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CLARK FORK FREE PRESS

Wednesday, March 3, 1982 A Student Action Center Publication

Volume 1, Issue 4

Name your Poison: 2,4-D?

by George Everett

Spring is almost here in Missoula and sprouting along with the yellow dandelions and the purple blossoms of knapweed is the perennial controversy over the spraying of 2,4-D on the campus of the University of Montana.

Currently there is a moratorium in effect and J.A. Parker, director of the UM Physical Plant, says there will be no spraying of herbicides this spring to control the spread of "noxious" weeds.

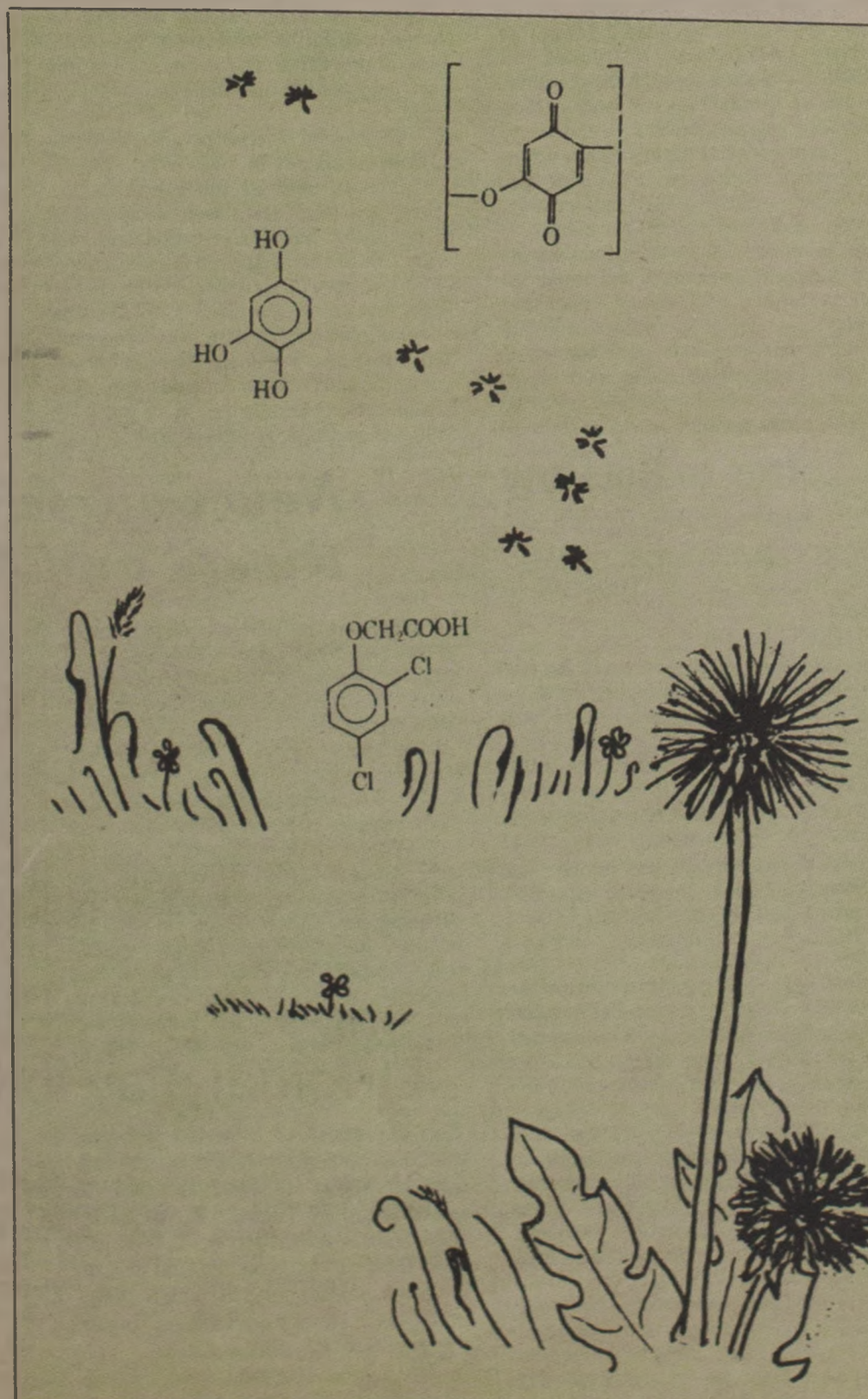
A committee on the use of chemical pesticides on campus was formed last year to study, in depth, the potential dangers of 2,4-D for spot applications to curb the spread of dandelions. A second meeting ended with a decision to enact a moratorium, currently in effect, to determine the effects of the pesticide. The committee is headed by the UM Sanitarian, Mr. Kenneth Read and it includes Dr. Meyer Chessin, botany, J.A. Parker, director of the UM Physical Plant, Dr. James Low, Jr., Associate Director of the Montana Forest and Conservation Experiment Station, Tom Hayes, UM Housing Director and John Downs, senior in botany at UM.

2,4-dichlorophenoxy acetic acid (2,4-D) is a chemical herbicide first manufactured in 1941 as a defoliant during World War II. Later, it was mixed with 2,4,5-T (now banned) to make Agent Orange and used as a defoliant in Vietnam. Partly as a result of research done by UM's Dr. E.W. Pfeiffer in Southeast Asia and in the United States, Agent Orange was banned from military use in 1970 because it was too dangerous. Dr. Pfeiffer, one of the world's experts on herbicides, said that "although there is sufficient material on laboratory experiments with animals to show that these chemicals cause miscarriages and birth defects, and although there is ample statistical information showing a correlation between the use of these chemicals in Vietnam and birth defects in the babies of Vietnamese women, there is at present no way of scientifically or legally proving they could cause miscarriages or defects in human fetuses."

In Pfeiffer's research both 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T were given to hamsters during the organo-genesis period of pregnancy, when embryos form, and both caused death in 80 per cent of the fetuses.

Dr. Pfeiffer stated that there is no conclusive evidence that exposure to 2,4-D causes miscarriages in humans in small doses such as have been sprayed on the campus grounds.

In other parts of Montana the question of whether 2,4-D is safe has already been



asked. In 1980 a group of women in the Swan Valley, northeast of Missoula, sued the state, claiming that roadside spraying of 2,4-D had been the cause of nine miscarriages in a total of ten pregnancies in the valley during a one-year period. The women lost their suit but it stirred a state-wide controversy on the chemical that

had national repercussions. In the summer of 1981 The Lake County Weed Control Board voted to end herbicide spraying on farmlands. This was not an act of conscience or contrition but rather a financial move. Their insurance rates had become prohibitive after paying for legal counsel and a damage claim to a potato farmer

who proved that he lost his crops because of 2,4-D.

However, evidence was still inconclusive that actual harm could be done to humans by the chemical.

In 1980, 2,4,5-T was banned in part of Oregon and Idaho national forests after an EPA study showed a high number of miscarriages and several serious physical ailments in chemical-exposed areas, and was replaced by 2,4-D.

Canada is moving to outlaw 2,4-D because it can and usually does contain dioxins, some of the deadliest contaminants known to man. Dioxins are an inevitable by-product of 2,4-D when it is exposed to even low levels of heat such as sunlight.

The exact action of 2,4-D on broadleaf weeds is as a tarcenogenic agent. It acts upon plants in a similar manner as cancer acts upon human cells. It destroys the growth equilibrium of "noxious" weeds, causing an accelerated rate of production of nucleic acid causing tissue to multiply unchecked until the plant, in effect, grows itself to death.

Studies continue to be done on 2,4-D's effects upon humans. A Swedish study done in 1978 concluded that subjects exposed to 2,4-D in the 50's and 60's had a six-fold increase in the rate of soft tissue cancers. A study by the California Department of Health Services claims that exposure to 2,4-D increased the risk of cancer and birth defects in humans, which caused the EPA enough concern to order Dow Chemical Co. and other manufacturers of 2,4-D to begin a comprehensive study of the chemical's effects. The results of that study aren't expected for several years and may be delayed since the Reagan administration is loosening the reins on big business and practically dismantling the Environmental Protection Agency. This means essentially that we are dealing with a chemical with possibly toxic effects for the sake of ridding ourselves of "noxious" weeds.

There are 1500 products that contain 70 million pounds of 2,4-D which are distributed annually in the U.S. Locally, 2,4-D is manufactured by Falls Chemical Company in Great Falls. Residents in the vicinity of the plant last year demanded to know why trees were dying around the chemical factory. They were assured by the company that the trees had been dying long before Falls Chemical had arrived.

Still, there is no solid evidence that 2,4-D causes miscarriages or other toxic effects in humans.

However, there is evidence that 2,4-D kills or harms other living organisms.



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Facts About Effects of 2,4-D

Ed. note: Dr. Shearer has a Ph. D. in molecular genetics from the University of Washington. For 11 years she did grant-funded research on the mechanism of carcinogenesis. For the past six years she has studied the regulation of chemicals which cause chemical toxicity. In 1979, under a contract with the Municipality of Metropolitan Seattle she searched the international scientific and medical literature for all data relevant to the health effects of four herbicides, including 2,4-D.

by Ruth W. Shearer, Ph. D.

2,4-D is fat soluble and therefore rapidly absorbed through all normal routes of exposure (inhalation, ingestion, skin absorption). The salts and esters of 2,4-D are promptly hydrolyzed to the acid; therefore the toxicology of these compounds is similar and all will be called 2,4-D in this summary. 2,4-D is rapidly distributed into all tissues, including through the placenta, and moves readily into cell nuclei. It is apparently not metabolized in the body, and is excreted fairly rapidly in the urine. No evidence of storage in animals has been found, indicating that long-term effects on health are of a hit-run nature.

Acute effects of 2,4-D in humans include headache, weakness and rapid fatigue, nausea and vomiting, diarrhea, burning eyes, sore throat with burning in the chest, and impaired senses of taste and smell. Delayed effects of acute exposure include numbness and pain in hands and feet, occasionally progressing to limb

paralysis, and visual problems including diplopia. Residual effects include continued numbness and pain in limbs, chronic respiratory impairment, bleeding tendency including menstrual problems, concentration and memory problems, and hypersensitivity to non-physiologic chemicals resulting in chronic pain and irritability. All of these have been diagnosed by licensed physicians including specialists and have lasted for years following bystander exposure as well as user exposure.

2,4-D has been shown to cause point mutations in animal cells, to damage DNA in a manner similar to ionizing radiation, to simulate cell division in post-mitotic muscle cells, and to cause chromosome damage in human lymphocytes as well as mouse bone marrow cells. A Russian survey of 2,4-D production workers found "substantial impairment of menstrual and child-bearing functions manifested as higher rate of miscarriages, premature births, toxicosis of the second half of pregnancy, and the menace of miscarriages during the whole pregnancy period."

Teratogenicity tests have shown developmental toxicity of 2,4-D in four species of animals. Skeletal and eye malformations and fetal death were seen only at high doses, but malformation and malfunction of the peripheral circulatory system and growth retardation were seen at very low doses. The effect of 2,4-D on the fetal circulatory system was synergistic with that of its primary microbial breakdown product and manufacturing contaminant, 2,4-dichlorophenol; there was a significant increase in fetuses with hemorr-

haging cavities, organs, and soft tissues at doses with which neither chemical alone produced an effect (0.1 mg/kg/day of each chemical). This suggests a greater risk due to exposure during breakdown in the environment than during application.

Carcinogenicity testing of 2,4-D has been limited to three studies, none of which meets today's standards for number of animals tested, size of dose, and quality of histopathological examination for tumors. In spite of the inadequate experimental design, carcinogenic effects were detected in all three. The two U.S. studies showed significant increases in malignancies of the lymphoreticular system in rats and mice, and the Russian study found strong tumor-promoting ability in mouse skin but was negative for complete carcinogenicity. In another U.S. study, the breakdown product 2,4-dichlorophenol proved to be a strong promoter and also a weak initiator of carcinogenesis in mouse skin. The U.S. 2,4-D cancer studies had high incidences of tumors in the unexposed control animals, similar to the rate of "spontaneous" cancer in the U.S. human population, while the negative Russian test had a negligible control incidence. This could mean that 2,4-D is only a promoter of previously initiated, premalignant cells, not a complete carcinogen by itself. If so, it is still a significant hazard because of the similar circumstances of the human population to the positive U.S. studies.

A Letter to Bucklew

DATE: January 20, 1982

FROM: Central Board of the Associated Students of the University of Montana

SUBJECT: 2,4-D

Whereas the term 2,4-D refers to the phenoxy herbicide 2,4-dichlorophenoxy acetic acid and its thirty-five derivative salt and ester forms, and:

Whereas public concern about the potential adverse health effects of 2,4-D has intensified since the emergency suspension of 2,4,5-T and Silvex in March, 1979; and:

Whereas due to the chemical similarity of 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T, the public has expressed concern about the potential for cancer and miscarriages from the use of 2,4-D; and:

Whereas there is also concern because the controversial military defoliant agent orange used in Vietnam was composed of 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D. Agent orange was never registered by EPA for civilian use in the United States; and:

Whereas EPA tests have shown that 2,4-D causes some of the less serious fetotoxic effects such as edema (swelling of tissues) at the lower dose levels tested and causes life-threatening birth defects (skeletal malformations), and cleft palates at high levels tested; and:

Whereas the United States Environmental Protection Agencies Review on herbicide 2,4-D, April, 1980, includes that the agency should act quickly and vigorously to obtain better toxicological information on 2,4-D; and:

Be it resolved:
That we request the President of the University of Montana, Neil Bucklew, stop the use of 2,4-D on all University grounds until the herbicide effects are determined to be non-detrimental to life forms and human reproduction

New Course Offered on Rivers and Civilization

Interested in our relationship with waters and rivers? The Wilderness Institute is offering a new interdisciplinary course this spring quarter entitled "Rivers and Civilization."

The course will focus on investigating the fundamental interactions between waters, rivers and how they relate to primary cultures and contemporary society. The program will cover concepts of river ecology, adventure, recreation, conservation, preservation, management and development. Other studies in the humanities will provide insights into the cultural relationships between rivers and ourselves. Weekly wholistic health seminars will discuss parallels between personal health and river ecosystems. Guests

lectures, group discussions and field trips will augment the course. An extended float trip on one of Montana's wild rivers will be scheduled in early May.

The course is being offered simultaneously under the departments of Environmental Studies (EVST 195), Forestry (FOR 477), Humanities (HUM 351) and Social Work (SW 489).

Students are urged to apply early as the primary deadline is March 5. For more information on "Rivers and Civilization" and applications interested students may contact Jay H. Vest, the program coordinator or Annmarie Hargraves, at the Wilderness Institute at Forestry 207 or call 243-5361.

Original play to show at UM

The University of Montana will premiere a new play by Professor Roland Meinholz on March 3rd at 8 PM in the Masquer Theatre. **KNOCKING 'EM DEAD AT JOBE'S PLACE** is a bold look at the violence and racism of American society in which Meinholz has created a moving portrait of the raw side of human nature.

The play happens at Jobe's Place, a bar where George Wallace supporters and members of the St. Louis White Citizens Committee gather. A silent but unwilling witness to their racial bitterness, Jobe, played by UM Graduate Student, Jim Deschenes, nonetheless needs these regular patrons to stay afloat.

KNOCKING 'EM DEAD AT JOBE'S PLACE is an original production that depicts a view of the world in the process of moral disintegration. The play contains language, as well as actions, that are clearly suitable for AN ADULT AUDIENCE ONLY. It is not suitable for children.

The play runs Wednesday through Saturday evenings, March 3-6, and 10-13. For tickets, please contact the University Theatre Box Office at 243-4581 between 10 and 6 weekdays, and noon to five Saturdays. Admission is \$5.00 for the general public and \$4.00 for students and senior citizens.

They're Playing It Again, Sam

Ed. Note: Phil Burgess is a Vietnam veteran and veteran's counsellor at UM. His office is located in the University Center and is open daily until 5 p.m.

by Philip Burgess

The other day, I overheard a conversation in a restaurant. This curly-haired dude couldn't have been more than nineteen years old, but he was doing a pretty good job of acting older than his age. He's decided to make a public announcement of his refusal to register for the draft, rather than run away, or stay safe somewhere in a nice middle class legal loop-hole.

Neither lawmaking nor lawbreaking impress me much, in themselves, but I do appreciate quiet assertions of dignity and integrity by individuals who stand up in a world too full of sharpshooters, angleplayers, and high shrill noises, and say, "Well, I don't know about you folks, but this is who I am, and if you don't like it, you know where I live." I'll remember Curly, I'll remember well that rare moment of dignified maturity, and I'll remember him even better if he actually pulls it off. He picked a hard one.

I remember the first summer I spent on campus, after having returned for my master's degree. There were some rambling years and a war between me and my undergraduate career. I had, in the words of Jim Hendrix, been getting "experienced". Ten years of being god's fool on the highway. Learning to be nothing before I got ready to become something. Yet, in one of those southern cities where they train alligators to stalk & kill stray dogs, Jack Kerouac died a drunk in his mother's suburban house just as I herded a busted-up motorcycle across the city limits. I had not come to sing a requiem to old Jack, however. I'd never heard of him. Rather, I'd come to town to help them build Disney World. So, while that sweet old fairy, Allen Ginsberg, keened his dirge over Kerouac's grave, I poured a foundation for a hippotamus ride.

I do go on. Anyway, I thought that the University of Montana Campus in the summer of 1980 was paradise regained. No more war, no more flophouses, no more body-searches by nervous cops in Dallas, Texas, for me. All those nice, quiet, orderly classrooms with housebroken professors and the high mountain sun streaming through the trees into the windows of the Liberal Arts building during the early evening. And all those soft little bunnies hippy-hopping around the sidewalks. (All veterans are a little chauvanistic, you know). Lordy, this rambling boy had found his big rock candy mountain — I thought.

But chilly winds have a way of pursuing those who refuse to wear long underwear. Since the first idyllic summer, a lot of things have happened to change my perspective. For one thing, they covered the windows of the liberal arts building for energy conservation purposes. But I really started paying attention when I realized they were spraying those pretty little yellow flowers out on the University oval.

In a way, being a veteran in this society is like being a visitor from another planet. On this planet, they hate dandelions so much that they spray them with 2,4-D, and respond to protests with, "Well, no one has proven that the stuff hurts human beings." But on the planet I came from, about two thousand years ago or yesterday, they used basically the same stuff (Agent Orange), to destroy the foliage so that we could more easily kill some rather apprehensive little yellow people in black pajamas, who eventually

whipped our rosy-red behinds, trees or no trees.

We were told that the stuff was completely safe. We handled it with our bare hands. We walked through jungles dusty with it. We waded through and sometimes drank water dyed with it. Hell, in the base camps, we even took the empty barrels used to transport it in, and made barbecue grills out of them, cooking steaks in the stuff's burning fumes. They tell us now that they still believe that the stuff is safe, that just because it killed monkeys, fish, birds, and trees was no reason to believe it could hurt human beings. We trusted them. We were young.

On the planet I came from, where I'm a veteran's counsellor, a veteran and his fiance don't look at me very much while I tell them of other veteran's children who are retarded, or hyperactive, or born dead, or deformed. Of other veterans I know who've had open sores on their bodies for ten years, who have dying fingers and toes, or who don't want sex very much any more. Of course, it hasn't been proven that agent orange was the culprit, but it's been occurring just a little too often to be a coincidence. They say that it's too soon to determine the cause — but the years keep going by, and the damaged children keep coming, and my brothers are dying. But since we don't know that the stuff destroys people, it's worth it, just to get rid of those damned dandelions. I have an alternative solution, however. I'm going to get all the veterans on campus together and back in uniform. We're going to be forming up on the oval on June 18th at dawn, armed to the teeth, and doing in all those little yellow suckers. Whoopie, killing dandelions can be fun — and they don't shoot back.

Better dead than yellow.

We veterans have a tendency to take certain things personally. A growing number of people in this country are becoming aware of what's going on in El Salvador, in Afghanistan, Poland, in Guatemala. Vietnam veterans don't need to become aware. We smell the gunsmoke, the scorched flesh, and our own fear. We feel days of dirt and filth in our clothes and on our bodies, the sweat pouring off as we come up a ridge carrying a M-60. We know the mind shocking impact of rockets into the ground around our piss-spewing crotches. That's what war is like on our planet. You people on this planet are very lucky. For you, war is something to talk about over a beer or a cocktail, something that happens to losers and the racially or economically inferior. Like veterans.

On your planet, soldiers go off to war and some don't come back, too bad, and the returning heroes are better insurance salesmen than they could ever have been without the maturing experience of war. So, of course, they are properly grateful to those who sent them. Not on my planet. The veterans on my planet aren't grateful.

On my planet, I talk to men who are finding ten, fifteen years after the war that, in spite of what society told them, war wasn't good for their souls, that kill or be killed had left some permanent marks on them. "Surprise, Virginia, being shot at from tree lines and looking at children's napalm-burned bodies is not spiritually uplifting." Does no one on this planet realize that war is, in fact, a bitch goddess (or god, if you prefer) who smiles seductively, promising you excitement, sensuous thrills, and manhood-(or womanhood) rites, and maybe even gives you all of those things, before biting your balls off, along with a good chunk of guts? And then bloodily smiles — and smiles, and smiles.

On this planet, at the universities, dapper uniformed marlboro men sell career opportunities in the marines, and the navy, and the army, and the air force to shiny-faced students paying rapt attention to details on salaries and educational opportunities within the military. "Sarge, do I get overtime for bleeding to death?" or "Sarge, can they sue me if I kill some civilians with that sexy bomber?"

Confucius said (he didn't really): "Those smiling fools who follow a destiny chosen for them by others will probably remain fools, but at some point in time, they will probably cease smiling." Many of us veterans may still be fools, but if you watch carefully, you'll notice that most of us are no longer smiling.

To quote the immortal words of General Willy Westmoreland as he boarded his freedom-bird to return to the land of

the big PX, words which were not heard by the generals' whores in Saigon and Long Bien, by the rotting enemy corpses disinterred to pad the body count, or the green beret skinned alive by viet-cong captors: words which would not resurrect the bodies of women and babies caught in an American ambush during a Christmas cease-fire, or those of my many short-lived soldier friends; Words which would not remove the U.S. government-transported heroin from the veins of thousands of American soldiers; words which lingered behind the general long after his his departing flight made its' last silvery wink over the horizon, long after thousands of G.I.'s left behind had ceased saluting Willy's freedom bird with their own middle-fingered birds — —

"carry on."

Is U.S. Planning For a First Strike?

by Mark Anderlik

We are a nation supremely proud of ourselves. So it is hard for us to admit that we, as a nation, are preparing to fight and win a nuclear war. With the development of the Trident submarine, the Cruise missile, the MX missile and the Mark 12A warhead (retrofitted on Minuteman III missiles) we will have the technological ability to conduct a first-strike attack on Soviet missiles by the end of the decade. The policy and strategy changes necessary for this "Counterforce" ability have already been made and officially adopted.

Counterforce was officially announced as U.S. nuclear war policy by Jimmy Carter, in the heat of the presidential campaign, under the name "Presidential Directive 59." This directive ordered the military to change its targeting priorities from civilian to military targets. Our old policy of deterrence. ("Mutually Assured Destruction" or MAD) has been abandoned for a more "flexible" one. It takes no more than 400 nuclear warheads, aimed at cities, to constitute an adequate deterrence according to ex-Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. The U.S. presently has about 9,000 strategic nuclear warheads (not counting the tens of thousands of tactical weapons spread throughout the world) and the Soviets have about 7,000. So why do we have so many warheads? According to many observers, Counterforce allows many different options other than massive second-strike retaliation, the sole policy of MAD. Among these options is the use of a first-strike. The fall of MAD and the rise of Counterforce reveals the wane of American superpower influence in the world.

Beginning with the Nixon Administration U.S. policymakers began to see the handwriting on the wall. In the decade of the 70's we "lost" Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Angola, Nicaragua and Iran. The world no longer seems interested in marching to our national tune as it once did. Policymakers, ensnared in the logic of "might makes right", see this as a "failure to project our power." This decline is not lost on the Soviets who also believe in might makes right. U.S. policymakers feel that because of this situation the Soviets are thinking the unthinkable — starting and winning a nuclear war. Therefore they reason that we too must think the unthinkable.

The U.S. national security establish-

ment can understand why the Soviets may be considering first-strike (usually though the Soviets only react, not initiate as the U.S. does, in nuclear development) because they have thought much about it themselves. In a recent article in *Foreign Policy* titled "Victory is Possible," Colin Gray and Keith Payne of the Hudson Institute outline the shift in policy attitude. They wrote, "if American nuclear power is to support U.S. foreign policy objectives, the United States must possess the ability to wage nuclear war rationally." They see that it is necessary that "the United States enjoys strategic superiority — the ability to wage nuclear war at any level of violence with a reasonable prospect of defeating the Soviet Union . . ." Such superiority "would enable a president to initiate strategic nuclear use for coercive, though politically defensive, purposes." This view is widely shared within the Reagan Administration.

To be able "to initiate strategic nuclear use," to be able to use a first-strike, weapons of great accuracy are required. A first-strike, weapons of great accuracy are required. A first-strike attack only makes sense if it is aimed at Soviet weapons, most of which are in silos. Accuracy is usually measured by the weapon's circular error probability (CEP) — the radius of a circle around the intended target in which 50 per cent of a given type of warhead will fail. The CEP for the present Minuteman III missile, according to Frank Barnaby of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, is about 350 meters (1,148 feet). The Mark 12A warhead has a CEP of about 200 m. (656 ft.). The CEP of the MX missile will probably be about 100 m. (328 ft.) and may be improved to about 30 m. (98 ft.). These figures are estimated after the warhead has travelled 8,000 miles. The CEP of the Mark 12A and the MX warheads, as that of the Trident and Cruise warheads, are adequate in destroying missiles in hardened silos. Technologically, first-strike is here.

To correct our failure to project power our policymakers have begun to prepare strategies to begin and win a nuclear war. One possible scenario may be that in a time of tension between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., our leaders might feel that the Soviets may launch a first-strike. According to the dictum "use 'em or lose 'em"

Free Press Impressions

2,4-D or not 2,4-D?

The bottom line on 2,4-D is that this chemical has been accused of causing effects that could take a generation to make themselves visible. We are being subjected to an experiment in progress at our own expense and if the results are unfavorable in our later lives or in our children's it won't be Dow Chemical or any other manufacturer who loses.

This is the risk the administration has taken in the past and one that might resume in the future to ensure our safety against the onslaught of such insidious enemies as Canadian Thistle, Russian Thistle Goatweed, Purple Knapweed and even Dalmation Toadflax, the

herbaceous nemesis of all freedom-loving landscapers.

If the only argument for the use of 2,4-D is that it is economically preferable then we might suggest replacing the "noxious" chemical with two or more work study positions to adequately contain the invaders the way they did it before World War II, mechanically, or manually but indisputably safely, no matter how many studies are still undecided on whether or not manual labor can be toxic to humans.

A letter to the editor of *The Missoulian* last summer from a group of Lincoln County residents opposed to roadside spraying could just as easily

apply to opposition by the student body of UM.

It states, "More research is not really necessary. We know what these chemicals can do. What is needed is sensitive decision-making. Since we are paying the bill, we should know that these cancer-causing agents are being poured into our life support system — and we don't have to buy it."

Students have the right to say what kind of chemicals are used in the vicinity of their academic environment and their response, if vocal enough for the administration to hear, just may be what determines whether or not 2,4-D is ever sprayed here again.

In a precedent-setting decision, the Board of Directors of Vietnam Veterans of Montana has decided (without a dissenting vote) to go on record in support of the anti-MX petition, Initiative 91, now before the citizens of Montana. We believe that the veterans of this country, particularly those of the Vietnam-era, possess an insight that should be brought to bear in the current arms debate. We feel compelled to exercise a hard-earned prerogative to judge a military technology that is being imposed upon the American people by individuals whose lack of combat experience rendered them insensitive to the destructive capabilities of their creations.

At a time when the veteran suffers increasing indignities, when VA hospitals are closed and the number of beds in those remaining is reduced, and when veteran outreach programs are cancelled, we question the present administration's commitment to expend \$200 billion on an ineffective military hardware system. The Vietnam veteran knows all too well that the viability of our nation's defense rests more on the morale, equipment and training of our soldiers, sailors and airmen than on expensive military gadgets. A nation that turns its back on its veterans must expect that the present members of the armed forces will take notice and be affected thereby.

Vietnam Veterans of Montana strongly condemn the contemplated MX system as being an incredibly expensive, technically incompetent and morally indefensible offensive weapon system which invites, if not demands, an aggressive Soviet response. The mobile MX missile system was originally designed to survive a first-strike nuclear attack by forcing the Soviets to target an excessive number of hardened sites in order to be certain of actually destroying all hidden missile launch vehicles. However, for some yet unknown reason, the present administration seeks to continue the MX system in stationary silos that are clearly targetable and easily destroyed by contemporary Soviet missile guidance systems. Because of its extreme accuracy and its vulnerable basing mode, the MX must appear to the candid observer to constitute a "first-strike" weapon. The question then arises as to why the system is being installed at all since this nation allegedly renounces a first-strike military philosophy. The answer to this question, we believe, lies squarely in the tremendous power and influence that is welded by the military and industrial complex within the halls of the Pentagon and Congress. The creation of a missile system that serves no moral or military purpose can only serve to enrich the industrial barons who clamor to profit from the production of this awesome war machine.

Vietnam Veterans of Montana has become active in a political sphere that lies outside its ordinary domain because it believes that the MX system deserves the concentrated attention of each and every citizen. We urge our fellow Americans to accept the concept that to decry the absurdity of this proposed weapon system is not an unpatriotic act, but to the contrary, is a necessary precondition to preventing an immense evil from being foisted upon the American people and the people of the world.

Jeffrey M. Dumas, Chairman
Vietnam Veterans of Montana

Peace Corps isn't just a good idea...

...for 20 years we've been making a world of difference.

For 20 years now Peace Corps has been sending Americans to the Third World, building a tradition of people - to-people cooperation. And when you consider how the world has changed in the last two decades, that makes Peace Corps pretty special.

Today, in a single month, more than one million lives are directly affected by Peace Corps volunteers at work in over 60 countries. They treat malnourished children. Bring water to deserts. Plant forests. Help build schools and bridges.

Twenty years ago Peace Corps was a great idea—a program that could help other nations meet their needs for skills. It was a program to promote better understanding of Americans abroad and greater knowledge of the Third World here at home.

In 1961, these were worthy objectives. But today—in an era of dwindling global resources, scarcer energy, rising international tensions and troubled economies—these Peace Corps goals have grown into prerequisites for a peaceful future.

Twenty years later, we're much more than just a good idea. We're helping to make the world work better.

See: Daniel Miller
University of Montana
Peace Corps. Campus Representative
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First strike (continued from page 3)

we would outguess the Soviets and launch a "surgical" first-strike of our own. Wounded, the Soviets could either capitulate or conduct a second-strike. If they chose the latter it would be possible that the U.S. could launch a submarine-based third-strike that would vaporize the Soviet Union. Knowing this the Soviets would have an "incentive" to surrender. In this manner of reasoning our leaders can tout Counterforce as a means of "limiting" a nuclear war (by winning it) and as a means of keeping casualties at an "acceptable" level (at least 20 million deaths). Of course there are many possible scenarios but the deadly logic is the same.

We are beginning to develop a first-strike ability with a great technological lead over the Soviets — but the gap is closing. Soon after we develop our first-strike the Soviets will follow in kind. But for a time we will have some measure of "superiority" and we will feel like the great superpower we once were. If nuclear war does not break out, then in a few years both sides will be roughly equal. This equality will not be the same rough equality we have now. When both sides have first-strike capability we will then be in what is called a "hair-trigger" situation. This is what was described above. Instead of providing for our security, we will become complete slaves to our paranoia as both sides will try not to be the last one to push the button.

We cannot remain silent when our leaders are planning thousands of Auschwitzes in our names. We must call for both the leadership of the Soviet Union and the United States to renounce first-strike policy and technology. Talk with your friends and co-workers about this. Work against the MX missile. Work against the Trident submarine. Work to "Silence One Silo". Do something to make yourself heard. Our common humanity is dependent on your voice.

Raising Yellow Thunder HOLLY NEAR

On April 4, 1981, the Dakota American Indian Movement established the Yellow Thunder Encampment in the Black Hills near Rapid City S.D. on land that is currently claimed by the U.S. Forest Service. A claim was filed by the camp for 800 acres with Pennington County Registrar of Deeds. On April 22, the camp filed a Special Use Application form with the U.S. Forest Service. This application was for construction of 83 permanent structures to be used for religious, educational, and residential purposes. This form was followed by a report on May 29 that detailed the work that was to be done such as the geodesic dome and the solar and wind energy equipment that are to be installed. The camp has cited the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, Article VI of the U.S. Constitution, and the 1978 Indian Religious Freedom Act, which guarantees Native people access to sites and burial grounds, and which guarantees the use of their sacred objects for traditional ceremonies.

An April 11 meeting held at the camp drew over 300 supporters and representatives of the Lakota Nation. Two resolutions were passed: the first calling for the U.S. Congress to review the Black Hills Claim, particularly Article XII of the Fort Laramie Treaty which clearly shows that the tribal governments set up by the U.S. Government in 1934, have no right to negotiate claims related to the 1868 Treaty; the second resolution called for a halt to all litigation by the tribal governments and their representatives.

On August 11, 1981, the Yellow Thunder Encampment made a formal request to the Secretary of the Interior James Watt and to the Secretary of Agriculture John Block that the 800 acre claim area be withdrawn from the public domain. The request was made under the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976, which gives the federal government the authority to withdraw land from the public domain under certain provisions. The Forest Service has sold timber within the 800 acre area and logging operations and road building are scheduled to begin in late spring. Also, a grazing permit has been issued to a Texas rancher.

Yellow Thunder Camp has the support of many individuals and organizations in the Rapid City area, across the nation, and in many foreign countries. This summer 38 members of the U.S. House of Representatives endorsed a letter requesting that the U.S. Forest Service approve the Special Use Application for the Yellow Thunder Encampment. Some of the other camp supporters are: The Black Hills Sioux Nation Council, the American Friends Service Committee, the Pennington County Democratic Forum, the South Dakota Board of Church and Society of the South Dakota United Methodist Church, the Black Hills Alliance, the Acting Director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, the Vice-President of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, and many more religious and social service organizations. On July 8, 1981, the Black Hills National Forest Service held a public hearing to listen to comments on the camp's application. Those expressing opinions were overwhelmingly in favor of the application.

Throughout the summer and spring, the people of Yellow Thunder Camp have complied with all the laws and regulations of the Forest Service. People living in the camp have set up a kitchen, tipis, tents, a

solar shower, a solar food dehydrator, and have planted a garden. Meat and wild berries have been dried for the winter and plans are underway for the construction of an earth oven and a geodesic dome to be used as a school and a community meeting area. Also work has begun to winterize the tipis.

The goal of the Yellow Thunder Encampment is to build a permanent spiritual and educational community in harmony with the environment, utilizing solar and wind energy and other non-fossil fuel sources of energy. The buildings are to be constructed of local natural materials. The centrality of the Black Hills to Lakota spirituality is well documented and is also in evidence within the text of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, the last formal and legally binding agreement reached between the sovereign Lakota Nation and the United States.

On August 24, 1981 Black Hills National Forest Supervisor James Mathers rejected the Camp's Special Use Application to build permanent structures and ordered that the people leave the site by September 8, 1981. The denial of the Special Use Application could be appealed through the regional office of the Forest Service in Lakewood, Colorado, Mathers said, however, the order to leave by September 8 was final and not appealable.

On September 9, the U.S. Government filed a civil suit against the residents of Yellow Thunder. This suit, filed by Jeffrey Viken, U.S. Attorney for the District of South Dakota, Western Division, states that all people at Yellow Thunder are in violation of federal laws and regulations. Further, this suit requests that the court grant a permanent injunction to remove the people of Yellow Thunder and to bar them from ever again occupying any portion of the Black Hills National Forest. The Camp went into court in the afternoon of September 9 and requested a preliminary injunction against the federal government to keep federal law enforcement personnel from physically removing Yellow Thunder.

Appeals by the Camp to the regional and national offices of the Forest Service seeking to overturn Mathers' order to vacate the area were denied. Recently, Craig Rupp, Regional Forester in the Forest Services Lakewood, Colorado office, postponed the administrative appeal of the denial of the application to build permanent buildings until after the courts had made their decision.

In late September, Bruce Ellison, Yellow Thunder Camp's attorney, was told by Supervising Deputy Marshal Robert Leighton of the U.S. Marshal's Service in Rapid City, that the Special Operations Group of the Service had just completed two weeks of training to prepare for an assault on Yellow Thunder designed to take the Camp in 30 minutes. The Marshalls, according to Leighton, held an invasion of a mock encampment defended by fellow Marshalls. This resulted in a broken leg, 17 stitches and multiple bruises.

Ellison informed the federal court of this event and requested a special hearing to gain a preliminary injunction to prevent the government from moving on the Camp until all administrative and legal remedies had been pursued. After only one witness from Yellow Thunder, the first witness of the day who was Bill Means, Judge Donald O'Brien strongly encouraged U.S. Attorney Viken to agree to stipulate to the Camp that it would seek a court order before moving on the Camp.



Holly Near will be performing in Missoula on Friday, March 12 at 8:00 p.m. at the University Theatre.

Holly Near has been called "an entertainer with a social conscience." Her songs tell of her attitudes: they are songs against war, against nuclear power, about the need for workers to organize and they are filled with awareness of women's issues.

Tickets are \$6.00 in advance and \$7.00 the day of show. Tickets are available at Budget Tapes and Records, Freddy's Feed and Read, Music magic and the Women's Resource Center.

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Gary Snyder and Russell Means: Two

by Steve Saroff

"In Zen there are only two things: you sit, and you sweep the garden. It doesn't matter how big the garden is."

— Oda Sessa
(Gary Snyder's teacher)

One always learns from Gary Snyder. His poetry has knowledge in it and there is wisdom in what he says. In his poems, there are subtle instructions on how to find contentment. In his speech there is the continuous lesson of politeness.

After being yelled at and insulted, by Russell Means, it was a pleasure to listen to Gary Snyder talk and hear him read his poetry Tuesday night. Snyder spoke as if in the company of close friends. His presence was relaxed and honest. Eyes sparkling, smiling, Snyder was as refreshing and as real as a Spring chinook. His message was no weaker than was Means' and had, if anything, more impact.

Unlike Russell Means, who emphasized the past, Snyder spoke of the present and of the future. Snyder, first saying that life is "not a challenge — it's not competitive," asked the audience to "reinforce and strengthen the message Means gave us."

"All of us have a necessity to find a place, to make a home of it," Snyder said. "To make a place for our children there. To find a place where we will drive our stick in the ground and say 'we're going to stay here and look after it.' We are all under the obligation, like it or not, to become natural people. We were born on this continent and now it's time to act like we were born here. That would be what Native American meant."

Snyder's view is long-sighted. "Either, we're going to be here a thousand years from now, because we lived right, or there's not going to be anything here," he said. "Now, it's no use looking back to the past and blaming yourself. The main thing to do is start looking at the present and start doing the right thing here."

One of the 'right things' that we should do, according to Snyder, is to recognize the difference between the science and technology of the people, and the science and technology of the military and of big business. "We need people's science and people's technology," he emphasized. Another 'right thing' to do, in regard to exploitation of the earth, Snyder said, "we do have it in our power to really state our position against it and to not give it any energy."

Snyder told an anecdote about how a few years back he and other writers were in an apartment in San Francisco having an "emergency meeting to save the earth." They were discussing the question, can the human race survive? when the Japanese wandering poet Nano Sakaki said, "You fellows all wrong. No need to survive."

We're not here to survive. We're here to learn how to go beyond survival," Snyder said.

But Snyder is very much in tune with the dilemmas caused by the individual's need to survive. Snyder, himself, is an expert at surviving. He still carries about him that toughness and mountain-sense that Jack Kerouac described in the character Japhy Rider, from his book *The Dharma Burns*, who, as we know, was Snyder. Many of Snyder's poems talk of hard, manual work which he sees as important for an individual to do. He praises the individual, the humanity of the act of working, but he recognizes that work

often carries with it a burden of guilt. This burden is the dilemma of work. A recent poem of his, which he read, is in line with his earlier poems but seems to show that facing the dilemma is becoming crucially important:

"... Texans, Alaskans, Hawians, Filipinos./ Workers, always on the edge of a brawl/ in the bars of the world/ hearing those same new songs/ in Evanston, Naples, Galveston, Darwin/ white or brown/ drinking it down/ the pain/ of the work/ of wrecking/ the world."

Perhaps it's to help face the dilemma that a peaceful and relaxed outlook is important to have. In a beautiful voice Snyder sang the Maggie's song from his poem by the same name:

"Here in the mind, brother
Turquoise blue,
I wouldn't fool you.
Smell the breeze
It came through all the trees
No need to fear
What's ahead
Snow up on the hills west
Will be there every year
be at rest.
A feather on the ground-
The wind sound-
Here in the Mind, Brother,
Turquoise Blue"

Snyder's long-sightedness, his inner peace and the optimism are reflected in the poem, for the children, which he read from his book, *Turtle Island*:

"The rising hills, the slopes,
of statistics
lie before us:
the steep climb
of everything, going up,
up, as we all
go down.

In the next century
or the one beyond that,
they say,
are valleys, pastures,
we can meet there in peace
if we make it.

To climb these coming crests
one word to you, to
you and your children:
stay together
learn the flowers
go light."

Snyder described his own life in rural, Northern California as a "steady and focused life, building barns, planting fruit trees, raising children, working with neighbors, fighting the county commissioners, fighting the forest service... doing all the different levels together. It's all fun, it's all play, it's all deadly serious, and you do it all."

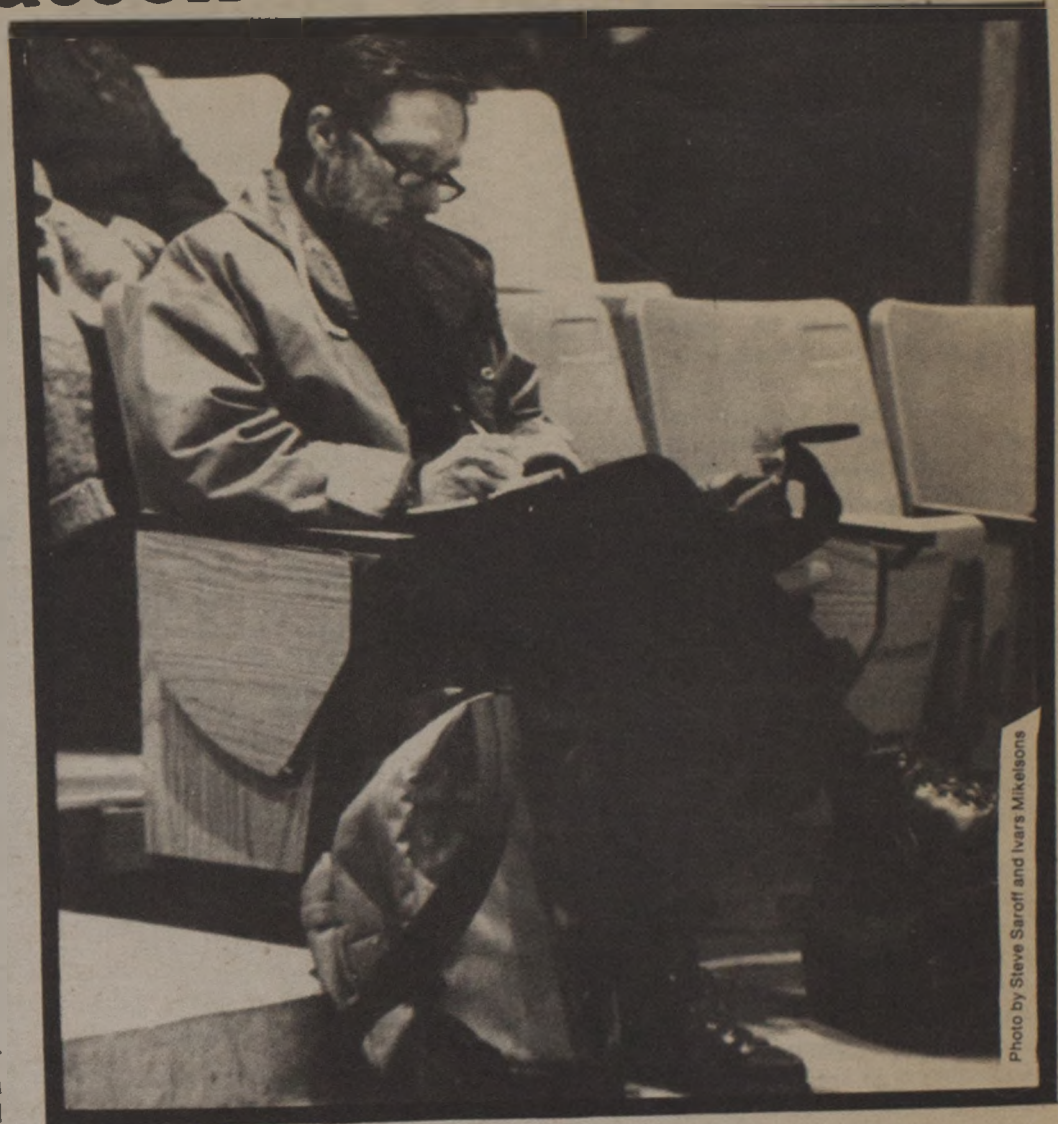


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Ways of Walking on Turtle Island

by Melinda Sinistro

Russel Means exemplified the dilemma faced by Native Americans when he spoke at the underground Lecture Hall Feb. 16.

Means, who spoke of the evils that industrial society has bestowed upon the Indian people, travelled to Missoula by plane and by car, spoke into a microphone in an auditorium that was lit and heated by electricity, and sipped soda from an aluminum can during the lecture. He conceded that, in spite of his ideals, even Native Americans are dependent to an extent upon technology.

Means said the following are essential to a healthy and peaceful existence:

— Humanity must be one with and live in harmony with nature, abandoning all but non-polluting technology. "In order to be truly free, you must be self-sufficient," he said.

— People must abandon boundaries between cities, states and countries and nations so that the world will be viewed as a whole with the common aim of survival, living "in loose confederacy of self-sufficient communities.

— Humanity must reach a level of spirituality among all people wherein each daily activity is regarded as a ceremony. "To walk from the geodesic dome (at the Yellow Thunder Camp) to the tipi is a spiritual experience."

— Children should be raised one at a time within each family and grow up undisciplined, so that each may develop freely into his own person. "Each child

must have time to understand the universe."

It is impossible to live according to these ideals in an industrial society, Means said. Industrial man views himself as God, placing himself at the center of the universe, and this view manifests itself in man taking control of and exploiting the earth. The inevitable end to an industrial society would be the ultimate power play, a war for world dominance among countries that would lead to nuclear annihilation. According to Means, it is impossible for man to survive if he continues to "rape our mother earth."

However, Means' ideals also seem impossible. How can a world already so industrialized and complex reverse itself and become simple again? "The first thing you learn when viewing the universe is reality," he said. "You don't get rid of 100 years of technology colonization overnight. It is necessary to adjust yourself on every front, and some of those include going to the oppressor for help."

Means is aware that society must change slowly, one step at a time. He said people should utilize technology to bring about that change when possible, eventually turning to alternatives such as solar and wind power.

Even if we could remove industrial civilization brick by brick, we could not remove the social structure that shapes our lives. Instead, we must seek alternative values within the structure that will eventually change it.

The first step in constructive change is to become aware of our present direction as a species. Means makes an attempt, along with environmental and anti-nuclear groups, to make the public aware of the potential hazards of abusing the earth.

Means is also good at making people listen, using his steady gaze, wisdom and wit.

However, making people care is a

more difficult, if not impossible matter.

"Should you choose to look around you, there won't be any need for the ignorance of civil rights or the arrogance of human rights. Everyone will become concerned with natural rights," Means said.

As long as it is every person's right to look around or not to look, some will choose the latter.



Photo by Steve Saroff and Iveta Mikelsons

Russell Means, speaker for the Yellow Thunder camp in the Black Hills of South Dakota, addresses a full lecture hall at UM.

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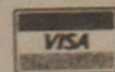
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