

Baby Boomers: A Generation Going Broke
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Linda Ellorboo
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I work long hours undisturbed, I skip meals some
 times." . ' .
 Elizabeth Richardson 18 part of :m ulurmmg 51:17
 Iistic, 97% of Americans don't eat all the nutrients
 And the problem sums right with broccoli, or
 more accurately without it. Its the meal we skip
 most often. .
 And dieters are even more at risk. .
 Cutting out meals, even whole grains (like quinoa) food. .
 But even eating three meals a day no guarantee
 your body is getting all the vitamins and minerals
 it needs. .
 Problems like physical stress and illness rob
 you of vitamins and minerals, so do smoking and
 drinking. And, birth control pills, pregnancy and
 lactation also increase nutritional needs
 So have 21 Vitamin gap, big deal
 I used to take vitamins. But then I got too busy.
 Elizabeth Richardson
 Model/Highj _ '
 77
 al.
 1% of the population get enough
 calcium for healthy bones. () enough iron for
 healthy blood. () enough of the B vitamins
 essential to energy (cell in our bodies.
 The fun is, most people realizing this need
 to really have one or more Vitamin or mineral
 gaps to fill
 And, scientists are now studying the nu-
 mber of vitamins, minerals and
 other nutrients in helping to protect
 against diseases such as cancer,
 heart disease and osteoporosis.
 So why live at risk? Fill the gap,
 Take Vitamin and mineral supplements
 every day. Is it a big deal?
 You bet your life it is:
 (, about 11 billion Americans
 . live with one or more nutritional deficiencies

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 Che finger cl CBS or F
 NBC or ABC." p. 23.
 20 WILL THE CIRCLE BE UNBROKEN?
 By David Weir and Constance Matthiessen
 The circle of poison, that is, from U.S. pesticide manufacturer to
 Third World farm worker to your table. A dramatic update to the
 story Mother jones broke a decade ago.
 WOMEN ON THE VERGE OF A NERVY BREAKTHROUGH
 A Forum by Peggy Orenstein
 A behind-the-screens look at the television (old-boy) networks with
 news correspondents Meredith Vieira and Ann Rubenstein and
 producers Linda Ellerbee and Marion Goldin.
 THE GREAT BOOMER BUST By Katy Butler
 The biggest, best-educated generation naturally assumed it would
 be richer than its parents. Now baby boomers are searching for
 what it really means to grow up.
 Lynda Barry on
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 The readers on new organs, new Summer reading: Why supermoms go
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 1 BAD ATTITUDE By Barbara Ehrenretcb Africa, Susan Minofs pseudo-sado
 What if those bilingual signs are all jokes stories, and more.
 at our expense? i Viva English-Only! Ba'bam Eh'e'mm' has a '9" "ads
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 53 TRIPS By Peter Nelson w ' nglISh on Y F 7
 9 OUTFRONT Driving across the Great Plains needn,t be
 Timothy Learfs PF0t68\$ Willie Hortonls a great pain. A farmerls almanac.
 lament, the Dick Cheney that makes John
 Tower seem the best guy for the job 56 OUT OF POCKET By Rory OTConnor
 after all, etc. One Harvard MBA invests by the book.
 The other follows the socially responsible
 LATEST THINKING By Wendell Berry road less traveled. We follow both to their
 Integration, dismtegration, and the bottom lines.
 scorning of honest work.
 ' 60 1619 EAST CROWLEY By Lynda Barry
 In which Edna, our heroine, attempts to
 meet Billy, the deejay who is so cool.
 Bright Ilghts,
 blg continent:
 Now Afrlca's the
 hlp writer thing
 to "do." Summer t'
 loading, p- 39 The stolen future of Rio Frio. p. 20
 Cover photograph by William Coupon

BACKTALK

Visualizing Fear

Sara Miles and Bob ()stertag ("Absolute, Diaholical Terror," April 189) did a remarkable job of portraying the grim and desperate Salvadoran reality.

Too often progressive publications paint black and white, good-guys-ys.-lmd-guys pictures of the Central American situation. The authors skipped the right/wrong judgment and instead took us to the scene-where the corpses are still warm and the emotion still r:lw_to let us decide for ourselves.

Hats off to these two journalists for providing a finely crafted and thorough overview of El Salvadorls unique form of misery.

DEIIJANES

Augustus Mame

Score Is Even

I was just about to let my subscription expire when suddenly your publication took a new lease on life! Some genius must have planned the new ambience, and the articles are ene thralling. The latest "whitewashingi, of Bush is priceless. Ilve read it over and over.

CHARLOTTE TOBIE

Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts

Maybe Ilm just getting older and yearning for the way things used to be; maybe thatls why I don't like the new Mother jones so much and why Ilm canceling my subscrip-tion after almost ten years.

I used to look to you for radical new thinking; these days I feel like Ilm getting writing directed to those wholve made it in America and are trying to reconcile that fact with their once-revolutionary thinking.

I guess the last straw was the new ethical investment feature advising me to buy stock in (Iumpbell's Soup. While they may give cash to charities, theylre also responsible for the slaughter (and, I assume, chemical contamination) of cows, pigs, chickens, and whatever other creatures they put in their products.

Maybe Illl be back. I think youlre a talented, decent magazine, and HI keep an eye on you in the future.

ERIC SLADE

San Francisco, California

Bushwhacking

Since retiring from Atlanta to the bona fide boonies, I rarely see a current newspaper, but we do get a couple dozen magazines.

Thank God Motherjones is one of them.

The piece by Molly Ivins (llThe Discreet Smarm of the Bushwazeef April 89) is one of the greatest, truest, saddest humorous commentaries we have ever come across.

Please invite her back.

Ilm afraid this presidency without an agenda is beginning to play worrisomely like IISon of Calvin Coolidge-Part I? As near as I can tell, Bush doesnlt want to do a thing except be president. He went in with three things in mind: 1) pledge allegiance at every opportunity; 2) don,t release Willie Horton on a terrified public; and 3) donlt raise taxes. Why anyone out there expected more is not

Clear to me.

SAM VEAL

Mount Airy. Georgia

Giving Peace a 10/0 Chance

In his brief and very useful review of ethically sound investment opportunities in the food industry (11Green Groceries? Feb./ March 89), Steven Ross confused the name of the 1% for Peace campaign with its goals (understandable, given the newness of our campaign).

1% for Peace is a new, nonprofit, nonpartisan initiative dedicated to mobilizing our nations resources for the cause of peace. We seek to unite business, government, and all concerned citizens in the critical work of

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A REMINDER FROM PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION OF AMERICA,
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creating an ongoing process of peace-one that builds global understanding and cooperation through people-to-people initiatives. Our goals are twofold: to fund ongoing peace projects, and to persuade the government to reallocate 1 percent of the Defense Department budget to support a positive peace agenda.

Whether a business or an individual, anyone can help promote the cause of peace and support a positive peace agenda. For more information, write to: 1% for Peace, PO Box 658, Ithaca, NY 14851.

NEIL SCHWARTZBACH
Executive Director
Brooktondale, New York
Whats Up, Doc?

It seemed to me that Mark Dowie (IITransplant Feverf April 189) touched too lightly upon the IIconst-effectiveness of a dollar spent on a transplant to the same dollar spent preventing the organ disease that makes the transplant necessary?

Besides the financial cost, there is also the cost of human suffering to be considered.

The need for a transplant constitutes a medical failure (except in the case of an accident, of course). If we were to invest our talent and resources in preventing illness, we would prevent the suffering and grief that result from illness.

Why isn't the medical establishment vigorously pursuing prevention? I suggest that one reason is because it would mean less income for vested interests like pharmaceutical companies, diagnostic labs, private hospitals, medical groups, and their suppliers.

BINA ROBINSON
Center for Scientihc Information on Vivisection
Swain, New York
Labor Lessons in Session

I cant believe what I read in your article IINew Believers11 (April 189). Evidently your author, Bill McKibben, and current union leaders believe that the new union victories are just now proving that women and immigrants can organize. Who the hell do they think organized the ILGWU, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Cigar Makers, and the other early urban unions? Women and immigrants, thafs who!

Furthermore, I am enraged by your use of the bosses) term IIREplacement workers" for people properly known as IIScabsf, I know your hearts are in the right places, but please learn some labor history!

JUDITH SEID
Ann Arbor, Michigan

As a striking plywood mill worker I found your article 11New Believersw very interesting, especially the idea of picketing the homes of the bosses. We who are employed by Roseburg Forest Products, the nations largest privately owned wood-products manufacturer, have been on strike for over two months now. were fighting wage cuts that average a dollar an hour. RFP is in absolutely no financial trouble; in fact, they admit to record profits made last year. Its refreshing to see laborers like the laundry workers, Harvard clericals, and hotel

workers fight back and win some victories.
Here in the Pacific Northwest the wood and
mill workers have suffered some heart-
breaking defeats in the past few years. All
the experts are saying that strikes aren't ef-
fective in this new era of labor and manage-
ment relations. There is a word for what
they're telling us-Bullshit!

GENE LAWHORN

Sutherlin, Oregon

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Illustration by Hal Mayforth

BAD ATTITUDE

By Barbara Ehrenreich

HOSE ENGLISH-ONLY TYPES HAVE FINALLY

gone too far. It all started with the commendable impulse to keep public-health doctors from communicating with immigrants in a language they can understand. At least this was the original modest intent of the Suffolk County, New York, English-only bill. And since even us real Americans can't always grasp the complex vocabulary of medical science (you know, the ineluctable illogical procedure of health insurance and so forth), why should a bunch of foreigners have the advantage? But then the English-only people got carried away. First they took away the au pairs, divas, and masseurs. Then they moved in on the states and California street names. La Cienega Boulevard became Swamp Street. Colorado became Colored (until, of course, an emergency referendum renamed it Greater Denver). Next, it was the turn of the legal profession, which—without its amicus and de jure—was left speechless for upward of 20 minutes. After that, a hush fell over the literati, deprived as they were of the delicate frissons, scandales, and folies with which they had for so long maintained their esprit. I didn't utter a word of protest, I blush to admit, not even when quiche turned into egg pie.

I used to be gung ho for English-only myself, on the grounds that my ancestors had spoken English-only for at least 20 generations, and not much of it at that—idle chitchat being considered a sign of insecurity or ill intent. The less sophisticated of my forebears avoided foreigners at all costs, for the very good reason that, in drawing the line

their circles, speaking in tongues was commonly a prelude to snake handling. The more tolerant amongst us regarded foreign languages as a kind of speech impediment that could be overcome by willpower. When confronted by one of the afflicted, we would speak very slowly and loudly, repeating ourselves until the poor soul caught on, or—as was more often the case—ran off in search of more quick-witted company.

Of course, people are drawn to English-only for all kinds of good reasons. Some of them, for example, have been to Paris, where they strayed from the Holiday Inn and were spat upon by waiters for ordering the luncheon coffee or the croissant. Others of them are driven by the fear, mounting to panic in the border states, that the United States will experience the same fate as Canada. And we all know what happened to Canada, which was once a semitropical paradise famed for its tempestuous rhythms and piquant cuisine—until the tragic imposition of bilingualism rendered it large, cold, and boring. Then there is the fear, common to all English-only speakers, that the chief purpose of foreign languages is to make fun of us. Otherwise, you know, why not just come out and say it? NO FUMAR, for example. I used to see it all over the place, and who knows what that means—CHILL OUT, GRINGO FOOL, maybe? Or that inscrutable message inscribed in so many airplane restrooms: POR FAVOR NO TIRAR EL PAPEL DENTRO DEL INODORO. What is that supposed to mean? Do YOURSELF A FAVOR AND SOAK YOUR UGLY ANGLO HEAD IN THE TOILET? And if that isn't what it means, why do I

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vorlte '
see so many foreigners-no doubt bi-
lingualists-winking and smirking as if they
knew something we didnt?
But the real motive is patriotism. Look,
we cant keep out foreign people, without
whom we,d have to bus our own dishes,
clean our own houses, and manage our own
factories. And we carft keep out foreign
things, without which thereld be no color
TVs, calculators, or Nintendo. 50 we can at
least draw the line at words; and words are
important because they are so often the un-
witting carriers of ideas. Think of the for-

eign ideas that have leaked in over the last two hundred years and the trouble that could have been saved by stopping them dead at the border: communism, Catholicism, calculus, and cubism-not to mention Freudianism, existentialism, fascism, and french fries.

For there can be no more ancient and traditional American value than ignorance. English-only speakers brought it with them to this country three centuries ago, and they quickly imposed it on the Africans-who were not allowed to learn to read and write-and on the Native Americans, who were simply not allowed. Today, our presidents and vice presidents proudly stand ready to prove in a court of law that they don't know anything and have forgotten what they did know. In fact, the original anti-immigrant movement of the 19th century, the forerunner of English-only, called itself, appropriately, the I Know-Nothing-society. They believed, as many patriots still do, that the mind of America should remain a-how do you put it in English?-blank slate?

But the movement has finally gone too far. It was a professor at Dartmouth, I believe, who first pointed out that English itself is a mongrel language-a corruption of the pure Saxon spoken by my ancestors before the disastrous events of 1066. Then a team of linguists at the Heritage Foundation issued the "First Saxon-only" manifesto, listing the many social problems that could be eliminated immediately by expunging all traces of foreign (i.e., Romance-language) influence: homosexuality, pornography, pederasty, feminism, and democracy-and that's just for starters!

There are advantages, I mean, good things, about this Saxon-only thing. Like this nice I can carry the Oxford Unabridged Dictionary in my hip pocket now. And I don't need a lot of big words to express-I mean, say, what I gotta say. And were all Americans now, no lell or tlmultil, nothing. But there's something about this language-you know, talking-thing that makes me feel sort of, well-how do you say it in Saxon? Dumb, you know what I'm trying to say? Real dumb. 3

doctor, but some call
him the now Timothy
Loary.
_fr0_11t
OnD ugs
HEN TERENCE MCKENNA HEARS TODAY then let them decide? What about those too desperate to
all-out antidrug rhetoric, he just says make a sound choice? uIn a caring society there w
ould not
whoa. Via seminars, taped lectures, and be this tremendous desire to dull ourselvesfl
two books, McKenna stakes 0th the pro- Which leads to McKennas big claim: Psychedelics ca
n
psychedelic position: 11What people Object to enable us to create a caring society by lld
isso ving bound-
about drugs is that they cause an unexamined, obsessive, atiesll in our minds, thereby fr
eeing us from "male domi-
and destructive behavior. This is precisely what psyche- nance 3nd rationalism? Drug and
computer technologies
delics mitigate against. They dissolve behavioral patterns. will merge in the next few de
cades, says the 41-year-old
bring habits and unexamined attitudes forward in sometime hacker. 11lt will lead to compu
ters that you place
the consciousness to be looked at.n We need to under your tongue." Will that lead to mind
control or
better define 11drugf McKenna argues. Until then, mind xpansion? McKenna wonit bet yet: u
Thatls why
ua relatively harmless substance like marijuana is drug education is so key? Meanwhile, h
e offers his own
inveighed against, while extremely insidious drugs drug test: "Does it occur in nature? 1
5 it already close to
like television, alcohol, and cocaine have been al- com wounds naturally present in the h
uman brain? Does it
feghnolgy, lowed to take over the American psyche? Better, he have a history of human us
age for thousands of years?
says, to fully inform kids about each drug, Wand Mushrooms do. Mescaline does. LSD and Ec
stasy donlt."
-Kat/7ryn Olney
is eyes have seen
the coming of a
new psychedelic
Photograph by Howard Rosenberg MOTHER JONES 9

The Best

Man

T LEAST JOHN TOW-

erls door would

have been revolv-

ing. judging from his record,

Dick Cheney will take his off

the hinges when weapons con-

tractors are near, then bolt it

shut when the American peo-

ple want to look in. Our new

secretary of defense . . .

l Earned a full 100 index

rating from the Conservative

Digest last year. Among its cri-

teria: votes for maximum con-

tra aid, for full SDI funding,

for a bill that would

have violated the

ABM treaty, against

complying with a

SALT II treaty limit on

ICBM warheads.

l Said he wasn't

troubled by Oliver

North's late-hour

. shredding of Iran-con-

tra documents because all

White House officials destroy

sensitive documents.

i Invoked the ghosts of Lin-

coln and FDR to argue, in

1987, for the unconstitutional

invincible right of President

Reagan to solicit private or

foreign-nation funds for the

contras, Officials like North

have the same right, when

acting to further the presi-

dent's national security goals?

l Pushed to eliminate all

restrictions on CIA dealings

with the contras. Voted to

recognize the contras as the

legitimate government of

Nicaragua.

l Opposed cutting chemical

weapons in Europe.

l Argued, in 1987, for the

simplicity of basing a new

generation of ICBM nuclear

missiles on railroad cars

parked on military bases. That

way, there would be mini-

mal public interference with

ICBMs except when deployed

in a crisis? -Michael Robin

and Ise Bosch

Io JUNI; 1989

Between, Always

OST PEOPLE THINK WAR IS ABOUT

maneuvering armies," writes Le

Ly Hayslip, but it is really about

displaced civilians. For every soldier who

went to battle, 100 civilians moved

ahead of him to get out of his way; or

behind him following in his wake the way

leaves are pulled along in a cyclone, hoping

to live off his garbage, his money, and when

all else fails, his mercy."

Hayslip knows well. By the time she was

15 she had been recruited by the Vietcong,
imprisoned and tortured by the US.-
backed South Vietnamese army, and then
raped and nearly executed by the VC. Later
she tried befriending U.S. soldiers. One tried
to strangle her. Now living in Southern
California, Hayslip is founder of the East
Meets West Foundation, 3 Rancho Bernar-
do-based nonprofit that llre-enlistsl U.S.
veterans to help build rural medical clinics
in Vietnam. Her memoir, When Heaven
and Earth Changed
Places, cowritten by u" yo" hav. "0'
Jay Wurts, is out from
Doubleday. llIf you
have not yet found the end ofyour
peace at the end of
Your war? Hayslip war, find it here."
writes to those scarred
by Vietnam, nI hope you will find it here?
Not everyone, apparently, is ready, or able,
to be healed. After a chapter was excerpted
in the Los Angeles Times Magazine, Hay-
slip received death threats over the phone.
-Karen Evans
yet found peace a
Photographs by Al Seib/LA Times (Hayslip)
and Scott Daw's/Dept. ofDefense

WWIIIIIIIEW?

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age citizen to keep track of the immense structure that is our

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ucatlional Fllm Prolect
in Oakland, CA. The
White Rose Collealve
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Komlsuruk.

Horton on

Atwater

E INSISTS ITIS WILLIAM HORTON, NOT
Willie. And the ilrevolving doorn commer-
cial that made the twice-convieted rapist's
name a household word last summer lltook
away? he says, llfrom the real issues of the cam-
paign. There are more important things than
William Horton? Tell that, though, to the more
than 75 reporters and would-be biographers Hor-
ton says he,s had to fend off since. llMoney isnIt
everything. Itls your morals. One guy tried to lure
me with how much of a cut lid get. I donlt think he
I2 JUNE 1989

p

Katya
Strikes Again

a

ARLY IN THE MORNING OFJUNE 2,1987,
Katya Komisaruk broke into the Vandenberg
Air Force Base, smashed a NAVSTAR com-
puter that could aid first-strike accuracy for US.
nuclear missiles, left a box of cookies (Ilfor the
guards to defusell), and turned herself in. Her jury
was barred from hearing any of her antinuclear ra-
tionale, not even the term lluclear missile? Her
sentence: five years in a Spokane, Washington, pris-
on. While the European press played it big, her story
faded quickly here. Until now. First Strike: Portrait
of an Activist, a new video "
documentary about Komi- "9ruimG3 I
saruk by producer/director
Doug Dibble, is just out. decided '0 bung
Komisaruk approves of the
video, but wishes Ilthey,d
shown what a shit I was to live mg'o m.;hin..ll
with before the trial? In pris-
on she,s studying law and Spanish, playing the pen-
ny whistle, and learning to juggle. llRevolutionary
activity should be as lighthearted and amusing as
possiblef, she says. IIIItls necessary always to doubt,
to re-evaluate what youire doing, and to make fun
of yourself? Not that she has many second
thoughts. Though she wants to discuss the technical
side of nuclear strategy, Komisaruk suspects the U5.
press has ignored her because of two biases: it won,t
take seriously an articulate anarchist, nor a woman
who acts lipassionately, maternally? Komisaruk
worries that First Strike will prompt fellow pacifists
to place her on a pedestal. llI get a lot of mail from
people who say, II wish I had your courage, but I
don,t.l I hate to see that kind of reaction? Mean-
while, she is making clothes for the child she wants
to adopt. -Peter Livingston and 158 Bosch
away on a nasty
was concerned with the truth of my case. I need
money like anyone else, but Im not into it that
much. Why would I do something that would hurt 3:32.21):
me even morePII an oppgmm,
Horton wonlt say whether he was unfairly eon- and used If.
victed, other than to assert, llNo one knows the He'd hawk.

truth about my case? And though he is aware that #3752111, "9
Lee Atwater was behind the ad that made him in- Dukakls."
famous, Horton won't make judgments,
about the new Republican party chairman:
I'd be doing the same thing back to him
that he did to me? But Horton thinks the
commercial's impact will last far beyond
the Bush presidency. It just reinforced
what people think and set blacks back 50
years. They didn't care anything about me
or my case, they just used me?

Kat/vryn Olney

Photographs by Ron Boyer/ White Rose Collective
and Wide World (Atwater)

MOTHER JONES,
WOULD LIKE

anonymity is powerful. It allows excess without accountability, Violation without blame, and, all too often, crime without punishment.

For 12 years, MOTHER JONES has sought to expose those whose irresponsible acts have caused suffering and injustice. We've succeeded by practicing a brand of tough investigative reporting rarely found in journalism today. But this invaluable means of seeking the truth is in jeopardy. We need your help to ensure that it survives. As evidenced in the last presidential campaign, major news coverage is often cynical and superficial. But our commitment to in-depth reporting and uncompromising investigative journalism remains firm. It is time-consuming. It is expensive. But it is also our most important calling.

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- An expose of a multimillionaire triple agent, his infiltration of Israeli intelligence, the KGB, and the CIA, and the effect his "off-the-shelf, off-the-book" operative has on African politics.

- An examination of the U.S. longest prison lockdown in Marion, Illinois.

- An expose of the ozone catastrophe: US perpetrators unveiled, and new findings about the environmental consequences beyond our borders.

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Which way to America? From left:

Corey Glover, Will Calhoun, Muu Skillings, Vernon Ioid.

plc. So much of what you ace in modern black music is very surface kinds of emotional things. . . . The market-placc has dictated to black music for so long what it has to bc, in a way Itls hccomc frightened; itls afraid of its own instincts. ltls afraid to bc looked upon as radical or too wild, so cvcrything gets invrtcd. It becomes slick and controlled. . . . ln lllamstream black music the range is very compressed; like 5cxual SltlethIlb or romantic sltUJtIOIls. the man always has the upper hand. Its very cut and dried. To look atlt, people would think that thatls all black pcoplc think or care about?

What Rcid cares about comes through loud and clear in his song like ltWhich Way to America," with its outta ted chant: Where is my tucker fence, my ling 'he term "bunk cool glass of 1817102111118? "You know," rock" is redundant says Reid, tlsomc writers think thcvltc Basic Black

IVINL, (LomUR HA5 Tm. EHRONTERY To LAY claim to the black heritage of rock and roll. Not tap, not R&B, but good old assaultive hard rock. Virtuoso lcadtguitatist chon Rcid is the main instigatot. As asoinctlnicmusic krlth for thc lrlil/ugc) V0151) and a toundcr of New YorkB Black Rock Coalition, Rad lx'Ccps driving thc point home: the term tlhlack rockn is in fact staggeringly redundant. "ltls really a complctc LOIHHIICHIFY on that ClflfLOUb relationship of blacks and Wltitcs lll America: how something can start out hcmg minplctcly a black thing and in the space of one gncration it hccomcs completely alien for a black to doltl ltls bizarre. . . . In order for black pcoplc to be in rock itls as if they haw to hccomc this neutral thing they living Colour is the best proof that

have to dutancc thcmsclvcs from the rest of black cult turc. The only way you can participate 15 ifyou have the IIIICIISC desire to bc whitc. And thcrcls thc conundrum, hccausc cvcn With that desire, you will never be whitcfl Rad says that Vivid, thc group's recent gold record, is a rats attempt to convey the interior lives of black peo- 14 jUNh1939

paying us a compliment by saying, (31056 your eyes and put this record on and itls just like any rock bandf Thatls the worst thing to lllC. That's the farthest from what we really want to accomplish. lf assimilation means neutralization, I'm completely against thatfl

- Pam llm B rozwz

Photograph by lvf/cry cht'bmy

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honest work.

16 JUNE 1989

ECENTIX I ATTENDED THE COMMENCEMENT

exercises of a California university at which
the graduates of the school of business wore
FOR SALE signs around their necks. It was
done as a joke, of course, a display of youthful
high spirits, and yet it was inescapably a cynical joke,
of the sort by which an embarrassing truth is
haunted. For, in fact, these graduates were for sale,
they knew that they were, and they intended to be.
They had just spent four years at a university to
increase their marketability. That some of the
young women in the group undoubtedly were femi-
nists only made the joke more cynical. But what
most astonished and alarmed me was that a number
of these graduates for sale were black. Had their
forebears served and suffered and struggled in Amer-
ica for 368 years in order for these now certified and
privileged few to sell themselves?

How, remembering their history, could those
black graduates have worn those signs? Only. I
think, by assuming, in very dangerous innocence,
that their graduation into privilege exempted them
from history. The danger is that there is no safety, no
dependable safety, in privilege that is founded on
greed, ignorance, and waste. And these people, after
all, will remain black. What sign will they wear be-
sides their expensive suits by which the police can tell
them from their unemployed and unemployable
brothers and sisters of the inner city?

L TEST THINKING

By Wendell Berry

Tm: ROOT or ()UR RACIAL PROBLEM IN AMERICA IS

not racism. The root is in our inordinate desire to be
superior-not to some inferior or subject people,
though this desire leads to the subjection of people-
but to our condition. We wish to rise above the sweat
and bother of taking care of anything-of ourselves,
of each other, or of our country. We did not enslave
African blacks because they were black, but because
their labor promised to free us of the obligations of
stewardship, and because they were unable to pre-
vent us from enslaving them. They were eco-
nomically valuable and militarily weak.

It seems likely, then, that what we now call racism
came about as a justification of slavery after the fact,
not as its cause. We decided that blacks were inferior
in order to persuade ourselves that it was all right to
enslave them. That this is true is suggested by our
present treatment of other social groups to whom we
assign the laborious jobs of caretaking. For it is not
only the racial minorities who receive our indif-
ference or contempt, but economic or geographic
minorities as well. Anyone who has been called Tired-
neekil or hillbilly or hick or sometimes even
country person, or farmer shares with racial mi-
norities the experience of a stigmatizing social preju-
dice. And such terms as "redneck" and hillbilly,
and hick have remained acceptable in public use
long after the repudiation of such racial epithets as
nigger and greaser. "Rednecks" and hill-
billies and "hicks" are scorned because they do

what used to be known as "nigger yyorkla_work that is fundamental and inescapable. And it should not be necessary to point out the connection between the oppression of women and the general contempt for household work. It is well established among us that you may hold up your head in polite society with a public lie in your mouth or other peoples money in your pocket or innocent blood on your hands, but not with dishwater on your hands or mud on your shoes.

What we did not understand at the time of slavery, and understand poorly still, is that this presumption of the inferiority of economic groups is a contagion that we cannot control, for the presumed inferiority of workers inevitably infects the quality of their work, which inevitably infects the quality of the workplace, which is to say the quality of the country itself. When a nation determines that the work of providing and earetaking is "nigger work" or work for tlhillbillies" or "redneeksll-that is, fundamental, necessary, inescapable, and inferior-then it has implanted in its own soul the infection of its ruin. The problem of race, nevertheless, is generally treated as if it could be solved merely by recruiting more blacks and other racial minorities into colleges and then into high-paying jobs. This is to assume. simply, that we can solve the problems of racial minorities by elevating them to full partnership in the problems of the racial majority. We assume that when a young black person acquires a degree and Photograph by U111 Sre/rzer. The New Americans, New Sage Press

Frans Lanting

But It A Shame?

You had no idea, did you, that a seemingly harmless piece of plastic could become an implement of death to an innocent small creature? Yet it happens, unfortunately: on a grand scale.

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18 JUNE 1989

achieves a sit-down job with a corporation,

the problem is to that extent solved.

The larger, graver, more dangerous prob-

lem, however, is that we have thought of no

better way of solving the race problem. The

llsuccessll of the black corporate executive,

in fact, only reveals the shallowness, the

jeopardy, and the falseness of the llsuccessil

of the white corporate executive. This lisuc-

cess" is a private and highly questionable

settlement that does not solve, indeed does

not refer to, the issues associated with Amer-

ican racism. It only assumes that American

blacks will be made better or more useful or

more secure by becoming as greedy, selfish,

wasteful, and thoughtless as affluent Ameri-

can whites. The aims and standards of the

oppressors become the aims and standards

of the oppressed, and so our ills and evils

survive our successive llliberations."

THERE IS NO SAFETY IN BELONGING TO THE

select few, for minority people or anybody

else. If we are looking for insurance against want and oppression, we will find it only in our neighbors prosperity and goodwill and, beyond that, in the good health of our worldly places, our homelands. If we were sincerely looking for a place of safety, for real security and success, then we would begin to turn to our communities_and not the communities simply of our human neighbors, but also of the water, earth, and air, the plants and animals, all the creatures with whom our local life is shared. We would be looking too for another kind of freedom. Our present idea of freedom is only the freedom to do as we please: to sell ourselves for a high salary, a home in the suburbs, and idle weekends. But that is a freedom dependent upon affluence, which is in turn dependent upon the rapid consumption of exhaustible supplies. The other kind of freedom is the freedom to take care of ourselves and of each other. The freedom of affluence opposes and contradicts the freedom of community life.

Our place of safety can only be the community, and not just one community, but many of them everywhere. All that we still claim to value depends on that: freedom, dignity, health, mutual help and affection, undestructive pleasure, and the rest. Human life, as most of us still would like to define it is community life.

How, then, can ilirttegratioiil be achieved -and what can it mean-in communities that are conspicuously disintegrating?

Mostly, we do not speak of our society as disintegrating. We would prefer not to call what we are experiencing social disintegration. But we are endlessly preoccupied with the symptoms: divorce, venereal disease, murder, rape, debt, bankruptcy, pornography, soil loss, teenage pregnancy, fatherless children, motherless children, child suicide, public child care, retirement homes, nursing homes, toxic waste, soil and water and air pollution, government secrecy, government lying, government crime, civil violence, drug abuse, sexual promiscuity, abortion as iibirth controlf the explosion of garbage, hopeless poverty, unemployment, unearned wealth. All the plagues ofour time are symptoms of a general disintegration.

We are capable, really, only of the forcible integration of centralization-economic, political, military, and educational-and always at the cost of social and cultural disintegration. Our aim, it would appear, is to ilintegrate" ourselves into a limitless military-industrial city in which we all will be lost, and so may do as we please in the freedom either to run wild until we are caught or killed, or to do hall the things that other people do?

People dont work or shop or amuse themselves or go to church or school in their own neighborhoods anymore, and are therefore free to separate themselves from their workplaces and economic sources, and to sort themselves into economic categories in which, having no need for each other, they remain strangers. I assume that this is bad

because I assume that it is good for people to know each other. I assume, especially, that it is good for people to know each other across the lines of economy and vocation. Professional people should know their clients outside their offices. Teachers should know the families of their students. University professors and intellectuals should know the communities and the households that will be affected by their ideas. Rich people and poor people should know each other. If this familiar knowledge does not exist, then these various groups will think of each other and deal with each other on the basis of stereotypes as vicious and ultimately as dangerous as the stereotypes of race.

A TRUE AND APPROPRIATE ANSWER TO OUR race problem, as to many others, would be a restoration of our communities-it being understood that a community, properly speaking, cannot exclude or mistreat any of its members. This is what we forgot during slavery and the industrialization that followed and have never remembered.

A proper community, we should remember also, is a commonwealth: a place, a resource, and an economy. It answers the needs, practical as well as social and spiritual, of its members-among them the need to need one another. The answer to the present alignment of political power with wealth is the restoration of the identity of community and economy.

Is this something the government could help with? Of course it is. Community cannot be made by government prescription and mandate, but the government, in its proper role as promoter of the general welfare, preserver of the public peace, and forbidding of injustice, could do much to promote the improvement of communities. If it wanted to, it could end its collusion with the wealthy and the corporations and the special interests? It could stand, as it is supposed to, between wealth and power. It could assure the possibility that a poor person might hold office. It could protect, by strict forbiddings, the disruption of the integrity of a community or a local economy or an ecosystem by any sort of commercial or industrial enterprise, that is, it could enforce proprieties of scale. It could understand that economic justice does not consist in giving the most power to the most money. The government could do such things. But we know well that it is not going to do them; it is not even going to consider doing them, because community integrity, and the decentralization of power and economy that it implies, is antithetical to the ambitions of the corporations. The government's aim, therefore, is racial indifference, not integrated communities. Does this mean that our predicament is hopeless? No. It only means that our predicament is extremely unfavorable, as the human predicament has often been.

What the government will or will not do is finally beside the point. If people do not have the government they want, then they will have a government that they must either change or endure. Finally, all the issues that I have discussed here are neither political nor economic, but moral and spiritual. What is at issue is our character as a people. It is necessary to look beyond the government to the possibility—one that seems to be growing—that people will reject what have been the prevailing assumptions, and begin to strengthen and defend their communities on their own.

We must be aware too of the certainty that the present way of things will eventually fail. If it fails quickly, by any of several predicted causes, then we will have no need, being absent, to worry about what to do next. If it fails slowly, and if we have been careful to preserve the most necessary and valuable things, then it may fail into a restoration of community life—that is, into understanding of our need to help and comfort each other.

Wendell Berry's *The Hidden Wound*, 75m published in 1970, has just been reissued by North Point Press. This essay is taken from a new afterward he wrote for the book.

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MOTHER jONES

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Editor's Note: Ten years ago, reporters from Mother Jones magazine and the Center for Investigative Reporting collaborated on a series of stories, "The Corporate Crime of the Century?" which exposed corporate dumping of the export of hazardous products from the United States to the Third World. The crime continues, with especially painful consequences in faraway villages and fields largely obscured from public view. Last fall we sent two reporters and a translator into a remote plantation in Costa Rica to untangle the story of 105 afectados (the affected ones)-a group of more than one thousand workers who have paid a high price for this kind of dumping. What follows is the workers' story, the details of the corporate decision to expose them to a hazardous pesticide, and news about the legal effort to bring them a measure of justice.

At the mess we got ourselves into. Colonel Aureliano Buendía said at that time, "just because we invited a gringo to eat some bananas. This

-Gabriel Garcia Marquez,

One Hundred Years of Solitude

Rio Frio is a town that never quite happened.

Across mountains that separate Costa Rica's

stormy Atlantic plain from the capital city of San Jose, it is set in the middle of a vast plantation, a clutch of flimsy buildings dwarfed by miles of banana plants shuddering in a muggy wind. We've put a call out over the radio, asking the men who call themselves los afectados-the affected ones-to meet us here. We were hoping that at least a few will turn up to discuss the 37 million lives that have been taken.

To our surprise, about 70 dark, wiry men with open shirts and heavy mustaches, many with machetes strapped to their belts, are already gathered in the community center, and more continue to arrive.

The sky blackens as morning stretches into afternoon and the rains return, hammering loudly on the open-air buildings' tin roof. Most of the men smoke and trade jokes, but one sits slightly apart.

Pedro Carrillo Dover, clear-eyed and articulate, leans forward in his chair as he explains that he came to Rio Frio 19 years ago hoping to break away from a dead-end past. The way out seemed to be the banana plantation run by Standard Fruit (owned, in turn, by Castle & Cooke, Inc., one of the world's largest

Pesticide Dumps-

And a Boomerang

he problem of dumping the practice of shipping banned, hazardous chemicals and products to other countries has persisted over the past ten years. In addition to the resulting illnesses and deaths elsewhere, there is often a boomerang effect for US. consumers, especially in the case of pesticides, since much of the produce we eat is grown in other countries.

Here's a reporter's notebook:

Total volume, in pounds, of bananas imported by the United States from 1983 to 1985: . . . 17,620,058,245

Total number of imported bananas tested for pesticide residues during the same period: 160

Percentage of pesticides exported from the United States that are restricted or illegal to use inside the country: 25

Estimate of the number poisoned by pesticides annually: approximately 1 million

Estimate of number killed by pesticide poisoning annually: 20,000

Percentage of all pesticides that are used in the Third World: 20

Percentage of pesticide accidents that occur in the Third World: . . 50 percent of poisonings, 90 percent of deaths

Odds of being poisoned by pesticides in Central America as opposed to in the United States: 1,800:1

Percentage of produce imported by the United States and other industrialized countries that is pesticide-contaminated: . . 50 or more

Percentage of all U.S. food imports tested for

Percentage of food imported by the United States that the government believes to be contaminated: 5 .3

Percentage of food identified by the FDA as (Mario Zumbado's wife left him food-production conglomerates). Rio Frio was supposed to be just a way station, a place to make some money before getting on with things. When Pedro escaped from the town ten years ago, he never intended to come back.

Returning today makes him feel as if he'd never left. He's uneasy and ashamed, he says, looking around at the other men. "Do people on the outside know what has happened?"

he asks quietly. "Do they know about us?"

"How could they?" breaks in another man who has been standing nearby. "This problem doesn't have a name. It's so big. You have to be inside it to understand what it is like."

MORE THAN A THOUSAND MILES AWAY, JACK DEMENT

settles into a high-backed executive's chair in Castle 86

Cook's boxy Dole skyscraper, located in one of the many shopping malls that smother the landscape around Boca

Raton, Florida. Dement chain-smokes Salems, speaking with a gravelly voice and grumpy amiability about his job, which keeps him on the road 960 percent of the time, perpetually jet-lagged, inspecting company property from the Philippines to Honduras.

Dement's leather jacket, stained Polo shirt, and gruff manner set him apart from the gray-suited company men around him. He's been with the firm for 25 years, and he is a field man, not a paper shuffler. Among other responsibilities, Dement oversees which chemicals are used at the company's banana plantations; that's how his life converges with Pedro Carrillo's, even though the two men have never met.

The banana business has always been a tough one, mainly because the commercial life of the fruit—from harvest to breakfast table—is short and unforgiving. One of Castle 86 Cook's biggest pest problems at its banana plantations is the

nematode, a microscopic worm that feeds on the roots of plants. By the late 1960s, the nematode population had risen dramatically. Luckily for banana growers, two of the world's largest chemical companies-Dow Chemical and Shell Oil-had come up with a chemical, dibromochloropropane (DBCP), to combat nematodes.

(In the late 1950s, separate scientific studies sponsored by the two manufacturers revealed that DBCP damaged the testicles and reduced the sperm count of laboratory animals. But over the subsequent 20 years neither company included this information on its product labels. Government officials aware of the results approved the DBCP labels despite these findings.)

What made DBCP so fantastic was that it killed the nematodes pesticide-tainted, but which still has been after his exposure to the chemical DBCP. without hurting the crop; Dement allowed to reach consumers: 60
tion, causing only poisonings and pollution: 99
- Craig Karmin

W
says. By 1971, Castle 85 Cooke was sending regular shipments of DBCP to its banana plantations in Costa Rica. Although he didn't know it at the time, Dement had helped make a decision that was to change permanently the lives of Pedro Carrillo and his fellow banana workers in a

way that none of them could have imagined.

BANANA PLANTS ARE GIANT

herbs that grow up to 25 feet high. They mature quickly and must be tended carefully along the way. After several months, a large purple bud forms at the center of the leaf cluster, then slowly opens to expose a double row of flowers that develop into hands of 10 to 20 fingers each. Over the following four months, these tiny bananas gradually fatten as they grow ripe.

Work on the banana plantation builds to harvest time, when the bananas are picked, sorted, fumigated, and boxed for the trip to foreign markets.

At Rio Frio and at Standard Fruit's other big plantation in the remote Valle de la Estrella (Valley of the Star), Pedro Carrillo and his coworkers say they were instructed to mix DBCP

(which they called Nemagon, the Shell trade name) with water and pour it into canisters called picingas for transportation to the field. Then they filled their injectors, which resembled mammoth hypodermic needles, and injected DBCP into the soil around the base of the banana plants.

Workers told us they were frequently doused with the chemical when it spilled from the picingas onto their backs and arms. It felt hot at first, and stinging? one worker says. Then it refreshed you, like ice on your skin. But it smelled awful, and it made us sleepy?

The men grew to respect the new chemical, even to imbue it with mythic powers. All the frogs and the toads were gone in the valley after we used Nemagon, another worker from the Valle de la Estrella recalls. We poured it on the snakes and the ants, and it made them crazy. The fish would die in the rivers?

PEDRO CARRILLO BEGAN WORKING WITH DBCP IN 1976

(the pay and the hours were better). By then he'd spent six years at Rio Frio, but his aspirations were far from the banana fields: three compañeros shared his ambition, and in 1973, they had begun attending school every night after work.

Walking six miles to school and back, the young men, still wearing work clothes stained with the milky latex of banana plants, talked about their dreams of escaping. We realized that to triumph in life, one had to educate oneself, says Bisai Fernandez Delgado, one of the four. And one couldn't have Vices?

Pedro Carrillo met Iris Marin Jimenez at night school when they were in seventh grade. Iris had come to the plantation in 1972 to help her sister and brother-in-law, who owned a small food store on one of the fincas. He sat beside her in class one night, and they soon began to spend all their time together.

i

Iris Carrillo (left) thought the birth of her son, Juan, would solve her family's problems.

Iris is small, with a proud, pretty face, her eyes deep, dark, and watchful. She always wanted to be a nurse; that was my dream, she says. But her work at the family store kept Iris away from her studies. After two years, she left school; by then she and Pedro were in love and she was pregnant.

Pedro continued his exhausting schedule of work and school until he got his diploma in December 1977. He moved with Iris and Felicia, their little girl, to take a job as a loan officer at the Bank of Costa Rica. It has always been my goal

to be better tomorrow than I am today? Pedro says. 11So we moved away from there with a lot of dreams?

IN THE SUMMER OF 1977, WHILE PEDRO CARRILLO AND HIS coworkers were applying DBCP in Costa Rica, the wives of chemical manufacturing workers at an Occidental Chemical Company plant in a small town in California discovered_ during conversations in the bleachers while their husbands played baseball-that they all shared a problem: none of them was able to get pregnant. After prodding from their wives, the men, who worked with DBCP, approached union leaders, who in turn contacted a doctor about the problem.

Soon, newspaper stories reported that DBCP had made dozens of chemical workers sterile at plants across the country, and was carcinogenic as well. Dow and Shell immediately suspended all production, and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) initiated its lengthy and cumbersome regulatory process to cancel the chemicals registration.

The news stories about DBCP made officials at Castle 8C Cooke nervous, since by then the chemical had become, as Jack Dement wrote, tlthe material of choice in all of our banana divisions? Even a decade later, Dement cannot help growing animated when he talks about DBCP. 1Tve never

MOTHER JONES 23

seen another chemical that increased our banana yields by 30 percent," he says, snapping his fingers, "just like that!"

In an internal memo dated August 16, 1977, Jack Dement worried that a ban on DBCP would drastically reduce banana yields, pointed out that alternative chemicals were only 65 percent as effective, and emphasized that "there is no evidence that people who apply the chemical, as opposed to those who manufacture it, have been rendered sterile or have been harmed in other ways." Dement's memo concluded that Castle & Cooke would continue using DBCP until it was banned in the company's areas of operation.

Dement's memo was only the first of a series of efforts inside Castle & Cooke to keep using DBCP in Costa Rica throughout the rest of 1977 and most of 1978. After the sterility link became public in the summer of 1977, Dow officials were reluctant to continue providing their stocks of the chemical to Castle & Cooke. But the giant food conglomerate pressured Dow, warning that a refusal to supply more DBCP amounted to a breach of contract.

Dow finally relented and sold its remaining inventory to Castle & Cooke.

The decision to continue using DBCP in Costa Rica for 15 months after the sterility were completely sterile. When his brother reported back about the DBCP cases in California, Dominguez had the answer to the mystery at Rio Frio.

Ten years later, Dominguez shows us a file that commemorates his role in the DBCP case. He recounts how, bolstered by the evidence from his brother, he approached the Costa Rican government to denounce DBCP. He had the names of patients, he had a list of products used, and he had scientific documentation. Dominguez, who has a penchant for American westerns, recalls with glee. So John Wayne goes in and starts firing,

In late November, 1978—a year after workers in California discovered they were sterile—Dominguez met with Costa Rican officials to present his evidence. By December, Standard Fruit, under pressure from the government, agreed to stop using DBCP in Costa Rica. In Rio Frio and the Valle de la Estrella, however, the continued use of DBCP (for over a year, even after the California disclosures) may have had tragic consequences. According to the Costa Rican government's chief consulting urologist, Carlos Calvosa Alegretti, as little as one hundred hours of exposure to DBCP can cause sterility, and he says over a link made news in the United States came from one thousand workers in Costa Rica alone

from the highest level of the company," admits retired executive vice president Leonard Frigh, "no result of exposure to it. (San Jose attorney

W. Marks, Jr., over lunch at his country home with Marlene Chavez, who represents some of the

club near Palo Alto, California. A slight, balding man, Marks believes the total is closer to three

ing man with impeccable manners, Marks decided thousand.)

remains a discreet and effective spokesman

for the company. "You see, DBCP was so .h. had go do AFTER THEY LEFT Rio Frio, LIFE SEEMED

important to us. It wasn't a cover-up, believe me, but hope springs eternal. When the DBCP disclosures began, it was like we were on a freeway, going 65 miles per hour, and suddenly there was a sign, 'Detour now.' Well, we didn't do that. We thought, what's going on? What should we do?"

Marks, Dement, and other officials at

Castle & Cooke now express regret over the problems caused by the chemical. In their defense, they say they didn't know about the 1950s animal studies linking the chemical to sterility. Other corporate executives involved in the DBCP saga

continue to dispute evidence that it causes sterility. Clyde McBeth, one of those who helped develop DBCP for Shell, says he handled it without safety equipment and suffered no health problems. ttAnywayf says MeBeth, who has never been to (Iosta Rica or met any of 105 a/i'rtados, ufrom what I hear, they could use a little birth control down there." Wiu-zN MARIO ZUMnAoo SALAs HRS'I"l'l'tAVl%1,lil) FROM Rio Frio in 1977 to see physician (Iarlos li. Dominguez Vargas in San jose, nobody in (Iosta Rica had yet heard that the chemical might cause sterility. But as tnore banana workers came to him because they eouldnt have children, Dominguez asked Zumhado and several others to bring him labels from the chemicals they were applying for Standard 1:1'llit.'1.11011 he sent the labels to his brother, who worked for a 11.5. chemical company, and asked if he knew anything about the products. By this time, Dominguez had determined that the men had seriously reduced sperm counts; many, including Zumhado, 1.4 jUNl- lurk)

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to come together for Pedro and Iris Carrillo. They had saved enough to buy a small house outside the little city of Guapiles, near a park lined with large, ancient trees. Pedro still dreamed of going on to university, but for the moment he was satisfied with his job at the bank.

But Felicia was almost six, and although Pedro and his tried, no more children came. By 1982, the problem had become a major issue in their relationship. Pedro wouldn't talk much about it, but Iris noticed his declining appetite for sex. He seemed to be constantly tired, and he complained of vaguet persistent pains. Finally, in early 1983 he decided to see a doctor. He was surprised when the doctor who examined hitn seemed familiar with his complaint, and questioned hitn closely about the chemicals he had worked with at the plantation.

Carrillo was shattered when he learned the results of his semen analysis. The doctor informed him that he was completely sterile and that too much time had elapsed since his exposure to DBCP to hold out any hope of recovery. 111 felt that a dream had died, and I didn't know who killed it," Pedro says six years later.

After that diagnosis, Pedro grew moody and uncommunicative. Iris felt him slipping away from her. He began to spend tnore and more time away from home. At times, he seemed unable to accept his sterility and he would angrily insist that he wanted a son-hsomeone who could understand me as a man"eas if he blamed Iris for what had happened to him. Iris. an intensely private person, had no one to turn to for

help. Her world revolved around her family, and now that seemed to be slowly falling apart. Increasingly isolated and desperate, she came up with a plan that frightened her at first. But she decided she had to do something before it was too late.

BY LATE 1979, DBCP WAS BANNED IN THE CONTINENTAL

United States. It was not illegal to continue sending the banned chemical overseas, however (nor, remarkably, is it today). In November 1979, a team of journalists from the Center for Investigative Reporting and Motherjones reported that Castle 85 Cooke was doing just that--shipping DBCP to its banana plantations in Central America.

Early the following year, allegations about this dumping led to a congressional hearing and a demurrer from executive Ted Marks: Tilt is Castle 86 Cooke's corporate policy that we will not use nor purchase a product treated with any pesticide which is not specifically registered for that use by the US. Environmental Protection Agency?

Though categorical in his public statements, Marks then assigned a midlevel official to investigate the company's overseas pesticide use in greater depth--and the findings of the report contradicted his assurances. The internal report, dated November 13, 1980, contained disturbing news that the company continued to use all kinds of hazardous pesticides, including DBCP, at various places around the world--with accidents and controversy the inevitable result.

When we showed Marks the report recently, he said he only vaguely recalled it, but thought that company officials had tried to solve the problems it uncovered. According to another former official who was at the meeting when the report was presented, however, all copies of the report were gathered up and discarded--a charge Marks disputes. (The source smuggled one copy out of the meeting and gave it to us.)

Perhaps the most disturbing portions of the report were indications that as late as 1980, three years after the sterility link had surfaced in California and two years after the first cases showed up in Costa Rica, Castle St Cooke was still using DBCP in an unidentified Third World country? Other corporate and government documents indicate that once the chemical could no longer be used in Costa Rica, which has one of Central America's most democratic governments, the banana company simply shipped its remaining stocks, plus shipments still on the way, out of the country. The records document that the DBCP was sent to Honduras, a military state where no one was likely to raise a public protest. The circle of poison was not yet broken; according to several sources in Honduras--where Castle St Cooke continued to use DBCP at least through 1979--many workers there now complain of sterility as well.

THOUGH PEDRO AND IRIS DIDN'T KNOW ABOUT IT, MANY OF the households in Rio Frio and Valle de la Estrella were splintering in the aftermath of exposure to DBCP. As is the case with many of the workers we interviewed, Mario Zumbado Salas's wife left him when she learned he was sterile. He not ashamed to say that I cried for a month; he told us when we talked with him in the barber shop he now owns in Rio Frio. His new wife is only 19, and he worries that she, too, will leave him. When she sees an advertisement with a kid in it, she always says, Oh, what a cute kid? That mortifies you. You look away, you pretend you don't hear?

Many of the sterile workers in Rio Frio and Valle de la Estrella also complain of genital pain and impotence. Although doctors in Costa Rica and the United States say these symptoms are psychosomatic, impotence seems to be pervasive. With a woman, I am no good anymore; several men told us. One woman says of her relationship with her husband, We sleep together now like two brothers? Depression, alcoholism, and even suicide have also increased among the banana workers in the wake of the DBCP tragedy.

Jose Sosa came to Rio Frio when he was very young, and at 29, he is completely sterile. His wife, Maria, who has a round, fresh face, looks as if she is about to cry. My house is very

sadf, she says. Her father, also a banana worker, became sterile after she was born. 1iOne is born to reproduce oneself, then die? says Sosa. 1lBut here, one is born only to die?

ONE DAY IN EARLY 1985, IRIS TOLD PEDRO THAT SHE WAS pregnant. Since he had only a vague understanding of the invisible mechanism of sterility, he reacted with a mixture of shock and elation: maybe the doctor had been wrong. But as much as he hoped this was true, the worst doubts arose in his mind. Iris seemed remote and evasive all through the pregnancy, increasing his suspicions.

When the baby, a boy, was born, Pedro could not resist examining him closely. By the time Juan was a few months old the truth was inescapable: the boys coloring was much lighter than his sisters, and he looked nothing like his father.

It was simply too much for Pedro. He disappeared for several days, and when he returned he fought with Iris, shouting and interrogating her obsessively. Iris withdrew from him, refused to answer his questions, and devoted all of her time and attention to the children. Her depressed, angry husband then became what he calls 9another kind of being?

Over the next two years, all semblance of intimacy between Iris and Pedro vanished. He was transferred to one of the banks offices on the other side of the country, and came home only on weekends-when he came home at all.

IT IS A SWELTERING AFTERNOON IN DALLAS, BUT FROM TEN floors up in attorney Charles Siegells air-conditioned office, the streets below look hushed and gentle. With his rumpled shirt, irreverent manner, and resonant Texas drawl, Siegel seems out of place in this hermetic office with its high-backed leather chairs and lush carpets. Likewise, the state of Texas seems an unlikely refuge for the rights of the Costa Rican workers. But for Siegel, who has been crisscrossing the United States over the past five years trying to find a court that will accept the case of 105 afectados, his home state of Texas now represents the last hope.

Five years ago, Siegells firm, Baron 8C Budd, which has one of the leading toxics litigation practices in the country, sued Dow and Shell on behalf of the sterile banana workers (in 1987, Castle 86 Cooke was added as a defendant in the complaint).

Siegel felt strongly about the sterility case from the beginning. mfthese workers have clearly suffered, and theyve really been screwed. Itls another example of dumping in the Third World. I think that going to court may be the most effective way, if not the only way, to get these companies to stop. Its been shown again and again: its not legislation, but awards to victims, that have shaped corporate conduct?

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Courts in Florida and California refused to hear the case. The Texas Supreme Court will soon decide whether the case can proceed to trial there. The court has already heard from an array of big guns. A barrage of amicus curiae briefs filed in support of Dow and Shell by Fortune 500 companies-including Exxon, Texaco, and Tenneco-raises the specter of a damaged business climate and unemployment if the case gets a hearing in Texas. Those corporate briefs insist further that the state will become the dumping ground for claims by foreigners, and the courthouse for the world if the workers case is allowed to go to trial.

Siegel fired back, arguing that the banana workers were employed by an American company on American-owned land and grew Dole bananas solely for export to American tables. The substance that rendered them sterile was researched, formulated, tested, manufactured, labeled, and shipped by an American company in America to another American company. Yet now, defendants claim that the one part of this equation that should not be American is the legal consequences?

DURING THE PAST DECADE, BY ALL ACCOUNTS, Standard Fruit's pesticide safety programs have improved substantially. But poisonings still occur at Rio Frio, and one of the chemicals responsible may ultimately prove as hazardous in its own way as DBCP. Early last year 45 workers were made ill by Temik, the best known of the six pesticides that replaced DBCP in the battle against nematodes.

Temik, which is among the most toxic pesticides used anywhere today, is a groundwater pollutant currently under investigation by U.S. scientists because of evidence that it may suppress the human immune system. (The EPA's pesticide division recently recommended barring the use of Temik on imported bananas, asserting that up to 1,500 infants and children in this country may be at risk each day from Temik residues on bananas.)

The parallel between DBCP and Temik, both heavily applied all over the globe despite scientific uncertainty about their dangers, indicates how little the world's highly technological food-production system has changed over the past 20 years. That system remains so deeply dependent on chemicals that pesticides continue to be considered innocent until proven guilty often with tragic consequences.

Yet little progress has been made in the development of alternative methods for controlling pests. Jack Dement of Castle Cooke insists that nothing would make us happier than nonchemical control-but places the blame on consumer demand for creating the marketplace pressure that ensures the continued use of potent chemicals. Puffing his cigarette and gesturing toward glossy blow-ups of flawless fruit, Dement points out that although DBCP was used to protect the plant itself, most pesticides are used only to prevent cosmetic damage. According to Dement, market surveys show that consumers won't buy fruit if it looks scarred or slightly damaged. The number of bananas that are thrown

26 JUNE 1989

if they would prefer perfect fruit, or fewer poisonings: in the Third World?"

W

away borders on a sin, just because the fruit isn't big enough, or has a few spots?

Cathleen McInerney Barnes of EPA counters: It's easy to blame the consumer, but when is the consumer ever asked whether he or she would prefer perfect fruit, or fewer poison-

ings in the Third World? Pm not sure they would choose to pay that price?

PEDRO AND FELICIA WAIT FOR us AT THE Bus STATION IN Guapiles. At 12, Felicia is sweet-faced and shy; encouraged by her father, she tries out some English phrases she's learned in school. Pedro directs us to the outskirts of town, then down a muddy road to their house. It is a warm, humid evening, and the door to the house is open.

Juan is almost three years old now. Small and quick, with mischievous eyes, he runs to meet Pedro as we walk in. Iris invites us to sit down and brings a tray of sodas and beers. Together in the small, cozy living room, it would be a happy family scene, except for the coolness between Pedro and Iris. When she takes the children into the other room, he lights a cigarette and says that things are very bad.

lIfelicia used to be a good student, but this situation has ruined her grades? he says.

iIShe hears us fighting and she goes off and cries. She doesn't respect me as she used to. And the boy, I love him, but I can't forget. He is a rebel, violent and angry. I see him as a boy with a trauma?

Iris comes back into the room and the two eye each other warily. He immediately finds an excuse to leave, announcing that he is going to take the children outside. IIIt makes me very sad when he asks questions about the boy? Iris begins as soon as Pedro has gone. As she talks, she twists the knob on the arm of the chair and doesn't lift her eyes. IIHe keeps asking over and over, and I don't know what to say. Maybe what I did was a mistake, but I did it to bring us together?

Iris has never spoken to anyone about this before, and everything pours out at once. IIHe wanted a boy so much. I saw the child as a stable of salvation for us. I thought Pedro was going to be so happy. But it only made things worse? ever asked

IN ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF SOLITUDE, A US. COMPANY moves into an imaginary town in Latin America and takes over vast tracts of land for banana production. Over time, local workers grow discontented with bad working conditions and poor pay, and demand reforms. When the company ignores them, they take their case to court. But their demands are ultimately thrown out when company lawyers prove that the banana company did not have, never had had, and never would have any workers in its service because they were all hired on a temporary and occasional basis . . . and by a decision of the court it was established and set down in solemn decrees that the workers did not exist?

The invisible worker-a character that appears in the works of Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Pablo Neruda, and other American writers, both North and South_is a leitmotif in the

traditional Obanana republicli
relationship between the United
States and the region. That rela-
tionship is based on unseen, un-
known, and uncomplaining
campesinos in the South grow-
ing crops for consumers in the
North.

Now that relationship is
being challenged by 105 (#66!-
ados. Many of the sterile work-
ers and their families have a
deep desire for North Ameri-
cans to know their story. 01
would like to say to people in
the U5. who eat bananas that
they themselves are a part of
our homes, of our lives-of our
most intimate lives? says Mar-
ita Perez, the wife of a sterile
worker at Rio Frio. 0Nemagon
has affected everything. It is not
that they are eating the forbid-
den fruit, but in a way they are.
That fruit-and the Chemicals
used on it-have caused many
problems here?

If the banana workers fail in
the Texas courts-and fail to at-
tract international attention as well_it,s back to business as
usual for the global food-supply system that today provides
U.S. consumers with a year-round diet of unprecedented di-
versity. And those field workers harmed along the way will be
effectively erased from history, consigned once again to the
state described by Garcia Marquez-permanent anonymity.

FOR PEDRO AND IRIS, SOME DAYS ARE BETTER THAN OTHERS.

On a recent Sunday, the family is spending a rare afternoon
together; after lunch they take a walk in the park near their
house. Pedro carries a soccer ball as Juan rides his tricycle
along the path ahead of his parents.

Pedro and Iris are careful with each other, and they seem to
have reached a sort of understanding. They discuss their plan:
to move to San Jose at the end of Felicials school year. hilt will
be a new start? Pedro tells us. 141 think the negative feelings I
have been living are my weakness?

Unlike most of 105 afectados, Pedro lifts his eyes when he
speaks, and as he talks about the future it is possible to believe
that he will be one of the few who succeed in leaving Rio Frio
-and all that occurred there-behind. 11What happened was
only an accident, but it changed our lives. Inside, I think I have
the strength and determination to survive?

Just then Juan, who makes zooming noises as he rides too
fast on his tricycle, yells out as he hits a bump in the pavement.
Pedro gets to the boy first and helps him to his feet. Juan isnlt
hurt, but hes scared, and he cries as Pedro brushes him off and
comforts him. As the boys crying subsides, Pedro tosses him
the soccer ball. juan immediately forgets his tears and runs
after it, then gives it a wobbly kick in the direction of his
father. Pedro kicks it back gently, his pace matching juanis as
they pass the ball back and forth over a small patch of grass.

Work on the plantation accelerates until harvest, when bananas are hoxedfor the trip to f
oreign markets.

It would occur to no one watching, as Pedro bends over the
excited boy, showing him how to kick the ball, that a chemical
with strange powers had damaged this man and his family;
nor would an onlooker be likely to notice the difference in
coloring between the man and the Child. As Pedro stands
watching Juan race across the grass after the ball, no one
would think they were anything but father and son.

Constance Matthiessen and David Weir are staffwrite; s at the
Center for Investigative Reporting in San Francisco. Weir is

also author of The Bhopal Syndrome (Sierra Club Books, 1987), coauthor (with Dan Noyes) of Raising Hell (Addison-Wesley, 1983), and coauthor (with Mark Schapiro) of Circle of Poison (Institute for Food and Development, 1981). Special thanks to jorge Simdn-Zahlah. Lori Ann Thrupp, Luisa Castillo, and CIR interns Stephen Levine and Christopher Rivers also contributed. Research for this story was supported by the Fund for Investigative journalism in Washington, D.C., and by the Mother Jones I nvestigative Fund.

For more information about pesticide use nationally and intemationally-and alternatives to them:

Northwest Coalition for
Alternatives to Pesticide

PO Box 1393

Eugene, OR 97440

(503) 344-5044

National Coalition Against
the Misuse of Pesticides

530 7th St, SE

Washington, DC 20003

(202) 542-5450

Pesticide Action Network

North America Regional Center

PO Box 610

San Francisco, CA 94101

(415) 541-9140

Greenpeace

1436 U Street, NW

Washington, DC 20009

(202)462-1177

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It used to be that
the
the only game in
town, so television
newswomen had to
play by the rules.

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networks were

Those days

are ()VCF.

Hl-N Alitf AxKi-i) Dilwi SAWYFR 'm IUMP HmM

(IBS lttxt Iieht'uzti'y, the hit: question wum how high?

il'hnt 15, how high was the network willing to hitl to lure

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()0 Minutes? The .inxwet IlH'Ht'tl out to be timtintl \$1.5

million, :1 salary no niiehm'wmimn hits eoiiiiigintletl since

Bnrham Walters (who takes home \$1 million lor asking; the

rieh :lHtl ltimotis whtit kind of tree theth like to he) left

NM: tor ABC iii W76.

Barely .1 month l;lIt'l', though, (BS struck hnek, tVUOngi

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ehm'iimii Tom Brokaw, tor .tii t'SI111L1lt'tl \$1.8 million; that

IHNI ttm't)

very same day NBC announced that (INN'S Mary Alice

Williams would step in And till the void for '.1 less zlstrtr

nomieal hut still estinmhle SW_(MLUUU. All three women will

now nnehor high-profile magazine shows-lMane Sawyer,

who will share the limelight with White House corre-

spondent Sum Donaldsom will lnuneh nn as-yet unnamed

SLIOW iii August; Mary Alice W'illittms, Along with CO-

.inehor Marin Shriver, will debut on 41 show called Yester-

tI'iiy. 'lhtt'tzy, mid 'ltmmrmu' over the summer; and Connie

Chung will head up a revamped West 57th.

The fast and furious battle for female talent might seem

to be good news for women hrtxttleusters, indicating a

WmhmiJ/i/W liv Willmm ('nu/nw

Ann Rubenstein
(left) spent 13 years as a
correspondent for network
affiliates in the Midwest. Since
1986, she has been the general
correspondent in New York
City for the NBC Nightly
News. "The big question has
always been, is there life after
network news?"

Marion Goldin
(right) formerly a producer at
60 Minutes, won a Peabody
Award for an independent
project, C. E. New;
Maine, in which young
people interviewed the
presidential candidates.
"Rather than just a gender
issue, there is a kind of person
who doesn't fit in network
news anymore. There are men
who won't play the old-hoy
network and women who play
it more beautifully than the
most seasoned men "

a Nerve Breakthrough
turnaround in the network's commitment to hiring and
promoting women. Or it might simply be another attempt
by network executives to win in the Nielsen war without
sacrificing the bottom line (news shows cost significantly
less than entertainment shows to produce, so they turn a
profit faster). To find out, we gathered four of television's
top female journalists-independent producers Linda
Ellerbee and Marion Goldin, NBC Nightly News corre-
spondent Ann Rubenstein, and Meredith Vieira, who is
expected to replace Sawyer on 60 Minutes-for a discus-
sion of women in television and the future of the news.

AAA

Orenstein: What would you tell a young woman fresh out
of college, 22, 23 years old, who wanted a career in television
journalism? What would she need to have the right stuff
now?

Rubenstein: I can tell her some things she ought to do,
morally and ethically, once she's in. Hang onto her own code
of ethics. Do not depend upon those of her employers. They'll
ask her to do things that you shouldn't do. You must really
decide for yourself what you're going to do and not do. And
what price you are
willing to pay for
whatever they're
asking for. By Peggy Orenstein
to find yourself one
MOTHER JONES 11)

Linda Ellerbee

lhh lM't'H (l HlHlFV llml
day standing, out in the snow with a
microphone and sticking it in the face
of a woman whols just had her son
Lor'rt'xpmnlml luv xml shows ll%
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killed and asking her how she feels
about it. Because somebody told you
thatls the way to get to the top.
Goldin: Mike Wallace once said to
me about a high-ranking CBS execu-
tive, llThe problem with so-andeso is
that he has no moral compass? Ilve
never forgotten that. My advice
would be to make sure you have :l
moral compass before you get into
this business, or any other.

Ellerbee: A good sense of humor.
And a good, strong sense of self-
worth. The minute you begin to let
them define you you're dead.

Vieira: They start defining you the first day.

Rubenstein: That's hard. But you begin to define yourself
based on your jolt, too. 'l'liats :l real trap.

Ellerbee: Stand up for yourself from day one. I know we've
all seen the people that come in and think, well, I'll do it their
way to get there, then they'll do it my way. Do it your way
every single day. Its the only way you'll ever continue to do it
your way. Because tlierels never :l place you can stop and rest
and then suddenly turn around. Besides that, if you're :l wonr
an and you're the least hit aggressive: then somehow or other
they're going to call you a trouhlemaker anyway.

Goldin: I think maybe when all of us got into the business,
wegat least l-tliought of (IBS News as a lifetime career.

Vieira: I thought Ill grow old at NBC.

Ellerbee: I wanted to.

Goldin: lixaetly. l doIH think even for people who want to
that thatk in the cards anymore. So to the extent that you
would be afraid to do what Linda and others have said_
stand up, keep your groundsso what if you're a little crazy?
(l'tllllll draw ll tmuul H

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Ellerbee: David Brinkley told me this years ago, and its the
most helpful advice I ever got in this business. It was the first
time I ever anchored a show, and it was eo-anchoring with
David Brinkley on a political show. just before we went on
the air I turned to him and said, ullm scared to death? And he
looked at me and said, thell I don% know why you'd be
scared; all they can do is fire you? And you know what? Hells
right! 'lhey eanlt put you in reporter jail. All they can do is fire
you.

Rubenstein: The video police wonk come get you.

Orenstein: Meredith, what do you think of all that, of
llmaintaining the moral compass?n

Vieira: I think its very hard to do. I really do. Especially
when you just begin, because you're unsure of yourself any-
how. You're taking baby steps. Its easy to say, TlStand up for
what you believe? And that is the right position to take. But
when you know you might lose your job, and its the first one
you have, its frightening. But I think as you gain confidence. ..

Ellerbee: Well, if you can take baby steps, you can take little
baby stand-ups.

Vieira: Thatls right, thatls right. I think thats what it

amounts to.

Orenstein: What are some of the battles you remember?

Vieira: I wouldn't go out and say how do you feel? After a fire. I remember that specifically. I was out doing a piece on a funeral where they wanted me to basically hang around the widow. And I said, I'll just will not do that.

Ellerbee: First of all, you know what the answer is to that question, how do you feel?" Not good.

Orenstein: The Gannett Center for Media Studies recently examined the status of women in television. Their report said that more women are executive producers than before, there are a few more women in front of the cameras . . .

Ellerbee: What? Two?

Orenstein: . . . there are salary disparities between men and women, between 15 and 81 percent, with the highest being at the level of executive producer. The real power is still pretty much with the men. Given those data, how much do you think the situation has changed for women?

Vieira: I think it's very distressing, that a network like CBS has only one woman overseas. After all these years?

Rubenstein: NBC has none. I don't think women are doing better in any respect. frankly.

Ellerbee: Not at all. Ed Joyce, former president of CBS News used to brag, by (I)od, 70 percent of our researchers are women. We hire women."

Rubenstein: And just think, Howard Stringer, president of the CBS Broadcast Group started out as a researcher.

Ellerbee: I thought you were going to tell me he started out as a woman.

Rubenstein: Yeah, started out here's a wonderful world outside the networks. It's time to stop thinking like as a woman. Trapped in a woman's world, an's hody.

Ellerbee: At most networks, I think there are fewer of us than there were when I started. television.

Orenstein: But there was a time in the 705 when the Federal Communications Commission made a lot of noise. . . .

Rubenstein: It wasn't the FCC. Let's not give the FCC that much credit. It came through the FCC. It was the civil rights movement in this country and the women's movement that did it. It was pressure. The FCC didn't wake up one day and say, let's put women on the air.

Vieira: Yet I really am in this business because I was there at the right time. I've worked very hard, but they desperately needed women on CBS. I was in Providence, and I had an interview, and I was on the air in a week! And I had never done television. Had I failed it would have been proof: Well, see, you get a woman and that's what happens? I saw women fail who hadn't had the proper training, but that was the attitude. That's just not fair. And that's happened to minorities.

Ellerbee: Most of us got hired originally because we were women.

Vieira: Right.

Ellerbee: The question is, how do you stay hired? Because you're a woman or because you're good?

Goldin: But I think also part of the responsibility for the low numbers that we see now has to be taken upon ourselves. As a group I think women got very quiet over the past ten years.

Rubenstein: I think we stopped saying things. The stakes were too high, and the jobs were too scarce, and you don't make waves when you've got a good job.

Orenstein: Ann and Meredith, what do you two do to flourish at the networks? You're obviously both doing very well.

Rubenstein: I try to get lost in my work, because I find that it's when I'm not busy enough, or sitting in my office day after day, that I tend to get bogged down in the politics of the operation and all the extra things that distract me from what it is that I love, which is the work.

Goldin: But Ann, you just said that one of the things that's happened to make women's position in broadcasting not any better, and perhaps worse than it was, is because women got quiet. Isn't that what you're now describing as the . . .

Rubenstein: Yes.

Goldin: . . . prescription for survival?

Vieira: I'm one of the quieter women. I just do my job, basically. I'm very proud of what I do, I focus on that. Within my own little world, I want my work to be a true reflection of good journalism. But I think it leads to a real identity crisis somewhere along the line. I'm not sure that I've come totally to grips with mine. But talking back and really standing up is a hard thing to do. And you have to understand that you could lose it all. For all of the right reasons. Because they're a bunch of shits. It's very tricky.

Rubenstein: I'm not making the waves and the noise that I think we all feel guilty about not doing. On the other hand, I'm remaining on the air. I'm remaining as a statistic that NBC has so many women, and that has its value and merit as well.

Ellerbee: Well, I don't think that's a good enough argument for us women to make. There are good reasons for remaining quiet, probably because you want your job. But under their little quota system that probably does exist, they're just as likely to replace you with another woman. It is hard to speak up, you're right. Marion and I are older than you all . . .

Photographs by William Coupon

Meredith Vieira

served as the CBS Midwest Bureau Chief before taking a correspondent spot on the

Goldin: Speak for yourself, Linda.

Ellerbee: . . . as you get older you find you speak up more. For whatever reason. The bullshit rises and rises until at some point you have to

just shout to get out of it. But I would like to see the younger women coming into it have some sense that the battle is not over. That the battles are not won. I just get the feeling, III-Iey, we graded it! You pave it? And I don't see any road paving going on out there.

Goldin: One of the saddest things is to see a good measure of the younger women back at square one. I mean, they do everything but wear Little Bo Peep dresses and hair bows.

Orenstein: I've noticed that a number of women who are the most visible right now-Faith Daniels, Maria Shriver, Kathleen Sullivan-are, on average, about 20 years younger than their male counterparts, with much less experience. Obviously youth and looks still matter.

Vieira: My boss would never have come in to me during my pregnancy and said, IIHey, 40 pounds you've gained there, honey-you look like dog doo to me? But I certainly sensed it. They've been trained to think that their anchorwomen are beautiful. It's very hard to get around that. I don't believe it's changed. Barbara Walters still looks great. I'm not sure that she'd be on very long if she didn't.

Goldin: What woman looks like Charles Kutalt or Morley Safer . . .

Vieira: . . . or Irving R. Levine.

Ellerbee: But the minute you begin to talk about that, people are going to say that's just sour grapes on your part. It's not. The issue should not be how good-looking you have to be on television. It ought to be (Continued on page 46) magazine show I've got 57th. "I

really am in this business because I was there at the right time. They desperately needed women at CBS. Had I failed, it would have been proof: 'Well, see, you get a woman and that's what happens I "

MOTHER JONES 3 I

NO'I' LONG AII'I'IiR Wllt MARRIED, MY HUSBAND
and I flow to (Ionncticut to visit my parents.
WC carried our secondhandsuitcasesllpm what
was once my hmthcrsl bedroom and dropped
thcm on two hula pushcd together to make (me.
The room was, as it always had been, scru-
pulously clean and whitc_hut richcr than l rc-
mcmhcrd. The beds had real hox springs. A
cashmcrc hlankct lay folded at their bass; on a
nightstand, a rod daylily from my niothcrk gar-
den opncd in a carafo of water. Outside the
window, rain from a sprinkler fell on a long
lawn sloping into the trees. Every room in thc
houscmthc spare bedrooms, the basement
wood shon my mother's darkr()()ln,thc kitchen
smelling of hcrhshcvcry mom whispered of
surplus space and mnncy and timc. I took off
my shoes and thought to myself, I will never live
this way again.
I l'clt shame, resentment, confusion settling
out in me. By the standards of their generation.
my parents were only Comfortably middle-
class. Why, then, were they living so much hcl-
tcr On onc income than Boh and I, who, nearing
40, had no children and were living on two?
I could not hlamc my parents: thcy carnal
what they got. lmmigrams from a pinched,
postwar Britain, ihcy camc to thc United Stan's
in the 3705 when wc wcrc childrcn. with little
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BY KATY BUTL

The competition
with our
" ' parents is over.
We lost.
Now what?

secondhand Buick that drove like a sofa for a new Rambler station wagon. In the 705, he bought himself a Ford and my mother a Toyota. The \$28,000 suburban house they built on a lake in the ,60s-my mother tiled the bathroom and taped the Sheetrock-was sold in the ,705 for a place with three bathrooms, four bedrooms, and a two-car garage. They had enough money to pay for my brothers, skiing, my college education, and a fattening retirement fund. I went to college in 1967 with a vague sense that my future would be much the same as my parents, past, only freer: I would marry, write or work in the mornings, and take care of my children in the afternoons.

By the 805, my parents had raised three children and achieved all of the American dream on my fathers income alone-and after 15 years in the full-time work force, I could not afford a child and had never owned a new car. I couldnt have cared less about a new car. But it was an index of how middle-class life had changed in the course of a single generation. And nowhere was the change more striking than in what each generation paid for housing and what they got for it. My parents paid \$190 a month-on a 5 percent mortgage-for a four-bedroom house on an acre of land in Connecticut. Bob and I, with a combined income slightly lower than my fathers, paid \$1,5 00 a month-on a 9 percent mortgage-for a five-room bungalow slightly larger than my parents, deck. Yet we felt lucky to afford a house at all. Every night during that visit, even as I reveled in my motherls homemade soups and slid between her clean, cool sheets, I thought bitterly of my downward mobility, not only in money, but in time. Bob and I both worked full-time and lived in time-poverty: our house in Mill Valley, California, was a launching pad, not a home. We commuted, ate Chinese take-out and microwaved burritos while standing in the kitchen, cleaned the house once in a blue moon, and sometimes went for days without an uninterrupted hour together. On the last night of our visit with my parents, we all went to the movies. My mother and father got a senior citizen discount.

50 it was with a sense of discontent that I returned home, got out of my unreliable but Classy-looking old Mercedes, and opened the door to the tiny, cracked stucco house my husband and I bought for a paper fortune with help from our parents. I looked at the weeds in the overgrown yard, the ink stain Photograph by Todd Merrill

on the couch from a discount outlet, the dust in the corners, the mail-order catalogs and sweaters piled on the dining-room table. Our bedroom, I realized, was smaller than anywhere I had slept in childhood. On the deck were two Adirondack chairs I bought because the catalog said their arms were wide enough to hold a glass of lemonade on hot, lazy summer afternoons. I hadnt had a single glass of lemonade or a single lazy afternoon all summer; what I tried to buy was not a chair, but a memory of free time.

IN THE MONTHS AFTER THAT VISIT EAST TO WHAT WAS ONCE my home, I looked at the lives of my friends as though through a set of hard, refracting prisms. With few exceptions, most of their parents had cobbled together some version of the American dream: kids (the most expensive durable consumer good), education, houses, retirement accounts, and time to enjoy it all. My friends dressed and ate well, but most had only one or two elements of the dream we had laughed at in our 205 and now could not attain. We had to Choose between kids, houses, and time. Those with new cars had no houses; those with houses, no children; those with children, no houses. A few lucky supercouples-a lawyer married to a doctor, say, with a combined income of more than \$100,000 a year_had everything but time.

There were, of course, some notable exceptions to the disguised slide down: my women friends had careers and financial independence denied their mothers; a handful of others

had made enough money in mail-order or computer software to afford comfortable houses, children, and leisure. But on the whole, I saw a generational dilemma perceived as individual failure. My friends in the baby-boom generation_so often accused of being unable to defer gratification-were deferring what their parents considered basic. They were smart and hardworking, but struggling, and ashamed to admit it even to each other.

It was the shame and pretense-in people I'd known since we were all in our 20s and poor-that puzzled me. Then, we'd all worn jeans and put our money into stereos; now my friends were gilding their downward mobility in a skin of glitz. One of my best friends had fallen in love, moved out of her rent-controlled flat in San Francisco, and taken (with the man she later married) a high-rent house, as nice as my parents': in the Berkeley Hills. I had gone there for dinner and Molly had met me at the door, tastefully dressed. Her table overlooked thousands of houses sparkling around the bay-like a lord's castle high above his subjects-and I had felt a little envious, almost intimidated.

It was only after she and her husband left town for new jobs that Molly told me that she'd been too deep in debt to buy a winter coat, so broke she'd stood in line at the phone company to pay the bill on cutoff day. I was shocked she hadn't trusted me enough to tell me, and something she'd said years before came drifting back, a piece of advice she had heard from her mother: I'll never look poor, dear. Americans don't like poor people?

AT THE SAME TIME MOLLY MADE HER CONFESSION, MY FORMER roommate Nancy-the daughter of a psychiatrist who had gone to school on the GI bill and bought his house with a VA loan-became truly poor. The father of her baby left her. Photographs from Mothers and Daughters to be published in paperback by Aperture, spring 1989.

without child support; she was a technical writer, and her work dried up after her computer company lost a major contract. The safety net strung up in the 1930s did not help her: as a contract worker, she didn't qualify for unemployment compensation. Welfare turned her down because her rent was too high. I think it's just as well? she told me at the time, still looking beautiful in clothes she'd bought before she lost her job. I don't belong on welfare?

I lent her a little money with only the vaguest sense of her troubles. Only recently, when she laid it all out for me, did I understand how bad it had been. I couldn't afford to go to museums, but I went for walks. I breast-fed for a long time, and that was a help she said quietly. Then I finally got a job and I was even worse off. I couldn't afford food, child care, and transportation to and from work. I saved money on food for myself. Thank God my son would eat tofu. I got up at four in the morning to do my overtime work-unpaid, of course-while my son was asleep. Sometimes I felt as if there really wasn't a place on the planet for someone like me. It makes one ashamed not to be able to buy light bulbs, food, toilet paper. I didn't like asking my friends for monetary assistance-I waited until I was desperate before I asked. I didn't want to be perceived as someone in that much trouble?

Meanwhile, the newspapers were full of stories about yuppies and blackened redfish and new restaurants. The cognitive dissonance hurt my head: Was I the only one who felt like a failure? Was it only my friends who were in trouble? Why was it so hard for me to say to a lunch companion, Let's go somewhere cheaper? Acquaintances were wearing \$50 haircuts and \$75 shoes.

A childless couple returned from a student year in Rome, got jobs, furniture, sophisticated clothes, and a nice apartment. They went bicycling in Virginia on vacation that year, staying at bed and breakfasts. They seemed to be doing just fine. Recently, Roger explained the secret of their success: they were \$18,000 in credit-card debt, and he was leaving his nonprofit job for better-paying but more boring work in the computer industry to pay it off. We both had grown-up jobs for the first time, and we thought we should be able to live like grown-ups he said. We'd struggled for a long time, and I was sick of this thing the Left has about not being desirous, of not wanting sex or money.

I don't think you have to be unhappy to be on the Left? he went on. I wanted to be able to pick up the tab for ten people, or take a cab when I wanted. I thought that part of being an adult was being able to go to a restaurant, look at the menu, and go in if you like the food, not because you're looking at the prices. A lot of it was playing grown-up and throwing the old plastic around. Then we realized we could have gone to Europe last year on our credit-card interest alone.

We have nothing to show for it? he said. We were in a lot of denial, and finally the denial broke? He asked for help from his father-a stockbroker in the Los Angeles suburbs who rarely takes a vacation-and was turned down. My father's always telling me how much I'm going to inherit? said Roger, who resents the way money colors their relationship with the tones of prolonged adolescence. I-Ie tells me that if we have a kid, the purse strings will open. I told him, you can't buy a grandchild?

I looked at him across the table, amazed that a friend of mine would stake his sense of manhood on being able to pay a restaurant bill. Manhood, once seen as the ability to fight and then as the capability to produce, had been redefined again, this time as the ability to consume. And Roger, like many of my friends, seemed willing to pay almost any price to appear as successful as his parents, even though the rules of the game had changed.

ome run
up credit-
card debt.
Others face
the truth
with dignity
and grace.

IN THE MONTHS THAT FOLLOWED,
as I clipped the Wall Street journal
and collected economic reports, I
came to see that there was no way
most of us could meet the expecta-
tions created in the late 1405 and
,505, when having both a home
and children was an attainable
goal. Then, the economy was full of predictable middle-class
rewards and hidden subsidies for young families.
In the ,705, as we came of age, the U.S. economy was
entering a disguised but deepening depression whose burdens
fell disproportionately on the young. The twin pillars of the
middle-class dream affordable housing and enough real in-
come to support children-were crumbling without our
knowing it. Germany and Japan reaped the fruits of their
postwar industrial reconstruction, while U.S. products and
farm goods lost their dominance in the world marketplace.
Vietnam War debt and a bloated military budget-funded
with borrowed money fueled inflation. Real U.S. wages
stopped growing and began to fall. I-lealth-care costs grew.
Meat went up, cheese went up, interest rates went up.
When the economy hit the skids, many older people were
wearing safety belts. It was the young who went through the
windshield. In 1973, 80 percent of those over 35 owned their
own homes. But millions of baby boomers were arriving at
the labor and housing markets to find starting wages stagnat-
ing and houses out of sight.
When productivity and profits declined and corporations
squeezed unions and exported jobs to cheaper climes, it was
younger workers who got the short end of two-tier wage
contracts, failed to get good union jobs at all, or were paid
minimum wages that did not keep pace with inflation.
When manufacturing declined and service industries grew,
it was primarily younger workers who took the lower-paying
new jobs. Between 1973 and 1986, the proportion of younger
non-college-educated workers holding (usually better-paying)
jobs in manufacturing dropped from one-third to less than
one-quarter.
In our 205, my friends and I hardly cared. We ate tofu and
hung Indian bedspreads in rented apartments. We were
young; it was a lark. But in our 30\$, as we married or got sick
of having places sold out from under us, we wanted to be
grown-up, we wanted money, we wanted houses.
In 1973-the last really good year for the middle class-the
average 30-year-old man could meet the mortgage payments
on a median-priced home with about a fifth of his income. By
1986, the same home took twice as much of his income.
In the same years, the real median income of all families
headed by someone under 30 fell by 26 percent. It was a loss

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virtually identical to the 27 percent drop in per-capita personal income between 1929 and 1933, the deepest years of the Depression. The Depression created a sense of shared misfortune and national crisis. But the stagflation of the 1970s and 1980s begot in its victims a sense of individual failure-and in its survivors, a sort of chumpish pride, as though they'd come up in the world by paying \$100,000 for a house that would have cost their parents a fifth as much.

My friends, who spent much of their 20s marching and organizing on behalf of others, responded not by organizing politically but by making small personal adjustments. If the middle class was going to disappear, they would ape the rich, not the poor. They spent more on housing and less on charity and savings. (In 1981, young families saved less than 1 percent of their after-tax income, compared with 4 percent in 1973.) They took on more debt and paid it off more slowly. (In 1988, installment debt was at a record 16 percent of personal income, far above the 12 percent of the early 1980s.) They took on this debt at an age when their parents were saving for retirement-perhaps on the unspoken assumption that their parents' deaths would eventually bail them out with a legacy. When pushed to the wall, they did with less: they gentrified slums and bought gimcrack condominiums in buildings with pretentious marbled lobbies and paper-thin walls.

Unable to meet the out-of-scale expectations created in the 1950s, they gave up on necessities and comforted themselves with cheap luxuries: flowers, Dove bars, I-Ia'agen-Dazs, Cuisinarts, dinners out. As people dispossessed from housing and family life have done before, they wore their fortunes on their backs or sunk them into their cars. Having unconsciously absorbed the cultural imperative to do better than our parents-and unable to do that in economic terms, my generation decided to be upwardly mobile in terms of taste, instead. In some ways, we created a culture more adapted to our realities; in other ways, we became a generation of wannabes. One year I gave my father a \$200 gift certificate for custom-made shirts from the Custom Shop, and smiled when he ordered them in a cotton/polyester blend. I couldn't make as much money as he did, but at least, I thought, I knew how

to Battle Boomers

Forgot to Fight

BABY BOOMERS, RAISED IN AFFLUENCE AND PUMPED

full of rhetoric about being the biggest and best-educated generation in US. history' have become the first downwardly mobile generation since World War II. This decline is due not only to structural changes in the economy, but to the baby-boom generations' failure to defend its interests politically.

In the booming economy of the 1940s and 1950s, when a rising tide lifted almost all ships, the US. government lavished hidden subsidies on young families. A grateful nation sent a generation of young veterans to college on the GI bill and helped house their families by funding VA home loans, new schools, low-income housing, and superhighways to new suburbs.

The nation wasn't so grateful in the nervous, inflationary 1970s,
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to spend it. The \$200 that paid our parents' mortgages would only cover our car payments; but we bought Lands End instead of Sears, and learned to call noodles and coffee fettuccine,, and cappuccino,

Other adaptations involved fundamental changes in our family and personal lives. Women entered the full-time work force and stayed there: more than half of all women with children under a year old are working. People delayed marriage into their 30s (men tend not to marry until they earn a breadwinner wage-one reason why marriage rates are so low among young blacks); others postponed, or simply forgot about, having children.

Those friends of mine who had children despite the difficulties were forced to make sacrifices their parents were never

asked to make. One of my closest friends, an art therapist married to a carpenter, has two young Children. She had to return to work a month after each child was born. 81 felt I had no choice at all, because of moneyf she told me. IIThere was no breathing time? One rainy morning a couple of years ago, she left the house with her three-month-old daughter on her chest in a Snuggli, her four-year-old son in one hand, and an umbrella and her breakfast in the other. She was on the way to day care and work when she slipped on the steps and fell. She picked up the children, went back to the house, got in bed, and started to cry. 91 just felt like I coulant carry on anymore, and I tried to figure out what to dof, she said. In the next six months, she collapsed physically with a series of infections and had to quit her job.

Faced with such examples, ifs not surprising that many of the women I know have, sometimes reluctantly, foregone children. Unlike our mothers, we have been freed_by legalized abortion and changing customs-from obligatory motherhood. But for myself, the decision not to have children wasnIt easily or freely made. For years I saved money toward marriage and family. I married late-at 35eand two years later spent my birthday crying, feeling that my husband and I would never marshal the financial, physical, and emotional resources necessary to have a child while we both worked full-time. It wasnlt a simple economic decision, and other factors when subsidies for education and middle-class housing eroded, and uNot in My Backyard" antigrowth zoning pushed housing prices higher.

Young people could have learned a thing or two from the elderly: also squeezed by inflation in the 1705, they organized, voted, and lobbied Congress. (The average voter is now 47 years old.) As a result, Social Security benehts-defended by the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), one of the most powerful noncorporate lobbies in the country-have been indexed to the cost of living.

In real terms, Social Security benefits jumped 46 percent between 1970 and 1987 and now total 28 percent of all federal expenditures. The average current retiree will receive a little more than three times as much as he or she contributed to the system by the time he or she dies. (The average baby boomer will be lucky to receive half that.) In 1974, the poverty rate for the elderly fell below the poverty rate for children. In 1982, it fell below the poverty rate for the population as a whole. Today, the over-50 age group has a higher after-tax income per capita than the under-50 age group.

While the government has increased benefits for older voters, it has taken them away from the young, who have no powerful

played their part. But although I am sure there are other women crying secretly in other bedrooms, it was not the kind of thing I could talk to anybody about.

I HAVE FRIENDS WHO COPE BY KEEPING UP APPEARANCES-running up credit-card debt and pretending nothing has changed. But others face the truth about the way they live now with some dignity and grace. I recently went to dinner with Nancy, my old roommate, in her rent-controlled apartment in San Franciscos North Beach. She knows how to do well with nothing; we ate spaghetti and homemade applesauce by candlelight on an old picnic table in a courtyard where daisies grew in olive-oil cans. As we talked, her son circled the table on a tricycle. Nancy told me things were much better than they had been when her son was tiny, even though she still rises at four in the morning to get her work done. She still doesn't own a car, and she and her son leave the city about six times a year. At 34, she owns only a refrigerator, a small Chinese carpet, an antique bench, and her mother's dinner dishes. III don't feel poor? she said. III feel as if I actually have luxuries? It turned out she meant taking cabs to work, sending the laundry out, and having the flat cleaned twice a month-tasl(s done in a previous generation by a wife whose cash income was not needed.

IIYou can talk about the economic problems of single mothers, but single mothers exist because it's an option now, and it wasn't an option for my mother? she said earnestly. III could get out of my relationship when I wanted to. Having a child is the most rewarding thing I've ever done. It changed my life for the better. I wouldn't go back. If I didn't have my son to spend my money on, I'd be buying snazzy shoes or yuppiefied kitchen equipment. Instead, I'm seeing things I'd otherwise miss. I'm standing on the corner with him, waiting for the bus, looking at a seagull standing on top of a flagpole?

I went to dinner with my brother Peter in the flat he shares in San Francisco. He is 36, a perpetual student, and lives on about a quarter of what I spend. There is always peace and quiet at his place, a sense of being an expected guest, an uncluttered awareness of the spaces between things. He's a grass-roots lobbyist. The real value of the minimum wage has fallen, and it is not indexed to inflation. Social Security taxes (FICA on your pay stub) have risen from 4.80 percent in 1970 to 7.51 percent at present. As a result, younger workers, including those making only minimum wage, have helped finance benefits for some elderly people who are by no means poor. (Although retirees cannot earn more than \$8,880 annually, they can have unlimited investment income without losing Social Security benefits.)

DESPITE THE ECONOMIC FACTS, THE ELDERLY REMAIN MYTHOLOGIZED objects of pity. Baby boomers and young families-with no political organization comparable to the 28 million-member AARP, with its \$235 million budget-are pilloried in the press as self-absorbed yuppies or ignored.

The number of children living in poverty has grown, and government support for kids has declined. During the Reagan years, \$50 billion was cut from federal programs for children. We now direct an average of \$9,500 per year in federal benefits to each elderly American-including the middle-class and wealthy-and about a tenth of that to each child.

According to Mary Bourdette, a lobbyist for the Children's Defense Fund, IIThere is not so much a conscious neglect as a lack of knowledge how to use a pressure cooker and find things at Goodwill; when he wants to see a show, he works as an usher. When I arrived, the table was set and the lights turned low; there were wineglasses filled with mineral water, cloth napkins folded carefully at each place, and two stubs of candles glowing. When it was time, we sat down for homemade lentil soup, warm, fresh sourdough rye

from the neighborhood bakery,
salad and baked potatoes. I felt so
well taken care of that I ate bread
as though it was a rare food, tast-
ing the grains against my palate in-
stead of wolfing it down. There
was a sort of Zen luxuriousness
about the whole meal: we squeezed the maximum possible
enjoyment out of the minimum possible consumption. My
deepest needs_warmth, light, quiet, companionship_were
satisfied. I didnt miss anything.
I thought of my own life_my constant conversations with
myself about wanting a child, a new couch, a weekend cot-
tage, a bigger house on a quieter street-and realized my
discontent was cheating me of the life I load.
IIIf its by choice and its not overwhelming, having no
money can be a way of entering more deeply into your life?
my brother said, as he served me some more lentil soup.

)7 needs
were
satisfied.
Discontent
was cheating
me of the
life I load.

NOT LONG AFTER THAT, I BOUGHT MYSELF A NEW RAINCOAT,
a years supply of shampoo, and a pressure cooker. I quit my
job as a reporter to become a free-lance writer. I wrote to the
direct-mail association and asked them to take me off the
catalog lists. I sold my ancient, infuriating Mercedes and
bought a dull but reliable used Honda. I bought a secondhand
copy of Laurel% Kitchen, learned to cook beans, and started
using my library card.
of understanding of whats going on by Congress. IIThere has to
be a pounding away and a repeated messagef she said. Bourdette
senses the beginning of congressional awareness in the Tax Reform
Act of 1986, which reduced taxes and expanded the Earned
Income Tax Credit-an income support program-for poor work-
ing families.

Some observers note that its hard to expect baby boomers to
organize as efficiently as the elderly have on the grass-roots level.
IIBaby boomers have an inherent political handicap: theyre busy
raising families, and retirees arentf said Phillip Longman, a
former congressional aide and author of Born to Pay, a penetrating
analysis of the baby boomers economic predicament. lIThe elderly
have organized themselves as a generation, but there is no organ-
ized political voice for the baby-boom generation?

Baby boomers have also avoided facing the intergenerational
conflict by buying the fantasy tone of the Reagan years, when the
government and individual households tried to talk themselves
into prosperity by running up debt.

IIWeNe had ten years of the politics of denial? said Hazel
Henderson, a futurist and economic analyst. IIIIf you don,t face that
the pie isnt really growing, then you can also avoid talking about
divvying it up more fairly? _1(. B.

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I decided that if the economy was going to

deprive me of things I deeply wanted, it

would not also take my time.

I began facing the life I had, not the life I

dreamed of having or thought I had the right

to have. I turned off lights. I started to cut

the link between consumption and pleasure,

between consumption and self-worth. And

that paved the way for some unexpected

things. I recycled_hecause it saved money

on garbage pickup-and ate less meat and

more beans. I walked downtown instead of

getting into the car. Having less money

forced me to get to know my neighbors, and

a network of borrowing emerged. My next-

door neighbor Mack, a salesman, lost his job and borrowed my computer to type resumes; when my husband's car broke down, Mack lent us his. My husband Bob helped Jay, a carpenter, change his clutch; Jay brought us wood scraps for kindling and his wife Gloria fed us dinner. One weekend last fall, my husband and I came home from a walk and saw four of our neighbors standing outside Mack's house around a pyramid of lawn sod.

11F() and it at the dumpf said George, the young contractor who lives down the block. He picked up a roll of sod, laid it out in Mack's front yard, and jumped up and down to set it. 1Some landscaper threw away a truckload? Mack's wife Jan, who works as a flight attendant, laid out another roll, and in half an hour, the patch of dirt in front of her house was transformed into a carpet of green. Jan turned on the sprinkler. uThere's plenty left," said George. uDig up your yard, and well do it too? They all carried their tools around the geraniums that serve as a hedge between our houses. My husband and I raked out wisps of yellow grass. uMy grandfather owned this whole block in the 1305," said George over the clatter of rakes. He chopped out a root with his hoe. "There was a dairy farm behind your house, and a vineyard across the street." I cradled rolls of sod against my chest until I smelled like the riverbanks where I skinny-dipped as a child. Soon our weed patch was covered with a quilt of green, its nap running every which way. Ian knelt down with clippers and snipped along the edge of our walk as though cutting out the armhole of a dress. Mack brought out a six-pack. I squeezed lemons into a jug of iced water, and we sat around on the fresh new grass in the afternoon sunlight with no sense that anything needed to be repaid. I shut my eyes and felt no need to compare our block, held in its growing net of mutual favors and borrowings, with anything else I'd ever known. Katy Butler is a regular contributor to The New Yorker and Mother Jones.

"Diary of a Mad Supermom"

career (and, in Orsbornk case, a Porsche) was giving them all hives, stomach cramps, and eye lltwitchingll disorders. (Not as exotic as the homemakefs psychotic he woman who stays home is the woman who goes bonkers. Thafs what we used to read, anyway, in the long-ago 705. Back then, the suburban housewifels spiral into despair and Valium addiction was the stuff of popular memoirs and best-selling novels. But come the postfeminist decade, this modern Ophelia has slipped from view-and resurfaced as a lady with a briefcase. These days, the Diary of the Mad Superwoman IS the book every publishing house is after. It started in the mid-1980S with the ex-supere woman confessionals: Deborah Fallowsl A Motherls Work, Sylvia Ann Hewlettls A Lesser Life, Hilary Cos-ellls Woman on a Seesaw, Carol Orsbomls Enough Is Enough. These upper-middle-class career gals had just about collapsed from the extreme llstresses and strains,, of having, and making, it all. Balancing a family and a By Susan F aludi episodes, but you work with what you have.) The ex-superwomen all agreed that feminism was at the root of working womenls afflictions. Of course, none of them had ever been particularly devoted to feminist politics in the first place. But soon the super-marketable supermom concept began claiming converts from inside the womenls movement. Betty Friedan assailed thhe superwoman mystique? Erica Jong blamed fellow feminists for her difficulties juggling career and motherhood. The bedraggled, beleaguered woman has become a hot commodity. Illustration by jamie Hogan

Blakely one-ups
twitching super-
SUMMERREADING

Last winter, Felice N. Schwartz, founder of the working women's advocacy group Catalyst, further dashed hopes of a feminist resistance. In the January/February issue of Harvard Business Review, Schwartz endorsed what the media quickly labeled "the mommy track"-the career equivalent of remedial reading class as the ideal slow lane for post-superwomen.

"Most of them are willing to trade some career growth and compensation for freedom from the constant pressure to work long hours and weekends," she wrote.

Translation: Let's shave some more pennies off the 65-cent-a-man's-dollar paycheck; that's sure to reduce female stress.

Now come two new additions to the supermom debate: one a continuation of the recovering-superheroic tradition, the other a welcome antidote to the genre. In *Wake Me When It's Over* (Times Books, 320 pages, \$17.95), Mary Kay Blakely-a contributing writer to *Ms.*-reveals how her drive for excellence led straight to the emergency room. In *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home* (Viking, 336 pages, \$18.95), sociologist Arlie Hochschild illuminates the home lives of ten real dual-career couples, and swivels the spotlight back where it belongs-on the superwomen's not-so-super husbands.

As the dust jacket of *Wake Me When It's Over* explains, in words more suited to a Stephen King thriller than a feminist journal, Blakely's account is a chilling memoir in which a working supermom exceeds her limit and discovers the thin line between sanity and lunacy and between life and death." Blakely one-ups all the eye-twinking supermom writers-she has a nine-day coma to show for her strain.

When we first meet Blakely, she is taking stock of her last 36 years from the window seat of an eastbound airplane. That's roughly where fictional feminist heroine Isadora Wing was sitting a decade earlier, in the opening scene of Erica Jong's *Fear of Flying*. But that's where the parallels end. If Isadora Wing's intercontinental trip shuttled her toward a personal creative awakening, then Blakely's is the return flight. Destination: the Land of Nod.

A day after landing in New York, Blakely all of the eye-mom writers: she goes into a nine-day coma.

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crawled into bed and sank into a coma.

What were some baffling medical explanations-

tionsf but Blakely dismisses them. She knows she conked out from llconsuming too many passionsll-trying to pursue a career, raise two sons, and attend to an ex-husband and a new lover. Blakely even has proof; the day before she lost consciousness, she took the Cosmo stress test. uMy score placed me in ldangerously overloadedf " she writes, ua group whose circuits could blow at any moment?

A stress-induced coma would indeed be one for the medical history books, but for a small detail: Blakely is a diabetic. Before flaking out, she ehugged two Bloody Marys on an empty stomach, shot up with her daily insulin dose, and failed to balance her injection with a carbohydrate meal. As Sunny von Bulow could have told her, thatls enough to do a girl in. To make matters worse, Blakely had just come out of major surgery.

Blakely structures the book as a nine-day account of everything she thinks and overhears while lying unconscious in the hospital. But wait: a comatose patient who can think and hear? Blakely says its so. She was blind and paralyzed during the coma, but her ears were working fine. Not only did she listen in, sheremembered, verbatim, all conversations in her vicinity. She remembers the flattering bedside comments with the most clarity. uGod, even in a coma she's beautifulfl her friend Susan murmurs.

What Blakely seems to like best about the coma llexperience" was the way it enabled her to regress into childhood. She retreated not so much from being a superwoman as from being a grown-up. ult was an extraordinary experience," Blakely writes, uto be loved unconditionally, as an adult." Upon waking, her arms are so weak that her boyfriend Larry has to feed her-a moment she recounts in minute and rapturous detail. A closer reading reveals that Blakely's depression had little to do with the trials of combining, fatnily and career. By her own account, her brother's suicide a few years earlier was a central crisis in her life, and her childhood family, not her gtown-up one, is the memoir's real subject. But her publisher still opted to market the book as the "memoir of a working supermom."

In one respect, Blakely's illness is a supermoms story. By checking out from the world for a week and a halt, she forced her ex-husband Howie to take up the slack at home. Before, Howie didn't work -she paid all the family bills-and he didn't share the housework. The coma, and her recovery in New York for several months, changed all that, alheit temporarily. llPreviously invisible responsibilities became excruciatingly obvious in my three-month absence from Ann Arbor," she writes, with what one suspects is a certain relish. llHe took the calls from the coaches for soccer fees, wrote the checks at Kroger, wrestled with the nightmares about how he would manage it all without me?

It doesnlt say much for womens progress that Mary Kay Blakely had to pass out to get

her ex-husband to do the grocery shopping. In the households Arlie Hochschild studied in *The Second Shift*, women also resorted to illness to get their way. Hochschild's analysis of unwell working women, however, is far more thought-provoking than Blakely's. When they are sick, it follows a certain pattern," Hochschild observes. Insisting that every task on the second shift is theirs, they work heroically until they finally fall ill with exhaustion. They don't stop; their illness stops them?

Hochschild's interviews with ten couples make painfully clear why such manipulation is still necessary. Fifteen years after the start of the modern women's movement, most men still do little of the housework or child care, still feel enormously threatened by wives who work or, worse, earn more than they do, and still abandon their children financially or emotionally after a divorce. Hochschild conducted her interviews over 12 years, from 1976 to 1988. With the passage of time only one sign of progress surfaced: the spouses didn't share the household duties any more equitably, but now they "imagined that they did." In fact, the husbands who said they were helping tended to be the ones who did the least. In more "traditional" couples the men were actually more likely to pitch in at home—perhaps, Hochschild hypothesizes, because they felt less threatened.

Hochschild adds up the hours of office and household work and finds women put in 15 hours more each week than their husbands, thanks to the lopsided division of labor on "the second shift." Over a year, that amounts to an extra month of 24-hour days. While women are working overtime, men are watching an hour more of television and sleeping, an extra half hour every night. In other words, Hochschild observes, on top of the wage gap at the office, working women come home to a leisure gap.

Popular culture has only served to maintain the status quo, by denigrating the image of the New Man and making a joke of the woman who works. The commercial depiction of the superwoman, Hochschild observes, ridicules the frazzled supermom herself, not her inflexible work schedule, not the crisis in day care, not the glacial pace of change in our idea of the ideal man.

Unlike the current round of pop sociology

books about dysfunctional families, a subject so in vogue today, *The Second Shift* resists over-psychologizing. In dissecting the household dynamics of ten working couples, Hochschild considers psychological factors, but she also weighs an array of cultural and economic forces that play equally critical roles in generating domestic distress. Hochschild spent many hours in people's living rooms and kitchens, taking careful notes, looking for the small ripple on the surface of family waters. As a result, her ten case studies are absorbing domestic dramas, real-life scenes from a marriage. In each home, we see how the woman winds up with a coercive choice, between love and work. All the women who confronted their husbands openly about household labor wound up veering perilously close to divorce. The Holt family is a classic example. First, Nancy Holt, a feminist, lobbied hard for her husband to take on half of the household duties. After all, they both worked full-time—she as a social worker, he as a furniture salesman—and she actually loved her work more. But her husband, Evan, who interpreted her every request to help out with the housework as a scheme to dominate him, became increasingly sullen as time passed. Six years into the marriage, Evan volunteered, "Nancy, why don't you cut back to half-time at work, that way you can fit everything in." As Nancy replied sadly: "I've been married all this time and you still don't get it. Work is important to me?"

The last time Hochschild visited the Holts, Nancy had given up and decided to work part-time; she joined the mommy track to save her marriage. She concealed her loss with the invention of a family myth: she and Evan shared equally? She did the upstairs—all the housework and child care; and he did the downstairs—tidying up his basement workshop tools. When she occasionally spoke of conflict, it was conflict between her job and her son Joey, or between Joey and housework. Evan slid out of the equation?

The half-surrender of Nancy Holt recurs with depressing frequency in these case studies. The problem, Hochschild demonstrates, isn't that the women's movement has gone too far, as the ex-superwoman writers are so fond of saying. The problem is it hasn't gone far enough. What Hochschild calls the "stalled revolution" has halted before an all-male brick wall. And until the wall budges, the only way around it may be to slip into a coma.

X

Susan Faludi's book, about the backlash against feminism, will be published by Crown.

Photograph by Pablo Ortiz Monasterio

A Bazaar of Broken Promises

LA CAPITAL:

The Biography of Mexico City, by Jonathan Kandell, Random House, 640 pages, \$24.95.

BY RICHARD RODRIGUEZ

any people alive remember the city of yore. Its limpid air. The white sky and blue volcanos. An American lady who knew the City as a girl, in the ,205, remembers that other Mexico City, the great French houses ranged along the Reforma-all gone now, of course, she says.

As late as the 1950s, it was still a city of very human proportions, recalls Jonathan Kandell in the prologue to La Capital. Kandell grew up in Mexico City, the son of U.S. expatriates, in San Angel, at the southwestern edge of the City. He remembers scavenging for Indian artifacts in a meadow a few blocks from home. Up the block lived Diego Rivera. Traffic was light enough so that the middle class still enjoyed coming home for a three-hour lunch. . . .

Today Mexico City is the largest urban center in world history. Kandell suspects there are now around 20 million souls in the city. By the end of the century, 30 million? He tantalizes his readers by admitting that he considered writing a book about Mexico City-the great city that it is. But no, he chose a different angle. La Capital: The Biography of Mexico City is, instead, a history of the nation of Mexico posed as a biography of the city.

Not such an outrageous idea. Most of the public events of Mexico have taken place in its capital. Motecuhzoma, Cortes, Juarez, Maximilian, Porfirio Diaz-the most famous names in Mexican history belong to the city.

Kandell has written a 600-page book that is nevertheless easy to read. From an unpromising Michener-like beginning (blatantly 50 million years ago . . . 3,) he proceeds to tell the hundreds of good stories that pass as Mexico's official history. The main trouble with La Capital as history, however, is Mexico City itself.

Mexico's capital has never succeeded in defining Mexico. It is possible to imagine a history of France as a biography of Paris. But to tell the story of Mexico from the vantage point of Mexico City is to miss the monumental political failure of Mexico City. Mexico barely exists as a commonwealth.

Mexico exists, has survived, largely as family: something intimate, something feminine, behind walls and closed doors. To this day, when Mexicans are in trouble, they do not turn to the city, to the government, but to their families. The genius of Mexico is held within the family. The family is protection against the future and the link to an eternal Mexico.

moves to the stays behind.

MOTHER JONES 4 1

While Mexico City, its family

Beyond the family, for most Mexicans, there has been the village—a place of first names, a pastoral realm, and, unlike the city, anti-historical. Kandell himself observes that only a generation ago, 70 percent of Mexicans lived in villages of less than 2,500 inhabitants.

From its days as an Aztec capital to the present, Mexico City has had a parasitic relationship with the village. The city has depended on the labor of the village and on the resources of the land. It is no coincidence that Mexico's revolutionaries have traditionally come from outside the city. The city, meanwhile, has bred politicians and assassins and comic generals.

In public, in the anonymous city, during the rush-hour traffic, Mexico becomes a place of chaos. Whereas village Mexico is generous and feminine and embracing, city Mexico is a bazaar of broken promises, postures, corruptions, broken streetlights. Formerly stationed in the capital, a journalist for the New York Times, now a foreign editor for the Wall Street Journal, Kandell understands the ways of public Mexico. But this is also his limitation: Kandell's Mexico is too much of the city, of the megaphone, of the Chancery, of the male.

He is, for example, inattentive to the lasting spirituality of Mexico. The Virgin of Guadalupe—the most important unifying presence of Mexico—barely rates comment from Kandell. Yet it is their spirituality that distinguishes Mexicans from their pragmatic neighbors to the north. Judge it how you might: Mexicans have put up with the public failure of Mexico for decades because they have had the consolation of their santos and La Virgen, and the example of a long-suffering God.

The calamity of modern Mexico is that it has become, in one generation, an urban nation. The land no longer sustains Mexicans. Eighty percent of Mexicans live in cities. There is regret and skepticism and an unease in the Mexican soul.

You have possibly sensed something of these feelings in the Mexican immigrants to the United States who have ended up in our cities. (We Mexican Americans are among the most urbanized of U.S. ethnic groups, though we are among the most recently urbanized.) We do not vote in very large numbers; we stay close to home; we are people of memory more than of expectation—try what generalization you will about us. Only do not forget the simple sociological fact about us and our fellow Mexicans: We are people new to the city.

Richard Rodriguez is an associate editor at Pacific News Service. He is at work on a new book about Mexico and California.

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Third World, Second Hand

MALARIA DREAMS:

An African Adventure, by Stuart Stevens,
Atlantic Traveler/Atlantic Monthly Press,
264 pages, \$18.95.

BY GEORGE PACKER

Malaria Dreams belongs to an increasingly popular subgenre of travel literature, the heat-mosquitoes-and-brown-people book, in which a young white man sets out to get himself in trouble somewhere between the 40th parallel and the tropic of Capricorn. It derives from British travel writing of the arch, Evelyn Waugh variety, and from the mad exploits of American gonzo journalism.

Any travel book, whether a journalist's reflections like Joseph Lelyveld's *Move Your Shadow*, a personal memoir like *Out of Africa*, or a high-spirited adventure like this one, has to balance what happens to the author with a sense of respect for the place itself. Having lived in Africa and written my own book about it, I know the difficulty of finding this ground between journalism and narcissism. *Malaria Dreams*, leaning toward the latter, is a hasty and fatally mild example of the adventure subgenre; but it reveals the ingredients of such books, and it suggests an answer to the question: Why are they being written and sold in such numbers?

Stuart Stevens, along with a female companion, went to the Central African Republic to drive a friend's Land Rover from Bangui to Paris. Good luck came his way as soon as he touched down in Africa: I had been in Bangui less than ten minutes when I was robbed for the first time. This proved to be very fortunate. Muggings, rape and murder, I quickly discovered, were the pillars of conversation among the white community and my introductory theft gave me something to talk about on the party circuit? This serendipity continued at every sandy turn all the way to the Mediterranean: avaricious cabinet ministers, bribe-mad border guards, bullet-pocked outposts, AIDS-ridden prostitutes, ant attacks, four-day detours, malarial chills, oil leaks, a half-dead Dutch, a dead Clutch.

The search for the exotic always turns up the familiar. When Stevens longed for the feel, the texture, of an African evening? Africa delivered. At various times his new setting evokes Anthony Burgess's *Malayan Trilogy*, a scene straight out of a tropical fantasy and the African jungle of my dreams? As for the human beings, they are generally kind, gentle, etc., in the abstract, comical or irritating when he gets out of the car. With nothing at stake and no real engagement, the only principle of selection is that everything he includes happened to him.

Stevens is at his best when he doesn't have to spend more than an hour in any one place, so on the road, his mood and writing improve. The finale, with a sprint across the desert in one gear, is genuinely exciting.

Illustration by Rick Sealock

This, after all, was why he had come to Africa: llEveryone had said I was crazy to go to Africa, that there were dangerous sorts of people and situations worth avoiding. Now, at least, Ild found a bit of both? Books like Malaria Dreams make one wonder about the appeal of getting Africa, or any other place, thirdhand that is, through a book that records the pursuit of a media-induced adventure fantasy. Itls worth trying an experiment: Imagine a book by a Chadian who has planned a trip across the United States. Having read about U.S. social problems, he looks in on a homeless shelter and an AIDS clinic in New York, but hes anxious to be on the road; so he rents a Hertz, after much wrangling with the overweight agent who doesn,t understand a word of Sangho, and sets out for California. Pennsylvania and Ohio pass in a blur, but a flat tire in rural Indiana restores his interest in the trip. He stays with a Nigerian in Chicago and the only Sudanese couple in Wichita. Kansas looks like cornfields straight out of The Wizard of Oz. A run-in with the INS in the Mojave Desert nearly thwarts everything, but with a wad of cash and sweet talk by his Cameroonian girlfriend, hefinally reaches Los Angeles, the fuel gauge at empty.

There are several reasons why this book would never be written. First, a Chadian isnlt likely to have the one thing necessary for adventure without risk-money. With Chadls annual per-capita income at \$150 and illiteracy around 90 percent, a publisher wouldnl't make a profit in the writers own country. It goes without saying that Americans wouldnl't buy it. Theylre as bored by cornfields as the Chadian is by sand, and his two-minute insights would strike them as offensive or merely silly. But what really matters is that it would never occur to a Chadian to write such a book. You have to belong to a rich country that has a large number of consumers with leisure time and thinks of itself at the center of things before you can imagine Africa as the vast stage of your ironic exploits.

But if you can make that mental leap, a deep need is quickly satisfied. Africa-alien, blank, compliant-will provide the comedy, the freedom, and the sense of thrill so depleted back in the consumer society whose patronage you count on when the goods are brought home. If the price of the abundant life is boredom, therels always that land mass between the 40th parallel and the tropic of Capricorn to make you feel alive again, and apparently enough like-minded readers to make it worth your while.

George Packerls book, The Village of Waiting, is published by Vintage Departures.

Illustration by Tim Bower

Beauties and the Beast

WILD AMERICA AND OTHER STORIES

by jayne Loader, Grove Press, 240 pages, \$17.95.

LUST AND OTHER STORIES

by Susan Minot, Houghton Mifflin C0,, 160 pages, \$16.95.

BY GEORGIA BROWN

nyone who thinks that women of the late 20th century don't often find themselves old-fashioned slaves of love should take a look at these two story collections. While wholly distinct in mood and style, each tells sad tales of women in thrall. On the evidence, the male of the species appears to be a wounded-dangerous if cornered-beast of prey. Easily the more ambitious and substantial of the two books is Jayne Loader's smart, sassy Wild America. Loader, one of the three directors of the acclaimed film documentary The Atomic Cafe, writes stories resembling mini-documentaries of middle-American tragedies-in-the-making. She has a gift for comic mimicry, and her stories tend to do tricks with voices. *111 Was a Hollywood Sex Slave* by Carrie Jo Starkweather, is Carrie Jo's true confession of days and nights held prisoner by Mr. Tom Cruise and Mr. Don Johnson while in flight from her Aryan Nation husband DeWitt. Don's sidekick Mr. Philip Michael Thomas was present too, sometimes in the guise of Mr. Michael Jackson. Don confides to Carrie Jo, *11When you get back home to Nebraska you can tell your friends who complain all the time that there are too many Negroes in the entertainment industry . . . that there are not too many Negroes at all. just the one?* Underneath the savvy, Loader's stories all tell of debilitating sadomasochistic relationships, most of which get resolved in violence. Three stories considerably longer than the others-*11Famous Last Words?* *uKen Kesey Day?* and *11For Artists Only*-are about women artists derailed in their art and lives (two are killed) by *:gwel Spltem* name for Minot's I a s . L a snt Viggius pathological man: Daisy Duke publishes sto- he was a cad-ries in The New Yorker, writes a best-selling memoir about her days as a punk rocker, pens an occasional rocleand-roll anthem *11 to be hre-corded by her pal Joaujett* *fl She bills herself* 5445/15: ' 1 There was once a

SUMMER READING

as the thinking man's Madonna. All this and she's begging her stiek-in-the-mud boyfriend Haskell du Pont to marry her. He puts her off. Why? One, his mother threatens to disinherit him. Two, as an unsuccessful composer, he's jealous of Daisy's creativity, as well as of the successful composer she's met at the Maelowell artists colony. Whereas Daisy is confrontational, passive Haskell avoids conflict until he's crazed. A similarly destructive seemingly unworkable relationship is recapitulated in "Kismet." It is rescued only when high-spirited Brett and damaged Jake test HIV positive. Venturing out of his shell for the first time, Jake leaves his Texas hometown to share a Fire Island cottage with Brett. So the only woman in the entire book who ends up gratified happens to be dying.

In one creepy story, the victim of sadism is a child. "Saturday in the Barn," is told from the point of view of Jason, a fifth grader at the Topanga School for Gifted Children, whose teacher, Mr. Delaney-former Child star who peaked early'll-slice off the legs of Molly the class gerbil and threatens to do the same to members of the children's families if they don't cooperate in his "Naked Movie Star" photo sessions. (Loader seems not to know that such intimidation may work with kindergartners but hardly with a group of sophisticated ten-year-olds.) While I have problems with Loader's trendy treatment of this subject, it's clear that she's writing out of a very personal obsession with exploitation of the weak by the powerful.

Susan Mmote's NEW STORIES ARE VERY slight, and so similar to each other that with a few superficial changes, *Lust* could probably be billed as a short novel as was Minot's first book, *Monkeys-her* acclaimed collection of tristet considerably more engaging stories about a disintegrating upper-class New England Catholic family. Sometimes in first person, sometimes in third, all of the stories in *Lust* share a point-of-view character: a dependent young woman engaged in a hopeless affair with an inscrutable, chronically unavailable man_a man who seems barely to know she exists. For those who have read *Monkeys*, connecting, this male lover to the eerily inattentive (ius Vincent, an alcoholic father of seven, seems a pretty safe analytical leap.

Minot sometimes refers to her heroine as "the girl" and to the object of her fixation as "the man." Picturing herself as a child in the world of adults, a pupil in a world of teachers, a Minot girl begins by saying, "I had a lot to learn," and ends claiming to have

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learned a lot from an unconvincing claim when the lesson turns out to be the obvious: namely, that boys are different from girls. Whereas in the beginning of a relationship the difference intrigues the girl, even thrills her, by breakup time she finds herself discouraged and thwarted by the gulf. Anyway, he's already drifting off to someone else (another woman always waits in the wings).

The most characteristic position for the Minot girl to be in is wistfully scanning the profile of a man whds staring into some vast, unfathomable (for girls) distance. What never seems to occur to the girl is that shels hooked on a particular pathological type. He used to be called a cad.

In lfa Thrilling Life? the opening steps of Minots typical dangerous liaison are tellingly sketched. Frank Manager (how frank can a name get?), lfsat down beside me on the steps and made fun of the shoes I was wearing. . . . I thought, this man could teach me a thing or two. Held been around. . . . At one point I asked him an inane question, something about what his father did, and Frank flashed me an annoyed eye. The look was involuntary and he tried to cover it up but it had shown through. There was rage beneath the banter and charm. I was intrigued?

50, lm thinking, was Jennifer Levin.

This jump from his put-down, his annoyance, and, yes, his rage, to her infatuation is the ribbon that ties these tales into a tidy package. But since lllustl, happens to be a boys thing, and hearing a girls, she gets stung every time. llCare a little less? gripes sour Albert in llThe Swan in the Garden."

llWomen shouldnt ask for what they know they can't getf' frets petulant Harry in lfLunch with Harryfl Or, as the handsome Mr. Casual in "Sparksil squeaks out, uTime to hit the roadfl He didift even stick around for the lust part.

As melancholy tales of female masochism, these may sound right out ofEdna O'Brien or jean Rhys territory, but it should be emphasized that Minot is neither an elegant artisan like Rhys nor an entertaining storyteller like O'Brien. Itls unlikely that any ofthese stories, much less a collection, could have been published if the authors name had been unknown. Reading about a woman% willing victimization can be-should be-painful, but in stories lacking grace or precision, its just depressing.

Georgia Brown is a hlm critic for the Village Voice.

Other gay novelists are being ushered into the mainstream. Luckily, Cooper's prose couldn't be less presentable.

Everything
But Tears
CLOSER
by Dennis Cooper, Grave Press, 144 pages,
\$15 .95 .
BY DAN BELLM

ennis Coopers previous books gave me chills. Closer gave me nightmares, took over my brain for days: in the words of one of its characters, lll longed to hnd some sort of clinic

and have my memory flushed? This man is dangerous. And just when other gay novelists like Edmund White and David Leavitt are being ushered into the so-called mainstream by Newsweek and the New York Times, Cooper's raw, obsessional prose could hardly be more unrepresentable. Many gay readers will hate Closer, and most straight readers won't touch it—it's full of loveless, unsafe, violent homosexual-ity, and there's not a positive role model in sight. Told from multiple vantage points, the eight tightly constructed episodes revolve around George Miles, a beautiful and passive kid that everyone in high school wants to love, or hurt, or both. Then George meets two older men with, uh, unusual tastes—a fixation with the borderline between sex and death. Cooper's world is a gay teen punk sub-subculture in someplace like Los Angeles, a generation of cold rich kids raised on artificial drugs, Disneyland, pornography, the grossest of splatter flicks. But despite its surface of tossed-off realism, Closer is as willfully artificial as the scene it dissects. Cooper's teenagers may be awkward and insecure, yearning for love or art or at least a hip reputation, but they speak with the untuned, amoral voices of middle-aged criminals. Every boy in high school is gay, every encounter is white-hot, you can get away with making a sadomasochistic B-movie parody, rock opera, pseudo-snuff film as a class project, and Dad will drive you to the lab to get it processed. AIDS doesn't exist. Absolutely everything is permissible except tenderness and tears. Still, the reflection in this spook-house

world looks strangely familiar: Cooper uses distortion to reach into the subconscious, to get under our skin.

Closer is more complex and intense than Coopers brilliant last book, Safe (Sea Horse Press, 1984), but his vision, or fantasy, has grown so dark that it is difficult to call this new novel an advance. There's less air to breathe, less human comfort. Even 11A Herd? his horrific story of a mass murderer in The Tenderness of the Wolves (The Crossing Press, 1982), watched the action with a godlike sorrow. In Closer, the entire culture is driven toward death, desire to cruelty, and there is no way out-the book ends on the line 111t1s really black in here? You cant put down a book like this and just get back to whatever you were doing. Nobody since Jean Genet has written with such lucid brutality, such power to scare us into checking our values.

Next time, I would like Dennis Cooper to lead us away from the brink, but I won't count on it.

Dan Bellm wrote about Cleve Jones and the NAMES Project in the January 1989 issue of Mother Jones.

Photograph by Bill Burke

Down and

Out Upstate

1)liX'liliRl'liY

By Douglas Bauer, Simon (if Schuster, .317 pages, \$18.95.

BYJAMi-Ls KAPLAN

ar be it from this writer to put the knock on anybody_anywhere, any-how-who summons up the will and courage to construct a working semi-serious novel. By semiserious 1 of course mean any work that avoids mere upholstery (spies, spooks, nuclear subs, glitter palaces) and manages, if only in passing, to address that most endangered of organs, the human spirit. As American sitcoms and movies steadfastly advance 15. li Skinner's dictum that the soul doesn't exist, only behavior-and (Continued on next page)

Nowhere to Run To

FORCED OUT:

The Agony of the Refugee in Our Time, by (Jamie Kismaric. Random House, 192ptlges, \$19.95.

They are (Iumhotlinm Ethiopian, Salvadoran, and Haitian. They are East German, Soviet 'llirkish, and Palestinian. They are adults, uncle like the (izlmhodioms pictured above chasing a food truck through :1 Thai border enmp-they are children.

They are, as the title of this gripping book of photograplm oral histories, commentary, maps, and indexes prtr claims, 1ion'ed ()m. liourteen million refugees roam the world, and only one percent can ever go home again; Forced ()ut tells their stories with dignity and wit. The photographs will be part of a nationally touring exhibit opening this fall in Los Angeles, and all profits from the book will be do-

nated to Human Rights Watch.
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(Continued from previous page) not very pretty behavior, at that-we feel increasingly grateful to anyone who tells us otherwise. Literary novelists, working an ever more obscure backwater of what has come to be known, in all solemnity, as the entertainment industry, have that thankless mandate. What to do, then, when a novel is too serious (for ones own taste, anyway)? Douglas Bauer's Dexterity earnestly tracks the souls of Ed and Ramona-white trash, high-school sweethearts, then unhappy lifemates, in the fictional upstate New York town of Myles-as they come together, come apart, then come together again. In a brilliant, and brilliantly compressed, first chapter, Bauer charts Ramona and Ed's courtship through all its wildly sexual adolescent hope: "She saw them living at the edge of the village in a new house trailer, saw the sun reflecting off its siding as if it had caught the cut of a diamond? Once they're married, of course, there's nowhere to go but down-Ed turns into a beer-drinking yobbo who spends his evenings at the Hill Top Tap, occasionally deigning to come home and treat Ramona to the sight of him lying on the couch, twitching his big toe in time to the music of TV commercials. The first time Ramona, seven months pregnant, tries to leave Ed, she wrecks her car and loses her right hand (but not the baby): hence the book's strangely sadistic title. Once their son is born, the couple settles into a brief, glum equilibrium. Then one day Ramona leaves Jonas in his stroller in the middle of a field and lights out for the territory. Anyone who's ever spent any time in upstate Anywhere knows that life in food-stamp-and-propane-tank land can be heart-sinkingly grim. The whole problem with Dexterity, for me, is that Bauer's writing doesn't buoy his subject. The author takes on the difficult and dangerous task of living the lives of limited characters in exhaustive (and exhausting) detail, through prose that's solemn, knuckle-crackingly poetic, and, at times, just plain muckle-mouthed: "Ed sensed Jonas as the problems insoluble shape and sounds, and as little more. This denied many things, not entirely a bad result, for he didn't for a moment at a juncture in the day see his son as incarnation of Ramona's mocking flight."

Faulkner himself couldn't have done any better. Maybe my own soul, the victim of too much TV repartee, is just too far gone to enjoy this kind of thing. If you are serious enough to appreciate truly serious fiction-and I pray you are-please buy this book, and keep the good fight going. James Kaplan's novel, Pearls Progress, is published by Knopf.

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BROADCASTERS

(Continued from page 31) how smart we have to be as well. And that gets lost a lot of the time.

Orenstein: Meredith and Ann, are you concerned about aging?

Vieira: I am.

Rubenstein: Absolutely.

Vieira: If I'm right in my assumption that they want young people on the air, the next one who comes along who's younger and smarter and can articulate well may find herself in my job. I think it's also debilitating to obsess on it. You know, that's not how I should be wasting my time-worrying oh my God, I have a wrinkle, instead of studying the next question. So, it's a dangerous thing.

Rubenstein: Stock up on that Retin-A.

Orenstein: It also seems that youth and beauty can be a limitation, depending on how it's used. I'm thinking about the Vanity Fair shots of Diane Sawyer.

Rubenstein: Meredith is probably best equipped to talk about that. I don't know whether you all saw that Esquire piece on her a while back.

Ellerbee: We all saw it.

Goldin: Meredith can say categorically she would not pose that way now.

Vieira: Well, I can say I did it for the fun of it.

Rubenstein: Did you know what he . . .

Vieira: I knew it was going to be a flattering piece. I knew it was done in fun. I see myself as a lot of different things. I didn't question it. In retrospect maybe I should have. It was interesting-the reaction that I got was basically from women, not from men. I got reactions from feminists on both sides. Feminists who said, Right on, finally you're allowing yourself to be what you are, and that's how far we've come." And others who said, "You have just set back our movement a long way." People look up to you as somebody in the business, and here you are posing in these pictures. The one in the pink taffeta dress was certainly suggestive. And that's been detrimental. I suppose if I had it to do over again, knowing me, I probably would. But I certainly didn't mean any harm, and I assume a little bit did come out of it.

Orenstein: If Meredith had called the rest of you up the night before that shoot and said, "I'm thinking of doing this, what do you think," what advice would you have given?

Goldin: I could have argued both sides of the case.

Rubenstein: The professional side of me would have said don't do it. The other side of me as a person would say you've got to do what you've got to do.

Ellerbee: My first reaction to the Diane Sawyer cover on Vanity Fair, quite frankly, was it was unimportant as an issue. They were beautiful pictures, and she looked beautiful. It would be nice to look like that, wouldn't it? Feminist that I am, I was not bothered by it. I think I was persuaded by women friends of mine in the business that I should have been bothered by it, and that we have come a long way, and that this is not the image we want to give off. I agree. It's not. But I also agree with Meredith. Look, I am also a woman, I like looking good. So I wouldn't have given you any advice.

Vieira: Just let me hang myself.

Goldin: Well, until this morning, I would have come here to criticize you. And to criticize Diane. But what you and Linda have said has made me think. And I suppose that in the ideal world . . .

Ellerbee: . . . it would be OK. You know what it is? Its the limits of society that make it dangerous.

Goldin: But because that is the way we are perceived in so much of what we do I think it can be detrimental, because it just feeds into that stereotype. If we were taken seriously and as equals, and not called cunts and other horrible things, then fine.

Ellerbee: I thought you had great legs, though.

Orenstein: Well, clearly, the kind of feedback you get on your looks is different than men get, but what about the feedback on your work?

Vieira: It depends. I mean, I'll seek feedback a lot of times. Positive and negative. But I don't find people in the networks are gushers. I mean, you don't exactly walk down the hall . . . III-Iey, great job, Meredith. Way to go on that story?

Goldin: Maybe I'm romanticizing, but I seem to remember a day when it was more collegial. When people did help and did compliment you, and didn't look at you as a worse competitor than somebody from another network. And now that doesn't exist. Now there is that sense, sometimes overt, certainly covert, of that old Hollywood phrase: Better my colleague here should fail than my worst enemy.

Orenstein: Does that have something to do with the new ownership and the shift in management of the news divisions?

Goldin: It was as soon as news became part of big business, as soon as news was made into ratings, as soon as you could never come in the next day or the next week and have what you did honestly critiqued, because if it got super ratings, then it was good, and if it got dumpster ratings, well, then it couldn't be very good.

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(Continued from previous page) not very pretty behavior, at that-we feel increasingly grateful to anyone who tells us otherwise. Literary novelists, working an ever more obscure backwater of what has come to be known, in all solemnity, as the entertainment industry, have that thankless mandate. What to do, then, when a novel is too serious (for ones own taste, anyway)? Douglas Bauerls Dexterity earnestly tracks the souls of Ed and Ramona-white trash, high-school sweethearts, then unhappy lifemates, in the fictional upstate New York town of Myles-as they come together, come apart, then come together again. In a brilliant, and brilliantly compressed, first chapter, Bauer charts Ramona and lids courtship through all its wildly sexual adolescent hope: IIShe saw them living at the edge of the village in a new house trailer, saw the sun reflecting off its siding as if it had caught the cut of a diamond? Once theyre married, of course, thereis nowhere to go but down_Ed turns into a beer-drinking yobbo who spends his evenings at the Hill Top Tap, occasionally deigning to come home and treat Ramona to the sight of him lying on the couch, twitching his big toe in time to the music of TV commercials. The first time Ramona, seven months pregnant, tries to leave Ed, she wrecks her car and l(her right hand (but not the baby): hence bookls strangely sadistic title. Once their is born, the couple settles into a brief, gl equilibrium. Then one day Ramona lea Jonas in his stroller in the middle of a f and lights out for the territory. Anyone wh0,s ever spent any time in state Anywhere knows that life in IQ stamp-and-propane-tank land can be he sinkingly grim. The whole problem vs Dexterity, for me, is that Bauerls writ doesnt buoy his subject. The author ta on the difficult and dangerous task of liv the lives of limited characters in exhaus (and exhausting) detail, through prose th solemn, knuckle-crackingly poetic, and times, just plain muckle-mouthed: ill sensed jonas as the problems inconsola shape and sounds, and as little more. T denied many things, not entirely a bad sult, for he didnt for a moment at a junct in the day see his son as incarnation Ramonas mocking flight? Faulkner himself couldnk have done R better. Maybe my own soul, the victim too much TV repartee, is just too far gone to enjoy this kind of thing. If you are serious enough to appreciate truly serious fiction-and I pray you are_please buy this book, and keep the good fight going. james Kaplanls novel, Pearls Progress, is published by Knopf.

46 JUNE 1989

BROADCASTERS

(Continued from page 31) how smart we have to be as well. And that gets lost a lot of the time.

Orenstein: Meredith and Ann, are you concerned about aging?

Vieira: I am.

Goldin: I could have argued both sides of the case.

Rubenstein: The professional side of me
would have said don't do it. The other side
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part of big business, as soon as news was
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Vieira: A lot of these executives are extremely insecure human beings who are very nervous about the guy at the top themselves. And they change so quickly from one attitude to the next that one day they're on your side, and the next day it's whatever is politically wise for them.

Goldin: The networks have been taken over by bigger corporations and the only thing they care about is the bottom line. What's so hypocritical is they'd ask you to save money on a crew or on your own salary or on a staff person who maybe was going to make \$15,000 or \$20,000 a year while Larry Tisch, president of CBS News, is giving caviar and champagne parties at the Democratic and Republican conventions and every other place you look. And where is the investigative reporting from a network that pays Connie Chung \$1.8 million? If that's where your resources are . . .

Ellerbee: At NBC a couple of years ago they actually sat down and took all of the correspondents and how many minutes they were on the air that year, and prorated the cost—What is this correspondent worth to us? How much does he produce? Here's his salary; here's the number of minutes he's on the air. Then you have a list. And you slice off the ones at the bottom. That doesn't take into account that some stories take a long time to produce. What a foolish way to look at the news!

Goldin: I've come to the conclusion that the television news networks are divided into two categories: the few great celebrities and the rest of what I refer to as sycophants.

Ellerbee: Those tend to be men, the sycophants.

Goldin: Oh, really? I find it in a lot of women, too.

Ellerbee: Really?

Goldin: Oh, yes. They're certainly of both sexes. There's a line from The King and I: "Yes, Your Majesty; no, Your Majesty; tell me how low to go, Your Majesty." Why, I've seen middle-aged women who've talked to executive men in baby talk.

Ellerbee: You know, we all had daddies. We were all little girls who wanted the approval of daddy. And we add that to everything else that society and our parents put into us about little girls. And you get out there in the business world, and your boss is "Daddy." We're conditioned. I mean, even these days, people will say, "Did you have a mentor? I hate that word. They mean a daddy. They mean . . . we used to say a rabbi." Rubenstein: Do you have a tormentor. . . not a mentor, a tormentor.

Ellerbee: I think women have to work harder to get out of that mind-set. I had to make conscious efforts to do that.

Rubenstein: I've never talked baby talk to
48 JUNE 1989

a man. How do you do it?

Vieira: You end up talking sort of like a child to a parent. And in the Ystar system if you're intelligent male or female, you're treated like a Child. So, that's built-in. I mean, they're always stroking you. Always, you

know, you're the good little kid. But you know, I think in terms of your network staff, they still do care about their work.

Ellerbee: The people that do the work—the writers, the editors, the producers, cameramen and women—they care. Because their jobs are made much more difficult if they have to work with talent who is actually an airhead. But the people who hire them? I don't think they care that much. They say they do.

Goldin: As the only person here behind the scenes, I think it would be grossly unfair to our readers for any of us to leave the impression that it's just on-air talent who are airheads. The fact is that the same people who are doing the hiring of on-air talent are doing the hiring of behind-the-scenes talent. And I am here to tell you that many, if not all, of the same characteristics that are desirable for on-the-air talent—sycophancy, baby talk—they want behind the scenes as well as on the air.

Ellerbee: I worked at one network, which shall go nameless, where there was an executive producer who had a real cadre of women producers . . .

Rubenstein: Oh, do we have a lot to talk about afterwards.

Ellerbee: . . . a real cadre of women producers. Some of whom he'd slept with, some of whom he hadn't. It was sort of interchangeable. But, of course, that was the impression if you were in that cadre. The terrible part of being accused if you're a woman in this business, whether you're behind the scenes or not, is sometimes people think you've slept with the boss to get where you are. Now the terrible part is that there are some who did. And do.

Orenstein: How has that affected your careers? You've obviously all rebelled against the standard expectations—and you've survived.

Goldin: I'm very proud of what I did for 25 years at the networks, 22 of them at CBS and two at ABC. It also speaks for itself that I'm no longer with the television networks, and don't want to be. Again, this may sound self-serving—you'll decide.

Somebody asked me whether NBC had called me when I left ABC, and I said no. You've got to believe me. If they did I'd be a bag lady before I'd consider it.

Ellerbee: I remember a day, it was the summer that I was 40 years old. I was working on a show that was in some disarray. It was chaos. I was rushed, and I was writing. My boss came into the room with yet another idea. I got an idea. And it was a dreadful idea. It was a dreadful, dreadful idea. And he wanted to know why. Sometimes a lot of things can go through your mind very fast. I started to open my mouth and do what over the years you get in the habit of doing, which is break it to him gently. Find ways to get him out of that idea without him losing face.

Rubenstein: It's called creative deflection.

Ellerbee: That's right. I didn't have the time. I was under the gun, and I didn't have

the time. I turned around and I said, IThat is an awful idea. I don't have time to tell you why now. It is a terrible idea. I don't want to hear about it? And he said, IWell, what's the matter with you? And I blew. I don't know where it came from. But I started to yell at the man, I am tired of babying you all? We talk about us doing baby talk-I am tired of mothering little-boy executives. Grow up. Take my word for it, it's a bad idea, and get out of my office. I am busy. Goldin: And get your adulation somewhere else.

Orenstein: Are there stories that went the other way-stories that you originated and believed in that were spiked, that never made it on the air?

Vieira: Bits of pieces. I remember doing a piece on a deaf student who wanted to make it in the movies. And I wanted to say, here we are doing this story on CBS, which doesn't even have closed caption. She wants to make the next step, and they can't even go that far. And they said, I Absolutely not, you can't say that? I said, IWhy not? It's true? And they were just adamant about it, because they were negotiating some deal for their own kind of closed caption. That decision was made from very high up. My boss said fine, I think it's right to do it. But then it went up a few more steps. But never has a whole story been spiked.

Rubenstein: Yeah, mine haven't been either.

Goldin: One of the most stunning stories I've ever been involved with was for ABC. It was about Charles Wick, for eight years head of the U.S. Information Agency and a very good friend of Reagan's. He owned a string of nursing homes. Rarely if ever had I seen such good documentation, not only in terms of reports, but in terms of pictures. I wanted to call them inmates. That's what these old people looked like lying in these beds in this nursing home in Visalia, California. To the highest levels of ABC this is before Capital Cities bought them-there were meetings with different versions: eight minutes, three minutes, two minutes. The story never aired. Nor did it air anywhere else. It was political pressure: Wick's at-

tomey in Washington calling Ev Erlick, executive vice president at ABC. Good, classic spiking.

Vieira: I can think of one other thing that happened to me at the local affiliate: a story on sexual harassment in the workplace. We were going to do it on CBS Records, because we had received so many calls from employees there. And we could not do it. Networks are notorious for this. Pointing the finger at someone else, and just really raking the company over the coals for something like that. But never can you point the finger at CBS or NBC or ABC. And we really had a good story there. And that was definitely denied.

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We ended up doing it on a cosmetics firm.

And it destroyed them.

Orenstein: Let's shift to the way the format of the news has changed, how that affects what you do. Over the years certain trends have been established-starting with the opening up of the happy-talk format in local news, the first infiltration of entertainment news into the business, Eventually news magazines came along. Then Donahue. And then Oprah. And now Geraldo. How have these changes affected what you do and what we see?

Vieira: I think the talk shows lowered the common denominator. Everything's becoming info-tainment in a way.

Rubenstein: The networks are covering. . .

Ellerbee: . . . fewer stories.

Rubenstein: And the honest-to-goodness hard news stories are the stories coming out of Washington.

Goldin: And overseas.

Ellerbee: There isn't that much hard news covered at all anymore. What they call hard news very often isn't. And more and more it's in the back half of the evening newscast. On all three networks.

Rubenstein: Were not a program of record. And were not covering breaking news any longer. When I was in Chicago from '84 to '86, we covered lots of big breaking stories. We were really covering news of the day. With the technology advancing the way it has, the network mentality is, well, by the time we get on the air at night the locals have covered everything that's broken. We better give them something different. Marion's theory is that everything should become trash TV. Everywhere you look, trash tabloid television. And then people would have their fill of it. Then maybe everything would swing back the other way.

Ellerbee: Meredith is right. It does lower the common denominator. But Marion is right, too. It is not going to eat our babies.

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didn't draw a crowd. Wars draw a crowd. So
do fools and burning buildings. But its not
all you watch. I find far more objectionable
those of us in the business wholll do it. I
dont think its nearly as sinful to watch it as
it is to do it.

Goldin: We were talking about where
there is going to be an outlet for what we call
quality kind of programming. And my sense
of it is that there arent going to be those
outlets until trash TV runs its course.

Ellerbcc: Youlre right. I get at least one
offer a month. My most recent was a large-
operation offer, to anchor a game show
about murder. But I think in fact the
boredom factor will get there. Its very en-
couraging that already the advertisers are
beginning to worry about it. WNBC can-
celed (Ieraldo. Morton Downey, Jr., is hav-
ing trouble finding sponsors.

Vieira: I didnt realize WNBC canceled
Geraldo.

Ellerbec: Yeah-hek going to WCBS.

lFilm directorl joe Mankiewicz said that
television is nothing but auditions. If that's
the case, welre going to look back on trash
television, at least I am, as an infinite
number of chimpanzees marching across the
stage playing an infinite number of accor-
dions. A little bit of uLady of Spainl, goes a
long way after a while.

Orenstein: But the programmers argue
that the American viewing public gets what
it wants.

Ellerbce: That is the biggest fallacy in our
business. Thatls the argument that people on
our side use to put dreck on the air. thell,
welre just giving them what they want." The
American public didnt ask for trash televi-
sion. Theylll watch it the same way we go
out and watch a tire. Its not all they want.
What happens is when somethings hot like
that it drives out everything else.

Orenstein: When you look back over the
years, though, what are the pieces youlve
done that you're proudest of?

Goldin: Well, I guess Ilve done, oh,
around 70 pieces for ()0 Minutes. Not to
mention other broadcasts. And there was
certainly a percentage of elinkers. But llm
very proud of a body of work that stretches
from Watergate-when Nixon resigned 60
Minutes was able to do a retrospective on
Watergate, because we had taken every op-
portunity to do Watergate stories-to a
piece in 1978 on Murrieta. That was an ex-

pose of a clinic purporting to cure cancer, arthritis, heart disease, narcolepsy. It preyed on the infirm and the elderly. And we went undercover as wealthy people with a Rolls-Royce and wigs, which was fun. But it also had its serious side. It really helped people understand Charlatans and quacks.

Ellerbee: NBC News "Overnight." Now, that's the piece of work I'm most proud of. And I'm going to use that instead of a story. I could pick some. Our World shows that I'm real proud of. Real proud of. But I think NBC News "Overnight" is the thing. When I look back it's probably the best work I've done.

Orenstein: Ann and Meredith, what about you?

Rubenstein: It's probably the stories that go relatively unnoticed. Not the stories about the big stars or the Raisa Gorbachevs coming to town. It's one that I did about deaf children in St. Louis graduating from the Central Institute for the Deaf, where they learned how to speak. You could see how hard those kids were trying, and it really touched me. So it's not, did my piece change the world, or how many people out there did I reach? It's what it did for me. What did I learn from it. It's the smaller ones that escape all of the hoopla.

Vieira: I would agree with Ann. My favorite was about a kid as well. A little boy named Anthony in Chicago, who'd spoken of poverty as only someone who lives it can. And someone without pretenses, because he hadn't formed those yet. And I have a buddy for life. I mean, we talk every week. I see him. So that's something that I'm going to take with me. CBS could hire me tomorrow, and it doesn't matter. I have that.

Orenstein: With cable broadening its appeal and more and more independent stations on the air, isn't the field for good programming opening a bit?

Ellerbee: That's the good side. Marion and I are out there in that world of independent production.

Goldin: The record should show that, particularly recently, men are opting out of network television, too, because they don't fit either. Rather than just a gender issue, there really is a kind of person who doesn't fit in network news anymore. There are men who don't want to play or can't play the old-boy network. And there are women who play it more beautifully than the most seasoned men.

Orenstein: Linda and Marion, when did you know that it was time to quit the networks?

Ellerbee: I didn't quit because they canceled Our World. I had a contract that said they had to pay me for another two and a half years whether I did a lick of work or not. But I think I was coming closer to it and closer to it. There's a moment that drives you over the edge. I did a little thing on Good Morning America called IITGIFII that I had done on the Today Show. And the executive producer of tTGIFll came to me and said he had three changes that he

wanted to make. I said, ttWhat are theyPI,

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And he said, "I want to change the title, because I'm afraid we're offending Christians? So I asked him, "What do you mean?" And he said "Thanking God it's Friday? And I asked him who he thought we ought to thank. Thank Allah it's Friday? He had no answer. And I said, "What is the second thing? And he said, "Do you have to play this TGIF theme song?" And I said, "Yes! What is the third thing? He said, "Does it have to run on Friday? At that moment inside I said, I'm outta here. I'm gone.

Goldin: Well, I'm going to be flip, because it was really a process. The short flip answer is standing in my kitchen one night saying to my husband, "I can't think of a name for my company." And he stood there for no more than two minutes, and said, "Marigold." And then I knew that I had to do it.

Ellerbee: I quit because I wanted something else. I wanted to work for myself. And because I was tired. I was tired of the bullshit. Real tired. One thing we've not brought up today, which is so true, and should be brought in here: I love the work! And that's true of all of us. We haven't brought up that side of it. I love it! Some of my happiest moments in the whole world are spent in editing rooms. And I didn't want to give up the work! I just wanted to give them up.

Rubenstein: You love your work. You don't always love the environment in which you practice it.

Goldin: I want to second, third, and fourth how much we all love the work.

Orenstein: Throughout this discussion there's been a kind of division and maybe a tension between two independent producers who have been around a little longer, and two women who are on the networks and are a little younger. What do you see when you look across the table at each other?

Rubenstein: I'm encouraged. I mean, the big question has always been, is there life after network news? I think it's very encouraging to see people going off on their own and succeeding. And more important: they're happy. Enjoying their work again.

Vieira: It's hard to get off that merry-go-round, though. It really is. Especially when that brass ring is there, and they keep telling you, you almost got it!

Ellerbee: Don't get off until you're ready.

Rubenstein: Or until they throw you off.

Vieira: I find myself sitting here, part of me wanting to scream in terms of the inequities that I see, and the other part going, oh God, someone's going to read this. (BS) Sex-roles all these articles, and they hit everybody's desk. And the most outrageous thing, I've said is probably what will be in the article, and, oh, shit, you know. That's what I feel.

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om. women

are back cl square one.

They do everything but

wear um. Bo Peep

drones and hair bows."

Ellerbee: There was a question earlier

about . . . you talked about worrying about growing old. The reason I didn't and the reason I don't is because I never intended to grow old as a network correspondent. I think if we have a message, the two of us to them, it's that there's a wonderful world outside the networks. And that for all of the bad times for networks, these are good times for television. Putting trash television aside, because I do believe that will pass, there are a lot more places to show your work these days. And there is a lot of freedom. You can make money. I make more money than I made at the networks. You can have a lot more control. You can even have networks come and buy your product. I am a freelance producer and TV journalist. I couldn't have done that ten years ago. I have just begun doing commentary three days a week for CNN, but I don't work there. We're producing documentaries for PBS, for cable, and, we hope, eventually for the networks. You can do this. You can do your work outside of them in ways that weren't possible for us when we were your age. So I think you have a lot to look forward to in a much broader sense than the networks. I mean, it's time to stop thinking "the networks" and think television.

Orenstein: Marion, what about you?

Goldin: During the presidential campaign I covered George Bush and Dan Quayle with a 13-year-old and an 11-year-old.

Ellerbee: Was that Children's Express?

Goldin: Yes, C. E. News Magazine. And we made more news with the 13-year-old and the 11-year-old than the whole pack covering Quayle and Bush. There were dozens, if not hundreds, of adult reporters in the pack, but here was a vehicle where persons of original cast of mind could do what no one else did in the campaign. At the end, we had a meeting, and one of the children said, why don't we just show the candidates against a plain backdrop? Forget the balloons. Put them behind a plain backdrop and let's just listen to what they have to say.

Rubenstein: That's a perfect example. I think network executives are so afraid to be different. Every year they say, we're going to do it different this year. No balloons. No photo opportunities. We're not going to be used like we were before. And then every year it turns out to be the same story. And it raises the question: Are there no executives at any of these networks who have the courage and the balls to stand up and say, "No, I don't care what CBS or ABC does, we're not going to do it that way. We're going to do it our way?"

Vieira: Look at the Bush inauguration. That was terrible coverage, a virtual love fest for Bush—no insightful reporting.

Orenstein: Well, let's say you had all the power at the networks or outside of them. What's the biggest change you'd make right now to affect what viewers see?

Vieira: I'd like more international coverage than I think there is.

Ellerbee: You know, South Africa made a great case, and Israel followed them up im-

mediately: Throwing out the press does work. News coverage went away.

Vieira: Absolutely. Ild like to see an investigative unit back. And a documentary unit back with a real commitment to that. Id like to see a commitment to women in executive positions.

Rubenstein: I would like to see us get back to the business of news. And do more stories that reflect what went on in the United States that day. More harder news stories.

Ellerbee: lld put Our World back on the air.

Rubenstein: Thatls true. I mean, you laugh, but I would put shows like that back on the air. And get rid of the rating system. Replace it with what? I don,t know.

Goldin: These TV executives have asked us people who program to do the impossible. Why should we have to attract 30 million people to anything? A million people is the New York Times readership on a daily basis.

Ellerbee: Our World was canceled for having only 12 million viewers a week.

Rubenstein: That is amazing, isnIt it? Only 12 million.

Ellerbee: PBS wants to put that show on the air. If they get 12 million viewers a week, itlll be one of the highest-rated shows in the history of PBS. There was a compact that was broken. When God made the airwaves, the federal government said, tIWe will give you this license to use something that belongs to the people of the United States, for personal profit. In return you will give back to the people of the United States a lot of public-information programming, public-affairs programming. You will give back to them things that are good that do not depend on your making money." We simply have to stop applying ratings to that side of the compact. CI

Plains? Great!

Many travelers
consider farm
country America's
fly-over zone. To
enjoy its hidden
truths, you must
have to know how

Photograph by Bud Lee

ARMLAND. THE MIDWEST. To THE CROSS-
country traveler, the Big Nothing. As chil-
dren on family station-wagon trips, this was
where we played the alphabet game or sang
soporific songs about bottles of beer while
the endless farms and fields rolled by without com-
ment. We had nothing to say. Now we're one more
generation removed from the land. We have kids of
our own, asking questions we can't answer because
we're agriculturally illiterate. What follows is a brief
guide to traveling through farm country-with an-
swers to your children's questions, and answers to
your own:

. . .What Are Those Plants? How Many
of Them Are There? Probably it's corn, king in
the Midwest, accounting for more than a third of the
planted acreage in the region. About 22,000 seeds
per acre are planted, giving rise to about 20,000
plants. Yields range from 200 bushels (a bushel is
that basket in your basement holding old sports
equipment) per acre (about 5 1/2 tons) in a bin-busting
year to zero in a drought season. Corn is a big grass,
TRIPS

By Peter Nelson

and is mainly fed to animals in the form of yellow
kernels. White corn is most often sold to processors
who grind it into Fritos or corn oil and then add
yellow food coloring. Corn can be processed into
anything from gasoline additive to plastics. Some
cornfields appear corduroyed, a few rows of tall
corn, then a few rows of short-this is seed corn,
being cross-pollinated on contract to a seed dealer.
Seed companies genetically engineer plants to resist
disease, drought, and pests, to adapt to specific soils,
utilize specific fertilizers, produce more seeds, have
stiffer stalks, or call you on the phone and tell you
when they need to be watered or sprayed. The com-
panies also tinker with the plants until they need
heavy doses of their parent chemical companies'
pesticides.

Why Are Those Corn Plants So Short?

Only a few feet high, with broad, rounded leaves?
Those are soybeans: if corn is king, soybeans are
queen. The protein-packed beans are more versatile
than a pair of jeans, can be found in everything from
tofu to animal feed, and are highly valued for their
oil. One acre of soybeans will produce enough
bacon bits to fill all the salad bars in California-
well, almost.

Bean fields often have weeds in them. Weeds are
the plants on the farm without any food value. Farm-
MOTHER JONES 53

ers hate weeds. They choke fields, machinery, cut down on yields. And they're tough to get rid of; farmers hire help or press their family members into ripping them out by hand, or spray herbicides. A weedy bean field might signify a farmer with no money, no family, or neighbors upwind with neither of either.

What's All That Brown Stuff

Lying on the Ground? That is the ground. Farmers call it soil, which is unconsolidated sedimentary rock, most of it deposited long ago as glacial drift. And it doesn't just lie there-it moves, like an ocean. The wind lifts it, bounces it across the land, or knocks it around like billiard balls. Felling rain shatters the soil, splashing it downhill, where microchannels become rivulets which become streams which carry those particles away. Contour plowing can prevent some of the runoff. A flooded roadside ditch indicates poor drainage. If the water in it is brown, the farmer is losing soil. That's a major problem for farmers all over, since topsoil replaces itself at about a 30th of an inch-the thickness of a dime-each year.

What Are All Those Buildings on

the Farms For? Farmers either sell the grain they grow or feed it to their animals. Storage bins let farmers hold their grain and sell it when the market is favorable without having to rent space in the local grain elevator.

If farmers feed grain to their animals, they may want to put it in a silo first. Silos are used to store silage, which is a mix of whatever farmers want to feed their livestock: grain, alfalfa, rye, even weeds. Anaerobic bacteria produce enzymes, which begin the fermentation process, converting starch to sugar, until all the oxygen in the airtight silo has been consumed, after which the anaerobic bacteria produce lactic acids. Animals will eat twice as much silage as they will regular chow, because it tastes better.

How Come We Always Get Stuck

Driving Behind a Tractor? Because

tractors are built for power, not speed. The tractor is the farmer's mobile power plant. A new four-wheel drive John Deere 120hp costs \$75,000. Tractors pull implements, including plows, disk tillers, spring-toothed harrows, cultivators, planting machines, shredders to mulch or cut hay, sprayers to apply chemicals, and balers or rakes (which line the cut hay into windrows to dry before baling).

The other main farming machine is the combine. A new John Deere combine loaded with air conditioning and a stereo tape deck costs \$150,000, which is why not every farmer owns one. Those who don't hire neighbors who do to get their crops in. At harvest time, combines stir up hordes of insects, and are usually followed by flocks of feeding birds. Hawks and owls circle combines looking for snakes and mice. Dogs trot alongside, tracking quail or mink. Farmers hire, borrow, or trade machinery from each other, making for tightly knit communities.

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Look, There's a Cow! Farmers grow animals too.

Beef cattle graze unfarmably arid range-land or dine in feed lots. Angus are black, Brahms have humps, and Herefords are red with white faces and bellies. Ten pounds of grain become one pound of beef on your plate. Animals are slaughtered when they reach a thousand pounds.

Holsteins, the familiar black and white breed first imported by Dutch settlers in 1621, account for over 80 percent of all dairy cows. A milk cow will eat 18 tons of feed a year, and give up to 2,400 gallons of milk. The average dairy cow weighs two-thirds of a ton and produces 639 cubic feet of manure a year, enough to fill about six BMW 5255 . Cows live in barns.

Why Are Barns Red, Mommy?

Barns are red because barns are red. Read my lips.

In an open-stall barn, cows develop a pecking order, with boss cows shouldering aside the lesser cows at the feed trough, which may be where the term llbossy,, comes from. Cows eat hay, sleep on straw, and drink water from the farm pond, unless the hay spontaneously combusts (which can happen, if the loosely baled hay is too moist), in which case the pond is used for its secondary function, as a fire extinguisher.

. ' . . And on This Farm He Had a Chicken . . . Actually, nobody has a chicken. Most commercial poultry farming is done these days in huge automated Tlcoopsf which are always lit because hens lay more eggs if they think its day out. The pink light is thought to pacify them. Some genius is trying to market red contact lenses for chickens. Futures so bright, they gotta wear shades.

Why Are There So Many Bugs on the Windshield? Farmers call them pests. One estimate suggests there are as many insects in a square mile of farmland as there are people in the world. Grasshoppers eat the silk from the corn ears and open routes in the plant for mold to grow, Corn borers weaken the cornstalks with their chewing, to the point where an infested field becomes a disaster area, broken plants fallen to the ground. At night, look for the electric bug zappers by the feedlots on dairy farms- emphatic pyrotechnic activity could signal a fly infestation. If your car engine is running a little hot, you could have low-flying grasshoppers clogging your radiator.

Farmers use certain animals to control other animals. Cats still hunt rodents. Guinea hens serve as intruder alarms. Farmers welcome barn owls, which kill rodents and snakes. Bats eat mosquitoes. Farmers stock their farm ponds with bass or trout, frogs and turtles, also to control mosquitoes. Farm dogs keep foxes and coyotes away.

Can We Stop the Car? I'm Hungry.

At a Midwestern truck stop, you may see a farm family dining out, a fairly rare and therefore special occasion, which is why farm kids behave better in restaurants than

city kids.

Farmers are the men and women who live or work on farms. They live in farmhouses, multigenerational dwellings handed on and on. Often there is a smaller retirement home built across the road from the main house where the farmers parents live. Sometimes farmhouses look run-down, because struggling farmers will replace a broken implement before they'll repaint their home. Farmhouses are dark at night because most farmers still go to bed early, or because they are unoccupied, the land worked by people who live in town.

Farmers know blessings come mixed. On century farms, kept in the same family for a hundred years, farmers carry on their parents work, and their grandparents work, which gives life tremendous meaning; but if it all goes under farmers feel they've failed both the past and the future. Unlike the disenfranchised, farmers have no doubt their job is a good thing to do. They create life, make soil give sustenance, make cows where there were no cows. They destroy life, too-taught as a Future Farmer of America to live, nurture, and groom an animal, win a blue ribbon with it at the county fair, then kill it. Farmers understand their place in the food chain. Everything on a farm struggles, competing with everything else for food, water, sun; weed against weed, wind against rock, bug against beast, a cruel and brutal and beautiful dynamic.

Farmers have the same problems city people do: divorce, alcoholism, crime. And many problems others don't: no cable television, no good restaurants open after 8:30, living at the mercy of the weather, markets, governments, a million things they can't control or prepare for. But what they have, that others don't, is an intimate relationship with the earth, a responsibility for one small portion of the planet. Others just drive across it, in too much of a hurry to get to know it.

Peter Nelson's nonfiction and fiction writing has appeared in Esquire, Harper's, M5, and numerous other publications. He is based in Northampton, Massachusetts.

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OUT OF POCKET

By Rory O'Connor

Clean VS. Dirty

Ken Roberts of

ER(MI-1DOI)S(N AND KI-N Ronrk's GRAD-

uated in the optimistic class of 1971, Harvard

Business School. MBAs in hand, they chose

the same business: mutual fund manage-

ment, the art of investing other people's

money in the stock market. Each, however, took a

different route, one employing a traditional eco-

nomic approach at a branch office of a Wall Street

giant, the other pioneering a new mode of investing,

one in which social concerns are placed at the fore-

front of decision-making. Although their average

days are similar-tethered to the ticker-tape march

of stock prices-the men diverge in the manner in

which they do business. A comparison of their me-

thods reveals how socially responsible investment

firms, and the hundreds of millions of dollars in as-

Shearson Lehman's sets they have come to control, differ from tradi-

Fundamental Value

Fund (left) and

Jerome Dodson of the

Parnassus Fund.

x

nonal Wall Street investment houses.

While working at a small savings and loan bank,

Dodson was approached for capital to support the

installation of solar heating systems in apartment

buildings. To raise the money, he devised something

unique: solar T-bills, which paid slightly higher in-

terest than ordinary notes, and which quickly at-

tracted \$3 million from 150 investors. For Dodson,

this experience revealed a potentially huge untapped

market of investors, who cared as much about what

was being funded as how much their investments

could earn.

Dodson left the bank to cofound one of the first

socially responsible money-market funds, Working

Assets. From there, he went on to open the San Fran-

cisco-based Parnassus Fund in 1985. In 1988, Par-

nassus ranked third overall among the 1,624 mutual

funds rated by the widely followed tracking concern

Lipper Analytical Services.

Ken Roberts is president of the Shearson Funda-

mental Value Fund in Spokane, one of a constella-

tion of investment funds under the umbrella of the

multibillion-dollar Shearson Lehman Hutton.

Roberts took the more traditional career route out of

Harvard: he worked as a financial analyst, and de-

veloped merger and acquisition strategies for a re-

gional brokerage house in Washington state. In 1981

he became head of the Fundamental Value Fund,

which had a 21 percent return last year, well above

the national average.

Dodson's method for assessing the value of a com-

pany as a potential investment departs from that of

Roberts in one major respect. "The way most of my

peers look at fundamental value, is asset-oriented,"

says Dodson. "You know cash, buildings, a trade-

mark-some business asset. But the first thing I think

about is the culture of the company in question, its

attitude toward employees, shareholders, the com-

munity where it operates, the environment, and so

on. To me, a company's

social values-in the

. Pull Wall Street up.

broadest sense-are its

fundamental values." against SOCIETY!

Dodson's screening pro-

.cess excludes invest- responsibl
ments in any companies
involved with alcohol,
tobacco, gambling, nu-
clear power, weapons happens? A brie'
contracting, or that have
operations in South Idle OfMOMBAS
Africa.

Roberts contends that NO pclhs
investing according to
these criteria unduly limits the "economic universe"
of potential investments. "My goalf he says, "is to
make money for my shareholders, my calling is to
find economic valuef To do any less, he argues,
uwould be socially irresponsible, since I would be
compromising my shareholders' needs? Most mon-
- ey managers, like Roberts, assert that reducing the
pool of possible investments through the application
of social screens inevitably leads to lower returns.
Dodson argues that taking social factors into ac-
count actually improves his funds performance. 11A
company that treats its employees well has more
internal harmony and can attract and retain more
Illustration by Richard Stutting
investors and what

talented people who will work more productively?

Roberts and Dodson part company in explaining Parnassus's extraordinarily high performance, a 42 percent return, last year. Both men employ a contrarian financial strategy-buying undervalued stocks that fall through the cracks in the market. Roberts and other old-line money managers believe that it is this approach, and not Dodson's social targeting, that is truly behind his success. The contrarian philosophy says Roberts, "did better last year for everybody? Representing a common view on Wall Street, A. Michael Lipper, head of Lipper Analytical Services, comments, "There is not a lot of hard evidence, no basis for direct comparison of clean versus dirty funds. Dodson is a talented-or lucky-portfolio manager. But would he make more with dirty stocks? That's the question? Dodson counters that those mutual fund managers who saw Union Carbide, for example, as a fast-growing company in the early 80s had to rapidly adjust their sights as the company's value plunged after the Bhopal disaster. Dodson does not have to deal with unpredictable events like chemical disasters, the swing of the defense budget, or changes in U.S. policy toward companies operating in South Africa. This policy, Dodson maintains, gives his company more financial reliability, in addition to promoting socially beneficial investments.

KEN ROBERTS, PERSPECTIVE IS MORE CONSISTENT with what on Wall Street is known as the prudent man rule-a long-standing axiom, affirmed by legal and historical precedent, which holds that money managers should not risk their clients' profits for the sake of social factors. A money manager's social responsibility thus extends only as far as the shareholders in a company. Dodson's approach to financial decisions ultimately threatens this way of doing business, and to many, including Roberts, opens a Pandora's box. Parnassus and similar funds-like the Calvert Ariel Growth Fund-have shown it is possible to compete on at least a nearly equal footing with Wall Street traditionalists, fueling A. Michael Lipper's concern that "Once you start making judgments on things other than investment value, where does it stop? Ultimately, it is the answer to this question, which highlights the potential vulnerability of the financial world to public pressure, that Wall Street's smart money set finds most worrisome.

Rory O'Connor is a free-lance writer and television producer in New York City.

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I AM FRIENDS WITH THIS ONE DEEJAY, BILLY THE KID, whose true name is a secret to most listeners, but I know it: William Craighton. I called the radio station and a secretary told me. I said it was for our school paper. My friend Vicky was with me when I did it and she was cracking up laughing at how professional a liar I was. I-Iis show starts at midnight, I call him all the time. He says "IKQL hot line" and I say "Hi Billy", in this voice that me and Vicky call our Sensuous Woman voice. He's an Aries and I read him his Sydney () marriage horoscope every day.

Billy one time asked me how old was I and I said I was turning 18 which was a lie but there was no way he would talk to me if I was a ninth grader. I have a cousin who is turning 18, Ellen, so I told some things about her life: that I go to Franklin, that I have long hair, and that I have a red GTO that was my dad's.

Billy is so cool. On his show he has sayings like "Have you seen the yellow dog? People might say I don't get it but that's the whole joke of it. You have to have a free mind to understand him. In his picture he has long blond hair and a ring with an eyeball on it. He lets me win contests like when you are supposed to be the eighth caller but I . will already be on the line and I he gives the prizes to me.

Sometimes he says some stuff like "do I ball and can he meet me and I used to just change the subject until once he said I was uptight, so I told him that I have balled, which I haven't but it really doesn't matter, it's only words."

Then on Saturday the phone rang and my mom got it and it turned out to be Billy who said he was thinking about me a lot. He said it would be magical to meet at this beach called "Golden Gardens" or I could just come to his apartment. He told me he was naked in bed and I had to just keep going "uh-huh, uh-huh" like that, because my mom was about one inch away staring at me. I told him I had to get off the phone. -

At midnight I called him back and he said he didn't want to play anymore mind games and I said OK I didn't either and he said OK . then meet me at Golden Gardens on Sunday at 3:00. I called Vicky and told her I was going.

My mind practiced what I would say when Billy saw my true age. I imagined him first being mad and walking away, then me

going "Wait! Don't go!" and I'm crying because I'm so demolished. Then he stops and looks at me and suddenly he understands that age doesn't matter, just who you are inside and that my lies were all worth it because they caused the beautiful thing of us getting together.

On Sunday I took the bus downtown and transferred. When I got to Golden Gardens I sat down at a picnic table where we were supposed to meet. Around 3:15 I saw a black MG and Billy said he had a black MG and this guy got out wearing a fringe jacket and it had to be him. I don't mean to sound plastic but he was not that cute. He was different from his picture. He had lines.

He kept looking around

and it was weird to be sitting there right in front of him knowing the whole thing and him not knowing. Then when I was about to ' say something he went to the refreshments and got a hot dog and ate it in about ' three bites and he had a mustache and there was mustard hanging off of it. I about fainted when he came over to the picnic table and sat down. He took out some cigarettes and I saw the eyeball ring. I kept thinking there is no way I could get it on with him, there was just no way.

These two girls went up to the refreshments, they looked pretty slutty and one of them knew who he was and started talking to him in this really fakey way about how great he was, how he was her favorite deejay and all that, and her friend asked him did he want some french fries and they were staring at me like why didn't I leave. But I just kept looking out to the water like I was thinking, and inside I was thinking fuck you to them because if it weren't for me, they wouldn't be getting the chance to talk to Billy in the first place. One had really big boobs and Billy said a joke about them and the girls laughed. Then about 3:30 Billy said do you want to go for a ride and they said yes and they got in his convertible and drove away.

That night, Vicky called me and I told her I met Billy and that we sat around for awhile and I gave him some of my french fries and then he took me for a ride in his MG. She said was I for real and I said yes and that he kissed me and felt me up but that was all. Vicky wanted to know if Billy was mad because of my age and I told her no. That he understood.

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