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SEPT. 14-20, 2005



SIXTY PEOPLE GATHERED AT MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. MEMORIAL PARK A WEEK AFTER HURRICANE KATRINA DEVASTATED THE GULF COAST TO MARK THE DEATH AND DAMAGE IT WRECKED. COVERAGE OF THE DESTRUCTION IS ON PAGES 2, 3, 4, AND 11. PHOTO BY LUKE MCGUFF.

## Ground Zero

Anti-racism workshop organizers hit by Hurricane Katrina

By ADAM HYLA  
Editor

Its offices were flooded, its computers destroyed, its reams of paper records dissolved in the waters of Lake Pontchartrain. Its director had to fly back to the city in the face of the hurricane to extract his family; his 80-year-old mother was lifted out by an evacuation team, dangling from a helicopter.

And the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond, a national organization which conducts seminars on reversing the effects of racial bias, was located in the eye of a disaster — one that lifted back the curtain veiling social inequities for millions of Americans who have never been to an anti-racism workshop.

The destruction of the national headquarters "has tragic significance," says Daniel Buford, head of the group's satellite office in Berkeley. "Our archives, print and electronic, were completely destroyed. We have been documenting racism in the United States and New Orleans for over 25 years. So it's a tragedy on the organizational level."

And on the human level, too: "knowing your friends, people you loved had to get out of town with just the clothes on their back."

One of those people is organization director Ron Chisom, 64, whose days are now spent finding food, shelter, clothing, and a home for his mother.

"You never think it's going to happen to you," says Chisom.

And at the same time, you do; Chisom recounts how family and friends remember the flooding of the mostly African American Ninth Ward after Hurricane Betsy tore through the city in 1965, killing 75 people. Just like today, racism played a role then, he says.

"There is such history and such a cultural dynamic" to racism, he says; it manifests itself differently everywhere, but it's always the same thing.

The People's Institute has trained an estimated 5,000 people in Seattle alone in a two-day "undoing racism" workshop that tackles the continuing 500-year-old struggle with racial inequality in North America. It asks participants to take an expansive view of race in American life: it's the system, not the people, which perpetuates inequality. No matter how healthy the relationship between individuals of different races — or, as Chisom says, regardless of "how people feel about somebody" — people of color have a very different

See GROUND ZERO, Continued on Page 4

## Envisioning the City

Ten City Council candidates draw up their own maps for the future of Seattle

By KIMBURLY ERVIN, CYDNEY GILLIS,  
ADAM HYLA  
Staff and Contributors

What's in Seattle's future? More traffic or more jobs? Affordable housing or more penthouse views?

As home prices soar like skyscrapers, contestants in this fall's City Council are facing questions about the Monorail; about the council's leadership; about the massive development of South Lake Union, the Denny Triangle, downtown, and other parts of the "Center City" targeted for jobs and growth; and about government preparedness for a Katrina-scale disaster. For the Sept. 20 primary, we polled City Council candidates on issues core to Real Change: affordable housing, the Seattle skyline, homelessness, and the public parks.

How do they propose to stem the loss of affordable housing in Seattle, especially in the greater downtown area? How should we tap developers' profit margins to ensure affordable housing? Is the 10-Year Plan to End Homelessness realistic?

What would they like to see happen at Yesler Terrace?

And where do they stand on city plans to redesign downtown parks like Occidental, Freeway, and City Hall Park to discourage members of the public from sitting-down or lazing?

In the Position 2 race, Councilmember Richard Conlin's two opponents don't hold a high opinion of the incumbent's efforts to break Seattle's traffic gridlock — one reason why environmental activist and former nurse Darlene Madenwald and Port commissioner Faiga Miller say they're running against Conlin, who has chaired the transportation committee during his second term in office.

See CANDIDATES, Continued on Page 5

**THE BIG UNEASY**  
Rebuilding New Orleans means reconstructing notions of race and class.

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**UP FOR THE DOWN FOLKS**

A homeless man hopes the poor dispossessed by Katrina won't take it lying down.

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**LOST, NOT FOUND**

Advocates for the disabled can't locate many of their constituents in New Orleans.

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**UNCERTAINTY PRINCIPLE**

Reporter Anthony Shadid hears apprehension when Iraqis speak of their future.

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## COMMUNITY

## After the Flood

New Orleans' destruction begs a rescue long overdue

Imprisoned by circumstances, even before Katrina, the most affected could find no one to go their bail. They had no one to plead their case, their political currency possessing all the leverage of a dry twig under a boulder.

By LESTER GRAY  
Contributing Writer

In the immediate aftermath of Katrina, television reporters, live in New Orleans, reduced to anger and tears, lamented they were at a loss for words. As the atrocity, and it is an atrocity, continues to unfold, the available descriptives, held captive by a vocabulary and imagery dismissive of the poor and vanquished, indeed prove elusive and inadequate. Journalists, unfamiliar with the lives of fleeing residents, and somewhat unappreciative of their conditions, were reduced to an arm's length anthropology. Their play-by-play observations of people in the middle of a life and death fight for survival, while sympathetic, nevertheless applied Marcus of Queensbury rules to a genuinely apocalyptic atmosphere, a perspective obscuring the true character and plight of the victims.

Those most affected were the disaffected — the homeless, hovering at around 10,000 prior to the storm; the undocumented workers; the legions of those unemployed for so long that they were no longer even counted as such — just a few of the impoverished contingents awaiting a rescue that was more overdue than anyone admitted.

Imprisoned by circumstances, even before Katrina, they could find no one to go their bail. They had no one to plead their case, their political currency possessing all the leverage of a dry twig under a boulder. In a world of market-driven ethics, moral suasion couldn't overcome an unconscionable inertia. Black organizations, once arbiters for the

underclass, had moved on, focused on encouraging Black entrepreneurial efforts. The Ninth Ward had no Guilliani. For the most part there was no Jesse. And there sure as Hell was no Martin. Their mayor was reduced to cussing and crying on television, which, given his situation at the time, was about as resourceful as he could get.

When the help did come, it came so sluggishly and with such a lack of urgency as to send a message not only to the people affected but to everyone in the country: You are second- and third-class citizens. While you wade through toxic water, watching your babies dehydrate and your diabetics go into comas, we have other priorities.

### Chronicling Katrina: First in a series

According to *The Washington Post*, "When asked why he did not return from vacation until Thursday, three days after the storm hit, Vice President Cheney said: 'I came back four days early.'"

Who can effectively decry this situation? Certainly not the victims themselves, who are reduced to telling their individual stories that, while critical to the tableau, do not go to the heart of the matter. Not the press, who in spite of their compassion, are embarrassingly unconversant of a culture, which their inability to decipher or describe is something

for which they have never had to account. Even those few who have a deeper grasp of the situation find their insights competing with rote and spectacle.

The predicament of these faceless (but not complexionless) victims are best exemplified in the postdiluvian politics that range from jockeying for the very considerable amount of cash in disaster relief to the ongoing debate in and over FEMA to the anticipated but flabbergasting "blame the victim" punditry.

With bodies still floating in the water, and displaced citizens spread over the country, the administration has already begun to let work, without competitive bidding, to companies for the rebuilding of New Orleans. In the process President Bush has suspended the wage floor required in such contracts since the Depression area. Even before the grieving period has begun, a process, observed in the most primitive of cultures, it's not too early to dispense what amounts to the death and health benefits of the anonymous who might have benefited just a few days earlier from an equally aggressive effort to rescue them.

Some of those who left are not particularly anxious to return. Many of those who live on the high ground, the plateaus of privilege, are less than enthusiastic for them to do so. But any reconstruction of the city and the extent to which it serves its displaced community is an indelible declaration — an epitaph of respect or the lack thereof for the people on whose backs



Real Change is published weekly and is sold by the poor and homeless of Seattle. Annual subscriptions are available for \$35.

Real Change vendors receive 65¢ of the \$1.00 paid for this paper.

#### Mission Statement:

Real Change exists to create opportunity and a voice for low-income people while taking action to end homelessness and poverty.

The Real Change Homeless Empowerment Project is a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization. Programs include the Real Change newspaper, the StreetWrites peer support group for homeless writers, the Homeless Speakers Bureau, and the First Things First organizing project. All donations support these programs and are tax-deductible to the full extent of the law.

Submissions should be mailed to "Real Change," 2129 2nd Ave., Seattle, WA 98121. Tel. (206) 441-3247; fax. (206) 374-2455.

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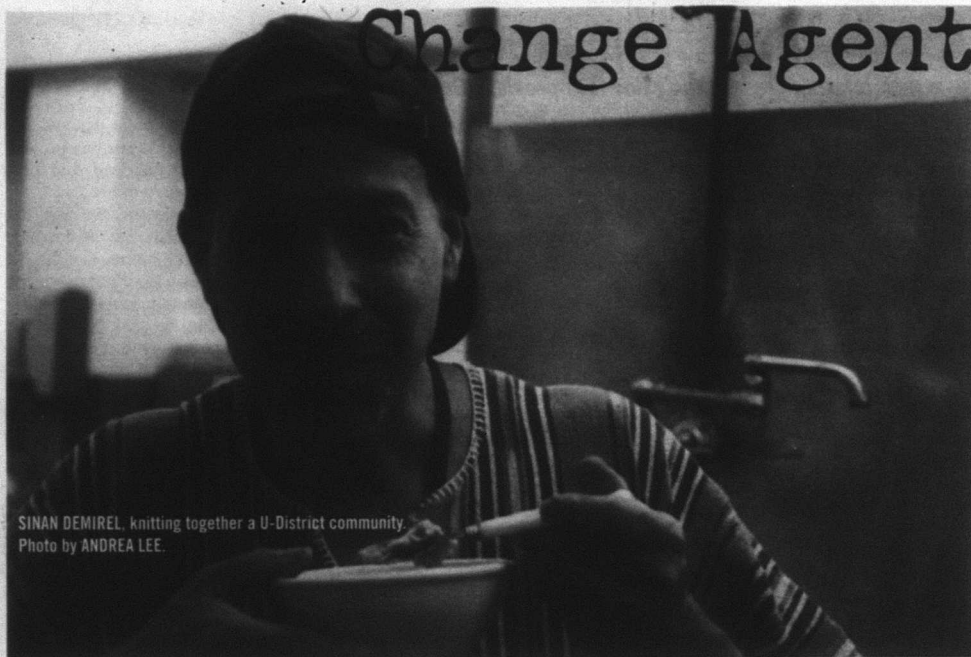
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SINAN DEMIREL, knitting together a U-District community.  
Photo by ANDREA LEE.

People who know Sinan Demirel joke about how busy he is, always on the move, cell phone to his ear. But who wouldn't be with a tip-top soup kitchen to run every Friday and the only young adult shelter in Seattle to manage seven nights a week?

Demirel is the executive director of ROOTS, a University District organization providing critical services to street-involved, homeless and low-income people. The young adult shelter, for people between 18 and 25, is a ROOTS undertaking. But it was the Friday Feast that became Demirel's first contribution to homeless people in the area.

Demirel started the feast years ago as a PhD student at the University of Washington, and the Friday Feast continues to serve a healthy, six- to eight-course meal to between 100 and 150 hungry adults each week at 6 p.m. in the University Temple United Methodist Church.

"It started as a way to get others in the sociology department [at UW] away from their computers," Demirel says. "But now it's about the people who come."

—Dian McClurg

## Way Below the Poverty (and Water) Line

*A homeless man finds solidarity in those affected on the Gulf Coast*

By CLIVE WHISTLE

Saturday, September 3, 2005  
People walking aimlessly in the streets, food preparation on the sidewalk, people pushing shopping carts on the bridges and causeways filled with blankets, bits of clothes and a half-consumed jug of water. Homeless people? Panhandlers? Recyclers? No...survivors of Hurricane Katrina in the ravaged streets of Mississippi, New Orleans and parts of Florida.

And of course they are homeless, because they, the very poorest of our US citizenry, barely surviving on underground economies, food stamps, and SSI, on land that was long ago declared unsafe due to its proximity to weak levees, shores, power plants, roads and freeways, were always at risk of losing the only thing they had, the only thing all poor folks have if they have anything at all; day to day subsistence/existence.

All we have is our patterns of money collection, our little to-up roof, our broken down beds, barely working cars or bicycles, our few clothes, our chipped dishes, our static-filled TV's and a little bit better boom boxes.

And when those things are gone, due to eviction, disaster, emergency or crisis, we have lost it all.

As us poor folks, barely holding onto our meager bits of nothing, in other parts of the country watch the discrimination of our fellow poor folk in the South, we can only hope that if they even survive this disgusting new blow to their already difficult American existences they are able to recoup a little modicum of stability/normalcy/peace in the long hard days to come.

It reminds me of my experience with the Northern California Earthquake of '89. When people talk laughingly about where they were, a shudder travels through my body. When that earthquake hit, we had just earned enough in our underground economy street-based "job" to pay that month's rent in our little Oakland

apartment. When that earthquake hit, it meant we had to use the money just to eat 'cause there was no money to be made on the streets following that disaster; which meant we couldn't pay the rent and we ended up homeless once again.

As us poor folks, barely holding onto our meager bits of nothing, in other parts of the country watch the discrimination of our fellow poor folk in the South, we can only hope that if they even survive this disgusting new blow to their already difficult American existences, they are able to recoup a little modicum of stability/normalcy/peace in the long hard days to come.

Or perhaps, like me, through losing everything just one mo' time, they will become angry enough to stop trying to just survive, and instead live to resist the racist, classist system that is locked in place to hold them down. ■

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## Just Heard ...

### Looters: Priority #1

Here's a message to King County law enforcement: If a major natural disaster should ever strike, forget those in need — instead, lock up the looters.

That's the gist of King County Councilmember Steve Hammond's proposed ordinance. Presumably affected by the images depicted in the wake of Katrina, Hammond has channeled his concern into the creation of an ordinance directing the county sheriff's and prosecuting attorney's offices to make investigation, arrest, and prosecution of looting and related crimes the county's "highest law enforcement priority" during disasters. The ordinance also directs law enforcement to act similarly during man-made conflicts, such as the kind that "plagued the city of Seattle" during WTO.

It's Hammond's hope the directive will force emergency administrators to coordinate evacuation assistance with the Feds, along with protecting citizens from "the dangers of anarchy."

Anarchists have yet to speak about the dangers of the ordinance.

— Rosette Royale

### Port says it's fishy

On Thursday, Seattle City Councilmember David Della is hosting a noontime screening of *Fishermen's Terminal*, a documentary by Seattle filmmaker B.J. Bullert, who is not one of the Port of Seattle's favorite people right now.

Bullert's film, which debuted this year at the Seattle International Film Festival, covers how and why the Port of Seattle made its 2002 decision to allow yachts to moor at Ballard's historic Fishermen's Terminal ("Old Salt," May 25).

Port officials, who call the film one-sided and the issue old, are hoping to get the last word at a 1 p.m. panel discussion to follow the screening in council chambers on the second floor of City Hall. In addition to the feisty Pete Knutson, the fisherman who's seen fighting the Port in Bullert's film, the panel will include former state Supreme Court Justice Phil Talmadge, Seattle University economist Paul Sammers, and SeaPort Deputy Director Mark Knudsen.

Bullert claims the Port tried to get the city to scuttle the screening — something Port spokesman David Schaefer denies. But he acknowledges the Port isn't happy about the film. "I think it's about as serious a hatchet job as I've seen in a long time," Schaefer says.

— Cydney Gillis

### Radio Nation

A Houston Indymedia publishing collective and the nonprofit Prometheus Radio Project have gained FCC permission to open a low-power FM radio station in the parking lot of that city's Astrodome, airing critical information and broadcasts and dome-made programming.

KAMP 95.3 FM was slated to begin broadcasting on Tuesday; they'll be streaming audio online at [www.evacuationradioservices.org](http://www.evacuationradioservices.org). Included in the plans are 10,000 radios for Astrodome inhabitants.

— Adam Hyla

# The Disappeared

Advocates for disabled can't find their people in Gulf area

By LAUREL MAURY  
Contributing Writer

Disability groups cannot find many of their constituents in the Gulf region, and they fear the worst. United Spinal, which serves people with spinal cord injuries, cannot account for 25 percent of their members. Day Al'Mohamet of the American Council for the Blind says, "We are just now beginning to realize how hard our people have been hit, now that we're going through our lists and realizing how many people we just can't find."

Even disabled people with friends in high places didn't necessarily get out. The day of the storm, Susan Daniels, the former Deputy Commissioner of Disability and Income Policy under President Clinton, called disability advocate Marcie Roth, who had helped lead disability efforts during 9/11, with a personal favor: find someone to evacuate my quadruplegic friend from East New Orleans.

Benilda Caixeta, a wheelchair-bound woman who once had been married to Daniels' brother, lived in an apartment complex at 7001 Bundy Rd. along

Interstate 10, about four miles east of the inner navigation canal, an area now under water. Caixeta started calling government services on Saturday to try to get someone to take her to a shelter.

"The first responders were on lockdown," reports Roth, C.E.O. of the National Spinal Cord Injury Association. Paramedics wouldn't come for Caixeta even when she began suffering chest pains. Roth and Daniels, who between them have over 60 years in disability work, tried everything they could to get someone to pick up Caixeta.

"I heard from Rita Bailey, Caixeta's aide, that water was coming in under the door," says Daniels. "She asked, 'What should I do?' and I told her to block the door with blankets and towels and maybe Berilda's mattress. The calls became frantic. 'I heard Rita panicking, saying that she couldn't get Benilda up the steps, and that she

[Rita] couldn't swim. I told Rita to get herself to safety."

Rita was rescued from a rooftop on Friday. There has been no word on Benilda Caixeta.

"By Tuesday afternoon, I accepted that Benny had passed away in the flood," says Daniels sadly. Caixeta, who was originally from Brazil, spoke Spanish, Portuguese, English, and Italian. Before muscular dystrophy cost her the use of her shoulders, Benilda Caixeta was a master seamstress.

"She could make anything," says Daniels. "People liked her because she was very smart, very sweet, and very self-reliant... She was so soft-spoken, so beautiful."

Roth assumes she was the last person to speak to Benilda Caixeta. "Ultimately it came very clear to me that nobody was going to come. I spent much of the day on the phone

with her, until the point that she said to me, 'The water is rushing in.' And then her phone went dead. And that's the last I ever heard of her."

Roth and Daniels believe many disabled people perished in the flooding.

Lex Friedan, Chairman of the National Council on Disability, a governmental organization, agrees. Speaking from Houston, he said, "I'm certain there are people who died because they were disabled."

Daniels is angry and sad. "Benny died believing someone would come for her." Daniels wishes helicopters and National Guard had been standing by in Baton Rouge to save people. When asked if she felt the response would have been more comprehensive under the Clinton administration, where she served for all eight years, Daniels says "Yes. We want the cheap government. The easy one." She continues, "America wants a small government. They're gonna get it, but they're gonna drown." ■

#### [Resource]

Those wishing to help disabled refugees can log onto [www.katrinadisability.org](http://www.katrinadisability.org).

#### GROUND ZERO, Continued from Page 1

experience with civic agencies and power centers from hospitals to high schools, bus systems to banks.

Workshops trainers offer a historical analysis of how race differences were enshrined in law, provide examples of institutional racism in everyday life, and then invite participants to turn such situations into opportunities for action.

The trainings continue in cities across the country, including Seattle. Satellite offices are set up here and in New York and Atlanta. Trainers will be paid for their work; Chisom says the organization is raising money to continue payments for home-office staff — who, Buford says, are displaced to seven different cities.

"We've reverted back to our roots of being a network organization, not hierarchical or top-down," says Buford. "Diaspora is an appropriate term."

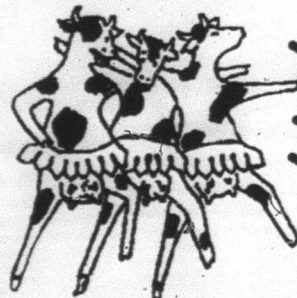
The group is also calling for a reconstruction with justice: a living wage paid to residents of the Gulf Coast, rebuilding communities of their design.

Buford says what's happened to their home base validates the organization's teachings.

"The slow federal response, the slow state response, the unwillingness to spend money on the shoring up of the levees, it comes from an essential fact: they do not value the lives of the people who make up the majority of New Orleans, who just happen to be of African descent." ■

More information: [www.pisab.org](http://www.pisab.org).

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#### [Event]

Meany Middle School is holding an after-school bake sale and coin drive on Tuesday, Sept. 20 and Friday, Sept. 23, from 2:15-2:45 p.m. in the back courtyard: 301 21st Ave. E. All proceeds and donations go to the victims of Hurricane Katrina.

## Short Takes

### The combo, please

In a move to get something this year for human services, members of the King County Council came up with a compromise Monday on the controversial Veterans and Family Levy that had been proposed for the Nov. 8 ballot.

Rather than fund services only for veterans, the council voted 12-1 to put a combination levy on the ballot that would raise taxes five cents per \$1,000 of assessed property value for a total of six years. If voters pass the measure, the tax would generate about \$13.3 million in revenues, which would be evenly split between veterans' and general human services.

The original veterans-only levy would have raised the tax 4.1 cents and generated about \$10.7 million.

The idea incensed members of the King County Alliance of Human Services, which has been working for three years to get a large human services levy on the ballot in 2006. In support of the larger measure, Councilmember Larry Gossett (D.-Seattle) called an alliance members to testify against the veterans-only levy at a council committee hearing that spilled into two meetings on Aug. 31 and Sept. 7.

Last week, Gossett and three other councilmembers introduced a compromise measure that would have doubled the veterans levy tax to 8.2 cents and split an estimated \$21.4 million with general human services.

After hours of caucusing during a marathon council hearing Monday, Democrats Bob Ferguson and Julia Patterson — two sponsors of the veterans-only measure — brokered a deal that the human services alliance isn't happy about. Nor is Councilmember Kathy Lambert (R.-Redmond), a veterans levy sponsor who voted against the compromise.

With only two months left to educate voters about what is now a combo levy, the alliance's Julia

Sterkovsky says, it would have been better "not to put anything on the ballot this fall."

— Cydney Gillis

### Angels in America

Mockingbird Society, noted locally for its advocacy work with individuals in foster care, is gaining some national recognition. The organization has been named a recipient of the Congressional Angels in Adoption Award for 2005.

The award — bestowed upon groups in every state of the union, as well as the District of Columbia — was given out by the Congressional Coalition on Adoption Institute at a gala event in D.C. on Sept. 13. Angels in Adoption is a public awareness program allowing congressional members to honor the efforts of those working to enrich the lives of young people within the foster care and adoption systems nationwide. Darcie Gray, public relations specialist for Mockingbird Society, says the group received a local nomination from Rep. Jim McDermott (D.-Seattle).

Active for a little more than four years now, Gray estimates that Mockingbird Society, an advocacy group, has served the needs of some 10,000 young people. Some of their views are reflected in a monthly pullout section of *Real Change* called *The Mockingbird Times*.

The group's executive director, Jim Theofelis, attended the event, Gray says. While the gala allowed for Theofelis to meet bigwigs from both sides of the Congressional aisle, he was not able to bring any of the young people Mockingbird Society serves with him. "Trying to select one youth to go, out of all of them," says Gray, "would have been difficult."

— Rosette Royale

CANDIDATES, Continued from Page 1

Miller, 56, looks at traffic as an issue of economic development: freight's gotta move for Seattle to attract companies. Madenwald, 61, looks at gridlock as a public health issue.

"Not only is it aggravating to sit in traffic, it's also unhealthy," Madenwald says. "One in six families have asthma in this city. Those are epidemic proportions," which only add to the emergency-room visits that everyone ends up paying for, she says.

It is largely through these two lenses — economic development and public health — that Madenwald and Miller view homelessness and housing.

"First of all, if you have a job, you need fewer services," says Miller. "Second of all, when you have economic development, you bring in the tax base [to support] social services."

Madenwald also believes jobs are essential. But she compares Seattle's homeless with the survivors of Hurricane Katrina: They need immediate triage based on the severity of their problems, followed by coordinated care and services.

All three candidates say the 10-Year Plan to End Homelessness is good one — if it gets funded. While shelters will always be needed, Madenwald and Miller agree priority should go to creating permanent housing, with Conlin saying only that it's tough to choose between the two.

Another idea for creating low-income housing, Madenwald says, is for developers to let Habitat for Humanity, a nonprofit that helps people build homes, take over and finish the lower floors of high-rises. Conlin says he's interested in the idea of employer-assisted housing, a model in which large companies invest in housing for their workers to live in.

The ideas, however, have no specifics. Conlin couldn't even cite a city or project where employer-assisted housing has been tried. And the concept only addresses affordable or workforce housing, a category Miller says is intended for low-paid professionals such as teachers, firefighters, and police officers. Conlin and Miller are careful to distinguish the workforce category from the low-income housing that a grocery clerk or barista needs.

Miller, who sits on the board of the public-private King County Housing Partnership, says the answer for workforce housing, at least, lies in increased supply. The city could encourage private, multifamily developments along transit lines in Rainier Valley, the International District, Capitol Hill, the University District and Northgate.

While this could result in losing older, lower-rent apartment buildings, Conlin claims there really aren't any more private low-rent buildings left downtown.

He and Miller agree the mayor's proposal to raise downtown building heights — a plan all three candidates generally support — will lower the chances for mid-range workforce housing in the center city.

Miller, for one, says it doesn't make sense to charge developers extra fees or force them into creating "open space" that's often on a roof or in a courtyard the public can't get to or use.

Parks Department renovation plans generally call for "activating" parks with events that have no identified funding, which Conlin says could come from the 2008 Parks Levy, if it passes.

Regardless, "We have a lot of failed parks downtown," he says.

Conlin does not object to removing 17 of the 60 trees in Pioneer Square's Occidental Park, nor to turning Victor Steinbrueck Park into an amphitheater — one of three preliminary plans the city has drawn up for the scenic park at the Pike Place Market. Madenwald and Miller, by contrast, are appalled by both ideas.

"I'm not sure I think it's such a great idea," Miller says of the trees slated for removal at Occidental. If light is the issue, she says, "You can selectively prune and open them up."

"If, in fact, the problem is crime," Madenwald offers, "why can't they light the park?"

ELECTION



2005

**O**n the ballot for the Council's fourth seat are four distinct candidates with very different backgrounds: ex-journalist Casey Corr, former senior advisor for Mayor Nickels; grassroots candidate Ángel Bolaños,

a Colombian-born advocate for local non-profits; bus driver Linda Averill; and 12-year incumbent Jan Drago.

Tackling the first question of how they would propose to freeze further cuts in downtown's affordable housing, Corr and Drago pointed to the housing levy as evidence of Seattle's continued commitment. Like Miller, she says what's most urgently needed downtown is "workforce housing" for people employed in the service and public sector. Socialist candidate Linda Averill advocates rent control — currently banned by state law.

When asked about the 10-Year Plan to End Homelessness, Corr says it is "just talk unless there is specific action taken by the government."

The council, he says, "cut human services by millions but increased the council's spending budget. When I'm on the council, I will put people first."

Averill says that, absent new funding, the plan's success is severely unlikely. "I don't believe the 10-Year Plan to End Homelessness is anything but a feel-good measure because they're not putting the money behind it. It is more realistic to get rent control than to expect that the

See CANDIDATES, Continued on Page 12

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## People of an Uncertain Age

Pulitzer-winning journalist Anthony Shadid finds the war in Iraq has left Iraqis hesitant about their future

By ROSETTE ROYALE  
Staff Reporter

"I think a lot of people I talk to in Baghdad, when they hear these words like 'democracy' and 'liberation': at this point, they kind of roll their eyes. I think they kind of see them as clichés, that they're not all that meaningful."

**U**ncertainty: it is a sentiment that Anthony Shadid has found coursing, like the Tigris or the Euphrates, through the lives of the Iraqi people.

As a reporter covering the war in Iraq for *The Washington Post*, Shadid, 35, began to unearth this sentiment thanks to his having forgone the embedded-journalist route. Instead, Shadid, an Arab-American of Lebanese descent, traveled the streets of Baghdad, Basra, Sadr City, and Fallujah, embedding himself in the lives of war-rattled Iraqis. This task was aided by his fluency in Egyptian Arabic. His ability to present what the Iraqi people told him against a grand historical backdrop is aided by that rare journalistic gift: describing with empathy the nebulous nature that war stirs within those caught in its crosshairs, to a readership that often seeks its answers in black-and-white.

This ability didn't go unnoticed. Last April, he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting.

A number of the people he encountered have found their lives set down in Shadid's recently published book, *Night Draws Near: Iraq's People in the Shadow of America's War* (Henry Holt). Shadid will be in Seattle on Sept. 14, on behalf of the World Affairs Council, to discuss the book and his experiences talking to the people of Iraq. *Real Change* spoke with him before his arrival.

**Real Change:** You left Iraq two weeks ago. Do you miss it when you leave?

**Anthony Shadid:** It's tough to say. I was telling an editor the other day that I

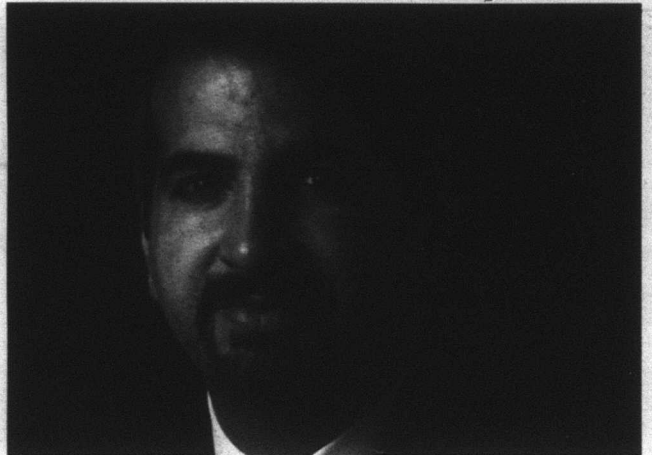
dread going there, because it's really kind of a miserable place to live in a lot of ways. But once you're there, you realize how important the story is, and I find myself not wanting to leave. I mean, I'm going to be writing about the repercussions of this for the next 10, 15, 20 years. Maybe even longer.

**RC:** Is it obvious to people there that you're an American?

**Shadid:** Not necessarily. It's obvious that I'm not an Iraqi, that I'm a foreigner, especially in Baghdad. But I think even in other parts of Iraq, people are very sensitive to strangers, to outsiders.

**RC:** So people are picking up that you're a stranger, and there you are, asking people about their lives. What perils exist for the ordinary Iraqi person to speak to you?

**Shadid:** When I look back at 2003, right after Saddam's fall — and I've been reporting in the Middle East since 1995 — that year was the easiest year I've ever had reporting. You could basically get any story you wanted, as long as you spent the time doing it and you were diligent. It's a completely different story now. I mean, it's the hardest place to report by far. There is a certain risk [for Iraqis] in talking to reporters. When I was in Basra last month, the environment had completely changed.



It was very menacing. It's different in different cities. In Basra, I think you have the ascendance of militias. You have a phenomenon going on in many parts of Iraq where men with guns are basically in charge. I think the culture of guns, the idea of men with guns, it's still shaping the country in a lot of ways today.

**RC:** Your talk about men with guns leads me into my next question. You follow a number of people in the book. One of them is a young girl, Amal, whose journal you often quote. What is it about her story and her voice that you felt was important for people to read?

**Shadid:** It is so rare for a journalist — especially a male journalist, and an American at that — to have that kind of access to [a young girl] and [the other women in] her family. There were never any men present when I was there

with them. To me, it was like this unvarnished window on what was happening in Iraq.

There's a passage where Amal is watching a car bomb go off in a Baghdad street. And this one passage, it catches so much of what's happening in her life, in Baghdad: the frustrations, the resentments, the intersection between Americans and Iraqis. *And it's written by a 15-year-old girl.* I still can't get over that. It's so rare that we hear this voice, an unvarnished voice, an unfiltered voice about Baghdad, about Iraq.

*Listening in: Journalist Anthony Shadid records the largely unspoken lives of the Iraqi people. Photo courtesy The Washington Post.*

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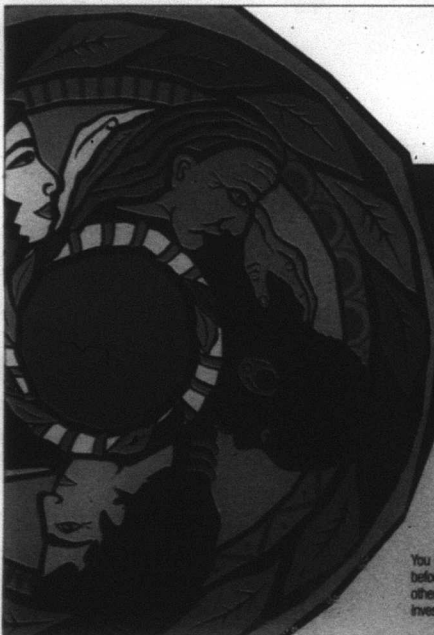
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Continued from Previous Page

**RC:** Another person you follow in your book is your minder. Can you explain how the "minder" concept works?

**Shadid:** Before the war, under the Baathist government, journalists couldn't work in Iraq if they didn't have a government escort. These minders would go with us everywhere. My minder was Nasir. Almost immediately I realized that Nasir was going to be an asset. He was kind of naughty — I mean, he didn't play by the rules. But I wasn't sure I could make out what Nasir was doing. Was he an opportunist? Was he hoping to get a job with *The [Washington] Post*? Was he trying to set me up? Was this all out of friendship? I never really knew in these first few days. But as the war went on, we became friends really quickly. I began to care very much about him, and I think he felt the same way about me.

Then the war ended, but Nasir wasn't even able to leave his house the last couple days of the war. The fighting was too bad in that area. Maybe a day after the war, I went to visit him. I forget what he said exactly, but he said something like, "I knew you'd come." I said, "Do you want a job?" He said, "Sure." It's very difficult to work in Iraq without somebody who knows the place, and he became kind of an assistant, a colleague, a companion.

His house was bombed in February 2004 and he had to leave. *The [Washington] Post* moved his family to Jordan. Now, he never wants to go back to Baghdad permanently. I mean, he really can't — there's still a kind of a danger, I think, to him going back.

**RC:** Baghdad is known as The City of Peace, but it's far from peaceful now. How do you think Baghdadis reconcile the city's current state with the story of its almost mythic past?

**Shadid:** It's the tension that defines Baghdad in so many ways. You're talking about this recollection of a glorious past, the sense of what it was

and what it should be, versus this deep disappointment, disillusionment, and disenchantment. You look at Amal's family, for instance — days without electricity, days without water. They have less electricity today than they

**Shadid:** I think it might, in a weird way, have more resonance in the Arab world than it will in Iraq itself. I think there is still kind of a demystification that's going on in the Arab world about Saddam. I think in Iraq itself, there's going to be

first place. I think once you embrace that uncertainty, once you embrace that ambiguity, you start to understand Iraq in a little bit better fashion.

**RC:** Early in the book, you quote someone who says, "War makes people change.

Killing, blood, it makes people different." So how has the war changed you?

**Shadid:** Not sure of the answer to that. (Pause.) I think a lot of times, after I'm in Iraq, when I come to the United States, I feel I'm a sadder person. You see things that you didn't want to see. You lose people that you hoped not to lose. I wish I had something more profound to say about covering a war, but when I think back on these two or three years, there's a lot that makes me sad.

**RC:** Your feelings sound uncertain and mysterious, kind of *ghamidh*.

**Shadid:** Yeah, I think that's right. There isn't a lot of hope there. I don't have a lot of hope.

I think if someone said, "What do you see in the future of Iraq?" I think I would say the same thing the Iraqis taught me. I'd think the future is *ghamidh*, I don't know the answers. I don't know if anybody knows the answers at this point. I guess that's maybe the curse of Iraq in a way — no one knows what tomorrow's going to bring. ■

[Event]  
Shadid speaks on "U.S. Challenges in Iraq and the Muslim World" at 6:30 p.m. Wednesday the 14th at El Centro de La Raza, 2524 Beacon Ave. S., Seattle. For more information, call the World Affairs Council at (206) 441-5910.



THE LIVES AND STORIES OF EVERYDAY IRAQIS FIND THEIR WAY INTO THE PAGES OF *NIGHT DRAWS*. NEAR: IRAQI'S PEOPLE IN THE SHADOW OF AMERICA'S WAR. HERE, IRAQIS WAIT FOR PROPANE IN SADR CITY. PHOTO COURTESY OF WWW.OMARMASRY.NET.

had two years ago. I think that's the overwhelming narrative of Baghdad's life: Baghdadis deserve better. What they've gotten is worse.

**RC:** So now it's been nine months since the election. That's how long it takes a baby to gestate. So how has the election's gestation period influenced people's feelings about U.S. claims to create a democracy?

**Shadid:** I think a lot of people I talk to in Baghdad, when they hear these words like "democracy" and "liberation": at this point, they kind of roll their eyes. I think they kind of see them as clichés, that they're not all that meaningful. I think what most people want right now is an element of stability, an element of security, and an improvement in their lives: electricity, water, these types of things.

**RC:** On Oct. 19, Saddam's going to stand trial on one charge of mass killings. He could be executed. How might this trial, and the potential execution, affect people in Iraq?

a very dramatic moment when Saddam first goes on trial, and it's going to be dramatic if he's executed. But I don't know if it's going to have the impact I think a lot of people in the U.S. expect it to have. I don't mean to say they've forgotten him, but I think events may have carried Iraqis past Saddam a little bit.

**RC:** You have a great asset in conversing with Iraqi people, in that you speak Egyptian Arabic. In the book, you translate several Arabic words. One of them is *ghamidh*. Tell us a little bit about what this term means.

**Shadid:** *Ghamidh* is a word I heard time and again. When I would ask people, "What's ahead?" they would say, "Oh, that's *ghamidh*." *Ghamidh* means it's mysterious, it's ambiguous, it's unclear, it's uncertain. After I heard it for the hundredth time, I started thinking about the word and what it meant in terms of my appreciation, or my understanding, of Iraq. Iraq is so mysterious, it is so ambiguous. Iraq defies the certainties that I think maybe brought the United States into war there in the

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## Below the Cotton Belt

**And their Children After Them: The Legacy of Let Us Now Praise Famous Men: James Agee, Walker Evans, and the Rise and Fall of Cotton in the South**

By Dale Maharidge and Michael Williamson  
Seven Stories Press, 2004 (originally published 1989)

Paperback, 262 pages, \$17.95

By ADAM HYLIA  
Editor

Like so many in the South until the 1970s, my grandmother spent part of her life picking cotton. She once said how she felt if the weather turned cloudy at harvest time. A storm could ruin the crop, but "I never did care if it rained," she said, smiling in her sweet lilt. Meaning: I sure as hell didn't want to be out in the blistering sun doing that backbreaking, finger-pricking job.

Hard to pick, hard to hoe, rooted in the blood and sweat and all-consumed lives of slaves, and transformed as little as possible by former slaveowners into the sharecropper system after the Civil War: cotton was a brutal crop. In 1936, when Walker Evans and James Agee came to Hobe's Hill, Alabama, to report on the plight of white

tenant farmers for *Fortune Magazine* (the plight of Black tenant farmers being of no interest to *Fortune's* editors), an estimated nine million sharecroppers farmed cotton in the southeast U.S. Now, most cotton farms in Alabama have been planted in a crop which needs only a yearly dusting of herbicide: pine trees. What's left is planted, weeded, and picked by machine. The descendants of those who shared their lives with Evans and Agee and became part of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men: Three Tenant Families* are doing other things; for them, the future opened up like a door to a high-ceilinged room.

That room had been more capacious than kind, discovered Dale Maharidge and Michael Williamson when they returned in 1986. While some have found space in the suburban middle class, others dreamed of something better — and their frustrated visions killed them. Maggie Louise, the bright little girl with haunting eyes, had taken her own life — at 45, the same age as Agee when he keeled over from refusing doctors' orders to stop smoking and drinking, "as if," writes Maharidge, "defining a limit for the number of years of failed dreams a dreamer can be asked to endure."

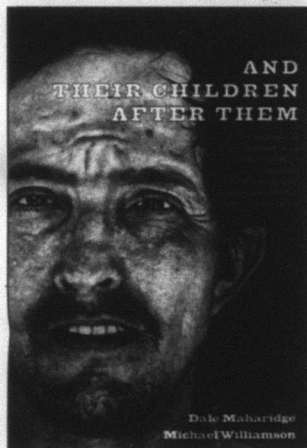
There are other sad discoveries. A teenager in 1936, Margaret Ricketts now lives with the grownup son she can also call brother in a shack with no indoor plumbing. A guileless young man who unwittingly confirms journalists' nastiest stereotypes, Garvrin Arlo nervously puts on an abject talent show: "Watch me! Watch me!" He

clasped his hands behind his back, slamming his belly down on the floor with such force that the walls of the shack shook. "Think I can get up? Huh? Huh? Think I can get up?" And he squirmed to his feet, hands still together, throwing back his head, false teeth clicking out a stutter of words.

The book rarely indulges in such moments of easy journalism; yet it has to make do with what the journalists could find. Nearly all of the families' surviving members are still living within a few hundred miles of Hobe's Hill, but many refused to open up. Instead of them, interviews with the descendants of Black farmers rectify the 1936 book's bias.

Black or white, these families are either working for a pittance or growing their own food — and unlike Martha Stewart, when the crop fails, you go hungry. Garvrin Arlo makes \$6.40 per hour lifting two 50-pound bags of toxic resin per minute onto a conveyor belt at a chemical factory. He drives right home after his shift to see his mother through an empty land eloquently photographed by Michael Williamson: the farms overtaken by kudzu, shacks melting back into the ground. In his photos, multiracial perhaps in recognition of the original book's blind spot, a man fishes the Mississippi next to a stern-wheeler's remnants; a boy runs past a Cherokee City church emblazoned with the words "DOOMSDAY! END OF THIS MODERN AGE." Just like those images from New Orleans, here is the South, injured but inviolate, calling like a distant cousin we half-remember but cannot deny. ■

**Black or white, these families are either working for a pittance or growing their own food — and unlike Martha Stewart, when the crop fails, you go hungry.**



**Lord of War lets you in on a deceit to which you were already privy, and nonetheless makes it entertaining.**

Lord of War  
Written and Directed by Andrew Niccol

By LESTER GRAY  
Arts Editor

The indictments issued through such offerings as *The Manchurian Candidate*, *Wag the Dog*, and *The Constant Gardener* are seldom declaimed by the folks most likely to be associated with the films' unscrupulous characters. To do so would be outing themselves. With sinister but credible political plots presented as fictive vehicles, such works ironically thrive on both the anonymity and the verisimilitude of their condemnations. *Lord of War*, with a villainous but sympathetic character, a putative composite of several real-life arms dealers, executes the foregoing formula with precision and force.

In the opening minutes of the film, Yuri Orlov's (Nicholas Cage) voice-over and the story it tells is so droll that one might prescribe it as a soporific. We shortly discover this equanimity is the only constant in a chaotic world of violent megalomania, venality, and subterfuge. Any other narrative complement would be inappropriate to a story in which the events and images more than compensate in emotional and sensory impact.

Yuri is an arms dealer of considerable and singular skills, the most important of which is a savant's capacity for split-second calculation in the face of life-threatening crisis and sociopathic clients. The son of a family who emigrated from what was the Soviet Union, falsely claiming to be of Jewish ancestry, he also has a penchant for shifting identities, and a career-requisite immanency to nation-state allegiance.

## Arms and the Man

In the absence of such pedestrian anchors, his family is what gives him a citizenship among human beings. It's what separates Yuri from the warmongers. It allows him to view his life in a world of depravity as a visit.

His family is complicit in this charade. There is his brother, previously a business partner, now a slacker with a coke habit, and his wife, an ex-model who is trying to find herself, lost in opulence and the considerable expanses of a Manhattan apartment. How these lifestyles are underwritten they would rather not acknowledge.

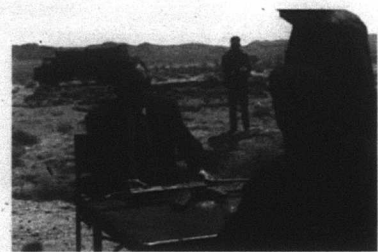
Even Yuri has an aversion to the endgame in which his products play such a significant role. He does his best not to bring his work home with him. But sometimes it has a way of tagging along, which can be a real downer for the hear-no-evil, see-no-evil folks at home.

Cage skillfully brings to life the kind of guy you see now and then, occasionally forced out of the shadows to lie at a congressional hearing. He denies involvement in some secret operation based in a country you've never heard of. He speaks in clipped tones, displaying an indifference to the proceedings, exposing them for the farce they usually are.

*Lord of War* lets you in on a deceit to which you were already privy, and nonetheless makes it entertaining. It's a shame you never have to suspend your disbelief. Yuri could live right next door. And in fact he does. ■

*Lord of War* opens Sept. 16.

Yuri Orlov (Nicholas Cage), everyman's arms dealer, in *Lord of War*.







Adventures  
in Irony

Dr. Wes Browning

# An Embarrassment of Riches

When it comes to politicians, *It's not that the truth shall set you free, but that the truth shall handcuff you to the bed and shall make you watch it model leather pants for hours, which is just plain naughty, said the court, in effect.*

Let's say *embarras de richesses* too many times!

I'm going to talk about freedom of speech. But, who am I to make a fuss about freedom of speech, when I am so full of it? Look, I'm speaking right now, with printed words! Can you say *embarras de richesses*? I can't! I don't know how!

Nevertheless, I know what it means. I exemplify it! For example, this appears to be my 202nd column. That means I have let my speech out to run freely 201 times just in this rag alone. *Embarras de duck-licking!* That doesn't begin to count speaking incidents at bars, nightclubs, carnivals, and poultry farms.

No way, though, do I epitomize this sort of thing. For that, look at the generic Washington State politician running for office.

In case you missed it, it's again legal in this state for political candidates to lie about their opponents. For five or six years before last week it was against the law for candidates to lie about each other (they could lie about themselves all they wanted). But now that law has been struck down because it violated the candidates' freedom of speech to have their speech constrained by the truth.

When it comes to politicians, *It's not that the truth shall set you free, but that the truth shall handcuff you to the bed and shall make you watch it model leather pants for hours, which is just plain naughty, said the court, in effect.*

So this state's highest Embarrassment of Riches Award, in the Too Much Free Speech Category, goes to our hard-working politicians. Congratulations, guys and gals!

Now let's talk about people who can look forward to less freedom of speech in the near future. Gosh, let's see, who might we be talking about? We can't be talking about the politicians; we just said they can babble about anything. Could it be the rich? No, rich people can just buy full-page ads in the *Seattle Weekly* when they want to say

something unpopular that needs to be protected by the First Amendment.

It would be poor people! Of course! Poor people living in buildings run by Seattle Housing Authority!

As reported in our last issue by Cydney Gillis, SHA was planning to prohibit residents of 28 buildings from putting signs (including flags!) in their windows. This was justified on the grounds that A) it would make the buildings prettier, and B) other apartment owners (commercial ones) prohibit the same.

YES, SHA, and if other apartment owners jumped off a bridge, would you also jump off a bridge? Now, with that outburst out of the way, I am ready to delve deeper into this issue and calmly analyze one by one the validity of the two reasons offered for this rule.

In connection with reason A, Virginia Felton, SHA spokesperson, was quoted saying that "we'd like our public housing buildings not to look like college dorms." Well, tough. The First Amendment is not preceded by a One-Halvesies Amendment that states, "SHA's sense of esthetics shall not be violated."

Reason B is trickier. Yes, commercial apartment owners insist that renters sign an agreement to accept such rules before allowing occupancy. And I notice that SHA plans to appear to act just as a commercial apartment owner would, by letting residents choose to either sign an agreement to comply or be evicted.

But that's just a sham. Commercial apartment owners get away with such threats because the courts accept the myth, in their case, that the renters are free to negotiate or go elsewhere.

No such myth is functioning on SHA's behalf. SHA knows, and the courts know, that their residents have no place else to go. The threat of an eviction that would result in homelessness to preserve a trite middle-class boneheaded aesthetic standard is unjustifiable. So SHA needs to chill, go back to art college, and broaden its taste in the decorative arts. ■



Friday, Sept. 1 - Saturday, Sept. 2, 12:42 p.m., Second Avenue, Recovery Cafe.

Witness, manager of the Recovery Cafe stated that suspect, a homeless Black male aged 56, had come into the cafe during business hours and created a disturbance. He apparently used to date a worker there, a Black female aged 58. They had broken up, and she got a No Contact Order against him. Suspect came into the cafe on Friday, and began shouting at the victim, telling her that if he couldn't have her back he would shoot her and everyone else in the cafe. At the end of her shift on Friday, victim saw suspect standing across the road, and tried to talk to him. She admitted it was wrong, but thought she could talk some sense into him. That night he went to the cafe after hours and began beating on the doors with his fists; she was not there. In the morning he called her at work. Victim stated she is becoming afraid, and witnesses said they would call 911 if they see the man again. Suspect used to live at the Downtown Emergency Service Center on Third Ave., but is now homeless. Victim stated he has been diagnosed with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, and is known to use narcotics.

Friday, Sept. 9, 8:34 p.m., Maynard Ave. S., Hing Hay Park.

Suspect, a transient white male aged 41, was contacted for camping in the park. A name check returned a previous trespass admonishment barring him from Hing Hay Park for a year. The admonishment was verified, and the suspect was arrested. He stated he was aware of the admonishment, but just wanted to sleep. A search prior to arrest turned up a crack pipe in his right front coat pocket, which field-tested positive for cocaine. Suspect admitted to smoking crack several hours before, and was arrested and booked into King County Jail.

Saturday, Sept. 3, 9:08 p.m., Airport Way S.

Officers were patrolling their sector when they noticed the suspect, a transient Hispanic male aged 48, lying wrapped in a blanket at the IPM pay parking lot. The parking lot is a member of the West Precinct parking lot trespass program, and is posted accordingly. Officers recognized the man from an incident in August, when he was trespassed from the same lot. Suspect was again arrested and transferred to King County Jail. The nurse on duty refused to admit him due to a plaster cast, which she said needed to be replaced or removed. He was then transferred to Harborview Medical Center, but was reminded he was still under arrest, and to call the police to take him to jail when his cast had been taken care of. He was warned if he failed to do this he would be charged with escape, and he stated he understood. ■

Compiled from incident reports of the Seattle Police Department by Emma Quinn. Got your own experience to relate? Call us at (206)441-3247 ext. 207 and we'll get the scoop.



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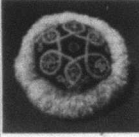
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### Central Branch Library

1000 4th Ave.  
Seattle, WA. 98104  
Level 5 – Mixing Chamber Room  
Registration is not necessary.  
For more information, call Israel  
at 206-441-3247, ext. 211



The Seattle Public Library

## REAL CHANGE JOB OPENING

### Director of Development

Real Change offers opportunity and a voice to low-income people while taking action to end poverty and homelessness. Founded in 1994, Real Change now reaches 11,000 readers with each issue of the paper while offering an income to more than 250 homeless and low-income vendors each month. In 2005, Real Change won the Municipal League of King County's "Organization of the Year" award for effective civic engagement, and was named "Best Grassroots Media Outlet" by the Seattle Weekly.

The Director of Development will work with the Executive Director to grow Real Change's \$500,000 budget to increase our capacity as an independent media resource and create new resources for anti-poverty organizing and advocacy. The position will focus on donor development, cultivation of foundation support, and event planning.

#### Responsibilities:

- Work with ED and Board to create and execute fundraising plan.
- Expand our 1,000+ annual donor base through large donor development, expanded reader support, and growing our mail and on-line giving strategies.
- Grow foundation support by maintaining the proposal calendar, researching prospects, and cultivating new support.
- Manage two annual events and cultivate a base of corporate sponsorship.
- Accurately manage gift tracking and acknowledgment.

\$38,000-\$43,000 starting, depending on experience. Benefits include full health and dental, vacation, sick, and holiday pay. People of color and people who have personally experienced poverty or homelessness encouraged to apply.

Send detailed cover letter and resume to [organizer@realchangenews.org](mailto:organizer@realchangenews.org), or mail to Real Change, 2129 2nd Ave., Seattle, WA 98121, attn Rachael Myers. Deadline: 5 pm, Sept. 16, 2005.

More information is available at [www.realchangenews.org](http://www.realchangenews.org)

## Letters

editor@realchangenews.org

### Fircrest: the numbers game

Dear Real Change,

Thank you for your thoughtful article on Fircrest ("Life Inside," August 31). I wanted to point out, however, that the costs per day at Fircrest as explained by DSHS' Bill Riddle are misleading. The fact is it costs the same to provide comparable care for profoundly disabled individuals regardless of whether they live within a state residential center like Fircrest or in a private, community-based setting. The five state-run residential centers receive federal Medicaid funding. Once you back out the federal dollars, the net cost to the state to care for Fircrest residents is about \$143 a day — quite a big difference from the \$400 a day mentioned in the article.

According to DSHS' own numbers, it costs about \$149 a day to care for individuals within a community setting — although even these costs are not directly comparable. The private, community costs do not include the cost to provide housing, food, medical, psychiatric or dental care. In fact, more than one-third of the public benefits

going to clients within the community fall outside of the state's budget, while Fircrest and the state's four other residential centers, the \$143 a day includes all the aforementioned costs.


And don't forget that the services in the community fall outside of the DSHS budget and are paid by the taxpayers too. This includes medical, dental, emergency-room visits, 911 calls, hospitalizations, law enforcement, special education, and lawsuit settlements against DSHS for people who have received improper care.

Compared to the community costs, the state residential centers are a bargain for those who require that level of care.

It is important to remember not to believe the "DSHS numbers game." DSHS will always make Fircrest look more expensive in order to further their agenda to downsize it, which, by the way, they are still doing even though the Governor put the downsizing on hold.

Maureen Durkan  
Seattle


Real Change welcomes letters to the editor of up to 250 words in length. Please include name, address, phone number, and email for author verification. Letters should be addressed to Editor at Real Change, 2129 2nd Ave., Seattle, WA, 98121, or emailed to [editor@realchangenews.org](mailto:editor@realchangenews.org).



WITHOUT DOUBT, THE MOST  
SOCIALY RESPONSIBLE  
LATTÉ YOU'LL EVER DRINK.

When can a delicious latté help Seattle youth get off the streets and begin to lead healthy, productive lives? When you order it from a FareStart Café providing on-the-job experience for our Barista Training and Education Program. If one latté does all that, imagine the power of a sandwich and pastry.

[www.farestart.org](http://www.farestart.org)  
FareStart Library Café, Seattle Central Library, 1000 4th Ave.  
FareStart Café at 2100, 2100 24th Ave. S., Rainier Valley.  
Buy a pastry or sandwich, get a free coffee (expires 3/31/06).



FARESTART  
Great Coffee. Better Lives.

## CLASSIFIED

### Opportunity

**Housing Coordinator #5-0802** Coord Bellevue 52-unit apt complex. PT, sal DOQ w/benes. Potential free-on-site apt rental. Live on or off site. Req: property management exp. Details @ [www.ywcaworks.org](http://www.ywcaworks.org). Appl w/resume & cover to [hr@ywcaworks.org](mailto:hr@ywcaworks.org) or mail to HR 1118 5th Ave, Seattle, 98118.

### Volunteer

**Meet someone new...** Volunteer Chore Services is looking for volunteers to assist low-income elders and adults with disabilities with household chores and yard work. The program is flexible; volunteers choose the time and location. Make a new friend while helping someone remain independent. For more information call Volunteer Chore Services, a program of Catholic Community Services, at 1-888-649-6580 or email [vc@ccsw.org](mailto:vc@ccsw.org).

### Community

**Giant Yard Sale:** One Day Only - Saturday, Sept. 10, 9 am - 5 pm, POCAAN parking lot, 2200 Rainier Ave. S. (corner of Rainier and Walker). Good stuff, low prices. Refreshments, music.

### Recreation

**Emerald Spokes LLC**, "powered by the people." Fun for all ages! Seattle's first and only 4-wheel pedi-cab. Events-Parties-tours-Exercise. For reservations or advertising contact Candie: (206)FUEL-H2O, that's 383-5426. [www.emeraldspokes.com](http://www.emeraldspokes.com).

Real Change classifieds are an inexpensive way to reach 30,000 loyal readers. Call 441-3247 today, or email [classified@realchangenews.org](mailto:classified@realchangenews.org).

# Calendar

## This Week's Top Ten

### Wednesday 9/14

Organically inclined, self-reliant, entrepreneur, and community activist, MaryJane Butters is Idaho's 21st century farm girl. She reads from her book, *MaryJane's Ideabook, Cookbook, Lifebook: For the Farmgirl in All of Us*, which is an inspiration and guidebook for leading an organic, simple, and wholesome lifestyle. 7 p.m., University of Washington Bookstore, Bellevue Store, 990 102nd Ave NE, (425)462-4500, [www.bookstore.washington.edu](http://www.bookstore.washington.edu).

### Friday 9/16

*The Trials of Henry Kissinger* uses Nixon-era footage to present Kissinger as power-hungry and responsible for military cover-ups such as the assassination of Chilean president Salvador Allende in 1970. 7 p.m., Keystone Church, 5019 Keystone Place.

### Saturday 9/17

Orphans Jacob, Peter, Daniel, and Marko are four Sudanese refugees who were accepted into the U.S. Journalist Mark Bixler tells the boys' plight and shows the terrible consequences of war on children in *The Lost Boys of Sudan: An American Story of the Refugee Experience*. 2 p.m., Elliott Bay Books, 101 South Main, (206)624-6600.

### Saturday 9/17

*Did George W. Bush Steal America's 2004 Election?: Ohio's Essential Documents* is the title of Dr. Robert Fitrakis' book and is a pertinent question. Fitrakis is one of four election protection attorneys who filed a suit that the Ohio results not be certified until after a recount. He presents his argument, the evidence, and the implications. 7:30 p.m., Elliott Bay Books, 101 South Main, (206)624-6600.

### Saturday 9/17

*Emma's Revolution and Rebel Voices* come together for an evening of song, theatre, and humor. Each group is known for beautiful voices and astute political commentary. They seek the finest musical material that captures the heart of social justice issues. 7:30 p.m.,

Phinney Neighborhood Center, 6532 Phinney Avenue North. Info: [www.emmasrevolution.com](http://www.emmasrevolution.com).

### Saturday 9/17 & Sunday 9/18

**Seattle Fiestas Patrias** is a celebration of independence and Mexican and Latin American Culture. Enjoy festive mariachi music, salsa and folk dances, authentic food, and informative cultural displays. Noon-6 p.m., Seattle Center.

305 Harrison Street, [www.seattlecenter.com](http://www.seattlecenter.com).

### Monday 9/19

How has the Patriot Act affected our civil liberties? David Cole, commentator on NPR's *All Things Considered* and professor at Georgetown University Law Center, delivers an engaging presentation: *Free Speech in the 21st Century: The Challenge of 9/11*. 7:30 p.m., Seattle Public Library Central Library, Microsoft Auditorium, Level 1, 1000 Fourth Avenue, [www.spl.org](http://www.spl.org).

### Monday 9/19

Esteemed, humorous, and perceptive social critic Barbara Ehrenreich puts real language to what is really going on in her book *Bait and Switch: The Futile Pursuit of the American Dream*. She describes the plight of

the newly unemployed, the difficulties of financing children's education, and the tenuousness of the many jobs that do exist. Tickets: \$5, available at Elliott Bay Books. 7:30 p.m., Town Hall, 1119 Eighth Avenue. Info: Elliott Bay Books, (206)624-6600.

### Tuesday 9/20

George Galloway, Respect party MP for Bethnal Green and Bow in East London, comes to Seattle to deliver his engaging talk *Stand Up and Be Counted: No War and Occupation*. On May 17, Galloway delivered a blistering attack to the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Investigations. Tickets: \$21 general, \$8 students. 7 p.m., University of Washington, Kane Hall 130. Info: [www.georgegalloway.com](http://www.georgegalloway.com).

## Director's Corner



You got to hand it these guys. They don't miss a trick.

While the nation still struggles to absorb the horror of Katrina, the Bush administration is three steps past us, focused on public relations and profit. Over the last week, the same contractors we've gotten to know in Iraq — Bechtel, Fluor, Haliburton — have lined up to rebuild the Gulf Coast. Whenever government money flows these days, it flows largely to the wealthy.

And, as if the normal profit margin involved in a fat government contract wasn't enough, George Bush just sweetened the pot. On Thursday, Sept. 8, less than 2 weeks after Katrina made landfall, the President suspended Davis-Bacon in hurricane-affected areas. Davis-Bacon is a 1931 law that requires federal contractors to pay prevailing wages — now about \$9 an hour — on construction projects. Contractors are under no obligation to pass these savings on to taxpayers. They will just pocket the difference. By suppressing wages in the Gulf Coast region, the President guarantees that the very poor will remain very poor. This is no way to rebuild.

The real minimum wage is now at a 56-year low while, according to the Center of Budget and Policy Priorities, income for the top 1 percent rose by 111% from 1979-2002. Forget compassion. For the Bush administration and their allies in industry, Katrina is just one more opportunity to serve the rich.



## First things First

Get Involved • Take Action

## Gulf Coast needs a just reconstruction

**Issue:** The devastation in the Gulf region resulting from Hurricane Katrina is greater than most of us can imagine. Reconstruction efforts will last for years, and both the process and the outcome will demonstrate our country's values. Rabbi Michael Lerner has called for a domestic Marshall Plan to be created, with a first installment of \$80 billion — an amount equal to the latest supplemental funding for the war in Iraq. (The Marshall Plan was the US plan for Europe's reconstruction after World War II.)

**Background:** Response from the White House and Congress thus far is inadequate. Aid should involve local residents in rebuilding their own communities at livable wages, not be simply a financial boon to major construction contractors. Survivors of this disaster and others living in poverty shouldn't be pitted against one another for jobs, services, and governmental supports that are already too limited.

Last Friday, President Bush issued an executive order that will allow employers using federal disaster assistance money to pay poverty wages to workers in the areas affected by Hurricane Katrina. The executive order suspends the requirements of the Davis-Bacon law, requiring federal contractors to pay workers wages that are at least equal to the prevailing wages in the area where the work is conducted.

Our response, as individuals and as a nation, has to be better than continuing patterns of neglecting low-income communities and communities of color and furthering poverty. It should recognize that right now the U.S. is more aware of poverty and homelessness than ever. We need to capture the care and understanding that exists right now and use it to help hurricane victims and to bolster efforts to end poverty in cities throughout the country.

According to Rabbi Lerner, "If we gave \$80 billion a year for each of the next five years to fund the reconstruction of New Orleans, giving a priority to providing low cost but high quality housing for the poor and homeless of that city, and to fund a massive housing and infrastructure reconstruction of all of our inner cities in ways that made them more habitable for poor and homeless people, we would have taken an important step toward our moral obligation as a society... to care for the poor and the powerless."

"Just as we needed a New Deal to get out of the Depression, and not just individual donations to the poor, so today we need a massive societal effort to end poverty as well as rebuild New Orleans. The Domestic Marshall Plan is a first but not full step toward addressing this issue."

**Action:** Contact your Congressperson and U.S. Senators and ask them to support Rabbi Lerner's call. If we can afford war, we can afford to end poverty in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and the rest of this country.

Sen. Maria Cantwell  
(202)224-3441 [maria\\_cantwell@cantwell.senate.gov](mailto:maria_cantwell@cantwell.senate.gov)  
Sen. Patty Murray  
(202)224-2621 [murray.senate.gov/email](mailto:murray.senate.gov/email)  
Rep. Jim McDermott — 7th Dist. (Seattle)  
(202)225-3106 [www.house.gov/mcdermott](http://www.house.gov/mcdermott)

For more information visit [www.hikkun.org](http://www.hikkun.org). Or visit [www.unionvoice.org/campaign/katrinajustice](http://www.unionvoice.org/campaign/katrinajustice) to take online action asking the President to rescind his executive order.

## Join The Military



713  
Positions Available!

Every night during the Vietnam war, America saw images of wounded and killed soldiers and citizens. Where are these images in the Iraq war? Created by Vietnam veterans and their friends, **Replacements Needed** makes the Iraq war real through a poster campaign of powerful images: the killed, the wounded, coffins draped with flags, graveyards, soldiers, Iraqi civilians, and children. This ongoing effort plasters more than 1,100 posters a week in Seattle; they're on display at Seattle Museum of the Mysteries, 623 Broadway Ave. E., until Sept. 30. Info: <http://replacementsneeded.tripod.com>.

## CANDIDATES, Continued from Page 5

10-Year Plan to End Homelessness is going to actually do that."

On the possible redevelopment of Yesler Terrace, Corr calls for "a modern, safe, and refurbished place of residence... and that we do not displace a single resident."

While Drago says vacant land in the area needs to be redeveloped, she says she'd prefer that the new Yesler Terrace contain the same amount of low-income housing as the old. "We need to make sure we provide for as many as exist there today."

Averill says the 22-acre property should "remain in public hands. If we have any hope of maintaining Seattle's character, we have to fight like hell for that housing."

The four candidates also hashed out their responses to the Center City proposal to increase downtown's density and encourage families to move in. First, *Real Change* wondered what their positions are on the proposed density changes in downtown.

Addressing concerns over the possibility that increased density might increase pressure on developers to sell out for higher profit, Corr says that the city "should look at incentives" to keep private housing affordable and believes the "best way to get results is to get everyone at the table," including government, residents and builders.

Whereas Bolaños wants to enforce the laws against demolition and displacement already passed. "If we enforce those laws, then everyone will win."

The Center City zoning changes are "basically good," says Drago, but she'd particularly like to see more green in parking strips and buildings that don't loom over the sidewalk: "more human-friendly open space."

Averill instead says these zoning changes are "a huge giveaway to the developers."

**R**unning for the eighth position, candidate Robert Rosencrantz has a history with low-income housing, having worked for the King County Housing Authority. He calls

the 10-Year Plan to End Homelessness "a good start."

His opponent King County Councilmember Dwight Pelz takes a dim view of the 10-year plan's prospects, since it's "built on the sands of federal policy. We have to be realistic about the impacts of federal housing [cuts]. I don't think it's going to end homelessness."

Rosencrantz says Yesler Terrace needs what he terms "one-for-one replacement housing" — but not necessarily of the same type. "SHA doesn't have the cash to close that kind of gap" and build public housing, he says. Incumbent Richard McIver agrees.

Pelz, however, says Yesler Terrace's "incredible" real estate value "has to be channeled back into public housing." Unlike at Rainier Vista or Holly Park, "there has to be a higher standard" for renovating Yesler Terrace.

The two agreed with McIver that the City Council needs to find the right price to charge high-rise developers for child care, affordable housing, and other public goods as part of the downtown zoning legislation. There is no doubt, says Rosencrantz, that land values and construction costs mean no one making less than \$80,000 a year is going to be able to rent or buy in market-rate buildings. "And I don't have a problem with that," he says, "so long as we make sure we have a supply valve [like the Housing Levy's tax dollars] open."

Pelz, who's familiar with City Hall Park next to the County Courthouse, says he wants more social service agencies hired to reach out to the homeless.

McIver says it's tough to find money for programming in the public parks. "We're acquiring new park property and yet we can't maintain existing parks," he says. Like Conlin, he says the city ought to include money for neighborhood-based programming.

Rosencrantz says the debate over parks improvements are "a classic problem: we'll build it, but how to operate it?" But redesigning parks is fair play: "Part of public safety is creating an urban landscape that encourages people to act in ways you want them to." ■

Don't forget to vote Tuesday, Sept. 20.

## RC Hero

Fryma Mantel; Vendor # 9305

**F**ryma Mantel is an artist and writer well versed in her own brand of fashion. You can find her on most days in front of the Walgreen's on Capitol Hill, selling *Real Change* and conversing with customers.

Fryma's road to *Real Change* has been as interesting and colorful as the art she creates. Growing up in Duluth, Minnesota as the daughter of hardworking Polish immigrants and Holocaust survivors, she knows about living simply and making the most out of what resources are available.

In 1966, at 19 years old, Fryma moved to New York City at the height of the art and folk scene that had exploded only a few years earlier, seeking fortune and fame.

"Being in New York in the '60s, things were happening, and the Vietnam War was going on," says Fryma with a smile. "I was involved with a group of antiwar protests, and conversed with people like Paul Newman. He had the biggest blue eyes I've ever seen. I wanted to melt right into them."

She says hanging out in New York City was like going to Bumpershoot all of the time without the entrance fee and all the commercialism. "I was wild in those days," says Fryma. "We would stay out until five in the morning, and have breakfast on Broadway where the lights were always shining."

During her time in New York she was married for eight years to a Frenchman. "We traveled to France a lot. I love the French cuisine, and the nightlife."

Fryma stayed in New York until 1984 when she wandered out to Oregon and lived on a commune for a year. "That was one of the best years of my life," says Fryma. "I learned how to turn negative experiences into positive ones."

After spending time in the Oregon countryside, and then living in Portland for a brief spell, Fryma made her way to Seattle. "Seattle and New York are nothing alike," says Fryma. "In Seattle it takes so long to integrate into the community, in New York you have so much

more of a mixture of people, more of a vast array."

"Seattle is becoming more like that now," says Fryma. "I love Capitol Hill, and I love the friendly people I connect with selling the paper."

Besides selling *Real Change*, Fryma is an artist and writer and will be teaching her first workshop with *Real Change's* Out of the Margins literary workshops taking place this fall at the Seattle Public Library. [For more on Out of the

Margins, see the ad on page 10 — ed.]

"I love connecting with people," says Fryma. "I love wearing crazy outfits — and there are so many women who buy the paper that have a genuine concern about my welfare. We brighten each other's day all of time."

Fryma says she will continue to sell the paper, but hopes to find other work during the holiday season. "I love connecting with all the different people in the community. It brings me a great joy." ■

— Israel Bayer



RC HERO FRYMA MANTEL, A COLORFUL PERSONALITY. PHOTO BY ISRAEL BAYER.

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