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Serving the South Sound community and the cause of social justice since 1990.

November 2019

# A nurse tells why we need Medicare for All

Eleanor Steinhagen

“Treat the whole family.” This is one of the most important things Izzy Baldo learned in nursing school. It’s always at the front of her mind. But over the years, she’s realized it’s easier said than done.

As a young nurse working in oncology, Izzy was struck by the struggles many families face in paying for treatment. It often meant the non-patient worked two, sometimes three jobs while caring for young children and supporting their spouse through treatment, which inevitably took a toll on their own health. “I felt completely helpless,” she said. “And it’s unnecessary. With a Medicare for All system, no one would have to endure that kind of stress.”

This is Izzy’s 16th year as a registered nurse. She lives in Olympia with her 12-year-old son and works at a local hospital. A member of National Nurses United (NNU) and Olympia Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), Izzy was invited by Our Revolution Thurston (ORT) to speak at their recent *Plan to Win* party for Bernie Sanders, whom ORT has endorsed.

Izzy supports Sanders because she believes he will fully implement universal healthcare without caving to industry lobbyists given his decades of advocacy for it. National Nurses United endorsed Sanders in 2016 but has yet to endorse for 2020. Democratic Socialists of America has endorsed Sanders for 2020 and has been working to get Medicare for All, the bill he wrote and sponsored, passed in Washington state.

Izzy and local DSA members started by going door-to-door and tabling at places such as Wal-Mart, the food co-op, and libraries in support of Representative Pramila Jayapal’s universal health care bill (HR1384). Since Sanders’ bill (S1129) came out, they’ve been canvassing for it, too.

## Washington’s Representative Denny Heck does not support Medicare for All

In August 2019, canvassers of DSA requested a meeting with Representative Denny Heck. In response they were granted a meeting not with Heck but his district representative in Lacey. Eventually they were able to discuss their support for the bills with Rep. Heck directly at an event hosted by Indivisible Tacoma.

Izzy recalls his response as “I’m not there, and I don’t believe I’ll ever get there.” Izzy supports Joshua Collins, Heck’s opponent, in the 2020 election.

The DSA is now trying to get Medicare for All resolutions passed locally in city councils. “It sends the message that this is a grassroots majority response to the national healthcare

## Healthcare is as essential as food, water, and shelter. It should be prioritized by all levels of government.

crisis,” said Izzy. If mayors and governors come together on this issue the way they are on the climate crisis, we can make progress toward providing healthcare as a human right.

## How Medicare for All would lessen homelessness

The impact Medicare for All could have on people experiencing homelessness is another big reason Izzy supports it. With vision, dental, and mental health care coverage, including covered support for substance abuse recovery - at no cost beyond taxes - could mean fewer people ending up on the streets. And those who are currently on the streets would have more support when getting a roof back over their heads. Medicare for All would also probably decrease the number of people becoming substance-dependent as a result of homelessness, further containing the crisis.

With Medicare for All, Izzy anticipates a big improvement in patient outcomes. Currently, resources are spread thin in the hospital where she works because of the increase in substance abuse and mental health crises. If people with chronic issues are better supported in primary care, hospital staff can redirect their time toward other patients, thus increasing quality of care.

## Profit-driven health care: too few people doing too many jobs

On top of everything else, the current healthcare system maximizes profit by minimizing hiring. While insurance companies and for-profit

► Medicare, continued on page 8

# Olympia renters ask City for timed fee payment plans

Baxter Lee

On October 8, at the steps of City Hall, a gathering of local Olympia renters rallied, hoisted signs and shouted chants asking the city to address barriers that make renting unaffordable for many. Protestors were advocating for a fresh ordinance that regulates fees and security deposits, known as a move-in fee payment plan.

Two members of the Washington Community Action Network (WashingtonCAN), Sarah Stockholm and Xochitl (So-chi) Maykovich, led the rally. WashingtonCAN has helped pass similar ordinances in Seattle, Tacoma, Burien, and Vancouver.

Total costs to rent an apartment in Olympia, including administrative fees, first month’s rent, last month’s rent, and security deposits, can run anywhere from \$2,500—\$3,000. This is a steep increase from 2011, when rent for a one bed-room apartment in Olympia averaged \$600 per month. That price has jumped to nearly \$1,100 a month today.

For many people at the rally, this figure represents 30-50% of their income. Those most at-risk from rising expenses are families, people with disabilities, seniors, and low-wage workers.

At the heart of the proposed ordinance is an installment payment plan for the renters’ biggest financial hurdles, coming up with first and last month’s rent and the security deposit. Instead

For instance, for rental agreements lasting longer than six months, these fees could be paid incrementally in six equal monthly payments.

The new ordinance regulates fees and security deposits in other ways as well. Prepayment of rent would be non-refundable. Security deposits will be fully refundable. Move-in fees would be nonrefundable. In addition, those fees could only be utilized for tenant screening and cleaning upon moving out. Fundamentally the only change for landlords would be incremental payments, as opposed to total and upfront payments.

After the rally and during the public hearing segment of the City Council meeting, Sarah Stockholm took the stand and addressed the council. “The cost of rent is rising and tenant protection is not. Renters are losing availability to affordable housing and paying up to 30% of their income. Those charges need to be capped and payment plans created.”

Baxter Lee is a contributing writer for Works In Progress. For more information contact Sarah Stockholm at [sarah@washingtoncan.org](mailto:sarah@washingtoncan.org) or Xochitl Maykovich at [xochitl@washingtoncan.org](mailto:xochitl@washingtoncan.org).



photo by Lindsey Dalthorp

## ...the only change for landlords would be incremental payments, as opposed to total and upfront payments.

of a lump-sum payment which could be as much as \$3,000, the sum could now be broken into several payments.



## Works In Progress

### Editorial Policy

Works in Progress (WIP) is a community newspaper based in Olympia, Washington and published monthly since 1990.

WIP aims to publish writing and graphics that confront injustice and encourage a participatory democracy based on justice in the economic, political, environmental and social realms and across classes, races and genders.

Our priority is to focus on stories that are ignored or misrepresented in the mainstream media, especially those that relate directly to our mission. 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 writers.

Informed opinion pieces are welcome, especially when accompanied by facts, examples and sources. Writing that stereotypes groups or categories of people will not be accepted for publication.

We discourage writing where a key point is stated as fact when it is unproven or in serious dispute. Articles can relate to the theme but material on other topics is important. While the views expressed in the material we print are those of the author alone, WIP typically will favor material that is consistent with our mission.

Once we receive a submission we may choose to publish it, or not. WIP reserves the right to edit all submissions for accuracy, length and clarity of expression. We will work with authors if there is a need for editing that extends beyond that.

**Deadlines.** Submissions must be received by the third Sunday of each month to be considered for the following month's issue. See Submission Guidelines at [www.olywip.org](http://www.olywip.org) for details.

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### Workers in Progress

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**Website:** [www.olywip.org](http://www.olywip.org)

**Submission deadline next issue:**

**Sunday, December 10**

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

**Proofreading Meeting:**

**Sunday, December 29**

115 Legion Way SW, 1pm



## Food for thought.

# Winners and losers

*For one very rich man there must be at least five hundred poor, and the affluence of the few supposes the indigence of the many. The affluence of the rich excites the indignation of the poor, who are often both driven by want, and prompted by envy, to invade his possessions.*

*It is only under the shelter of the civil magistrate that the owner of that valuable property, which is acquired by the labor of many, or perhaps of many successive generations, can sleep a single night in security.*

[From Adam Smith, Scotsman and moral philosopher, writing in Book V of The Wealth of Nations. His scathing critique of merchants is ignored by conservatives who prefer to falsify Smith as the father of their “free market.”]

The nurse lays the newborn gently on the mother's breast and smiles congratulations. This little human has won the birth lottery: male, white, American, rich and wanted. Odds are he will grow up to be healthy, well-educated, well-paid and occupy a position of responsible authority in our society (Rather like Bret Kavanaugh). Contrast that with the infant who comes into the world unattended, brown, indigenous and penniless. We don't even calculate odds for that little human.

I think of the “birth lottery” often these days when I read about fami-

lies walking from Central America to the border of New Mexico. Or fleeing from Syria, Afghanistan, Sudan, Iraq and elsewhere, from one border to another.

How is it that I'm not one of them? Part of the answer is simply the accident of birth – where and when and to whom. I was born in the heart of the empire, not in one of the colonies designated for exploitation or an ancient country designated to be “liberated” by us, or a country already facing drought or inundation as they reap the climate we have sown. I was born at the end of WWII to white parents at a time when economic opportunities for them were plentiful. The odds of my being able to live an easy life were good.

But there is more than birth to winning or losing, and we hope some of the articles in this issue of Works in Progress shed light on some of those things.

Our competitive market economy works like a game—for someone to win, someone else must lose. That doesn't seem like a very democratic way to run an economy, but that's not the worst of it. The playing field isn't level; the rules favor the wealthy and if the wrong people come too close to scoring, the referee can have you arrested and carted off to jail.

The cliché about the golden rule is “them as got the gold make the rules,”



**James Manista (center) surrounded by supporters at the Tacoma Federal Courthouse, October 23, 2019. Photo by Joanne Dufour**

# Then this happened

**The crime of conscience.** In June, WIP reported on the nine peace activists who commemorated the original anti-war intent of Mother's Day by protesting against the nuclear-armed Trident subs parked in Kitsap County. One of the demonstrators James Manista, “crossed the blue line” and was charged under US Code #1382, Entering military, naval, or Coast Guard property, which comes with a possible six months in jail and \$5,000 fine.

This October, Manista pled guilty and made an impassioned statement about the insanity of the US nuclear practices. The Navy prosecutor recommended a \$50 fine. Magistrate Judge Theresa Fricke stated, “I will lower the recommended fine in recognition of defendant's conscientious protest” and charged him \$25.

Today, there are eight Trident submarines in Kitsap County, deployed at Bangor. Six others are at Kings Bay, Georgia. About five of the eight Bangor-based subs are at sea at any given time. Three of those are thought to be on “hard alert,” ready to launch on command. Due to the number of missiles on each sub, about 270 nuclear warheads can be launched on 60 Trident missiles within about 15 minutes of receiving an order.

One Trident submarine carries the destructive force of over 1,300 Hiroshima bombs (the Hiroshima bomb was 15 kilotons).

**The crime of poetry.** In January of 2018, we published the story of a Palestinian poet, Dareen Tatour who was arrested, then imprisoned, then confined to her house for writing a poem called “I'll Forget, As You Wish.”

and you can read examples of that in the article about renters asking for lower move-in fees and the city granting tax exemptions to wealthy developers. Our lead story about Medicare for All, and the reflections from a red-diaper baby about “socialism” talk about attempts to level the playing field. The story about ICE raids on workers and the anniversary of the Wobbly massacre in Centralia remind us that unions serve to beef up the strength of our teams.

Sometimes your only recourse might be to rush the playing field and bring the game to a halt – the stories about the Vietnam Moratorium and the Citizen Revolution in Ecuador are examples of that. Maybe those approaches should be considered for the next “Women's March” in January 2020...

Or you might want to leave the game and start a new world—“Small Victories” and the Congress of Municipal Movements are about people moving in that direction. Maybe the co-op movement is part of a new world, too, and the article about the Waldorf education model—redefining the idea of “winning.”

—BW

## Upcoming themes

**January theme:** What keeps us safe. Trillions of dollars in military spending don't seem to have diminished our fear for our safety. What might really keep us safe? *Deadline for submissions: December 10*

**February theme:** Our lived values. Does the way we live contradict the values we profess? *Deadline for submissions: January 18*

**March theme:** The bill of rights. *Deadline for submissions: February 15*

**WIP is on hiatus in December.**

**About the cover:** The game we know as “monopoly” was invented by Elizabeth Magie, a follower of the economist Henry George, as a way to demonstrate the destructive economic effects of monopolies. Magie however did not benefit significantly from her invention. Instead millions were made by a man who sold a version of the game to Parker Bros. claiming it was his invention.

Henry George believed that virtually all economic problems arise from “the fact that the land on which and from which all must live is made exclusive property of some.” His goal was to make all land common property, and he realized that “it is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent.” —Photo and players courtesy of Lori Lively



Well, today Dareen Tatour is finally free. Despite dogged efforts by the government of Israel to secure the maximum conviction possible, their Supreme Court last week rejected the state's petition to restore Tatour's overturned conviction for incitement to violence. With that, the poet's legal ordeal came to an end, more than four years after it began.

**The crime of identity.** Everyone freaked out when it was reported that Trump said we should shoot immigrants in the leg. But that's what the Israeli army does to Palestinians and it's fine. Since this March, Palestinian in Gaza have massed along the shared border with Israel to call for a return to lands they were displaced from in 1948. In 8 months, Israeli snipers have shot 6392 demonstrators in the lower limbs.

**Clarification:** Views expressed in October's article about the Port's real estate ventures were those of the author, Esther Kronenberg.



port report re:port

Will the Port of Olympia admit that taxes aren't revenue?

Denis Langhans

In 2015 commissioners at the Port of Olympia adopted a set of financial measures to set goals and track the performance to those goals. If ever the Port of Olympia is going to achieve fiscal soundness, this is sorely needed. The goals were aspirational in that they strove to improve operational performance. For example, one goal was to improve the return on operating revenue from -25% to +5%.

The positive aspect was that it highlighted a need for improved performance that was tied into reference points in the port's formal accounting. The weakness was that there was no solid business plan to achieve this turn-around.

The port's 2019 Budget shows a planned operating margin of -15.4% against the goal of +5%. Rather than amending the goals to more realistic targets (e.g. return on operating revenue of -5%), port staff is recommending junking the existing goals and replacing them with some arcane measures that are not expressed in terms compatible with the formal accounting. This approach is problematic.

Before adopting new financial measures, our port commissioners should consider several factors:

- Will the measures be clear—or so confused or opaque as to be difficult to perceive or understand?
- Will they function as a microscope to gain deeper insight into empirical realities—or as a kaleidoscope presenting pretty images detached from outside realities?
- Will they provide real financial analysis—or represent a return to the magical thinking that has caused the port's on-going financial woes (e.g. irrational capital investments)?
- Will the measures comport in spirit with GAAP accounting and the standards of the State Auditor (e.g. tax receipts are not to be treated as operating revenue)—or become a surreal, Alice-in-Wonderland type of accounting?

How to arrive at a true picture of the port's financial condition

Over the years, businesses have developed a variety of financial measures that offer them the opportunity to present their financial situation in different ways. Some are designed to look positive (for the investor), some to look negative (for the tax man) and some actually present an accurate picture. Three are relevant here: 1) EBITDA; 2) Return on Total Revenue; and 3) Income (loss) before Tax Levy

EBITDA (Operating) Margin: refers to Earnings before Interest, Taxes, Depreciation and Amortization. Operat-



duced virtually no revenue to offset its depreciated value. Since the port has used different depreciation methods (20 yr/10 yr/ per hour), it may be that the port has not even charged off sufficient depreciation to date.

Then there is the matter of ignoring interest costs on capital items. As a public agency, the port can carry bond interest payments as non-operating expenses. But interest payments are real cash outlays and should not be discounted in financial importance. So, to use EBITDA at a public agency to demonstrate great cash flow is a fictive endeavor.

Arguably, Warren Buffett and his longtime partner, Charlie Munger, are the gold standard when it comes to seeing through clever financial gimmicks. A few of their comments on EBITDA are noteworthy:

Buffett: "It amazes me how widespread the use of EBITDA. People try to dress up financial statements with it."

"We won't buy into companies where someone's talking about EBITDA. If you look at all companies, and split them into companies that use EBITDA as a metric and those that don't, I suspect you'll find a lot more fraud in the former group"

"Does management think that the tooth fairy pays for capital expenditures?"

Munger—"I think that every time you see the word EBITDA, you should substitute the word 'bullshit' earnings."

Given the port's record on bad capital investments, it appears that utilizing "tooth fairy accounting" is not a very good idea.

Return on Total Revenue: total income divided by total revenue. This indicates how profitable the Port is compared to its total income.

This proposed financial measure is distressingly problematic. Although it is not formal accounting, it seems to violate the spirit and integrity of responsible accounting. It basically serves as a ruse to convert property taxes into de facto operating revenue.

The following statement is from the Office of the Washington State Auditor:

GAAP governments are not created to generate tax revenues. Taxes are not comparable to charges for services, as they are [the] result of statutory authority only. It does not matter

how specific the tax is regarding its use or purpose. Property and other taxes should always be reported as nonoperating revenue in proprietary fund statements.

Taxes are, in general, levied to assist in funding the deficit or net cost of operations and are not received due to proprietary fund operations.

The state auditor draws a bright line between operating revenues and the taxes to fund operating deficits: "Taxes are not comparable to charges for services." It appears that this proposed financial measure is designed to conflate tax support funds with operating revenue by creating a fictive "Total Revenues." This creates a distorted financial picture and will mislead the public. It seeks to improve the appearance of operational results through a stealthy maneuver not based on economic/financial reality. The last thing that the Port of Olympia needs is more magical thinking in the form of "down the rabbit hole" accounting.

The Port of Olympia and the Port of Anacortes have the same four operating units (airport, marina, marine terminal and real estate) and are somewhat similar in size of operating revenues. So, it is illustrative to compare them financially based on standard accounting and the proposed "total revenue" approach. Under standard accounting, the Port of Olympia shows a return on operating revenue significantly below that of the Port of Anacortes. But use the "total revenue" approach and Olympia comes out well ahead of Anacortes—because 55% of Olympia's "total revenue" comes from taxes, compared to Anacortes which gets only 9.5% of "total revenue" from its tax levy. [See the full comparison online at olywip.org]

Under the "Total Revenue" approach, increasing the tax levy substantially appears to be the key to operational improvement; witness the 27% increase imposed by the Port of Olympia since 2016. Significantly, the tax levy percentage to operating revenue by the Port of Olympia is about three times that for comparable ports.

The Port needs to rely on its Income before Tax Levy approach

I believe that the best governance measurement for managing the Port of Olympia is the Income (loss) before Tax Levy. This is already present in the Management Format Income Statement. Gimmicks like EBITDA and Total Revenue will only perpetuate the mess that the port is in today.

Denis Langhans is a retired corporate executive who holds a PhD in the humanities. He has been observing governance patterns at the port for several years.

The last thing that the Port of Olympia needs is more magical thinking in the form of "down the rabbit hole" accounting

ing income divided by operating revenue defines how efficient the Port is at measuring expenses compared to revenues. Essentially, it's a way to evaluate performance without factoring in financing decisions, accounting decisions or tax circumstances.

A management focus on improving cash flow through increasing operating revenues and controlling direct operational expenses is appropriate. However, utilizing a measurement that ignores the key factors of depreciation and interest on capital items equates to poor governance. The financial mess at the port is in large measure due to commissioners' disregarding these key factors both in making investment decisions and in monitoring performance.

At the September 19 work session, port staff showed an exhibit indicating a surprising EBITDA margin of 20% for 2018 while the 2019 Budget would indicate an EBITDA margin of 13.7%.

The 2018 margin was enhanced, it appears, by lower cash expenses. The largest contributor was the reduction of supplies and utility costs at the stormwater facility, probably due to the system being down. However, the port is under orders to bring the facility up to environmental standards. The port staff has not determined the increased costs for the needed improvement but it is likely that they will be large enough to be capitalized. So, depreciation and interest costs for these improvements will not be included in future EBITDA calculations.

Some commissioners discount the importance of depreciation, claiming that it is a non-cash expense. However, the astute investor Warren Buffett does not agree. He notes: "Depreciation is not a non-cash expense; it is a cash expense but you spend it first. It is a delayed recording of a cash expense."

The capital investment in the mobile crane is a good example of a reduction in actual cash value. The largely idle crane is worth considerably less than its acquisition cost, and has pro-

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# Olympia’s co-op businesses create economic justice and opportunity

Lori Lively

In October, Olympia's longtime restaurant and performance venue, Le Voyeur, became the latest business to transition from private ownership to the co-operative business model. The club joins a growing number of member and worker-owned co-operatives and collectives in Olympia. There are at least 10 cooperative businesses in Olympia with more on the way.

The model is so popular here that Dr. John A. McNamara of the Northwest Co-operative Development Center says Olympia has more cooperatively owned businesses per capita than any other US city (one co-op business for every 5,255 residents).

Many of the newer co-ops are former clients of the NWCDC, where McNamara is Senior Cooperative Development Specialist and where, since 1979, co-op success stories from Idaho to Oregon have been created. Another longtime Olympia retailer, Orca Books, is currently working with NWCDC to convert to the cooperative model as is Burial Grounds Café.

### Cooperatives keep profits in the hands of members and workers

To the casual onlooker, co-ops look just like their privately-owned coun-

terparts (although the employees may seem happier) but a big difference is how earnings are distributed. Under a cooperative structure, the members operate the business col-



Photos by Lori Lively

lectively. All decisions, from wages to suppliers to health and insurance benefits, are made democratically. Any profits are distributed among members instead of accumulating in the hands of private owners.

The NWCDC specializes in evaluating the viability of proposed co-op-

erative businesses. Funding through the USDA Rural Cooperative Development Grant allows NWCDC's work in rural communities to occur without direct fees to the client.\* During a typical partnership, clients receive an average of 100 hours of evaluation and technical assistance from NWCDC, from staffing and inventory and other day-to-day operations to marketing and distribution.

Sometimes the figures don't add up and a venture is not advised. "If an

owner hasn't been paying themselves a salary, for instance, which is fairly common, will the numbers work when that expense is factored into the new budget?" asks McNamara. "Fails do occur during conversion. Some (businesses) just can't get to a break-even point."

**Le Voyeur Olympia's newest co-op**  
Sebastian Lopez took McNamara's summer course on the co-operative business model at Evergreen a few years ago and later found themselves working at New Moon, one of the most successful examples of local co-ops in Olympia. Lopez was inspired by the way members worked and made decisions together. When the New Moon considered but ultimately decided not to purchase Le Voyeur, Lopez and others pursued the option of purchasing it as worker-owners themselves. They sought additional support at Business Services Cooperative who



helped the group collectivize. "Co-ops should be places where people are more empowered," Lopez says, where shared ownership and democratic decision-making "are the opposite of empty capitalist enterprises."

Every day, Le Voyeur's new owners are learning, Lopez says, to embody the cooperative ideal. Frequent meetings help establish the tasks to be shared and help everyone form the habit of regular, open communication. "We are learning to take ownership, sometimes taking on roles we didn't plan for," said Lopez.

Safety of owners and the patrons they serve is one of Le Voyeur's most heartfelt goals. Worker-owners have taken training on de-escalating conflicts. Shifts are structured so no worker ever closes the shop alone. Their egalitarian ideals will be embodied in the business itself, Lopez says. "We are focused on making Le Voyeur the safest space around. We are very queer-friendly. People can feel safe here."

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And for those whose cooperative visions come to fruition, the NWCDC assists by creating articles and by-laws to govern the new venture. By the time new buyers have come this far in the process, they know accountability and participation will be required. It's challenging work for any new business owner, but for

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### Update on Orca Books co-op transition

In August of 2019, Orca Books launched a drive to transition to a member-owned cooperative, with the goal of raising \$200,000 by December. As of this writing, \$30,000 has been reached. Funding depends largely on online and in-store membership purchases and the store's GoFundMe campaign. Members who have already joined will begin receiving discounts and other incentives in November. Discounts for those purchasing a membership after November 1 go into effect on January 1, 2020. Learn more or donate at <https://www.gofundme.com/f/orca-books-co-op>.

*\*The NWCDC does offer fee-based coaching and training in addition to its other services. For more information contact the Northwest co-operative Development Center at 360.943.4241 or email [info@nwcde.co-op](mailto:info@nwcde.co-op).*

## Co-ops withstand recession better than private companies

Worker co-operatives have a long history of resilience in tough economic times. When a recession occurs, co-ops generally work to keep people employed, avoiding layoffs (often through short-term across-the-board pay cuts). Since co-ops exist to meet member needs, not to maximize earnings, the focus of the co-op during a recession can be to breakeven (or rely on reserves) rather than focus on maintaining profits or dividends. This allows a co-op to keep experienced staff and bounce back faster when the recession ends while also keeping members employed and earning income.



### LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THURSTON COUNTY PRESS RELEASE

**How do you want to make your voice heard in Olympia during the 2020 legislative session? It's time to gear up for State Action!**

League of Women Voters of Washington in co-operation with LWV Thurston County has scheduled an Action Workshop near you!

**Saturday, November 9 – 9:00 a.m. to 3 p.m.**  
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# Fish, floods and whether to dam the Chehalis River

Lee First

The era of dam building is over and an era of fishery protection has begun. Yet the Chehalis River Basin Flood Control Zone District (FCZD) is proposing to construct a flood retention facility—a dam—near Pe Ell, Washington. This would put the Chehalis River and its fish in peril, and likely cause the Spring Chinook in our river to go extinct.

### A strategy that would do more harm than good

The Chehalis is a free-flowing river 117 miles long. It's the longest river completely contained within the borders of our state. The historic Chehalis Basin was once a huge producer of salmon. Chehalis River Peoples continue to hunt, fish, and gather along nsúlapš (the Chehalis River) and its tributaries as their tulap n (ancestors) have for countless generations.

The Governor's Office of the Chehalis Basin, under the Department of Ecology (DOE), is evaluating the dam as one strategy to reduce flood damage during a major flood on the Chehalis River. The proposal includes levee improvements around the Centralia-Chehalis Airport in Chehalis, Washington.

### A policy of building chinook salmon runs

At the same time, a DOE task force charged with aiding the recovery of Washington's orca whales is working on ways to increase the abundance of Chinook salmon. The number one recommendation of the Orca Task Force is to increase stocks of Chinook salmon, not cause these stocks to go extinct.

Salmon originating in the Chehalis River are part of a group included as part of our Southern Resident Killer Whale Priority Chinook Stocks. Satellite tagging data from NOAA Fisheries from 2013 to 2016 showed

that Southern Resident Killer Whales (orca) spend time during the winter

## The number one recommendation of the Orca Task Force is to increase stocks of Chinook salmon

months off Grays Harbor estuary, likely feeding on these salmon runs.

In spite of their protected status as an endangered species, the Southern Resident orca population is the lowest it has been in more than 30 years. As this orca species feeds primarily on Chinook salmon—also in decline—approval of the dam would directly contradict the efforts of the task force.

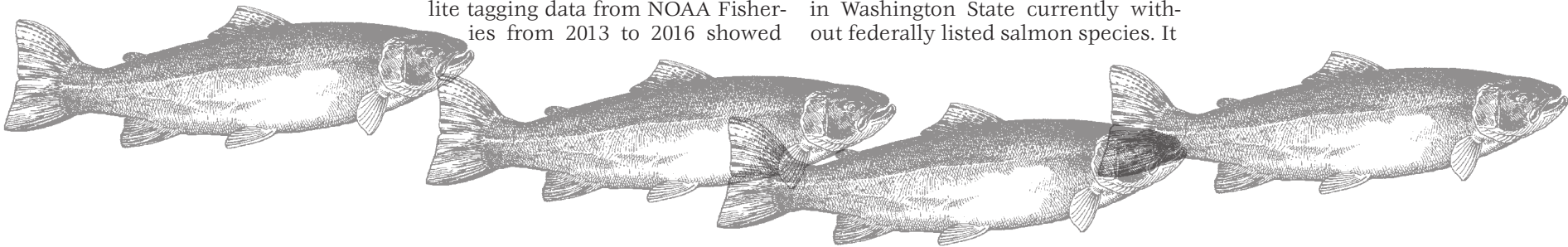
### We can protect our lives and the life of our fishery

The Chehalis River is the only basin in Washington State currently without federally listed salmon species. It

is the #1 most productive salmon producer in our state. Extensive splash damming, widespread removal of log jams and wood, timber harvesting and removal of riparian vegetation have all severely depleted the amount of wood in the stream channels. The basin's ability to support some types of fish has decreased by as much as 80 percent, with the most significant loss in the amount of spring Chinook.

We can protect life and property from floods and preserve critical salmon habitat at the same time. There are low-impact and structural alternatives to dams. Actions to restore habitat should be undertaken first. Environmental Impact Statements are being prepared—one by the Department of Ecology and one by the Corps of Engineers. These will be finalized in early 2020.

*Lee First is a member of Twin Harbor Waterkeepers in Grays Harbor County. You can learn more at Twin Harbors Waterkeeper. Or visit the Quinault Nation website and the website of the Office of the Chehalis Basin.*



## Small victories

**Firelands on the move for a healthy future** grew up in the shadow of “timber wars,” hearing that city environmentalists were to blame for the loss of timber jobs and the growth of poverty. Since then, I have felt trapped between the fires of my own daily crises and the wildfires raging in our forests each summer—but I knew I wasn’t alone.

So, a group of us got together and formed Firelands to build power for a green, healthy economy. This summer, volunteers knocked on doors and had conversations with 215 people in 14 small towns in 7 counties all over Washington.

We asked about the daily fires, the wildfires, and what people would want from a Green New Deal. We

talked with farmworkers, loggers, grocery workers, bus drivers and more. We heard overwhelmingly that the cost of living is too damn

just the beginning and we’re excited for what comes next. Find out what we learned by listening to people at **FirelandsWA.org**.

*Stina Janssen is Co-Director of Firelands. She can be reached at **FirelandsWA@gmail.com**.*



Some of the Firelands crew

### 115 Legion created a space for reimagining

[Olympia has long lacked readily available spaces for people to meet. Last year, a group of people managed to acquire a space downtown. They have turned it into a warm and inviting place for groups to use; a space that invites a reimagining of community abundance. This summary is based on notes from the one-year anniversary gathering.]

A year ago, a group of people opened a low-barrier space at 115 Legion available to hold events, meetings, and to do creative projects as a form of autonomy in action. At a recent gathering, those who use the space defined autonomy as the

activities, affects, modes and forms that would increase collective capacity to act, to feel, to do, and to be in the world. This is the value of having free space to learn and think, and to access skills and tools.

The visioning session was rich with ideas, from immediate practical goals to long term fantasies. Those present talked about linking current and future projects. The group hopes to continue sharing space and talking about shared interests; to work with more nonprofits and organizations; to make more regional links with projects in nearby cities or rural areas.

Long term ideas envisioned a media loan center, youth programs, and the distribution of resources like food, medicine, and disaster relief supplies. Some ideas for upcoming events or projects include: Community utopian mapping projects, live Skype dance parties with friends in other cities, a block party, a sustainable funding plan, and purchasing large properties to expand visions and dreams even further!

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# Perspectives

## More tax exemptions for wealthy builders: winners and losers

Dan Leahy

Olympia City Manager Steve Hall and his City Council are giving Walker John, perhaps the City's biggest welfare recipient, another 8-year tax exemption on a new downtown building. This time it is for Mr. John's 48 unit Annie's Artists Flats at 322 5th Avenue. The Final Certificate of Tax Exemption is now at the County Assessor's office.

The City's Multi-Family Tax Exemption (MFTE) program gives a tax exemption on the residential portion of the building's cost. Mr. John says this is \$8,121,315. Mr. Hall agrees and CP&D's Deputy Director Leonard Bauer's office sends it off to the County Assessor.

**Who wins from this MFTE program?**

Lucky for us, the entire MFTE program in Washington state is under scrutiny and there are some clear winners. They are the owners of tax exempted apartment complexes.

One hundred and two cities in Washington State are eligible to adopt this tax exempt program for Multi-Family Housing in Urban areas. Forty-nine cities have adopted the program. Twenty-six of those cities have actually approved exemptions. The Olympia City Council decided to adopt the program in 2000 and is one of the 26 cities that has actually given tax exemptions to owners of multi-family housing complexes.

According to a 2019 Joint Legislative Audit and Review Committee report (JLARC), the owners of these exempted properties in Washington State are the direct beneficiaries. Between 2014 and 2018, an average of \$1.1 billion/year worth of property was exempted. This saves the owner an average of \$2,096/unit on market rate housing. In 2018, owners of these exempted properties saved \$80 million in taxes. The program is projected to save owners \$137 million by 2023. These millions are either made up by other taxpayers or hand a loss to the taxing district.

**Who loses from this program?**

Let's calculate the costs to regular taxpayers. What will we (homeowners and renters) be paying as Walker John benefits from this particular exemption? Divide the \$8.1 million by 1000 and you get \$8,121. Then multiply by the current millage rate of 12.26 and you get \$99,563.46. Multiply that number by 8-years and you get \$1,194,761. In other words, Walker will NOT have to pay \$99,563.46 in taxes each year. Instead, with a 100% tax shift, city residents will be stuck with the tax bill.

Let's add this to the other tax gifts Mr. Hall and the City Council have already given to Mr. John's other buildings: 600 Franklin at \$20,836/year. 321 Legion at \$55,780/year and 512 12th at \$64,635/year. So, add those figures to the \$99,563 and we have a total annual welfare payment to Mr. John of \$240,814/year. Multiple that by 8-years and it totals \$1,926,512.

As a friend of mine said to me recently, "Wait a minute. The City, on the consent calendar which is something reserved for birthdays and memorials, is giving away \$1,925,512 million to a rich developer like Walker John and wants me to back fill that lost revenue by paying more taxes?" The answer is yes.

**New affordable housing is not happening**

Some folks mistakenly believe that builders get this tax break because of a public need for affordable housing. Not so. This program's main product is not affordable housing. This program has exempted 424 developments in 26 cities and Pierce County, a total of 34,855 units. The problem is only 21% or 7,325 units are "affordable."

**We are losing existing affordable housing**

There is certainly anecdotal evidence in the City of Olympia that older apartment rentals are experiencing rent increases due to the imagined possibilities of a high end rental market. These rent increases lead to evictions and evictions to homelessness.

In other words, tax exempted, market rate housing for the Council's high end clientele is more than likely causing rent increases in previously affordable rentals. On October 9th, the Citizen Commission on Tax Preference, which was created by the State Legislature, was reviewing JLARC's 2019 report. The Commission said this: "public testimony raised the important question of whether the introduction of the MFTE's in Washington State has had the unanticipated consequences of increasing rental costs and squeezing out existing affordable housing."

If the Council is actually concerned about homelessness, they should make sure they are not promoting homelessness by giving tax exemptions to wealthy builders.

**There is no transparency in the city's program**

The City of Olympia is one of the five cities that has never filed the required report with the Department of Commerce despite having granted five tax exemptions since 2007 when the law came into effect. The required eight-page form asks vital questions necessary for evaluating the effectiveness of the overall program. In August, the City Council was informed of their lack of compliance with state law and the State's Auditor is investigating the City's lack of compliance.

The Citizen Commission noted in their October 9th comments that "the lack of reporting means the actual number of low-income units and associated rents are difficult to identify.... Testimony regarding the City of Olympia's application of the preferences strongly highlights the current reporting problem."

**We have families in need of rentals**  
Another loser in this program are families with kids in need of rentals. The median household size in Washington state is 2.6 people, yet 75% of the housing units created under this program between 2007 and 2018 are

studio or one bedroom.

**Taxpayers lose for no reason**

It seems quite possible that the Olympia City Council is giving owners like Mr. John tax exemptions for buildings that would have been built anyhow, regardless of the exemption.

One of the key findings of the 2019 JLARC report is that there is no evidence that the MFTE program is the reason owners choose to build multi-family units downtown. This is the case with Olympia. The City started its MFTE program in 2000. However, there were no multi-family units constructed in downtown Olympia until 2016.

Owner J. Brent McKinley has asked the City Council to approve an 8-year tax exemption for his 114 unit Harbor Heights building near the Farmers Market, but he did so only in March of this year. Clearly, whether to construct the building did not depend on the tax exemption. The tax exemption appears to be nothing more than a handout to an already wealthy developer with the potential of shifting the tax bill to all the remaining taxpayers in Olympia.

The unit cost for Walker John's Annie's Artists Flats is \$169,194. You can use this unit cost to calculate the approximate tax exemption Mr. McKinley will be asking for. That exemption would be \$19.288 million. That would be a tax gift to Mr. McKinley of \$236,472/year or \$1.891 million over 8-years.

Mr. McKinley, through his various Vine Street Associates, rents buildings to the State of Washington. Just for his buildings in Olympia, he collects \$9.5 million/year in rent from state taxpayers. Now he is asking the City

Council for a tax gift of \$1.8 million?

**Future policy in Olympia**

If in fact the City Council is a "policy setting board" that determines what city staff actually do, it has a chance with the new Council members and a new City Manager to reassess their current MFTE policy.

Perhaps, as a first step, they could halt all MFTE decisions until the staff comes into full compliance with state law. This would require ordering staff to fill out the full 8 page questionnaire for each of their past five exempted buildings since 2007 and file those reports with the Department of Commerce. Council members and the public would have some actual data, which the Citizen Commission on Tax Preference sees as vital to an evaluation of this program.

Then, just as the Council chose to enter the program in 2000; they could choose to leave the program in 2020. At a minimum they could substantially modify the program to serve a public need such as affordable housing. That chance will come soon. Walker John's request for 8-year tax exemptions for Westman Mills and Laurana and J.Brent McKinley's request for Harbor Heights have already been sent to the Council.

The Council can continue to approve these tax gifts on the consent calendar or they can pull the motion from the consent calendar in order to facilitate a badly needed policy discussion that would be open to the public.

*Dan Leahy is a 35-year resident of Olympia's Westside, a member of the Decatur Raiders and the South West Olympia Neighborhood Association.*

## Continuing threats to downtown affordable housing

Our roving reporter

Boardwalk is a 284-unit property is a vital source of affordable housing for seniors in our community. The project came via the Low Income Housing Tax Credit program (LIHTC) funded by the federal government and allocated to states. The owner of Boardwalk is Capital Way Associates Limited Partnership. SHAG (now standing for "Sustainable Housing for Ageless Generation") is the General Partner and therefore manager of the property. The limited partner—the investors who receive the tax credits -- is AMTAX Holdings out of Ohio.

When a 15-year compliance period ended in December 31, 2014 the tax credits were exhausted. Then came a 2-year period ending in December 31, 2016 in which it was possible to change ownership. For at least two years, SHAG and AMTAX have engaged in a legal dispute over whether SHAG can gain ownership of the property and maintain it as afford-

able housing for seniors; or whether the investors can take over the property and sell it.

On March 4, 2019 (Western) District Judge Ricardo Martinez ruled against SHAG in a bench trial. SHAG lost because, according to Judge Martinez, it had "unclean hands"—defined as having "engaged in unjust, inequitable, bad faith or unconscionable conduct in connection with the transaction at issue." The judge had found that SHAG had inappropriately attempted to exercise their Right of First Refusal to purchase the building.

What the exact implications of this legal loss are is uncertain. SHAG, as a non-profit organization, was unable to exercise its Right of First Refusal to purchase the property. The case is now headed for the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. One possible outcome would be that AMTAX, a profit-oriented group of investors, could "privatize" the apartments and eliminate the affordability standard.

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Anti-union ICE raids

# War on immigrants is a war on workers

Megan Cornish

The callous cruelty of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) was on full display when the agency rounded up 680 immigrant workers at seven chicken processing plants across Mississippi on August 7.

The raids, possibly the largest ever, inflicted mayhem on families on the first day of the school year, with the clear goal of instilling terror. News stations filmed children like Magdalena sobbing, “I need my dad! He’s not a criminal!” The dragnet came just four days after the mass shooting in El Paso, Texas, aimed against “Mexicans,” in which a white nationalist killed 22 people.

The companies that hired the undocumented immigrants did so because their labor was sorely needed. Many of the people who were arrested have lived in their communities for decades. So why were they targeted now? Because they were fighting for their rights as workers.

**Punishment for organizing.** It’s no coincidence that two of the raided plants are unionized, with employees belonging to United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local 1529.

UFCW is the largest private-sector union in the country. Mississippi is a so-called “right to work” state, where union membership is optional even for employees covered by collective bargaining agreements. This makes union organizing more difficult. Only 5.1 percent of workers in the state belonged to unions in 2018.

Raids on companies whose employees had made EEOC and OSHA complaints

The sweeps were also meant to send a threatening message to workers organizing against racist and sexist abuse on the job. A little more than a year ago, Latina and Latino employees at the union plant in Morton won a \$3.75 million settlement with Koch Foods (not related to the Koch brothers notorious for funding the far right). These workers had fought for eight years against sexual harassment, discrimination based on race and national origin and retaliation against those who lodged complaints. The suit was brought by the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

When outrage was expressed about the timing of the raids, coming as they did right after the El Paso massacre, officials answered that they had been planned for over a year. If true, this puts the start of the “criminal investigation” at the very time the Koch employees won their victory.

In 2016, Koch Foods also paid thousands of dollars in fines to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) for safety violations that severely injured workers.

Additionally, the US Department of Agriculture examined the company between 2010 and 2017 due to complaints that it was using its market power to drive Black farmers out of business.

Another of the companies hit by raids was Peco Foods. In 2012, it settled

an employee complaint over forced and unpaid overtime. OSHA fined the company in 2015 for dangerous practices, and has investigated it five more times.

“Employers are weaponizing... ICE raids against employees who stand up for themselves and their rights as working people...”

In June 2018, three Fresh Mark meat-packing plants in Ohio also represented by UFCW were raided. One had been cited by OSHA the previous week for safety violations that killed a Latino worker.

Notably, corporations rarely face penalties as a result of these sweeps. So far, the Mississippi businesses have not been charged. Only the workers suffer.

This year’s huge attack on workers in Mississippi is the latest in a long string of anti-immigrant operations meant to sow fear and discourage fights for justice. As Sarah Tucker, executive assistant to the secretary-treasurer of the Washington State Labor Council, put it, “Employers are weaponizing...ICE raids against employees who stand up for themselves and their rights as working people in this country.”

**Eroding worker protections** Alongside increasing raids and deportations, labor protections for foreign-born workers are being eroded year by year — as they are for all US workers.

For instance, changes were recently

made to two visa programs set up to protect immigrant workers from exploitation. U Visas are for immigrants who suffer sexual assault, domestic violence or mental or physical abuse, including on the job. T Visas are for those who report labor trafficking. These programs have protected people from deportation while their complaints are investigated, with the possibility of permanent residency status being granted to those who apply.

Under a new provision, applications for these visas will no longer be handled by the Labor Department. Instead they will be turned directly over to law enforcement or ICE to determine whether a crime has been committed. Applicants can be deported immediately.

The Trump administration is also trying to decertify the National Association of Immigration Judges, which has condemned the president’s attempts to speed up deportation cases and limit the authority of the courts.

**A crucial part of the US working class** Trump and his ruling-class brethren, past and present, gain multiple benefits from the special oppression of immigrants. In the area of sheer money-grubbing, their super-exploitation of newcomers means that they are able to hold down wages and conditions for all workers. Then, by scapegoating immigrants for the hardships and insecurity native-born workers face, they divide the working class against itself and sap its power, just as they do with sexism, racism, etc.

Moreover, the powers-that-be are threatened by the historically militant role of immigrants. This has been clear from the earliest days of the US labor movement, when European refugees fleeing poverty and persecution formed the backbone of radical organizations. Today immigrants and refugees from Latin America and elsewhere lead fights by janitors, hotel workers, nurses, restaurant employees, and many others in both the public and private sectors.

It is in the interest of all workers to stand in solidarity with their immigrant sisters and brothers, who bring much-needed vibrancy to a US labor movement overdue for revitalization.

It is heartening that in many cases immigrant workers are finding broad support. In Mississippi, for example, unions are defending their members, and community organizations are mobilizing to help the victims of the raids. Donations are being solicited by United Latinos of the UFCW and the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance on their Facebook pages. Statements of support have poured in from labor organizations including the AFL-CIO, Painters Union, Teamsters, Communication Workers of America, National Education Association and the Federation of American Teachers.

Hopefully, actions like these will turn out to be steps in building the aggressive defense of immigrant workers that, at its core, is crucial for the defense of every worker.

Megan Cornish writes and edits for the *Freedom Socialist* in Seattle. She is co-author of *Viva la Raza: A History of Chicano Identity and Resistance* Reprinted with permission from *Freedom Socialist* news, Sept-Oct 2019. Este artículo, “Redadas de ICE contra sindicatos,” disponible en español en [socialism.com/fs-en-espanol](http://socialism.com/fs-en-espanol).

# Work toward a collective movement strategy on display in Detroit

Dana Walker, who writes the blog *Thunderbolt*, spent 10 days in September on a ‘working vacation’ helping Rick Fellows drive his Crown Coach stuffed with what turned out to be 15 mostly young anarchists from Portland and Olympia to Detroit for the Congress of Municipal Movements, sponsored by Symbiosis.

**Symbiosis** is a confederation of community organizations across North America. They aim to build a democratic and ecological society from the ground up. The effort appears to be a grassroots response to the fact that the capitalist system has hollowed out public institutions and abandoned cities, towns and people who aren’t generating profits. They are creating participatory institutions at the grassroots to meet immediate human needs and form a new basis of power, in parallel against capitalism and the state. Dana interviewed people from a number of the groups who attended the Congress and he agreed to let WIP publish slightly edited excerpts from his report.

*Dana Walker, reporting from the halls of Marygrove College:* The actual organizing of this event was first-rate. The Symbiosis Conference turned out to be the first step to creating a network for all of these tens of thousands of little sequestered organizations that are doing God’s work all over the country yet doing it alone and isolated.

**Olympia Assembly.** Several members of the Olympia Assembly loaded into Rick’s bus for the trip to Detroit. They spent a whole bunch of time, energy, and love to author a lengthy document called Points of Unity where they tried to codify the things that unified everyone involved with Symbiosis and attempted to have their document adopted by Symbiosis as the official ‘Points of Unity’.

**Asbury Park Transformative Justice Project.** I spoke with Jaime, from Asbury Park, New Jersey. Jaime works with the Asbury Park Transformative Justice Project, an organization that promotes the ‘transformative justice’ model of criminal justice, that I have extensively reported upon in the *Thunderbolt*. From their website: Our vision is to transform the way people view crime and rehabilitation: from one of individual choice, to one of collective responsibility and accountability. To that end, they provide intentional housing, empowering organizing trainings, job skills and mental health counseling to people of all walks of life returning from prison.<http://aptransformativejustice.org/>

**Cooperation Northfield.** I spoke with some folks from Northfield, Minnesota who work with Cooperation Northfield, an umbrella organization encompassing multiple projects. They are a collective/cadre organization in that organizers from each of the projects gather weekly to

engage in consensus democratic decision making for the whole organization — though most projects remain primarily autonomous.

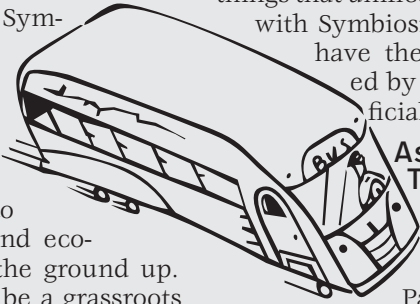
The folks at Cooperation Northfield are building holistic and diverse networks. Cooperation Northfield is a network itself — and their presence at Symbiosis indicates they are interested in expanding their network into a much larger network.

Among the organizations working within Cooperation Northfield are an Acorn Housing Cooperative, the Northfield Curbside Compost, Feed the People Farm Worker Co-op, and Northfield Against Line 3, which is a tar sands oil pipeline solidarity project with Anishinaabe Indigenous leaders in northern Minnesota. Cooperation Northfield also works on worker and union organizing. Cooperation Northfield also focuses on youth. The kids are the future. They are who this is all for.

Cooperation Northfield is also “... building a base of working class people through structure-based organizing for a long-term and rooted base of power at the same time as we are also cohering mass layers of self-selecting activists into key and specific fights to build layers of people with critical direct action and organizing skills.”

**Carbondale Spring Project** Robin, of the Carbondale Spring Project, describes the project as promoting proposals in Carbondale, Illinois concerning food autonomy, enabling care workers, investing in funds for

► Detroit, continued on page 9





# Detroit

From previous page

cooperative business and for renewable energy. The Carbondale Spring people also do disaster relief, as did several other organizations represented at Symbiosis. Disaster relief is a vital component of taking care of ourselves and making their Oppression Machine irrelevant to our lives -- the very strategy I have been promoting for years in the *Thunderbolt* (I have coined this 'Disaster Anti-Capitalism').

The city of Carbondale has double the national average in numbers of both police officers and police employees. The Carbondale Spring folks plan to pay for their projects basically by dismantling their overlarge police force. They have come up with a detailed plan to do just that -- evidently Illinois is a state where citizens can petition their initiatives onto the ballot and thus into law.

*From the Carbondale Spring website:* Each of these initiatives will create or retain local jobs that are supportive of the community and each other. Each will build resilience in the face of the climate and economic challenges we face and will transform the real substance of the town, creating a sense that we are facing our challenges head-on as a community. They will, of themselves, help to 're-brand' Carbondale, but in a deep, transformative way, rather than the superficial changes proposed by the logic of marketing.  
**Carbondale Spring's website:** <https://carbondalespring.org/home/>

## Cooperative New School for Urban Studies and Environmental Justice

I spoke with Mel, of the Cooperative New School for Urban Studies and Environmental Justice in Chico, California, which is an educational project, but Mel also does a lot of disaster relief work. Chico and neighboring Paradise were both hit hard by wildfires last year--you may remember that Paradise was virtually wiped out.

*From their website:* The Cooperative New School is a next generation institution for popular education that is fully online and governed cooperatively by students, faculty, and staff. Popular education is politically conscious in that it recognizes oppressive structures in society. It aims at social transformation through the self-empowerment of people who are socially marginalized, or who are not sufficiently served by established academic institutions. Our collaborative structure, in which student-owners and faculty-owners co-create our curriculum, as well as teach and learn from each other, is rooted in these principles. Popular education originates in many parts of the globe. The faculty owners at the Cooperative New School draw inspiration from pedagogical approaches articulated by among others Paulo Freire, bell hooks, and Myles Horton.

The purpose of this institution is to prepare activists, organizers, and social entrepreneurs to survive and fight back in a rapidly changing world. Scientific consensus is that dramatic environmental change is not only inevitable but already happening. Fires with increasing intensity, strong storms and longer duration of storm season, dead zones in oceans, rising sea levels, just to name a few are going to be increasingly common. The next steps are adaptation and mitigation, in a word, survival. We believe that dealing with environmental change and catastrophe will begin in local communities with basic skills, skills which have been lost in the Industrial Age. Growing food is one of the basic skills that The Cooperative New School's courses focus on.  
**The website:** <https://cooperativenewschool.com/about>

**The James and Grace Lee Boggs Center to Nurture Community Leadership**  
Detroitters are not lying down. There are over 1,200 community gardens within the City of Detroit. We visited one on a bus tour (in Rick's bus) organized by the James and Grace Lee Boggs Center. During this tour we heard a history of Detroit and learned

of many of its heroes along with the many steps Detroitters are taking to regain agency over their own lives. The Boggs Center does all kinds of work empowering the victims of Detroit's abandonment.

*From the Boggs Center website:* "Our mission is to nurture the transformational leadership capacities of individuals and organizations committed to creating productive, sustainable, ecologically responsible, and just communities. Through local, national and international networks of activists, artists and intellectuals we foster new ways of living, being and thinking to face the challenges of the 21st century."  
**The website:** <http://boggscenter.org/about/>

## Disaster Art--The Heidelberg Project

Detroit is also the home of one of the craziest and most amazing art exhibits I've ever seen--the Heidelberg Project, headed by an artist named Tyree Guyton. I can't begin to do it justice with a description, so I suggest you go to Google Earth and type "3679 Heidelberg St., Detroit MI, 48207" Then go to Street View and cruise around the block a couple of times. The project takes up an entire city block and portions of surrounding blocks as well. Even Street View is absolutely nothing like actually walking around in the middle of it, but you can get the general idea.

*From the HP website:* Guyton systematically re-arranged the existing landscape on Heidelberg Street by incorporating found objects, the street, the trees, the sidewalks, abandoned houses, vacant lots, nature and even the people! Residents who would never visit the Detroit Institute of Arts or the Detroit Symphony Orchestra have become educated about art and participate in HP programs, festivals and forums. We provide modest jobs and an outdoor space in which members of the community can come together to reflect, play, create and interact with people from around the world. This practice builds a sense of self-worth and pride.  
**The website:** <https://www.heidelberg.org/>

# Medicare

From page 1

healthcare providers rake in billions in profit, Izzy and thousands of other nurses are forced to care for patients without proper support staff. This scenario would be unlikely in a fully-funded nonprofit system.

What does Izzy say to opponents of Medicare for All? She hasn't met many, but speaking hypothetically: "Medicare for All is not radical. Not even for the US. We already have Medicare for people over 65, and Medicaid for those with low income." She points to Washington's Apple Health program, which ensures that all low-income children under 18 receive free care, with affordable care available for all families. Healthcare is as essential as food, water, and shelter. It should be prioritized by all levels of government.

Most distressing are individuals who need care who aren't covered and whose lives may depend on whether they can scrape enough money together for treatment. Depleting their retirement. Working two jobs, if they can. Going bankrupt. Crowdfunding.

And what about the campaigns that don't bring in enough money? It happens all the time. No one should live or die based on how many likes and shares their fund gets on social media. Implementing Medicare for All would eliminate this injustice. Until it happens, Izzy will keep working to support it and the families in her care.

*Eleanor Steinhagen has lived in Olympia for 11 years. She works in communications.*



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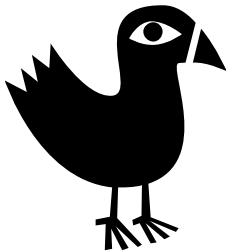
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## The City of Olympia’s “Green Climate Machine” in action

*For a generation and more, the 9.4 acres of land in this photo on Olympia's westside were covered with trees. This is a strip of land between an area developed in the late '90s and the tax-generating Auto Mall. This stand of mature trees ensured that heavy rains would be absorbed into the soil, breathed oxygen into the air, buffered a neighborhood from the noise and lighting of an “Auto Mall,” sheltered birds and homeless people and promised to go on doing that as the globe warmed.*

*Until a developer applied to build single-family homes on the property. Because we have a system where money is trump, and where governing institutions have their own interests, the city collected \$120,465.70 in permit fees from a Delaware corporation—with no caveats about keeping any trees. Not one tree. Which green are you for, indeed?*

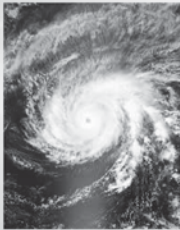
*Along with the loss of these trees, the SW neighborhood stands to lose a dedicated bike-pedestrian path that they fought for successfully since the year 2004. The plan for the new development is to funnel cars out via Fern St (substandard and overcrowded today) and what will no longer be the bike path, but another sacrifice to the primacy of the automobile.*

*What is this destruction of land and community for? In the context of an affordable housing crisis, the City approved the construction of 56 luxury houses priced at an estimated \$450,000 each, with two-car garages and no public transit. They did this over the formal opposition of the SW Olympia Neighborhood Association and the additional opposition of 147 neighbors filed as “parties of record.”*

*Is it possible to imagine a more morally and environmentally bankrupt set of plans contradicting all our elected officials’ rhetoric about neighborhood involvement and promotion of pedestrian friendly sustainable communities?*

*Aerial photo inset by Yvette Hall*

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*author of The End of Ice: Bearing Witness and Finding Meaning in the Path of Climate Disruption*

**Peter Lumsdaine**  
WA Physicians for Social Responsibility, Nuclear Weapons Task Force

**Derek Hoshiko**  
For the People - Community Supported Organizing

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**Olympia Coalition to Abolish Nuclear Weapons**

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## Rethinking Everything Lesson #6

No doubt there will be free societies in the future as there have been in the past,” writes the philosopher John Gray in *Straw Dogs: Thoughts on Humans and Other Animals*. But they will be rare, and variations on anarchy and tyranny will be the norm. The needs that are met by tyrants are as real as those to which freedom answers; sometimes they are more urgent. Tyrants promise security—and release from the tedium of everyday existence. To be sure, this is only a confused fantasy. The drab truth of tyranny is a life spent in waiting. But the perennial romance of tyranny comes from its promising its subjects a life more interesting than any they can contrive for themselves. Whatever they become, tyrannies begin as festivals of the depressed. Dictators may come to power on the back of chaos, but their unspoken promise is that they will relieve the boredom of their subjects.

—Chris Hedges in Truthdig



# Drying my mother’s tears

## Socialism is out of the closet and part of America’s everyday life

Jon Epstein

Do you remember where you were on November 9th,1989? That's the day it was announced the Berlin Wall had fallen. The day is etched in my memory like where I was on February 28 during the Nisqually earthquake or September 11, when the World Trade Center Towers collapsed.

**Not everyone celebrated the fall of the Berlin Wall**

The weather in November can be miserable but that day in 1989 was mild and pleasant. It wasn't raining. The news spread quickly. Everywhere people were talking about the end of the Iron Curtain, embracing each other, happy and congratulatory. It seemed to be great news among my peers and people of all ages. For the first time in my life I fantasized about traveling to Eastern Europe and visiting countries like Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary. Maybe I could visit Budapest one day.

It was all revelry until early evening when I arrived at my mother's home for a dinner engagement. The first thing I noticed was that the curtains were drawn, though it was still daylight. Few lights were on. When I saw my mother, her face was puffy and I realized she'd been crying all day alone in her house.

**A generation fighting for social justice as Party members**

I should explain that I'm a “red-diaper” baby. The term doesn't have anything to do with my actual infant diaper. It refers to the fact that I'm the child of parents who were members of the Communist Party USA. My parents met at a meeting of the Young Communist League (YCL) in New York City in the early 1940s. The YCL recognized the Communist Party USA as the party for socialism in the United States and operated as the Party's youth wing.

Both my parents were first generation Americans who came of age during the Great Depression. In the face of economic collapse, my parents came to believe in the rights of union workers to organize, in social and economic justice, in civil rights and in world peace.

In 1963 they took their young family to the March on Washington where we witnessed Martin Luther King Jr. deliver his “I Have a Dream” speech from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. My father used to say the most radical thing a person could do was to have children and raise them with love so they would grow up to emulate their parents' political beliefs. In that way my parents succeeded. Maybe there are red-diaper babies who grew up to be Republicans and Wall Street bankers, but I did not. I've considered myself a socialist all my life.

**Fighting for justice and equality -- subversive and unAmerican**

I couldn't talk about my family history while my parents were alive. I'd been sworn to secrecy. My parents spent much of their lives deathly afraid of anyone finding out their political beliefs. They had lived through the so-called “Red Scare” in the 1950s. Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy in a series of highly publicized Congressional hearings accused business and political leaders and many other individuals of being Communists or Socialists, engaged in subverting the government. In 1954, he was discredited by CBS news journalist Edward R Murrow and censured by the Senate.

But McCarthy had already ruined the lives of many Americans and convinced a nation that socialism was evil. The House Unamerican Activities Committee went on attacking people for their political beliefs until it was finally disbanded only in 1975.



Louis and Norma Epstein at the New York World's Fair circa 1964

**Arguing for socialism--still scary after all these years**

McCarthy's tactics persist to this day. Senator Lindsey Graham recently accused four Democratic Congresswomen of being “communists.” Republicans just released a video that opens with Congresswomen Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (AOC) in a photograph that's being set ablaze. While the photograph burns, a voice intones,”This is the face of socialism and ignorance. Does Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez know the horror of socialism? .... forced obedience! starvation!” The message is clear: AOC is ignorant, socialism is evil and Ocasio-Cortez should be burned like a witch for promoting it.

**Coming out as a believer in socialism**

I was born in 1957, about a month after Senator McCarthy died. I didn't experience the red-scare directly and I am proud of my socialist history. Yet because of my parents' palpable fear of retribution, it's not something I felt I could speak about until after they had passed.

Now I would argue that socialism is not a bad thing—it makes sense to have certain economic and social functions performed by our government and subject to society's goals. When profit is not the main object, goals such as a living wage, universal health care, fair employment, etc. can be part of an enterprise.

It's clear that the United States economic structure is neither purely capitalist nor socialist but a hybrid. Like a car that uses both fossil fuel and electricity to propel itself, the USA is built of capitalist and socialist elements. Coffee is provided by a private corporation and organized to make a profit—think Starbucks. But there is a long and varied list of services Americans enjoy that are supplied by government owned entities and not driven by the profit motive.

**Some news for Senator Graham and his friends**

The US military is the biggest socialist program on the face of the earth and our government spends billions of our tax money on it. Think Joint Base Lewis McChord. Roads, highways and bridges are completely taxpayer-funded and government owned and maintained -- free to everyone who drives anywhere or eats

foods grown elsewhere. Government-employed Air Traffic Controllers see to our safety at government-owned airports. Other examples: police and fire departments, libraries, public schools, colleges, and universities, museums, national, state and munic-

ipal (city) parks. In addition to government-owned institutions there are many other ser-

## Maybe there are red-diaper babies who grew up to be Republicans and Wall Street bankers, but I did not.

vices provided by government that reflect elements of socialism. These include Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, farm subsidies, food stamps, Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) programs, education subsidies like Pell grants, to name just a few.

If you live in the City of Olympia your garbage, sewer service, and water are all municipalized, which means they're provided by the government according to social goals and not to make a profit. In a word: socialist! About half of Washington State residents get their electricity from public utility districts (PUDs). These electric utilities are owned by the local citizenry who elect commis-

sioners to make policy and oversee operations. Unlike utilities owned by private investors, PUD rates don't include a profit to be sent out of the community in the form of dividends to stockholders. Instead, even with low rates, PUD jobs pay well and the community benefits directly from improvements to the system.

**My mother’s tears were for a socialist future she thought was lost**

Back in 1989 I asked my mother why she had been crying all day. She said that the symbolism of the Iron Curtain falling meant that capitalism had won. All her youthful idealism had been for nothing; she felt utterly defeated and depressed. I always knew my mother was a socialist, but she rarely discussed those days with me as an adult.

I saw my mother in a whole new light that November evening. I really didn't know her as well as I thought, and I will never forget that day because of it. All her life she wanted to live in a world that was fair for working people. A world where all could achieve the American dream. A world where everyone had access to healthcare and good wages so they could raise a family and live without fear of persecution because of their race, ethnicity or religious beliefs.

I wish I had been more aware and educated at the time so I might have relieved her suffering. The truth is, many of the socialist ideals she

fought for are alive and well and baked into the American economy regardless of what gets reported in the corporate media. Next time you are enjoying your com-

mute to work on public transportation, paying your sewer bill, visiting Mt Rainier National Park, or cashing your Social Security check remember that you are benefiting from socialism.

*Jon Epstein was born in New York City and moved to Olympia in 1975. He earned a bachelor's degree from The Evergreen State College in 1981. He worked for six seasons as a federal forest firefighter and also with the Washington legislature, DSHS, and the Dept. of Corrections.*

## Joining minds for peace

### Friday Stillness announces new hours

**Friday Stillness** is sponsored by Brigid's Well, a community devoted to contemplative practice, while being mindful of the needs of our Earth and those who are poor and marginalized. We meet every Friday from 10:00 am - 6:30 pm at 1604 Union Ave. SE. Olympia to pray, sing, study, journal for peace in our world. Please note new times below.

**Group Meditation/Centering Prayer** is offered from 5:30-6:30 pm at the same location. All other sessions meet from 1:15 pm to 3 pm.

**Nov. 1:** Celebration of All Saints, Ritual with Dances of Universal Peace. Bring a story/photo of a loved one who has passed.

**Nov. 8: Conversation on Grateful Living and Making Gratitude Journals**

**Nov. 15: Gratefulness in the Now: Gratefulness as Practice with Brother David Steindl-Rast and Roshi Joan Halifax** (part 3 and 4)

**Nov. 22: Gratefulness in the Now: With Gratitude, You are Never Not Wealthy with Brother David Steindle Rast and Roshi Joan Halifax**

**Nov. 29:** Gratefulness for What We Have/We Have Everything We Need. We'll celebrate with a ritual.

*For more information, call 360-943-6264.*



# At Waldorf schools winning means more than coming in first

Lori Lively

Every May, fifth graders in Waldorf schools around the state meet for a weekend event called the Pentathlon. Based on the original Greek games, students compete in archery, discus, long jump, high jump, javelin, relay races and the ever-popular Greek wrestling.\*

At 11 years old, children are approaching puberty but mostly have yet to experience adolescence with its awkwardness and mood swings. Their adult teeth have grown in (an important sign of developmental readiness in Waldorf), and their limbs are balanced and graceful.

When he was developing the Waldorf curriculum, Rudolf Steiner chose fifth grade as the ideal time to introduce children to ancient Greek, Indian, and Persian cultures specifically because their physical and intellectual development mirrors that of those golden civilizations. Fifth graders embody the Greek ideal!

By the time they arrive at the Pentathlon, students have been studying ancient Greece for months. Whether or not they intend to compete in every category, they have a little training in each of them. Some anticipate the Pentathlon with joy, some dread it. Mostly, they're excited, open, and looking to the gods—teachers and administrators wearing traditional Greek garments—to set the tone.

When they are assembled, the students (also in togas) encounter one of the day's biggest challenges: reassignment to a city-state made up not of their classmates but of students



from the other schools. For the duration of the event, they will compete as a team with these new friends. They are, together, Sparta, Athens, Carthage or Mycenae.

Specifics differ from year to year and school to school, but an essential component of the event is the ritual entrance of Nike Athena, a student who's been chosen to carry the flaming torch that signals the beginning

of the games. Students may recite an appeal to the gods they've learned in class: "Oh Athena, grant me endurance..." or "Oh Artemis, guide my arrows to fly straight and true..."

After the goddess' invocation, competition begins simultaneously in several arenas. The greater the number of schools participating, the greater number of contests. Onlookers gather at the edges of the archery range

to watch students cast their arrows. Others keep their distance but cheer on their favorite Greek wrestler or discus thrower. Against a backdrop of tension, skill and chance, winners and losers begin to emerge.

By late afternoon, contests are finished and everyone gathers for the closing ceremony. An earthly representative of the great Apollo, echoing the spirit of the ancient games, bestows a crown of laurel leaves to one individual in each city state who best embodies the spirit of the games. This is the highest honor given at the games.

Those who excelled in each category are rewarded with silk ribbons for first through fifth place, as expected. But other achievements—Grace and Beauty, Strength, and Endurance—are also rewarded with ribbons.

These last winners often receive the most applause from teammates, friends, and parents who've witnessed that child's public struggle against their own limitations. It is a moment of generosity by the entire community, a recognition of earnest effort that underscores one of the many lessons of the Pentathlon: it's important to recognize people for excellence. And there are lots of ways to excel.

Lori Lively is Assistant Editor at Works in Progress. For more information on Waldorf education, visit [www.olympiawaldorf.org](http://www.olympiawaldorf.org) or call 360.943.0906.

\*Greek wrestling is performed when a circle is drawn around two students of roughly equal size who must push against each other using their only their arm strength. The exercise, according to Steiner, develops a student's inner will forces. The first one to be knocked off balance and pushed out of the ring loses the round.

## The Wobblies return to Centralia Centennial of IWW tragedy remembered with free public events

Veteran's Day 2019 marks the 100th anniversary of the Centralia Tragedy, when citizens of Centralia did their best to drive the Industrial Workers of the World from town at a horrible cost. The secret of what happened that night at Hangman's Bridge, where an IWW member was lynched, has haunted every descendant of every man who took part in the macabre ritual. But like a weed that won't die, the IWW persists and grows stronger. A century later, the Wobblies are back in Centralia (at least for a few days), with a concert and two workshops.

**The IWW Today • Sunday, Nov. 10, 2 pm**  
A free talk by Dave Tucker, IWW Executive Board Member on the status of the IWW globally, current organizing efforts in North America, and the union's future

**Intro to Wobbly Organizing • Monday, Nov. 11, 3 pm**  
A free workshop presented by members of Seattle IWW's General Membership Branch on the nuts and bolts of a worker-led union campaign

**Fanning Flames of Discontent • Sunday, Nov. 10**  
A free concert featuring Linda Allen, Mark Ross and Jess Grant (doors open at 7 pm, show starts at 7:30)

All events held at the historic Centralia WA Train Depot, 210 Railroad Ave. 98531

Learn more about this pivotal event in Washington history at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Centralia\\_massacre\\_\(Washington\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Centralia_massacre_(Washington))

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**If We Have Violated Any Law**

then let the law take its course in an orderly manner. We have duly elected officials who are under oath to enforce the laws, and we are willing at all times to submit to their authority. These officials have as yet, made no attempt to close our hall or deprive us of our liberty.

We have asked for official protection, which seems to have been officially ignored.

**As a final word---let the law take its course, our manhood revolts at mob violence coming from the hands of the lumber barons.**

**LET THE OFFICERS DO THEIR DUTY IF WE HAVE VIOLATED THE LAW.**



# Tattoo artist’s evolution marked by respect for Polynesian traditions

Matt Crichton

[Note: Matt Crichton got his first tattoo as a Peace Corps volunteer in Western Samoa from 2007 to 2009. During his two years there he formed a connection to the land, people and culture so when he decided on another tattoo, he looked for one from Samoa. Matt found Tricia Allen while researching Polynesian tattoos and interviewed her by phone about her work.

### How did you get into tattooing and specifically Polynesian designs?

My entrance into Pacific and African art came about when I was working at the Denver Art Museum in the Native Arts Department. Years later I moved to Hawai’i and started grad school at the University of Hawaii. Marquesan tattoos was the topic of my thesis. I took a volunteer position on an oceanography vessel that was mapping the seafloor off Rapa Nui or Easter Island. They were looking for grad students to go as volunteers to be trained. My interest was really the tattoo revival happening on Tahiti, not Rapa Nui but it was a way for me to travel to do fieldwork that otherwise I couldn’t afford.

I had contacts on Rapa Nui as I had been writing to five people on the island—this is before email. I asked, “Do you have copies of these?” Three out of five responded and said they didn’t know because islanders are not allowed in the libraries on Rapa Nui. I was buying up every used copy of every book on Rapa Nui and photocopying thousands of pages of early material to bring back to the people on Rapa Nui because it’s their culture, it’s their history. It should be in their hands.

One day I’m having lunch with Ed Hardy, and I showed him some of the old tattoo illustrations from Rapa Nui. He said, “Wouldn’t it be cool to give them the real thing, instead of a photocopy?” I said sure, and he encouraged me to start tattooing. I really learned in order to take the cultural tattoos back to Rapa Nui. That was my introduction to traveling in the Pacific and tattooing. I’ve been tattooing ever since—about 30 years.

### Why were you interested in doing Polynesian tattooing as opposed to other types?

I had no interest or attraction to tattooing whatsoever. None. It wasn’t the tattoo per se, it was the whole cultural experience. Who does it? When is it done? What does it signify? What’s the methodology? Is there any ritual involved? What’s their appren-



Tattoo by Mu’a at Paka Polynesian Tattoo in Kent, WA.

ticeship program like? Who does this? It was those questions—the cultural context—that I was primarily interested in. Looking at it as an art form—as any other work of cultural or indigenous art.

### Are there differences in meaning for tattoos in America vs tattoos in Polynesia?

In America tattoos are usually a mark of individuality. A person gets a tattoo that speaks to their background, who they are, and things that have happened to them. It’s a very individual sort of thing. In an indigenous culture, it’s exactly the opposite. It’s a mark of commitment and conformity to your culture (to the group). In America we would not think that tattoos were a mark of conformity, but that is exactly what they are seen as in traditional Polynesian cultures.

### What are three interesting things you learned doing Polynesian tattoos?

I deal a lot with cultural appropriation. That’s a hot topic—stealing from

other cultures and using it for commercial purposes. I’m dealing with an indigenous art form and living culture. Going about that in a conscientious respectful way is important.

Another question is ‘what is a Polynesian tattoo?’ We have to define that. Is it strictly a tattoo that’s put on an islander by an islander within their specific artistic heritage? Does it have to be done by an islander to qualify as an “authentic” tattoo? What is tradition? Today we’re under so many different influences and most people are of mixed race. I don’t think we can be bound by ancient traditions. We have to respect them, and in most cases it’s somewhat inappropriate to wear something that you don’t have a definite connection or tie to. Why would someone get a Marquesan tattoo if they don’t even know where the Marquesas Islands are located?

Polynesian cultures didn’t have a

## To misappropriate a Maori’s tattoo is akin to taking someone’s social security number and using it for commercial purposes.

written language – it was an oral culture. When Europeans required signatures, oftentimes the Maori would draw their moko, their tattoo, as their signature. That’s unique to that individual, and you can tell their bloodline and a lot more by looking at their facial tattoo. To misappropriate is akin to taking someone’s social security number and using it for commercial purposes.

### Christianity tried to stamp out tattooing in Western Samoa. How was the practice kept alive?

In Samoa and in many other places there was competition between the missionaries for converts. In Samoa,

the Catholic Church realized that part of the reason people might not want to convert to Christianity iwa because they were banning the tattoo. The Catholics allowed tattooing to continue, which is partially why both Catholicism and tattooing survived, and even thrived, in Samoa. In many of the smaller islands, particularly the Polynesian outliers, tattooing did continue but on a smaller scale solely because they are remote islands that aren’t commonly visited by outsiders.

### How do you see the future of tattooing?

I can describe what I’ve seen happen in recent years with tattooing. Over the last ten years, I’ve seen pan-Pacific hybrid tattoos. People take design elements from various Pacific cultures and mix them into these hybrid contemporary pieces. I think there is nothing wrong with that. But I have a problem with people misrepresenting what it is. If the artist is doing something that is fairly contemporary—Tahitian, for example—they shouldn’t tell the client this is, for example, ancient Samoan. No, it’s a contemporary hybrid piece. That’s problematic as it’s misrepresenting culture and history.

Partially that’s come about as a result of the many young tattoo artists who really don’t have a deep knowledge, who have not visited these cultures, or studied their traditions. They might not know what is Tongan versus Fijian versus Samoan. They are hybrid pieces, and that ultimately leads to a loss of knowledge of individual cultural traditions. As this continues over time, the youth may not even know


what a traditional Tahitian tattoo or what is a Marquesan tattoo, and that’s problematic.

I’m not saying that we should stick to our own traditions necessarily, but we should recognize what they are and give that culture the credit for having created those designs, and not misidentify them as being something else.


Tricia Allen completed her Master’s degree in Anthropology and in 1992 began an early tattooing practice in the Marquesas Islands. Her doctoral work involved researching the revival of the arts of the Pacific. Her work has taken her to Samoa, Aotearoa, New Caledonia, the Society Islands, the Marquesas and Rapa Nui. She has tattooed over 8,000 members of the Polynesian community. You can read a longer version of the interview at [www.olywip.org](http://www.olywip.org).




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# Ecuador: La dictadura étnico-clasista continúa

Erika Sylva Charvet

Durante once días, Ecuador ha vivido la más feroz dictadura étnico-clasista que recuerde su historia contemporánea. En el marco de un estado de sitio decretado al otro día de iniciadas las protestas (3-10-2019) que derivaron en una insurrección nacional-étnico-popular liderada por el movimiento indígena en contra de las medidas neoliberales (1-10-2019), el gobierno de Moreno aplicó una violencia inédita que condujo a una masacre, absolutamente silenciada por los medios de comunicación, cuyo saldo aún es incierto, pues se presume que las cifras de 7 muertos,

1340 heridos, 1152 detenidos, proporcionada por la Defensoría del Pueblo (13-10-19), a la que se sumarian alrededor de 80 personas presuntamente desaparecidas, podría ser aún mayor.

Pero esta dictadura que ha visibilizado el talante neofascista de las oligarquías, no es un fenómeno de este octubre de 2019. Ha venido gestándose desde antes de que Moreno acceda a la Presidencia. Pero sería desde ese 24-05-2017, cuando empezarían a transparentarse sus acomodos tras bastidores con EEUU, los aparatos represivos, las oligarquías, los medios de comunicación empresariales, la partidocracia, así como con cierta

dirigencia indígena y sindical que le confirió una base popular a ese nuevo pacto oligárquico-imperial orientado a erradicar el progresismo del gobierno, el Estado y la sociedad.

Así, durante dos años y medio no les ha importado arrasar con la ley y la Constitución para focalizar su represión dictatorial sobre un grupo, a fin de proscribirlo políticamente: la dirigencia de la Revolución Ciudadana (RC), tal como lo hicieran otrora las dictaduras civiles y militares en nuestra región.

La herramienta para ello ha sido el discurso del odio, encaminado a la

destrucción simbólica del progresismo, asociándolo a la corrupción, tratando de aislarlo y convertirlo en un cáncer a extirpar, utilizando la mentira y el escándalo políticos a la carta, amplificados por medios de comunicación venales convertidos en “justicieros”, cuyas sentencias han sido obedecidas por un aparato judicial subordinado a dicho pacto, que procesa y encarcela selectivamente a esa dirigencia violando todo debido proceso. Ese ha sido el caso de Jorge Glas, Rafael Correa, Ricardo Patiño, Sofía Espín, Carlos Ochoa y otros dirigentes/as.

Que julio de 2017, cuando Moreno dijo: “no hay mesa servida” y avanzó con los embustes de sobreendeudamiento que culminarían con la judicialización de Correa en abril de 2018, está orgánicamente vinculado a octubre de 2019, se evidencia en las nuevas mentiras políticas que hoy trata de construir, banalizando la insurrección nacional-étnico-popular como “golpe correísta,” continuando con su tentativa de estigmatización, e intentando reconstituir el pacto con los indígenas que sustentó la transición, sobre el supuesto de una comunidad de odio, rechazada, por cierto, por Leonidas Iza y otros líderes de los pueblos originarios.

La insurrección mostraría, sin embargo, que el masivo repudio a Moreno no sería sino la cosecha del odio que buscó sembrar en la sociedad contra la RC y que hoy ha rebotado como un violento boomerang contra él y su gobierno.

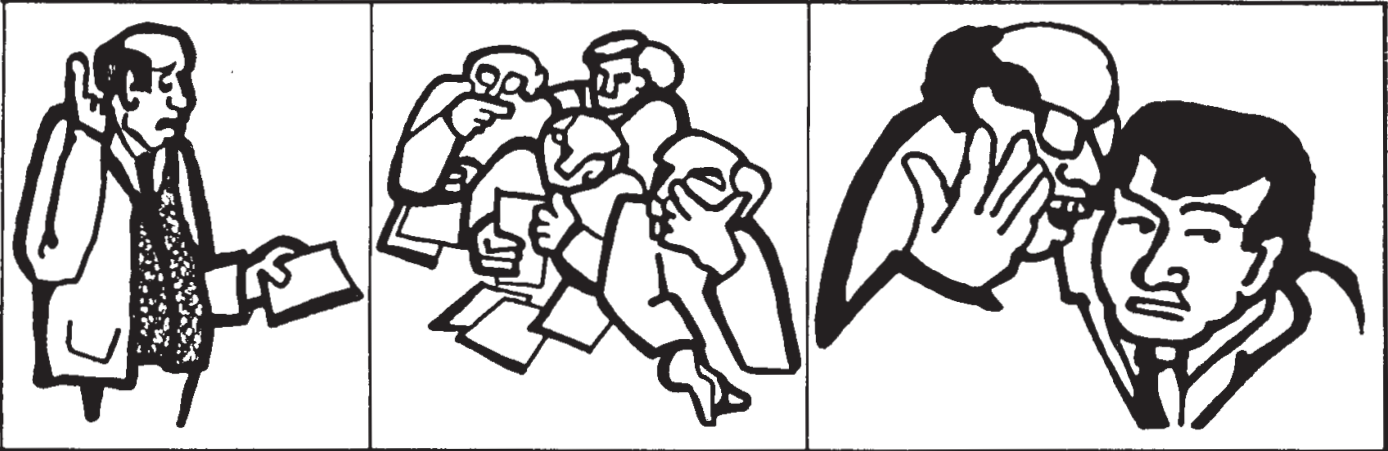
Pero, al parecer, no se han percatado de ello, pues en el marco del diálogo con los indígenas, han emprendido una nueva razzia contra la RC, encarcelando a Yoffre Poma (Asambleísta), Alexandra Arce (ex Alcaldesa de Durán), a la Prefecta de Pichincha, Paola Pavón, a Virgilio Hernández (ex Asambleísta) y obligando a asilarse a la ex Presidenta de la Asamblea Nacional, Gabriela Rivadeneira.

Es decir, la brutal dictadura de la que hemos sido testigos y víctimas los/as ecuatorianos/as estos once días de octubre, continúa, pero focalizándose, nuevamente, en los cuerpos de la militancia de la RC. ¿O es que acaso también irán por los liderazgos emergentes de la insurrección popular? ¿Creerán que así podrán detener el cauce de una corriente política que se abrirá terreno al fragor de su resistencia, fortaleciendo los actuales y pariendo nuevos liderazgos, igualmente recios? Porque la historia no se detendrá al arbitrio de ningún dictadorzuelo.

La alianza popular étnico-clasista enfrentada al racismo y clasismo de las oligarquías se dio cita en las calles este histórico octubre de 2019. El movimiento indígena, que ha recuperado su vena revolucionaria de los 90, no puede continuar dentro del pacto de la transición, legitimando la dictadura oligárquico-imperial que representa Moreno, cuyas manos están manchadas con la sangre de nuestro pueblo. De su parte, el progresismo debe asumir con humildad el expediente de la descolonización, la interculturalidad y la construcción del Estado Plurinacional, sin los cuales no podrá haber cambio revolucionario posible en nuestro país.

—Quito, 14 de Octubre de 2019

Erika Sylva Charvet es una cientista social Ecuatoriana, fue Ministro de Cultura durante el gobierno de Rafael Correa.



art by Rini Templeton

## Ecuador: An ethnic-class dictatorship provokes a popular resistance

Erika Sylva Charvet

For eleven days, Ecuador has lived the fiercest ethnic-class dictatorship in contemporary memory. Within the framework of a state of siege that was decreed the day after protests began, there emerged a national-ethnic-popular insurrection led by the indigenous movement against neoliberal measures.

### Violent repression by the Moreno government

The Moreno government applied unprecedented violence, leading to a massacre silenced by the media. The consequences are still uncertain, but based on the figures of 7 dead, 1340 injured and 1152 detained, provided by the Defensoría del Pueblo, another 80 people allegedly disappeared could be added to this number.

### Disguising the repressive apparatus of the state began in 2017

This dictatorship that has revealed that the neo-fascist mood of the oligarchy, is not a phenomenon of this October 2019. It has been emerging since before Moreno became president in 2017. But from that date in May of 2017 they began to move their accommodations with the US behind the scenes – the repressive apparatus of the state, including the oligarchy and business media and the ruling clique along with certain indigenous and union leaders that gave a kind of social base to a new oligarchic-imperial pact aimed at eradicating progressive government.

### Proceeding with the task of getting rid of progressive forces

Thus, for two-and-a-half years, they have been unconcerned about destroying the law and the Constitution, while they focused their repression on a group—just as did earlier civilians and military dictatorships in our region—in order to outlaw the leadership of the Citizen Revolution (RC).

The tool for this has been a discourse of hate, aimed at the symbolic destruction of progressivism. By associating progressivism with corruption, trying to isolate it and turn it into a cancer to be removed; and by the frivolous use political lies and scandal. This in turn has been amplified by communication achieved through bribery with “judges” whose sentences have been obeyed by a judicial apparatus subordinated to that oligarchic-imperial pact. This pact has selectively persecuted and jailed the RC’s leadership. That has been the fate of Jorge Glas, Rafael Correa, Ricardo Patiño, Sofía Espín, Carlos Ochoa and other leaders.

### Delegitimizing opposition; seeking to build “a community of hatred”

That July 2017, Moreno said: “there is no table set” and advanced a false argument of over-indebtedness. Those efforts culminated in the prosecution of Correa in April 2018 and are organically linked to the events of October 2019. This is evidenced by the new political lies that Moreno puts forth today, dismissing the national-ethnic-popular insurrection as a “Correist coup.” Thus Moreno continues his attempt to reconstitute the pact with the natives that sustained the transition, hoping to find a community of hatred. This position was rejected by Leonidas Iza, and other leaders of the indigenous people.

### The alliance that emerged in October is a reaction to hate

The insurrection showed that the massive repudiation of Moreno would represent a harvest of the hatred he tried to sow against the Citizen Revolution. Today this has bounced like a violent boomerang against him and his government.

This seems to have escaped their notice, as part of the new dialogue with the indigenous people, they have undertaken more raids against the RC,

imprisoning Yoffre Poma (Assemblyman), Alexandra Arce (former Mayor of Durán), the Prefect of Pichincha, Paola Pavón, Virgilio Hernández (former Assemblyman) and forcing into isolation the former President of the National Assembly, Gabriela Rivadeneira.

### The popular resistance will grow despite continued repression

The brutal dictatorship we Ecuadorians have witnessed and been victims of during these eleven days of October continues. Again it targets the militancy of the Citizen Revolution. Will they also go for the emerging leadership of the popular insurrection? Do they believe that in this way they will be able to stop the course of a political current that will lead to the heart of the resistance, strengthening the current ones and giving birth to new leaders, equally strong? Because history will not stop because the ‘dictatorzuelo’ chooses.

The popular ethnic-class alliance that faces the racism and classism of the oligarchy emerged on the streets during this historic October 2019. The indigenous movement, which has recovered its revolutionary vein of the 90s, cannot continue within the transition pact, legitimizing the oligarchic-imperial dictatorship that Moreno represents, whose hands are stained with the blood of our people. On the other hand, progressivism must humbly assume the task of decolonization, interculturality and the construction of the Pluri-national State, without which there will be no possible revolutionary change in our country.

—Quito, October 14, 2019

Erika Sylva Charvet is an Ecuadorian social scientist and former Minister of Culture during the administration of Rafael Correa. Translated by Enrique Quintero.



# Olympia’s homeless face extra hardship with suspension of area services

A perfect storm of suspended services may create additional challenges for Olympia's homeless population this winter.

Timberland Regional Library management announced in October that the downtown Olympia branch will be closed from late November to early February. The branch is widely known as a safe place for homeless people to stay warm while using the internet, reading quietly and simply resting from the constant need to keep moving. Community organizers are actively looking for interim day-time shelter facilities.

Renovations to the Salvation Army's main shelter in Olympia are complete but there's no indication of when the facility will reopen due to money and staffing issues. They are supposed to have their cold weather beds available starting in November, but at best it's only about 30 beds.



*The scene under the 4th Ave Bridge last winter – photo by Lindsey Dalthorp*

The City Mitigation Site, more commonly referred to as “tent city,” planned to accommodate about 70

people, is grossly overpopulated. Now, according to the City, about 115 people reside there.

The Olympia Union Gospel Mission is at full capacity. So many people are regularly accessing the Mission shelter that they will be in “Code Blue” if there is a weather emergency. No additional space will be available through the Mission this winter.

Area business owners have voiced concerns The Community Care Center building's old sewer pipes are failing from the heavy use. The Center is already under pressure to reduce the number of people it can host at any one time during the day. They will be transitioning to an appointment-only basis in the new year.

The bottom line is that Olympia will have more people on the streets this year but fewer shelter beds available. Dozens, if not hundreds of street people may have an even longer, more difficult winter ahead.

## Nourishing our community during cold winter months

The Thurston County Food Bank (TCFB), Community Kitchen, and Senior Services for South Sound are among 8 local organizations rescuing good food from agencies and to provide food for people in our community who are in need. The need can be especially serious in winter after the growing season is finished and nourishing meals are even more welcome.

Other organizations include the Rochester Organization for Families (ROOF) in Rochester, WA; Faith Harvest Helpers at True Grace Church in Lacey; The Source at Hidden Creek Church in West Olympia; The Lord's Pantry at Turning Point Church in North Thurston County, and the Olympia Union Gospel Mission in downtown Olympia.

### Phenomenal amounts of food... saved

Each year, the TCFB rescues a phenomenal amount of food! In 2018, they rescued over 2,200,000 pounds of food locally. Their restaurant rescue program, which accepts prepared food from restaurants and schools, has doubled in the last year - growing from 76,000 pounds of food in 2017 to 226,000 pounds of food in 2018. In 2018, the TCFB provided food to over 57,000 separate clients in need in our region. These clients visited the Food Bank on 380,000 occasions.

### Turning saved food into thousands of meals!

The Community Kitchen serves 3 meals per day every single day, including holidays. In 2018, volunteers rescued over 111,000 pounds of food, that they turned into nearly 145,000 meals to serve to people in need. Over the past 3 years, the Community Kitchen has seen a 35% increase in the number of meals they provide - serving 40,000 more meals in 2018 than in 2017. Thanks to the TC food

rescue, they were able to do this for no additional cost. The Community Kitchen puts the value of the food they rescued last year at \$120,000 dollars.

### Delivering meals to thousands of seniors!

South Sound Senior Services is a local nonprofit charged with providing community dining—lunches and Meals on Wheels (MOW) service to seniors living in Mason and Thurston Counties. In 2018, we rescued 120,000 pounds of food for use in senior meals. This allowed us to keep up with senior population growth and avoid a waiting list for the MOW program. Last year, we served a total of over 120,000 meals to 3000 seniors. Food rescue allows our program to serve more people in spite of our limited food budget. Casino food rescue contributes to another 2000 meals per month.

### You be one of the phenomenal volunteers

More than 10,000 community members volunteer their time at the Thurston County Food Bank, both at the downtown Client Service Center (CSC) and at the Warehouse Distribution Center (WDC). Volunteers do everything from food sorting and delivery, to office support, to facility and equipment maintenance. The best way for individuals to start is to attend a Volunteer Orientation and Tour.

Those interested in volunteering can start by attending an orientation. These take place the first Tuesday of each month at 220 Thurston Ave NE in Olympia and the third Thursday each month at the Warehouse Distribution Center at 220 Mottman Road SW in Tumwater.

*Thanks to Cathy Visser for providing the information in this summary.*



*Visit holiday wreath-makers and recycle your accumulated ribbons, ornaments, wire etc. –photo by Lindsey Dalthorp*

## HoHo Hobos

Support our houseless friends during the holidays by purchasing a wreath for \$20! For each wreath sold, \$5 goes to materials, \$5 is given to the maker, and \$5 goes to the seller. The last \$5 is pooled for the community, who vote on how the money is used.

While you’re downtown, consider donating creamers and sweeteners to fortify those who depend on the coffee pot at the Providence Care Center at the corner of State and Washington!

## Solutionary Rail is a win-win for climate, workers and community

The November episode of Parallax Perspectives explores Solutionary Rail, “a people-powered campaign to electrify America's rail-roads and open corridors to a clean energy future.” According to key organizer Bill Moyer, SR would revolutionize the way freight is moved throughout the US, significantly reducing fossil fuel use and air pollution and helping protect the environment, climate, and public health.

Proposals from Solutionary Rail could create jobs, improve working conditions, and help local communities, including seaport areas, transportation hubs, cities, freeways, rural farming areas, and tribes throughout our nation, Moyer says.

Moyer is also Executive Director of Backbone Campaign, a non-profit organization based on Vashon Island. Watch the episode online and visit [parallaxperspectives.org](http://parallaxperspectives.org) for more.

**Parallax Perspectives**, produced by Thurston Community Television (TCTV), airs Mondays at 1:30 pm, Wednesdays at 5:00 pm, and Thursdays at 9:00 pm. Interviews and additional information are also posted at [www.parallaxperspectives.org](http://www.parallaxperspectives.org).

**Glen Anderson** is producer and host of Parallax Perspectives. He can be reached at 360.491.9093 or [glenanderson@integra.net](mailto:glenanderson@integra.net).

Thurston County Homeless Housing & Shelter hotline

1-844-628-7343



# Vietnam Moratorium: A day to remember

Carolyn Eisenberg

*Life* Magazine described it as “the largest expression of public dissent ever seen in this country. *Newsweek* pronounced it a day, destined to go down in history along with Coxey’s Army, the Bonus Marchers and the 1963 March on Washington. Yet fifty years later, the occasion has faded from view.

**A seemingly endless war**  
The Moratorium occurred during one of the darkest periods of the Vietnam War. 40,000 Americans soldiers were already dead. During the first eight months of Richard Nixon’s Presidency, the death toll was averaging more than 500 men a month, with no sign of abating. On the Vietnamese side, hundreds of thousands had perished, several million rural people were displaced, and large swaths of arable land scorched by chemicals and bombs.

**On one day, everyone would take a significant action**  
The organizers of the Moratorium had a simple idea; on this one day, people opposed to the war would halt “business as usual” and take some action—large or small to signify their desire for peace. It was initially expected that these would be mainly campus events. But something about this modest, open-ended approach had such rapid appeal to the “over thirty” adults, that plans proliferated across the country.

**Many created ways to participate**  
As of midnight October 14, hundreds of demonstrators were on the steps of the Capital reading out the names of the American soldiers, who had died in the war. By morning, in big cities and small, in churches and synagogues, federal buildings and town halls, in libraries and parks, perhaps as many as two million people were expressing their opposition to the Nixon Administration’s pursuit of the war.

In New York City alone, there were scores of events. At the Old Trinity Church near Wall Street the bells tolled, as prominent businessmen whose disillusionment had grown exponentially, participated in an all-day service. Art galleries, museums, publishing houses and many Broadway theaters closed for the day, or created activities specifically devoted to peace.

By 1969 large rallies in Washington DC, New York, and San Francisco had become familiar. More unusual were the gatherings in other locations—Salt Lake City, Pittsburgh,

Minneapolis, Little Rock and Austin—where men and women turned out in droves. In Lexington, Kentucky, 2700 people stood quietly in front of the Federal Court House in remembrance of the war dead from their state. In Cicero Illinois, normally a conservative bastion, 800 students from Morton Junior College participated in an antiwar assembly, while 300 housewives from nearby River Forest marched to the local post office, where they mailed letters to the President urging him to stop the war.

**A swelling tide of opposition**  
At a press conference, preceding the event, Nixon had been asked for his thoughts on the Moratorium. To which, he had testily replied, “Under no circumstances will I be affected by it.” Nothing could be farther from the truth. Having watched President Johnson destroyed by the pressure of antiwar dissent, Nixon was determined to avoid his fate. Indeed the swelling tide of opposition forced him to cancel DUCK HOOK – an evolving plan for the aerial mining of

Haiphong harbor and the use of B-52 bombers over North Vietnam, vigorously promoted by National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger.

Furthermore, at a time when the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the US Military Command in South Vietnam were fiercely resisting the removal of US troops, Nixon was compelled to accept a schedule of withdrawals, which could potentially unravel the entire military project.

Widening dissent stiffened the spine of Congress. The energy, hopefulness and idealism, present on Moratorium Day, had a profound effect on many of the journalists covering the events. This also stiffened the spine of some skittish members of Congress, who were slowly finding their voice and would eventually use their votes.

Stopping the war would require many future years of protest, and a widening of dissent to include Vietnam veterans and other constituencies. But those fall days established a limit, beyond which, even Richard

## you write to WiP

## In defense of mountain bikers

I have read the last couple of articles by Evonne Hedgepeth on possibly creating a park for mountain bike riding.

I have found your paper, for the most part, even-handed with your coverage, but this last article with the overt bias has caused me to ask why would *Works in Progress* print these exaggerations?

I have been a mountain biker since the early 80s. I have ridden my bike in many places and in many locations and have rarely come across a person riding who fits the mythological figure of the extreme individual who spends \$10k on their bike as they thrash the environment and then lay broken as our search and rescue services tend to them.

Most riders are wanting to be in nature. They want to exercise. They want to be with friends and family. Like myself who would ride with my wife and two girls.

Does Ms Hedgepeth feel that the kids running at high speeds, hitting their heads against balls and defeating others on our public soccer fields or the ones swinging wooden sticks at balls thrown at them on our ball fields or the ones tackling and purposely smashing each other in efforts to beat them down in a football field should be subsidized?

The rhetoric is sad and tiring, but is a sad sign of our times.

I have hope that *Works in Progress* will seek and print a less inflammatory perspective on how we as a community come together to see mountain bikers as a community of people not as a stereotype that your paper works so hard not to stereotype people for their own personal gain.

I just wonder why community members are allowed to be demonized in your publication?

Peter Brown

Nixon could not transgress.

An inspired demand for peace and an end to militarismIn recent accounts, the role of the peace movement in stopping the Vietnam War has been unjustifiably minimized. Fifty years later, and in our own dark time, it is worth remembering that inspiring Moratorium Day of October 15, 1969, when diverse groups of people, from every region of the country, stopped what they were doing and joined with co-workers, family and friends to assert their opposition to militarism and desire for peace.

*Carolyn Eisenberg is a Professor of history and U.S. foreign policy at Hofstra University. She is the author of a forthcoming book, Never Lose: Nixon, Kissinger and the Myth of National Security and a contributor to recently published Waging Peace in Vietnam. Reprinted from **Antiwar.com**, posted October 15 2019*

## Backlash Blues

Mr. Backlash, Mr. Backlash  
Just who do you think I am  
You raise my taxes, freeze my wages  
And send my son to Vietnam  
You give me second class houses  
And second class schools  
Do you think that all the  
colored folks  
Are just second class fools

Mr. Backlash, I’m gonna leave you  
With the backlash blues

When I try to find a job  
To earn a little cash  
All you got to offer  
Is your mean old white backlash  
But the world is big  
Big and bright and round  
And it's full of folks like me  
Who are black, yellow, beige  
and brown

Mr. Backlash, Mr. Backlash  
Just what do you think I got to lose  
I’m gonna leave you  
With the backlash blues  
You’re the one will have the blues  
Not me, just wait and see

—Nina Simone

## Special Events

**Womxn of Achievement**  
Sat, Nov 2. Doors open at 5:30. SPSCC Student Union Building.  
Honorees are Eileen Yoshida, Lily Campbell, Steffani Powell, Tonya S. Moore, Ty Gundel. Call (360) 352-0593 about last-minute tickets.

**Voters Roundtable discussion**  
Mon, Nov 4, 5:30-8 pm. 309 5th Ave SE.  
Bring your ballot & information to discuss issues & candidates. Optional potluck. Childcare provided.

**Friday Stillness**  
Nov 8,15, 22, 29. Group Meditation/ Centering Prayer and study opportunities.  
Find details on p.10

**Olympia Coalition to Abolish Nuclear Weapons**  
Thu, Nov. 21, 5 pm. MIXX 96 meeting room, SW corner of State & Washington.  
Info: Glen Anderson .(360) 491-9093 glenanderson@integra.net

**Legislative Action Workshop**  
Sat, Nov. 9, 9am-2pm.  
League of Women Voters training program. Registration \$30, reduced for students, some

scholarships. Details on p. 4

**Wobblies in Centralia**  
Sun & Mon, Nov. 10 & 11.  
Concert, presentation and workshops. Centralia Train Depot. Details on p 11

**US Intervention in the 21st Century**  
Mon, Nov. 11, 7pm. Traditions Café.  
Forum and discussion of US foreign interventions before and into the Trump era, including prospects for peace and citizen action through an Anti-Intervention Coalition.

**Stay**  
Fri, Nov. 15, 4:30-6:30pm, reception. SPSCC Mottman Bldg.  
Eun-Kyung Suh's sculpture examines dissimilarities experienced by refugees and asylum seekers from origin to destination. Suh's sculptures use domestic materials suffused with meanings and consequences of migration or forced displacement.

**Mutual Aid Supply Drive**  
Nov 21, Dec 17. 1-6 pm, 115 Legion, downtown Oly.  
Bring supplies for distribution to people living in encampments. Some needs are canned food, sox, tarps, batteries, bottled water, etc. A full list is at justhousingolympia.org Or contribute \$\$ – OlyMAP/Mutual Aid Monday at paypal.me/justhousing.

**Latinx Youth Summit**  
Fri, Nov 22, 8am - 3pm. St. Martin’s University.  
Hispanic Roundtable of South Sound. 17th Annual Summit is open to high school students in Thurston, Lewis, Mason, Pacific and Grays Harbor Counties. Registration is now open and ONLINE through November 8 or until spaces are filled.

**Open House at the Islamic Center**  
Fri, Dec. 6, 1 pm.  
An invitation to attend a service at The Islamic Center of Olympia; first Friday of each month. The program is designed to welcome non-muslims. Meet at the west parking lot for a welcome briefing. Visit http://www.islamiccenterofolympia.org/ for more details.

**Anti-Intervention Coalition Meeting**  
Mon, Dec 9, 7pm. 115 Legion Way.  
Initial meeting of the Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition

**Climate change & Local Farming**  
Tue, Dec 10. 6-8:30 pm. Brighton Park Grange #163.  
Thurston Conservation Dist. Local farmers' panel discusses drought and local climate change on production practices. RSVP to Nora White, nwhite@thurstoncd.com or 360-

754-3588 ext.136.

**West Central Park Winter Gala**  
Fri., Dec 13, 6pm-midnight. Abigail Stuart House.  
Fundraiser with music by the Lumens, Larry Hill. Park Side Cafe catering. All proceeds to this extraordinary little park, community minded and community funded. *Black Tie*. \$75. Details at www.aparkforus.org

**Duck the Malls**  
Sat, Dec 14, 11am-4pm. Capitol Theater, 206 5th Ave, Oly.  
Find unique gifts created by local artisans and artists - crafts, toys, utensils, flights of fancy - on sale in the historic downtown theater, dressed up for this holiday tradition with garlands, scents, music. Make shopping a joy!

**Meaningful movie night**  
Thu, Dec 19, 6:30pm. Unitarian Universalists, 2315 Division NW, Olympia.  
Free screening of meaningful film.

For more November & December events, go to LocalMotive.org, or check the WIP facebook page.



Make check payable to Works in Progress and mail to PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.