

In any case, students would not be the principle beneficiaries of rent stabilization; Fox points out that only about one-fifth of the city's off-campus renters are students. There are still large numbers of working-class poor, senior citizens on fixed incomes, and working single parents who

rent in Ann Arbor and are finding it increasingly difficult to continue living here.

Rent stabilization proponents say that they hope to have a finished ordinance by September and welcome community input throughout the summer. A petition drive will be initiated in the fall, with a goal of placing the law on either the April or November ballot. Interested citizens should attend the next meeting Wednesday, June 17 (see CALENDAR) or call Larry Fox at 763-9920.

## HAYMARKET

(from page 9)

people to form armed militias without the permission of the State. Perforce, the heretofore legal and public workers militias were forced underground. The stage was set for violent confrontation.

On February 16, 1886, another strike at the Chicago McCormick Harvester plant was followed by a lockout, and the hiring of "scab," nonunion, employees.

A nationwide general strike began on May 1, 1886, to bring about the universal adoption of the eight hour work day. Hundreds of thousands of workers joined in. There were scattered incidents of violence throughout the country.

On May 3, one striker was killed and several wounded by police who fired on strikers at the McCormick plant. The anarchist organizer August Spies, mistakenly believing that six strikers had been killed, composed and distributed 10,000 copies of an inflammatory circular calling for a mass meeting on the next day, May 4. The notice, which was entitled, "Revenge! Workingmen! To Arms!," called for armed workers to gather at Chicago's Haymarket Square.

The next afternoon in the square a rally of 20,000 to 25,000 people was held to protest the shootings, and to

call for the adoption of the eight hour day and the rest of the anarchist program of worker's democracy. The mayor of Chicago, Carter Harrison, who attended the meeting, observed that it was peaceful. He informed the Chief of Police that no action against the demonstration was necessary, and went home as it began to rain. More than half of the demonstrators also left around the same time, as the rally was almost over and the weather was becoming inclement.

Soon after the Mayor had left the demonstration, a skirmish line of over 200 policemen formed up and ordered the meeting to disperse. By this time, about three quarters of the demonstrators had already departed.

The speakers, including August Spies and others, moved to comply with the police order, descending from the platform as the police formation advanced on the crowd.

Suddenly, a bomb was thrown into the middle of the approaching group of officers. More than 70 policemen were instantly killed or wounded. Police opened fire on the fleeing crowd, killing at least two and injuring hundreds of people. Estimates of the casualties among the demonstrators range as high as 600 people.

In the anti-anarchist hysteria which followed this incident, hundreds of anarchists were harrassed or tortured by vigilante mobs. Newspaper editorials called for the summary

deportation, or even immediate execution, of all anarchists.

Spies and six other anarchists were sentenced to death for murder despite the lack of any evidence whatsoever connecting the defendants to the bomb-thrower, whose identity has never been determined. One of the condemned men, Ligg, was found dead in his cell while awaiting execution. On November 11, 1887, Spies and three others were executed by hanging. The others were eventually pardoned. The men remained true to their beliefs to the end.

"Long live anarchy!" was Spies' last cry as the noose was tightened around his neck. For those who are interested in learning more about the anarchist movement and the Haymarket Square incident, I would like to recommend three books: *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, by Henry David; *The Haymarket Tragedy*, by Paul Avrich; and the first volume of Emma Goldman's remarkable autobiography, *Living My Life*.

As a final, personal note, I would like to solicit the comments of you readers. Since you got this far, you must have read most of the article. Please send Letters to the Editor at P.O. Box 3624, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Please send praise, commentary, reaction, and criticism about this and other editions of "Secret History." Long Live Anarchy!

Next month: "Nicola Tesla: The Man Who Invented Radio, Hydroelectric Power, and the Alternating Current."

## RACISM

(from page 17)

racist coalition is respecting the importance of Black and Third World leadership. Those of us who have and will continue to suffer the brunt of racist attacks must define the terms of the movement to combat it. Thirdly, we must overcome our fear of internal struggles. As Bernice Johnson Reagon once observed "all coalition work is difficult and painful work," and struggling with ourselves and one another to formulate principle positions and effective strategies is key.

In an effort to sustain the momentum we achieved in one anti-racist struggle on Michigan's campus this year and to

begin to build an anti-racist coalition UCAR (United Coalition Against Racism) is organizing a Freedom Summer School. We hope to build stronger ties with other progressive organizations, campus workers, and student activists in other parts of the country. We have already met with students from Northern Illinois University where a march against racist attacks drew more than 2,000 students last term. We have met with students on the west coast who told us about a march in April organized by several coalitions of students of color which brought out more than 6,000 in Sacramento, California. And we have kept in close touch with the activists at Columbia University, dozens of whom have been arrested in the most recent round of struggle over racist

assaults upon Black students and the racist eviction of Black and Latino families from Columbia owned buildings. The Freedom Summer School will be a series of in-depth discussions and debates about politics, tactics and strategy, not only for our local efforts but with the outlook of contributing to the rebirth of a national student movement. We will hopefully involve activists from other parts of the country in our dialogue as well. Obviously, the central focus of these discussion will be racism and anti-racism, but we understand the interconnectedness of various forms of oppression in our society and therefore want to probe those links as well. We invite the input and participation of all sectors of Ann Arbors progressive community.

## SHOCK (from page 9)

every corner. And, I noted with curiosity, they are mostly white males, young white males. Being one myself, I couldn't help wondering why these guys, whose combined race-gender-age group made them the most desirable job prospects, were hanging out on corners in the cold, silently asking for dimes and quarters.

I asked a couple of them how this came to be. One guy told a tale of alcoholism, and the other was incoherent. But being nearly broke myself, I told myself that those Financial District types were in a much better position to help these wretches. "I'm sorry, I can't help you," I told a couple of them. Fortunately, most of them merely beg with their signs and their hollow eyes, and don't demand a verbal reply.

### III

I thought back to India, where the poverty and the wretchedness is so mind-bogglingly widespread that it makes the plight of the homeless in the U.S. seem like a tea party. On occasion I would offer food to the beggars in Varanasi or Calcutta, and invariably they would refuse it. They wanted money. Things like that make it easy to take a jaundiced view toward beggars in any country.

The hundreds of millions of Indians who are starving and/or riddled with diseases like leprosy and polio made my mind reel. My friend Krista and I talked at length about how awful life must be for the beggars and the wretches too far gone to beg. It seemed clear that the Indian Government bore prime responsibility for their plight. The absence of child labor laws there (and statements by the Labor Minister to the effect that a Child Labor Law could not be implemented within 10 years) is one example of how Government keeps its people in misery. And we noted how few Indians helped out those who could not help themselves. The only beggars who seemed to do a good business were the ones working the temples.

So why give at all? In India, it seemed that a few Rupees would be a proverbial drop in the ocean—one meal for one out of 300 million Indians (by the Government's estimate) living below the poverty line. Why bother at all? A lot of them were truly better off dead. We were slowly running out of money ourselves, though we were fantastically rich by Indian standards. We couldn't be responsible for every god-damned Indian who couldn't take care of his or her self.

### IV

I bought some yogurt and walked back toward Powell and Market. There, the chess hustler had his pieces set up, waiting. He saw me from a distance, and gestured to me to come and play. He wanted to play a 10-minute game "for one" (dollar), but I knew that I'd be rusty and said I'd rather play without the clock.

We played two games. In the middle of the first game, I made a blunder and lost a knight and got nothing in return. He was a ruth-

less player, and the game was soon over after that. The second game was much closer, but his endgame was stronger than mine. Two bucks in his pocket. By now, it was almost dusk, and I was really cold. The rematch would have to wait for another day. He seemed cold too, and packed up to go like a guy who's just put in a full day's work. He told me that he was there every day, and he'd like to play me again. I said OK, see you later, and went off down the street. I didn't mourn the loss of the two dollars at all.

### V

That night, I went to a bar off Columbus called Spec's. It draws a nice crowd; upscale types who fancy themselves former beatniks. I was sitting at the bar, occasionally interjecting my opinions into an argument over a Conspiracy Theory behind William Casey's brain operation. A woman struck up a conversation with me, and quickly got down to the nitty-gritty. "So what are you doing tonight?" she asked, taking hold of my hand.

"Drinking at Spec's."

"No, I mean, you know, afterwards."

"I'll go home."

"Would you like to come over to my place and have some fun?"

She was witty and rather attractive, despite her thinly disguised desperation. But there were too many reasons not to take her up.

"No, I don't think I can. Not tonight, I'm sorry."

She paused for a moment.

"Listen, do you need money? I could help you out, you know."

"Oh no, no." Wow! Being paid for it by a rich, older woman—a teenage fantasy. But I was turning her down.

"I really couldn't do that. But you could buy me a beer, though."

"Why, sure." She looked perplexed, and kind of upset. I wondered if she said things like that to all the boys.

We talked a little bit more about nothing in particular. Then she said she had to go. She reached into her purse and pulled out two bills.

"Would you tell me how much money I have in my hand?"

"Fifteen dollars."

"Which is which?"

"This is a ten and this is a five."

She then handed me the five, and told me to "take care of" myself.

I thanked her, and she kissed me on the cheek and left. In my mind, I balanced the fiver and the beer against the two bucks that went to the chess hustler.

### VI

The next evening, I was waiting for a bus at the corner of Jones and Sutter—"Lower Nob Hill." These two white people came up to me. The woman looked very well off—she wore a nice longcoat and a natty beret. The man was respectably attired in the style of born-

again chic. Polyester slacks, Oxfords, button-down shirt with a button that read "JESUS will save you." He got right to the point.

"Pardon me, sir. We are Christians from Australia living entirely on the word of Jesus and the goodness of mankind." (Spoken with an American accent—not a trace of Australia.) "We were supposed to meet someone up on the next corner at 7 o'clock, but he didn't show up, and we need \$2 to get back to..." I tuned him out.

"No, I'm sorry, I don't have it." I had \$12 in my pocket. Later, I wished that I had said, "No, I won't give it to you." Having been turned down, they moved down the street to buttonhole a well-dressed couple, with not so much as a "Thank you, anyway" or a "Goodbye" to me.

I thought back to a time when I was in Santa Rosa, California at 2 am. I had to be there in the morning for a court date. I had taken the bus up from San Francisco after a night at a bar, but I had no more money in my pocket. The Crocker Bank ATM was closed until 6 am. I walked the streets for a while, but it was cold, and I longed for a dollar so I could go into Denny's for an endless cup of coffee and a warm place to sit until morning.

Outside the restaurant, I accosted an old man reeking of booze. He was trying to get his key into the door of his Buick. I explained my situation to him, and asked him for a dollar.

"Are you drunk?" he asked me.

"No sir, not at all." Almost the truth.

"Good. Here's a dollar."

I was very grateful, and thanked him. The next guy who asked me for spare change in San Francisco got a dollar. But that was it. Almost every one else, from the performers down to the most miserable mother with her babies out in the shopping cart, gets nothing but a cold shake of the head from me.

### VII

Benjamin Franklin once remarked, "So convenient a thing it is to be a reasonable creature, since it enables one to find or make a reason for everything one has a mind to do."

### VIII

Plainly, many Americans are in dire need of assistance. Plainly, the Government "should" do something for them, but it doesn't. Plainly, our moral upbringing chides us for not doing what we can to help out strangers in need. But of course, one would go broke very quickly handing out a dollar to every beggar on the street. Even in a nation such as ours with its relative paucity of paupers compared to the legions of the Third World.

Dominique LaPierre asserts that giving to beggars encourages poverty. He may be right, but it isn't enough to remain smugly content with such truisms as you whisk by tired, beaten men who meekly request your change with their cardboard signs. I believe that those who do not reach out to the damned are equally damnable. But I am at a complete loss as to how to truly help those who need it.

