

I060?

11 old friend .. - ' ;.

uts the question . .

rFidel Castro

JULY/AUGUST 1989

\$2.50

Oks could kill.
They can.
Most co g , y .5 ients derived from animal Sleepy Hollow's natural plant protein formulas
are oh-
by-products. e 5 ? :re tested In laboratories on so they don't clog. your skin's pores, no
pbuild u on
live animals like dog , and rabbits that halr.Theyleave your hair and s in c ean'ra;
must endure needless suffering and oftmes fresh, healthy and alive...never dull and
senseless death for beau care research, . lifeless. Best of all, your good looks don't
ls animal suffering rea y necessary for have to kill when you use Sleepy Hollow.
beautiful looks? For more information on Sleepy Hollow
No. , Botanicals write to Sleepy Hollow. 90. Box
That's why the Carme Company the leader 5397, Novato. CA 94948.
in natural hair and skin roducts, created
Slee y Hollow Botanico 5. Our beauty ' " ' g Slew Hollow
pro ucgs contain no anlulneg by-products w.
and un ergo no anima a oratory testing. r
We think that's a 51' nificam advancement -. ; t: r ,. _ : '3; B OTAN ICA L S
for animalkind an humankind. We're waking up the world.w
c 1989 Come Inc. Novato, CAQ

July/August 1989 - Volume 14 Number 6

MOTTH J 01165

feel that peculiar
sensation!

experience In his
presence, as if I
am meeting a

force of nature." F E A T U R E 5

p. 20

20 AFTER CASTRO By Saul Landau

Fidel's revolution won't be complete until it succeeds without him.

But is Cuba prepared to see him retire? Plus: contradictions-
excerpts from a decade of national security documents on the U.S.

war in Nicaragua. By Peter Kornbluh

Paula Poundstone:

Feminism ain't funny. p.12

28 THE NEXT FOUR NATIONAL PARKS By David Rains Wallace

Where the wild things are: it's time to reconceptualize the national
park, then create anew.

32 A BOY'S LIFE By David L. Kirby

In repuritanized America, a sexually active gay teenager is the
ultimate threat.

A ROYAL PAIN IN LA FRANCE By Stephen O'Shea

Despite two hundred years of la Republique, French monarchists
hope for a day when good times-not heads-will roll again.

DEPARTMENTS

42 TRIPS By John Krich

A trip through modern China exposes the
Last Emperor's new clothes.

Franco's rebel

yell: Lona 45 OUT OF POCKET By Richard D. Hylton

12:9 King's Pure profit: venture capital firms that
invest in a better world.

2 BACKTALK 11 PREVIEWS

The readers respond to antiabortion Drinking in If the River Was Whiskey,
feminists and bite back at Bono. Graham Parke's rebel rock, the life of

Whitney Houston

I BAD ATTITUDE By Barbara Ehrenreich 0 1e mcent m an more

A few tips on convincing corporate 60 1619 EAST CROWLEY By Lynda Barry Barbara Ehrenreich
America that you can pamper the boss Edna finds out it's not so easy to burst O'Hara's
mommy

and the baby. mom's soap bubble. , 7 7 , . ' . " - . , . ' , ' " Kk- 9' 3

10 OUTFRONT

Amy Tarfs new generation, Pat

Buchanan's favorite Atleftist's Jeffrey

Massor's fellow anti-shrinks, etc. A surreal
vacation?

Consider the

Manchurian

candidate. p. 42

16 HOT SPOTS By Re'mi Fauret

A reunion, an industry, and a religion:
a Western journalist joins the Muslim's
march to Mecca.

Cover photo by Gump's Corgoni/Cnnma;

photos by LIONEI' IHM Delevigne (France)

and Philip Hyde (Parks)

BACKTALK

A Nlisquotation

In your June '89 ttOutfronttl1 you misquoted me as saying, "I decided to bang away on a nasty male machine." What I was actually trying to explain was my frustration at the way female activists are typically portrayed. Male activists are generally given credit for intellectual integrity while women are shown as irrational, emotional.

I made it very clear that my reasons for destroying a NAVSTAR computer designed to guide first strike nuclear missiles were based on lengthy study of politics, strategy, and economics. I stressed that I was no latter-day Luddite, that I was not engaging in a technophobic tantrum. I did not want the public to see me as some sort of man-hating, machine-hating maniac. I had asked-fruite lessly-that I not be caricatured in this way. The misquotation was printed in enlarged, bold type. Why was it emphasized? Because the editor imagined that a graphic statement heavy with sexual innuendo, alongside a photo of an imprisoned woman, would attract the reader. If that is what it takes to sell this magazine nowadays, at least try for accuracy. Better yet, just go back to investigative journalism . . . you used to do it so well.

KATYA KOMISARUK

Spokane, Washington

Editor's Note: No innuendo, sexual or otherwise, was intended. We do regret the error; in a discussion about ttmedia dise tortionsf Komisaruk actually said: "One distortion would be that I am sort of a very emotional, spiritual woman who finally threw a fit and went out. . . and decided to bang away on a nasty male machine. Information about Komisaruk's case--and the light against first-strike nuclear weapons--is available from the White Rose Collective in San Francisco: (415) 621-5345.

Debating Abortion

Feminists for Life of America (ttAnti-Abortion, Pro-Feminism?" May 89) can call themselves what they may, but those who would take the right of self-determination from women or who would give a fetus more rights than a woman are not feminists. Their position would send other women to self-induced, illegal, and unsafe abortions or force them into unwanted pregnancies and parenthood. A feminist would never do this to another woman.

Particularly telling is Juli Loesch's statement that a rape/incest victim's abortion would be "killing the child for the crime of the father?" She makes no mention of the rights or wishes of the woman while calling the rapist the "father." I-Iow Loesch stands on nuclear weapons or Nicaragua is irrelevant to her claim of feminism when she is one of the mob called Operation Rescue, which intimidates women and girls and blocks them as they attempt to make their own decisions about their lives. Calling people like Loesch and her allies feminists is like calling Oliver North a patriot.

SUSAN CARTER

Toledo, Ohio

I commend you for your article on Feminists for Life. Even though you were critical of our viewpoint, and left out several important points, your straightforward acknowledgment of our existence speaks well for your honesty.

If it's not too much to ask, I'd also like to see you treat the abortion industry to the same investigative reporting that you give to any other profit-oriented institution.

RACHEL MacNAIR

President, Feminists for Life of America

If Sidney Callahan doesn't know why she is committed to these tiny dots of nothing, how dare she seek to compel other women to act on an opinion that she holds in admitted ignorance? That's all the belief that the fetus is human is: an opinion. It cannot be proven to be fact.

There's a reason why feminists reject

What does your underwear support?

Think about the last time you bought underwear. . .

What did you know about the company that made it?

Do they protect the environment? Do they invest the money you spend with them building nuclear weapons or supporting apartheid?

Too often, your money works against you, going to businesses that you probably don't want to support.

But it doesn't have to be that way. When you join Co-op America, you can choose where your money goes, and what it works for.

At Co-op America we do the homework for you. By joining, you get the tools you need - from a catalog of responsible products to travel and investment advice - to make every dollar you spend work for peace cooperation, and a healthy environment. Plus, you get our magazine, access to health insurance, networking tools and more.

Remember, you can use your buying power to work for your values.

Send in this coupon today for FREE information on a Co-op America membership, or send in \$20 and become a member right now.

Enclosed is my \$20 membership fee.

Please send more information.

I want to be part of

COOP AMERICA

Address

City/State/Zip

, .

1

1

1

1

I

1

1

1

I

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

I.

Mail to: Co- -op America 2100 M St. N. W. Suite 310 Washington
DC 20063. (202) 872-5307 or (800) 424- COOP

Jimi Hendrix. Kiss The Sky 0 Purple
 Haze. Voodoo Child, etc, Reprise 161349
 The Sound Of Music ' Original motion
 Madonna: Like A Prayer - Love Song,
 Cherish, Spanish Eyes, etc Sire 101029
 Najee: Day By Day - Personality, mle
 John Cougar Mel.
 Iencamp: The
 Lonesome Jubilee
 R.E.M.: Green - Orange Crush, Pop
 Song 89. Get Up, Stand, etc
 Warner Bros. 100715
 Del Leppard: Hysteria - Women, Love
 Bites, more. Mercury. 100927
 The Best Of Dire Straits: Money For
 Nothing ' Sultans Of Swing. etc.
 Warner Bros. 100713
 Dirty Dancing/Original Soundtrack
 (I've Had) The Time Of My Life etc
 RCA 182522
 James Galway: Greatest Hits - Memory.
 The Pink Panther, 18 more. RCA 173233
 The Judds: Greatest Hits 0 GIVE A
 Little Love. Love Is Alive,
 etc RCA 144578
 Guns N' Roses: Ap-
 petite For Destruction
 Welcome To The Jungle.
 etc Geffen 170348
 Solti. Chicago Sym-
 phonies: Tchaikovsky.
 1812 Overture & More
 London 125179
 Robert Palmer: Heavy
 Nova - Simply Irresistible
 etc EMI 100035
 Elton John: Reg Strikes Back - I Don!
 Wanna Go On With You Luke That
 MCA 100602
 D.J. Jazzy Jeff & The Fresh Prince: He's
 The DJ" I'm The Rapper ' Live 264134
 Pet Shop Boys: Introspective - Domino
 Dancing. etc. EMI 100681
 Tracy Chapman - Fast Car Talk About A
 Revolution, etc. Elektra 153582
 Bobby McFerrin: Simple Pleasures
 Don't Worry Be Happy, etc. EMI 164165
 Simon & Garfunkel: The Concert In
 Central Park - Mrs. Robeson, etc.
 Warner Bros. 244006
 Steve Earle: Copperhead Road ' Snake
 Oil. mle song, more. UNI 100679
 Cocktail (Original Soundtrack)
 Elektra 100459
 Canadian Brass: More Greatest Hits
 Sabre Dance. more, FICA 164343
 45's On CD. Vol. 1 ' Bug Boppen Ruck
 Nelson. Sheb Wooley, etc. Polydor 150044
 SEE OTHER SIDE
 Paper In Fire, more.
 Mercury 134420
 Randy Travis: Old 8x10 - Honky
 Tonk Moon, more Warner , ,
 Bros 100008
 By Request The Best
 Of John Williams 8.
 The Boston Pops
 Philips 125360
 The Police: Every Breath
 You Take-The Sin Is
 A&M 17 924

Benny Goodman: Sing.
 Sing, Sing TITie song.
 morev RCA 104657 ,
 Richard Marx: Repeal Offender
 Satlsllled, Angella. Etc. EMI 101118
 Beethoven, Symphony No. 9 (Choral)
 R, Nomngton, conductor. Angel 100467
 Diana Ross & The Supremes: 20
 Greatest Hits - Motown 163867
 Dokken: Beast From
 The East ' ALive" huts Walk
 Away. etc. Elektra 200717
 The
 Traveling
 Wilburys:
 Volume
 One
 100711
 Dirty Dancing: Live In Concert
 Hungry Eyes. Yes. etc. RCA 201026
 Count Basie: April In Paris - TITie song,
 Shiny Stockings, etc. Verve 164004
 ltzhak Perlman: French Violin
 Showpieces - DG 115457
 Gordon Lightioot: Gord's Gold - Folk
 classncs! Repnse 224008
 Ella Fitzgerald & Louis Armstrong: Ella
 6: Louis ' Apnl In Pans, etct Verve 133381
 XTC: Oranges And Lemons - The Mayor
 01 Sampletony others. Geffen 201086
 Milli Vanilli: Girl You Know It's True
 Title song. others. Ansta 101048
 Charlie Parker 9. Dizzy Gillespie: Bird
 And Diz ' Leap Frog, etcv Verve 173413
 Patsy Cline: 12 Greatest Hits - I Fall To
 Pieces, Crazy. more. MCA 153649
 Van Halen: OU812 - When Its Love, Black
 And Blue, etc. Warner Bros. 150913
 Winger ' Seventeen. Attantlc
 100830
 1.1., 1Q"
 FOR DETAILS. . .
 AND 57 MORE HITS
 TO CHOOSE FROM
 pICILire soundtrack. RCA
 Jazz CD Sampler - Classnc performances
 by Ella, BaSIE, etc, Polygram
 J. James Taylor: Greatest
 100046 song, Gina. etc. EMI 100001
 Taylor Dayne: Tell It To My Heart ' Prove
 Your Love, etc. Ansta 124759
 k.d. lang: Shadowland - Itm Down To My
 Last Cigarette, etc. Sire 134567
 173406
 Hits - Fire & Ram, more.
 Warner Bros. 123790 Roy Orbison: Mystery Girl - You Got It.
 ttitle song. etc. Vlrgln 100842
 Solti, Chicago Symphony: Dvoia'k,
 Symphony No. 9 (New World)
 y London 115168
 Horownz Steve Winwood: Chronicles - His bug-
 M232: 9951 ms! Island 134501
 115435 Debbie Gibson:Ou101The Blue ' Only
 In My Dreams, more. Atlantic 154066
 Billy Idol: Vital Idol - Mony Mony. White
 Wedding (Parts I 6 II), Chrysalis 154036
 YOUR SAVINGS START HERE % n a
 Complete And Mail This Card Today!
 YES, Please accept my membership in the BMG Compact
 Disc Club and send me the four compact discs I've indicated
 here, billing me forjust shipping and handling under the terms

of this ad. I need buyjust1 CD at regular Club prices during the
next year-after which I can choose a FREE CD! That's 6 for
the price of 1...with nothing more to buy ever! (Shipping &
handling is added to each shipment.)

RUSH ME

THESE 4 CDS

(Indxcate by number)

D D

D D

t-

I am most Interested m the

musmal category checked

here rbuH may always feel

tree to choose Irom any

Icheckwonly).

1 b, EASY LISTENING (lnslvumental VocaIMoods)

2 F COUNTRY 3 F, HARD ROCK

4 I: POP SOFT ROCK 5 : CLASSICAL

T MR

I; MRS,

I MISS

First Name InItIaI LasI Name IPLEASE PRINTI

Address

City State 21;)

TeIephone 1

I

Area Code

Signature

LImIted to new memnbers COHTIHCHISI U S A omy Cmrent BMG CD CIub

membeis noI eIIgIbIe tor U'IIS otter One membersmp per Iamny We

reserve me right to requesl addIttonaI

Informanon or reject any appncauon

LocaIIaxes Itany erI beadded YGT99

....._..._..._..._..._...1
 Iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii'liiiiiiii!iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii
 Enjoy Spectacular Savings On Compact Discs:
 The Duke Ellington Orchestra:
 Dlgltal Duke . GRP 163356
 EM: Prasleg: The Number One Hits
 Hound Dog, on't,elc RCA 172190
 New Age Bach: Tho Goldberg Varia-
 tlons - Spiegelman. synthesuzer.
 EasteWest 100488
 Phil Colllns: Buster ' Onginal Motion
 Ptdure Soundtrack. Atlantic 100517
 Skid Row - Youth Gone thd, Big Guns,
 others. Atlantic 101038
 Genesis: Invisible Touch - Tom m
 Tonight Tonight. more. Atlantic 153 40
 SAVE
 55(r%1
 _-'UUJ T3
 Z
 Gog %
 \$wo 5
 290 m
 I9 O 5
 09: F
 OA'U r'
 CFGR %
 9 a E
 D
 Z 9 m
 (f) 0
 b- o)
 03 O
 m O U
 o :- 3er
 c.0 g g
 to
 a E
 O)
 NI SHOdVNVIGNI
 INSTANT HALF-PRICE BONUS PLAN
 Unlike other clubs, you get 50%-off Bonus Savings
 with every CD you buy at regular Club prices,
 effective with your first full-price purchase!
 3
 I)
 (n
 -4
 E
 U)
 (n
 13
 m
 :U
 S
 -t
 z
 O
 0"
 O
 xl
 'IIVW A'ldHH SSENISDS
 M
 Stove Wlnwood: Roll With It - Title song,
 Holding On. etc. Virgin 154633
 Momlllca: And Justlce For All - One.
 Blackened, etc. Eleklra 200478
 The Beach Boys: Endless Summer
 Help Me Rhonda, etco Capitol 223559
 Diane Schuur: Talkin' 'Bout You - For
 You! Love, etcv GRP 100532

The Cult: Sonic Temple - Ftre Woman.
 Sun Klng, Soul Asylum, etc, Sure 101015
 Whltn Houston: Whitney - Where 00
 Broken earts Go, etc. Ansta 152854
 E 2
 2
 :_%go
 lll
 oiEgB
 gmmbp
 -1 0330
 m 1(m
 (D
 Tono-Loc: Loc-Ed Aner Dark - Wlld
 Thing, etc. DellCLOUS Vinyl 101033
 Paula Abdul: Forever Your Girl
 Straight Up, others, Virgin 100933
 Edie Brickell 81 New Bohemians:
 Shooting Rubber Bands Al The Stars
 WhatIAM,Ctrcielelc Geffen 100789
 Fine Young Cannibals: The Raw And
 The Cooked - I.R.SV Dlgnal 101060
 Mike 1 The Mechanics: The Living
 Years ' Nobody: Perfect, etc,
 Atlantic 100710
 Van Morrison a The Chloftans: Irish
 Heartbeat - Mercury 100489
 Mike Oldfield: Tubular Bells - MUSIC
 from The Exorcusll Vlrgm 170345
 Guns N' Roses: GN'R Lies - Pahence,
 Used To Love Her. etc. Geflen 100805
 Horowitz In Moscow - Classtcal musncs
 #1 album. a Grammy winner'DG125264
 The Complete Lester Young - Just You
 And Me. etc. Mercury 164163
 The Sun Stor ' Songs irom EIVns
 Presley. Johnny ash, etc. Rhino 244534
 Dave Grusln: Cinemaglc ' Moyle
 themes. GRP 133316
 Powagqatsl ' Haunung hlm soundtrack.
 musm by Philip Glass. Nonesuch 172268
 Chicago: 19 -IDonltWanna Live thout
 Your Love, more, Reprise 154404
 Peter Caters: One More Story
 Warner Bros. 100453
 Pavarottl At Carnegie Hall - The world-
 famous tenor In concert' London 115311
 Classic Old & Gold, Voltl - MUSIC Explo-
 snon, more. Laurie 134627
 Eric Clapton: Tlrne Pieces (The Best
 01) ' Layla, etc, Polydor 123305
 K.T. Oslln: This Woman ' Hold Me,
 Money. tnle song, etc. RCA 100579
 Vangelis: Direct - The MOIIO" 01 Stars.
 FIFSlADDYOaCh. etc, Ansta 100470
 Charlie Parker: Compact Jazz
 Bird lives' Verve 153983
 Tiffany: Hold
 An Old Friend's
 Hand 100707
 Cmb ,
 stills,
 & Young:
 Amorlcan
 Omm
 100714
 Karyn White - Love Saw It. Superwoman,
 move. Warner Bros. 100832
 The Best 01 Steely Dan: Decade - 14
 hits, MCA 154135
 Superlramp: Classics (14 Greatest

Hits) . A&M 104871
Alabama: Greatest Hits - Why Lady
Why, Feels 80 Right. etc, RCA 120247
Jethro Tull: Aqualung - Locomotive
Breath, mle song, etc. Chrysalis 124705
Cinderella: Long Cold Winter - Gypsy
Road, more. Mercury 114760
John Williams a. The Boston
Pops: Dlgltal Jukebox - More, more.
Philips 125059
An Evening With Louis Armstron
GNP Crescendo 2701
Bobby Brown: Don't Be Cruel ' My
Prerogative, Rom, etc. MCA 100621
Huey Lewis: Small World - Perfect
World,etc. Chrysalis 134347
R.E.M.: Eponymous - Fall On Me, The
One I Love, etc. IRS 100701
Dwight Voakam: Buenas Nachos From
A Lonely Room - Reprise 100009
Jlmmmy Page: Outrider - Led Zeppelin
guitarist solo' Geffen 123721
Robert Plant: Now And len - Heaven
Knows, etc. E5 Paranza 134392
Led Zeppelin: Houses 01 The Holy
Dyer Maker. etc. Atlantic 134321
20GmatLoveSongs01Th950381603
Vol. 1 ' Only You, more. Laune 120768
Viennese Bonbons - Wenna Phil. Orch./
Lonn Maazel. DG 115287
INXS: Kick - Need You Tonight, Devil In-
Slde, title song, etcu Atlantic 153606
David Sanborn: Ctose-Up ' Slam. You
Are Everythtng, JTT, etcu Reprise 134408
Rubinstein: Brahms. Piano Conoono
No. 2 a. Solo Plano Works - RCA 114760
Al Jarreau: Heart's Horizon - Killer Love,
One Way, elct Warner Bros. 100716
Wlllie Nelson: All-Tlmo Greatest Hits
Vol. 1 ' 20 greats' RCA 100705
h

START NOW WITH 4 COMPACT DISCS!

Yes, ptck any 4 compact dtSCS shown here! You need buy just one selection at regula!
Club prices (usually \$14.98-\$15 98) .and take ug to one full year to do it. Then you can
choose another CD free as a bonus That's 6 compact dISCS for the price 011 and there's
nothing more to buy. .ever_!(Shippmg & handling added to each shipment)

HOW THE CLUB OPERATES

You select from hundreds of exotting compact discs described in the Club's magazine
mauled to you approxtmately every 3 weeks (19 times a year) Each issue highlights a
Featured Selectlon In your preferred musnc category. plus alternate selections, If you'd
like the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will be sent to you automatically. If you'd p
refer

an alternate selection, or none atall,justreturnthe card enclosed with each issue of your
magazme by the date specufied on the card. You wm have at least 10 days to decide, or
you may return your Featured Selection at our expense for full credit. Cancel your
membership at any time after completmg your membership agreement. simply by writing
to us

FREE10-DAY TRIAL

Listen to your 4 Introductory selections for afull10 days, If not satisfied. return them
with

no furthet obhgatlon You send no money now. so complete the postpaid reply card and
mail It today.

BMG Compact DtSC Club 6550 E 30m 81
inmanapohsy lN 4621971194
(2061M

You and
 your Foster Child:
 A peace pact to show the world.
 You care. When you see our
 world battered by turmoil and
 strife. t .When you know innocent
 children are hungry and hurting. . ,
 your heart cries for them.
 But what canyou do?
 The truth is. as a person who
 cares about other human beings_
 even a child thousands of miles away
 _you can do a lot,
 You can stop the hurting for one
 little child_and change the condi-
 tions that cause it. And in one small
 comer. you can help With the healing
 of our troubled world
 Create a bond of peace and
 love for only 72 t a day.
 While world leaders hold peace
 talks, and spend billions on aid and
 arms. thereis another wayyou
 personally can make a difference By
 reaching out to a desperately poor
 child overseas_2ts :1 Foster Parent.
 All it takes is \$22 a month_only
 72C 21 day_to help a child and his or
 her family build a better life. Through
 health and nutrition programs.
 Schooling. Disease-free water. Higher
 food production and other long-term
 help.
 And along the way. you create a
 special bond of love Through your
 exchange of letters and photos, you
 send real hope and encouragement, 215
 you share your Foster ChildIs dreams
 and the family's progress 215 well.
 With your one-to-one sharing
 and caring. you help attack the
 poverty that breeds resentment-zmd
 help build new understanding around
 the globe,
 See the difference your help
 is making.
 Being 21 Foster PArEnt may not
 win you the Nobel Peace Prize, but
 With every letter and progress report
 you receive, you'll see the difference
 your help is making to one small
 child whose life is Changing because
 of you.
 And in a world full of conflict
 youll know that you and your Foster
 Child are setting an example for
 people everywhere to live together in
 peace.
 Live what you believe!
 Call toll-free
 1-800-225-1234-today.
 r---
 YES, I want to be a peacemaker.
 K323
 Help so complete, it touches a child for life
 l I
 I Enroll me 85 a 1:08th Parent t0- .. C IIm not yet sure ifI want to be 21 Foster Parent
 I
 I j The child who needs my caring most. but Im interested Please send me information I
 I Girl Boy Either about the child I would be sponsoring. I
 I Ecuador Guatemala India E W C MIs I

Africa Colombia Thailand F Miss F Ms. I

I Philippines

I Any country where the need is greatest Addlw; I

I Pleztse send my Foster Parent Kit With _ o , V I

I _ '- my Foster Childis' photo and (me history. Qty mm Z'P I

I My Check for 522 for the first months Mail to: I

l - SPonsorSh'P 15 mCIOSCd- Kenneth H. Phillips, President I

I ' Foster Parents Plan, Inc. I

I 83 FOSTer Parents Plan 157 Plan Way - Warwick, RI 02886 I

L_____I

A mm of h Mcr RUTITLN Plrmk mumml nspon xx rnmlalhle (mm the Not mrk IX'mnxnt-m n! Smu- (mit't- uf(.mmx Regmnumn, :letny NY or hMr-r Iiuvnts PLm. Wmutk RI

eII-----o

iSpeak Spanish

like a

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as qmckly and effec-
tively as possuble? ForElgn service per-
sonnel, that's who, Members of Americas
diplomatic corps are aSSigned to US.
embaSSIes abroad, where they must be
able to converse m every SituatIon,
Now you can learn to speak Spanish
just as these diplomatic personnel do-
with the Foreign Servuce lnstitute's Pro-
grammatic Spanish Course. You'll learn
Latin American Spanish recorded by native
speakers,
The US. Department of State has spent
thousands of dollars developing this course.
Ith by far the most effect/ve way to learn
Spanish at your own convenience and at
your own pace.

The course consIsts of a series of cas-
settes and accompanymg textbook. Simply
follow the spoken and written Instruc-
tIons, listening and repeating By the end
ofthe course, you'll be learning and speaking
entirely In Spanish!

This course turns your cassette player
into a Hteaching machine." With Its unique
"programmattcll' learning method, you set
your own pace - testing yourself, correcting
errors, reinforcmg accurate responses,
BUDIa-FDRUM"

THE LANGUAGE Eouncs

II-I-I-I-I-I-I-II-I-I-I--o

b

iplomat V

The FSl's Programmatic Spanish Course I
comes In two vqumes, each shipped In a I
handsome library binder. Order either, or
save 10% by ordering both: I

j Votume I: Basic 12 cassettes (17 I
hr.), manual, and 464-p. text, \$175 I
3 Volumell: Intermediate, Bcassettes I
.---o

(12 hr.), manual, and 614-p, text, \$145
(CT residents add sales tax.)

1 TO ORDER BY PHONE PLEASE CALI "

'1, TOLLIVFREE NUMBER 7130924311234, I

To order by mall, cllpthus ad and send With
your name, address, and check or money I
order, or charge to any major creth card by
enclosung card number, expiration date.
and your Signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's Spanish
course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try
It for three weeks. If you're not convmced
lth the fastest, eaSIest, most painless way
to learn Spanish, return It and we'll refund
every penny you paid. Order todayI

190 courses In 55 other languages also
available, Write us for free

cataTog Our 17th year

Audio-Forum

Room C705

On-The-Green.

Guilford. CT 06437

(203) 453-9794

h-IIIIIIIIIIII

.-----II T

For ycnm swumpx nmrshcs and

other wetlands were considered
 wasted space. better suited for con-
 version in farmland or building sites.
 But we need our wetlands.
 Wetlands nurture animal and bird
 life. human life destructive effects of
 floods and storms land help cleanup
 polluted waters.
 Number 1) the percentage of our country's
 wetlands
 We cannot afford
 to lose our wetlands.
 original wetlands have vanished - gum-
 forest.
 With your help. we can save the
 rest.
 The National Wildlife Refuge, 11
 12th Street, NW. Washington.
 20503-3206.
 SW? Rurkmg 1H! thn- Nmnv m lomumm
 T J
 W Mttom mmlm HDIRMION
 x.
 MotherJones
 MARY HARRIS JONES (1830-1930)
 ORATOR, UNION ORGANIZER, AND HELL-RAISER
 EDITOR
 MAN: '1' IN (. EDITOR
 SENIOR EDITORS
 () NTRIBI' IIN (. WRITERS
 () COPY EDITOR
 RESEARCH EDITORS
 RESEARCH ASSOCIATE
 1:1)1'1 () RIAL ((' JORDINATOR
 PROOFREADER
 Douglas Foster
 Peggy Orcsrem
 Dand Beers, Mark Schaplo
 Lynda Barry, Barbara
 hhrnmch. Molly lvms,
 Roger Wilkins
 Lxsa Crysral
 Michael Dcho,
 Kathryn Olncy on leave,
 1-. Ilcn Moms Knower
 JoAnn Labello
 Anna Karz
 ART DIRECTOR
 ASSOCIATE ART DIRECTOR
 SENIOR DESIGNER
 PRODUCTION
 Kerry Tremam
 Jessxc Bunn
 Marsha L. 56553
 Lucua Kordlc'
 PUBLISHER
 (IR(.17LATIDN DIRECTOR
 PROMOTION MANAGER
 FULFILLMENT MANAGER
 RFLFILLMENT (. OORDINATOR
 ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER
 Davtd Assmann
 Susan Hanshaw
 Suzanne McCloskey
 Mama Graham
 Deborah Katz
 Robin Stevens
 NATIONAL AFFAIRS DIRECTOR
 DEVELOPMENT COORDINATOR
 BUSINESS DIRECTOR
 BUSINESS MANAGER

BUSINESS STAFF

(,OMMKNICATIONS

Amy Mlller

Amra Katz

Lon Campbell

Mary Christensen

Amy Fong. Mather George,

Herdsmane Howell

Rlchard Reynolds

ASSOCIATE PL'BLISHER

ADVERTISING MANAGER

ADVERTISING LOORDINATOR

ADVERTISING SALES OFFICE

ADDITIONAL ADVERTISING

Llla Garland Punnton

Shchacl Well

Andrea Lem:

1663 Mlssmn Streero 2nd Fl.

San Franctsco, CA 94103

415 558-8881

REPRESENTATION Goodfellow Publshers' Reps.

2054 L'mversuy Avcu Sun: 301

Berkeley. CA 94714

415 548-1680

(ONSL'LTkNTS

LYTERNS

Bxll Cam. Don Hazeno

john Klingcl,

Gumbmgcr. Cohen & Assouates

lsc Bosch. Valerie (ialrgarx.

Darlene Tymon Chnstmnscn.

Rm Hurault. Cralg Karmm,

Katherine Larour, Mlchacl

Robm. Yvonne Schlbstcd,

M..llll Swanson

FOUNDATION FOR NATIONAL PROGRESS

PRESIDENT

DIRECTORS

Adam Hochschlld

Tam Adamx. Dand Assmann,

Harmer Barlow. Lon Campbell,

Geoffrey Cowan, Ronald V.

Drllums. Doughs Foster.

Rxchard Reynoldg Marlene

Sharon Sanrzky

N101 Hhk IUNKh lth 111614341 h publhr'd monthlv swept tor (0m;

hmcd mum m h-hrutlrs MJrch And July August? bx the Foundation tor

N.Inuml Prugrcsx, ll mmprir. meextmpt orgamzann. lam Mnum Srretl.

Scumd Hmm Nan I mnuxcu. (A Q4101; 4 l t' i iR-HSSL lndrxhsx pngug: ralt

n fwd .u Pcmew. WI. .md Jddrrmxul nuxlmg urticcx Puhhmnon number

llv l. Pmtmaxtcr: wnd form HT? m MOTHER IONEX. IHSh Ha) nurktl

SquirtMJnmLUH43.11H,(upvngh v 1939 M the metnnun loeronJl

Progn-xx. AH rlghh rescn'cd under ths lncrnnuml (Um'nght Umon. rhe

Unncrulk npvnghr (unvcnnon. .md the Pan Amcnmn L upvnghx (Tnnn'nuun.

Rrprmlumn or my wnhuut u'nncn pcrmlmn ut cduonal or pxcmrul cnment

m JnV nunnrcr n pruhxhued. demurk rcgmcrd, L'w 01 am' pcrmnk mmc or

Jesmpmm m numn..mulm.nr hmuumm lumrm n purely unnnecnul and

nut (h(- rrxpnnstbtlm'm MOTHr IONE).MUTHEKIONl\$ subscribers are

mcmhvn ut the thndanun lm Nmona! ngrcss. Suhscnpnnns: 5141 Foreign

suhwnpuom (.uLuLSlV xurmuc.S-1U .mmall;allorhcrmunrrles.511 :nr'

null, Thu hxundmn Jsxumu no rcsonuhlry tor unmhuttd nurrrula. Man-

lhKnpls Or Artwork notJtmmeedlwimpcd.whuddrcswd cmclopw wull

nor he rrmrnvd, Pnnrcd m (111-11531, MOTH! R 103.125 h JVMIJHC un mum-

Hlm Imm l'Ml Jnd 1A(MUTHr IONI'S 1x IHdEKcd hv MAGA/lnc lndcx.

Rcadch (yuldc m Pcnmhml Literature. Almnmnvr Prom Ea

Index. and PAIS 1% 6

The original hardcover editions (11M
Whom the Bell Tolls _ together with A Fare-
well to Arms. The (ireztt (izltshi, Tender is the
Night. The Sun 1150 Rises, (Izlnuerr Row, On
the Road. The Fountainhead. Miss Loneh-
hearts. East 01' lideu _ have long been out of
circulation. unzu'uiluhle to 2111 but the rtlre
hook trade where their value has skyrocketed.

1918

193; 19.36 1939

nu sun

0 uso

mus

Mevv-Do

, mun

m MIVGWAY

Announcing the first printing

ot'the originals in a generation.

To make the rare editions of these and
other American classics available once again.

The First Edition Library 11118 now obtained
exclusive rights from the original publishers.

The striking design of etteh First Edition
Library volume is unique to its own era: the
dust jacket artwork, hardcover bindings. type
face illustrations, dedications: even the
minor errors which collectors look for to
identify genuine first editions.

These books have been produced to today's
highest physical standards _ ueid-free paper,
full-cloth covers, (hiruhle sewn bindings with
protective slipeuses.

LOO x

Houwmo,

1 .2 Yes. send To_rvi'hom The Bell Tolls
for free 10-day examination and enter
in) subscription to The First Iitlition
Lihrurt' under the terms described
in the ud.

I understand theres newr un
obligation to buy und 1 iuui' cancel
ut :my time.

FREE 10-DAY EXAMINATION ACCEPTANCE

Hemi ngway

at the 1940

rice, \$2.75

Call 1-800-545-8112 today.

The original editions of

Hemingway, Fitzgerald,

Faulkner, Steinbeck,

available again,

only from The

First Edition Library

Examine your first volume

for 10 days. free

Youill receive HiWhom the Bell Tolls 215

your introduction to The First Edition Lihrar):

linioy it 211 home for 10 days. free You may

return it within 10 (11in and he under no

further obligation or 21(1(1 it to your library for
only 827\$ the prie ut which it was originally
published (plus postage and handling).

Then uhout every six weeks. you'll receive

another classic volume on the same 10-day.

free-exuminztitiou husis. for the subscription

price of \$2730 plus \$2.13 postage. handling

and ztppliezihle sales tux. 'l'here's never an

obligation to buy 11nd you mar ('11 heel uny time.

Secure your copy of For Whom the Bell

Tolls by mailing the coupon or culling today:

CALLTOLL FREE 1-800 545-8112.

Minu- lp11'JNf print)
nhlrem tpl
I'm State Zip
DP 51
THE FIRST 1'11)I'Tl()h LIBRARY. 11m 03-1. Holmem M 10015
V (RI 1081)

BACKTALK

llpro-life feminism." It calls on us to accept a position for no better reason than that some people feel it deeply.

JUDITH BAER

Bryant 'l'exiis

I must correct the misleading impression that I do not know why I am rationally and emotionally committed to the equal protection of the embryo. The human embryo should be valued because:

1) The embryo is genetically part of the human family-u being, like the newborn infant. on the way to becoming a person like us.

2) The embryo is the result of billions of years of evolution and is an amazingly complex, preprogrammed stage of human life, as the gene-mapping project reveals.

3) The embryo is organically so integrated that it is self-ordering in its patterned development needing only maternal nurturance and protection in the womb to come to birth.

4) All human life is interdependent and in need of nurturing protection, especially from its progenitors and kin, whatever our stage of achieved maturity or present access to power or resources; valid rights arise from need.

SLDNEY CALLAHAN

Ardsley-on-Hudson, New York

Is Bono Chaste?

In regard to Adam Bloekls llPure Bono"

(May 189), we have never thought of Bono or U2 as chaste. The only people we know that do are repressed boneheads who like Poison (enough said). Bono is overtly sexual because he combines intelligence with integrity. Welre hot and bothered just pondering the man.

Tl lli EVll. PAYNE SISTERS

Boulder, Colorado

In the eighties we need more people like Bono. A lot of bands are just interested in the llsex and drugs" image of rock. They don't care about their music. Bono and U2 have proven to us over the years that there are groups out there who are socially and politically aware and care about the world surrounding us.

BARBARA KAKLRIS

Lakewood, Ohlo

Hell on Wheels

Thanks so much for the excerpt from John Callahan's Don't Worry, He Won't Get Far on Pool: The Autobiography of a Dangerous Man (lll-Iell On Wheelsf May 89). Ilm on my way to the bookstore.

My life has definitely been enriched by even 21 brief exposure to his talent, grace, and irreverent cartoons. Tell him I love him!

SARAH (ILAXTON

West Bath, Maine

As a thirty-two-year-old paraplegic, and introduced to the second-class world of Medicaid recipients after a freak accident, I was not content to accept my condition. The 500,000 mostly young people in the United States who are victims of a spinal cord injury need a cure, not a hobby.

We at the Spinal Cord Society are a grass-roots citizen advocacy group frustrated with our illkinder and gentleral status quo society. Instead of complaining about our skimpy welfare checks, as John Callahan is content to do, we are raising the funds to get us walking again. Surely neither Uncle Sam nor anyone else will do it for us.

MARTIN COSTA

President, Spinal Cord Society
New Bedford Fall River Chapter
New Bedford. Massachusetts

Write your Mother. Send your reactions and suggestions to Backtalk, Mother Jones, 1663 Mission Street. San Francisco, CA 94101 Please be sure to include your name, address, and daytime telephone number. We reserve 1/70 right to edit letters for publication. 3

A REMINDER FROM PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION OF AMERICA.
810 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NY 10019.

CAN YOUR CREDIT CARD HAVE A CONSCIENCE?

YOU BE 'I' IT CAN!

Now you can work for peace, human rights, aid The Indian National Bank 5; o VN

to the hungry and a Cleaner environment. Just Via .

by doing What you do every day. g

5

Use your Working Assets VISA Card instead of ;

cash or other credit cards-Whenever you shop, U g

dine out, pay bills or purchase airline tickets. E

Its the perfect financial tool for an imperfect f:

world. E :

WORKING ASSETS VISA?

Plastic with principles.

\$

WORKING ASSETS VISA m 4421334

(A co-applcans' good cred" history can help you qualify.)

NAME

NAME

HOME ADDRESS

DATE OF BIRTH

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER

City State Zip EMPLOYER YEARS THERE

()

HOME PHONE ___ YEARS THERE ___ EMPLOYERS ADDRESS

NET MONTHLY

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER ___ DATE OF BIRTH _ INCOME

MONTHLY

CHECK ONE: D OWN 3 RENT D LIVE WITH RELATIVE C! OTHER PAYMENT BUSINESS PHONE() POSITION

4. FREE ADDITIONAL CARD FOR AUTHORIZED USER

EMPLOYER ___ YEARS THERE ___- FULL NAME OF USER

PREVIOUS ADDRESS (If less than 2 years at current address)

EMPLOYERS ADDRESS _____

NET MONTHLY RELATIONSHIP

INCOME. _ SIGNATURE OF AUTHORIZED USER:

BUSINESS PHONE() POSITION

NEAREST RELATIVE ("m living With You) ___ (A) No applicant may be denied a credit card on a account of applicant's sex or marital status;

RELATIVES ADDRESS no applicant may be denied a Credit card on account of race. color, religion, national origin,

3. FINANCIAL INFORMATION (ei'he' applicant's) ancestry, age (between 40 and 70). Physical 0 1: mental .handicap unrelated. to the ability to

. . . . y pay or unfavorable discharge from military service (Illinois law). (B) The applicant may request

Financial Information City State ,

the reason for rejection of his or her application for a Credit card. (C) No person need re-apply

CHECKING #___ for a credit card solely because of a change in marital status unless it has caused deterioration

in the person's financial position. (D) A person may hold a credit card in any name SAVINGS

permitted by law that he or she regularly uses and is generally known by so long as no fraud

AUTO LOAN M is intended thereby

OTHER LOAN

BANK CREDIT CARD: CHECK ONE: E VISA D MASTERCARD 1"Alimony. child support-r or separate maintenance income I'ICCD- not be revealed if you do

not wish to have it considered as a loan for repayment (his obligation. If self-employed. please

AUTO_____ furnish last tax return,

Make Year

EVk'rythan lh-Ir I hllvt' anttkl IN (UrrUCI U) thC hear Uflny knAHVlCdgc. I anlk'rolJnd t hdt YUU sVlll l'Ur-Hn IIHN (IPPIMJIIHH W'hk'lhk'l Ur IILVl H Ix .IPPUW Ckl l-lllthHtk' Mm

IN IHJLxC HI I! HI xx I'IHVH

Inqumcs uhmt my (rcdn or emplnymcnl history .an m .mswcr questions About your cruhl uxlwr muu xx uh Inc. If this u-qursl b.llwlwrnx'ul. l .lng In M lmuml lw Ilu'Irrnh.llldwmlllwm,

as amended fmm tune m lime, ofthc cnrJlmlDL-agreement that .ICUHIIPJHICN my meCnni. l vl llthllZL' INN Nluuml RmL Imlmlmu Im muu- lullu' yPUllel'IHL'UlulllllLHh'H yunl unchmeJ

that (he 5P01130r wlll possess n lN ufnppllczmrs

M! x

APPLICANT DATE CO-APPLICANT DATE

(:rcdu tor the Working Assets th (,leer Ls cxrcndul by (hr INB N.Inunnl Bunk. Om- Indmm S

quaw. lmlxlumpnlls, IN 40100. Plum- ylllmx N Jmns tor pruu-ssmg 1% nm rm luw mun 11 km
Check here if you'd like free information:
D YES, I'M Imamn IN RECEIVING INFORMATION ONWORKING Assm LONG-DISTANCESERVICE, 'Dmvm SERV
ICEAND MOM?! Rum.
Fold. seal and drop in mail. Thanks for joining Working Assets!

HELP BUILD A BETTER WORLD.

EVERY TIME YOU USE YOUR CARD!

You may not be able to solve all the world's problems. You get worldwide acceptance by over 6 million merchants.

But you can do 21 111110 vvvry day. . NO finance charge on purchases paid within 25 days.

An annual percentage rate of just 17.5%

Just borrow a Working Assets card- The WWI". W, . On balances not paid within 25 days.

holder and we'll automatically ('on- 1 M 1 '7 ' ' ' .: And much. much more.

tribute \$2 10 nonprofit organizations

working to stop the arms r2100, Clean

up the environment. food the hungry

and protect human rights

And there's no annual

membership fee until

APRIL 1990!

(Then just \$20 a year.)

WORKING ASSETS VISA:

Plastic with principles.

Then, every time you use your Card -

no matter how small the purchase , ,

we'll contribute another five cents.

All 211 no cost 10 you.

. u H I NO POSTAGE

NECESSARY IF

MAILED IN THE

UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

111181 (1:155 H-RMH HRMH NU 31(114 SAN PKANVISQ'O. (PX

POSTAUI' WII 1, B1: PAID 1W ADHRhSSEE

WORKING ASSETS VISAG)

230 California Street

San Francisco, CA 94111

Runtl) Hzl) ex szezulixe Diretlor. Rzlntorexl Mllon Nettork
ti If you donit like the way
the world is, you change it. . f
I for people like Randy Hayes.eh;lnging the world is :1 lifetime
commitment il'hzltis why he founded an international xtetion
3
network to stop the destruction of tropical iulinforests. Home to
more than half our planetis plums and :mimztls.
It's also why he carries the working Assets VISA card. the world's
first socially responsible eredit curd,
join Randy :15 :1 eztrdholden and we'll contribute 82 to timertested
groups working for peace: human rights and :1 elegmer environ-
mentf Plus five cents more ex'ery time you use your card. All :11 no
COSI (0 YOU.
Which means that every day you and more thzm 100.000 other
concerned cardholders will be helping people like Randy Hayes
build 11 better world
CALL 1 -800-52-APPLY
WORKING ASSET VISA
Tools for Practical Idealists'"
iFor :1 list of all th' orgzmi/utionx including Ruinlorexl Aellon 'M'mnrk. xupporletl h)
thirklng xwetx LJTLIHICIUIN'TN. ix rlll' m :u 140(LIIHLH'IHLI 51 .mn lruneixeo. (A 041 l
I

How to ace the
toughest question
in any inierview:
"Are you now,
or will you ever
be . . . somebody's
molher?"

8 JUIiY/AUGUST i989

BAD ATTITUDE

By Barbara Elarenreicl)

Y, MY, GIRLS, WHAT,S ALLTHE FUSS

over the new llmommy testll? Hun-

dreds of eager young female job

seekers have written to me in the

last few weeks alone, confident of

being able to pass the drug test, the polygraph test,

Exxonls new breathalyzer test-but panicked over the

mommy test. Well, the first thing you have to grasp if

you hope to enter the ranks of management is that cor-

porations have a perfect right to separate the thieves

from the decent folk, the straights from the druggies,

and, of course, the women from the mommies.

For starters, you should know that thousands of U.S.

women, even those afflicted with regular ovulatory cy-

cles and patent fallopian tubes, have been taking-and

passing-the mommy test for decades. In fact, it used to

be almost the first question (just after llCan you type?)

in the standard female job interview: llAre you now, or

have you ever, contemplated marriage, motherhood, or

u the violent overthrow of the U.S. government?

Today, thanks to womenk lib, you wont be out on

4 the street even if you fail. All right, there are disadvan-

tages to the mommy track: mandatory milk and cookies

at ten, quiet time at three, and so forth. But many wom-

en are happy to get a paycheck of any kind, even if it is a

gift certificate to Toys lRl Us. And if you still want to be

on the fast track, with the grown-ups and the men, here

are a few simple tips for acing the mommy test:

1. Be prepared for tricky psychological questions,
such as: Would you rather (a) spend six straight hours in
a windowless conference room with a group of ar-
rogant, boorish men fighting over their spread sheets, or
(b) scrape congealed pabulum off a linoleum floor? (The
answer, surprisingly, is a.) Or try this one: Would you
rather (a) feed apple juice to a hungry baby, or (b) figure
out how to boost profits by diluting the companys baby
apple-juice product with wastewater from the local nu-
clear power plant? But you get the idea. . . .

2. Bring proof of infertility: your uterus in a mason
jar, for example. Alternatively, tell the interviewer that
you already had a child, but-and at this point you stare
pensively into space-it didn't work out. . . .

3. Your interviewer will no doubt have framed photos
of his own wife and children displayed prominently on
his desk. Do not be misled; this is part oftbe test. Be sure
to display appropriate levels of disgust and commiseration.
You might ask, in a pitying tone, lth, did you
marry a mommy?

4. If you actually are a mommy, and have small chil-
dren of your own who, for some reason, are still living
with you, the case is almost hopeless. Unless you can
prove that, as a result of some bioengineering feat or
error on their birth certificates, you are actually their
daddy and hence have no day-to-day responsibility for
their care.

But the key thing is attitude. If you go for your job
interview in a hostile, self-pitying mood, if youlre con-
vinced that the mommy test is an example of discrimi-
nation or prejudice, believe me, it will show. And there
isnit prejudice against mommies today, not really.

Theylre no longer subject to the extreme residential seg-

regation imposed in the fifties, when mommies were
required to live in special suburban compounds, far
from the great centers of commerce. Today, youlll find
Illustration by Hal Mayfortb

them living just about everywhere, even in jaunty little cardboard structures within walking distance of Wall Street.

Today it is no longer necessary (as it was for poor Nancy Reagan) for a woman who aspires to public recognition to renounce all knowledge of, and contact with, her children. We even have a special day devoted to the distribution of flowers on the graves of dead mothers, as well as to those mothers who, for some reason, still linger on. However, even if we acknowledge all the tremendous contributions mothers have made-and there were mommies at Plymouth Rock, at Gettysburg, possibly even at the Republican National Convention-we must admit that they have, as a race, shown remarkably little aptitude for the fine points of corporate management. When have you ever seen a get-rich-quick book titled Leveraged Buyouts: A Mother's Secrets, or Swimming with the Sharks: A Mommy's Guide to Eating the Competition (And Finishing Every Last Bite)?

But the bottom line (not to be confused, gals, with the mark left by overly tight Pampers!) is: Even if you respect mommies, like mommies, and are aware of the enormous diversity among them, would you really want to work with one? This is the question that thousands of top US. male managers have had to face: Would you want to be at a \$100 power lunch and risk being told to polish your plate? Hence the mommy track. It just makes sense to segregate them in special offices equipped with extra umbrellas, sweaters, raincoats, and toothbrushes-for their own sake as much as anything.

Personally, I think the mommy track may be just the first step in a new wave of corporate cost cutting. There's a new approach based on the experience of a brilliant young fast-track executive who got pregnant unbeknownst to herself and handily delivered in the ladies room during a break in the third-quarter sales conference. The baby was raised on phenobarbital and take-out food until it outgrew the lower right-hand desk drawer, at which point our fast tracker hired a baby-sitter-to take over her corporate responsibilities!

For the truth is, all you eager young job seekers, that no one knows for sure what the management of top US. corporations does all day or well into the night. Sitting at desks has been observed. Sitting at meetings has been observed. Initialing memos has been observed. Could a woman-even a mommy-do all this? Certainly, and with time left over for an actual job of some sort. So the question that our corporate leaders must ultimately face is: What does our vast army of pin-striped managers do anyway, and could it be done by a reliable baby-sitter? D

PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE
TO THE PLANE T

On every continent, in every country. people are joining together to defend the planet and its inhabitants from further exploitation

and injustice. We hope you
are among them.

If you are, SHOW YOUR
TRUE COLORS by publicly
displaying an Earth Flag .
An eloquent way to declare
your allegiance to a global
vision of liberty, peace, and
environmental justice for all,
The Earth Flag: (a full
3 x 5') is a lovely four-color
image of the earth, screen-
printed on blue polyester.
It is equipped with brass
grommets for both indoor
and outdoor mounting.
Enclose \$39.00 ea. plus
\$2.50 shipping. Bulk
prices available.

g

2

,7.

g

S

The Earth Flaglg

an Expression of Global Commitment.

EARTH FLAG CO. Box 108 Middleville. NJ 07855 9

1800 421 FLAG ln NJ 1 201 579 7889

Name , 7 77

Address ,7 7 7 , 7

' Bank Check or Money Order' MC # 7

HVISA# 7 , 7 Expires 7 7 7

Signature , 7 , , 7

Most sizes

\$18 to \$100

Safer Non-Tip Design

Soft Cotton or Nylon

Mayan Design Hammocks adwoubh

Now available: Brazilian Design Hammocks HAN DWOVEN COM F CRT

"Mayan hammock is highest 1 1 I

state of the art. " --

Outside Aug lBS

Wonderful 1 Mg ,

Alternative Furniture for

aghtweight', .

' ' Cmpact

, - . . . Country Journal Aug 187 ____

FREE BROCHURE Call Toll Free 1-800-HANGOUT; To Order Call 1-303-442-2533

MOTHER JONES 9

A Her new novel
dmw out somotMng
buried: "My own
'rlonds couldn't
bollove I was that
Chinese." S'III,
Tan shuns any roles
"didactic" or
"political."
Joy, luck, men,
money, careers:
Amy 'I'an's
Iulkin' 'boui hol-
gonoruion.
10 11111/11111.11x1 11151)
American
Woman
0v1-11s'1 AMY 1AN 111111'N111.111'x 1111.111 s1111
1'1111x1111111'1111's1111111110111pw.lr11111011111111"
W11y1'1'111111 0111111111111s1111111y1 5111-111'g111-s:
5111'1111101'1-1111111 15111111'1111111', s11111'1111'111-x1
111'11111111101101.111yw111'1'011111111111111115 will spl'1111'
111'111'1'1111glis111111111111-1111111111111x. 111111 1111s11111- .1
1110111111111 111151 110111, 111,111,111'1111'11' (f/II/lv 11111 1x
W11ry011111-11111111'1-1'01111111; 11.1s115.15110111311111-
5011" 1011 1111 11511111 1111111111115. Writing is 1101 11
110111111111111111111111;11111 i11six'15;111'1'11111111 is 11011-
11111111w1111111111vi111111 1'111111'1111111110111111111
11W11111'1111111.
W11111' 'Ii'I/mms/ur 1111111/1'1'1'. 111111111111110111', M111,-
51011's 111111x1 11011-1,1501'1'1111'1'110111111111&1'11111111'
1911111 w111111 (I11i111's1'1111111111111 I1111ywrig111a11'11V1x1
1131111101111101101),1110/01'1111/1'(111/1.111111111115111
rcsolvv 11 1110r11p1'r5011111 p11r11110x: 111 W118 1111011
from (:111111's11501111'y1 111111 111 I W11511011n111011."
'111115111'5. iIi/Jujoy 1.111111 (311111111151111'st1Ny0H011r
(311111115111101111151011t111'1rU.S1-110r11 1111111111115: 111C
01111'r w111111'11 111111 1'x111'ri111111'11 11rr1111gl'11 1111rrri11gl's.
1111111111; 1111111111011,11111111xi11', w11111' 11111y01111gl1r
w01111'11. very 11111111 011111' 198115. 511111 prc0ccupic11
with 111111. 11101111; 111111 carvers. A 111r1111'r111151111'ss
wri11'r1111rril'11 101111111 11111'y1-r,'11111, 37. knows thc
111-w 14111111111011 tir5111111111. 111111011111101111 19871rip
101111' Peoplck 1111111111111111111111111111 11'11111r111y
(:11i111'51'10r1111'11m 111111'11181111HW115 st11rc1111t by
11115011110111.111151111111011111" 111-11111811011111 West-
1-r11 111.111111111111 11111'1111'111'1' 1111pr0111111ri1111 W11r11r01111'.
thn 5111' 111111 1111' 11111115 1'51111111511111 their own
vcrsi0i1 01 1111'11' 11111111'rs1g0ssip); c11111111111111110y
11111111(i1111x1111'y1111111'1111 15001111111Hi5 Money,
111111, '11111 1111111115, 1111131111111 tips 1i1111' its 111111111115
f11r 1110111111111 1111111112 S111f11111 is surprised 111 1110
strength 11111115pir111111 11111111111011 with (31111111.
"117111101 1.111111 (Tlu/I," 5111151113, 15111101111110011111g111
111111111cc,11111'11111 1111151051 1111115111111, 111111111lg p1'11111'."
-P11H1110pc 11011111111115
1),")!11K1'11/1/11'VRUiH'I'f ITIUNHIHII)

America's No.1 Growth Fund
Says Social Responsibility
and Investment Performance
Can Go Together

The Parnassus Fund is America's No. 1 Growth Fund for 1988 according to Lipper Analytical Services. Parnassus is a mutual fund that goes against the established wisdom of Wall Street by investing in companies that practice corporate social responsibility. We like companies that treat their employees well, are sensitive to the communities where they operate, have good affirmative action policies and think that environmental protection makes economic sense. At the same time, we avoid investing in companies that manufacture weapons/ produce alcohol or tobacco, are involved with nuclear power or have operations in South Africa.

If you're interested in learning more about the Parnassus Fund---the growth fund with the highest total return for 1988---call us at (800)999-3505. We'll send you back a free prospectus along with other information about the Fund.

(800)999-3505

Tlg/EARNASSUS FUND

244 CALIFORNIA STREET

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94111

Please send me a tree pHNDQCILH tiontaininp,I more (tompletv intommition on the Parnassus Fund lmiUt'lng salve (barges, management tees and 0x7 penses. I will read it (awfully before I invest or send money.

I: Please send lRA Inimmatimm

Name:

Address: ,

City: State: Zip:

Daytime Phone:

Call (800) 999-3505

l_ Humbuml m inmhmmmmmmmi Htiimuwvwni Ml_l

4 Snow: "Men can" deal with commitment
They're afraid they'll get married and then meet
the woman of their dreams a? 'he reception."
V Poundstone: "I had one of those moms who got
mad at everything. Once I knocked a Flintstones
glass off the table and she said, 'Dammit, we can't
have nice things! "
Comic
Possibilities
These days it seems the hottest ((mzit's, from out-
ragious Sandra Bernhard to little flowerlirdy
Tenuta, are women. Is a distinctly female mmdy
hndmg now 111111611605, and am fiwzinism (Iain! some
()ft/JU c'rt'u'it?
AUIA POUNDS'I'ONL-Z: Noma. "811111;, I WANT
the ERA, but telling jokes has nothing to do
with genitalia. I don't even like it when co-
medians mldrcss their jokes to just Why a... o. many
ouc scx. ltl's antisocial. lhc lwomcn-in-com-
uh" angle hotcs 1111' to tears. I also think its
scxist. Pcoplc Lloift go out and 53)". Honey.
lctls sec ;l womtm comic tonightf They just
want to see whocvrk funny.
llMy expcriencc in life is not different
from anybody elsc's. I tloift have children
I'm not :l wife. and I live in ;111 apartmcnt. I 9
klt) tomcdy hccausc I love the audience. I daim "ledii'
mum: SNoW: Ylil). "l'r's TAKEN WOMEN A
long time to come out of the closet COIHCLlh
cnlly. Wclvc always hccn funny. Even :15 kids,
I can't imagine that the boys were having 11.x
much fun .15 we wcrc. Now we GUI do it in public.
Hlu the husiucss now, there are 5001000 guys in
tits who all talk about the sumc thing. Airlinc food.
l'm tlrL'Ll()1111;1I. More women comics talk :111011t life.
If women rulcdtlcworld.;ultlwcallgotmnsagcs,
thcrc'd be no war. I truly lwclivc that. Boys arc ruth-
lcss.Somc;lrc wondcrful. But they'll do things likc
kill an audience before the next pcrson goes on. I
hot new comics
women? And
would never think of that competition. The guys in
clubs can be tricnds of yours, but they're vicious
when it comes to the busincss stuff. But I (lOHii like to
kvctch. ()nstzlgc, I llm giving out love and getting it
back six times over. No day is .so had that it can't be
fixed by 11 1111p?
1111.Y'AU(;US'l'198k)
visited Attica recently 11nd spcut time with all these
Masai warriors. One night we were sitting around
the fire but we didn't spcnk each othcr language. So
we drew pictures in the ash to communicate, and we
laughcd 11ttllc same things. Funny is funnyfl
-Stmz/J Keller
llboropmplzx lly Amie Fu/lein

The

Anti- Shrinks

ALLY ZINMAN, THE

ex-patient. Peter Breg-

gin, the radical

therapist. jeffrey Mas-

son, the persistent outside critic.

Theirs are among the strongest

voices in the growing psychiatry

reform movement, a nationwide

coalition that opposes shock

treatment, involuntary hospi-

talization, and debilitating drug

therapies.

Zinman says the abuse she

suffered from one psychiatrist

was lls horrible it changed the

whole direction of my life? She

blew the whistle on the doctor,

and he lost his license. Next she

started a patients rights group, and today shes direc-

tor of the Berkeley Drop-In Center, a client-run alter-

native mental-health facility in California. Zinman

thinks these are crucial times in the politics of psychi-

atry. llTheyre trying to turn the clock back to the

1960s; she says, referring to proposed legislation in

California and other states that would make it easier

to commit people to mental hospitals without their

consent. llWith all the cutbacks in spending, were

seeing more homeless people, more people in mental

distress On the streets? Zinman fears the shortcut

answer will be llto put more of these people away?

Instead, she says, llwe need more self-help alter-

natives. We need to help people before they get

caught up in the mental-health systemf

Maryland psychiatrist Breg-

The" message. gin is concerned with what hap-

ens to people once theyre

Four 0' hospitalized. llWe have the

. . power, with electroshock and

Psych'a'ry '5 neuroleptic drugs like Thor-

azine, to take away peoplels

Por'only sune' minds. The frightening thing is

that we use this power? On television and elsewhere,

Breggin has advised mental patients to stop taking

their medication. llThe drug companies provide mon-

ey to the American Psychiatric Association for fel-

lowships, publications, media events, even the annual

meeting? he says. llNo one would take those drugs

of their own free will, so the pharmaceutical com-

panies need the complicity of psychiatrists to force

them on people. Its a shame on the profession?

Even more radical is writer jeffrey Masson, who

argues, in his new book Against Therapy, that psy-

P/mtogmpbs by Martin Klimek tmd Ginger Ross-Breggm (Brvggm/

chotherapy is as bad and essentially un-

reformable as slavery: liltls a rela-

tionship of unequal power based on

dominance and submission. You cant

reform something thatls basically cor-

rupt? Masson adds: llThere may be a

few decent people doing lpsychiatryl,

but that doesnlt make the institution

bearable? The training and certifica-

tion of therapists creates only an illu-

sion of protection, Masson argues:

llYour whole emotional well-being is at

stake, and youre expected to say, This

person will be fine, hes got a plaque up

in his ofhce, I can trust him, hels never

going to exploit or hurt mef Thatls just

not true?

Peter Breggin doesn't agree; he believes he and other therapists help people. Still, the two critics have found enough common ground to work together on a new book about psychiatry in Nazi Germany. "Psychiatry has the power in any society to enforce conformity," Breggin says. "People who think or look different—gays, minorities, the homeless—they're in the greatest jeopardy." Even in the psychiatry reform movement, says Sally Zinman, there is confusion about what this thing is we call mental distress? She's not concerned with the medical model which asks why about mental illness, says Zinman. "We listen to people and what they want. Some just need a place to take care of their business, use the phone, have some coffee. People want off the streets, out of shelters. Survival is a lot of what people are talking about now?" —Michael DiLeo

./

7

i / '-

ll

Masson (top, left)

favors "abolishing
everything connected
with psychiatry."

Zinman: "I believe in
choice and informed
consent." Breggin is
for "breaking the psy-
chiatric monopoly." A
self-described liber-
tarian, he'd let client-
run centers, therapists,
religions, even cults
compete side by side.

MOTHI:R jonliS 13

The House

Baker

1)1-(,Al)liAGO.1,05ANGLIJNAIU'IIP

tcct Nada Khalili was designing

high'tcch urban buildings and

parking comp-h-xcs. But .1 motorcyclv trip

through his native Iran opcned his L'yys.

'Tiiday hck gone hack to the itllltliimck to

clay, HPCL'IiiL';lii_V_.1HtihCVSbCCUHIing

known as hthc 1111111 who hakcs houst's."

Khalili is out to prove that tlomctl adohc

striicturcs (.111 11c tired to pctnlancilcc.

madc FUCK'1NH'Li to withstand unit; wcatlr

tr. and c.lrtllquakcs. He wants to change

thv way the developing world houscs itsclt.

011 his Iran trip Khalili Llismvt'iu! that

the longest-surviviig cartht'n striictiircs arc

kilns. Many Lll'C large enough t(i walk into.

ttlt .1 kiln c1111 hccomc .1 hmiscf' 11c mused,

Hwhy cant a hoiisc hcmnic :1 kiln?" thn

i4 1111 Y/itiimiIsi 1989

Khalili thcn rc-

paired sonic di-

lapidated domed

huuscs in rural

Iran, tiring them

from within using

simple huriicrs

and kcmscnc, hc

discovercd hidden hcnctits: the heat drm'c

out pests, and villagers hailed potatocs 011

the root. Khalili went on to build and bake

a tcn-room school f(irming and tiring each

domed (lassmom individually. "I'hc mih'

thing that can shchr the people of the

earth is the earth undcr their tcct," explains

Kh;llili,t'ccipictlt ota United Nations

award for his work (111 shciter tor IhL'

h(iiiiclcsc.

Khalilik biggest US. project to date is a

twcnty-swcn-ttmt-widc dome in rural Ncw

(Iiiyania. California. Sttidcnts from four-

tcen cotmtrics hclpcd build and iiI'C it. One,

'lisnsic 'lisinhnahiinnit, wants to adapt the

tcchniquc m pt'csm'vc the hogans (if his

Navait) pcnplc. Khalili is alst) at work on

prctah htick vaults. modular units that (.111

hctriickcdaildIinkcdtugctht'casily. Alik

sometimcs his vision guts much. much tur-

thcr: hcis workcd with NASA on scenarios

in which the mmmis soil could hc IHCiICLi.

thcn. after molding, fused into structurcs hy

the comcnttatcd rays of the sun.

ilx'im'n Iiitms

"The only thing that

can shollor the people

of the earth is ill.

ocrlll under their feel."

I V "Leftists"

PpliARING ()N A RECENT

edition of CNNis

(Jmsshre, jcff Cohen

Of FAIR (Fairness and Accu-

racy in chorting) noted the

paucity of lcft-leaning voices

()n was public affairs pro-

grams. Turning to iilihcrali'

cohost Tom Braden, archcon-

servative Pat Buchanan asked,

uWhat do you think this is, a

pottcd plant?

In fact, a healthy Ficus
would add more balance.
Braden, 71, is the former head
of a (LIA division in Western
Europe and author of a tract
titled uFm Glad the CIA ls
tlmmoralf " On Crossfire,
Braden, an LA. Times colum-
nist, has identified Nelson
Rockefeller as his political
hero, called (le whistle-blow-
er Philip Agcc an unpatriotic
tirat." and stated that during
the Vietnam War he advised
young men to go and fight.
Dont touch that dial. On
CNN's The Capital Gang, Al
Hunt, Washington, D.C., bu-
reau chief of the Wall Street
journal, serves as a represen-
tative Of the Left. according to
host Buchanan. PBS, mean-
whilc, offers three political
"Lofty" Braden and Buchanan
discussion pmgrams hostcd by
National Reviews William F.
Buckley; _Ir., and john
McLaughlin. The Left fringe
of The McLaughlin Group is
filled by New Rvpublic senior
editor Morton M. Kundrackc,
a contra supporter who ad-
mits that, under Reagan, he
was tcmptcd to turn Re-
publican.
-Riclmrd Reynolds
Nuimgm/i/is ln' I 1lmm! leumm (Kliilllill) 1lm! (it'in'gi' Ht'HHUII

II
TIIIIII
IIIIJHHISIIII
IIIIIIIIII
n\$\$
mous dlcnonary 1145
"Extraordinary" 40,000 mumorahle
IVY Txmes quommons
Hdrdcover \$1895 Hurdgovcr S45
QPB: 57.95 QPB: \$1895
I
mummm un I THE
(mu m nl POWER
I H mm : I
l1lhm I
y (IIUIII) mull I I
L I
x
I! m "(M 111\$111VI1OV
A, . WW? I
. i . y unmnsmm "m
mm". nu nwimy
l
I I . If I l I
I - I Am I
, u
479.1hc bcxr-wllmg
srudx nI'Imwuur
gm crnmsm works
Hardmxcr 3lw
omsnys
I
a
II 1111"
HJrJon VIIIH
om: 59:9;
The Stfu k The
365";ng W a . Elements
""9 W lte IofGrammar
AModem MargarelShenzer
Gundefor
Editorsand EICIHCHIX
Journalists SW
C
mm... Plolmk 44
109.AspcudlQPBln0 m
EIBmenu ufSIery The Iflemmm uj
(immmmm, Thv EIemuux nj 1:1lam):
I l,V
MK; (Trans ation: 3 books, 3 bucks.
.4 l.: l NO commltment. No kidding.)
, '
O xrt A
3 300K513 BUCKS.
NO COMMITMENT NO KIDDING.
LetIs try each Other for 6 months.
Quality Paperback Book Club', Camp Hill. PA 17012. Please enroll mc m QPB and send the 3c
houcs
I've listed below, billing mc only \$1 each, plus shmpmg and handlmg chargcm Iundcmnd tha
t I am not
requxred to buy unorhcr book. You Wlll send me the QPB Ruwuw (II my account is ln good st
dndlng) for M
least SIX nmntlh. 111 have not bought at lcant one book In any .sIvaomh period, you may c
ancel my
mcmbcnhlp. A xhipping .Ind handIInLy (huge Is added to each shipment.
Indicate by number your three choices: :I E: Z
9-16
I l/ I
I(andelc: IMONEYI
Name QBSSSJX
(mum pnn! 111' um

Address Apt.
City State Zip
How membership works: ..
1. QPB Review: You rcm'lyc rho QPB Rcz'ww l5 tho offer), you earn Bonm Poxnrs Whlth cnrir lc
times 41 year (about every 3% weeks). Eth lssuu you to chomc Any of our mfrcover bnukx, Y
ou pay
rcvwnn a new Selection, plus xcorcs oI other books. only shipplng 2lnd I'mndllng.y charge
s.
2. Selection: If you want the Selection do nothing. 4. Return privilege: II the (2173 Rum
my l.x deIuyL-d
It Will bu sIuppcd to you automatically. It you want and you receive the Selection wuhour
Imving llml
one or more of thc hooks-or no I'mok at :11177 10 Jays to nonfy Ll5. you may return 1: to
r credit.
indlcarc your dccmion on llw Reply I-orrn Always 5. Cancellations: You may cancel lllCnIh
Crhhlp Jr
enclosed and return It by the date speCIhcd. _ any tune by nontying QPB. WC may cancel yo
ur
3. Bonus books for Bonus Points: For each sottv membership If you elect not to buy at lea
st one
cover book or set you rake (except for the hooks ln book In any sixwmomh pcrlod.
AH onIcrx when to approval Pruo uvncmlly Inuhcr InIhrmda. A WIN QUJIIH Ihpcrhxk Book (1q
u
Lanu'uatlons: You mnv cancel mcnmersnm at any tune by notlrylng I y i I i " '
QPB WE nm' c.lnccl your mcmhcrslup ll. you clur not to lmy lll lcnst
Like 3 books, man.
Ome BY For a little bit of bread.
mom;)
Only \$3.Thats c001.
155. Tom, '482, Thls Iurcsr N ll Y d . 7 '321. Stephen
?:?:U-mngrmmm cdmun ohhe far 0 eal/ y scene. on lg . Hau'kmsz offers a
.49 - '-' _ . i V ,
Konvmung lm: pk
ruru ofrhr nngms
ohhmosmos
Hardcowr 51505
QPB: 59.50
I&Jvl;1AFIWLIL
Pr llR
0F
3 l l(IR()WAHC
(1011611211
W, V
uih Bill Mar"
411 A n lmin nah
Imm lm 'wa Imu-
auImmci best
5:ng mm or
Ithn'II WM
-- Hardowcr 530
Hurmu-r 3w l.; QPB: 514.95
(31,5599;
12lmm" In A
PBS ll w
1111mm
Q1113, 1 S95
Jack Kerouac
Q1113 511%
a great
noks
515 a
:ry 31/:
,
.111 '498 wwmw
1 PM, 1.1 rm 'u :u
A x-IL ,
)th (
split at
L _____ j
y3 books f0r3 bucks.

lmitment.You dig?
130. Box8804,Cump11111, PA 1701118804
ms lIu- tholcw l'yc INuI IH'Iou, IuliIn: nu'
1111111: (Imrum lunIIk-Nm. (Int lmmox
W111wndIIIUIIWQPIIRLIHCH IIIIm'IIJULInt
I IIILILJILIV)IIIIIII'1LV
I mu Limbo
x _ . ,l Q1533 ,
I :H Mm /:;
I
I
l
I
I
I
I
Mn I
I
I
l
l
l
I
I
onchmk ln anyslanonlh period _ _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ _

Khalil's ownrd-wlnnng
Mm. dlmhutip ' _
Walt ll , .Thon _
The House
Baker
DECADE AGO, L05 ANGELES ARCHITECT Nader Khalili was designing high-tech urban buildings and parking complexes. But a motorcycle trip through his native Iran opened his eyes. Today he's gone back to the land-back to clay. specifically-and he's becoming known as the man who bakes houses? Khalili is out to prove that domed adobe structures can be here to permanence, made rock-hard to withstand time, weather, and earthquakes. He wants to change the way the developing world houses itself. On his Iran trip Khalili discovered that the longest-surviving earthen structures are kilns. Many are large enough to walk into. The kiln can become a house? he mused, why can't a house become a kiln? When
I4 _IU1,Y/AU(;UST 1989
Khalili then repaired some dilapidated domed houses in rural Iran, firing them
From xnh'khd nctnn
UNDER

1 POUND

FIRST CLASS

"The only thing that
can shelter the people
of the earth is the

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

PERMIT NO. 224 CAMP HILL, PA

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

Quality Paperback Book Club

Camp Hill, PA 17011-9902

TV "Leftists"

APPEARING ON A RECENT

edition of CNN,S

Crosshairs, jeff Cohen

Of FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting) noted the paucity of left-leaning voices on TV's public affairs programs. Turning to liberal cohost Tom Braden, archconservative Pat Buchanan asked, "What do you think this is, a potted plant?,"

In fact, a healthy Ficus
would add more balance.

Braden, 71, is the former head of a CIA division in Western Europe and author of a tract titled "I'm Glad the CIA is immoral?" On Crosshairs, Braden, an LA. Times columnist, has identified Nelson Rockefeller as his political hero, called CIA whistleblower Philip Agee an unpatriotic traitor and stated that during the Vietnam War he advised young men to go and fight. Don't touch that dial. On CNN's The Capital Gang, Al

Hunt XY/nckinm-nn h F 11".

NO POSTAGE

NECESSARY

IF MAILED

IN THE

lllLll, dltLl unuunub, Auayu nuv at: LIMLUIVQ v v

the concentrated rays of the sun.

-Ktzren Evans

"w WWW- w w...

publican.

-Ricbard Reynolds

Pbmogmphs by Iiiward Ix'lumm (K/mlxli) and George Bennett

UNITED STATES

1111p1111112111-111.11m
Hermx :- \$1
QPB:SIO.95 1
SENSUAL
15:9
1,,.y1111_
1 , ,1
om: \$11 so
MESSAGE
(111112.1111111 1n n
umquc 511.111
format
1111:1121 1141 uw
ONY
1.1.4
31
1101111 1111.11
Hardcover 339 VS
QPB: \$15.95
Like 3 books, man.
For a little bit of bread.
Only \$3.That% c001.
11111 1
1lE11LL111
1111mm
1111111
0111.111?
11x1.11x111.1uuz1
H.111 111-: 5101';
131111. 59.9;
7
(Trans
, 1.:
O
lat10n: 3 books, 3 bucks.
NO heavy sceelbu dig?
11111111111111
NO commitment. No kidding.)
Any way you say it, Quality Paperback Book Club offers 11 great
deal-zmy three books for \$3, plus shipping and handling.
QPB offers fiction, history, science, biography, how/to books;
priced at up to 60% less than their hardcover counterparts. As 21
member you'll get the QPB Review 15 times zlyc21r111boutcverv 3%
weeks), And when you buy books (after this special offer) you'll
cam Bonus Points You can barter these for free booksiyou pay
just shipping and handling. With QPB, there's no hassle about
commitment. If you czlnlt find the books you want, you can split :11
any time So just choose your 3 books today,
The Far Side
G 'A'L'L'EER-Y 3
601.1'11c cwlulmn
ut balms throughout
1115mn' Illusmucd
Harduwr SN 93
QPB: \$12195
Q1111 5w;
.xmn'i 6131111111,
P!
(X1
.15 Bill Morn
411-1 51111111" 11-111
11155 11 11-11111
'321. Srephun
Hawkmg offL-rs a
mnvmunchn p11
11111-141110 0111:1113
.xtrhcsmus
Harduwr Slwi r1
QPB: \$9.50 Q1'11' SW);
5_.,3
)1111111 11111ng

(11)1 11.11121
111111111111-11111517
sc11111uh1slurv 111
11m- Cm1 W11
Hdrdun cr 316
QPB: \$14.95
4911. '11w1-11r11;
1,1-
.1-11 . 1
11.1111 1
QPB 51130
om. 599s
1(QPB Exclusive: 1111111111 1111711111111x11111111111m 11x .111111111-
No heavy commitmentYou dlq?
Quality Paperback Book Club." 110.13ux 880-1,C11111111111,1).'X 1701141804
1,1C11w c111'o111111'111Q1111111111xcn11111c1111- 1111111111511 1'11x11-11111111111.11111
1111_111111
111111)1 c1111. 111111 11111111111141111111.1111111111ug1111rgm 11111111-1'1111111 11111
111111111111
rcq111rc11to11111 1111111111'11101111 111111111111-1111111111111-13111 111111111 111:111'
1151'1111111
1x 111 14111111 x111n1111u1 1111211 11'11e
xlx 1111111111 11111.11'1-11111
_____'1
r OK. Send me my 3 books for3 bucks.
o
11-111
How QPB Membership Works.
5611111011: 15111111 11111111 1Mx11nmx 50111111111 11'yo11 11'11111 1111111111111111;
711 1111111051111111'11.1111111111111'1111 11xouxmnl.111111111'1111111111ornolmok
111 .111. (11111111'11' 111C 11111111 1'or111 111111115 L'111low11.1111111311111111111 1
11L'npk111/
111111111111 1A 11111111111;Y .11111 11111111111111 1111.1ruc1x111111c11Iomc11s111111111
1111 1
RutlnnPrivilvgc:11.1111-Q1111Rullw 1x 111'1111'1111111111murcu-n'v1111-51-11-1v
non 11111111111 11111111: 111111 10 11:1x'111111111111'111.you111.11'11'1111'111111111111
1111
Canccuulions:11111111uy11111ccl 111L111113C1N111P1'1111111111110111'110111111111
QPB XVC 111.11' 11111111 your 111t1111lwrxl1ip 11x'ouclm1 noI 111111111111 11mm
onchook 1n:111ysix411o111hpcnod
1111112111111 1C11511111L'1NV111x' 111.111v 1 1111111111119111111.1111
xlXE11IU1111111'171011.1011111111 ,.
(1111(U11111'111L'11111C1'n1h1111
MVHV 111111111 1
QPB Quality 1 11 Q117171
Paperback , 7
Book 11 1111.
Chlb (1111 V11 /1H
1
1
I
I
I
I
I
I
I
1
1
1
1
1
1
I
1

Inside Mecca
Islam's yearly Haii:
closed to the
rest of the world,
combines piety
and intrigue. An
insider's report.
Muslims gather from
every corner of the
earth around the
Ka'buh, surrounding the
sacred Black Stone in
Mecca, Saudi Arabia.

16 iUiY/Aiityusi' i989

ERF. I AM, MY (ioi), mini: 1 AM? FROM THUR
native Afghan valleys, from the bush of Africa,
from Tunis, Cairo, London, and Indonesia, 1.5
million Moslems consummate their journey to
the holy Mosque in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, with this
chant. Mecca, a desert city of 750,000, is trans-
formed into a modern-day Babylon of races and
cultures-and into a potential boiling point of ten-
sion as the single place that unites the Byzantine fae-
tions of the worlds nearly one billion Muslims.
This year, believers will be flocking to Mecca from
a Muslim world increasingly battered by externally
and internally driven pressures: divisions among Pal-
estinians about the PLOE negotiating stance with
Israel, which last spring prohibited many Muslims
from worshiping at the jerusalem mosque; lasting
scars from the Iran-Iraq conflict, which divided ls-
lam like never before; conflicts between supporters
and opponents of Ayatollah Khomeinis call to as-
sassinate British novelist Salman Rushdie. All of the
parties to these and other potentially explosive eon-
flicts will attend this years Hajj (as its known in
Arabic), which unfolds the second week ot'bluly. Sun-
ni and Shiite, fundamentalist and liberal, terrorist
and king will unite briefly around the Ka'bah, which
contains the Black Stone given by the angel Gabriel
to Adam after he was thrown out of paradise. Mus-
lims believe that the Black Stone is the only object
passed directly from God to man, and that the pil-
H OT SPOTS

By Re'mi Favret

grimage is the most intensely religious moment in a
believerls life.

Last year I arrived for the 1,409th Hajj from Paris,
the only Western journalist to attend and one of the
few ever permitted to penetrate the protected walls
of the holiest city of Islam. Although raised 3 Chris-
tian, I grew fascinated by Islam during my years of
Middle East coverage, sipping tea under fire with
teenage Lebanese militiamen, talking theology with
bearded ulemas at Cairols Al Azhar University, read-
ing the great Persian poets under the minarets of
Samarkand. I eventually converted in Afghanistan,
where lad spent months traveling with the rebel
mujaheddin.

The Saudis take seriously the HOLY MECCA:

MUSLIMS ONLY sign marking the ltholy perimeterll

15 miles outside of Mecca. Before arriving here, my
passport had been checked three times to verify my
Muslim eredentials-at the Saudi consul in Paris
(which only issues Visas for Mecca after onels knowl-
edge of the Koran and Islamic prayer rituals is cer-
tified by a local imam), upon departure at the air-
port, and upon arrival. My heart pounded as I
passed this final checkpoint.

FOR THE SAUDIS, THE HAJJ Is A RELIGIOUS EVENT,
but its also an industry. The first thing that hits you

in Mecca, even before the central Mosque, is the chaotic bazaar surrounding it. For local merchants, the yearly pilgrimage is a windfall. The vast outdoor supermarket around the Mosque teems with stalls offering an incredible variety of consumer goods: refrigerators, VCRs, cassette players, television sets, rice cookers, Clothes, radios. fake and real Rolex watches. Religious solidarity aside. retail prices shoot up by 300 percents the shops work around the clock (except during the live daily prayer times), and a bunk in a seedy room for eight, without running water. can cost \$1,000 a month. Those who cant afford hotels sleep in the streets; I saw barefoot Afghans sleeping on rugs that would have fetched small fortunes in the finest shops of London. Around the Mosque itself, there is a constant procession of worshipers: Arabs in white robes, Africans in brightly colored cloaks. Indonesians in batik dresses, Thais and Malays in sarongs, Soviet Uzbeks wearing pyramid-shaped black caps, U.S. black Muslims sporting Ray-Ban shades and listening to readings of the Koran on portable cassette players. While parts of the Muslim world square off in sectarian and nationalist conflicts_Syria and Lebanon, Iran and Iraq, India and Pakistan, Libya and the moderate Arab states-the Hajj offers families and friends divided by the happenstance of politics the chance to come together. I accompanied 3 Lebanese friend meeting his Shiite cousin from Iraq whom he had never been allowed to visit before. They embraced in the shadows of the great Mosque, recognizing each other immediately from aged family photos.

Photograph by Hanmzi/SIPA

We Didn't Give Foreign Aid To Hitler...

RULE BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE

El Salvador Today -. Salvadoran
National Guardsmen sciying members
010:1 grassroots organization.

"You Germans were very
intelligent. You realized that
the Jews were responsible
for the spread of Communism,
Etienne Montcs
and you began to kill them. "

p m:

Roberto D'Aubuisson. ARENA Party
Founder and Honorary President for Life
Photoud

Congress Has Given The Salvadoran Government \$3 Billion.

Wh G ' It How Have They Spent It?

y Ive Since 1980. the Salvadoran Military and Death Squads have
. murdered over 60.000 Civilians. including religious voices of
TO HIS conscience such as Archbishop Romero.

I The Salvadoran government has used 3 billion American
dollars to expand a violent police state.

0

Imltators In I In May. as a Congressional committee voted to give El
Salvador more than \$1 million per day, the Salvadoran
El Salvador ? arrhed forces conducted a midnight raid on utChristtium
refugee support office. abductmg 70 people. mcludmg 30
women. The women were stripped naked and herded into a
cell. Many were raped. Maria Mirtala Lopez. 20. told an
American priest who visited her in jail how she was hung
by her breasts in order to extract a confession.

I_Congress IS Paying For Murdej More Money Will Fund More Violence

I I Want To Stop It ARENA, the Death Squad Party, now controls all branches of

I Yes. I'll help end the W" in El SMWIOR government: the Presidency. the Legislature and
the Courts.

I Ham's "V (1093mm to help WP C(Tngms I El Salvador is ruled today. as it has been for ge
nerations. by

from paying for death and destruction, . e _ , .

an alliance of the ollgurchy and the mlhtary. The government
labels as "communist" anyone who tries to bring about
Change. Like the NAZI's. their policy is to eliminate citizen
opposition through mass murder and terror.

550 S 100 \$500 31000

Other

Send checks payable to:

Neighbor To Neighbor Action Fund

2601 Mission Street. Room 400-A

Sun Francisco CA 941 10

The American People Would Never Knowingly Support This

Our nation fought World War II to stop fascism. We should
not pay for it in El Salvador today.

NEIGHBOR To Call Your Representatives In Congress

L;& Tell Them To Stop Funding F ascism

18

2/(/ f/M

l/V/ // l/(W is. . .

M(m IICR JUNICS eun-

gratulates l loraec

linhank, the (irand

Prize winner of the

1088 hlU'l'1lllCR _l()Nics

Rallle. We are pleased

to present him with his

unique prixe_a page

(if his own in this issue

()l. the magazine.

N M Ymr 771/5

P/Igr (1011M lie

Yams

Just think. . . You

enultl he the 1989

th'l'Hl-lR James Raffle

(irand Prize winner!

(let your very own

page, aloner with a

cheek fur \$4.()()().()().

'lll lli

M(m IICR JUNIcs

RAFIJLIC

tot HAW: TO PLAY

TO WIN!

iuiwmuaisi iqh't)

like the ancient (ireek ()lympies, when

warring citysstates temporarily put down

their weapons, the Hajj can serve to unite

the vastly different factions of Islam. But

often the realities of the temporal world earr

not help hut intrude.

'l'iu: si'ixii'izit 'I'HAT Mos'l' 'i'iatumiumas 'I'Hli

Saudi hosts occurred in 1979, when ultra-

cnservative Shiites armed with subinaehine

guns took over the great Mosque t0 foree it

out of the hands of the Saudi royal family,

whom they considered too cozy with the

West. It is this relationship, between fundar

mentalists and the more moderate and prag-

matie Saudi regime, that continues to haunt

the otherwise pious event.

The home ()lthe Saudi royal family, a lux-

urious, zllr-COHLlllthHCLl pink marble palace

looming over the great Mosque, is a peren-

nial touchstone Of animosity. It's impossible

to ignore the building after rising from

prayer, and many resent its presence as an

insult to the Prophet's humility. When l

asked an Indian friend about the building,

his response gave me a jolt: uDon't speak

about it; it should be blown up."

Since the lranian-inspired riots in 1987,

when over four hundred people died in a

clash in which fundamentalists protested the

Saudis pro-lraqi stance in the lran-lraq war,

the Saudis have maintained a heavy security

presence during, the Hajj: thirteen thousand

police are put on patrol around the city and

seventy-three video cameras maintain a con-

stant electronic vigil at key gathering points.

The U.S.-supplied technology at the video-

monitoring center on the outskirts ()fthe city

is the latest in surveillance equipment, capa-

ble of producing among other things. corn-

puterized portraits of lawbreakers.

The Saudis, strict practitioners of lslarn,

show little patience for non-Arab Muslims

whose behavior does not conform to their stringent sensibilities. In the market around the Mosque, I watched as African women, used to more boisterous interactions among themselves and their children than the Saudis are accustomed to, were barked at and ushered out of the market by contemptuous policemen.

ill) some; however the Saudis are exceedingly gracious hosts. In the splendidly lavish tent city of the Muslim World league our side of town, I drank 741p with the leader of the Mom National liberation liron, Ntn' Musuari, whose guerrillas are lighting the Filipino army in Mindanao. "Mecca is the symbol of the unity among Muslims." he told me. "his a blessing for me to be here closer to Allah, and to remind my brothers in the jungle of the Philippines why we're lighting." Musuari was a special guest of the League-as were top officials from the Palestinian, Polisario, and South African resistance movements. I found Afghan mujahettlin leader Yunus Kholes wolfing down an extravagant breakfast at the Mecca Inter- (Imitinenta) Hotel, a far better repast than what I had shared with his troops up in Kunar. The guerrilla leaders-considered "freedom lightersn by Muslims and literorists'l by the West (except for the Afghans, who are glorified by bnth)-reeeeive substantial financial support from Saudi Arabia, which toasts them at endless receptions in Mecca, provides helicopters for sight-seeing, and offers them air-conditioned aeecommodations.

FOR 'nii. SAunis, THE ANNUAL HAJJ Is AN extremely useful event, affirming their status as leaders of the Islamic world. Tensions over the past several years, however, have begun to make their grasp on that position more tenuous. Last year, Iran boycotted the Hajj to protest a quota system-agreed to by all the other Islamic eountries-which would have limited their participation to forty-five thousand pilgrims, as opposed to the half million Khomeini had hoped to send. This year, an agreement was sealed allowing for limited Iranian participation in the Hajj, despite the fact that Iran-supported extremists allegedly were responsible for the assassination of a moderate Saudi imam in Brussels last March. The imam supported Saudi Arabia and the Muslim League's non-violent call for a "scholarly review" of Salman Rushdie's controversial novel, The Satanic Verses.

It is, finally, in Mecca where all the conlliets within Islam are expressed. Along with the reverential crowds, relentless questions revolve around Mecca's Ka'bah. Where should the line be drawn between faith and politics? Should the rule of God prevail over the laws of man? How can the Muslim East live in peace with the West? These questions have violently split Islam for centuries and touk on new sharpness in the wake of Iran's revolution. If the radicals are going to prevail, they will LLO it first in Mecca. And if Islam is going to find a way to adapt to the modern worlthl-in which religion does not

invade every aspect of life-the signals of that resolution will also occur first in Mecca. One day; Muslims believe, the Messiah will appear in Mecca with answers to the questions dividing his followers. In the meantime, for the key to the Islamic world, considered so mysterious by most Westerners, the Hajj in Mecca is the place to watch. Remi lizz'ret is d Ihrris-lmsed free-ltmee writer and novelist who lms (overed (be Middle lids! extensively for mmwmus French and British publiamtirs.

Mother Jones 1988 Raffle Winner
Horace Eubank
ROBERT SUDLOW, Woodlight, 1966
Intuitive Renaissance Man
A tribute to Robert Sudlow
He was a new Renaissance man-
A mind that constantly inquired
With fingers that drew, that wrote.
His was a cool and curious head;
He tried to teach the distinction
Between joy and satisfaction.
His was a life of joy;
He knew satisfaction comes not
From lust and greed and laziness.
These lead to satiety and
In the end destroy satisfaction,
Which does not bring joy.
He saw joy, the path to perfection:
The true thoughts, the true friendship,
Some work well-done, a painting perceived.
His was a love freely given;
These are the ingredients he
Found in his search for joy.
His life was a set of infinitives:
To have strong reactions, to perform
An act of faith, to appreciate deeply.
He recognized the most important things
In life one should learn are the
Same things that cannot be taught.
-H0mce Wren Euban/e

aulhdu'ahu II:

l s'mm)HIGH(1N11111-II'RIIHIN11,IN'I'HLP1.A'/.A01W1'Hla
Rcvolution, inst as 1 11.111 almost Iwcnywight ycg'n's
lwtorg straining 1111511111055111111' 10 sec 111cmld ()t 1111-
cmwd. Fidel, speaking into five microphones. dc-
nouncd Ynnkcc imperialists with the same fervor,
and even somc ()t 1111: same language, 11c uscd 011
January .2, WM, 111.11 balmy winlcr day wllcn hc
provokcd liiscnhowcr 10 break relations with .1 new
(11111.1. Hdcl dunnmicd 111m 111.11 lhc US. 011111.1551'
rcduct its slutt lmm(wcrlhrcchundrcd10clcvcn,11w
11111111111 (11 (3111x1115 in Ihcir cmlmssy in Wnshington,
and c.111cd 1111- U5. unlmsy .1 "111-31 ()1 51111ch 11c
strongly anlicd 111;11 US. diplunmls 1111ch Agents,
adding 111.11 "it .IH (11 than 11.1111 11) lmvc, 101 Ihcm go."
I L111 .1 million (1111mm marc'd 1111'11' .Ipprm'nl.
()n Dectmlwr 5, 1988, (111' 11w Inicruphmu's c.1114
ricd .1 similar dctianl 111655.133 11) 111cmlling prcsidcm
(imrgc Bush. A5111 WM, 111ml ot the 1x151 11an 11:15
ynung .uul c.lgcclg lml lidclhlstro,11011.1111105151xly
11mm yun's uld, has 1111'111'11 gm): thngni/vd rcwn
lwgrudgingly in (110 Ulnlcd 81.11115. .15 .1 pnlitiml 111.1-
gicmn, Imvmg survival 11111'11' ymrs 01 US. opposi-
11011, 1511M 1.x commnnder 111 chic! ot lhnnlrmcd 101113,
161651
I'lmmgm/lbs I711 H.171 lHrIuvn/vm'r 1/1111'x .mJ .HJgg1KNh'lH'r Hf W'u/m

secretary general of the Communist Party, and president of the Republic. He has used his power to convert Cuba from 1 demoralized colonial playground of the United States into a player on the world stage, which forced the first great global power rearrangement since the end of World War II. In Fidelis view, Cuba may also be the last bastion of real socialism.

I first went to Cuba in June 1960, when the Revolution was still in its pachanga stage, a time of dancing and partying, of mind-bending change and continuous excitement. Havana still had casinos, beggars, remnants of sex shows, and the semblance of servility, that mixture of free and dirty Third World capitalism.

In power for three decades, outlasting seven U.S. Presidents, Fidel Castro used his position to convert Cuba from a colonized playground into a proud nation. His advice to the next generation of Cubans: "Be Like Chia."

m

(111:1. '11
1 111111111.. 11,
N1'111'ly 11111-ly y1'11r5 11111'r, (1111111 15 51111 11 11111111111 c111111gl' 01
51111111, Africa. 1111' (1.11'111111'1111, 111111 1111111 111111111111, 51'1 11111111
1111111'1' 1'1'11115-1 1.5. 1;.11111511'15, 1111111111115,111151'111111 11111.1'1'15,111
111
11 1101111151 wh0 111011 11110111 1111 0111 1111111 111111 1111' 5111711011
1111111111051111w11h 11151111111011111 111111011511110111111'501'11'1 11111011.
'1'111-111115111111111111;11111'11111'11011 1)1'1'1'11111'151 1988, 111.11111'1'11
1111'111111y-51'1'011111111111'1'1'51111'01-11111111111111111011111'(1111111111,11111
yacht 011 which 11111111 111111 1'1111111'1111'0 1.1111'1'1'111115 .11'1'11'1'11 110111
Mexico 10 1111111111 1111'11- W'.11' 11111111151 1111' 1'1'111111' 011 1111114111110
1111115111. 115113111; 1'1'1'ry 111111.115,111155111'5111111.1111151150111155
1111111111111r1'vi1'w1111;51111111,11111111'1'11'1'1'1'1101111'111'55111'1'111 1988.
(11111.1111111111'01'1'111151111121155, w111111111111111.110111111111'.11;1111151
5011111 A11'11111 111 1111110111 11151 11111, 111111 1511111 11'11 1111 111'1'11 10
111511111' 5111111 1111-1101111: 111111 .1 1111111011 11.11'11111'1'05 111.1111
5110W1'11111110w1111'111111'111110115111.11'1111.1111111511'1111111111115111'.11(
7101'10111'110111'511111'1.151111.111011'11110111'.1111'11.11'11111'.111111111'
111111011151'1'1'1'111011111111111111'XV11111'1 101151'.11111111'111.11;011111.11
1111 111111151011 111;.111151 (1111.1 11011111 111' 1'05111' .11111 10 1111111111
S11v11'11111'51111'111(1111111.111111'v111.111"1111'1'5111111111101501'1.1115111,1101
14111511051 011111'1'115110111'11, 11.15 w1111'11011111111111.11'11'11114.
11111111111111111'111111111-111511111'0111111111111111101111,.11111110115111
11011 01 5111111011 1111' 11111 1111111111111111'1 111 1'1111'1. (111111115 .11'1' .1
1'01111111'5,11'0111111'11. 1101111151'11,.1111151111'1'51111011511111111; 501111'
111 w110111 51111 1111' 111 /)0/1105. 1111' 111.1111111'11 111115 11'1111111111110015
111111 (3011111111115 1111151101'1'11'11." chi 10 1111'51'1111111111111111'1'11-
111115. 1111' 111-11111111011 11.15 1'1'111111'11 111'1'75101'1' 1111.1111111'111 1111111
1
111115. ()111111-1131111111511111'50111'151111111101'11111111111'11'1111'11'1'115
111111110051111511.15511111111'111'1'1'111111'10111'11111111111111111001'5;501111'
11151511111 11'11111115 51111111111'1111'11'111115111111'11.1111111111115011111'51'
2.). 11111 111.151 1111111
1110111'r11 111111111111115. 11151111; w11115 1111' 111'11111111'11 111111 11110105
01' 11111115 01 F1111'1, (1116 (1111'1'11111, 11 1111rk-5k111111'11 (1111151,
11111111111 1111115011, 11111111111111111'1111011'1151111111111115.
Nearby. 111 11 511111111 51111111 1111111 5111001, 1'11'1'1'11111 gr11111cr5
0111'1'1111'11111111111151'111'11111111115011 111'w 1011111111015 111111 play with
11 101101 1111')' 11111111' 1111111155. XV"11111'1;1111111;1111' (2001115 101110111
11111111'.11' 111.1111, 1111' 1111111111 1'11111111'1'11111: 11111, 011111' 111'1111 1111
1151
111.1111 51111011 1111111' 111'w 11051111111. 1115 111111111111, 5(11111'111111'5, 10
1'1'1111'111111'1' 111111 (1111111 15 51111 11151 11115 51111' 111 11111101111'111111111-
1111'111,11'1111111'111'1510011'11111African11111301151111 11111010111111;
11111111155 01 151111115 1r1'11111'111 .11105 51'1'5 1111'111111'15 01 1111' (2111111111
111111111711101'1'111.11111 1111111011 51101111111101111110111111'111111011_
111.11111111111111' 11'1111 111111511111.1151111'11111111'1'1'1'1' 111'1'1'1'1115. 111511
11-
10115111 111'1'551'11 .11'11111'11'111'5 01 11 1111:1111 11111111'11 1'1111' 1111115. But
111'111'.111111111115.111115011111'111'11111'1111'551'11111111111'1'11101151'51111'111
.11'1'.11508111111'1111111'1111571111'111k1'11511111'11c111111111Afro-(iar1h-
111'.111111111101111111111111'p111g.111111;111(T111'15111111.11110111115 1101111111
51.11115 11110111; 1111'51' 111'111'1'1'1'5, which 1111115 51'c111'1' hi5 111111111c111
1105111011. 011 1111' 5111'1'1 111' 15 widely known 115 111111111110 (111C
1101'51'1, .1 1'11'111'1 .111111151 1111'1111111111'1111111.
1511111 11.15 11115111'11 (11111.1115 10 111k1' 51'1'c11-11'11g11c 110111 51111115
111501111111111115;1110111115111111111'1'111'1'11111110111'11111'11151111150511
1111111 01111110111111'11'11111',111151111 011 1.111115 111111 pr1'111111' 1111111'1'1'11
1111.111' 51111111111 11101111111 .11111 111\$C1p11111'11 110110111111 produc-
11011. 111' 11111111111115, 11111'1' 111111.1' 1'1'1115, 10 11111'51111' 0111 110111
1111'51' (1111115, 11111111111'11111' 1111111111' 111 11'11111' 1111111 1111 11'1'15 111'
1111111
111.11 1111' 1(1'1'1'1111111011'5 111'w 11.115 111 thinking 111111 11111111.: 1111111'
111'11111111'1111' 11111111111'11111 1111' 0111. 15111 11011111111); (:111111115111111' 1
101
111'111111'10111'1'1111'1111111114111111'1111'1'1'111111515,1101111'C11111111111'111111
W!111111gr.1,1/1111311.111 1111K1'm/1m'1

political, with Fidel as Father, a role that prevents his people from achieving full political adulthood.

While some members of the older generation may whisper in private that Fidel ought to step aside, last year some teenagers in a Havana movie theater committed a virtually heretical act. When Fidel appeared in a newsreel to praise Che Guevara, they began to sing a pop refrain: 111556 hombre esta

Infñ IT'L nnnnnnnnnnnnn x ,a TLA .,.L .LAM n: TS are , ublic
' ,. way.
with
, ched
U Q ban-
g 05 .
: Z 4 their
g (1'2 3 "had
3 5 , I ment
" ' P
9; 9.5;: v e nt of
\$2 8 F llse-
_._l '0
'w B 3 S .
bgn , R, King
9 ":9 O reda
F? "J C
C r: ".5 :4 ' a
C 171% n 10,
'3 :38 W 'ry in
71 F5 q Fl E ner
7' 73 E 0 g '
x g; #7 years
4: U1 i4 m 0
4 F/ c -4 ethe
w; 53:, 9.3
,3. \$2 23 ythe
. _ , 1,
11 8 :12 2:. us
,_ g _ , 2 utates
:5 \$3; 7 O
.1 UV :1 Z
a P i m
r: 4 1-1
7, 7; I
V (/3
V: o W
Cu hr.
menfs claims of great progress under Fidells leadership. He protests that the Revolutionls 9supposed great feats in education and health aren,t really that impressive when you compare them with, say, Costa Rica, which had about the same statistics as Cuba before the Revolution and has about the same now.,'

Such attempts to trivialize the Cuban experience fail on their own terms. Thousands of new school buildings and apartments stand as testimony to the achievement of collective labor. Bad housing still exists, but no homelessness. The rural population has access to roads, which have replaced trails that I traversed in a jeep with Fidel in 1968 (and which I remember because of a month of aching kidneys afterward). A multilane freeway now covers much of the island. There are hundreds of clinics and hospitals and twenty-five thousand first to Cuba when evolution was Is pachanga aluuwo' mind-bending change and continuous excitement doctors (there were six thousand in 1959, half ofwhom fled to the United States). Fidel recently instituted a family doctor

practice by placing a medical school graduate in each Cuban neighborhood. Helicopters transport emergency patients from remote mountain villages to hospitals, and Cuban surgeons today regularly perform heart and other organ transplants. All Cuban kids go to school, most from day care through ninth grade or beyond, and the population has reasonable retirement programs, job security, and other economic protection. Beyond the statistics, there is this one overriding fact: in thirty years, Cuba has been transformed from a fragment of the U.S. economy into a proud nation. Revolutions begin as liberating acts, not as self-conscious scenarios in which the actors can predict all the consequences. Fidel could predict U.S. behavior, however. In 1953, the Iranian governments attempt to nationalize oil provoked a CIA-led coup, and in 1954, a CIA cabal ousted Guatemalan president jacob Arbenz for trying to tax United Fruit Company holdings. So when Fidel nationalized major US. properties, he knew what to expect, and readied Cubans for a Herce reaction. Fidel organized militia units, block committees, and a repressive apparatus that would endure long after the Revolution faced down the United States. For Cuba, independence from the United States meant socialism and alliance with the Soviet Union. Fear of being swallowed up played a central role in FidePs original linking of Cubais destiny with the Soviet Union. He understood that despite the perils of such a relationship, the Soviets could not annex a far-off island. After thirty years, in fact, the Soviets do not own one inch of Cuban land. Cubas independence was a frontal challenge to U S. power, which carried a high cost. President Dwight Eisenhower, constrained by a Korean War syndrome, did not send troops into what promised to be a prolonged conflict. Instead, under Eisenhower, and john Kennedy after him, the CIA attempted to assassinate Castro. A Senate committee later revealed, in 1975, that ITT and Mafia executives had cooperated repeatedly with the CIA to try to murder him. Fidel himself claims to know of twenty-six serious attempts in all. (The closest call, he says, involved poisoning his chocolate milk shake in 1960, when he was a chocoholic-an attempt that failed only because the venom froze to the freezer wall where it was stored and could not be mixed in the shake.) After several attempts with poison, guns, and bombs were uncovered, Fidel abandoned all semblance of routine in order to protect himself_a decision that has influenced his style of governance for almost thirty years. Failed attempts to murder Castro or immobilize the Revolution through economic strangulation and dirty tricks led to the Bay of Pigs. In April 1961, some 1,500 CIA-led Cuban exiles invaded the south coast of Cuba and were routed in less than three days. A year and a half later, the world held its breath as the Soviets and Americans faced off in nuclear confrontation over Cuba. The resolution of the Missile Crisis ended the direct military threat to the island, but hardly as-

MOTHER jONlZS 23

Nearly thirty years later, Cuba is still a cultural collage of Spain, Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America, set amid bizarre relics-U.S. gangsters, gamblers, baseball players, and a novelist who wrote about an old man and the sea_now juxtaposed with institutional imports from the Soviet Union. The mass meeting I attended on December 5, 1988, marked the thirty-second anniversary of the landing of the Granma, the yacht on which Fidel and eighty-two guerrillas arrived from Mexico to launch their war against the regime of Fulgencio Batista. Usually, every five years, missiles and tanks also pass under the reviewing stand, but they were not necessary in 1988. Cuba had proved its prowess, winning a major battle against South Africa in Angola last year, and Fidel felt no need to display such firepower. Half a million Havuneros again showed up to watch the troops march and listen to Fidel speak-for four hours, the last in a downpour. The parade and the turnout served to remind the White House and Pentagon that an incursion against Cuba would be costly_and to remind Soviet president Gorbachev that Fidel's brand of socialism, not glasnost or perestroika, has wide popular backing. But underneath the display of military power, a demonstration of support for the commander in chief, Cubans are a complex, troubled, confused, and superstitious people, some of whom still live in bobz/os, the thatched huts with mud Hoots that Columbus discovered." Next to these primitive dwellings, the Revolution has erected five-story apartment buildings. On the way upstairs one is likely to encounter chickens and roosters passing between the fourth and fifth Hoots; some peasant tenants still hide their pigs in the bathrooms of these

22. jUI.Y/'AUGU5T 1989

Ln 3

EEQEE

ma-k

85%28

OE&_E

Z 3

CI)

5.3

m

::::: .33 i C:

'____ (t : ' L; o co

____ 2:3 8 a 5

'____ yz ti 3-1 3';

-J g a 5.1.2 m

D- o g F CB v

E22 5 'Ta 3 5

m s :5 9 E3 C

mi : m 8

L; E 2 2 e

a LL.)

'_" E 0

mode 88 E

orlpr m g 0

Mich; u- CL

Ne;

opera

arob(

nude:

plant

remen

ment,

witne:

militia

march

iOuSiy UIC))CU tuenctypcs ()I 3 nigmy trained Cllte corps. but beneath thousands of the neatly pressed military blouses there are also Santeria heads-the tokens of belief in an Afro-Caribbean religion far more pagan than Christian. Fidel has godlike status among these believers, which helps secure his political position. On the street he is widely known as (31 caballo (the horse), a virile, almost invincible man.

Fidel has pushed Cubans to take seven-league boot strides in some areas; in others, a thin veneer of modernity disguises a form of incompetence, based on values that predate and even vitiate scientific thought and disciplined economic production. He continues, after thirty years, to preside over both these Cuhas, apparently unable to retire until he feels certain that the Revolution's new ways of thinking and acting have definitively conquered the old. But ironically, Cubans may not be able to break through the current crisis, both economic and

Photograph by Marc PoKempner

political, with Fidel as Father, a role that prevents his people from achieving full political adulthood.

While some members of the older generation may whisper in private that Fidel ought to step aside, last year some teenagers in a Havana movie theater committed a Virtually heretical act. When Fidel appeared in a newsreel to praise Che Guevara, they began to sing a pop refrain: *¡Este hombre está loco* (This man is crazy)? Though those singing teenagers are part of only a small minority, five years ago such a public outburst would have been unthinkable-and intolerable.

IN 1959 AND 1960 THE MAJORITY OF CUBANS MAY HAVE believed that Fidel was crazy, but they supported him anyway. Teenage guerrillas, who looked half-mad themselves with their mountain-grown scruffy beards and long hair, watched approvingly as casino employees destroyed one-armed bandits on the streets. Former ITT employees cha-cha-changed their way to the sea to drown a coffin with a phone on it. ITT had invested heavily in Cuba as a communications experiment center, and its executives would never forget the affront of being expropriated. Such insults echoed in the national security offices in Washington.

If you can't do this, the American manager of the large King Ranch told René Vallejo in 1959, just after Vallejo delivered a government expropriation writ. The gentle Vallejo, a gynecologist who directed the Agrarian Reform Ministry in Oriente Province, trembled as the American pointed his finger.

The marines will come and take it back!,, Twenty-nine years later, only a fanatic would venture such a threat. Before the Revolution, the saying went, the dictator Batista was only the second most important man on the island, next to the U.S.

ambassador. In 1989, a U.S. interest section (the United States does not have formal diplomatic relations with Cuba) still sits where the U.S. embassy once housed over three hundred functionaries. The lonely handful of people who now occupy the five-story glass building on the sea look down at a Cuban poster. A bearded revolutionary is taunting Uncle Sam: *SEÑORES IMPERIALISTAS, WERE NOT SCARED OF YOU.*

The poster annoys John Taylor, the interest-section chief, who knows he's far from being the island's most important man. Taylor scoffs at the Cuban government's claims of great progress under Fidel's leadership. He protests that the Revolution's supposed great feats in education and health aren't really that impressive when you compare them with, say, Costa Rica, which had about the same statistics as Cuba before the Revolution and has about the same now? Such attempts to trivialize the Cuban experience fail on their own terms. Thousands of new school buildings and apartments stand as testimony to the achievement of collective labor. Bad housing still exists, but no homelessness. The rural population has access to roads, which have replaced trails that I traversed in a jeep with Fidel in 1968 (and which I remember because of a month of aching kidneys afterward).

A multilane freeway now covers much of the island. There are hundreds of clinics and hospitals and twenty-five thousand

first
went to Cuba when
the Revolution was
in its pachanga
stage: mind-bending
change and continuous exchange.

doctors (there were six thousand in 1959, half of whom fled to the United States). Fidel recently instituted a family doctor practice by placing a medical school graduate in each Cuban neighborhood. Helicopters transport emergency patients

from remote mountain Villages to hospitals, and Cuban surgeons today regularly perform heart and other organ transplants. All Cuban kids go to school, most from day care through ninth grade or beyond, and the population has reasonable retirement programs, job security, and other economic protection. Beyond the statistics, there is this one overriding fact: in thirty years, Cuba has been transformed from a fragment of the U.S. economy into a proud nation.

Revolutions begin as liberating acts, not as self-conscious scenarios in which the actors can predict all the consequences. Fidel could predict U.S. behavior, however. In 1953, the Iranian governments attempt to nationalize oil provoked a CIA-led coup, and in 1954, a CIA cabal ousted Guatemalan president Jacobo Arbenz for trying to tax United Fruit Company holdings. So when Fidel nationalized major U.S. properties, he knew what to expect, and readied Cubans for a fierce reaction. Fidel organized militia units, block committees, and a repressive apparatus that would endure long after the Revolution faced down the United States.

For Cuba, independence from the United States meant socialism and alliance with the Soviet Union. Fear of being swallowed up played a central role in Fidells original linking of Cubals destiny with the Soviet Union. He understood that despite the perils of such a relationship, the Soviets could not annex a far-off island. After thirty years, in fact, the Soviets do not own one inch of Cuban land.

Cubals independence was a frontal challenge to U.S. power, which carried a high cost. President Dwight Eisenhower, constrained by a Korean War syndrome, did not send troops into what promised to be a prolonged conflict. Instead, under Eisenhower, and John Kennedy after him, the CIA attempted to assassinate Castro. A Senate committee later revealed, in 1975, that ITT and Mafia executives had cooperated repeatedly with the CIA to try to murder him. Fidel himself claims to know of twenty-six serious attempts in all. (The closest call, he says, involved poisoning his chocolate milk shake in 1960, when he was a Chocholiceaan attempt that failed only because the venom froze to the freezer wall where it was stored and could not be mixed in the shake.) After several attempts with poison, guns, and bombs were uncovered, Fidel abandoned all semblance of routine in order to protect himself-a decision that has influenced his style of governance for almost thirty years.

Failed attempts to murder Castro or immobilize the Revolution through economic strangulation and dirty tricks led to the Bay of Pigs. In April 1961, some 1,500 CIA-led Cuban exiles invaded the south coast of Cuba and were routed in less than three days. A year and a half later, the world held its breath as the Soviets and Americans faced off in nuclear confrontation over Cuba. The resolution of the Missile Crisis ended the direct military threat to the island, but hardly as-

MOTHER JONES 23

suaged the rancor of US. national security officials. Throughout Latin America, the Cuban experience came to symbolize courage in the face of US. enmity. Fidells image as a determined leader who insists on accomplishing the impossible has remained intact for thirty years. Last December in Mexico City, mobs of reporters and crowds on the street virtually ignored the new Mexican president who had invited Castro to his inauguration, instead flocking to Fidel to ask him questions, shout his name, and reach out to him. Fidel is known as a savior outside of Latin America as well. While Europe dumped toxic waste in Africa, Cuba sent troops to defend Angola against South Africa on its own initiative, not that of the Soviets along with teachers to educate and doctors to minister to the sick. Unlike the United States in Vietnam and the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, Cuba actually helped an ally. Aided by Cuba, Angola defeated South Africa in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale last year. Cuban pilots flying Soviet-made MiG 23s forced South Africa not only into a military retreat, with a high body count, but to the negotiating table as well. Castro calls the battle of Cuito Cuanavale the African Bay of Pigs.

I WATCHED FIDELIANS TELEVISED ADDRESS TOUTING CUBA, S success in Africa from the home of a well-known filmmaker in Havana last December. If Fidel is a magician in foreign policy? the filmmaker said as he watched, I but I think he cannot magically solve our internal problems by continuing to I try to teach us the way to behave in almost every area of life? Consider one example of Fidells omnipresence: A few years ago I watched a televised talk as Fidel extolled the virtues of vegetables and offered detailed, imaginative ideas for cooking them without frying them, Cuban-style, in lard. Fidel described all the varieties of Cuban-grown plants, especially praising anticarcinogenic broccoli and eggplant. This speech drew wide attention. Afterwards, I overheard two hotel employees dis-

Fidel opened a secret that home and car repair is difficult to obtain, that Cuban-produced goods are of bad quality? Its easy to blame the bureaucracy, against which Fidel periodically launches campaigns. Slogans and posters adorn public walls and the media carry commentaries and denunciations, but there are few results save a temporary lessening of public anxiety. Meanwhile, the economy stagnates.

If The refinery was due for completion in 1985, then 1986, and now we've promised the commander in chief we'll have it done by late 1989. The construction engineers face shifted from shame to determination as I interviewed him in June 1987. If This time? he promised, we will keep our word? When I was filming Fidel in a new factory the following month, the lights blew. But they couldn't be readily fixed; one of the workers admitted that they hadn't yet mastered the emergency-generator technology. When I arrived in Cienfuegos to film an oil storage tank, a team of sweepers sat in the shade until the crew approached; then they began sweeping dirt from one place to another. The wind blew it back, but they kept sweeping anyway. If Well, if one sweeper concluded, I think we're learning how to make better use of the workday?

While inefficiency is demoralizing, outright corruption has an even more insidious effect. Several old guerrilla comrades appointed by Fidel to run ministries have used their positions to engage in what Cubans call la dolce vita. Others have allowed corruption to spread in their ministries. Jose Fernandez, a junior army officer, was arrested by Batista and imprisoned in 1957 for conspiring to overthrow him. Subsequently, Fidel made him commander of the revolutionary military school. Under Fernandez's reign as minister of education since

the 1970s, teachers have sold exams to parents, certain high schools have developed institutionalized cheating, and a flawed promotion system that disregards students knowledge was put in place. (One joke making the rounds in Havana begins with cussing his recipes. 8The only thing he note from Henry Fernandez dead and on line to enter heaven, didnt tell usf one said, 1Twas how to get the . . u behind Picasso and Casals. St. Peter asks the vegetables? I(lssmger. He artists to prove their identities. After seeing A year later, I stopped to film some one a sketch of a dove and hearing a cello ren-hundred people waiting in line to buy WIMS II. Mlk? Why dition, St. Peter ushers them in. Next, greens. At the front of the line sat two 16- 9 Fernandez must prove who he is, St. Peter thargic clerks torpidly punching sales codes II0I'. Will you Mke says, as Picasso and Casals succeeded in on computerized cash registers after weighing the produce on balance scales. A woman shopper noticed the camera and shouted at me in Spanish: 1iLook at the crap we have to put up withfll asked her to repeat what she had said. 1lAre you with Cuban TV?H she asked. I told her I was a foreigner, and her expression changed. 1lForget it. I wanted Fidel to see what we have to go through to get a few greens. For foreigners, no.9 How ironic that seemed: Fidel, of course, already knows about the lines, the bad distribution, and the inefficient clerking. And if I had filmed the scene for Cuban TV, it would not have aired. The womanls instinct was protectiveness-an effort to avoid revealing the depth of Cubals problems to outsiders. Who or what is to blame for the fact that many goods dont reach the stores, that people stand on line for food and buses, 24 JULY/AUGUST 1989 a nole back?" doing. slWho are theyPl, Fernandez asks. 1lOkayfT says St. Peter, leoulve proven your identity") As the barber clipped away at me during one visit a few years ago, a customer in the neighboring chair asked, 1lHow do you explain that only one man was involved in such a big operation?" He was referring to the \$1 million scam implicating the head of Cuban civil aviation, a former director of the Communist Youth. 8There had to be more people involved . . . Fidel must know this, but he doesnt want to upset the masses.n The barber grunted. 1lFidel knows, Chico, whats happening on the street, and therels a lot of shit on the street, you understand, a lot of shit that he doesnt want the masses to know about. The enemy can take advantage of that, too1 he explained.

But who is the enemy in 1989?
 The CIA? Or the Soviet-style socialist bureaucracy that helps protect such malefactors?
 After the 1961 Bay of Pigs and the 1962 Missile Crisis, CIA-supplied counterrevolutionaries operated in the Escambray Mountains through 1966. CIA-funded exiles raided coastal installations and burned cane fields, and those who were caught were often shot. The political police also crushed internal dissent. The practices once used to counter U.S. attacks turned inward, blotting out disagreements. The Party was purged twice of factions found disloyal to Fidel. Homosexuals and others deemed socially unacceptable were placed in labor camps without trials. Until the early 1980s, Cuban prisons still housed more than one thousand political prisoners. Fidel, the consummate communist, the redeemer, the dreamer, also knew how to crack down hard on his domestic enemies. By the late 1980s, new groups of dissenters sprang up, calling themselves human rights activists or environmentalists. These tiny groups, attracting attention from the political police and the foreign press, are permitted limited liberty. But Fidel insists on controlling the limits of debate, just as he manages the information that flows through the media. Fidel's critics attribute his obsession with control to absolutist tendencies, but a deeper, more complicated dynamic explains his behavior. Ever since the 1890s, Cuba's enemies have seized on disunity to prevent the nation from achieving independence. Like all Cubans who study history, Fidel knows that for several hundred years Spain, England, and the United States colonized or tried to annex Cuba. In Fidel's view, U.S. capitalism still lurks, waiting to pounce on Cuba's first vulnerable opening. Fidel seems uncertain about the ability of the Cuban people to resist the myriad ways in which the United States may yet flood them with shiny culture and global mass media.

Fidel trusts his old comrades, battle-tested and loyal for thirty or more years. The governing system that he created—with local power centers, a national assembly, a council of state, plus the multitiered Communist Party organization—is impressive on paper. But without his charisma to guide them, and indeed decide for them, no one knows whether or not they will function—including Fidel. There is no Fidel II, nor even a reasonable facsimile, waiting in the wings. Fidel's younger brother by three years, Raúl, minister of defense and number two behind Fidel, is respected and feared, but he cannot claim his older brothers' authority and legitimacy. Raúl is a shy man, an unimpressive public speaker who has spent his postrevolutionary years as titular head behind Fidel of Cuba's military apparatus. There are those who worry that Fidel's passing would lead to more, not less, repression under Raúl Castro.

Though the first stage of revolution liberated creative energies and celebrated spontaneity, offered utopian dreams and historic fulfillment, the following stage added contrary elements: repression, faceless bureaucracy, and economic folly. Revolution was beautiful, counterrevolution ugly; and the poets, teachers, and engineers who led their classes in high school, showing revolutionary pluck and Character, became those on whom it fell to defend the process that Fidel had

initiated. The need to liberate the island transformed itself into the need to repress enemies of the Revolution, a motif revolutions have known for two hundred years. Instead of creating a country where the best minds concentrated on planning, culture, and education, they instead fixed on the murky field of national security. Like any national-security bureaucracy, the Cuban state police-with Fidells blessing-learned to maintain a crisis atmosphere, not an environment conducive to a socialist society with strong spiritual values. JUST AS FIDEL KEEPS THE STATE SECURITY FORCES OPERATING on an emergency wavelength appropriate to an earlier reality, his attempt to deal with economic shortcomings is similarly stuck in the past. On October 8, 1987, I heard Fidel deliver a three-hour speech to an enthusiastic crowd in Pinar del Rio, exhorting them once again to llBe Like Che? (Ernesto llChem Guevara, the Argentine doctor who joined Fidels guerrilla band in Mexico in 1955 and became his most important lieutenant in the ensuing mountain war). Twenty years earlier, just after Chels death, the slogan 8Be Like Chel, covered walls and billboards throughout the country. Taken literally, these words could paralyze. Who could hope to aspire to Chels level of achievement, commitment, and intellect_especially after two decades of mythologizing? Che stands for voluntary work, sacrifice for the collective good. He chopped sugarcane, spent his Sundays in the facto-

MOTHER JONES 25

ry, working and talking with the proletariat that he believed was the rightful agent of transformation from capitalism to socialism, from individualism to collectivism. When Fidel urged the people to think like Che and model their lives after him, it was more than exhortation. This was Fidel's answer to glasnost and perestroika; Cubans would correct their mistakes by resolving to "Be Like Che" an answer that required transporting themselves backward.

In 1960, a popular joke put Fidel at a meeting with his rump cabinet to appoint a new National Bank president. Was there an economist in the room?" Fidel supposedly inquired. Che responded and, as a result, Fidel made him Bank chief. After the meeting, Fidel said, "Che, I didn't know you were an economist." Che replied "I thought you said communist?"

As president of the National Bank and minister of industries in 1960, Che did, in fact, chart a socialist course. His driving ambition was to have every Cuban worker become a participant in the transformation that Marx and Engels had predicted. He favored the Soviets' nationalization of property but was critical of the divorce of the Party and the masses that had occurred in the Eastern bloc. Yet the only economic models available to Cuba's chief economist at the time were those developed in the grim days of Stalin. Borrowing pieces from the Soviet, Czech, and East German planning systems, Che helped create a melange that might have worked-had most of the administrators been like him. But then, almost any system might have worked if administered by Che Guevara clones.

Who served under Che in Pinar del Rio during the Missile Crisis? a Cuban friend told me. "He sent us home, saying that nuclear war was going to come, what good would we be defending the country with rifles? He was incredible to be with, but he had no stomach for the internal struggle that was taking place." My friend was referring to Fidel's appointments of former guerrillas and members of the old Cuban Communist Party to fill positions in the government during the first years of the Revolution. Unlike Fidel, the master politician, Che could not abide the venality of some of the Cuban Stalinists whom Fidel named to fill the gaping holes inside the fledgling state apparatus. Che believed in tough and reasoned discussion among comrades-a notion dismissed as a bourgeois idea by those officials. Che's death in a remote Bolivian ravine in October 1967, cost Fidel more than a comrade and long-time friend. Fidel believed, until 1969, that guerrilla armies would carry revolution throughout Latin America. Che was (Continuation page 46)

26 JULY/AUGUST 1989

Contraahh'ona

A Decade in Documents-By Peter Kornbluh

EVER SINCE THE SANDINISTA

Revolution toppled Nicaraguan

dictator Anastasio Somoza ten

years ago, U.S. relations with

that tiny Central American country have dominated the ethical landscape of American foreign policy. From 1979, when the Carter administration began trying to stop the Sandinistas, through the recent vote in Congress to sustain a standing contra army in Honduras with \$57.5 million in nonlethal aid, US officials have pursued a policy of unrelenting punishment.

The resulting war has brought death and destruction to the Nicaraguan people and lawlessness and scandal to the United States. What follows are excerpts of key policy statements and once-classified documents that chart this decade-long anti-Sandinista campaign:

1979: The Sandinistas Triumph

. . . We run the risk of having events overtake us if the Somoza does not leave soon. . . . The benefits we derive from orchestrating his departure will slip from our hands, and the survivability of any elements of the National Guard will be unlikely. Indeed, we will be placed in a very vulnerable position if we are seen offering a safe haven to a Somoza fleeing from Nicaragua under military attack. We will be viewed as having saved his neck rather than as having negotiated his departure. . . .

US Ambassador Lawrence Pezzullo, in a July 13 secret cable to Washington.

1980: Seeds of Counterrevolution

We deplore the Marxist Sandinista takeover of Nicaragua and the attempts to destabilize El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. . . . We will support the efforts of the Nicaraguan people to establish a free and independent government.

The 1980 Republican party platform.

1981: The Reagan Doctrine Emerges

This Administration has made strong representations to the Nicaraguans to cease military support to the Salvadoran guerrillas. Their response has been positive. We have no hard evidence of arms movements through Nicaragua during the past few weeks. . . .

State Department release on April 1, which also announced termination of bilateral economic assistance to Nicaragua.

I hereby find that the following operation in a foreign country (including all support necessary to such operation) is important to the national security of the United States. . . . Support and conduct of paramilitary operations against Nicaragua.

President Reagan's December 1

"Finding" authorizing the beginning of the contra war against Nicaragua.

1982: The Contra Army Takes Shape

In the 100-day period from 14 March to 21 June, at least 106 insurgent incidents occurred within Nicaragua. . . . Incidents during this period involved the following types of operations:

x Sabotage of highway bridges and attempted destruction of fuel tanks at a mil-

itary facility using explosive charges . . .
xAttacks by small guerrilla bands on
individual Sandinista soldiers, and the as-
sassination of minor government ofhcials
and a Cuban adviser.

From a secretjuly 16 Defense Intelli-
gence A gency analysis of the contra
forces.

He asked me to serve on a seven-mem-
ber directorate of the FDN. . . . He prom-
ised this directorate would have the full
backing of the United States government
and that we would match into Managua
by july 1983. When I said that struck me
as very little time, he conceded that the
victory might take until the end of the
yea

Former civilian contra leader Edgar
Chamorro. describing his hrst meeting in
November with CIA recruiter uTony
Feldman. "

1985: Escalating the Covert War
. _ . IL et us be clear as to the American
attitude toward the Government of Nic-
aragua. We do not seek its overthrow.
Our interest is to ensure that it does not
infect its neighbors through the export of
subversion and violence. Our purpose, in
conformity with American and interna-
tional law, is to prevent the flow of arms
to El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala,
and Costa Rica.

President Ronald Reagan, in a nationally televised speech, April 27. It is possible to neutralize carefully selected and planned targets, such as court judges, magistrates, police and state security officials etc.

CIA instruction manual written for the contras in October.

1984: Subverting the Law

On the night of February 29, ideletedl emplaced four magnetic mines in the harbor at Corinto, Nicaragua. . . . In accord with prior arrangements, ARDEts ttBarracuda Commandosh took credit for the operation. . . . Our intention is to severely disrupt the flow of shipping essential to Nicaraguan trade during the peak export period.

Top-secret March 2 memorandum from Oliver North to Robert McFarlane. McFarlane noted on the memo that President Reagan had been briefed about the plan.

If we are just talking about negotiations with Nicaragua, that is-so far-fetched to imagine that a communist government like that would make any reasonable deal with us, but if it is to get Congress to support the anti-Sandinistas, then that can be helpful.

Ronald Reagan, during a secret national security policy group meeting on June 25.

During fiscal year 1985, no funds available to the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense, or any other agency or entity of the United States involved in intelligence activities may be obligated or expended for the purpose or which would have the effect of supporting, directly or indirectly, military or paramilitary operations in Nicaragua by any nation, group, organization, movement, or individual.

The Boland Amendment, passed in October.

1985: Ollie North Takes Over

We should make an approach to the Hondurans which emphasizes our commitment to their sovereignty and provides incentives for them to persist in aiding the freedom fighters. . . . iThe incentives should include: the release of some economic support; expedited security assistance deliveries; landl enhancements to existing CIA programs. . . .

From the February 19 quid pro quo authorization for Honduras, initialed by Reagan and forwarded to George Bush.

The third and final phase would have the following objectives:

1. The defeat and demobilization Of Sandinista and Sandinista armed forces.
2. Implementation of the UNO/FDN political program.
3. Repatriation of all foreign advisors and foreign supporters (to include the Sandinista Tsicl Americans).
4. Identification and defranchizing isicl of residual Somoza supporters . . .

5. Immediate implementation of U.S. and foreign economic aid, social assistance . . . and military assistance From an Oliver North plan written in July for contra leader Adolfo Calero, the only copy of an explicit plan to overthrow the Sandinista government revealed publicly.

1986: The Iran-Contra Scandal Breaks
\$12 million will be used to purchase critically needed supplies for the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance Forces. This material is essential to cover shortages in resistance inventories resulting from their current offensives and Sandinista counter-attacks and to "bridge" the period between now and when Congressionally-approved lethal assistance . . . can be delivered.

The paragraph in an April Oliver North memorandum on arms sales to Iran, which cited the diversion of profits. The discovery of this document precipitated the Iran-contra scandal.

1987: Battles on Capitol Hill

And I still, to this day, Counsel, don't see anything wrong with taking the Aya-tollah's money and sending it to support the Nicaraguan freedom fighters.

Oliver North, testifying before the Iran-contra committees in July.

To permit the President and his aides to carry out covert actions by using funds obtained from outside Congress undermines the Framers' of the Constitutional belief that the purse and the sword must never be in the same hands. . . . Suffice it to say here that, under the view of North and Poindexter, a President whose appropriation requests were rejected by Congress could raise money from private sources or third countries for armies, military actions, arms systems, and even domestic programs. That is the path to dictatorship.

The report of the congressional committees investigating the Iran-contra affair, commenting on the ultimate danger of the NSC's illicit operations.

1988: The War Winds Down

No amount of monetary reparation can truly compensate for the devastation wrought upon Nicaragua by the unlawful conduct of the United States. No such reparation can revive the human lives lost, or repair the physical and psychological injuries suffered by a population that has endured an unrelenting campaign of armed attacks and economic strangulation over seven years. . . . Nicaragua has, nonetheless, quantified its losses as far as it is possible to do so.

From the Memorial on Compensation submitted by the Republic of Nicaragua to the World Court on March 29, asking for approximately \$12 billion in reparations from the United States.

1989: Reaping What Was Sown

On the basis of this evidence, it is clear that individuals who provided support for the Contras were involved in drug traf-

ficking, the supply network of the Contras was used by drug trafficking organizations, and elements of the Contras themselves knowingly received financial and material assistance from drug traffickers. In each case, one or another agency of the US. government had information regarding the involvement either while it was occurring, or immediately thereafter. The conclusion of a report issued by the Senate Subcommittee on Narcotics, Terrorism, and International Operations on April 13.

The charges in this case, you well know by now, are very serious ones. They go to the very heart of our self-government. . . . Government by deception is not a free government. . . . Government by deception is not a government under the rule of law.

The tragedy of Oliver North is that a man who says he cared so much about freedom and democracy in Nicaragua forgot about the demands of freedom and democracy here at home.

Special prosecutor John Keener, in his arguments in the North trial, April 18. Peter Kornbluh is a senior analyst at the National Security Archive, a research library where the declassified documents cited above are part of a collection on U.S.-Nicaraguan relations.

MOTHER JONES 27

:

A

Why we need them. How to get them.

THE MAN 15 RICH IN PROPORTION '10 THE NUMBER OF
things he can afford to let alone," wrote Henry Tho-
reau. He could have been describing modern Japan.

Nor country has placed some 9 percent of the world's
most expensive real estate in a national park system. In
contrast, the United States has set aside about 4 per-
cent of its land for the same purpose.

There was little time, in the early twentieth century,
when the United States was a pioneer and leader in
national parks. But if national parks are an indicator
of a nation's economic rise, they may also be symp-
toms of decline. Like the midwestern steel mills that

ALL

Environmental systems at risk, - (Landscape design is'cr! (above),
() region's' Si5kiyou Forest.

BY HAVILL RAIN WALLA

(6&0

. Photographs by Lang Ulrich, Phil??? M

Q-

:

..

japanese competition has now buried, the US. park system, once state-of-the-art, is a victim of capital investment that didn't keep up with the times. The losses mount: Condors no longer fly over Sequoia National Park as they did only a few years ago. Fewer than thirty eastern cougars survive in the Florida Everglades. The two hundred or so grizzly bears of Yellowstone are struggling to reproduce even that tiny number.

Part of the problem is the way in which we imagine a national park: not as a preserve designed to protect the entire ecosystem that supports condors or grizzlies, but as the setting aside of only the most spectacular elements of those ecosystems—the biggest and best waterfalls and peaks and geysers. As the less spectacular land outside the parks gets degraded, the wildlife inside the park inevitably suffers.

Costa Rica knows this. The small Central American country, which began its park system in 1970, has already placed 8 percent of its land in national parks—twice the US. commitment. In that period, the U.S. system grew hardly at all, outside of Alaska. And today, while this country's parks have more roads and visitor facilities, Costa Ricans have more ecological significance and integrity. Like Japanese steelmakers designing a postwar mill, the Costa Ricans used state-of-the-art science in making a park system. As a result, theirs includes the best examples of most of the country's ecosystems: Caribbean coral reefs and rain forests, cordilleran cloud forests and lakes, Pacific dry forests and mangrove swamps. One Costa Rican park, Guanacaste, protects a transect of the entire northwest corner of the country, from sea-turtle nesting beaches to the volcanic peaks of the continental divide. An equivalent US. park would stretch from the Olympic Peninsula to the Montana Rockies.

Needless to say, condors, eastern cougars, and grizzlies would have a better chance of survival if the United States had such parks. But scientists estimate that nearly half of the United States most important ecosystems are not protected in national parks. We have no parks for tallgrass prairie, Mississippi bottomland forest, Midwest mixed-mesophytic forest. Photographs by David Muench/111Srrla'h Harvey Payne (right) It's as though Brazil or Peru had left parks in Amazonia out of their systems. It represents a dusty, nineteenth-century concept of parks as beauty spots rather than storehouses for the biotic diversity that is rapidly declining worldwide.

What Japan and Costa Rica realize is that national parks are not about entertainment so much as savings. Although they cost money to maintain and (sometimes) acquire, national parks are a form of savings because the ecological goods in them—minerals, soil, air, water, plants, animals—are not consumed. (This is different from the lands of the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management, whose chief mandate is to make timber, forage, recreation, and other goods available to humans, not to protect biotic diversity.)

The long-term, national-park way of saving conflicts with the spendthrift mood that has gripped the United States since World War II. It is a mood that stands in the way of modernizing our park system, just as it prevents the modernization of our economy. Today, we have a huge national debt and one of the lowest income savings rates among developed nations. Today, commercial interests are determined to consume the goods on virtually all our potential parklands. Landowners refuse to sell land for parks, even at fair market

prices, because big subdivisions loom. On public land, mining, grazing, and logging interests rush to quash any park proposal. Such interests have always fought parks, but the existence of our one hundred or so major park units shows that those interests

AAA

Maines Mt. Katabclin left) could author a New England Yosemite. Commercial interests oppose parks in the Oklahoma prairie (below) and the Mojave Desert See pages 55 and 56.

0
THIS CATALOG

.....-

0

0

DITACII

FOR VALUABLE

SAVINGS

0

, as well as words that reflect the changes in the

'5 \$60 off the original price! Unlike other

GREAT BOOKS AND SO MUCH MORE

WE'RE OUT TO REDEFINE THE WORD SAVINGS!

, the Webster's is thumb-indexed for easy reference and features

easy-to-read type. It's the perfect reference for home or office.

just \$19.95 for the complete unabridged Webster's!

For less than the price of most abridged dictionaries, you can get the Webster's New

Universal Unabridged Dictionary. That

one, you're sure to find it here. You'll find words from science, technology and medicine

.

You'll discover words used centuries ago

320,000 words defined! Whether you're looking for a common word or an obscure

syntax and idiom of American speech.

Turn to the back of this volume and you'll find more

than a dictionary. There are 19 supplements with

More supplements than any other dictionary!

over 150 pages of specialized information.

IA

0t

a

lx

as

H

N

E) '8

A2 a

, .C ,1:

99.- 0! u .D

On", V5 :

Idea 0) a.

U1: o :x

eI-dz .C _

3-? N E

E , , G I:

ma " 9 '"

-Ilu r: .20

:0 0 .2 I-

l-u. T1 0

WW

used to be overruled by a sense of the public good, a sense of

thrift. Since 1980, however, only a single Timajorii park has

passed Congress. Great Basin National Park in Nevada is one-

tenth the size of Yosemite, and conservationists had to make

concessions to ranchers, miners, and hunters to get that much.

There is no lack of desire for new parks, or of worthy

candidates. The number of visits to national parks grew from

33 million in 1950 to 334 million in 1982. The National Parks

and Conservation Association, a Washington, D.C.-based

group, recommended last year that we add 46 new natural

sites to the system as soon as possible. Its list is a litany of

threatened wildlands-the Florida Keys, Louisiana's Atcha-

falaya Basin, Georgia's Lower Altamaha River, Alabama's

Mobile-Tensaw Bottomlands, Michigan's Two Hearted

River, Nebraska's Sandhills, Colorado's Purgatoire River,

Oregon's Hells Canyon, California's Smith River.

Photograph by Larry Ulrid;

,5 PRICE

THE PUBLISHER

Meanwhile, the National Park Service's annual land-ac-

quisition budget hovers between \$50 million and \$100 mil-

lion, enough for a dozen or so estates in Malibu or Beverly

Hills. An estimated \$2 billion worth of private land still exists within established parks, and could conceivably be used for anything from strip-mining to condos. At the going rate of approximately one hmajori, park per decade, we can expect to have an ecologically sound national park system around the year 2300_if the wildlands are still there.

The new secretary of the interior, Manuel Lujan, jr., is 21 former New Mexico congressman who seems to have been

Chosen to appease powerful western conservatives. iiNobody

would describe Lujan as an ideologue like james Wattf says

Sierra Club conservation director Doug Scott, halthoug

he had a terrible record on the House Interior Committee?

Sierra Club southwest represen- (Continued on page 55)

MOTHER JONI25 3 I

glantc. mu u unuer
 great movements have affetted the rest mfhixtutv.
 ' / - lk Vt Inpctht wrnk
 (MN the r
 funk p
 xnmt' tlme in
 epmm
 mm? ?zmmmmwsmn lH CWW M W
 H&HIA'S'QRYAND mtg: A
 _ AQALITERAATQRE &THE1:HEATERQ
 g RELIGION AND iiHrmsOPHY;
 .; reh
 ndu buLH p
 United States,
 aer. DUL bLlCl1UbLD Cbl11111'dLC L11al 1lCafly 112111 U1 L11C
 national parks.
 4 MWSUALARIS'otw
 " W'Tmtviifsidfl _ _ ,
 , , ' A A A AAAAAUMAWA Fhwdurt- H. Vhtrt-
 WESCIMEANCAEANPIECEEQQQYQ Huemlwlum-q
 ____ ijILYufEh t A
 WU ., _., A WVV, t_x A dlxtinuuiXthwnrk
 wrmuoammnvmma WNMPGW h A ' H
 :lan wmmnmnm wt xholarehlp.
 Originally published at \$29.95.
 Now only \$16.95
 (\$1,75)1088871
 Hmlngrtzplvs by David MuwtdtUUISIIM'k. Htlrl't')" Ptlync (7lgb!)
 Mississippi bottomland forest, Midwest mixed-
 HOLD THE WHOLE WORLD
 IN YOUR HANDS FOR \$19.95!
 The features of the New Universal Atlas has made it Rand
 McNallV's most popular atlas ever. Yet it's priced at an incredibly
 ltm' 5 19.05
 121 full color, full page maps! Turn the pagm ofthis atlas and
 mu'll find :1 full map fur each US state Yuu'll discm'er detailed
 maps of the world with shaded relieffor n 3D effect as well as up-
 twdntet wlitienl Information including pnpulatlom capitals,
 mtrnmem and more, Plus there's a wealth of world ger
 and information on the wurld's largest metropolie
 an amming 33%off the list price of\$45.00.
 '. L H ' . //
 Nwlv \$19.95 w AN
 most important ecosystems are not protected in
 We have no parks for tallgrass prairie,
 mesophytic
 New England Yosemite, (.
 / "7- ' 4
 Another Barnes & Noble
 ommercm
 and the Mojave Desert. See pages 55
 oppose parks in the Oklahoma prairie
 Maine's ML Kambdm (left), could anchor a
 I t
 (
 Interests
 below
 mucus tusu LU quabn any parK proposal.
 Such interests have always fought parks,
 but the existence of our one hundred or so
 major park units shows that those interests
 AAA
 2
 2.
 VI
 0t
 1?
 What :1 handy addition to your lihmry, kitchen, living
 mom nr (umpulcr st
 time. It m tsures 21 full H" wide hy 81/3" high, and
 stands 5" mil. A super strong 1/2" tongue and (

groove ledge holds books securely in place.
CAIJ -1.._...LA-A (n- CIA 0:

Shadysaukmgtwaiuvmihx%aua&"hut\$%295au%!

l l

:5 01 X532?

._ U

am388%9 e?ege

'DDbLUJQ.

251581-31": E?oia

QHL%. -g QQ&E.3.

3g "301:5 19"'T::9

.DWEc-ESG "5:50:15

wwamMaw ;. 39:0

2.5041080 0Xv'omL

ceeUCDH -USCBM

75155337141: svoUNTag

:ant-JQB'UED gigasie

ewsgggo -:\$eUc

gcoleamg QbugDEE

T ,l . eixo

%6%855gg gmeego

3,3ng -000 0.881139

u: Ww'OhE o 1....

m OL-NU 550129

1",1014 C U34: .9 .-

n... tr, :11 mg:

443%- oEmm hu'UEuw

iuvbewm'a owcp:

. H .3

#Lgsoam: H-Iwmomw

31:122me31 uggpcg

535-5ng owgm_

gmracyom refuge

ogrfocjfpumfxgm:

CQOQE'Um52 mmmmsd

754M141 V.

used to be overruled by a sense of the public good, a sense of thrift. Since 1980, however, only a single 11major11 park has passed Congress. Great Basin National Park in Nevada is one-tenth the size of Yosemite, and conservationists had to make concessions to ranchers, miners, and hunters to get that much. There is no lack of desire for new parks, or of worthy candidates. The number of Visits to national parks grew from 33 million in 1950 to 334 million in 1982. The National Parks and Conservation Association, a Washington, D.C.-based group, recommended last year that we add 46 new natural sites to the system as soon as possible. Its list is a litany of threatened wildlands_the Florida Keys, Louisianak Atchafalaya Basin, Georgiak Lower Altamaha River, Alabamals Mobile-Tensaw Bottomlands, Michiganls Two Hearted River, Nebraskais Sandhills, Coloradols Purgatoire River, Oregonis Hells Canyon, Californials Smith River.

Photograph by Larry Ulrirb

Booksellers Since 1873

BL_-

Norrie

m

arnes 8: N01

Address

C I ly

HEM NuMBer 1 NAME OF HEM

Slate le

Shlp'ln' l Imam.

Please zdd shi ing

and' Insuvance c urges

per mam as shown

&Lman_anmeses(l

owing item price

11

:i T T f

1

l

Meanwhile, the National Park Servicels annual land-ac-

quisition budget hovers between \$50 million and \$100 million, enough for a dozen or so estates in Malibu or Beverly Hills. An estimated \$2 billion worth of private land still exists within established parks, and could conceivably be used for anything from strip-mining to condos. At the going rate of approximately one 11maior3, park per decade, we can expect to have an ecologically sound national park system around the year 2300-if the wildlands are still there.

The new secretary of the interior, Manuel Lujan, jn, is a former New Mexico congressman who seems to have been chosen to appease powerful western conservatives. 11Nobody would describe Lujan as an ideologue like James Watt says Sierra Club conservation director Doug Scott, although he had a terrible record on the House Interior Committee? Sierra Club southwest represen- (Confirmed on page 55)

MOTHER jONLES 31

W

1

f

1

'''

191.11

H

An n-Iu cu

lo: hllurlu lo

C1.MA,MN,NJ NVAIA.1

Didnhw\$

\$15 MINIMUM ON CREDH CARD ORDERS "mm 1

6 0 Check Mos'erCord omnovu

m VISA American Express i

CredlCord Expire!

1 / Number 9, 0::

_. SignatureE-

8

a5 a H ORDER TOLT'

g ... IN NEBRASKA,CALL1-800-

13 E 1-800-692 21

a) 9 .2 '

79 c .

11:17, 9 CALL ANYTIME, DAY on N

G, _.

m) (v o "f.

i w?) d ,5 Barnes&Noble Uncondmc

c 5 3. N L:

age wee (3LJA1R1AIV'TI

O A)- g :5 You mus! be compleiely sonsfled with e

.-' 04' 00' Z- a Hem you order from Barnes 8. Noble byl

& or you may return 1110 us, for a full refl

MW...

3!!! 1101
 IIOIO
 00LZ'Z69'008'1
 E 2
 (EL 19 qaea sgmg Aluo
 japanese competition has now buried,
 E
 "I
 once stute-of-the-art, is a victim of e: 3?x 3 :3
 didxft keep up with the times. The lossx DD 2 32
 longer lly over Sequoia National Park l __ O Si"
 years ago. Fewer than thirty eastern c m/ S :3
 Florida Everglades. The two hundred o
 Yellowstone are struggling to reprt
 number.
 Part of the problem is the way in
 national park: not as n preserve desigm
 ecosystem that supports eondors or griz
 aside of only the most spectacular el
 systems-the biggest and best watm
 AVG 10 IHDIN
 BWILANV 11')
 :anmm H mm :avnanm Malina! V)IVIDs
 geysers. As the less spectacular land (g; :2
 degraded, the wildlife inside the park in __. _ 71:, __i 2' g 2;
 Costa Rica knows this. The small Cc 3 i773: '9 E. E Z7 I g
 try, Wthh began lts park system ln 197(g4_% g 4 g. F: g
 .. , . _ , 70 n :1 :3 :2
 percent of Itsland In natlonal parks t H 73 T Q 1 C 73 -x
 4 J J J 4w J J J J z: "e; 3 r; n '_
 ment. In that perlod, the U.S. system g 3532;; 2:372:23 :32 :3 9:121 ,3 :4 :41 :44 :14 ,1
 3 S j r 1 21
 . . . 4 v4 7AAX, 0393;; 1::#; CIP'ernM' awe
 snde of Alaska. And today, whlle thls 3522:5932-5332:133 wiry 3, 7,5 x g g g c :3 5-? 9T;
 :7?
 -- lr'JV'THVTth'TthTT ,1 J;- 7 ... v:5,3.4 :("3
 more roads and v151tor fac1lltles Costa : 7. g2 Ea "' s 6 r: 2 "3 C "v H
 . 3 .3 e 7 . VWFHFIICGTTUU m9;; 25:22:"872?
 loglcal agmhance and mtegrlty. lee a g "3 :95 77;; g g 2 E a 3 5. 7. 7. r) 37 (347% "- .
 g. :2 3 r1
 52:5 :L-tnggzj 313-7 :.f; 32".:Cw
 dCSIgnmga postwar mlll, the Costa Ru "5 a 5 7g 7-7;. 7,7, 9 g 3 g 3 f E 7, 32; 2 (3g 3 2
 .3
 . . . g. 4 : 7.7 _ ,4 : ' _ . 1 7 c w: 09
 art science ln makmg a park system. a a "v 3 es 2 35 S 5 7, g 3 5: C 7: E
 g i :- 6- 7 - e JG 2 n :12:
 eludes the best examples of most of the 5 9 :-1. f E E: _ E. 8 rig
 Caribb n al f d infoest: , ##HH#H_# agcg 337' 5.35552?)
 63 COY Wesan m r 5, \$:::;::NNNFJN%NN 593135; #(_ . 32:3"
 estsandlakes Pac1ficdryforestsandmlgn:r:;::;:r:;srswaaa g :7; f_ 33\$: E ?; ,E 3%
 1 : raimisanEz-Cva'uzwzi 39-27: :47: 7475:27
 Costa Rlcan park, Guanacaste, protect 77.3339 :9;5f:;? 9719 2 z; 5- :1 :7 :3 a: E. : :37
 2 cg 5.
 ' m 7 :- 7: 3 L: 73 A : e v _ . 7 H
 tlrenorthwestcomeroftheC0untry,f ?gE(.jjdz/AJAW?:DTJ;Z 3:30; 3;; ??EEEESE:
 - :# 7'7#"#: ' 43-: .1 474 feet?
 beaches to the volcamc peaks of the c r07 LC? 97:) 3;; . 3 7. : 2 d. 3 1: 2 r 2 H E, I 3
 ,0.
 . 27:97- 5 3%? :; 5:25: 73c c3233:
 equvalent U.S. park would stretch fr01 . , , :a g :7 '1: T g g E ,5 : 55 n g f 5 v: c: _ , .
 Q
 1 h M R k' 2 c: 3 z; "5 237.4 370 5752:?
 suatote ontana ocles. 3 a comm H 33 _ .7,
 ' :. 7 L7. 3 5.31 C CW1 3 C;
 Needless to say, condors, eastern c a g :- x ,9 g ;;
 would have a better chance of sutvivz
 had such parks. But scientists estimate LudL ucauy 11411 UL L11C 111LC1CbLb tum LU quasn
 any pain proposal.
 United States, most important ecosystems are not protected in Such interests have always
 fought parks,
 national parks. We have no parks for tallgrass prairie, but the existence ofour one hunder

ed or so

Mississippi bottomland forest, Midwest mixed-mesophytic major park units shows that those interests

AAA

Maine's Mt. Kataljadin (left) could tmclJor a

New England Yosemite Commercial interests

oppose parks in the Oklahoma prairie (below)

and the Mojave Desert. See pages 55 and 56,

Photogm/ms by thmd Mm'm'lltAllsnmk. Ilarz'ty llzym' (rzg/Jr)

44122;:

used to be overruled by a sense of the public good, a sense of thrift. Since 1980, however, only a single major park has passed Congress. Great Basin National Park in Nevada is one-tenth the size of Yosemite, and conservationists had to make concessions to ranchers, miners, and hunters to get that much. There is no lack of desire for new parks, or of worthy candidates. The number of visits to national parks grew from 33 million in 1950 to 334 million in 1982. The National Parks and Conservation Association, a Washington, D.C.-based group, recommended last year that we add 46 new natural sites to the system as soon as possible. Its list is a litany of threatened wildlands: the Florida Keys, Louisiana's Atchafalaya Basin, Georgia's Lower Altamaha River, Alabama's Mobile-Tensaw Bottomlands, Michigan's Two Hearted River, Nebraska's Sandhills, Colorado's Purgatoire River, Oregon's Hells Canyon, California's Smith River.

Photograph by Larry Ulritz

Meanwhile, the National Park Service's annual land-acquisition budget hovers between \$50 million and \$100 million, enough for a dozen or so estates in Malibu or Beverly Hills. An estimated \$2 billion worth of private land still exists within established parks, and could conceivably be used for anything from strip-mining to condos. At the going rate of approximately one major park per decade, we can expect to have an ecologically sound national park system around the year 2300 if the wildlands are still there.

The new secretary of the interior, Manuel Lujan, Jr., is a former New Mexico congressman who seems to have been chosen to appease powerful western conservatives. Nobody would describe Lujan as an ideologue like James Watt, says Sierra Club conservation director Doug Scott, although he had a terrible record on the House Interior Committee? Sierra Club southwest representative. (Continued on page 55)

MOTHLR jON1-ZS 3 I

By David L. Kirp

vvvv

From the moment he arrived in the slow-motion southern town of Fletchei's Crossing in March of 1985, fifteen-year-old Marcus Robinson was a curiosity and a threat. If you had asked him back then whether he was gay, Marcus would have said no. But his gaudy appearance gave him away, the manicured fingernails gleaming red, the He mved m dangling earring, the fluttery walk, a search of a home. dance on spidersl legs performed by this very black and painfully thin He teSted HIV adolescent. positive. His Marcus Robinson was soon to sex life had become something else: a troubled, runaway child made a ward of the suddenly become state. And then, a ward of the state the responsibility who, it would be learned, carried the virus that causes AIDS. Public offi-

,
cials would find themselves facing a southern town 8
of a small
truly novel problem, for this is the bureaucrats.
first time any community in the
country is known to have taken responsibility for a
teenager exposed to AIDS through gay sex. School,
family, and sex-above all, Marcusls sex lifeswould
become the governmentk business.
Illustration by Anthony Russo

m I '22

THERE is NO TOWN ON THE MAP NAMED FLETCHERS CROSS-
ing, although the place is very real. And lTMarcus Robinson?
like all the other characters who inhabit this story, actually
goes by another name. That camouflaging is necessary be-
cause vital details are drawn from the usually sealed records of
the juvenile court, which insisted on the pseudonyms; and
even now this teenagers life would be wrecked if his identity
became public. (Any similarity of the names to real persons or
places is purely coincidental.)

Among teenagers AIDS is an epidemic. By some knowl-
edgeable estimates, on the streets of New York City 10 to 30
percent of adolescent runaways may be HIV-positive. And
while the number of AIDS cases among youngsters thirteen to
nineteen remains relatively low-350 as of February 1989-
that number significantly understates the magnitude of the
problem. The long incubation period of the virus, estimated at
up to ten years, means that most of the twenty- to twenty-
nine-year-olds with AIDS-21 percent of all AIDS cases-
actually contracted the disease during adolescence.

TO the newly re-puritanized United States, adolescence
spells the unchecked id; and black adolescence translates into
threat as well. Gay teenagers look especially menacing, im-
moralists with sex and not social responsibility uppermost in
their minds. A boy like Marcus Robinson, black and gay, a
teenager with a history of anonymous and unsafe sex with
older men, becomes the magnet for all these emotions.

MARCUS ROBINSON IS ONE SMART BOY; HIS IQ ONLY
confirms what everyone agrees on. As long as anyone can
remember, he had also been different from the other kids on
the block, a boy raised by a woman who really wanted a
daughter, and who taught him knitting, crocheting, and cook-
ing. When he was growing up in Philadelphia, most of his
friends were girls. But when he hit puberty, Marcus dis-
covered boys.

TLI got beatings for staying out? says Marcus, yet that
didn't keep him home, for umom had no control over me? As
an impressionable ten-year-old, he discovered that the wom-
an he called Tlmomii wasn't his mother_his real mother had
actually died from a drug overdose and limomll was in fact his
aunt. iTYou ain't my mother? he announced. llyou can't tell
me what to do?

The first time he had sex with another boy, Marcus was
twelve years old. lll was shocked then. I went on like nothing
had ever happened. . . . My mom had told me that homosex-
uals are bad people, and so I thought this means ilm bad? But
soon enough there was lots of sex, usually with older men he
would pick up at the neighborhood park. lllld stay out all
night, start walking around, get into something with some-
one, come home. I never thought much about it?

When Marcus was thirteen, his aunt petitioned the court to
have him declared an uncontrollable child. TTWe sat together
in court, my mom and I, the judge reading the case. My mom
started crying; I did too. I was hurting. lWe're going to have to
take him away from you; the judge told mom. After the
hearing was over I was in a room alone, waiting for them to
take me, when I saw the Open door and ran home.n Two years
and much heartache later, there was no reprieve. Marcus was
on his way south, sent to live with his elderly aunt and uncle.
Perhaps spending some time with Aunt Bess, known in the

34 JULY/AUGUST 1989

family as the praying aunt, would straighten him out.
In Philadelphia, Marcus Robinson was used to the freedom
of the streets. What he found in Fletchers Crossing was a
tradition-minded, God-fearing family. lTWe disagreed about
everythingf says Marcus. He was desperate to return home,
and when his aunt in Philadelphia wouldn't give him bus fare,
he took off. In June 1985, Marcus appeared in Fletchers
Crossing juvenile court as a runaway.

The judge tried to send him north, only to be informed that
the woman who had raised him wasn't even his legal guard-

ian. When Marcus learned he wasn't returning to Philadelphia, he tried to kill himself with an overdose of sleeping pills. Three months later he was back in court, again as a runaway. This time he was locked up for three days in the holding tank for juveniles.

From that moment until he was finally sprung from Fletchers Crossing 21 year and a half later, Marcus was tinged by grown-ups who pried into his life and made conflicting plans for his future. He took to petty crime during the succeeding months and landed in a halfway house for juveniles, where he wrote a suicide note specifying to the minute-8z39 P.M._-the time of his intended death.

Marcus's screams for attention kept escalating. What he got, by order of an anxious juvenile-court judge, was a month in a nearby private psychiatric hospital. Inside the institution, Marcus quickly worked his way out of the locked facility, earning the privileges-the Chance to smoke, to take meals in the cafeteria and not in the ward-that come with following the rules. Still, he refused to open up. Even though Marcus continued to deny ever having had any sexual relations, homosexual or heterosexual, the hospital psychiatrist decided to check him for AIDS just in case there has been some homosexual experience? The test results showed that he carried the HIV antibody. Instantly, he became a pariah.

ON MARCH 2.7, 1986, WITH NO OTHER PLACEMENT AVAILABLE in the entire county, Marcus Robinson was dumped into a boardinghouse filled with derelict adults, which agreed to take him only because another resident had AIDS. The man who ran the place kept hitting on me Marcus remembers. Three months later, clinically depressed, he was sent to the county hospital psychiatric ward.

While there, Marcus repeated professions of Chastity to his social worker, an ex-marine and tough-love advocate named Jim Parsons, a man fascinated by black history and made visibly uneasy by homosexuality. Yet to his psychiatrist Marcus admitted he had continued to have sex for several months after his diagnosis, including one-nighters with two local teenagers.

After being released from the county hospital in July, Marcus was placed in the home of Grace Lamont-his last, best hope in Fletchers Crossing, for no one else in town would have him. For over three decades, Lamont-a brassy and durable black woman, uneducated and God-fearing, called llmamali by the dozens of children who have lived with her-has taken in the hardest cases: a six-year-old who is blind, retarded, and wheelchair-bound; an eighteen-year-old who is just :1 judges whim away from prison. She has made their reclamation her project.

TlYou better behave or you'llte out on the streetsf Lamont constantly told Marcus, and that summer and fall she tried to

llstraighten him out?

66 ,
liThat boy can type anything? says Ills
Grace Lamont. IlHes good at making up
poems, stories. He can crochet and knit too.
could plausibly be called home (contacting
nearly two hundred different organizations
in her search), andjudge Smithersl commit-
ment to the best interests of his young
He has the smarts? Eventually, though, La- boy has to be charge, that ultimately made a f
ar happier
mont was scandalized by MarcusIs effemi- l k d n second act possible for Marcus Robinson.
nate ways. lil cut his hair when it started OC 9 up, argued
getting girlish. He began hanging around
the kitchen, but I told him, There ainit n0
Marcus's social
4:21le

THE LIVES OF BUREAUCRATS ARE FILLED

\$353233? to do worker-"Or why :23;eraisatioutietgthBettie?

One day in October, rifling through Mar- not Put him plish wonders_or at least set wonder
s in

cusis desk, Grace Lamont came upon the
scribbled draft of a love letter addressed to
another boy in Fletchers Crossing. It is as
sweetly evocative and, in the context, as
suggestive of impending tragedy as any-
thing a modern Romeo would write. ((50 I
saw you down on Main Street. I called a
friend and told him how you looked-hou/
cute you are to me, wearing white pants
with a gray twoetone shirt. . . . My heart
almost stopped when you waved and said

hi. I want you and I love you.n That note was never sent, but
an outraged Grace Lamont delivered it to Parsons, who began
to have nightmares about Marcus spreading AIDS among the
teenagers of his town.

There was full-scale panic that same month when Marcus
came home one afternoon with his undershorts all bloody. He
had had surgery for rectal abscesses a few weeks earlier, and
bleeding is common after that operation. But neither that fact,
nor the unbearable pain that would accompany sex so soon
after surgery, allayed Grace Lamontis suspicions. She toldjim
Parsons that she wanted the boy out.

In fact, during the months he spent with Lamont, Marcus
began to grow up emotionally. His psychiatrist was persuaded
that he had finally stopped denying both his homosexuality
and the implications of AIDS for his life. But social worker
Parsons was unconvinced.

iiTHIS BOY HAS TO BE LOCKED UP SOMEPLACEf, PARSONS
told Judge Robert Smithers in November 1986. The county,s
mental-health director said the same thing: ilMarcus Robin-
son currently demonstrates a lack of appropriate social judg-
ment and irresponsible sexual behavior. His presence
in the community represents an immediate danger to other
juveniles?

Judge Smithers wasn,t about to be stampeded. He was the
judge who had sent Marcus to his first psychiatric evaluation.
While new options were being floated now-training school,
the listructured therapeutic environmenth of a state mental
hospital, jail_none of them seemed right. In the middle of the
interminable court proceedings, Jim Parsons popped up with
a solution Swiftian in its simplicity: IIWhy donlt we put him
on a bus and ship him where he came from? To that pro-
posal, Joan Browning, the longtime head of the states Family
Services Unit, delivered a blunt answer: sVI/e do not put chil-
dren on buses?

III am not subject to pressures to do anything that I donit
think ought to be done? says Browning. thats my job? It
was Joan Browningsl insistence on searching out a place that
on a bus and
ship him Where

he came from?"

VVV

motion. That is what happened in the case of Marcus Robinson. The cumbersome social-services machinery, prodded by the juvenile court, launched a new life.

But by February 1987, four months after the latest round of court hearings had begun, those wonders weren't visible to Marcus. His hopes had been raised, then carelessly smashed, and he had just about given up.

A month earlier had come the good part.

Marcus had spent a wondrous weekend in Lorraine, a city several hundred miles from Fletchers Crossing. He stayed in the cheerful, family-photo-filled home of Carole Walker, a preschool teacher in her late forties who was his prospective foster mother, and her grown daughter. He met Walker's son and daughter-in-law. He was introduced to neighbors, went shopping at the flea market, and even willingly attended church.

From the start, Marcus and Carole Walker hit it off. She had endless questions to ask, not to judge but to understand. She wasn't nervous about taking in a boy with AIDS, Walker told Terri Breen, the social worker at Caring for Kids, the university-affiliated organization that was going to manage the case; she had already read up on how the disease was—and was not—transmitted. Marcus's past behavior was another matter: If he is going to stay with me he will have to be part of the family and follow the rules?

Will I win the challenge? Carole Walker says. I'll know I could win? After the weekend, Walker told her family what she was going to do. "I-I have what? my son said, more amazed than asking a question. Then he walked around and walked around some more. Finally he shook his head and said, 'Mom, you must know what you're doing.' I

The minute he got back to Fletchers Crossing, Marcus wrote the Walkers a letter: "I can't wait to come back? But then, for many weeks, nothing happened. The Caring for Kids board of directors balked at first: some of the board members feared bad publicity and lawsuits, others quoted Scripture to express their antipathy to Marcus's gayness. One of the members quit when his colleagues made their decision: accepting the hardest cases was the organization's real mission. Then Lorraine's high-school officials waffled on accepting Marcus, and that stalled Judge Smithers's decision.

On February 26, 1987, with temperatures dipping into the twenties, Marcus got dressed in short-shorts, a tank top, and plastic flip-flops, and went parading in the neighborhood. An hour later, he came back to Grace Lamontis and collapsed.

That night, he was admitted to the county hospital, diagnosed
MOTHER JONES 35

as having AIDS Related Complex (ARC).

Marcus Robinson's desperation walk changed the equation. With his pediatrician unwilling to release the boy from the hospital until a better home could be found for him than the Lamonts', judge Smithers approved the move to Lorraine, even without a firm commitment from the school administrators there. Jim Parsons, wondering aloud how to get reimbursed for the gas, drove Marcus to his new home.

THE FIRST TIME I MET MARCUS SAYS

Terri Breen, the social worker at Caring for Kids, had reminded me of a pup that had been beaten too much. He was super-thin.

He spoke in a whisper—you had to put your ear right alongside his mouth to hear him. He answered questions in mm-hmms and un-unhs. As I watched him with Car-

ole, he started opening up, getting back his confidence. Now you can't stop him from talking. The more Marcus told her, the

more Carole said 'I still like you, that's okay; the more the real Marcus came out, teasing and cracking jokes, sitting up straight and stating his opinions?

That first Saturday morning Marcus told me when I talked with him for the first time, in the fall of 1987, I began laughing: 'You're all so crazy, so silly.' During that summer, the Walkers took a trip to Florida. We saw everything, Saint Augustine and Disney World and Jacksonville. The only time

I got bored is when I had to go to bed. And the one time I got upset is when I lost my best shoes at Jacksonville Beach? The

family went fishing, too. Marcus didn't know how to bait a

hook? Carole Walker says, 'But he caught a fish? Back home, every night the two of them would walk three miles

around the track at the nearby high school.

Carole Walker urged Marcus to tone down his act so that he could fit in better, and he acquiesced; the nail polish and the earring became history. The two would talk for hours on end,

thoroughly sifting events and feelings, pleasures relived and pains explored. When Walker cut herself with a kitchen knife,

she reminded Marcus that an open wound is the one thing

we have to be careful with. 'I'll know?' he replied. 'I'll be real careful. I wouldn't want what I have to happen to anyone,

especially to you?

Even sex, the most delicate issue for Marcus to manage in his day-to-day life, was on the table. He hadn't had sex since

the summer of 1986, Marcus says, and it's all but impossible that he is lying. Even if he wanted to, he couldn't conceal the

briefest encounter from Walker, so intense was their relationship. 'It's not so hard anymore, not to have sex? Marcus

says, 'But I still think a lot about it. I told Carole about this boy, what he looks like. I could talk to him, but he's going to

want to do more than talk and then I have to make up lies.'

'We talked about safe sex?' says Walker, 'about condoms, but he said there's no way. Kids here didn't think AIDS had

anything to do with them?

In Lorraine, the Marcus Robinson who emerged was someone who wanted to give back, he says something of value. When a man named Frank, who had been

36 JULY/AUGUST 'I' 1989

Bein

9

normal became

Marcus's constant

preoccupation,

and this meant

"passing": not as

white, but as

healthy, and

heterosexual .

vvv

friended him in the AIDS support group he went to, was hospitalized with pneumocystis pneumonia, Marcus Visited him every day. ffOther people may be scared of AIDS, but llm not. llve got the disease. I can bring something to people who are all alone and dying, even if its just reading a book out loud? Safe in this place, safe too from the pull of his past, Marcus Robinson was, in a sense, reborn.

IT WAS EARLY IN JULY 1987_Hls THIRD

day on the job, Lorraine school superintendent Sam Hannon recalls_when his deputy brought the news that a student with ARC was planning to enroll at Lorraine High. Hannon had been through some tough encounters during his career, but AIDS was in another league entirely. So far as Harmon knew, no child with AIDS had enrolled in any public school in the state.

The deputy superintendent argued for keeping Marcus Robinson out. He recalled the Eghts over integration a few years earlier, when white parents had pulled their youngsters out of Lorraine High-for a while the school was dubbed Congo High_and he feared a repetition. flThis will cause all our children to withdraw? he said.

The possibility of panicky parents didnlt entirely sway Hannon. A professional who prides himself on being guided by his head, he was reassured when local medical experts confirmed his understanding that AIDS was not easily spread. Moreover, he knew that Marcus was legally entitled to be in school. Yet what the superintendent had learned about the would-be studentls personal history was deeply worrying. Judging from the record, Marcus Robinson was a sexually active gay teenager entirely capable of spreading a deadly disease to unknowing classmates.

llAs long as the boy behaves responsibly and wants a new lease on life, llm not going to stand in his wayf Hannon informed social worker Terri Breen. \$th with the first evidence that be isnlt acting up to standards, out he goes?

The Lorraine High principal spelled out to Marcus exactly what these expectations were. Not only was unsafe sex forbidden, anything that might look like sex, safe or unsafe-anything that might even lead to sex_was unacceptable.

There was to be no flirting with boys, no dating. Indeed, it would be best not to hang around with the gay crowd. The principal was sure he could keep tabs on Marcus's not-so-private life outside as well as inside the school. The clean of boys at Lorraine High, the disciplinarian whose door carries a sign reading THE OFFICE OF THE AFFAIRS OF MALE

STUDENTS, also organized the towns rec program, and that gave him instant access to the adolescent grapevine.

thoulve got to be superhuman? Carole Walker told Mare eus when she heard how he was expected to comport himself.

As THE sCHOOi. YEAR BEGAN, THINGS SEEMED TO BE GOING according to Hannonls best-case scenario. In Closed session, the superintendent had quickly gotten the school board to endorse his decision, and he had launched a series of talks on

AIDS for students, teachers, and parents. Hannon was sitting in his office at the end of the second day of classes, his feet propped up on the desk, feeling tolerably pleased. Then, with one phone call, all the orderly arrangements collapsed. IIWe have an unsigned letter that a student with AIDS is in your school? said the editor of the Lorraine Gazette; apparently one of Marcus's teachers, though pledged to secrecy, had gone to the press. IIDo you care to comment? ITll give your reporter all the factsf the superintendent promised, even as he feared what might come. Just one week earlier in Arcadia, Florida, the enrollment of three young brothers, hemophiliacs with the AIDS virus, led to a massive student boycott and, ultimately, to the torching of the family,s home. That act drove them away, even as it made Arcadia the national symbol for know-nothingism. Would Lorraine be another Arcadia?

What actually transpired in Lorraine, though, was better than anyone could have dared hope for. The Gazette's page-one story about an unnamed high-school student with ARC did not try to track down the student. Instead, it stressed the scientific evidence that the virus could not be casually spread. Moreover, a panel of experts, the Gazette pointed out, had found no reason to bar the teenager.

That evening, Superintendent I-Iannon went on TV to deliver a message of reassurance. He was joined by the county's health-department director and its AIDS specialist, whose own Children attended Lorraine High. The story topped the news and ignited no protest. School attendance figures remained normal.

IINO one seems bothered? one sophomore told a TV reporter. III don't feel like I'm in danger. I'm just not going to get around people's blood? By week's end, the Gazette could publish an editorial patting everyone in Lorraine on the back: school officials for their I'sensible approach? parents for not IIOverreactingji and the community for its Iicompassion?

THE MORNING AFTER THE GAZETTE'S STORY RAN, MARCUS

Robinson was in school-scared, he says, that I'hundreds of parents might find out who I was and come after me? He was walking down a corridor, at that moment the only student in the hall, when a bevy of reporters appeared. Quickly, he slipped behind a door.

Other students would point at him during those first days and whisper, ITll bet that's the one. Hetll be dead soon? And some students warned the county health worker who had delivered the AIDS lectures that IIif anyone finds out who the person is, they'll kill him?

Yet the whispering soon oiled down. IIPeople usually like mef says Marcus. From his first semester at Lorraine High, Marcus Robinson was an honors student. One teacher who had once dismissed him as a I'sissy little kidll changed her mind. sIThe day of that news story, with the TV all around, it must have taken a mountain of courage to walk through those doors and act normal. I-IeIs the bravest person I know?

There was a sadness beneath the surface, Marcus's teachers recall. Being normal became his constant preoccupation, and this meant IIPassingh: not as white, but as healthy, and heterosexual. The smallest incidents-not drinking from the water fountain, turning down a bite of a classmate's candy bar (or not being able to offer a bite of his candy bar)-came laden with significance. Though Marcus knew AIDS wasn't transmitted this way, he shied from even the remotest possibility of danger. Besides, people's understanding, while broadened, was still not broad enough, and Marcus feared a backlash if classmates learned that he had the virus. ITm glad people don't know. This way, they treat you as a normal person? In Lorraine, for the very first time, Marcus Robinson allowed himself to have ambitions. III want to be in the year-book ten timesf he said in the flush of his success. III want to make an impression on the world before I die?

x III '25:

MARCUS ROBINSON TURNED EIGHTEEN ON MARCH 4, 1988.

Now he was legally an adult, eligible for disability benefits because of his health. No longer would he be under the custody of the social-services officials, no longer would he be misplaced in a succession of homes. Now his whole life was filled with choices.

Only in geometry or Fiction do lines run straight. The paths of real lives are constantly turning back on themselves, coming upon emotional daylight and then slipping away again. In June, at the very end of his junior year, Marcus was halfway through his final exam in English when, without a word of explanation, he bolted from the classroom. Teachers and friends telephoned to find out what was wrong. Why would a gifted student do such a crazy thing?

Marcus felt held back by people down at school, held back everyone in Lorraine down. When he broke my leg he told them, just for something to say.

Marcus Robinson never returned to Lorraine High. In a matter of days he had left town. He was headed not for his first home, Philadelphia, for there, he thought, everyone would tell him how thin he'd gotten, everyone would guess he had AIDS. Instead he went back to Fletchers Crossing. Although just fifteen months earlier Marcus couldn't bear the place, he had convinced himself that his life could be better there than it used to be. At least I have friends there?

How did I feel like I needed more freedom? said Marcus when I talked to him again in March of this year, I needed to be part of the gay life, to make up my own rules? His teachers at school were watching him too closely, he felt, and Carole Walker was holding the reins too tight. Though people in Lorraine offered him love, it was love that came with a high price tag. He was expected to be celibate, and even more, to deny his own sexuality. He was supposed to act middle-class, white, straight, southern, normal.

How can't be the person you'd like me to be? Marcus told Walker. How can no longer live under your roof, because I don't have my freedom?

If you leave? she answered, that's it. You can't turn around and come back? By then, however, Marcus felt he'd pushed things too far. He needed to find out who he really was, and with some urgency, because he was already exhibiting AIDS-related symptoms.

On his last day in Lorraine, social worker Terri Breen came to see him. What will you do in Fletchers Crossing? she asked him. Maybe I'll just lay down and die? he replied, shoving the hard words in her face, and Breen drove off, angry. Half an hour later, she came back and handed Marcus a single rose. Breen is sad about what happened. She also sees the events through the distancing lens of a social worker. When an adolescent's self-image is damaged enough, he feels he doesn't

MOTHER JONES 37

Summit Lapel Pins worn by Reagan
and Gorbachev at Summit (See June
13th cover of Time Magazine). Full
flag color, brass. 1/3 illustrated size.
\$2. Postpaid. 6 for \$10.00. 50 for \$75.
THINKPEACE 2131 Union Street.
Suite 3, Dept. 458, San Francisco,
CA 94123 (415) 885-6404
We ship within 24 hours.

(BUDDHIST
1 SUPPLIES
RI IAN fl WIIIOII SAII:
Statues - Cushions 0 Baiting
BeILsGCongs-Rosariu s .
1 Incense 0 Scrolls 0 Izwdry AW , 4 . . _ . ""
Altar SHWIIIG 0 Pastas
1 Books (1 Tapes
For iully illustrated and annotated
41-pnge CATALOG. send 31.0010:
SHASIA ABBEY BUDDHIST SUPPLIES
M. J, PO. Box 199
(916) 926423
WHEN IT COMES TO
CIVIL LIBERTIES ON THE JOB,
WORKERS DON' T HAVE MANY.
LIBERTY AT WORK
EXPANDING THE RIGHTS OF
EMPLOYEES IN AMERICA
An ACLU Public Policy Report
Essays on the threat to workers' rights posed by
new technologies, concerns About drug abuse
and AIDS, and various employment polities.
shipping and handling, to lean (inwr, .M It,
132 West 43rd Street, New York, N.Y. 100%
I Name I
I Address
American Civil Liberties Union
I_ _____ _I
38 JULY/AUGUST 1989
deserve success. As soon as things start
going well, heill sabotage his life." At those
moments, there isnit much that even the
ablest child-minder can do.

WHAT MARCUS RECALLS ABOUT His LEAVE-
taking is that he wept on the bus all the way
from Lorraine to Fletchers Crossing. Once
there, life didnt match his fantasies, and two
weeks later, he phoned Terri Breen, asking
whether he could return to Carole Walkeris
home. "Carole was away that weekend,"
Marcus remembers, "so I wouldnt hear of-
hcially itil Monday, but I kept dancing and
saying, Tm going home? ii Walker, howev-
er, was true to her conviction that actions
have consequences-even for adolescents.
"I still love you," she said, "and I care for
you, but you cant come back?
"I hung up the phone," says Marcus,
"and I ran out and I was crying, crying; I
never thought she would say no.2
Marcus and Walker talk on the telephone
every week, reminding one another that the
good feelings are still there; that conversa-
tion is the emotional centerpiece of Marcuss
week. The rest of the time, he mostly hangs
around his apartment, watches TV, and
talks to his girlfriends. The telephone, with
two extensions, calleforwatding, and call-
waiting, is his lifeline.
No longer does Marcus talk about want-
ing to make an impression on the world.

"Now its a matter of day-to-day. Maybe this story will make me famous," he says, forgetting that no one will know that the story is about him. Sex is still only a memory and a dream. "Theres no way in the world I would mess up anybodyis life," he tells Walker. "When I even think about sex, the first thing that comes into my head is what youid think?"

Last Halloween, Marcus went to a party in drag, wearing thtee-inch heels, a sequined blouse, and a size-four black leather mini-skirt. It was his first time, and he was a smash. Now, perfectly made up and able to pass for a girl, Marcus sometimes goes to a straight bar with one of his girlfriends. The paraphernalia of drag offers Marcus a new mask, and a new way to acknowledge that he is, in fact, a sexual being. But drag, like AIDS, also creates a link between sex and the possibility of death. ultis fine in the bar," Marcus says, wtil some guy starts talking to me and I open my mouth. Once this dude came after me, calling me faggot; and I had to run for my life."

ON THE FIRST DAY OF SCHOOL IN SEP-tember 198 8, Marcus Robinson returned to Fletchers Crossing High. But in the halls, he thought students were pointing at him, whispering that he had AIDS. Not wanting word to spread, he quit for good. Now he talks about going for his high-school equiv-alency degree, about enrolling in communi-ty college. So far, though, its only talk-like the promises to get back on AZT, which he stopped taking when he left Lorraine.

Among the people Marcus hangs out with, only his girlfriends know he has ARC. It pains him that he cant even talk honestly with a buddy who recently came down with AIDS, canit help someone come to terms with an illness he knows so well, but that would mean letting his secret loose in the world. "He gets drunk a lot and heid start blabbing," Marcus says of his friend, "and pretty soon everyone would know."

Not a day goes by that he doesnt think about Lorraine. "I was watching The jeffer-sons on TV and Mr. jefferson had this magic clock. He could rewind time, start it over. IfI could do that, lid be back in Lorraine right now. I should have been born there, it seems so right-more right for me than my real family."

In all the phone conversations with Car-ole Walker, though, Marcus has never con-fessed the depth of his true feelings. ii Cause I cant," he declares. "When you break up with someone you love, its hard to go back.n

Events, not a sense of purpose, run his life today. Thereis no one looking out for him in the unbenign universe of Fletchers Crossing, so he hides out in his room, physically re-moved from the world for days on end. It is AIDS-the secret more than the disease itself -that is really in control.

Marcus can imagine one more bend in the road. "Maybe Hi just get myself on that bus and go surprise Carole. Now wouldnit

'n

that be something.

David L. Kirpis new book, Learning by Heart: AIDS and Schoolchildren in America's Communities, from which this story is adapted, is published by Rutgers University Press.

For counseling and local referrals regarding teenagers and AIDS:

Teens Teaching AIDS Prevention

Kansas City, Missouri

1-800-234-TEEN

AIDS Hotline for Kids

Tiburon, California

(415) 435-5022

Hetrick-Mattin Institute, Inc.

New York, New York

(212) 6338920

-
-
-
- -
o
o
-
-P
u

Para, December 1988

N A MEETING HALL FESTOONED

with fleur-de-lis banners, a
young man steps up to the dais,
clears his throat, and stares out
at a sea of four hundred well-
scrubbed faces. ill will not begin my
speech by saying the French Republic is a
drooling, stinking bitchfl he states with a
coy smile. No one else in the room smiles
back. lll will not say it? his voice rises,
llbecause everyone knows itll, A conser-
vatively dressed man seated beside me
looks at his wife in relief, then joins in the
thunderous applause. For one spine-
tingling moment, the speaker sounded as
if he were going to say something nice
about democracy.

JlRoya Pain

' "Laance v

I. 9;; oi. oi. vac oi. 9;. vi. oio 96. '3. tie av. 93. .3. oi: oi. 03. .3o .8. '5' oi: oi
: oi. 0.. 9.. v.3 pie '.0 oi. oh ;x

King Louis XVI awaits execution,

Tossed off the throne

two centuries ago, F rench

monarchists are ready to

stick their necks out again.

.P q. u" q. or of. ad. l

.. q. .6. do "a 9.. 0..

when his eyes fall on the notepad in my
lap. Could I be one of the hounds from
hell who thinks Action Francaise is com-
posed of crackpots? I manage a silly grin
meant to reassure, then look vaguely up
toward the speaker, who is now building
to a polemical paroxysm about Arab im-
migrants. The guards of honor in front
of the podium, twenty or so cane-wield-
ing skinheads in leather jackets, pay no
attention to the speech. Theylre busy
studying the audience for people reluc-
tant to applaud.

Then the inevitable occurs. A young
woman walks up the aisle, stops a few
feet away from me, and takes my pic-
ture. Dad stares at me in undisguised

contempt. The crowd, oblivious to our

That 'ven the nature of the crowd) rivate crisis, is now chantin Y in unison

, gl , By Stephen OS/3ea P_ H . 75 _ 'I

would have been an enormous blunder. With the speaker, Villa 16 roz. Vzue le roz.

The meetings sponsor, a movement Wm) 16 roilliThe last timelfelt this way,l

known as llAction Frangaise, has long .A';, had appendicitis.

likened la Republique to a trick played

on the French nation by people in league

with the Antichrist. N ow in full throttle, the speaker begins to

vent his spleen about the upcoming bicentennial of the French

Revolution. As the crowd listens in indignant pleasure, he

barks out, llThis bicentennial is nothing less than an obscene

commemoration of a pagan baptism in bloodPl My neighbor

roars his approval, and his wife and two pretty teenage

daughters smile indulgently: Dad is in his element.

Dad eventually turns to me, searching for the knowing

look of a fellow traveler. His hands abruptly stop clapping
.v.vt

THAT,S RIGHT: VIVE LE ROI. FRANCE. 15

not, as most foreigners fondly think, the great, unrepentant
regicide of Europe. In the history of the modern age, 1789 is
commonly considered a historic cataclysm, an unprecedented
rupture from the past, as democrats defeated feudalism on its
home turf and established the prototype for both radical
revolution and the modern state. But while officially the ethic
of llLiberte-Egalite-Fratemitem holds sway here, there are
many in this age-old nation who view the French Revolution
as an embarrassment, a temporary corrective that somehow
Photographs by Lionel j-M Delevingne

ended up trashing the countrys past and crippling its future.
There were, after all, 105ers.

Unlike the American Revolution, which by its two hundredth birthday had been sanitized into a love-fest with all the controversy of Mothers Day, the French Revolution has left a bitter, ambiguous legacy. In France, where current events are often viewed as recurring events, there is a sizable group of people for whom the Republic is just a national mid-life crisis. To them, France is not France without a king.

Of the royalist movements, Action Frangaise is perhaps the most notorious for its ungenerous, far-Right nationalism. Started in anti-Semitic splendor during the turn-of-the-century Dreyfus Affair and noted in the interwar period for a rabid brand of French chauvinism, it is shrugged off by most French as little more than a satanic toastmasters, club. But every now and then the antics of these radical royalists make headlines. In January, at a solo recital of revolutionary songs intended to kick off ParisIs bicentennial celebrations, a flying squad of ardent young reactionaries came out of the mists of history to wreak havoc. Midway through the performeris lyric recital of bloodthirsty revolutionary hymns, royalist yahoos stormed the stage and sprayed tear gas into the face of the startled singer. Having taken the precaution of cutting the theateris phone lines, they made their getaway long before paramedics and police arrived to escort the coughing singer to a hospital. Police linked the attackers to Restauration Nationale, another name used by Action Frangaise. Official condemnation of the attack was swift, but, as with any interesting prank played in the capital, public opinion was mixed: if were going to celebrate the Revolution, ran the reasoning, shouldn,t we at least invite the losers?

The French, it should be remembered, revolted against themselves-and by so doing, created classes of republicans and reactionaries that lasted for generations. The fires of resentment over the Reign of Terror are still smoldering-and not just among skinhead royalists. In the Vendee, a western province of France where a grass-roots counterrevolution that briefly united the local aristocracy and peasant supporters in 1793-4 was savagely repressed, the word iirepublid, has always had diabolical connotations.

Since the mid-1970s, the village of Puy-du-Fou, in the heart of the Vendee, has hosted an outdoor sound-and-light show featuring an all-volunteer cast that plays out the tragedy of the doomed revolt for thousands of rapt royalists on warm summer evenings. The Puy-du-Fou spectacle, complete with period costumes, fireworks, and horses, is now the Oberammergau of the militantly nostalgic, those people fond of revisionist historians who compare Danton to Pol Pot and call the valiant resistance in the Vende'e a IIFranco-French genocide? This year, as much of France is celebrating the fall of the Bastille, the Puy-du-Fou should be especially well attended.

With the Vendee upholding the stalwart traditions of anti-republican sentiment, the monarchical principle has spread throughout the country. The year 1987 marked the thousandth anniversary of the accession of Hugh Capet to the
40 JULY/AUGUST 1989

or a sizable group of
people the Republic is
just a national mid-life
crisis. To them, France is
not France without a king.

ego

French throne (Hugh was the first king in the Capetian-Valois-Bourbon ascendancy that ruled France for eight uninterrupted centuries), an event that gave rise to solemn celebra-

tions in the cathedrals of France and allowed royalists to sniff at the puny two-hundred-year pedigree of republican pretensions. By 1987, a full 17 percent of respondents in a national poll declared themselves IIunopposedII to a restoration of the monarchy. Further proof of republican backsliding came last December, when a state-owned television network held a retrial of Louis XVI in which viewers could vote for either his death or his acquittal. In 1793, the hapless Louis got the Chop on the strength of just one vote. In the retrial he was acquitted by 55 percent of the TV audience, despite the handicap of having his case argued by Jacques Verges, the lawyer who defended Klaus Barbie for the sheer pleasure of digging up dirt about wartime France. Clearly, some of the children of the guillotine are losing their edge.

Paris, january1987

A ROYALIST FRIEND, ALWAYS EAGER TO WIN NEW CONVERTS to the cause, has brought me along to a mass for the soul of Louis XVI at St-Eustache Church. It is January 21, the day two hundred years ago when the revolutionaries sent his kingly noggin tumbling into a basket at the nearby Place de la Concorde. A few hundred nobles shiver in the chilly Gothic sanctuary, listening to a young cure wax erotiC-historic about IIour dear, our sweet, our tender Marie Antoinette? Never mind that she was one of the most hated queens in French history, the priests precious embroidering of reality draws wistful looks from the assembly of aristos. In the back of the nave, three young women, strings of pearls and Hermes scarves proving their allegiance to wealthy western Paris, kneel on the cold stone floor in an attitude of abject piety. They are far from the front pew, where a senior aristocratic thoroughbred, the prince of Orleans, prepares to rouse the morale of his troops. The regal spokesman rises to the altar and reads a declaration invoking Godis mercy for the soul of Louis XVI and asking forgiveness for Louis Philippe, Louis XVIIs cousin, a man who betrayed his class and voted in favor of the kings execution.

Outside in the snow a few moments later, amid the crash of flashbulbs from a few royalist fanzine paparazzi, the aristos huddle together to one side of the churchs facade; on the opposite side, twenty or so homeless people watch in fascination. The two orphans of the contemporary Republic, the disentitled and the titled, do not deign to mix.

The Orleans prince greets his entourage and glad-hands any prospective supporters. Most people address him as IIMonseigneurI, (IIMy LordII), instead of the customary French AIMonsieurII (IISirII). A creaking duke, his nose a road map from too many evenings spent swilling Armagnac in the family chateau, steps up and seizes the princes hand. IITake hope, my lord. There is always hope? At this, the faces of the princes lackeys give new meaning to the notion of bit-tersweet.

At last the crowd has thinned enough for my friend to judge t.

Prince Henri Robert Ferdinand Marie Louis Philippe d'Orleans, :1 Ian the Count of Paris, d
istant cousin of
Louis XVI. He set offa hattIefor the succession by refusing to anoint his son the next Ki
ng oji France,
it time for a commoner like myself to meet the prince. I say the
words IIGood evening, sit? out of habit, not out of lese-
majeste. The princeis hand freezes in midair, until my friend
stammers something about an IIAmeriean magazine? A smile
of compassion at my lowly station in life, then the regal paw
Closes over mine.
IThere was something I didnt understand in your speech?
I admit. IIWhen you mentioned Louis Philippe, surely you
didn,t mean King Louis Philippe, of the July monarchy?
The prince now holds my hand with both of his. iiNO, not
that Louis Philippe. I meant his father, the one they called
PhiIippe-Egalite, the one who was a cousin of the Ring, the
one who was a revolutionaryf He pauses, then continues
sIowa. uThat man was my ancestor, and he was responsibIeII
_his eyes grow cloudy and his head bOWS_iifOf the death of
our beloved Louis XVIYI
We are alone in the snow; the man holding my hand seems
genuinely distressed. IIIIm sorry? I say. The prince regains his
composure and walks to a waiting car. Then it hits me: what
in the world am I apologizing for? (continued on page 49)
MOTHER jONIiS 41

Postmodern Tours

IZLCOMII TO THE MANCHURIAN TOUR

group. Now you too can wear the same black tunic and eat from the same bowl and spoon issued to Pu Yi, collaborator with the Japanese! Bathe in the slimy communal tub where the final throne-holder of the Manchu dynasty was forced to reveal his godlike body! Glimpse the bedroom reserved for the uneconsummated conjugal Visits! Get "Treated" with a show of local folklore in the prison recreation room-all for thirty ymm, or less than four dollars at the black market rate.

In the new China you have to go a long way to find traces of the national hero. I went all the way to the frigid Manchurian prison cell, not the former home of some martyr of the Red Guards, but of a blue-blooded figment of the silver screen, China's very own last Emperor. Though still staffed by a full complement of People's Liberation Army officers, the Fushun Reform-Through-Labor Camp for War Criminals did its last reforming in 1975; it keeps its grim gates open only to serve the tourist trade. Out hosts from the Liaoning Province Department of Are there any genuine Chinese heroes left? An insistent tourist disrobes the last Emperor.

42. JULY/AUGUST 1989

TRIPS

By John Herich

Tourism hardly seemed concerned that they might be launching their Last Emperor tour just as the images of the Oscar-winning 1987 film have begun to fade from America's tickle memory. What was a year or two among China's seven thousand? After forty years of repudiating its feudal past, China is busily, if not very thoroughly, dusting off any remnant that can help revive "the China mystique." Since Hollywood has cashed in on Chinese exoticism, why shouldn't China return the favor? The local cadre is eager to play the ancient Chinese game of catering to the West's need for a mysterious East.

While China's students are taking inspiration from the outside world in their ongoing challenge to Party authority, those authorities are themselves using outsiders to buttress China's sense of itself. Tourism provides China with far more than foreign currency. It gives a country with a shattered self-image the chance to pick up the pieces, even nominate heroes where none can be found. The old heroes have fallen: The first blazing Mao likenesses I saw were slipped out from under a pan of wriggling worms at one of Beijing's bird markets. The permanent exhibits at Beijing's Museum of the Revolution have been closed due to ideological debate and replaced with costumes from a Chinese miniseries about their prerevolutionary ruler.

Photograph by Geoffrey Hillier

For a cost of between \$1,500 and \$2,500, a Last Emperor itinerary promises 0unforgettable adventure? and udining as in the Qing Dynasty, a ticostume party where tourists can dress in court robes? perhaps even an audience with Pu Yi,s fourth wife, billed as 0the Last Imperial Concubinef, Instead, on our debut press j unket through the bleak North, we discovered that the real-life settings of the Bertolucci epic are strewn across a territory where brown smokestacks and frozen fields donit require technicolor. Aside from being the town where Pu Yi was incarcerated, Fushun has the largest open coal pit in Asia-and is one of the most polluted towns in a country with few pollution standards. Changchun, a brown city of smokestacks and deliriously straight boulevards, once the capital ofJapanese-occupied Manchukuo, is now famed as China,s Motown, host of the nations oldest and largest auto plant. Pu Yiis residence during his reign here was the office of a provincial salt monopoly, so that local subjects referred to their ruler as 0a piece of salted meat in the salt barn." Looted by Kuomintang and Red Guards alike, this mansion is at least a year from being restored to its former modest decadence. The so-called 0puppet palace,i next door, which Bertolucci brightened remarkably for his ballroom dancing and toe-sucking scenes, doubles as an archaeological museum. Paleolithic fossils till the Last Emperors billiard room. We never did get to meet the Last Imperial Concubine, that old tease. Hardly a Joan Chen lookalike, sheis now a bespectacled, over-sixty librarian and member of the local Peoples Political Consultative Conference, China, the country with the highest rate of one-time visitors, may not even be living up to its own image of what others think it once was.

STILL, THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC HOSTED A million and a half visitors during the first six months of 1988, a jump of nearly 20 percent over the same period in the previous year. Revenues from tourism exceeded a billion dollars. Reforms are slowly being instituted that will create a rating system for hotels, a computerized booking system for the newly revamped Air China, closer coordination with foreign travel agencies. Yet in the name of comfort and convenience, independent travelers are often segregated in tisoftii waiting rooms, dining rooms, and train carriages. Our group learned what many travelers have before us. The Chinese prefer stage-managed and breakneck group affairs as a means of doing what theyive always done_namely, keeping people as far as possible from China.

A trip from Shanghai to Suzhou, vaunted

-----I

I

I

I

I

a I

g I

g I

z I
3 I
t
'2
a I
I
x!
;
'2:
.
wrborg - Mmuml ()(id
- ludx l)
WS Mvmm - Mo/(iko Shango - Susan
(jam So
3211510ka
THESCHOOL
TTLXFCIHMESiI)
XTXHKCEHLD.
Kindergarten
through 8th Grade.
High'quality, effective home
study courses developed by cet'
titied teachers at outstanding
Baltimore private school. Home
is your classroom, you ate the
teacher. Success is easy with
explicit. step'byvstep instruc'
tions. Ideal for enrichment or
for families on the move. All
materials included. Start any
time. Transfer to other schools.
350,000 student users in over
80 years. Noxrprotit. Equal
opportunity Fully accredited.
Write or call for free catalog.
SCHOOL
(301) 243-6030
CALVERT
Established 1897
Dept. Mj79, Tuscany Rd. Baltimore, MD 21210
jOURNAL OF EROTK. ARTS
Y5, P O Box 6374. Albany CA 94706
\$20/year - Quarterly
xwi
animus
OUTSIDE LS, ADD \$6/SURFACE7,
\$20/AIR PER YEAR. U S FUNDS,
REAL CLOTHES FOR REAL PEOPLE
Wc'rc a cottage lndUSU) proud of our
hand traficd clothes for men 8; iwmcn.
0m cast turc cnuun is
richly textured and never
needs ironing.
FRENCH SKIMMER
An easygoing tank top nith d
rcmuuhlc butmn for perfect fit.
\$15 ppd. and money back
guaranteed.
LOTUS SHORTS
s _ 1
(mi .lnd comfortable t /
"short' shorts tor
men and xmmcn. ,3 s
With 4 pockets.
dimming mm.
319 ppd. and
money back
guaranteed.
Hmh suits oficrcd In Bhtk.
Naturalt Xai). Poudcr Blue or
iiiJHIUUhC. Sutt- height,

Might. m. husi chest Jnd
hip mm measurements.
Stud 51 fur fabric samples
and cataloguc of 40 suits
(Fret mth order).
DEVA. a tnttugc induxrr)
Box MJGQ,
Burkimxillc, Ml) 21718
VISA/MC call 1-800-222 024

save kavh vb 1: to preserve or guard from injury, de-
struction, or loss 2: to put aside as a store or reserve:

ACCUMULATE

ONE WORD, TWO MEANINGS.

Define the value of your dollar with

CALVERT SOCIAL INVESTMENT FUND

and invest in a better world.

The Fund offers four_

investment altematwes:

- Money Market Portfolio

- Managed Growth

Portfolio

- Bond Portfolio

- Equity Portfolio

For more information, induding charges and expenses, please call your broker or
Calvert Group for a prospectus at this toll-free number. In the Washington DC. area.
call 301-951-4820.

Please read the prospectus carefully before investing.

Distributor: Calvert Securities Corporation - 4550 Montgomery Avenue . Bethesda, MD 20814

MOTHER

JONES

SWEAIS

AND 1' s

Introduced as a ngeal humani-
tarianj' Mary Harris ("Mother") Jones
roared haek "No, I'm a hell raiser!" For
('ontenworary hell misers we offer the
following shirts in black with jade and
white printing:

' HELL RAISER T's with the M1 logo
on the front and 1110.11 RAISER across
the hack. 100% cotton, \$12 1 \$1.50
shipping.

I M1 T's with the M1 logo on the front.
100% cotton, \$11 t \$1.50 shipping,
0 M1 sweatshirts with the M.) logo on
the from, 50/50. cotton/poiyester.
\$18 t \$2 shipping.

California residents, please add ap-
plicable sales tax. Make checks payable to

MOTHER JONES, Order from MOTHER

JONES (Ilothes Rack, 1663 Mission

Street. San Francisco, CA 94103.

Please send ,_ HELL KAISER T-shirtts)

_ MJ Teshirtts)

& M1 Sweatshittts)

Size(sl _ 8

My cheek for \$

x M g 11 X1,

is enclosed.

NAME lpledse print!

ADDRESS

('ITY/STAT1-I '71 I'

HVenice of the Eastf' takes less than two
hours-but took me nearly three days if you
count procuring the indecipherable stub of a
train ticket. Barely off the beaten path, this
soggy mirage offers a hrst-time Sinologist
instant access to the Cathay of landscape
paintings and night soil, grubby longevity
and Confucian serenity. uTo see more in less
time is what tourists hopef as the Suzhou
tourist map puts it-advising stops at some
of SuzhouB 150 classical gardens or the vari-
ous itt'actoriesh for silk printing, sandal-
wood fans, and jade carving that have been
set up largely for retail purposes. The touted
highlights in China are the ones to avoid,
since the only real show is China itself: in
Suzhous case, that magical combination of
canals, the rolling welter of bicyclists that

makes the City sound like one enormous
wind chime, the outdoor barbershops, dry
coils of noodles set out in baskets, carnival
shows by shaved strongmen, blind musi-
cians plucking away in the bazaars. Let a
thousand travel posters bloom! There is
nothing elegant or showy on Suzhou's
Grand Canal-only an endless flow of
barges hauling gravel, rice, and entire fami-
lies. a tide of struggle on which one must
either keep floating or die. What makes this sight
unforgettable, like so many others in China,
are the people.

That's why you've got to go to China
knowing that every guidebook is wrong.

. That's why most seasoned voyagers head for
Tibet or Yunnan, China's least packaged
areas. That's why many who come here feel
that there ought to be more out there, that
China must be just beyond the next hill or
beneath the last billboard slogan. That's
why China is the place you can go where
you're most likely to feel you've never been.
"That's the real China out there, the one
we can never get to," remarked a drunken
and homesick Swiss engineer who'd bribed
his way onto our group's train back from
Munchuria, pointing to brick village clumps
barely distinguishable from the harsh land-
scape. Until we get there, China will con-
tinue to test stock images on its foreign
guinea pigs constantly stumbling on itself,
casting off the latest false pose, stubbing its
toe on reality. then retreating into another
reenacting of the "oldest civilization" myth.
After repudiating both noble and ignoble
pasts, the Chinese can only display someone
else's ideal of what it must be like to be Chi-
nese. Where the command was once "The
Helmsman Sets the Ocean Course", the
watchword is now "Let the Last Emperor Be
Your Tour Guide!"

John Kricof's latest book is *El Beisbol: Truvt
els Through the Pan-American Pastime*,
published by the Atlantic Monthly Press.

Social Ventures
Can business serve
people, and profit?

A new breed of
socially responsible
capitalists reclaims
I'he spiril of

Illustration by Richard Sula
OTENTIAL INVESTORS LOOKING FOR

an opportunity to steer their money
into socially responsible enterprises
will be glad to hear about new in-
vestment options that offer more
than pure profit. Venture capital firms, which pool
their clients money and then invest in promising
companies, are introducing a social agenda into their
investment practices, mixing entrepreneurship with
an attempt to solve environmental, social, and
health-care problems.

llWe want to create a vehicle where we can fund
projects that have a social vision? says Wayne Silby,
founder of the Calvert Social Venture Partners, a \$3
million investment fund based in Washington, DC.

llMost people just think about making money, but
not about the way they do it. This is about social
vision and making money. There are a lot of en-
trepreneurs who want to be seen for what they con-
tribute to the world?

Silby points to his recent investments in a com-
pany producing liners for steel drums (the liners en-
able the company to recycle the drums, which hold
oil, chemicals, or other substances) as an example of
a typical small-scale business venture that backs an
environmentally useful product.

Another venture capitalist with a social agenda is
Douglas Ades, cofounder of the New York City-
based Beacon Fund for Human Service Enterprises.
Beacon invests its \$25 million in enterprises that con-
OUT OF POCKET

By Richard DY Hylton
tract with the government to address social prob-
lems, such as the need for remedial education and
innovative drug therapies. It also supports private
day-care centers and home services for elderly and
disabled people.

Ades comments, llA lot of social issues sometimes
can be dealt with more efhciently by using the profit
motive. What were attempting to do is hold to-
gether two seemingly but not necessarily contradic-
tory principles: that you can do well financially and
do good socially?

In deciding whether to invest in a business, this
new breed of capitalists looks at the social usefulness
of the businessls product; the management process,
which generally is interpreted to mean some level of
worker participation; and the use of profits, which
should either contribute to the local community or
to general philanthropy. An enterprise that fulElls
any or all of these requirements is usually eligible for
investment.

Normally, a venture capitalist shoots for some-
thing in the range of a 25 percent return on an invest-
ment after five to ten years. Perhaps a half dozen
socially responsible venture capital funds now
operate in different parts of the country; most are
too young to assess whether they can match the re-
turn rate of their traditional competitors. But the
success of socially responsible mutual funds (see
Mother jones, June 1989) has given Wall Street an
incentive to keep an eye on the development of these
new entrepreneurs.

IN PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA, MICHAEL KIESCH-nick, one of the founders of the Working Assets Money Fund, started the Sand County Venture Fund last year with \$1.5 million. Since October, Kieschnick has invested in a chain of specialized child-care centers for ill children of working parents, and in an environmental lab that tests groundwater and soil for contamination. By backing such small and socially productive enterprises, Kieschnick hopes to demonstrate that a close working relationship between investors and entrepreneurs ultimately will be far more productive than the impersonal relationships likely to exist between most investors and mainstream venture capitalists. Wayne Silby emphasizes that many typical venture capitalists are more concerned with turning a quick profit than with helping to develop a solid and worthwhile business. Those who are just as concerned with what the company does as how much it makes, he argues, are less likely to try to opt for the quick buck at the expense of the entire enterprise. Many entrepreneurs don't want a partner who is just going to take more and more from them, says Silby. We're good partners for people who want to preserve a certain amount of integrity? On his part, Douglas Ades believes that having a social screen actually gives his company an advantage, because it forces him to search for unconventional, though

MOTHER JONES 45

profitable, opportunities overlooked by the rest of the industry.

Unique among these new venture capital firms is the Women's World Growth Fund, founded by Michaela Walsh, president of Women's World Banking in New York City. Walsh now controls \$10 million in assets and is seeking to provide financing for projects headed by women in less industrialized countries. Walsh says her fund aims to promote leadership roles for women in countries that I have never had access to the technological advances of the modern world." Her other criteria is that the businesses not be damaging to the environment. Thus far, the fund has invested in alternative energy projects and small-scale fruit-processing operations in countries such as Colombia, Costa Rica, Haiti, Thailand, Kenya, and Ghana. This kind of niche investing is seen as a distinct advantage by many fund managers. According to Woody Tasch, who is starting the \$15 million Southport, Connecticut-based Commons Capital Partners, "The venture capital industry has been maturing, and its becoming increasingly skewed to institutional-grade, large-scale investment. We saw that there was a gap in the area of smaller investments. When all the dollars are going one way, it's not such a bad time to look the other way?"

Tasch is busy finding investors each willing to contribute a minimum of \$100,000 to his fund. "We'll be looking for everything from the next Ben & Jerry's to, at the other end, traditionally managed companies in the health-care area. We're going a new route, but without burning our bridges to traditional companies. We don't just want to be a marginal group of rich individuals dabbling in do-gooder investments. We want to be a credible, financially viable firm?"

ALL OF THE FUNDS DESCRIBED HERE ARE members of an umbrella organization of money managers, philanthropists, and entrepreneurs known as the Social Venture Network. The network encourages the development of socially responsible businesses and attempts to steer the forces of finance in a progressive direction. Potential investors or small-time capitalists can write to the network for further information about the firms mentioned here, or about the growing movement to harness the energy of private enterprise to socially beneficial ends: Social Venture Network, 140 E. 58th St., New York, NY 10022.

Richard D. Hylton is a free-lance business writer in New York City who writes for the New York Times, Forbes, and Institutional Investor. He is formerly an editor at Black Enterprise magazine.

46 JULY/AUGUST 1989

CASTRO

(Continued from page 26) to him what Sucre was to Bolivar, what St. Paul was to Christ. He was also a Latin American Lord Byron, a rootless, cosmic poet who never felt at home in provincial Cuba.

He was killed while attempting to turn the Cuban experience into a hemispheric

revolution, fighting for this ideal in the mountains of Bolivia, and he became the virtual saint of Cuban revolutionary lore. Revolutionary youth began making pilgrimages to the place of his death, although the Bolivian government, on the advice of CIA officials, made sure that there would be no grave marker. (Che was murdered by orders of a Cuba-born U.S. adviser, Felix Rodriguez, a man who turned up as a player in the Iran-contra scandal.)

Even after Chels death, Fidel insisted that guerrilla warfare remained the instrument of revolution to liberate Latin America? In the summer of 1968, as we bounced through the Sierra Maestre trails where the Cubans had waged war against Batista, peasants waved and shouted when they recognized him. The armies of these countries must be defeated, and our experience showed it could be done, he said. I asked him if he thought that the United States would allow another Cuba. The Vietnamese, he explained, were showing the limits of American power? As if to accentuate his message, billboards throughout the island bore Chels memorable slogan: CREATE ONE, Two, MANY VIETNAMS.

By the summer of 1974, though, the world had changed. I was with Fidel just after he opened a secret note from Henry Kissinger, a diabolical man in Fidels view. Kissinger wants to talk? Why not? he said to Frank Mankiewicz, who delivered the message. Will you take a note back? By then Fidel seemed to have accepted Chels death and the end of the guerrilla experience. As we traveled together east of Havana, I was trying not to breathe deeply - Fidel had rolled up the windows to show off the efficiency of the air conditioner in his black Soviet-made limo and then promptly lit a cigar-when he suddenly began reminiscing about Che. Che was reckless. It was his one flaw, Fidel admitted. He was \$0 brave that he would stand up in the middle of a crowd. I told him that his value was inestimable and that it was irresponsible to behave that way. He was wounded on several occasions, precisely because of that fearless quality.

Yet twenty years after Chels death, Fidel has revived his image as the model by which to reform the Cuban Revolution. Che accurately symbolizes spiritual integrity, hard work, and commitment to the collectivity, of course. But he is also part of Cubas past-not its future.

LIKE OTHER FOREIGNERS WHO VISITED

Cuba in the early revolutionary years, I discovered there the wonderful possibilities that Jean-Paul Sartre and C. Wright Mills popularized for the European and American New Left. The Cuban Revolution seemed to provide for peoples needs within an open and free society. The very experiment, and the contagious enthusiasm of its leader, attracted revolutionaries who could not abide the repressive doctrine and reality of Soviet socialism.

Even as Fidel turned to the Soviets for

survival amid the brutal U.S. attacks on the Revolution, his love of debate and the very radiance of his character seemed to promise that the Cuban Revolution would reopen to its fuller expression once the immediate threat of attack had been removed. But in 1989, Cubans' problems are no longer excusable or attributable to CIA subversion and the U.S. economic embargo. Political reopening remains, still, in the airy realm of hope.

In the absence of other kinds of freedom, jokes sometimes best reveal truths in Cuba. One story making the rounds in Havana recently has Fidel visiting his barber each week. The barber asks: "Fidel, what do you really think of glasnost?" Fidel does not respond. The barber repeats the question each time Fidel visits, and finally an annoyed Fidel responds, "Why do you keep asking me that question?" "It makes your hair stand on end," replies the barber, "and it's easier to cut?"

Fidel's unwillingness to embrace Soviet-style change ("For us to adopt perestroika would be like living in our home with another man's wife," he told journalists) springs from his conviction that social justice and relative equality cannot be achieved in an atmosphere of material incentives and other capitalist tools. The work that remains in perfecting Cuban society, in Fidel's view, is not to adapt his model to the Cuban citizenry, but to perfect the citizenry to adapt to the model. "Socialism still has many defects and shortcomings," Fidel told a Mexican reporter in 1985, "but these deficiencies are not in the system, they're in the people." Fidel, like Louis XIV, is the state. After visiting Cuba on a regular basis for more than thirty years, it seems clear to me that free discussion and sound development, including some Cuban form of political debate and economic restructuring, cannot take place when such power resides in one man—with the apparent consent of the majority of

\$ 6 If for any reason you are not completely satisfied you are not
can cancel for a full refund on all unmatled copies. II unmailed copies
L , , , , , W7, , , , ,
GJSEL 2F

profitable, opportunities overlooked by the rest of the industry.

Unique among these new venture capital firms is the Womens World Growth Fund, founded by Michaela Walsh, president of Womeifs World Banking in New York City. Walsh now controls \$10 million in assets and is seeking to provide financing for projects headed by women in less industrialized countries. Walsh says her fund aims to promote leadership roles for women in countries that "have never had access to the technological advances of the modern world? Her other criteria is that the businesses not be damaging to the environment. Thus far, the fund has invested in alternative energy projects and small-scale fruit-processing operations in countries such as Colombia, Costa Rica, Haiti, Thailand, Kenya, and Ghana. This kind of niche investing is seen as a distinct advantage by many fund managers. According to Woody Tasch, who is starting the \$15 trillion Southport, Connecticut-based Commons Capital Partners, "The venture capital industry has been maturing, and its becoming increasingly skewed to institutional'grade, large-scale investment. We saw that there was a gap in the area of smaller investments. When all the dollars are going one way, it's not such a bad time to look the other way?

Tasch is busy finding investors each willing to contribute a minimum of \$100,000 to his fund. We'll be looking for everything from the next Ben & Jerry's to, at the other end, traditionally managed companies in the health-care area. We're going a new route. but without burning our bridges to traditional companies. We don't just want to marginal group of rich individuals dabbling in do-gooder investments. We want to credible, financially viable firm?

ALL OF THE FUNDS DESCRIBED HERE

members of an umbrella organization money managers, philanthropists, and entrepreneurs known as the Social Venture Network. The network encourages the development of socially responsible business and attempts to steer the forces of finance in a progressive direction. Potential investors or small-time capitalists can write to the work for further information about firms mentioned here, or about the grass movement to harness the energy of private enterprise to socially beneficial ends: Social Venture Network, 140 E. 58th St., 11th floor, New York, NY 10022.

Richard D. Hylton is a free-lance business writer in New York City who writes for New York Times, Forbes, and Institutional Investor. He is formerly an editor at Black Enterprise magazine.

46 JULY/AUGUST 1989

CASTRO

(Continued from page 26) to him what Sucre was to Bolivar, what St. Paul was to Christ. He was also a Latin American Lord Byron, a rootless, cosmic poet who never felt at home in provincial Cuba.

He was killed while attempting to turn the Cuban experience into a hemispheric

revolution, fighting for this ideal in the mountains of Bolivia, and he became the virtual saint of Cuban revolutionary lore. Revolutionary youth began making pilgrimages to the place of his death, although the Bolivian government, on the advice of CIA officials, made sure that there would be no grave marker. (Che was murdered by orders of a Cuba-born U.S. adviser, Felix Rodriguez, a man who turned up as a player in the Iran-contra scandal.)

Even after Chels death, Fidel insisted that guerrilla warfare remained the instrument of revolution to liberate Latin America? In the summer of 1968, as we bounced through the Sierra Maestre trails where the Cubans had waged war against Batista, peasants waved and shouted when they recognized him. The armies of these countries must be defeated, and our experience showed it could be done? he said. I asked him if he thought that the United States would allow another Cuba. The Vietnamese? he explained, were showing the limits of American power! As if to accentuate his message, billboards throughout the island bore Chels memorable slogan: CRFATF (1N: new If mailing from outside the U 8. please enclose check and card in a stamped envelope and mail to address below

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

FLHS1 CLASS PERM11 NO 1?13MOUN1MORRIS.IL61054
rately symbolizes spiritual integrity, hard work, and commitment to the collectivity, of course. But Chels also part of Cubas past-not its future.

LIKE OTHER FOREIGNERS WHO VISITED

Cuba in the early revolutionary years, I discovered there the wonderful possibilities that Jean-Paul Sartre and C. Wright Mills popularized for the European and American New Left. The Cuban Revolution seemed to provide for peoples needs within an open and free society. The zany experiment, and the contagious enthusiasm of its leader, attracted revolutionaries who could not abide the repressive doctrine and reality of Soviet socialism.

Even as Fidel turned to the Soviets for survival amid the brutal U.S. attacks on the Revolution, his love of debate and the very radiance of his character seemed to promise that the Cuban Revolution would reopen to its fuller expression once the immediate threat of attack had been removed. But in 1989, Cubas problems are no longer excusable or attributable to CIA subversion and the U.S. economic embargo. Political reopening remains, still, in the airy realm of hope.

In the absence of other kinds of freedom, jokes sometimes best reveal truths in Cuba. One story making the rounds in Havana recently has Fidel visiting his barber each week. The barber asks: "Fidel, what do you really think of glasnost?" Fidel does not respond. The barber repeats the question each time. Cirlnl m'phm .an (ixalln .1

UN

NO POSTAGE

with the apparent consent of the majority of

VEGETARIAN TIMES makes H easy
 To follow 0 vegetorion diet. Each issue con-
 Toins recipes, diet information, news, inter-
 views, and much more for The beginner and
 the ardent vegetarian.
 We offer recipes ranging from The "easy-
 To-cook" vorieTy with common ingredients
 To Challenging gourmet feosfs. WhOT's more,
 we pay offenfion To special needs with recipe
 topics like OHergy-free cooking, recipes for
 Children, and menu planning for moms-fo-be. m
 Every recipe carries 0 nutritional onolysis. You/H K 3
 also geT advice on buying, storing and pre-
 paring whole foods for
 I"
 maximum nuTriTionol volue _ _ - ' ' - - VgGETARMN I
 and minimum fuss. _ _ _ _ _ - _ - - - hmemory COW 0; bW subscrxp'
 We're so sure ou're r I 5 nd me 0 Comp 6 issues 0 t e sstond
 V I Yes. 8 y nameW e 3000 OH the new
 ov
 going To like VEGETARIAN I TxMESyond ?ngfrzzf N squ (2% hohxe dehvery.
 TIMES Thof we're offering I hon PnC 0 Ce q Wm
 . O 'r F . uhev '70:?va xv,
 . i e On ' ((Rd 82.30, J
 O compl'memwy COPY WITH I prlc de i //
 each order.
 ' ter
 l z msed D BIN mail, u 6105;153 I
 em: ??dbgn'i'au 1-800-892-0
 VEGETARIAN TIMES GUARANTEE: If for any reason you are not
 completely satisfied, you can cancel and receive a full refund on all unmailed copies.

Cubans. Fidel never tires of describing how the masses participate in defense, women's organizations, block committees, and so on. But participation without choice is a flawed political foundation.

"I'm tired," said one Cuban writer about the circuitous process of thinking one way, speaking a second, and acting a third. This writer said he would like his thoughts, words, and actions to correspond, which would require a political entity that can tolerate and even thrive on differences of opinion. He said he was tired of sacrificing because of a system that doesn't work well—even though Fidel says it would if Cubans all would simply improve somehow.

Even the Cuban bureaucrats I interviewed in late 1988 conceded that something has to give. Fidel's rectification campaign to recharge the economy during the past few years has coincided with a sharp drop in Cuba's gross national product, which declined from a 1984-85 average of 4.8 percent growth to 1 percent in 1985 and minus 3.5 percent in 1986-87. While rectification slogans and posters abound, sloppy work continues, empty trucks outnumber full ones, and the bureaucracy remains impenetrable.

Today Cubans are educated, healthy, and politicized; they are also ready for a political debate, whose results cannot be preordained by a single great man. Few Cubans I spoke with in 1987 and 1988 favored creating multiple political parties. Most of the Party members who offered their views wanted to keep the system on course and apply rectification, just as Fidel favored. But others wanted a Communist Party open to the diversity of viewpoints that exists in the general population, and caucuses that could advocate positions and organize both within and outside of the Party. Some mentioned their desire to cut the implicit link between dissent and treason.

Why can't the Party represent the views of the majority of its members,, asked one professor, rather than acting as transmitter for the Politburo line? Instead of insisting on ritualistic displays of unity that mask people's thoughts and feelings, the Party could foster diversity, allow for independent newsletters, encourage discussion of (U.S.-operated) Radio Marti broadcasts, and even open debate with exiles. Fidel has often paraphrased Antonio Gramsci: Revolutionaries should not fear the truth, for the truth is always revolutionary.

IN 1968 I TRAVELED FOR NEARLY A WEEK with Fidel through the mountains of Oriente. I sat in his jeep by day; at night we dined in his tent. Fidel showed me the dank, dusty odor of poverty as we listened to

48 JULY/AUGUST 1989

mountain silence broken by radio static mixed with pop music. By day we sloshed through the sometimes flooded trails that the people of the Sierra Maestra called roads. We met peasants coming down the hills with burros loaded with coffee beans. We saw parasite-infested children, twenty-five-year-

old women who looked sixty, illiterate and tuberculosis-ridden men and women. This was Sierra life through the ages-until the Revolution succeeded, by the 1970s, in making this gut-wrenching poverty a part of the past. The light in Fidel's tent stayed on late each night during our week-long rural tour as he read agricultural-science texts, history books, and biographies.

One morning a ninety-eight-year-old man tried to enlist Fidel to help him get a house. Fidel said, "The old politicians did personal favors, old-timer, but times have changed? In the ensuing repartee Fidel asked the villager if he had ever voted for the old politicians. "For Batista, never. He was rotten. Did you vote for any good ones?" Fidel asked with a smirk. "I voted for Alfredo Zayas," the man said, referring to Cuba's president from 1921-25. "And what did he accomplish?" Fidel inquired of the crowd that had assembled, before answering his own question. "He built a statue, that's all?" "Ah," the old man said, "he did what he could, the poor fellow?"

Fidel, it is true, overshadows past Cuban presidents. His problem is that he does too much. Almost twenty years later, we traveled together again, for a day, around the outskirts of Havana. Fidel demonstrated the same insatiable curiosity, the same pace and rhythm, getting out of the jeep quickly to chat with people, and rapidly re-entering the jeep for the next location. People surrounded and touched him at each stop, their mouths agape. We filmed Fidel chatting with a young woman, a family doctor in a poor neighborhood in western Havana. Fidel questioned her about the number of obesity and diabetes cases and asked if she believed exercise should be used to treat overweight people. The doctor replied, straight from her medical school education, that diet and exercise were the most important remedies. Fidel is now the foremost promoter of both a healthy diet and regular exercise, has abandoned his trademark cigar to lecture on the perils of smoking.

We then filmed him talking with construction workers who reported that they needed a new winch. He promised them he would try to end one. He grimaced later in the day as he discovered that the new lens factory outside Havana had quality-control problems. He glowed when the surgeons at the children's heart hospital described their successes, and demonstrated at the genetic-engineering laboratory his knowledge of genetic cloning and the moral issues involved in this new and delicate science. In an exchange at the laboratory, he decried the use of science for weapons production, and pleaded that researchers instead dedicate themselves to dealing with problems such as the thinning ozone layers, environmental pollution, and the advancing desert in Africa. He amazed some of the geneticists with his statistical knowledge about the spread of AIDS in Africa. (Cuba has several hundred cases, and AIDS sufferers are quarantined by law.)

Fidel's presence continues to transfix Cuba. The people who have grown up with Fidel understand that the institutions and Constitution he shaped can never be tested until he has left the scene. Without intending it perhaps, Fidel undermines all decisions that are not his, because he can, at will, change a law, a ruling, an economic plan-or even the design for the construction model in the family doctor program (which was improved, incidentally, by his intervention). During his recent on-camera interview with me, Fidel feigned surprise when I asked him about Cuba's role in Central America. "How can a small nation have a role?" he demanded. "We have no economic or strategic interests. Only the United States has a role in Central America? But he praised the courage of the Salvadoran guerrillas, who he said had written an indelible page in history by being able to survive the power of the United States." Fidel also discussed the economic rectification campaign with hearty assurance.

As Fidel talked, I allowed myself to listen closely and feel that peculiar sensation that I experience in his presence, as if I am meeting with a force of nature, a man so filled with the energy of historical mission that he is almost of a different species. Power radiates from him, emitting acute awareness of his needs-and a realization, as well, of how closely these needs have related to the destiny of his nation.

Fidel's leadership has been critical in forging a nation that has taken its place in the world. But has Cuba emerged as the kind of entity Fidel and his early supporters desired?

As we filmed, I caught myself thinking of what happened to Mao Tse-tung in his declining years, when he could no longer shape his country's future. The Cuban people have achieved sufficient maturity to govern themselves, I thought, even without the presence of their teacher, their guide, their Solomon and Hercules.

I took a deep breath and, overcoming a wave of fear, asked him: "And when you retire, what will . . ."

He leapt from his chair, almost tearing

the microphone chord from his lapel.
TTLeave that for the next film,n he chided.
Saul Landau is a senior fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies. His latest film on Cuba, The Uncompromising Revolution, was completed in 1988. His book The Dangerous Doctrine was published by Westview Press and PACCA, also in 1988.

F RANCE

(continued from page 41) IN THE TWO hundred years since the Revolution, France has had five republics, two imperial governments, two monarchies, and, in 1875, barely missed yet another restoration on the strength of-you guessed it-just one vote. Thus any man who would be king usually takes the long view of history.

The source of pretenders is, predictably, the same as it ever was: the families of Bourbon and Orleans. As there is no direct descendant of the last Bourbon king-though someone married to a waitress in northern Ontario insists that he is, in fact, a great-great-great-grandchild of the son of Louis XVI-the offspring of the parallel lineages are the fellows fighting it out among themselves. The Orleans, descended from the younger brother of Louis XIV, are the hjunior branchii of the Bourbon line. As for the Tisenior branchf, they descend from the younger brother of the father of Louis XV. This gives them dynastic dibs in claiming the throne of France, but, as chance would have it, they are Spaniards. The reigning juan Carlos of Spain belongs to this clan, and it is his cousins whose blood is closest to that spilled in the Revolution.

To make matters even more Byzantine, the pretenders have been bewildering their supporters recently with spectacular disappearances, public disownings, and legal disputes. The octogenarian head of the House of Orleans, Henri, Count of Paris, enraged his conservative followers by issuing an edict last spring urging his subjects to vote for Frangois Mitterrand, Whose regal way of governing suited the countis taste. The previous year, during the celebration of the Capetian millenium, the Count of Paris flouted tradition by naming his grandson, jean, Count of Amboise, as his immediate successor. The ostensible reason for this generational skip lay in his sons divorce and remarriage outside of the Catholic church. Not to be robbed of his birthright, the son, Henri, Count of Clermont, brought the matter before the courts. Last year, Henri sued the Spanish Bourbon pretender, Don Alfonso, Duke of Cadiz and Anjou, for the right to bear the title Duke of Anjou, which is usually reserved for the dauphin (i.e., the next-in-line to the throne of France).

As royalist France breathlessly awaited the verdict last fall, republican France snickered at the sight of a Bourbon and an Orleans pleading their dynastic suits before a democratic tribunal. To raise the

historic cholesterol level even more, the Paris courtroom in which the battle royal took place was the same one used for the trial of Marie Antoinette. The modern judge proved more lenient than his revolutionary predecessors: he wisely threw the case out of court on the grounds that the disputed title was absolutely meaningless under the laws of the Republic. Thus, by default, the family feud was resolved in favor of the Spaniard. Don Alfonso got to keep his fancy, if meaningless, title, and Bourbon backers everywhere rejoiced.

Unfortunately, soon afterward, Don Alfonso, the former husband of Generalissimo Francisco Franco's granddaughter and inveterate jet-setter, suffered a setback of the permanent variety. During a ski holiday in Colorado last January

ASK FOR 0

FREE

16 PAGE

FULL COLOR

CATALOG

itQuick Service

tGuaranteed Fit

it29 Styles

CALL OR WRITE

913-841-7027

VISA OR MASTERCARD

OR PERSONAL CHECK

uaty, on one particularly swift downhill run, the descendant of the kings of France careened into a cable slung just a few feet over the ground. His neck snapped and he died instantly. A spokesman for his bereaved entourage, fully aware that this is the two hundredth anniversary of another distasteful event, felt compelled to preempt ghoulish speculation by issuing the statement: TTWe should stress that the accident did not result in the decapitation of the duke?

Paris, October 1988

HENRI, COUNT OF CLERMONT, THE BATTling and embattled dauphin of the House of Orleans, has granted a brief audience at home to a plenipotentiary from Mother Jones. We are seated in a small study cluttered with oil paintings of illustrious ancestors. On a small side table stands a scale-model replica of a bejeweled royal coach. Henri, a slight, balding man in his fifties, remains behind his desk toying with a monogrammed letter opener for the duration of our parley. Not once does he let me eat cake, for the simple reason that none is offered.

TTThe people are tired of political parties disputing among themselvesf he says in his curiously high-pitched voice. TTThey

T , ii SANDAL REPAIR SERVICE

517

RESOLE &

RECONDITIONING

This includes new soles and cork repair.

NEW SUEDE

S14 LINER INSTALLED

If your sandals are cracked across the

ball of the foot, they need a new liner.

53 Polish Leather Uppers

56 Heel or Toe Taps

PLUS s2.50

Shipping & Handling

MTPRINT

1339 eA-Z MASSACHUSETTS

LAWRENCE. KS 66044

exual

Aids:

How to order them

without embarrassment.

How to use them

without disappointment.

It l'ou'l'e been reluctant to purchase sexual
aids'through the mail, the Xandi'ia Collection
would lllle' lo otter you two things that may
change your mind:

it A guarantee

2. Another guarantee

First, we guarantee your privacy. Should
you decide to order our catalogue or procl-
uL'ts, your tmnsaetion will be held in the
strictest L'onliLlenL'e.

1 Your name lllll nerle (nel'le r) be sold or
' giy en to lllll othei lllllllllllllll No unwanted,
embmmssing lllllilimz,s. And el' elything we
ship to lllll is plainll packaged, secuiey
ll' rapped, without the slightest indication of
l its contents on the outside.

1 Second, we guamntee your satisfaction,
Everything offered in the Xandria Collection
is the result of extensive research and real-
lite testing, We are so certain that the risk of
disappointment has been eliminated from
our products, that we can actually guarantee
you l' satisfaction , 0ll your money promptly,
unquestioningly refunded.

What is the Xandi'ia Collection?

ltls a l' el'l,l"erl special collection 0l sexual
aids. It includes the finest and most etteL'tiye
products lll ailable from aiound the llllllllll,
Products that can open new doors to pleasure
(perhaps many you neyer knew existed!)

Our products range from the simple to the
delightfully cllmplex.They are designed for
both the timid and the bold, For anyone
who's el'el'1l'ished there could be something
more to their sexual pleasure

ll loure piepared lo intensifl yout lllllll
pleisuie, then by all means send toi the
Xandiia Collectioii (,old Edition catalogue
it is priced at just four dollars which is
applied in full to your first ordeix
Write today, You have absolutely nothing
to lose. And an entirely new world of
enjoyment to gain.

Dept. M10789

P.O. Box 31039, San Francisco, CA 94131

The Xandria Collection,

lllmw sl-llll llll' bl lust llllsx lhdll, llll' lllllll lll the
Vllllll'i.1(olll-llion(,llll l lllllllln l.1!.llllllllll' lllllli5l'1llx
llllllll'l Llll lllllllllll llllllll loI' llllll'1lllllllls llllll'1lllllllu-
uppln-tl lllll'.1lLlsm1'luxtpiulmw. 1S4 L' h \$(15

Ll L ix)

Address

City

State Zip

i am llll dLILllt over 21 years of age:
(signatui't- required)

I

I

I

I

I

I

I

I

I

I

```
I
I 1
I N11 me
```

: 'outh Sllll 1'1'11111'1s11111411811
 111111111 .5741)11b11111ul All.
 want to be ruled.,, Does this mean abol-
 ishing party politics and democracy?
 ttNo, not at all. Royalism is above all that.
 It is not a political party, it is a state of
 mind?
 Henri speaks softly and carries a big
 stick. The French, he maintains, are now
 ready for ll king. Thatls why, after years in
 the army and banking circles, he has re_
 cently embarked on this quest for recogni-
 tion in the service of the nation. Isnlt it
 worrying to have loonies like Action
 Franeaise on your side? His eyes flash, but
 the voice remains serenely contralto. llAs a
 prince of France, I represent all
 Frenchmen?
 Even the revolutionaries? How are you
 going to celebrate the bicentennial of the
 French Revolution? mCelebrate, is not
 the word,w he says with princely under-
 statement. til am going to commemorate
 't I Enthusiasm Hnally creeps in. liBesides,
 it was our families that led the Revolution,
 only it was diverted by other forces. The
 French Revolution was interrupted by
 what is called the Terror. It is now time to
 complete it?
 Iim beginning to understand. The
 French got rid of their king because they
 wanted a king. Simple, really. Henri rises
 and-noblesse oblige-shows me to the
 door. When he smiles farewell, I try to
 imagine his face on a postage stamp. May-
 be he does the same thing when he looks
 in the mirror.
 HENRI DOES HAVE A POINT, THOUGH:
 the French seem to like their kings.
 Franceis most prominent and, arguably.
 most reasonable royalist, Bertrand Re-
 nouvin, head of the centrist Nouvelle Ac-
 tion Royaliste, puts it quite succinctly:
 ilThe Constitution of the Fifth Republic is
 entirely monarchical in inspiration.w
 Most of the royalist cadre find the result
 of this situation to be immensely dis-
 tasteful: the man who would be king ap-
 pears to be, at least by behavior and posi-
 tion, none other than Francois Mitter-
 rand. Recently, the press has taken to
 calling him ltGodfl given his Pharaonic
 ways of announcing major projects for his
 capital and fondness for appearing above
 the vulgar tray of partisan politics. In Mit-
 terrand, the royalists have their most for-

midable enemy_not because he wants to govern as a socialist, but because he tries to reign as a monarch.

Yet this year the ruler will not have an easy time of it-precisely because the commemoration of the Revolution looms so large on the political calendar. Mitterrand's Socialists try to glorify Danton and the Rights of Man, while their more conservative opponents, such as Jacques Chirac's Rally for the Republic, ignore the more radical of their republican ancestors and play up the notion of 21 France united against foreign invaders. The Communists, if they do not eschew the whole affair as a bourgeois sideshow, usually plump for Robespierre. With all these conflicting views of the Revolution, the organizer of the commemorative festivities has had to move cautiously. But this has proved hazardous: two Mitterrand appointees to the post have already died in office. Mindful of what happened to the Bourbon pretender on the ski slopes of Colorado, the metaphysical royalists, a group of extreme-Right Catholics who publish a newsletter called Anti-89, remarked of the deaths of Mitterrand's men: "The Lord works in mysterious ways"

Paris, February 1989.

THE MARQUIS, WHOSE DEALINGS WITH the present government are, he assures me, insensitive, consents to talk on the condition that his name be withheld. An aristocratic mole in a republican system, the short, well-dressed fifty-year-old launches into a lesson about political illucidity at Angelinas, a Belle Epoque cafe on the Rue de Rivoli famous for its hot chocolate and its blue-blood clientele. "France needs a prince now. The French cannot accept other European countries having royal families and outclassing them, so to speak?"

He adjusts his glasses for additional lucidity. "But we don't necessarily need a Bourbon or an Orleans? His friend, Stanislas-who consented to the publication of his first name-gasps in astonishment, then dresses down the marquis for suggesting that tradition be so vilely flouted. "It was Louis XIV who messed everything up," the marquis explodes. "And Louis XVI_no one asked him to be a good king, they just wanted him to be a king!"

The argument rages well into the nineteenth century. "If we don't have a Bourbon or an Orleans? Stanislas says at last, "then who could we possibly crown?"

The marquis senses victory. He pauses for effect, then utters, "The Bonapartes are still a very able family?"

I nod approvingly, the nod of a conspirator. I hate to admit it, but I'm beginning to take this seriously.

Stephen O'Shea writes from Paris for Elle and Premiere, and has contributed to the Penguin Guide to France. This is his first story for Mother Jones.

Tenements to the Stars

When painter Martin Wong wants to feel comfortable, really at home, he lumbers into his regulation-issue Herman's coat. Though he looks weighted down by the coat's lead-heavy bulk, he breathes easy: it's something he knows.

Wong, 43, also knows New York's Lower East Side, which for many of its disenfranchised residents—blacks, Hispanics, and Asians—is not unlike that coat: confining but at least a familiar place in which to take the heat. The difference is, their suffocating surroundings can't be shaken off. These are the circumstances Wong chronicles in his paintings: people cast into a damnable place and, despite that, hanging on with a certain resolute dignity.

In Wong's works, which he hopes will travel to Moscow this summer as part of a group show featuring contemporary U.S. artists, certain images recur. The foremost among them is no surprise: firemen—twin firemen at that—often standing shoulder to shoulder and, in one arresting instance, kissing.

They represent Hypnos and Thanatos, Greek identical twins, sleep and death, says Wong. High above the firemen and the inevitable downtown tenements is another frequent image: the night sky, with each constellation delineated. What do these carefully diagramed starry, starry nights have to do with the ghetto? I feel sometimes in society, especially in my neighborhood, you're trapped in

the system, says Wong. A lot of people Martin Wong gets into what they get into because they really don't see any alternative? constellation

Less easily understood is Wong's take on another of his motifs, skateboarding. of urban
I think people skateboard so much here

because they can't surf; the waves go in experience, the wrong direction, Come again?

Right, says Wong. On the West Coast, all the waves come in. On the East Coast, they all go out." This stated, the artist jams his hands into his Herman's coat and, like the people in his paintings, holds to his position as if there weren't any other possibility. —Tirila I'edegizard

MO'1'HILR j()NliS 5 I

l/jv
H'l
we
ll 5
ll t
l
l
l

A Good Shot of W/ywkey

IF THE RIVER WAS wmsmav, by T. Coraghessan Boyle,
Viking, 224 pages, \$17.95.

73x7 Coraghessan Boyle is a writer of extraordinary range.

i ll His first two collections of stories, Descent of Man and

l j Greasy Lake, revealed a protean comic imagination.

l Boyle told malevolently'funny, disturbing, and lyrical

: tales: an imaginary Lassze episode in which the faithful

pooch abandons little Timmy to fornicate with a mangy

coyote; the last day of blues legend Robert Johnson's

life, captured with restrained passion; a pathetic reset-

ting of Gogolk liThe Overcoatll in modern Russia. A

master both of deadpan, surreal slapstick and of haunt-

ing mood pieces, written in prose by turns straightforward

and cunning, Boyle is almost disconcertingly versatile.

His new collection of stories, lfthe River Was Whiskey, is

slicker and sharper and at times more superficial than his first

two. In some of these stories Boyle attempts explicit and

52 jULV/AUGUST 1989

topical social satire-with disappointing

results. llSorry Fugull is a witty but shal-

low onevnote joke about a food critic with

no taste. llModern Love? a satire on con-

temporary fear of sexual disease, features

a llbody condomli as its big shtick (it isnlt

big enough). liThe Little Chilllll is a puerile

exercise in grotesque cultural stereotyp-

ing. These are just finger exercises, amus-

ing but glib,

without reach.

H a p p i l .v,

there is more

substantial mat-

ter here. uPeace

of Mind," about

a home-secur-

ity-system sales-

w o m a n w h o

crosses deadly

paths with a

psycho redneck, and liMe Cago en la

Leche (Robert Jordan in Nicaragua),,,

about a punk kid who goes to hght the

contras, are icily precise nightmares remi-

niscent of John Collier or Roald Dahl at

their nasty best. lll-Iard Sellf about the

p.r. marketing of the Ayatollah, is one of

the funniest stories live read in years.

(Now the big thing about a fanatic;a

muses the fast-talking, silk-suited huck-

ster-narrator, llis hels sexy_lool(at Hitler,

Stalin, with that head of hair of his?)

And the book contains two minor

masterpieces. llThawing Outll is a glow-

ing little gem of a love story. The title

piece, about an alcoholic facing the end

of his marriage, is dreadful and compas-

sionate. The man-wracked with the

shakes, frightened, hopeless-goes out

fishing with his son, Tiller. A fish strikes

the man's line, and suddenly llTiller saw

something in his eyes he hardly recog-

nized anymore, a connection, a charge,

as if the fish were sending a current up the line, through the pole, and into his hands and body and brain? Then the moment passes.

That night the man is drunk again. He knows his wife will leave and take his son. He dreams he is out in the boat with Tiller. Then all of a sudden they were going down, the boat sucked out from under them, the water icy and black, beating in on them as if it were alive. Tiller called out to him. He saw his sons face, saw him going down, and there was nothing he could do."

Social satire can be a dangerous muse for a serious writer.

As a culture critic, Boyle is hit-or-miss: his narrative versatility can betray him into writing facile comedy best suited for the semi-hip universe of glossy magazines. But that versatility also enables Boyle to break through the conventions of satire, to turn jokes into disquieting dirges. At its best, as in the title story, Boyle's fiction has more than admirable range: it has a terse, unsparing power that comes straight from the heart. -Gary Kamiya

Boyle's slick
style makes his
stories go down
too smoothly.

Illustration by Karen Barbour
smoothly- almost!

M USIC with some truly original lyrical material: a paean to the
 _ painter Hieronymus Bosch (llOK Hieronymusll), reflec-
 tions on the inevitable approach of his daughters first sexu-
) al experience (The Girl Isn't Readyll), and an ironic ode to
 Graham Parker S what for Parker has always seemed elusive, llSuecessT
 After a well-attended thirty-city concert tour last spring,
 ' ' and with the popularity of his last two records, success may
 Acoustlc ACld no longer be a topic for irony. But Parker, who is shielded
 even onstage behind dark, movie-star shades, remains phil-
 osophical about the ever-shifting tides of the record busi-
 hen Graham Parker stands alone onstage, accom- ness. llThe point in my career right now i
 s just to make
 panied only by his acoustic guitar, the acerbic bite music honestly. . . . People who get
 it, they're going to see
 of his music hits the audience full force. Parker, a what a scathing and funny thing it i
 s Ilm doing. And its also
 wordsmith whose jumpy, nervous rhythms used to got a melody, which the guy from the Washi
 ngton Post
 be hllled out by backup bands, has managed to strip can't have; you know, he can't give you
 a melody?
 down his sound from electric to acoustic without -Mar/2 Schapiro
 mellowing an inch. He gibes at the record industry
 (llPassive Resistancell), and his latest record, Live!
 Alone in America, released earlier this year, includes
 a call for hope amid political absurdities like airplane
 hijackings (llDon't Let It Break You Downl,)),
 and one of the most eloquent songs in rock,
 about the difficulties of a man facing a lover's
 abortion (llYou Can't Be Too Strongll). One re-
 cently released single from the album, llSoul
 Corruption? an explicit swipe at racist hypoc-
 risy, was banned by MTV, which objected to his
 use of the word llNigger in the lyrics: (lT/Jeylll
 never let any nigger in, why'd you think it's called
 the White House?" Parker's next record, due out
 this fall, promises similarly incisive music.
 Parker's reverse-Dylan move puts him in the
 company of a new breed of musicians who are chal-
 lenging the music industry's notion that only a
 souped-up sound sells. Performers like Tracy Chap-
 man, John Hiatt, R.E.M., and the Cowboy Junkies
 llhave proved that there's an alternative audience out
 there that can offer a million listenersf he said.
 Always a cantankerous figure, Parker has been beat-
 ing counter-rhythms to the music business since
 launching himself from a London squat thirteen years
 ago. Forging radical, new-wave melodies with bands
 like the Rumour and the Shot, he quickly became associ-
 ated with Elvis Costello as one of the artists who would
 lead rock back to its rebellious roots.
 Still, after a brief but intense success (Squeezing Out
 Sparks was one of the seminal
 " l ho et it albums of 1979), Parker faded
 Peop e W g , from the attention of all but his
 I ' most loyal fansaa victim, he
 they re gOIdg to claims, of record industry pres-
 - sure to produce music for the
 see What a scathmg hit parade. Others attribute his
 . decline to writers block and a
 and funny thng softening of his lifestyle_kick-
 , . . , ing the bottle, getting married
 I m dOIng' -but, whatever the reason, his
 thirteen years of foundering in
 the musical shadows left its mark. Parker ricocheted
 through four different labels before hnally landing at RCA,
 which offered an unusual deal: a tiny advance and total
 creative control. The result was The Mona Lisals Sister,
 released last year and Parker's best album in a decade. The
 record features more musically sophisticated tunes along
 MOTHER JONES 53
 Photograph by Marc Geller

MOVIES

The Murderer

Next Door

On a balmy night in June 1982, Vincent Chin, a first-generation Chinese American, sat drinking with his buddies in the Fancy Pants, a Detroit strip joint. A fight broke out between Chin and two white guys, and Chin decked one of them. A few minutes later, the two caught up with Chin. This time they had a baseball bat. While Michael Nitz held Chin down, Ronald Ebens took home-run swings at Chin's head. Vincent Chin died a few days later.

Proving that Asian life is cheap in the United States, Ebens and Nitz each paid for the death of Vincent Chin with a three-year probation and a \$3,000 fine. Had it been a brutal murder, you explains the presiding judge, those fellows would be in jail now? Such justice-or lack thereof-caused quite a stir for a while, and gave birth to an Asian American political movement. It also caught the attention of two struggling filmmakers from New York. Their documentary, Who Killed Vincent Chin?, will be broadcast nationally on public television on July 18. When Renee Tajima and Christine Choy applied for money to make their film, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting put them in its minority filmmakers project, which meant hand-

The makers of giving them a white male consultant to

Vincent Chin oversee the project.

According to Mary Maguire, CPB's director of external communication, the corporation felt the production could benefit although she admits that the

use of such consultants has since been abandoned. At the time, though, CPB said that the twenty-nine films Choy had already made were not investigative and did not constitute enough experience for them to trust her abilities on this project. It was like a slap in the face," remembers Tajima, but we had to go along with the plan to get funding?

When they arrived in Detroit to begin filming, Choy and Tajima considered Chin's death to be a clear-cut case of racially motivated murder. Witnesses in the bar remember why two killers went free.

54 JULY/AUGUST 1989

bered Ebens, an autoworker, yelling at Chin, whom he thought was Japanese, let's be-cause of you little motherfuckers that were out of work! But the filmmakers soon found the issue more complicated: everyone involved had been drunk, and witnesses didn't agree on a story. So Tajima and Choy took a different angle. What we wanted to convey was the complexity of racial relations? says Tajima. It doesn't do any good

to set it up as hero and villain?

And indeed, perhaps the most fascinating -and horrifying-aspect of the Elm is the interview with Ronald Ebens. A golfer, car enthusiast, and family man, Ebens lives with his wife on a tree-lined suburban street. He remembers waking up the morning after the murder feeling like ha jerkl, because it was Fathers Day and he was in jail. Ebens has less regret about his killing of Chin. llltls not something you plan on happeningf, he says, llbut it happens?

Tajima and Choy have shown the film at such venues as the US. Film Festival and New Yorkis New Directors/New Films, and it received an Academy Award nomination this year. Now that they,ve had a taste of success, will the two have an easier time getting money to make other films? Choy thinks not. llOne day youlre very famous. Next day youlre nobody. Why should I have those kinds of illusions? -Dana Sachs
MUSIC

The Blues Bothers

nother night on the road in Anytown, U.S.A. Youlve unpacked your suitcase, eaten the complimentary fruit, and read the entertainment guide from cover to cover-nothing looks promising, and you,ve got hours to kill in uncharted territory. Singing the blues? The antidote might be found in a song, but, as the Empress herself might have put it, a good club has been hard to hnd . . . until now. The Blues Foundation, dedicated to "the preservation and perpetuation of the blues? has just introduced a toll-free hot line, offering information ranging from the inside track at local clubs to the dates of national conferences, competitions, and festivals. With over one thousand members across the United States and Canada, the 800 number can get you down and digging anywhere from Elils Mile High in Oakland, California, to Blues Alley in DO SO, although you may have to suffer if you want to play the blues, thanks to this red-hot hot line, youlll no longer have to suffer if you want to hear them. Call 1-800-727-0641.

- Valerie Calegari

Illustration by 105 Sancez

will need more support if they
 me our next four national parks.
 fornia Desert National
 gged and uninhabited, Califor-
 lojave Desert is called lithe emp-
 ' live never had a stronger sense
 ternessll of desert than in the
 Mountains around Mitchell
 he looks out from the ridgetops
 :h small but surprisingly varied
 cacti toward pinkish gray-green
 sh flats that end only in more
 led mountains. Nothing is visi-
 : past and present, and one half-
 see, approaching through the
 he of the nomadic bands of
 i people who spent their sum-
 d the Mitchell Cavern springs.
 Tavern, a band left the bones of a
)s a shaman, crouched in a niche
 wn a limestone cliff.
 au of Land Management admin-
 lSt Mojave, with a federal man-
 tect the desert ecosystem while
 iccessible for mining, grazing,
 and other iimultiple uses? But
 lSOIl some like to call the BLM
 l of Logging and Mining? The
 o-commercial bent has fueled
 a national-park bill.
 Klan Cranstonls California Des-
)n Act would create three new
 '16, upgrading Death Valley and
 f national monuments to park
 uments may be created and de-
)residential proclamation, while
 'e an act of Congress) and estab-
 F million-acre East Mojave na-
 between Barstow and Needles.
 have remained in the public do-
 se nobody else wanted to own
 3mmercial interests hold tightly
 'emotest of potential parklands:
 lm of mining, livestock, and
 ehicle interests has stopped
)ill from passing so far.
 lojave National Park
 3th St.
 t 92311
)esert Protection League
 ;th St, Apt. 323
 , CA 90029
 Cocaine
 White Gold Rush in Peru
 a new book by Edmundo Morales
 "Only when citizens of the US. under-
 stand how profoundly the drug trade is
 part of Peruvian society can they
 understand the difficulty in stopping the
 problem This book provides excellent
 research and background material for
 arriving at such an understanding."
 (Booklist)
 "All concerned citizens and policymakers
 had better read this book, and soon, for
 the time for mere palliatives and theatrical
 heroics is past." (Eric R. Wolf, City
 University of New York)
 The University of Arizona Press
 1230 N. Park Ave., Tucson AZ 85719
 VLSA/MC orders. call 1-800-426-3797

Music lio be born by
A musical soundscape for the
delivery room and beyond. i
Produced by Grateful Dead percussxomst Mickey Hart.
MUSIC TO BE BORN BY is built around a recording 01
Hart's son Taro's ietal heartbeat. With subtle musical
overlays added. MUSIC TO BE BORN BY becomes a
comiorting and rhythmic audio environment Invaluable to
baby and mother betore. during. and aftei childbirth.
'The rhythms, the repetition. and the melodic line almost
become internalized within the listener, For a laboring
woman caught up in the intensny of her expetience, the
repetition 01 these pleasing sounds can have a calming
effect, and can help her pace herseli emotionally. Fov
those around her. the steady rhythmic pace can help
them remain calm and confident. This musnc helps to set
an appropriate tone and ieeling in the place at birth '
,, Penny Simkin, P.T.
l Available in record and specialty shops. l l
l For mail order, please send \$8.99lorCassette i l
or \$13.99 for CD, plus \$200 p&h, to: ,
Boston Compact Disc. Dept. 85
548 JFK St.. Cambridge MA 02138
Check/Money Order/MastercardNisa
RYKODKSC USA, Pickering Wharf, R .
Bldg. C-SG, Salem MA 01970
MOTHER JONES 55

examine why

MOVIES

The Murderer

Next Door

On a balmy night in June 1982, Vincent Chin, a first-generation Chinese American, sat drinking with his buddies in the Fancy Pants, at Detroit strip joint. A fight broke out between Chin and two white guys, and Chin decked one of them. A few minutes later, the two caught up with Chin. This time they had a baseball bat. While Michael Nitz held Chin down, Ronald Ebens took home-run swings at Chin's head. Vincent Chin died a few days later.

Proving that Asian life is cheap in the United States, Ebens and Nitz each paid for the death of Vincent Chin with a three-year probation and a \$3,000 fine. Had it been a brutal murder? Explains the presiding judge, those fellows would be in jail now? Such justice—or lack thereof—caused quite a stir for a while, and gave birth to an Asian American political movement. It also caught the attention of two struggling filmmakers from New York. Their documentary, *Who Killed Vincent Chin?*, will be broadcast nationally on public television on July 18.

When Renee Tajima and Christine Choy applied for money to make their film, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting put them in its minority filmmakers project, which meant hand-

ing them a white filmmaker to consult with to oversee the project.

According to Mary Maguire, CPB's director of external communication, the corporation felt the production could benefit although she admits that the use of such consultants has since been abandoned. At the time, though, CPB said that the twenty-nine films Choy had already made were not investigative and did not constitute enough experience for them to trust her abilities on this project. It was like a slap in the face? remembers Tajima, but we had to go along with the plan to get funding?

When they arrived in Detroit to begin filming, Choy and Tajima considered Chin's death to be a clear-cut case of racially motivated murder. Witnesses in the bar remember two killers went free.

54 JULY/AUGUST 1989
bered Ebens, an autoworker, yelled at him whom he thought was Japanese cause of you little motherfuckers out of work! But the filmmaker found the issue more complicated involved had been drunk, and didn't agree on a story. So Tajima took a different angle. What we convey was the complexity of relations, says Tajima. It doesn't do

to set it up as hero and villain?
And indeed, perhaps the most
-and horrifying-aspect of the
interview with Ronald Ebens. A
enthusiast, and family man, Eben:
his wife on a tree-lined suburban
Tl

nother nigl
suitcase, e2
guide frort
got hours
antidote m
have put it
The Blu
petuation
offering in
the dates 0
over one thous
800 number ea
High in Oaklai
may have to su
hot line, youlll
1-800-727-064

PARKS

(Continued from page 31) t a t i v e R o b
Smith calls Lujan iione Of the nicest guys and
worst environmentalists in Congress?
Smith says Republican Lujan sometimes
supported New Mexico park proposals to
stay popular in a largely Democratic district,
but voted the antienvironmentalist party
line on the national level. Still, prospects for
new parks could hardly be as dim now as
they were under Reagan, when there was
much talk of iicompletingii the park system
in its present stunted and withered form,
even of 9decommissioningli existing parks.
As usual, the pressure to expand the park
system will have to come from the unap-
pointed and unelected. Yet even environ-
mentalists are not united about significantly
expanding the park system. A iiBlueprint for
the Environment" presented to Bush by
thirty environmental groups didn't propose
new parks. There hasn't been a nationwide
coalition pushing a national-park proposal
since the powerful Alaska Coalition of the
1970s. Conservationist David Brower, head
of the Earth Island Institute, thinks environ-
mental groups haven't done enough ii to get
the public into the legislative act? The real
goal, he says, is shifting jurisdiction over
federal lands away from agencies that are
captives of commercial interests.

One thing is certain: the park system
won't grow significantly unless its acquisi-
tion budget does. Brower suggests one way
to outflank the budget monster: iiWhat is the
total capital worth of the big foundations
like Ford and MacArthur? What if they took
a tenth of that and put it in land? The Nature
Conservancy la highly effective private land-
preservation groupl really got started with a
\$6 million line of credit from the Ford Foun-
dation? Since industrial wealth ultimately
comes from natural ecosysrems, it would be
prudent to plow some of the profits back. As
Brower says, iiParks are the best device so
far for preserving the encyclopedia of how
the planet works?

Sierra Club,s Doug Scott thinks that the
best way to expand the park system is for
ordinary people to push for them. uConser-
vation groups aren't here to tell the country
what parks it needs? he says. iiThey're here
to support viable grass-roots proposals, to
make them happen?

Here, then, is a place for ordinary people
to start. Presented on these pages are four of
the most promising, and needed, potential
national parks. All would add greatly to the
systems biotic diversity. All work a special
magic on the visitoHs senses. All are opposed
by powerful commercial interests. All are
supported vigorously by grass-roots organi-
zations. All will need more support if they
are to become our next four national parkst

1. California Desert National
Park. Rugged and uninhabited, Califor-
nia's East Mojave Desert is called ii the emp-
ty triangle? I've never had a stronger sense
of the iiothernessli of desert than in the
Providence Mountains around Mitchell
Caverns. One looks out from the ridgetops

studded with small but surprisingly varied shrubs and cacti toward pinkish gray-green creosote bush flats that end only in more cactus-studded mountains. Nothing is visible to divide past and present, and one half-expects to see, approaching through the creosote, one of the nomadic bands of Chemehuevi people who spent their summers around the Mitchell Cavern springs. Inside that cavern, a band left the bones of a man, perhaps a shaman, crouched in a niche partway down a limestone cliff.

The Bureau of Land Management administers the East Mojave, with a federal mandate to protect the desert ecosystem while making it accessible for mining, grazing, recreation, and other multiple uses? But there is a reason some like to call the BLM the Bureau of Logging and Mining? The bureau's pro-commercial bent has fueled support for a national-park bill. Senator Alan Cranston's California Desert Protection Act would create three new national parks, upgrading Death Valley and Joshua Tree national monuments to park status (monuments may be created and de-certified by presidential proclamation, while parks require an act of Congress) and establishing a 1.5 million-acre East Mojave national park between Barstow and Needles. These lands have remained in the public domain because nobody else wanted to own them. But commercial interests hold tightly to even the remotest of potential parklands: a consortium of mining, livestock, and off-road vehicle interests has stopped Cranston's bill from passing so far.

Friends of Mojave National Park
1129 Elizabeth St.
Barstow, CA 92311
California Desert Protection League
3550 West 6th St, Apt. 323
Los Angeles, CA 90029

Cocaine

White Gold Rush in Peru

a new book by Edmundo Morales

"Only when citizens of the U.S. understand how profoundly the drug trade is part of Peruvian society can they understand the difficulty in stopping the problem. This book provides excellent research and background material for arriving at such an understanding."

(Booklist)

"All concerned citizens and policymakers had better read this book, and soon, for the time for mere palliatives and theatrical heroics is past." (Eric R. Wolf, City University of New York)

The University of Arizona Press
1230 N. Park Ave., Tucson AZ 85719
VISA/MC orders. call 1-800-4263797

Music, to be born by

A musical soundscape for the
delivery room and beyond. i

EM?

at:

x We

V -x

M , . YR,

Produced by Grateful Dead percussionist Mickey Hart,

MUSIC TO BE BORN BY is built around a reevdmg ot
Hart's son Taro's fetal heartbeat. Wllh subtle musmal
overiays added, MUSIC TO BE BORN BY becomes a
comtomng and rhythmic audio environment Invaluable to
baby and mother beiore, during. and after childbirth
'The rhythms, the repetition, and the melodic line almost
become internalized wtthin the listener, For a laboring
woman caught up In the intensiTy oi her experience, the
repetition of these pleasmg sounds can have a calming
effect, and can help her pace herseti emotionally, For
those around her. the steady rhythmic pace can help
them remain calm and confident. This mustc helps to set
an appropriate tone and ieeiing m the place of bmhf
-- Penny Simkin, P.T.

Available in record and specialty shops. 1
For mail order, please send \$8,9910r Cassette i 1
or \$13.99 ior CD. plus \$2.00 p&h, to: i .
Boston Compact Disc. Dept. 85
548 JFK St. Cambridge MA 02138
Check/Money Order/MastercardNisa

R.
MOTHER JONES 55
RYKODISC USA, Pickering Wharf,
Bldgt C-SG, Salem MA 01970

2. Old Growth National Park. St)

committed to commercial logging that it usually sells its trees to timber companies at a loss to taxpayers, the National Forest Service opposes new national parks in two ways. First, it competes for additions to the public lands, and national forests generally find more favor with timber companies and developers than do national parks. Second, the Forest Service has proven unwilling to give up its land, of whatever quality and importance, to new national parks.

This unwillingness is felt most in the Pacific Northwest, where our last stands of unprotected virgin forest are. Although most national parks lie west of the Mississippi, they include relatively little of the coastal forest that once stretched from Washington's Puget Sound to California's Point Conception. The largest unprotected remnant of this forest is the 110,000-acre North Kalmiopsis in southwest Oregon's Siskiyou Mountains.

With a climate milder than most of the West's, the Siskiyou's harbor ancient species that have disappeared from cooler, drier regions. This is a refuge for a fifty-million-year-old temperate forest ecosystem where old growth is impoverished by glaciation, desertification, and urbanization. The Siskiyou's contain the Rogue, Chetco, Illinois, and Smith rivers, popular white-water streams that serve as key salmon and steelhead breeding habitats. The Oregon Natural Resources Council, a statewide umbrella group, supports a one million-acre Siskiyou national park from just north of the Rogue River to the California border. Yet the Forest Service has been working steadily to liquidate old growth forest in the proposed park. Since the early 1980s, the Forest Service has been trying to build a logging road, the Bald Mountain Road, which will split the unprotected North Kalmiopsis area off from an already established Kalmiopsis wilderness area. Local conservationists have blocked the road's completion so far (often by lying down in front of bulldozers), but the Forest Service has slated timber sales that will clear-cut the area and foul its supposedly protected Illinois River with silt.

I walked across the North Kalmiopsis to Bald Mountain in the summer of 1988. Even blackened by the fires of the previous year, 56 JULY/AUGUST 1989

Bald Mountain was one of the loveliest places I've seen, a maze of rich, slanting meadows and ancient Douglas fir groves. Much of the meadow and forest understory vegetation had already recovered, and I could see how centuries of natural fire had shaped the meadow and grove landscape by removing second growth and brush. Most of the thick-barked trees had survived the fires. A big black bear grazed one meadow near a colony of *Aplodontia*, ancient burrowing mammals found only in West Coast forests.

Fires have not lessened the Forest Service's determination to get at the North

Kalmiopsis big trees by carving the area into a network of dirt roads. The fires destruction of streamside vegetation in some areas has had the effect of temporarily making stream water warmer, which in turn has reduced the salmon breeding habitat. Now the Forest Service plans to threaten that fragile ecology all the more, in the name of salvaging all fire-killed timber and restoring the area.

Siskiyou Regional Education Project

PO Box 13070

Portland, OR 97213

(503) 249-2958

Headwaters

PO Box 1075

Grants Pass, OR 97526

5. Hardwoods Forest National

Park. Imagine vast, almost uninhabited forest lands, a substantial northeast hardwoods national park within a days drive of forty million Americans. In northern New England the opportunity exists, along with a chance to re-establish the woodland caribou, eastern cougar, pine marten. and wolverine-all species fading or gone from the east.

The lands have been in the hands of timber companies for centuries, but fierce competition will probably force the companies to sell many of their holdings soon. With public support, it could cost relatively little to create a park. The Diamond International Corporation recently offered ninety thousand acres in Vermont and New Hampshire at \$211 an acre. The state of New Hampshire bought half the land, but the rest ended up in the hands of developers. That's not the way national parks are made.

What may happen? according to Wilderness Society northeast regional director Michael Kellett, it's that resort and second-home developers will buy up all the good stuff, all the lake and river frontage and scenery, and leave the public with a bunch of cutover timber land, which the government will buy as a bailout to the timber industry. There's a lot of talk about keeping a working forest here. What good is a working forest' to taxpayers in Connecticut or Missouri? If we had another Yosemite here, though, they could come for vacations? A prime candidate for New England's

Yosemite is the 1.5 million-acre area around Baxter State Park in north central Maine.

With stately Mt. Katahdin at its center, the region contains the scenic and nationally significant Penobscot, Sebasticook, Pleasant, and Aroostook rivers as well as 108 lakes.

There's a huge demand for wilderness here? Kellett says. Baxter State Park is overrun and at capacity now, the same for the White and Green mountains. Acadia National Park on the Maine coast is the second most-visited park in the country? Whatever happens, Kellett and other observers agree that a lot of timberland in northern New England is going to change hands soon. Into whose will it go? According to Bill Lienesch, director of federal activities for the National Parks and Conser-

vation Association, if wilderness isn't protected now, in a decade, we'll be amazed at how much development has occurred.

The Wilderness Society
Northeast Office
20 Park Plaza, Suite 536
Boston, MA 02116
(617) 350-8866

4. Tallgrass Prairie National Park. Tallgrass prairie is the quintessential North American ecosystem; nothing quite like it exists anywhere else in the world. A mix of giant grasses such as big bluestem and Indian grass and hundreds of herb and wildflower species, it once covered 400,000 square miles of the Midwest and supported immense numbers of wildlife. Fifty years ago, when the possible disappearance of this

one-of-a-kind ecosystem became manifest, the National Park Service began looking for a place to establish a tallgrass prairie national park. It is still looking. An early choice was the Flint Hills of east central Kansas. Too steep and rocky for com, the hills still support prairie sod. Cattle have replaced bison and elk, but the hills retain a wild beauty. I was there in June once, not the peak time for tallgrass prairie because most grasses and wildflowers bloom in late summer. Yet even though the bluestem was only knee-high (it can reach eight feet), the prairie was dazzlingly green, colored here and there with wild geranium, white penstemon, golden ragwort, and blue spiderwort. Upland sandpipers-prairie birds that winter in South America-whistled and fluttered over the slopes, getting ready to nest in the grass. It was a haunting place, with the peculiar sense of endlessness that only wild prairie has.

I didn't walk far in the Flint Hills, however. They remain private property, well posted with KEEP OUT signs. Local landowners have fought to a standstill decades of attempts to establish a park. Their expressed reason for doing so-a wish to maintain the region as a ranching community-is doubtless sincere, although pressures on the livestock industry will increase the temptation to subdivide ranches in coming years.

Hopes for a park recently shifted to another flinty region, the Osage Hills of northeastern Oklahoma, where owners of several large ranches expressed a willingness to sell to the Park Service. Other landowners, more interested in ranching and oil drilling, have resisted, however. Among these are the Osage tribe, which owns subsurface mineral rights to the ranches for sale. Park proponents responded by downgrading the proposal from national park to national preserve status. This would allow more leeway for grazing, oil production, and hunting. The government wouldn't even own much of the land, merely buying easements on development rights instead. Yet Congress is in no hurry to pass even the preserve. Meanwhile, one of the ranches originally for sale has been sold to a private buyer, and the prairie suddenly seems not at all endless. Sierra Club, Oklahoma Chapter

c/o Paul Gray

PO Box 703

Sand Springs, OK 74063

(918) 245-7813

David Rains Wallace is author of The Klamath Knot and The Turquoise Dragon. His latest book, Bulow Hammock: Mind in at Forest, is just out from Sierra Club.

CLASSIFIED

Art

303nm

American Indian art: Pueblo pottery. Hopi kachinas. Northwest Indian masks. Graphics. Navajo rugs. Write or call: PO Box 55277, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413; (818) 789-2559.

Associations

Bertrand Russell Society. For information write: M), RD 1, PO Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

HALO is a network for Homosexuals and Lesbians Only of spiritual, holistic New Agers. For details, send \$1 to: PO Box 628-Mj, Stn. NDG, Montreal, Quebec H4A 3R1, Canada.

Propaganda Review presents:

9Propaganda and Postmodernism8 conference. San Francisco, August 11-13, 1989. Register now: 575.

Write or call: 2901 Piedmont, Berkeley, CA 94705; (415) 843-9667.

Mental illness drugs cause permanent neurological damage. Psychiatry and the pharmaceutical industry do not want you to know about Tardive Dyskinesia and Tardive Dystonia, a public health crisis that affects over 1V2 million people. Please write or call: Ira Gruber, Tardive Dyskinesia-Tardive Dystonia Association, 1206 East Pike St, Seattle, WA 98122; (206) 324-4297.

Better Health

Healthy Lights, clean air. 100-watt full-spectrum NEO-white bulbs:

\$5, or 2 for \$9. Auto Ionizer plugs into lighter: \$39; Home Ionizer emits 29.5 billion ions: 859. MC/VISA. Write or call: Network, 25-Mj W. Fairview, Dover, NJ 07801; (800) 777-INFO.

Spiritual vitamins. Clear your mind, 11liberatel, spiritual energy, with 60 SuperNutrition tabs: \$12.75. Write or call: Network, 25-MJ W. Fairview, Dover, NH 07801; (800) 777-INFO.

Free: Immune System, a health-product guide. Write: Meadows, PO Box 1998, Brattleboro, VT 05301.

Herpes-inform yourself and partner(s). Booklet discusses transmission, treatment, psychosocial issues for women and men. S4. Write or call: SCWHC, 250 Locust St., Santa Cruz, CA 95060; (408) 427-3500.

Never be caught without a tampon again. Create your own tampons. Complete directions and sample of a safe, disposable, inexpensive alternative to commercially available tampons. Send S5 check or money order to: White Rose Innovations, 326 I St., Suite 111, Eureka, CA 95501.

Forget all pain! German healer reveals natural cure. Helped over 344,000 people. Proven and amazing! For complete information, send \$2 to: 7095 Hollywood Blvd., #709, Hollywood, CA 90028.

Books & Publications

Religion is a boring subject. Agree? The opposition is more interesting, honest, reasonable. One-year sub-

scription, 56; sample, 51. Write:
American Rationalist, PO Box 994,
St. Louis, MO 63188.

You can publish your book. Pro-
gressive and peace items a priority.
Write or call: Northland Press
of Winona, 51 E. Fourth. Suite
412, Winona, MN 55987: (507)
452-3686.

The Found Poetry oth. C01. Oliver
North. Taken directly from his con-
gressional testimony. Limited sup-
ply-order now. Send \$4.50 to:
Shelf Life Press, 22704 Ventura
Blvd. #245, Woodland Hills, CA
91364.

Proof Jesus Hctional-SS. (For de-
tails only, send a self-addressed,
stamped envelope.) Write: Abelard,
PO Box 5652-R, Kent, WA 98064.
Seeking submissions for book on
creative, successful, social change
tactics. Write: PO Box 21559.
Washington. DC 20009. Deadline:
8/1/89.

Your source for publications on
Jewish vegetarianism and animal
rights. Inquire: Micah Publications,
255 Humphrey St., Marblehead.
MA 01945.

Christianity versus Atheism drama-
tized explosively in Carl Shapiros
dynamic 1986 novel, Slayer of (be
Sacred Cow. An unparalleled liter-
ary experience! Softcover 510 post-
paid to: Independent Publications,
PO Box 102, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.
Publish your book! join our suc-
cessful authors. All subjects invited.
Publicity, advertising, beautiful
books. Send for fact-filled booklet
and free manuscript report: Carlton
Press, Dept. MJG, 11West 32nd St.,
New York, NY 10001.

Eureka Bookfinder. Send wants to:
2024 Harris-MJ, Eureka, CA
95501.

Bumper Stickers

I'M PROUD TO BE AN AMERICAN
ELIBERAL:

2 BSTKIKER KD SOGNS BOX 2061M OAKLAND CA 906-.
Business
Opportunties

Successful business opportunity.
Own your own crystal/mineral
store in your town. Complete pack-
age/training available. Write:
Herkimefs Crystals, PO Box 279,
Vail, CO 81658.

Learn how to get paid for mailing
letters! Write: PASE-NO7, 161 Lin-
colnway, North Aurora, IL 60542.

Make money: Custom Auto Tag
Kits: letters. novelties, frames. Write
or call: Creative Plastics, PO Box
260365, Tampa. FL 33685; (813)
885-4257.

Become a paralegal. Work with at-
torneys. Lawyer-instructed home-
study. Free career catalog. Call:
(800) 223-4542, Dept. LH168.

AAAAAAAAAAAA

READER

SEME-

LL'I 115 11111111 .15 5111111 115 11115511111: 511

Mother Jonex c1111 1111111w yuu

Attachu 111111111111111101 11111111 11'1'1'111

155111' 111 11115 5111111' 111111 wr111' y1111r

IICW 11111111'55 111'111v1

II 11111 1'111'11111111'1 .1111 11r111111'1115

111111 111111 5111151'1'111111111. 11111 1.111

5111111111111 111111111.' 11111111 11111111

1111111111111111151'.111111'()111111111111'5x

11511'11111'11111 1,11'1151'1'111'11151' .111'1'1'111

111.111111111.1111'1111 11111111'1' 1111 .11'1'111.111'

11.1111111111'

N1111' 111'1'.11151' 111 11111 .111x.1111'1'

1114111111; 51'111'111111'. 1111'1151' .1111111

511 111 1'111111 1111115 1111 .1111111'55

(1111111115. 1111111111115 111 111111'1 111111151"

1111'1115 111 111' 11'111'1'11'11 1111 111111 51111-

51'1111111111 1111111 11 1111 5111111' 11.151111

1111' .111111511111'111 111 111111 11111111111

11'1'111511111'1:111111111111111'1111411111111.

11'1'1 111'1' 111w1111' 1111111'1111111'55111"

11111 111 111 51.11114 (11.111.1111..U111h1'r

1111161. 111113 1115x111118111'1'1. 8.111

1'1.1111'151'11.(.41114103

F111111 111111' 111 11111L' 1w 111.1111 11111

5111151'11111'1 1151 .11'1111.11111' 1111.111"

11111) 51'11'1'111'111111111111141111115111111.111-

1'1'11151'111 1111111 111'1111u11111111.11h1'1

1111111'1'1'111' 5111'11511111'11211111115.1111'.151'

1'111'1'111111'11m111-111w..1n11.1111x 111111

1111111111111111'111111115101111

Please remove my name from your

mailing list.

MA11 1111510wa1 11)

MotheDoncs

1111411 11111111111rk1'1 5111111111-

M.1111111. 011-13305

VVVVVVVVVVYV

Business

Opportunities

Easily make \$60 hourly 1.1111111;

1111111111' 11115111131 112111111115. \$3,000

11111111111y. 1'111 111'1' 111111r111111111111,

w1111': ()r11111, 1493 130.1111 Park.

#177M1, 1115111 (3111/, (.11 94404.

Learn how 11) read 111111115 for pay!

\$100 .1 11111'. W1111' 1111 111111115: P1151":

F06, 1111 1.111111111w.1y, N111111 11117

r11r.1,11.601'42.

Buttons

1' _ _

1111110115. \$1101ch. .11111 Hundreds

0101hcr Imms 1n 510111 101 1111

mcdmc Shlpmcn1 Lowcu prltcs

(or 111nd ramng or resale W1-

also cuswmvpm buuons b11111

1:91 suckers. mugs. pens. 1111.111

alloons .11 dlscoun1 pr111'1'

1ARRY FOX. Box 729 M/

I FREE

chatalo VJ/Ic Stream NY (15192

1 I61 791 7929

Cassettes

Your audible alternative! 1111111111.

p111'1ry. 1115111ry, 1111111). Free 11m-

1111111'. Write: Voices. PO 13011

2014M, 15r111111111111', MA 02146.

Catalogs

Catalog of crucially-frcc and environ-
mental products! (511511111115 111111
color chart, 1111111cgl1111111111: 111'11'1-
gents, 1111111111111 pct 11r011ul'15, 111111
ml)r1'.51'n11 51 11): E111) 13111.1, D1111.
M11, 125 Pompton P1111115 Crossroad.
Wayne, NJ 07470.

C111 ldren

Kid Vid2T111'111'st 1111;11in v1111'11s 111r
children. 1111 1111111011., write: 13.111-
11r'.1m.1, PO Box 1046. Dept. M1179.
H111111n11111n. NY 11743.

Communities

Alternative communities .11'r115s

North 111111'r11'11 11'1'11'111111' 115111115.
1.11'1'111 1111' 1111111111)! W1111111111'15 11'1111
v.11111' 1'111111111y, 1'1'11111gy. .11111 111111-
1'11111'111'1'. 1111 11111 11r111'1111r1'. write:
chcr.1111111 111 1i1:.1111;111.111 111111111117
111111'571'Z.151 W1111117M11H9,
'11'1'1111151'11, 111065760. 111'1' (S3. .1117
11r1'1'1.111'11).

Education

M1. 1111c 11111311151 training: 1).1_1' 111'
111'1111111111111211111. 11.11111 .111
111111'1'11,INS.11'11111111'111111 1111'1'11111
5111111'1115 N 1115 1.1'111'11111'11.11
11.11111.11 .1111 .11.111.11111'. 1001) 1'1'11111
1.111' 1111111' 11111111.1111 111 111:.111111111 11117
mm 511111113111 111'51'11. 1'11r 111111'1'
1111111111.1111111,111111.111: 111'5'1'11 111V
51111111'111 H1'.111111.'..11115-1111.(139 N.
11111 1111., 3111151111. 117. 135705.
()11-1'1111111115individualized11m-
grnms 1111' 111111'5511111.115 .11 S111111'15'1'1
11.111 111 11.8. 11111'111r.11 11111115, 111-
1111111111; 1111:111'1 1111111111105. 1111'
1111151111115. 51'1111 \$13 111: 11111'111.1-
111111.11 1111111111151r.1111'1' (7111111, 5111117
1'1'51'1 111111115111; 111111115111, 81111111
51'1, 111111111111 111 19 OM); 111' 11111:
((1461)) 37.111.

1111' (21111111111 School 111 Natural
chling11111'151)1)1'111r111N.11111'1111.1
1111 115.1) 1 111111111111 111 1111r1-5p1111
1111111'. 11'. 1111 111111.111111'11r111'11.1111y,
1111.111), (.11.11111.,S3 Wr111-:1704 .111
11111 1111'. S, 11111111111111.1111, 111.
31.201. 1111'1151' 1'111'11151' 111111111'
11111111111.

Employment

(fommunityjnbs. 1111' 111111 111111111111
11.1111111111111 115111111, 111 51111.1111 11'
5111111511111 111115.1111111111'r115111115 ()11
11111111111111-511111r1.1.,1111/.1111.' 1115.1r111.1
1111'111, 111' .11111 1'111111111111111.1.111111,
1111111'.S1'1111S11111r 61551115 811 1111
12155111511): 130131111 13941. 11161)
81., 1XE15111111111111. 1)(. 10001.

Employment Sought

Supervisory 111x p11511111n wilh .1
NYC/L1 (IPA firm. 111-Jr 1311; X,
11':-V1'.1r .15'5151.1111 1111111111111. 1113.11
01111111111151,11111111'11111'11r11111r 111111
1110111111 1r.1v1'11'r5,H (.111: '516,
43170132.

Financial Services

Sociallyr1'5p111nsib11'investing-Two
w111111'11 11111511111111.1111'151'r5111p.1r1-
111'1511111. 1113A .11111 11111111'r 1111:111-
11111511111111511'r.111'1111'11u 111115111151:-

ly.11'1'11r111111',11lyour 5111-11111'115111'1.11
.111111111.1111'1.11111111'1'111'1'5. (.111 51111.1
3111115111111 111 1).'111111.1 .1111r1': 800
361375139 11r110118.171546111111111
1).(I. .1r1'.1.
Foreign Newspapers
Worldwide English ncwspapcrv
magazines. 5.11111111'1: 3 111r \$2.49.
F111111'1'111111111111'11'1111': 31111111111157
11.1111'r5. PO Box 1)1ir.11_, 1).111.1
P111111. ()1 91619,
Gifts
Penis 11115111 13" x 3.1" 111'1111'15 12
.1111111.11 111-11151'5 111.111 111 1111.111 , 51'1-
1'1111111' 11111'1'111'. 511111 510 111151111111
111: 13115111 (1. 1'0 1311x 1348. Now
11111, NY 1001.1.
Instruction
The American H11115ti1' (3011ch 01
Nutrition 11111'15138..11.S .11111
13111111111111.111151111111111111111111) 1111'-
r1'5111111111'1111' (..1111111', \$3.1V1111':
1704 .111 11111 .111'. 511., 1311111111:
h.1111.111. 31.105. 1311.151:1111111111'11'11'-
111111111' 11111111111.
Foreign langunc. 51'11-inslructi11n111
book/casscttc courses. 190 1'1111151'5
111 56 1.111g11.11;1'5. (3.111 111' 111111: 1111
111'1' 1.11.111111: 111111111111'11111, D1111.
540, (11111111111. (71. 06437; 1.3.03)
45.19794.
Meditation
Meditation clothes and cushiuns.
\$11111 \$1 1111 1.11.111111. /,1'11 Homc
Sntchcry, PO Box 352611141, Idyll-
w1111,(IA 92.349.
Merchandise
QSonIhwasi Euxurg!
11,1;1'1111111111 rows 9111014 1.11.1111, 11.1mm m
It 1.11111. 1111111111111 11 mow .1111111,1mluma131111111111)
1111mm 111111111 5111111111111 11.1mm 11 1155197151 F01
1111112111111: 51-1111 \$2 50 3110111114011- 11 1'51/11':t-11
-H:m11luovv11111 (.ualemawv 51111-11 m 1111: 1.111
11,1 uwulw 1.11: 1111111 \$151. .11111111anlr- 111 1.151
1111111111
"IJ'IIAI. 1952M Av. 15.0.91 M
VILLAGE SInanciIicoLABlIIs-Hso
"I IN "ITS 11110115111: 1110111125 111100111
1'
Products to inspire: Handmade gifts
and narural 11111-1 clothing 11131 rc-
111'1'1 an .lppr1'1'1111111n of art and our
environment. Wr111' or call for free
catalog: Ar1'v1'111ur1'. Dept. .1117,
2115'/; r15hby 1111., Berkek'y, CA
94705; 1415/ 548-3030.
Nu Face Skin-dcvclped by a plus-
111' surgeon. Send SS tor 53111111165 11):
Darr Cosmetics. PO Box 8040,
Jonesboro, AR 72403.
Adult barbecue apron. L111 attached
towel to reveal a shockingly realistic
vers10n 111 111.111: .matomv. Guaran-
teed laugh 1111111' parry Send a check
or monex 11rder for \$19. 95 plus 5.3
shippmg handling t1):T1:x;15' Gag.
Apr0n5. .1324 54111 51., Lubbock.
TX 79412.
?RUBBER STAMPS FOR POLITICAL
AND ICONOCLASTIC
PURPOSES:

1111111311111 51:
' T7 M11111 CA 1111) 5'
Ari! REVOLUTIONARY IMAGES
111' ,
Metaphysics
Ancient WICCA wisdom brings
1111'1111111111111 01111111111.11'111115.1111113
S1'111111.1r_v0111'rs 111'1' 110111:- 5111111
1111r51's .11111 11's1111'1111.11 programs.
Write or 1.111: 130 Box 1.366.1N'11s11ua.
NH 0.3061; 160.31 880772.37.
Om: day you 100 will die. Where
will you 1:11? For 1101' 1111011111111011
wr111' or 1.111: Universal L111, 1111111-
ncr Religlon, 130 Box 3,149 New
haven, (:T 06515; (2031 1131- 777 .
Ex1m11rdinarypsych11 counselor
and problem .5'1111'11 Phone read-
11112.5. VISA' .11(.-111EX.R'.11111.11
(1.ly11111 Br11d10111.1_113) 8.7.0 1281.
Music
The Invincible Music Collection.
51'1111 SI 1111'11111'111'.111111111(111.1101; of
1'111111'11111111111' 111115111 Write: 1111111
111111'. Dcpt. Mj. PO Box 1.3054,
P11111'111x, :17. 85002.
58 1111.1'/A111;115'1 1981)

prices on
, for vari-
i exciting
Ellis, Sal-
ease help
n-parent
daughter
eductible
and earn
-nding a
legal-size
ation and
1,000 for
laximum
l Vanessa
breaking
it help to
iey order
ox 4121,
Proof of
) Mother
rs.
as. Plan
l Transi-
ption in-
: Educa-
Suide to
PO Box
)1004.
: tours.
n Cuer-
l family.
. Gandy
Mexico
ll, visual
z, Mex-
Iramids,
for each
write or
umacin-
co; (73)
.a. Fam-
_SA, PO
53211;
azine-
, budget
l Amer-
:all: PO
98295;
panish,
k, polit-
. Schol-
arships available. Write or call:
NICA, Box 1409-TT, Cambridge,
MA 02238; (617) 497-7142.
T-Shirts
MORE
GREAT
FACES!
Che Guevara.
Gandhi, Sarlrei
Leniny Camus.
Twain Kerouac,
Machiavelli. J FK, /
Karl Marx, Niexzschel
Sheilock Holmes P091
Billie Holiday, Van Goghl Shakespeare. Beethoven.
Steinbeck, Hemingway Jung and others
T-Shirl:(whlte, ll blue or ied)\$1175. 41\$42
Sweatshirt: (while or grey) \$21 213340
Sizes: S M. L XL Shlp: \$2 00 per cider

Illustrated brochure: 75m
HISTORICAL PRODUCTS
Box 220 AN Cambridge, MA 02238
FORLOVEOFCOUNTRY
L. KEEPGEORGE
"73 HEALTHY!
100% COTTON
T-SHIRTS
BUM PER
STICKER
SHIRTS
\$1995
PRICES
INCLUDE
SHIPPING
(WHITE ONLY)

4 CLR. SLK SCR ON HE01WHITE.YELLOW.BLUE
QUALITY T-SHIRTS OR SWEATSHIRTS

Send check or mane order in
PRESIDENT'S PH YER CLUB

P.II. Box 1m-A LENEXL KS 66215
FDR INFFt 191315994410 / VISA - M/c
THE BEST T-SHIR'I'S
IN CALIFORNIA

Great beach 8. surf designs
glus originals from businesses,
ars, etc,,thatyou'll only find in
The Original California T-Shin Guide
F3185? 805-965-6665 37%
YOUR AI) HERE!

Contact Michael Weil, MOTHER
JONES,1663 Mission 81., San Fran-
cisco, CA 94103; (415) 558-8881.
Video

Learn tlai chi-Strengthen your
mind, body, and spirit with ChinaUs
most healthful and intriguing exer-
cise. Free catalog. Over 150 quality
videotapes, books, and other useful
products. Write: Wayfarer Publica-
tions, Dept. MJ, PO Box 26156, Los
Angeles, CA 90026.

Who killed Kennedy? Assassination
research. Literature, photographs,
Videocassettes. For catalog, send S3
to: Archives, PO Box 2, Beacons-
field, Quebec H9W 5T6, Canada.

Feel the tension melt away. New in-
spiration video will help relieve you
of worrisome tension and pain.

Nature footage, soothing music,
and brief, inspirational narration
soothe the nerves. 30 minutes,
\$19.95. VISA/MC. Write or call:
Time Well Spent, PO Box 31050,
Dept. Mj, Laguna Hills, CA
92654-1050; (800) 245-7664.

MOTHER JONES CLASSIFIED

When you advertise in the Mother Jones classifieds, you're
reaching out to over half a million quality-conscious consumers
--88% of whom will purchase goods or services via the mail
or phone in the coming 12 months. If you own or work for a
company that could benefit from effective advertising, Moth-
er Jones is the place to get results.

RATE: PER INCH; (1" deep, 19/16" wide) Camera-ready art
only 1x:\$120/columninch,. 3x: \$110/columninch each time.

PER WORD: 1x: \$3/word; 3x: \$2.85/w0rd each time,- 6x.

\$2.75/w0rd each time,- 10x: \$2,40/word each time.

DEADLINES: Generally, the 15th of the month, 2V2 months
before the issue date (eg, February 15th for the May issue)
February/March and luly/August are combined issues

PAYMENT: All classified ads must be prepaid Sorry, no agency commissions on classified ads,
SAMPLES; Please send a sample of your product, or literature about your service, with your ad.

MORE DETAILS?

Contact Michael Well

Mother Jones Classifieds

1663 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94103

(415) 558-8881

MOTHER JONES 59

AAAAAAAAAAAA

READER

SERVIBE

MOVING?

Lct us know us soon as possxhlc su
Mother Jones can follow you.
Attach u mullng label lmm u rcccnl
issuc In this space and write your
new address hclow,

It you cntountcr an) pmhlcmm
mlh)uur suhxcnplmn.)ou can
saw umc h) unung directly In our
cumpulur hmm- .ll the Ohm address
listed below Plum unclmc A recent
mmllng lubcl ur HHUICU lnr uccurule
hundhng

Notc fbccuusu n! our udumcc
mullng schedule. plcuxc dllrm
xix 10 cnght wcckx tor uddruxs
chungcs. paymcnlx ur nlhcr ildjuNIr
mcms In hc rcncclcd on your xllh-
xcrpllon luhcl 11 101' wmc rcuxnn
Ihc Adjuxlmcnl In your utcnunl
xccms m hc Iukmg longer than that.
1CL'111CL'10W111UIUI1IL'RILlderth-
llm. m 10 Vlunm (iraxllum..llullwr
jones. 11103 Mlmmn Slrccl. Sun
1-Izulclxcn.(A 0-1101

From mm- In umc wc mukc uur
suhscnhcr lN LlVKIIIdth 10(1er-
lully scrccncdnrgum/uuonsllmludv
vcrlw by mud llyuuwuuldralhcr
nnl (CEUIVL. such suIICIlullunx. plcusc
chuck lhc boxhclnw.unLlamxynur
mulling Iuhcl II) this lurm
' . Please remove my name from your
mailing list.

MAIL '11115 FORM 1()

MotherJones

11486 Haymarkct Squorc

Manon.()114330i

VVVVVVVVVV

Business

Opportunltles

Easily make 560 hourly grvrng
umquc personal rcndings. \$1,000
monthly. For trcc mformmrn,
writc: ()rmn, 1493 Beach Park,
#177MJ, mm (:ny, (IA 94404.
Learn how to read books for pay!
5100.1tirlc. ertcfor dctuils:1)ASF,-
F06, 161 Lincolnway, North Au-
rorm IL 60542.

Buttons

r Since

Bullom SU(kerg and Hundreds

0' Omar lmm: lanm(k for lm

mediate Shipment Lowest prvccs

for iundAralsmg or resale WEI

also custom-prmr buuons bum-

Eer suckers. mugs pens. dccah

FREE alloons .u drscount pnccs'

LARRY FOXr Box 729-M/

Catalog mg Stream. NY H552

L (16) 79177929

Cassettes

Your audible alternative! Fiction,

poetry, history, radio. Free bm-

Chure. Write: Voices. PO Box

2014M, Brookline, MA 02146.

Catalogs

Catalog of cruelty-free and environmental products! Cosmetics with color chartr biodegradable detergents, nontoxic pet products, and more. Send \$1 to: Ecco Bella. Dept. Mj, 125 Pompton Plains Crossroad, Wayne, NJ 07470.

Children

Kid Vid: The best quality videos for children. For catalog, write: Panorama, PO Box 1046. Dept. MJ79, Huntington, NY 11743.

Communities

Alternative communities across North America welcome Visitors. lec in the country with Others who value equality. ecology, And now violence. For our brochuru writs: Federation of Egalitarian commw nitics-Enst Wind-MJX9.

Tecumseh. MO 65760. Free (52 up-prccintcd).

Education

Massage thcrapis(training: Day or cvcning program, AMTAulp pmVL-LL INSuppmvcd fur forelgn srudcnrm NATTSwnccrcdirL-d. HV luncml md .lvzulalwlc. 1000-ccrrifr c.lrc-lmur program 111 bonuriful Arir 1011A Sonoran dcscrt. For more information, Contact: Dcscrt ln, srirurc 01 Healing Arrs-MJ, 639 N 6th Ach '1'ucsun, AZ 85705.

()ff-campus individualized programs for professionah .It Somcrsct lead to 11.5. doctoral degrees, inv cluding higher docromrcs. For .1 prospectus, send 5% m: Intcrnm nonal Administmtive Ccntcr, Somcrsct Un

sci, ling

"0460; 1

Thu (11:

Healing

thy "NJ

dcncu 1

lcg;11ly.(

11th A-

3520 \$.

numbr.

Empl

Commu

ndnmm

sponsibl

portumt

mum h

moru S1

12 isxuc

St. Was

Empl

Supervi

NYC/U

11/yycdr

due Aug

H 101 10m

431-7011

Finar

Socially

women 1

ncrshlp,

Odlbt rm

ly accon
and 11113
5111151011
368-589
DC. an
Forei
Worldw
magazir
For frcc
papcrs.
Poinn L
Gifts
Penis pr
amnml r
cntific 11
to: Post
York N
Instn
The Am
Nutrim
Ph.1)1 pr
respond
1704-M
hanL Al
phone 11
Foreign
book/ca
in 56 1.1
free car.
540, (11
453-979
Medis
Mcditat
Send SI
58 jUI.Y/AUGUST 1989

Personals

9;: Concerned Singles

kNewsletter '4/

links com patible singles concerned
about peace, justice, environment.
Nationwide. All ages. Since 1984.

Q. Free sample: _9

Box 555-M, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

Group marriage. New book tells
how to succeed! Send \$7.95 plus
\$1.50 postage. Quarterly newsletter
\$9/year: PEP, PO Box 5247-MJ,
Eugene, OR 97405.

Attractive (emotionally and phys-
ically), intelligent, politically pro-
gressive, SWM, 41 years old, 58/
(not fat) seeks female (petite/short)
counterpart with same charac-
teristics to share his 7.8 acres of
Quebec, Canada, rural land in a
tepee. For further details, phone
(202) 342-2436 and ask for Ed.
Meet USA singles by mail/phone.
Write: M. Fischer Club, PO Box
2152-MJ, Loves Park, IL 61130.
Connect, the nationwide network
for selective singles. For free details,
write: PO Box 09506-MJ, Colum-
bus, OH 43209.

I am a childless man, happily mar-
ried to a woman unable to have
more children. Are there single
childless women out there who also
feel time is running out? Would you
be interested in meeting me to dis-
cuss the possibilities of sharing par-
enting? If so, write to: PO Box 167,
Palo Alto, CA 94302.

Have A

Confidential Chicago

Mailing Address

OR BRANCH OFFICE

FOR PENNIES A DAY!

Increase your buincxs by having a Chicago
mailing address or use l'orpcrsonal use! Low
cost including remails and lclcp phone scrwcc
(optional). Serving many (inns (large &
small) and individuals hlnCC 1944!
(Long S.A.S,E. required for details)

MAIL CENTER OF CHICAGO

117 W. Harrison. Dept. M.
Chicago, IL 60605

MasterCard & Visa Card holders-

"Instant Chicago Address"

Call 312-922-1788

Pl'BLlC lN'liliRl-IS'I'

If you see a mention of l

Motherjones in your local E

newspaper or in another

magazine. we'd love to see it.

Please send it to Press Clips,

Notherjones, I663 Mission St..

San Francisco, CA 94103.

Sexuality

2

Condoms by mail. Lower prices on
all major brands. Send \$2 for vari-
ety pack of 3 condoms and exciting
list. Write: EZCO, 2260C Ellis, Sal-
em, OR 97301.

Support

x

Reward-Kidnapping: Please help court-authorized victim-parent locate beloved 6-year-old daughter by sending any size nondeductible contribution. Help search and earn incentive-reward by sending a stamped, self-addressed, legal-size envelope to receive information and instructions. Reward is \$1,000 for each dollar you give. Maximum \$10,000 reward if you find Vanessa and she is recovered. Heartbreaking 35-month search needs your help to continue. Send Check/money order to: Vanessa Fund, PO Box 4121, Falls Church, VA 22044. Proof of legitimacy was provided to Mother Jones. Please involve others.

Travel

Study/work/live overseas. Plan your own adventures with Transitions Abroad. \$15 subscription includes four issues and the Educational Travel Directory, Guide to Living Overseas. Write: PO Box 344-3550, Amherst, MA 01004. Mexico. Spanish culture tours. Escuela Azteca: summer in Cuernavaca. Live with a Mexican family. Study with Professor Ross Candy (Marx and History, Mexico 1910-1982). Simple Spanish, visual aids. Aztecs, Maya, Juarez, Mexican Revolution. Tours of pyramids, revolutionary murals. \$170 for each two weeks. For a brochure, write or call: Escuela Azteca, Rio Usumacinta 710, Cuernavaca, Mexico; (73) 15-24-69.

Learn Spanish in Guatemala. Family living. Write or call: CASA, PO Box 11264, Milwaukee, WI 53211; (414) 372-5570.

Great Expeditions Magazine-Trekking, cultural discovery, budget travel in Asia, Africa, Latin America. For sample, write or call: PO Box 8000-411, Sumas, WA 98295; (604) 852-6170.

Visit Nicaragua! Learn Spanish, family living, volunteer work, political and cultural activities. Scholarships available. Write or call: NICA, Box 1409-TT, Cambridge, MA 02238; (617) 497-7142.

T-Shirts

MORE

GREAT

FACES!

Che Guevara,
(330th. Sartre.

Lenin, Camus,
Twain. Kerouac)

Macmavth J FK . 1'

Karl Marx) NIBLLSChE.

Sherlock Holmes) Poe)

Blille Holiday Van Gogh. Shakespeare. Beethoven,
Steinbeck. Hemingway Jung. and omers

T-Slirl:(whne.11 blue or red) \$1175. 41\$42

Sweatshin: (while or grey) \$21 21\$40

Sizes: S. M. L. XL Ship: \$2 00 per order

Illustrated brochure: 75t

HISTORICAL PRODUCTS

Box 2211 AN Cambridge, MA 02238

FOR LOVE OF COUNTRY

L. KEEPGEORGE

"3.. HEALTHY!

100% COTTON

T-SHIRTS

PRICES

INCLUDE

swig

MHLTLONLV)

4 CLR SLK SCH ON REDWHITE. YELLOWi BLUE

QUALITY T-SHIRTS OR SWEATSHIRTS

Send check or mono order 1::

PHESInENT'S P11 YER CLUB

P118011 14363-A LENEXA KS 66215

F011 INF&191315994410 / VISA - M/c

THE BEST T-SIIIIIRI'S

IN CALIFORNIA

Great beach & surf designs

glus originals from businesses,

ars, etc.,thalyou'll only 5nd in

The Original California T-Shirt Guide

P311115 805-965-6665 31%

YOUR AD HERE!

Contact Michael Weil, MOTHER

JONES,1665 Mission 51.. San Fran-

cisco, CA 94103; (415) 558-8881.

Video

Learn tlai chi-Strengthen your

mind, body, and spirit with Chinals

most healthful and intriguing exer-

cise. Free catalog. Over 150 quality

videotapes, books, and other useful

products. Write: Wayfarer Publica-

tions, Dept. MJ, PO Box 26156, Los

Angeles, CA 90026.

Who killed Kennedy? Assassination

research. Literature, photographs,

Videocassettes. For catalog, send S3

to: Archives, PO Box 2, Beacons-

field, Quebec H9W 5T6, Canada.

Feel the tension melt away. New in-

spiration video will help relieve you

of worrisome tension and pain.

Nature footage, soothing music,

and brief, inspirational narration

soothe the nerves. 30 minutes,

\$19.95. VISA/MC. Write or call:

Time Well Spent, PO Box 31050,

Dept. MJ, Laguna Hills, CA

92654-1050; (800) 245-7664.

,

Contact

MOTHER JONES CLASSIFIED

When you advertise in the Mother Jones classifieds, you're

reaching out to over half a million quality-conscious consumers

-88% of whom will purchase goods or services via the mail

or phone in the coming 12 months. If you own or work for a

company that could benefit from effective advertising, Moth-

er Jones is the place to get results.

RATE: PER INCH: (1" deep, 19/15" wide) Camera-ready art

only 1x: \$120/column inch,- 3x: \$110/column inch each time.

PER WORD: 1x: \$3/w0rd, 3x: \$2.85/word each time, 6x,

\$2.75/word each time; 10x: \$2.40/w0rd each time

DEADLINES: Generally, the 15th of the month, 2% months

before the issue date (e.g., February 15th for the May issue)

February/March and July/August are combined issues

PAYMENT: All classified ads must be prepaid. Sorry, no agency

commissions on classified ads.

SAMPLES: Please send a sample of your product, or literature about your service, with your ad.

MORE DETAILS?

Michael Weil

Mother Jones Classifieds

1663 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94103

(415) 558-8881

MOTHER JONES 5'9

T WAS 1111'; MORNING 01: MY M()MI51)AY0FF,A SAT-
urLILlyL and Vicky TaIIuso called to say they were
going on her uncle 5 boat and could I come. "You can
tinaIIy l1leetKenny,"she said Kenny was her cousin
who she told me I was perfect for
I went down into the kitchen to 35k my mother and then re-
l1llembereditwa5our Saturday ofc1eaning, our main day together.
She had already poured the SpiL and Span into two yellow buckets
and filled them with hot water. All the rags and 5Lrubber5 and
gloves were l1l L1 perfeLt Iine L1Lr055 the I(itLhen table. IIIDon t tell
me that 5 what you re wearing,I she said when
she saw me l1l my new pink tank top and shorts.
IIThey'II get ruined." She opened the back door.
"Let in some fresh air. jesuS itIs gorgeous out.II
Cleaning always puts my mother in her best
mood. "Go strip the beds and get the wash
started. I want to dry the whites outside today.II
A man on the radio started singing "Down in
the west Texas town of El Paso,II and my moth-
er raised her arms up and sang with him. Then
she looked at my face and stopped. IIWhat?II
she said. IIWhat now?II
IIMom,II I said, and asked her the question
that I knew would make her start yelling at me.
She said I could go, but how she said it was
IIDo whatever the goddamn hell you pIease.II
So I called Vicky back and told her my mom
said no. IIWhat a bitch,II Vicky said. IIBeg. Se-
riou5Iy. Beg her.II But I told her I eouIant, then I
tore the sheets off the beds and carried them
into the basement. When I came back upstairs
the radio was off.
IIYou and your father both,II my mom said.
IIHe was just the same. just take off and do
whatever the hell he wanted.II She slammed the
mop so hard against the baseboard it ripped a
scratch right through the paint. IIIIm a machine.
just a goddamn machine around here.IIIpleI(ed
up a bucket and some rags and tried to walk
past her. IIWhth ln the hell do you think youIre
doing?" she said. IIIIm doing the bathroom,
okay?" I said baLk. "Oh no youIre not. II She
grabbed my arm and water spilled all over the
floor. You and that goddamn Vika. SheI 5 rich! What does she
care about anything? I bet she doe5l1It even wipe her own butt!
You want to be like her? (30 ahead! (Jet the hell out of here!" She
shoved me against thL door and then I couIan tbeIieve what I did.
I turned around L1l1LI5houteLI at her to get fuLked For one second
everything from then she slapped me and shouted, IIDon t you
talk to me like that! I am your mother!I and started crying and
kneeling on the IIoor.
I remember staring at the white band of light shining straight
across the spilled water and listening to her crying about God and
me and her life, until she finally got up and walked past me, and I
heard her bedroom door closing. I remember everything around
me Iooking completely dead. Then I thought of VickyIs Iife versus
mine, and I went out the door.
When I got to VickyIs she saw me and shouted, IIAII rightIII and
ran up the grass bank. Her mother started the car and yelled,
"Hurry up!II Vicky threw her arm around me and pointed at the
tan guy in cutoffs wearing aviator glasses and did the music of
IIHere comes the brideII into my ear.
On the boat I sat on the hot deck with Vicky and her cousin
Kenny while her parents and her aunt and uncle drank green
drinks out of a pitcher. IITh151s living. Isn t this
IivingPI I heard at least fifteen million times
Kenny mainly talked about himself and what
car he was going to get when he turned sixteen
and Vicky acted like she had never heard any-
thing so amazing in her life. Everything every-
one was saying sounded so stupid.

I could feel Vicky getting madder and madder at me for not talking and when Kenny got up to get another Coke she leaned over and said, "Why are you being such a bitch?" Finally I just closed my eyes and pretended to be asleep. "Yeah, Vic," I heard Kenny whisper, "just like you said. She's the funniest person I ever met." And then he laughed.

It was dark when they dropped me off at my house, and there were no lights on, not even the porch light. I went around the back and the door was wide open. I could see the outline of my mother at the table and the red glow of her cigarette. The mop and the tags and tipped-over bucket were still on the floor. I stood there for a second not knowing what to do. Finally I knocked. "Mom," I said. "Can I come in?" "Why 110th she said. "It's your house." I wanted to tell her that I was sorry, but as soon as I sat down she got up and walked out of the room.

"Someday, you'll see," I heard her saying on the stairs. "You think life is easy. Ha! You just wait." I'

In the morning I put on my oldest T-shirt and cutoffs and went downstairs. I picked up the bucket and measured the Spic and Span into my hand, and then turned the hot water on it full-blast and the powder flew up and made me start coughing. "Slowly," I heard my mother say behind me. "How many times do I have to tell you? Slowly, or you'll get too many 5ud5."

"Sorry," I said.

"Honestly."

She went into the basement and I heard the washing machine start. When I picked up the mop I saw the long, dark scratch across the baseboard. And then, before she could come back up the stairs, I reached over and turned on the radio.

Olympus has done it again.

And again.

We've developed a unique autofocus twin lens system and put it inside one single camera. The new Infinity Twin.

There's a 35mm AF wide-angle lens for group photos and panoramic outdoor shots, and a 70mm AF telephoto lens to pull distant subjects in close. All at the touch of a button.

And, since the lenses never extend outside the camera body, the Infinity Twin is more compact than any dual-lens camera has a right to be.

What's more, because each lens acts independently, your pictures will be exceptionally sharp and clear.

And, like the original Infinity, the Twin is weatherproof. So nothing will stand in the way of your getting great pictures.

Best of all, you could spend twice as much money and not get half as much camera.

OLYMPUS

Visit your Olympus dealer and ask to see the Infinity Twin.

Because, as everyone knows, two lenses are better than one. I '

Focused on people

lnr lnwmtnriv ln L'NA mll lullrirm' erHtwll-HHHII l-ur mnn- mtormalmn, write Olympus Corporation, Deptv 312, Woodbury, N.Y. 11797. In Canada: W, Cdrsen Co Ltd., Toronto.

'l S 12111-111 4 (1-13 727
,l' 14mm
Change the World
one diap er at a Ume.
Introducing biodegradable, chemical-free
TenderCarew disposable diapers.
1111111111 x1111111'11.11 1111'11111111111111'1 111111
11111111111111111111x1111111g111111 1111111111x11111
111'11111'. N011: 1111111111111111151105111111
11111111'1'x1111111'.1 111111 1111111111 1111'11111'11111x
11111111111111 .11111111 1111'1111111111'111 11111
1'111'1111111111'111111111111111111xs111111 111x16
111111111111111111'11111111111111x1111x111'11111
11111111111111x
Biodegradable
X111x1 11111xw11111'11'1111111111151111x1111111
1111111111 1111' 11111 11111111'111'11111111112 911111111
11111111111111 1111111 11111 111
11111 11111111111; 11111111111
1111111111 11111515 11111511
11111111111111131111111111111
1111111118 11111 1111111111 11
11151111gp1111111111 11111111 11111111
1111111111111 111111 1111111115 111111 111111117
11111111111111111111111111-1111 111111 1111111 1115111111
11111 111111 11111111111111111111 11111111111CL11111
1111111115, 11 11015111 111111 111 111 111111 11111:
198011111111111'1'114111111111
C11c1111cal-lrcc
1111111111111111.111111'x1151111 11111111111111
111111711 11111111111 111111111134" 1111111111 111 1111111
w_ 11'1111111ss1111'1111 1111111 111111119
'."'"' 1111111111151111111111111111111111 1111'
111111 1'111111'11111111111
T1115 11111111111 111511111
1111111111 11111111 111111 111111'111111's11115.
1151111 111' 11111111'1111111111'5 111 111111 1111111115
1111: 1111111111 11111111111119 1111111 1111 11111111111
11111111155 111111 111111, 11111111 5115 1111111 111
1'11111'1111111"s \$11111 1:1111111111111111.1111:
1111111511111111119111111'111111111111
1111111111111; 111 11111111111111 15 111111 11111
11111 11111 111111111 11 11111111111111 111111 111111
11111111111 11 1111111111; 11111111 11111111 1111' 11111
111111 11111111111111 11111111110111 131111111119
11111 1111 11111111111111 1111111 111 1111111 11111111.
(1111 1780031161371) 111 111111 11111 11111111
111111 1011 11 11111111, Togethcn 1111 11111
change 11111 11111111 11110 1111111111111 11 111110
/1fw.ayvf;l/L'DRY
. TenderiCare'
Because babies should only
be exposed to love.
V1,..ux9 rmcmm