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February 2018

The missing middle—who is it really for?

Judy Bardin

What is the “Missing Middle?”

The City’s “Missing Middle” (MM) plan envisions one of the biggest land-use changes ever proposed in Olympia. Its stated goal is to increase housing variety and supply and, therefore, affordability. Will that be the result?

There are 43 provisions in the plan and it is complex. It is also being implemented very quickly. After a City Council charter and a behind-the-scenes workgroup process, it was formally introduced in November, 2017. It’s scheduled to shoot through the Planning Commission to the City Council for approval in March, 2018. It will cause a virtual up-zone of a quarter to one-third of Olympia’s single-family neighborhoods by allowing a greater intensity of use.

The MM covers ten different types of housing, ranging from small units such as tiny houses and accessory dwelling units (ADUs)—currently allowed in single family neighborhoods—to multi-unit structures such as courtyard apartments (up to 12 units) and tri- and fourplexes that are not currently allowed in these neighborhoods (except on a limited basis).

Under the MM plan, these aforementioned multi-unit structures will be allowed in neighborhoods zoned single-family (now 4-8 and 6-12 units/acre) if they are within 600 feet on both sides of a bus route; within 600 feet of commercial areas; and in all R6-12 zones, which includes much of Northeast Olympia and parts of West and Southeast Olympia. Also newly proposed for R6-12 zones are single room occupancies (SRO’s)—otherwise known as rooming houses. To put these distances into perspective: 600 feet is about two blocks. In addition to our busiest streets, buses run down streets such as Decatur, Rogers, Bowman and Division on the Westside; Miller, 26th, Friendly Grove, Bethel, Puget and Pine in the Northeast; and Boulevard, North, 18th, 22nd, and Eastside, in the Southeast.

Beyond multi-unit structures, a number of other mechanisms are proposed to increase intensity of use. Some include: allowing a 50% density bonus for cottage housing; cutting by almost half the minimum lot width required for duplexes, tri- and fourplexes; and increasing the allowed height of ADUs to two stories, and eliminating their parking requirement.

What are the pitfalls of the Missing Middle?

Housing units like tiny houses and ADUs have large public appeal, but

there are no requirements to make them affordable for people of limited means. Being smaller does not guarantee a lower price.

Olympia’s close-in neighborhoods affected by the plan are largely built out and contain modest homes, many of them rentals. To build multi-unit structures, more than one lot would usually be needed, thus leading to tear-downs of existing homes. The first houses to go are the less expensive ones, the low hanging fruit. Beyond that, the economics of financing a property, tearing down a house, and building anew means that the new units will be expensive—eventually gentrifying a neighborhood and forcing lower income folks out. Additionally, there are environmental concerns such as loss of green space, more polluting storm water run-off, and excessive demand on existing sewers, roads and schools.

The MM plan also appears to supplant a city commitment to work with the Coalition of Neighborhood Associations (CNA) and help people develop sub-area plans to shape their neigh-

Given these realities, it’s important to ask ourselves, what’s really going on here? What’s the rush to infill old neighborhoods, and pre-empt neighborhood planning?

borhoods. At a January Planning Commission meeting, CNA members expressed concerns about the MM and urged the Commission to slow down the process, emphasizing that most community members do not know about or do not understand this large-scale proposal.

MM ignores existing opportunities to increase density

Planning staff admit that Olympia has more than enough unused buildable land for its future population needs. Additionally, the city’s Comprehensive Plan designates three high density neighborhoods (“nodes”) for development: 1) Downtown, 2) by the Martin-Pacific-Lilly triangle, and 3) around Capital Mall. These nodes are envisioned as being walkable, near transit, and close to services such as grocery stores. The City is on track to meet density goals for Downtown, but has largely ignored the other two nodes which allow 25 units per acre.

Given these realities, it’s important to ask ourselves, what’s really going on here? What’s the rush to infill old

► Middle, continued on page 15



Prayers, unity, and a small victory! Puyallup Water Warriors & Redefine Tacoma

JAN 26, 2018 — On Tuesday, January 23, Northwest Tribes gathered at the Washington State Capitol for American Indian Lobby Day. A Puyallup Tribal elder prayed over your signatures and messages before they were delivered to Governor Inslee’s office.

Afterwards we gathered in the Rotunda for ceremony, drumming, and prayer. Standing Rock Rosebud Camp elders honored the Water Warriors with the gift of a Mni

Wiconi tipi from Standing Rock. It was a powerful and beautiful day. On Wednesday the 24th we awoke to wonderful news. Puget Sound Clean Air Agency (PSCAA) ordered a Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement (SEIS) to be prepared before they will review PSE’s permit for the proposed PSE LNG facility. The SEIS will analyze the project’s impact on air quality and greenhouse gases (GHG).

The SEIS has to address emission im-

pacts upstream and downstream of the facility throughout the entire fuel life cycle. This includes GHG impacts from fracking for the gas that will feed the facility, leaks along the pipeline, emissions and flares at the facility, leaks during fueling and transport, and finally emissions from burning. The Puyallup Tribe issued a press release repeating their request for an immediate Stop Work Order on the LNG facility. Go to StandWiththePuyallupTribe.org to see the petition.

Works In Progress

Works In Progress is a free, volunteer-operated progressive community newspaper based in Olympia, Washington. Established by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition, the paper published its first issue in May 1990.

Mission Statement: The aim of WIP is to confront injustice and encourage a participatory democracy based on justice in the economic, social, and environmental realms and across races and genders. WIP does this in part by providing a voice for those most affected by systems of inequity and the exclusionary practices that seek to silence the victims of injustice and the powerless.

Submissions: Our goal is to publish stories that are ignored or misrepresented by the mainstream media. We seek local, well-researched news stories, serious analyses of issues confronting our communities, and accounts of personal experience or reflections by local authors. Informed opinion pieces are also welcome, especially when accompanied by facts, examples and sources. We are also looking for graphics, poetry, cartoons, and articles that push the boundaries of conventional journalism. WIP reserves the right to publish any material submitted in whole or in part.

Submit writing in the following format: Attach your work in a separate word document attached to an email that goes to: olywip@gmail.com. Please use Calibri (body) 12 pt. type, no paragraph indents. Artwork and photos can be sent electronically. Include your name and phone number and a brief bio. WIP's volunteer editors will contact authors if there is any significant editing proposed. If you wish to submit an article to be reprinted, include the permission and original location. Send submissions to olywip@gmail.com or mail to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295

Back Issues. WIP is archived by the University of Washington Library. The last 5 years are online at www.olywip.org

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Submission Deadline Next Issue

Sunday, February 18

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Proofreading Meeting

Sunday February 25, 1 pm

Buck's 5th Avenue Loft

How WIP is supported. WIP is volunteer run, but essential expenses must be covered by donations, subscriptions and some generous advertisers. We also receive support from the Workers' Defense Fund, whose purpose is to strengthen organizations that engage in struggle against the powerful for the empowerment of the powerless. Subscriptions are \$35 per year. Advertising rates are approximately \$10 per column inch, with discounts for long-term advertisers (see below). To donate, subscribe or advertise: Contact us at olywip@gmail.com, or write to Works in Progress, Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

Advertising Rates

Quarter page \$135
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Help keep WIP in print – donate at Works in Progress, Box 295 Olympia, WA 98507

Special advertising rate for nonprofits and small businesses*

On the front cover –

Photo by Lindsey Dalthorp

The Works in Progress mission and guidelines

Our purpose

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Our priority is to focus on stories that are ignored or misrepresented in the mainstream media. To this end, we seek well-researched news stories, serious analyses of issues confronting our communities and accounts of personal experiences or reflections by local authors. We also consider poetry, graphics, cartoons and articles that challenge conventional journalism.

We discourage writing where a key point is stated as fact when it is unproven or in serious dispute. Once we receive a submission, we may choose to publish it or not. Articles that relate to the theme will have preference, but other topics are also welcome, as usual. Editing that extends beyond that needed for clarity will be reviewed with the author.

February. Our theme this month was “work” and several articles stem from that. An initiative by Community College students to reconfigure educa-

tion to reflect the realities of working in today's economies, a song about working in the coal mines and what's not to sing about there today. A description of what our society has done to carry out the work of raising its children, and finally a reminder from women and others that there's work to be done if we are to bring about a system and society that supports decency and opportunity.

Theme for March: The Pursuit of Happiness. This is a right enshrined in our Declaration of Independence right up there with life and liberty. It merits some thought and reflection. We invite yours.

Submissions should:

- Offer a unique progressive perspective
- Appeal to local and regional readers
- Range between 750–1200 words
- Be sent as an email attachment in Word (see formatting specs at www.olywip.org)
- Include a one- or two-line bio of the author
- Include an email address for contacts if you wish

Send submissions to Olywip@gmail.com with the word “SUBMISSION” in the subject line.

And then this happened...

The Water Protectors were right!

In our March 2017 issue, we reported on the Water Protectors protesting the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) crossing beneath the Missouri River, and predicting that the pipeline would leak and eventually contaminate essential water resources.

Nevertheless, the pipeline owners got the go-ahead from Donald Trump and began operations in June 2017. DAPL has leaked at least five times since then. The biggest was a 168-gallon leak near DAPL's endpoint in Patoka, Illinois, on April 23. According to federal regulators, no wildlife was involved, although soil was contaminated. The Energy Transfer Crude Oil pipeline (ETCO), is a natural gas pipeline converted to carry crude. Together with DAPL it makes up the Bakken pipeline system. ETCO leaked at least three times in 2017. So far, the Hazardous Materials Safety Administration considers one spill “significant” a 4,998-gallon leak on the ETCO pipeline in Dyersburg, Tennessee, on June 19.

Democracy Won!

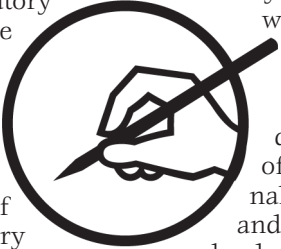
In October and November WIP ran stories on oil money in Washington politics, including the Port of Vancouver race. There, oil giant Tesoro-Savage poured in nearly a half million dollars to defeat a candidate, Don Orange, who represented widespread local opposition to a huge oil transfer terminal the corporation intended to construct. Orange won with over 60 percent of the vote. In his first Port Commission meeting, Orange joined his two colleagues in voting to terminate the lease

for the terminal effective March 31, 2018. In the meantime, the Washington Energy Facility Site Evaluation Council (EFSEC) had recommended rejection of the site certificate needed for the proposal. On January 29 Governor Inslee signed the decision rejecting Tesoro-Savage's application to build the massive terminal at the Port of Vancouver. Judicial appeals from the Governor's decision must be filed in Thurston County Superior Court and direct review to the Washington Supreme Court may be sought and is likely.

They made it!

WIP's September issue covered De-Escalate Washington's drive for signatures on an initiative that would mandate mental health and de-escalation training for police officers, require them to provide first-aide to victims after shootings, and change language in Washington law that presents an insurmountable barrier to finding a police officer accountable in any shooting. Last month, the Secretary of State certified Initiative 940 for the 2018 ballot. In 2017, police in Washington state killed 32 people, including two pregnant women. According to a national data base, mental illness played a role in 9 of the killings.

WIP plans to make “And then this happened...” a regular feature. So we're looking for someone who likes to know the rest of the story to take on responsibility for looking up the outcomes of earlier stories each month. If this could be you, contact us at olywip@gmail.com. Be sure to put AND THEN THIS HAPPENED in the subject line.



Special events

Return your ballot on the Home Fund and School Levy vote any day up to Feb. 13

3rd Annual Eye-2-Eye Dinner Fundraiser

Fri. Feb. 2, 5:00 PM, at St Michael's Catholic Parish, 1208 11th Ave SE, Olympia.

Celebrate the nightly shelter run by Interfaith Works. Tickets \$65 single, & up. To buy online, go to IWshelter.org/events. Contact: 360-357-7224.

Family Barefoot Boogie

Fri. Feb 2, 5:30 at Eagles Ballroom, 805 4th St E.

Dance party, veggie chili & fixings, raffle. Proceeds offer scholarships to girls for summer camp. Tickets \$25 to \$100 sliding scale. Contact (248) 345-4303.

Hearing at the Federal Bureau of Ocean Energy Management re: offshore-drilling in the State of Washington.

Mon, Feb 5, 3-7 PM, at Tacoma Convention Center, 47 St Helens Ave, Tacoma, WA.

“The mission of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management is to manage development of US Outer Continental Shelf energy and mineral resources in an environmentally and economically responsible way.”

“Inspirational Dreams,”

Fri, Feb 9 at 7:30 PM, at Traditions Café (300 5th Ave SE). Heartsparkle Players.

People recount moments from their lives; then Players re-create them with movement, music and dialogue. \$7 suggested donation.

“Adult Swim: Love Bytes.”

Fri, Feb 9, Hands On Children's Museum (414 Jefferson St NE, Oly).

No actual swimming but a fun party for adults. Explore electric connections and sweet science; the inputs and outputs of relationships in the natural and digital world . . . tickets \$25 early, \$30 day-of. Contact, 360-956-0818

Fantastic Annual Rummage Sale

Sat, Feb 10, 9am- 2pm, Lincoln School gym (on 21st Ave SE,).

Thurston-Santo Tomas Sister County Assn. Accepting donations on Friday, Feb 9 from 4 to 7pm (to the gym please).

Fourth Annual Gala of OlyEcosystems.

Sat. Feb 10, 6 – 10 PM, Washington Center Black Box, 512 Washigton St NE.

Environmental challenges in the S Puget Sound. Talks, music, appetizers, wines & beers, silent auction. \$25; purchase Tickets: www.washingtoncenter.org, or call 360-753-8585

Washington State Legislature,

Hearings on matters of importance may be held with little notice. Upcoming bills on carbon taxes (three bills under consideration), universal health care, a state bank for state funds, abolition of the death penalty, and other topics. Check legislative calendars frequently! Go to <http://apps.leg.wa.gov/billinfo/> to track a specific bill. Find a link to the day's calendar also on that page.

Last day to vote in the Special Election

Tue, Feb 13 until 8 PM.

Vote on City of Olympia Sales and Use Tax Increase for Olympia Home Fund; also Olympia School District No. 111 Technology and Capital Projects Replacement Levy.

“The IF Project.”

Thurs, Feb 15, 6:30 to 9pm at OUUC (2315 Division St. NW).

Experiences of current and former inmates in Washington's prisons. Sponsored by Meaningful Movies of Olympia.

Divestment Action

Thurs, Feb 15 at 9:30 AM, at the Washington State Investment Board Room, 2100 Evergreen Park Drive SW.

Olympia FOR Climate Action Committee. Urging the Investment Board to divest the state of Washington from fossil fuel funds. All welcome to attend and watch.



► SPECIAL EVENTS, continued on page 15

“No one and nothing can be great unless it costs you something”

Viola Davis

In the word of my fellow American, Malcolm X: I'm gonna make it plain. In 1877, America, the greatest country on this planet, put in place laws called the Jim Crow laws. And the Jim Crow laws restricted the rights of quadroons, octoroons, blacks, Hispanics, Indians, Malays. Restricted medical, restricted relationships, restricted education, restricted life. It told us we were less than, and it came on the heels of the 13th Amendment. It came on the heels of 55 individuals, great Americans, writing the greatest document, called the Constitution of the United States, saying, “We the people.”

Now, the reason why those destructive laws came into place I think can be greatly described by Martin Luther King [Jr.]. And what he said about time is, he said, I'm not ready to wait 100 to 200 years for things to change. That I think actually time is neutral. That it can either be used constructively or destructively. That human progress rarely rolls on inevitability. It is through human dedication and effort that we move forward. And that when we don't work, what happens is that time actually becomes an ally to the primitive forces of social stagnation, and the guardians of the status quo are in their oxygen tanks keeping the old order alive.

And so that time needs to be helped, by every single moment, doing right. The reason why Jim Crow laws were in place, that stifled my rights and your rights, is because we fell asleep. We fall asleep when we're moving ahead and we don't look to the left and right and see we're not including people in this move ahead. Because really, at the end of the day, we only move forward when it doesn't cost us anything. But I'm here today saying that no one and nothing can be great unless it costs you something.

One out of every five women will be sexually assaulted and raped before she reaches the age of 18. One out of six boys. If you are a woman of color and you are raped before you reach the age of 18, then you are 66 percent more likely to be sexually assaulted again. Seventy percent of girls who are sex-trafficked are girls of color. They are coming out of the foster-care system, they are coming out of poverty. It is a billion-dollar industry. When they go into the sex-trafficking business — and they call it a business, trust me — more than likely, they are gang raped.

I am speaking today not just for the “Me Too's” because, I was a “Me Too,” but when I raise my hand, I am aware of all the women who are still in silence. The women who are faceless. The women who don't have the money and don't have the constitution and who don't have the confidence and who don't have the images in our media that gives them a sense of self-worth enough to break their silence that's rooted in the shame of assault. That's written on the Statute of Liberty is: Come. Come you tireless, poor, yearning to breathe free. To breathe

free. Every single day, your job as an American citizen is not just to fight for your rights. It's to fight for the right of every individual that is taking a breath, whose heart is pumping and breathing on this earth.

And like the originators of the “Me Too's,” the **Fannie Lou Hamers**, the **Recy Taylors**, who in 1944 was gang-raped by six white men and she spoke up. Rosa Parks fought for her rights. She was silenced. To the **Tarana Burkes**, to the originators, to the first women to speak up. It cost them something. Nothing and no one can be great without a cost.

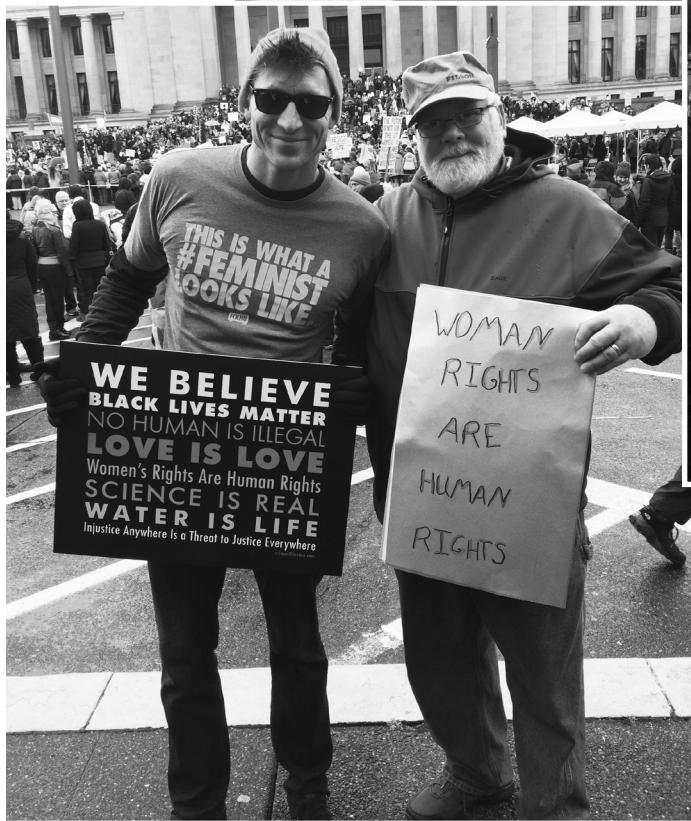
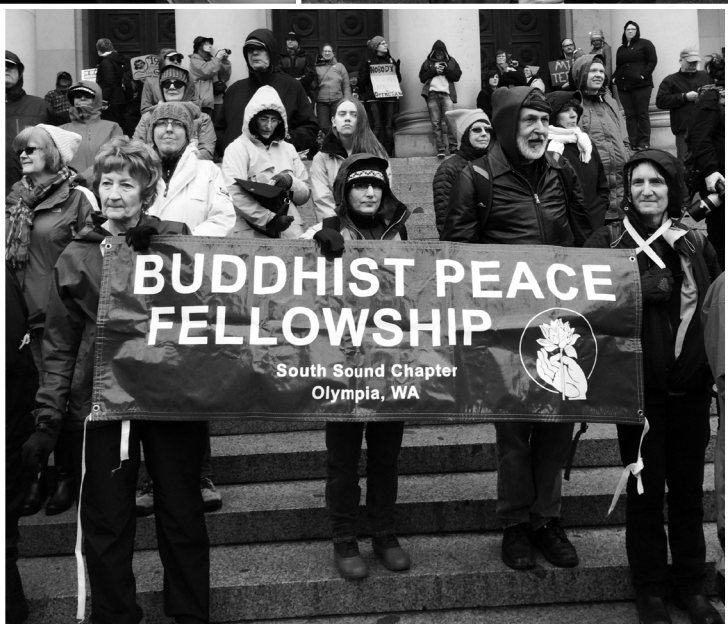
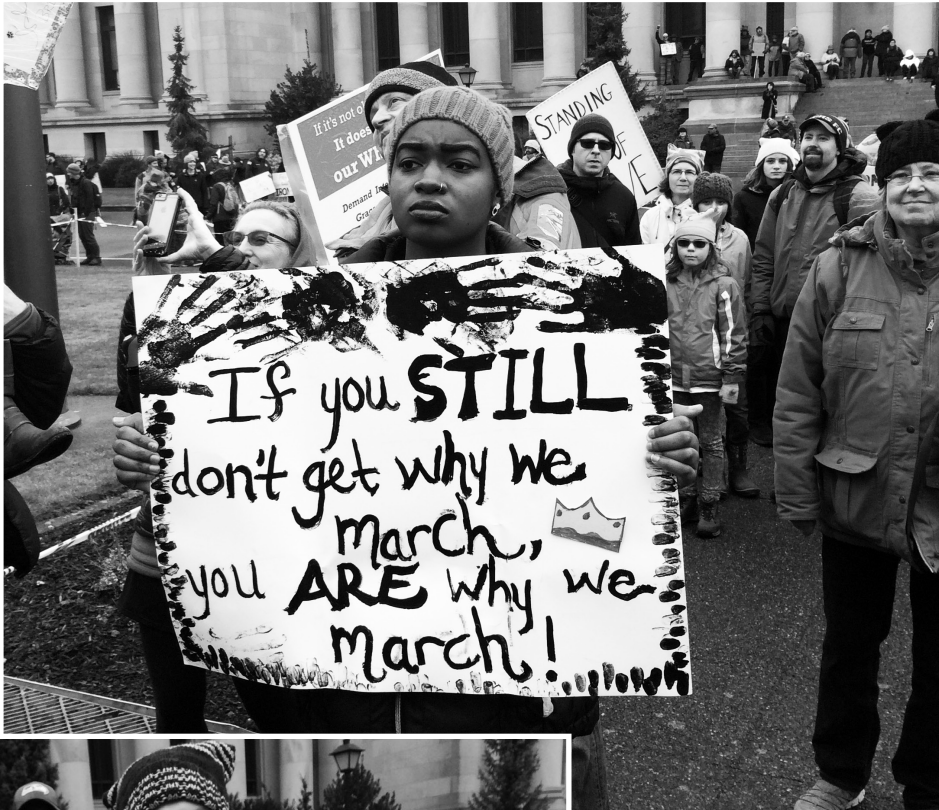
Listen, I am always introduced as an award-winning actor. But my testimony is one of poverty. My testimony is one of being sexually assaulted and very much seeing a childhood that was robbed from me. And I know that every single day, when I think of that, I know that the trauma of those events are still with me today. And that's what drives me to the voting booth. That's what allows me to listen to the women who are still in silence. That's what allows me to even become a citizen on this planet, is the fact that we are here to connect. That we are as 324 million people living on this earth, to know that every day, we breathe and we live. That we got to bring up everyone with us.

I stand in solidarity of all women who raise their hands because I know that it was not easy. And my hope for the future—my hope, I do hope—is that we never go back. That it's not just about clapping your hands and screaming and shouting every time someone says something that sounds good. It's about keeping it rolling once you go home.



I was there marching for equality for women, to stand with those who are against sexual harassment on the job and in society at large. I marched also to demonstrate my allegiance to every minimum wage hard-working American, whomever they be—woman, man, sexual orientation, political party and world view, and marched for universal healthcare and a living wage and 30-hour work week and 3 months off for a vacation to have some fun in life too, and most importantly, keeping church separate from state by standing in the way of this country becoming a theocracy.

—Darrell Barker



Several thousand people gathered in front of Olympia's legislative building in on the one-year anniversary of the Women's March —one of the largest political demonstrations in recent US history.

Women from the political, electoral, environmental and indigenous communities spoke to a patient and cheering crowd of women, men and families—including some from Puyallup and other towns that lacked their own event. Tribal drummers matched their beat to the hopes that ran through the hearts of the people participating.

Around 1 pm, everyone moved out in a long, winding line to descend the switchbacks from the Capitol to Heritage Park, greeting old friends and making new connections. (A faithful team of WIPsters was there to put copies of recent issues into willing hands.)

The presence this January 20 of more than a million marchers in cities from Seattle to LA to Washington DC and Miami Florida attested to the continuing commitment to the cause of unity, equity and justice for all.

Indigenous occupation of state capitol ends after days of protest and ceremony

By Janine Gates
Little Hollywood

Ed. Note: This is an edited version of a story written January 11, 2018 by Janine Gates and published in her blog, Little Hollywood. The occupation ended at about 4 a.m. on Thursday, January 11 when law enforcement officers arrived and gave the women two minutes to leave. State workers dismantled the tarpee and told the occupiers that it could be retrieved later that week.

Drumming, singing, prayer and ceremony, along with the burning of sage and cedar, continued on Wednesday, January 10th as several indigenous women occupied the land and spent nights in a tarpee on the Washington State Capitol Campus.

Robert Satiacum, Puyallup, and others spoke with representatives [of the government] and showed them a copy of the Medicine Creek Treaty.

Eva Ingram, Santee Sioux Niabrara Nebraska, of Seattle had been sleeping in the tarpee. She runs her own company, Independent Two Spirit Media, and explained to Little Hollywood why she was there.

“We are here so we can pray over this land—as indigenous people we look to our women as life givers and life bringers. We as women teach our young ones the ways that we should live, and bring them up that this land is for you, and you are to respect it, the four-legged, the two-legged...and that’s the power that the life bringers and life givers hold. It’s more power than any male will ever understand. So that’s something that we needed here. There’s never been in history seven women to occupy a tarpee or teepee or any kind of structure in front of a Capitol Building in the world. No matter what happens, we made history,” she said.

Ingram and supporters say 2018 is the time for action against the climate crisis.

The occupation was also to bring

awareness of the Liquid Natural Gas (LNG) plant being constructed by Puget Sound Energy at the Port of Tacoma on Puyallup Tribal land. The plant, which will serve natural gas customers and maritime transportation needs, does not yet have all the proper permits. Authorities say the permits will continue to be obtained until it is scheduled to open in 2019.

Dakota Case, Puyallup, explained how the LNG will further threaten the Puyallup tribal way of life.

“We live there, right at the mouth of the river. The Tacoma City Council allowed PSE to do their own environmental impact statement and the site is on top of a 70 acre solvent plume—a Superfund site—that’s over an aquifer...I don’t know how they got the dirt samples clean enough to present them...it’s on top of a leaking arsenic site and they’re trying to figure out how to clean it up. How they got past everything is beyond me.

“The toxic air pollutants will emit 81 pounds of ammonia a day at peak, but they only did the environmental impact statement at 50 percent... It goes up into the air and will come back down right into our water. The air quality in the City of Tacoma is so polluted that we have one of the highest cancers rates in the State of Washington.”

He said that in four more years, there will be no more salmon.

“Our elders are coming forward and saying it’s a salmon estuary, that’s stated in the land claim settlement. The pH balance is already off in our water – our fish are having a hard time accumulating at the mouth of the river before they head up stream. They’re not able to spawn so we have to gut them to get the eggs out of there and fertilize the river manually instead of them letting them do it the natural way....Only twenty five percent of our salmon run is original, the rest is imported. The

fish farms and the LNG are a threat to us so we’re trying to set up a government to government to negotiate.

“Enough is enough—we’re protecting our part of the Salish Sea....”

As our interview concluded in the still of night, the rhythmic sound of rain and indigenous drumming and singing got louder.

Case encouraged Governor Jay Inslee to come out from his office or the nearby Governor’s Mansion to talk with them, hoping the drumming and singing was loud enough for him to hear.

For more photos and stories about the indigenous occupation, and a previous interview with Janene Hampton, go to Little Hollywood, www.janineslittlehollywood.blogspot.com



The first day of the Washington State Legislature’s 60 day session in Olympia on January 8 began with a climate justice rally organized by 350.org and other climate action groups. At the podium, Paul Cheoketen Wagner, Saanich First Nations of Vancouver Island, and Elizabeth Satiacum, Quileute. Satiacum is holding a framed copy of the Medicine Creek Treaty. Photo by Janine Gates/Little Hollywood Media

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Necklace
Women’s fistula
rehabilitation
project,
Ghana
Ojoba Collective

Earrings
India
Mata Traders

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The myth of the “pro-coal” president: The historical truth of government’s alliance with coal companies against miners

Kelly Miller

Both during his campaign and his presidency thus far, Donald Trump has repeatedly used coal miners as a sort of rhetorical prop. To him, the coal miner represents the disenchanted everyman he claims to speak for: a struggling American worker whose livelihood has been stripped away by the liberal establishment in the name of climate change and clean energy. Many of his most extreme moves last year, such as withdrawing from the Paris climate agreement and taking aim at Obama’s Clean Power Plan, have been done supposedly in the name of “putting coal miners back to work.”

The Trump administration’s narrative of job-killing environmental regulations ignores the fact that the coal industry has been declining for decades. Many of the reasons are economic, such as the cheapening of natural gas. Coal mining processes have also largely shifted from labor-intensive underground mining to technology-intensive mountaintop removal. But as Trump continues to attack what he calls “the war on coal,” he has become increasingly popular with big coal executives such as Bob Murray of Murray Energy. Murray was present, applauding in

the audience, when Trump signed an executive order mandating a full-scale reconsideration of Obama’s Clean Power Plan by the EPA last March. Photos of the occasion show Trump surrounded by a cohort of coal miners. Clearly, the miners were brought

Deregulation in such dangerous industries often increases profits for coal companies at the expense of coal miner’s lives.

in for the photo op to further paint Trump’s deregulation agenda as good for workers. A consideration of the history of coal miners, coal companies and the federal government leading up to this moment, however, makes these photos seem much darker, even downright sinister.

Class War in Coal Country
American coal companies have a long and bloody tradition of suppressing the rights of miners to unionize and to work in fair, safe conditions. When these conflicts have arisen, companies have often received support from politicians, law enforcement and even armed forces. Perhaps the most legendary example of such a conflict was the Battle of Blair Mountain in Logan County,

West Virginia in 1921. During this week long armed confrontation, President Warren Harding sent federal troops to aid the Stone Mountain Coal Company in squashing the uprising miners. The Battle of Blair Mountain was one of a series of violent clashes known as the “Coal Wars,” lasting roughly from 1890 to 1930. Of the over twenty conflicts during this period, most stemmed from coal company attempts to halt the growing tide of miner unionization.



Miners and their families lived and worked in an exceptionally deadly environment. Uncontrolled explosions, mineshaft collapses and work-related diseases like black lung made for high mortality rates among miners. Polluted air and water in mining areas often killed the spouses and children of miners as well. Because miners were often paid their wages in company scrip—a sort of voucher that could only be exchanged for marked-up goods at company stores— and had to buy their own tools, poverty was endemic among mining families. The United Mine Workers (UMW) had successfully organized workers around these issues in several states by 1920, despite heavy company repression.

When the UMW began organizing in the town of Matewan, West Virginia in 1920, Baldwin-Felt agents hired by the Stone Mountain Mining Company evicted union members from their homes. This led to a much-mythologized standoff in which the town’s union-sympathetic sheriff and two miners were killed. Miners then began to plan a mass armed campaign through Logan County and Mingo County to assert their union rights with force.

The Battle of Blair Mountain
On August 25th, 1921, 10,000 armed miners marched through Logan County until they reached Blair Mountain, where anti-union county sheriff Don Chafin had assembled his own forces. Chafin had the financial support of the Logan County Coal Operators Association and, eventually, the West Virginia National Guard and the federal troops sent by President Harding. Still, the miners were able to hold their ground until September 2nd. Only 985 miners of the 10,000 participants were indicted.

The Battle of Blair Mountain is often referred to as the largest labor uprising in United States history. Though the miners were initially defeated, the battle served as a galvanizing moment and many now believe that it strengthened organized labor in West Virginia in the long run.

What does a “pro-coal” president mean for miners?
The Battle of Blair Mountain undoubtedly demonstrates the power of worker solidarity but also offers up sobering lessons about the willingness of government to intervene on the side of capital and business. Despite years of lip service to the well-being of coal miners, Trump’s actions have so far followed this same pattern. Many of his “pro-coal reforms” have chipped away at the health and safety regulations that generations of mine organizers have fought for.

Before the now-infamous EPA executive order photos, Trump set up another photo op with miners when he signed a bill repealing the Office of Surface Mining’s Stream Protection Rule. The bill reversed an Obama-era regulation that prevented mining companies from contaminating waterways with waste. In other words, Trump invited miners to stand smiling behind him while he put the very water sources that their communities use at risk.

Similarly, the Trump Administration has prompted the Mine Safety and Health Administration to reconsider regulations meant to limit miners’ exposure to the coal dust and chemicals that cause black lung. Far from ailments of the past, black lung and respiratory cancers are still serious risks that miners face. Attorney Tony Oppeward, who has represented miners in many mine safety cases in recent years, has openly accused Trump of threatening miners’ health to strengthen his relationship with powerful coal executives. “I don’t think the Trump administration has coal miners’ best interests at heart,” said Oppeward in an interview with Politico. “They’re aligned with coal mine operators as opposed to miners, and the only reasons they would want to reopen these rules or revisit these rules are to weaken them.”

All of Trump’s pontificating about “ending the war on coal” to “put coal miners back to work” misses the fact that hazardous jobs and polluted environments won’t help miners and their families. Deregulation in such dangerous industries often increases profits for coal companies at the expense of coal miner’s lives. “Jobs” alone weren’t enough for the miners who fought in the Battle of Blair Mountain—they risked their employment to fight for safe jobs, better conditions, and fair treatment for themselves and their families.

The history of the Coal Wars reminds us that politicians who are so blatantly allied with coal companies are generally against the interests of workers. The notorious class struggle in the coal industry is far from over and will likely hit a fever pitch again under the Trump Administration. Coal miners, now perhaps more than ever, need the mass support of people who actually care about their wellbeing, health and safety.

Kelly Miller will graduate from The Evergreen State College this spring.

An Old Coal Miner’s Reality Principle– Sixteen Tons and deeper in debt

Some people say a man is made outta mud
A poor man's made outta muscle and blood
Muscle and blood and skin and bones
A mind that's weak and a back that's strong

You load sixteen tons, what do you get?
Another day older and deeper in debt
Saint Peter, don't you call me 'cause I can't go
I owe my soul to the company store

I was born one mornin' when the sun didn't shine
I picked up my shovel and I walked to the mine
I loaded sixteen tons of number nine coal
And the straw boss said "well, bless my soul"

You load sixteen tons, what do you get?
Another day older and deeper in debt
Saint Peter, don't you call me 'cause I can't go
I owe my soul to the company store

I was born one mornin', it was drizzlin' rain
Fightin' and trouble are my middle name
I was raised in the canebrake by an ol' mama lion
Can't no high-toned woman make me walk the line

You load sixteen tons, what do you get?
Another day older and deeper in debt
Saint Peter, don't you call me 'cause I can't go
I owe my soul to the company store

If you see me comin', better step aside
A lotta men didn't, a lotta men died
One fist of iron, the other of steel
If the right one don't get you, then the left one will



You load sixteen tons, what do you get?
Another day older and deeper in debt
Saint Peter, don't you call me 'cause I can't go
I owe my soul To the company store

"16 Tons" was written by Merle Travis at the request of Capitol Records, who wanted some "folksy" songs in a hurry. Travis immediately wrote three songs about life in Muhlenberg County, Kentucky's coal mines, where his father worked. One was Dark As A Dungeon, the other, Sixteen Tons. [From the ever-lovin' internet on the archive blog at www.ernieford.com]

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The significance and lessons of student Palestine solidarity organizing under Trump

Matt Lester interviews
Samia Saliba

Tell me about the demonstration that you organized on December 10th.

It was in response to Trump's announcement about moving the capital and the embassy in Israel to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv. I felt there needed to be a response. A call to action was made from Palestinian Civil Society for "three days of rage" to the international community. I felt it was important for the Olympia community to respond to that call—especially given the history we have with Palestine: the Olympia Rafah sister city project and Rachel Cory's death in Palestine. I organized it with the help of the Rachel Corrie Foundation.

How did you organize that demonstration? You did it with the help of the Rachel Corrie Foundation, but what does that actually look like? Did you send out emails?

It was really last minute and that obviously posed a significant challenge because you want to get people out. You need existing political infrastructure in order to get a lot of people out, which is why I connected to the Rachel Corrie foundation and got in touch with other organizers I knew through my parents. They have been doing political organizing in Olympia for a long time, so they have contacts. The Rachel Corrie Foundation made a Facebook event so it was spread through their page and then they also sent out an message to their email list.

I also called Dan Leahy and other people who I knew had connections and they sent it out to their mailing list. The word was passed on to the local mosque and several other congregations such as the Quakers and Unitarians. For a last-minute event social media like facebook was really helpful.

A lot of people who showed up found out through Facebook. But also I think you can't just rely on Facebook. It worked because the Rachel Corrie Foundation has an existing facebook following in the area but if you just as a person posting an event you have go to a lot of effort to spread it.

The reason I asked is that sometimes people say, "oh, everything we do is spontaneous". I think the demonstration you helped organize was much different than the demonstration in response to Charlottesville in Olympia where there was no plan. It was just get people there and have them be angry.

Yeah, it was definitely planned. I contacted people to be speakers and I made a schedule of speakers in an order that I thought would be good. There were also people who came to the demonstration who wanted to talk who hadn't been on the list. I let them talk because I felt they had something important to say. Last minute changes work if you have a plan. I tracked down a bullhorn and I made signs in case people couldn't bring their own. You have to put some effort into these demonstrations—even if it's short notice. I organized it within a day.

What would you say to someone that thinks that Palestine is not as important as focusing on what's going on in the United States with Trump?

I understand the impulse to just deal with the most immediate problem that threatens your own safety and livelihood. The reason my fellow organizers and I focus on Palestine is because we think these struggles are

connected in many ways. For instance, you can look at the deadly exchange the Israeli military has with police officers in the United States that leads to greater police violence.

There are even parallel environmental threats. The way the environment is used against certain minority groups is prevalent in both the United States and in Palestine. There's immediate connections like that but then there's also the culture of colonialism and violence that has affected both our communities and Palestinian communities. There are countless connections you can make that show these parallels but we can't just combat our own issues. Somebody has to make that connection and deal with both of these issues at the same time because if one of them gets solved but the other doesn't then it's not really a victory against the culture of violence we have.

The U.S. provides 4 billion dollars a year to the Israeli government. That's goes to imprisonment of Palestinian children. We're complicit in this violence so even if we can fix our society, we cannot say our society is just and free.

Tell me a little bit about Palestine solidarity at Western Washington University.

Western can be a difficult campus. It's 80% white and not a lot students know or care that much about Palestine. It's easy to feel isolated and think the work you are doing isn't that impactful. But when you have a national community, you're all doing work together, you're all sharing ideas, you know that even if you get 10 people on your campus to be interested in Palestine it's adding to the overall number.

Many college campuses are hooked up with the national Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) organization and that is really effective. It allows people to share their work with others so people don't have to redo the same work.

All these BDS campaigns can work off the same template as a previous one. For example, blueprints from a mock apartheid wall at one campus can be shared with other campuses. It cuts down a lot of work. Also it allows people to feel less alone.

A national network is really interesting because it could address the problems associated with students moving away from a place once they graduate. If you were a student at another school and you wanted to tap into that network, how would you do it? Do you talk to someone at another campus or do you go online?

Yeah they have a website, it's **Nationalsjp.org**, with resources and their conference information.

Anybody can go to their conference, but you have to show that you're taking steps to start an SJP chapter because they don't want people to infiltrate the conferences.

The network helps us keep institutional memory. We've set up an online folder that has institutional memory reports that we use to record any backlash we face, and if we have documentation or video or something it goes on there too. The folder has all of our past work we've done and when new people come in we can share that folder with them and they have all this information.

What were the impressive things you saw at that conference?

This conference had a real range of workshops. Some were about the histo-

ry of the conflict, the present day from Palestinians, specific tactics to deal with repression, conversations about solidarity, and there was also an SJP 101 workshop. It was how to build your organization from the ground up or revive it and how to make it effective. It was super invigorating to be around all these activists who are doing great work and knowing that they started at a similar place like everyone else and



y o u
can get
there too, sooner
than you probably thought.

Talking to students were there light bulbs turning on, realizations that you and another group had the same problem?

There were definitely a lot of recurring issues such as people being put on Canary Mission, posters put up calling them terrorist, Islamophobia that a lot of Palestine face on a daily basis. There were people dealing with campus apathy which I also found helpful to hear about and how they dealt with it. One person told me that nobody would talk about Palestine on their campus and then they started a BDS campaign and that began their campus conversation. They said you don't have to wait to until you feel safe talking about Palestine to take action on campus.

What is something that you want to see change or continue in Palestine solidarity activism?

There could be better effort towards

bridging this generational gap. This conference really made me think the center of Palestine activism in the United States are college campuses. There should be a lot more energy and support and funding going towards college groups from community groups because that's historically who gets noticed and gets stuff done.

There's a mutual relationship: college students have a lot of energy and a lot of ideas and groups composed of older activist can bring financial and institutional help. College students can bring a lot of energy to people who have a lot of experience and knowledge of organizing. Older organizer have a lot to offer and college students need help. I wanna see more people saying "here's my number, if you ever need help of any kind when you plan something call me." I think there's a tendency not to engage with older generations but I definitely think there's a lot of value in that.

So energy from the students and the institutions and networks from older generations, and maybe even relationships, which you may not have had without your parents.

Even in a small City like Olympia having networks that people can tap into is helpful for a young organizer. I'm an older person

Do you have any ideas how to do that? It seems like RCF is maybe an example of a community group that invites students to events and the students do the same in return.

I've suggested having workshops together with older organizers and students. But not so it's "we're going to teach you all the things you should know, students." It has to feel like we're exchanging ideas. There are things that students know that older organizers don't necessarily have as much experience with, like social media. I think it would be helpful if there could be community conversations about how activist techniques have changed and how they have stayed the same. Maybe in these conversations we could discuss when social media is helpful and when it's not. Together we could come up with other options. Maybe we decide it's better to print out a bunch of flyers and put them on telephone poles like my Dad is always talking about.



ICE serves deportation notice on undocumented leader for organizing detained Immigrants

Mijente.com

The recent deportation notice filed against Washington-based immigrant rights activist and mother, Maru Mora-Villalpando, is a clear sign that Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) is turning into Trump's secret police and silencing immigrants who fight back.

The Seattle office of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) has served a "Notice to Appear," otherwise known as a deportation notice, to Washington-based community activist and mother, Maru Mora-Villalpando. On Tuesday morning, Mora Villalpando and her supporters will announce the launch of efforts to fight her deportation and bring to light ICE's threatening actions.

Mora-Villalpando, who has been called a "modern-day freedom fighter," leads Northwest Detention Center Resistance (NWDCR), an organization that was co-founded when immigrants held at the Northwest Detention Center began a series of hunger strikes in 2014 protesting their inhumane treatment. Since then, Mora-Villalpando has continued to support and amplify the organizing efforts against ICE and the GEO Group (the private contractor that operates the ICE facility, the West Coast's largest) from within the Northwest Detention Center. Buoyed by the support efforts of Mora-Villalpando and the NWDCR, people detained continue their struggle to be heard and demand justice, with nine

hunger strikes at the NWDC between April and November of last year alone.

Government officials have been forced to take notice; two of Washington State's congresspeople have introduced federal legislation to reform detention, and Washington State's attorney general has sued the GEO Group, the private prison corporation that owns and runs the Northwest Detention Center alongside ICE, citing the hunger strikes as inspiration. Mora-Villalpando's efforts have transformed the NWDC from an ignored facility in an out-of-the-way location to a key site of local resistance, with weekly rallies and vigils outside its gates.

Now, in an unprecedented and arbitrary act of retaliation ICE has chosen to target Mora-Villalpando directly, serving her suddenly with deportation papers. Immigrant rights organizers point to the targeting of Mora-Villalpando as a sign that ICE has gone beyond seeking to enforce the immigration laws. ICE is now purposely targeting people such as Mora-Villalpando who are organizing against the agency and the Trump administration's racially-motivated deportation agenda. "ICE only knows about me because of my political work," explains Mora-Villalpando. "I have spoken out to defend immigrants in detention and shared my story as an undocumented mother. I have sat in meetings with immigration officials and challenged their practices. They are an agency whose actions have already been devastating to my community. But with the letter they delivered to my house, they are showing themselves to be an agency that silences any opposition to their practices," she concluded.

This is not the first time the Seattle ICE Field Office targets immigrants who speak out. Just this past December the *Seattle Times* reported that one of their interviewees, Baltazar Aburto Gutierrez, was detained by ICE agents who cited his recent appearance in that newspaper. Other activists across the country have also been targeted by the federal agency, including Ravi Ragbir and Jean Montrevil, two leaders in New York's immigrant rights advocacy community.

Tuesday's press conference will also announce the filing of a series of Freedom of Information Act requests by the University of Washington's Center for Human Rights to reveal the extent of the collaboration between the Washington State Department of Licensing and ICE, which may have led to ICE obtaining Mora-Villalpando's home address and other personal information.

"We will not allow ICE to deport Maru. Not only because we value her, but because we cannot allow a government agency that is already cruel and damaging to our communities to also silence our stories and deter our organizing," explained Tania Unzueta, Mijente Policy Director, and one of the first undocumented organizers to start the "coming out of the shadows" strategy that undocumented youth became known for in 2010. "It is clear that Maru's deportation notice is part of a Trump agenda that punishes people who oppose it. We are marking the moment in time when ICE agents are becoming Trump's police force and targeting voices that counter their agenda," she concluded.

Mora-Villalpando has lived in the U.S. for over 25 years. She lives with her daughter, Josefina, who is a U.S. citizen, near Seattle, Washington. In addition to working with NWDC Resistance she is a founding member of the national Latinx organization, Mijente.

To sign the petition to show support for Maru Mora-Villalpando, visit action.mijente.net/petitions/ice-serves-deportation-notice-on-undocumented-leader-for-organizing-detained-immigrants.

Mijente is a digital and grassroots hub for Latinx and Chicanx movement building and organizing that seeks to increase the profile of policy issues that matter to our communities and increase the participation of Latinx and Chicanx people in the broader movements for racial, economic, climate and gender justice.

What if refugees told their own stories? *The Last Earth* by Ramzy Baroud

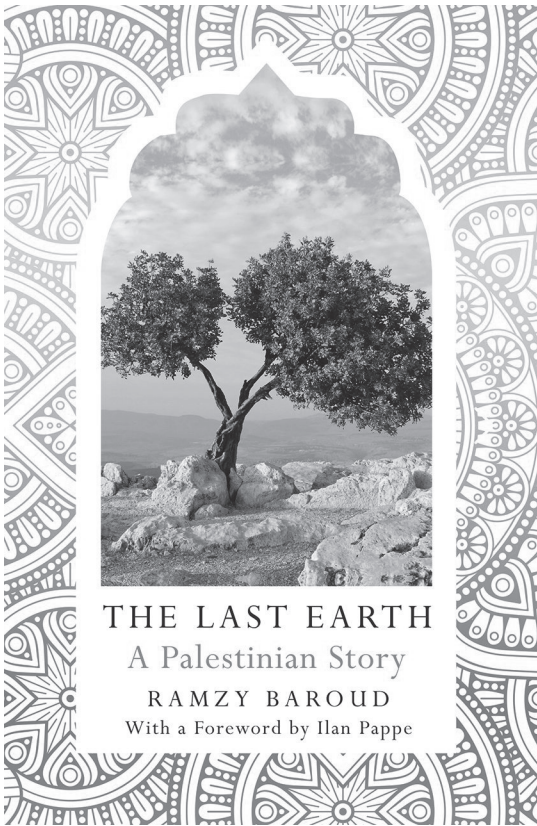
Ramzy Baroud

The Last Earth: A Palestinian Story is a narrative-non-fictional story of modern Palestinian history. It comprises the stories of complex characters whose accounts overlap in terms of the collective experience. In it, I attempt to offer an authentic Palestinian narrative, one that does not only challenge the Zionist discourse – ever violent, dismissive and undeniably racist—but also contests some of the existing narratives that purport to be speaking on behalf of the Palestinian people.

I believe that no one is more qualified to speak for Palestinians, but Palestinians themselves, especially the refugees amongst them - those who have paid the heaviest price for Israeli atrocities, and whose collective identity is shaped by seven decades of a relentless fight for freedom.

When each of the book's chapters is read individually, it presents a compelling personal story that signifies the experience of an entire generation. When read as a whole, the book tells the story of a people, whose history is not as simple as a historical timeline of conflict, but rather that of intricate human emotions—hopes, dreams, struggles and priorities that seem to pay no heed to politics, military balances or ideological rivalries.

But while it sheds light on the past, *The Last Earth* is a serious attempt at bringing ordinary people to be active participants in shaping the present and the future. Writing the book involved a number of Palestinian researchers and hundreds of discussions and interviews with Palestinian refugees in Palestine and throughout the world.



nif, where reality and fiction merge to form a whole new category of literature.

However, these stories with all of their characters and details, are true. What may, at times, read as a form of magic realism (for example, 'Spirits of the Orchard') is, in fact, a reflection of the strong belief held by some of the characters, who truly believed - or needed to trust in - the supernatural and the miraculous.

Unsurprisingly, the narratives overlapped on many occasions. Even if the storytellers have never met, they were essentially describing the same events, from a different perspective, location or time frame.

Finally, this book is a choral, a passionate tribute to all of the Palestinians who shared their stories and trusted me with the most intimate details of their lives.

Ramzy Baroud is a journalist, author and editor of Palestine Chronicle. His forthcoming book is 'The Last Earth: A Palestinian Story' (Pluto Press, London). Baroud has a Ph.D. in Palestine Studies from the University of Exeter and is a Non-Resident Scholar at Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies, University of California Santa Barbara. His website is www.ramzybaroud.net.

The nine chapters of this book contain complex characters whose stories overlap, creating echo after resounding echo of their profound collective experience.

To provide a more vivid rendition of emotive personal histories, I have intentionally taken on the personality of each individual story-teller, internalized (as much as it was possible) and re-told their stories in a way that aims to respect the dignity of each narrative, while bearing in mind the receptivity of the readers and their ability to engage with the text.

The final product is closer to the stories of Rosemary Sayigh and Salam Tamari's documenting of people's history than to that of the typical narration of Palestine —subject to redundant political language and historical references devoid of the emotive human sentiment. At times, the narration style may seem somewhat similar to the work of Ghassan Kanafani, Ibrahim Nasrallah, and Abdulrahman Mu-

Ramzy Baroud will be in Olympia at Traditions Fair Trade, 7 pm, Tuesday, February 20, 2018. to present passages from his book and discuss the occupation of Palestine with fresh updates, and analysis covering related politics. The public is encouraged to come.

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What will protect citizens against corporate might?

A letter from Emily Lardner to the Community:

My son Sam Jessup will be sentenced in North Dakota in February for driving Michael Foster to a valve site so that he could turn off the pipeline bringing Alberta tar sands oil to the US. Sam filmed it. He's been convicted of conspiracy charges because the action was planned in advance, and the prosecutor argued that Sam knew what Michael was going to do. I expect that Sam will be sentenced to a period of incarceration, in addition to living with the felony and misdemeanor charges he's been saddled with.

Prior to sentencing, the "victim"--the oil company TransCanada--was allowed to express its "feelings" about the crimes committed against it. In that letter, excerpted below, TransCanada asks the judge to incarcerate both Sam and Michael in order to deter other protestors. They argue that the action was coordinated. They also

cite Michael Foster's quoting of Gandhi as a sign that he lacks remorse for his action. They imply that Sam and Michael's aim to get the climate necessity defense admitted was delusional.

TransCanada's request follows the trajectory laid out by ALEC (described in the January WIP), to criminalize protests against the fossil fuel industry. It's consistent with the "economic terrorism" bill re-introduced by Senator Doug Erickson this session in WA State. At the heart of the matter is whether the right of corporations to profit from fossil fuel extraction and production trumps our collective right to do all we can to stop it. Right now, the fossil fuel industry is winning.

Coordinated legislative actions to criminalize climate protests are supported by ALEC's "fill in the blank"

templates so even newly elected legislators can draft comparable actions in other states, counties and cities. All this activity is funded of course, directly and indirectly, by the corporate interests that benefit from oil extraction in all its forms.

Sam and Michael and the other valve turners and support people are present day Davids, fighting Goliath. At this moment in history, Goliath is likely to walk off the field and Sam and Michael will be put in prison.

What are the rest of us going to do now?

With love and respect and deep deep gratitude to Sam and Michael and the others.

What are the rest of us going to do?

TransCanada: Corrective action letters, fines...or jail time?

Mary Jo Dolis

TransCanada's letter urges "significant" prison time for Sam and Michael to "send a strong message of deterrence" because safe and reliable operation of its facilities "is of utmost importance" to TransCanada: "our pipelines are designed, constructed and operated to achieve very high safety standards..."

TransCanada's record of ruptures, leaks, and violating construction codes gives the lie to their claim of concern for safety. It appears that they need "a strong message of deterrence." If we follow their advice, that could be in the form of significant prison time for its officers. On the other hand, maybe

Sam and Michael simply merit a Corrective Action Letter.

The Transportation Safety Board of Canada issued a Pipeline Investigation Report in 2013:



TransCanada's Integrity Management Program is supposed to prevent pipeline ruptures... It failed, just like it has failed in the other eight pipeline ruptures the corporation has had in Canada since 2009--more ruptures than

any other pipeline company. These ruptures occurred on both recently built pipelines and pipelines that are decades old which raises serious questions about TransCanada's ability to safely design, build and maintain pipelines.

US Pipeline & Hazardous Materials Safety Administration issues continuous warning letters to TransCanada identifying violations of construction codes and Pipeline Safety Regulations, unprecedented anomalies and failure to build to mandated minimum requirements, among other failings. The consequences for TransCanada? Corrective Action letters. Rarely, a fine.

From 2008 to 2015, TransCanada tallied more than 300 "reportable incidents," including ruptures, leaks, fires, explosions, serious injuries, and one death, at its facilities.⁽¹⁾

To take one example: TransCanada's Bison Pipeline came on line in January 2011. That March, US regulators warned the company of "discrepancies," inadequate quality inspection and testing. In July the pipeline exploded near Gilleette, Wyo. (see photo above). The consequences for TransCanada? Yet another Corrective Action Letter.

(1) Hilary Beaumont, Vice News, Nov. 3, 2015

I shut down an oil pipeline--because climate change is a ticking bomb

Emily Johnston

(first printed in The Guardian, 24 November 2017; <http://thegreatstory.org/valve-turners.html#latest>)

A little over a year ago, four friends and I shut down all five pipelines carrying tar sands crude oil into the United States by using emergency shut-off valves. As recent months have made clear, climate change is not only an imminent threat; it is an existing catastrophe. It's going to get worse, and tar sands oil--the dirtiest oil on Earth--is one of the reasons.

We did this very, very carefully--after talking to pipeline engineers, and doing our own research. Before we touched a thing, we called the pipeline companies twice to warn them, and let them turn off the pipelines themselves if they thought that was better; all of them did so.


We knew we were at risk for years in prison. But the nation needs to wake up now to what's coming our way if we don't reduce emissions boldly and fast; business as usual is now genocidal. In shutting off the pipelines, we hoped to be part of that wake-up, to put ourselves in legal jeopardy in order to state dramatically and unambiguously that normal methods of political action and protest are simply not working with anywhere near the speed that we need them to. One major hope of ours was to set legal precedent by using the "necessity defense" and bringing in expert witnesses to testify that because of the egregious nature of tar sands crude and the urgency of the climate crisis, we'd actually been acting in accordance with higher laws. The classic example of a legitimate use of the necessity defense is when someone is arrested for breaking and entering after they hear a baby crying in a burning building, and rush in to save her. Because it requires a high bar of proof -- you must have tried everything else, the danger must be imminent, the action must be likely to be effective -- courts seldom even allow this defense to be argued, or expert witnesses to be brought; their only concern, generally, is did you break and enter? Not why.

Three of our trials (which are in four states) had already rejected the use of the necessity defense. In North Dakota, the judge said essentially "I'm not going to let you put US energy policy on trial". But recently, I and the other Minnesota defendants were finally granted it. I have little doubt that the awful weather events of the last couple of months played some role in this -- it's not just scientists seeing the truth anymore: the building is indeed burning, and all the world's babies are in it. I was struck by the North Dakota judges' implicit understanding that letting science be spoken in her courtroom would have had the effect of putting energy policy on trial -- of reversing, in effect, who was the defendant, and who the prosecutor. We had no demagogues lined up; we had the nation's pre-eminent climate scientist ready, as well as two people who were to speak on the effectiveness of actions such as ours (often referred to as nonviolent resistance). How far awry must a system go, before the laws of physics are forbidden in a court of law?

Yet it is indeed a dangerous thing to speak the truth sometimes--dangerous in particular to those who have been lying to us for decades, and who have gotten very, very rich by doing

► Shut down, continued on page 10

TransCanada
450 – 1st Street SW, Calgary, Alberta, Canada T2
Kristine_delcus@transcanada.com



January 16, 2018

The Honorable Judge Laurie A. Fontaine
Pembina County Courthouse
301 Dakota St. W., #3
Cavalier, ND 58220

Dear Honorable Judge Fontaine,

TransCanada owns and operates the Keystone Pipeline that Michael Foster and Samuel Jessup...attacked in October 2016. In your determination of sentencing for M. Foster and Mr. Jessup, we ask that the sentence reflect the importance of safety in the operation of energy infrastructure, the significant risks Mr. Foster and Mr. Jessup created in the October 2016 attack, the fallacy of their justification for it and their apparent lack of any measure of regret or remorse. We urge you to consider giving significant prison time to the two defendants because a significant period of incarceration will deter future attempts to attack critical energy infrastructure.

The safe and reliable operation of energy infrastructure is of utmost importance to TransCanada. Our pipelines are designed, constructed and operated to achieve very high environmental and safety standards...and to ensure that the public, our employees and the environment are not negatively affected by any incident involving our assets.

...Compliance is extremely important in our daily operations.the community needs to be confident that TransCanada operates safely and in compliance with the laws and regulations that apply in our business...

Regards,

TRANSCANADA PIPELINES LIMITED

Kristine Delcus
Executive Vice President
Stakeholder and Technical Services and General Counsel

(Excerpts from a three page letter sent by TransCanada)

Looking into the foster care system: Who will raise the children?

By Susan Davenport

Regardless of who is doing it, caring for children is hard work, badly paid if paid at all; full of unforeseen challenges, uncertainty, worry and heavy lifting. Yet it is fundamental to the health and future of a society. And all the more so if that society is a democratic one that must have responsible, organized and informed citizens to function.

If and when a parent is not able to care for a child, then—how do we find someone to take their place? We have created “foster care”—an out-of-home placement system administered by the state but largely dependent on the willingness of individuals and families to do the work itself. Can that be the solution?

The children and how they fare

In Washington state, there are close to 10,000 children and youth in foster care in any given month, but the length of stay varies, with the median stay in 2014 ranging from 15 to 18 months. Over 2/3 of the children who enter care are reunited with their parents or placed with a guardian within three years. The remainder are adopted, emancipated, or remain in care. A disproportionate number of those are children of color—a reality that has been examined in depth for over 10 years with little or no impact on the situation despite state initiatives to correct the problem. Children in care can be any age under 18, but they are typically younger. In 2016, over half who entered the system were under 5 years of age.

Long-term mental health effects, educational deficits and other social problems for young adults who languish in foster care over long periods were identified in research conducted in the South Sound several years ago. Local human service workers interviewed for this article offered anecdotal information about children who later became part of the homeless population, the jail/prison system, mental health residential housing or battered women's shelters.

Foster families and who they are

The stated goal, policies and hope for child welfare agencies is that children stay in their families of origin. Preserving the family is a high-minded goal, albeit a policy highly convenient for a system that has nowhere else to put children while their parents get clean; or attend anger management; or find adequate shelter and housing; or a job or subsidies to support the household.

Copious research indicates that children are better served to stay at home with strength-based family support; however safety has to be the highest priority for vulnerable children. The Foster Parent Assn. of Washington (FPAW) with the support of the Washington State Employees Union proposed legislation in the early 2000s to “professionalize” parents and train them to address the varied behavioral and emotional problems of traumatized children.

The legislation would have made foster parents equal partners/coworkers in the care of children who were dependents of the state. Even the most successful and dedicated foster parents perceive a lack of respect and regard from social workers. While the legislature didn't pursue the course laid out by FPAW and WSEU, their effort did produce important improvements to

the system. Via a compelling lawsuit, they also achieved an increase in the amount assigned to cover the cost of providing foster care.

More changes are needed to repair a system that relies on over-stressed social workers to provide retention support to foster parents. They often have to ask that a foster parent be investigated for an alleged incident by the Division of Licensed Resources/CPS—which can result in removal of the child and loss of a family resource. The only recourse foster parents may have in this context is to lodge a complaint with the Office of Constituency Relations or Ombudsmans Office in the Children's Administration itself. Some long-term foster parents have simply left the program rather than be subjected to continued disrespect. The good news is that FPAW perseveres in its effort to make the foster system work for its parents and children.



In 2016, the Children's Administration assessed about 43,800 households. Yet there are not enough foster and adoptive homes available. Children are sent out of the county, kept in less than ideal conditions in marginal foster homes or relative placements. It's not unheard of for a social worker to spend an overnight in the office with a child. Social workers will work with an opioid- or meth-addicted parent in and out of treatment for months to try to keep a child at home. Organiza-

More changes are needed to repair a system that relies on over-stressed social workers to provide retention support to foster parents.

tions like Homebuilders and the WISE program and Family Preservation Services with contracted therapists help make up for the lack of good foster options.

A study group at The Evergreen State College discovered that over 75% of the families doing foster/adoptive care are avowed Christians who attend church at least once per week. The evangelical community has apparently taken on this issue as a moral obligation, tied to their belief in home, family and child-rearing. They have become a big presence in the foster/adoptive community. Their recruitment message is shared from the pulpit and word of mouth throughout faith communities.

The study in effect raises a question about the absence of progressives among foster families—where are those who understand the role of social issues and the importance of raising strong citizens?

The “Safe Families” movement in some faith communities is fueled by an intention to keep children safe and families intact. Through Host Families, Family Friends and Family Coaches, church members get licensed as foster parents, or temporary hosts who provide a network of support to families in crisis while they get back on their feet. The Safe Families movement makes it simple for churches and individuals to connect with them through 1-800-555-CHILD.

The state and their agents

This year, Washington continues to build a new Department of Children, Youth and Families (DCYF) intended to improve how the state serves at-risk children. This will reconfigure DSHS but retain the county-based system where workers find foster homes licensed by the Department of Licensed Resources. DCYF will continue to contract with private agencies to place children in licensed homes, including homes licensed to serve those with special needs – the medically fragile or emotionally and behaviorally disturbed.

Whether DCYF will be able to change the practices that fragment and drag out recruitment and licensing of families remains to be seen. A recent study by Partners for Our Children concluded as follows:

The number of children in care has increased while the number of newly licensed homes has decreased. Kinship placements have increased as have the demands on foster parents. The cost of living including child-care and boarding rates plus maternal employment affects the pool of potential foster parents, especially the availability of foster parents of color. Placing infants and adolescents poses a great challenge. DSHS policies on confidentiality contribute to foster parents feeling “shut out” of information about children in their homes. There needs to be better coordination of strategies to recruit and retain foster homes.

We no longer have orphanages. When a child no longer has a home—or the home is no longer safe, we only have the fostering system. That system today faces a crisis for many reasons – budget cuts, stigmatization of families and children, lack of awareness, low-waged work, burdens even on intact families.... Yet these children are our future. If their birth parents cannot do the work of raising them, it's up to us.

Susan Davenport was a licenser, recruiter and trainer for foster/adoptive families, a foster mother for teens and member of the FPAWs board. Her life work has been serving children youth and families. She currently works in an agency that seeks offers family preservation services to prevent children going into out of home placement.

Sources: Foster Parents Association of Washington State (interviews), Washington State Childrens Administration (staff interviews, website, reports), Partners for our Children (reports), Child Welfare League of America, Jim Casey Youth Initiative, Casey Family Programs, Childrens' Bureau (federal gov't.).

Help raise the next generation of citizens

There are lots of ways to help: becoming a full-fledged foster parent, signing up to offer “respite care” and give foster parents a break, joining one of the groups that support foster parents or act as mentors to youth, working in the legislative arena to promote laws that help keep families together in the first place. You can also help to get the word out about the need for foster care and the foster care crisis.

If you are a business, you can offer to put up posters or information about foster care. If you are in communications, you can help an agency network, have them on your radio or TV station, or help them build an ad campaign. You can offer discounts for foster parents, which is especially helpful for businesses that cater to families (such as restaurants, toy stores, activity centers, sporting events, book stores, coffee shops, and more!). Finally, there is simply the importance of discovering more about the fate of children growing up outside of their home in Washington, and in turn helping to create dialogue about the foster care crisis. The creation this year of the Dept. of Children, Youth and Families could bring in new energy and broader participation that might bode well for the health of the system and the people in it.

Become a licensed foster parent:

DSHS and certain private agencies will set up an interview and conduct the home study that leads to licensing. Go to <https://www.fosteringtogether.org> to learn about the various ways to get licensed (including respite care). This website has links to DSHS as well as private agencies. Fostering Together has liaisons in each area to help with the licensing process including how to manage wait times (DSHS wait-times can be quite long), navigate hurdles or even help find an agency that has no wait time.

Join a group that supports foster parents:

Check out our local Family Education and Support Center <http://familyess.org/contacts>. FESS offers a huge range of services, and in collaboration with the State Training Alliance provides monthly training and support for foster/adoption parents at the Children's Museum. Become a mentor to a youngster: Stone-wall Youth (Olympia), The Mockingbird Society (Seattle and surrounding areas), Foster Care to Success, CASA (Court Appointed Special Advocates), Big Brothers Big Sisters, Foster Youth in Action. Friends of the Children (Seattle) Help in the legislative arena: Foster Parents Assn. of Washington State supports and advocates for foster families. Their website links to all the key organizations that affect foster parenting and gives a clear picture of some of the main issues for foster parents. The Mockingbird Society works to provide opportunities for kids in the foster system and to improve outcomes for them and the parents.



The origins of Black History Month

Emily Lardner

"Those who have no record of what their forebears have accomplished lose the inspiration which comes from the teaching of biography and history."
Carter G. Woodson, 1933

"America was built on the preferential treatment of white people—395 years of it. Vaguely endorsing a cuddly, feel-good diversity does very little to redress this."
—Ta-Nehisi Coates, 2014

My first experience with Black History Month was in 1971, at Washington Junior High School (WJHS), my neighborhood school, in Rock Island, IL. That year I was chosen as a school “ambassador” to spend a day in a different part of town, at Central Junior High. I realized that day that I was white, because most of the kids at Central were black. Even though my social studies teacher, Chuck Paradiso, included Black History month in the curriculum, we never talked about the historical origins of our racially segregated city. By the time I experienced it, Black History Month had become a celebration of famous people.

The Origins of Black History Month

When Carter Godwin Woodson proposed Negro History Week in 1926, he was aiming to correct two blinding wrongs: the absence of black people from in all aspects of the school curriculum, and the misrepresentation of black people in instances when they were present. As he wrote in 1933 in The Mis-Education of the Negro,

“No systematic effort toward change has been possible, for, taught the same economics, history, philosophy, literature and religion which have established the present code of morals, the Negro’s mind has been brought under the control of his oppressor. The problem of holding the Negro down, therefore, is easily solved. When you control a man’s thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his “proper place” and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary.”

From Woodson’s perspective, the purpose of Negro History Week, situated between the birthdays of Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln in February, was political. As Woodson explained, “If you teach the Negro that he has accomplished as much good as any other race he will aspire to equality and justice without regard to race. Such an effort would upset the program of the oppressor in Africa and America. Play up before the Negro, then, his crimes and shortcomings. Let him learn to admire the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin and the Teuton. Lead the Negro to detest the man of African blood—to hate himself.”

Black history will always haunt us

Black history doesn’t flatter American democracy, Ta-Nehisi Coates writes in a June 2014 article for The Atlantic, nearly a century after Woodson founded what we now call Black History Month, and yet we cannot escape our past. Coates writes, “It is as though we have run up a credit-card bill and, having pledged to charge no more, remain befuddled that the balance does not disappear. The effects of that balance, interest accruing daily, are all around us.” Our history haunts us.

Black History Month cannot do the work Woodson intended it to do—to “free the Negro’s mind that has been brought under the control of his oppressor,” nor can it do the work Coates argues it needs to do, until we acknowledge our white supremacist origins. The roots of our economy and our democracy lie in the institution of slavery. As Coates puts it, “By erecting a slave society, America created the economic foundation for its great experiment in democracy.” Other historians agree, including, most recently, Edward E. Baptist, author of The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism.

Resist “patriotism a la carte”

Talking about slavery makes white people uncomfortable—“I didn’t do it.” But in his 2014 article, entitled “The Case for Reparations,” Coates rebuts that position and with it, all the widely accepted and expected gestures of patriotism—playing the national anthem at sporting events, waving the flag on the 4th of July. Coates writes:

“One cannot escape the question by hand-waving at the past, disavowing the acts of one’s ancestors, nor by citing a recent date of ancestral immigration. The last slaveholder has been dead for a very long time. The last soldier to endure Valley Forge has been dead much longer. To proudly claim the veteran and disown the slaveholder is patriotism à la carte. A nation outlives its generations. We were not there when Washington crossed the

Delaware, but Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze’s rendering has meaning to us. We were not there when Woodrow Wilson took us into World War I, but we are still paying out the pensions. If Thomas Jefferson’s genius matters, then so does his taking of Sally Hemings’ body. If George Washington crossing the Delaware matters, so must his ruthless pursuit of the runaway Oney Judge.”

In this month of Black History, let’s agree that we will not practice patriotism a la carte. Let’s celebrate the accomplishments of Black people, but let’s also reflect on the genesis of our country’s economy in the institution of slavery and the hypocrisy built into the founding principles of our democratic institutions which allowed it.

Emily Lardner lives and writes in Washington.

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Shutdown

From page 8

so. Those who are also, at the moment, running our country.

So I find myself feeling peculiarly exposed now. When I first heard the news, elated, I called and texted and emailed family and friends. I deeply regretted that my mother—who died in June—didn’t live long enough to see us do our best to change legal history. I wish she had known that a judge had been persuaded by the

legitimacy of our argument (if not yet of its rightness) — a judge, no less, in a county where the pipeline company, Enbridge, is the single largest property tax payer.

I’m heartened by the way the law can be supple—not a thing that, once set, holds that exact shape forever (or we’d still have slavery, and I couldn’t vote or marry), but a thing that responds—slowly—to our evolving understanding of what is just and true. When it comes to climate change, there’s little enough to feel heartened by, so I’ll take it.

Well, this used up your tax cut, so the balance of \$11.28 was charged to your social security.

2840

AND you earned 3 gas points today.

A Playback Theatre performance

Inspirational Dreams

In collaboration with KOKUA and featuring the Thunders

Friday, February 9, 2018 • 7:30 p.m.

Traditions Café – 300 5th Ave. SW downtown Olympia

Cost: Suggested Donation \$7.00-\$12.00 (No one is turned away)

Each month we invite a guest artist(s), community organization, arts program or social service agency to be a part of our performance. Through this collaboration we acknowledge and honor the work individuals and organizations do in our community.

This month we collaborate with KOKUA, whose mission is to provide individuals with the support needed to live full and meaningful lives. We will also feature the talents of the Thunders.

Playback Theatre is a spontaneous collaboration between performers and audience. People tell moments from their lives, then watch them re-created with movement, music and dialogue.

Community and technical college students organize for political change

Coordinated steps in the right direction

Enrique Quintero with
Andy Gonzalez

Putting an end to passivity

The Washington Community and Technical College Student Association (WACTCSA) has been busy, and they are about to get busier as the legislative season picks up.

At first glance, developing a common legislative platform representing the needs and interests of three hundred and forty thousand students spread over thirty-four community and technical colleges might seem to be a daunting task. In reality, however, that's exactly the work that WACTCSA has been doing.

In the last few years WACTCSA has successfully asserted itself as a legitimate student organization able to delineate and identify a set of priorities related to the conditions of its members. WACTCSA's growing strength as a political organization has the potential to significantly re-structure key ele-

ments of higher education in Washington state.

To better understand the work being done by WACTCSA, Works In Progress conducted a combined written and face-to-face interview with Andy Gonzales, a Grays Harbor College student actively involved in this work.

WACTCSA's growing strength as a political organization has the potential to significantly re-structure key elements of higher education in Washington state.

Strategic Goals

WACTCSA has developed two complementary sets of goals, strategic goals and tactical goals. WACTCSA's legislative agenda for 2017-2018 focuses on four strategic goals:

K-AA: A Redefinition of Basic Education in the Washington State Constitution: According to our state constitution, all residents in the state are guaranteed access to a basic educa-

tion. Washington State currently defines 'basic education' as a K-12 education. Yet a high school diploma is no longer enough to give a person equal access to quality jobs, with studies showing that by 2020, 65% of all jobs in the US will require post-secondary education. To meet this demand, every resident of Washington should have access to higher education as promised in the Washington State Constitution. Therefore, WACTCSA urges our state legislators to amend the definition of "basic education" to guarantee education from kindergarten to an associate's degree.

All students who are Washington residents would be able to obtain a technical certificate or associate degree, which in turn would make our workforce more competitive and strengthen our state's economy.

Ban the Box: Fair Chance Employment and Housing for the Justice-Involved: All of our students and graduates deserve equal opportunity and access to employment and housing regardless of criminal background. In light of recent legislation to support higher education in correctional facilities, the state should focus on supporting these students who are looking toward reintegration after serving their sentence. To increase employment and housing opportunities, and to reduce recidivism and racial disparity in the criminal justice system, we support legislation that will limit disclosure of criminal history on job and housing applications. There should be no "check boxes" that ask on screening applications if individuals have ever committed a crime: ban the box!

Textbooks and Open Educational Resources (O.E.R.s) Affordability and Accessibility: CTC students continue to have concerns about the prohibitive cost of educational resources for courses offered in the CTC system. We want to ensure that CTC students have equitable access to affordable content to support their education. We appreciate former legislative action supporting the development of OERs. We support even more development of OERs in our CTC system. The legislature should establish greater incentives and funding for specific staff members on each campus to facilitate OER development.

Higher Education for Undocumented Students: Washington residents are guaranteed education regardless of documentation status and we feel the legislature should lead efforts to pursue widespread access to affordable higher education. Many undocumented students are unaware of existing resources and scholarship funding. We believe public and private resources that are available should be communicated effectively. Ensuring applications are available in each student's preferred language is a component of this. We feel training should be mandated and implemented for faculty and staff so they are better prepared to handle undocumented students.

Tactical goals

For Andy Gonzales, a business student and Executive Officer of Government Relations for Associated Students at Grays Harbor College, the strategic

priorities are not simply a theoretical exercise; they are connected to tactical goals. For Andy, strategic goals risk being illusory in the absence of specific, tactical actions planned to achieve the ends envisioned.

According to Andy, central to the tactics of WACTCSA are legislative academies: "The Council for Unions and Student Programs (CUSP) offers four legislative academies. These four academies comprise a system-wide leadership initiative focused on elevating students' concerns regarding their and peers' college experience. CUSP works in coordination with the WACTC State Board to help continue a tradition between students and college governance."

Each of these academies has a specific purpose with expected outcomes. According to Andy, the following academies are in place:

Legislative Voice Academy: Provides a recap and reflection on work done by WACTCSA during the legislative session, and the development of the WACTCSA Legislative Agenda.

WACTCSA Summer Training: A one-day conference to build relationships with various legislative components, to increase understanding of legislative processes, and to build partnerships and plans for initiating legislation.

WACTCSA Legislative Track and Officer Voting: This academy seeks to bring new and continuing students together to receive training on WACTCSA and engage in leader-

ship development.

Legislative Academy: This academy focuses on legislative messaging and communicating with legislators in conjunction with other CTC constituents.

Students as social instruments of change

Much has been written about the role of student movements in society. In essence, the debate gravitates around the following questions: a) do student movements have the potential to become "the single spark that can start a prairie fire"—to borrow an old Maoist phrase—or, b) given the overall middle-class condition of its members, and the transient status of their identity as students, do students constitute a progressive force per se?

There is not a yes or no answer to either question. It all depends on the specific historical conditions of a given society. Though this is not the place to discuss the conditions that make possible the political radicalization of groups or classes, it suffices here to point out a historical fact. Student movements have confronted modern dictatorships and authoritarian governments in all continents: from Chile to Mexico and the US; from Japan to Korea and the Philippines; from Italy, Spain, France, and Portugal, to Germany and the UK; from Egypt to Liberia and South Africa, etc., etc. All over the world, students have been present in the struggle for a better and more just society. All over the world they have encountered opposition, and sometimes, violent repression costing many of them their lives.

Continued on next page

“Death penalty does not work. It makes problems worse. Let’s abolish it.”

The death penalty promises many things but does NOT deliver what it promises. It does NOT deter murder, provide justice, help victims' families, get used on "the worst of the worst," or save money.

Instead of doing what it supposedly intends to do, the death penalty makes problems worse and causes more problems. It escalates the cycle of violence and the U.S.'s culture of violent punishment. It is similar to the U.S.'s violent foreign policy. Many innocent people are sentenced to death. (From the mid-1970s through 2017, there were 161 persons on death row who turned out to be innocent!) Some innocent persons have been executed. The death penalty is biased by race and socioeconomic class and by mental disability. It wastes taxpayers' money. Some people want to limit appeals, but that would cause even more innocent persons to be executed.

We can let go of the death penalty and still be safe. Some people think we need the death penalty in order to be safe. However, this fear assumes that the death penalty is commonly assigned to murder cases, and it assumes that the absence of the death penalty would leave a great void. Both assumptions are FALSE.

Relatively few death sentences actually end up with executions. In the modern era, Washington State has imposed dozens of death sentences but executed only 5 persons. In Washington State and many other states the default sentence for that kind of murder case is "life without parole," so we actually are not using the death penalty very much, even though we have wasted many millions of taxpayers' dollars without the "payoff" of executing anyone. The "life without parole" sentence

is actually what typically happens here, even when death sentences have been imposed.

Here is a three-step strategy for abolishing the death penalty:

1. Make the death penalty a hot issue that society absolutely must discuss seriously.
2. Persuade a majority of public opinion that the death penalty is fatally flawed. Undermine public support for the death penalty by showing that:
 - It does NOT deliver what it promises, and
 - It actually makes some problems worse and causes new problems.
3. Provide alternatives that will meet the public desire for safety without resorting to the death penalty. (The two paragraphs before this 3-point list summarizes this.)

The TV program ends with some suggestions for a winning strategy — and some sources of additional information.

People anywhere can watch this February 2018 TV program at any time and also read a transcript and links to sources of more information. Simply visit www.parallaxperspectives.org and click "TV Programs" or "Death Penalty." Look for this TV episode's title, "Death Penalty Does Not Work. It Makes Problems Worse. Let's Abolish it."

Also, cable TV subscribers in Thurston County have 14 opportunities during February to watch it. It will air on TCTV cable channel 22 every Monday at 1:30 pm, every Wednesday at 5:00 pm, and every Thursday at 9:00 pm.

Questions? Contact the producer/host of "Glen's Parallax Perspectives," Glen Anderson, at (360) 491-9093 glenanderson@integra.net



Students organize

From previous page
Within this context, it is not fortuitous—to provide a classic example—that at the same time that Spain's fascist dictator Francisco Franco imposed right-wing curricula in all education institutions, he relocated the main universities' campuses far from the main cities or urban centers. The intent was to 'sanitize' and make physically difficult political collaboration between students and the rest of the population.

Beauty may be produced, but under command

Noam Chomsky points to a similar action, not in form but in content, that took place in the United States as a response to the 60's student movement. The students had organized against the Viet Nam war, and in favor of the struggle for people of color deprived of Civil Rights after two hundred years of living the fictitious narrative that the nation was a democracy. According to Chomsky, the elites and right-wing ideologues of this country realized that "the institutions in charge of the indoctrination of the young [had]

failed." Consequently they implemented a series of restrictions seeking to eliminate the options that enabled students to engage in activism. Some of these restrictions involved a re-organization of curricula, making them more regimentally organized and even more dependent on the interests of the market, while at the same time limiting the possibilities of academic critique within campuses. In other words, the US went through a massive process of standardizing students in an effort to inculcate passivity and socially contemplative behavior. To illustrate his point, Chomsky quotes Humboldt, who observed that the restriction of democracy and individual freedom in academic institutions "may occasionally produce some beauty but always under command."

Back to the future?

A kind of historical irony was present as I interviewed Andy Gonzales. Almost exactly to the date, 100 years ago in Cordoba, Argentina, students of the University of Cordova occupied the campus and launched a series of demands that has served as a source of inspiration for most universities in Latin America and other countries until today.

Here are some of the most important features of the *Cordoba Manifesto*:

- a) Institutionalization of student participation in university councils, joining professors and alumni in a three-party system known as co-governance.
- b) A linkage between student politics and national politics in order to mobilize the university toward the solution of economic, social and political problems.
- c) An emphasis on university extension, particularly courses for workers that would lead to the development of fraternal bonds with the proletariat.
- d) Tuition-free education and open admission for all academically qualified applicants, replacing the elitist and archaic 19th century university with a democratic, modern and mass university.
- e) A defense of institutional autonomy with respect to the state.
- f) Institutionalization of mechanisms to protect academic freedom, including the implementation of "free teaching" (docencia libre) to ensure academic pluralism and to break the monopoly of teaching enjoyed by senior professors (catedráticos).
- g) Promotion of new ideas, innovative methods of teaching, changes in exam systems, optional classroom attendance, original research, and a

- rejection of dogmatism, all leading to the replacement of theology by positivist disciplines.
- h) Selection of faculty through open, competitive examinations in order to counteract nepotism and patronage, and promotion of professors on the basis of merit and achievement rather than seniority.
- i) Enlargement and diversification of professional training through the establishment of new professional schools.
- j) An understanding of university life as a truly communitarian experience, encouraging the development of a population of full-time professors and full-time students.

I shared the demands of the Argentinian youth of a century ago with Andy. He took his time reading them, and after a short silence he said "Wow!" I sense he is too polite to say what he appears to be thinking, along the lines of "this is hard to believe." We talked about his views on how to link WACTC-SA with what's going on with national politics. "DACA", he says without hesitation. I think he is on the right path.

Enrique Quintero lives and writes in Washington. Andy Gonzalez is a student at Grays Harbor College.

Capital budget plan prioritizes K-12 school construction and mental health

From news releases

On January 19, Governor Inslee signed a 2017-19 capital budget with \$4.17 billion in total spending and \$2.72 billion in bonds. The budget was passed after a year's delay when legislators agreed to new rules governing small water wells.

The capital budget plan prioritizes K-12 school construction needs with \$933 million allocated for the School Construction Assistance Program. These funds will help address a record number of local school bond levy needs across the state. An additional \$35 million is set aside for small, ru-

ral district modernization grants. Additionally, \$860 million is included for higher education facilities.

With psychiatric wards consistently over capacity, the budget also allocates \$136.5 million for community-based and institution funding for construction projects, including:

- ▶ Statewide investments in behavioral health community capacity;
- ▶ Security updates and renovations at Eastern and Western State Hospital;
- ▶ Adds 128 minimum-security beds for female offenders with mental

- health disorders at Maple Lane; and
 - ▶ Funds the development of a statewide plan to inform future funding decisions.
- The plan also allocates \$106.5 million for the Housing Trust Fund, including:
- ▶ Supportive housing and case-management services for people with chronic mental illness;
 - ▶ Housing projects that benefit those affected by natural disasters; and
 - ▶ Veteran housing projects.

Other highlights include investments in the Public Works Assistance Account, with \$97 million for the currently authorized loan list, and \$19 million for preconstruction and emergency loans. Additionally, \$80 million is allocated for the Washington Wildlife and Recreation Program for critical habitat, farmland preservation, local parks, riparian protection, trails and water access.

The compromise on water involved devoting more tax money for persons drilling new wells to serve households, along with some restrictions on the amount of water to be pumped, depending on water scarcity in the relevant region.

Remembering Father Bix

Michael Honey

This February marks the 3-year anniversary of the passing of Father Bill Bichsel of Tacoma. He continues to be remembered as an exemplary advocate for human rights, racial justice and anti-war causes.

Father Bix (full name William Bichsel) was born in 1928 and raised in a large Catholic household by a railroad engineer and a mother who fed the homeless and unemployed during the Depression. He naturally took the side of the poor, homeless and oppressed.

Bix has been described by those who knew him as a humble, self-deprecating man, often dressed in denim, without a clerical collar, always on the move. Instead of becoming tired and old in his later years, he traveled the country and the world witnessing for peace and human fellowship.

Arrested 46 times, he spent about 2.5 years in prison. Few people will say we can eliminate nuclear weapons and war, but Bix said we can, and many of us came to believe him and dedicate ourselves to the task. In 1988, Bix made waves on the Tacoma evening news, arrested for challenging Reagan administration support for

military juntas and their death squads in Central America; he'd done so by interrupting a speech of then Vice President George W.H. Bush.

Jesuit Fr. John Whitney, pastor of St. Joseph Parish in Seattle, recalled being with Bichsel that evening at Seattle University: Bischel shouted, "What about the poor?" at Bush a number of times, Whitney said.

"Bush responded by turning to the audience and saying, 'Boy, you get all kinds of nuts around here, don't you?' I am not one who finds yelling out questions to be my thing, but Bush's response was so patronizing and arrogant toward a Jesuit whose methods were not mine but whose point was certainly reasonable that I got peeved. At which point, I stood up and yelled, 'Why don't you answer the question?' Repeatedly. I was removed by our security people, and Bix, as was his desire, was arrested."

While he acknowledged the impor-

tance of talking about problems, Bix asked us, in his unimposing, gentle way, to do something about them. At the G Street community on Tacoma's Hilltop, less than a mile from where he was born, Bix helped create institutions of care and compassion that continue today. He strongly identified with Martin Luther King Jr., and he wove Native American beliefs into his liturgies.

As his friends and colleagues held vigils during the week that Bix lay dying in February 2015, an elderly African-American woman recalled, "Father Bichsel was the first white person I knew who stood up for black people." After a lifetime of work for peace and justice, his greatest gift to his community was to know how to use his knowledge, experience and energy in the service of others, with humility and grace.

Michael Honey is the Fred and Dorothy Haley Professor of Humanities at the University of Washington Tacoma.

Photo of Fr. Bix by Loren Bliss.



VICS

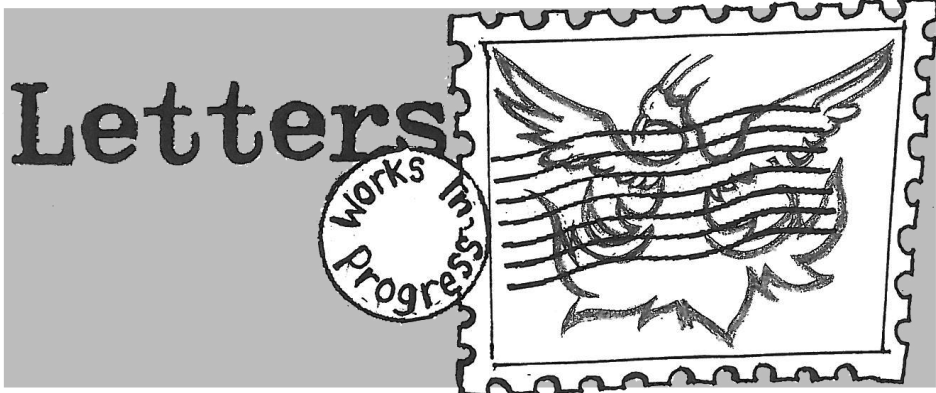
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Inequality

Resources of this earth are here for all life. Nature never intended hoarders to accumulate and keep enough for a thousand lifetimes while others go hungry and unsheltered. Squirrels only put away enough for a year or two. Human toleration of this disease can be short tempered.

This inequality can be very easily corrected at change of generations. All legacies and grants given in anticipation of death that exceed \$10 million given to an individual or institution should be taxed 99%. This is fair and just and does not hinder personal initiative. It also spreads the wealth around if they do not wish to pay taxes. Inherited money is not earned by those who receive it. If the accu-

mulator chooses to pay the taxes this is also a fair way to repay the society that granted him this opportunity of success.

If those of great wealth cannot see the justice of this and use their power of money to kill such a just change, this must be dealt with. Many of us do not believe in capital punishment, but we must realistically recognize the lessons of history. Those who refuse to bend to the will of the people often meet with earlier composting. Harsh? Yes, but it does in a small way give them a opportunity to earlier repay nature for the damage that access greed has brought about.

J. Glenn Evans is a novelist, poet and political activist.

A letter to the community,

Thank you to all who supported the “Jingle of Hope,” a volunteer clean-up of Olympia’s largest homeless encampment,

I stand on the eve of Jingle of Hope, my stomach in my throat, at the point of no return. I wake nervous about the volunteers who will be showing up soon. It’s too vulnerable for us, this invitation of the housed to our camp. But we’ve passed the point where hiding away can keep us safe; we must risk exposure, must risk the rejection we fear. Evictions we’ve survived, the evictions we expect; the complacency over of our need for knowing our shelter won’t be stolen from us—it instills shame and mistrust. Getting run out of our camps with nowhere to go is persecution and discrimination; an invitation to the housed class is painfully vulnerable.

In all battles there is a cease fire. With that comes change, change on both sides. The winds bite at me telling me that it is gonna hurt. Both sides. Both have to give something now and we must embrace it - too much has been lost. Now is the time to begin knowing how to be Normal like the Housed... not scorned or shamed but able to move without fear. And those who come to our side, able to embrace us with open arms this once, giving from just plain old Love. We’re crying inside, just wanting, holding Hope that we matter, Hope to be seen and to see the lights go on in a person’s face.

With that fear and hope, I have no choice but to persevere and soon the work of volunteers shows itself—areas

of trash cleared, the surplus of shopping carts dwindling and my reservations turn to amazement and appreciation. Our security is threatened by the fact that so many are more upset about shopping carts and trash than the fact that so many lack a legal place to stay warm and dry. But the volunteers understand the stakes - that without placating those who don’t value us, we’ll face shelterlessness.

I’ve experienced shelterlessness, lost my tent to the city. Lost my tent, my belongings. Slept under a bridge, woken up wet, aching, never quite sleeping, my mind turning into a fog as I never quite sleep, never quite feel warm, struggling to walk through rain and snow to keep fed. I’ve watched others lose their shelter, seen people cope with the pain and despair with needles; chemicals, seen mental states deteriorate or shatter altogether.

But I’d like to acknowledge those who understand and have done something about it. Thank you for your work, the donations, for bringing carts and tools. Because of their help my homeless family has more security, may be able to live in the Jungle of Hope at least until the rain clears.

Special thanks to: Socialist Party USA –South Sound Organizing Area, Green Party of South Puget Sound, Olympia Industrial Workers of the World, Olympia Democratic Socialists of America, Thurston County Democrats, Oly Embrace, GruB,Thurston County Needle Exchange, Indivisible Thurston

—Phoenix and the Jingle of Hope

Labor Notes Conference

April 6-8 in Chicago

Grassroots union activists, worker center leaders, and all-around troublemakers gather for workshops and meetings at the Labor Notes annual conference.

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Workshops and meetings begin at 1 p.m. Friday, April 6, and end at 3 p.m. Sunday, April 8.

Location: **Hyatt Regency O’Hare** at Chicago’s O’Hare Airport. It’s near the Rosemont CTA train station (Blue Line).

For more information call 718-284-4144 or e-mail conference@labornotes.org.

Fight for \$15 campaign kicks off 2018 with new plan of action

Wanda Rogers
“Fight for \$15” campaign

The Fight for \$15 campaign is gearing up for a renewed fight for a \$15 minimum wage and union rights in 2018. Below are their points for the new year of action:

- Making higher wages and strong unions key issues in the 2018 elections—Any governor who cuts wages and guts unions is no friend of workers, period. Workers across sectors are struggling. The loss of good union jobs has created a drag on wages and fractured economic opportunity in America. Every worker needs a union and 99% of workers need a raise. We want politicians to do more than talk about “jobs.”
- Keeping up the pressure on McDonald’s in the UK with #McStrike – Last September, McDonald’s workers in the UK went on #McStrike and won the largest wage increase for McDonald’s workers in ten years. But that’s not enough—they’ll be striking again and we’ll stand with them until every worker has a wage that’s fair and their union rights respected.
- Going all in with the Poor People’s

Campaign—Across the nation, a moral revival is happening. People are coming together to pick up the mantle of Dr. King’s unfinished work. Fight for \$15 is proud to join this heroic and historic effort to take aim at racism, poverty, militarism, and environmental destruction.

- Supporting NYC fast food workers’ organization—Survival isn’t enough. If working people are going to thrive in the 21st century, they need new ways to organize. Fast food workers in NYC won \$15 for workers statewide but they are not stopping. They’ve launched a new organization to ensure that every fast food worker in NYC has someone fighting for them.
- Continuing the ‘40 for \$15’ campaign—It’s simple: the 64 million people who make less than \$15 an hour demand nothing less than elected officials who support raising our standard of living—and if they don’t support us, they won’t get our votes.

To get involved in these efforts, visit **fightfor15.org** or find Fight for \$15 on Facebook.

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Farmworkers Resist and Organize: Connected Struggles for Farmworker Justice in South Africa and the US

Edgar Franks

This past October I was part of the delegation sent by the US Food Sovereignty Alliance to South Africa. The delegation is part of a process to connect groups throughout Africa with US-based Food Sovereignty groups to build an international analysis on the food system and to be in solidarity with one another.

A broadly representative farm delegation

During the 11 days our delegation was in South Africa, we were able to meet with many organizations throughout different regions, each with their unique struggles. Our delegation was small but represented many sectors within the food system, including farmworkers, Black farmers, and immigrants. We all brought our own expertise to the trip and complemented each other well.

This article will focus on the farmworker struggle in Robertson, in the Western Cape, as there was a familiarity with the way issues and conditions were discussed. The shared analysis resonated with me profoundly, considering that farmworkers here in the United States experience the same exploitation.

Organizing beyond a union contract

At Community to Community in Washington, we try to recognize that the struggle for farmworker justice is not limited to the workplace. Farmworkers' lives are complex and have many intersections which is why we know that in order to achieve our goals – especially when it comes to transforming the food system—we must go beyond fighting for union contracts. Food Sovereignty for farmworkers also means being recognized as humans who are capable of leading ourselves. That is why we also organize for immigrant rights, climate justice, and women's rights.

South African farmers are among the most marginalized

In South Africa, farm workers are some of the most marginalized. Conditions in their workplace or community have not changed much. Even as South Africa has transitioned from the apartheid government that had ruled since the late 1940s into a Black-led government headed by the African National Congress, economic justice has not reached the farm workers. Even though there are thousands of farmworkers, less than 4% are unionized. Workers face precarious conditions having to deal with labor brokers, abusive supervisors, physical violence, and sexual harassment. These conditions reached a boiling point in 2012 when thousands of workers organized a strike but were then repressed by the police.

A unionizing drive includes the community

It is under these conditions that The Commercial, Stevedoring, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union (CSAAWU) which has been on the frontlines for over 10 years has had to organize.

When the transfer of power occurred, there was an expectation that workers would benefit under a new government that was black led. Instead, only a certain few benefitted. Whereas in the past, farmworkers were hopeful that with the abolition of apart-

heid, the government would be able to improve conditions; conditions under this new government remain the same. CSAAWU recognized that organizing with farmworkers needed to be deeper than just organizing in the workplace; they also have to organize in the community to respond to the numerous social inequalities that exist in the lives of farmworkers. The Union also organizes with immigrant workers who come from primarily Mozambique and Zimbabwe and face similar treatment as immigrants here in the United States, such as wage theft and human trafficking by labor brokers.

Out of the 2012 farmworker strike there was a list of 23 demands which came out of a series of dialogues.



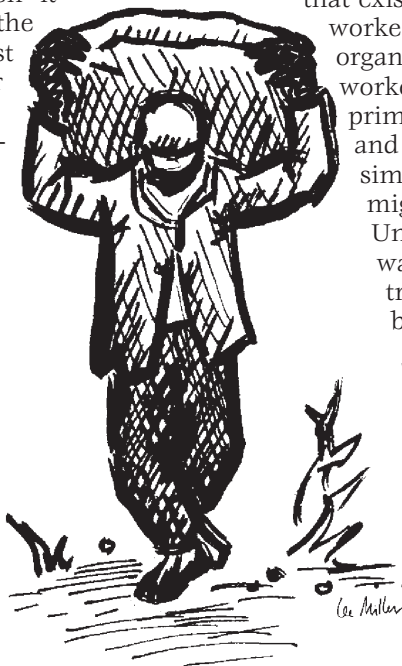
Among the principal concerns is receiving a just wage. The farmworkers are asking for no less than 250 Rand for an 8-hour work day, which

is almost equivalent to \$16 in the US. Many of the workers are picking oranges for corporations like Dole, and in grape vineyards for wines that are for export to Europe and in some part of the United States. Hardly any of the fruits or vegetables picked are for local markets.

Gains for a Black Middle Class only

The issue of class was raised as well. From what I gathered from our conversations, in the past when the apartheid government was ruling, farmworkers felt that it was the racist government that was oppressing them. The “Boers” (White Farmers) were protected by the state and anytime workers threatened to organize or strike, they were immediately broken and arrested by the police. When Nelson Mandela became president of South Africa farmworkers felt that they were finally going to get justice. However instead of seeing their conditions improve, the farmworkers saw only the creation of a black and colored middle class that was not too interested in making sure that workers had economic gains. If anything, the black middle class drove a wedge between poor people and the new black leadership. In essence, the middle class was functioning to protect white supremacy by keeping the farmworkers down.

Continued on next page



Working for export companies instead of owning your own land

CSAAWU partners with Mawubuye, which is a land rights movement. It recognizes that the path for freedom from exploitation is for farmworkers to have their own land and not have to sell their labor for exploitative wages. There was a period of hope under the new government in 1994 when there were talks to redistribute formerly white owned lands back to black people. The goal was to have 30% of land that was owned by whites be redistrib-

uted back to black people by 2018, but currently only 5% of land has been redistributed.

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Farmworkers Middle Resist

From previous page

Sharing the same ugly conditions delivered by the same corporate system

Looking at the list of demands, they are almost exactly the same to the demands of US based farmworkers. Seeing the demands and hearing the stories clearly pointed to how systemic racism and poverty are built in to the agricultural industry. Workers in South Africa and in the US are facing a similar system of oppression. Whether it is getting paid by piece rate or not having kids in the fields, these are the same issues you see at any farm around the world. It is going to take a global farmworkers movement to transform the system and shift it away from the exploitative one that exists right now, to one that is humane and just. Food Sovereignty means that workers get to determine their conditions at work and in their community and that you can't only have justice at the workplace, that you must also have justice in your community.

Edgar Franks is an Organizer with Community to Community Development in Bellingham, WA

This article is the second in the South Africa-US Agroecology Exchange Article Series.



From page 1
neighborhoods, and pre-empt neighborhood planning?

Enter the developers and contractors

Many property owners can add an ADU, but only developers and contractors are likely to be in a position to finance units such as fourplexes and apartments. It looks like the big winners here will be the developers. The MM is not an idea unique to Olympia. It originated in California as the brainchild of architect Daniel Parolek, who helped create Disneyland Tokyo. As the latest planning bandwagon, it is moving up the west coast. Seattle has been affected: the historic fishing fleet neighborhood of Ballard has totally vanished. Bellingham is alert and agitated and has taken up the slogan “Don’t Ballardize Bellingham.” Right now, it looks like Olympia is directly in the path to becoming the next target.

Check out the MM on the City's website. Be sure to look at the maps to see what the changes mean for your neighborhood.

If the City wants affordable housing for its less affluent citizens, it has to mandate it through its land use regulations. Trickle-down economics didn’t work in the 80’s. Trickle-down housing won’t work now.

Note: the City continues to work on its MM proposal, and changes made after this article was written will not be captured.

Judy Bardin holds a Bachelor of Science in Nursing, Masters in Environmental Health, and a Doctorate in Epidemiology. She has worked as an Environmental Epidemiologist for the State Department of Health, and served on the Olympia Planning Commission and the Olympia Utility Advisory Committee.

Note: The Coalition of Neighborhood Associations is asking the city to provide more opportunities for citizen participation before it moves to any decision on this change that promises to fundamentally alter the nature of Olympia. You can check out the Missing Middle on the City's website.<http://olympiawa.gov/city-government/codes-plans-and-standards/>

missing-middle.aspx It's not easy to find the link for the maps that show how widely the new zoning would apply; it's next to the photo of each “housing type” so look closely. Also, the CNA has created an on-line survey to guage opinions on issues facing Olympia's residents. You can find it at <https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/PG3M5P6>

My Name is Wolf

J. Glenn Evans

My name is Wolf some call me Timber wolf
I often think about these stand-up creatures
Wonder if they get enough oxygen
All their fights and wars over religions

I have no religion but eat when hungry
Sleep when I’m tired, feed my little ones
My God is not a jealous vacillating
Creature who shows favoritism

No, he created us all
His spirit touches rocks trees all of life
He didn’t make warring religions
These standup creatures made them

I’ve never seen any Baptist bears
Methodist monkeys Presbyterians panthers
Jewish jackasses Catholic camels
Muslim moose’s or Hindu hawks

Hell no we’re all just plain animals
With blood that bleeds the same color
Some of us walk and some of us fly
Survive give the other fellow some room

Only eat each other if hunger makes it a must
I don’t believe things are made or unmade
They just change form what will I be next time
Only the Creator knows this

He or she probably doesn't give a damn
Whether I’m rock plant or animal
We may be made in his image, but prove it
I don't know anyone who's been there

And made it back regardless
How much baying we do at the moon.

J. Glenn Evans is a poet, novelist and political activist.

Special events (from page 2)

Oly Old-time [Music] Festival
Thurs - Sun, Feb 15 - 18. Arbutus Folk School.
Concerts, shows, dances and workshops held at locations around Olympia. For schedule and locations, go to <http://olyoldtime.weebly.com/schedule.html>. Some events require ticke Info@ArbutusFolkSchool.org
Toliva Shoals Statewide Sailboat Race,
Sat, Feb 17, all-day race from Budd Inlet north to the Toliva Shoals Buoy

and back, Registration \$35.
Go to <http://ssssclub.com/ssseries/> for details and to register, or watch from the shore.
Illuminated Ball at the Eagles Ballroom,
Sat, Feb 17, 7:30 PM. Fundraiser for the Procession Art Studio.
Ariallists, jugglers, drummers, dancers. Tickets \$50, go to brownpapertickets.com or buy at Traditions. Sponsored by Earthbound Productions.
Sa’Heh’Wa’Mish Days,
Sat and Sun, Feb 17 and 18.
A ceremonial gathering of the indigenous people of the Coast Salish Tribes, performed at the Little Creek Casino Resort in Shelton. Grand entry times 1 PM and 7 PM Saturday, 1 PM Sunday. Dancing, drumming competitions; prizes.
Ramzy Baroud speaks on his book The Last Earth: A Palestinian Story,
Tues, Feb 20, 6:30 PM, Traditions (300 5th Ave SE).
Palestinian dispossession, resistance, and resilience. Sponsored by Rachel Corrie Foundation for Peace & Justice, contact Jessica Babcock:jessica@rachelcorriefoundation.org

For other events, check www.thurstontalk.com.

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“We are called upon to help the discouraged beggars in life’s marketplace. But one day we must come to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring. It means that questions must be raised... I choose to identify with the underprivileged. I choose to identify with the poor. I choose to give my life for the hungry. I choose to give my life for those who have been left out...This is the way I’m going.”

—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. 1967,
promoting the Poor People’s Campaign