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FREE

AGENDA

ANN ARBOR'S ALTERNATIVE NEWSMONTHLY

WAR & PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

“The Impact of the Gulf Crisis
on Prospects for
Palestinian-Israeli Peace”

A Speech by Dr. Yigal Arens

On October 18, Dr. Yigal Arens spoke on the University of Michigan campus. Arens is an activist in the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, a researcher at the University of Southern California, and the son of Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens. The following article is an abridged version of his speech.

The U.S. has traditionally claimed that its involvement in the Middle East is due, in great part, to the need to protect against Soviet incursions there, Soviet control of oil, or Soviet influence on countries in that region. That's simply not true. The U.S. has been involved in the Middle East because it wants a smooth and regular flow of oil from that area to its economy and the economy of its Western allies.

The main threat to a smooth flow of oil from the Middle East to the West is not the Soviet Union, especially not today, with the Soviet Union pretty much removed from the international arena as a powerful actor. The main threat was always the local population.

The Saudi government is made up of an extended family of kings and princes which is a throwback to Medieval times. They do not represent their people in any normal sense of the word. They're not subject to criticism or election by their people.

If anybody is going to cut off Saudi oil supplies to the West, it's not going to be the Soviet Union, and no one ever thought it would be. It would be those people living there who would try to take control of the country and its resources and use them for their own good—which often tends to conflict with U.S. interests.

In order to have an influence on what happens in the Middle East, it is often good to have some proxy which is capable of intervening in countries around the area when the need may arise, and which can be relied on to do things right. That is the task that Israel has been performing for the United States. The U.S. has not been sending Israel billions of

Let's admit it: the Israelis are absolutely right. The reason the U.S. voted for condemnation of Israel in the U.N. is... for political reasons. It has an alliance now with Arab countries in the Gulf, and it was deemed more important to preserve that alliance than to continue supporting Israel. And so there was some shift. It was purely political, but it has always been that way. So people who talk about a double standard are completely wrong. The U.S. has a single standard; they support their friends, and oppose their enemies.

dollars over the years—more than any other country in the world, in fact—because they like Israelis, or because Israel is democratic (if it is). They've been sending it because there are specific tasks the U.S. has in mind for Israel, and it wants Israel to be strong and prepared for them if the need arises.

Intifada: Impetus for Change

But something happened in late 1987 that changed things a little bit. Until that point, Israel had been occupying territories it had captured from Egypt, Jordan, and Syria in 1967, and that hadn't been a major concern of the United States. Israel had a job to do, and whether it wanted to occupy a few more areas really didn't matter too much.

But at the end of 1987 came the first mass popular uprising that the Occupied Territories had ever seen. There was some resistance immediately after the war in 1967, but the Territories have been pretty much quiet until this recent uprising.

It took a few months, but then it became clear that this was something that was not going to pass quickly. Resistance continued, and the Israelis poured huge amounts of people, money and effort into trying to quell the unrest, without great success. There is also a financial aspect to the uprising. There are a variety of estimates, but one could guess that a half billion dollars a year has been spent because of the intifada. That's a lot of money,

and the U.S. has to pay it in the end.

Probably more important were the military effects on Israel. At the height of the intifada, it was reported that the Israelis had more troops in the Occupied Territories than were needed to occupy them in the first place in 1967. Even more worrisome, from the military standpoint, was that these people were being taken away from other jobs which the Israelis consider more important.

Once the U.S. realized that this was a major drain on Israeli military power, the United States concluded that it had to seek some political settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The intifada began in December 1987, and in March 1988, just four months later, [then-Secretary of State George] Schultz circulated a letter explaining the U.S. plan for a political resolution of the problem, which at the time envisioned King Hussein taking some control of the Occupied Territories away from the Israelis. Schultz's proposal didn't work out. A few months later the King announced quite clearly that he had no interest in further involvement in Palestinian affairs, and that he would prefer to leave the matter up to the Palestinians

and the PLO.

Since this continued to be a pressing problem, it didn't take long until the U.S. started hinting to Palestinians that if the right incantation was made by Yasser Arafat, the U.S. would accept them as a party to negotiations.

There really was no choice. Once King Hussein was out of the picture, a political agreement could only be reached if the Israelis talked to someone who represented the Palestinians, and the Palestinians had for many, many years insisted that they were represented by the PLO and no one else. So in November 1988, the Palestinians first tried to formulate the right statement. It didn't quite work, but a month later they met again in Geneva, where Yasser Arafat managed to say it just right, and the U.S. began talking to the PLO.

As I see it, this was part of an effort to reach a political settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The U.S. was not doing this because it finally discovered that the Palestinians have been wronged, that they deserve better. The fact is that the U.S. is interested in a strong state of Israel and the intifada is a drain on it.

Then the process started hitting snags; there were the Baker five points, and the Israelis sort of agreed and then backed away, and there was a long struggle, and finally it ended in a stalemate. But I think that what is important is to note that the U.S. never backed away from this. Even now that there's disagreement about the definition of terrorism and Abul Abbas' position in the PLO, the U.S.' official position is that as soon as that is remedied, America will continue talking to the PLO. It's important to remember how this all started.

Big Iraq Attack

Let's put the situation in Israel aside for a minute, and talk about the Persian Gulf to see how this all ties in. What does Iraq want? Why did this thing start?

Iraq invaded Kuwait at the beginning of August. Iraq's main problem is that while almost their entire source of hard currency is oil, they have little ability to control the flow of oil out of the country. It's a big country, but it's pretty much landlocked except for a very, very small sliver of the Persian Gulf that they have access to. Most countries in the area ship their oil out through tankers that travel in the Persian Gulf, but Iraq has shipped almost all its oil through a pipeline that runs through other countries.

Now, anyone who has any kind of sympathy with the U.S. position that it cannot allow its economic lifeline to be controlled by some

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Let's put the situation in Israel aside for a minute, and talk about the Persian Gulf to see how this all ties in. What does Iraq want? Why did this thing start?

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LETTERS

Stop U-M Deputization

In a record student turnout for MSA elections last winter, 70% of students voted against the deputization of a private U-M police force, accountable to the regents alone. The regents chose to ignore this. Over the summer, when the majority of students were not on campus and unable to protest, the regents voted to create a 24-person armed force.

At the last regent's meeting, over 250 students packed the public comments section, demanding that the regents reverse their decision and allow student input into the issue of safety. Students argued that arming private officers would not lead to increased safety, but merely to increased harassment of students, particularly students of color, women, gay men, bisexuals and lesbians. Spending millions of dollars on arming cops will make no student feel safer; it will lead to a diversion of funds away from programs that really increase campus safety, such as Safewalk, increased lighting and education. It will lead to union busting. It will lead to huge tuition increases.

The regents are returning to Ann Arbor on November 15. This will give students another opportunity to voice their disapproval against the callous-

WAR & PEACE

(from page 1)

uppity country "over there," will understand that the Iraqis have a lot of trouble knowing that Turkey or Syria or Jordan can turn off their oil pipeline whenever they feel like it. And they have wanted to do something about that situation for quite a while. They started a war with Iran which in great part was aimed at getting access to a waterway that was shared by the two countries, so that they could send tankers into the Gulf. That war did not end very successfully for Iraq, and so another "natural" way for them to go about this would be to take over two islands that are owned by Kuwait, islands which block access from the Gulf to that portion of Iraq that does border on the water.

One other issue that was really important was the price of oil. Iraq had just ended a long and very costly war with Iran, and in order to rebuild they needed as much money as they could get, which meant a higher price for oil. There are all kinds of agreements between oil-producing countries, as everyone knows, and there was a price agreed to. Then the Kuwaitis, Iraq claims, began driving down the price which some Iraqis say was done intentionally to ruin their economy.

Now the U.S. knew about these things. Specifically, the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq had a meeting with Saddam Hussein a few weeks before the invasion. The Iraqis have published a transcript of that meeting, which the U.S. has not denied (though it has not confirmed it, either).

There are two points that came out in that conversation that I would like to mention here, because I think that they're important. The first is that when Saddam Hussein told the American Ambassador the troubles Iraqis were having with Kuwait, and said that they would like to see the price of oil rise to \$25 a barrel, the response of the American Ambassador was that there were many in the U.S. who felt the same way.

The second point is that Saddam Hussein told the American Ambassador that if there was no other way to resolve the problem with Kuwait, Iraq might be forced to use their military—and he wanted to know what the U.S. response to such a move would be. The American Ambassador responded that as far as the U.S. was concerned, such military action would be viewed as an internal Arab problem and the U.S. would not intervene. Now, you can understand that any way you want, but you can't be surprised to hear that Saddam Hussein thought, or may have thought, that this meant it was fine with the United States if Iraq occupied Kuwait.

One interpretation—one that sounds rea-

ness of the university regents and administration. Gather at the cube at 1 pm.

Also, the MSA Student Rights Commission has open meetings every Tuesday at 6 pm in the MSA office, third floor, Mich. Union. All interested in helping organize against deputization are encouraged to attend or call 763-3241 for more information.

Mark Buchen
ANN ARBOR, MI

Thanks for the Intro

I got your October AGENDA. I especially liked Stephanie Harrell's "Hidden Treasure." Two sentences particularly caught my eye, probably because they pretty much summed up my philosophy: "[H]e never claimed right and justice as the peculiar possession of those who agreed with him." And "His belief was that if people would open their minds enough to listen, a climate would gradually be created where people could live fuller lives."

I wish I could have the opportunity to peruse the Labadie Collection, but that's impossible, unfortunately for me. I do appreciate Ms. Harrell introducing me to it though.

George Norris Hall
COLDWATER, MI

sonable to me—is that since the U.S. was also interested in a rise in oil prices, and it wanted to give a signal to the Kuwaitis that they would be in trouble if they didn't agree. The U.S. knew that such a conversation would make its way around the Gulf, and if the Kuwaitis heard that the U.S. didn't strongly oppose military action, they would get scared and agree to hold prices at the \$25 level. Things didn't work out that way, and it's not really possible to find out more about this, since the U.S. Ambassador in question has been on some sort of permanent vacation since the invasion and cannot be found. At any rate, it's possible that Saddam Hussein was very surprised by the vigor of the U.S. response after he invaded Kuwait.

Shifting Alliances

There is one main consequence of the conflict in the Gulf, one that is going to have a lasting effect. And that is an open and very great split within the Arab world. This is the first time a group of countries is openly allied with what just a few years ago would have been called an "imperialist" force. We have leaders of Saudi Arabia and other countries in the region openly calling for a war, an attack, against a "sister" Arab country. This is something that we haven't seen before, and something that is not going to be forgotten soon.

I think it shows us that the split in the Arab world is going to remain, and is going to be a major influence on the direction of U.S. policy in the Gulf in the future. I think that the alliance we see now between the U.S. and several Arab governments is going to remain an important part of our foreign policy in the region—the main reason for it being that Iraq will remain a strong force, and that from the point of view of the United States, it has to be contained.

A point I want to make is something of a joke, actually. This is a university, and people
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Columbus Legacy a Lie

Great sales and festivities will undoubtedly be planned for the 500th anniversary of Columbus's first trans-Atlantic voyage, but that landmark also provides an opportunity to question the appropriateness of uncritical celebrations. Such a debate could possibly lead to the discovery of the American past, which is quite different from the myths at the heart of the Columbus legacy.

Although Columbus never set foot on land that has become one of the United States, a federal holiday honors him, we learn at an early age, for his courage, daring, and "discovery" of the "New World."

It is possible that within two years many more Americans will become aware of Columbus's personal shortcomings, such as his well-documented slave-trading and

by Dan Clark

sadistic, genocidal treatment of native Arawaks in his quest for nonexistent gold. But the venerable myth of "discovery" is perhaps even more sinister.

The idea of discovery underpins the most enduring and simplistic version of American history. If there was truly a discovery, familiar notions like New World, wilderness, virgin land, pioneers and settlers—the core of so many meditations on the "American character"—make sense. Yet if to discover means "to see or learn about for the first time," it is obvious that the Arawaks and other people who had been living on this side of the Atlantic for centuries discovered the region first.

The entire North American continent had been settled, by human beings, for tens of

thousands of years prior to Columbus's first voyage. American history has been unable to accommodate this simple, indisputable fact. Most non-Indian newcomers did not understand or appreciate native use of the land, and they often did not recognize native people as full-fledged human beings.

A commonly used dictionary defines wilderness as "a region uncultivated and uninhabited by human beings." Once the humanity of native Americans is recognized, the racism inherent in this familiar term is obvious to anyone. If virgin land is "unaltered by human activity," there was very little to be had on this continent when non-Indians arrived. The true pioneers, "the first to settle in a territory," had been sustaining themselves on the land for centuries.

(see COLUMBUS, page 11)

ELECTION EDITORIALS



Grace Shackman for County Commissioner

Grace Shackman has been a hard-working, effective first-term county commissioner and deserves to be re-elected. She works well with people and quietly gets things done.

Grace serves on the county-wide Solid Waste Management Task Force and was instrumental in forming the Washtenaw County Solid Waste Task Consortium that 13 local communities and public institutions have joined. She also serves on the Head Start Policy Committee, Housing Bureau for Seniors, Washtenaw Development Council, Accommodations Ordinance Commission, and Overall Economic Development Committee.

Grace was also elected chair of Ways and Means, the committee through which all financial matters of the Board of Commissioners must pass.

Grace is a smart, dedicated commissioner who works hard for what she believes in. I have seen Grace work diligently and effectively to reduce duplication of services within county government, as well as with other units of government and nonprofit agencies. She is committed to maintaining human services for the county's neediest citizens. She supports programs that will reduce infant mortality, improve treatment of the mentally ill, increase substance abuse treatment options, and provide alternatives to jail for nonviolent offenders. When the commissioners consider the jail overcrowding problem, I believe Grace will not support expansion of the county jail without significant support of alternatives to incarceration.

Grace deserves to be re-elected to a second term as County Commissioner. She will work to use her first-term experience to continue her common-sense approach to providing good county government.

by Andrea Walsh

Kurt Berggren for District Court

Don't overlook the judicial contest on the Nov. 6 Ann Arbor ballot. Kurt Berggren, who specializes in defending victims of racial and sexual injustice, is challenging Pieter G. V. Thomassen, a 22-year incumbent judge on Ann Arbor's 15th District Court.

So what? Good question. Most of us don't pay attention to judicial races. We figure lawyers and judges are all alike, and as long as we behave ourselves we won't end up in court anyway. But the court system affects all of us. If our judges are responsible, fair and sensitive to a broad cultural spectrum, then the community is warmer, more relaxed, and more secure.

Kurt is the obvious choice for 15th District Judge. When 190 Washtenaw County lawyers were asked to rate the two candidates on 25 personal and professional qualities, they gave Kurt both the highest average score and the the lowest. The highest score was Kurt's for "racial and ethnic impartiality." Thomassen wasn't even close. The lowest score was Kurt's for "non-controversial conduct or techniques."

That low score is actually a plus. Kurt is definitely not like other lawyers and judges. He takes on difficult cases that challenge social and legal as-



sumptions, and he wins more than he loses. He also challenges government policies. When Juigalpa, our sister city in Nicaragua, needed a garbage truck, Kurt drove it 5,000 miles and delivered it personally.

Let the lawyers worry about "controversial conduct." With Kurt on the bench, the rest of us can rest easier knowing that the 15th District Court is finally treating everybody (plaintiffs, defendants, cops, criminals, even the lawyers) with decency and respect.

by Tom Rieke

Vote for Pro-Choice Candidates Perry Bullard and Jim Douglas for State Representative

Perry Bullard is a state representative who serves Ann Arbor with distinction and who definitely deserves another term in Lansing. He has been a leader in the pro-choice effort in Lansing, sponsoring a bill to crack down on anti-choice demonstrators who exceed the bounds of peaceful demonstration. He is fighting to protect women's right to choose as the battleground shifts from the national to the state capitol.

Perry is also hard at work on other important issues. He was a chief supporter of Lana Pollack's Polluter Pay legislation and is now developing additional tough environmental legislation. He favors addressing social problems by focusing scarce resources on the front end—education, health care, children at risk, and education in urban areas.

Perry Bullard is also a vital progressive voice on peace and justice and civil liberties issues. As a senior member of the State Legislature, Perry serves as chair of the House Judiciary Committee, an important post that allows him to work effectively for the issues he believes in.

Many people don't realize that Ann Arbor actually has two state representatives. Some southern and western neighborhoods are in the 52nd district where Jim Douglas is waging a vigorous campaign to unseat Margaret O'Connor, one of the most conservative members of the State Legislature.

Jim's pro-choice stand and his commitment to protecting the environment are two important reasons to support his bid to unseat an anti-choice incumbent.

If you live in Ann Arbor precincts 5 through 12 in the Third Ward, 7, 8, or 11 in the Fourth, or 13, 14, or 15 in the Fifth Ward, you are in the 52nd district and can vote for Jim Douglas for State Representative. No matter where you live, I urge you to give time and money to this important race. Call 761-9679 to volunteer or send donations to Douglas for Representative, 3711 Plaza Dr., Suite 1, Ann Arbor, MI 48108.

by Liz Brater

Vote "Yes" on Human Services Millage

On November 6 voters will be asked whether to support a .25 mill property tax increase that would provide \$1.5 million over the next five years to human services in Washtenaw County. Because of increasing demands for services and decreasing budgets it is urgent that voters support this millage. The funds will maintain and expand programs for developing job skills,

substance abuse intervention, services to senior citizens, aid to people with disabilities, and reducing infant mortality.

For a home assessed at \$100,000 with a \$50,000 SEV, the increased tax would be about \$12 annually.

"Independence is the theme of this millage campaign," says Rev. Carol Brock, of the Child

Care Coordinating Referral Service and chair of the Human Services Millage Campaign Committee. "Assisting more of our neighbors to become or remain independent in home, work, and community makes Washtenaw County an even greater place to live." It's worth this small price to help people help themselves.

by Andrea Walsh

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REFORM OR REVOLT PART III: REVOLT HARDER

Is the Left that Bad?

by Alan Wald

In the July 1990 issue of AGENDA, Mark Weisbrot presents a number of opinions about "Reform and the Left." Mark leaves no doubt that, while acknowledging the difficulty that objective conditions have created for the left in the past, he blames a good part of the left's present weakness on its failure to pursue reforms through elections for their own sake.

In the August 1990 issue of AGENDA, Corey Dolgon makes a cogent case that the power of the left lies in mass militancy and independence from control by institutions such as the business-owned Democratic and Republican parties. Nevertheless, I want to go further and suggest that Mark's depiction of the main features of the historic and existing U.S. left borders on a caricature that inhibits a productive discussion of the relation between reforms and long-term social transformation.

According to Mark, there are actually two lefts. One is plausible, reasonable, and practical, based on late 20th century realities, represented by himself and a "minority among the most active and dedicated political organizers." The other is a majority of deluded, out-of-date, foreign-oriented groups and individuals, stuck in the 19th century or lost in a dreamland of Third World fantasies. While Corey has already successfully challenged the accuracy of Mark's depiction of the responsible minority, here I wish to question his characterization of the wacky majority.

For example, it is true that many radicals, such as myself, take as our starting point Marx's critique of capitalism in the 19th century, and we also try to learn from the political experiences in Russia, China, Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, Western Europe, etc. But whether or not a group or an individual remains politically locked in the past cannot be deduced from their study-group reading list alone.

A fascination with history may indicate a broadening and deepening of political understanding, or else it may reflect a fixation on irrelevant models that one fruitlessly hopes to emulate. Moreover, a partial orientation toward the Third World may assist in bringing diverse perspectives to the left; create greater sensitivity to issues of racism and colonialism; promote greater solidarity with the people of South Africa, Central America and Palestine; and encourage an awareness of issues of importance to immigrant workers and refugees within the U.S. In any event, one can only make a judgment based on the precise theory and practice of those one is criticizing, which Mark evades by his gross generalizations.

Another example is Mark's creation of a "typical leftist" who "contemptuously dismisses" reforms. Here Mark fails to be clear about the difference between fighting for reforms and a reformist political strategy. The former are immediate improvements in conditions that most of us wholeheartedly support. But the latter is generally understood to mean supporting reforms in the context of endorsing the fundamental framework of the system, which produced the need for those reforms in the first place. This is contrasted to a transformative (or revolutionary) strategy supporting reforms according to methods that undermine, disempower, and lead toward the replacement of socio-economic structures with more democratic and egalitarian ones.

In my view, the question of how to use, and not be used, by instruments of reform such as the electoral system, is the seat of the real dif-

ference to be discussed between Mark and those leftists who favor a strategy of self-activity and mobilization among the general population, especially those segments hitherto silenced and targeted for oppression. For me, electoral activity is not an inherent "evil," but should be an adjunct to, and at the service of, these grassroots movements.

To be sure, there are those who denounce "bourgeois civil liberties" and any electoral activity as "shams." But I think Mark, like the major media, mistakes strident vocalization on the part of a few for significant numbers. A survey of the letters and opinion pages of the major left publications, along with a study of resolutions of many coalitions and socialist organizations, would show that most of the left has regularly involved itself in debates over two other issues.

One of these is how to achieve reforms. Should this be done through mass mobilizations, lobbying, or civil disobedience, and under what slogans? The other is which kinds of electoral activity are most fruitful? Do we support campaigns within or independent of the Democrats?

Mark, pushing his caricature to the limit, claims that the majority of the U.S. left cares only for reforms that come from violent revolution, not elections, and has ignored Sweden. My own memory of the record is more ambiguous. In particular, I recall that the U.S. left was so taken with the achievements of the Allendé regime in Chile, accomplished by elections, that we were totally shocked when a CIA-backed counter-revolutionary coup came about through state institutions and classes left intact by the "electoral road."

Moreover, Sweden remains a prime model for many in one of the leading left organizations, Democratic Socialists of America, and its "socialist achievements" are certainly admired by a major left journal, Dissent. While it is true that many of us on the left have doubts about the popular image of Sweden's "socialism," this stems not from disregard but from concern that Sweden's geographic location, size, history, and other peculiar features render it a dubious model for social development in most of the world.

Mark concludes with an indictment of the left for having no real strategy for change. He says that efforts to democratize and mobilize the labor unions are doomed "because we have reached the point where organized labor's very existence as an arena of struggle will now be contingent on serious legislative and institutional changes outside of the labor movement itself."

Without further elaboration, it is not clear that Mark has any alternative approach to this crisis other than building constituencies of leftists for Democratic Party candidates. But, according to all empirical evidence available, most of these candidates will likely demobilize and progressively subordinate those constituencies to alliances with whatever forces will increase the individual candidate's chances for re-election. I also wonder why he sees an impermeable wall between building militant labor action and affecting legislative change, not only in regard to the future of unions but also in regard to issues of the environment, racism, etc.

Moreover, with all the horrendous experiences we have had in this century with "authoritarian socialism," I think that the left is far less in need of a blueprint for shifting power than it

The Lessons of Eastern Europe

by John Vandermeer

Reflections abound, in virtually every left publication in the country, on the meaning of Eastern Europe's sweeping changes. Analysts have claimed everything from the destruction of Stalinism, to the opportunism of an unenlightened populace embracing capitalism out of an enormous naiveté. But for the U.S. it seems to me there is quite a hopeful message to take from all of this. Could it be that Eastern Europe is as much a falsification of certain Marxist dogmas as it was the nail in the coffin of the Kirkpatrick theory?

Recall that Jean Kirkpatrick made her fame with a key essay in which she asserted, among other things, that what she called "totalitarian" systems as distinguished from "authoritarian" ones, could not be changed into "democratic" ones by peaceful means. Her method of distinguishing between totalitarian and authoritarian systems was hardly rigorous, to say nothing of her notion of democracy. But nevertheless the spirit of her argument was clear. Kirkpatrick's "totalitarian" roughly corresponds to what we would probably identify as Stalinist, except she included almost any country that refused to put the political and economic needs of the U.S. first.

What happened to her thesis? If it were a matter of an honest academic discourse, one would have to say her hypothesis had been discredited in a far more complete and dramatic fashion than had ever happened in the history of the social sciences. All it would have taken to falsify her hypothesis would have been for one of those Stalinist systems to fall. For almost all of them to fall, virtually simultaneously, was as if god herself had set out to ruin Dr. Kirkpatrick's academic career.

But of course we are not talking about a serious academic argument in the first place. The Kirkpatrick thesis was formulated as an ideological weapon in the Reagan arsenal and functioned at least well enough to make Kirkpatrick one of the respected commentators on all the newsfluff programs of U.S. television.

But there was a piece of Kirkpatrick's argument that may sound vaguely familiar to those on the left. She would never agree, but we were taught that capitalism creates conditions under which the working class will eventually come to organize a revolution to overthrow the capitalist order. A centerpiece of this most fundamental of all leftist ideas is that the capitalists would never give up state power without a fight, meaning that a bloody revolution is absolutely necessary for the overthrow of capitalism. I don't wish to make too much out of the parallel, but certain aspects of Kirkpatrick's argument seem to be similar to the arguments of the left, albeit applied to the overthrow of different systems. Have we perhaps been making the same mistake as she in assuming that capitalism in the U.S. and elsewhere would eventually require a violent and necessarily bloody revolution?

It is here that I wish to suggest something for us to ponder from the breakup of Stalinism in Eastern Europe—the possibility that we might do the same. I shall always recall the words of "Danny the Red" when he spoke in Ann Arbor in 1969. He said that if someone would have suggested to the French left in late 1967 that in less than a year there would be millions of students and workers in the streets, all left factions (and there were many) would have scoffed at the idea.

Risking scoff, let me suggest that in Eastern Europe there was a population dissatisfied with an ossified bureaucratic system that could not respond to their legitimate needs, a population no longer willing to subject itself to the rule of a single-party elite, a population disillusioned with declining economic conditions for itself while elites continued to prosper, a population no longer willing to accept rule by the fiat of a centralized bureaucracy that obviously could care less about their needs. Exactly which country are we talking about? It does not take much imagination to realize that these legitimate reasons for the mass movements that changed the face of Eastern Europe are almost precisely the conditions that prevail in the post-Reagan United States.

Seeing the people of Eastern Europe rise up against a familiar sort of undemocracy was a surprise to most of us, but only in terms of how fast it happened, and how bloodless it was. Perhaps the most important lesson for us is that it can happen. The armies of Poland or Romania were no less able than ours to murder their citizens, no less willing to put down popular revolt. But it happened! It's not as if some noses didn't get bloody, and even some severe fighting occurred in Romania. But it happened, and it did not take a protracted struggle with tens or hundreds of thousands dying in battle. The question the left ought to ponder is, if there, why not here? Why not the U.S. democracy movement? What might happen with the union of the traditional labor movement with the anti-racist movement, the feminist movement, the solidarity movement, and the environmental movement? Could it be our own democracy movement? Maybe we can do it without the violent and bloody revolution I had always assumed would be necessary.

I suppose I'm just dreaming, but if someone had said in 1988 that one year later Stalinism would be defeated in Eastern Europe, and that remarkably little blood would be shed in the process, he or she would have been dreaming. There is no reason why we cannot dream of democracy in the United States. We still have nothing to lose but our chains. Si Romania vencio the United States vencera.

John Vandermeer teaches at the University of Michigan.

(see THE LEFT, page 11)

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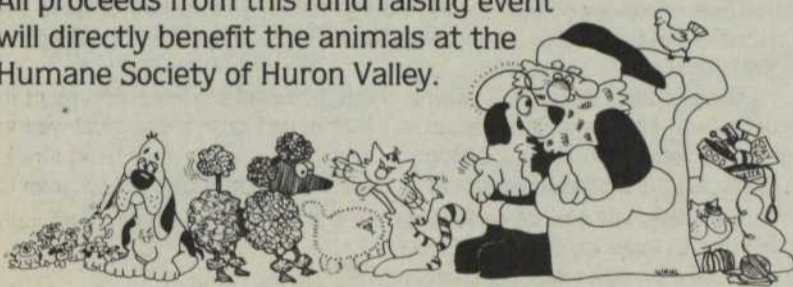
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WAR & PEACE

(from page 1)

here know, I assume, what study and research is like. Typically, a researcher doesn't just sit down at their desk and start making things up. The first thing you do is a literature search; you find out who else has worked in this area; what they have done; what you can learn from their mistakes; and what can you learn from their successes.

In my personal opinion, wars should probably be conducted in the same way. If Saddam Hussein is about to invade a small country, he should go and look through the annals of invasions of small countries to see what can be learned. And in fact, the most reasonable thing to do would be to watch the masters. It's somewhat unfortunate, but this very country, I think, is host to the masters—at least in recent times—of invasions of small countries.

You could watch ABC News, or read The New York Times, to find out exactly what the right things are to do. Had the Iraqis done that, I think things would have happened very differently. For one thing, the first thing the Iraqis would have done would be to march into the Emir's palace in Kuwait City, drag out a 50 lb. sack of white powder, and say it was cocaine. I'm sure if they searched the vaults they would find a pile of dollars that would be, of course, the proceeds of drug sales. And, also, they could come up with blue underwear, which the Emir wore to ward off the evil eye. I have absolutely no doubt that within three or four weeks, some journalist would discover that the 50 lb. sack of white powder was actually pita flour—but by then, who would remember?

The Big Shift

Now let's tie together the trends in U.S. policy, what is happening in the Gulf, and what that means as far as Israel is concerned. In a nutshell, any U.S. alliance with Arab countries which are in conflict with Israel (regardless of who is at fault) takes away from the importance of Israel to the United States.

The more significant long-term impact of what's going on in the Gulf is the changing role of Israel vis-a-vis the U.S. The Israelis realize that with the strengthening alliance between the U.S. and Arab countries, they're put in a somewhat perilous position. These other countries are going to demand some sort of payment for their services, and one obvious currency is Israel. Israel has been viewed as a threat by the Arab countries around it, the Palestinian cause is fairly popular with Arabs throughout the Middle East, and there is absolutely no doubt that the Arab countries as part of the payment for their alliance with the U.S. are going to demand some sort of resolution of those matters.

And we've seen it; we saw it in the U.N. recently [after the killing of Palestinians on the

Temple Mount]. Let's admit it: the Israelis are absolutely right. The reason the U.S. voted for condemnation of Israel in the U.N. is not because the U.S. suddenly realized for the first time that Palestinians have been oppressed in the Occupied Territories. It isn't the first time that the Israelis used weapons in a way that was unjustified, and ended up killing Palestinians. It's happened before, and the U.S. didn't just find it out now. The U.S. voted as it did for political reasons. It has an alliance now with Arab countries in the Gulf, and it was deemed more important to preserve that alliance than to continue supporting Israel. And so there was some shift. It was purely political, but it has always been that way. So people who talk about a double standard are completely wrong. The U.S. has a single standard; they support their friends, and oppose their enemies. Right now what's happening is that Israel is somewhat less of a friend than it was before.

Prediction: War is Unlikely

Today, some forces in Israel would like to see a war between Egypt and Iraq that would destroy Iraq as a military power, obviating the need for this budding alliance, returning Israel to its glory. So many Israelis stated that they thought war was the only possible way to resolve matters in the Gulf that [Israeli Prime Minister] Shamir had to get in front of reporters and deny that Israel in fact wants war.

I have said several times that I see war in the Gulf as unlikely—though not impossible—and I'll try to tell you why I think so. There are two big powers in the Gulf that can start a war, the U.S. and Iraq. One of them has to decide that they want to start a war for there to be one, and the one that starts the war must believe that it's going to end up in a better position after this war than it is in right now. And that's where the problem lies.

The case for Iraq is rather simple. The Iraqis can lose their country. If the war spreads, if it's an all-out war between the U.S. and Iraq, their economy can be destroyed, thousands of people can die, cities will be hit. Industry, the military, and the government can be threatened. I don't think there's any doubt that the Iraqis would like to end this thing peacefully.

What about the U.S.? Here it's a little bit more complicated, because as we all know, the U.S. is not located in the Persian Gulf. The main damage that can be done to the U.S.—or to the leaders of the U.S.—is political, and to some extent economic. The oil refineries and oil fields can all be targeted by the Iraqis, and that will of course hurt the world economy, and the United States. But I think more important than that, for Bush and the people who are deciding what to do, are the political consequences within the U.S. That's where the greatest danger to them lies.

There wasn't very much [public] support for a war to begin with. The presence of U.S. forces in the Gulf as a protective measure was

overwhelmingly supported early on, and still has support, though it's less overwhelming. But nine out of ten Americans oppose a war in the Persian Gulf. That's bad news for the Administration. I think that their public relations problem was that this was perceived early on as a war for oil, and the oil companies are not popular in the United States. If the U.S. enters a war and it doesn't end quickly, with public sentiment starting out not too much in favor of it, I don't think anybody doubts that it's going to become less in favor of it as time goes on. The Iraqis have shown in the long war with Iran that they're willing to sacrifice thousands of people in years of fighting. If they do that with the U.S., then the next election could become the ultimate defeat for Bush.

The administration is very concerned about this, and I think that is where people who oppose a war can act. If we make it clear that there will be political opposition to it here, that's going to be a very important consideration for policy makers.

I believe there will be a diplomatic resolution. I think there's going to be a stronger alliance between the U.S. and Arab countries around the Gulf, because if this is resolved diplomatically—or even in a limited war—Iraq is still going to be a strong force, and the U.S. government is still going to have to worry about what happens there. And that is also going to take away Israel's importance to the U.S. to some extent. The U.S. still needs Israel as an ally, but it also has to satisfy the Arab countries. And since the U.S. has been moving toward a political resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict anyway, I think this trend is going to be strengthened and quickened. But I think we should all remember that at the root of any U.S. desire—as feeble as it may be—to reach a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the resistance of Palestinians to the Occupation. We must all support that resistance.

There is one final point that I like to make when I talk on this subject. And that is that we should all remember that when the current crisis is resolved, everything is not going to be hunky-dory. Even if there are two states, an Israeli one and a Palestinian one, even if there are more peaceful arrangements between Israel and its Arab neighbors, people in the Middle East are still not free to a great extent. The regimes in Saudi Arabia, and in other dictatorships and royalist countries, do not represent their people. These people deserve freedom. And we should all remember that in Israel itself, though democracy exists for the Jewish population, as a country whose basic principle is that it serves the needs of Jews, it places Arab citizens in a secondary—at best—position. Those people deserve equality and freedom, too. Once this crisis is over, we're still going to have a job to do.

Transcribed by Linda Ewing

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CALENDAR

To publicize DECEMBER Calendar events, send formatted listings by November 15 to AGENDA, 202 E. Washington #512, Ann Arbor, MI 48104, (996-8018). Listings for more than five events must be sent in on Macintosh disc. Send SASE if you want your disc returned.

FORMAT—Date, 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. All locations are in Ann Arbor unless otherwise noted.

1 Thursday

"Womanbonding": Arts and Programming all day, thru 9 Fri, Mich. Union Art Lounge. An exploration of bonding relationships between women through art. 764-6498

Contemporary Surroundings Exhibition: Michigan Guild Gallery thru 16 Fri, 118 N. Fourth Ave. Furniture design and artistry from some of the Guild's 1750 national members. 662-ARTS

"Fear No Art": Performance Network thru Dec. 2, 2 to 6 pm and 30-minutes prior to show times, 408 W. Washington. Arts, business and religious leaders respond to controversial text, found images, classical and contemporary art. Visitors may contribute images or comments. Under 18 must be accompanied by parent or guardian. 662-5545

Meeting: Homeless Action Committee (HAC) 5 pm, 337 S. Ashley. Meet to discuss actions to end homelessness. 936-3076

"Candidates Forum on the Environment: Will the Real Environmentalists Please Step Forward": The Ecology Center & Huron Valley Group of the Sierra Club 7:30 pm, Milan Middle School, 432 S. Platt, Milan. Douglas v. O'Connor & Hancock v. DuRussel. 761-3186



Maryknoll Priest and former Foreign Minister of Nicaragua Miguel D'Escoto will be in Ann Arbor this month (see 8 Thur and 11 Sun).

Meeting: Lesbian and Gay Men's Rights Organizing Committee (LaGROC) 7:15 pm, 3100 Mich. Union. 761-2962

"Green Politics and the Future of the Brazilian Rainforest": Huron Valley Greens 7:30 pm, Henderson Rm., Mich. League. With Brazilian Green Party founders Domingoes Fernandes and Maria Thereza Alves. Followed by a reception hosted by Bunyan Bryant. 663-0003

"Psychlops": Intersect Theater 8:30 pm, Performance Network, 408 W. Washington. An intense dance visualization of the genetic future of human physicality, \$9/\$7 studs. & srs. 663-0681

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

2 Friday

14th Annual Cooperative Education and Training Institute: North American Students of Cooperation

(NASCO) thru 4 Sun, 9 am opening registration. Mich. Union, 530 S. State. This year's theme is "Tools for Social Change," variable fees. 663-0889

Midwest Conference on Solid Waste: Institute for Local Self-Reliance thru 4 Sun, 10 am registration, Madame Walker Urban Life Center, 617 Indiana Ave., Indianapolis. Information from experts on solid waste issues and a forum for organizational networking, \$25. (202) 232-4108

Disarmament Working Group Meeting: Interfaith Council for Peace & Justice noon, ICPJ office, 730 Tappan. In Jan. 118 nations will pledge not to explode or test nuclear weapons. Plan support for the UN Test Ban Agreement. Brown bag. 663-1870

Lesbian Coffeebreak: Common Language Bookstore 4 pm, 214 S. Fourth Ave. Come socialize and network. 763-4186

"In the Traffic of a Targeted City": Peace InSight 6:05 pm, A2 Comm.

Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Ballad Theater paints a moving portrait of individuals caring for each other as a means of coping with nuclear holocaust. 769-7422

Grads and Young Professionals Veggie Shabbat Potluck Dinner: Jewish Law Students Union & Jewish Grad Group 7:30 pm, Lawyers' Club, Law Quad. With Yoseph Baynesaghn on the current state of Ethiopian jewelry. Reserve 769-0500

"Economic Justice and Rainforest Preservation: Are They Compatible?": Huron Valley Greens 7:30 pm, U-M School of Natural Resources. With Brazilian Green Party founders Domingoes Fernandes and Maria Thereza Alves. 663-0003

Li-Young Lee: U-M Asian American Student Coalition 8 pm, Honigman Aud., 100 Hutchins Hall, U-M Law School. Poetry reading. Reception to follow. Part of "Words of a Thousand Dreams" Asian Writers Series in celebration of Asian American Awareness Month. 996-5950

Gil Scott-Heron: Prism Productions 8 & 11 pm, Alvin's, 5756 Cass Ave., Detroit, \$10 advance. 665-4755

"Psychlops": Intersect Theater 8:30 pm (see 1 Thur)

Gay Men's Coffee House: "Brothers" 9 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. 763-4186

Oasis: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

Pulnoc, No Man, Azalia Snail: No Bull Productions 10 pm, Club Heidelberg, 215 N. Main. Three highly lauded and infamous rock groups (one from Czechoslovakia) explore the sonic territory where avant-garde meets art-punk, \$8. 994-3562

Dance Jam: People Dancing 10 pm, People Dancing Studio, 111 Third St. An alternative to the bar scene for people who love to dance. Highly varied recorded dance music. Occasional live percussion. Feel free

to bring own music and acoustic instruments. Smoke- and alcohol-free. Children welcome, \$2. 665-7911

3 Saturday

Poetry Workshop: U-M Asian American Student Coalition 1 pm, Room 126, East Quad. With Li-Young Lee. 996-5950

Mass Meeting: Huron Valley Greens and U-M Greens 4 pm, U-M School of Natural Resources. Green politics orientation. 663-0003

"Koyaanisqatsi/Live!": Michigan Theater 8 pm, 603 E. Liberty. Philip Glass Ensemble accompanies the film, \$18.50/\$16.50 members. 668-8397

"Psychlops": Intersect Theater 8:30 pm (see 1 Thur)

Oasis: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

4 Sunday

Third World Handcrafts Sale: SERRV Self-Help Handcrafts 10 am to 12:30 pm, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, 306 N. Division. SERRV sells artisan-made crafts, making sure that producers receive an equitable price for their work. 663-0362

Fred Penner and the Cat's Meow Band: Michigan Theater 1:30 pm, 603 E. Liberty. "The coolest kid's star in the business," \$8.50/\$6.50 members. 668-8397

Poetry Reading: U-M Asian American Student Coalition 2 pm, 100 Hutchins Hall, U-M Law School. With Meena Alexander. Reception to follow. 996-5950

Demo Days: Veterans Arena 2:15 pm, 2150 Jackson Rd. Skating demonstration in which patrons are invited to stay on the ice. 761-7240

Puppy and Dog Training & Care Clinic: Humane Society of Huron Valley 3:30 pm, Ann Arbor Dog

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Training Club, 1575 East N. Territorial Rd. Breeding, grooming, training and health seminar with question and answer period, \$2 don./under 12 free. 662-5545

Meeting: Huron Valley Greens 6:30 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. "To Run or Not to Run: Should the Local Greens Run for Office?" Brazilian Green Party founders Domingoes Fernandes and Maria Thereza Alves will attend. 663-0003

Poetry Workshop: U-M Asian American Student Coalition 7 pm, room 126, E. Quad. With Meena Alexander. 996-5950

"Psychlops": Intersect Theater 6:30 pm (see 1 Thur)

"Greed": U-M Film & Video Studies 7 pm, Michigan Theatre, 608 E. Liberty. Von Stroheim's silent adaptation of "McTeague." With live organ. 764-0147

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian AA 7:30 pm, First Congregational Church, 118 N. Adams, downstairs. Lighted parking, non-smoking area available. 484-0456

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian Alanon 7:30 pm, First Congregational Church, 118 N. Adams, upstairs. Lighted parking, non-smoking area available. 484-0456

Harvey Reed and Friends Jam Session: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley. 662-8310

5 Monday

"The Economic Aspects of the Arab-Israeli Conflict": U-M Office of Ethics & Religion noon, International Center. Brown bag lunch with Joel Bainerman. 769-0500

Lunch with a Poet: U-M Asian American Student Coalition noon, Welker room, Mich. Union. Brown bag with Meena Alexander. 996-5950

"Middle East Perspectives" 6:30 pm, 88.3 FM, WCBN. News and commentary on popular struggles for social change throughout the Middle East. 763-3501

Meeting: Environmental Action U-M (formerly Earth Day 1990) 7 pm, first floor, School of Natural Resources Dana Building. Work towards change on behalf of the environment through education and action across campus and in the community. 761-8801

Living Colour: Prism Productions 7 pm, Latin Quarter, 3067 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, \$17.50 advance. 665-4755

"The Economic Dimensions of Soviet Jewish Immigration to Israel": Hillel 7:30 pm, 1429 Hill. With Joel Bainerman, an economics journalist and commentator for The Jerusalem Post. 769-0500

Poetry Reading: U-M Asian American Student Coalition 8:30 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. Students will read from their own works. 996-5950

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation 8:45 pm, Canterbury House, 218 N. Division. 763-4186

The Bird of Paradise Orchestra: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$3. 662-8310

6 Tuesday

Election Day Vote from 7 am to 8 pm.

"Closets are for Clothes": Lesbian/Gay Radio Collective 6 pm, 88.3 FM, WCBN. Call-in talk show. 763-3501

Volunteer Orientation: Washtenaw CASA (Court Appointed Special Advocates) 7 pm, Washtenaw Juvenile Center, 2270 Platt. Adult volunteers learn how to supervise visits and give progress reports on children in foster care whose parents have been referred to Juvenile Court for alleged neglect/abuse. 971-2995

"Roots of the Gulf Crisis": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Richard Cleaver of American Friends Service Committee shows how understanding the roots of the crisis helps point the way to a solution. 769-7422

"Their Chance to Speak: U.S. Political Prisoners": Solidarity 7:30 pm, Mich. League. Herman and Betty Liveright, who interviewed dozens of U.S. political prisoners, will relate what these prisoners told them. 662-1041

Supportive Social Meeting: Bisexual Women's Group 7:15 pm, 715 E. Kingsley (group will walk to another home from there). Newly formed collective. Diversity of experience and heritage sought. Focus on social, political, spiritual empowerment needs of bisexual women. Ellen 998-1163

Paul Keller Trio Plus: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

7 Wednesday

"Womyn's Rites & Rhythms" 6 pm, 88.3 FM, WCBN. Weekly public affairs show focusing on womyn's issues. 763-3501

"Homosexuality and the Bible": Huron Valley Community Church 7:30 pm. Workshop by Dale B. For location 665-1217

Grace Paley: Hillel 7:30 pm, Irwin Green Aud., 1429 Hill. Paley is an award-winning author and anti-war/feminist activist, \$8/\$5 studs. 769-0500

Nine-Ball Tournament: U-M Arts & Programming 7:30 pm, Billiards and Games Room, 2nd floor, Mich Union, \$6. 763-5786

Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee (LASC) 8 pm, ask for rm. # at front desk, Mich. Union. 665-8438

International Folkdancing: U-M Folkdance Club 7:30 pm, Anderson Rm., Mich. Union. One hour of instruction, then two hours of open requests. No partner or experience necessary. 663-3885

"Unetsu": Michigan Theater 8 pm, 603 E. Liberty. With Japanese Butoh dance troupe, Sankai Juku, \$18.50/\$16.50 members. 668-8397

Meeting: LASC 8 pm (see 3 Wed)

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

8 Thursday

Meeting: Homeless Action Committee (HAC) 5 pm (see 1 Thur)

Nicaragua's Fr. Miguel D'Escoto: Maryknoll Priest and Former Foreign Minister: Interfaith Council for Peace & Justice and LASC 7:30 pm, St. Mary's Student Ctr, Lower Chapel, 331 Thompson. Fr. D'Escoto, a leading member of the intellectual and professional supporters of the Sandinista revolution which overthrew 40 years of brutal Somoza dictatorship, will describe current reality under the Chamorro government. 663-1870

Meeting: LaGROC 7:15 pm (see 1 Thur)

"Unetsu": Michigan Theater 8 pm (see 7 Wed)

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

9 Friday

"Our Future is in United Struggle: Fourth National Convention Young Communist League": Rutgers University Org. for Marxist Studies thru 11 Sun, 5 pm opening art exhibition, Voorhees Hall, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Panel discussions, music, sports, and more. (212) 741-2016

"Roots of the Gulf Crisis": Guild House 6:05 pm (see 6 Tue)

Shabbat Potluck: New Jewish Agenda 6:30 pm, 1208 Roosevelt. With Jewish writer and NJA member Marc Ellis. Ellis' books confront the ways in which "Holocaust Theology" traps Jewish thinking and facilitates avoidance of the implications of Israeli state power. Bring a veggie dish to pass. Public welcome. 663-7933

Skinny Puppy: Prism Productions 7 pm, Latin Quarter, 3067 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, \$17.50 advance. With Babes in Toyland. All ages. 665-4755

"Hope for our Planet: The Search for Common Security": Beyond War 8 pm, Campus Events Bldg., Washtenaw Community College. Speaker Sister Miriam Therese MacGillis is nationally recognized for her ability to describe the exciting new context in which humans must view their relationship to each other and to the earth in order to sustain life, \$5 door/\$3 advance. 995-2951

Johnny O'Neal Trio: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

Bowl-a-Thon: Ann Arbor Tenants Union 9:30 pm, Colonial Lanes, 1950 S. Industrial. Benefit Bowl-a-Thon for the Tenants Union and the Homeless

Action Committee. Get pledges per pin. Bowl two games to raise money for housing groups. Win the coveted Bowl-a-Thon trophy, \$4 entry fee, \$1 shoe rental. 936-3076

10 Saturday

December Issue Deadline for News & Features: AGENDA by 5 pm, 202 E. Washington #512, 48104. 996-8018

Fleighthouse Holiday Bazaar: Ypsilanti Farmer's Market 8 am to 3 pm, Depot Town, Ypsilanti. Quality crafts, gifts and decorations for all ages. Sweet cider, apples, baked goods, fresh produce, bread, cheeses, Amish chickens and more. 483-1480

"Emerging Values: Toward a New Earth-Human Relationship": Beyond War 9 am to 3:30 pm, First Presbyterian Church, 1432 Washtenaw. Workshop with Sister Miriam Therese MacGillis, \$20. 995-2951

Johnny O'Neal Trio: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

11 Sunday

Third World Handcrafts Sale: SERRV Self-Help Handcrafts 8:30 am to 12:30 pm (see 4 Sun)

Open Forum for Washtenaw County Catholics with Nicaragua's Father Miguel D'Escoto: Holy Trinity Peace & Justice Committee and St. John's Catholic Church Peace & Justice Committee 3 pm, St. Francis Catholic Church, Parish Activities Center, 2150 Frieze. Maryknoll Priest Miguel D'Escoto, a leading supporter of the Sandinista revolution is a deeply spiritual man, living his priestly vocation under trying circumstances. He will answer questions about Nicaragua's current needs. 482-1400

"Crossing Borders" and "Women of Peace": Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and WAND 7 pm, St. Aidan's Northside Church ground floor, 1679 Broadway. The story of the women, whose men were on opposite sides in WWI, who came together to stop the war and founded the WILPF; and the Ann Arbor women of Women Strike for Peace tell how it was to be part of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban and the challenge to the House Un-American Activities Committee. Accessible, refreshments. 761-1718

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian AA 7:30 pm (see 4 Sun)

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian Alanon 7:30 pm (see 4 Sun)

Harvey Reed and Friends Jam Session: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley. 662-8310

"Theodora Goes Wild": U-M Film & Video Studies 7pm, Angell Hall Aud. A. 764-0147

12 Monday

"Middle East Perspectives" 6:30 pm (see 5 Mon)

NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt Panels Exhibition: Arts and Programming all day, thru Dec. 2, Mich. Union Art Lounge. With educational materials from the University Health Service. 764-6498

Council Speak Out: Homeless Action Committee (HAC) 7:30 pm, 2nd floor City Hall Council Chambers. Speak out against high rents and homelessness, road widening, ecological destruction, and city funds being spent on parking structures. Save Ann Arbor from becoming a mecca of glass towers! 936-3076

Meeting: EnAct U-M 7 pm (see 5 Mon)

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation 8:45 pm (see 5 Mon)

The Bird of Paradise Orchestra: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$3. 662-8310

13 Tuesday

"Closets are for Clothes": Lesbian/Gay Radio Collective 6 pm (see 6 Tue)

Supportive Social Meeting: Bisexual Women's Group 7:15 pm (see 6 Tue)

"Limits of U.S. Military Response to the Persian Gulf Crisis": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Ch. 9. Retired Admiral Stanley Fine, from the Center for Defense Information, gives an insightful view of the military approach to a world crisis. 769-7422

Meeting: Amnesty International Group 6:15 pm, Michigan Union, check room # at desk. Activities to protect human rights and free prisoners of conscience around the world. 761-1628

Mass Meeting: Hillel 7:30 pm, 1429 Hill. Help plan the "12th Annual Conference on the Holocaust." People are needed for publicity, programming, and fundraising. Elizabeth 769-0500

Meeting: Washtenaw Citizens for Animal Rights 7:30 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. All invited to discuss Nov. 30 vegan banquet. 665-2480

The Paul Keller Trio: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

14 Wednesday

"Womyn's Rites and Rhythms" 6 pm (see 7 Wed)

Fireside Chat: Student Organization Development Center 7 pm, Kuenzel Room, Mich. Union. A look at sexual orientation, gender differences and AIDS as they relate to organization. 764-6498

"Shopping Environmentally": Ecology Center 7:30 pm, Leslie Science Center, 1831 Traver Rd. Learn to make environmentally sound consumer choices, \$3. 662-7802

"Homosexuality and the Bible": Huron Valley Community Church



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Mid-week Discussion Group 7:30 pm (see 7 Wed)

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

Meeting: LASC 8 pm (see 3 Wed)

Roseanna Vitro: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

Benefit Dance with Frank Allison and the Odd Sox: Environment '90 9:30 pm, Blind Pig, 208 S. First. Proceeds benefit the coalition of environmental and citizen groups that worked to pass the environmental bond, \$5. 761-3473

15 Thursday

December Issue Deadline for Calendar & Community Resource Directory: AGENDA by 5 pm, 202 E. Washington #512, 48104. 996-8018

Meeting: Homeless Action Committee (HAC) 5 pm (see 1 Thur)

"People of Color and AIDS: It's Your Issue": Ella Baker/Nelson Mandela Center for Anti-Racism Ed. 7 pm, Mich. Union Art Lounge. 764-6498

Meeting: LaGROC 7:15 pm (see 1 Thur)

"Hunger as a Weapon of War": Bread for the World 7:30 pm, Memorial Christian Church, 730 Tappan. Also meeting/discussion on domestic and international hunger issues, legislative updates and 1991 planning. 487-9058

"Playboy of the Western World": Michigan Theater 8 pm, 603 E. Liberty. "Playboy" pokes fun at people's fascination with outlaws. Performed by Abbey Theatre of Ireland, \$26.50/\$24.50 members. 668-8397

"The Public": Intersect Theater 8 pm, Performance Network, 408 W. Washington. The heart and soul of Romeo and Juliet frenetically laid bare in a tumble of beautiful, tormented images by Federico Garcia Lorca. Following tonight's performance a panel discussion on the role of the artist here and now, \$9/\$7 studs. & srs. 663-0681

Roseanna Vitro: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

The Fleshtones: Prism Productions 9:30 pm, Blind Pig, 208 S. First, \$8 advance. 665-4755

16 Friday

Lunch with a Poet: U-M Asian American Student Coalition noon, Pond room, Mich. Union. Brown bag with Jessica Hagedorn. 996-5950

Lesbian Coffeebreak: Common Language Bookstore 4 pm (see 2 Fri)

"Limits of U.S. Military Response to the Persian Gulf Crisis" 6:05 pm (see 13 Tue)

Funeral March for the Six Jesuits and 70,000 Murdered Salvadorans: LASC and Interfaith Council for Peace & Justice 6:30 pm, Rackham steps. A silent procession through downtown for an end to U.S. military aid to El Salvador, on the first anniversary of the Jesuits' murder by a Salvadoran military death squad. 971-8877



Sankai Juku will perform "Unetsu" at the Michigan Theater (see 7 Wed)

"Testimony and Remembrance: A Commemorative Colloquium": Interfaith Council for Peace & Justice 7:30 pm, 4th floor, Rackham Assembly Hall. U-M Professors Rebecca Scott, Jeffrey Paige, Dan Levine, and Maryknoll School of Theology Professor Otto Maduro share their reflections on the life and work of the six assassinated Salvadoran Jesuit priests and others in the continued struggle for social justice in Latin America. Followed by an Amnesty International-sponsored Candlelight Vigil at 9 pm on the Rackham steps. 663-1870

Poetry Reading: U-M Asian American Student Cln. 8 pm, Rackham Amphitheatre. With Jessica Hagedorn; reception to follow. 996-5950

"The Public": Intersect Theater 8 pm (see 15 Thur)

AIDS Reading: Arts & Programming 8 pm, Mich. Union Art Lounge. Poetry and prose in celebration and memory of people with AIDS. 764-6498

Gay Men's Coffee House: "Brothers" 9 pm (see 2 Fri)

Roseanna Vitro: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

Dance Jam: People Dancing 10 pm (see 2 Fri)

17 Saturday

"Critters for Kids": Leslie Science Center 10 am, 1831 Traver Rd. Intro to reptiles and amphibians for ages 3-6. Pre-register 662-7802

Third World Handcrafts Sale: SERRV Self-Help Handcrafts 11 am to 1 pm, Zion Lutheran Church, 1501 W. Liberty. 663-0362

"Mother Tongue": U-M Asian American Student Coalition 2 pm, Trueblood Theater, Frieze Building. Play by Paul Stephen Lim. 996-5950

Salvadoran Benefit Dinner and Dance: Celaya Family 6:30 pm, Quaker House, 1416 Hill, \$8/\$6 stud./\$3.50 kids. Reserve with your veggie or meat preference 930-9767

Playwriting workshop: U-M Asian American Student Coalition 7 pm, room 126 East Quad. With Paul Stephen Lim. 996-5950

Second City: Prism Productions 8 pm, Michigan Theater, 603 E. Liberty \$10.50/\$12.50 advance. 665-4755

"The Public": Intersect Theater 8 pm (see 15 Thur)

Roseanna Vitro: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

18 Sunday

Third World Handcrafts Sale: SERRV Self-Help Handcrafts 8:30 am to 12:30 pm (see 17 Sun)

Meeting: Parents-FLAG/Ann Arbor 2 pm, King of Kings Lutheran Church, 2685 Packard. 763-4186

Demo Days: Vets Arena 2:15 pm, 2150 Jackson Rd. Skating demonstrations in which patrons are invited to stay on the ice, \$3/\$2.50 youth & srs, free to non-skaters. 761-7240

Granite Line Writers Poetry Reading: Freight House Cafe 2 pm, Cross at River, Ypsilanti. Featuring works of Trinidad Sanchez, Jr. reflecting social justice issues and Bob Hicock whose work "has the ability to draw the pain and poison out of people." 663-5034

"The Public": Intersect Theater 6:30 pm (see 15 Thur)

Michael McClure and Ray Manzarek: No Bull Productions 7 & 10:30 pm, Club Heidelberg, 215 N. Main. An evening of poetry and music, \$12.50. Advance 994-3562

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian AA 7:30 pm (see 4 Sun)

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian Alanon 7:30 pm (see 4 Sun)

"The Israeli Occupation and the Intifadah: Four Perspectives from Recent Trips": New Jewish Agenda 8 pm, Temple Beth Emeth, 2309 Packard. Panel/audience discussion with Barry Checkoway, Rose Hochman, David Levin and Andy Levin, who spent time this summer in Israel and the occupied territories of Palestine. 769-5680

Harvey Reed and Friends Jam Session: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley. 662-8310

19 Monday

"Middle East Perspectives" 6:30 pm (see 5 Mon)

Meeting: EnAct U-M 7 pm (see 5 Mon)

The Residents: Prism Productions 8 pm, Michigan Theater, 603 E. Liberty, \$16.50 adv./\$18.50 door. 665-4755

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation 8:45 pm (see 5 Mon)

The Bird of Paradise Orchestra: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$3. 662-8310

20 Tuesday

"Closets are for Clothes": Lesbian/Gay Radio Collective 6 pm (see 6 Tue)

Supportive Social Meeting: Bisexual Women's Group 7:15 pm (see 6 Tue)

"The Children's Ribbon: Celebrating the First World Summit for Children": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Magic, mime, speakers, artwork and singing by hundreds of Ann Arbor Public School children on 9/23/90, the eve of the largest gathering of world leaders in history, to put the needs of the world's children at the top of the world agenda. 769-7422

The Paul Keller Trio: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

21 Wednesday

"Womyn's Rites and Rhythms" 6 pm (see 7 Wed)

"Gratitude to Older Lesbians and Gays": Huron Valley Community Church 7:30 pm, with video "Before Stonewall." Led by Liz L. For location 665-1217

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

Meeting: LASC 8 pm (see 5 Wed)

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

22 Thursday

Meeting: Homeless Action Committee (HAC) 5 pm (see 1 Thur)

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

23 Friday

"The Children's Ribbon: Celebrating the First World Summit for Children" 6:05 pm (see 20 Tue)

"The Public": Intersect Theater 8 pm (see 15 Thur)

Sheila Landis: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

24 Saturday

Freighthouse Holiday Bazaar: Ypsilanti Farmer's Market 8 am (see 10 Sat)

The Cocteau Twins: Prism Productions 7 pm, Latin Quarter, 3067 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, \$19.50 advance. 665-4755

"The Public": Intersect Theater 8 pm (see 15 Thur)

Sheila Landis: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

25 Sunday

"The Public": Intersect Theater 6:30 pm (see 15 Thur)

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian AA 7:30 pm (see 4 Sun)

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian Alanon 7:30 pm (see 4 Sun)

Harvey Reed and Friends Jam Session: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley. 662-8310

26 Monday

"Middle East Perspectives" 6:30 pm (see 5 Mon)

Meeting: Huron Regional Alliance 7 pm, 2645 Peters Rd. A coalition of groups dedicated to social and environmental change. Bob 930-0446

Meeting: EnAct U-M 7 pm (see 5 Mon)

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation 8:45 pm (see 5 Mon)

The Bird of Paradise Orchestra: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$3. 662-8310

27 Tuesday

"Closets are for Clothes": Lesbian/Gay Radio Collective 6 pm (see 6 Tue)

"Jennifer Casolo: U.S. Church-worker Jailed in El Salvador": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Jennifer Casolo speaks eloquently and passionately on the suffering of the Salvadoran people at the hands of the same military to which the U.S. sends \$1 million per day. 769-7422

"The Mystic Quest: Jewish Mysticism": Hillel 7:30 pm, 1429 Hill. With Dr. David Ariel on Jewish mysticism and Judeo-Muslim relations. 769-0500

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DEMOCRAT



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CALENDAR

International Folkdancing: U-M Folkdance Club 7:30 pm (see 7 Wed)

Supportive Social Meeting: Bisexual Women's Group 7:15 pm (see 6 Tue)

The Paul Keller Trio: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

28 Wednesday

"Womyn's Rites and Rhythms" 6 pm (see 7 Wed)

"Homosexuality and the Bible": Huron Valley Community Church 7:30 pm (see 7 Wed)

"Strategies for Responsible U.S. Policies in the Middle East": Hillel 7:30 pm, 1429 Hill. With Jerome Segal of the Jewish Peace Lobby. 769-0500

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

Meeting: LASC 8 pm (see 3 Wed)

"Life on a Curve": Residence Hall Repertory Theatre 9 pm, Mich. Union Art Lounge. Performance of RHRT's own work on AIDS. 764-6498

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

29 Thursday

Meeting: Homeless Action Committee (HAC) 5 pm (see 1 Thur)

Meeting: LaGROC 7:15 pm (see 1 Thur)

"Delphys: The Dolphin Connection": Michigan Theater 8 pm, 603 E. Liberty. Slides, music and guided visualization exploring the connection between dolphins and humans as a tool for change at every level, \$8/\$5 studs./under 12 free. 668-8397

"The Public": Intersect Theater 8 pm (see 15 Thur)

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

30 Friday

Humor Workshop: UAC Viewpoint Lectures 4 pm, Mich. Union Kuenzel Room. Workshop conducted by comic Danny Williams, for people who know someone with AIDS. 764-6498

"Jennifer Casolo: U.S. Churchworker Jailed in El Salvador" 6:05 pm (see 27 Tue)

Second Annual Vegan Banquet: Washtenaw Citizens for Animal Rights 6:30 pm cocktails, 7:30 meal, Webers Inn, 3050 Jackson Rd. With Alex Pacheco of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals and Gary Francione, Rutgers Law School attorney, \$20. 665-2480

Danny Williams: UAC Laughtrack 7 pm, University Club. Stand-up comedy act. 764-6498

German Family Christmas: Kempf House 7:30 pm, 312 S. Division. The house will be decorated and there will be caroling through downtown, \$1/under 12 free. 994-4898

"The Public": Intersect Theater 8 pm (see 15 Thur)

Gay Men's Coffee House: "Brothers" 9 pm (see 2 Fri)

Rick Hollander Quartet: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

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COMMUNITY RESOURCE DIRECTORY

Join Campaign to Defend U.S. Political Prisoners

The Freedom Campaign has begun. We work locally to defend political prisoners in the United States. These prisoners include former Black Panthers, Puerto Rican *independentistas*, leftists, New African nationalists, Native activists, environmentalists, labor unionists, IRA members and others. We aim to work with, not against, other groups that defend political prisoners. We formed to provide a constant focus on the issue in our area.

We meet twice a month, once in Ypsilanti, once in Ann Arbor. We publish a newsletter. We will participate in a November 16-17 Chicago conference on political prisoners and prison control units. We will send people to New York for a December 7-11 tribunal on U.S. political prisoners. To contact us, call Eric Jackson at 487-7017 or Jeff Gearhart at 936-3076.

Freedom Campaign Principles of Unity

1. We are a progressive organization. We are part of a broad social movement for peace, equality, justice and the survival of the planet. We are for a society free of racism, sexism, homophobia and other kindred oppression. We are for the self-determination of nations. We support working peo-

ple and the poor in their struggles for economic justice.

2. Our purpose is to seek the freedom and otherwise defend the rights of those who are incarcerated in U.S. jails and prisons because of their acts, beliefs or associations in furtherance of progressive causes.

3. We support those who are imprisoned for their roles in progressive causes even when we have ideological, religious or tactical differences.

4. We defend the progressive movement against all repression, whether or not a person has been incarcerated.

5. We set aside differences among ourselves to work for our common cause. We are not a "front group" for any "vanguard," nor are we a forum for people to fight for hegemony over the progressive movement.

6. Our organization is run according to democratic principles, in a spirit of friendship, equality and mutual respect.

Freedom Campaign, 601 Congress, Ypsilanti MI 48197; 487-7017 or 936-3076.

WAND to Screen Women & Peace Films

Especially if you're female, and especially if you are or ever have been a peace activist, don't miss the two inspiring films being shown Sunday, November 11. "Crossing Borders" is the story of the European and American women (including Jane Addams) whose men were on opposite sides in World War I, who came together at an historic meeting at the Hague to stop the war. Together they founded WILPF (the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom) (1989, U.S. WILPF).

"Women of Peace" is a film of the Ann Arbor women of Women Strike for Peace, telling how it was to be part of two heady '60s successes—the signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty prohibiting all atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons, and the successful challenge to the House Un-

American Activities Committee's investigation of the women's peace movement (1989, Media Vision.) The local chapters of WILPF and WAND (Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament) are jointly sponsoring the films at 7 pm (please note the early hour), Sun., Nov. 11, at St. Aidan's/Northside Church ground floor, 1679 Broadway (across from the Baits Dr. entrance to U-M North Campus.) Accessible, free, refreshments.

For information about Campus WAND, the student group at the U-M, call Paz Salas, 764-1295. If you need a ride to St. Aidan's/Northside from campus, call Sarah Cooleybeck, 662-2475.

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

HRA Hopes to Reduce Local Fragmentation

The Huron Regional Alliance is a new group dedicated to improving the climate for grassroots social change by emphasizing the interconnectedness of social movements and facilitating cooperation among groups. We believe there is far too much duplication, fragmentation, and isolation on the part of activist groups in the area. We urge groups to give the Alliance a try—one member attending our monthly meeting is a small investment that could yield greater support for your group's actions and effectiveness.

The Huron Regional Alliance was born at the Earth Day Regional Town Meeting on April 7 in Ann Arbor when 26 environmental, peace, democracy, and social justice groups convened a long-overdue dialogue. The Alliance has been meeting the last Monday of the month since May. We are proud of the diversity of some of our more active groups: Huron Valley Greens, Homeless Action Committee, Augusta Environmental Strategy Committee, Gray Panthers, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Earth First!, Rainbow Organizing Committee, Habitat for Humanity, and the

Rainforest Action Movement. To emphasize the regional nature of the group, meetings are rotated. So far we have met in Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti, and Augusta Township. This month we meet in Dexter.

Many organizational details are still being discussed. One decision that has been made is to use the Huron Regional Alliance name for the broader group as a whole and to establish coalitions within the Alliance on specific actions or issues. So far the Alliance has adopted an action-oriented focus and in the last few months has formed coalitions to: 1) organize a volunteer workday to paint neglected elderly housing in Ann Arbor; 2) make statements before Ann Arbor City Council on low-income housing and comprehensive recycling; 3) support a rally against the Augusta Township hazardous waste incinerator; and 4) present a statement to the Ann Arbor Board of Education regarding the education of African-American children. One long-range goal is to organize annual Regional Town Meetings in the future.

The next meeting of the Huron Regional Alliance is Monday, Nov. 26 at 7 pm at 2645 Peters

Pride-Awareness-Commitment Week Huge Success

The Lesbian and Gay Men's PAC (Pride-Awareness-Commitment) Week series of events was a resounding success thanks to the efforts of the PAC Week Group and to the many supporters of this attempt to raise public awareness of the existence, needs, and concerns of the lesbian and gay men's communities at the University of Michigan and throughout the city of Ann Arbor and its environs. From October 5-12 the PAC Week Group offered a Gala Recognition Program and Reception; performance nights for wimmin and gay men; workshops; readings by Craig Harris, Allison Bechdel, Sarah Shulman, and Renee Hansen; Blue Jeans Day, including a Rally and March, and a celebratory dance. At the Recognition Program many groups and individuals were offered heartfelt thanks for their concern, support, and work throughout the years since 1970, when lesbians and gay men organized Gay Liberation and subsequently the Lesbian-Gay Male Programs Office at the U-M in 1971. Receiving special recognition were AGENDA; the Michigan Daily editorial staff; Cheryl Munn-Fremon, U-M's Director of Consulting and Support Services, Information Technology Division; Colleen Dolan-Greene, U-M Asst. Vice-President for Academic Affairs-Personnel; Sylvia Hacker, U-M School of Public Health Assoc. Professor of Nursing and of Population Planning and International Health; Sandra Cole, U-M Medical School Professor of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation and educator and consultant in Human Sexuality; Ann Marie Coleman, Guild House Co-Director and Ann Arbor City Council member; Don Coleman, Guild House Co-Director; Parents-FLAG/Ann Arbor; Lesbian-Gay Radio Collective; Lesbian and Gay Men's Rights Organizing Committee (LaGROC); Black Lesbian Womyn and Gay Men in Struggle; the PAC Week Group; PAC Week funders; volunteers and paid staff members of the Lesbian-Gay Male Programs Office; Jim Toy, longtime community activist and LGMPO Gay Male Advocate; past LGMPO Lesbian Advocates; and Billie Edwards, community activist and current LGMPO Lesbian Advocate.

Tribute was also paid to people who could not be at the Celebration: those taken by death, those who could not risk being present at this public event, and those whose contributions may never be known except to those who gave them. Hand in hand, absent and present, dead and living, we move forward. We can, and we will, do nothing less.

Gay Liberation's Purpose is to provide information, counseling, and related social (see GAY LIB, next page)

Road in Dexter (Bob, 930-0446). If your group is sponsoring an action in late November or early December, this is an excellent opportunity to get support from other groups within the Alliance. For more information, contact us below or see future listings in AGENDA.

Huron Regional Alliance, 1411 Henry, Ann Arbor, MI 48104; 663-0003.

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COLUMBUS (from page 3)

This hemisphere might have been new to non-Indians, but that qualification should make a world of difference in how this nation views its past. Imagine American history without a recognizable frontier, "the margin of settled or developed territory." Imagine the Jamestown colonist and Pilgrims as invaders, those who "enter for conquest or plunder," and "encroach." Imagine empathizing with Indian freedom fighters, struggling for independence against determined invaders like George Washington, who argued that native people had no human characteristics, "except the shape."

If Cold-War nightmares had come true and the Soviets had successfully invaded and re-populated the United States, surviving Americans would have been incensed to read about Soviet pioneers settling the wilderness and civilizing the

capitalist savages. Yet many Americans believe similarly outrageous tales about their own past.

The myth of discovery masks the reality of invasion. Evil as Saddam Hussein might be, he has not grabbed nearly as much foreign soil as did still-revered leaders like George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and many thousands of their fellow citizens. When Indians are recognized as humans,

such a statement is not even controversial.

Myths are traditional stories, based on allegedly historical event that reveal much about the people who tell them. The myths of discovery, wilderness and non-Indian pioneers express this nation's commitment to a primitive,

racist version of its past. That is what Columbus Day is all about, and that is why confronting the quincentennial is so important.

Imagine empathizing with Indian freedom fighters, struggling for independence against determined invaders like George Washington, who argued that native people had no human characteristics, "except the shape."

THE LEFT (from page 4)

is in need of a firm commitment to the tradition that aspires to forge democratic counter-institutions "from the bottom up."

Perhaps the most distressing part of Mark's critique comes when he discusses the labor activism that is promoted by some portions of the left. While Mark acknowledges some positive results, he nevertheless insists that this activity is undertaken by the majority of the left out of fidelity to old dogma, because "organized labor is seen, in accordance with the Leninist (and Marxist) tradition, to be of particular strategic importance."

But there are many reasons for one to become a labor radical prior to, complementary to, or even in opposition to, Marxist and Leninist theory—a fact to which the participation of millions of U.S. citizens (all of whom could not possibly be operating according to the mandates of Marx and Lenin!) in the labor movement will attest. Mark's attempt to reduce a political strategy of participation in the labor movement to a function of Marx-Lenin idolatry iron-

ically reinforces the right-wing slander that labor militants are "outside agitators," creatures of Marx-Lenin-Trotsky-Mao and other "unAmerican" ideologies.

In conclusion, criticisms of the left, such as Mark offers, require subtlety and complexity, not to mention factual accuracy. The particular version of the "us/them" style of debate used by Mark strikes me as guaranteed to complicate productive exchange because of the conflation of all kinds of diverse political theory and practice into reified categories. Mark's "practical," electoral-reform-oriented tendency is not all that good, and the rest of us aren't all that bad.

However, a respect for diverse views, and a desire to take them seriously, does not mean that one should allocate a permanent equality to all opinions, which would result in political paralysis. Whatever weaknesses I find in Mark's method, I am glad that he is contributing to the goal of forging a perspective for effective action, one that is increasingly enriched through experience and dialogue, and eminently open to self-correction.

Alan Wald is active in Ann Arbor Solidarity and is cultural editor of *Against the Current*.

Youth Housing Coalition to Train

The Youth Housing Coalition (YHC) will hold an orientation and training for new volunteers on November 10. The YHC training is a half-day session to acquaint new members with our goals and policies, and includes brief empathy and assertiveness exercises. All prospective volunteers are welcome. We are especially seeking people of color to join us.

YHC is a nonprofit community organization that works to provide temporary, emergency shelter for 17-, 18-, and 19-year-olds in the Ann Arbor area who have run away from or been kicked out of intolerable situations at home. Since its inception in 1988, YHC has provided approximately 110 youths with over 560 nights of shelter.

YHC volunteers share their homes—and a spare bed or couch—at least once a month to ensure that these kids have a safe place to sleep. YHC works closely with Ozone House, the only crisis agency in the county designed to serve teens. When youths need emergency shelter, Ozone House screens them and, when appropriate, refers them to YHC. YHC—and any of its members—may always refuse a referral if they do not feel comfortable housing a particular client. The youths continue to meet with social service counselors while they are in YHC. To find out more about the Youth Housing Coalition, please call Susan at 996-0458.

Youth Housing Coalition, P.O. Box 3194, Ann Arbor, MI 48103.

GAY LIBERATION (from previous page)

services for people concerned about sexual orientation. We maintain a hotline for crisis intervention, peer counseling and referral. We help provide factual information to offset prejudice and misinformation about lesbians and gay men. We work to obtain human and civil rights for all, regardless of sexual orientation. We help lesbian and gay men's groups organize. And we are a link to other community groups.

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. Call us for time and place. Gay Liberation includes U-M students, staff, and faculty, and people from the larger community.

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



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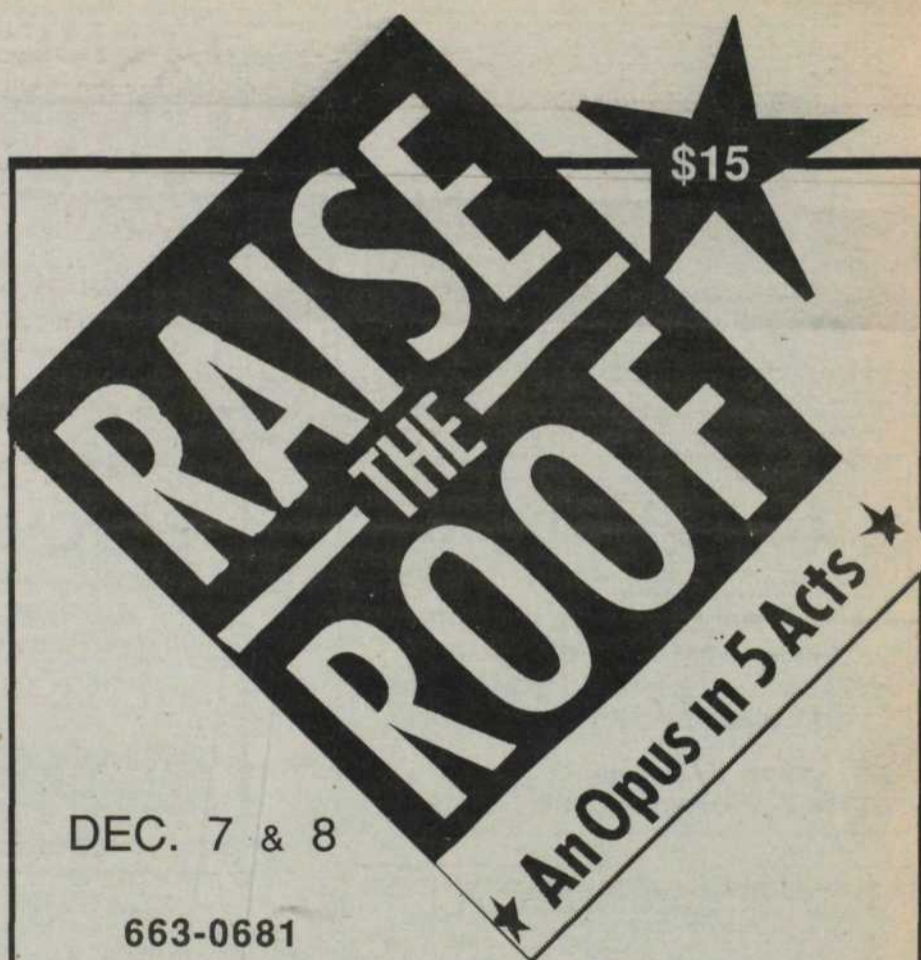
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