

AGENDA

ANN ARBOR'S ALTERNATIVE NEWSMONTHLY

Greenpeace Establishes Great Lakes Beachhead^o

by Pat Staiger and Jeff Gearhart

DETROIT—Greenpeace, the international environmental group which is known for its direct action campaigns to save whales, stop nuclear testing, and preserve Antarctica, is currently touring the Great Lakes in its floating laboratory, the Beluga. During its tour, Greenpeace will analyze samples of waste discharged into the Lakes. The group hopes the Beluga's voyage will highlight the unique, ecological importance of the Great Lakes and the need to restore and protect them.

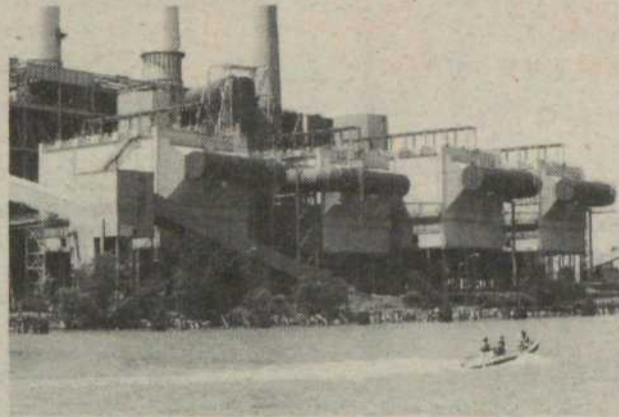
The Great Lakes, the world's largest source of freshwater (they supply drinking water to 24 million people), is also the center of North American industrialism. According to Greenpeace, the Great Lakes Basin is home to a long list of environmental threats, including: 49 nuclear reactors (13% of the world's total); 50% of Canada's and 20% of the U.S.'s industrial activity; 25,000 leaking landfills; 1,300 to 1,400 sewage treatment plants; one half of North America's 150 steel plants; one half of North America's pulp and paper mills, and the world's largest garbage incinerator. The Detroit incinerator, which is almost completed, will lack important pollution control devices while producing huge quantities of toxic ash.

On June 16, two members of Greenpeace climbed the side of Detroit's Renaissance Center. They hung a banner which read "Stop Detroit Incinerator." On June 17, an AGENDA reporter and photographer, along with other media representatives, boarded the Beluga. Reporters watched Greenpeace taking samples of the Rouge River and and listened to Greenpeace members discuss their untraditional protest tactics.



Aboard the Beluga

PHOTOS BY JEFF GEARHART



"...you go where the problem is and you put your body on the line. You use your body as a focal point, as a paint brush—whether it's on a picket line or a smoke stack."

—Jeff Howard, Greenpeace researcher

GREENPEACE TACTICS

After Greenpeace members scaled the outside of the Renaissance Center in protest of Detroit's trash incinerator, Detroit's Channel 2 (CBS) News ran a commentary on the incident. Greenpeace should "grow up," it said. If Greenpeace wanted to bring public attention to problems, the commentator continued, it should "protest the old fashioned way."

Bewildered by this statement, Ralf Franklin, a member of Detroit's Evergreen Alliance which has organized to fight the incinerator, remembered the labor organizing violence of the thirties and joked that maybe what the commentator meant by "the old fashioned way" was shooting people. It is apparent that Greenpeace's showy style of protest doesn't always receive applause. So why do it?

Jeff Howard, 29, a researcher with Greenpeace's Great Lakes campaign, outlined two reasons for the group's "shock tactics," which along with climbing Detroit's tallest building include: interfering with whalers in high speed inflatable boats, scaling smokestacks and plugging chemical discharge pipes.

One reason is to convey information. Howard criticized the media and the city for not providing information about the hazards of incineration. "The media considers the incinerator a dead issue

(and) it's as though the whole city mechanism is asleep." Howard added, "There is toxic pollution all over the Great Lakes that companies and the public are ignoring. Toxic pollution has become business as usual."

Another reason why drastic action is needed, said Howard, is that "... every form of protest has been exhausted. We've tried court cases, letters, twisting arms, making speeches ... but the city authorities have not acknowledged that this (the incinerator) is going to kill people."

Howard said Greenpeace bases their tactics on "... a Quaker form of bearing witness, a philosophy which says 'if you see a wrong taking place, you become responsible for addressing it' ... which I think is essential in our society today. Everyone turns their head, but instead everyone has to make themselves responsible."

Greenpeace describes their form of protest as non-violent direct action. Howard said "first you analyze the psychology of a toxic pollution situation. Then you determine where there is a chink in the armor, and you drive a wedge into it." Howard said the idea is to focus on a tangible manifestation of the problem (e.g. a discharge pipe), instead of an abstraction, so the problem becomes more "real" and thus harder to ignore.

Howard said civil disobedience is a larger term which encompasses non-violent direct action, and that in most cases the two are synonymous. "In both cases you go where the problem is and you put your body on the line. You use your body as a focal point, as a paint brush ... whether it's on a picket line or a smoke stack."

Channel 2 News may condemn Greenpeace's tactics for focusing public attention on problems, but one wonders if Channel 2 would have run a story if Greenpeace had handed another petition to Mayor Coleman Young, or had asked to meet with him again and had been denied, again.



The White Poppy and the Evil Empire

by Jane Appel

"Rain ruins opium crop"? Have you ever seen a harvest report on opium in your daily newspaper? I hadn't, before December 10, 1979. And within weeks, the Soviet Union marched troops into Afghanistan, blaming U.S. and Chinese imperialists for promoting an insurgency there. Richard Hughes began to ring like a prophet in my ear. [see "Rain Ruins..."] What's this "55,000 tons of heroin" nonsense? A thousand years' supply, at current consumption rates! Was that just a misprint, or a wild exaggeration meant to sound the alarm, warning us of a war to come and hell to pay in them thar hills?

What will happen to the opium supply, I naively wondered, now the Russians have invaded Afghanistan? Peter Norman's article (among others) answered that one. [see "Heroin Pouring into..."] Opium and war seem to go to-

"Rain Ruins Golden Triangle's Opium Crop"

"...Torrential rain in the poppy-growing "Golden Triangle" which straddles Thailand, Burma and Laos, has destroyed this year's expected bumper crop of opium and heroin.

...The drop in production means that Pakistan and Afghanistan, which now grow sufficient opium to produce more than 55,000 tons of heroin annually, will continue to monopolize the illicit supply of drugs channelled through Iran and Turkey to West Europe and Britain.

Officials of the Anti-Narcotics Bureau in Hongkong also predict that the Pakistan-Afghanistan region will supply the United States with most of its heroin next year, after a cutback in supplies smuggled in from Mexico."

(London Times, Richard Hughes, Hongkong 12/10/79)

gether like the horse and carriage in Asia. From Peshawar, Pakistan, along the Afghan border several large heroin seizures were reported in The

"Heroin Pouring into Europe from Asia, Says U.S. Expert"

"Western Europe is being 'swamped' with heroin from Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan, according to Mrs. Mathea Falco, the U.S. Secretary of State for International Narcotics Affairs.

Mrs. Falco, who is in Paris for the two-day meeting of ministers of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), told a press conference today that about 1,500 tons of opium—enough to manufacture 150 tons of heroin—is now coming out of Southwest Asia each year. This figure compares with only 350 to 400 tons of opium a year from the traditional producer countries of Burma, Thailand and Laos in the Golden Triangle of Southeast Asia."

(London Times, Peter Norman, Paris, 6/5/80)

New York Times over the next couple years (also the interesting fact that marijuana became Lebanon's biggest cash crop after civil war broke

out there in the 1970s).

Next I wondered, what does it take to grow 1500 tons of opium (which seemed to be the accurate harvest figure everyone was agreed on)? Opium is extracted from white poppies: after the flowers bloom and petals drop off, you're left with an unripe seed pod somewhat larger than a rose hip. With a sharp knife or razor, you make some superficial slits in the green pod, then let the sap ooze overnight, and scrape it off with a spoon. More sap oozes, so you scrape again the next day, and the next. How much could you scrape together over a three-week harvest period, say? Speaking for my lazy self, five pounds sounds like a hard day's work, so maybe a hundred pounds for the whole harvest? Then we'd only need 30,000 people to harvest 1500 tons: a good-size army by Afghan/Kurdish standards. And the pay-

(see The White Poppy, page 10)



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Dear AGENDA,

Steve Ghannam's profile on the PLO in your June issue is so full of distortions and patent falsehoods, that it hardly deserves comment. Your readers deserve the facts. Ghannam refers to the Palestine National Covenant's vision of a democratic secular polity in Palestine which rejects both Arab and Jewish nationalism, which (he says) would allow two communities (one Arab Palestinian and one Israeli Jewish) to exist in the same land on the basis of full equality. The reality is somewhat different.

First, the Covenant does not recognize the term "Israeli" whatsoever. Secondly, it would permit only those Jews who arrived before 1948 to remain, effectively displacing (among others) their progeny and the 800,000 or so Jewish refugees who were forced, following Israeli statehood, to leave the Middle Eastern lands governed by the "politically backward" Arab regimes he refers to. Israel, he knows well, absorbed those Jews and integrated them into Israeli society, along with those displaced by the Holocaust, those immigrating from the Soviet Union and from other lands where Jews had no political rights as a community and were often physically at risk.

No Arab world collectively take responsibilities for those Palestinian Arabs displaced by the events of 1948 (whether displaced by war or their own choices to leave until their Arab brethren "drove the Jews into the sea," as they often promised). Instead, they forced Palestinian Arabs to live in squalor as refugees and displaced persons. Using them as political pawns, they no more accepted the possibility of a more permanent population exchange (the numbers of Jews leaving Arab lands roughly equalling the Palestinians who left Israel), than they accepted the reality of Israel.

The dream of a secular, democratic bi-national state in which all would live in harmony may be appealing to many. But it is a dream, only, and not one that is held by many of the factions that make up the PLO. Ghannam knows that there is no other democratic state in the Arab world. We all know what has happened to Lebanon, in what had once been a bi-national state. And Americans are fully aware that, regardless of claims to being the "sole, legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people, the PLO is an organization that is rife with conflict,

one in which its various factions regularly kill and maim each other.

The PLO is also an organization that sponsors and conducts terrorism. Terrorist acts are conducted not only in Israel on Israelis (generally children in school, tourists at an airport, or local residents in a bus, rarely military targets), but also on civilian targets outside of Israel. The editor of AGENDA may wish to "provide some balance to the treatment the Palestinians receive from the mainstream U.S. media" by printing Ghannam's distortions. But when the news reports on the hijacking of cruise ships and airliners, or on the murder of their passengers (often Americans), the distorters are Palestinians themselves.

The pity is that the vast majority of Palestinians continue to be victims, victims of a "politically backward" leadership and of their own delusions. Having lived and worked among them, I think they deserve a better deal. So do the Israelis.

Armand Lauffer
Professor of Social Work, U-M

Ghannam Responds

Myles Striar, in his response (AGENDA, 6/88) to my 5/88 AGENDA article on the Israeli-South African-Central American solidarity movement alliance, did not address the issues which I had presented. Mr. Striar, instead, sought to justify the occupation, dismiss its destructive implications for the indigenous Palestinian population, and misrepresent the nature of Israel's foreign and domestic policies.

In my article, I briefly outlined the extensive economic and military alliance Israel enjoys with repressive regimes in South Africa & Central America. (I could have easily included regimes in the rest of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.) Israel's fraternity with repressive regimes is directly related to its comprehensive and historic alliance with imperialism, and not to its paranoid feeling of insecurity.

Striar's contention that Palestinians are not subjected to complete political, social, economic and cultural oppression can be answered by the voice of the Palestinian Uprising, now in its seventh month. Every policy enacted by the Israeli occupiers is intended to both subjugate and expel the Palestinian population. Any gains won by the Palestinians are fragile, temporary, and subordinate to Israel's objectives in the region.

The purpose of my article was to provide information about Israeli's role in aiding repressive regimes, while provoking action to protest the massive U.S. aid to Israel. The proposed alliance between the Palestinian, Central American, and Anti-Apartheid Solidarity Movements may seem "unsound politically" to the uninformed. Progressive attitudes must be comprehensive and consistent, and not isolated to Central America and South Africa. Criticism of repressive governments certainly does not end when Israel is judged.

NEWS BRIEFS

House Votes to Ban Rent Control

The Michigan House of Representatives passed SB 583 on June 15, prohibiting rent control ordinances in local communities. The bill was rammed through the Senate several months ago when the Apartment Association of Michigan (landlords) began their attempt to pre-empt rent control initiatives in Ann Arbor and Detroit. With a \$75,000 check from the landlords, a Lansing lobbying firm successfully pressured Democrats and Republicans alike to vote for the measure in the House, where it passed 74-25.

The Detroit Organization of Tenants, which for the past several months has been conducting a rent control campaign for the city elections on August 2nd, protested Governor Blanchard's signing of the bill at his Detroit office on June 22 and 23. The Tenants Organization plans to challenge the bill.

State of Michigan Divests

On June 22, the Michigan state legislature voted 97-4 to divest all interests held in U.S. firms participating in a broad range of business activities in South Africa. The legislation affects all major state pension systems.

Unlike most other state and local divestment measures, the Michigan plan specifically includes most indirect business activities, such as licensing and managing agreements, and franchises. The legislation sets out a five year timetable for divestiture, which may be extended for one year in the event of severe market instability, as happened in October, 1987.

The legislation, which passed soon after a three-day national strike by Black South African workers against the white regime, is aimed at discouraging the South African government's policy of apartheid.

Veteran Peace Convoy Halted

On June 7, the Veterans Peace Convoy was denied permission to exit the country at Laredo, Texas, on the Mexican border. The 40-truck convoy was en route to Nicaragua where it was to deliver over 30 tons of food, medical supplies and school supplies to the Nicaraguan people. U.S. Customs officials claimed to have blocked the trucks on the grounds that the trucks themselves do not constitute "humanitarian aid" under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act. The Veterans planned

(see News Briefs, page 11)

Guatemala: "Total war at the grassroots level"

by Jim Burchfield

Unlike El Salvador (or Nicaragua before the Sandanista revolution), the Guatemalan military is not the subservient defender of the oligarchy. It views itself as a full partner in Guatemala's development; it has major business interests including a bank and a television station ...

Almost entirely ignored by the mainstream press, Guatemala continues to suffer the effects of a prolonged counterinsurgency war. Since the U.S. backed military coup in 1954, life for the people of Guatemala has become a seemingly endless tragedy. Hopes and desires are crushed by an unjust social structure and a military apparatus of barbaric proportions.

The counterinsurgency approach, developed by the U.S. government in the aftermath of the Vietnam War and employed by the Guatemalan army, concentrates not on the traditional military objectives of battling armies and holding territory, but seeks to control civilian populations through a combination of military, economic, ideological, and psychological pressure. Central to this type of warfare is the pacification of the population (the "hearts and minds" approach). This includes the simplification of issues to an East/West geopolitical struggle, the creation of a climate of terror through paramilitary forces, the integration of economic development programs, large-scale intelligence gathering, an emphasis on local military forces (instead of U.S. forces), and most importantly, a commitment to long term involvement.

Since the counterinsurgency approach appears to be less destructive than conventional warfare or nuclear exchanges, the strategy is also called "low intensity conflict." The outward zones of this strategy in Guatemala are the military zones of control with their strategic hamlets, mandatory civilian patrols, and re-education camps. It was perhaps more accurately described by one of its leading theoreticians, Colonel John Waghelstein, as "total war at the grassroots level."

Guatemala's military plays a fundamentally different role in society than the other armies in Central America. Unlike El Salvador (or Nicaragua before the Sandinista revolution), the Guatemalan military is not the subservient defender of

the oligarchy. It views itself as a full partner in Guatemala's development, it has major business interests including a bank and a television station, and it identifies itself as the trustee of Guatemalan nationalism—an almost Messianic responsibility to keep total control of social institutions in the hands of the elite and the officer corps (it is important to distinguish between the officers and enlisted soldiers, often from poor backgrounds, who simply carry out orders). With these powerful vested interests in mind, it has waged a war on its own people so brutal that for the period from 1978 through the early 1980's, approximately 100,000 Guatemalans have been killed and over one million citizens displaced.

The scale of this holocaust made Guatemala somewhat of an international pariah. Its economy began to suffer from the damage of the war, foreign assistance was reduced, and its tourist industry nearly collapsed. Recognizing the damage caused by this isolation, the senior military command promoted elections in 1985 which were won by Vinicio Cerezo. The appearance of democracy was intended to lend Guatemala international credibility and shift attention from the atrocities committed by the military. With predictable rapidity, financial assistance began flowing into Guatemala (\$150 million in 1987 in direct U.S. aid alone), and international attention focused on the ability of the Cerezo government to "turn the country around." Even though Cerezo may have promoted a series of political openings unheard of even five years ago, he has not achieved substantive change. Indeed, he has most clearly stated what he would not do—prosecute the guilty for past atrocities, investigate disappearances, or initiate land reform. He has merely put a democratic face on a country where the structure of power has been solidly established for 40 years. In doing so he has paved the way for the recent counterinsurgency strategy.

The major challenge faced by the army today is keeping the population under control while not letting the war expand to the extent that it disrupts useful economic gains. The failed coup attempt in mid May by junior officers in the Guatemalan military underscores the continuing tension within the counterinsurgency government. The military command cannot agree on how to appear democratic while continuing a difficult and protracted war against a seasoned insurgency. The younger, more militant junior officers who direct the war in the field are frustrated with the lack of success against guerrilla forces. They have allied with the more conservative elements of the business sector who greatly fear the expansion of popular organizations of peasants and unionists. Fearing that the political openings promoted by Cerezo and senior officers may dangerously loosen the military's hold on society, the junior officers led two battalions to the capital in an attempt to rally other troops to their cause. When key units in the capital failed to respond, the coup attempt was aborted and the troops returned to their posts in the field.

So the violence continues. It occurs in both massive brutal spasms and creeping selective disappearances. The costs in human terms have been enormous. At long last, after the terrible period in late 1982 where over 15,000 people were massacred, international human rights organizations have begun to focus significant attention on Guatemala. Additionally, the Group of Mutual Support (GAM) has been formed by relatives of the disappeared in Guatemala and demands that the disappeared be returned. Although they have not met with success, they represent an important challenge to the government for its acquiescence to the military.

Guatemala has not gone unnoticed by all U.S. citizens. In five recent workshops (sponsored by NISGUA, the National Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala) a belief emerged that the Arias Peace Plan has created opportunities to bring the situation under greater international scrutiny. The application of the Arias Peace Plan would be a remarkable step for Guatemala since it would allow for negotiations between the conflicting parties and an examination of the causes of the crisis. The military rejects this prospect, and has stated that the Peace Plan does not apply to them. It is up to citizens in the U.S. and throughout the world to expose the brutal practices of the Guatemalan military, to pressure foreign governments to cut off aid to the feigned "democratic" regime, and to push for solutions to the crisis in Guatemala.



**RANSBY
ON
RACISM**

Sixties Activists Reunite

by Barbara Ransby

On April 14-16 more than 50 former civil rights activists, members of the radical Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), met at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut to reminisce and share experiences and insights with a small group of 1980's activists. An Ann Arbor contingent of seven members of the United Coalition Against Racism (UCAR), including myself, were among the participants.

En route to the conference we were all very anxious to meet face to face with some of the legendary figures we had read about. These were the courageous young people who had braved racist lynch mobs, been beaten by Southern police, and been jailed for their efforts, (e.g. lunch counter sit-ins, voter registration drives, and freedom rides to desegregate public transportation), to combat Jim Crow segregation and Black disenfranchisement. In anticipation of meeting these personalities 20 years later, we recalled Diane Nash's resolute commitment to SNCC's Jail No Bail Campaign—expressing her willingness to serve a jail term for her political activity despite the fact that she was eight months pregnant at the time. We recalled Cleaveland Sellers who served nearly a year in federal prison for refusing to register for the draft in opposition to the Vietnam War. We recalled SNCC organizer Prathia Hall being shot at during a voter registration drive in rural Mississippi. And we wondered what these individuals would be like today.

Many are still involved in civil rights work. Nash is a community activist in Chicago, Sellers is organizing the homeless in North Carolina, and Hall is a minister and activist. They are a far cry from the cynical media images of 60's radicals-turned-Wall Street executives.

Founded in the spring of 1960, SNCC was an outgrowth of the desegregation sit-in movement and represented an important shift in the tone and focus of the civil rights movement. These young people, mostly Black, influenced by the brilliant political strategist Ella Baker, founded an independent youth organization to fight racism. Their organization was based on the principles of egalitarian, group-centered leadership, and recognized the importance of local, grassroots struggles. UCAR's own structure and philosophy has been inspired in large part by Baker, for whom UCAR's new Nelson Mandela/Ella Baker Center for Anti-Racist Education is named.

Some of the lessons we took away from the conference involved the reality of personal transformation through political struggle. Many stories recounted throughout the weekend suggested that virtually all SNCC organizers had been permanently changed by their experience in the movement. That experience had influenced their career choices, relationships, political involvements, and personal values.

Another impression we left with was that despite their shining moments in history, their admirable accomplishments, and their extraordinary deeds, these people were ordinary people—flesh and blood, with imperfections like all the rest of us. While it was somewhat disappointing to have our political heroes and heroines dethroned, the realization of their weaknesses and limitations was at the same time empowering. We realized that the histori-

(see SNCC, page 11)

AGENDA Endorses Baker for Congress, Francis for Circuit Court

AGENDA is not in the habit of making endorsements for political offices. It's not that we're against it on principle. The truth is that we rarely feel that we know enough about a candidate to warrant giving our whole-hearted support. In the upcoming August 2 primary, we are pleased to know two candidates well enough to suggest that you vote for them.

First, AGENDA endorses Dean Baker's bid to capture the Democratic nomination for U.S. Congress. Baker's strong showing against five-term incumbent Carl Pursell in 1986 was no accident. Baker—his organization and his message—weakened Carl Pursell's grip on the 2nd district. Now there is a good chance that Pursell can be unseated. The same issues that made him vulnerable in 1986 may precipitate his defeat in 1988.

Baker, a Johnny-come-lately anti-establishment candidate in 1986, won the Democratic primary from "shoo-in" candidate Donald Grimes because Baker's message reflected common sense and progressive values. It was the triumph of a political activist over a politician, a grassroots leader over a Democratic Party insider.

Baker again faces tough odds in the 1988 primary. His campaign is financially dwarfed by that of his opponent, State Senator Lana Pollack. However, it has been demonstrated before that big money does not necessarily translate into widespread popular support.

Baker is a tireless activist, willing to swim against the current for causes he believes in. A champion of grassroots democracy and empowerment, Baker deserves your support.

Second, AGENDA endorses Nancy Francis for Judge of Washtenaw County Circuit Court. Francis has practiced law in Michigan for over 13 years. She has served as staff attorney and director of Model Cities Legal Services, Inc., an agency serving low and moderate income people.

Francis and her family have a long history of social activism. She is the daughter of Albert H. Wheeler, Ann Arbor's first and only Black mayor, and Emma M. Wheeler, a long-time community activist.

Francis, a member of the National Lawyers Guild, the Women Lawyers Association and the American Civil Liberties Union, has over the years demonstrated an unwavering commitment to progressive social change. By representing low income people and political activists (e.g. the 118 individuals who in March, 1986, were arrested for trespassing at the offices of Congressperson Carl Pursell in protest of his votes for contra aid), Francis uses her legal skills to promote justice, not merely to earn a living.

If elected, Francis would become the first woman and the first Black Circuit Court Judge. Francis is competent, committed, and courageous. Vote for Baker and Francis on August 2.

AGENDA

Ann Arbor's Alternative Newsmonthly

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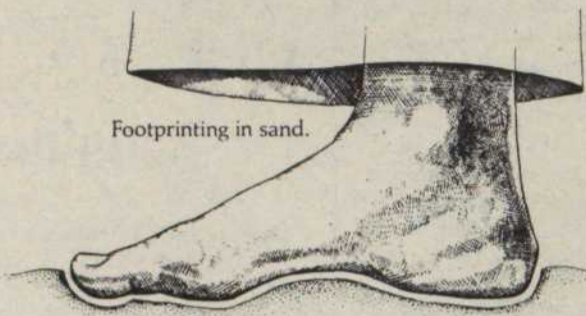
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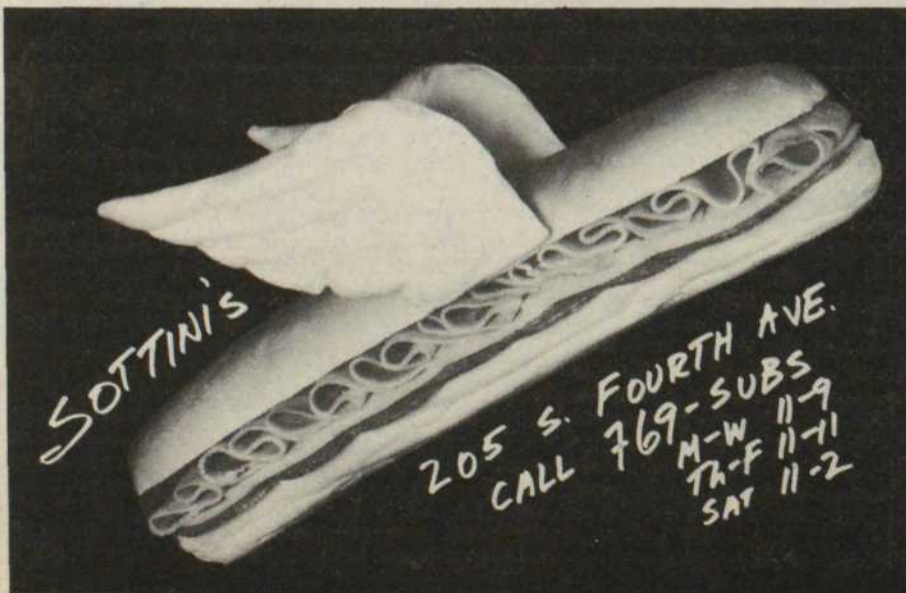
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Baker Looking to Upset Pollack

EDITOR'S NOTE: Early in May, Second District Democratic Congressional candidates, Lana Pollack and Dean Baker, were invited to debate each other in the form of a written interview for the July issue of AGENDA. The original format called for each candidate to pose three questions and then to answer all six. When Pollack refused to participate, AGENDA re-designed the format and asked Baker three questions we thought voters had on their minds.

The winner of the August 2 primary will face incumbent Republican Carl Pursell in the November general election.



BAKER

AGENDA: Given that your opponent in the Democratic primary, Lana Pollack, has a huge campaign war chest, a liberal reputation, name recognition, and years of legislative experience, why are you pursuing the Congressional seat?

BAKER: We can offer the hope of empowering the vast majority of the electorate who have seen their votes become almost meaningless alongside the dollars given by wealthy contributors. It is difficult to see why we should be deterred in our efforts simply because a local politician running for the same seat has solicited several hundred thousand dollars from wealthy contributors, her "liberal" reputation notwithstanding. Politics has come to be so dominated by conventional big money campaigns, that if we win the Congressional seat, it will shake up the political structure throughout the country (as did Jackson's victory in the caucuses). We cannot let the electoral arena be permanently ceded to those who represent the interests of rich

Progressives in this district have worked hard over the last several years to build opposition to Reagan's right-wing policies. One of the ways in which this movement demonstrated its strength has been its efforts to target Carl Pursell and his pro-Reagan voting record. As a result of our petitioning, protesting, and 1986 Congressional campaign, we have succeeded in making Pursell's seat one of the most seriously contested in the country. It would be a significant victory for the progressive movement if we actually remove him from office.

In addition to attacking big money politics, our campaign also offers the hope of changing the national agenda in a number of areas. We are not afraid to raise the issue of cutting aid to Israel to force it to respect Palestinian rights, or the issues of widespread human rights violations committed by the Duarte and Aquino governments in El Salvador and the Philippines respectively. Domestically, we seem to be the only folks in sight (apart from Jackson) willing to discuss taking back Reagan's massive tax breaks for the rich and large corporations, which certainly calls into question Pollack's liberal reputation. Those of us working in the campaign have years of experience fighting for progressive causes. We understand the nature of the obstacles to progressive change in government, the media, and the Democratic party. These are formidable obstacles, but we stand a better chance than someone who doesn't even have this as their agenda.

The differences between our campaigns can be seen from what took place on the day of the Democratic Presidential caucus last March. Most of us were working with the Jackson campaign, where we registered over 1000 voters en route to victory. Meanwhile Mary Reilly, Lana Pollack's fundraiser, was running a caucus site doing everything in her power to keep people from registering voters (registering voters is a legal practice during caucuses). Reilly even threatened to have a deputy registrar arrested at one point. Our campaign is about giving people a voice, not silencing them.

As a final point, Pollack's refusal to debate bears a disturbing resemblance to Pursell's refusal to hold a public meeting to discuss his votes on Central

America. With Pollack moving down this same path before she is even elected, it is difficult to see how she can present a credible alternative.

AGENDA: If elected to Congress, what would be your top domestic priority? What would be your top foreign policy priority?

BAKER: Clearly the top domestic priority must be the reversal of the priorities of the Reagan Administration. It is essential that funding be restored to areas of social spending such as housing, education, child care, and health care which have seen enormous cuts in the Reagan years. Since the deficit is already over 150 billion dollars, funding increases in these areas will be possible only with large cuts in the military budget (approximately \$70 billion) and with restoration of tax rates for the very rich and large corporations to their pre-Reagan levels. This would allow us to bring the deficit into line and have the funds needed for improved social services. It is unfortunate that most politicians who advocate increased funding for social services don't have any idea of how to pay for them.

I would like to see the United States re-orient the general outlines of its foreign policy towards one that respects the right of other nations to self-determination. Obviously one place where such a re-orientation would have an immediate impact in Central America. If the U.S. is still giving aid to the contras I would work hard to cut it off, as I would with aid to the repressive governments in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala.

In Southern Africa, the United States should stop providing aid to the South African proxy force UNITA, which has destabilized the Angolan government. At the same time it should stop blocking U.N. efforts to end South Africa's occupation of Namibia. It also must get serious about opposing Apartheid in South Africa. Since South Africa has stepped up its worldwide campaign of terror again against opponents of Apartheid as well as cracking down further on the domestic opposition, the U.S. should impose a complete trade embargo on South Africa.

The U.S. government is currently providing over three billion dollars per year to Israel to finance such activities as burying Palestinian teenagers alive and beating them with heavy rocks. We cannot just sit by as it employs massive repression against the Palestinian population. U.S. aid should be cut back until Israel respects Palestinian rights.

AGENDA: In the 1986 Congressional race, incumbent Carl Pursell won 79,567 votes to your 55,204 votes, roughly a 59% to 41% margin. In light of those results, how would you beat Pursell in the November, 1988 election?

BAKER: The 1986 race, in which we captured 41% of the vote, was an incredible improvement over the 1984 race, when the Democratic candidate received only 30% of the vote. Since it is generally believed to be almost impossible for a candidate to win on his/her first run for Congress, our performance was quite impressive and has brought nationwide attention to the district. There are several

(see BAKER, next page)

Gay and Out

by Rob Boblett

I am a Gay man in my late thirties. I have been out, openly Gay, for twenty-one years and I want to talk a little about what my life and that of my friends is really like. One thing that I want to make clear, though, is that I am speaking as a Gay man, and I am going to talk about the Gay male community. The Lesbian experience is so different from mine that I would not presume to speak about it.

The stereotype of the Gay male is of a white, sexually predatory, neurotic, rich or upper middle class man. Another aspect of this stereotype is that we are not seen as all that oppressed even by ourselves. A result of this perception is that when we do run into discrimination or harassment it tends to be seen both by ourselves and by others as a minor problem that is personal rather than political.

Certainly this has been my experience. I have been beaten up twice. The first beating was by drunken college students, the second by sober "Christian" missionaries. Neither time were the Gay people with me even minimally helpful. Afterwards the attitude of my friends as well as the police was that it was my own fault. Being openly Gay is still seen as a crime even by Gay people.

I have been verbally harassed and threatened more often than I can count. Sometimes this has consisted of boring, offensive jokes. Sometimes it has been serious threats of violence. Until a few months ago I would have said that these incidents and the beatings had very little long term effect. I was wrong.

In January I was threatened in connection with my union activities. I was approached fairly late at night on the street and told that I "should" stop my union activities. When I asked if this was a threat, I was assured that it was. I had been expecting some kind of effort to shut me up and did not really think that these two people were going to harm me. But I was surprised at how fearful and angry I became. Even today it is scary for me to go someplace where I might encounter one of the people involved. Fear like this gets into your blood and doesn't go away. If society tells you that it is your own fault, the fear is worse.

The following is a list that I began keeping several years ago. All of these men are Gay or Bisexual men whom I know, or who are close to close friends.

Marc, dead, effects of long term drug abuse. Michael, suicide after losing his job due to political activity. Bill, murdered. Jimmy, dead, drug overdose. Dave, murdered. Chuck, suicide. Tom, suicide. Willy, dying from long term effects of drug abuse. Rick, dying of A.I.D.S. Allen, crippled after suicide attempt, now a drug addict. Bob, partially disabled after an attempt on his life. Dave, Tom, and Dan's little brother, raped. Jim, robbed and beaten. Harry, beaten. Mike, John, Eric, Charles

and many many others, alcoholic or addicted to other drugs. Tom, Charles and Allen, hospitalized repeatedly for depression. Bruce and Don, scared that they have been exposed to the A.I.D.S. virus. Roger, ruined financially due to long term drug abuse.

An interesting pattern emerges as I study this list. Very few of my friends have been affected by A.I.D.S. (This would be different if I lived in a big city, but I am talking about my life.) A much larger group has been seriously affected by violence. Murder, rape, robberies and beatings seem to affect us much more than the general population. But by far the largest category of problem is that of self-destructive behavior. Alcoholism or other substance abuse, depression and suicide are the problems that really devastate the people I know.

Does this mean that Gay men are more neurotic than straight men? Does this mean that there is something intrinsically sick about homosexuals? No, I don't think so.

In some job discrimination cases, the absence of certain groups in certain jobs is used as evidence of a pattern of discrimination. If there are no women managers at a particular company, discrimination can be assumed. If there are no Blacks, or only a few above a certain level in that company, again, discrimination can be assumed.

I think that the same kind of assumption can be made about the over-representation of Gay men in certain categories. I can see the footprints of oppression in the high rates of suicide, drug addiction and alcoholism in my Gay friends.

But wait. I hear the howls of protest already. Aren't there Gay men who live sober, happy, ordinary lives? Of course there are. I know many of them. But what I am saying is that I know more Gay people than I should who have had these problems. Besides, doesn't it tell us something that the highest aspiration of our community is to have a stable ordinary life? If this wasn't such a rare achievement, such a difficult task, we wouldn't prize it so highly.

There are many problems that Gay men need to work on. We need to try to change the laws that still allow us to be discriminated against. We need to work on the problems of how we relate to the struggles of other minorities, women, people of color and handicappers to name a few. We need to continue the very fine work that so many people have done around the A.I.D.S. crisis. But I want to suggest that there are two areas in which we need to do much more work. We need to make a much greater effort to deal with the social isolation and displacement that are the roots of our problems with drugs and depression. I think we also need to create a network to deal with male victims of rape and violence. If, as Gay men, we were to take a lead in this, we might lay the cornerstone for a real men's movement.

BAKER (from page 4)

advantages we have going for us this year over 1986.

First, having run once before in the district, we have gained a great deal of knowledge about the district. We know where we can expect to make significant inroads, and we have people in every corner of the district who are prepared to help us. We didn't have this sort of network when we began the 1986 campaign, rather it was built up in the course of the campaign.

Second, we have established ourselves to some extent around the district. People have come to know and trust us. Again this is something that was accomplished in the course of the last campaign. After winning the primary we first had to deal with rumors that it was a LaRouchie campaign and other such nonsense; we won't have the same sort of problems this time.

Third, we've learned a great deal about what to expect from the media, the Democratic Party, and Carl Pursell. In 1986 we underestimated the media's ability to distort the campaign, the venality of hostile Democratic party leaders (who were opposed to a

Democratic campaign which challenged even the Democratic Party), and Pursell's lack of integrity. For example, it actually surprised us that Pursell would engage in crude red-baiting tactics reminiscent of Joe McCarthy (and that supposedly respectable newspapers like the Ann Arbor News and the Detroit Free Press did not comment on it).

Fourth, the results in 1986 were somewhat skewed by the turnout, which saw a disproportionate number of Republican voters in a year with a very low overall turnout. With this being a presidential year, the number of people voting should be up considerably, and Democrats who stayed home in 1986 are likely to come out this year.

Finally, we will have gained a great deal from the opportunity to defeat Lana Pollack in the primary. The media has done everything possible to downplay our electoral successes thus far. When we defeat Lana Pollack it will no longer be possible for them to deny the seriousness of our campaign. This will give us enormous momentum going into the fall and will undoubtedly assure the campaign significant national attention.

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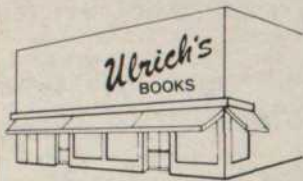
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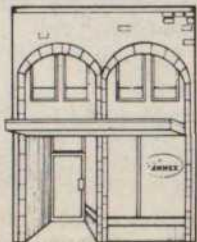
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GRAFFITI

People's Theater Stages a Comeback in Ann Arbor

by Brian Burt

When those masters of street theater, the Pinkertons, died a natural death last fall, guerilla theater in Ann Arbor died—but only temporarily. The Homeless Theater Group, an eclectic mix of students, non-students, and former homeless people, has become Ann Arbor's most recent incarnation of "people's theater." Born in U-M Professor Buzz Alexander's Theater and Social Change class and in Ann Arbor's Homeless Action Committee (HAC), the Homeless Theater Group follows in the disruptive footsteps of the Pinkertons.

Disruption, empowerment, agitation—these are the stated purposes of the nine-member group. According to Alexander, the group aims to call attention to the political, economic, and social roots of the homeless situation through "dramatic and disruptive" actions. Unannounced and unexpected, the troupe has interrupted classes at the U-M with their vivid presentation of "Joey's Story", the episodic tale of one man's spiral into and then out of homelessness and hopelessness. Students in one classroom audience reacted with a mixture of shock at having their classroom transformed into a theater, and guilt about their own inaction in the face of a social problem that confronts them daily.

Renuta Uthappa, a U-M student and founding member of the group, states, "Our goal is to do something more than raise awareness." The group's performances and subsequent discussions try to push audiences beyond guilt, and provoke analysis and action by making explicit connections between

homelessness and broader economic and socio-political issues.

The group sees one of its main functions as recruiting new members for HAC, which is currently at work on specific projects to provide housing for the homeless. According to Alexander, attendance at weekly HAC meetings has gone from five to fifteen since March, an increase he attributes directly to the Homeless Theater Group's performances.

Another function of the group is empowerment of the homeless. Ross Heine, a former homeless person and creator of Joey's Story, notes that being able to dramatize his story has helped return some of the dignity that being homeless took away from him: "It got me back into writing and interacting with people." The group has also performed the play at Ann Arbor's night shelter, where the play's straightforward approach struck such a deep chord in audience member Bruce Coxton that he decided to join the group on the spot.

Alexander points out that helping homeless people "find the way to tell their story through their own art form ... [is] always political because it's giving voice to people who have no voice ... We're doing the speaking but letting ourselves be used as instruments for the voices of the homeless." In conjunction with HAC, the troupe aims to shift the local debate about homelessness away from issues of charity and guilt, to the socio-economic causes of homelessness. The Homeless Theatre Group is currently working on a new piece which will be performed at the Art Fair.

Wild Strawberries: A Preview

by John Carlos Cantú

Ingmar Bergman's *Wild Strawberries* (1957) opens with one of the most economical story-lines in his entire oeuvre: Aged Isak Berg, a 78-year-old Swedish physician, travels by car from his residence to the University of Lund to receive his jubilee doctorate. But this simple premise is turned into a remarkably complex study of a life reaching towards an understanding of its conclusion through expert acting, superb cinematography, and a genius at the film's helm. Bergman's first American cinema success is an extraordinarily rich adventure into the past and future, propelled through the imagination of the film's protagonist and harsh truths about himself that he is compelled to accept, with seamless and wonderful cinematic transitions in time and space.



The use of "wild strawberries" had been a dual signifier of innocence and the past in two of Bergman's previous films. In *Summer Interlude* (1951), the deepening bond of co-stars Maj-Britt Nelson and Birger Malmsten is symbolized through a flashback sequence by her sharing of her "secret" strawberry patch with her youthful lover and one of the crucial scenes in Bergman's *The Seventh Seal* involves the offering of wild strawberries by one character to another. In this latter film, Max Von Sydow's errant knight accepts the gift of these strawberries from mime performer Bibi Andersson with the portentous observation that he would always remember that moment for the rest of his life. Therefore, even as strawberries were commonly associated with the Virgin Mary—a theological symbol of innocence—in late Northern Swedish iconography, Bergman also adds his private association of the reclaiming of innocence and the heightened awareness of the fleeting nature of human existence to this symbolic gesture.

Such a pivotal occurrence takes place in this film—hence its title—as Borg, through a remembrance of his past, confronts one of the crucial losses of innocence that has turned him into the man he has become. In one of Bergman's most heart-felt narrative sequences, the memory of the youthful Isak is shat-

tered as the aged Borg begins to comprehend the meaning of the loss of his first, and perhaps only, true love.

Thus the significance of Borg's voyage to Lund: His first companion on the trip is his daughter-in-law who reveals to him the difficulty she and his son are having because of his seemingly cold nature. They are later joined by a trio of youthful travelers who trigger some of Borg's most potent and deeply recessed memories of his youth. Finally, the last members of the trek are a stranded middle-aged couple whose unhappiness with one another has turned into a psychological tug-of-war similar to the relation he shared with his now deceased wife.

With one crucial detour to Borg's family home and visit with his

mother, an unpleasant widow whose wishes are closer to death than they ever were to life, the cast of Borg's life is almost complete. Through a remarkably facile screenplay, the past wounds of Borg's existence are psychically healed as he begins to accept his past for what it was and awaits what is left of the future for what it will be.

Gunnar Fischer, the first of Bergman's two lifelong cinematographers, creates a fantastic world in *Wild Strawberries* that effortlessly shifts from surreal dream-sequences and past memories to this single fateful day in the old doctor's life. It is not an understatement to say Fischer's camera is the unseen narrator of this trip—always probing, yet not fully revealing all the significance of any given sequence, the mood of the film moves with skilled assurance as his camera highlights or darkens the appropriate tone of the narrative's action.

The film's cast utilizes almost all of Bergman's stock-crew. As Isak Borg, Bergman's mentor, Victor Sjöström, has one of the greatest roles to which any actor could aspire. Sjöström, one of Sweden's pioneer film directors, uses Bergman's Borg to autobiographically shade the nuances of the doctor's personality—he is as cantankerous and angelic as the

(see WILD, page 10)

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To publicize AUGUST CALENDAR events send formatted listings by July 15 to AGENDA, 202 E. Washington #512, Ann Arbor, MI 48104. (996-8018)

FORMAT—Event: Sponsor Time, and Place. One or two sentence description. (Fee). Phone number

Unless otherwise noted, all events listed in the CALENDAR are free and open to the public (including all committee meetings). Also, all locations are in Ann Arbor unless otherwise noted.

CALENDAR

1 Friday

"Beyond Therapy": Performance Network 8 pm, 408 W. Washington. Christopher Durang's dizzying comedy about a bisexual love triangle run amuck, and the aid of psychiatry during the fiasco. Explicit language. \$8 (\$5 Students & Seniors). Reservations: 435-7859 or 663-0681

Women's Tea: Women's Crisis Center and U-M Lesbian Programs Office 5:30-7 pm, 306 N. Division (Lawrence St. entrance of St. Andrews Church). All women are welcome to this alternative happy hour. Enjoy pleasant company and a relaxed, alcohol-free atmosphere.

Lar Lubovitch Dance Company: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Center. (\$20, \$17, \$14). Tickets available at the Michigan Union or by phone, 763-TKTS.

Ann Arbor Summer Festival Free concerts and movies every evening through July 17 at the Top of the Park, (adjacent to Power Center.) Call 747-2278 for schedule.

Gay Men's Coffee House: "Brothers" 8 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. 763-4186

2 Saturday

"Beyond Therapy": Performance Network 8 pm (see 1 Fri)

Wild Swan Theater: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 2 pm, Lydia Mendelssohn Theater. \$5 adults, \$3 children. (see 1 Fri)

Sarah Vaughan: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Center. \$22, \$19, \$16. (see 1 Fri)

3 Sunday

Meeting: Homeless Action Committee 6 pm, Michigan Union. 930-2959

Wild Swan Theater: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 2 pm, Lydia Mendelssohn Theater (see 2 Sat)

Cathy Cho: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 4 pm, Power Center. \$5. (see 1 Fri)

Lesbian-Gay Men's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm, Blind Pig, 208 S. First. 996-8555

Meditation Service: Zen Lotus Society, Zen Buddhist Temple, 1214 Packard. 11 am-1 pm, Korean speaking and 5-7 pm, English speaking. Meditation, chanting, a reading, and a talk. 761-6520

4 Monday

Fourth of July Celebration: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 7 pm, Top of the Park (see 1 Fri)

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Integrity 8:45 pm, Canterbury House, 218 N. Division. 665-0606

Potluck Picnic: Baker for Congress 2 pm, West Park. Celebration to recognize the right of Palestinians to self-determination. 668-8180

5 Tuesday

AIDS Film Project: Frameline with The Names Project 7 pm, Michigan Theater, 603 E. Liberty. Screening of five award-winning short films which demonstrate the force and spectrum of human response to the AIDS crisis.

J. Parker Copley Dance: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Center. \$12.50, \$10.50, \$8.50. (see 1 Fri)

Lesbian-Gay Radio Show: Gay Liberation 6 pm, 88.3 FM, WCBN. 763-3501 or 763-4186

Meeting: Lesbian & Gay Rights Organizing Comm. (LaGROC) 8:30 pm, 3100 Mich. Union. 763-4186

"Buddha": Zen Lotus Society 7 pm, 1214 Packard. First of three Jewel Lectures by Prof. Richard Hayes, Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University. 761-6520

6 Wednesday

Uncle Bonsai: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 7:30 pm, Power Center. \$12.50. (see 1 Fri)

Lesbian-Gay Men's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm (see 3 Sun)

7 Thursday

"Beyond Therapy": Performance Network 8 pm (see 1 Fri)

Western Wind: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Center. \$17.50. (see 1 Fri)

Peer Counseling Training: Women's Crisis Center. Learn how to listen and give non-judgemental support to women in many different situations. Become part of WCC's volunteer staff, gain experience and meet new people. Women of color and older women encouraged to volunteer. Two weekends of training. Call 761-9475 or 994-9100 for an orientation and interview.

"Dharma: Teachings of Buddha": Zen Lotus Society 7 pm (see 5 Tues)

8 Friday

Women's Tea: Women's Crisis Center 5:30-7 pm (see 1 Fri)

"Beyond Therapy": Performance Network 8 pm (see 1 Fri)

Zoe Caldwell: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Center. \$17, \$14, \$11. (see 1 Fri)

9 Saturday

Benefit for Notes From the Underground 8 pm to 11 pm, 396 W. Washington. Benefit for local literary magazine. Live poetry; refreshments by Blossom Foods. Suggested donation: purchase of a copy of the latest issue of Notes (\$2). 769-7291

"Beyond Therapy": Performance Network 8 pm (see 1 Fri)

Marcel Marceau: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Center. \$20, \$17, \$14. (see 1 Fri)

"Sangha: Life of the Buddhist Community": Zen Lotus Society 7 pm (see 5 Tues)

10 Sunday

Meeting: Homeless Action Committee 6 pm, Michigan Union. 930-2959

Marshall Izen: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 2 pm, Power Center. \$8 adults, \$5 children. (see 1 Fri)

Louis Nagel and Friends: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 4 pm, Power Center Rehearsal Hall. \$10. (see 1 Fri)

Meeting: Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) 8 pm, St. Aidan's/Northside Church, 1679 Broadway. Screening of "Amazing Grace and Chuck," a movie about nuclear weapons protest. This was pulled by the distributor prior to its scheduled nationwide release, why?! 761-1718

Lesbian-Gay Men's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm (see 3 Sun)

Zen Lotus Society: Meditation Service (see 3 Sun)

11 Monday

New Class in Applied Metaphysics: School of Metaphysics 7:30 pm, weekday to be announced, 719 W. Michigan, Ypsilanti. The power of the mind can set you free! \$8 min. weekly donation. 482-9600

Baroque Music Series: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 5 pm, First Congregational Church. \$5. (see 1 Fri)

Pilobolus: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Center. \$20, \$17, \$14. (see 1 Fri)

Self Defense Course for Sexual Assault Survivors 6 to 8 pm. Six week course designed to help women feel strong, be empowered and assertive. Childcare and transportation available. For location: 971-5904.

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Integrity 8:45 pm (see 4 Mon)

Meeting: Parents-FLAG/Ann Arbor 7:30 pm, First Methodist Church, State at Huron. 763-4186.

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12 Tuesday

Ann Arbor Summer Festival: Baroque Music Series 5 pm, First Congregational Church (see 11 Mon)

Court Action Program Training: Women's Crisis Center 6 to 10 pm training for volunteers interested in observing court procedures involving survivors of sexual assault and domestic violence. Volunteers needed! 761-9475

Pilobolus: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Center (see 11 Mon)

Lesbian-Gay Radio Show: Gay Liberation 6 pm (see 5 Tues)

Meeting: Lesbian & Gay Rights Organizing Comm. (LaGROC) 8:30 pm (see 5 Tues)

Meeting: Amnesty International Group 61 7:30 pm, Michigan Union. Letter writing and other activities to free prisoners of conscience and protect human rights around the world. 761-3639

13 Wednesday

Baroque Music Series: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 5pm, First Congregational Church (see 11 Mon)

Dukes of Dixieland: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Center. \$17, \$14, \$11. (see 1 Fri)

Lesbian-Gay Men's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm (see 3 Sun)

Meeting: Bread for the World/Interfaith Council for Peace 7:30 pm, Memorial Christian Church, 730 Tappan. Discussion of domestic and international hunger issues, legislative updates and planning for the 1988 hunger walk. 663-1870

14 Thursday

A Day in the Park: Turner Geriatric Services 10 am to 2 pm,

Riverside Park (if rain: Clague Jr. High). Picnic lunch, bingo, folk dancing, singing, spelling bee; door prizes from local merchants. Box lunches provided by Community Services Agency: people over 60, \$1.25 don.; under 60, \$2.50 don.. Reservations by July 1. 764-2556

Discussion Series: Solidarity 7:30 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. Erik Melander and Dianne Feeley speak on The U.S. Left, 1958-88. 668-6771

"Beyond Therapy": Performance Network 8 pm (see 1 Fri)

Baroque Music Series: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 5 pm, First Congregational Church (see 11 Mon)

Reckless: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Lydia Mendelssohn Theater. \$20, \$15. Circle Repertory Company's pre-New York premiere. (see 1 Fri)

Introductory Meditation Course: Zen Lotus Society 6:30 to 8:30 pm, 1214 Packard Rd. Runs five Thurs. evenings. (\$120. Full time students, \$100). 761-6520 to register.

15 Friday

"Beyond Therapy": Performance Network 8 pm (see 1 Fri)

Baroque Music Series: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 5 pm, First Congregational Church (see 11 Mon)

Reckless: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm (see 14 Thurs)

Women's Tea: Women's Crisis Center 5:30-7 pm (see 1 Fri)

Gay Men's Coffee House: "Brothers" 8 pm (see 1 Fri)

16 Saturday

"Beyond Therapy": Performance Network 8 pm (see 1 Fri)

Reckless: Ann Arbor Summer

Festival 2 pm & 8 pm (see 14 Thurs)

17 Sunday

Meeting: Homeless Action Com. 6 pm, Michigan Union. 930-2959

Celebration: Latin American Solidarity Committee & A2MISTAD 2 to 7 pm, West Park bandshell. Commemorate the ninth anniversary of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. Music, speakers, booths. 665-8438

Reckless: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 2 pm (see 14 Thurs)

Self Defense Class for People with Disabilities: Center for Independent Living & Women's Crisis Center 3 to 5 pm. Six week course. Feel strong, empowered, and assertive. Classes will be ASL interpreted for people with hearing limitations. Childcare and transportation available. 971-0277 or 761-9475

Lesbian-Gay Men's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm (see 3 Sun)

Zen Lotus Society: Meditation Service (see 3 Sun)

18 Monday

Blossom Lecture Series: School of Metaphysics 7:30 pm, 396 W. Washington. Explore the world of your dreams. An experienced dream interpreter will answer questions. \$3 min. donation. 482-9600

Self Defense Course for Sexual Assault Survivors 6 to 8 pm (see 11 Mon)

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Integrity 8:45 pm (see 4 Mon)

"Buddhist Music": Zen Lotus Society 7 pm, 1214 Packard. Talk by Prof. William Malm, U-M Music School. 761-6520

19 Tuesday

Lesbian-Gay Radio Show: Gay

Liberation 6 pm (see 5 Tues)

Meeting: Lesbian & Gay Rights Organizing Comm. (LaGROC) 8:30 pm (see 5 Tues)

Candidates Forum: Ann Arbor Coalition Against Rape 7:30 pm, Ann Arbor Public Library, 343 S. Fifth. Circuit Court Judge candidates speak on sexual assault and domestic violence issues.

20 Wednesday

Lesbian-Gay Men's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm (see 3 Sun)

21 Thursday

Influences in Mime: Performance Network 8 pm, 408 W. Washington. The Marcel Marceau World Centre presents "four faces of the multi-dimensional art form in four very different presentations," Tonight: Bichinis Bia Congo, Congolese dance co. \$10 (\$8 Stu. & Srs). 663-0681

22 Friday

Influences in Mime: Performance Network 8 pm. Marcel Marceau's annual Summer Seminar in Mime presents their experimental works-in-progress. \$5. (see 21 Thurs)

"Metaphysicians on Display": School of Metaphysics (see 20 Wed)

Women's Tea: Women's Crisis Center 5:30 to 7 pm (see 1 Fri)

23 Saturday

Influences in Mime: Performance Network 8 pm. Excerpts from the repertoire of the Polish Mime, Stefan Niedzialkowski, whose kudos include twelve years as the leading actor for the Wroclaw Pantomime Theatre. \$12 (\$10 Stu. & Srs) (see 21 Thurs)

Car Wash: Women's Crisis Center 1 to 6 pm, Michigan National

Bank on State Street (near Briarwood). Support WCC's work helping women help themselves by letting us wash your car.

24 Sunday

Influences in Mime: Performance Network 2 pm. The Invisible People Mime Theatre present romantic reflections of life. \$8 (\$6 Stu. & Srs) (see 21 Thurs)

Meeting: Homeless Action Committee 6 pm, Michigan Union. 930-2959

Lesbian-Gay Men's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm (see 3 Sun)

Zen Lotus Society: Meditation Service (see 3 Sun)

Self Defense Class for People with Disabilities 3-5 pm (see 17 Sun)

25 Monday

New Class in Applied Metaphysics: School of Metaphysics 7:30 pm, weekday to be announced, 719 W. Michigan, Ypsilanti. Can you imagine having the ability to create anything you desire? \$8 min. weekly donation. 482-9600

Self Defense Course for Sexual Assault Survivors 6 to 8 pm (see 11 Mon)

"Buddhist Holy Women": Zen Lotus Society 7 pm, 1214 Packard. Talk by Dr. Aileen Gatten. 761-6520

26 Tuesday

Lesbian-Gay Radio Show: Gay Liberation 6 pm (see 5 Tues)

Meeting: Lesbian & Gay Rights Organizing Comm. (LaGROC) 8:30 pm (see 5 Tues)

27 Wednesday

Lesbian-Gay Men's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm (see 3 Sun)

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28 Thursday

"Getting Out": Performance Network 8 pm, 408 W. Washington. Marsha Norman's compelling drama about a woman learning to live "outside" after prison. Written by the author of the play "Night Mother." \$8 (\$6 Stu. & Srs). Runs through August 7. 663-0681

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Integrity 8:45 pm (see 4 Mon)
Discussion Series: Solidarity 7:30 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. Elissa Clark speaks on Feminism and Socialism. 668-6771

29 Friday

"Getting Out": Performance

Network 8 pm (see 28 Thurs)

Women's Tea: Women's Crisis Center 5:30 to 7 pm (see 1 Fri)

Gay Men's Coffee House: "Brothers" 8 pm (see 1 Fri)

30 Saturday

"Getting Out": Performance Network 8 pm (see 28 Thurs)

31 Sunday

"Getting Out": Performance Network 6:30 pm (see 28 Thurs)

Lesbian-Gay Men's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm (see 3 Sun)

Meeting: Homeless Action Committee 6 pm, Michigan Union. 930-2959

COMMUNITY RESOURCE DIRECTORY

AGENDA Seeks Pen Pals

They say it's lonely at the top. We're not quite at the top, but it sure is lonely way up here on the fifth floor of a seven story office building!

With a circulation of 20,000 we're now reaching readers all over Washtenaw County. Peering out our window, over the row of rooftops, we wonder who you all are and what you think of AGENDA? Is there an article to which you had a particularly strong reaction? We welcome your letters. Letters received in the first half of the month are more likely to be printed.

VOLUNTEERS: As always, AGENDA is seeking volunteers. Please call if you can help distribute the paper at the end of the month, if you can assist with fundraising, or if you have bookkeeping computer skills to lend. AGENDA also needs writers and reporters. If you'd like to talk to us about ideas for stories or are willing to take a reporting assignment, please call! We are still in need of writers to cover cultural events.

COMMUNITY RESOURCE DIRECTORY (CRD): July is "CRD revitalization month" at AGENDA. This means we are working to make the CRD bigger and better. CRD entries are now formatted as articles with headlines. These articles, written by group representatives, should contain information about the group's current activities or news that is relevant to the group's purpose. CRD entries will continue to include group meeting times and places. For a minimum fee, your organization can greatly increase its public visibility through the CRD. CRD entries for August are due July 15. Call for more information.

ADVERTISING: AGENDA is seeking to increase its non-business advertising. AGENDA ads can work for community organizations in many ways: recruitment of new members, publicizing upcoming events, highlighting an issue, advertising job openings, advertising items for sale, or announcing meetings. AGENDA is also a great place to advertise publications and political campaigns. The deadline for camera-ready ads is the 23rd of each month. Please reserve space by the 15th. AGENDA also offers art production services. Write or call for an advertising rate card. We are also seeking ad representatives to work for AGENDA. Call if interested!

SUBSCRIPTIONS: AGENDA, by definition, is FREE. "Free" (def.): 1. At liberty; not bound or constrained, 2. Politically independent, 3. Uninhibited, 4. Costing nothing; gratuitous, 5. Publicly supported. Question: Why subscribe to a "free" newspaper? Answer: To support the continued existence of a "free" newspaper. If you read and like AGENDA, consider subscribing. With a \$15 per year subscription you can support AGENDA while increasing its readership. Send a gift subscription to a friend who has moved away from Ann Arbor!

DEADLINES for August edition July 11: News/feature first draft. July 15: Calendar & Community Resource Directory listings.

AGENDA, 202 E. Washington #512, Ann Arbor, MI 48104, 996-8018.

AMISTAD Resumes Construction

Subject to the ongoing economic wartime crisis in Nicaragua, the AMISTAD soils lab construction project was halted for several weeks, but is now back on its feet. The laboratory, which is being built on the campus of the Higher Institute for Agricultural Sciences in Managua, was named a priority by the Nicaraguan Ministry of Education, and construction was resumed with a renewed allocation of resources from Holland, the U.S. and Nicaragua.

Recently, AMISTAD joined with other local solidarity groups in denouncing the retention in Laredo, Texas of the Veterans' solidarity caravan bound for Nicaragua. Like hundreds of other groups across the country, including AMISTAD, the vets have challenged the U.S. administration's war on Nicaragua and have chosen to directly aid the Nicaraguan people. AMISTAD will continue its own such activities and will support all other groups and individuals who work in solidarity with Nicaragua.

AMISTAD seeks volunteers with construction and Spanish-speaking skills to work at the construction site outside Managua for at least one month. In addition to working on the project, brigadistas live with a family and have a chance to meet with Nicaraguan organizations and individuals and travel around the country. Those interested should call 761-7960.

Meetings are held each Sunday at 7:30 pm in the Guild House, 802 Monroe.

AMISTAD, c/o Guild House Campus Ministry, 802 Monroe, Ann Arbor, MI 48104, 761-7960.

Anti-Gay Violence Up in 1987

The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force has released a study reporting that incidents of harassment and violence against lesbians and gay men rose by 42% in 1987. In Michigan, 232 incidents of violence and harassment were reported; this figure is the 12th highest level among 32 states and the District of Columbia. Michigan groups have reported 185 cases of harassment, 3 physical assaults, 20 incidents of vandalism or intimidation, and 6 bomb threats. This backlash against our community is attributed to fear and anger concerning AIDS. 15% of all the reported incidents and 5% of the physical assaults included verbal reference to AIDS or were directed against people with AIDS.

A recent survey undertaken by Michigan State University has shown that people familiar with AIDS tend to be more tolerant of people with AIDS than are persons who are unfamiliar with the facts about the disease.

OTHER NEWS: A Federal Appeals court has recently set aside its landmark ruling that struck down the U.S. Army's ban on homosexual people. The 25 judge 9th Circuit Court of Appeals has granted a request from the Reagan Administration to refer the

case to an 11-member panel for a hearing. The Appeals Court did not offer any reason for referring the case.

On a local level, members of the Lesbian and Gay Rights Organizing Committee (LaGROC) recently held hands and put their arms around one another during a "shopping trip" to the Briarwood Mall. The group is endeavoring to educate the public about homosexuality and to urge citizens to support the rights of lesbians and gay men. Other "public displays of affection" have been held at such campus bars as Dooley's and Charley's.

Gay Liberation's Purpose is to provide information, counseling, and related social services for people concerned about sexual orientation: (1) maintain Hotline for crisis intervention, peer counseling, referral; (2) provide factual information to offset prejudice and misinformation about lesbians and gay men; (3) work to obtain human and civil rights for all, regardless of sexual orientation; (4) help lesbian and gay men's groups organize; (5) link to other community groups.

Community services include: a Hotline: crisis intervention, peer counseling, referral. Edu-

cation: workshops and conferences on lesbian and gay male concerns, with an emphasis on how people in the "helping professions" and "teaching professions" can work positively with lesbian and gay male clients, patients, students. **Speakers Bureau:** phone for information. **Human & Civil Rights:** information and referral to help people under discrimination because of their actual or presumed sexual orientation or because of their presumed "cross-gender" characteristics; lobbying for human and civil rights. **Community Organizing:** information and assistance in organizing groups, setting goals, addressing conflict, linking with other groups and resources.

Gay Liberation meetings vary according to purpose; we do most of our work in sub-committees (counseling, groupwork, education, civil rights). Call for time and place. Gay Liberation includes U-M students, staff, and faculty, and people from the larger community. We have a President, Vice President, Secretary, and Treasurer. At present we have approximately fifty members. We're a registered non-profit organization.

Gay Liberation, c/o 4117 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, info: 763-4186; hotline: 662-1977.

Project to Aid Vietnamese Agriculture

Hunger and malnutrition have sharply risen in northern areas of Vietnam recently. This crisis is due, in part, to adverse weather conditions in the region, but the primary responsibility for this problem rests squarely on the shoulders of past and present U.S. administrations. During the Vietnam War, the U.S. conducted a saturation bombing campaign which not only cratered much of Vietnam's arable land, but left unexploded munitions buried throughout the countryside, making farming operations extremely dangerous. Through the U.S. defoliation campaign, the spraying of carcinogenic Agent Orange has permanently altered the ecosystem, thus hindering Vietnam's efforts to increase agricultural output.

The U.S. policy of oppression against the people of Vietnam has continued since the Vietnam War. Under the Trading With the Enemy Act, any

transaction between Vietnam and a U.S. citizen or firm must be licensed by the State Department. The Reagan Administration also pressures its allies in the region to economically isolate Vietnam. This has managed to stifle the development of the transportation and industrial infrastructure, which is necessary to increase agriculture output in Vietnam.

In response to this situation, the **Ann Arbor-Vietnam Coop Assistance Project (AVCAP)** has recently formed. AVCAP is presently conducting a fundraising effort, in conjunction with Oxfam USA, to send an electricity generator to the Van To Village Co-op in Vietnam. AVCAP is also sponsoring a presentation by Rev. Barbara Fuller at 8 pm on Thurs. July 7 in the West Conference Room of the U-M Rackham Building. Rev. Fuller is a founding member of the Interfaith Council for Peace, a Viet-

nam anti-war activist, and an expert on the current economic and political situation in Vietnam. She will speak about the Vietnam War, the economic blockade, her recent fact finding trip to Vietnam, the crisis of hunger there, and how AVCAP's project fits in with Vietnam's efforts to develop its agricultural sector. Admission is free and all are welcome.

AVCAP's goals are: 1. To assist the development of Vietnamese agriculture by sending aid to the Van To Village Co-op in Vietnam. 2. To educate the community about the devastating effects of the Vietnam War and the U.S.'s present economic embargo against Vietnam. 3. To highlight U-M's role in promoting the Vietnam War by conducting weapons research for the Pentagon, and U-M's current niche in the military-industrial complex. 4. To help forge links between the citizens of Ann Arbor and Vietnam, in the hope that this will hasten the

(see AVCAP, page 10)

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LASC Plans July 17 Celebration

Solidarity Discussion Series Begins

Solidarity is an organization committed to building a non-sectarian socialist movement in the U.S. We are socialist activists who participate in the struggles against racism and sexism, as well as the struggles for lesbian and gay rights. We firmly believe that any socialist movement worthy of the name must join in these struggles now rather than perpetuate the illusion that they can either be separated from or take a back seat to the class struggle.

We oppose the growing U.S. drive toward war, whether that be in the Middle East or Central America. We support the PLO in its struggle against Israeli oppression. We see the need for international solidarity among working people and the oppressed in a period of concessions, deindustrialization, unemployment and the growing debt crisis. We believe in a creative rethinking of socialism for the 90s in which an open environment and a variety of views are more important than presenting a monolithic face to the world or engaging in pretenses of being "the vanguard."

A discussion series sponsored by Solidarity this summer offers socialist interpretations of a number of political struggles. Recent topics have included U.S. foreign policy, racism, and the labor movement in the U.S. Discussions, initiated by a speaker, are held every other Thursday at the Guild House, beginning at 7:30 pm. Discussions in July will be on the 14th and the 28th. The first of these, featuring Dianne Feeley and Erik Melander, will focus on the U.S. left and in particular on its relations with the liberation struggles of women and people of color. The meeting on July 28 will feature Elissa Clark, who will speak on socialist feminism. All who are interested in these topics or who would like to learn more about Solidarity are invited to attend.

Solidarity, 507 W. Huron Apt. #1, Ann Arbor, MI 48103, 665-2709.

On July 19, 1979 the Nicaraguan people overthrew the brutal, U.S. backed Somoza dictatorship. Since that time, despite U.S. efforts to crush it, Nicaraguans have been working to create a just society and a prosperous nation.

Join LASC and AMISTAD on July 17 in celebrating the ninth anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution (two days early, on Sunday). There will be speakers, music, booths, and a good time for all at the West Park bandshell (by Seventh and

Miller) from 2 to 7 pm. Please come out and show your solidarity with the Nicaraguan people and with all those fighting for self-determination in Latin America.

LASC's purpose is to support the legitimate aspirations of Latin American peoples to self-determination. LASC aims to increase awareness in the U.S. about contemporary realities in Latin America and the U.S. role in the region. Because current



PHOTO: GREGORY FOX

U.S. foreign policy perpetuates violence and injustice, LASC acts as a community of concerned citizens to pressure our government to change its military, political, and economic policies toward Latin America.

LASC sponsors educational events such as films, slide shows, and speakers. The outreach committee provides speakers for University and high school classes as well as for other groups interested in Latin American issues. If you would like somebody to speak, contact us at 665-8438. The LASC newsletter La Palabra reaches about 800 subscribers. It contains a summary of our activities and updates on the news from Latin America.

LASC meetings are Wednesdays at 8 pm in Room 2435 Mason Hall. The second and fourth meetings of the month will be devoted to the study of Latin American issues. Examples include: the struggle for liberation in El Salvador, the U.S. militarization of Costa Rica, and the role of the U.S. in political debate within Nicaragua. At the first and third meetings we will conduct regular LASC business. All are welcome to join in our meetings. Information about weekly activities can be obtained by visiting or calling the LASC office. The office is staffed from 12 to 1 pm on weekdays, and messages can be left on the answering machine at all other times.

Latin American Solidarity Committee (LASC), 4120 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, 665-8438.

WHE-AC Brings Hunger Issues Home

WHE-AC continues to have a table at the Farmer's Market every Saturday morning from 9 am to 12 noon. In addition, we are co-sponsoring a talk by Rev. Barbara Fuller entitled "U.S. Policy of Oppression: The U.S. and Vietnam, the War and its Aftermath". It will be on Thursday July 7 at 8 pm in the West Conference Room of the Rackham Building. We are also preparing for the Art Fair and upcoming fall activities including the Oxfam Fast and working with an Overseas Development Network project.

WHE-AC is a campus-based group made up of students and non-students dedicated to examining the causes of hunger in the world and working toward solutions. WHE-AC has been active for the

past five years. It supports Oxfam America, which is an international agency that funds self-help development projects and disaster relief in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. If you are interested in working with WHE-AC or would like to learn more about us, feel free to attend a meeting.

WHE-AC meetings are Wednesdays at 6 pm in Room 4202 Michigan Union. All are welcome!

World Hunger Education-Action Committee (WHE-AC), 4202 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, 663-4301.

WAND to Present Controversial Film

Sunday, July 10, WAND will present the movie "Amazing Grace and Chuck" at its monthly meeting. The film is about a 12-year old leaguer and a professional basketball star who give up their careers to protest nuclear weapons. The movie, starring Gregory Peck, was pulled by the distributor before it was able to appear in most major U.S. cities! Why?! The meeting will be held at St. Aidan's/Northside Church, 1679 Broadway, Ann Arbor. New members are always welcome. Doors open at 7 pm, the meeting begins at 7:30 pm and the movie will begin at 8 pm.

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.

WAND meetings are held the second Sunday night of the month at St. Aidan's/Northside Church, 1679 Broadway, Ann Arbor. 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 Tobi Hanna-Davies at 662-7869.

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

AVCAP

(continued from page 9)

pace of reconciliation between the two countries and that it will encourage the U.S. government to (as it once promised) help reconstruct the war-devastated Vietnamese economy.

AVCAP meetings are Tuesdays at 8 pm in Rm. 4202 Michigan Union. AVCAP is seeking people who are interested in working on this project. If you cannot attend our meetings but would like to become involved, please leave a message at the Rackham Student Government office, 763-5271.

AVCAP, c/o Rackham Student Government, 2006 Rackham Bldg., Ann Arbor, MI 48109, 763-5271.

We regret that some of the events of groups listed in the Community Resource Directory did not make their way into the Calendar.

WILD

(from page 6)

script calls for. One of Bergman's most beautiful leading ladies, Ingrid Thulin, captures the resignation and youthful hope for a better tomorrow as Borg's daughter-in-law, Marianne. Gunnar Bjornstrand and Maima Wifstrand—both pivotal mainstays of Bergman's Smiles of a Summer Night

(1955)—expertly play the staid, repressed, and unhappily bourgeois son and mother of Borg. While rounding out the main characters of the cast is Bibi Andersson in the crucial dual roles of the multi-dimensional Sara—one, Borg's past love, and the other, his present youthful companion—with a smile that conveys a brightness that compensates for the accumulative pain in Borg's adult life.

But the real star of Wild Strawberries is Ingmar Bergman. Through his screenplay and directorial guidance, one of the most affirmative films about life and living unfolds before the viewer's eyes. And like all life, there is a tremendous amount of suffering that must be compensated before a growing awareness of the vitality of living itself can take place. It is Bergman's greatest feat to teach us of

the value of remaining faithful to ourselves through the minute gestures of everyday life. It is truly his "wild strawberries" that carries the bittersweet burdens of our joys and disappointments.

Wild Strawberries will be shown on Sat., July 16, at 7:30 and 9:30 pm in the U-M Modern Languages Building, Aud. 4.

The White Poppy

(from page 1)

off? In the remote rural areas where opium can be grown for a cash crop to evade international drug police, people don't have a cash economy or roads to drive a Mercedes on. So what do they trade their opium for—weapons?

(Where have I heard that one before, about the drugs/arms traffic? Never mind.)

Who supplies the weapons to buy this opium for European and U.S. markets? Who organized or instigated this opium-growing in the Golden Crescent of West Asia, which had not been reported contributing to the international drug traffic much before 1979? Round up the usual suspects: the Russians? No, they're trying to stifle production in its cradle, even sent their army in. The Ayatollahs, our favorite villains? Why no, they execute drug traffickers, despite the efforts of respectable Iranians to moderate such fanaticism. Who then? Who were these Chinese and American imperialists the Russians were blaming?

The Chinese People's Republic is not known

for opium-trading. On the contrary, the PRC cut off cash aid to the Burmese communist insurgents after the latter took up opium-insuring in the Golden Triangle in 1977. To go further back in history: when the Japanese occupied Manchuria in the 1930s, heroin imports jumped from a couple of kilos yearly to 2400 kilos. Clinics were set up in every town dispensing heroin and morphine. By the time the Japanese were driven out, addicts in Manchuria numbered 13 million, or a third of the population. Such "was the measure of the social problem the Chinese Communists inherited, and have apparently resolved," to quote Jack Beeching, *The Chinese Opium Wars* (1975).

Beeching's was the most thorough and balanced of several books I consulted on the history of the opium trade. Did you know the British Empire in Asia was built on opium? Did you ever wonder what the British found to live on in India, that notoriously poor country? Opium was the cash crop that paid for the administration of India, and then some. The British East India Company would have gone bankrupt without it by 1780, the British Raj likewise for a hundred years after.

Every reformer who went into Parliament to stop this evil drug traffic, like William Gladstone whose sister Helen was addicted to laudanum, had to face the economic facts: opium paid for the administration/army in India by being sold or smuggled into China to "balance" the tea and silk trade. The British liked tea and silk. (So do I.) The British government drew a tenth of its total revenues from tea tax by 1799, when China first banned opium sales. The Chinese didn't much like anything the British had to trade except Spanish silver. The trick was persuading them to take opium instead: Send in the fleet!

Britain did so in 1840, when tea tax and opium profits were providing a sixth of government revenues. Opium had found its way back to England too. Opium was the opiate of the masses in those dark satanic mills of the Midlands where the early generations of the Industrial Revolution lived on it (much cheaper than beer) and raised their half-starved children on it to keep them quiet. (If Karl Marx read Thomas De Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium Eater he'd have known this; it's been better documented recently.)

Opium seems to play a strategic role in this economic empire we inherited from the Scottish Enlightenment (John Locke, Adam Smith, etc.) and the Scottish empire-builders (Jardine, Matheson, Elgin) who fill Beeching's book. (If I were Scottish I might take up the German philosophers for self-defense, but this is America: let the red man be our guide.) Opium is still the ideal commodity for our commodity capitalism: if you can get people to try one free sample, they'll buy it the next time, and the time after that you can raise the price. What commodity producer in America wouldn't like to be selling that item? Creates its own demand: too bad it's outlawed. Or maybe you can find a substitute, and advertise?

Opium substitutes would include cocaine, and marijuana in a pinch, though it's easier to grow than smuggle and doesn't need laboratory processing. What about legal cash crops, like tobacco, sugar, coffee, cacao? Are these nutritious or addictive? What about the salt and sugar added to processed foods "for a better flavor," so you can't eat just one?

(see The Evil Empire, next page)

The Evil Empire

(from page 10)

We could go on adding to this list—are sex and violence the addictive ingredients in mass market paperbacks, films, TV? (Try reading Ann Wilson Schaefer's "When Society Becomes an Addict" for more suggestions.) Or talk about the behavior of junkies who'd spend their last dime and sell their children into debt bondage for one more high. (Check out the national debt.) We could even take up Nancy Reagan's line and just say no. I'm not sure if she understands the revolutionary meaning of that "no": if we can teach our children (ourselves?) to just say no to drugs, they/we may learn to say no to any addictive commodity from hula-hoops to heroin, chocolates to cocaine to PCs and PCBs, VCRs and CDs.

Imagine!

As if Nancy's updated Timothy Leary's old refrain of Turn on, Tune in, Drop out, by omitting the first two lines: just Drop out. Just say no. Isn't that Jesse Jackson's answer to drugs too, and commodities being priced higher than people?

(Wait a minute, you say: sounds like I'm advocating economic austerity, when what the poor of this country need is jobs, growth, policies to stimulate demand. Demand for what? More junk? What about the demand for clean air and clean water and cleaning up toxic wastes and recycling garbage and ... or haven't you heard that one? From what I hear we've got our jobs cut out for us. Does giving up coke and coffee and chocolates spell austerity to you? I'd spell it health. We need to shift our loyalty, in Wendell Berry's neat phrase, from the economy to the ecology, if we want our children to live after us here—from the quantity of junk to the quality of life and health we enjoy.)

Think too of the wartorn peoples who produce our drugs in Afghanistan, Iran, Lebanon, Laos (and produce our commodities everywhere). The

Hmong people, formerly of Laos, might wish to offer Nancy Reagan a Lysistrata award (honoring the original Just-Say-Noer of 411 B.C.) for the year, to usher out the Reagan era. "Man is not a brute, he is not a machine; his object is not merely to produce, like a kind of motive power somewhat more intelligent and less costly than steam," as Rizal wrote in 1890.

When the Hmong refugees reached Seattle in the early 1980s (first time in the city for these folks), they began planting gardens along the freeway embankments, tilling every vacant lot they could find. In that big triangular plot where Empire Way meets Rainier Avenue South the police noticed some white poppies blooming and moved in to confiscate that crop. No one tried to press charges: the Hmong just didn't understand how growing a green plant could be against the law (neither do I: the white poppy was sacred to Demeter, mother of Persephone in the Eleusinian mystery), or they wouldn't be doing it out in the open like that.

Just as well: when the poppies were slit and analyzed at University of Washington laboratories, they proved to contain no opium. Climate must be too mild in Seattle, or too wet. So the joke's on all of us?

The Hmong of Thailand, many of whom used to live in Laos and would like to go home someday, tell their story in a 1986 book published by the Anti-Slavery Society (180 Brixton Road, London SW9 6AT). Seems the Kuomintang (Nationalist Chinese Army) straggled over the mountains from Yunnan into the Golden Triangle mountains where Burma, Thailand, Laos meet on the map. (On the ground these borderlines are harder to draw: who drew the map, anyway?) Straggled over after 1949 and set up as bandit warlords, controlling the opium trade by reducing the farmers to debt bondage. They continue trading opium and feuding with each other to this day, as a look at the Far East Economic Review will

document (April 25, 1980, Who's Who in the Opium Trade, for instance; Richard Hughes was writing a weekly column at the time).

Who can document the C.I.A. for us?

Next time you read about undocumented aliens threatening our social fabric, think twice. Think about the Christic Institute's efforts to document Secret Team activities, or Leslie Cockburn, whose Out of Control dissects the Iran-contra scandal: both are being sued by Secret Teamer Richard Secord for damaging his reputation in the business community. Reminds me of how the Greek playwright Aristophanes (who wrote Lysistrata) was prosecuted early in his career for "bringing disgrace upon the city," because some lines in his latest play offended the tyrant Cleon. The play hasn't survived, but notice that Aristophanes wasn't charged with libel or slander. Apparently Cleon's activities were so disgraceful that even joking about them in a play brought disgrace upon the city. Well now. In that case the Athenians, who were trying to sustain a democracy, decided they'd better exile the tyrant Cleon and keep the playwright around. And they did.

How about us?

Remember when "classified" used to mean keeping secrets from the enemy? For the C.I.A., the "enemy" must be us Americans. The Russians know more about the C.I.A.'s stealthy role in the Korean airliner incident than we do. The Afghans and Iranians (and Russians) know more about the C.I.A.'s disgraceful arms-for-opium trade than we do. The Central Americans like Noriega know more about the C.I.A.'s disgraceful arms/cocaine trade than we do. And wasn't the Iran-contra arms deal first revealed to us by a Lebanese newspaper?

As for Indochina, according to the Hmong and Thai sources, the C.I.A. has been supporting Kuomintang military and surveillance operations against China there since 1949. Taiwan, governed by Kuomintang general Chiang Kai-shek and his

successors, remains a staunch U.S. ally, with close links to the warlords in Indochina. The opium/heroin market grew in the 1960s when American soldiers became addicted and brought the habit home with them; in Laos a clandestine army was organized by the C.I.A. supplying arms for opium. Mysterious (American) helicopters were still turning up at heroin laboratories on the Burma/Thailand border in 1980 (Far East Economic Review, April 4, 1980, Letter from the Golden Triangle).

Could these possibly be the Chinese and American imperialists the Russians were worried about? Surely not: what could draw the Kuomintang warlords as far afield as Afghanistan? Other than money, perhaps. Does the C.I.A. take any interest in those far-off mountains?

Why yes, just recently the C.I.A. was boasting on the front page of The New York Times about supplying arms to Afghans to fight off the Russians. Is that the whole story? What about 1979's bumper opium crop that was supplied so plentifully to Europe and America, will the C.I.A. take credit for that too? Fess up, gentlemen and ladies: that crop was grown and harvested and heading for market here before the Russian army moved in to stop it.

Next time you hear Washington brag about its "War on Drugs," spare a thought for the Russian soldiers who died fighting that war in Afghanistan. Spare a thought for the Afghan people who died fighting that war, and for those who live on, for the wounded and the refugees who long to go home.

Just say no?

Jane Appel is a freelance writer from Lexington, MA and is associated with the Harvard Union of Clerical Technical Workers.

SNCC

(from page 3)

cal moment, the collective experience of struggle, is much larger than any of the individual historical actors.

While we look to SNCC for inspiration and historical lessons, we also realize, as Black Power leader Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) pointed out quite sharply, "history does not repeat, and what was a radical strategy in 1968, might be

politically irrelevant in 1988." As times change so do the methods by which people are oppressed, even within the same social structure. Consequently, our methods of struggle and organization must change as well.

Anti-racist student organizing is at a critical juncture as we approach the 1990's. There has been a visible upsurge in anti-racist struggle on college campuses across the country over the past year, led largely by Black student activists. Most recently, the building occupation at U-Mass

Amherst, the 90 Black students arrested at Penn State, and the sit-in at Harvard Law School, are only a few examples of this escalation of struggle. However, despite the intense and increasingly confrontational nature of many of the local struggles around racism among students, there has yet to emerge a coherent national voice. Our various struggles, although parallel and at times overlapping, are basically still localized and isolated.

Today, the more subtle, but equally dangerous

manifestations of racism, make our task more complex. While we grapple with the political realities of the 1980's and attempt to develop strategies and build a movement for the 1990's, we still look to the past for the inspiration and strength that comes from knowing what is possible. To help us tap that strength and clarify the lessons of the past, a small group of former SNCC members and current student activists are exploring the possibility of a fall conference to bring together political activists from the 1960s and 80s.

NEWS BRIEFS

(from page 2)

to leave the 38 vehicles, mostly old pickup trucks and school buses, in Nicaragua. Four trucks were confiscated by U.S. officials at the border.

The Veterans Convoy reassembled in At-

lanta on June 20 and headed for Washington, D.C., for a "Drive In" protest of the Reagan Administration's escalation of the economic war against the people of Nicaragua. The convoy plans to stay in Washington until the Administration balances its interpretation of "humanitarian aid."

July 17th Celebration of Freedom and Struggle

The Latin American Solidarity Committee and the AMISTAD Construction Brigade, along with the Free South Africa Coordinating Committee are sponsoring a joint commemoration of the ninth

anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution and Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday. It will be held Sunday, July 17, from 2-7 pm in West Park.

The event will feature speakers, music and dancing, volleyball, refreshments, and performances by local theater groups. Admission is free. For more information call 665-8438.

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