

# Works in Progress

Volume 28, No. 10

Serving the Olympia community and the cause of social justice since 1990.

April 2018

## Olympians on the “Missing Middle:” Contentious reaction to a Community Planning proposal that affects people where they live

Bethany Weidner

It was standing room only at a March 19 hearing on a set of Community Planning & Development (CP&D) changes to Olympia's residential zoning code. Well over 200 people squeezed into the City Hall council chambers, then crowded into the foyer outside. 140 of them signed up to tell Planning Commission members what they thought about the so-called “Missing Middle” proposal. About 2/3 of them supported the proposal and the other third expressed serious reservations. People had very different views both of what kind of housing Olympia offers now, and what would happen in the future if the City Council adopts the changes.

### What's here now

Proponents of the new rules almost uniformly took the same view as Leonard Bauer, Deputy Director of CP&D. Bauer had earlier described Olympia's current housing situation as pretty bleak:

“Like many cities, Olympia has a lot of low-density zoning districts that currently allow single family houses with limited ability to do anything else. Olympia has some provision for townhouses but beyond that, there's not much for “missing middle” in nearly three quarters of the city's area.”

The picture painted by those who opposed adoption of the rules as written was very different. Contrary to Bauer's claim, many established neighborhoods contain small apartment buildings, duplexes, triplexes, fourplexes and a number of ADUs (accessory dwelling units) – the very housing types the CP&D says are missing. The explanation for this variety is that the city has applied different zoning requirements to different neighborhoods over time.

Existing zoning, again in contrast to Mr. Bauer's statement, allows for small scale multi-family and clustered housing in at least seven of the city's 14 residential zones. ADUs are permitted in all of Olympia. Co-housing, cottages, and duplexes are permitted in all but one zone. Tri-plexes and four-plexes are permitted in several. There's even a specific zone (R7-13) that seems to have been written by the “missing middle” proponents (1). Olympia differs from other cities, too, in that fully 43% of its housing is already multi-family housing.

### Predicting a rosy future

The proponents shared a certainty that the new rules would usher in a future of abundant housing, with smaller and more affordable places to live, compared to the no-longer attainable single family home. Thousands of new homes

“courtyard apartments” in all residential zones. However, the rules go beyond that. They substantially reduce minimum lot sizes, increase heights, eliminate certain parking requirements, and allow rental of residences with ADUs by absentee owners.

**The housing market, as we learned in the 2000s, is an investor's playground. With new opportunities to multiply living units and increase return in the context of continuing demand, the beneficiaries may not be homeowners, new home buyers or renters—but developers and investors.**

will be built, and since “no one has repealed the law of supply and demand, they will be more affordable.”

CP&D takes a similar position: its proposed rules will eliminate sprawl, support local business and better transit, give homeowners an option for extra income to stay in their houses. Encouraging smaller dwelling units also matches a new demographic: according to the city, only 14% of Olympia's households are couples with children <sup>(2)</sup>.

The CP&D proposal has two parts. It allows multiplexes—in two zones where they're not currently allowed—plus

along with most of the supporters at the hearing, seems to think many will be homeowners and local people – building a back-yard house or otherwise adding to their residence to create an additional dwelling unit.

### The opponents at the hearing were skeptical

As one commenter pointed out, the plan does not address the city's responsibility to address any fall-out from these changes. Others were specific: bus service had not improved, but deteriorated in one neighborhood even as density and traffic increased.

What about the relationship between new tri- or fourplexes adjacent to existing homes with drainage issues already? More than one pointed to the rules' relaxing requirements for on-site parking—already on-street parking and consequent traffic problems create difficulties, with little interest by the city in working to find solutions.

### Absentee owners

But there was also another major concern: these changes open up lucrative new opportunities in the housing market. One was very clear about issues with non-resident owners being able to develop ADUs. First, by reducing parking requirements, the proposals make it easier to develop an ADU than to develop a duplex (or remodel a home to a duplex). Second, allowing non-resident owners to develop ADUs means they can compete in the market with people trying to find an affordable home.

According to an Eastside resident who spoke, they are already seeing realtors advertising that if the “missing middle” proposals are adopted, each property could have an ADU – with an accompanying increase in the sale price be-

► **Middle**, continued on page 5

## Welcome our visitors from Nicaragua!

Diego López

The Thurston-Santo Tomás Sister County Association is pleased to announce the upcoming visit of Marily Aguilar, Yessenia Solís, Elvis Aguilar, and Cruz Murillo as the 12th community delegation since 1990, in the spirit of *hermanamiento*. Our sister relationship dates back to the late 80s when members of the Olympia Construction Brigade and other outraged citizens protested the horrific US-imposed *Contra* War and Trade Embargo, and engaged in solidarity work in collaboration with the Sandinistas. Olympians came together to build a long term relationship with Santo Tomás by supporting and learning from the social projects of that community in Nicaragua. Numerous delegation exchanges have taken place between the communities, giving youth, organizers and professionals the opportunity

to interact and learn alongside international counterparts doing similar work. These delegations also give Nicaraguans a platform to speak in a country that has a very long history of economic and military interventions

solidarity against those policies and criminal actions. We see the connections across the planet, of sovereign peoples reclaiming their land and resources, reclaiming their cultural heritage and pride, and reclaiming their destinies. We in the global North, look for and create strategies to do the same.

Now that our guests have finally received their travel visas, we are in the process of setting up each visitor's itinerary, activities and homestays. Please email [tstsca@gmail.com](mailto:tstsca@gmail.com) if you would like to get involved or have ideas or questions. We will need additional strong Spanish/English language interpreters, as well as support with transportation and events.

Check for highlights

► **Nicaragua**, continued on page 4



Delegates from Santo Tomás Marily Aguilar, Yessenia Solís, Elvis Aguilar, and Cruz Murillo

in Central America, and gives people in Olympia the chance to stand in



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](mailto: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](mailto: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](http://www.olywip.org)

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**Website and Social Media:** Anna Zanella

Submission Deadline Next Issue

Sunday, April 22

[olywip@gmail.com](mailto:olywip@gmail.com)

Proofreading Meeting

Sunday April 29, 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](mailto:olywip@gmail.com), or write to Works in Progress, Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

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Business card size .....\$30  
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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.

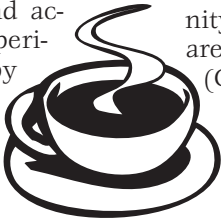
The Works in Progress mission and guidelines

Our purpose

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.

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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.

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](http://www.olywip.org))
- Include a one- or two-line bio of the author
- Include an email address for contacts if you wish

The theme for this issue is “collective memory.”

We’ve tried to include a variety of stories that touch on memory - a memory that lives through an activist community today (Rachel Corrie); how there are echoes of memory in the present (Carpenters); how we forget things and need to be reminded (Trump & Kim) and how collective memory travels through time (the Nashville Parthenon).

The theme for May is “The 8-hour day!”

On May 1 the world celebrates the victory of organized labor in winning an 8-hour day. Tell us about your jobs, unions and organizing, labor history. We are looking for your reflections and your observations. Send stories to us at [olywip@gmail.com](mailto:olywip@gmail.com) hopefully by April 22. Check this page for more instructions.

And then this happened... Zahid Chaudhry can stay home.

On March 12, Judge Paul DeFonzo restored Zahid Chaudhry to the legal resident status he had been granted in 2001. Thus ends a 17-year saga of mistreatment and frustration during which Ann and Zahid Chaudhry and a large group of faithful supporters persevered in their opposition to the US government's continuing efforts to deport Zahid. The Immigration Services attorney reserved the right to appeal the decision, but for today, Zahid is home.

Citizens to the rescue!

In the March issue of WIP, we covered an important election at a normally little-noticed agency, the Thurston County Conservation District. The election was seen as one that might enable two disruptive board members to wrest control of the agency and its operations from the Executive Director. A few votes could make all the difference. In the preceding Board election a total of 271 people voted.

This time was different. A few thousand scruffy people showed up for the combined plant sale-election on a cold Saturday morning in March. 2,101 of them voted for Paul Pickett, an environmental engineer and the candidate supported by environmental activists. 275 voted for Joe Hanna, a support enforcement officer.

The farming community and the rest of us can look forward to the District returning to its historic mission along with the restoration of an orderly and objective process for conducting business.

Vindication for the Olympia Co-op and its support for BDS.

A Washington court has finally dismissed as meritless a suit that had been lodged against the board of the

Olympia Food Coop. Almost 8 years ago, the Co-op Board moved to support Palestinian civil society's call for a Boycott-Divestiture-Sanction (BDS) movement to put pressure on Israel to end its occupation of Palestine. Five members of the co-op then sued the board and its individual members, hoping to undo the decision and to collect monetary damages from the board members. Initially, their suit was deemed a SLAPP action <sup>(1)</sup> and thrown out, with the plaintiffs required to pay the costs. After the state Supreme Court found fault with the SLAPP statute and sent the case back to lower courts, the plaintiffs essentially abandoned the suit until recently.

“We are thrilled to be found in favor of for a second time on this frivolous lawsuit,” said defendant Grace Cox. “We are proud of our attorney team, and proud of our community for supporting us, and grateful for the outpouring of solidarity from around the world. Taking a stand for economic and social justice is at the heart of the co-op's mission. Given Israel's ongoing violations of Palestinian human rights, we would have failed in this mission had we not approved a boycott.”

Lawyers say the lawsuit is part of a broad and growing pattern of suppressing activism in support of Palestinian rights, a phenomenon that the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) and Palestine Legal have documented and called the “Palestine Exception” to free speech. The two organizations report widespread use of administrative disciplinary actions, harassment, firings, legislative attacks, false accusations of terrorism and anti-Semitism and baseless legal complaints targeting speech supportive of Palestinian rights.

The Co-op was represented in the case by CCR Deputy Legal Director Maria LaHood, along with attorneys Bruce E.H. Johnson and Brooke. E. Howell of Davis Wright Tremaine of Seattle.

(1) SLAPP – Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation, designed to deter public activism.

Special events

Victory Celebration.

Thursday, April 5, 6 to 9 PM. Gaiser Hall, Clark College. 1933 Fort Vancouver Way, Vancouver, WA. Celebrate the defeat of an oil and coal terminal, Music theater by Holcombe Waller exploring the 2016 Mosier train derailment.

Heat Shimmer Erina Cedar Sap: A Safeplace Benefit Show.

Friday, April 6, 9 PM. At Rhythm and Rye, \$5 to \$10. Simon Conrad, 360-786-8754.

“Find Your Immigrant and Miscreant Ancestors.”

Saturday, April 7, 8:15 AM - 3:30 PM, Capital Event Center, 6005 Tyee Drive, Olympia Genealogical Society, \$50. Pre-registration required, 360-943-5209.

Tour of Historic Schmidt House.

Tuesday, April 10, 11 AM to 12:30 PM. In Tumwater with Bob Crimm. Basement archives and more surprises. By appointment [history@olytumfoundation.org](mailto:history@olytumfoundation.org) Free.

Aging in Place Resource Expo,

Wednesday April 11, 10 AM to 3 PM. 455 North Street SE, Tumwater. South Sound Manor Event Center, Independent living for older adults .Vendors and speakers. Free.

Community Healing through African Spirituality.

Friday, April 13, 6 PM at Media Island, 816 Adams St. SE. Special Guest Javoen Byrd, spiritual consultant and organizer. Shawna Hawkins, (360) 352-8526.

“Adult Swim”

Friday, April 13, 7 to 10 PM. Hands On Children’s Museum. Taste and explore the science behind beer from local breweries. Age 21 up. Tickets via Hands On website.

Free Day at Washington State Parks.

Saturday, April 14 and April 22. No Discovery Pass needed.

“Inspiring One Another to Continue Taking Steps Toward Justice and Peace,”

Saturday, April 14, 9 AM to 3:30 PM. Fauntleroy UCC Church, 9140 California Avenue SW, West Seattle FOR's 20th Annual Spring Assembly, . Workshops on homelessness, nuclear weapons, & more. Lunch with music. Suggest donation \$20. 206-789-5565.

South Sound Climate Action Convention,

Saturday, April 14, 9:30 AM – 5 PM, South Puget Sound College, 4220 6th Ave SE, Lacey breakout sessions with experts; lunch. Registration \$20 thru April 5; \$25 after. Contact: [barb@thurstonclimateaction.org](mailto:barb@thurstonclimateaction.org). Register at <http://www.thurstonclimate-action.org/events/> .

March for Science Olympia , Saturday, April 14, 11 AM, North Steps of the Capitol.

See article in this issue. RSVP at [marchforscience.com/RSVP](http://marchforscience.com/RSVP)

“The Toast,”

Sunday, April 15, 3-5 PM, Hotel RL (Red Lion). Fundraiser for Dispute Resolution Center. Wine, hors d'oeuvres, treats. Learn about the Center and its programs. Joe Sanders 360/956-1155.

Hanford Nuclear Waste Update

Tuesday, April 17, 7 PM, the Olympia Center., Public meeting on recent accidents with radiological releases at the PUREX Tunnel and other issues. Go to [hanfordcleanup.org](http://hanfordcleanup.org).

Razor Clam Dig, April 18, 7:45 AM, Mocrocks Beach in Moclips, WA.

Access beach via 2nd Street. Sponsored by Dept of Fish & Wildlife. Limit 15 clams.



►SPECIAL, continued on page 10



# A portrait exhibit that speaks out in behalf of caring for our land, its waters, and forests

Esther Kronenberg

Here in the South Sound, we are surrounded by beautiful forests and clear running streams. Wildlife abounds on land and water. We have clean air and bountiful food. So what could be wrong?

If you look beneath the surface all is not well. If you ask people who have lived here for years, like the people of the Squaxin Tribe or even residents from just 50 years ago, you will hear how our environment has been degraded, and that the degradation continues. What we enjoy today may be only a memory if actions are not taken.

Understanding that many residents are unaware of serious problems in the County, and the lack of action by the current Board of County Commissioners to address them, the League of Women Voters is sponsoring an exhibit of portraits of Thurston County residents - most of them just someone who wants to live in a clean and healthy place. With each photograph there is a quote about the importance of some aspect of our environment to that person—accompanied by a related fact. The exhibit will be shown at Traditions Café during Art Walk and after.

Some of the photographs come with a description of actions taken to solve problems, from using solar power and green building design to planting trees for carbon sequestration. Some point to policies the County must adopt and promote to stop degradation. Others flag areas where the County has failed to act or even contributed to problems:

Wells have gone dry as permitted developments pump water from the aquifer.

Thurston County is home to 12 threatened or endangered species.

Salmon runs are down to 10% less than historic numbers and declining.

Thurston Co lost 50% of its farmland between 2001 and 2007.

500 species of plants and animals in the County are of conservation concern.

Septic system leaks are contributing to toxic algae blooms in lakes around the County.

The County does not monitor 53,000 septic systems regularly.

Our unique prairie habitat remains unprotected from development.

Budd Inlet, the Deschutes Rivers and Capitol Lake are on the EPA's list of impaired and threatened waters. The Clean Water Act requires that they be cleaned up.

A look at the record of the current Board of County Commissioners (Board, or Commissioners) also suggests some areas of concern:

- The Board has expedited the drilling of private wells since October 2016, even though a court decision (Hirst) required counties to guarantee water availability before issuing well permits. While the legislature has granted counties more time to complete hydrogeological studies, Thurston County has stopped doing water availability studies.
- The Board rejected a \$10 annual homeowner fee proposed after

lengthy study by the Dept. of Public Health. The fee that would have financed inspections of the 53,000 on-site sewage systems in the County. Faulty septic systems are

be placed on the 2018 docket. Recycled asphalt contains contaminants that would pollute the Nisqually Valley when (not if) the river floods again.

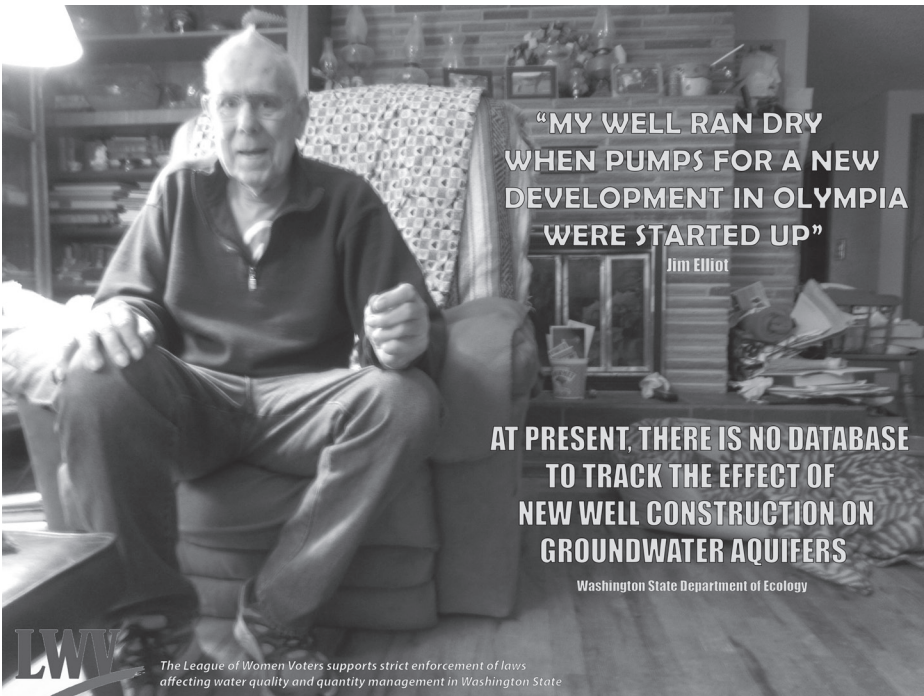
They've made little progress on Thurston County's 2009 Sustainability Plan which seeks to reduce County facility energy use and greenhouse gas emissions.

The County Fund Balance has dropped from 15.5% of expenditures to 5%. The Commissioners have indicated they would like to issue more building permits and increase commercial development as a means to fund an increase in their budget.

- The Commissioners reluctantly agreed to invest \$5,000 in joining with the cities of Olympia, Lacey and Tumwater in the preliminary development of a Regional Action Plan to address climate change, as long as it did not come from the general fund.
- They changed the name of the Resource Stewardship Department to Community Planning and Economic Development.
- The Commissioners unanimously voted themselves a raise.

True to its mission of education and empowerment, the League hopes the exhibit will motivate people to get involved in County policy-making and undertake the citizen participation essential to preserve and sustain our resources. The exhibit offers people an opportunity and a means to remind the Commissioners that their first responsibility as Executives is to protect the public health and our natural resources. Our fate is tied to the life of the land.

Esther Kronenberg is a member of the Thurston League of Women Voters Observer Corps



the major contributing cause to toxic algae blooms that have increased dramatically over the past 5 years and also plays a role in groundwater contamination.

- The Commissioners failed to enact a Habitat Conservation Plan to preserve Thurston County's last 5% of remaining prairie. In negotiations with the Department of Fish and Wildlife, they reduced the number of inspections and decreased the size of buffers, bringing down the cost of the HCP to the County. They have questioned the science behind the Endangered Species Act and the amount of acreage necessary to preserve the ecosystem and the several endangered species that depend on it.
- The Commissioners have not awarded conservation futures funds for an approved plan. They have frozen awards for new projects to allow them time to explore using most of the funds for the Habitat Conservation Plan. As a result, projects of the South Sound Farmland Trust and Capitol Land Trust go unfunded.
- They allowed an asphalt recycling proposal by Lakeside Industries to

## Bryson and André are home

Brothers Bryson Chaplin and André Thompson were sentenced to jail for assault after being shot in the back by Olympia Police officer Ryan Donald, responding to a call about shoplifters in May 2015. André was released last Fall. Bryson was picked up in February in a stretch limo labelled War-

rior. Puyallup Tribal Councilman James Rideout "Uncle Jim" had arranged the pick up to take Bryson and his family to a ceremony welcoming him home by breaking bread with the community at the Puyallup Little Wild Wolf Youth Center on March 4. (from Crystal and Renee Chaplin)



Crystal and her wheelchair-bound youngest son, Bryson

CO-OP  
garden  
CENTER

HAPPILY HELPING  
YOUR GARDEN  
GROW

Locally produced  
organic herb &  
vegetable  
starts,  
amendments

main store: 8am-9pm daily • [www.olympiafood.coop](http://www.olympiafood.coop)  
westside garden center: 10am-6pm daily

WESTSIDE STORE  
& GARDEN CENTER  
921 Rogers St. NW  
Olympia, WA 98502  
360.754.7666

EASTSIDE STORE  
& DELI  
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Esc

↓



# Less waste, more food:

## 1000 collaborators will be “Art in Action” for the new Lacey food bank

Carrie Ziegler

If food waste were a country, it would be the third largest emitter of greenhouse gases, after Russia and the US. At the same time, one of every six Americans is hungry. Forty percent of the food grown in the United States is wasted. This just doesn't add up.

### Lowering the ratio of waste

Fortunately, there are many ways to reduce food waste. Since fully 25 percent of food waste comes from us consumers, our opportunity to create change is huge. To top that off, we have a wealth of people, businesses, and organizations in our community who are doing cutting-edge work to reduce food waste and feed more people.

I am honored to collaborate on a groundbreaking project with one of these organizations: the Thurston County Food Bank. Thanks to a waste prevention grant from the Department of Ecology, I am the 2018 Artist in Residence at the new food bank in Lacey working on a project whose focus is “Wasting Less Food as a Solution to Hunger.” The Lacey Food Bank will house a farm stand, a distribution center, and a victory garden to be run by veterans and GrUB.

### The magic of collaboration

The project will involve over 1000

students and adults, and result in a permanent art installation at the new food bank. The “what” it will be is still being defined. One of the things that thrills me about this project is that it is a collaborative effort from start to finish, including the design of the art installation.

My experience has shown me that the best ideas come out of collaboration and that if I follow a process of bringing people together to discuss the



Students at North Thurston High School created designs as part of the Less Waste, More Food Art in Action collaboration.

possibilities, something magical will happen. We will come up with something entirely different and MORE than I could have created on my own. Working together with people in our community, many of whom feel the effects of hunger and are among the

most vulnerable to climate change, we will explore the reasons behind the waste along with the possibilities to shift away from waste into Plenty. We will use art to empower ourselves, each other, and our greater community to make a stand.

### Jumping into solutions.

This past March, I kicked off the process with four design workshops, in-

the students rose to the challenge, offering designs that were thoughtful, multi-layered, and creative.

volving 100 students, at Salish Middle School and North Thurston High School. In these workshops, I presented information about the intersection of our consumer food waste culture, our rapidly changing climate, and hunger. Food waste is a big issue, yet these students amazed me in their ability to grasp such a huge problem, feel what they had to feel about it, then jump right into solutions.

From this solution-based place, we explored how art can be used as a catalyst for change. Students then created designs for the art installation. Our primary goal was to show the relationship between wasting less food, reducing hunger in our communities, and lessening the environmental impacts of wasted food.

At the same time, students were asked to explore permanent exterior materials, and ways to incorporate artwork made by 1,000 project participants.

This was no small task! Yet the students rose to the challenge, offering designs that were thoughtful, multi-layered, and creative. Multiple themes emerged; we built upon these in each successive workshop. This is where the real magic happened. The excitement as we discussed and expanded upon certain ideas was palpable. Using these themes, and this energy, I met with a small group of students to narrow in on a final design.

### A permanent installation.

The concept we are working on incorporates ideas from multiple students, building upon ideas presented in the very first workshop. Once the design is confirmed, I will present Less Waste, More Food workshops to students and adults, primarily in the Lacey area, teaching about food waste and how we can all take action to create change. Each of the 1,000 participants will make art in response to what they learn. These art pieces will be incorporated into the permanent, exterior art installation at the Lacey Food Bank, making something *more* than any one of us could have done alone.

Thus begins the story. The shape it will take, as yet unknown. The process is Art in Action. The art installation itself will be a testament to our individual and collective power and a beacon of hope for a future we are all creating together.

Carrie Ziegler is an artist, environmental educator, and community engagement specialist living in Olympia, WA. Visit Carrie's website and follow her blog at [www.CarrieZiegler.com](http://www.CarrieZiegler.com) to learn more about Waste Less, More Food, view student designs, and follow the Art in Action.

## Nicaragua

From page 1

of the delegation's time in the Olympia area from April 17th to May 11th, 2018: <http://oly-wa.us/TSTSCA/>

Please plan to attend a family friendly, public potluck and dance event with the delegation at the Woman's Club at 1002 Washington St SE Olympia on Friday, May 4th at 6pm.

### Invited Nicaraguan Delegates:

*Marily Aguilar Oporta:* a recent university graduate with a degree in Pedagogía (Teaching), whose scholarship was funded by the TSTSCA. She currently works in early childhood education at the local Centro de Desarrollo Infantil, a state supported free childcare center for low income families. She looks forward to this educational and cultural exchange with colleagues in her field.

*Yessenia Solis Miranda* is the principal of Rubén Darío school that is sistered with Lincoln Options Elementary here in Olympia. The relationship be-

tween her and Lincoln Principal Marcela Abadi began 20 years ago, and from this friendship came the educational and cultural Sister School relationship which grows with each delegation. We're thrilled to honor the 20 year anniversary of the Sister Schools relationship! Yessenia is also the main Spanish language and literature teacher for the Evergreen college students who study and work in Santo Tomás every other spring quarter. She'd love to see her past students!

*Elvis Javier Aguilar* is another university scholarship recipient, supported by the TSTSCA. He graduated and is now employed as an agro-industrial engineer who works for a food products company as their main quality control engineer. Elvis would like to meet people connected to value added, commercial farm product facilities. His family has hosted several Evergreen students in Santo Tomás over the last two decades and we can now reciprocate their hospitality.

*Cruz Murillo Sandoval* is a member of the *Comité para Desarrollo Comunal* (CDC) de Santo Tomás, our sister organization. He will provide updates on the critical community projects under the non-profit umbrella of the CDC. Cruz will also bring a personal and historical framework of Nicaragua's reality to Olympia. Cruz looks forward to speaking in high school and college classes. He would also like to meet people engaged in radical community organizing, to continue building international solidarity.

These four visitors follow in the footsteps of 35 other people from Santo Tomás who have been to Olympia in the last 28 years! All are committed to strengthening their community in Nicaragua and the sister ties with the greater Olympia area.

Our visitors will participate in the nationwide student walk out, Procession of the Species, *Comunidad a Comunidad* in Bellingham, *El Centro de la Raza* and *Casa Latina* in Seattle, the Immigration Rights March in Shel-

ton, and all kinds of other visits in schools and organizations in Olympia. Email [tstsca@gmail](mailto:tstsca@gmail.com) to get involved.

*Diego Lopez* is an Evergreen intern with TSTSCA.

## Save the date:

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Benefit on **Saturday, May 5th from 9 to 3pm:** 117 Thomas St NW Olympia! Lovely perennials, tomato and vegetable starts, strawberries, and more! Contact Jean at (360) 943-8642 to donate healthy potted up plants anytime before May 1st. Bring your friends on the 5th and buy plants to help us raise funds for the university scholarship project for students from Santo Tomás, Nicaragua. TSTSCA is currently assisting 12 first generation Nicaraguan scholars who want to stay and support their community. Around that number of Tomásinx have graduated already, including Marily and Elvis on this delegation. **Come connect!**



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# Middle

From page 1

cause the “opportunity to develop” is priced in.

## What’s next?

The schedule for presentation of the proposal to the City Council for adoption was mid-May—with the rules to go into effect a week later. This could be delayed because a group of residents has filed a legal challenge to the city’s determination that there is no significant environmental impact associated with the changes.

The argument for speedy implementation is that we are in a housing crisis – these changes are needed now. But the city also acknowledges that among the biggest barriers is the “impact fee”. While they have agreed to study the role these fees might have on the incentive to build, they will remain a deterrent even if the city implements the proposal this spring. As noted by a housing advocate, “As long as there’s no change to the fees, we’re not going to see the influx of housing we need.”

## A failed public process

There was also a marked difference of opinion across commenters about

moving forward. Many people criticized the public process as having failed. “Subarea Planning,” a city process touted as incorporating residents into decisions about how to shape growth in their neighborhood was completely ignored in the development of these rules.

These individuals had suggestions for a delay in the schedule to allow for im-



A representative from Olympia Master Builders speaks to Planning Commissioners. Photo by T. Magster.

proved information about the proposal and its impacts. Take 6 months to make these proposals logical and well-written. Rather than wholesale zoning changes, target the areas of town most likely to accommodate infill without damage to the infrastructure or the character of the neighborhood. Some even suggested that the proposal is actually a rezone masquerading as a

simple adjustment to the rules. A rezone would require an amendment to the Comprehensive Plan—a more extensive process.

Proponents rejected the idea that more discussion was needed. Some questioned the goodwill of the detractors—older people were able to buy a house, but they oppose changes that would let millennials own homes. “I love my grandmother, but...” said one. They accused them of chicken littlism—exaggerating the effects of the changes—“the sky is falling.” They appeared to have faith in the market’s response to these new opportunities.

The housing market, as we learned in the 2000s, is an investor’s playground. With new opportunities to multiply living units

and increase return in the context of continuing demand, the beneficiaries may not be homeowners, new home buyers or renters—but developers and investors.

*Bethany Weidner lives in a single-family home in SW Olympia, with a backyard ADU, across the street from a huge duplex permitted by the city about 10 years ago.*

(1) Mixed Residential 7-13 Units per Acre. To accommodate a compatible mixture of houses, duplexes, townhouses, and apartments in integrated developments with densities that provide a broad range of housing opportunities; to provide a variety of housing types and styles; and to provide for development with a density and configuration that facilitates effective and efficient mass transit service. This district generally consists of parcels along arterial or collector streets of sufficient size to enable development of a variety of housing types.

(2) According to 2015 data from HUD, the Thurston County population is made up 44% of families with children. That suggests that families already can’t find affordable housing in Olympia, not that Olympia should built more 1- and 2- person housing units.

## Comments submitted by John Keogh at the Olympia Planning Commission meeting on a Staff Proposal to change zoning rules, March 19, 2018

A Missing Middle neighborhood is Olympia’s Eastside. Most of our blocks don’t have curbs, only a few streets have sidewalks, mail is not delivered to our front porches, we have a shortage of park space. The neighborhood has plenty of apartments, duplexes, ADUs, townhouses, cottages—reminders of various zoning experiments the city has done over the years. Instead of having large, unaffordable historic homes we have more modest single-family housing—74% with less than 1500 square feet—and our median home price in 2017 was \$228,000. Our developed density of 6.53 units per acre exceeds that of the South Capitol neighborhood.

We know all of this because our neighborhood actually did the necessary parcel by parcel research on potential property effects that the city has not done. This research indicates that the Missing Middle proposals are likely to have much greater effect on neighborhoods than the city has estimated so far. In our neighborhood, the city’s proposals will overwhelm us—potentially raising the density by 50-100% and jacking up housing prices from \$160-\$200/sq ft to \$250-\$300/sq ft. That’s because the Missing Middle proposals have a major flaw, allowing and incentivizing non-resident investors to compete for what has been affordable single-family housing and redevelop it into smaller rental units and AirBnBs. We already have seen evidence of this in recent realtor ad.

The city’s proposals will allow outside investors to use ADUs to avoid the current parking requirements for duplexes and encourage them to fill our neighborhood’s streets with the parked cars generated by their new rental units—making walking, mail delivery and garbage collection even more difficult. We will shift from a neighborhood evenly balanced between renters and homeowners to one dominated by rental units owned by outside investors. If you want to buy an affordable single-family home the message is clearly “go to Lacey... or Shelton”.

## My recommendations:

The city should slow down approval of the Missing Middle proposals so that refinements can be made in them—and to avoid the economic mistake of incentivizing outside investors to redevelop and reduce Olympia’s stock of affordable single-family homes. The city needs a comprehensive study for the whole city that parallels what we did by volunteer effort for our neighborhood, so we can have a more informed discussion. Finally, the city should not immediately apply the MM proposals to neighborhoods already engaged in sub-area planning—otherwise these neighborhoods will just be planning for damage control.



[Ed. Note: The following comment was submitted as a letter; it responds to the March opinion piece by Marco Rossi, “Olympia’s Missing Middle.” Rossi’s piece elicited more comments on the online WIP than any other in recent memory. Please visit [olywip.org](http://olywip.org) to read all the comments.]

Dear WIP,

I am a long-time subscriber to WIP and served as a neighborhood representative on the Missing Middle Work Group. I have also observed the housing market for decades.

Rossi seems to have bought into the argument that adding housing options in existing neighborhoods will increase the supply of housing and thus decrease housing prices. Not so. People who invest their money in housing construction — and the lenders who provide the bulk of the funding — will not do projects unless there is a solid expectation of a market for the new housing units, whether sale or rent. So if more units are added in existing neighborhoods, less other housing will be built (single-family subdivisions and apartments). Housing surpluses that drive down prices occur when an economic downturn drives people to other housing arrangements like sharing. This is what happened eight years ago and will happen again in the next downturn. This cycle is well known and there is no avoiding it.

I am also concerned that Rossi may be among the many people who don’t know that fully half of the ten housing types included in the Missing Middle exercise are already allowed in Olympia. This includes the two most popular and lowest-impact options, accessory dwelling units (ADUs) and tiny houses. [The city’s communications

have been misleading from the start.] These have been allowed for many years and in fact many ADUs are already in place (there are a number of them in my neighborhood, including three in a single block).

The Missing Middle proposal includes five new housing options. These tend to be the most impactful, like triplexes, fourplexes, and courtyard apartment houses. As far as existing neighborhoods are concerned, these options will affect only lower-income neighborhoods (especially on the east side), where the combination of large lots and small, inexpensive houses would create the possibility that existing “starter houses” will be torn down and replaced by more expensive rentals. The social consequences are obvious.

Finally, I am concerned that this post and similar recent communications seem to place little to no value on single-family neighborhoods. Perhaps such neighborhoods are not the “American dream” for as many people as in the past. But there are still people, including younger people, who want a house with a yard where they can plant garden, put up a swing set for the kids, and let the dog exercise.

It is unfortunate that the city has provided so little opportunity for actual discussion of the issues raised by their Missing Middle proposals. Let us hope they do so soon.

Meantime, there are 43 separate staff recommendations related to 5 existing housing types and 5 new ones. We can all review and comment on these — see the city of Olympia website.

Bob Jacobs

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# Fifteen years into the Iraq war and more: Destroying lives, livelihoods and hope

MaryJo Dolis

February 15, 2018 marked the fifteenth anniversary of the US invasion of Iraq. As we enter another year in which permanent war seems to run as a faint background noise, it may help to be reminded of some very dark realities.

The cost of our wars since 2001 totals at least \$4,481,569,180,121—or, about 4.5 trillion dollars; mostly borrowed. The number of nations that we have invaded—in force, or repeatedly, or covertly—might be about 76, with only a few of those—Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, Pakistan, Somalia, South Sudan—recognized as places the US is “waging” war. No one knows for sure, as our government deploys some forces we recognize as “troops,” but also Joint Special Operations Commandos, advisers, trainers, mercenaries, contractors, drones, bombers, etc. to do the killing.

The number of dead owed to these activities is also unknown—but reliably estimated in the millions. Another 10 million people have been turned into refugees in their own countries and elsewhere. Last November, Congress approved a new “defense” budget in excess of even the Pentagon’s request. Last week, Congress rejected a resolution to end US military support for the war in Yemen.

The pity of this goes beyond even these chilling numbers. A famous

quote from a speech by President Eisenhower captures this:

“Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.”

Recently, Brock McIntosh, a member of Iraq Veterans Against the War addressed the same reality at a rally for the **Poor People’s Campaign** this March. [See below for sources.]

I’m here to speak to you today about one of Dr. King’s triple evils: *militarism*. As an Afghanistan War veteran, I’d like to highlight an aspect of his warning about militarism, when he said, “This way of... injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane... cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice and love.”

I’d like to tell you all about the precise moment I realized there was poison in me. I’m the child of a nurse and a factory worker in the heartland of Illinois, the family of blue-collar and service workers. At the height of the Iraq War,

military recruiters at my high school attracted me with sign up bonuses and college assistance that some saw as their ticket out—for me, I hoped it was my ticket *up*, providing opportunities that once felt out of reach.

Two years later, when I was 20 years old, I was standing over the body of a 16-year-old Afghan boy. A roadside bomb he was building prematurely detonated. He was covered in shrapnel and burns, and now lay sedated after having one of his hands amputated by our medics. His other hand had the calloused roughness of a farmer or a shepherd.

As he lay there with a peaceful expres-

sion, I studied the details of his face and caught myself *rooting* for him. ‘If this boy knew me,’ I thought, ‘he wouldn’t want to kill me.’ And here I am, supposed to want to kill him. *And feeling bad that I wanted him to live.* That is the poisoned mind. That is the militarized mind. And all the opportunities afforded me by the military

can’t repay the cost of war on my soul. It is poor folks who carry the burden of war for the elites who send them.

A working class boy from Illinois sent halfway around the world to kill a young farmer. How did we get here? How did this crazy war economy come to be?

First, there is the demand. A society that feels perpetually threatened perpetually prepares for wars, even in times of peace. To do this requires a military-industrial complex, a vast war economy whose charters, profits, stocks, and jobs depend on permanent militarization and whose fortune prospers most in times of war. Corporations have political influence, and so do constituents who need the jobs.

Second, there is the supply. A nation that wants to attract volunteers to its military and care for veterans provides opportunities that allure recruits who are predominantly working class folks with limited opportunities.

We need a Poor People’s Campaign to amplify the voices of regular folks above the lobby of militarized industry, a poisoned economy, to demand jobs in industries other than war-making, to demand opportunities for working class folks that don’t require killing other working class folks.

We need a Poor People’s Campaign to demand justice for people of color killed by a militarized police force, a poisoned law enforcement.

We need a Poor People’s Campaign to transform a militarized politics, a poisoned Congress and a poisoned White House, that proves their toughness with chest beating and unites their base with war drumming.

The Poor People’s Campaign offers an antidote to a poisoned and militarized culture. War always has a way of distracting our attention, and perverting our priorities. We need a Poor People’s Campaign to organize for racial, economic, and ecological justice; to force these issues to the front; and rectify our nation’s agenda.

Figures on total spending, the number of countries where the US is fighting terrorism and the number of refugees are from Brown University Cost of War Project; figure for number of dead is offered in many places. The Eisenhower quote appears in *“White House Ghosts: Presidents and Their Speechwriters,”* by Robert Schlesinger. Brock McIntosh’s remarks were posted in Common Dreams under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike license.

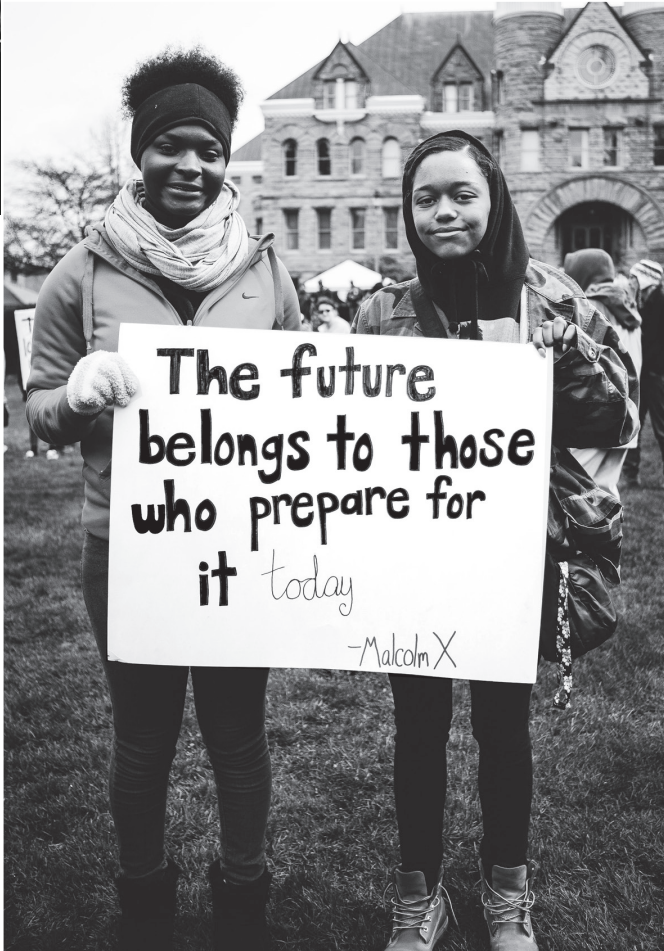
This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.”  
—President Dwight Eisenhower

## March for Our Lives, March 24, 2018



In Olympia 4500 people joined with thousands across the nation on Saturday March 24 to demand that lawmakers acknowledge the deadly role of guns in our schools and throughout the society, and pass laws to end the ready availability of war-like weapons. As the 8th grade speaker said, to tumultuous cheers, “Legislators look out! I’m coming after your job!”.

Photos by Lindsey Dalthorp and Dan Leahy



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# March for Science: Making a difference through research, application and education

## March for Science Olympia

March 9th, 2018, State Capitol – The March for Science is a global organization that advocates for evidence-based science policies that serve all communities. On April 14, we will continue to use the momentum of last year's march to hold our political leaders accountable for passing equitable, evidence-based policies that serve all people and all communities. March for Science Olympia will be leading a sister march from the state capitol, along Capitol Way, to a booth fair featuring local science-backed organizations in Heritage Park. Marchers will rally at 11 am at the North Capitol steps, begin marching at 11:45, and reach Heritage Park around 12:15.

**A fight to defend reality**  
The head of the EPA doesn't 'believe'

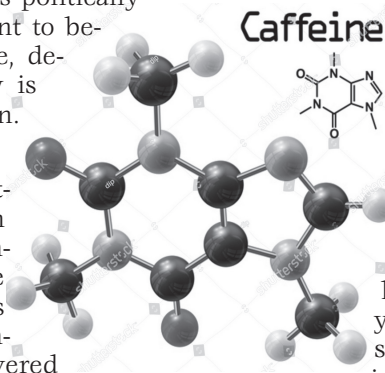
in climate change and works to dismantle research. The CDC is legally prohibited from studying gun violence. Science is our best tool for understanding the world as it really exists—regardless of what is politically or economically expedient to believe. Our fight to define, defend, and change reality is not over and not forgotten. We are just beginning.

Last year, we demonstrated in the first ever March for Science internationally and in Olympia. Five thousand conscientious citizens arrived with incredible signs and empowered chants to march Capitol Way and meet local organizations making a difference through research, application, and education. "The info booths were

a nice extra and the marching bands were fantastic and added a lot to the spirit and energy of the march. But mostly: I just like that it happened and so many joined in."(anonymous, from post-March survey)

Craig Burger, MD, states, "There were so many great signs and conversations around The March for Science last year. We need to have those conversations again—if we have learned anything this year it would be that science cannot thrive in silence."

**Capital High leads the way**  
This year, students from Capital High School (CHS) have stepped up to de-



# Flawed science in support of a predetermined decision approving the Westman Mill development

## Olympia Urban Waters League

On March 8th, Olympia Urban Waters League appealed the City of Olympia's decision to issue a determination of non-significance (DNS) for the Westman Mill development.

Nothing about this SEPA DNS addresses the impacts on the impaired waters of the East Bay estuary or Indian and Moxlie Creeks, despite a preponderance of science affirming daylighting and restoration as a necessary step to improving water quality. This plan from the beginning has been designed for one purpose: to allow development in the historic estuary of a degraded stream in an impaired water body.

We believe this SEPA DNS should be rejected because the option of removing the stream from a half-mile long culvert and restoring the estuary has never been seriously considered. The assumption from the beginning has been that the site would be developed, an assumption that invalidated the ensuing process that has been fraught throughout with attempts to ignore, mischaracterize and ridicule community efforts at restoration.

More significantly, the science is inherently flawed. There's no mention of phytoplankton in the SEPA review, no mention of zooplankton, benthic species, salt marsh, overhanging vegetation, insects, salmon or locally

The estuary needs to be structured as naturally as possible to be effective. The rate of flow of a liquid increases as diameter narrows and decreases as diameter expands. By expanding and slowing flow sedimentation increases and scouring decreases. Daylighting the stream through a narrow area to one side of the development would not be a restoration. It would be a concrete lined channel. This is an opportunity to restore a small portion of the original estuary. The entire parcel needs to be involved.

The Moxlie Creek estuary is clearly a critical area. Critical areas coalesce under federal and state laws including the Federal Clean Water Act, Safe Drinking Water Act, Endangered Species Act, the National Environmental Policy Act, Washington State Environmental Policy Act (SEPA), Shoreline Management Act, Watershed Planning Act, Salmon Recovery Act, the Municipal Water Law and the Growth Management Act.

Follow the effort on Olympia Urban Waters League website: <https://urban-waters.com>

**There's no mention of phytoplankton in the SEPA review, no mention of zooplankton, benthic species, salt marsh, overhanging vegetation, insects, salmon or locally extinct species of water birds, all assumed, if we accept the status quo, to recover and live in a long dark pipe.**

extinct species of water birds, all assumed, if we accept the status quo, to recover and live in a long dark pipe.

East Bay is considered impaired under Section 303(d) of the Clean Water Act because it contains too many nitrates and too little dissolved oxygen. The Estuary Restoration Act, administered under NOAA, says estuaries are dynamic and productive and support important ecosystem functions including bio-geochemical cycling and movement of nutrients, mitigation of floods, maintenance of biodiversity and biological production. The Westman Mill site is the area of intertidal exchange. This is the only place this exchange can be located. It can't be remediated elsewhere.

# 2018 South Sound Climate Action Convention will examine local and global environmental solutions to climate change

The Third Annual South Sound Climate Action Convention returns in 2018 for another energized, educational and thoughtful program to share with community members interested in taking action on climate. The Convention will be held Saturday, April 14th from 9:30 am to 5 pm at the South Puget Sound Community College.

This year's convention will be the kick-off for a project that Thurston Climate Action Team, in partnership with several local organizations, is launching, with help from a generous foundation

grant, to support communication, collaboration and coordination among local climate change efforts.

The Convention will also highlight some of the solutions found in the book, *Drawdown, The Most Comprehensive Plan Ever Proposed to Reverse Global Warming*, edited by Paul Hawken. These solutions were assembled from a broad coalition of researchers, scientists, and other credible groups of citizens to provide the most effective solutions to global warming that are already in place and in doing so, de-

scribes their beneficial financial, social and environmental impact. The Convention will address seven of the top ten solutions including: wind, food waste, plant-rich diet, educating girls, family planning, solar farms, and rooftop solar.

There are student scholarships and discounted registrations for those who would like to volunteer their time at the Convention. To register or to get more information on scholarships and volunteering, visit [southsoundclimate-convention.org](https://southsoundclimate-convention.org).

mand evidence from our political leaders. "When scientists tell us that something as dramatic as climate change is a real and present danger, we need to listen." says Ezra Mead, senior at CHS. "I have a passion for ecology and I really want more people to have the tools to understand and connect with the world around us," adds Peter Geissler, a senior and a volunteer at Point Defiance Zoo and Aquarium. The students bring energy, passion, and new ideas into March for Science planning.

Our students are helping us to collaborate in new ways with groups like the Thurston Climate Action Team. We are already working with many of the organizations we met in 2017, including Artesian Rumble Arkestra and Bloodworks Northwest, who will be hosting a blood drive onsite. We saved 72 lives with our blood drive last year! Now we are asking for your support for our 2018 March for Science.

The March for Science grew from a single-day event on April 22 to a movement that champions robustly funded science as pillars of human freedom and prosperity. As a global network of more than 1800 satellite organizers and 300 partners, the MFS network unites as a diverse, nonpartisan group to call for science that upholds the common good and for political leaders and policymakers to enact evidence-based policies in the public interest. On April 14, cities around the world will once again unite in a day for science advocacy.

For more information on March for Science Olympia, contact us at: [marchforscienceoly.wordpress.com](https://marchforscienceoly.wordpress.com) [marchforscience.olympia@gmail.com](mailto:marchforscience.olympia@gmail.com)

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# Rachel Corrie memory and commitment: 15 years later

Lin Nelson and  
Anne Fischel

We were Rachel Corrie's teachers at The Evergreen State College, in a full time academic program called Local Knowledge that carried through the academic year 2001-2002. When Rachel was killed in Gaza on March 16, 2003, we, like so many others, had to come to terms with the shocking reality of a promising life cut short. Speaking at our June 2004 graduation, her mother Cindy Corrie, said, "Parents can be awakened by their children," and members of the Corrie family set up the Rachel Corrie Foundation. We are grateful for this work, which honors the broad range of Rachel's interests and commitments: her love of writing and expressive art, her focus on community connection, and her search for ways to engage in social justice work with her neighbors, both locally and internationally.

Today, as student activists push their colleges to address injustice on campus, and as a media backlash envelops and persistently misrepresents those efforts, it feels right to remember Rachel and to reflect on her legacy. To us, Rachel was a humble and gentle person; she did not see herself as "larger than life," much less a hero or martyr in the making. In 2003, immediately following her death, we wrote, "We choose to remember her learning and growing, finding her voice, testing out her capabilities and figuring out what mattered to her. We remember her in the context in which we knew her best—as part of a learning community of students with whom we worked during the academic year 2001-2002." At her 2003 memorial those students shared some of their memories:

We are reminded of the lessons we shared and poked and prodded with Rachel. So many words and ideas, so many acts and attempts at discovering our own ability to act, and collaborate, and build and discuss.

One of the first things we noticed about Rachel when she joined Local Knowledge was her ability to observe and reflect. She was quiet, serious, her forehead often creased in wrinkles. We got to know her through her writings, which were distinctive in their searching analysis, intensity and humor. With one eye on regional history and the other on the global present, Rachel's work cultivated a sense of the injustice of lives forgotten or taken for granted, communities struggling for their place and voice, people working against great odds to create a life for themselves. She wrote about her home community:

*Studying the history of this area roots me. It makes me more conscious of the land and more conscious of myself and of the people around me as actors in history... We've certainly waded in the same water and wandered on the same beaches as some very brave people.*

Remembering Rachel is not so much a set of commemorative moments as it is a continual, ongoing journey. Our experiences with Rachel, in the classroom, at the awful moment of her death, and throughout the last 15 years raise fundamental questions about the rewards and perils of engaged learning. How can we create supportive learning moments and journeys that keep students safe, while at the same

time making the classroom porous and permeable to the world? What are the implications and potential consequences of encouraging students to actualize their learning in the communities they are a part of, or seeking to become part of? How do we serve as guides and witnesses to our students as they learn to contribute their skills and vision to a troubled world that sorely needs them?

These are some of the questions we raised in 2003. Then, as now, they are not questions with ready answers. One of the underlying values of our program was a belief, shared by students and faculty alike, that one of the purposes of education is to turn experience into knowledge, to build a sense of connectedness between ourselves and the world. Rachel wrote of the importance of this connection:

*We live in a curious geography... we have instantaneous access to products, information and currency from anywhere on earth. On the other hand, we are often separated from the consequences of our actions by thousands of miles, strings of subcontracts...and a long parade of...ATM machines. This fracture deserves further examination. Its relationship to the way we form knowledge, and how we act on that knowledge is relevant to ...our ability to function in a democracy.*

In Local Knowledge students started community gardens, volunteered in food banks, participated in environ-

peers understood the relationship between her work and theirs, a relationship they embraced in the painful days following her death.

She was willing to sacrifice everything she had been taught by popular culture to cherish—comfort, blind faith, complacency—and elevate herself to a place of transformation and compas-



sion. She died, but we still have each other, the impact of her presence and commitment, the lessons we shared, and so much work to do.

Today, 15 years later, we remember Rachel for her passion, her quiet fire, her determination. She was not a tower of certainty, of unmovable thinking.

She was a seeker, who asked a lot of questions, who asked a lot of herself and who knew there is always more to learn, more to question.

In her readings, writings, conversations and daily actions, she was on "the search." For us, Rachel is less of a symbol and more of a flickering beacon, a gesture to the rest of us to keep pressing on with our efforts. She was both courageous and careful. When learning about her home-community, she realized how much she had not seen, so she pushed to learn more. When learning about Palestine, she was a respectful visitor and student of

the people who hosted her. Hers was a learning-life; she pressed beyond the borders of her experience to understand how others, in other parts of the world, struggled and persisted. Reflecting the perspective and necessity of a learning community that began in the throes of 9–11, she looked close to home and far away, always figuring out connections, the alternative to the rhetoric of "us or them." In Gaza she used her much-vaunted privilege to understand others and tell the story of her learning through articulate, determined and grave messages that urged others to feel connected—and to continue to learn.

We remember Rachel's youth and insight, her wisdom, and determined search for a better way. Fifteen years later we often wonder: what would she be learning and saying now in a landscape where so much has changed, yet where so much remains to be done? In Palestine she was deeply connected to the youth, the children who have been denied so much, who hunger for justice. Today, she would no doubt champion the young Florida students who are speaking out against gun violence, demanding that it be challenged and prevented. She would embrace the courage of young people protesting police violence in Black communities, and the undocumented youth who are bravely advocating for immigrants rights and political/social inclusion. Young people speaking-their-minds was vital to Rachel and to her legacy.

We learned from Rachel that parents can be awakened by their children, and teachers can be re-awakened by their students. That is part of the legacy we live out as we remember Rachel. We try to be attentive to what might be forgotten, overlooked or excluded. We remember how important it is to speak out, as Rachel did, to take a stand, as Rachel did, and to keep observing and asking questions. We look for connection and seek out opportunities for engagement. And we continue to be inspired by the words of her friends-in-learning, who embraced her challenge to do right by her world.

*Learn and speak, turn to each other and organize, right where your community needs it most. This is how to honor the humility of [her] death, not with banners and songs and slogans, but with strength, intelligence and critical compassion... she was extraordinary and ordinary; she cared about the world and threw herself into it, she was one of us.*

**She was willing to sacrifice everything she had been taught by popular culture to cherish—comfort, blind faith, complacency—and elevate herself to a place of transformation and compassion.**

mental movements, made films about homelessness, started a local peace organization, and much more. The rich variety of the work was—and is—united by their understanding that colleges are not outside the struggles communities are engaged in. This has never meant that all students are expected to participate in political activism, but rather that students are supported to seriously consider how their sense of their work, as it evolves, coexists with and interacts with a world that needs them. In turn, students and their faculty have much to learn from the broader community about resilience, survival and sustainable solutions to profoundly vexing problems. Rachel's

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# The Months of Labor–April 1881

## Seeds of Change for Carpenters

Peter J. McGuire



April is an auspicious month for those of us who have marched in the wars against Capital. I proudly recall the spring showers that carpenters brought to St. Louis building sites in the spring of 1880.

During that era, the nation's job sites filled with pieceworkers, green hands, and untrained wood butchers, who replaced true journeymen to the point we could neigh find work. Industrialism and scientific management made their way onto our building sites in the later 1800s. Managers turned the craft of building into an assembly line. They stole carpenters' skill and knowledge of how to organize their work and moved these roles to the hands of management or middle men. This affected working conditions and severely reduced wages. Some tradesmen wished to think it was the "system" (to me, a vague term), that created this dilemma. Others of my ilk knew it was the boss and his associations who promoted the theft of trade knowledge by portioning it out into separate, scientifically manageable parts.

I wish to report our trade worker movement in those days was not strictly about wages and hours, but about a philosophy to advance toward a cooperative commonwealth. This commonwealth included the annihilation of the industrialized system and its control by middlemen. I believed that trade unionism could be a mechanism to settle the labor question, and provide a channel to educate and ultimately assimilate large groups of carpenters and other trade workers. I imagined that through them, a system of universal cooperation would be created and managed.

So I moved to St. Louis in 1877. First I organized a position as Deputy Commissioner of the new Missouri Bureau of Labor Statistics, but I resigned in 1879 to organize a union of carpen-

ters. We aimed to return to carpenters the ability to organize their own craft. Our success resulted in thousands of carpenters flocking there – we eventually formed four branches of one local union. By the spring of 1881, we had doubled carpenters' wages and partially eliminated piece work.

Word spread to other cities, and even more carpenters flooded into St. Louis in numbers that swept aside some of our hard-won gains. I realized that we needed carpenter unity across the Nation to control the incentive for itinerant carpenters to move from cheap cities to others with better conditions, causing the same erosion of gains that we had experienced St. Louis.

I wrote to Philip Van Patten, president of the Socialistic Labor Party, "I have received letters from all cities.... asking me to form a National Carpenters Union; I shall do so."

On April 24, 1881, I organized at the St. Louis local union a Provisional Committee of the Carpenters and Joiners National Union. I was elected the secretary of that committee, and editor of The Carpenter. With The Carpenter, we transmitted our call for a founding convention to all carpenters. We selected Chicago due to it being a hot bed of radicalism at that time. I became General Secretary of the newly formed Brotherhood of Carpenters

and Joiners of America in August 1881, and began to organize in earnest.

Each month a long-time union member will channel the voice of a different figure from labor history. Peter McGuire was apprenticed at age 15 as a piano carpenter. At night school at Cooper Union in NYC, he met firebrands of the Socialistic Labor movement. He is also known as the father of Labor Day (May 1) and the 8-hour day in the US. McGuire's story is based loosely on Empire in Wood by Robert Christie (Cornell Univ. 1956). The quote from the letter to Van Patten is from Philip Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States, p. 499. Next month: Mary Harris Jones.

## Mr. Trump & Mr. Kim: Time to negotiate a peace treaty?

MaryJo Dolis

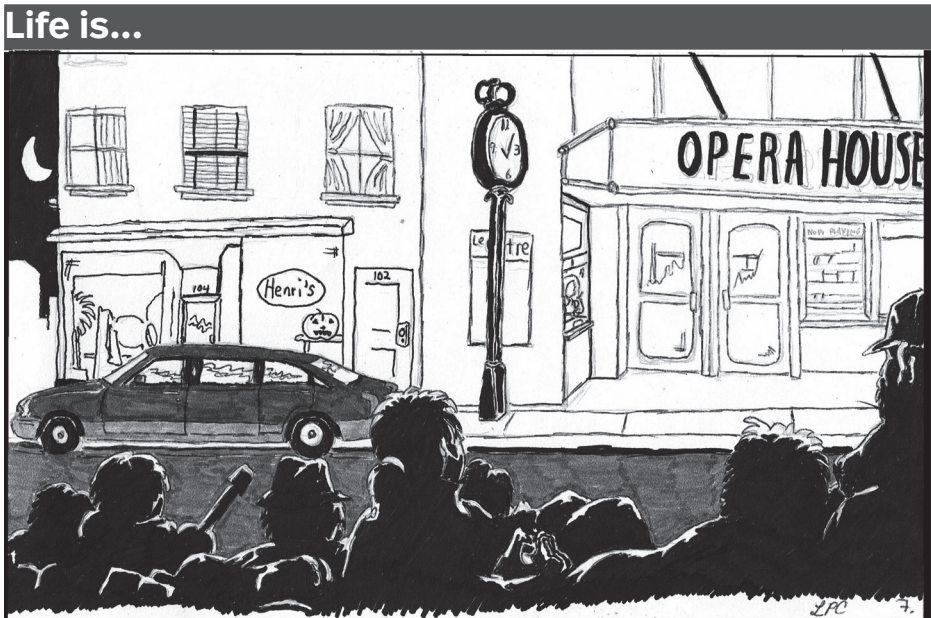
"The war in Korea has already almost destroyed that nation of 20,000,000 people. I have never seen such devastation. I have seen, I guess, as much blood and disaster as any living man, and it just curdled my stomach the last time I was there. After I looked at the wreckage and those thousands of women and children and everything, I vomited ... If you go on indefinitely, you are perpetuating a slaughter such as I have never heard of in the history of mankind."

General Douglas MacArthur, speaking to US Senators at a hearing after his dismissal. Quoted in "The Korean War's Brutality," May 2, 2017, in [www.warisboring.com](http://www.warisboring.com).

[Ed. Note: Just in case our collective memory has been blotted out by recent events, here is a brief outline of our adventures in Korea. The Japanese occupied the Korean Peninsula from 1910 through 1945. Anticipating Japan's defeat at the end of WWII, the US and Soviet Union had agreed on dual occupation. In August of 1945 the Soviets entered Korea from the north, and in September, the US sent troops in from the south. After three years, the US installed a government under

Syngman Rhee, while the Soviets supported Kim il Sung in the north. Both powers withdrew ground troops in 1949. On June 25, 1950, Kim invaded the south in a bid to reunify the peninsula under his leadership. In July, the UN and US sent in forces under General Douglas MacArthur; by September they had pushed the Northern army out of the South. MacArthur then decided to pursue reunification himself – marching troops into the North, threatening to bomb China and ignoring that

country's warnings against encroaching on their territory. In April 1951, President Truman removed MacArthur for insubordination. Before the fighting ended, three million Koreans (more than half of them civilians) and more than 50,000 Americans had lost their lives. An armistice was signed in 1953; the country remains divided and the war technically continues today. The North continues to live in that memory.]



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# Silvia Federici challenges #MeToo movement to look at the systemic, economic causes of sexual violence

Mary McKenna and  
Myles Baker

Since October 2017, the #MeToo movement has revealed patterns of endemic sexual harassment and misconduct by powerful men in government, the entertainment industry and the media. The firings of Harvey Weinstein, Matt Lauer, Charlie Rose, Garrison Keillor and many others were widely celebrated as victories for survivors of workplace abuse. Similarly, the defeat of Roy Moore in the December 2017 Alabama senate election seemed to indicate that public opinion was increasingly turning against men with histories of sexual misconduct.

Marxist feminist Silvia Federici posits, however, that changing public opinion will not be sufficient in ending sexual harassment and abuse. Silvia Federici has written about the unique exploitation of women under capitalism since the 1970s and has participated in numerous anti-capitalist movements for women's liberation, particularly the Wages for Housework campaign. She is perhaps best known for her 2004 book *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*.

### Talking with Service Employees Union members in Portland

In her analysis of the #MeToo movement at Portland's SEIU headquarters this February, she challenged the movement to go beyond the legal punishment of individual offenders and look instead at the systemic causes of sexism. The material conditions of capitalism, according to Federici, create systemic differences in power between men and women. Until these material conditions change, the sexual harassment and abuse of women cannot be effectively remedied.

In *Caliban and the Witch*, Federici argues that the degradation of women's bodies and women's labor was a fundamental part of capitalism's formation. This argument was also the basis for her critique of #MeToo. The driving force behind the recent explosion of sexual harassment revelations, as she sees it, is not a handful of aggressive men or "bad apples." Rather, the fault lies with a system that for centuries has forced women to perform unpaid reproductive and sexual labor in the home. Such a system fostered the widespread financial dependence of wives on their wage-laboring husbands. Centuries of forced dependence produced unequal power dynamics between men and women in the home and family, which came to permeate all of capitalist society.

### Gendered Power Dynamics in the Home and the Workplace

In her talk, Federici made meaningful connections between the exploitation of waged workers by their bosses and

the exploitation of wives and children by husbands. When the wage labor force was still predominantly made up of men, workers brought home the frustration and powerlessness they felt on the job and took it out on their families. Federici refers to this dynamic as a "safety valve" for proletarian men: after a long day of bosses commanding their labor and their bodies, working men could come home and command the labor and the bodies of their wives. The ability of proletarian men to feel powerful at home allowed them to cope with the indignities of their jobs, at the expense of women.

Women, especially women from poor families and women of ethnic and racial minorities, had always made up a portion of the waged workforce. But as women in capitalist core countries increasingly joined the workforce en masse in the 1970s and 1980s, workplace dynamics between men and women mirrored those in the home. Capitalist society had long sanctioned

husbands' control over wives' bodies, labor and sexuality. Thus, Federici argues that men have been socialized to see the sexuality of their women co-workers as at their disposal. The fact that women workers tend to be more highly concentrated in lower-ranking jobs and lower-paying positions only exacerbates these power dynamics.

### Sexual Misconduct and Material Conditions

The overall thesis of Federici's talk was that capitalism is built on economic and social inequalities between men and women. As long as capitalism remains the dominant world system, she argues, these inequalities will be continually reproduced as systemic imbalances of power between men and women. Without changing the underlying material conditions, society cannot expect any long lasting fixes to issues of sexual harassment and violence.

The problem, in short, goes a lot deeper than Harvey Weinstein, Matt Lauer, or any of the other powerful men condemned by the #MeToo movement.

It's important to note that while Federici sees ending capitalism as the only true solution to these problems, she does consider the #MeToo movement as a very positive step in this process. Federici applauded the solidarity between women that #MeToo is building. She also believes #MeToo has been an important "crash course" for men who seek to be comrades in struggle.

Federici ended her talk by emphasizing that the transformation of society will require mass participation and cannot succeed if it is considered just the work of women. While it may impact them differently, capitalist exploitation harms both men and women.

Mary McKenna and Myles Baker are active in political organizing and writing in Olympia


The entirety of Federici's recent talk in Portland can be seen at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qxSmkeMkU7c>.

## Special events

- From page 3*
- "Age of Consequences,"**  
6:30 PM, Thursday, April 19.  
Earth Day themed documentary, Unitarian Church, 2315 Division NW. Parking 2200 East End St. Free.
- Climate Solutions' 20-year Reception & Anniversary,**  
Thursday, April 19, 5 to 8 PM.  
The Heritage Room, 604 Water Street  
Presenting Sam Garst Climate Champion Award to co-founders Paul Horton and Rhys Roth. Donation. RSVP at Climate Solutions website or try [teresa@climatesolutions.org](mailto:teresa@climatesolutions.org).
- Burren Band performs Irish,**  
Saturday, April 21, 7 PM.  
Traditions Fair Trade on 5th.  
Fundraiser for Kamukamu Learning Fdn., supporting schools in Uganda. \$20. Visit their website.
- Landscape Your Yard Class,**  
Thursday, April 26, 6 to 8:30 PM  
at Tumwater City Hall,  
Needs assessment & site analysis, create a site map & plan, choose plants. \$25. Pre-registration required: <https://apm.activecommunities.com/tumwaterpark-sandrec>. 360-754-4160 for more.
- Lumanarias.**  
Friday, April 27, 9:30 PM.  
Meet at 5th from Washington, process to Capitol Way and circle Sylvester Park. Luminary Parade in the dark.
- Procession of the Species,**  
Saturday, April 28, 4:30 PM,  
downtown Olympia.  
Process from Jefferson & Legion to Heritage Park on Water Street.

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# The perils of solar radiation management

Bourtai Hargrove

*Continued from the article of the same title in the March issue*

Solar Radiation Management (SRM) affects the planet unequally. Positive affects could occur in one geographic area and negative affects in another.

In 2008, Alan Robock, a prominent critic of solar geoengineering and his colleagues published a study in the journal *Geophysical Research* that used a comprehensive atmospheric-ocean circulation model to simulate the effects an injection of sulfur dioxide (SO<sub>2</sub>) into the atmosphere. It found that continuously injecting sulfur dioxide into the lower atmosphere would produce global cooling. Tropical sulfur dioxide injections would produce sustained cooling over most of the world, with more cooling over continents. Arctic SO<sub>2</sub> injection would not just cool the Arctic. Both tropical and Arctic SO<sub>2</sub> injections would disrupt the Asian and African summer monsoons, reducing the food supply for billions of people. The study concluded that these regional anomalies are but one of many reasons that argue against the implementation of solar geoengineering.

Computer simulations since then have come to similar conclusions. They show that SRM, through a reduction in total solar irradiance by approximately 2%, roughly compensates for global mean temperature changes from a doubling of carbon dioxide concentrations. Water cycling slows down under SRM, including decreases in global mean precipitation and evapotranspiration. (Katie Dagon and Daniel Schrag (2016.)

Where the sulfate particles are injected is crucial. The National Center for Atmospheric Research (NCAR) and Cornell University has used sophisticated computer models to explore the impacts of injecting sulfur dioxide at

different latitudes and altitudes. Sulfates injected at the equator affect Earth unevenly: over-cooling the tropics and under-cooling the poles. They found that cooling spread more evenly over the globe from injection sites on either side of the equator. When solar geoengineering was implemented in the Northern Hemisphere it led to a reduced precipitation in the Sahel region. In contrast, injections in the Southern Hemisphere resulted in increased precipitation in the Sahel. These changes are mainly attributed to a shift in the location of the June-October Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ) away from the hemisphere in which geoengineering is implemented. However, when comparable solar reduction is imposed in both Northern and Southern Hemisphere high latitudes the position of the ITCZ is nearly unaltered.

Kravatz et al. (2016) showed that annual mean Arctic temperature and the ITCZ location can be adjusted by reducing solar radiation in both the Arctic and Antarctic by appropriate amounts. “We are still a long way from understanding all the interactions in the climate system that could be triggered by geoengineering, which means we don’t yet understand the full range of possible side effects,” said NCAR scientist Simone Tilmes. “But climate change also poses risks. Continuing research into geoengineering is critical to assess benefits and side effects.”

## Is It Possible To Govern Solar Geoengineering?

“The big risks of this technology fundamentally aren’t technical,” says David Keith, “They’re political. They’re the risk of how it gets used in a divided world. How do we set the thermostat in a world where we have many different countries and many different interests and it’s really cheap to adjust the thermostat? In my view, all the really scary outcomes from geoen-

gineering come when some country wants a climate one way and other countries want it another way. And they essentially fight over that.”

The fact that solar geoengineering could cool one part of the planet, while causing drought in another has alarmed the leaders of poor countries that already suffer the brunt of climate change drought, floods and cyclones. At the 2013 Warsaw Climate Summit shortly after Typhoon Haiyan devastated the Philippines, killing 6,300 people, Mary Ann Lucille Sering, climate change secretary for the Philippines, spoke. “Every time we attend this conference,” she said, “I’m beginning to feel like we are negotiating on who is to live and who is to die.” Naomi Klein has a similar assessment; “If geoengineering has anything going for it,” she says, “it is that it slots perfectly into our most hackneyed cultural narrative. It’s the one that tells us that, at the very last minute, some of us (the ones that matter) are going to be saved.”

Is it possible to govern solar geoen- gineering? Even if an international agreement could be reached, it would be very difficult to enforce it. If a rogue government began seeding the stratosphere, it could be impossible to trace the origin of the reflective particles with enough precision to punish the perpetrators. Nevertheless, serious efforts are being made to envision international governance for SRM, either through scientific consensus or through treaties between existing governments. All of the proposed governing schemes stress inclusiveness, transparency and democratic decision-making. The Solar Radiation Management Governance Initiative (SRMGI) an NGO driven organization, has already co-sponsored workshops in African countries, island nations and other developing countries to inform and involve Southern Hemisphere scientists and leaders in the decision-making process, even though everyone intuitively feels that the important decisions about the fate of our planet will be made in the rich and powerful Northern Hemisphere.

In twenty, thirty or forty years, the perils of solar radiation management will be weighed against the actual devastation wrought by climate change. If the West Antarctic Ice Sheet is breaking up, sea level is threatening to obliterate the major cities of the world, and melting permafrost has reached a point where feed-back loops may take global warming beyond human control, SRM may look very different.

Will SRM ever be deployed? Some scientists agree with David Roberts, well-known climate journalist, that “albedo modification is a techno-besotted fantasy with an exactly zero percent chance of ever being seriously implemented. There is no Plan B. Pretending we have some other option, some other way out, some way of avoiding

the difficult work ahead, does no one any good.” But Gernot Wagner, co-director at the Harvard solar-geoengineering program, believes, “It’s not a question of if, it’s a question of when someone will pull the trigger.”

## The Harvard University Solar Radiation Management (SRM) Project

David Keith and Frank Keutsch are the scientists who launched the Harvard University Solar Radiation Management (SRM) project in March of this year. The initial phase of the \$20 million project is funded by Harvard, Bill Gates (a major contributor), the Hewlett Foundation, and the Alfred P. Sloan foundation. As early as 2018, they hope to spray particles of water and aluminum oxide into the stratosphere from a high-altitude balloon over Tucson. The initial experiments will be small, designed to test the delivery system, discover what kind of particles are the most effective at reflecting sunlight, how the particles clump or disperse, whether they will disrupt the ozone layer, and how they interact with other atmospheric gases. The scientists are working with a Tucson, Arizona balloon company to engineer the balloon and equip it with sensors.

In 2014, David Keith estimated that the total cost of large scale solar geoengineering would be about one billion dollars a year and the cost of geoengineering the entire planet for a decade would be less than \$6 billion. It is cheap, far cheaper than the cost of cutting carbon emissions. It is inexpensive enough, that a small country, or even a rogue billionaire could finance it. In contrast, other climate geoengineering projects, such as carbon capture and sequestration (CCS) and biomass energy carbon capture and storage (BECCS), will require decades of research before they become operational, will take many more decades to have an effect on cumulative CO<sub>2</sub> levels and will be tremendously expensive.

## SRM Does Not Halt Climate Change

Keith acknowledges that solar radiation management does not stop the fossil fuel emissions that are causing climate change; it does not reduce the cumulative greenhouse gases that are warming our planet; and it does nothing to stop ocean acidification. It merely throws a veil between the earth and the sun, temporarily deflecting enough sunlight to cool the planet. He is careful to emphasize that we would still need a crash program to complete the necessary transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy. He describes SRM as a temporary “stopgap” measure, designed to give the world’s governments more time to transition to renewable energy.

*Bourtai Hargrove is a climate activist, a socialist and a grandmother writing from Olympia.*

# Sell off all fossil fuel investments now

Glen Anderson

The April 2018 interview on “Glen’s Parallax Perspectives” explores an important aspect of the climate crisis that has been largely neglected. If people pay attention to this aspect, we can protect the climate and also save ourselves from serious financial losses.

The climate crisis has forced the world to start significantly shifting away from coal and oil. We must shift away from all fossil fuels (coal, oil and natural gas) much more rapidly in order to protect Planet Earth—and all of us—from catastrophic climate disruptions.

Sharply reducing our consumption of fossil fuels will financially hurt the fossil fuel companies. Many coal companies have already gone bankrupt. Oil and natural gas companies will soon follow. Smart investors have been selling their fossil fuel investments not so much because they’re concerned about the climate crisis, but much more because fossil fuel stocks and bonds have become risky investments that will crash soon.

This means serious risk for anyone who has invested in fossil fuel companies. Many individual investors, mutual funds, pension funds, non-profit organization endowment

funds, and other investors in fossil fuel companies are at serious risk.

The April 2018 episode of “Glen’s Parallax Perspectives” interviews two very knowledgeable guests who have been working on this: Donna Albert and Bourtai Hargrove. They and other persons including Glen Anderson, who hosted the interview, have been urging the Washington State Investment Board to protect teachers, state employees, and local government employees from the financial danger that the climate crisis causes for our pensions.

People anywhere can watch this April 2018 interview and/or read a thorough written summary of what we said. The summary ends with a list of many sources of information. Visit [www.parallaxperspectives.org](http://www.parallaxperspectives.org) and click “TV Programs” or “Climate.” Look for this TV episode’s title, “Sell Off All Fossil Fuel Investments Now.”

Also, cable TV subscribers in Thurston County have 13 opportunities during April 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 or [glenanderson@integra.net](mailto:glenanderson@integra.net)

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# Collective Memory: A Tennessee monument that ties the Confederacy to the glory of the classical era

Savanhah Marquardt

The Nashville Parthenon, a startlingly exact replica of the original in Athens, is often regarded both by Nashvillians and our visitors as just another quirky roadside attraction somewhere in middle America. The Nashville Parthenon comes as a bit of a surprise to the country music tourists for which Nashville is much more famous—after all, the pedal taverns and party-tractors don't usually make it out to West End to visit Athena. For those who do make the trek, the question "Why did they build the Parthenon?" has been asked time and time again. President of the Conservancy of the Parthenon and Centennial Park, Sylvia Rapoport, explains that the Nashville Parthenon symbolizes "a respect for tradition that is balanced by an equal respect for innovation that distinguishes Nashville from other cities."

Rapoport portrays the Parthenon as a center for the classical ideals of arts, culture, and education. This maxim seems to fit the current day Nashville Parthenon, which serves as the center of a vibrant artistic community, playing host to art fairs, endless musical performances, Nashville's Shakespeare in the Park, and an art gallery. But this answer forgets Nashville's fraught history with the classics.

A more complete answer to the question "Why did they build the Parthenon?" provides a firmer motivation for the building's construction than just the reification of a local nickname, and also reminds us of the foundation of classical reception throughout the history of our country—a history upon which the modern use of classics in the public sphere now rests. In the decades following the Civil War and Reconstruction, "classical ideals" had a more specific significance to the nineteenth century leaders of Nashville.

As Rapoport acknowledges, Nashville's classical reception is indeed a marriage of tradition and innovation. The greater tradition of antebellum Southern classical reception was used to both define and justify Southern identity and institutions. In celebrating

this agrarian democracy, plantation houses modeled after Greek temples went hand in hand with Aristotle's assertion that some people were "natural slaves." As a result, white Southern aristocrats laid claim to the classics by establishing themselves as the true heirs of the ancient Greeks. Regardless of what the truth may have been, Southerners claimed that they were genteel, civilized, and—most of

There is plenty of discussion of "how" the Nashville Parthenon came to be and almost none of "why."

all—educated, in comparison to the crass and uncultured Northerners.

Just as the South created an identity by defining itself in opposition to the North, Nashville established its own claim to a classical identity by positioning itself as a beacon of education and culture amidst the wilderness of the American frontier. When the first president of the University of Nashville Philip Lindsley (a former Princeton Classics professor) declared Nashville the "Athens of the West" in the 1820's, he was not describing the frontier town of only 4,000 people, he was describing his aspirations for his city. Lindsley dreamt of creating a Nashville of perfect democratic citizens, which to Lindsley meant well-educated agrarians.

Over the next forty years, Nashville become known instead as the 'Athens of the South'—an epithet that was at the forefront of civic leaders' minds as Tennessee's hundredth anniversary of statehood approached. In the aftermath of the Civil War and Reconstruction, a new generation of Nashville's leaders drew on the familiar visual language of Athens during the construction of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition. The director-general

of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition, Major Eugene C. Lewis, whose romantic fascination with antiquity followed him to his pyramid-inspired grave, chose to build a likeness of the Parthenon as the crown jewel of the Exposition.

Lewis's Exposition presented Nashville as a success story of the Jim Crow South, a well-ordered city in which each type of citizen fulfilled the role to which they were "best suited." The "Women's Building" and "Negro Department" provided platforms from which Tennessee could prove to critics that any allegations of the violence of Reconstruction were unfounded. These speeches given at the "Negro Department" celebrated technical education over the study of law or politics, and encouraged African-Americans to pursue internal perfection rather than to seek to change the world around them. Emancipation made Lindsley's classical Nashville impossible, but

Lewis's



classical Nashville, which embraced economic advancement and the new social order, incorporated "innovation" into the Southern tradition.

While building a monument to glorify the Jim Crow South is not the same as building a Confederate monument, the Nashville Parthenon was undeniably built in a climate of great reverence for the Confederacy, at the beginning of a surge in the construction of Confederate monuments. Lewis chose a Confederate veteran as the architect for the Parthenon, and declared his own Confederate sympathies when he dedicated the Confederate Soldiers Monument on the grounds of the Tennessee state capitol. The United Daughters of the Confederacy, a once-powerful auxiliary that is still visible today, was founded in Nashville in 1894, and was responsible

for this monument at the capitol and many other Confederate monuments around the country. They were also extremely successful in using education—antebellum Nashville's most prized virtue—to entrench the Lost Cause narrative in the public psyche.

The tradition of Southern classical reception in the service of slavery, the glorification of Jim Crow society during the Exposition, and the climate of Confederate sympathy surrounding the building's construction make it very difficult not to view the Nashville Parthenon of 1898 as a monument intrinsically linked to the promotion of the supremacy of the white citizens of Nashville, of Tennessee, and of the United States. The Nashville Parthenon could very well be viewed as a Confederate monument.

As a Nashville native whose love of Classics was inspired in part by the Nashville Parthenon, the implications of the history of the building were difficult for me to accept. The revelation that the Nashville Parthenon was so intertwined with the Lost Cause was not the narrative of the Nashville Parthenon that I was ever taught. It shocked me.

The Nashville Parthenon was a moment in the tradition of Southern classical reception, using a classical image to glorify a contemporary process of exclusion. In the reception of classical history and images that inspired the 1898 Nashville Parthenon, there is not room for all people to be equal. There must be barbaroi.

This exclusive inheritance that Lewis expressed through plaster, Fugitive poet and Southern Agrarian Donald Davidson put into poetry. The Fugitive poets were plainly concerned with portraying the South as the classical world reborn, and their poetry dripped with classical allusions.

You would think that the Fugitives would have loved the Nashville Parthenon. However, Davidson displays outright scorn for the structure in his poem *On a Replica of the Parthenon*. A shop girl in Nashville who appreciates classical art might consider herself quite sophisticated compared to an unemployed redneck in Pulaski. But in Davidson's eyes, she, as an uneducated woman, must only be able to view Poseidon's form with crass physical appreciation.

Black citizens of Nashville do not even enter the poem as potential viewers of the temple. Under Davidson's judgments, even those who fully embrace Nashville's classicism are at risk of disenfranchisement by those who think they have a better claim. Even the Parthenon itself can be delegitimized if the people viewing it are deemed il-

► Parthenon, continued next page



**INSIDE PEACE** is a documentary about a group of men who, marked by generations of violence and addiction, spent time in a Texas prison. These men attend a 10-session Peace Class, during which we witness these inmates' internal struggles to rediscover their humanity, finally understanding real potential for rebuilding positive lives on the outside.

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Book Review

# The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It

Sukey Wolf

History is never as enlightening as when it is told by the women and men who made it. This is certainly the case with the memoir by Jo Ann Gibson Robinson entitled *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It*.

This book tells of the extraordinary Montgomery, Ala. bus boycott of 1955-56. Robinson, on the faculty of Alabama State College, a Black school in Montgomery, was chair of the city's Women's Political Council (WPC) which was becoming the most active civil rights organization in the city. Made up primarily of state college and public school teachers, the council promoted women's leadership in civic affairs, voter registration and aid for women victims of rape or assault. Abusively treated on a city bus, Robinson pressed for organizing a bus boycott to force city government to halt racist violence and degradation on public transportation.

A crying need.

Like many cities in the South, Montgomery's bus line was segregated. This meant that the first ten rows of seats were "reserved for whites," with Blacks forced to sit or stand in the rear. Bus drivers often abused Black customers with racist diatribes or resorted to physical force. Blacks were made to board at the back of the bus and drivers would sometimes pull out before everyone could get on.

Arrests, even of school children, for various "crimes" were not uncommon. Robinson relates the everyday indignities suffered by Black bus riders. There were the teens from another city who were unfamiliar with Jim Crow laws; they refused to vacate their "white" seats and were promptly arrested. A mother with two infants boards a bus and sets her babies in the first white-reserved seat while she fetches the right change. The driver deliberately lurches forward and the babies wind up on the floor as the driver hurls racist epithets.

Against this backdrop, the historic Montgomery Bus Boycott was planned and executed. It sparked the modern Civil Rights Movement. And it was Black women who made it happen.

A movement builds.

On Dec. 1, 1955 the women of WPC readied a one-day boycott planned for Dec. 5. Almost overnight it turned into a thirteen-month strike. From beginning to end, it was a mass move-

ment. Leaflets were distributed door-to-door; a weekly newsletter written by Robinson was sent to all boycotters and taken across the country by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to help spread the news and raise money to keep the boycott going.

The Women's Political Council combined with Black ministers and representatives of

from work while the legal fight wound through the courts.

Montgomery's Black community set up a complex transportation system that carried some 25,000 people every day for more than a year...



The MIA held mass public meetings every Monday, attended by thousands, which decided on strategies and demands to present to the immovable city politicians and the bus company. Decisions were taken by a vote of the participants at Monday meetings. To raise much needed money, women baked and sold copious amounts of cakes and sweet potato pies and kept meticulous financial records.

Handbook for political leadership. By far the most important aspect of this memoir is that it serves as a guide on how to fight the system. One learns the key to productive resistance is solidarity, clear goals, financial honesty and

authentic democracy. When everyone knows they have a voice and a stake in the outcome, the movement is stronger. Reading this memoir, I couldn't help contrasting the Montgomery Bus Boycott with the Occupy Movement that swept this country in 2011. As a protest movement against economic inequality and corporate greed, it was thrilling. But lack of organization and contempt for accountable leadership doomed it from the beginning. No coherent demands were ever advanced. Worse still, democratic votes and discussions were jettisoned in favor of a shapeless consensus. Once cold weather set in and the cops descended on dwindling protesters, the occupiers moved on with nothing left to show for their sacrifices.

In contrast, Montgomery's Black community set up a complex transportation system that carried some 25,000 people every day for more than a year and won the fight to desegregate the city's buses.

Everybody walked taller. As Robinson wrote, "Protest against the white man's traditional policy of white supremacy had created a new person in the Negro. The new spirit, the new feeling did something to Blacks individually and collectively, and each liked the feeling. There was no turning back! There was only one way out — the buses must be changed!"

This article is reprinted with permission from the Freedom Socialist, Feb-March 2018

## Parthenon

From previous page

legitimate.

Davidson views the Nashville Parthenon as an uninspired replica. But what Davidson—and what the typical visitor of the Nashville Parthenon today—misses is that even the initial construction was not so much a replication of the temple in Athens as an adaptation. The goddess of the Nashville Parthenon stood outside her temple, with the interior filled with gallery after gallery of art. Compared to the Athenian inspiration, the 1898 Nashville Parthenon was inside out.

This is how it feels to see the misuse of classics by the alt-right in our own time—as though classics is being turned inside out. It's easy to spot the misuse of classics when we see it on a flag emblazoned with Ω. It's easy to recognize that promoting the false ideal of a lily-white ancient Mediterranean promotes white supremacy. But these ideas didn't spring fully formed from the internet in 2017. They are part of a long tradition of misusing classics to lend gravitas to certain ideas.

Historically, as in the case of the Nashville Parthenon, some people try to lay a specific claim to this classical identity, at the expense of those who are deemed unworthy. As classical reception in America has compounded over

time, ideas about what classical symbols and traditions "mean" have taken on a life in the general zeitgeist—and they have no use for "truth" about the classical world. When the classics are used and misused in the public sphere, too often the truth about a classical symbol is less important than the impression it has on its viewers.

But somewhere between the construction of Lewis's first temple, the reconstruction completed in 1931, and the eventual completion of Athena Parthenos in 1982, the Parthenon became an empty temple. Although the magnificent statue of the goddess in the cella (the tallest indoor statue in the country) makes the Nashville Parthenon a more accurate replica of the Athenian Parthenon, she is not my city's patron goddess. The public receives her as the goddess of Athens, not the goddess of Nashville. In a city with over2,000 churches, there was not a god of the Nashville Parthenon. But this monument still makes a claim about Nashville's right to a classical inheritance.

If viewers of the Nashville Parthenon do not currently associate the monument with the Jim Crow South and the Lost Cause narrative, does it no longer serve as a monument to glorify these ideas? We never really build monuments to the past, we build them to the grief and pride of the present and in anticipation of a future. Can a monument be separated from its past?

After all, leaving a monument standing has done nothing to remind people of the city's history—in fact, we've forgotten our history in order to preserve this monument. This is also why the Nashville Parthenon, as beloved as it is, to many now feels strangely rootless.

This de-monumentalization liberates a classical icon from its potentially less than savory ideological history, but denigrates it as a work of art. When the monument is viewed solely as a peculiar growth in the middle of Centennial Park with no real motivation or relevance, a look into the compelling history of the Centennial Exposition and Nashville becomes little more than a roadside attraction. Educational information provided by the city of Nashville on our Parthenon focuses more on Greek history than local history, and even historical perspectives focus on the facts of the monument's construction. There is plenty of discussion of "how" the Nashville Parthenon came to be and almost none of "why."

My initial fascination with the Nashville Parthenon was a desire to understand the history and the myths, and to understand a well-shaped pile of marble. But studying classics does not bring me any closer to understanding a Parthenon made out of concrete. And so I began looking into the history of the Nashville Parthenon, not to prove anything in particular, but driven by that initial desire for understanding.

This is an image designed to capture the public imagination, and that's exactly what it does. Standing so small at the foot of Athena, the sound of your own marble footsteps echoing in your ears, it is impossible not to reach for some explicit significance. That's why we keep asking why they built the Parthenon. You feel like it has to glorify something.

Savannah Marquardt is a Nashville native and the host of Ritual podcast. She has a B.A. in Classics from Princeton University. This article appeared ineidolon.pub

Centralia Square Antique Mall

Antiques • Restaurant • Hotel

Directions from Olympia

South on Interstate 5

Off at Exit 82 (Factory Outlets)

East on Harrison

Right on Pearl

201 S Pearl & Locust

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Parallel University Radio Show

Thursdays Noon to 1 pm with host Kim Dobson

KAOS 89.3 FM



# “Getting Down and Dirty”

## A letter to the president of Olympia Master Builders

Dan Deering, President  
Olympia Master Builders/  
Affordable Housing Council  
1211 State Avenue NE  
Olympia, Washington 98506

Re: Advocacy: “Getting Down and Dirty”

Dear President Deering,

I am writing for two reasons.

First, I wish to know who is responsible for a mailer sent from the “Affordable Housing Council of the Olympia Master Builders” with regard to Port Commissioner E.J. Zita and Bill Fishburn. These two individuals were candidates for the Port of Olympia Commission in the November 2017 election.

Second, I wish to understand the meaning of your Government Affairs Advocacy slogan, “Getting Down and Dirty.”

Your organization provided financial support to Port Commissioner EJ Zita’s opponent, Gigi McClure and also to Port Commissioner Bill McGregor who was opposed by Candidate Bill Fishburn. This support certainly lies within your legitimate advocacy function.

However, despite the many legitimate issues up for discussion in this race, your organization in its mailer resorted to McCarthy-era red-baiting and character assassination using demagogic words and alarmist punctuations “Extremists!” and “Anarchists” to characterize Bill Fishburn and EJ Zita. Was it Mr. Fishburn’s Presidency of the

Hispanic Roundtable that allowed you to characterize him as an “Extremist?”

You represent a firm, Northwest Family Homes, on the Olympia Master Builders whose “governors” are Nathan Deering, Ronald Deering and Andy Gruhn. The firm’s website says they have developed “a sterling reputation for honestly (sic) and integrity.” Did these “governors” approve of this mailer? If they did approve it, it raises questions as to the validity of any reputation for honesty and integrity.

Jon Jones serves as Olympia Master Builders’ Executive Committee’s Secretary. Mr. Jones represents Washington Business Bank and is the bank’s CEO and President. The bank states among its core values “Honesty” and “Friendliness.” It has a vision to build “long term relations” with, among others, “communities.” Did Mr Jones approve this mailer? I can’t believe he thinks this mailer promotes the Bank’s core values or vision, let alone long term relationships with communities. Are these claimed core values empty words, meaningless except for promotional purposes?

Mr. Jones’ fellow Bank Board members represent a wide array of community leaders: Dr. Ernie Grubb (Chambers Prairie Veterinary Hospital), Eugene J. Johnson (Rainier Dodge, Inc), Dr. Donald C. Paradise, Richard I. Rokes (Investors Development Group), Laura I Skillings (Skillings-Connolly, Inc.), and Kirk Veis (Owen Davis). Did any of these Board members approve the mailer? The Board’s slogan states the greatest leader is the one “that gets the people to do the greatest thing.”

Would the Bank highlight this mailer as one of its “greatest things?”

Mike Auderer of Olympia Construction, Inc sits on your Executive Committee as Immediate Past President of the Olympia Master Builders/Affordable Housing Council. Mr. Auderer is a member of the Olympia Planning Commission. Your Council supported Max Brown for City Council. Brown was defeated by Council Member Clark Gilman. Will Council Member Gilman and the other two newly elected Council members be subjected to the type of attempted character assassination when they run for reelection? Is your Government Affairs Committee preparing mailers like this for future “down and dirty” advocacy?

Your organization changed executive staff in the midst of this campaign. Executive Officer Troy Nichols resigned for a job with Phillips Burgess Government Relations and was replaced by Ms. Angela White. Perhaps this change, along with a string of losing campaigns for Balsley, Brown, Kemp, and McClure, convinced someone at the Olympia Master Builders to resort to this last minute, “down and dirty” mailer. Is that what happened?

Some OMB business affiliates send a \$40 contribution to your “Advocacy” arm, the Affordable Housing Council. Did businesses like Pioneer Technologies, Kaufman Construction, Harrington Construction, C&E Development and Town and Country Roofing, Inc who sent their \$40 during this election know about this mailer? Did they agree to be associated with your “down and dirty” tactics?

I was surprised to see “endorsed by ILWU Local 47 Longshoreman” on this mailer. I am aware of the Local’s endorsement of McGregor and McClure. However, placing the name of that union on a red-baiting mailer seems unimaginable to me. Red-baiting has been used to counter unions like the ILWU and workers’ rights throughout our history. Did the Local approve of you including their name on this particular mailer?

The Olympia Master Builders’ Government Affairs Committee oversees your Advocacy program, administered by staff member Joel Baxter. This is the Committee that oversaw and approved the mailer. Ms. Heather Burgess lists on her resume the “Olympia Master Builders Association, Government Affairs Committee.” Ms. Burgess is also legal counsel to the Port of Olympia. The Committee’s mailer claims Port Commissioner E.J. Zita “supports anarchists and political extremists.” How can we be sure that Ms. Burgess’ advice and performance will not reflect the prejudice indicated by her Committee’s attack on Commissioner Zita?

Commissioner Zita carried 59% of the 145 non-city precincts, as well as the cities of Olympia, Tumwater, Lacey, and Rainier. Mr. Fishburn, who you characterize as “oblivious,” won 62% of the voters in Olympia, as well as coming within 809 votes of unseating Commissioner McGregor.

My final question is who would want your endorsement as long as OMB is known for these “down and dirty” campaign tactics?

I look forward to your answers.

Dan Leahy  
Olympia, Washington 98502

# Working Washington launches campaign against minimum wage surcharges

## Working Washington

Working Washington has heard a lot of complaints (and received a lot of reports) about businesses which have recently added small 1%—5% “minimum wage” surcharges to their bills in what seems to be an attempt to send a political message about their opposition to raising the wage.

A list of companies found to be adding these surcharges can be found at [workingwa.org](http://workingwa.org). We encourage you to let these companies know what you think about this practice (though of

course you should always be respectful to your server).

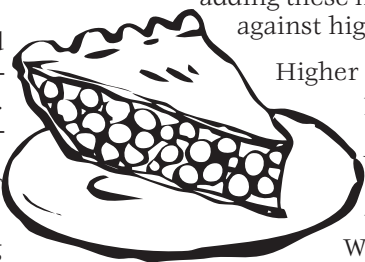
We can stop this trend and eliminate minimum wage surcharges. Already, several prominent companies that instituted these kinds of charges have reversed themselves after hearing from customers. We hope to see more of the same. And if any business drops their charge, we’ll be glad to share the news and promptly take them off the list.

## What’s the issue with a minimum wage surcharge?

Itemized surcharges attributed to the cost of the minimum wage are objectionable because paying the minimum wage is a basic cost of doing business, not an extra add-on to be counted separately. If there’s no line item for the electrical bill, no napkin-laundering charge called out, and no special fee levied because a few employees had to work overtime last pay period, then there’s no good reason to tack on an extra 2% and attribute it to the minimum wage.

If you run a business, your prices reflect your total costs, of course — from the cost of rent to the cost of a cleaning service and everything in between — but each cost isn’t itemized on the receipt. So when a business adds a surcharge and attributes it to the minimum wage, they’re making a political statement that seems to be about publicly begrudging having to pay a higher wage. And it’s probably no co-

incidence that some of the businesses adding these new fees have also fought against higher labor standards.



Higher wages are incredibly popular in our state and across the country, and we believe these tacked-on fees can’t stand up to public attention. We’ve already seen several prominent companies

reverse themselves on these charges when their customers are heard from. And we hope to see more of the same with your help.

To sign our letter opposing minimum wage surcharges and to learn about local organizing efforts around this issue, visit [workingwa.org](http://workingwa.org).

## A Playback Theatre performance Standing on the Side of Love and Hope

Celebrating 20 years of Public Performances at Traditions Café  
Friday, April 13, 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 are celebrating 20 years of public performances at Traditions Café. During this time we have collaborated with over 140 community organizations and donated over \$7,000 to those organizations.

**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.



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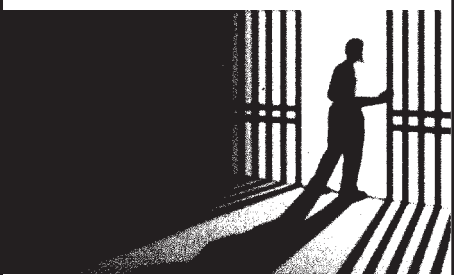


# A citizens' voyage towards a renewed American democracy: August 1979

[Editor's note: In the spring of 1979, a group of organizers came together to form The Citizens Party, with the intention of creating a new national political party that would enter candidates in the 1980 elections. They issued this call in August 1979. That December they declared themselves The Citizens Party The Party's founding convention was held in April, 1980. Despite the fact that there were neither cell phones nor computers of any significance, 271 delegates came from 31 states to attend the convention]

125 years ago, a small group of people met in a Wisconsin town to form a new political party. They founded the Republican Party because neither of the country's major parties were confronting the great national issue of the

In Washington,  
you have the  
right to vote...  
Even with a  
criminal record.



As the Chief Elections Official for Thurston County, I empower all eligible people to vote. It's your right, and your voice is important!"

—Mary Hall  
Thurston County Auditor

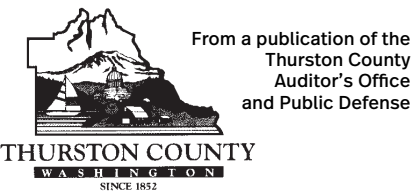


Thurston County Elections

Yes, you can vote!

- You maintain the right to vote with a misdemeanor conviction, or a conviction in juvenile court, even if you are still in jail.
- Citizens with felony convictions have their right to vote restored automatically when they come out of the criminal justice system.
- Individuals can register to vote once they are no longer under state-supervised parole or probation.
- You may register to vote if you have existing court-ordered legal financial obligations (LFOs), such as fines, fees, and restitution. If you do not comply with all the terms of your LFO, you may lose your right to vote.

Learn more about your right to vote at:  
[thurstonvotes.org/voting rights](http://thurstonvotes.org/voting-rights)



Register at  
[ThurstonVotes.Org](http://ThurstonVotes.Org)  
Or call (360)786-5408

day: slavery. Today this country is in a similar crisis and faces a similar opportunity. And today, also, neither of the nation's dominant political parties is confronting the crisis or acting on that opportunity. Consider the facts:

- Prices have risen more in the past decade than in the 20 years before. The cost of buying or renting a modest home is soaring beyond the ordinary family's reach. There is no end to inflation in sight.
- The wealthiest nation on earth can't provide jobs for its citizens. Millions who want to work are on unemployment or welfare. Among inner city minorities, joblessness is worse than in the Great Depression. College graduates can't find the work they have been trained for.
- Faced with gas lines and a deepening energy crisis, the government compounds the problem. It advocates inflationary decontrol. It dismantles energy efficient rail service. It backs expensive and dangerous nuclear power and synthetic fuel. And it largely ignores the major solutions which are clean, decentralized and potentially cheap – energy efficiency and solar power.
- The American working man and woman have lost ground. Hard won raises are erased by inflation. The Administration tries to limit wages, but not prices.
- A decade and a half after Martin Luther King spelled out his American dream, minorities and the poor are still waiting for their share. The great promises of the 1960s – better housing, job training, national health care, the rebuilding of our cities—remain a mirage.
- After several “tax reform” bills, there are more loopholes than ever for the rich and the huge corporations; the burden falls still more heavily on the poor and the middle class.
- The government already has enough military to kill everyone on earth. Yet it builds additional new missile systems and weapons to wage electronic war in space. It continues to arm dictatorships around the world. And it pretends that still more billions will buy more security.
- Women's gains are under attack. The Equal Rights Amendment is stalled. If she is luck enough to find a job, the average woman will earn a wage only 60% that of the average man.

Small wonder, given all this, that half of the eligible voters don't register and that half of those who do register usually don't vote. Polls show a plummeting confidence in government and big business, a pervasive fear that the future will be worse than today. People feel—and rightfully – that a dream has been betrayed, that the vision we once allowed ourselves has been replaced by smog-choked skies, by TV screens advertizing shoddy products we don't need, and by a country which has somehow, like a car without a driver, slipped out of control.

What happened? Has there been a conspiracy of corporate chieftains or power-hungry politicians to plot a takeover? Of course not. Rather, times have changed: an economic system which in its infancy spread prosperity across the continent has gradually become outdated.

This country began as a place where people had control of their lives, to a degree perhaps unmatched in history: as family farmers, as independent artisans and entrepreneurs, as participants in town hall democracy. The free enterprise economy meant something important: hard work was usually rewarded; if you made as good a

product in your workshop as the next person, you prospered; and you did not need a huge capital investment to start a small business.

But our system today no more resembles free enterprise than a freeway resembles a dirt road. Small companies of all kinds are being squeezed out. In many fields, - from automobiles to light bulbs to breakfast cereals – four firms or less control more than 90% of U.S. production. And more important still, these vast corporations—many with annual budgets greater than those of most countries – spread across national boundaries. A multinational corporation can switch profits to a subsidiary in Panama when we tax it, switch jobs to a plant in Taiwan when American workers ask for higher wages, make a dangerous pesticide in Brazil when its manufacture is banned in the U.S. For the multinationals, this is no age of “lowered expectations”; their power is greater than ever. Beholden to no one but stockholders, beyond the control of most governments, protected by the myth that they are merely small business writ large, large corporations unaccountable to us increasingly shape our lives.

Their decisions determine what gets produced, and for whom. Auto companies make more money selling high priced gas-guzzling cars, so they do so – even when the national interest calls for small cars with better mileage, or for trolleys and buses instead. Conglomerates market additive-filled junk food because the profit margin is higher than for fruits and vegetables. Private interests come first, the public interest last. Gradually, almost imperceptibly, a whole lifestyle—energy intensive, ridden with cancer causing pollution, fueled by advertizing—has been given to us. It is a lifestyle that we did not choose for ourselves.

There is nothing wrong with profit, or with private ownership. What is wrong is when private interest, and not the public good, determine how we live. That is what must be changed, and that is the issue the two major American parties can not and will not face. Elevating the national interest above vested private interests is what the Citizens Party is about.

What is to be done? We do not have all the solutions. We invite others to join us in enlarging and refining our program. But we believe that, at a bare minimum, a citizens' movement to retake control of this country must work for the following goals: (bullet points follow)

- Public control of the energy industries. In the midst of an energy crisis that affects every American, we cannot let the decisions of Mobil, Exxon and the rest determine how much oil and gas is produced, and where.
- A swift halt to nuclear power. If this is not done, our environment may be poisoned for thousands of years to come. One Three Mile Island accident is enough.
- A strong push, instead of the Administration's lip service, for conservation and solar energy. And for related forms of power such as methane gas and alcohol fuels. These also are safe, non-polluting and can be produced on a small scale by communities across the country, without the multi-billion dollar high technology plants that only big business can build.
- An immediate, sharp reversal in the rate of military spending. Protecting the U.S. from aggression is worthwhile, but building and exporting unneeded new weapons systems has already escalated the arms race

to the edge of disaster. A good place to start these cutbacks: the dangerous new MX missile program.

- A guaranteed job for everyone who wants to work. National planning and conversion of the armaments industry to productive activity can ensure this.
- Stable prices for the basic necessities of life: food, fuel, housing, medical care. Price controls can accomplish part of that job; more important is to attack inflation's cause – all of which are controllable. One is the massive arms budget, which soaks up hundreds of billions of our dollars but produces nothing people can use. Another is our dependence on the depleting supply of fossil fuel. Whether oil in Saudi Arabia or coal in Kentucky, getting it out of the ground costs more each year than the last.
- Vigorous support for human rights at home and abroad. Here, that means work for civil liberties, affirmative action, the ERA, and equal rights to all health care, preventive and therapeutic. Overseas, that means an end to U.S. aid and military alliances with all countries that deny justice to their citizens.
- Putting the vast corporations which control our economy under our control. We believe in citizen control of major investment and resource decisions. We want to see that control as decentralized as possible. Experiments in worker and community ownership should be encouraged. Cities, towns, and neighborhoods should have control over whether a factory with needed jobs can move to another city or county, or whether investors are allowed to abandon an area, leaving it a bombed-out war zone like the South Bronx.

We believe that these are good goals for today – and the future. We are building a Citizens Party for the long run. It is not a third party, for we reject the relevance of the two existing ones.

It is a new party, to raise the issues the existing parties ignore. We start today because none of the major party Presidential candidates, announced or unannounced, are discussing these issues, and we are tired of wasting our votes.

We ask you to join us. We appeal to Republicans and Democrats who are fed up with their parties' evasions. We appeal to citizens who have stayed away from the polls and want a party that gives reason to return. We appeal to labor and independent business people, who know the interests of the giant corporations are not the same as their own. We appeal to the minorities and working people who have suffered the most in the current recession. And we appeal to activists in the women's movement, in the churches, and in the struggle to protect our environment, all of whom have given new meaning to American's democratic traditions in the last few years.

We are embarking on a long but exciting voyage. The economic system we have inherited clearly no longer fits our needs. Such times come in human history; Jefferson knew it when he wrote: “I am not an advocate for frequent changes... but institutions must advance to keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regime of its ancestors.” We have reached the time for one of those historic passages today, and we ask all Americans to join us.

The Citizens Committee  
Washington, DC 20036



# Works In Progress



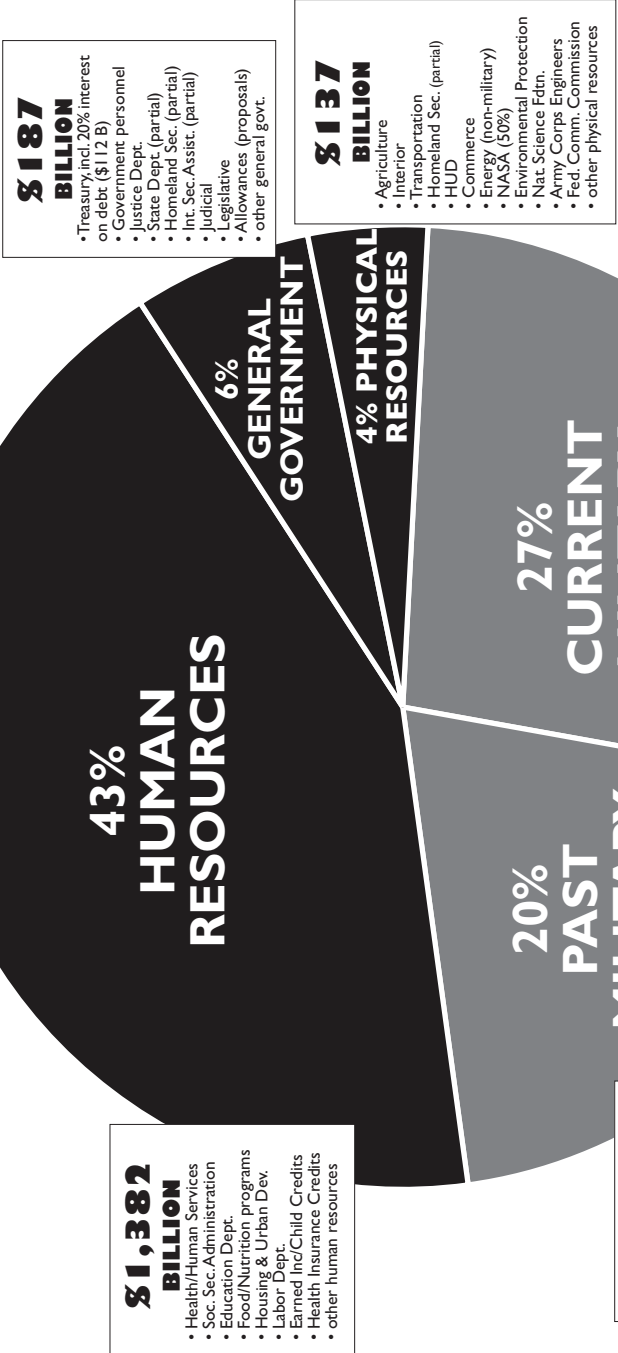
# WHERE YOUR INCOME TAX MONEY REALLY GOES

U.S. FEDERAL BUDGET2019 FISCAL YEAR

TOTAL OUTLAYS  
(FY 2019 FEDERAL FUNDS)

\$3,207 BILLION

NON-MILITARY: 53% AND \$1,705 BILLION



**\$644 BILLION**

- Veterans' Benefits \$197 billion
- Interest on national debt \$447 billion (80% est. to be created by military spending)

MILITARY: 47% AND \$1,501 BILLION

**\$857 BILLION**

Total Outlays DoD \$656 billion:

- Military Personnel \$160 billion
- Operation & Maint. \$275 billion
- Procurement \$119 billion
- Research & Dev. \$86 billion
- Construction \$10 billion
- Family Housing \$1 billion
- Supplemental & Adj. \$3 billion

Non-DoD Military Spending\*:

- Retiree Pay/Healthcare \$88 billion
- DoE nuke weapons/clean-up \$22 billion
- NASA (50%) \$11 billion
- Internal Security Asst. \$16 billion
- Homeland Secur. (military) \$38 billion
- State Dept. (partial) \$15 billion
- FBI military \$9 billion
- other \$2 billion

\*based on coding and the military nature of activities, such as armed border control, DoD space lights, etc.

\*Analysts differ on how much of the debt stems from the military; other groups estimate 50% to 60%. We use 80% because we believe if there had been no military spending most of the national debt would have been eliminated.

## HOW THESE FIGURES WERE DETERMINED

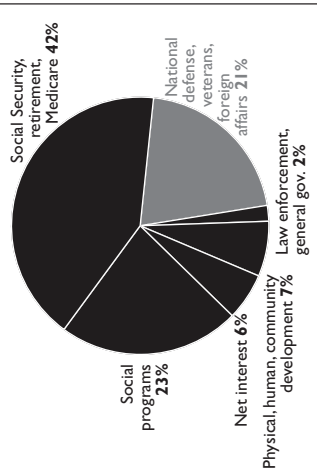
“Current military” includes Dept. of Defense (\$656 billion) and the military portion (\$201 billion) from other departments as noted in current military box above. “Past military” represents veterans’ benefits plus 80% of the interest on the debt.\*

For further explanation, please go to warresisters.org. These figures are from an analysis of detailed tables in the *Analytical Perspectives* book of the *Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2019*. The figures are Federal funds, which do not include Trust funds — such as Social Security — that are raised and spent separately from income taxes.

What you pay (or don’t pay) by April 17, 2018, goes to the Federal funds portion of the budget. The government practice of combining Trust and Federal funds began during the Vietnam War, thus making the human needs portion of the budget seem larger and the military portion smaller.

## Government Deception

The pie chart (right) is the government view of the budget. This is a distortion of how our income tax dollars are spent because it includes Trust Funds (e.g. Social Security), and most of the past military spending is not distinguished from nonmilitary spending. For a more accurate representation of how your Federal income tax dollar is really spent, see the large graph.



Source: (040 Instructions 2017, Federal Outlays for FY 2016)