



Northwest Tribal nations lead on climate change

Emily Lardner

Indigenous peoples have been among the most vocal proponents of solutions to climate change effects, but their advocacy has often been marginalized. A recent conference titled Evergreen Tribes and Climate Change Conference at the Squaxin Island Tribe's Little Creek Hotel (November 8-9) made that advocacy more visible.

One hundred faculty from 20 colleges attended, many of them as part of teams committed to bringing learning back to their campuses.

A second conference, in eastern Washington, convened leaders from Tribes and First Nations across the US, in a "national summit," reflecting the momentum behind the tribal nations' climate leadership. That three-day conference engaged tribal leaders, citizens, staff, youth and collaborators in conversation about navigating the cultural, economic, and social challenges of climate change.

The Evergreen Conference was designed to introduce mostly non-native educators to the ways tribes are leading responses to climate change, including mitigation and adaptation, in the context of the government to government relationships that characterize our state.

Presenters included leaders from eleven different tribes. These leaders provided vivid and detailed descriptions of the climate change challenges they are facing and the significant adaptations they are making. Running through all of the sessions was a theme of tribal resilience and adaptation, reflecting the forward-looking work of the tribes.

The conference began with an overview of climate issues in eastern and western Washington presented by Tulalip leader Daryl Williams and Phil Rigdon, Superintendent of the Yakama Nation's Natural Resources Department. The keynote on the second day featured a plenary by Willie Frank III and David Troutt, Nisqually Tribe, on treaty rights and climate change.

Tribes on the move

The University of Washington and Evergreen State College are collaborating with tribes on various climate-related projects on tribal land at Shoalwater Bay, Chehalis, Quinault and Nisqually.

Heather Price (North Seattle Community College) and Sonya Doucette (Bellevue College) described the launch of a project focused on justice and civic engagement through WA State's community colleges, supported through a legislative budget allocation from the last session.

Steve Robinson, Legislative/Education Policy Analyst with the North-

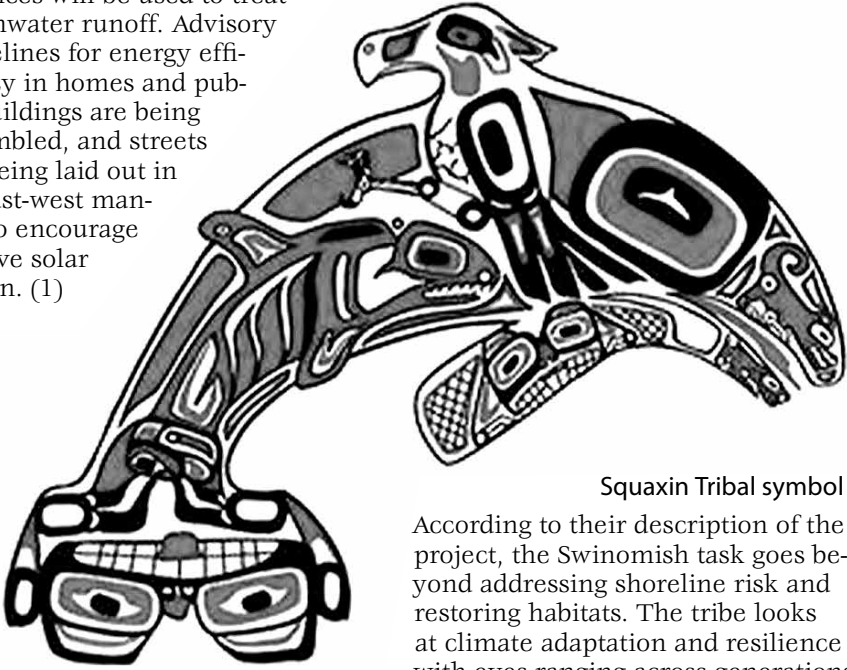
west Indian Fisheries Commission, led a session organized around his case study entitled, "Quinault Indian Nation: Living on the Edge." Quinault is in the midst of moving their entire lower village in the face of rising oceans. A new upper village is being designed to provide ready access to a shared community center for all ages, with sidewalks, trails, and facilities located within a 5- to 10-minute walk of the majority of housing. Low-impact design best practices will be used to treat stormwater runoff. Advisory guidelines for energy efficiency in homes and public buildings are being assembled, and streets are being laid out in an east-west manner to encourage passive solar design. (1)

Larry Burtness, planner and grant writer for the Quileute Tribe, led a session describing how the Quileute are "moving to higher ground" to preserve and protect the tribal community.

In August the Quileute celebrated the opening of a new school on

higher ground after the Obama administration transferred more than 700 acres to the Tribe.

The Swinomish Tribe is in the midst of a Climate Change Initiative, a two-year project which in its own words is to "assess local impacts, identify vulnerabilities, and prioritize planning areas and actions to address the possible effects of climate change." An action plan and other long-range solution products will emerge from this work.



Squaxin Tribal symbol

According to their description of the project, the Swinomish task goes beyond addressing shoreline risk and restoring habitats. The tribe looks at climate adaptation and resilience with eyes ranging across generations, recognizing that the endangered "first foods"—clams, oysters, elk, traditional plants and salmon—are not mere resources to be consumed. They are central to indigenous values, beliefs and survival. (2)

Important new resources

In support of their leadership on climate change, ten tribes and two tribal organizations in Washington state will receive grants from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

According to Senator Maria Cantwell, "Washington state Tribes are located in the eye of the climate change storm. Some Tribes need to relocate buildings and homes now because of sea-level rise and the threat of tsunamis. Others are working to protect salmon and critical fisheries from warming water temperatures and drought, while other Tribes are simply trying to find ways to adapt to their changing lands and waters."

A total of 21 grants totaling \$10,767,838 will help combat the disproportionate impact of climate change on tribal communities. Washington state tribal nations will be able to use the funds for ocean and coastal planning, relocation, and climate adaptation that is necessary to protect tribal lands and waters.

After the close of the Evergreen conference, one participant reflected on the fact that the work of tribal nations is rarely visible: "I had no idea the tribes were leading this work. Not just that, but I learned about the status of tribes as political entities within our state. It was an eye-opening experience."

Emily Lardner is a member of the WIP publishing committee and a former faculty member at The Evergreen State College.

(1) From the Quinault Nation website.
(2) <https://www.swinomish-climate.com/swinomish-climate-change-initiative>

Another Co-Opportunity!

Blue Heron becomes a Co-op

Blue Heron Bakery, which has successfully served the South Sound community and beyond for over 45 years, will become a community-owned cooperative in 2023. The bakery joins an increasing number of successful businesses operating as co-ops, to the benefit of both workers and consumers.

"Our intention is to keep the legacy of the bakery vibrant for future generations," said current owner Evan Price. "We have been sustained through community support all



these years, so it makes sense to entrust the bakery to our customers and workers."

The new Blue Heron Co-op will be worker managed, and owned by

both consumer and worker members. Both groups of members will have seats on the board of directors. The mission of the members is to nourish a vibrant local economy and culture by keeping money in the community and by partnering with other local businesses and cooperatives.

To become a member you must be at least 18 years old. An initial \$77 non-refundable membership fee will cover costs associated with purchasing the business from the current owner.

Individuals can sign up to join Blue Heron Bakery Community Cooperative either by visiting the bakery or online at blueheronbakery.com/join. For more Information, email to blueheronbakery@yahoo.com



Discover olympia's hidden history inside (page 5)

Works in Progress (WIP) is a community newspaper based in Olympia, WA, that has been published since 1990.

WIP's mission is to contribute to the struggle for justice across economic, social, environmental and political realms, and to expand participatory democracy across classes, races, and genders.

Editorial policy

Our priority is to focus on stories that are ignored or misrepresented in the corporate media, especially those that relate directly to our mission. We seek well-researched news stories, serious analyses of issues confronting our communities and accounts of personal experiences or reflections by local writers. We encourage articles that relate to the monthly theme, but material on other topics is also welcome.

Informed opinion pieces are accepted when accompanied by facts, examples and sources. We discourage writing where a key point is stated as fact when it's unproven or in serious dispute. Writing that stereotypes groups or categories of people won't be accepted.

Once we receive a submission, we may choose to publish it or not. While the views expressed in the material we print are those of the author alone, WIP aims to print material that is consistent with our mission. WIP reserves the right to edit all submissions for accuracy, length, and clarity of expression. We will work with authors if there is a need for editing that extends beyond those areas.

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THOUGHTS ON THE THEME

Hostages to the future

We can't escape our future. The sum of our collective actions as humans acts as another force of nature, influencing the big physical systems that underpin the small blue, watery planet we've all come to know. We are in the process of making our own collective future.

Our collective status as hostages to the future was on display at the United Nations' climate meeting, COP27. As *Wired* reporter Gregory Barber put it, many rich nations arrived not having made good on promises to reduce emissions. Poor nations arrived angry at past failures to put their issues on the negotiating table—particularly plans for rich polluters to pay for damage caused by climate change. COP27 ended with a high level plan to compensate loss and damage. Al Gore announced a nonprofit climate data effort called Climate Trace. Some progress was made on agreements to cut back on methane emissions.

Useful steps towards easing human disruptions of physical systems were made through these negotiations. With the perseverance, organizing, and advocacy that was was on display at COP27, our future may become more bearable. What is not negotiable is that actions today effect tomorrow—we can't escape the future.

So many critical decisions affect our climate future. We should be taking ownership of our future in reality, and in our narrative, heeding our peers and our community and our elders. Several articles talk about public ownership of the railroads, coops to transform local business, social housing to redress longstanding discrimination.

Several articles look at the transportation sector with its huge contribution to emissions—why are our leaders talking about a major new airport? Or hiring experts to tell us we need more warehousing and trucking? Thad Curtz examines the gap between Thurston County's good intentions for addressing climate and where the county is falling short. And maybe falling farther behind.

The articles about the work of tribal nations and historians engaging students, reflections on home, even highlighting why a new School Board Member makes an important difference—all these connect us to our place on earth, which is essential if we are going to make a future that is bearable for everyone. And the other critical thread that runs through this issue is about democracy—the book and the foray into Chile's experience directly—the other essential for a bearable future.

How are we to embrace our inevitable relationship with the future? One way is through dialogue. Dan Leahy has been involved in conversations with a collection of elders who have led lives of activism across the country. Gathering on Zoom, they introduce themselves by describing their vision for our future. Dan's final advice about "what actions should be taken" is far more helpful than most answers to that question:

The vision: A community of resistance acting as custodian for neighborhood land, housing and community spirit.

How to achieve it: Face to face dialogue. Agreed upon principles. Active engagement in the work.

What actions should be taken: Keep expanding your reach. Recruit organizational mechanics. Clarify the shape of the enemy.
—EL



Theme for Spring: Walls

For our Spring issue, let's consider a famous line from Robert Frost's poem, *Mending Walls*: "Something there is that doesn't love a wall,/ That wants it down."

But before that line, there is much more, including this: "Before I built a wall I'd ask to know/What I was

walling in or walling out/And to whom I was like to give offense..."

We are hoping for reflections or articles from you that in some way speak to the issue of building walls—in any context.

Deadline: February 1, 2023

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Tiny homes at Quixote Village get a big solar boost

Olympia, WA. Olympia Community Solar and South Sound Solar just completed installation of a solar array at Quixote Village as part of their work to leverage solar energy as both a powerful tool for equity and a contribution to Thurston County's renewable energy transition.

As an integral community resource for the unhoused in Olympia, Quixote Village is an ideal location for hosting solar. Construction of the solar array on Quixote Village's 30 tiny homes and community building was completed at the end of August 2022. The Quixote Village solar project includes four

solar panels across each of the thirty tiny homes and 86 panels on the community building (206 total). South Sound Solar designed and installed the 66 kilowatt system.

The installation will reduce the village's energy bill, saving more than \$551,000 over the next forty years. Savings from the solar energy will directly benefit village residents by making more resources available for mental health programs and services. The solar energy will reduce Quixote Village's carbon footprint by 58 thousand pounds of CO2 emissions, equivalent to planting 705 trees every year, or not driving 106,000 miles. Remark-

ably, the project's Silfab Solar Panels were manufactured in Washington State.

This project is another example of the work that Olympia Community Solar does creating clean energy opportunities for people and organizations who thought Solar was out of reach. Olympia Community Solar developed the project and secured five grants to fund the project.

Project funding came from the Squaxin Island Tribe, the City of Olympia, Puget Sound Energy and the Tides Foundation. "The Quixote Village solar project is an

example of how solar energy may be leveraged as a powerful tool for equity. Solar energy is not only a climate solution, it is a vehicle for economic justice" stated Olympia Community Solar President Mason Rolph.

More about Quixote Village at www.quixotecomunities.org More about Olympia Community Solar at <https://olysol.org/>. South Sound Solar has been installing residential and commercial solar systems for over 14 years. They are well known for their community contributions and dedication to equity.

Reader Alert!

Reader Review Grant is back...but with a difference. Each issue we will suggest a book to review. If you're interested in reviewing the book, email us and put BOOK REVIEW in the subject line. We will buy the book (or reimburse you if you buy it) and pay \$50 if the review is accepted.

The book for the Spring issue of WIP is: *Of Boys and Men: Why the Modern Male is Struggling, Why it Matters, What to Do About it*, by Richard Reeves. Contact WIP before January 15 if you'd like to be considered to write the review.



Thank you from the Estuarium

An invitation to a free day on Saturday, Dec. 17

Come to the Estuarium on December 17 to discover the orcas that share the waters of the Puget Sound. You will learn the history of southern resident orcas in this area and the survival challenges they face. We have samples of marine mammal pelts and a harbor porpoise skeleton to examine while we discuss the life of an orca in these waters. There will be marine mammal themed games and prizes!

The Estuarium's Orca Odyssey Exhibit is a traveling exhibit based on the book *Orca: Shared Waters, Shared Home* written by Lynda V. Maples that was reviewed in WIP in February 2022. (This book will be for sale at the Estuarium.) Throughout December and January there will be orca-centric education at the Estuarium.

This free event is open to the public at our location: 309 State Avenue NE. Masks are required, and COVID-19 protocols will be in effect.

Thank you to every

person who donated

And thank you to every person who donated or shared our posts during our 2022 fund-raising campaign, you made a difference! We cherish

the opportunity to show you all of the things we do here at the Estuarium and highlight our K-12 programs that not many people know about. We know our community cares about creating connection with the estuary environment and we are proud of how our

place-based programs provide that opportunity to local students.

Before the pandemic we were reaching 330 students annually for both our On The Water and Estuary Life and Landform Field Trips, in 2022 we have reached 889 students through On The Water and 750 through Estuary Life and Landforms Field Trips.

With every one of our annual K-12 field trips, we have made the necessary adjustments that have allowed us to continue to deliver our STEM, environmental education curricula, throughout every phase of this ongoing pandemic. This challenge has not stopped us from dreaming big for the future. We will continue to grow while sustaining the quality of our programs and we appreciate your support in this journey.

Now we can go into 2023 knowing that we will be ready to explore the estuary, connect with our community, and inspire change!

Then this happened

...police accountability took a hit. In our March 2022 issue, WIP reported on threats to the reforms that constrained some use of force and high speed vehicle pursuits by police. After a coordinated fear campaign by law enforcement groups, the legislature rolled back key reforms. Police can once again use force "to prevent a person from fleeing" regardless of whether there is indication of a crime. Another law restores the practice of high speed vehicle pursuits. The bar against use of force -- including shooting someone -- is once again set low.

...the City of Olympia posted an opening for an entry-level police officer: starting salary \$83,199--\$109,000. If you're 21, have a GED and are legally able to carry a gun--you can pass a test and start getting a big paycheck. Oh, you'd like to teach? Not so fast. You'll need a BA and Teacher Certification. Then maybe you can apply for a job paying \$51,000--88,000/year. .

...one year after it was filed, Thurston County denied a citizen petition to dissolve the Flood Control

Board that manages Black Lake. But Commissioners acknowledged the need to fund a comprehensive study of lake management and Citizens for a Clean Black Lake, who asked for the dissolution, has offered to help them.

...WIP covers "stakeholder" views because consulting with those affected helps legitimate policy decisions. But when "stakeholder" really means beneficiary there's no legitimacy dividend.

To get input on the need for a "cultural access" sales tax, Olympia staff met with individuals from 40 "stakeholder" groups, all of whom would benefit from the tax. The result? Yes to a tax because there's "A strong need for increased financial support."

Another example. City staff asked if it would be a good idea to expand a property tax exemption for developers. It would! said "stakeholders"--all but one of whom was a developer benefitting from the tax exemption.

Are you a real stakeholder?

Take this handy quiz to find out!

You've heard stakeholders are people directly or indirectly affected by a decision and that including a diverse group of them helps insure those decisions have greater representation and legitimacy.

Now you're on a stakeholder committee but the experience has you confused. Are you a real stakeholder? Find out below!

TRUE OR FALSE:

- The entity you represent benefits financially from the decision
- You're privy to information other members aren't
- Staff members always answer your emails
- Your suggestions are welcomed and echoed by staff
- They're serving steak and you have a silver fork

IF YOU ANSWERED TRUE, CONGRATS - YOU'RE A REAL STEAKHOLDER! BONE-IN RIBEYE FOR YOU!

TRUE OR FALSE:

- The decision will not benefit you financially
- Your suggestions are deemed impractical, too expensive or irrelevant
- You have a feeling you've already missed the briefing
- They're serving Wagner's pastries and you're gluten-free

IF YOU ANSWERED TRUE, YOU'RE JUST WINDOW DRESSING! TAKE YOUR WOODEN STAKE AND MAKE A YARD SIGN (where you can finally express your views!)

Building a relationship between the Nisqually Tribe and North Thurston Schools

Tribal Chair Willie Frank: language is the starting point

Margaret Thomas

Partnering with the Nisqually tribe, the North Thurston School District plans to develop a course in the traditional Lushootseed language with the goal of offering it at River Ridge High School starting in the 2023-2024 school year. According to the district, a significant number of Native American students attend River Ridge, which currently offers Native-heritage courses, and monthly Lushootseed Lunchtime Enrichment.

Works in Progress correspondent Margaret Thomas met with Nisqually Tribal Chairman Willie Frank III in his office this fall to talk about Lushootseed in the schools. Excerpts from their 40-minute conversation appear below. They've been edited for length and clarity..

Margaret Thomas: Your grandfather was the last native speaker of Lushootseed. Are you learning the language?

Willie Frank: To hear him and his recordings has been really amazing. This is a language that's different... It's going to take years for me to learn it, so I've started the process... It's the starting point, hopefully for everybody wanting to learn it. It helps make you whole when you hear that language being spoken, especially from my grandpa.

We started with our [Tribal Council] vice chairwoman, Antonette Squally. Antonette has been the [Lushootseed] teacher for the last ten years. She trained her niece and they trained four others. So now we're building this language program. One of the cool things about it, hearing it being spoken, but also the schools being open to bring it in.

The fall of 2018, my niece came to live with my wife and I. She was going into her freshman year of high school at River Ridge in Lacey. The first day, the [then] vice principal [Mike Smith] came out to meet us. Never met him in my life.

He said, "Hey, Mr. Frank, I've been wanting to reach out to you. We've been wanting to work with the tribe. I just want to let you know, your niece—anything she needs. She's going to be OK. We're going to look after her." The majority of our kids go to River Ridge. That was the starting point of this relationship with the school district. He lit the fire.

He calls me up and says, "Hey, Mr. Frank can you come in one day; I just want to talk about building that relationship; Native American Heritage Month in November. We started getting into the classrooms at River Ridge, whether it was the history ... drawing. It started slow and then it really took off. There's a whole group of us that started getting back into the schools.

It's about trust. I saw our kids really struggling, because they didn't see anybody who looked like them coming into the schools. A group of us would come into the schools and spend days. We'd get in at 7:30 and we'd be out at 2. Every classroom, we'd go 50 minutes. We'd have one section where we would talk about treaty rights. We'd have

one where we would talk about early, early history. Then we'd have one (about) culture, traditions.

People were like, "Can you guys develop curriculum?" That's how it started in 2019, right before covid. We had the land acknowledgement agreement. The school board and the superintendent they signed off on it. We have the Nisqually flag hanging at all the schools in the district. [We had] 80 teachers from North Thurston High School and administrators ... up at the [tribal] Culture Center. So we're teaching the administrators and the principals. Just getting them accustomed to Nisqually history. Now he language is taking off. The language will be offered in some schools in 2023. It's going to be a pilot and we'll see how it goes.

Then of course we got our Head Start program over here where we're getting our kids in early. Most of our kids start out at Wa-He-Lut [Indian School]. That was one of my Grandpa's dreams—he wanted to see the school, us speaking the language. We have kids' books in our language.

From his phone, Frank plays a short recording of his grandfather, Willie Frank Sr., telling a traditional story, "our mountain story," first in Lushootseed and then in English.



Photo of Willie Frank provided by Nisqually Tribal Nation

MT: Why is offering Lushootseed in the schools important to you?

Frank: It's showing the next generation who we are. Our language was definitely frowned upon in my grandfather's generation—he was born in 1879. I think about that. What he went through in his life, and then my father. I'd always ask my dad, "How come you never

taught me the language growing up?" And he'd say, "Your grandfather didn't want us speaking it because of what was happening to them in the boarding schools." It made sense.

When [our tribal kids] see it being taught in the schools they're going to be like 'Oh man, I really want to learn this. This is ours.' A lot of healing is a part of it, too. That was one of the things we thought about: Should we even offer this to non-Native kids—we want our own kids first. We're going to see how it goes, but we're willing to do anything to make sure people understand who we are as Native people, and as Nisqually people.

A lot of people right now want to learn about tribes. One of the things that frustrated me growing up was what we learned in the schools. You take Washington State history and you learn one week on tribes in the area, usually talking about the bigger tribes. For us here, in Nisqually and in the South Sound, the fishing wars and Medicine Creek Treaty, where the Treaty Tree is, that's really the center of the universe.

This is huge for us: Survival. I think the language is going to be the biggest thing moving forward [along] with the natural resources. The survival of Native people in

Decision] in 2024—and to think our language is going to be offered in the schools. Maybe it doesn't work. Maybe it does. It's in there, and our curriculum is starting to get in. It takes time. One of the things my dad always said is, "Being an Indian you've got to have a lot of patience." And, goddamn, he was right about that.

[Native Student Program Specialist] Jerad Koepp took some heat when he first got hired ... but he was one man for 22 schools. He hung in there: He won [Washington State] Teacher of the Year last year.

MT: Did your own experience as a Nisqually student influence your interest in the program?

Frank: Back in 2000 when I graduated, I never thought I'd be back in the schools, teaching some of the teachers that taught me. It's been good to hear their feedback. They're like, "We're proud of you, man. We like learning this stuff."

I try to grow and learn every day, I figure that's a true education. For tribes, there's so much opportunity. Our kids, we give them the opportunity to go to school. We pay for their college. We're going to be sitting at the table—all of our tribes.

MT: How do Nisqually students benefit from the Native Studies program, especially learning the language?

Frank: Getting our kids engaged in our own history is going to be huge, and it's challenging at times. That's why we start so young. We start with Head Start and daycare. We got our kids down at Wa-He-Lut learning from kindergarten. They hear it every day. These kids practice singing and dancing and drumming before they go home. Council should probably do that every day, too.

I really believe it's a time for our tribe. I don't want this next generation of kids to think that we're only casinos ... firecrackers, smoke shops, whatever. I want them to really understand who we are as the Nisqually people; our culture, our way of life. I don't even care if we do anything else. It's about us setting the example for that next generation.

MT: How will other Native students and non-Native students benefit?

Frank: We live in an area where it's not just the local tribes. Since [Joint Base Lewis-McChord] is so close, we have folks from all over Indian country here. It's good for Native kids to see this and hear this in the classroom. ...whether you're from the Dakotas or the East Coast or down South. I hope...as time goes on, our Native kids look at it as 'we're all Natives, we're all Native American people.' We've got to come together. I'm not saying that what's good for one tribe is good for every tribe, but there's so much out there that we have as similarities rather than differences.

MT: Is there anything else you want to add?

Frank: I want our kids to be proud to walk into the schools. That's why we do this.

Discover Olympia’s hidden histories

History is detectable in the landscape—if you know where to look



At the kickoff for the Hidden Histories Tours. Photo by Lindsey Dalthorp

Zoltán Grossman and Lindsey Dalthorp

On October 7, several “Olympia Hidden Histories” self-guided walking tours were introduced to the public. The multimedia walking tours are a collaboration of student authors and faculty at The Evergreen State College, with the “Walls Tell Stories, Olympia” project of Art Forces and Rachel Corrie Foundation for Peace and Justice.

Today’s stories of restoration with hard truths about the past

Student teams in the Evergreen class “American Frontiers: Homelands and Borderlands” (taught by Kristina Ackley, Zoltán Grossman, and Mike Ruth) developed four walking tours that cover historic displacements—of the Indigenous (Squaxin), Chinese, and working-class communities that resided downtown, and of the oysters and salmon that inhabited the Deschutes Estuary.

The tours tell contemporary stories of cultural revitalization and ecological restoration while revealing hard truths about how Olympia’s landscape was created: through the settler-colonial removal of Indigenous people, the racialized displacement of immigrant and working-class communities, and the destructive altering of the Deschutes Estuary. This juxtaposition shows how understanding the past is vital to planning for the future.

History in the palm of your hand

The public launch, part of Fall Arts Walk, drew about 100 people to the Olympia-Rafah Solidarity Mural to hear student authors and their research partners speak about the

tours. Among the speakers were Squaxin Island Tribe Chairman Kristopher Peters, Olympia Mayor Pro Tem Clark Gilman, and Evergreen President John Carmichael. A new “Peacemaker Gallery” was opened in the adjacent Labor Temple, featuring an exhibit showcasing historical and contemporary photographs and art connecting to the history represented in the tours. During November, the gallery was open every Saturday.

The ArcGIS StoryMaps tours seek to uncover layers of Olympia’s rich cultural and ecological history, revealing connections to the region and world. They combine narrative text with images, maps, audio, and video, bringing history to the palm of your hand. Follow the tours in the presented order, or explore them according to your own interest:

stəčas (Steh-Chass): People of the Water
(James Martinez, Nico Maynes, Ashes Gleason, Reno Buchanan)

The first tour tells the story of the original people of Budd Inlet, the Steh-Chass band of the Squaxin Island Tribe. It focuses on the Steh-Chass village of bəscətxʷd (Buschut-wud, or “frequented by black bears”), located near the Mural.

For generations, villagers harvested oysters, salmon and other natural wealth in the Deschutes Estuary, and traded with other tribes over great distances. A Steh-Chass chief signed the 1854 Treaty of Medicine Creek, but the villagers were removed from Olympia’s walled military fortifications during the 1855-56 Puget Sound War. They were forced to live on the Squaxin Island Reservation, with constricted access to fish and fresh water.

Throughout the 20th century, tribal members lived in Kamilche and around the South Puget Sound, which became a religious nexus of the Coast Salish world. They fought for treaty rights to harvest fish, and today the tribe has expanded its cultural, economic, and environmental presence back into downtown.

Tidelands: “When the tide is out, the table is set”
(Kaiah Costa, Charity Turk, Robert O’Hanlon)

The second tour tells the story of the Olympia oyster that flourished in the tidal zone of the Deschutes Estuary mudflats, which were raised by Indigenous and Chinese harvesters. The native oyster drew settlers to Olympia (and later promoted its status as the capital city), before it was displaced by foreign oyster species.

The tour traces the town’s expansion as a center of shipping and timber processing industries that industrialized the waterfront, drawing many US and immigrant workers, but polluting the waters that had sustained oysters and salmon. The dredging of the mudflats to make way for shipping to the Port of Olympia enlarged the downtown land base through a series of fills.

The tour concludes with a walk along Capitol Boulevard, the historic Main Street, which started as a seedy frontier boardwalk servicing sailors, lumberjacks and oystermen, and developed into a working-class community of timber mill workers and stable businesses.

Olympia’s Chinatowns: exclusion and endurance
(Adam Andres, Carlos Funk, Jonah Eadie, Tucker Morehouse)

The third tour tells the story of early Chinese immigration to the West Coast after the 1849 California Gold Rush, and how the immigrants were originally drawn to Olympia by the oyster, timber and railroad industries. Many Chinese people came from the same county in Guangdong Province.

The Chinese established laundries and restaurants, and built roads and bridges. Merchants established family associations to support their community. As downtown’s shoreline expanded, Chinese businesses were pushed from desirable to undesirable land around the

tideflats. In the 1880s, racist mobs drove Chinese out of many other Western cities, such as Seattle and Tacoma.

A mob threatened to evict Chinese from Olympia’s first Chinatown in 1886, but the Thurston County Sheriff protected the Chinese community. A second Chinatown was established the following year, with businesses forming a core community that moved by 1913. The third and final Chinatown was razed in 1943, but the Chinese-American presence and influence has persisted into the 21st century.

5th Avenue dam: Reflections on Capitol Lake

(Elyssa Conn, Arlo Dolven, Tristan Glaser, Avery Millard)

The fourth tour tells the story of how the Deschutes Estuary was transformed into Capitol Lake, by the 1951 construction of the 5th Avenue Dam, to impound the lake that serves as a reflecting pool for the State Capitol.

The planned impoundment was an opportunity to remove Little Hollywood, a multiracial working-class community condemned by city leaders as a hazardous blight. The “shantytown” was razed beginning in 1941. With the creation of Capitol Lake, the health of the former estuary plummeted, with toxic algae blooms, invasive species and impeded salmon runs. In the 20th century, the dam became a flashpoint in the “fish wars” for tribal treaty rights.

Several years ago, a public campaign was mounted to remove the dam and restore the estuary. The campaign is led by restoration groups and the Squaxin Island and Nisqually tribes, and is described at tinyurl.com/capitollake2.

The 2022 walking tours are being used by Evergreen classes, a Squaxin youth group and others. The Evergreen program “Taking Back Empire” is currently developing additional tours focused on water resources and the history of the Port of Olympia, to be published in 2023.

Access the web-based tours on any device at artforces.org/hiddenhistories

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PERSPECTIVE

Olympia school board
appointment sparks national panic

Steven Marquardt

The Olympia School Board's unanimous decision to appoint Talauna Reed to the board has sparked vocal ire cloaked in concern. Ms. Reed is the first African American board member and has criticized the police in the past.

People are so upset that her appointment was recently covered by Fox News. Local anger was on full display during the tense November board meeting where 30+ people gave public comments, all but one regarding Ms. Reed. Angry commenters pounded fists and shook their heads while denouncing the board and expressing outrage over Ms. Reed's past. The bashing of her beliefs, lived experiences and qualifications were stated by two speakers to be "not racism," but concern for students.

Roaring applause after hateful comments was met with solidarity from people who actually know Ms. Reed. An Olympia Student Equity Committee member countered the fear mongering that this appointment jeopardizes student safety, by sharing that they look up to Ms. Reed as "a community organizer and inspiring woman who is doing the kind of work to help underserved people and make positive change that I want to do in my future."

The truth, as expressed by students, alumni, parents, workers and community members at the podium, revealed that Ms. Reed is a compassionate, community-building visionary, one pursuing a holistic, justice-centered approach to safety.

In a public statement, Ms. Reed shared her goal of restoration and giving children and adults hope while utilizing trauma-informed practices in order to not cause further harm. She wrote that "Safety starts from within by creating a school culture where all students, staff, and community members are treated with dignity and respect."

The appointment of Ms. Reed has elevated the vision of a liberated world with systems of care ensur-



The Olympia School Board unanimously agreed to appoint Talauna Reed to fill the District 2 vacancy created by the departure of another member. (Talauna Reed is the fourth person from the left. This photo from the School District website was taken during the October 29 school board meeting where Reed was sworn into office. Video and transcript of the board meeting, including interviews with candidates considered for the appointment, are posted on the district website tinyurl.com/osdsept30)

ing all people are free and have their basic needs met; where safety is secured through love, empathy, and solidarity instead of legality, enforcement and surveillance.

Talauna Reed's appointment will engage more people in cultural diversity and de-escalation training, restorative justice models, anti-racism, and trauma-informed care. In sticking to her values, she has legitimized other crucial work like mutual aid, political education, and direct democracy to build communities that provide for their own safety and wellbeing.

By reorienting us to the reality that we keep us safe, Reed challenges the dominant narrative that safety is maintained externally by police. That helps us understand that we can have safe communities if we create a culture where everyone is treated with dignity and respect—things the police routinely discourage.

Chicago Mayor Richard Daley validated this when he asserted, "The policeman isn't there to create

disorder. The policeman is there to preserve disorder." That is, disorder for the working class, margin-

alized peoples, the poor, and those pursuing a better world, in order to maintain racial capitalism (a term acknowledging how capitalism developed as an inherently racialized system which uses differences between people (like skin color) to justify exploiting some people over others). The direct lineage between slave patrols and the police is a history that has been systematically ignored.

The opposition in response to the Olympia School Board's decision is an important example of the way in which our system has succeeded in dividing people and stripping them of their humanity. It has instilled fear, competition and delusion to the point where they defend inhumane institutions over the wellbeing of their neighbors. As one student commented, "Many people have a hard time with change, and as it has been said, when you're accustomed to privilege, equity feels like oppression."

The school board's appointment is a significant step towards necessary change. The struggle for equity just got a boost in Olympia.

Steven Marquardt is an Olympia-based educator and organizer working to improve the lives of students, workers, the unhoused and indigenous peoples, among others.

To learn more about a world without police and prisons, check out www.8toabolition.com/ and criticalresistance.org/.

Haki Farms Collective

Bringing the past to the present for the future

The Haki Farmers Collective was founded by Mercy Kakutani-McGee and her daughter Elisa as a continuation of the work started by elders who called the valleys of Kandara, Kenya home.

Here in Coast Salish territories they continue to build alongside those who also cherish their ancestral foodways as the place to heal the wounds of colonial displacement that has impacted our bodies, cultures and our Earth.

Haki Farmers Collective members believe the need to find our roots, examine and use our nearly erased traditional practices, and disseminate this knowledge is an urgent mission to care for our bodies, souls, and especially our planet. Haki means Justice in Swahili—a

widely spoken language in Africa. Haki Farmers collective seeks to bolster and reincorporate traditional and inherently sustainable farming knowledge that is present in our migrant and indigenous communities.

After a fruitful summer in which the farm and farmers grew in every way, Haki welcomes new supporters, volunteers, donors, and participants. A Board made up of those who are dedicated to land stewardship and redistribution, food justice and sovereignty, climate justice and increasing generational wealth for Black and Brown people of South Sound will guide the collective into a new season of 2023.



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PETITION

If you build it they will come

More trains not more airports

[Ed note: In 2020 the Washington legislators responded to a “forecasted shortage of capacity for commercial air passenger service, air cargo and general aviation” by setting up the Commercial Aviation Coordinating Commission (CACC), The Commission recommended a single preferred location for major airport, along with ways to accommodate capacity needs at other facilities.

The CCAC in September selected three locations (out of an initial 10) for further consideration: Pierce County Central, Pierce County East—and Thurston County Central (see graphic).

Sue Cummings started this petition setting forth reasons the Thurston County site should not be considered as a location.]

To the WA state legislature, Governor Inslee, WSDOT, Thurston county local leaders, stakeholders and members of the community:

We the undersigned strongly oppose creation of a new major commercial airport in Thurston County. We call on the Thurston county commissioners to create consequential and enforceable land use rules to protect the community from this project. We demand that Governor Inslee and WSDOT remove the “central Thurston greenfield” site from the Commercial Aviation Coordinating Commission’s consideration for a new major airport.

The proposed central Thurston site contains 40 acres of land owned by the Nisqually Tribe and also includes parts of JBLM training areas 22 and 23. We ask that the Tribe and the Federal government prohibit the use of their land for a new commercial airport here.

Where the aviation industry sees dollar signs, the residents of Thurston County see noise, pollution, sprawl and congestion. We see the destruction of climate, natural resources, water and, in the south county, our rural way of life.



The Washington public at large agrees.

In 2021 and 2022 surveys conducted by the CACC, the public said no to aviation expansion unless environmental impacts are mitigated.

The proposed mitigation of these impacts, such as electric planes, has been small scale and minimal. It is irresponsible to justify major aviation expansion with experimental and premature technology.

Adding another major airport to our region is not a sustainable investment in our future. The CACC’s vision of unfettered growth in regional

aviation does not support Washington’s commitment to greenhouse gas reductions of 45 percent below 1990 levels by 2030 and 95 percent below 1990 levels by 2050.

Regarding natural resources, the proposed Thurston County Central airport site encompasses 79 acres managed by the Capitol Land Trust as important habitats: The Spurgeon Valley Preserve, the Shermer-Deschutes Preserve and the Bentley Conservation Easement.

The proposed site is directly adjacent to the Center for Natural Lands Management’s Tenaquot Prairie Preserve and JBLM’s Weir Prairie Research Natural Area, both habitat for multiple conservation targets including the federally threatened Mazama pocket gopher, golden paintbrush, Oregon vesper sparrow, the western bluebird and the Taylor’s checkerspot butterfly.

The proposed site directly overlaps the McAlister Springs Geological Sensitive Area, whose well fields supply drinking water to Olympia and the Nisqually reservation.

The majority of the proposed airport site lies on lands that are considered Category 1—extreme aquifer sensitivity, providing very rapid recharge with little protection from the groundwater pollutants that would be generated by a major airport.

We question the CACC’s growth predictions for the aviation industry. They are unchecked for changes in travel behavior, induced and artificial demand, and other transportation options. We believe that there are better alternatives like high speed rail to meet the region’s future transportation needs.

However, if the growing population of the greater Seattle area must have another major commercial airport, let that community, not ours, bear the burden of its creation.

To see the petition and signatories go to tinyurl.com/stoptheairport

Behind the scene: Good reasons for a national strike by rail workers

Our climate correspondents

After almost three years of stymied contract negotiations, rail workers voted 99% this summer in favor of a strike. That threat was averted when the Biden administration stepped in. By September there was a tentative proposal agreed to by the companies and submitted to the unions. But it’s not over.

It’s more than a labor dispute

In their implacable pursuit of higher profits, corporate owners of the nation’s railroads have consolidated systems, gutted capacity and fired a third of the workforce. Carriers like BNSF made up for the resulting lack of employees by running longer trains and imposing new conditions on remaining workers: no sick leave, 12-hour work days, mandatory on-call weeks, and penalties (up to termination) for those who take time off. Their plan: a train run by electronics with a lone crew member in the cab.

The result?

For the companies: a 50.9% profit margin—the highest of all US industries, according to the Surface Transportation Board, in the last decade railroad owners spent \$50 billion more on buybacks and dividends than on infrastructure.

For the shippers: fewer trains, crippling rates, delays and poor service.

For the workers: loss of an 8-hour day, predictable schedules, the ability to take time off for health, family and personal life, the right to safety on the job.

For the community: Degradation of commuter and passenger rail service; loss of jobs that offer a living wage for a day’s work under healthy conditions; less participation in family and civic life.

Does the Biden-brokered agreement solve the problem?

The threat of a strike remains. The proposed agreement barely addressed the punitive attendance policies, specifying simply time away

from work to attend to routine and preventive medical care, and allowing exemptions from attendance policies for hospitalizations and surgical procedures. The deal preserved two-person crews for a period, and offered a significant raise over four years.



Several unions voted no on the Tentative Agreement, insisting “It offers very little given the conditions we face and the role we play in the economy.” If railroad workers strike, it will have immediate implications—economically and politically—for people and businesses everywhere.

From their beginning, railroads—like highways and airports—have been considered “common carriers” providing an essential public service. Too important for the whole community to be left to the dictates of profit. Railroads were the first industry to be regulated in the public interest in 1879. That changed in 1980 when the Staggers Rail Act ended most regulation.

Rail shipments and travel in today’s world should be expanding, not contracting

Trucks today account for over 70% of intercity freight, with semi’s getting an average of 6.5 miles per gallon. At a time when the demand is to reduce fossil fuel consumption and decrease pollutants, semi trucks account for 25% of all transportation emissions, adding environmental damage to the damage they inflict on roads and highways.

Shipping by rail is cheaper and produces fewer emissions. One gallon of diesel fuel moves a ton of freight 500 miles. Compared to trucks, freight rail accounts for 0.5% of all greenhouse gases. But despite these efficiencies and environmental benefits, railroads companies have reduced their share of the market, moving less freight today than 16 years ago.

A call for public ownership

The dictates of profit have again overtaken the public interest, and Railroad Workers United, a cross-craft railroad workers’ group is calling for public ownership of the rail system. RWU gives the reasons for this position in a Resolution of Support for Public Ownership of the Railroads. They call on other groups—including rail unions, the larger labor movement, environmental and social justice groups, communities and shippers to join the campaign.”

RWU believes that reliance on highways, cars and trucks threatens to bankrupt and destroy towns and cities across the country and contribute to ecological disaster. Expanding rail travel is a way forward, but the privately held rail system has proven itself uninterested and incapable of rising to the challenge.

“Railroad workers are in a position to take the lead,” according to RWU Steering Committee member and passenger conductor J.P. Johnson. “We can spearhead the drive for a rail renaissance in this country, one that is vibrant and expanding, innovative, creative and environmentally sustainable, one that can properly handle the nation’s freight and passengers in the 21st century.”

This article was a collaborative effort using data from the Surface Transportation Board, American Journal of Transportation and the RWU newsletter, among other sources. Rail workers and others who would like more information are invited to contact RWU at info@railroadworkersunited.org.

Racial disparities in WA homeownership are greater today than in the 1960s

Washington State work group offers recommendations to address public and private sector policies that serve as barriers

A new Washington state report highlights the stark reality that black and indigenous people, and people of color (BIPOC) would need to buy more than 140,000 houses in the state to achieve parity with white homeownership on a percentage basis. The housing gap is even more significant today than in the 1960s, when housing discrimination and redlining were legal.

“Homeownership is the primary way most households build wealth, and yet access to the opportunity to own has not been evenly distributed. Public and private sector policies have for generations built an interlocking web of barriers preventing many black and indigenous people, and people of color (BIPOC) from achieving homeownership,” said Home Ownership Disparities Work Group member Patience Malaba, Executive Director of the Housing Development Consortium of Seattle-King County.

The *Improving Homeownership Rates for Black, Indigenous and People of Color in Washington* report released today is the culmination of nine months of work by the Homeownership Disparities Work Group. The work group developed 27 recommendations, twelve of which are deemed actionable in the next several years to remove housing barriers for BIPOC households in Washington. A total of 32 stakeholders with diverse backgrounds in housing, including work group members with experience buying homes through the Housing Trust Fund low-income homeownership program, participated in the extensive effort detailed in the report. Commerce Director Lisa Brown chaired the work group.

“There is nothing more foundational than a home, and we have to ensure everyone has access to a critical resource we all depend on,” Brown said. “The history of systemic, discriminatory policies and practices in housing has had a devastating impact on our most marginalized communities. The recommendations in this report can be a compass to guide our work to eliminate barriers and increase access to affordable housing for BIPOC communities.”

The work group recommendations include changes to the real estate and lending industries. They also suggested policy revisions and funding priorities across all levels of government to unlock housing supply, direct affordable homeownership units toward BIPOC communities, and increase immediate assistance to prospective and current BIPOC homeowners.

- The 12 immediate actionable recommendations are:**
- Increase biennial state funding for affordable homeownership programs, including land acquisition and pre-development costs.
 - Fund a technical assistance/capacity-building program to build the nonprofit organizational infrastructure to develop, finance, facilitate, build, and steward all types of affordable homeownership projects.
 - Provide technical planning assistance and resources to mu-

- nicipal governments to increase affordable homeownership units.
- Revise Housing Trust Fund and Housing Finance Commission programs to reduce the administrative burdens on applicants.
- Increase the amount of funding available for direct assistance to homebuyers and homeowners.
- Make current programs more flexible by increasing the per-household limits on existing assistance awards.
- Target homeownership assistance to the BIPOC community via historical ties to culturally specific areas.
- Provide incentives to home sellers to accept offers from purchasers using down payment assistance programs.
- Expand debt mediation and credit repair programs.
- Ensure that awareness of homeownership programs is part of licensing and education requirements for people in the real estate industry.
- Fund culturally specific organizations for outreach to increase the visibility of and access to homeownership assistance programs for BIPOC communities.
- Explore policies to improve connections with BIPOC communities to ensure that interest in homeownership is understood by funders.

“Serving on the legislative work group to address the gap in BIPOC

homeownership rates in Washington was a privilege, and the beginning of making change sustainable,” said work group member Michone Preston, Ed.D, CEO Habitat for Humanity of Washington State. “People from communities that have been systematically and historically excluded from opportunities have been prohibited from prosperity through lack of access to homeownership, one of the primary wealth generators in our nation. The vast representation of professional and lived experience on the work team contributed to the success in identifying solutions on many levels.”

“This report is key to starting the process of removing barriers and improving access to homeownership. And, there is more work to be done. Now is the time for action. Every individual who plays a role in the homeownership process has work to do to achieve equity and justice for all,” said Dr. Karen A. Johnson, Director of the Washington State Office of Equity.

The legislature funded the Homeownership Disparities Work Group in 2021, tasking it with identifying barriers and offering recommendations to reduce the disparity in homeownership for Black, Indigenous, and people of color. Commerce is immediately implementing the recommendations that do not require legislative action. For example, to focus on and simplify

administration of funding and increase the per-household investment amounts available, Commerce consolidated management of homeownership capital, foreclosure fairness and manufactured/mobile home relocation assistance programs into a new Homeownership Unit. Access to \$25 million in funding for homeownership opportunities through a new streamlined application will open in mid-October.

Commerce will also seek \$60 million through the 2023-2025 state budget to enact more report recommendations, including seeking \$50 million for capital homeownership projects, 50% of which is to be awarded to organizations with documented homeownership disparities.

Additionally, the department is working with the Harriet Tubman Foundation for Safe Passage to develop a statewide plan to invest Community Reinvestment Account (CRA) funds to address racial, economic, and social disparities created by the historical design and enforcement of state and federal criminal laws and penalties for drug possession. Homeownership is one of the four areas in which CRA money will be invested to address these historic impacts. Learn more on the Commerce website.

They faced mass eviction from their homes Tenant protests force developer to pay \$26,500 in relocation assistance to families

Home in Tacoma for All and Tacoma Democratic Socialists of America announced an important victory for residents of Meridian Mobile Estates, who faced mass eviction from the mobile home park in Puyallup slated to close October 1st. Following protests, the owners of Timberlane Holdings, a large developer, agreed to negotiate with tenants.

The overall settlement is valued at over \$600,000, with each household receiving up to \$26,500. Residents also negotiated three additional months to stay at the park, and rejected the developers’ demand for a non-disclosure agreement.

“This is life changing for the families who live here,” tenant leader and park resident Sarai Nieto said. “Yesterday many families were facing homelessness. Today we are talking about down payments on new homes. The relief and joy that I see on my neighbor’s faces is incredible.”

Tenant leaders note that many residents are still losing a significant amount of value, even with this groundbreaking settlement, as the average home in the park is valued at \$80,000. However, mobile

homes are notoriously difficult to move and resell, and tenants say there are only a few mobile home park spaces open in all of Pierce County.


“Tenants were successful at the negotiating table yesterday because of their history of direct action and protests,” Home in Tacoma for All organizer Zev Cook said. “The laws were written to favor landlords, not tenants, and local politicians did nothing to stop this eviction. But we were able to leverage the power of organizing communities and to use the threat of further protests to achieve this result.”

Tenants and supporters demonstrated at the Puyallup City Council meeting on August 23, and the threat of a following protest on Sept. 8 forced the developers to the negotiating table following months of refusing to even talk with tenants. The protests were co-organized by Tacoma DSA members as part of the wider tenant rights organizing campaign, Home in Tacoma for All.

“This will set a precedent for future evictions and for relocation costs that developers will be expected to pay,” Cook continued. “We are ready and willing to take up those fights.”

Home in Tacoma for All is a grassroots and volunteer-led coalition that seeks sustainable and affordable housing in Tacoma and Pierce County.

More information: www.facebook.com/Tacoma4all. Tacoma Democratic Socialists of America is the local chapter of the largest socialist organization in the US, and seeks to build progressive movements for social change.



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REFLECTION

Home so far away

Eddie Dupuy

The vistas are stunning. The Olympics to the west and the Cascades to the east, blue sky reflected in waters of the Sound, houses dotting evergreen-filled hills. The air is crisp, hints of salt water mixed with musk of western hemlock, Douglas fir, red cedar. Mt. Baker and Mt. Rainier stand regally as reminders of roiling powers deep below rich farmland. Blackberries are everywhere (invaders from England) while huckleberries seek what sunlight they can in the loamy soil under the canopies of the fir-laden foothills.

This place will be our new home. What are transplanted southerners, filled with memories of moonlight and magnolias, heat and humidity, the storied, once-defeated South, going to make of life in the Pacific Northwest with its cool summers and long, gray winters? Will clipped-vowelled, slightly nasal voices welcome diphthongal languor, folks used to saying hi to passersby?

Our kids began the migration to the PNW (its coy acronym). In the summer of 2023, my wife and I will complete it. We'll be strung along the majestic Puget Sound—our oldest son, the first to land there, in West Seattle, our youngest son in Olympia, the middle child (our daughter) in Mt. Vernon, and my wife and I in Tacoma, where we purchased, while living in Abu Dhabi during the pandemic, a house just south of the city center. Perhaps the purchase signaled an effort at stability amidst the uncertainty of the time. The house will be our retirement home. The PNW our retirement place.

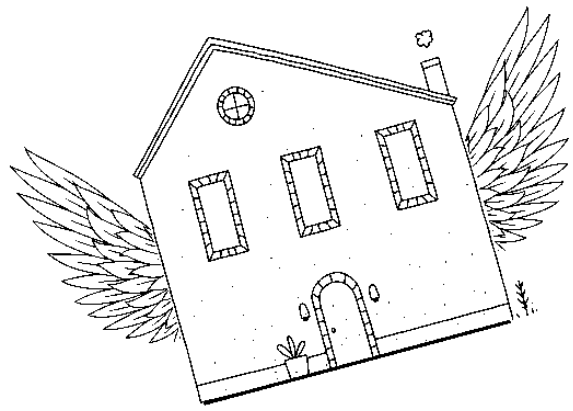
It is not a question of moving—we moved the family quite a bit during our working years, from Covington, Louisiana, to New Orleans, from there to Billings, Montana, Savannah, Georgia and then to San Antonio, Texas, where we lived six years before a four-year stint in Abu Dhabi. Now we're back in San Antonio for a year. You might consider us among the subjects of Carole King's "So Far Away." Can we, to continue with King's classic, "stay in one place anymore," make it home?

Not long ago, we returned from a two-week visit with the kids. In West Seattle, we helped our son with his two-year-old daughter while his wife took a work trip to Alaska. From there we

helped our other son and his wife settle into their home in Olympia, and then went up to Mt. Vernon where our daughter and her husband, the newest to settle west of the Cascades, had produced an Excel-spreadsheet-list of tasks for us in their new place. My hands cramped with the unaccustomed fine- and large-muscle-work.

Carole King's question intruded on me as I drilled, sanded, and painted—"doesn't anybody stay in one place anymore?" And her question behind that question—what is "home?"—haunts me like the ghosts of memory in Faulkner.

While in Abu Dhabi, we rubbed shoulders with folks who've made careers in the US Military and the State Department, people whose lives embody deracination—two or three years here,

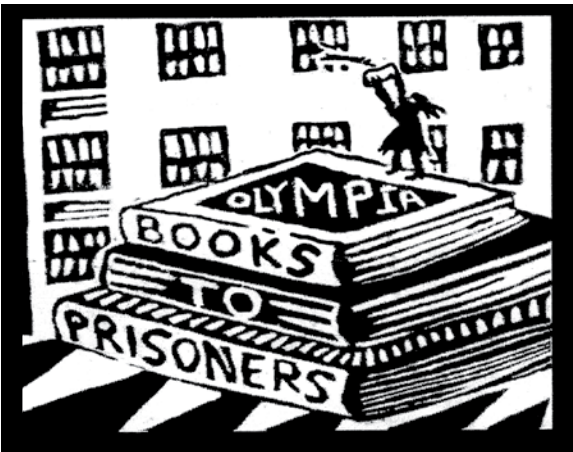


four years there, until a new posting brings a new place to call home. More often than not, when I asked them where they were from back in the States, they told me their parents, also in the military or government, had moved around so much, they had little connection to their place of birth. They had a hard time saying where home was for them.

Furthermore, Abu Dhabi is a sort of temporary place for millions of migrant workers seeking a job that will allow them to send money to their families in places as near as Pakistan or as far away as the Philippines. For them, home loomed as a magnet, drawing wistful memories. The difficult conditions under which they toiled in Abu Dhabi offered more opportunity than they could find in their home countries. Still, they wanted more than anything to return home, with all its remembered attractions.

What is home?

In San Antonio, the neighborhood we live in is about ninety percent Hispanic, made up of immigrants and the descendents of immigrants from Mexico and Central America. When I go out for morning walks, I pass by a house on whose front porch a large sign reads "Home Sweet Home."



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My wife and I returned to San Antonio from Abu Dhabi on June 22. Less than a week later, sixty-four immigrants, forty-eight of them dead, were found in and around an abandoned trailer. The lure of a new home is strong. And the numbers of people seeking new homes continues to grow—because of wars (Afghanistan, Yemen, Syria, Ukraine), because of drug-trafficking, corruption, and crime (Mexico, Central America), and because of climate change.

But today, one reads stories not only of people dying in search of home, but of folks telling Asian Americans and African Americans—people born in the US—to "go home!"

It is worth repeating what most already know, that the US is a country founded by immigrants and developed on the importation of slave-labor and the violent displacement of indigenous peoples. Here, the concept of home is, at best, fraught. Whose home is this?

When we were in Olympia with our son and his wife, we attended Shakespeare in the Park—a lively, well-paced performance of Twelfth Night by Animal Fire Theatre. The flier advertising the event identified the venue as "Squaxin Park (formerly known as Priest Point)."

The two names say much about place, displacement, and home, and to emphasize the point, the leader of the troupe took time before the play to remember and acknowledge the park's original inhabitants. In today's fractious political climate, this gesture would be considered by some an excess of "woke-ism."

But in the context of Carole King's question that had been bothering me, it struck me as a gesture of humble human connection. The story we were about to witness was taking place on land that was once the home of others. We (the audience, the actors, the original inhabitants) connected to one another at this place.

The place I will call home next year, with its luring vistas and piney odor, served as home to many before me. And it will serve as home to many after me. I am a passerby, hoping to catch your eye for the briefest of human connection. And while I am privileged to be able to move freely to new places, the home I seek is no different from the home millions of displaced refugees and immigrants seek—a place that offers human connection.

Edward (Eddie) Dupuy will be moving to Tacoma next summer, as part of a family migration. Although a native of Louisiana, he hasn't lived there since 2004.

Thurston County Food Bank

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For more information go to our website:
<https://thurstoncountyfoodbank.org/80-2/grocery-distribution/>

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An insatiable desire for warehouse land

A 2021 report says Thurston County has double the amount of industrial-zoned land needed for the next 20 years

Mary Jo Dolis

Across the US, a new economy is emerging. It transcends local markets, even stretching beyond national boundaries. You can order goods from far-off countries without leaving the office or your home. Container ships and cargo planes form a leg of the “supply chain,” but as the products get closer to their destination, trucks and trains deliver goods to logistics centers where they disgorge their loads into warehouses. Maybe you’ve seen these semi-trucks in rural landscapes, lined up by the dozens as machines in turn fill other trucks with cardboard boxes that will eventually arrive on your doorstep.

The new economy shows up in proposals to expand airports, or build new ones, as cargo planes crowd out passenger flights. It has also created a seemingly insatiable demand for more and more rural and agricultural land to be rezoned for industry and warehousing. This race for space looms over the whole country and Thurston County is no exception.

What does this mean for Thurston County?

According to its 2021 Buildable Lands Report, Thurston County already has plenty of industrially zoned land. There are many thousands of square feet of warehouse space located in parts of Lacey and Tumwater; in Olympia around Munn Lake and Mottman Industrial Park, in Yelm and south to Grand Mound. Based on the findings in the report, this is more than double the amount needed over the next 20 years—all within the Urban Growth Boundaries of

the County’s cities.

Given this projection of ample industrially zoned land, what happens when investors submit applications to build more and bigger warehouses and “logistics centers” on land not zoned for those uses? These would convert much of rural Thurston County from agricultural land to industrial land if County Commissioners agreed to change zoning to accommodate the applicants.



Recently, proposals by corporations such as Panattoni, NorthPoint, and UpCastle have encountered resistance from nearby communities and created a dilemma for County Commissioners – accede to demands for rezone, or heed community concerns about impacts on climate, the environment, infrastructure and the future of agriculture.

Commissioners have responded by contracting for a new study to assess whether an adequate supply of industrial land exists in “urban growth areas” and rural Thurston County – apparently outside the Urban Growth Boundary.

The market takes precedence

The provisions of the RFP make it likely that the study will find a need to rezone additional land to support industrial and warehouse uses (see sidebar). Any requirement to investigate and consider community integrity and social needs is missing. For example, the RFP instructs the consultant to “include the criteria industrial developers look for when considering a project/site.” There is no reference

to criteria residents or local communities look for when evaluating developments.

The Commissioners will not be using the findings about how much industrially zoned land is available to inform deliberations about how to proceed – where or even whether to consider rezones; what kind of regulations to alter and to what end; etc. Instead, they have given the consultant the task of identifying specific areas to be rezoned, along with providing changes that should be made to regulations; and proposing infrastructure investments. In short to define the policy.

Depending on the specifics provided by the consultant, there could be a massive transformation of community life in Thurston County. Those specifics will have come as a result of the consultant’s deliberations based on “professional judgment” and “expertise.” There will be no opportunity for actual deliberation by the Commissioners, members of the County Planning Commission or the public whose lives will be altered.

Tellingly, the consultant is required to provide a technical expert to appear with the findings for up to two public meetings with Commissioners. The Commissioners will not be able to explain the report to the public. The public will not be able to have confidence that anything they say will make a difference.

Mary Jo Dolis is an interested observer of local government. She lives in Olympia.

Public policy-making without the public

“The assessment should consider existing industrial lands and uses, regulatory constraints, environmental constraints, infrastructure constraints and economic trends for future industrial demand. ... The study will address three growth scenarios over the next 20 years. Each scenario will be accompanied by recommended changes to policies and regulatory requirements.” [from the Thurston County RFP for Assessment of Industrial Lands]

Cooper Crest: A clear cut case for community rights

Esther Kronenberg

Instead of seeing a legacy forest while driving north on Cooper Point Road in Olympia, you now see a devastated clearcut landscape and a large sign for OlyEcosystems, the new owner. They have already begun stabilization and restoration of the property with two community work parties that began planting trees in November. Members of the community have stepped in to restore this area critical for the Green Cove Watershed, its endangered salmon and mudminnow, and the City’s own drinking water supply.

Regulations that preclude public action

But the community never had a chance to prevent the destruction in the first place. Any attempt by the City, County and residents to interfere with logging is doomed by the procedures for obtaining a logging permit from the Department of Natural Resources (DNR), and by the process for appealing to the Pollution Control Hearings Board (PCHB)—no matter what the cost to the community and the ecosystem.

For Cooper Crest, appellants submitted proof that the Forest Practice Application for the logging permit contained falsehoods,



Volunteers at the OlyEcosystems work party at Cooper Crest. Photo from OlyEcosystems Facebook page

and showed that DNR procedures for deleting streams from official maps had not been followed. Yet the appeal to the PCHB was summarily dismissed in September because the area was already cut. The PCHB’s refusal even to consider the evidence serves to encourage wrongdoing.

It matters who makes the rules

The 1974 Forest Practices Act (Act, FPA) states as part of its intent that: “... a viable forest products industry is of prime importance to the state’s economy” including environmental protection as “coincident with maintenance of a viable forest products industry.”

The Act established the Forest Practices Board to make rules governing timber harvests in 12 million acres of state-owned and private forestlands. The rules are implemented and enforced by DNR.

The Board has thirteen members, including designees from DNR, the Department of Commerce, Agriculture, Ecology, Fish and Wildlife, and eight people appointed by the Governor. These must include a County official and three representatives from the timber industry. The current Board has a fourth member from Weyerhaeuser. The Board of Natural Resources, which sets policies that guide how DNR manages state lands and resources, is also dominated by the beneficiaries of timber harvests.

The timber industry is woven in

It appears clear from the make-up of these boards that timber industry interests guided the development of the timber harvest rules. This makes it almost impossible for communities to challenge DNR policies.

The Pollution Control Hearings Board also has a conflict of interest that precluded an impartial hearing. The Attorney General’s office is obligated to defend state agencies, including DNR, even if DNR actions threaten ecosystems and people in the area, as happened at Cooper Crest. In the Cooper Crest appeal, the presiding judge of the

► Cooper Crest, continued on page 13

Redevelopment of the City of Olympia’s Triangle Subarea

A Westside Perspective

We, the undersigned, are residents of the Westside of Olympia. We intend to be part of the “robust analysis and public engagement” that Mayor Selby indicated will be part of the City of Olympia's Subarea planning effort. The City is scheduled to begin this effort in March, 2022.

We appreciate the efforts of Amy Buckler, the City's Strategic Project Manager, to clarify the intent of the \$250,000 grant from Commerce in support of this planning effort and to understand the shape of the Triangle subarea itself.

We agree that the northern boundary of the Subarea needs to be clarified. We also need to understand why parcels on the eastside of Division between Garfield and 4th Avenues were included in the Subarea's boundary.

We also requesting to review a draft of the RFP that the City intends to use to recruit a consultant for this planning effort and, to the extent possible, be part of the selection process. We wish to ensure that the term “blighted” is not used to describe portions of our Westside neighborhood. This term has been inappropriately used by previous City consultants. We want to ensure the selection of a consultant who understands and respects the Westside of Olympia.

Preparation for Engagement

Since November, 2021, we have taken several steps to prepare ourselves for this task of envisioning what a beneficial redevelopment could look like.

We developed a “Land Ownership Map” of the Triangle Area and met to share this with the leadership of the three Westside neighborhood associations (SWONA, NWONA & Burbank/ Elliot Association).

We informed the un-represented homeowners on Bush and Jackson Avenues and many of the local businesses on Division and Harrison about the City's proposed Subarea planning.

We have sent City-generated information about this proposed planning effort to well over 200 households on the Westside.

We have discussed this planning effort with Westside neighbors in three separate Zoom discussions in January, 2022.

Our Preliminary Principles and Vision

A Public Orientation. Triangle Redevelopment must prioritize public space and community-oriented activity.

The current Triangle area south of Harrison is a private land mass of impervious parking lots dominated by big box stores owned by five out of state companies: Capital Mall Land, Capital Mall Company, WIG Properties, Cafaro NW Partnership and MGP Properties.

Whether through the use of eminent domain, easements or mandatory regulations, publicly owned land such as pocket parks, bike paths, pedestrian pathways, must be accessible to all residents.

The plan must preserve Sunrise Park, a public park off of Bush Avenue NW.

Expand the use of building space for services such as the existing Public Health (vaccination) Clinic and Thurston Regional Library. In addition, create more community services such as a community bike repair shop.

The Westside is in need of a Westside Community Center. One building on the periphery of the Triangle, the permanently closed 24 Hour Fitness Center, should be purchased by the City for a Westside Community Center. It should partner with SPSCC and Evergreen to create art and environmental learning opportunities for neighborhood residents. It could also be the site for community acupuncture, yoga and other health related services.

Housing.

Existing housing must be preserved and future housing must be affordable at below market rates.

There are approximately 60 single family homes on Bush and Jackson Avenues NW and three homes on 4th avenue SW. Preserving this housing would be in line with one of the goals of the subarea plan to “reduce pressure on single family housing.”

The low-income housing complex, Evergreen Villages, must remain intact. Portions of this complex are on the northern border of the Triangle Subarea.

Future housing must be affordable to those people with incomes at 40% or less of the Area Median Income currently \$90,200. This means a maximum annual income of \$43,080 and a rent of \$900 or less.

The Thurston Housing Land Trust, the Housing Authority of Thurston County and the Low Income Housing Institute must be given top priority for any new housing in the Triangle and included in the planning process.

This is especially the case if there is new housing at the sites identified as “redevelopment sites” in the Regional Planning Council's Buildable Lands Report. These sites are currently owned by Cafaro NW Properties and WIG Properties and are between Kenyon and Cooper Point Rd south of Harrison.

The City should gift the two lots it owns on 4th Avenue to one of the above listed low income housing organizations to meet our current housing needs.

It may be possible to re-purpose office buildings for neighborhood housing. If the Department of Licensing no longer needs these buildings for office space, it may be possible to re-purpose the two buildings on 4th and Black Lake Boulevard for neighborhood housing.

There is no reason to utilize eight year property tax exemptions to meet housing needs. These exemptions only benefit the building owner, as documented by the JLARC report.

Climate Crisis Recognition.

Re-development must recognize that global warming is caused by the burning of fossil fuels. Redevelopment must be guided by climate resilience.

The preservation and planting of trees must be a part of redevelopment. The stand of trees just west of Kenyon must be preserved. It is one of the few stands of trees in the Triangle south of Harrison.

Green design elements like living roofs, all electric buildings, solar energy, rain water containment, public parks, playgrounds and community gardens and food hub need to be integrated into planning and development.

Electric vehicle charging stations need to be constructed in the Triangle.

Much of the estimated 60% to 70% of the impervious parking lots need to be repurposed and replaced with stacked parking facilities to reduce the wasteful use of land for often vacant parking space.

Transportation.

Prioritize travel by public bus, public bike lanes and walkability. Safe and convenient walkability requires a dense network of pedestrian walkways and social trails.

Connect the Grass Lake pedestrian trail to the Westside neighborhoods.

Connect the east and west borders of the Triangle to the SW neighborhood between 9th and 4th avenues and to Yauger Park over Cooper Point Rd via pedestrian bridges.

Create spaces for short term electric car and bike rentals and covered bike parking throughout the Triangle.

Establish an Intercity Transit shuttle service from the Triangle area to Sea-Tac and the Amtrak station on Yelm Highway.

Preservation and expansion of locally owned small businesses.

The uptown Westside has a vibrant core of small, locally owned businesses, many of which have been around for decades. There are viable and community oriented small businesses both outside and inside the Triangle boundary. Theses businesses and services are directly connected to the livability of the Westside and its neighborhood. We want to preserve all of them.

Outside of the Triangle boundary there are small businesses like the Hash House, Westside

Tavern, Westside Hair and Nail Salon and Tony's convenience store, Eagan's, Olympia Frame-makers and many others.

Inside the Triangle Boundary near the corner of Harrison and Division alone, there are small businesses like Terry's Automotive and Alignment, the food and service businesses in the Westside Mini Mall and the Westgate Center building, as well as California Taco truck. On the north side of Harrison, we have Vic's Pizza on Division and the Grocery Outlet in the Westside Mall, the Olympia Furniture Company, the Mediterranean Breeze Turkish Restaurant and many others.

We also support the presence and expansion of locally-owned businesses inside the existing Capital Mall area south of Harrison.

Conclusion

We look forward to the beginning of the City's planning and receiving a draft of the Consultant RFP.

Please put our names and emails on the official “parties of record” list and keep us informed of your progress.

If you have any initial responses to this statement, please address it and all future City correspondence to all of our below-listed email addresses.

Sincerely (SIGNED),

Olivia Archibald	Robin Healy	Thomas Parnell
Karma Arslanian	Ann Heitkemper	Ann Margaret Phelps
Jennifer Balas	Teresa Herinckx	Jamie Phelps
Elizabeth Baldo, RN	Ryan Hollander	Talauna Reed
Judy Bardin	Jill Ivie	Janis Rich
Salima Benkhalti	James Jackson	Lisa Riener
Scott Bishop	Shareem Jackson	Rhys Roth
Alicia Blanch	Karen Janowitz	Linnea Rothenmaier
Peter Bohmer	Sayad Kahn	Jessica Ryan
Filemon Bohmer Tapia	Steven Kant	Dan Ryan
Keith Briscoe	Mary Kasimor	Peter Sanderson
Chelsea Buchanan	Jon Kovarik	Cynthia Sanderson
Terrilyn Burke	Esther Kronenberg	Kendra Sawyer
Kathleen Byrd	Valerie Krull	Julie Slone
Laura Cannon	Caroline Lacey	Shelby Smith
Angela and John Carlson	Thea LaCross	Dick Stamey
Elizabeth Carr	Tim Leadingham	Mike Stark
Savvina Chowdhury	Dan Leahy	Nancy Sullivan
Chris Ciancetta	Helen Lee	George Sullivan
Faith Coldren	Carri Leroy	Gail Suydam
Brian Combs	Janine Lindsey	Rebecca Swingle
Bruce Coulter	Syd Locke	Swingle
Nancy Curtis	Karen Lohmann	Mick Synodis
Susan Davenport	Jean MacGregor	Beverly Taylor
Melissa Davis	Michael Maile	Krag Unsoeld
Bob Delastrada	Jean Mandeborg	Derek Valley
Eric Devlin	Griff Masters	Ann Vandeman
Rain Devlin	Steve McGrain	Robert Vanderpool
Jean Eberhardt	Barbara McLean	Michael Vavrus
Jon Epstein	Riley Moody	Cathy Visser
Kate Fehsenfeld	Diana Moore	Bethany Weidner
Caleb Fitts	Drew Moore	Kitty Weisman
Gabriel Garceau	Larry Mosqueda	Ted & Jennifer Whitesell
Zaragoza	Julie Mullikin	Gary Wiles & Jan Sharkey
Alyssa Giannini	Delores Kelso	Carol Williams
Rosemary Gilman	Nelson	Elizabeth Williamson
Jim & Jennifer Grant	John Newman	Kyle Witmer
Joel Greene	Rosalinda Noriega	Daniel Wolff
Kevin Hansen	Meryon Nudelman	Leslie Wolff
Joan Harlow	Tyler Nugent	Nancy Young
Kathy Harrigan	Judy Olmstead	Barbara Young
Dave Harris	Jennifer Olson	Annie Youngblood
Jack Havens	Aristides & Jane Pappidas	Bill Zachmann
		Anthony Zaragoza

Will Thurston’s latest climate mitigation plan make the difference?

Thad Curtz

The Thurston Climate Mitigation Plan: Framework for Climate Mitigation Action for Thurston County and the Cities of Lacey, Olympia and Tumwater was finished in December 2020 (Plan, 2020 Plan, TCMP). It starts out by listing several years of previous city and county resolutions, strategies, and plans – 1990, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2013, and 2018 – all concerned with slowing global warming.

Unfortunately, we spent a lot of time and energy planning in order to get to pretty much the same list of actions other West Coast cities had put into climate plans before we started. We could have looked at those and then put the time, energy and money we have spent on several intensive rounds of planning since 2011 into doing those things.

The new plan is based on actual inventories of emissions produced in Thurston County and actual targets – a 45% reduction from 2015 levels of these emissions by 2030, and an 85% reduction by 2050. It focuses on what local governments can do, relying on consultants' estimates of how much each of 71 identified strategies and actions would contribute to reaching the targets. It's been adopted by Thurston County, Lacey, Olympia and Tumwater. All except Lacey have declared climate emergencies.

Despite improvements, we’re not on track to meet targets

Our most recent report, for 2021, shows a 4% decrease in our inventoried emissions since 2015, and an impressive 18% decrease in per capita emissions. (However, in 2019, total emissions were up 15% from 2015, and per capita emissions were up 6.5%. Some of the significant decreases in the last two years were due to changes during the Covid pandemic. It isn't clear if they will last.) We still need another 41% reduction from 2015 to reach our 2030 target. The longer we wait to make the changes we need, the more rushed and difficult and expensive the process will be.

The inventory also doesn't count everything

It's a rough approximation, at best. It only covers about half our emissions, the ones produced inside the county. It doesn't count emissions in other places associated with

in the Plan will only get us to the targets if we implement every one of them “aggressively.”

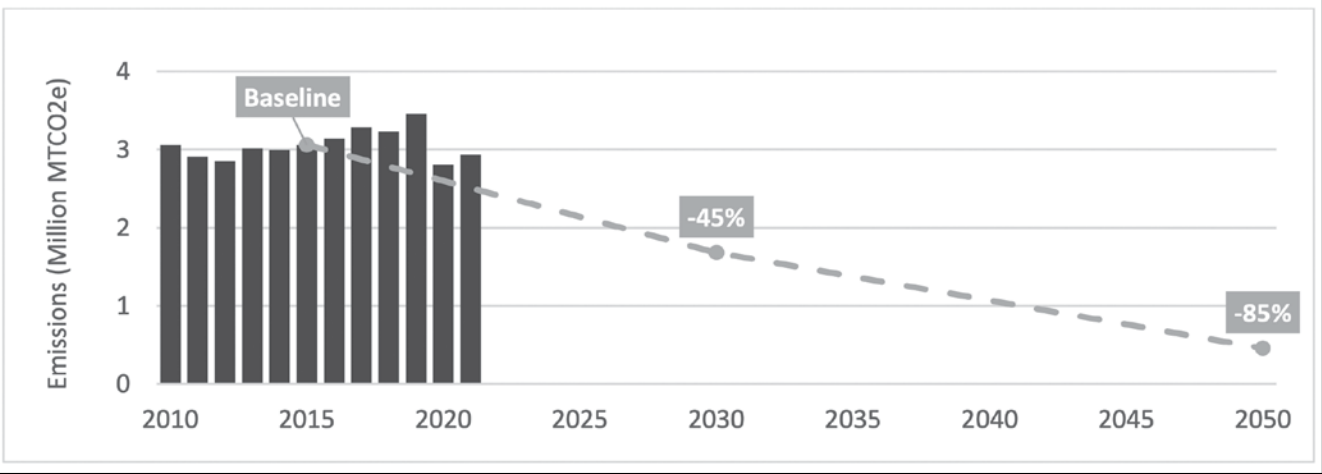
“These are our estimates of strategy metric reductions associated with aggressive deployment of all 71 TCMP Assessed Actions. ... As-

The consultants’ report also says repeatedly that the local actions in the Plan will only get us to the targets if we implement every one of them “aggressively.”

providing the food we eat, the stuff we buy, or most services like health care or the Internet. (These are also the ones it's hard for local politicians to change; reducing them mostly depends on our personal choices.)

sessed Actions approaches to transportation are generally aggressive... vehicle use is famously inelastic, so our 2050 estimate reflects very aggressive policymaking... Target achievement requires not just aggressive GHG reduction, but also aggressive sequestration.”

Figure 1: Total Emissions and Thurston Climate Mitigation Plan Emission Reduction Targets



It does include the emissions from generating electricity outside the county and transmitting it here, as well those from producing the fossil fuels we burn locally. However, if I drive to Seattle or LA and back, it only counts the miles from my house to the county line.

The Plan includes estimates for reductions expected from the State and Federal programs in place in 2020, but the only basis it provides for these is the “professional judgment” of the consultants who did the analysis for it.

What it would take to achieve the targets

The consultants' report also says repeatedly that the local actions

Reductions associated with State and Federal programs are supposed to get us 74% of the way to the targets. However, the consultants judged that 69 of the 71 local actions they evaluated would only get us 57% of the additional reductions the Plan says we need to meet the targets.

They filled the gap (the additional 38% of what we need from local actions) with estimated reductions from carbon sequestration. Those would require planting 37,000 acres of new trees in the county, and converting about 30% of its agricultural land from conventional to regenerative agriculture.

(The estimated reductions from changing agriculture are less than 1% of those from new trees, and I don't think anyone has any idea about how we might plant 37,000 acres of trees.) (1)

Fortunately, the Legislature has taken several steps aimed at reducing emissions since the Plan was adopted. They established a cap and invest program, passed a clean fuels bill, and required performance standards for existing buildings. These could take us a lot of the way toward filling the gap now assigned to “sequestration.”

The pace of emissions reduction matters

Framing a climate plan in terms of getting or not getting to a particular level of emissions by a particular year is simple, but somewhat misleading. It suggests that getting to a certain point in 2030 or 2050 is all that matters. In fact, any reductions we make will reduce our chances of ending up with increasingly unmanageable problems to some extent.

Our cumulative emissions are what matters as far as global warming is concerned. Reaching the targets is a shorthand way of talking about that, but it assumes that getting to the targets will involve steady reductions in emissions along the way, so our cumulative emissions will drop in the process.

If we did nothing to reduce our annual emissions between now and 2049, and then magically reduced them by 85% the next year, we'd reach the target, but we'd have put almost as many tons of greenhouse

gases into the atmosphere as if we did nothing. Doing something soon produces a bigger reduction in cumulative emissions, and a bigger contribution to slowing global warming, than doing the same thing later.

How much our elected officials and the rest of us are actually willing to do this time around remains to be seen.

Thad Curtz has been volunteering for local climate groups since retiring from the Evergreen faculty. His website about resources for acting on our climate mitigation plan is at www.climatetoolbox.info.

(1) According to the consultants' report, “Sequestration is not technically a strategy metric in the Scenario Analysis Tool, but the user dashboard allows input of net sequestration estimates for 2030 and 2050, respectively. We are offering values of 153,000 tCO2e and 380,000 tCO2e for the two years, based on afforestation of 8% of Thurston County's land area (about 37,000 acres) and conversion of about 30% of Thurston County's agricultural land from conventional to regenerative agriculture.” p. 290

—Cascadia Consulting Group, *Scenario Analysis Report*, Thurston Climate Mitigation Plan; data in this section is generally from pages 280-290. trpc.org/1026/Final-Plan

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(mostly Fiction)

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Where to site wireless facilities in Thurston County

Commissioners send pro-industry 5G code for public comment without addressing citizen stakeholder claims

Lori Lively

When Thurston County's Board of County Commissioners created a stakeholder committee to provide additional input on zoning changes to rural wireless facilities, hopes were high among the private citizens in the group that the safest and most conservative decisions would be made to protect public health and property values.

After their recommendations were either ignored or otherwise overruled at the BoCC meeting on the topic in October, citizen participants now wonder why measures they advocated were not addressed. Were they too inconvenient, too costly, or too likely to result in litigation?

In addition to citizen members, the committee is composed of two planning commissioners, an attorney for Verizon Wireless, a lobbyist for AT&T, and two wireless consultants, both attorneys from the same firm retained by the county.

The citizen stakeholders made over 40 recommendations, including specific suggestions for height restrictions on 5G towers, buffer zones around residential properties, noise limits and limits to groupings of towers that increase signal strength. Of these, 22 were presented to the planning board as high-priority items. Three recommendations were made by industry representatives on the committee. All the recommendations, stakeholders say, fall within federal law and FCC guidelines, which are open to interpretation by regional governing bodies.

Planning board members, who had been tasked with studying the pro-

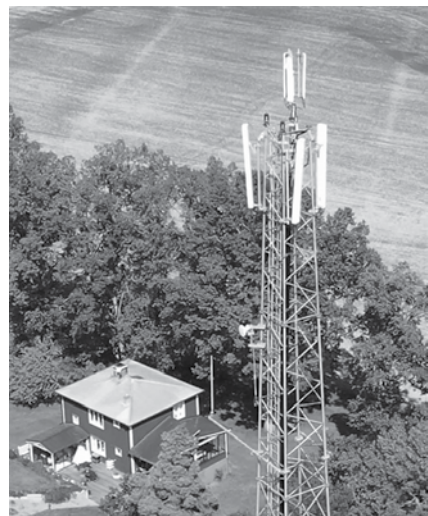
posed zoning changes and making recommendations to the County Commissioners (BoCC), requested additional information from staff on the 22 items. They were told by staff that the bulk of the recommendations would require consideration by the BoCC, not the planning board.

The Planning Commission could include an advisory in their recommendations to the BoCC, but were told they would not be able to discuss proposals to the draft wireless code related to the bulk of citizen recommendations. Specifically, anything that resulted in increased staff time, use of the right-of-way for wireless facilities—or anything requiring legal consideration—would not be up for discussion by the Planning Commission. Suggestions by several Thurston County Planning Commissioners were also ignored, prompting them to submit a Minority Report outlining their disagreements with the majority response.

Concerns of the citizen stakeholder members and several planning commissioners include:

- Lack of setbacks from a home (wireless facilities can be as close as 10' to residential dwellings)
 - Lack of notice (homeowners usually receive no notice except for a sign at the site three days before installation, even if it's in the front yard of their dwelling)
 - No required safety testing for compliance with FCC radiation limits
 - No ability to comment on the majority of facility installations
- The wireless facilities guidelines

the staff and hired consultants prefer to follow, the majority of which the planning commissioners ultimately supported, are based on a largely pro-industry interpretation of FCC rules which are themselves interpretations of federal law. There is wide disagreement among legal professionals on both



the interpretation of FCC rules and which of those rules actually comply with federal law. Stakeholders say the county staff's unwillingness to adequately consider or convey their proposals is due to its reliance on advice from the group's wireless industry representatives.

As one citizen stakeholder commented, "Many of the things the staff doesn't want to include have no conflict whatsoever with FCC rules or federal law, they just mean a bit more work or process change for staff, like allowing public comment on all facility installations, requiring applicants to give notice to nearby residents, or doing radiation testing."

Cooper Crest

from page 10

three-member panel served as DNR's representative in the Attorney General's office for more than 26 years. In addition, the PCHB's own rules for conducting administrative appeals do not conform to the rules of the Superior Court. These rules allowed the Board to dismiss the appeal before any hearing was held.

Legislation passed in 2020, HB2528, made logging part of the State's climate mitigation strategy, covering all contributing aspects—landowners, pulp and paper mills, harvest and transportation infrastructure. Legislators allowed timber industry lobbyists to give testimony to legislators, while they shut out respected climate scientists who have consistently demonstrated that protecting both old growth and mature forests is the most effective strategy for sequestering carbon.

The courts can sometimes help

The preemptive nature of laws like HB2528 are typical of strategies used by powerful existing interest groups to restrict the power of local communities. Nonetheless, there are some avenues to petition the

government for redress of grievances, a basic Constitutional right.

Sometimes the Courts can provide relief. The Center for Sustainable Economy just won a case against DNR, stopping two planned timber

There are other options. In the case of Cooper Crest, RCW 64.12.030 allows the City to sue the logger for treble damages for timber trespass on the one acre of adjoining City property that was

...decisions are being made by people outside the community whose commercial interests run counter to the wishes of the public who will be most impacted.

harvests in Jefferson County. DNR had failed to include a SEPA analysis of the climate impacts of clearcutting, which would leave land hotter, drier and more susceptible to fires.

Northwest Environmental Advocates won a case against the Department of Ecology and the EPA for failing to enforce Clean Water Act requirements to protect aquatic life from toxics.

Remedies for Olympia and beyond

We could spend years and thousands of dollars in the courts to prove that Washington's forest practices are inadequate to protect water quality, fragile species and human health as required by federal law.

clearcut. Looking ahead, people can lobby their state legislators to reform the Forest Practices Act so that local critical area and tree removal ordinances prevail. We can complain to federal authorities. We can network with other groups challenging DNR policies. A new group, Cooper Crest Forest Defenders, will be pursuing as many of these paths as possible.

Power resides with the people

But there is a more fundamental principle at stake: democracy itself. Thurston County has dozens of single issue problems. There's homelessness, developments at West Bay Woods, Toxic Waste Estates at the Sundberg site on Cooper Point Road—plus Capitol Mall/Triangle planning, the Olympia airport, warehouse expansions, the Port of Olympia's budget, and more.

At the October meeting, Tye Menser, vice chair of the BoCC, referenced recent code changes implemented in Langley, Washington, as proof that more equitable approaches to balancing public and private agendas are possible. That code was written by one of the country's top wireless attorneys, Andrew Campanelli, who the citizens on the stakeholder group also consulted in drafting their recommendations.

Privately, citizen stakeholders are wondering whether the staff's actions have more to do with avoiding a lawsuit by powerful wireless companies who might challenge their decisions and result in costly legal fees, than doing what is right for the community or technically required.

"Lawsuits from the industry can only result in an order of compliance, no fines or other penalties are allowed. However, lawsuits from community members could result in significant fines. The county's primary responsibility is the protection of its citizens, not the avoidance of nuisance lawsuits from industry," a member told WIP. After the October wireless work session, citizen stakeholder members met with Menser to elaborate on their concerns.

At a subsequent BOCC work session on November 9, the staff presented additional information regarding the wireless code and claimed the Langley code was largely inconsistent with federal law. Menser asked several questions about the board's latitude within federal law, which the staff was largely unable to answer. Ultimately, two of the three Commissioners voted to move ahead with a public hearing, with Commissioner Menser abstaining. A public hearing date will be set at a later meeting.

To view the recommendation from the citizens on the wireless stakeholder committee as well as the draft code, go to: <https://www.thurstonsensiblewireless.com/>

In each case with profound implications for the community, decisions are being made by people outside the community whose commercial interests run counter to the wishes of the public who will be most impacted.

The Community Rights movement envisions an electorate united by the fundamental Constitutional principle that power resides with the people. Every community, including the natural ecosystems of which they are a part, has the right to defend and enforce the collective rights of the community, its members and its environment.

Reframing issues as an absence of democracy provides an opportunity to educate our neighbors. When we question the legitimacy of those making decisions for our community we validate the need to localize decision making for our common well-being.

Esther Kronenberg studies and reports on the interaction between public agencies responsible for water quality and development decisions in West Olympia.

BOOK REVIEW

The gerrymandered world of US democracy

Emily Lardner

One of the pleasures of reading detective novels is getting to know the setting. Sara Paretsky’s detective series, which features V.I. Warshawski, exposes new sides of Chicago. The same is true with Cara Black’s series, featuring Aimee Leduc, which is set in Paris. Writers like Paretsky and Black blend something close to investigative journalism with first rate sleuthing, resulting in consistently terrific reads.

David Pepper, former elected official and chair of the Ohio Democratic Party, is not quite as skilled a fiction writer as Paretsky or Black. But he is good, and his topics are timely. The protagonist for Pepper’s political thrillers is investigative reporter Jack Sharpe. In *The Voter File*, for example, Sharpe discovers that the “voter files”—the files kept by both political parties on all voters—have been tampered with in order to throw local elections.

Pepper’s non-fiction book, *Laboratories of Autocracy: A Wake-up Call from Behind the Lines*, is first rate. It reads more easily than his novels, and the plot, as it were, is much more unsettling. Pepper’s well documented argument is that as a result of a long-term and very strategic campaign at the state level, a number of states currently function as autocratic democracies rather than as representative democracies. In his book, Pepper explains how “minority rule” has come to be the norm, rather than the exception, in states across the U.S. Reading these books helped me get to know the setting of our gerrymandered states.

Minority rule

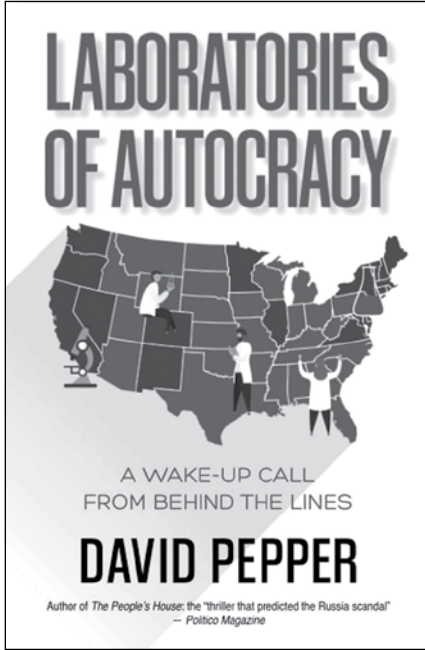
Pepper explains “minority rule” as

a condition where voters in a state show a clear preference for one party in terms of total vote count, yet that party does not win the majority of seats in a statewide election. In Michigan, for example, in 2018, voters voted for Democratic state house candidates by 52% vs 47% for Republican candidates. Yet the Democrats lost seats through redistricting, which resulted in 58 legislative districts favoring Republicans and 52 favoring Democrats. In Pennsylvania, voters chose Democrats over Republicans 55%-44%, yet the legislative district breakdown favored Republicans in 109 districts vs 93 favoring Democrats. In Ohio, voters voted for Republicans 50.5%-49.5%, but redistricting translated that into a 61-38 legislative district Republican-favoring supermajority.

Even in states where majorities of voters favored Democrats, redistricted maps organized those votes in ways that created Republican majorities. One post-2019 study found that almost 60 million Americans live in ‘minority’ rule states. Pepper argues that as a result of extreme gerrymandering, an entire generation of statehouse majorities have never had to win a general election on anything like an even playing field. In this gerrymandered world, there is a strong incentive to please the powers that led to successful gerrymandered districts. There’s little incentive to work across party lines, and very little accountability for serving the general public. Without real elections, there’s no check on the poor performance of those in power.

In an episode of *This American Life* called “Mapmaker, Mapmaker, Make Me a Map,” Ira Glass tells a related story about state poli-

tics. As he notes, “in 2015, voters in Ohio approved a Republican constitutional amendment to end gerrymandering in the state—one of the first of its kind. And then Ohio Republicans drew electoral maps that violated their own constitutional amendment, and those are the ones they’re using in this year’s elections.” The episode reinforces Pepper’s alarm call. Ohio Republicans ultimately refused to follow the directive of the Ohio Supreme Court to create a voting map that fairly represents the electorate. Instead, voting in 2022 is based on a redistricting map that gives Republicans a clear edge. Only seventeen districts in Ohio are “toss-ups” where either a Republican or a Democrat could be elected. All of those seats are currently held by Democrats.



The redistricting process

In theory, the redistricting process is supposed to, as the Pennsylvania General Assembly puts it, create “representative districts, which shall be composed of compact and contiguous territory as nearly equal in population as practicable.” In practice, all too frequently, those tasked with drawing new legislative maps use information about voter preferences, race, and age to maintain their political party’s advantage in elections. Just a week ahead of the November 2022 election, the Associated Press reported that “the majority of House districts aren’t competitive, thanks to a redistricting process that allows state legislatures to draw their own congressional lines if they decide to. Many legislatures draw lines to give advantages to one party or another.”

Prior to reading Pepper’s books, I confess to not paying attention to how my choices as a voter are determined. I recognize the near total domination of a two party system, which stands in contrast to the multi-party democracies around the globe. But I never wondered who determined that I would vote State District 27, or Congressional District 9. Turns out, I’m in good company.

In thirty three states, legislators draw the boundaries for the legislative districts. Seventeen states, including WA State, have a redistricting commission which may be made up of any mix of voters, representatives from both parties, and legislators. Theoretically, redistricting efforts are not supposed to provide an advantage to either political party. And they are supposed to make proportional representation possible for all races, rather than continuing the tradition of privileging white voters.

However, along with other political watchdog organizations, Project

FiveThirtyEight reports that,

“there are two other important takeaways from the 2021-22 redistricting cycle.

First, the number of swing seats will continue to decline; the new maps have six fewer highly competitive districts than the old ones.

And second, people of color will remain underrepresented in Congress.”

Weaponizing statehouses

Gerrymandered state legislatures generate autocracy, rather than democracy. One of the most compelling sections in *Laboratories of Autocracy* is Pepper’s discussion of the American Legislative Exchange Commission, aka ALEC. As many readers know, ALEC emerged in the 1970s to shape conservative battles at the state level, first by opposing abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment, and by focusing on business and regulatory matters.

Pepper describes ALEC’s process for ranking states based on their “economic” outlook: lower taxes are good, caps on public spending are good, laws limiting collective bargaining are good; income taxes are bad, large numbers of public sector workers are bad (evidence that privatization has not made sufficient inroads), a minimum wage above the federal threshold is bad. He characterizes ALEC’s process for generating model legislation as a “bill mill”—similar in character to a puppy mill, focused on short-term profits at the expense of everyone else.

I was equally nauseated and appreciative of Pepper’s blow-by-blow description of how ALEC operates. Legislators pay minimal dues to participate in ALEC; instead they are given corporate scholarships to attend high roller events in attractive destinations, where “experts” help them draft model legislation in line with ALEC’s principles. In the midst of this exposé on what in any other country would be called corruption, Pepper does an ironic riff on the classic Mastercard commercial: “Membership in ALEC? \$20,000. Being a private legislator? Priceless!”


A glimmer of hope

In spite of the predictions of a “red tide” sweeping into Congress with the midterms, that didn’t happen. Young people voted in record numbers. Turn out for young voters was around 20% in previous midterms; in this election, in battleground states, turnout was up to around 31%. Election deniers lost races for key state offices in every closely contested state.

The episode on *This American Life* about gerrymandering in Ohio and the refusal of the Republican legislature to follow the guidance of the Ohio State Supreme Court, ended with a reflection by Jen Miller of the League of Women Voters, the organization that sued the state three times over the antidemocratic maps. “The lesson is that politicians are going to be politicians, and we have to take them out of the equation completely... we’re going to have to have another ballot initiative. It’s going to be hard. It’s going to be expensive. It’s going to take a long time. But if you look around the states and see which places redistricting went well, they were independent, balanced commissions.”

Emily Lardner is a member of the WIP publishing committee.

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THE SPLINTER IN THE EYE

Chile rejects a new constitution Black eye for the left

Enrique Quintero

The monsters of transitional times

The most dangerous times on an airplane are take-off and landing. These are transitional times between two conditions that are not clearly defined. In the first case, the mass of the plane is yet to be airborne, and in the second case, a mass that is elevated in the atmosphere needs to come down.

Statistically, these two times are more dangerous than any other part of the flight because in both instances, according to a Boeing research report, pilots have less time to react to problems and “they are on or close to the ground and moving quickly.”

Similarly, in human societies, transitional times are both critical and precarious. Social contradictions become more acute, and political reality becomes more hazardous and more difficult to read. Because a clear resolution has not yet come into being, there is always the possibility that something may go wrong. In the words of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci: “*The old world is dying, and the new world struggles to be born: now is the time of monsters.*”

In modern times, perhaps no other country has experienced the tension between the old and the new, and the monsters created by these social transitions, as Chile. Contrast the victory in 1970 of democratically elected socialist Marxist Salvador Allende with the 16-year regime of fascism and neo-liberalism under Pinochet that began in 1973.

Pinochet's regime ended by Referendum in 1988 but Chile's political life was shaped by a constitution that maintained the political and economic framework developed during the Pinochet regime. This situation ultimately led to huge popular protests in 2019-20 against the cost of living, inequality, and privatization of the national economy.

In 2021, leftist candidate 35-year old Gabriel Boric was elected president by an overwhelming 61% of the voters. Then, in 2022, to the surprise of many, 67% of voters rejected a new constitution meant to bring radical change and final, formal end to the Pinochet era.

The dangers of transitional times

How can we explain this reversal in public opinion? Following Gramsci, we could rightly say that the old Chile is dying but the new Chile still struggles to be born. This transitional process has made possible the “revival of Pinochet” and other monsters, as noted by the new Colombian president Gustavo Petro. Without any doubt, the rejection of the New Constitution represents a significant defeat for the Chilean left, and for progressive people and Marxists around the world.

Within this context, it is worth remembering that a month before the referendum a group of over two-hundred world leaders and well-known figures, among them Noam Chomsky and Jeremy Corbyn, former leader of the Labour Party and current member of the British Parliament, wrote an open letter to the Chilean people asking them to

approve the New Constitution.

According to them, the new charter outlined the path needed to address the crises affecting most societies around the world, e.g. protecting the rights of nature, reducing social inequity, supporting gender equity, and providing access to abortion. The New Constitution stipulated the right to public and universal health, free education at all levels, better retirement plans, and access to housing and water. It also protects the rights of indigenous peoples and, given their presence, recognizes the multi-national character of the state.

The monsters of capitalist reason

The motto on the current Chilean coat of arms, established in 1920, reads ominously: “By Reason or By Force.” It is well known that in any given society, generally those who have the monopoly of force end up imposing their reason. Chile is no exception. Throughout its history as a nation, beginning in the early 1800's, the social classes in control of the economic, political, and military force have indeed imposed their will and modes of thinking upon the population.

The most infamous example was the coup-d'état in 1973 against Salvador Allende, jointly sponsored by the Chilean bourgeoisie, the conservative parties, the church, the military and the CIA. The coup took place on September 11 and left more than 4000 dead or missing, and forced hundreds of thousands into exile.

Needless to say, here in the US, we don't hear much about that particular September 11 in which our government played the role of the terrorist by participating in the planning of the attack to the Presidential Palace (La Moneda), as well as in acts of torture, murder and “disappearance.”

Christopher Hitchens' 2001 book, *The Trial of Henry Kissinger*, describes how these criminal actions were justified by our government as being in alignment with the interests of the US foreign policy and US corporations in Chile at the time (ITT, Pepsi Cola, and the Chase Manhattan Bank). In other words, the *rationality of capital* prevailed by force over democracy, confirming the Spanish painter Francisco de Goya's 1797 observation that “the dreams of reason can produce monsters.”

Mistakes of the Chilean Left

During a recent visit to Latin America, I had the opportunity to talk to numerous Marxists and left-wing militants for whom political engagement has been a central component of their lives. Although they hold a variety of ideological positions within the spectrum of

the Marxist left, their opinions converged in one single point: Boric's government overestimated the popular support for his administration based on the results of the election that brought him to the presidency.

This in turn generated a somewhat delusional “political overconfidence” which led them to organize the process approving the new constitution in a bureaucratic fashion (top-to-bottom), rather than through a “grass-roots” movement that would have reflected and amplified the constitution's agenda.

This separation from the masses was aggravated by timid policies during the first months of the new administration which showed no immediate commitment to popular social aspirations. More damaging, the initial overconfidence led to an underestimation of the power of the political and ideological arsenal of the Chilean right and its allies abroad. They unleashed a vicious political warfare through a powerful mediatic campaign loaded with misinformation, fake news, propagation of social uncertainty, and fear—the same tactics used by the American right and the Republican Party and their Brazilian teammate, Jair Bolsonaro.

History is not predetermined

History is not just a book to be read but also one to be written. As such, history has no pre-established script or agenda to follow. On the contrary, it is humanity who forges, forms, molds, and conceives the different types of social organizations which in turn condition the ways in which we conduct our lives, our relations with others, our relations with nature, and our views of the future.

A panoramic view of international politics—particularly of Europe and the United States—may suggest that the world is turning more and more to the right. On the other hand, the growing popular discontent against the war in Ukraine, the movement of poor nations against climate change and its main culprits in preparation for COP27 in Egypt, even the current efforts by the Boric administration to figure out how to not use “the master's tools to dismantle the master's house,” and last but not least, the recent victory of Lula in Brazil against the neo-fascist Bolsonaro, may suggest just the opposite.

Fascism does have a future, but so does Socialism and the possibility of a better world. What happens next is not yet written. It is up to our efforts and struggle to determine the content of the text written in the upcoming pages of history. These are transitional times.

Enrique Quintero is a member of WIP's Publishing Committee.

A movement needs electoral allies

Renowned sociologist Francis Fox Piven shared a somber analysis with *The Guardian* on Nov. 25, 2022:

“I don't think the fight over elemental democracy is over, by any means. The United States was well on the road to becoming a fascist country—and it still can become a fascist country.”

Large-scale progress has never been made in the United States without the kind of trouble and disruption that a movement can cause by encouraging large numbers of people to refuse to

cooperate. But movements need the protection of electoral allies—they need legislative chaperoning.”

That dual model applies to today's struggle to confront global heating. “I do think that the only way to live is to live in politics. To me, it's an almost life-transforming experience—to be part of the local struggle. Even a dangerous struggle. You make friends that never go away. You see people in their nobility, and you find your own nobility as well. I would not trade my life for anything.”

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Community Spotlight

Cougar Theater at CHS

Dec. 1-3 and 8-10, at 7 pm. “The Game’s Afoot” – a Christmas mystery! Tickets \$8 - \$10 on line or at the door. 2707 Conger Ave., NW, Olympia. Next, look for CHS “Dramafest” Feb. 9-11, 2023, showcasing student one-act plays.

String & Shadow Puppet Theater

Dec. 9 – Jan 8, 2023. Fri. at 7, Sat. 3 and 7, Sun. at 3. "NYX and the Long Night," A play of delight and diversion. Olympia Family Theater, 612 4th Ave E. For tickets call 360-576-1638

Center for Responsible Forestry

Dec. 10, 1:30 – 3:30 pm. Legacy Forest Summit: Watersheds and Ecoregions, Olympia Center, 222 Columbia St., NW. Register www.c4rf/legacy-forest-summit Everyone welcome.

Rosie’s Place

Drop-in Mon – Fri., from 12-3, lunch, movie, hang-out. Ages 12-24

Overnight stay from 9pm – 8.30 am. Ages 18-24. Connect for food, shower vouchers, clothing, shelter, counseling, medical care, hygiene supplies, and more

LOTT Treatment Plant (!)

Dec 10, 10-4pm. From deep underground to high mountain peaks, look to water and how it moves around the world. Water-inspired crafts and games all day. After a 1 pm talk, discover how wastewater is cleaned. You must be 10 or older and wear sturdy closed shoes.

Traditions Fair Trade Café and Events

Dec. 16, 7-9:30 pm. The Lowest Pair, dual banjos concert with indie folk performers Kendl Winter & Palmer T Lee.

Call 360-705-2819 for tickets and dinner reservations.

Dec. 21, 6 – 7:30 pm. Olympia Poetry Network, featured poet and open mic every third Wednesday at this favorite spot for poetry and conversation. Sign up at 5:30, or just come by. 5th & Water Street, downtown Olympia.

South Sound Progressive Alliance

Dec. 17, 5 – 7 pm. Join this public meeting to learn about SSPA organizing principles, debrief the midterms and look ahead to 2023. Everyone welcome. For Zoom link and location go to www.southsalish.org.

Jan. 14, 5 – 6 pm. “The Future of Policing.” Join in to discuss community responses to policing from reform to abolition. Zoom link and location at www.southsalish.org

Olympia Lamplighters

Dec. 22, 6 – 8 pm. Figure drawing class with live models – Thursdays every week. Must be over 18 for the class. Check for more information and activities at www.olyamlighters.com

Orca Books

Jan 8, 2023, 5 pm. “The American Surveillance State,” David Price will talk about how US government agencies target dissenters for surveillance. There will be lots of time for a Q&A! Orca Books Cooperative, 315 – 5th Avenue SE, Olympia.

Brotherhood Lounge

Jan 17 and Feb 21, 7 – 9 pm. Story Slam. Tell your story, listen to their story. Jan. theme: “alcohol.” February, “hidden.” 119 Capitol Way. \$5-\$15. Hosted by Elizabeth Lord. Half of proceeds to NW Abortion Action Fund.

TOGETHER

Consider participating as a short-term host for high school students in N. Thurston and Tumwater Schools. The program matches unaccompanied students with host homes to help high school students experiencing housing instability. The program offers wraparound support and guidance with the goal of helping students pursue educational goals, develop, and strengthen life skills, and eventually graduate from the program into stable independent housing. For more information email TLathrop@WAtogether.org.

Have an item for Community Spotlight?

Send a brief who-what-where-when blurb about your program or event to olywip@gmail.com (as far in advance as possible) with links to more information. We will sometimes feature items on our Facebook and Instagram pages when we receive them after we go to press or they take place after the deadline.

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