

AUGUST 1990

FREE

# AGENDA

ANN ARBOR'S ALTERNATIVE NEWS MONTHLY



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## History Illuminates Native-American Militance

by Barbara Ransby

The front page of The Ann Arbor News on July 16th carried a powerful Associated Press photo of a Native American being burned in effigy in a small Canadian town outside of Montreal, Quebec. This violent protest on the part of white neighbors of the Kahnawake reservation in Oka, Quebec was one of the most recent incidents in a protracted struggle over Indian land rights in eastern Canada, and echoes of the violent atrocities Native Americans have suffered for some 500 years.

Local officials in Oka are determined to confiscate a section of Mohawk land in order to build a golf course for the entertainment of wealthy white Canadians. An armed confrontation has ensued leaving a policeman dead, accidentally shot by a fellow officer. The Mohawks, members of the multi-cultural Iroquois nation founded in the 16th century, are determined to defend their rightful claims to the land and to forcibly protest the arrogant chauvinism of local Canadian authorities.

In order to fully understand this particular dispute, however, and the militancy and determination exhibited by the Mohawk activists, it is important to examine the situation against the backdrop of the historic plight and persecution of the indigenous peoples of North America. For every inch Native Americans have given in the struggle over land and autonomy, 100 miles have been taken from them.

It is memories of massacres, forced removals, the razing of Indian villages, and the arbitrary and callous reversal of treaty agreements that fuel the uncompromising spirit of many Native American rights activists today. It is the grueling oppression and repression still faced by thousands of Native Americans on reservations throughout the United States and Canada that led South African leader Nelson Mandela to describe these reservations as America's "bantustans" and to pledge his support to the struggle for Native American rights.

The struggle of Blacks in South Africa, Indian peasants in South America, and the indigenous Koorie people of Australia are all variations on the same historic conflict over



land, the resources of the land, and who should have control over them. In contrast, some media analysts have wrongly tried to simplify these issues as mere struggles between progress and technology on the one hand, and primitive ways of life on the other. The struggles of indigenous peoples the world over, including the United States and Canada, are complex political struggles with a long history of economic exploitation and racist ideology at the center.

This is not, however, the perspective most Americans have of the history of Anglo-Indian relations. Most have been influenced by an entire genre of Hollywood movies which have consistently depicted Native Americans as a mass of bloodthirsty savages pitted against noble and courageous white settlers. With these images in mind, it is not surprising that white North Americans on the whole have been insensitive, at best, and hostile at worst, to the demands and concerns of Native Americans. The reality of the Native American experience over the last 500 years stands in stark contrast to the fictional Hollywood scenario most of us grew up with. It is also in contrast to the biases and glaring omissions characteristic of the majority of elementary school textbooks.

Our children are taught that Columbus, a legendary hero, "discovered" America in 1492, when in actuality, he was lost, stumbled upon the islands of the Caribbean and was "discovered by" the native Arawak Indians. Despite the fact that the indigenous peoples he encountered were generous and peaceful, the European explorer's first inclination was to capture and exploit them. Christopher Columbus wrote in his 15th century journal: "As soon as I arrived in the Indies...I took some of the natives by force in order that they might learn and might give me information of whatever there is in these parts, (preferably gold)."

Bartolome de las Casas, a priest who witnessed Europeans' conquest of the native peoples of Cuba in the early 1500's later wrote of what he saw: "...while I was in Cuba, 7,000 children died in three months. Some mothers drowned their babies from sheer desperation. In this way, husbands died in the mines, women at work, and children died from lack of milk...and in a short time this land which was so great, so powerful and fertile...was depopulated."

This saga of genocide and brutal exploitation of the native peoples of this hemisphere continued into the 19th century. The infamous U.S. Indian Removal Act of 1830 mandated the forced removal of thousands of Native Ameri-

(see INDIAN MILITANCE, page 11)

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# LETTERS

## Sensitive Gardening

How invigorating to read Lois Huff's reevaluation and broad-based critique of present and hopefully future long-range trends in gardening. The present conflicts of capital-intensive, machine-dominated, anti-organic, mercantile market-oriented "open space" uses are

no longer acceptable in the decade and age of ecology.

The authoress' guidelines for more relationally oriented gardening practices will resynthesize old, but mostly neglected, metaphysical notions of harmony between man and his surroundings. Man's correspondence and interchange with telluric and celestial forces will engender a more joyful sustainability of both.

Wolfgang Hauer  
ANN ARBOR, MI

## Thanks to A2's Free Press

I have been a prisoner of the Federal Department of Justice for the past six years. I am to be released tomorrow. For several years I was imprisoned near Ann Arbor at Milan. During that time I came to recognize the special nature of the city of Ann Arbor. In its enlightened political atmosphere I was introduced to a true alternative press through its myriad books and periodicals and to the potential of public-supported radio stations.

I return now, a practicing artist, to my native Texas. This will be a joyful experience for me as I rejoin my family, but I am not the same person that left (the state of Texas is not known as a bastion of progressive thought).

Even from within the stifling confines of the criminal justice system I was able to see in your city's alternative media a forum for individual thought. This is becoming a rare item, in our nation of powerful political action committees and the tyranny of the majority, its attitudes and opinions shaped and molded by the mass media to the ends of its corporate ownership.

I read somewhere that it is good to avoid gratuitous absolutes. In our times of bipolar issues and politics, it is important to remember that we cannot make choices based upon partial, poor, or misleading information given us by the mass media. We owe it to ourselves to make these decisions only after we examine an issue

from all aspects.

Publications such as AGENDA are instrumental in our becoming an informed constituency. We can grasp a bright future or we can bury our heads in the sand and let others make our choices for us. I, for one, am grateful for the efforts of AGENDA and the rest of Ann Arbor's alternative media.

Paul R. Green  
OXFORD, WI

# AGENDA

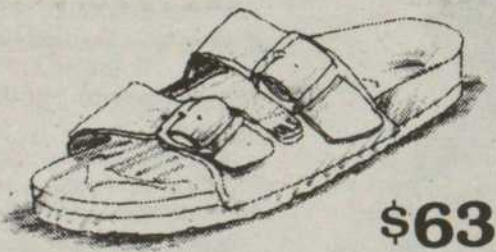
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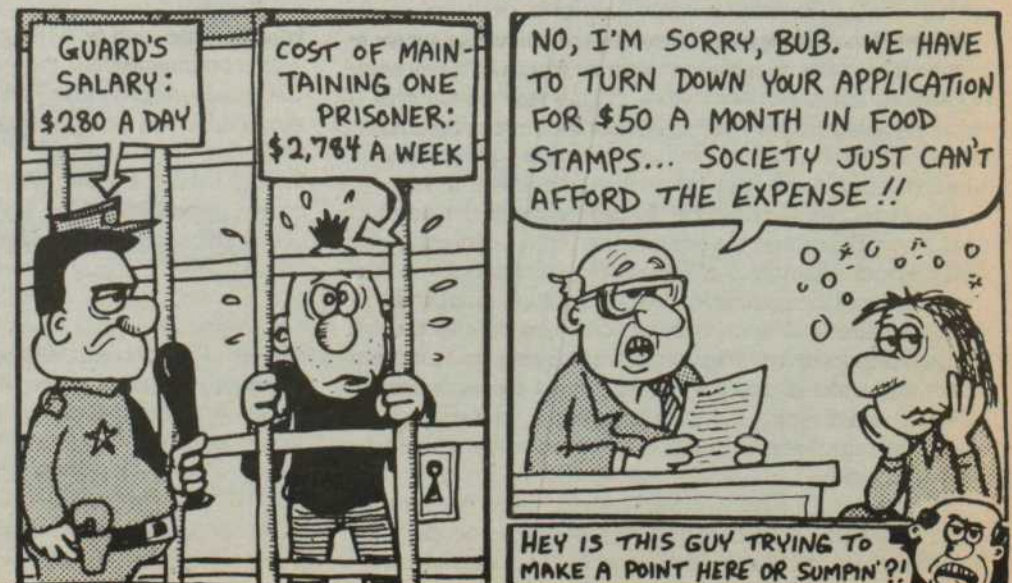
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# PESTICIDES: Unsafe and Unnecessary



by Lois Huff

Mid to late summer is typically the time of year when we find our patience with biting and stinging insects wearing thin. Our attempts to relax outdoors on warm, humid evenings are disrupted by buzzing hordes of bloodthirsty mosquitoes. Our garage has been deemed a perfect nesting site by wasps, and the family pets have become unhappy hosts to a wide variety of nature's tinier creations. In a desperate quest for relief, we may be inclined to reach for the aerosol can of bug killer, and with reckless abandon, proceed to storm these pests with chemical weaponry. However, there are a number of things to consider before reacting too enthusiastically to the use of toxic chemicals to eradicate bugs.

First of all, it is almost impossible to determine the exact chemical composition of most pesticides, as 90% or more of the ingredients in a spray can or box of powder are not listed on the product label, but concealed by the term "inert ingredients." The term "inert" as used here is a legal term, not a chemical one, according to Bryan Jay Bashin ("Bug Bomb Fallout," Harrowsmith, June 1989). "Inert" simply means that the chemicals are not being used for the purposes for which they were formulated. Many extremely toxic substances, including DDT, benzene, and xylene, have been used in pesticides as inerts.

Secondly, in many cases the pesticides' active ingredients have not undergone rigorous testing in terms of possible health hazards. Active ingredients (lindane, dichlorvos, carbaryl, methoxychlor, and DEET, to list a few) in many of the most widely used insecticides were introduced in the 1940s and '50s, before newly developed chemical compounds were subject to intensive testing. In 1963, Congress required that new chemicals be tested for possible adverse health effects before being placed on the market. However, retroactive testing of pesticides already in use did not begin until 1972, and currently lags far behind. Definitive testing of the older household pesticides may not be completed until well into the next century.

All this uncertainty and potential risk seems a high price to pay for the illusion of a bug-free environment, especially in view of the fact that insecticides provide temporary relief at best, and must be used constantly to achieve consistent results. The problem can be approached from a different angle, one that takes into account the habits and preferences of nuisance insects, as well as those of their natural predators.

An important step in the control of mosquitoes, for example, is the elimination of breeding habitat. This involves removal of items in the yard which hold standing water, such as empty flowerpots and old tires. Low spots in the driveway should be filled in to avoid puddles. Containers such as birdbaths and pets' water dishes should be emptied and scrubbed frequently. If there is a small pond on your property, consider stocking it with fish; goldfish and guppies have voracious appetites for mosquito larvae. Invite frogs and toads to set up camp nearby by placing some large rocks near the water's edge. Set up a birdhouse for purple martins; the diet of these birds consists largely of adult mosquitoes.

Wasps become pests in late summer when their feeding habits center on sugars rather than the proteins they preferred earlier in the season. For this reason, fruits and vegetables

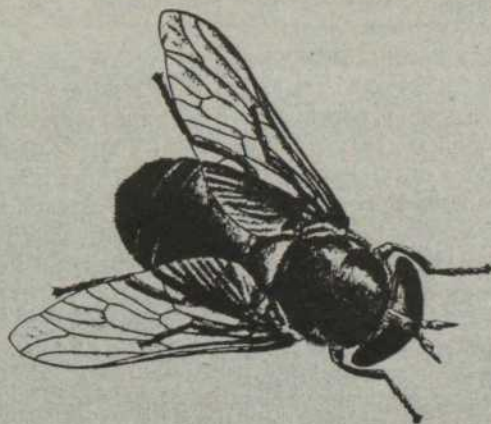
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*"Inert" simply means that the chemicals are not being used for the purposes for which they were formulated. Many extremely toxic substances, including DDT, benzene, and xylene, have been used in pesticides as inerts.*



should be harvested and brought indoors before they become overripe, and damaged produce should be removed to the compost pile. Keep in mind that wasps are valuable predators of many types of garden insects, so if wasps have chosen an old stump on the perimeter of the yard as a nesting site, weigh your priorities and be willing to compromise.

For optimum safety, the application of insect repellents or insecticides directly to the skin, or to your pets' fur, should be avoided. It has been demonstrated that DEET, the most widely used active ingredient in insect repellents, is absorbed through the skin and into the blood stream. While most people do not appear to suffer adverse effects from DEET use, documented cases of convulsions and death have been attributed to DEET. Carbaryl, the active ingredient in some brands of flea and tick collars, and dichlorpyrifos, used in flea collars and no-pest strips, may be responsible for mutations and birth defects in animals and leukemia in children.

As an alternative choice, the B-complex of vitamins has been shown to possess insect repellent properties which can be beneficial to humans and animals alike. The B-vitamins appear to increase the vigor of the skin, thereby helping to build a resistance to various skin ailments and external parasites. The B-vitamins can be taken internally in the form of dietary supplements of brewer's yeast, or in tablets. Brewer's

yeast can also be applied to pets' fur and skin to help repel fleas and ticks.

Some of the mints, notably pennyroyal, thyme, catnip, and citronella, have been used in the past for their repellent qualities. A strong tea made from the fresh or dried leaves of these plants and applied to the skin helps to discourage bugs. The dried, crushed leaves can also be sprinkled onto pet bedding or sewn into fabric strips for use as flea collars. The oil of citronella is most commonly incorporated into candles, but its fresh or dried leaves can be used in much the same way as the other mints.

Another approach when venturing outdoors is to dress appropriately. Wear long pants and long-sleeved shirts in light-weight, loose-fitting fabric. Avoid dark or bright, flowery colors; biting insects seem to be least attracted to light colored clothing. Tuck pant legs into boots, secure sleeves with rubber bands. Wear a protective hat if necessary.

In nature, insects serve a number of valuable purposes, an important one being their place on the food chain for birds, fish, bats, and other creatures. Natural insect control methods, unlike their toxic chemical equivalents, intend only to discourage bugs from feeding on us and from breeding nearby, not to obliterate insect populations. Ultimately, we can't eliminate insects, but we can make ourselves and our immediate surroundings as uninviting to them as possible, while maintaining the integrity of the environment. They won't bug us much longer in any case; the first hard frost of fall will see to that.

*An important step in the control of mosquitoes involves...removal of items in the yard which hold standing water.*



# Reform or Revolt?

READERS WRITE • READERS WRITE • READERS WRITE • READERS WRITE • READERS WRITE

## Toward a More Radical Common Sense

by Corey Dolgon

I'd like to thank Mark Weisbrot for his thoughtful and thought-provoking critique on "the left's" relationship to "reform" politics (AGENDA, July 1990). Starting with a variation on the theme of American exceptionalism—"why [is] the left so marginalized in the U.S.?"—Weisbrot argues that the left, ignorant of political and historical realities, repudiates reform strategies and alienates itself from mainstream, popular support. Thus, Weisbrot implies that "reform," (and more specifically for him, electoral politics) is the *reality* of American culture.

However, the history of progressive-led political campaigns demonstrates that just the opposite may be true. In "The Populist Moment," Lawrence Goodwyn argues convincingly that the Populists' shift toward emphasizing electoral politics and away from organizing economic cooperatives and other alternative, collective institutions diluted their militancy and alienated their grassroots constituency.

Goodwyn writes: "...the structural weakness of the People's Party evolved from the failure of its organizers...to understand that the third party, in order to be authentically democratic, had to be organized as a mass party with mass membership. It was organized instead like all large American parties before and since, as a representative party, with elite cadres of party regulars dominating the organizational machinery from precinct to national convention. The People's Party spoke...in the name of the people. But in structural terms the People's Party was not made up of the people; it was comprised of Party elites."

Univ. of Wisconsin education professor Michael Apple explains in his essay "The Politics of Common Sense" just how the New Right's counter-reform efforts developed in response to successful social and political reforms won by the progressive protest movements of the sixties. While neoconservatives organized in the seventies and the eighties, Apple writes, progressive forces were disarmed because "leaders of many of these movements had been absorbed into state-sponsored programs, which—although the adoption of programs was in part a victory—had the latent effect of cutting off leaders from their grassroots constituency and lessened the militancy at this level...as movement demands were partly adopted in their most moderate forms into programs sponsored by the state."

"Militancy is transformed into constituency," Apple contends, "...dependent on the state itself. And very importantly, when the neoconservative and right-wing movements evolved with their decidedly anti-statist themes, the gains that were made in the state came increasingly under attack and the ability to recreate a large-scale grassroots movement to defend these gains was weakened considerably."

Again, the emphasis on reform and institutional work diverted radical leaders and left the movement ill-equipped to combat New Right counter reforms.

Finally, the Jesse Jackson campaigns of 1984 and 1988, although offering momentary glimpses of potentially significant changes won through electoral politics, disintegrated as Jack-

son was forced to compromise principles and support the powers of the Democratic Party over the interests of his constituency. His series of retreats and conciliatory "common ground" speech at the '88 convention not only abandoned radical supporters, but frustrated and disillusioned many of the Black and poor people's coalitions that had worked hard on his campaign.

Ultimately, Weisbrot might claim that his only point was to address the left's lack of an adequate reform strategy which should include electoral politics. But his analysis is based on too simple an interpretation of historical conditions. At best, the historical and political *realities* offer mixed lessons about the need for the left's involvement in electoral politics and certain reform movements.

If the historical and political conditions do not expose as clear a course as Weisbrot finds for negotiating between short-term and long-term goals, what lessons can the radical left learn from past experiences with reform movements and electoral politics? I have two suggestions.

First, I think that Weisbrot is right when he claims that "unlike the left, the right is often keenly aware of the strategic implications of structural reforms." The left too often ignores the importance of actually analyzing these conservative strategies. The New Right's success in instituting reactionary structural changes evolved from intense grassroots and high-tech political organizing efforts that effectively linked a rearticulation of powerful ideological themes (individualism, equality, and freedom) with a conservative political movement. This focus need not place the left in a defensive posture, but should inform comprehensive theories on existing and changing economic, political, and social conditions. Whether radical activists and organizations decide that it makes "strategical sense" to engage in reform movements or electoral politics, these groups must be able to analyze and counter the strategies of those groups opposing them, as well as understand the necessity of remaining close to the grassroots connections which initially fuel successful mass movements.

Secondly, the left needs to do a better job of creating and recreating this idea of a "strategical sense," not only by examining the right, but by understanding the divisions within itself and working to heal some of those schisms. Again, here is where Weisbrot's piece does the most good as a critique which attempts to break down real or imagined barriers (most a result of silence) and begin some honest thinking and debate over strategies.

I'm not as optimistic as Weisbrot is about the possibility of "large numbers of ordinary people" establishing a collective common sense with which to influence the left. I do believe, however, once the left comes up with a powerful strategy for rearticulating and influencing a more radical idea of common sense, then the kind of mass democratic movement necessary for ordinary people to lead may no longer seem merely a romantic anarchist vision suitable only for bumper stickers.

## Dogmatic Reformism Foolish!

Maolist Internationalist Movement

This is a response to Mark Weisbrot's article (AGENDA, July 1990) criticizing revolutionaries for not adequately appreciating structural reform struggles. It is true that part of the problem is that reforms lend legitimacy to a fundamentally unjust system. But it is only one factor in why revolutionaries should oppose most reform struggles going on in the United States. The most important reason why those fighting to end oppression of social groups should oppose the vast majority of reform struggles is that they simply do not work.

Ironically, it is the reformists who engage in the protest politics that Weisbrot correctly cites the limitations of. Of course protests are necessary but everyone recognizes that no fundamental change is going to happen until the "left" starts winning some things—resources of various kinds including, ultimately, state power.

Weisbrot talks about the revolutionaries as if they were the ones wasting most of the political energy of the "left" in this country. But was it the revolutionaries working in the McGovern campaign? Is it the revolutionaries saying people can win seats in Congress when people with millions of dollars of effective backing gain re-election at a rate of more than 98%?

It is this tremendous waste of energy that Weisbrot should focus his fire on—dogmatic reformism. Many more people waste their time trying to end oppression by expressing themselves in reformist battles than make meaningless revolutionary noise. Dogmatic reformists make a principle out of working within the system and losing.

How many revolutionaries haven't heard that they should vote for a Democrat because not voting is just apathy? The real issue is what will voting accomplish? What will campaigning for x, y or z candidate who does not have the necessary financial and media backing do? Those singing the praises of the civic duty to vote are stuck in an 18th century idea from the French and American Revolutions.

Humphrey, McGovern, even Carter and now Jackson—left-wing reformists—have made a principle out of losing. From mayoral races in Boston to congressional campaigns in Michigan, it is the reformists who need their dogmas straightened out.

This is not to mention that electing some of these liberals would not result in any change. Jesse Jackson endorsed the bombing of Iran and a crackdown on crime like the War on Drugs. Meanwhile the Democratic Socialists in France increase investment in South Africa and socialists in West Germany supported Cruise and Pershing missile deployments. But this article is not about all the contradictory mush in the reformist left that makes it incapable of moving forward even if it had the necessary resources.

This article is about what is effective to do in moving forward toward the end of oppression. Revolutionaries put together their own newspapers and other media outlets; as of yet, the imperialists have not found a way to stop that. Some revolutionaries are involved in creating bookstores. Whereas the mainstream media is not very obliging to anything but two-tone politics, as Weisbrot points out, revolutionary newspapers and countless other independent grassroots institutions can and do go forward.

Maolist Internationalist Movement in particular has involved itself in a number of local struggles that involved seizing resources for the "left"—things Weisbrot would call reforms. The point is none of these mundane revolutionary struggles have the excitement or glamor of an election campaign, especially where the stakes are high, but they are unstoppable means of gathering, organizing and seizing resources.

By the way, the two examples Weisbrot gives as struggles worth fighting—student loans and campaign reform—are good ideas. Weisbrot is certainly correct that people seeking to end oppression need to figure out how to win struggles that will make future struggles easier. He just picks overly large targets that are well within the grasp of the capitalist class. Smaller items like getting student governments to make places on every campus where people can pick up free political literature of all shades is a useful and a more winnable struggle.

What needs further examination is what forces are involved in opposing good ideas like Weisbrot's and can they be overcome in the legislative arena? Groups like Common Cause have been working on campaign reform for a long time. Why have they failed so far? Could it have something to do with Big Government and Big Money?

Maybe the reason revolutionaries look at the 19th century figures that Weisbrot denigrates is that they see a method of thinking, a realistic method of thinking. Marx for one would have looked at the Big Money and its intertwining with Big Government. He would have noticed that they are hard to beat on their own turf.

Another more recent figure Weisbrot disapproves of instructed his followers on how to analyze a situation to win a battle—Mao Zedong. As a result of Mao's efforts, the Chinese communists were able to turn around the most lopsided strategic situation possible within the largest country in the world and win, one small but winnable battle at a time.

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## THEATRE REVIEW



PHOTO: Scene from "Forever Yours, Marie-Lou," featuring (l to r) Julia Winder (Carmen), Susan Wright (Marie-Louise), Shaun Austin-Olsen (Leopold), and Marti Maraden (Manon).

"The Stratford Festival in Ontario, Canada is sometimes touted as the best theatre festival on the continent. The trip can be made from Ann Arbor in under four hours, and many of us have made the festival the site of annual pilgrimages."

# Stratford Festival Mixed Bag

by Rachelle Urist

What do the following song titles have in common: "A Bushel and a Peck," "If I Were a Bell," "Sit Down You're Rockin' the Boat," and "Adelaide's Lament" otherwise known as "A Person Can Develop a Cold?" Answer: These familiar melodies are all from the musical "Guys and Dolls" which is the Stratford highlight this season at the Festival Theatre Stage.

The Stratford Festival in Ontario is sometimes touted as the best theatre festival on the continent. The trip can be made from Ann Arbor in under four hours, and many of us have made the festival the site of annual pilgrimages. The festival's standard of excellence reaches from its stellar actors to its capacity for magical spectacle. The spectacle is everything that Stratford has come to do best: big, glamorous, and lavish. Oftentimes where Stratford fails, it is because the management has tried to make a kind of Busby-Berkeley musical of a chamber or classical piece.

In the case of "Guys and Dolls," the festival's inclinations and the show's needs combine to create the kind of theatrical conflagration that makes for a long-running hit. In fact, according to a theatre-going companion who saw the original Broadway production in 1950, the Stratford one is better. While we have no way to measure their relative worth, the current production is so perfectly cast and richly arranged, that even the most jaded of theatregoers might find patience with the wild enthusiasm of the standing audience ovation at the show's end.

The show is based on the Damon Runyon stories of the '20s and '30s. Runyon's prose was famous for its street language, and his stories' adapters, Frank Loesser, Jo Swerling, and Abe Burrows, took pains to maintain Runyon's vernacular. Women are always "dolls," men pack "rods," and money

is counted in "G's" and "potatoes." The story, which revolves around two couples, takes place in the gambling den of iniquity around 42nd Street and Broadway in New York City. The two leading men are gamblers (as are most of the other low-lives who comprise the sizeable cast). One of the women, a singer, has been engaged to her man for 14 years, and her loyal optimism brands her a dizzy dame. The other woman, a sergeant in the Salvation Army, is netted by her gambling man through a bet. Given that this is musical comedy, both pairs are successfully hitched, and both men reform.

The ensemble is so tight that praise is deserved all around. Scott Wentworth is to be especially commended in his role as Sky Masterson, and Karen Edissi, who plays Adelaide, draws applause and titters with her every ditzy appearance.

In another of this season's spectacles, "Macbeth," also on the Festival stage, Scott Wentworth stands out again, this time as Macduff. It is a strange "Macbeth" when the actor playing Macduff eclipses even the title character, but so he did—at least to these eyes—in spite of the fact that Macbeth is played by the wonderful Brian Bedford. Being the mesmerizing performer that he is, Bedford does manage to command the stage, but he strains under the yoke of his directors' notion that Macbeth is more distracted than ambitious. Worse, Bedford has no one to play against. The usually wonderful Goldie Semple falters as Lady Macbeth, declaiming with endless, false passion. She handles the sleepwalking scene like a mad Ophelia. Something is very wrong.

This "Macbeth" is worth seeing primarily for its astounding five-minute opening. Signaled by a thunderclap, the tragedy begins with a spectacularly choreographed dance-battle, with clash of swords and bodies, followed by the chilling sight of the three witches

spoiling the dead. Having collected their loot, they depart, charging one another to meet again soon. Great promise is heralded in those opening few minutes. Not much of that promise materializes. Part of the problem is that this "Macbeth's" two directors, David William and Robert Beard, have fallen under the spell of Stratford's resources, attempting to make a Broadway spectacle of a Shakespeare tragedy. When costumes, concepts, and accoutrements drown the play, the result is neither Broadway nor Shakespeare. It is simply bad theatre.

Meanwhile back at the Third Stage, a phenomenal production of Racine's "Phaedre" unfolded under the thoughtful and controlled direction of Brian Bedford. His brilliance is to bring very little stage business into play, so neither actor nor audience is distracted from a crystal clear translation in rhymed verse by Richard Wilbur. The poetry is given center stage in this production, and the audience remains riveted on the powerful words which are delivered impeccably by a cast of stars, among them: Patricia Conolly as a sensuous, tormented Phaedre, Colm Feore as the virile stepson, and Douglas Rain as his musical-voiced tutor.

Finally, also on the Third Stage, hearing is given to a contemporary play called "Forever Yours, Marie-Lou" by Canadian playwright Michel Tremblay. Except for some excellent performances by its cast of four which includes the seated and incomparable Susan Wright in a full leg cast (she's wheeled off the stage in a wheelchair), the play is forgettable. It's a long, primal wince. The playwright assails an unhappy family with certain psychological tools to unveil layers of grief and blame, but ultimately, the whole thing is tedious and more or less predictable.

## THEATRE REVIEW

# “What Fresh Hell is This?”



Veteran local actors Annemarie Stoll and Arwulf Arwulf turned in fine performances as a newlywed couple in one of the vignettes in “What Fresh Hell is This?” an original review based upon the works of writer-critic Dorothy Parker. The play made its Ann Arbor debut at the Performance Network on July 12 and ran through July 22.

## A Parker Potpourri

by Lyn Coffin

I can't stand suspense, can you? Life is altogether too full of suspense as it is. Will the car start? Will this check bounce? But a drama review is necessarily a Lady and the Tiger thing, as far as I can tell. Did the Damsel of Delight step forth, shining? Or did the Beast of Boredom swallow you up?

I arrived at “What Fresh Hell is This: An Evening with Dorothy Parker” as the last piece before intermission was beginning, (perhaps in the same spirit as Oscar Wilde forgot the Atlantic, I had forgotten the Art Fair). I slid into my seat just in time to hear The Young Man say to his wife of two hours, “Well, here we are.” Arwulf Arwulf did a first-rate job of presenting a man whose character is compounded of two parts Norwegian Wood, two parts adolescent smarminess, and one part little boy ruefulness. Annemarie Stoll matched him line for line and gesture for gesture—the way she played with those two little limp white gloves in her lap was a marvel—so that the sexual subtext of this piece was brought into sharply comic relief.

After intermission, the theatregoer fared a little less well. Act II began with “Letter from a Goddamn Alp,” which fell between the stools of revealing and amusing, I'm afraid. But what was listed as “Poems” happily evolved into a rendition of “Too Bad” which contained my favorite moments of the evening. Sasha Moscovit played the character of Delia (entirely an off-stage convenience in the original story) to the intimidating-domestic hilt. She turned the single word “Dinner!” into a veritable Annunciation, and set dishes before The Weldons with an “oomph” which spoke volumes as to the Real Trouble in River City. Darrell Stokes, as Mrs. Weldon's on-stage animus/narrator did a nice job whipping himself up into the tearful hysteria which comes when “people refuse to mingle” and “you...say things like ‘daffy-down-dilly.’” Carol Ilku was

less successful as his female counterpart, but she, perhaps, had less to work with.

It is wonderful to hear so many of Mrs. Parker's infamous one-liners brought back and given voice, sometimes two at a crack: “The Swiss are a neat and an industrious people, none of whom is under 75-years of

place she held in the literary world...as to understand the critical disregard into which she subsequently fell” (The Portable Dorothy Parker).

James Moran and Annemarie Stoll have chosen and adapted pieces whose theatricality runs from a recitation of “One Perfect Rose” done rose-in-hand or “A Pig's Eye View of Literature” performed in unconvincing Pythonesque fashion, to the more substantial “Here We Are,” which was never really a short story to begin with. (The exception is one line which amounts to a stage direction—“The young man studied his wristwatch as if he were just acquiring the knack of reading time”—the “fiction” of the piece is limited to page one; the rest is he said/she said dialogue.) One wishes for a greater sense of over-arching structure to the evening; at the same time, one realizes that the adapters have done creditably on stage by a woman who could herself never quite bring things off, theatrically speaking.

In the absence of Spanish influenza, cited by Mrs. Parker as helping so many to achieve graceful getaways, allow one personal anecdote. When my daughter was five, she asked her college-age brother what he was holding. “Well,” he said carefully, “It's a mixture of leaves and berries from certain plants, chosen because they have an especially nice fragrance.” “Oh,” she said, “So it's a potpourri.”

“What Fresh Hell is This?” is a Parker potpourri—a pleasantly evocative and amusing evening. If the Lady who steps forth is a bit dusty and her silk a trifle threadbare, at least the the Beast of Boredom has been kept successfully at bay.

### Dorothy Parker: Epitaph for a Fairly Daring Lady

The Lady of the Town's Round Table,  
Ran her gamut—glib to bold;  
And, sentimentally unstable,  
Let us down by dying old.

White nurse after white hearse day,  
Laughter dazzled all the gutters.  
She frazzled well-versed love away,  
Cursed in no uncertain mutters.

Leave for her no glistening rose.  
Save your money and your pity;  
She's been listening, and she knows  
What remains of her is witty.

—by Lyn Coffin

age. They make cheeses, milk chocolate, and watches, all of which...are pretty fairly unnecessary.” And there were moments during the evening when Parker lines which had previously failed to impress were slid at us like telegrams under the door, in a way guaranteed to both sting and amuse. In “I Live on Your Visits,” for example, Ms. Moscovit hit every divorced or separated person's hot spot (those of us who still have them) with her delivery of, “I'm afraid that your father is not aging with dignity.”

The program notes speak of the company's desire to “select as wide a sample of Parker's work as possible, while keeping an eye on each piece's adaptability to the stage.” For those unfamiliar with Dorothy Parker, this evening might serve as a kind of Reader's Digest introduction to her works, though it is perfectly true, as Brendan Gill has said, that those “coming to Mrs. Parker for the first time may find it as hard to understand the high

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—Vincent Canby, NEW YORK TIMES



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**"Womyn's Rites and Rhythms"** 6 pm (see 1 Wed)**"Who's Afraid of Virginia Wolf":** Michigan Theater 7 pm, 603 E. Liberty. Watch Liz and Dick undress, without taking off their clothes. \$4.50/\$3.50 stud, srs, and under 12. 668-8397**Nine-Ball Tournament: U-M Arts & Programming** 7:30 pm (see 1 Wed)**Meeting: Creation Spirituality** 7:30 pm, Unitarian Universalist Church, 1917 Washtenaw. Hypnotherapist Dawn Koemke will present stress management techniques and lead a guided visualization. Lin 677-3675**Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee (LASC)** 8 pm (see 1 Wed)**"Strapless": Michigan Theater** 9:15 pm (see 10 Fri)**Pickle Brown Betty: Blind Pig** 9:30 pm, 206 S. First. Ska. 996-8555

## 16 Thursday

**Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec.** 5 pm (see 2 Thur)**"Strapless": Michigan Theater** 7:05 pm (see 10 Fri)**"Satori Circus": Performance Network** 8 pm, 408 W. Washington. See Russ Taylor (of Detroit's Fugitive Poetry rock band) in his performance artist incarnation, \$9/\$7 stud & seniors. 663-0681**"Who's Afraid of Virginia Wolf":** Michigan Theater 9 pm (see 15 Wed)**The Opposoms: Blind Pig** 9:30 pm, 206 S. First. 996-8555

## 17 Friday

**Meeting: Alliance for U-M Campus Childcare** noon (see 3 Fri)**Jazz Competition: WEMU & Depot Town Association** 5 pm to 12:30 am, tent next to Depot Town Freight House, Ypsilanti. About 15 aspiring jazz bands will be given audience exposure at the Heritage Festival and over the airwaves of WEMU 89.1 FM. Tonight's headline act is The Regular Boys, a Detroit R&B favorite. 487-2229**Bill Held Trio: Ann Arbor Hilton** 5:30 pm (see 4 Sat)**"God's Social and Political Agenda": Peace InSight** 6:05 pm (see 14 Tue)**"Strapless": Michigan Theater** 7 pm

(see 10 Fri)

**"Satori Circus": Performance Network** 8 pm (see 16 Thu)**Gay Men's Coffee House: Brothers** 8 pm (see 3 Fri)**"Black Rain": Michigan Theater** 9 pm, 603 E. Liberty, \$4.50/\$3.50 stud, srs, and under 12. 668-8397**Detroit Reggae All Stars: Blind Pig** 9:30 pm, 206 S. First. 996-8555**Dance Jam: People Dancing** 10 pm (see 3 Fri)**"Who's Afraid of Virginia Wolf":** Michigan Theater 11:20 pm (see 15 Wed)

## 18 Saturday

**Jazz Competition: WEMU & Depot Town Association** noon to 12:30 am, Tonight's headliner is The Robert Penn Blues Band (see 17 Fri)**"National Velvet": Michigan Theater** 5 pm, 603 E. Liberty, \$4.50/\$3.50 stud, srs, and under 12. 668-8397**Salvadoran Dinner & Dance: Pilar Celaya and family** 6:30 pm, Quaker House, 1416 Hill St. A benefit for the Celayas who live in sanctuary in A2. Please make reservations. Leave your preference of vegetarian or non-vegetarian as soon as possible, \$7 minimum donation. 930-9767**"Black Rain": Michigan Theater** 7:30 pm (see 17 Fri)**"Satori Circus": Performance Network** 8 pm (see 16 Thu)**Bill Held Trio: Ann Arbor Hilton** 8 pm (see 4 Sat)**The Scott Morgan Band: Blind Pig** 9:30 pm, 206 S. First. 996-8555**"Strapless": Michigan Theater** 9:45 pm (see 10 Fri)

## 19 Sunday

**"Sheep to Shawl": Dept. of Parks & Rec.** noon to 4 pm, Cobblestone Farm, 2781 Packard Rd. This month's "Living History Day" features early American methods of processing wool, \$1.50/\$.75 children & seniors. 994-2928**Jazz Competition: WEMU & Depot Town Association** 1 to 6 pm, Tonight's headliner is the Henry Ford Community College Jazz Band (see 17 Fri)**Meeting: Parents-FLAG/Ann Arbor** 2 pm, King of Kings Lutheran Church, 2685 Packard. 763-4186**Jambalaya Jamboree: Prism Prod.** 2 pm, Castle Farms, Charlevoix. A full day of outdoor blues and zydeco music, \$10-\$12. 665-4755**Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec.** 4 pm (see 2 Thur)**"National Velvet": Michigan Theater** 4:40 pm (see 18 Sat)**Big Circle Meeting: Huron Valley Greens** 6 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. Tonight's topic will be the National Green Gathering. Potluck. 663-0003**"Satori Circus": Performance Network** 6:30 pm (see 16 Thu)**"Black Rain": Michigan Theater** 7 pm (see 17 Fri)**Women's Music: Gay Liberation** 9 pm (see 5 Sun)**"Strapless": Michigan Theater** 9:15 pm (see 10 Fri)

## 20 Monday

**"Middle East Perspectives"** 6:30 pm, 88.3 FM (see 6 Mon)**"Black Rain": Michigan Theater** 7 pm (see 17 Fri)**Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation** 8:45 pm (see 6 Mon)**"Strapless": Michigan Theater** 9:20 pm (see 10 Fri)**Somechin' Wild: Blind Pig** 9:30 pm, 206 S. First. 996-8555

## 21 Tuesday

**Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec.** 5 pm (see 2 Thur)**"Closets are for Clothes": Lesbian/Gay Radio Collective** 6 pm (see 7 Tue)**"Strapless": Michigan Theater** 7 pm (see 10 Fri)**"Healing Mother Earth": Peace InSight** 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Matthew Fox, the renowned proponent of creation-based spirituality, describes the ancient ways of interconnectedness and interdependence instead of patriarchy and domination. 769-7422**"Black Rain": Michigan Theater** 9 pm (see 17 Fri)**John Doe: Blind Pig** 9:30 pm, 206 S. First. 996-8555

## 22 Wednesday

**"Womyn's Rites and Rhythms"** 6 pm (see 1 Wed)**"Black Rain": Michigan Theater** 7 pm (see 17 Fri)**Pagan Spirituality: Open Arches/Huron Valley Covenant of Unitarian-Universalist Pagans** 7:30 pm, Unitarian Universalist Church, 1917 Washtenaw. Workshop on beginning ritual definitions, associations and practices. Pre-register Kay 482-2278**Nine-Ball Tournament: U-M Arts & Programming** 7:30 pm (see 1 Wed)**Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee (LASC)** 8 pm (see 1 Wed)**"Strapless": Michigan Theater** 9:20 pm (see 10 Fri)**Gangster Fun: Blind Pig** 9:30 pm, 206 S. First. Reggae. 996-8555

## 23 Thursday

**Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec.** 5 pm (see 2 Thur)**"Strapless": Michigan Theater** 7:15 pm (see 10 Fri)**"Jacques and his Master": Performance Network** 8 pm, 408 W. Washington. Milan Kundera's experimental drama about love and laughter, \$9/\$7 stud & seniors. 663-0681**"Black Rain": Michigan Theater** 9:15 pm (see 17 Fri)**Assymlby Required: Blind Pig** 9:30 pm, 206 S. First. 996-8555

## 24 Friday

**Woodworks Exhibit: U-M Student and Staff Woodshop** all day, thru Sept. 12. 763-4025**Meeting: Alliance for U-M Campus Childcare** noon (see 3 Fri)**Bill Held Trio: Ann Arbor Hilton** 5:30 pm (see 4 Sat)**"Healing Mother Earth": Peace InSight** 6:05 pm (see 21 Tue)**"The Ten Commandments": Michigan Theater** 7:30 pm, 603 E. Liberty, \$4.50/\$3.50 stud, srs, and under 12. 668-8397**"Jacques and his Master": Performance Network** 8 pm (see 23 Thur)**The Difference: Blind Pig** 9:30 pm, 206 S. First. 996-8555

## 25 Saturday

**"Reveling on the River Music Series": Dept. of Parks & Rec.** 6:30 pm, Gallup Park Livery, 3000 Fuller Rd. Listen to jazz pianist Jerry Perrine on a deck overlooking the Huron River. 662-9319**"The Ten Commandments": Michigan Theater** 7:30 pm (see 24 Fri)**"Jacques and his Master": Performance Network** 8 pm (see 23 Thur)**Bill Held Trio: Ann Arbor Hilton** 8 pm (see 4 Sat)**The Steve Nardella Rock and Roll Trio: Blind Pig** 9:30 pm, 206 S. First. 996-8555

## 26 Sunday

**Tri-Kids: Dept. of Parks & Rec.** 8 am, Fuller Pool, 1519 Fuller Rd. A 1K run, 5K bike race and 100-meter swim for ages 7-10. Distance will be doubled for ages 11-14. Kids are asked to obtain pledges for the Arthritis Foundation, \$5. 662-4226**"The Ten Commandments": Michigan Theater** 2 & 6:30 pm (see 24 Fri)**Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec.** 4 pm (see 2 Thur)**"Jacques and his Master": Performance Network** 6:30 pm (see 23 Thur)**Women's Music: Gay Liberation** 9 pm (see 5 Sun)

## 27 Monday

**"Middle East Perspectives"** 6:30 pm, 88.3 FM (see 6 Mon)**"The Ten Commandments": Michigan Theater** 7:30 pm (see 24 Fri)**Shamanic Journeying: Creation Spirituality** 7:30 pm (see 13 Mon)**Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation** 8:45 pm (see 6 Mon)**Noize That Hertz: Blind Pig** 9:30 pm, 206 S. First. 996-8555

## 28 Tuesday

**Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec.** 5 pm (see 2 Thur)

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"Lysistrata": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV,  
Cable Channel 9. The classic Greek comedy by Aristophanes  
in which the women vow to stop making love with men until  
men stop making war! 769-7422

"The Ten Commandments": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm  
(see 24 Fri)

Independent Label: Blind Pig 9:30 pm, 206 S. First. All  
Ages. 996-8555

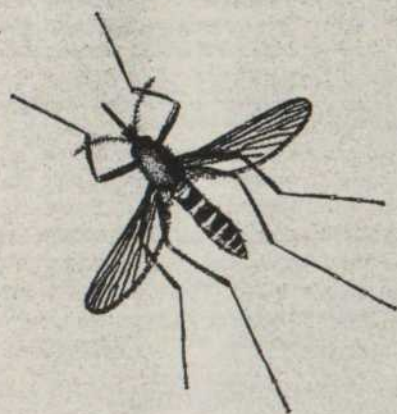
## 29 Wednesday

"Womyn's Rites and Rhythms" 6 pm (see 1 Wed)

Nine-Ball Tournament: U-M Arts & Programming 7:30 pm  
(see 1 Wed)

"The Ten Commandments": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm  
(see 24 Fri)

Meeting: LASC 8 pm (see 1 Wed)



## 30 Thursday

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks &  
Rec. 5 pm (see 2 Thur)

"The Ten Commandments": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm  
(see 24 Fri)

"Jacques and his Master": Performance Network 8 pm  
(see 23 Thur)

Thunder and Barney & Covingtons: Blind Pig 9:30 pm, 206  
S. First. 996-8555

## 31 Friday

Meeting: Alliance for U-M Campus Childcare noon (see 3  
Fri)

"Lysistrata": Peace InSight 6:05 pm (see 28 Tue)

"Dr. Zhivago": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm, 603 E. Liberty,  
\$4.50/\$3.50 stud, srs, and under 12. 668-8397

"Jacques and his Master": Performance Network 8 pm  
(see 23 Thur)

Gay Men's Coffee House: Brothers 8 pm (see 3 Fri)

Trinidad Tripoli Steel Band: Blind Pig 9:30 pm, 206 S. First.  
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# COMMUNITY RESOURCE DIRECTORY

## A Win for Consenting Adults in Michigan

On July 9 Wayne County Circuit Court Judge John Murphy struck down longstanding Michigan statutes against sodomy and gross indecency. Judge Murphy declared that these laws violated citizens' rights to privacy under the the State of Michigan constitution. Still illegal under State law are sexual acts involving minors, sexual acts engaged in public, and sexual acts involving force.

According to Murphy, his ruling affects only the sections of the sodomy and indecency statutes that deal with the behavior of consenting adults in private. The laws in question pertained not only to sexual acts between persons of the same sex, but also to acts of oral and anal intercourse between persons of both sexes, including married couples.

The ruling spoke to a two-year-old lawsuit brought by the Michigan Organization for Human Rights (MOHR) and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Other plaintiffs were the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, and twelve individual citizens of Michigan. The individual plaintiffs, including Verna Spayth of Ann Arbor, had stated that the laws had a "chilling effect" on their behavior. The suit was brought against Wayne County Prosecutor John O'Hair and Michigan Attorney General Frank Kelley. It is unclear whether the ruling will be appealed.

Attorney David Piontkowsky, who represented MOHR stated that, "This is an important victory for everyone concerned with privacy rights in this country." Similar comments were voiced by Howard Simon, Executive Director of the Michigan ACLU. For further information, call the MOHR office at 537-MOHR or (517) 887-2605.

The 15th Michigan Womyn's Music Festival will be held August 15-19 in Oceana County, 20 miles east of Lake Michigan between Hart and Ludington. For information, write WWTMC, Box 22, Walhalla, MI 49458 or telephone (616) 757-4766. Call 763-4186 for possible carpool information.

**Gay Liberation's Purpose** is to provide information, counseling, and related social services for people concerned about sexual orientation.

**Community Services** include: a **Hotline** for crisis intervention, peer counseling, referral. **Education:** 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 who are being discriminated against 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 subcommittees (counseling, groupwork, education, civil rights). Call for time and place. We are U-M students, staff, faculty, and people from the larger community.

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

## SAPAC Needs Phone Counselors

The University of Michigan Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center (SAPAC) has been open for four years. As a result, there is much more information about rape prevention on campus and more ways for people to get involved in fighting against sexual assault and sexism.

SAPAC was established in 1986 due to the awareness and activism of students. Our 24-hour counseling line (936-3333) began operating in Oct. 1988. Currently we need women volunteers to answer phones and provide emergency intervention and support to sexual assault survivors and their friends and family at the hospital, the police station and other locations.

Part of our goal as an educational center is to convey information that challenges popular myths about rape. While some rapes are committed by strangers who either break into homes or strike outside at night, the vast majority of rapes are committed by acquaintances. In fact, 90% of all rapes on college campuses are acquaintance rapes. Another common mis-

conception about rape is that Black men rape white women. In fact, 93% of the time, the rapist is the same race and social class as the survivor of the assault.

Volunteering for the crisis line is a rewarding experience in which one can help a person in need, dispel popular myths and work towards changing societal attitudes. We are looking for women who would be willing to donate 10-15 hours a month toward staffing the line. Training for phone counselors will begin in September. Experience in phone or peer counseling is preferred but not necessary. Women of color are encouraged to apply to work on the line for their experience and support is valuable to rape crisis work. Applications are available at the SAPAC office. For more information call 763-5865.

U-M Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center (SAPAC), 580 Union Dr., Room L107, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, 763-5865, 24-hour counseling line: 936-3333.

## WAND: "Saving All Creation"

On Sat., Aug. 4, people from all over the state will be gathering at Wurtsmith Airforce base in Oscoda to protest the United States' insistence on continuing the nuclear arms race, even though the Cold War has ended. The event is called SAC Exchange Day (to change the meaning of SAC, Strategic Air Command, to Saving All Creation.) Those who want to participate in faith-centered nonviolent direct action are particularly invited. Nonviolence training and training for support people will be given at the regional retreat on Thursday evening, Aug. 2 and all day Friday, Aug. 3. Call Sally Head for more information at 971-0614. Those who would like to attend the SAC Day as witnesses, to witness but not be involved in the civil resistance, are also strongly encouraged to come. WAND is one of the endorsers of this commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

On Sun., Aug. 5 Ann Arbor will have its own Hiroshima Day commemoration, "A Celebration of Life, Peace and Our Future" at the Gallup Park Picnic Shelters from 6 to 9:30 pm. There will be a potluck picnic (bring your own tableware), children's activities (origami with Don Shall, cooperative games with Stan ting Hiroshima, and members of the Japanese delegation here from

our sister city, Hikone, Japan. There will be an interfaith worship service which includes a wide variety of traditions, and a lantern boat launch on the river. In case of rain, everything (except the boat launch!) will take place at Temple Beth Emeth/St. Clare's Episcopal Church at 2309 Packard. Call 663-1870 to find out the location if the weather is questionable. WAND is one of the sponsors along with Interfaith Council for Peace and Justice, the other members of the 2nd District Coalition for Arms Control, and many area congregations.

At the regular second-Sunday-of-the-month WAND meeting on Aug. 12, the powerful videotape "Coverup: Behind the Iran Contra Affair" will be shown. It documents activities of our nation's "shadow government" and the CIA which all of us working for peace and justice need to understand. The meeting begins at 7:30 pm at St. Aidan's/Northside Church, 1679 Broadway (across from the Baits Drive entrance to North Campus.) Call 761-1718 for more information.

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

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# Is Anti-Zionism Anti-Semitism?

Part II of a Speech by Marc H. Ellis

***"I.F. Stone, the great Jewish political writer, said that all governments are liars and so, I would add, is Israel."***

Recovering the tradition of dissent and the inclusive liturgy of destruction demands of us the following admissions: First, what we as Jews have done to the Palestinians since the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 is wrong; Second, in the process of conquering and displacing the Palestinian people, we as Jews have done what has been done to us over two millennia; Third, in this process, we are becoming everything we loathe about our oppressors; Fourth, it is only in confrontation with state power in Israel that Jews can move beyond being victim or oppressor; and Fifth, the movement beyond victimization and oppression can only come through a solidarity with those we have displaced, a solidarity with the Palestinian people.

I often recall the quote from the German Catholic theologian Johann Baptist Metz in referring to the future of Jewish/Christian relationships after the Holocaust. He wrote "We Christians can never go back behind Auschwitz. To go beyond Auschwitz, if we see clearly, is impossible for us by ourselves; it is possible only together with the victims of Auschwitz. The only way Christians in the West can move forward after the Holocaust is to carry Jews with them."

I would paraphrase that in relation to the Jewish/Palestinian struggle in this way: we Jews can never go back behind empowerment. To go beyond empowerment—if we see clearly—is impossible for us by ourselves. It is possible only with the victims of our empowerment, the Palestinian people. That is, our future is bound up with the Palestinian people in exactly the same way that Jews and Christians are bound in the West. If we understand that we can only move forward with the victims of our empowerment, then a confrontation with Jewish power is inevitable.

Jews have confronted state power in the West for over 1500 years. We've been the victims of Western Christian state power. We became experts at confronting it, theologically. But we don't know what to do with our own state power. We're out of practice. We haven't had a state for 2000 years. I.F. Stone, the great Jewish political writer, said that all governments are liars and so, I would add, is Israel. The United States government lies, the Russian government lies, and Israel, as a government, lies.

We need to begin thinking about the Jewish community in Israel and Palestine, rather than the Jewish state. It is self-governing, as other Jewish communities have been throughout history. It has 3 million Jews, it's a medium-sized city in Western terms. I often try to think of Shamir as being a councilman. That's what he would be in the county I come from in Florida. The difference is that Israel has a military.

What will be remembered about Israel is the expansion of Jewish settlement in Israel and Palestine, but the state will not be remembered in Jewish history. That's significant. The state as it is now is a ghetto surrounded by people who aren't naturally hostile. And in that way, it is in continuity with the Warsaw ghetto. It is a militarized, and, yes, nuclearized ghetto. But there's only one way out of that ghetto: relativize the state.

When we think about the state, we think of redemption, innocence and redemption. But there are prisons, not just for Palestinians but for Jews in Israel. There's prostitution. There are banks. There is unemployment. There are classes. There's racism. There's wife beating. There's rape. There are drugs. It's a state like any other state. We don't talk about it that way when we speak theologically, huh? It is this innocence. There's even political corruption and scandal involved as in other states.

And it's a system, not just individuals. A Palestinian on my last trip told me about his experience in Ansar 2 where a commander came in, brought all the Palestinians together, thousands, and said "I want to tell you that I respect you, that you deserve a Palestinian state, and I am with you, and as long as I am here you will be treated with that respect."

The tour of duty in that concentration camp is usually 28 days. And of course like any state, you don't want the prisoners and guards to be around each other too long because they might become friendly. This commander was transferred out after six days. So, it's not that all Jewish-Israelis are terrible. That's not the issue. The commander was in a system of power in a state. And when he didn't toe the line, he was replaced.

What is the vocation of the Jewish people, state-building or community-building?

I believe that the vocation of our people is critical thought and activity. You don't get that in nuclearized ghettos. But they can lead to what Yahoshua Liebowitz, a great Jewish theologian, terms Judeo-Nazis. And if you want to hear somebody who's tough on Israel, you ought to talk to Liebowitz, who has been there since the 1920s. This doesn't mean that the Jewish community has no political dimensions, and that Judaism is without politics.

In diverse Jewish communities, including in Israel as a community, what is our empowerment going to be? Over and against another? That's the question. We have a right to be empowered, but not over or against others. So if we: confront the state of Israel; if we recover the communal aspects of Jewish life in diverse Jewish communities around the world, including the Jewish community in Israel; if we're asked the vocational task of Jewish history, we begin to create a Jewish theology which relativizes the state of Israel, critically addresses the history we are creating, and places the Palestinian people at the center of our concern in our theology. By doing this, by placing the Palestinians at the center of our theology, we are advised of who we have become. And we're also challenged to ask the question, who do we want to be? Thus, the task of Jewish theology comes into focus, and that is to lay the groundwork for solidarity with the Palestinian people and ultimately to embrace the Palestinians. Any Jewish theology—conservative, liberal, and/or progressive—which does not place the Palestinian people at the center, is a theology which legitimates torture and death. It keeps the system going. Any theology that doesn't confront state power in Israel legitimates it.

## The Hidden Tradition of Critical Thought

Recovering the tradition of dissent and the inclusive liturgy of destruction leads to a renewal of the third tradition, unmentioned in Holocaust theology. Remember, this inclusive liturgy of destruction is never mentioned in Holocaust theology. In fact if you look in Tom Segev's book, as the expulsion of the Palestinians was going on, a top level ministerial committee meeting was held. One of the issues discussed were some reports from the field and somebody said, "Those are Nazi actions." And another minister said, "We never use that term."

We've been taught to repress and suppress what is the deepest part of our history. So that third tradition, that unmentioned in Holocaust theology, is what I call the hidden tradition of critical thought, and this comes from Hannah Arendt.

What is this hidden tradition? It came out of Europe, among European Jews who were in between European culture and Jewish culture. Some-

one like Hannah Arendt, but also Franz Kafka, Sigmund Freud, Walter Benjamin, and in a very beautiful way, Anne Frank and Etty Hillesum. If you look at these two diaries of Anne Frank and Etty Hillesum, if you read them again, you can see women who are searching for spirituality. They're Jewish, but they're also willing to search other places too. They're liberated women. They think about community. They think of themselves. They are thinking about sexuality. They're free. They're emerging in the world. They're involved in the world. Etty Hillesum, for instance, could have escaped from Holland but chose to go to her death in Auschwitz.

Anyway, this great aspect of Jewish thought emerged because of a creative tension between Europe and Judaism. That is Jews—maybe all peoples—think better when we are in dialogue with partners. Today we need a revival of that tradition, because on the most critical issues facing the Jewish people, we can no longer think.

So I want to suggest two dialogue partners: our former enemies (Western Christians) who have undergone part of the community of transformation because, partly, of their understanding of the suffering they've caused others (including Jews). People like Gustavo Gutiérrez, who has written a beautiful book on Job. People like Isabel Carter Heyward, an Episcopalian woman, a lesbian, who wrote a beautiful book on revolutionary forgiveness asking how the Nicaraguan people could forgive Americans for what they're doing. (They can only forgive them in the context of moving toward justice.) Rosemary Radford Ruether talks about false and prophetic hope and, of course, Johann Baptist Metz. I'm just mentioning very briefly these Christians who have taken our suffering seriously and now can help teach us if we are in dialogue with them.

It's a paradox that former enemies can teach us. And of course we cannot think unless we have other partners. The Palestinian people are asking of us questions which we have to face by looking at the Uprising. We have to face the fact that we suffered in Europe, not in Palestine. We have to begin by talking about a democratic, secular, pluralist state. I went down and started a dialogue on Jewish Theology of Liberation in Cyprus with Arab and Palestinian theologians. There, I met a Palestinian Christian who said "I have a question about God just like your tradition does. You have had difficulty with God after your suffering. I have difficulty with God in our suffering." With these new partners, who are also ancient partners, our former enemies and our present enemies, we may be able to think again because they confront our history the way we, in times past, have confronted other histories.

But to begin that dialogue, we need the ecumenical dialogue in the West to change, and I want to speak one minute about that. There has been, since the Vatican Council in the 1960s, an ecumenical deal between Jews and Christians in the West, and here's the deal: Christians repented their sins of which we could speak forever, not just against the Jewish people, but against many peoples, and accepted Israel as central to Jewish identity. Any criticism of Israel means that you're no longer repenting of your sins, therefore any criticism of Israel is anti-Jewish. This leads Christians sometimes to a deafening silence about what we are doing and who we have become—"I can't speak about that. We've caused your people too much suffering." That's a frightened silence. On the other hand, because of that deal, we sometimes have a paternalistic embrace—"You're so beautiful. As a Jew, you're so beautiful"—you know the times when you get hugged so tightly that you

can't breathe? I've been hugged that way.

We need neither a frightened silence nor a paternalistic embrace, but a critical solidarity. And I would say Christians cannot be in solidarity with the Jewish people unless they are in solidarity with the Palestinian people. If you're a friend of the Jewish people, speak before it's too late. But it's difficult, because part of Western Christian renewal has been to see the Jewish partner as innocent, as moving toward redemption. Jews have to move beyond innocence and redemption, and so do Christians.

How do I determine anti-Semitism in terms of anti-Zionism? Very, very simple. If a Western Christian hearing me says "There goes those damn Jews again," it's anti-Jewish. But if they say "We have been torturing and displacing and murdering people for 1500 years, and we still legitimate it," then we have a new path of solidarity. So the ecumenical deal is over if you're going to call yourself a friend of the Jewish people. Now, a lot of Jews want that ecumenical deal to continue. They are begging for it to continue.

I want to close with the last paragraph of my famous or infamous article (depending on your perspective) that was published here. "In the coming months as in the previous years, the questions that I have raised will essentially remain unasked, at least in public. Those who raise them in public will be vilified. Jewish theologians will continue to legitimate Israeli behavior, or when this is no longer possible, at least, equivocate it. But the consequences of Israel's power and the power it exercises to destroy a people are too serious to be ignored. The day of reckoning will come. By then, however, we Jews will survey with Walter Benjamin, the treasures of victory which have an origin, which we cannot contemplate without horror. That is the day Jews will relate with tears the history we have bequeathed to our children. To minimize that history, we must act now. We are very nearly to it."

(Ed. note: For Part 1 of this article see AGENDA, July 1990.)

## Indian Militance

(from page one)

can families on a historic and grueling trek known as the "Trail of Tears" because of the hundreds of men, women and children who starved, froze to death, and collapsed of sheer exhaustion along the way. In 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act mandated cultural assimilation as a precondition for human rights and was opposed by many Native American activists.

This is the legacy of oppression, betrayal and genocide which is the foundation for current struggles over Native American rights in the Americas. We should try to deepen our understanding of this history in order to better understand and support the contemporary struggle which has grown out of a past that most Americans would like not to face. If we are to come to grips with current political issues involving Native American rights to land and resources, we must bury John Wayne, demystify Columbus, and pay our respects to the memory of Cochise, Geronimo and other valiant freedom fighters.

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