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AGENDA

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"Desert Storm in the Eye of the Media"

IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH

On Wednesday, February 20, over 250 people showed up at Rackham Auditorium on the University of Michigan campus to hear two well-known media watchers, Martin Lee and Nabeel Abraham, in a program entitled "Desert Storm in the Eye of the Media."

Dr. Abraham's insightful and informative talk was accompanied by a slide presentation, which unfortunately negated our ability to appropriately transcribe and print his portion of the program.

What follows are the remarks of Martin Lee, an award-winning investigative journalist, the co-founder of FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting), and the publisher of its journal, *Extra!*. Lee is also a U-M graduate and the winner of four Hopwood Awards, as well as the author of the recently published "Unreliable Sources: A Guide to Detecting Bias in the News Media."

The event was sponsored by the University Activities Center.

There has been a lot of talk lately about opinion polls which indicate that a substantial majority of Americans, when asked, say "yes" to Bush's policy. I was in Amherst last night when a professor of communications there gave me a paper on a poll that a group of professors at the University of Massachusetts had conducted, which also concurred that a significant majority favor the Bush policy when asked a basic yes or no question about it.

But what this poll did, and what most polls don't do, was that it correlated that response to what the basic knowledge is of the facts of the Middle East. They not only asked "How do you feel, yes or no, about the policy?" but "Were you aware of this?" or "What was the U.S. response when this happened?" and "Do you know where this is in the Middle East?" Very, very fundamental questions.

The findings were quite interesting. They found that the more people watched television news, the less they knew in terms of the basic facts of the situation in the Middle East. Furthermore, the less people knew in terms of the basic facts, the more likely they were to support the policy. It says something about television news, and of course that's how most people experience this war—through television.

When I watch television reporting on the war I'm reminded of a scene in a Marx Brothers movie in which a woman who was flirting with Groucho beckons to him saying, "Come closer, come closer;" to which Groucho responds: "If I got any closer, I'd be behind you!" I think that is the basic posture of the U.S. press with respect to the U.S. government.

When I look at television I see a lot of cheerleading, I see a lot of jingoism, I see a lot of boosterism. I do not see much journalism. Journalism requires, in its most elementary sense, diverse and antagonistic sources. That's basic Journalism 101. When you do a story, you don't just quote one point of view. You diversify your sources. Well I haven't seen much diversity on television, particularly in terms of the



lineup of experts that they have on to talk about the war.

The way it stands on television, since most of the reporting from the Gulf consists of spoon-fed information at Pentagon press briefings in Saudi Arabia, which journalists seem to claim there are not enough of (that seems to be the basic complaint), most of the time has been filled by an array of national security experts, former and current CIA officials, admirals, generals, representatives of conservative think tanks, and sometimes some hawkish Democrats. That's generally what you get.

One of our main criticisms of coverage of the war at FAIR is that articulate dissidents, independent policy analysts, representatives from the anti-war movement itself, are rarely included in national television discussions and debates. They might report about the anti-war movement, often in a skewed fashion, but rarely are the leaders of that movement or experts who are sympathetic with the movement invited into the studio to participate in the discussion about the war.

We call it "nature footage" when you see pictures of peace activists as people who are only indigenous to the streets—that's their natural habitat; that's where they are shown, with a sound bite or a slogan. But they don't seem to figure that leaders of the peace movement—dissident critics—can speak in more than sound bites and slogans; and maybe have something intelligent to say if they were included in the debates.

So we don't see, for example, people like Daniel Ellsberg on television these days talking about the war. We have been in touch with Daniel Ellsberg at FAIR and found out that he was invited by ABC at one point to be a commentator for a press briefing that Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney was about to give. Now it makes sense that someone like Ellsberg would be in a perfect position to do this. After all, he used to

prepare Defense Secretary McNamara for his press briefings. If we had an independent press corps we would have someone like him on it.

As it happened, he was disinvented. He was told at the last minute by ABC that the limousine would not be coming for him. And that happened a number of times in the first few days of the war. He was invited, he was ready to go on, and all of a sudden he was disinvented.

So people like Ellsberg, and others like him, who ought to be on television—and would be if we had an independent press corps—are simply not on (with few exceptions). To us, that's a form of censorship. It's not the Pentagon telling ABC World News Tonight, "Don't have Daniel Ellsberg on, we'll be upset by what he will say." The producers of ABC World News censor themselves. So I think the whole issue of censorship has to be looked at in a broader way.

Ellsberg is one of many who could be included. As a result what we get is a very one-sided view of the war, a one-sided view of policy. And it's the side that the Bush administration prefers people to be exposed to. As a result the information is quite skewed.

Michael Deaver, former press whiz for President Reagan, and master of the staged photo opportunity, was recently asked how the Bush administration was doing in terms of managing press coverage. And this is how Deaver responded: "If you're going to hire a public relations firm to do the media relations for an international event, it couldn't be done any better than this is being done." That's a rather frank acknowledgement of what's going on.

When we talk about this kind of phenomenon, where the press is so well managed, it's not simply a credit to the tacticians of the Bush administration, it says something about the United States press corps. There seems to be a willingness to submit to this management. There has been no serious attempt to challenge the Pentagon censorship. There has been a suit filed against the Pentagon contesting the restrictions, incidentally, on behalf of the Nation magazine and other smaller circulation publications by the Center for Constitutional Rights. But none of the major newspapers or networks have joined that suit, which to me says they are complicit in the censorship—they are not serious about challenging the censorship.

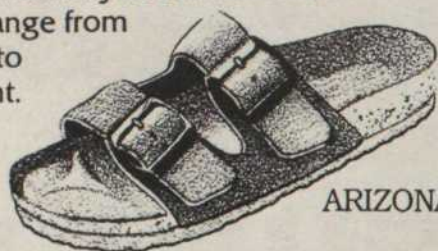
Indeed, it seems if anything, journalists are partaking of this—how shall I say—almost festive celebration of the war. Many journalists seem to identify so strongly with the government officials they are quoting that there is very little critical distance. And that is [FAIR's] main criticism of the U.S. media, not just in terms of just the Gulf, but in how they cover other issues as well—not that they are too liberal, that is totally absurd. I think the press is too close to power, corporate and government power.

We see this reflected in various ways. How many times did we hear someone like George Lewis from NBC Nightly News say, shortly after the war broke out, "We're winning

(continued on page 14)

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LETTERS

Toilet Paper is Wasteful

I enjoyed Catherine Fischer's article about tampons "Are Sanitary Napkins Truly Sanitary?" (AGENDA, Dec. 1990) and found particularly useful her suggestions of alternative means of stopping menstrual flow.

But I think the article could have gone further. Just as disposable tampons and napkins available commercially contribute needlessly to our environmental waste problems, so do other household products.

"Ass for Gas" Poetic

I sent along a copy of the pre-war issue to my mother in Sacramento, CA, so she could enjoy the front page and headline. She asked me to convey a very serious chortle next time I wrote. "Kicking Ass for Gas," is enormously powerful poetry. I am reminded of Ho Chi Minh, Vladimir Mayakovsky and Pablo Neruda, and their writings aimed at widening perceptions using common and course language.

R.B. Crosby
MILAN, MI

Take Back the Airwaves

While I agree that the left is "that bad," I need to call your attention to the greatest obstacle to progressive thought catching on with *Boobis americanis*. That obstacle is the right-wing's total monopoly of the media, especially the electronic media.

While alternative publications can still be found if one searches and knows what one is looking for and where to look, this "democratic" nation does not tolerate left-of-center opinion in the daily mass media. "Free speech" simply means "the right" of pornographers to demean and trivialize women so it is easier for society to exploit them.

Thousands of reactionary radio stations, like fascist WXYT (1270 AM, Southfield, MI) pepper the USA and broadcast 24-hours-a-day to the mentally and educationally weak, virtually without challenge. Even the callers, who are enlightened enough to be able to counter the steady flow of lies, are prevented from speaking out by the media mogul's army of zealous toadies who guard the airwaves against progressive opinion. It is this "media monopoly," as Ben Bagdikian defines it, that keeps progressive candidates from

I refer specifically to toilet paper. Americans waste millions of tons of paper each year for the luxury of cleaning themselves with paper, while alternatives that are more environmentally sound—not to mention cleaner—exist. Consider that in most of the world a bare hand and a bucket of water do the job perfectly well, with no waste of paper.

Like most steps toward a more ecologically aware world, this one requires overcoming some cultural biases. But anyone who's truly committed should be only too glad to grin and "bare" it.

Daniel J. Lyons
ANN ARBOR, MI

Fragment of Apocalypse

the burned APC lay carefully on its side
christened by the blood of four warriors
crucified by lasered rockets
absolved by sand and the wind
finally
returned to innocence.

—Blaine Crosby

getting their platform exposed, effectively denying them access to public office.

Until the left gets off of its apathy and reclaims its right to the public airwaves, to balance ideology and challenge the lies and institutionalized corruption, it will continue to operate in a vacuum. Under Reagan, the FCC Fairness Doctrine, that demanded at least minimal balance, was shredded without as much as a whimper from the left. That's disgusting!

How else could a handful of the wealthy power elite and their lackeys in government convince the masses of their benevolence, in spite of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary, if they did not have the means to brainwash massively and relentlessly? They control the media, and, thus they control what Americans think and do. The current sickening public support for yet another imperialist war, with massive global consequences as oil reserves go up in flames, proves that the average bonehead in TV land hasn't a clue about history, geopolitics, or environmental consequences and this system aims to keep it that way.

Irene Brown
FARMINGTON, MI

Reform or Revolt Part V

War, Peace & The Movement

by Ahmad Abdur-Rahman

To many of us the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War augured the beginning of a new era of world peace. War, as an instrument of foreign policy, appeared to be obsolete, at least between the superpowers. Like Japan and Germany, the U.S. could devote its energies and resources toward development of life-enhancing technologies rather than continue to pour obscene sums into the Pentagon's wizardry of death.

Those hopes for world peace have been short-lived. First the invasion of Panama, and now the Gulf War have shown that, rather than feel constrained from war by the transformations in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the White House and the Pentagon feel even less constrained.

We naively neglected to remember that as much as one-fourth of all American industry is in some way linked to military production. We forgot that a serious decrease in military spending would reduce corporate profits too much for the military-industrial-political complex to give peace a chance.

We also forgot that since the Vietnam War hundreds of billions of dollars in munitions have been stacking up in U.S. stockpiles. And in order for defense contractors to acquire billions of dollars in new contracts, those so-called "strategic stockpiles" of old munitions must be used up first.

We also underestimated the Pentagon's enthusiasm for testing their new high tech toys on another Third World bogeyman. Saddam Hussein is no Ho Chi Minh, but he and his country have done just fine for the purposes of the Pentagon and the military contractors.

The post-Cold War realities point to the need for a permanent peace movement in the U.S. We see from the adventures in Grenada, Panama and the

Persian Gulf that the militarists and their political cronies in Washington are so eager for war that they will plunge America into undeclared wars before an anti-war movement has time to mobilize to stop them.

Even if sanctions and embargos would work in the long run they do nothing for defense contractor profits in the short run. Hence nonviolent means, like sanctions, are ridiculed as ineffective. War is the first option.

The people can restrain the government's war-making proclivities only if they have in place a permanent peace movement. This movement must wrestle in the arenas of American power and influence. This would mean forming peace political action committees and running peace candidates for electoral office, even when there is no war.

A permanent peace movement could provide the impetus for the regeneration of the left. A revived left movement can fulfill a need which the Gulf War has made all too apparent; the need for the mass dissemination of information to counter the pro-war propaganda that the corporate media is enthusiastically cranking out. The decline of progressive "underground" newspapers of the the '60s and the virtual disappearance of leftist opinion from the airwaves have given pro-war viewpoints (often masquerading as liberal opinion) a virtual media monopoly. The renewal of the left must discard old dogmas and divisions and rely on unique American realities rather than foreign models. The disappearance of the left (and the remaining factions marginalizing themselves into ineffectual irrelevance) is one reason why Reaganism still holds so much sway over America's domestic policies.

(see MOVEMENT, page 13)

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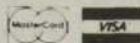
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The Legacy of the Vietnam War

by Dan Clark

As current leader of the hawks, George Bush promised that the conflict in the Persian Gulf would not be another Vietnam War, that the U.S. would not fight with one hand tied behind its back, failing because of a lack of will. This interpretation of defeat is dubious, but it also begs the question of why the U.S. fought in Vietnam at all. Many who campaigned to "support the troops" in the Persian Gulf tried to pre-empt discussions of the war's ultimate purpose and insinuated that doubt and disagreement could kill American soldiers as readily as Iraqi artillery. Yet one of the most crucial lessons of the Vietnam War was the need to ask such fundamental questions not relying on the President for answers.

Since the legacy of the Vietnam War is still up for grabs, it is important to understand that the United States' role in the conflict was unjust and immoral and that this was the case long before the massive deployment of American troops in the mid-1960s. It is impossible to understand the meaning of the war, and its outcome, unless we begin to explore Vietnamese perspectives with a sense of history.

In Sept. 1945, Vietnam declared its independence after decades of struggling to expel foreign aggressors—first the French, who began their conquest in the 1850s, then the Japanese, who invaded during World War II. For most Vietnamese, French colonialism meant a degrading lack of control over their lives. Colonial powers sought profit, and the French extracted riches through factories and mines, rubber plantations, and increased rice production for export. The Vietnamese provided the labor, earning scant wages in factories, dying in droves on rubber plantations, and watching landlords claim enormous shares of their rice harvests.

The Viet Minh (Front for the Independence of Vietnam), founded by Communist Ho Chi Minh in 1941, led the successful Vietnamese independence movement by opposing both French and Japanese rule. The Viet Minh was a broad-based organization that secured the allegiance of vast numbers of Vietnamese citizens in 1944 by seizing rice stocks destined for Japanese troops. Until then, 2 million Vietnamese had died of starvation because their rice was taken from them.

By the end of WWII the relationship between the Viet Minh and the U.S. seemed positive. The Viet Minh had assisted the U.S. during the war by gathering intelligence about Japanese forces and rescuing downed airmen. As he addressed the crowd at the 1945 independence celebration, Ho Chi Minh borrowed phrases from Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence. The people cheered and saluted an American plane flying overhead. WWII had been fought, the U.S. had claimed, so that all people would have the right to determine their own form of government. The Vietnamese celebrated the fruits of that victory and anticipated further Allied support.

Within a year, however, the U.S. firmly supported France in its effort to reimpose colonial rule over Vietnam. This American position grew less out of a fear of advancing communism in Asia, than from the hope of securing French opposition to the Soviet Union in the emerging Cold War in Europe. So the U.S. condoned France's aggression in Vietnam. The irony was not lost on Ho Chi Minh, who wrote numerous letters to President Harry Truman, pleading for assistance and noting the numerous investment opportunities in Vietnam for American businesses. Truman never responded.

The U.S. eventually contributed money as well as approval to the French colonial war. By 1954 the U.S. had spent \$2.6 billion to fight the Vietnamese and was paying 80% of the war bill for the French. By the late 1940s and 1950s, U.S. policymakers interpreted the Vietnamese independence movement as a

[I]n the process of liberating Kuwait, the war will liberate the American people from the ghosts of Vietnam, from the humiliation that began to melt away on Jan. 16. The sons and daughters of the vanquished in Vietnam are now engaged in an act of national redemption.

Col. David Hackworth (Newsweek, Feb. 1991) communist insurgency conceived in Moscow and supported by the Soviets and the Chinese Communists. If left unchecked, the U.S. held, all of Southeast Asia would become communist as the dominoes fell toward Europe and North America.

The U.S. position was wrong. The Viet Minh's anti-colonial goal required no inspiration from Moscow. Most Vietnamese had opposed French rule since the Soviet Union even existed. The Soviet Union was devastated after WWII and provided little material aid to the Vietnamese insurgents until the mid-1960s. Furthermore, the Viet Minh's appeal in the Vietnamese countryside was based on its land reform program, not communist theory. While the colonizers tried to subdue the population with force, the Viet Minh recruited thousands



Ho
Chi
Minh

of loyal followers by granting land to rice farmers who had seen too much of their crop go to the French or to French-backed landlords. Having first, and unsuccessfully, appealed to the U.S. for aid, the Viet Minh accepted weapons from Communist China beginning in 1950; but relations between Vietnam and China remained strained, as they had been for centuries. Despite American assistance to the French, the Viet Minh won the war because the majority of the Vietnamese people supported their own independence movement. Desperately seeking to deny the Vietnamese their victory, the U.S. arranged in 1954 to temporarily divide Vietnam in two—hence the origin of "North Vietnam" and "South Vietnam"—with the understanding that the nation would be reunited by elections to be held within two years. The Viet Minh consented, but the elections were never held. The U.S., which had replaced France as the dominant foreign presence in Vietnam, refused to allow elections because of the overwhelming popularity of Ho Chi Minh and the unpopularity of the U.S.-supported candidate Ngo Dinh Diem.

The U.S.-backed Diem government in South Vietnam was a disaster. Intending to create a model nation that would stem the tide of communism in Southeast Asia, the U.S. supported a dictator who managed to alienate almost every Vietnamese citizen outside of his immediate family by imprisoning or executing critics and political opponents. The Catholic Diem interfered with the religious affairs of the nations' Buddhist majority. He imposed outside leaders on villages that had traditionally decided such things for themselves. Diem had considerable backing, but it was almost entirely from the U.S. His opponents multiplied until even the U.S. consented to his assassination in 1963.

Throughout these years the Vietnamese independence movement, still led by Ho Chi

Minh, struggled to rid the country of foreign domination. Confounding American officials, the independence movement continued to earn far greater allegiance throughout the country, including "South Vietnam," than did the U.S.-supported government. The massive U.S. military assault on Vietnam, beginning in 1965, was a bizarre, extremely violent attempt to make history conform to the fantasies of American leaders.

During the current debate over the legacy of the Vietnam War, it is important to bear in mind some painful truths. Never was the U.S. defending freedom and democracy, or promoting the right of self-determination, in Vietnam. Neither did GIs die to defend any fundamental rights of American citizenship. According to the "domino theory," every revolution involving communists was Soviet-instigated and ultimately threatened U.S. freedom; but such rigid anti-communism could not explain the dynamics of the Vietnamese independence movement and the tenacity of its resistance to the U.S. war effort.

Not only was the American role in Vietnam immoral, it showed little restraint. Three times as many tons of explosives were dropped by the U.S. on Vietnam (including the South) as were dropped in all of World War II. In addition, napalm and other defoliants destroyed an estimated 50% of Vietnam's forests. Over 2 million Vietnamese were killed compared to 58,000 Americans. What kind of "victory" could even greater annihilation have produced? The U.S. did not lose because it fought with one hand tied behind its back. The U.S. lost because its program for Vietnam—corrupt dictatorship, massive bombing, death, and destruction—was extremely unpopular with the overwhelming majority of Vietnamese citizens.

It is understandable that most Americans focus on the actual experiences of American combat forces when trying to make sense of the Vietnam War. American GIs are our most numerous, immediate, and powerful link with the conflict, and they have every right to interpret their own experiences both in the war and upon their return. But no amount of empathy with Vietnam veterans can transform America's role in the war into a noble cause.

Once again, the U.S. has jumped, guns blazing, into a region with a complex history about which most Americans know little. Strictly speaking, the Gulf War could not be "another Vietnam." In history, culture, political context, and terrain, Iraq and Kuwait are different from Vietnam. But it is doubtful that in the Gulf that the American military "triumph" with its massive destruction and upheaval in the region will produce the peace, respect for the U.S., and feelings of restored American omnipotence that war advocates appear to desire.

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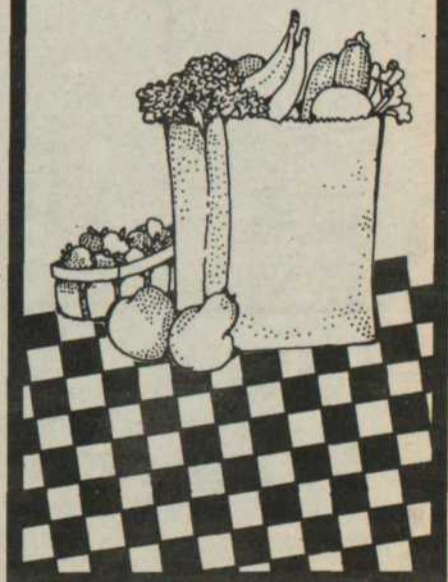
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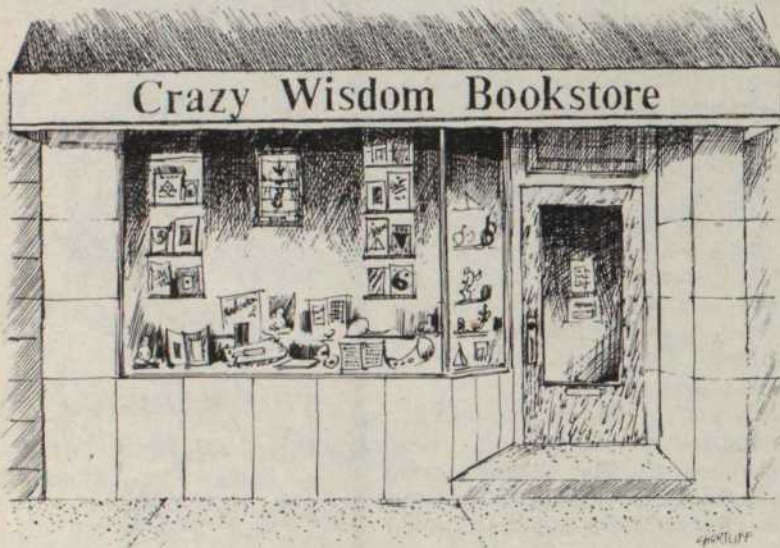
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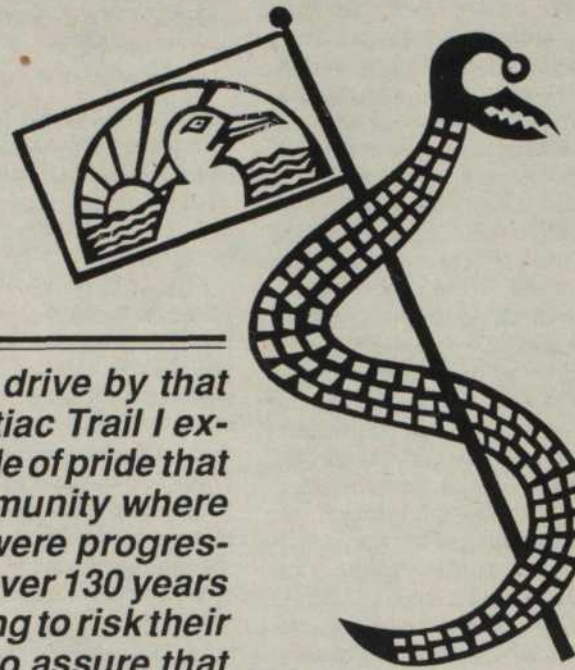
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The Underground Railroad Rides Again

by Fred Chase

ANN ARBOR—
The route from my house to my aunt and uncle's house takes me past a pre-civil-war era home which served as a way station on the underground railroad. In the front yard is a hitching post. Folklore has it that a ribbon attached to the



THE FLAG WAYER: DAVID MOROSKI

Every time I drive by that house on Pontiac Trail I experience a tingle of pride that I live in a community where some people were progressive enough, over 130 years ago, to be willing to risk their own freedom to assure that of others.

post indicated it was safe for the conductor to drop off African people escaping from forced labor. They would be sheltered for a day or two until another conductor came to carry them on to the next way station on the road to freedom in Canada. The house contains a hidden room where these people, who were stolen from their families and societies, could be concealed if necessary from authorities and bounty hunters.

Every time I drive by that house on Pontiac Trail I experience a tingle of pride that I live in a community where some people were progressive enough, over 130 years ago, to be willing to risk their own freedom to assure that of others.

In the 1960s I lived in Detroit and worked with the Resistance an anti-draft organization of young men who intended to refuse induction into the military, and their supporters. The Resistance engaged in numerous activities against the war including draft counseling, draft card burnings, civil disobedience at induction centers and draft board offices, destruction of selective service files, and the harboring of military resisters who were on their way to freedom in Canada or circulating through the underground in the United States. I was also proud to know and work with these neo-abolitionists.

As the situation in the Middle East has heated up, more and more members of the military have chosen the course of resistance by going AWOL (Absent Without Official Leave). And the underground has come to life to meet their needs once again.

"The underground" sounds somewhat mystical and romantic. But it's really fairly uncomplicated. The AWOL soldier contacts a friend or organization they think might be sympathetic. If the friend or group can't provide the service, chances are they know someone who can. Once underground, the soldier is delivered to someone willing to provide them with couch space and meals for a few days and then pass them on to someone else who has agreed to do the same and so on.

The penalties for harboring a fugitive from "justice" can be up to five years in prison. But the chances of getting caught are slim if the harbinger exercises simple precautions.

Only those who need to know should be advised of the visitor's true identity. To all others, he or she is simply a friend from out of town who has come to visit for a few days. The

visitor is only kept in one place for a few days before being passed on to someone else so that the authorities can't easily pinpoint the AWOL's location. The host at the next way station has been advised beforehand about the nature of the operation so that no one is deceived into risking the penalties; but in each case the person is simply passed

on as a friend needing a place to stay for a few nights so that the host can honestly claim no knowledge of the guest's illegal status. Homes of middle class friends make the best shelters. The authorities are less likely to have them under surveillance than those of known activists.

Sending an AWOL through a small network of friends in the same order each time is also likely to arouse suspicion from those trying to break up the railroad. If one AWOL goes from House A to House B, and the next from House

The penalties for harboring a fugitive from "justice" can be up to five years in prison. But the chances of getting caught are slim if the harbinger exercises simple precautions.

A to House Z, a discernable pattern isn't established. The larger the network, the less obvious it becomes that a particular house is a way station on the railroad.

Eventually infiltrators are likely to be used as the authorities try to break down the network. They can generally be avoided by only accepting trusted friends of trusted friends. But some AWOLs are going to be people with few contacts. The individual host has to decide how much risk they are willing to take. They might be saving a life by taking in a stranger. And they might be risking their own freedom.

With discretion and commitment an underground railroad can be built to serve during the U.S./Iraq conflagration that is as effective as that which helped captive African people before the Civil War and the resisters during the Vietnam War. Its development has already begun.

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A Brief History of the Persian Gulf

Iraq's takeover of Kuwait and subsequent massive U.S. intervention has catapulted the Gulf region into the news. But it is difficult to understand events there without some knowledge of the region's history. The present crisis, for example, is actually the third between Iraq and Kuwait in the last century. What follows is a thumbnail sketch of a region with a rich history and a diverse population.

The First Crisis: Ottoman and British Colonial Period

The first crisis came in 1899, when the Turkish Ottoman Empire—which had dominated the Arab Middle East for centuries—was crumbling, especially at its distant edges. While the rest of Iraq was based on feudal agriculture, Kuwait was typical of the tribal Gulf shipping settlements which engaged in commerce throughout the Indian Ocean. The British arrived en route to India in the early 19th century with large ships and machine-made textiles which gradually undermined the local shipping empire of Oman and the Gulf cities and textile industry of Iran.

The British were troubled by their competitors, the Arab shippers (the British called them "pirates") who resisted British entry into the region. By military force the British imposed agreements with the families ruling the Gulf coastal tribes (up to that point they had been chosen fairly democratically). The British pledged to maintain these families in power in return for British military protection and, of course, a stop to the raiding of British ships. The small states near the outlet of the Gulf became known as the Trucial States because of the truces they signed with Britain between 1819 and 1853. Bahrain signed its treaty in 1892, and Qatar in 1916.

In 1899 the Ottoman Empire tried to reincorporate Kuwait into Iraq. The British gave military protection to Kuwait in return for the treaty the British imposed which made Kuwait into an effective British colony.

During WWI, the British promised independence to the Arabs (Hussein-McMahon Treaty) in return for their support against the Ottoman Turks. But during the same period they were negotiating a treaty with the French that divided up the Arab region among the British and French empires, based on where each had built railroad lines. The resulting Sykes-Picot treaty was supposed to be secret; but when the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia in 1917, they found it in the czar's archives and published it. As a token, the British gave Jordan and Iraq to two branches of the Hashemite family which had ruled Mecca.

During this period (1902-1935), Sheik Ibn Saud, the leader of the Saudi clan, was conquering most of the Arabian Peninsula with brutal military force, killing many adult men and confiscating flocks of sheep and goats which were the livelihood of people in the areas they took over. The Saudis took no male prisoners.

This conquest, which is still fresh in the memories of those who were conquered, has engendered much hatred for the Saudi family. There is also religious dissatisfaction with the Saudis since they are not the traditional rulers of Mecca; the Saudis drove out the Hashemites.

The Second Crisis: The Era of Oil

Early in the century, massive oil deposits were discovered in Iran. The British set up a company to exploit the oil, now known as British Petroleum. In the '30s oil was discovered on the other side of the Gulf. The British felt they had plenty of oil in Iran and did not want to develop other deposits which might increase the supply and lower the price so U.S. companies managed to gain control over the oil in the Gulf states.

King Ibn Saud, for example, who had large expenses and few sources of revenue, and sold his oil rights for a pittance in 1933 to Standard Oil

by Steve Goldfield

of California (now Chevron). A number of U.S. oil interests—including present-day Exxon, Texaco, and Mobil, would later join Standard Oil—formed the Arabian-American Oil Company and began oil production in Saudi Arabia in 1938.

In 1953 Ibn Saud died. His son and heir, Saud tried to break the agreement with Aramco in favor of Greek shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis; but under strong American pressure, Saud was prevented from kicking Aramco out. In 1964 he was deposed in favor of his brother

In 1899 the Ottoman Empire tried to reincorporate Kuwait into Iraq.

Faisal.

After WWII the newly democratic government of Iran, led by Mohammed Mossadegh, nationalized Iranian oil production. Mossadegh was subsequently overthrown by a CIA-organized coup in 1953, and the shah was installed in power.

The second Iraq/Kuwait crisis came in 1961 when the new Iraqi republic announced its impending annexation of Kuwait. The British airlifted troops into Kuwait and Iraq did not annex the country. At the time the borders in that area were drawn, oil had not been discovered and few were interested in the hinterland, for instance, of

The second Iraq/Kuwait crisis came in 1961 when the new Iraqi republic announced its impending annexation of Kuwait.

Kuwait. The British drew circles around the cities as borders. In the areas between the circles nobody claimed ownership. These areas are now neutral zones.

In the same period (1957-59), there was a revolution in northern Oman. Saudi Arabia supported the insurrection hoping to readjust the border and thereby gain access to potential oil fields. After the Iraqi revolution in 1958, the Saudis withdrew their support (fearing a wave of revolutions against monarchies) and the rebellion was crushed. The Omanis started a second revolt in 1965 in the southern province of Dhofar.

In 1970, Omani Sultan Said bin Taimur was deposed in favor of his son Qaboos because the

The third and present crisis came after a ten-year Iran-Iraq war, in which Iraq was supported by the Gulf states and the U.S.

indigenous revolution was gaining ground strongly in the South. Qaboos turned to the shah of Iran for help in 1973.

That same year brought the October War between Israel, Egypt, and Syria. Some of the Gulf states, including Saudi Arabia, declared an "embargo" intended to prevent their oil from going to the United States. Still, more oil came into the U.S. than before the embargo. Oil prices, however, and oil profits rose dramatically.

The 1960s are known as an era of decolonization in the Middle East. The reality in most of these countries, however, was that while nominal political independence was granted, economic dependence continued and often intensified. A key element of this system of neocolonialism was to have former colonies pay their own administrative expenses. When Algeria nationalized its oil industry after gaining independence, strong national sentiment demanded that other Arab oil producers do the same.

The neocolonial model suggested an attractive solution to the conservative oil states and the oil companies. In the Gulf, the so-called Participation Agreements gradually turned over legal ownership of the oil-production facilities to the local governments who, instead of the oil compa-

nies, had to pay production costs. Saudi Arabia, for example was given 25% control in 1972, 39% in 1979, and 51% in 1983. Oil revenues increased dramatically for the producing countries. However, their control was merely financial and not directly related to production.

In the early 70s, the price of oil was low (about \$3 barrel), and the oil companies' profits dropped to as low as 9% on their invested capital. In 1973, they staged the so-called embargo, and oil company profits rose back to about 15%. Although the Gulf producers announced they were curtailing shipments to customers such as the U.S., studies show that, in fact, such shipments actually increased. The dramatic rise in oil prices in the United States, Western Europe, and Japan was not caused by an oil embargo, but rather by manipulation by oil companies.

British Withdrawal

In the 1960s, Britain, the dominant military power in the region, went into an economic slump. At the same time, a strong revolution was underway in South Yemen. North Yemen had overthrown the Imam who ruled it in 1962 and then fought a five-year civil war with Egypt supporting the Republic and Saudi Arabia supporting the Imam's son. Egypt gave in after the 1967 war, though the Imam was not reinstated. In 1971, Britain partially withdrew militarily from the region, despite U.S. attempts to get them to stay. In 1969, South Yemen won its independence.

At the same time, the U.S. was engaged in massive intervention in Vietnam. The Nixon Doctrine of "strength," "partnership," and "negotiations" was developed to let "Asians fight Asians." In the Middle East it meant that Iranians and Israelis fought Arabs.

The overthrow of the shah of Iran came in 1979, the same year there were two uprisings in widely separated parts of Saudi Arabia: the oil regions and Mecca. "Partnership" in the Gulf was a failure, so the U.S. was forced to fall back on "strength." Since that time, the United States has been desperate to obtain military bases in the region to protect its control over the oil reserves.

The Third Crisis

President Jimmy Carter's doctrine was the pledge to use U.S. troops to keep the Saudi royal family in power, and to intervene in the Gulf to protect "our" oil. There was no threat to Saudi Arabia from either Iraq or Iran at the time. Iran historically claimed Bahrain and did take some Arab islands in the Gulf under the shah, so it was clear that the U.S. government was pledged to protect the Saudi royal family from overthrow by its own citizens. Carter also pledged to intervene if U.S. oil companies were threatened with loss of control over oil production in the Gulf.

The third and present crisis came after the ten-year Iran-Iraq War, in which Iraq was supported by the Gulf states and the U.S. who viewed Iraq as attacking Iran to reverse the spread of militant Islamic movements into the Arab countries. Once the war was fought to a stalemate, after over one million people were killed, Iraq was perceived as a threat by its former sponsors.

Iraq had built a well-armed million-strong army and nurtured strong pan-Arab ambitions to dominate the region. Kuwait and the smaller Gulf states overproduced their allotted OPEC quotas to keep the oil price down and maintain pressure on Iraq. Kuwait is also alleged to have pumped oil from a large oil field which straddles the Kuwait-Iraq border but is mostly in Iraq. After months of Iraqi complaints and negotiations, Iraq invaded Kuwait and the third crisis came to a head.

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"Dr. Strangelove, where are you when we need you?"

From Zontar to WWII

by Stuart Galbraith IV

When I was a kid, I loved science fiction movies and would drive my parents crazy staying up all night watching films like "Earth vs. the Flying Saucers," "Attack of the Mushroom People" and "Zontar, The Thing from Venus." On those late nights, my parents tried unsuccessfully to sleep through snarling Metaluna Mutants, growling Horrors from Party Beach and worst of all, the wailing of The Giant Claw.

On one of those nights I watched a film called "The Day the Earth Stood Still." In it a space emissary named Klaatu, sent from a distant planet comes to earth to deliver a message to all the leaders of the world.

Co-starring a 9-foot-tall, silver robot named Gort (well, Patricia Neal was in it too, but at that time, for me, robots were far more important), "The Day" was an exciting sci-fi thriller. It had great special effects, a believable flying saucer (with a door that opened from nowhere), a robot with laser beams for eyes and an exciting story.

What I didn't expect, watching that film 15 years ago, was its warning that human aggression was getting out of control and we'd better stop it—or else. Klaatu wants to meet with all of the world's leaders, but is told "they wouldn't even sit down to the same table together." Klaatu (and I) didn't understand why earth's rulers were being so immature. Who wouldn't want to meet someone from outer space?

After all but exhausting the science fiction genre, I moved on to films like "The Great Escape" and "Bridge on the River Kwai." I always preferred POW movies to conventional war films. POW movies weren't concerned with "killing yellow devils" and such, like so many films from the period. The characters in POW movies simply wanted to get home to their families—espionage and killing Nazis was the last thing on their minds.

Films like "All Quiet on the Western Front" make you wonder why anyone would ever become a willing participant in something so devastating as war in the first place.

Apparently, star Lew Ayres, cast as an eager soldier who sees the horrors of WWI firsthand was so affected by the film's message that he became a conscientious objector during WWII.

Recent films seem more honest than ever before with their graphic depiction of life on the front lines. Oliver Stone's "Born on the Fourth of July" shows how well-meaning teens were duped by the military's claims of glory and patriotism,

only to find themselves in a hellish conflict which left more than a few good soldiers forever physically and psychologically damaged.

Stanley Kubrick's "Full Metal Jacket," perhaps the best war film to date, showed how the military crushes individual expression and thought during basic training, turning decent people into killing machines.

I was reminded of these and other films when, during congressional debate prior to the start of the Gulf War, a congressperson opposed to the use of military action asked, "Dr. Strangelove, where are you when we need you?"

His question reminded me of something I've always wondered about; if this country's leaders were forced to watch movies like "Dr. Strangelove," "Born on the Fourth of July" and "All Quiet on the Western Front" every once in a while, wouldn't this kind of madness be avoided?

Now "Dr. Strangelove" may have been controversial in its day, but wouldn't such a mainstream critical and commercial success like "Born on the Fourth of July" (with Tom Cruise for cryin' out loud) finally drive home the message about what war really means?

Well, the war has started and the American people seem sold on a bill of goods much like the mythical Freedonia in the Marx Brother's movie, "Duck Soup" ("To war! To war! We're going off to war!") If there's one thing that the movies have taught me, it's that in war there can be no winners.

Who wouldn't want to meet someone from outer space?

Film Festival Interview: Zeinabu irene Davis

The 29th Ann Arbor Film Festival opens Tuesday, March 19, and runs through Sunday, March 24 at the Michigan Theater. Screening the latest in independent and experimental cinema from around the world, the festival is the oldest such event in North America.

The festival begins with an opening reception at 7:30 pm on Tuesday, March 19. The film program starts that evening at 8:30 pm and continues Wednesday through Friday, with shows at 7 pm and 9:30 pm, and Saturday, with shows at 1 pm, 7 pm, and 9:30 pm. The winning films will be shown on Sunday, March 24 at 5 pm, 7 pm, and 9 pm.

Tickets for individual shows are \$5, and nightly series tickets are \$8. Festival series tickets, good for the entire festival, are \$35.

The festival also features free matinee programs at 3 pm in the Michigan Theater, at which the Awards jury screen and discuss their films.

For more information, please call 995-5356.



Zeinabu irene Davis, Assistant Professor of Film and Communications, Antioch College.

Zeinabu irene Davis, one of three judges at this year's Ann Arbor Film Festival, is considered one of the country's top African-American experimental filmmakers. An assistant professor of film at Antioch College, her work explores the theme of Black identity through a variety of film genres and techniques. Davis' film "Cycles" will screen on Friday, March 22 at the Michigan Theater together with "Illusion" by Julie Dash and "Picking Tribes" by Sandra Sharp. Davis was interviewed by phone last month.

AGENDA: Can you describe your film, "Cycles"?

Davis: "Cycles" is a 17-minute experimental narrative, and it basically focuses in on a day in the life of an African-American woman who is waiting. Through the experience of viewing the film you get introduced to her interior world which includes her spiritual state as well as her home life. The film uses pixillation [a technique for animating people which exaggerates movement] and some still photography. I also use what people would call live action, regular characters moving about. So it combines those processes to talk about her interior world. Then at the end of the film you eventually find out what she's waiting for.

AGENDA: That seems to be a growing trend—the mixing of very distinct techniques in the same film.

Davis: I definitely think so. Especially when you have video entering the picture too. I know Ann Arbor is strictly a film festival, but I also do know that in the larger picture there's a lot of cross-fertilization between film and video. And we can't really afford to be totally filmmakers who only do film any more. So I kind of extend my filmmaking techniques to video. I like them both, but I use them in very different ways.

AGENDA: How do you feel about judging a purely 16mm film festival?

Davis: It's pretty exciting. As far as I know, there isn't any other festival in the country that's purely devoted to 16mm like this one is. It's really important to support 16mm film, the

format that I primarily work in.

AGENDA: How did you get your start making films?

Davis: The very earliest influence in terms of filmmaking for me was my own father. My father has always been kind of an amateur photographer. He's gone around and done a lot of portraits of weddings and stuff like that, for all the years I was a kid.

I got my undergraduate training at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. I went to school with the intent of being an international lawyer, but my first year while I was at Brown I got an internship at a public TV station. And there I was introduced to a Black woman by the name of Ginny Booth. I worked for Ginny for over a year, and I really got hooked on doing media, and the plans of being an international lawyer kind of went out the window with that.

The third influence was going to Kenya, East Africa, in 1981-82, and experiencing being in Kenya, and working with a Kenyan writer by the name of Ngugi wa Thiong-o. In the time I was in Kenya we would see a lot of German and Belgian film crews in Nairobi, and the only thing we ever found out they were doing were these wildlife films. And it was kind of disturbing to see so much work done on wildlife when the people of Kenya, I felt, were its greatest asset. There are about 17 ethnic groups in Kenya, and they are really different from each other, and there wasn't anything recording their history or culture.

I had this experience working with Ngugi as an assistant on his play. The play had to do with the history of Kenya, in the sense that it was a history of people in the '50s who were kind of considered by the popular culture as Mau-Maus, and they were really people who were just fighting for the independence of Kenya. The play was structured around that struggle. After the play was on for three days it got shut down

by the Kenyan government. It was an outdoor theater, and the theater got bulldozed. The play was considered subversive. Ever since then I kind of made a vow with Ngugi that I would some day return to Kenya and make films about the people of Kenya.

AGENDA: What an experience—to spend all this effort and time on a play and have it literally demolished by the government.

Davis: It was a very upsetting experience. I still don't think I'm over it to some degree. And he [Ngugi] had to go into exile after the play was closed down. He has still not been back to Kenya, after almost 10 years.

AGENDA: Have you in fact returned to Kenya and made a film?

Davis: No. Unfortunately, not yet. I don't even know if I could really. They knew I was working with Ngugi, and the government hasn't significantly changed since that time.

AGENDA: In any case, that experience was an impetus to go to...

Davis: To film school, yes. That was the impetus. When I left for Kenya I knew I wanted to get involved in media but I thought it would be as a photographer or reporter. But once I was there it got solidified for me, and I decided I would become a filmmaker.

AGENDA: How many films have you made?

Davis: I've made four films and about five video projects.

AGENDA: Are they very different, or are there similarities?

Davis: The uniting theme is that all of my work is about women, women of color. But none of them are the same, really, in terms of style. I've done documentary, and I've done straight narrative, and then I've also done experimental narrative and then I've also done a little bit of music video too.

AGENDA: How do people outside of Ann Arbor view the Ann Arbor Film Festival?

Davis: I do think that Ann Arbor is very highly looked upon by the independent film community. It's looked upon as one of the premier festivals in the country. I could tell by the way that people who were still at UCLA responded to me being a judge that it's something that people covet being a part of. And I think that a lot of people support the festival in lots of different ways. Not only is there a good response from people in the Ann Arbor community, but people pay attention to what is being screened there. A lot of times films get programmed at various art theaters or at festivals, sites or circuits, like museums and universities based on how they do at Ann Arbor, or if they're screened at Ann Arbor. It's definitely—I don't want to say prestigious, because that doesn't convey what I want to say—but it definitely helps that you've screened at Ann Arbor.

AGENDA: Why were you attracted to experimental film as opposed to conventional narrative?

Davis: The thing I'm trying to do, along with other African-American filmmakers, is to search for a visual language that details African-American experience and culture. The way to do that is to be open to experimentation. Jazz was an idiom for African-American culture and branched out. We're looking for the same kind of thing—something that could be identifiable as a Black film language.

THIS INTERVIEW was conducted by Ken Garber.

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GREEN NOTES

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE HURON VALLEY GREENS

DEAR READER,

This issue of *Green Notes* is being published through *AGENDA* as an experiment. The dual focus for this issue is on the Ann Arbor Green Campaign for City Council and the U.S. intervention in the Gulf.

Please let us know what you think about our publishing in *AGENDA*. Our hope is that other grassroots organizations working for progressive change will also consider publishing here. Our budget is meager, and we may not be able to afford *AGENDA* on a monthly basis. If you want *Green Notes* to appear in this format again, you can help by becoming a financial supporter (see the membership form that appears on this page). Both the Huron Valley Greens and the Ann Arbor Greens can use your active support as well. Please refer to the Green and *AGENDA* Calendars to see when and where you can become involved in our work.

Brian R. Chambers, Lauren Sargent, editors

This special edition of *Green Notes* was brought to you by the Huron Valley Greens and the Ann Arbor Greens, in cooperation with Agenda Publications. To help defray costs, please send your contributions to the Huron Valley Greens, c/o 1411 Henry, Ann Arbor, MI 48104. (663-0003)

Green Calendar

March 6th, Wednesday, 7 pm: **Howard Hawkins** on "From Anti-War Movement to Social Change Movement." Michigan League, room D, 3rd floor. Howard is the field organizer for the Left Green Network and a founding member of the antinuclear Clamshell Alliance. He has many articles published in the *Guardian*, *Sojourners*, *Resist*, *New Politics*, *Peace and Democracy News*, and *Green Letter*. Public welcome, reception to follow—location to be announced at the talk. Donations accepted!

March 17th, Sunday, 4-6 pm: **Park-In** at Ann-Ashley parking structure; wear green and help convert a useless parking deck into a "park"—bring picnic items, frisbees, musical instruments, etc. Co-sponsored by **Huron Valley Greens** and **Homeless Action Committee**.

March 28th, Thursday, 7:30 pm: **An evening with Patch Adams**, healer, humorist and Green supporter. Kuenzel room of the Michigan Union. Patch Adams is the founder of the *Gesundheit* Institute and is working to develop a model for free health care. His work combines natural health and traditional medicine, as well as the use of humor as a healing art. He is internationally recognized for his innovative approaches to health. Donations accepted!

April 1st, Monday: **Vote Green!** Ann Arbor City Elections. Party at Dominick's, 7 pm.

April 7th, Sunday, 6:30-8:30 pm: **Business Meeting of the Huron Valley Greens**, Guild House, 802 Monroe. New members welcome. Join us for an afterglow to get your questions answered! Elaine Wellin will facilitate the meeting.

April 21st, Sunday, 6:30-8:30 pm: **Huron Valley Greens Big Circle Discussion Meeting**, Guild House, 802 Monroe. Discussion of "Strategies for stopping the war in the Gulf and building alternative at home." Dalynn Park will facilitate the meeting.

A Green Future for Ann Arbor

Once again, the American people are at a crossroads and must face critical decisions. Before our eyes, the powers of greed and avarice that have gripped this country for so long beckon us to wake up. To wake up from a slumber of selfishness and ingratitude, to break free from the chains of petty concerns and apathy that bind us. The message put forth so strongly by national figureheads, that America, land of opportunity, stands true for fewer and fewer individuals. It is time to examine this message and explore a new direction.

As personal freedoms continue to be assaulted, as environmental degradation wracks the land, as emotional turmoil paralyzes people, the dream of America slips dimly into the horizon. It seems as if we have awakened from a bad dream only to realize we were dreaming within our dreams. And in that dream we were offered the hope of an economy that would raise the standard of living for all Americans, of a return to a period of peace and prosperity when Americans could be proud; for a brighter tomorrow for our friends and families.

For vast numbers of Americans, that dream is not coming true. The economic benefits always seem to stop trickling when they pass through the pockets of the rich and powerful. The country is engaged in a war in the Persian Gulf to protect interests that have been portrayed to an uncritical public as American interests, where our strength will be determined by the number of bodies counted on the sand. The vision of a brighter tomorrow has been clouded by toxic emotional pollution and desperate circumstances that obscure the hope that remains.

Until recently, I felt a great sadness in my heart. I felt that all the work being performed by activists was not enough to stop the oncoming darkness. I was beginning to feel as if we were entering a new dark age. Then I realized that all the darkness in the universe can't dampen the energy of a few committed individuals. But we are in a period of darkness. It is hard to find support and guidance. Our leaders are taking us deeper into an area where I for one wish not to go. They seem oblivious to the lessons of the past that clearly show that antiquated modes of conflict resolution, economic revitalization, and community development jeopardize the stability of the entire planet and threaten our very future. Fortunately, we need not continue down this path. Hopefully, we will choose not to.

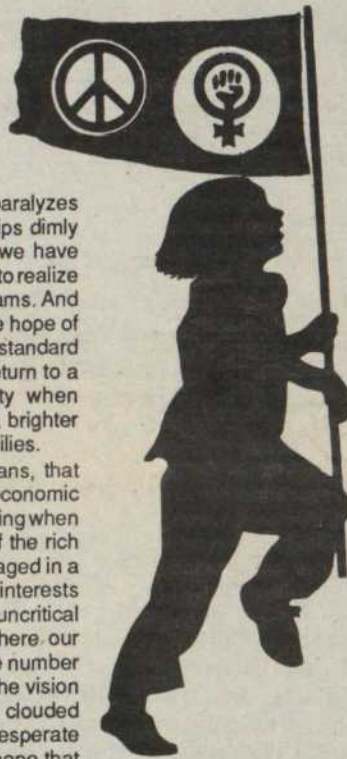
There are people here in Ann Arbor with a vision, a vision I feel passionately about. They have volunteered to bear a torch into a harsh world. They have risked their own personal comfort to carry a message of hope for a brighter future to a world that might not want to listen. They have chosen a path that may bring personal satisfaction, but will bring emotional and physical strain. Few who work behind the scenes can know how it feels to have your character assaulted by people who want nothing more than for the system to remain unchanged. We cannot feel the pain that comes when friends turn their backs and you are pitted against people you thought were your allies. But despite our inability to feel this, we can work together to protect and support each other.

The Ann Arbor Greens have chosen to venture out from the security that has provided shelter. We have decided that if others who share the vision of a safer, healthier and happier world want to see that

vision flourish, we must spread our message more broadly and strengthen efforts to work together. But it's nasty out there. Many people have been weakened by defeat or saddened by lack of support. But their knowledge, experience and wisdom can be combined into a powerful beacon of hope.

America is at a crossroads. Some have chosen to take a path of surety, to continue down a trail that offers little hope. Others have chosen to carve a new path. Those who have done so desperately need our help. We must act boldly. We must let our vision stand forth as a clear alternative and a beacon of hope. If that vision has merit, it will become clearer to others, and its strength will grow. Together we will turn that vision into reality. We can make it happen. Your support for the campaign will ensure its success.

So let's dream about true democracy, lasting peace, social and economic justice, and ecological sanity. Let us support those whose energy is flagging, and fuel the fires of those who speak the dream publicly. Let's fan our own fires with love and compassion, with honesty and integrity, with a vision that shall not diminish. Let's set sail for the horizon where our dreams will come true and hold on for the ride. As it has been said, a ship is safe in the harbor, but that's not what ships were made for.



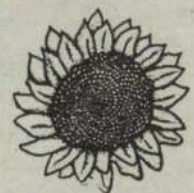
By Ed Delhagen, founding member of the Huron Valley Greens. (Abridged from a presentation at the Ground-Hog Day Benefit for the Ann Arbor Greens Campaign, February 2, 1991).

WHO ARE THE HURON VALLEY GREENS?

The Huron Valley Greens have members throughout the Huron Valley Bioregion addressing many concerns. The Ann Arbor Greens are a subgroup of the Huron Valley Greens. For the past three years, members of the Huron Valley Greens have been involved in a wide variety of environmental and social issues including:

- Publishing the *Greenpages*, a guide to ecologically and socially responsible local businesses.
- Supporting the Homeless Action Committee's efforts to provide low-income housing
- Testifying before the planning commission and city council against further road widening, parking structures, and any other added infrastructure for cars.
- Supporting improved bike and pedestrian paths, public transportation, and restoration of Ann Arbor's trolley system.
- Working with the Huron Regional Alliance to develop a comprehensive plan for Ann Arbor and surrounding communities.
- Co-sponsoring a conference on low level radioactive waste disposal, and lobbying the Michigan legislature to oppose a nuclear dump.
- Opposing the Detroit Incinerator, and testifying at EPA hearings on incineration and waste reduction policy.
- Working on the environmental bond and comprehensive recycling.
- Joining with Friends of Black Pond in their struggle to preserve Black Pond Woods.
- Organizing Greenfair and Huron Regional Town Meeting for Earth Day 1990.
- Helping to keep the MX Rail Garrison out of Michigan.
- Opposing the Persian Gulf war and the U.S. Administration's policies in the Middle East.
- Working with other groups to establish the Nonviolent Action Clearinghouse (663-3555).

HURON VALLEY GREENS MEMBERSHIP



There are many exciting things that are happening with the Greens. By joining you support our work, and will receive *Green Notes*. You will also be notified of important Green meetings and events.

(PLEASE PRINT NEATLY)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ CITY _____

ZIP _____ PHONE (home) _____ (work) _____

ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS _____

(PLEASE NOTE: IT IS OUR POLICY TO RELEASE OUR MAILING LIST TO LIKE-MINDED GRASSROOTS GROUPS)

CHECK ONE: (please make your check payable to the Huron Valley Greens)

- Guilty Conscience \$ _____:** I don't have time to work but I can give big bucks!
- Active Member, \$30.00:** I will work, attend meetings, and receive local and national newsletters.
- Sustaining Member, \$30.00:** I support you but I don't have time to participate. Please send me the local newsletter.
- Green Notes only, \$15.00.**

Send this form, along with your check to:
Huron Valley Greens, c/o Lauren Sargent, 1411 Henry, Ann Arbor, MI 48104

GREEN RIBBON PROJECT

This is for those of you who don't go for yellow ribbons. Wear a green ribbon on your lapel, tie one to a tree in front of your home, put one on your bike or antenna. The green ribbon says "Support the troops by bringing them home now, ALIVE!"

THE PROGRAM OF THE ANN ARBOR GREEN'S CAMPAIGN FOR CITY COUNCIL

I. Peace and Human Rights

The Problem: The costs of war and preparing for war run extremely high for the economy, for people, and for the environment. To pay for this single largest item in the federal budget, Washington has had to raise taxes, leaving less at the local level; borrow funds, thereby shortening the money supply; raise interest rates; and reallocate funds from other areas such as Social Security.

Dollar for dollar, military expenditures produce the lowest economic return. Pressing social needs such as infant health, drug abuse treatment, maintenance of transportation infrastructures, and education programs such as Head Start are dramatically underfunded. Military related research engages over half of the scientific researchers nationwide, including many at the University of Michigan. Economic opportunity for young people has evaporated over the last 10 years, while the military and the drug trade have become the only 'jobs program' available to them. Now we are embroiled in World War III, a sad reminder of our failure to plan for peace.

The destructive potential of violence extends well beyond the soldier in the field. Violence is now a fact of everyday life in America. Our daily exposure to violence as entertainment on television, sale of violent toys, and aggression against women, children, people of color, the gay community, and people holding non-conformist beliefs have all increased. U.S. society does not seek to resolve conflict peacefully, but rather resorts to violence and anger instead.

The Alternative: We believe that Ann Arbor has the people and resources to establish model programs to promote multicultural and international understanding, and peace within the community.

Examples include:

- Making nonviolent dispute resolution training available to all citizens at the public schools and libraries.
- Creating nonviolent civilian-based defense militia.
- Making Ann Arbor a nuclear free zone.
- Passing a city resolution opposing the war in the Persian Gulf and making Ann Arbor a sanctuary for military resisters.
- Ending tax abatements or subsidies to organizations accepting military contracts, including the University of Michigan.
- Passing a city resolution opposing an unaccountable armed campus police force.
- Electing a citizen's police oversight board to investigate complaints of police brutality, harassment and other misconduct. Enhancing police training programs on racism, sexism, and homophobia.
- Electing a citizen's commission on civil rights.

II. Grassroots Democracy

The Problem: Unfortunately, here in Ann Arbor, as well as nationally, corporate wealth buys a disproportionately large voice in governmental decisions. It is often a struggle for average tax-paying citizens to have their voices heard in City Council chambers. To the credit of the people of Ann Arbor, we have spoken out strongly on various local issues, but it often seems that nobody in city hall is listening. Our centralized city government is not structured to allow for genuine citizen participation. (Even public speaking time at City Council meetings is severely limited, and referred to as "audience participation.")

The Alternative: We do not want to be an audience. We need to build a strong, new grassroots politics in our city, not just put new names and faces in the system. We need to ensure that every person in our community has the right to valued input in the governance of Ann Arbor. To accomplish this we would create neighborhood and/or ward assemblies, akin to the "ward republics" envisioned by Thomas Jefferson. Through these assemblies, decisions about the well-being and future of the community can be debated and decided directly by the people. The City Council members would then be called upon to implement these decisions. Citizens would also have the right to recall Council members who do not live up to their mandates. The ward assemblies would, in effect, become the "voice of the city."

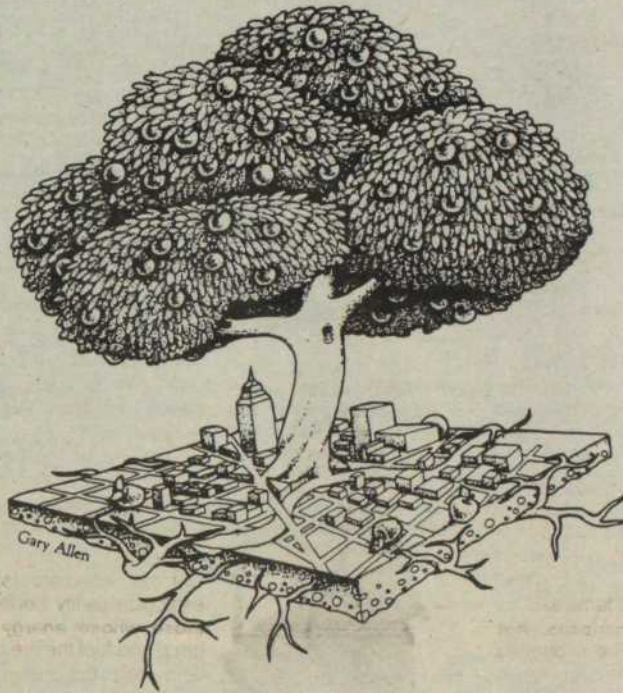
Working within this context, Ann Arbor can also lead the way in establishing democratic county-wide confederations with neighboring communities to deal with transportation, land use, groundwater protection, and other regional concerns.

As steps toward more democratic self-government we propose:

- Preferential voting in place of the winner takes all, two party system.
- Election, rather than political appointment, of all boards and commissions.
- Close the "revolving door" between city government and private interests.
- Create a "citizen's guide to local government."
- Establish a New England style Town Meeting.
- If and when a new city hall is built in Ann Arbor, it must have far more space for public assembly.

III. Ecology and Growth

The Problem: Environmental degradation may be the greatest single problem facing us. As even the popular media have pointed out, the planet is clearly being abused and suffering. There are many local environmental problems that must be addressed through committed action. Of these, perhaps "growth" is the most pressing.



Despite the current recession, Ann Arbor continues to grow at a furious pace. We face increased pollution and unsightly building projects, some that sit half-finished and abandoned. We struggle with intolerable traffic congestion while businesses clamor for more parking which will surely lead to road expansions. Washtenaw county is being swallowed up by suburban sprawl, destroying farm land and making people ever more dependant on the automobile for transportation. The stresses of big-city life, throw-away habits, and endless development are invading the community life we value.

The Alternative: The future of Ann Arbor must be guided by the needs of all people, not just by short term profit. If we are to preserve the environment for future generations we must make changes in our way of life that can be that can be maintained for hundreds of years. This will involve structural changes, not simply finding a hundred simple things an individual can do save the earth.

The following options meet this need:

- Passing a moratorium on development. We need to decide our future democratically, along ecological, humane, and rational lines.
- Developing a bio-regional land use plan for the next century that includes preservation of family farms; preservation of wetlands and wildlife habitat; public transit; and restoration of the Huron River to its pre-industrial state of health.
- Working towards local energy independence based on renewable energy sources such as water, wind, and solar power. Making the most of plentiful local resources such as the methane escaping into the atmosphere from our landfill.
- Using new energy saving devices such as compact fluorescent lights in all municipal buildings.
- Introducing stringent energy efficiency standards for all new construction and renovation in the city building code.
- Municipally acquiring open land to be held in public trust.
- Passing a packaging reduction ordinance.

- Restoring Ann Arbor's trolley system and bringing back dial-a-ride.
- Creating a complete system of bike and pedestrian paths, including a pedestrian mall on Main Street.
- Making Ann Arbor a "Toxic Free Zone."
- Developing sister city relationships with cities in Eastern Europe for technical assistance in ecological restoration.

IV. Economic Justice

The Problem: We live in a competitive grow-or-die economy that knows no moral or ecological limits. The market economy by its very nature must expand until it tears down the planet. Not only is this insane form of "growth" destroying the environment, it is also destroying the human community.

One of the greatest threats to Ann Arbor's quality of life is the continuing commercial construction/real estate speculation frenzy. This odious trend is continuing to force low and moderate income people out of the community, while wealthy developers reap the benefits. The real-estate speculation spiral creates an artificial prosperity on paper which can only be redeemed by future price increases. Our city must not be allowed to become solely an affluent bedroom community, devoid of economic and cultural diversity.

Our economy is not providing such basic needs as decent housing, health care, and a liveable income for many citizens. We are witnessing the emergence of a new underclass of poor people, many of them women and small children, who suffer from poverty and homelessness amidst unprecedented affluence. Economic and social injustice has become a major factor in the everyday life of our community.

The Alternative: We need to bring not only an ecological, but a social ecological perspective to bear on city problems. We should never pit ecological issues against social issues, "trading off" the natural environment for the dubious benefits of "growth." The Greens believe that decent housing, health care, a liveable income and good working conditions are rights, not privileges. We also believe that all people have a natural right to live in a healthy, sound environment. We envision a sustainable economy, one that meets human needs without destroying the environment.

We believe that small scale, socially responsible, locally owned businesses and municipally owned public utilities can form the foundation for a just economy. We need to convert from a multinational/military economy to a human scale economy, beginning right here at home.

We call for preservation of the downtown business district as a unique alternative to chain stores and shopping malls. The business district should welcome all types of people and be accessible by means other than cars. A broad mix of housing is paramount for the downtown.

We understand that many of our tax dollars leave our community to fill state and federal coffers. Nonetheless, we foresee practical and creative steps that can be initiated by our community to make these rights and visions a reality.

The steps we propose are to:

- Amend the DDA charter to prohibit building of any more parking structures, and to make energy efficient housing for low income people a top priority.
- Convert the Ann Arbor Inn to low cost housing.
- Institute a property tax freeze for Ann Arborites on fixed incomes (who live in their own homes).
- Pass a genuine Tenants Privacy Act, not a "landlord access act."
- Provide seed money for socially responsible local businesses, using affirmative action standards.
- Expand the network between local farmers and consumers to foster local agriculture and prevent further loss of farmland to development.
- Establish a city-funded nonprofit health care clinic to provide basic preventive and routine health care needs of the uninsured. Encourage the U-M to offer incentives to their health care staff to volunteer their time.
- Build a new senior citizen's center on top of one of the "twin holes" on Main Street instead of destroying the woods near Pioneer High School. This center should include housing for low- and modest-income elderly, a pharmacy, a grocery store, van jitney service, and medical clinic. The facility could serve as an ideal location for a model intergenerational day care center.

VALERIE MAPSTONE ACKERMAN, A GRADUATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK, HAS LIVED IN ANN ARBOR FOR SEVEN YEARS. EMPLOYED BY NORTHWESTERN COMMUNITY SERVICES, VALERIE WORKS AS A THERAPIST WITH CHILDREN AND FAMILIES AT BEACON DAY TREATMENT CENTER IN WAYNE COUNTY. SHE HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN THE PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENTS FOR MANY YEARS AND CURRENTLY SERVES ON THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF WAND (WOMEN'S ACTION FOR A NEW DIRECTION). VALERIE, THE SECOND WARD DEMOCRAT/GREEN CANDIDATE FOR CITY COUNCIL LAST APRIL, IS RUNNING AS AN INDEPENDENT/GREEN IN THE 2ND WARD IN THIS ELECTION.

DALYNN PARK, CANDIDATE FOR CITY COUNCIL IN THE THIRD WARD, IS A LIBRARY ASSISTANT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LAW LIBRARY AS WELL AS A FREE-LANCE ARTIST

MEET THE GREEN CANDIDATES FOR ANN ARBOR CITY COUNCIL

AND WRITER. SHE IS ACTIVE IN WASHTENAW COUNTY WOMEN'S ACTION FOR A NEW DIRECTION, THE HURON VALLEY GREENS, HABITAT FOR HUMANITY, AND FLINT'S DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SAFE HOUSE PROJECT. AS A COMMUNITY ACTIVIST, DALYNN PARTICIPATES IN NUMEROUS COALITION ACTIVITIES THAT DRAW TOGETHER COMMUNITY MEMBERS WORKING ON ISSUES OF PEACE, SOCIAL JUSTICE, WOMEN'S RIGHTS, AND ECOLOGY. DALYNN IS RUNNING AS AN INDEPENDENT/GREEN IN THE 3RD WARD.

LISA ANNE DANTO, R.N. IS A MICHIGAN NATIVE AND HAS BEEN A RESIDENT OF ANN ARBOR FOR THE PAST TEN YEARS. SHE HAS BEEN A NURSE FOR SIX YEARS AND NOW WORKS AS A PUBLIC HEALTH NURSE IN WASHTENAW COUNTY. SHE IS

ALSO A PART-TIME GRADUATE STUDENT IN PUBLIC HEALTH POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH. LISA IS A LONG TIME POLITICAL ACTIVIST WHO HAS PARTICIPATED IN NUMEROUS COMMUNITY GROUPS AND CITIZENS COMMITTEES DEALING WITH HOUSING, CIVIL RIGHTS, PEACE, AND ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AS WELL AS LOCAL, DOMESTIC, AND FOREIGN POLICY. SOME OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDE THE COMMUNITY HOUSING COALITION, THE ECOLOGY CENTER, THE YOUTH HOUSING COALITION/OZONE HOUSE, THE AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN'S TASK FORCE, AND THE EDUCATION SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE ANN ARBOR SOLID WASTE COMMISSION. LISA IS RUNNING AS A DEMOCRAT/GREEN IN THE 5TH WARD. (PENDING PRIMARY)

YOUR FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF CAMPAIGN SUPPORT ARE NEEDED! OUR BUDGET IS SMALL BUT SO ARE OUR WALLETS!

\$20-\$30-\$50-\$100-\$????

PLEASE MAKE CHECKS OUT TO:
ANN ARBOR GREENS, C/O 8 SALEM CT.,
ANN ARBOR, MI, 48104.

THIS PAGE WAS PAID FOR BY THE ANN ARBOR GREENS; SHIRLEY COOMBS, TREASURER, C/O 8 SALEM CT., ANN ARBOR MI 48104.

To publicize April Calendar events, send formatted listings by March 15 to AGENDA, 202 E. Washington #512, Ann Arbor, MI 48104, (996-8018). Listings for more than five events must be sent to AGENDA 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 Friday

"Edges of Perception": InterMedia Gallery McKinney Union, EMU, Ypsi. Photos by Cole Clawson and Lisa Steichmann. 487-1268

Vigil: Women In Black noon, State at N. University. Vigil against Israeli occupation of the Territories and E. Jerusalem. Wear black if possible. 769-5680

Coffeebreak for Lesbian and Bisexual Wimmiln: U-M Lesbian/Gay Male Programs Office & Common Language Bookstore 4 pm, 214 S. Fourth Ave. 763-4186.

"Long Time Companion": Unitarian Universalist Church Common Vision Committee 7:30 pm, 1917 Washtenaw. Film. Don. for refreshments. Kimi 665-6158

"Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead": Performance Network 8 pm, 408 W. Washington. Tom Stoppard's dark comedy about Hamlet's fellow students, \$9/7 studs. & srs. 663-0681

Betty Carter: Attic Theatre 8 pm, 7339 Third, Detroit. See this legendary singer in an intimate setting, \$22.50. 1-313-875-8284

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

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

Dance Jam: People Dancing 10 pm, People Dancing Studio, 1111 Third St. Varied recorded dance music. Acoustic instruments okay. Smoke- and alcohol-free. Children welcome, \$2. 665-7911

2 Saturday

Meeting: Coalition for Arms Control 9:30 am. For location 663-4897

CALENDAR

4 Monday

"Dear Mr. President": Peace InSight 4 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Letter read by Alex Molnar, father of a GI sent to the Persian Gulf. 769-7422

Fundraiser: ACCESS (Arab Cultural Center for Economic & Social Services) 5:30 pm reception, 8 pm dinner, Fairlane Manor, 19000 Hubbard Drive, Dearborn. With John Dingell, \$20. Betsy 747-4142

Betty Carter: Attic Theatre 7:30 & 10:30 pm (see 1 Fri)

Janet Tenaj Quartet with Jimmy Johnson: Polo Club 8 pm, 610 Hilton Blvd. Jazz and rhythm and blues vocals. 761-7800

"Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead": Performance Network 8 pm (see 1 Fri)

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

3 Sunday

Puppy and Dog Training and Care Clinic: Humane Society of Huron Valley 2 pm, Ann Arbor Dog Training Club, 1575 E. N. Territorial, \$2 don./under 12 free. 662-5545

Publicity Meeting: Students Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East (SAUSI) 2:30 pm, MUG, Mich. Union. 761-7435

Meeting: Feminist Women's Union 4 pm, Mich. Union. We're committed to internal education, community outreach, and creative action. Cecelia 662-1958

General Meeting: Huron Valley Greens 6:30 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. Business and an "afterglow." 663-0003

"Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead": Performance Network 6:30 pm (see 1 Fri)

Betty Carter: Attic Theatre 7 pm (see 1 Fri)

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian AA 7:30 pm, First Congregational Church, 118 N. Adams, downstairs. 484-0456

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian Alanon 7:30 pm, First Congregational Church, 118 N. Adams, upstairs. 484-0456

Harvey Reed and Friends Jam Session: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley. 662-8310

School of Architecture Exhibit: U-M Arts & Programming thru 22 Fri, all day, Mich. Union Art Lounge. Architecture models by U-M faculty. 998-0735

Meeting: Coalition of Comm. & University Groups for a Just Peace in the Gulf noon, Guild House, 802 Monroe. 662-5189

"Middle East Perspectives" 6:30 pm, 88.3 FM, WCBN. 763-3501

Peace Vigil: Concerned Chelsea Area Citizens 7 pm, Court House (NW corner of South and Main St.), Chelsea. Karen 662-2566

Passover Seder Workshop: Jewish Learning Center 7 pm, Hillel, 1429 Hill. three-week mini-course to prepare you to celebrate the Passover of your life, \$9. 769-0500

Meeting: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 7:30 pm, rm. 108, Community High School. 663-4741

General Meeting: SAUSI (Students Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East) 8 pm, Friends Meeting House, 1416 Hill. 761-7435

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 9:30 pm, \$2 (see 1 Fri)

5 Tuesday

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

"Historical Perspectives on the Gulf": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Dr. Janice Terry helps explain why Arab sentiment is what it is today. 769-7422

Education Meeting: SAUSI (Students Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East) 7:30 pm, floor 4, Mich. Union. 936-2454

Paul Keller and Friends: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$3. 662-8310

Falling Joys: Prism Prod 9:30 pm, Blind Pig, 208 S. First St, \$3. 996-8555

6 Wednesday

Vigil: Coalition for a Just Peace in the Gulf 12:30 pm, Federal Building. Support for nonmilitary solutions to the Persian Gulf crisis. 663-1870

Meeting: Women and War 4 pm, Women's Studies, 234 W. Engineering. 763-2047

Outreach Meeting: Students Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East (SAUSI) 5 pm, Mich. Union, Tap Rm. 936-2454

Action Meeting: Students Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East (SAUSI) 6 pm, MSA office, Mich. Union. 936-2454

"Womyn's Rites & Rhythms" 6 pm, 88.3 FM, WCBN. 763-3501

Beans and Rice: Guild House 6 pm, 802 Monroe. Meal profits go to Central America direct aid groups, \$3/\$1 kids. 662-5189

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

"From Anti-war Movement to Social Change Movement" 7 pm, 3rd floor, Rm. D, Mich. League. With Howard Hawkins. Reception. 663-0003

Training for Nonviolence Trainers: American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) 7:30 to 10:30 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. Three-part series to prepare interested people to become non-violence trainers. Accessible. 761-8283

"Beyond Christianity": Huron Valley Community Church 7:30 pm. Discussion. Liz 973-7439

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

CJ Chenier and the Red Hot Louisiana Band & The Ozone House Band: Prism Prod 9:30 pm, Blind Pig, 208 S. First St. Come celebrate and support Ozone House, a crisis center for runaway and homeless youths, \$10 advance. 996-8555

7 Thursday

Meeting: Homeless Action Committee (HAC) 5:30 pm, 219 Angell Hall. Discuss actions to end homelessness. 936-3076

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

Meeting: ACT-UP Ann Arbor 7:30 pm, ask for rm. # at info. desk, Mich. Union. 665-1797

Meeting: Student Organization United for Peace (SOUP) 8 pm, McKinney Union, EMU, Ypsi. 482-2797

"Health Insurance for All": Ann Arbor Democratic Socialists of America 8 pm, Pond Room, Mich. Union. State Rep. Perry Bullard will speak on his proposal for universal health insurance in Mich. Eric 663-2330

"Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead": Perf. Network 8 pm (see 1 Fri)

Resist in Concert: Ann Arbor: Blind Pig 9:30 pm, 206 S. First. Benefit for Refuse and Resist, an irreverent yet passionate, diverse political organization. With Southgoing Zak, Luna Park, Raw, the Supreme Court, Corey Dolgon, Jan BenDor, Dave Wolf, Arwulf Arwulf and Ken Polsky, \$5 advance/\$6 door. 662-2231

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

8 Friday

International Women's Day: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom For location & events: Ursula 663-4741

"Anti-American-Arab Activities": Guild House noon, 802 Monroe. Talk by American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Optional lunch \$1. 662-5189

5:01 Party: Prism Prod. 5:01 pm, Michigan Theater, 603 E. Liberty. Come boogie with Mr. B. 668-8397

"Historical Perspectives on the Gulf": Peace InSight 6:05 pm (see 5 Tue)

"Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead": Performance Network 8 pm (see 1 Fri)

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

9 Saturday

Meeting: Coalition for Arms Control 9:30 am. For location 663-4897

"Liberating the Body: Six Workshops for Women": Dorothy Talk Theatre Company 10 am, Performance Network, 408 W. Washington. Also March 16, 23 & 30, \$15 per session/\$75 for all six. 769-9083

Detroit International Women's Day Celebration 2 pm, St. Paul's Church, Woodward and Warren, Detroit. 1-313-841-6948

ACADEMY AWARD NOMINEE FOR BEST DOCUMENTARY



BERKELEY IN THE SIXTIES

★★★ 1/2

"A gripping, classic film." Phil Elwood, *San Francisco Examiner*

"Intellect matched by a vivid sense of history; this really is the 60's again." Sheila Benson, *Los Angeles Times*

"Electric, exciting and provocative." Judy Stone, *San Francisco Chronicle*

March 25 - March 28 ONLY

SPECIAL BENEFIT SCREENING MONDAY, MARCH 25 AT 7 PM

See **BERKELEY IN THE SIXTIES** at 7 pm & watch the Academy Awards at the Michigan Theater with other Ann Arbor film buffs.

Film & Party - \$7.50; Film only - \$4.50
Proceeds Benefit the Michigan Theater

Michigan Theater

Info Line 668-8480; Box Office 668-8397

ANN ARBOR FILM FESTIVAL

SHOWTIMES:

at the Michigan Theater
Tuesday 8:30 p.m.
Wednesday - Friday 7:00 and 9:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00, 7:00 and 9:30 p.m.
Sunday **winners show** 5:00, 7:00 and 9:00 p.m.

Judges screenings: free to the public on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday at 3:00 p.m. call 668-3397 for program information

Ticket prices: \$5 - 1 show
\$8 - 1 night/2 shows
\$35 - series pass

Awards Jury → Zeinabu Davis, African-American experimental filmmaker; Ron Mann, Canadian documentary filmmaker; Heather McAdams, cartoonist and experimental filmmaker

March 19-24, 1991

9

Vigil: Citizens for Peace in the Mid. East 7 pm, library, 202 W. Main, Manchester.

"Manhunter": Hill Street Cinema 8 & 10:15 pm, 1429 Hill, \$2.50. 769-0500

Caribbean Music Series: Polo Club 8 pm, 610 Hilton Blvd. 761-7800

"Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead": Performance Network 8 pm (see 1 Fri)

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

Dance for Lesbian & Bisexual Womyn: Lesbian Programs Office 10 pm to 2 am, North Campus Commons, 2101 Bonisteel. DJ'd by Sylvia. Light refresh., alcohol- & chem.-free, \$4 don. 763-4186

ASWAD & The Samaritans: Prism Prod 10 pm, St. Andrew's Hall, 431 E. Congress, Detroit, \$12.50 advance. 99-MUSIC

10 Sunday

"Beyond Laughter Through Tears: The Power of Jewish Humor": Jewish Law Students Union 2 pm, Irwin Green Aud., 1429 Hill. With humorist Moshe Waldoks, \$5 /\$3 stud. 769-0500

Publicity Meeting: SAUSIE 2:30 pm (see 3 Sun)

Meeting: Feminist Women's Union 4 pm (see 3 Sun)

"Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead": Performance Network 6:30 pm (see 1 Fri)

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian AA 7:30 pm (see 3 Sun)

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian Alanon 7:30 pm (see 3 Sun)

"Women in El Salvador": WAND & LASC 8 pm. WAND member, Jane Mildred on her women's delegation to El Salvador and Salvadoran exile, Theresa Mariona on women's political organization WINDES, a new international organization that supports their work there. For location 761-1718

Harvey Reed and Friends Jam Session: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley. 662-8310

11 Monday

Vegan Cooking Class: Washtenaw Citizens for Animal Rights 6 to 8:30 pm, The Daily Grind, 220 Felch. Gourmet vegan cooking lesson (1 of 4) with cookbook author Rachel Albert, \$20/lesson. 665-2480

"Middle East Perspectives" 6:30 pm (see 4 Mon)

Peace Vigil: Concerned Chelsea Area Citizens 7 pm (see 4 Mon)

Meeting: Coalition of Community and University Groups for a Just Peace in the Gulf 7:30 pm, New Hope Baptist Church, 218 Chapin. 994-4620

Meeting: Beyond War 7:30 pm, 2005 Shadford. 995-2951

1st Annual Golden Apple Award: Hillel & Apple Computer 8 pm, Rackham Aud. 769-0500

Writers Series: Guild House 8:30 pm, 802 Monroe. 662-5189

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

The Bird of Paradise Orchestra: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

12 Tuesday

"Closets are for Clothes": Lesbian/Gay Radio Collective 6 pm (see 5 Tue)

"Theatre Beyond Words": Dorothy Talk Theatre Co. 7 pm, Performance Network, 408 W. Washington. 6-part series exploring rhythm, space, etc. Also Tues. 19, & 26, \$15 per session/\$75 for all six. 769-9083

Jan. 26 March on Washington for Peace in the Gulf: Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Nine buses of people from the local area, along with 250,000 others from across the country, called for a diplomatic solution to the Gulf crisis and money for human needs. 769-7422

"Israeli and Palestinian Women: A Feminist Approach to Peace": Jewish Feminist Group & Others 7:30 pm, Hillel, 1429 Hill. Nabila Espanioli, a Palestinian Arab, and Israeli Jew, Hannah Safran, will speak on the effects of the Intifada on Israeli and Palestinian women. 769-0500

Meeting: Ann Arbor-Washtenaw County National Organization for Women (NOW) 7:30 pm, Unitarian Universalist Church, 1917 Washtenaw. On Clinic "Rescues." 995-5494

Meeting: Amnesty International Group 61 7:30 pm, Mich. Union, check room # at desk. Activities to protect human rights and free prisoners of conscience around the world. 761-1628

Meeting: Washtenaw Citizens for Animal Rights 7:30 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. 665-2480

Education Meeting: SAUSIE 7:30 pm (see 5 Tue)

Paul Keller and Friends: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$3. 662-8310

13 Wednesday

Vigil: Coalition for a Just Peace in the Gulf 12:30 pm (see 6 Wed)

Meeting: Women and War 4 pm, Women's Studies, 234 W. Engineering. 763-2047

Outreach Meeting: SAUSI 5 pm (see 6 Wed)

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

Beans and Rice: Guild House 6 pm (see 6 Wed)

Training for Nonviolence Trainers: AFSC 7:30 pm (see 6 Wed)

Prayer Meeting: Huron Valley Community Church 7:30 pm. Dave 665-1217

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

14 Thursday

Meeting: HAC 5:30 pm (see 7 Thur)

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

Journey Women: Guild House 7:30 pm, 802 Monroe. Women and spirituality group. 662-5189

Meeting: ACT-UP Ann Arbor 7:30 pm (see 7 Thur)

Meeting: SOUP 8 pm (see 7 Thur)

"A New Synthetic Circus": Performance Network 8 pm, 408 W. Washington. Frank's Absurd Repertory Theater presents short, short plays depicting the horror, the truth, and the beauty of our poor and turbulent world, \$9/7 studs. & srs. 663-0681

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310



"Bless the Beasts: A Night With Animals That Will Change Your Life Forever. Guaranteed." Saturday, March 30 at 6 and 8:30 pm, Michigan Theater, 603 E. Liberty.

15 Friday

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

"1492-1992: Re-Examining the Discovery of America": Guild House noon, 802 Monroe. With John Powell. Lunch \$1. 662-5189

Coffeebreak for Lesbians and Bisexual Wimmen: Common Language Bookstore 4 pm (see 1 Fri)

Jan. 26 March on Washington for Peace in the Gulf: Peace InSight 6:05 pm (see 12 Tue)

"A New Synthetic Circus": Performance Network 8 pm (see 14 Thur)

Gay Men's Coffee House: "Brothers" 9 pm (see 1 Fri)

Book of Love: Prism Productions 9 pm, St. Andrew's Hall, 431 E. Congress, Detroit, \$12.50 advance. 99-MUSIC

Cynthia Dewberry and Friends: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

"Give Peace a Dance" Jam: People Dancing 10 pm, People Dancing Studio, 111 Third St. Benefit for SAUSIE. Varied recorded dance music. Smoke- and alcohol-free. Kids welcome, \$3-5. 747-8199

16 Saturday

Meeting: Coalition for Arms Control 9:30 am. For location 663-4897

Growing Herbs and Perennials 1 pm, Freighthouse, Depot Town, Ypsi, \$8. 455-8602

"A Dish or a Dollar": Non-Violent Action Clearing House (NACH) 6 pm. Broccoli banquet to benefit NACH. Bring broccoli dish and recipe card and/or a donation. Live entertainment. For location 663-3555

Vigil: Citizens for Peace in the Mid. East 7 pm, library, 202 W. Main, Manchester.

49th Annual "Melody On Ice": Ann Arbor Figure Skating Club 7:30 pm, Vets Arena. For fee: 761-7240

Paul Vornhagen Quartet: Polo Club 8 pm, 610 Hilton Blvd. 761-7800

"Image Before My Eyes": Hillel 12th Annual Conference on the Holocaust 8 & 10 pm, 1429 Hill. Complex film portrait of Polish Jewish life from the late 1800s to the late 1930s, \$3. 769-0500

"A New Synthetic Circus": Performance Network 8 pm (see 14 Thur)

Cynthia Dewberry and Friends: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

17 Sunday

Fitness Fest: Humane Society of Huron Valley 10 am, Washtenaw County Parks and Recreation Service Center. Aerobic workout, massage, and snacks to benefit the animals at the Humane Society. Participants must have \$50 min. in pledges. 662-5545

49th Annual "Melody On Ice": Ann Arbor Figure Skating Club 2 pm (see 16 Sat)

"Coping with the Death of a Pet": Humane Society of Huron Valley 2 to 4:30 pm, 3100 Cherry Hill Rd. Clinic with family therapist Lois Gilbert, \$2 don./under 12 free. Pre-register 662-5545

Granite Line Writers Poetry Reading: Freight House Cafe 2 pm, Cross at River, Ypsi. With poets Lorene Erickson and Linda Nemece Foster, \$3. 663-0546

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

Publicity Meeting: SAUSI 2:30 pm (see 3 Sun)

Meeting: Feminist Women's Union 4 pm (see 3 Sun)

"Park In": Huron Valley Greens & Homeless Action Committee 4 to 6 pm, Anne/Ashley parking structure. Help convert an unused parking deck into a park. Bring a picnic, fun toys and wear green. 663-0003

2nd Annual Old Timers Challenge: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 6 pm, Vets. Arena, 2150 Jackson Rd. Match between the Ann Arbor Old Timers Hockey League and the Orchard Lake Old Timers 761-7240

Big Circle Meeting: Huron Valley Greens 6:30 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. Non-violence training and discussion of "Strategies for Stopping the War in the Gulf and Building Alternatives at Home." 663-0003

"A New Synthetic Circus": Performance Network 6:30 pm (see 14 Thur)

"No Survivors": Hillel 12th Annual Conference on the Holocaust 7:30 pm, Hillel, 1429 Hill. This play by Talk to Us explores life through interactive scenes and monologues drawn from the testimonies of Holocaust survivors. 769-0500

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian AA 7:30 pm (see 3 Sun)

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian Alanon 7:30 pm (see 3 Sun)

Harvey Reed and Friends Jam Session: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley. 662-8310

18 Monday

Vegan Cooking Class: Washtenaw Citizens for Animal Rights 6 to 8:30 pm (see 11 Mon)

"Middle East Perspectives" 6:30 pm (see 7 Mon)

Peace Vigil: Concerned Chelsea Area Citizens 7 pm (see 4 Mon)

"Now After All These Years": Hillel 12th Annual Conference on the Holocaust 7:30 pm, Hill Street Cinema, 1429 Hill. Documentary about Rhina, a small German village that was 60% Jewish until the Nazis took power. The filmmakers discuss pre-war Rhina with villagers, and with survivors of the war who now live in New York. Panel discussion after, \$3. 769-0500

Annual Meeting: Interfaith Council For Peace & Justice 7:30 pm, Campus Chapel, 1236 Washtenaw Court. With Rev. Bill Wylie-Kellerman on "An Autonomy of Means: Technology of War in the Gulf." 663-1870.

Writers Series: Guild House 8:30 pm, 802 Monroe. 662-5189

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

The Bird of Paradise Orchestra: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

19 Tuesday

"The Pink Triangle: Gays Under German Facism": Hillel 12th Annual Conference on the Holocaust noon, 1429 Hill. Informal discussion with Prof. James Jones. 769-0500

"Closets are for Clothes": Lesbian/Gay Radio Collective 6 pm (see 5 Tue)

"Martin Luther King, Jr. & Malcolm X: Dream or Nightmare?": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Dr. James Cone explains the spiritual roots which helped propel Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X along different paths of action to attain liberation for African Americans. 769-7422

"An Evening with Survivors": Hillel 12th Annual Conference on the Holocaust 7:30pm, Irwin Green Auditorium, 1429 Hill. Survivors of the Holocaust tell their stories and discuss their relationships with non-Jews. 769-0500

Education Meeting: SAUSI 7:30 pm (see 5 Tue)

A Council Member Who Stands for

- a fair and equitable budget
- workable alternative for the housing crisis
- comprehensive recycling
- community oriented police
- parks and open space

democrat - third ward

Reelect Nelson Meade
Monday, April 1

RECYCLE YOUR T-SHIRTS

Send your unwanted T-shirts to Juigalpa, Nicaragua. Wash and fold them, then bring them by April 1 to Elmo's on Main Street, 220 S. Main (994-9898). A2's Sister City delegation will take the T-shirts to Juigalpa on their next visit. Hours: Mon-Sat 11-5

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Imported specially for us, these finely crafted leather boots and oxfords have the shape, durability, and cork footbeds to satisfy those accustomed to Birkenstock comfort.

Paul Keller and Friends: Bird of Paradise
9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$3. 662-8310

20 Wednesday

Vigil: Coalition for a Just Peace in the Gulf 12:30 pm (see 6 Wed)

A Memorial of Names: Hillel 12th Annual Conference on the Holocaust 1 pm today to 1 pm tomorrow, U-M Diag. For 24 hours readers will recite the names of those who perished in the Holocaust. 769-0500

Meeting: Women and War 4 pm, Women's Studies, 234 W. Engineering. 763-2047

Outreach Meeting: SAUSI 5 pm (see 6 Wed)

Action Meeting: SAUSI 6 pm (see 6 Wed)

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

Beans and Rice: Guild House 6 pm (see 6 Wed)

"A Reckoning of the Soul: Catholic-Jewish Relations in Contemporary Poland": Hillel 12th Annual Conference on the Holocaust 7 pm, Irwin Green Aud., 1429 Hill. With Rev. Stanislaw Musial of Cracow, Poland, and Rabbi Leon Klenicki of the Anti-Defamation League. 769-0500

"A Doll House": Attic Theatre 7 pm, 7339 Third, Detroit. A new translation of Ibsen's play, \$10-22. 1-313-875-8284

Training for Nonviolence Trainers: AFSC 7:30 pm (see 6 Wed)

"Reclaiming Inactive Members": Huron Valley Comm. Church 7:30 pm. 665-1217

Johnny Winter: Prism Productions 9 pm, Nectarine Ballroom, 510 E. Liberty. Tickets for the October 24 show will be honored. \$13.50 advance. 99-MUSIC

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

21 Thursday

Meeting: HAC 5:30 pm (see 7 Thur)

Meeting: LAGROC 7:15 pm (see 7 Thur)

Meeting: Bread For The World 7:30 pm, Memorial Christian Church, 730 Tappan. African famine issues, other domestic and international issues, legislative updates, and planning for local action. 487-9058

Meeting: ACT-UP Ann Arbor 7:30 pm (see 7 Thur)

"The Dancing Turtle Prayer Circle": Guild House 7:30 pm, 802 Monroe. Informal video viewing and discussion. 662-5189

Darden Smith & Anne Hills: Prism Prod. 8 pm, The Ark, 637 S. Main. Folk, rock, country and other roots genres. 761-1451

Faculty Dance Concert: Eastern Mich. University Dance Division 8 pm, Quirk Theater, EMU, Ypsi., \$7/\$5 stud./\$3 srs. and children under 12. 487-1211

Meeting: SOUP 8 pm (see 7 Thur)

"A Doll House": Attic Theatre 8 pm (see 20 Wed)

"A Thousand Clowns": Hill Street Cinema 8 & 10:15 pm, 1429 Hill, \$2.50. 769-0500

"A New Synthetic Circus": Performance Network 8 pm (see 14 Thur)

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

22 Friday

"An Overview of Holistic Healing": Guild House noon, 802 Monroe. With Martha Kemnitz. Lunch \$1. 662-5189

"Martin Luther King, Jr. & Malcolm X: Dream or Nightmare?": Peace InSight 6:05 pm (see 19 Tue)

Faculty Dance Concert: EMU Dance Division 8 pm (see 21 Thur)

"A Doll House": Attic Theatre 8 pm (see 20 Wed)

"A New Synthetic Circus": Performance Network 8 pm (see 14 Thur)

"Prophecy in the 1970s: The Talking Heads and the Redemption of Western Men": Episcopal Church of the Incarnation 8 pm, 310 S. Ashley. Rev. Joe Summers will talk about the Heads' work using music and videos, \$3 sug. don. 665-4734

Oasis with Stephanie & Cliff Monear: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

23 Saturday

Meeting: Coalition for Arms Control 9:30 am. For location 663-4897

Great American Meat-Out: Washtenaw Citizens for Animal Rights noon to 3 pm, Ann Arbor "Y." Taste vegetarian dishes and get information on the benefits of going meatless. 665-2480

"A Doll House": Attic Theatre 5 & 9 pm (see 20 Wed)

Vigil: Citizens for Peace in the Mid. East 7 pm, library, 202 W. Main, Manchester.

"Pixote": Hill Street Cinema 8 & 10:15 pm, 1429 Hill. About a homeless Brazilian youth's descent into the criminal underworld, \$2.50. 769-0500

The Hot Club: Polo Club 8 pm, 610 Hilton Blvd. Contemporary jazz. 761-7800

"A New Synthetic Circus": Performance Network 8 pm (see 14 Thur)

Faculty Dance Concert: EMU Dance Division 8 pm (see 21 Thur)

Oasis with Stephanie & Cliff Monear: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

24 Sunday

"A Doll House": Attic Theatre 2 & 7 pm (see 20 Wed)

Publicity Meeting: SAUSI 2:30 pm (see 3 Sun)

Meeting: Feminist Women's Union 4 pm (see 3 Sun)

Commemoration of the Assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero: Interfaith Council for Peace and Justice St. Thomas Church, 520 Elizabeth. View "Romero," eat a simple supper and join in ecumenical worship. Romero, defender of the poor, was assassinated by a Salvadoran military death squad on Mar. 24, 1980. For time: 663-1870

"A New Synthetic Circus": Performance Network 6:30 pm (see 14 Thur)

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian AA 7:30 pm (see 3 Sun)

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian Alanon 7:30 pm (see 3 Sun)

Harvey Reed and Friends Jam Session: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley. 662-8310

25 Monday

Posters from the Soviet Union: U-M Arts & Programming thru April 12, all day, Mich. Union Art Lounge. 764-6498

Spring Science Day Camp: Dept. of Parks & Recreation thru 29 Fri, 9:30 am to noon (ages 5-7), 1 to 4 pm (ages 8-12), Leslie

Science Center, 1831 Traver. Exploration of natural and physical sciences, \$35 residents/\$42 non-res. Pre-register 662-7802

Outreach Meeting: SAUSI 5 pm (see 6 Wed)

Action Meeting: SAUSI 6 pm (see 6 Wed)

Vegan Cooking Class: Washtenaw Citizens for Animal Rights 6 to 8:30 pm (see 11 Mon)

"Middle East Perspectives" 6:30 pm (see 7 Mon)

Meeting: Huron Regional Alliance 7 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. If your group is sponsoring an action in April, this is an excellent opportunity to get support from other groups within the Alliance. 663-0003

Peace Vigil: Concerned Chelsea Area Citizens 7 pm (see 4 Mon)

Meeting: Beyond War 7:30 pm, 2005 Shadford. 995-2951

Living Lightly (In a Co-op) Workshop: Enact 8 pm, 1017 Oakland. Matt 996-5973

Writers Series: Guild House 8:30 pm, 802 Monroe. 662-5189

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

Bird of Paradise Orchestra: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

26 Tuesday

"Closets are for Clothes": Lesbian/Gay Radio Collective 6 pm (see 5 Tue)

"Anti-Nuclear Activism in Kazakhstan": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Dr. Matthew Evangelista describes the successful resistance to underground nuclear testing in this southern republic of the Soviet Union. 769-7422

Education Meeting: SAUSI 7:30 pm (see 5 Tue)

Living Lightly (In a Dorm) Workshop: 8 pm, Mary Markley Dorm. Fred 764-4937

Paul Keller and Friends: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$3. 662-8310

27 Wednesday

Vigil: Coalition for a Just Peace in the Gulf 12:30 pm (see 6 Wed)

Meeting: Women and War 4 pm, Women's Studies, 234 W. Engineering. 763-2047

Outreach Meeting: SAUSI 5 pm (see 6 Wed)

Action Meeting: SAUSI 6 pm (see 6 Wed)

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

Beans and Rice: Guild House 6 pm (see 6 Wed)

Living Lightly (In a Fraternity and Sorority) Workshop: Enact 7 pm. For location: Jennifer 930-9997

"Reflections on Holy Week": Huron Valley Community Church 7:30 pm. For location 434-1452

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

28 Thursday

Meeting: Homeless Action Committee (HAC) 5:30 pm (see 7 Thur)

Living Lightly (Off-Campus) Workshop: Enact 7 pm, 822 Oakland #2. Stephanie 994-3103

Meeting: LAGROC 7:15 pm (see 7 Thur)

Meeting: ACT-UP Ann Arbor 7:30 pm (see 7 Thur)

COMMUNITY RESOURCE DIRECTORY

Repression in Salvador Grows as Election Nears

Events in El Salvador have once again disappeared almost completely from the media; nevertheless, the situation there is at a very crucial stage. President Bush recently released the \$42.5 million in military aid to the Salvadoran government that had been withheld by Congress last fall.

Furthermore, El Salvador's Air Force has recently received a shipment of high-tech helicopters and military planes from the U.S. The Bush administration has justified the renewed military aid with the accusation that the FMLN has attacked civilians and has received weapons from outside of the country. There is no proof for the first claim. As to the second, the FMLN did receive a number of surface-to-air missiles from a group of Nicaraguan Army officers (acting without the knowledge of the Nicaraguan Armed Forces) in late 1990. These missiles, however, were all returned by the FMLN to Nicaragua during a public ceremony in mid-Jan. 1991, to which the press was invited.

On the other hand, there has been a marked rise in human rights abuses in El Salvador that is attributed to right-wing death squads and related military units. The human rights office of the Catholic Church, Tutela Legal announced that last Jan. 21, 15 members of the Aragon family were murdered in El Zapote. Three of the victims died of gunshot wounds, the remainder died of multiple stab wounds or slashed throats. In his February 3 sermon, Salvadoran Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas, said "All of the evidence that has been gathered points exclusively to members of the First Infantry Brigade as being responsible for this crime." Sadly, this is but one example of the rise in

human rights abuses that have occurred in the past few weeks.

Systematic attacks on the press are also increasing as El Salvador approaches elections on March 10. The equipment and offices of Diario Latino, a worker-run independent newspaper, were destroyed by arson on Feb. 9. El Diario Latino is the only aboveground Salvadoran newspaper that regularly covers a broad range of opposition views and issues. San Salvadoran labor federation members believe that the military, and or death squads, were responsible for the fire, as only those forces have sufficient freedom to move around at night.

The El Zapote massacre, the attack on the Diario Latino, and numerous other recent brutal incidents are frightening signs of a wave of repression that popular movement leaders have been expecting in the face of the coming elections, which are seen as a referendum on the two year old ARENA government. The release of U.S. aid sent the message to ARENA that the Salvadoran military can act with impunity, and that the November '89 massacre of the six Jesuit priests and their housekeeper and her daughter has ceased to be an issue for the Bush administration. It appears that the stepped up repression is designed to silence opposition to ARENA before the elections, and to intimidate voters into voting for ARENA (voting is mandatory in El Salvador and ballot boxes are transparent).

There is a new bill being proposed in Congress, the McDermott-Adams Bill which proposes to cut off all military aid to El Salvador unless the Armed Forces agree to stringent stipulations. These (see SALVADOR next page)

Patch Adams: Huron Valley Greens 7:30 pm, Mich. Union, Kuenzel Rm. Adams is an internationally recognized healer, humorist and Green supporter. 663-0003

Meeting: SOUP 8 pm (see 7 Thur)

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$2. 662-8310

29 Friday

"Anti-Nuclear Activism in Kazakhstan": Peace InSight 6:05 pm (see 26 Tue)

Cocteau Twins: Prism Prod 8 pm, Michigan Theater, 603 E. Liberty, \$18.50. With Galaxy 500. 668-8397

Gay Men's Coffee House: "Brothers" 9 pm (see 1 Fri)

Eve Renee with Paul Keller Trio: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

30 Saturday

Meeting: Coalition for Arms Control 9:30 am. For location 663-4897

"Bless the Beasts": The Fund for Animals & Washtenaw Citizens for Animal Rights 6 & 8:30 pm, Michigan Theater, 603 E. Liberty. A fascinating behind-the-scenes look at the treatment of animals. With on-stage performance by ex-Detroit DJ Jerry St. James, \$10 advance. 668-8397

The Lunar Octet: Polo Club 8 pm, 610 Hilton Blvd. Progressive jazz. 761-7800

Winter Warm-Up: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8:30 pm, Hill Auditorium, 825 N. University. Tony Bennett in a special concert to benefit the Summer Festival. \$24.50/\$21.50/\$18.50, benefit tickets \$100 (includes admission to pre-concert party, choice seating and a receipt for tax-deductible donation). 763-TKTS

Eve Renee with Paul Keller Trio: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

31 Sunday

Publicity Meeting: SAUSI 2:30 pm (see 3 Sun)

Meeting: Feminist Women's Union 4 pm (see 3 Sun)

Working Meeting: Huron Valley Greens 6:30 pm, 1411 Henry. Meeting to finalize work on the Green campaign for Ann Arbor City Council. 663-0003

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian AA 7:30 pm (see 3 Sun)

Meeting: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian Alanon 7:30 pm (see 3 Sun)

Harvey Reed and Friends Jam Session: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley. 662-8310

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Recognizing Our Common Agenda

The Huron Regional Alliance joined 15 other area groups in endorsing the Common Agenda Coalition at a February 5 press conference in Ann Arbor. The Coalition, which has formed in scores of cities throughout the country, is calling for a major reversal of national fiscal priorities by cutting military spending and using those monies for real human needs. Many people do not realize that 50% of all federal tax dollars go to the military while less than 1% each is used for job training and environmental programs and less than 2% is used for housing. Ann Arbor citizens will be responsible for \$254,000 per day for the air war against Iraq and triple that for the ground war. The simple fact is that we cannot solve critical local problems without a frontal attack on our military-industrial complex.

The February 5 press conference was a big success. The speakers included representatives from groups as diverse as People of Color Against the War and Racism and Perry Neighborhood Crime Watch. The event was covered by AGENDA, Ann Arbor News, Ypsilanti Press, Metro Times, and Michigan Daily. The Coalition will be planning further actions around the April 15 tax deadline.

The Huron Regional Alliance was formed 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 is 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 next general meeting of the Huron Regional Alliance is Monday, Mar. 25 at 7 pm at the Guild House, 802 Monroe in Ann Arbor. If your group is sponsoring an action in April, 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, A2, MI 48104; 663-0003

WAND Chooses New Direction

Washtenaw County Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament has changed its name to "Women's Action for a New Direction," keeping the acronym "WAND." The name change, made at a February 10th general meeting, reflects a gradual shift over the past year or two from a narrow focus on nuclear disarmament to a broader focus on women's empowerment and anti-militarism. The February meeting gathered present and past active members to discuss the future focus and structure of the group.

We are excited about the new hope for our future. We hope to focus on action for peace in the Middle East, as well as organize an empowerment training workshop, women's support group discussions, and a Mother's Day festival for peace. Anyone who is interested in joining us should leave their name and phone number on the WAND message line at 761-1718, or call Sarah Cooleybeck at 662-2475. We

hope to get a regular schedule of coordinating committee meetings out soon.

Please join us for a talk and slide show "Women in El Salvador," on Sunday, March 10 at 8 pm, location to be announced. Although 68% of adults in El Salvador are women, there is little recognition in the United States of their work or of their concerns and needs. WAND member Jane Mildred will share stories and slides from her recent participation in a women's delegation to El Salvador. Theresa Mariona, a Salvadoran exile, will discuss women's political organization in El Salvador and WINDES, a new international organization that supports such work. The program is co-sponsored by Latin American Solidarity Committee. Please call the WAND message line for location.

WAND, P.O. Box 1815, A2, MI 48106-1815; 761-1718.

Keep Your HIV Test Anonymous

Laura Horowitz (Walled Lake) and Robert Lundy (Lansing) were elected as co-chairs of the Michigan Human Rights Campaign Committee, a statewide political action group dedicated to supporting and promoting the rights of lesbians and gay men through the electoral process. The MHRCC has reported a 68% general election success rate for the candidates the group endorsed. The group has also noted the "first-time election" of two pro-gay Democrats and one Republican state representative: Tracey Yokich (D) of St. Clair Shores, Dianne Byrum (D) of Onondaga and Bill Bobier (R) of Hesperia. Co-chair Robert Lundy stated, "We look forward to the challenges that await us with city elections in 1991. With continued support from the community, MHRCC will be electing pro-gay candidates at all levels of government." Voting membership in MHRCC is open to anyone who donates \$20.01 or more to the group. Send contributions of any amount to MHRCC, P.O. Box 43563, Detroit, MI 48243.

We are reminding our readers of the National Lesbian Conference scheduled for April 24-28 in Atlanta, Georgia. Information can be obtained from National Lesbian Conference, P.O. Box 1999, Decatur, GA 30031. Tel. - 404/373-0000.

Thanks to Network News, a publication of the Lesbian and Gay Community Network Inc. of Western Michigan, we are providing some essential information about testing for HIV, as written by Michael J. May, Grand Rapids AIDS Resource Center:

Q.- "What's the difference between confidential testing and anonymous testing for HIV?"

A.- "Anonymous testing is the ONLY testing opportunity that should be used by someone who chooses to be tested for HIV. Anonymous testing means that you don't have to give your name to anyone in conjunction with the HIV antibody test. You are assigned a number and you can only get your results by appearing in person and presenting your number to the testing agency. Confidential testing requires you to give your name, while the testing agency promises not to tell anyone you were tested. Confidential testing has failed repeatedly to protect the anonymity of the client being tested. This can result in the loss of medical insurance and life insurance (even to those testing negative), loss of job or

harassment on the job, and even physical abuse or attacks. Some people in the medical profession seem to believe that confidentiality means they can tell each other, but not a non-medical person. Sooner or later, confidentiality is broken."

To volunteer to work with the local AIDS education and support services organization, call Wellness Networks Inc./ Huron Valley at 572-WELL.

Gay Liberation's Purpose is to provide information, counseling, and related social 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, and 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 Organization and Liaison:** 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. Gay Liberation includes U-M students, staff, faculty and people from the larger community. We have a president, vice president, secretary and treasurer. We're a registered non-profit organization.

Gay Liberation, c/o 4117 Michigan Union, A2, MI 48109; 763-4186.

Only a regenerated movement can carry on the protracted fight to make the government restructure its priorities. Only a strong, revived movement, based on our highest aspirations for our children, can fight for a New World Order of permanent worldwide peace and progressive social change at home.

Ahmad Abdur-Rahman is a 38-year-old former Black Panther who has been in prison for 20 years under a now-repealed "guilt by association" Michigan law. For an accidental shooting of a student by a fellow Panther, Rahman was given a life sentence without parole. The other three Panthers who plea bargained are now out on parole. Rahman's only hope of being freed legally is through a commutation of his sentence by Governor Engler. For more information call 1-313-863-0181, 934-3357 or 538-8113.

SALVADOR (from previous page)

conditions include prosecution of the murderers of Archbishop Romero and the Jesuits, submission to civilian control, cessation of attacks on civilians, a commitment to dialogue with the FMLN, and other conditions relating to upholding human rights. The bill also requires economic aid to be channeled through non-governmental organizations.

To find out how your congressperson stands on this new bill, please call them. Michigan Senator Carl Levin can be reached at (313) 226-6020 and Senator Donald Riegler at (313) 226-3188.

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THE MOVEMENT (from page 2)

Leftists and peace activists can no longer depend on the charity of Op-Ed page editors to get across their points about peace and a progressive social agenda. The new movement must generate the resources to challenge at every turn the deceptions and obfuscations of the corporate media. "If the United States government is so intent on removing repressive and expansionist dictatorships from power, why did it never invade South Africa?" This obvious question should not be raised only in the private conversations of African-Americans. It and other similarly glaring contradictions in the government's domestic and foreign policies should be voiced repeatedly nationwide.

Frequently absurd pronouncements by President Bush and his cohorts that the Gulf War has been aimed at protecting freedom and the American way of life should be refuted. We can easily prove that the Persian Gulf monarchies America is allied with, and the feudal regime the war was fought to restore, have even less in common with any ideals of freedom and democracy than did King George in 1776.

The Gulf War highlights the crucial necessity for the American progressive and anti-war forces to bring alternate viewpoints before the public. Only a regenerated left, with its own nationwide media outlets, aligned with a permanent peace movement, can counter Bush's propaganda about his New (imperialist) World Order. The left's most valuable asset is its vision of an America which spends half-a-billion dollars a day, not on wars for feudal monarchies, but on the welfare of its citizens.



everything." Or CBS correspondent Bob Shaefer: "We knocked out half the Iraqi air force," (which turned out not to be true). They even dusted off good old Walter Cronkite who came on to say "We shot down one of their missiles." Now who are these journalists referring to when they say "we"? I don't think they are saying CBS shot down the missile. They're referring to the U.S. military.

Apparently they have forgotten that a basic rule of journalism is you're supposed to be objective. You're not supposed to be rooting for one side—which is what journalists do when they say "we;" they are referring to "our" side—you're supposed to be reporting. You're not supposed to be speaking for the government, you're supposed to be reporting on the government. That's just basic journalism.

So when we at FAIR criticize journalists, we don't criticize them because they have lousy politics or because they are pro-war. Journalists have every right to have strong feelings about the war. If they support the war, so be it. But as journalists it seems they ought to be required to live up to certain professional standards which they're not living up to at all, and that's a fundamental principle.

When journalists use the phrase "we"—and they do this often during times of war and a so-called national security crisis—they get so excited they start to make "we-we" on camera. When journalists do this they are really making a mockery of the separation between press and state. The U.S. press corps, so the myth goes, is separate from the U.S. government. When you say "we" you erode that distinction.

In the first few days of the war, we saw not only the "we-we" phenomenon going on, but also this oohing and aahing over the technological prowess of the U.S. military hardware. On the first evening the CBS correspondent talked about the "sweet beautiful sight" of airplanes taking off to bomb Baghdad.

And while Iraqi Scud missiles were typically described as terrorist weapons, that were terrorizing Israeli civilians (I think that's an accurate description actually), U.S. weapons were typically referred to as smart bombs that somehow managed to veer down Broadway in Baghdad, hang a right at any street, skip over the playground and slam into the munitions factory. These weapons are capable of surgical strikes with collateral damage. Yet we haven't heard Iraqi attacks on Israel referred to as producing collateral damage.

It's the sanitizing of the war. I was particularly struck by a recent cover of Newsweek featuring the Stealth bomber. There is a picture of a Stealth on the cover and the caption reads: "The New Science of War: High Tech Hardware—How Many Lives Can it Save?" What Stealth does is destroy lives, not save lives. But that's the spin at Newsweek.

Tom Brokaw, General Electric's anchor, referred to how the U.S. forces were "fighting the war at arms length to keep casualties down." Now that will come as news to citizens of Baghdad—that the war is being fought at arms length. Which casualties is he referring to as being "kept down"? Which lives are being saved? Well, it's the lives of American soldiers that are being saved by this kind of technological warfare but certainly not the lives of Arab civilians. American soldiers' lives are being saved at the expense of thousands of Iraqi civilians dying. To say that this weapon saves lives is really a form of racism, because it implies that the lives that are being lost are somehow not full lives, not fully human. The cruel irony of this caption is that it was the Stealth that dropped the bombs that killed hundreds of civilians in the bunker while this magazine was on the stands.

Now how does that play? How are civilian casualties described in the U.S. media? The first few days, there just weren't any. It was never mentioned at all. Then after a while, the generals admitted to the media, "Well there's some collateral damage but it's an accident." When the bombs destroyed the bunker last week and killed the men, women, and children inside, it was first described by U.S. officials as an attack on a military installation.

Let me read you a statement by Harry S. Truman, made in August, 1945. This is the first sentence of the official announcement made when the U.S. dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima: "Sixteen hours ago an American airplane dropped one bomb on

Hiroshima, an important Japanese army base." Hiroshima was not an important army base. And that Iraqi bunker, where hundreds of men, women, and children, whose charred bodies were carried out from the wreckage, was not an important military installation.

When Peter Arnett and some of the other correspondents actually went in the building and looked around they saw no evidence whatsoever of any kind of military function. So how was it reported? First, "it was a military installation." Then, "Well, maybe not"—because the reports on the ground were honest reports—"Maybe it was an accident?" When Arnett and others investigated the bunker and reported what they saw with their own eyes, the typical response from the anchors was: "But isn't this Iraqi propaganda? Aren't you serving as Iraqi propagandists?"

And indeed the entire discussion from all of the so-called experts—and it was completely uniform—was, "This is Iraqi propaganda. This is a horrible thing that happened but it's Iraqi propaganda and if you feel moved by it, if you feel horror and shame and you cry, you are a dupe of Iraqi propaganda. It might even be true; maybe it wasn't a military installation. But you're still a dupe of Iraqi propaganda because they are using this to manipulate things." Of course, that is the U.S. propaganda line—that all of this is Iraqi propaganda.

And you didn't hear reports on civilian casualties—and still don't—ever mentioned just in and of themselves, without "Iraqi propaganda" attached right next to it. That was a very smooth propaganda technique used by the U.S. government to which the U.S. media submitted willingly. That's the shame of it.

When military or government officials claim that something was an "accident," that they "are not targeting civilians," I remember Norman Schwarzkopf, at one of these Pentagon briefings, describing how the U.S. pilots are actually putting themselves at more risk by flying circuitous routes in order to avoid civilian casualties in Iraq. Let's give him a Nobel Peace Prize, shouldn't we?

It would behoove journalists to be very skeptical about such statements. After all, journalists are aware of the Pentagon Papers that Daniel Ellsberg released—7,000 pages of documentation which showed that the entire Vietnam War, the entire policy, was based on lies. The whole thing. Even the Gulf of Tonkin incident which was an excuse used to escalate military presence in 1964 was a fabricated incident, it turned out.

Among other things, the Pentagon Papers refer to attacks on civilian targets in North Vietnam which were not accidental, but conscious policy. Let me read one document from March 4, 1968, from Harold Brown who was Secretary of the Air Force (keep in mind that Harold Brown is now on the board of CBS). The document contains a proposal by Brown "that the present restrictions on bombing North Vietnam be lifted so as to permit bombing without the present concern for collateral civilian damage and casualties. The aim of this campaign would be to erode the will of the population by exposing a wider area of North Vietnam to casualties and destruction." This was implemented—"erode the will of the population" by killing more civilians. That's what they were talking about.

It is wrong for journalists to accept at face value that the United States military is doing its utmost to avoid civilian casualties when there has been ample precedent that that's a conscious policy at times during a war. In my opinion, any journalist who does not approach any statement by a U.S. military official during a time of war with extreme skepticism is just not being competent as a journalist. What we have today is willful denial, a willful exclusion of people like Ellsberg who will bring these facts to light. A willful denial on the part of journalists that this [the intentional killing of civilians] has gone on in our recent history.

When we talk about denial—I will digress very briefly here because I think denial is part and parcel of the news media game—I refer to a lead editorial in the New York Times; an assessment of Bush's presidency in its first 100 days which stated point blank that "no crisis, no national emergency confronts President Bush at the present time." That was a remarkable statement, a remarkable form of denial.

No crisis, no emergency confronts the president? This is at a time when one out of five American children live in poverty, according to the official statistics (which suggests that the real figure is much higher). But that doesn't constitute an emergency for the New York Times. This a time when once every six minutes a woman is raped in the United States; one out of four women will be sexually abused by the time they are seventeen years old. That is not a crisis for the New York Times. This is a time when, if you are a young Black male, you are more likely to end up in jail than in college. No emergency. No crisis. At the time when the editorial ran, the number of Americans who had died from AIDS was just about to eclipse the total number of American soldiers who died in the Vietnam War. No crisis. No emergency. Very extreme form of denial.

As another example of denial, to get back to the Gulf, Ted Koppel made this statement a few days into the war: "Aside from Scud missile attacks on Israel a few hours earlier, it has been a quiet night in the Middle East." That would have come as a surprise to the people in Baghdad who were being pummeled. But you know, Koppel's mind is like the New Yorker magazine's cartoon map where you have New York real big, and a little bit of middle America and then there's the west coast. Well for Koppel, there's Washington, then Tel Aviv, and then there's nothing else. That's the way he operates.

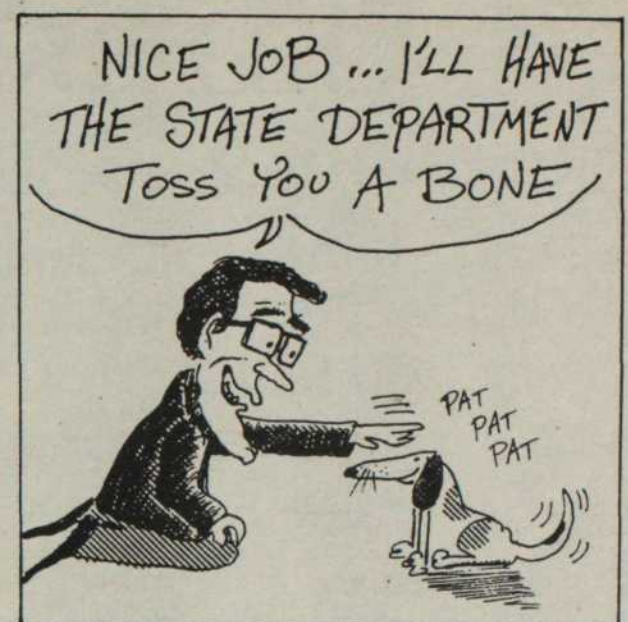
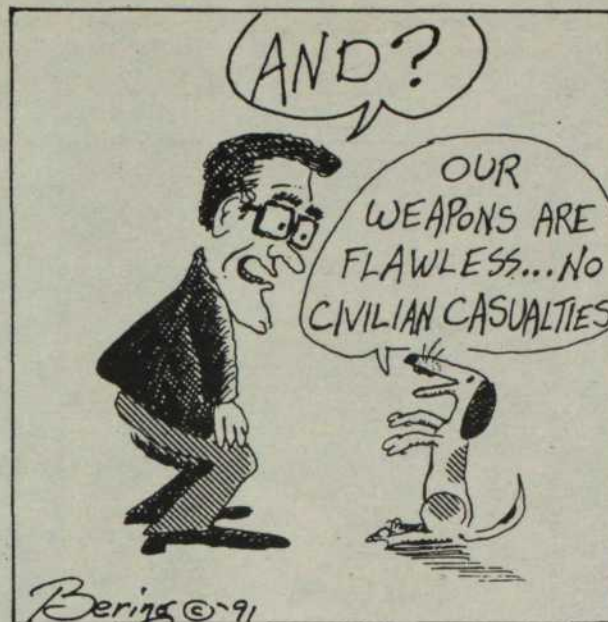
In terms of Nightline, the program which he hosts on ABC, FAIR did a study in which we looked at who the guest experts were, we counted and categorized them in the first month after Iraq invaded Kuwait. FAIR found that during the month of August—that first crucial month in which the terms of the debate and the parameters of discussion were being defined by very influential news programs like Nightline—of all the U.S. guests on to discuss the Gulf crisis, not a single U.S. guest, during that first crucial month, argued against sending troops to the Gulf. What this means is that the issue of whether or not it was a good idea to send troops to the Gulf wasn't even considered worthy of debate among the U.S. guests. It was just a given—yes, the policy was good, implicitly.

Journalists weren't asking tough questions like "is this a wise policy?" Or, "how can we justify this?" The toughest question asked of George Bush in the early going was, "Should he be on the golf course?" That was the toughest question asked of him. "Is this sending the wrong signal, the wrong message, the wrong impression? Should he be on vacation?" For a while we couldn't figure out if they were talking about the gulf crisis or the golf crisis! We expected to see Arnold Palmer on Nightline discussing the situation. Indeed he would have at least said something different from the admirals and generals who were all saying the same thing—which was basically nothing.

Another very telling statistic for Nightline in the first month of the crisis, which is emblematic of television coverage as a whole, 98% of U.S. guests were not Arab-Americans. When you consider that a third of the troops sent there are African-Americans and Latinos you wonder, is it so hard for a program with the resources and prestige of Nightline to find representatives of these groups to have on to discuss the policy? Is it so hard to find some women to discuss the policy that 90% of U.S. guests were men? Indeed among African-Americans and women there is a much higher degree of skepticism about the policy, thus we didn't see them on Nightline.

This kind of coverage, this censorship of critics, is not only insulting to African-Americans, and women but it also does the entire country a great disservice because you need diverse and antagonistic sources; you need different kinds of perspectives in order to assess policy. And that's not what we're getting in the U.S. media. It has really been a one-note kind of thing.

As a result, because you have very predictable guests you have a solid insurance against unpredictable insights forming—novel ideas, or maybe articulations which cut against the grain or challenge conventional wisdom. So we never heard certain facts emphasized or brought to light. We didn't hear, among other things, that the United Arab Emirates, one of the countries the U.S. allegedly sent its troops to defend, is considered one of the main centers of drug money laundering in the world today. Heroin money from Pakistan



flows through there, it's like an off-shore bank in the desert. We didn't hear that discussed in any so-called debates about the policy.

We didn't hear much about the fact that George Bush, just a few days before Iraq invaded Kuwait, was personally lobbying Congress to prevent them from imposing sanctions against Iraq. We didn't hear much about the fact that the United States was Iraq's number one trading partner until the day of the invasion. Or about the fact that the U.S. government repeatedly, throughout the Reagan and Bush years, intervened with the U.N.'s human rights commission to make sure they wouldn't take action against Iraq.

A very big double standard comes across when you consider how the media has covered Iraq's human rights abuses, which have been very significant over the years. I was struck by one headline in the New York Post, which is not a paper we generally look at, but this one jumped right out at me. It was right after Saddam Hussein posed with the children of some of the Western hostages. Implicitly it was American propaganda but it wasn't identified as such. They're always so good at identifying and labeling Iraqi propaganda. They never can seem to identify U.S. propaganda. The picture on the cover of the Post was of Saddam Hussein posing with these children and the banner headline read: Child Abuser!

Now Amnesty International has been issuing yearly reports throughout the 1980s documenting the Iraqi government's torture of children. We never saw any headlines like that. We never heard much about the torture of children by Iraq. We never heard very much about Iraqi rights abuses at all while the United States was supporting Iraq in its war against Iran. It was only after Iraq fell out of favor with the U.S. government that suddenly Iraqi human rights abuses became a prominent item on the media agenda.

That to me is emblematic of how the U.S. government sets the agenda—dominates the agenda—of the U.S. press. And it's typical of human rights coverage in general. We did a big study at FAIR looking at coverage of human rights abuses in different countries around the world, and also in the United States, and we found a pattern: that the reporting tended to reflect the geopolitical priorities of the State Department.

We still haven't heard much about the human rights abuses of some of our partners in the so-called coalition. Do you know that Turkey has 250,000 political prisoners? Ninety-five percent of them are tortured, according to Amnesty International. We didn't hear much about that here. We did hear what a Hitler Saddam Hussein was. Again, Turkey is an ally so you don't hear much about it in the press.

Very rarely do you see journalists actually challenge the fundamental assumptions of the Gulf policy, or other policies for that matter. An example of this is a quote from Thomas Friedman, who is the State Department correspondent for the New York Times. He plays tennis every week with Secretary of State Jim Baker. As the state department correspondent for the New York Times, how he can report critically on someone who is his tennis partner, I cannot figure out. Maybe Thomas Friedman can figure it out.

Anyway this is Friedman. What he is doing is parroting assumptions of U.S. officials, regurgitating them as if they were his own, and not attributing the statements to any source—just stating them as if it was the god-given truth. Thomas Friedman, on September 19, 1990, wrote in the New York Times: "While U.S. diplomats appeal to high moral values and a lesson to history, deep down the U.S. understands that many of its partners are in the coalition only because of the coincidence of interests, not because they share a common sense of moral purpose." No quotes here, no attributions, this is just the truth.

The United States is motivated by this high-minded moral purpose. I would think that Thomas Friedman might be aware that this high-minded government of ours, when Bush was vice president, was supplying weapons to both Iran and Iraq during the war. This was morality? It is always the United States that is motivated by the high-minded moral purpose when it comes to foreign policy. That's the given assumption, that's the word put out by U.S. officials—and absorbed and repeated by these journalists. It's a subtle kind of cheerleading. It's not the "rah-rah" and "we-we;" it's

a more subtle form of cheerleading that's just as insidious.

At FAIR we fault journalists for not living up to the standards of good journalism. One example of this is when journalists act like stenographers rather than reporters, and simply repeat something an official says (in this case President Bush), and play it in a sound bite on the TV. And that's it. They don't include independent policy critics in their story, they don't include diverse and antagonistic sources. They are then acting like stenographers rather than journalists. I see this all the time, particularly during the Persian Gulf War.

So, George Bush can get away with saying things like, "The policy is based on the need to uphold international law against international aggression." He said this countless times. Countless times he's repeated it, and countless times he has been allowed to get away with it while journalists are there acting like stenographers. If journalists were acting like independent reporters, they would go to an independent legal expert—an international legal expert—and ask them to comment about Bush's record when it comes to international law.

In terms of international law, we've seen a very explicit double-standard in terms of the United Nations. The U.N. resolution required Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. It caught a lot of attention, which it deserved. It's an important story and it deserves to get a lot of media coverage. But the day after the U.N. gave a green light to the United States to go ahead and do what it wanted to do in the Gulf—the day after—the General Assembly on November 30, 1990 voted 144 to 2 behind the resolution calling for an international peace conference on the Middle East.

Now, it is President Bush's prerogative to play up one U.N. resolution—and claim that he's acting out the will of the U.N.—while ignoring the others. He can do that if he wants to be hypocritical; if he wants have a policy based on double-standard. But it's not the role of the U.S. press to selectively emphasize what the president wants to be emphasized, and then ignore what the president wants to be ignored. Why didn't we hear about this resolution? Why didn't we hear about the fact that almost until the day fighting broke out, 56% of Americans polled favored an international peace conference in the Middle East?

So the U.S. government was ignoring not only the will of the people, but that of the entire international community. Not just Iraq—the entire international community besides the United States favored this resolution. Had the United States honored both U.N. resolutions instead of one, there would not have been a double-standard, and this whole war might have been avoided, because that was the face-saving device that Saddam Hussein was said to be looking for.

That is the real tragedy with the U.S. news coverage. By selectively emphasizing certain facts and ignoring others, the U.S. press aided and abetted Bush's designs for war, and made the war completely inevitable. Not Saddam Hussein—he didn't make this war inevitable; in many significant ways, the U.S. press corps did.

Nabeel talked earlier about the offers that Iraq had made to negotiate. This week in the New York Times they had the front page headline "Saddam's Signals, Underneath the Theatrics, A First Hint of Concession." Of course, as Nabeel pointed out, this is a blatant lie. This is not the first offer of concessions; Hussein has been making concessions going back into August. There were many offers to negotiate.

I'll just pick up on one thing Nabeel mentioned, the August 23 proposal, in which Iraq offered secretly to the United States to withdraw from all of Kuwait except for a sliver of land on a disputed oil field near the border and to negotiate all of their points. This was completely downplayed in the New York Times. I did find the news of this offer buried on page 14. And how was it discussed? They quoted an unnamed U.S. official dismissing the offer as baloney. That's how the New York Times played it. Newsday in New York gave it a front page story. The Financial Times of London, certainly no left-wing paper, stated as follows, about the same offer: "Saddam Hussein's offer may yet serve some useful purpose, offering a path away from disaster through negotiations."

We never heard about that in the New York Times. That was

downplayed. It wasn't given much credibility. There were a number of offers like that, conciliation offers, and they were systematically downplayed. To underscore something that Paul Kraus, an Austrian scholar, said from early centuries, "How does the world move in times of war? Diplomats lie to journalists and journalists believe those lies when they see them in print."

I think that's a lot of what's happening at this point in foreign policy. The United States was never interested in stopping Iraq from invading Saudi Arabia. Have you heard commentators raising the possibility that maybe "we" intended to go to war in the very beginning? You haven't even heard that possibility raised. So, we get this kind of devastating, willful denial, willful indifference on the part of the press.

To conclude, I'll talk a little bit now about the coverage of the anti-war movement. We did a survey at FAIR of the evening news network coverage on the three main commercial networks, tallying all the minutes of coverage on the Gulf situation. This was during the five months leading up to the outbreak of the war. Of all the minutes, and there were many, only one percent of the coverage even tangentially related in any way to grassroots opposition to the war. Only one percent! And that's really stretching it to make it one percent. It's as if the anti-war movement and grassroots opposition didn't even exist according to U.S. television reporters. It was virtually invisible.

Now when the war did break out, the protests did become more visible. There was some coverage of the anti-war rallies, which generally tended to focus on arrests, flag burnings, and traffic jams created by the civil disobedience. And the coverage tended to be dismissive. The sizes of demonstrations were deflated.

An exception to this, I should point out: on ABC World News Tonight, Peter Jennings did a very decent report on the anti-war movement; a two to three minute story in which he made the points that there is no support of Saddam Hussein in this movement, and the protesters considered themselves to be patriotic. It was a very decent report, talking about the anti-war movement on its own terms.

But that's the exception, and the exceptional story by definition is exceptional. The rest is propaganda, it's repetition. What you hear day in and day out in the U.S. news media is the cheerleading, the one-note, the one-sided view; only rarely do you get the exceptions. What we still don't get on ABC World News Tonight, or on any station, even though Jennings himself referred one time to the "so-called liberation of Kuwait," which shows a bit more critical distance, is the inclusion of legitimate spokespeople and representatives of the anti-war movement. They are not invited into the studio. We still have this exclusion—this de facto censorship—of dissidents, analysts who are sympathizers with this movement, and actual leaders of the peace movement. They are not invited into the studio. We still have this exclusion—this de facto censorship—of dissidents, analysts who are sympathizers with this movement, and actual leaders of the peace movement. They are not invited into the studio. We still have this exclusion—this de facto censorship—of dissidents, analysts who are sympathizers with this movement, and actual leaders of the peace movement. They are not invited into the studio. We still have this exclusion—this de facto censorship—of dissidents, analysts who are sympathizers with this movement, and actual leaders of the peace movement. They are not invited into the studio.

At FAIR we have launched a campaign to oppose censorship, and we have made available in the recent weeks over a hundred thousand free copies of a complete listing of national media addresses and phone numbers. Take it; use it; complain directly to the media, or praise your journalists when you see something good. But don't just be skeptical—that's obviously the important first step. Be active in your relations with the media. Just as you can fight city hall, so too can you bring pressure to bear on the news media to be more realistic, to be more diverse in its presentation, to be better journalists. That's essentially what we are asking for.

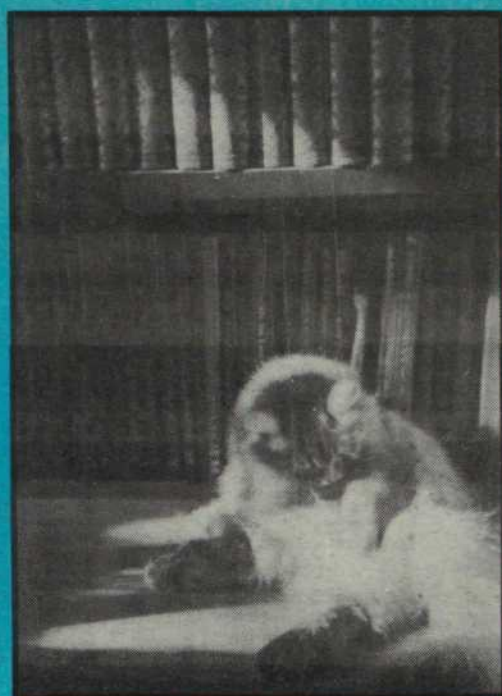
Along that line we invite you to work with FAIR. We are a membership organization and we encourage you to join if you can or if you want to. We need your support.

The publication of this speech was made possible, in part, by a grant from Crazy Wisdom Bookstore, in order to give greater exposure to independent media analysis and criticism of the sort in which FAIR is engaged.

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