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December 1989 e Volume 14 Number 10

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cute because we as

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How will the ptodemoctacy movement survive in the wake of the

Tiananmen Square massacre? Seven dissidents in exile discuss the

next step.

15 TV THE COOLEST INVENTION EVER INVENTED? By Sean Elder

The cartoonist who made angst-tidden bunnies funny brings his

hostile humor to the tube.

HIGHEST DISREGARD By Dennis Hayes

The scientist who discovered that chlorofluorocarbons shred the

ozone has targeted one of the worldls leading CFC hot spots: Silicon

Valley. Why dld the electronlcs industry ignore his warnings? me during wumme: Chinese di

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debate strategy after Tiananmen

SPECIAL PREVIEWS SECTION: WINTER READING Square. p. 21

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Love; Phillip Lopate gives The Incorporation ofEric Chung 7 Q h

the business; Mark Hertsgaard on The End ofNature; -

and more.

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Dixon Terry, and defend Barbara Bush.

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e ome ess e c 60 1619 EAST CROWLEY By Lynda Barry

Prank phone calls can only lead a girl to

one place: Catholic school.

Ozone offenders exposed. p. 32

Cover illustration by Man Greening

BACKTALK

Casey Kasem

Bernard Ohanians candid essay on Casey Kasem ("Casey Kasem's Flip Side," Oct. 1989) is first-rate. Kasem is sincere and knowledgeable, and he confronts issues that need to be examined.

What is special about Kasem, besides his ability to reach and entertain millions each week, is his commitment to make America a better place in which to live.

Thanks for letting this reader know more about a special man-Casey Kasem.

JACK G. SHAHEEN

Edwardsville, Illinois

Farm Futures

The family farmers and ranchers of the American Agriculture Movement (AAM) would like to express our deepest gratitude to your publication for printing Dixon Terry's article ("Farm Futures" Oct. 1989). Dixon was indeed a master at making the complicated plain. In the one short article you published, Dixon summed up the complexities of the nation's agricultural economics of the past century and explained the needs of the future in a way that any layman can understand. His loss has already had a profound negative effect upon the continuing struggle for economic parity for our farmers. His abilities will certainly be missed during the writing of the 1990 Farm bill that is well under way.

With the help of publications like yours keeping Dixon's work alive, we will certainly have a better chance to achieve our goal of parity.

LARRY MITCHELL

Director of Legislative Relations AA NW
Washington D.C.

Irresponsible Investing

You are irresponsible and should be ashamed of yourselves for printing John Rothchild's article, "Irresponsible!" (Sept. 1989). I'm glad you try to put humor in Mother Jones, and I'm all in favor of freedom of speech for opposing points of view. But if you think ethical investing is a laughing matter to be ridiculed without rebuttal, then I am subscribing to the wrong magazine.

Rothchild starts from the false premise that the reason one should not invest in weapons contractors, toxic chemical companies, and flagrant industrial polluters is that morally, one must not accept any profits from these businesses.

Balderdash! The reason someone with a conscience doesn't invest in murder and poison is because it is unthinkable to willingly subsidize and encourage such behavior.

Whether you profit or lose from the act of getting out has nothing to do with it.

To show how far humans can go to rationalize murder and poison for profit, Rothchild actually says, "If you're selling, then somebody must be buying. . . . The net moral debit is unchanged? This 'I-don't-do-it-someone-else-will', logic applies equally well, of course, to dope dealing, development of wilderness, buying ivory, and crossing picket lines. Isn't there anything,

Mr. Rothchild, that you would refuse to do simply because you thought it was wrong?

HENRY LEE MORGENSTERN

Key West, Florida

John Rothchild responds: Yes, right now I'm refusing to accept frequent-flier mileage from any airline that lands in Panama.

Redneck Music

The article about Eugene Chadbourne

("One Man World Music," Sept. 1989)

caught my eye. I was disappointed by the clichéd depiction of the "southern bar circuit" as fraught with bottle-throwing rednecks and threatening Republicans.

I have heard Chadbourne play a time or supporting apartheid?

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two at school and several other times in local bars. And, as incredible as it may seem, I have neither seen nor even heard of any overt violence directed at Chadbourne as a result of his performances. Quit encouraging the rednecks, regardless of where they live, with narrow stereotypical remarks. Now, ifen yaw, ll lskoose me, ahlll git the broom and shoo them chickens ofen the sofa so me an ma Ol. man kin watch rasslint and throw beer cans, not bottles, at the TV.

IANET DAILY BAIN

Greensboro, North Carolina

Animal Wrongs

I am disappointed that you have not dealt with the issue of animal rights. In fact, I have noticed that among many human rights activists, the animal rights issue is often considered unworthy and unimportant. Before becoming an animal rights activist I knew very little and cared even less about the oppressed, the homeless, and the poverty-stricken. As my eyes opened to the violence and pain caused to animals, they also looked at the hunger, the pain, and the degradation that humans face.

KIM SZARKA

San Antonio, Texas

Republican Literacy

Doug Erickson's letter in ttBacktalktt (May 389) claiming that the voting strength of the Republican party will diminish if Barbara Bush succeeds in her campaign to hght illiteracy is very inaccurate.

I can assure you, as a conservative Republican, that I am quite literate. I don't see conservatives begging for a handout on the streets of San Francisco. It is only the people of your pathetic socialist attitude that I see with no visible means of support. Why are so many belonging to your ttenlightenedll philosophy homeless? Think about it.

OHN LOPEZ

State Secon Vice Chairman

Nevada Federation of College Republicans

Reno, Nevada

Plastic Rage

Enclosed for appropriate disposal (if any) at its point of origin please find the unrecyclable and unnecessary solid waste that accompanied the latest issue of your socially responsible publication, namely, one plastic magazine wrapper. Frankly, I couldn't care less if a magazine arrives in unstylish paper, or if the cover and the lead advertisement pages are a bit mangled or soggy.

I note that many of the establishment publications I receive arrive in the mailbox without wrapping and, I might add, remain printed on recyclable uncoated paper. Kindly follow suit, so that a reader's first explosion upon reading your publication is at an outrage exposed in an article rather than at the outrage in which it is wrapped.

MARK L. SILVERSTEIN

Newton, Massachusetts

Publishers note: Thank you for expressing your concerns about Mother Jones's polybag wrapping. The bag is made of 100 percent nontoxic polyethylene, a compound of carbon and hydrogen that can be burned

safely in an incinerator; it does not contain the chlorine compounds that have been implicated in dioxin formation. Polyethylene is safe to bury in landfill and will not leak toxics into groundwater or cause delayed airborne emissions. We agree that in the process of extracting and using our resources, the environment should not be exploited.

Write your Mother. Send your reactions and suggestions to Backlalk, Mother Jones, 1663 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. Please be sure to include your name, address, and daytime telephone number. We reserve the right to edit letters. D

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MOVEMENTS

By Roan VViIL'IHx

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Tension in Bensonhurst, NY,

after marchers protested
the killing 01 sixteen-
year-old Yusuf Hawkins.
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Harping on Racism

OT A MONTH GOES BY

without some reminder of
the explosive power of the
word racism.

The most recent re-

minder for me came at a library in Wash-
ington, after an informal talk in which I
traced inner-city drug savagery back to its
roots in slavery. I emphasized the harsh op-
pression suffered by black peons who re-
mained largely in the South until the 1950s,
mentioned their sudden displacement by the
mechanization of southern agriculture and
forced migration to cities, and concluded
with a picture of their descendants today-
feared, despised, and economically irrele-
vant in postindustrial society. I observed
that some of these people manage to keep
their balance and fight on up to decent lives.

I tried to demonstrate that the problems
associated with their condition arise from
the sweep of history in the United States. I
mentioned, as well, that affluent blacks
should make efforts to help disadvantaged
blacks, and sketched a plan of federal educa-
tional, therapeutic, and counseling pro-
grams that might make a difference.

But after the talk, a slight, elderly white
woman took me to task, telling me sternly
that if people like me would only stop
harping on racism and would instead
teach morality in the ghetto, we might make
some progress. She had heard nothing be-
yond the word racism. I can understand her
reaction. I'm prepared to have to explain,
and defend, my views to an elderly white
woman. But I have no patience for blacks
who ought to know better.

William Raspberry, the distinguished
black columnist for the Washington Post,
recently addressed an article to "members of
the civil rights establishment" that re-
sembled the white woman's mini-lecture to
me. I don't underestimate either the persis-
tence of racism or its effects. But it does seem
to me that you spend too much time think-
ing about racism," Raspberry wrote.

The column was occasioned by a letter
from a nice white man who had written that
he liked black people, sympathized with the
plight of the black poor, and wanted to
know what he could do to help. In addition
to advising black leaders to come up with an
answer to the man's question, Raspberry
really unloaded on civil rights advocates.
You cite statistics on everything from
black-white income gaps and test scores to
differential infant mortality and longevity
rates as proof of racism. You publish reports
on the plight of black America, implying
that racism, almost alone, explains that
plight. You hold rallies in Queens, and you
march through Forsyth County, Georgia, to
expose racism.

It is as though your whole aim is to get
white people to acknowledge their racism
and accept their guilt. Well, suppose they
did: What would that change?

Well, quite a lot, as a matter of fact. The
issue isn't guilt. It's responsibility. Any fair

CAT'S EYE

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the Washington
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Here's why.
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Harping on Racism
OT A MONTH GOES BY
without some reminder of
the explosive power of the
word racism.

The most recent re-
minder for me came at a library in Wash-
ington, after an informal talk in which I
traced inner-city drug savagery back to its
roots in slavery. I emphasized the harsh op-
pression suffered by black peons who re-
mained largely in the South until the 1950s,
mentioned their sudden displacement by the
mechanization of southern agriculture and
forced migration to cities, and concluded
with a picture of their descendants todaye
feared, despised, and economically irrele-
vant in postindustrial society. I observed
that some of these people manage to keep
their balance and fight on up to decent lives.

I tried to demonstrate that the problems
associated with their condition arise from
the sweep of history in the United States. I
mentioned, as well, that affluent blacks
should make efforts to help disadvantaged
blacks, and sketched a plan of federal educa-
tional, therapeutic, and counseling pro-
grams that might make a difference.

But after the talk, a slight, elderly white
woman took me to task, telling me sternly
that if people like me would only stop
ilharpinglI on racism and would instead
teach morality in the ghetto, we might make
some progress. She had heard nothing be-
yond the word racism. I can understand her
reaction. IIm prepared to have to explain,
and defend, my views to an elderly white
woman. But I have no patience for blacks
who ought to know better.

William Raspberry, the distinguished
black columnist for the Washington Post,
recently addressed an article to limembers of
the civil rights establishmentll that re-
sembled the white womans mini-lecture to
me. Ill dorft underestimate either the persis-
tence of racism or its effects. But it does seem
to me that you spend too much time think-
ing about racism? Raspberry wrote.

The column was occasioned by a letter
from a nice white man who had written that
he liked black people, sympathized with the
plight of the black poor, and wanted to
know what he could do to help. In addition
to advising black leaders to come up with an
answer to the manIs question, Raspberry
really unloaded on civil rights advocates.
IlYou cite statistics on everything from
black-white income gaps and test scores to
differential infant mortality and longevity
rates as proof of racism. You publish reports
on the plight of black America, implying
that racism, almost alone, explains that
plight. You hold rallies in Queens, and you
march through Forsyth County, Georgia, to
expose racism.

lllt is as though your whole aim is to get

white people to acknowledge their racism
and accept their guilt. Well, suppose they
did: What would that change?
Well, quite a lot, as a matter of fact. The
issue isn't guilt. It's responsibility. Any fair
reading of history will find that since the
mid-seventeenth century, whites have op-
pressed some blacks so completely as to dis-
figure their humanity. Too many whites
point to the debased state of black culture
and institutions as proof of the inferiority of
the blacks they have mangled.
Such is the essence of the ideological
onslaught deployed against poor blacks
throughout the 1980s. Ronald Reagan's
famous welfare queen was his way of
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 and injustice. We hope you
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 locating, the nub of black problems in the
 souls of the black poor. The logical implica-
 tion of the war on poor blacks is simple:
 black people simply need to pull up their
 socks. That idea is wrong and must be re-
 sisted. Black people who use powerful
 voices to give credence to this attack are se-
 riously injuring the weakest Americans.

The people who govern and spend as if there is no tomorrow argue as though yesterday doesn't count. But current problems consist of more than the sum of fleeting impressions. Like it or not, slavery, the damage from legalized oppression during the century that followed emancipation and the racism that still infects the entire nation follow a direct line to ghetto life today.

As ecologist Murray Bookchin wrote in another context in the Progressive recently: We) trace a chain of events from its cause to its consequence is an unfamiliar task for people who have been conditioned to see life as a television sitcom or talk show composed of discrete, self-contained, anecdotal segments. We live, in effect, on a diet of short takes devoid of logic or long-range effect?

If we are ever to solve the awful problem of racism, we need to define it accurately by tracing it from "its cause to its consequence." That is the first step in attempting to contain racism's continued virulence in national life

I don't write and talk about racism to make whites feel guilty, but because I believe that to solve a problem, we must first admit it exists. Like an individual who cannot solve a cancer problem, an alcohol problem, or a drug problem by denying it, a nation cannot deal fundamentally with racism by denying its existence. White people don't like to talk about racism because it is ugly. Denial is a central element of racism, and the good-do-nothing denial was elevated to a high art form over the last eight years. Civil rights advocates use statistics and reports and descriptions of the racism in our culture to help Americans understand that the weight of our history shapes the way we think, and organize both our economy and our governmental priorities. And we blacks talk about racism to demonstrate that it is not just our problem though God knows we can solve it by ourselves if we could. As Raspberry should know, over the past twenty-five years we have produced by the truckload the program proposals for which he asks. And they've been ignored, largely because of the racism he doesn't want us to mention. If Raspberry or anybody else, has a real idea about how to get the country to accept responsibility for its history, those of us whom he admonishes for making white people feel uncomfortable would be glad to hear it.

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I (please print) I

I Address Apt. I

I City State Zip I

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2, What geographical area are you children, your sponsorship contributions are not I

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weren't for those feminists. Remember them? Bunch of gals always running around claiming to be llpersonsll when anyone could see they were actually only women. So it made the rest of us think. You see, if someone like Gloria Steinem—who isn't even married—was going to insist on being a person, then why not open up the human race to the entire food chain? Of course, the feminists all developed an acute case of PMS, claiming we were trying to wreck the whole idea of llpersonhood3 just as they were about to get a share of it for themselves. But it made sense. As some of our fine Christian leaders reasoned, if you ladies want to be persons, you're going to have to share the honor with all the teensy timesy zygotes and such, or else fight it out between the two of you.

Naturally, I took the side of the zygotes, who are the clear underdogs in this case. After all, women are still free to move around and even go outdoors if they want, but zygotes and fetuses are like hostages—trapped inside the body of someone they don't even know, unable to speak or cry out because they're just smothered in that uterus, held back by that cruel ball and chain, the umbilical cord.

It can't be any fun being part of someone else's body, more or less like any other piece of tissue. And it's especially horrible if that someone is a selfish, power-hungry feminist type suffering under the delusion that her body is private property—a concept that, as we all know, is best reserved for lakes, forests, beachfronts, and other forms of real estate.

Of course medical science has to take some of the credit too. It just keeps turning up tiny persons where you'd least expect them. Moving on from zygotes, consider any other type of cell, say, one of my fingertip cells. Right now, that's all it is. But someday—if the guys at NIH would stop focusing on AIDS—we'll have a way to clone that little fella into a complete, freestanding individual. Just like me; in fact, me all over again.

Which is why we've started the campaign to stop the slaughter of human cells. We call this slaughter llcellicide," which is not the same as the unsightly puckered flesh on your upper legs. It's the routine mass murder that goes on every day in the form of tonsillectomies, mastectomies, amputations, hysterectomies, and discarded scabs. Sometimes, when I'm lighting the candles on the cupcakes for little Jody, Sue Ann, and Judd—on what would have been their birthdays—I think back to all the cells llve lost, one way or another, and then I shed a tear for little Barbara and Barbara and Barbara. . . .

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One 0! the first
boyxoners but
no purist,
Choyne Horun
sometimes
surfs South
Mrlca's big
events- using
hls board to
make a
statement.
The Last
Wave

R0 SURFING WAS BORN IN SOUTH AFRICA. TWENTY
years later itls headed for :1 wipeout theret thanks to
a growing antiapartheid boycott hy the worlds best
wave riders. llWhen you're in the ocean, it's so tranquil
you can just sort through pollution and governments
and where you're at and what youlre doing," explains
pro Cheyne Horan, one of the first to boycott :1 South
African surfing event.
The decision hasnlt come so easily for others. Martin
Potter, who will likely be crowned world champion this
month, grew up on South Afticals beaches but ll'JSHTI
surfed there in four years. After taking his stand, Potter
was somewhat alarmed to receive a telegram of frater-
nal congratulations from the African National Con-
gress; today he says grimly: "I don't want to talk about
South Africa. llm a sportsman, not a politician. . . .
People know how I feel by my not being there. his a
12 MOTHER jONliS/DEC. 1989

risk not to go there, because if your competitor is there
and has a good day, you lose."

uThe whole thing gut wrenched the guyf, says Pot-
terls manager Peter Colbert. lli-le loves all his friends
there, and hes gotta boycott the best wave in the
world. His soul is still there, but he believes what heas
doing is right."

Potter and fellow stay-aways are at a crosscutrent
with their own Association of Stirling
Professionals, which holds that politics
and sports should not mix. "lld love
to believe that, but we know that pol-
itics is mingled with human life in
general," says Australian Tom Carroll,
who won South Africa's once-presti-
gious Gunston 500 competition in
1984 on his way to a second consecu-
tive world title. The next year he was
the first to declare his intention to boycott the event.
uWe dorft presume any influence on apartheid,"
adds two-time titleholdet Tom Curren, a California
expatriate who now lives in France, llbut the number of
people going there is getting smaller and smaller? And
smaller. This year, only four of the thirty top-ranked
pros surfed the Gunston. -Edward Silver

Surfers against
apartheid:

Wiping out

South Africa's

Photograph by (iom'inno/Surfer

Dssst

Attra 13th

by Delieion but

Afraid Someone

Will find Cut?

You can't shake off the allure of the immense Questions - love, death, goodness, suffering, and the meaning of it all. You're bummed out on various secular panaceas - old nags such as Leninism, technology, egotism, and consumerism. You sense that the answers are the ancient answers - those in the tradition of Moses, Jeremiah, Jesus, Augustine, St. Francis, Aquinas, Dante, Thomas More, Tolstoy, Kierkegaard, Newman, Eliot, Buber, Niebuhr, C.S. Lewis, Martin Luther King Jr., Dorothy Day, Archbishop Tutu, and Mother Teresa. But you're a thinking person, and you've been told by your peers that self-respecting intellectuals don't need "fairy tales." Well, maybe it's time to think more deeply, cast off your inhibitions, and probe the romance of religion.

Recently The New York Times Magazine discussed the NEW OXFORD REVIEW in the context of an article on the "return to religion" among intellectuals. Indeed, we at the REV IEW are in the vanguard of today's new intellectual enchantment with what Daniel Bell terms "the sacred." Among other things, we examine religious commitments that yield progressive and humane social consequences, and we scrutinize the religious dimensions of the great thinkers, issues, and events of the past and present.

An ecumenically-minded monthly magazine edited by lay Catholics, we've been characterized by George Will as "splendid," by the University of Chicago's Martin E. Marty as "lively," by Newsweek as "thoughtful and often cheeky," and by Utne Reader as "fascinating" and "surprisingly original." Those who write for us - Robert N. Bellah, Jean Bethke Elshtain, John Lukacs, Christopher Lasch, Walker Percy, Michael Lerner, Robert Coles, and others - are pathfinders who express themselves with passion, style, and lucidity. No need to feel embarrassed in our company!

Sure, there are other magazines and journals which focus on religion, but the NEW OXFORD REVIEW is unusual in that it is neither barrenly academic nor narrowly denominational, neither ideologically predictable nor safe and evasive. We get the juices pumping.

If you yearn to spring out of the iron cage of secularism - but don't want to land in the lap of the ayatollahs, cultists, or fundamentalists - subscribe today. (Or, if you're already out of the cage - or were never in it - keep the juices flowing and give us a try!)

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PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER

Giron wants to
 be Guatemala's
 next president.
 Mass
 Appeal
 1% SUPPORTERS (ALI. HIM Tm.
 Martin Luther King of Guatemala.
 But to his opponents on the political
 right, forty-three-year-old (latholie priest
 Andres (iiron is nothing more than a land-
 grabbing l'communist." (iiron, who once
 worked with King in Memphis, has built up
 a formidable movement of thousands of
 landless peasants. In the
 last two years, employing
 strict tactics of non-
 violence. (iiron has
 established four tat'm
 communes benefiting
 more than one thousand
 And "en reSign. rural families. llOur com-
 munities are models of how the countryside
 should be organized,w (iiron says. "But the
 permanent answer can only be a sweeping
 agrarian reform that turns the land over to
 the people who work itfl
 Despite such a radical proposal, Gimn
 14 MOTH:I(jONl-Sf DH). Kylie)
 also faces suspicion from many of
 Guatemala's leftist activists. who say the
 priest plays into the militarys hands by urg-
 ing nonviolence. (iiron bristles: "live been a
 rebel all my life." The army arrested his own
 father, a congressman, after a (IIA-sponsored
 coup in 1954t hand for that reason I will be
 an advocate against the army my whole life.
 Because the army is evilfl The Vatican, tom
 takes a dim view of (iironis political ac-
 tivism. "But," says the priest, "I think the
 pope is the pope and should stay in Rome
 and mind his own business there." Of North
 Americans, he says, llI think you are a very
 domesticated people. A light flashes saying
 Dona walk and everyone obeys. and obeys
 too quicklyfl
 (iiron is toying with the llLC'J of running
 for president next year. llRight now I think I
 have a chance to win? he says. ul would like
 to stay in ofhee one month, resigiL and say; ll
 resign because I cannot do what I want he-
 cause it is the military that runs the countryf
 In the incantimu (iiron continues with his
 peaceful land takeovers, ignoring lawsuits,
 hostile press, and death threats. llVery sell-
 ishly. I would like to be remembered as that
 crazy priest who changed the history of this
 country? _Mtzrc Cooper
 u
 End of the
 Lines?
 HIZN GERMAN
 mathematician Maria
 Reiche arrived in
 Nazca, Peru, a half-century ago,
 they called her a witch, a spy,
 and a fortune hunter. Today she
 is pictured on a Peruvian post-
 age stamp. Reiche, eighty-six, is
 the official guardian of the
 Nazca pampa-the desert ter-
 rain on which an Indian civili-

zation left massive drawings of birds, animals, and other shapes some two thousand years ago.

Reiche spent years measuring, charting, cleaning, and studying the drawings, some of which are six miles long. She says they correspond to constellations. 11This work was done so that the gods could see it from above and help the ancient Peruvians with their farming, fishing and all their other activities." But it was Erich Von Daniken's hare-brained 1969 book Chariots of the God: that made the drawings famous-as supposed landing strips for UFOs. 11It was the worst thing that ever happened to the pampa," says Reiche.

People came from all over on motorcycles, in jeeps, on horses. The tracks they left will never be erased."

In recent years heavier rains, Mari" Reid"? linked to air pollution, have threatened the lines. Blinded by glaucoma and lighting Parkinson's disease, Reiche feared no one would guard the pampa after her death-until Phyllis Pitluga arrived. An astronomer at Adler Planetarium in Chicago. Pitluga is about to publish findings supporting Reichel's theories. Reiche has handpicked her to carry on guardianship of the pampa. 11Phyllis is fanatic about it," Reiche claims. She sees it as her mission, just as I did." -Mary A. Dempsey

Photographs by P4! (irmdl'is ((iiron)
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Torres, Brazil

Tears at you

like an early

Bunuel movie,

7/79 Obse/Ve/

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haunUngl

Punch

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lished each year in English come from outside
the developed West. (Library of Congress)

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in Spanish or Portuguese.

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Uruguay Argentina

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plus sexual style of brutal

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Kur' Russell and

his buddies flew

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town "11 sanctuary fur 11H .Ilicns 11nd homclcss" in May.
Local h11s1ncsslncndcrs pmmpfly started ;1 recall move
IIICIH.

'I'hcn Kevin Ix'zmts l.unding; Dohsnn tried to donate
hls (11d wardmhc to thc hmcclcss, hut hc was 1111131ng
;11 the shcltcrk front dnur hy :1 homclcsx man whu ran
OH with thc cluthcx

Kurt '125111/11' from szv WW/Q; Russcl1, by contrast.
armedh1111sc1fu'ith 11r1Hcforthchmncclcss.Atthc
scwnd annual Kurt Russcl1 I1111 Classic cclchrry hunt
in Scpmnhcr, sixteen hunters paid SISMNJ each to join
such social actiivs as 'I'cd Nugcm,Bilh'Mart1111und
Larry (11111111 for five days of xhooting game in Hawaii.
hl'hc idea wax to dunatc Ihc dccr And clk meat to the
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m th) .111d Honolulu. torpmp1c1cx'holl2111ynccdc1t11c
motif 15 therc .1 Luger lesson hcrc? Hunt organizer

Brucc Pormcr thinks so. "lfyou 11111121gh'1ld'11111111gllf'
hcmlyx.W11humd1)x0111cthh1gxx'lth it."
_Mu'/mv/ 1)1'l.v()
He has a dream: The ex-guv who blithely calls
black children "picknninnies" plans a comeback.
Illuan/uwlu'P/1/1/1/1Ihu'lcu
l'lmith/V' 1 HHI/UU' 41/ Nwlr Irma P/uu'mx

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Peggy Charren, based in
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unplug the Whittle plan in
California and New York.
Pay Attention,
Class

V 'iiiiis l'IMl- NLX'I Yi-Ait (Iiikis Wiiiiii'iii lLOPI-s
to have millions of students glued to his Iubest
watching ads for produets like Nike sneaketst Muy-
belline eye shadow, and M& MK candy. Peggy (Ihiirren.
founder and director of Action for (lhildreifs ilielex'i-
Will your kid sion, hopes to stop him-but it wont be
e.tsy. (dishesturyed sehoois that sign up for
Whittle (joininunieutions ttEduational
NetworV get nineteen-inch television mon-
itors wired into every classroom. VCRst Llnd
a satellite dish. In return, administrators
promise that each school day theyill require
students to watch a twelve-inminute program
. with four thirty-seeond commercials.
helpli. W! . - . _ t
every time I think About the Whittle
plan? Charren says, "I think of the jonathun Swift
essay, A Modest Proposal. There the problem was
have to watch
TV ads in class?

18 M()THI-.R j()Nl-.S"I)l-,(.. 1989
starvation in Ireland and the proposal was to eat the
children. Here we are worrying about hunger in educa-
tion budgets and the proposal is to sell the children."
Charren is heartened by several big Victories: Not
only have the PTA and most other educational organi-
zations come out against the plan, but the New York
and (Inlifornia school systems have officially spurned
Whittle. Elsewhere, Whittle is free to sell his plan
school district by school district. and so far he expects
to be beaming the March 5 broadcast premiere into at
least one thousand schools. Whittle won't disclose
which schools he is negotiating with. making the job
tougher for (IharreIL who says, "He has seventy sales-
men on the phones sening the good life to schools, and I
have only four in my office."

For Charren, the worst part of the Whittle plan is
that it sends the message to minority children (who
seldom appear in advertising) and to iower-income
students (who euift afford the products pitched) that
theyire not equal players in public schools. hWhen you
tell kids its what you have that is important instead of
what you are, you work against the whole idea of
learning. Learning doesnk work when you dont feel
good about yourselff' -Et/mn Waiters
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A Mother Jones Forum

The Hopes of China

oo.c-Ioao-u-Ioocooloo

iThe Participantsl

TSAO HSINGYUAN, thir-

ty-rwo, is a sculptor and art

historian who graduated

from the Central Academy of

Fine Arts in Beijing where

she was teaching last spring.

This gave her an opportunity

to follow student activity and

observe the process by which

the Goddess of Democracy

was constructed. She re-

turned to the United States

just after the June 4 mas-

sacre, which she witnessed

firsthand, to begin a graduate

program in Asian studies at

the University of California

at Berkeley.

L,

ZHAJVG LANGLANG, for-

ty-eight years old, spent ten

years in jail during the Cul-

tural Revolution for "ideolog-

ical crimes" and was, at one

point, even sentenced to

death. He was in Beijing at

the time of the demonstra-

tions last spring, working for

a foreign advertising com-

pany. Since he lived adjacent

to 'liiananmen Square and

had become actively involved

in the protest movement, his

house quickly became an

important Supply, liaison,

and support center for the

students' activities. Zhang es-

caped back to Hong Kong via

Japan and then to the United

States just before the June 4

massacre.

Photographs by Ptml Fusm Magnum

KE GANG, forty, worked in

the Institute of Philosophy of

the Chinese Academy of So-

cial Sciences and is now a

graduate student of govern-

ment at the University of

Maryland. Last spring he ac-

tively participated in the sup-

port movement that arose

among Chinese students in

the United States, and was

one of the main organizers of

the demonstration at the Lin-

coln Nlemorial on July 1 (the

anniversary of the founding

of the Chinese Communist

Party), at which 318 Party

regulars renounced their

membership.

DEC. 1989VMOTHER JONES 21

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SHEN TONG is a twenty-year-old student leader. He was studying at Beijing University last spring and was instrumental in setting up "discussion groups" the discussion groups that played a critical role in preparing for the ensuing protest marches on Tiananmen Square. Shen headed up the first student Delegation for a Dialogue, which met with government leaders on May 4. Just after the massacre, Shen managed to escape to the United States, where he is currently studying biology at Brandeis University.

ORVILLE SCHELL is the author of six books on China, including Hinton's Democracy: China in 1911-1949 Reform (Anchor Books/Doubleday, 1989); 11) (1911 Kid) It is a telling measure of the severe repression that now grips China that several of the participants in our discussion, fearing for the well-being of their families back home, wished to use pseudonyms, indicated by asterisks.

WANG JINRONG is a musician in his thirties from the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing who was in China last spring during the protest movement. After which he managed to escape to the United States, where he is now a visiting scholar.

12. WOHLER IONLX DH. 1989
1.1 Glorious: China in History
1911/1949 (New American Library, 1984); and 1911/1949 Out of China
Foreign Affairs (Pantheon, 1981).

DENG SUYI, in his late forties, is a member of the Chinese Writers Association and an editor at a prominent Chinese literary publication. He was actively involved with other dissident Chinese intellectuals in last spring's protest movement. Just before June 4 he escaped to the United States, where he is currently doing research at an American university.

BAI XIAOYING, in her late thirties, was a ranking cadre in a Chinese state enterprise before coming to this country several years ago to study law at an American university.

LIL' BAIFANG left China in

1977 and later graduated
from CC Berkeley. During
served as a consultant to
NBC News. She organized
the following forum and
the demonstrations in helped moderate its sessions.
Tiananmen Square, she

VVVV

Flaw VllixV'iirs IN THE UNITED STATES WILL FORGET THE
moment last spring when, with one of the high priests of
television presiding, Chinese officials pulled the switch on the
CBS satellite transmission module, making screens 311 over
the country suddenly flare with white noise.

But while this highly symbolic moment marked the end of
direct televideo communications between China and the
United States, it also heralded the end of a freewheeling pub-
lic political dialogue inside China. Just as our television
screens went suddenly blank, so newspapers, magazines, ra-
dio news, and television programming in China began to be
detoliated of anything hut official propaganda railing against
the hcounterrevolutionnry rehellionii allegedly perpetrated
Piningmplvs by IKm/ :Lusrn Magmmi

if we start promoting Violent revolution,
we will only get another similar dynasty.
By a small group of intellectuals poisoned by too much
bourgeois liberalization and wholesale Westernization,
In the repression that followed the grisly massacre of June 4,
the most thoughtful among an entire generation of Chinese
have been either arrested and even executed, or driven under-
ground and into exile. China has been pushed back from an era
of reform to the brink of another era of revolt and revolution.
In late August, we gathered a group of intellectuals at the
Mother Jones magazine office in San Francisco not only to
discuss what happened during the months leading up to the
massacre, but to reflect on what these tragic events will mean
for the future of China and its democracy movement. What
follows is an edited account of our daylong discussion.

(Backdrop of the Democracy Movement)

Orville Schell: Many people in the U.S. as well as in other
countries were surprised and puzzled by the events in
Tiananmen Square last spring. They believed that the situa-
tion in China had been developing both positively and rapidly
since the open-door and economic reform policies were

Photograph by Peter C/mrlcswurrb ' _/8 Pictures

adopted under Deng Xiaoping in the late seventies. What
happened to so precipitously detail this process?

Deng Shi: I want to begin with criticism of the West. US.
understanding of China is that of the president, politi-
cians, journalists, or China experts is shallow and super-
ficial. In my view, they have failed to see that almost a decade
of reforms has not really alleviated the various crises in China
but, on the contrary, has aggravated them. This is a basic
premise for understanding the problems there.

I am a literary critic. Using our terms of criticism, if China
were a book, one could say that they have misread it; that
their biases have only reinforced the misreading.

For instance, people in the West do not seem to understand
the recent ideological or spiritual crisis in China. They seem
to suggest, Since you now have a refrigerator, since some of
you have begun to have private cars, since the free market is
brisk and you have more groceries in your basket, how can
you not be happy about the reforms? They do not see that
precisely because there are more material things available,
precisely because people are more exposed through television

DLzC. 1989 MOTHER JONES 23

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I/Hvtrwrd'jw m, lh'm'yt Xumvmmwlv 11'; Mcrmus

hope Deng Will die soon . . . only then Will there be a Chance for a turn for the better. to other life-styles elsewhere, ideological confusion in China has become all the more pronounced and unsolvable.

Ke Gang: There has been a new upsurge of individualism-individualistic values and culture.

Zhang Langlang: Early this year when I went back to Beijing from Hong Kong . . . I was totally disillusioned with what I saw: the government, the economy, the culture, as well as the artistic circles.

At that time, the state of mind shared by many in Beijing, including myself, was dominated by a sense of hopelessness over the moral deterioration. A current popular saying goes, "Out of the one billion people, 900 million are engaged in profiteering speculation?" At gatherings of artists, a common discussion topic was: When would the next period of turmoil arrive? The artists actually seemed to be anxiously anticipating such turmoil, as if a spiritual way out could be found in such turbulence.

Wang Jinrong: I have a somewhat different view. The period starting from 1984 was actually one of the richest periods of development in Chinese culture. Quite a number of artists, in particular those in their thirties to mid-forties, began after the Cultural Revolution to create and build up something quite new. And it was these very artists who participated in the Tiananmen movement.

Shen Tong: You two have been speaking from the point of View of art and culture. But as students, what we were most concerned about were the economic problems of the country.

From the beginning of 1987 when Hu Yaobang was removed as general secretary of the Communist Party until 1989 before the recent movement started, there were seven different policy adjustments announced. Each policy prevailed for only about a hundred days.

This short-term policy-making created a short-term psychological state for the people, which in turn made the society unstable. As a result, two phenomena occurred: overconsumption and the breakdown of the educational system, which has always suffered the worst fate in China.

Although during the movement the students showed the whole world a certain greatness, before the movement the students' spirits were actually very low on campus. Speaking of Beijing University, where I am from, very few students attended classes, and most couldn't have cared less about what they were studying. Beida has a real revolutionary tradition, and there were all kinds of discussion groups or salons organized on the campus, which formed a kind of pre-movement for events to come. The main theme was freedom of expression. We had always been told that one can only be free when the whole of society is emancipated? But we challenged this idea by saying, "Only if we can free ourselves first can we free society?"

.....
At the time of these discussion groups, we were quite hopeful about the prodemocracy movement. People were generally unhappy about the policies of tightening up the economy. Due to large-scale cancellation of capital construction projects, some forty million peasant workers had been put out of jobs and had become an unstable "floating" population around the cities, a phenomenon in Chinese history that has usually been the precursor of a peasant rebellion.

Ke Gang: All right, let me ask this. The movement started with the death of Hu Yaobang, but what then was the connection between the academic salons and the mourning of Hu?

Shen Tong: The connection was this: The students were ready and were looking for an opportunity to do something. The death of Hu provided this opportunity. All historical events need a triggering incident. And under the suffocating control of a dictatorial regime, any kind of single spark can start a prairie fire, as Chairman Mao said.

Un Tiananmen Square I

Liu Baifang: What were your hopes and expectations for the movement at different stages? Did they change as the movement went on?

Tsao Hsingyuan: Personally, before this spring, I had never bothered about politics before. My family upbringing taught me to talk less and read more. This was still my motto when I returned to China in March this year. In the U.S., I had heard rumors that since this year would be the two hundredth anniversary of the French Revolution and the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Peoples Republic of China, some Chinese were determined to make 1989 the year of democratic movement. But when I went back, I found everything was rather quiet. Nothing was stirring even on April 5, the anniversary of the 1976 Tiananmen incident in which a major confrontation took place between students and police when students filled the square mourning the death of former Premier Zhou Enlai.

Shen Tong: Before April 5, some students came to Beijing University and asked the salons to support a hunger strike that they were trying to organize. We all felt distressed that it was already the first of April and nothing had even started yet.

Then Hu Yaobang died, and the movement unfolded in several stages. The first, from April 15 to 27, centered on the mourning of his death. During this period, we students made a very conscious effort to lead this moment of mourning forward.

The second began on April 27, when the students launched the biggest demonstration yet, protesting the editorial of the People's Daily which denounced the students as makers of DEC. 1989, MOTHER JOXIS 25

social unrest. During the third stage, from May 4 to May 13, most students, except some of those at Beijing University and Beijing Normal University, quietly went back to school and resumed classes.

Several factors kept the movement going. One was that students remained focused on getting some sort of a dialogue going with the government. Another was that journalists and writers began to join the protest, and on the tenth of May, 1,013 intellectuals signed a petition urging the government to talk with the students.

The fourth and final stage began on May 13 when the hunger strike started, and continued until May 20 when martial law was declared. For me, that was the time when the possibility for dialogue ended, that the real change in the movement's future occurred.

Tsao Hsingyuan: I began to go to Tiananmen Square in mid-April. At first I only did things like passing out towels and buying drinks for the students. But later I decided to join them, and ended up shouting slogans and carrying banners, and feeling for the first time that I was living as a real person taking in everything around me.

I couldn't help noticing that some Party members who had been very loyal and who had even once behaved like chiefs suddenly turned into activists in the movement. But on top, no one knew exactly what was going on, although at a certain moment, it seemed that Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng might soon be out of power. But what I found most significant was that students, teachers, workers—in fact, people from all walks of life—went out into the streets and took part in the demonstration.

Shen Tong: Yes, people had a lot of sympathy for us. In fact, a few days after the hunger strike had begun, several students wanted to immolate themselves in protest, and professors at Beida became extremely concerned, even to the point of launching a strike of their own, saying, "We must not allow one single student to die."

Tsao Hsingyuan: I know a Party hack who at the beginning of the protest cursed the students as troublemakers. When the hunger strike started, he said: "The Communist Party is not afraid of these kinds of threats. We couldn't care less if someone dies." Then, I saw him again on the morning of June 4 in front of the Union Medical Hospital. His eyes were red with tears; he was very emotional and kept saying: "If they really opened fire! They did it! I can't believe the Party would do such a thing? He felt totally betrayed. This tragedy awakened many other people as well."

Liu Baifang: Could you tell us how your own ideas changed over the various stages of the protest?

Deng Shi: Please forgive me, but as a result of the long-term suppression under our Communist regime, I am rather sensitive to anyone asking me to talk about how I think. My knee-jerk response is: This is my privacy. What does what I think have to do with you? I know this is not the right attitude, but unfortunately I have developed an instinctual resistance against any intrusion into my world of ideas and feelings.

Ke Gang: You are not being asked to confess. (laughter) We are just exchanging ideas as equals. Anyway, what I think was significant about the movement was that it was not a rebellion caused by an immediate threat to life or property, but a conscious struggle for democratic rights.

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Deng Shi: Yes. It was the first time in Chinese history that a revolution started not from empty stomachs, but in the name of democracy and human rights. It was also the first time there ever was an up-front confrontation with a dictatorship and its army. In this sense, all the uprisings led by the Communist Party belong to an older type, while this one represents a new chapter in Chinese history. The mass demonstration on April 27 made the democratic nature of this movement indelibly clear.

Orville Schell: Many Americans are curious to know whether this movement was influenced by any outside ideas or ideologies such as those of Martin Luther King, Mahatma Gandhi, or Solidarity leaders in Poland.

Shen Tong: There was no immediate link. But with the open-door policy and the introduction of so many books and ideas from the outside world, it was inevitable that the Chinese became more aware of the tide toward democracy in the world at large, just as previously we had become aware of the world trend against colonialism in the sixties. And, of course, the incident in Tibet in which the Chinese government cracked down on Tibetan demonstrators and declared martial law in Lhasa in March also aroused world attention, and made us take note too.

The Role of Nonviolence

Ke Gang: One had the sense that students in the square were being very conscious of avoiding violence, so that the government would have no excuse for using force.

Shen Tong: This was true. Hatred was not the generating force of this movement. Interestingly enough, during the whole period of protest, the crime rate in Beijing went down. Thieves just disappeared.

Wang Jinrong: I heard an interesting story about a film cameraman who, when he passed an intersection crowded with people, just said: "Hey! Let's not do this. We are creating a traffic jam?" And someone echoed: "This guy is right. We should leave. Let's go." Amazingly, the crowd soon dispersed. Had they ever heard of Gandhi? Of course not.

Tsao Hsingyuan: But the students were conscious that they must not give the government any excuse for a crackdown. I remember vividly how on the morning of June 2, two days before the massacre, I was in the crowd in front of the Beijing Hotel, trying to block the army trucks from entering the square. When one young man was about to hit an army officer, a middle-aged woman came forward and stopped him, saying: "Don't do this. If you hit him, the government will have an excuse to hit you." The people around us immediately agreed, so he backed off.

Shen Tong: On June 2, when army trucks were stopped on Changan Avenue, students at the command post in the square realized the government was playing a dirty trick by trying to provoke them into violence, so they immediately organized themselves to collect and return any weapons taken from the army.

Liu Baifang: Presently a large wave of repression, including arrests and executions, is being carried out in China. Many people inside the country need protection. Many want to resist and revolt.

Shen Tong: The principle of nonviolence that we have advocated obviously cannot save them now, that's for sure!

Ke Gang: My position is that we (Continued on page 52)

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Subversive
cartoonist
Matt Groening
goes prime time.
The Jetaona
was never
like this.

It's SUNDAY AFTERNOON ON
the Venice boardwalk and the
sidewalks are teeming with
the tanned, oiled, half-naked
bodies of people promenad-
ing, skateboarding, and T-
shirt shopping right near
Muscle Beach. Inside Small
World Books, though, things
are quiet. People browse
through the stacks undis-
turbed while cartoonist Matt (Groening (rhymes with brain-
ing)) sits quietly at a desk in the corner autographing copies
of his new book, a collection of Life in Hell strips. A man stops
to scratch the head of a cat slumbering on a table piled high
with remaindered novels. He tells (Groening that there's a
cartoon family on television that seems to be a plagiarism of
his style, except that the characters aren't rabbits.
"No, that's me," says (Groening. "It's not somebody rip-
ping me off." By the way he means 'the Simpsons, the animated
family whose short spots have graced the Emmy-winning
Lil' Luan Platter Show for the past two seasons, and who will
enjoy a half-hour, prime-time show of their own beginning in
December.

Groening continues drawing his trademark rabbits inside
each book. Though only thirty-four, the heavy, bearded, be-
arded Mo'Nism Joxizsinic. 1989
spectacular artist appears about ten years older, due in part to
the slightly sleepless mien of the new father. A fledgling car-
toonist stops to give (Groening the full schmooze while com-
plaining about his own strips. "They just don't flow like
yours do," he says.

"That's because I do them in a hurry," says Groening, not
looking up from his doodling.

The novice asks Groening to autograph a personal note to
a friend of his inside a copy of Love Is Hell, saying that the
book helped her get through a difficult breakup. Groening has
heard it before, about this book in particular but also about
its successors, Work Is Hell, School Is Hell, and the latest,
(V.I.D./Jood Is Hell. "They're all self-help books," he says.
"They were all written to help myself?"

Photograph by P. T. Z. H. B.

Invention Ever 11 entail?

THERE IS A GREAT TEMPTATION TO PSYCHOANALYZE CARTOONISTS: Life in Hell attracts such dissection, if for no reason other than its title. Though the strip has occasionally been little more than deft parody of the worst of US. consumer culture (Groening's mock-up covers for magazines like Sullen Teen, Smug, and Annoying Street Lunatic were popular in the early eighties), it has an existential side that is refreshing and unexpected. In Work 15 Hell, for instance, the reader finds Talmudic categorizations of 11The 81 Types of Employee? (11The Insufferable Office Wiseguyf, 11The Anonymous Dronell) and 11The 9 Types of Bosses11 (The Great Unknown? 11The Psychotic Boss from Hell11). The book's true culmination is 11Isn't It About Time You Quit Your Lousy JobV, a strip the artist is very proud of. Sounding for all the world like Henry Miller, Groening writes: 11Wake up, chump. You're not getting any younger. The clock is ticking . . fl

Moving backward through time, Life in Hell grapples in the primordial ooze: childhood and school. In School 15 Hell, the seeds of rebelliousness are sown, as the game is shown to be fixed: 11Why is it all you failing students have such negative of the boundaries of my

comic strip is that 1 gen- 0 'erally, with a few exceptions, try to write

stuff that's funnyj1 says Groening. 11There's some hellish aspects of childhood that don't lend themselves to humor at all? But a strip called 11Those Childhood Favorites We Read Again and Again and Again11 contains such titles as 11The Little Child Who Was Always Called Clumsy1, 11 The Pet That Was Given Away Despite the Children's Pleasf and 11The Father Who Never Said 11 Love You.m And there is a whole series of single panels where the put-upon child, having broken a glass or written on the wall, cowers beneath the shadow of an angry father, expecting the worst. Not funny stuff.

Groening's drawing could kindly be called minimalistic, though his principal characters are all distinctive. 11Which of these Characters do you identify with? people have asked Groening, whose once-underground creation is now syndicated in 185 newspapers. Is he Binky, the bitter, depressed, buck-toothed rabbit whose failure seems preordained?

Sheba, his estranged girlfriend, whose emotional state is described as 11generally miffed, occasionally steamed11? Or attitudes?,, asks a teacher. And in Childhood Is Hell, the

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Childhood Is Hell

culprit is family itself-especially the unyielding parent. 11Part

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Illustrations by Matt Groening

The simpgggsm "

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maybe Bongo, Binkyls oneeared illegitimate son, whose childhood plight is that of the wretched of the earth? And what of Akbar and Jeff, the identical, gay, fez-wearing imps whose entrepreneurial enterprises (llAkbar andJefPs Liposuction HutII) are legion_where do they fit in? Having laid most of those questions to rest (he is, of course, a little ofevery character: unhappy adult, unhappy child, and artist trying to make a buck), Groening is now poised to run the gauntlet again as his new show premieres. It doesn't help that the family members of The Simpsons all have the names of members of his own family, though again he begs artistic license. IThe Simpsons are all ruled by their impulses, and my family is much more controlled? he says in his Venice studio, a former garage behind his house.

Groening grew up the middle child of five in Portland, Oregon. His father was a cartoonist (ItOne-panel, single gags -guy crawling across the desert, guy on a desert islandfi Matt says), but made most of his money making short advertising Elms. hGrowing up, I had the hippest dad in the neighborhood? Groening recalls, describing a superdad who sounds like the Great Santini with a creative arts degree. Homer Groening was apparently a phenomenal, if somewhat demanding, man. And though Homer Simpson-the loutish, out-of-control TV father who tells his kids after they misbehave at their grandmother's funeral, ITll never take you to another funeral again as long as you liveII-shares his father's name, Groening downplays any Freudian motivation. He claims that there is only goodwill between them now, though says his father hhas made comparisons to Mommie Dearest in passing?

Besides, he adds, dandling his I've-month-old son Homer on his arm, trying to keep him from eating his glasses, TII feel like live gotten enough autobiographical stuff out in the comic strip to not have to make every fictional creation I come up with one more aspect of my angst-ridden past?

In the title sequence of The Simpsons, the camera descends into an animated American Anytown, meeting the family members at the close of their working day, sort of like The Flintstones. This is not, however, the end of a Yabba-Dabba-Doo day. Homer finishes his shift in a nuclear power plant by accidentally carrying out a bit of glowing nuclear waste; Marge the mom waits in a Checkout line while the clerk unintentionally passes baby Maggie over the electronic product-code reader; sister Lisa stops band practice cold with her free_bop sax playing; and son Bart has been kept after school, forced to write various messages on the blackboard. I WILL NOT WASTE CHALK, he writes at the beginning of one episode, and in another, I WILL NOT INSTIGATI-1 REVOLUTION. Finally the family converges at home, gathering before the TV set to watch, yes, The Simpsons.

By using the standard mom-dad-hud-sis structure of fifties family comedies, Groening is able to subtly comment on American values. One episode finds the children in Sunday school, quizzing their teacher on who makes it into heaven (pets and cavemen are summarily dismissed, and Bart asks, IIWhat about a robot with a human brainPII). Later Bart asks his father how important it is to be popular. llllm glad you asked, 50an says Homer. tlBeing popular is the most important thing in the world?

Groening's politics are conveyed through the Simpsons, daily activities, such as Homer's job. llln lthe show'sl nuclear 3o MO'HER JONES/DIEC. 1989

power plant, there is a constant danger of meltdown? says Groening. llWe flirt with disaster in every single show that deals with the plant. One of the things that makes me happiest is how unfair this is to the nuclear power industry? Ar A MIXING STUDIO AT TWENTIETH CENTURY Fox, Greening is listening to composer Danny Elfman (Batman, Beetlejuice, the group Oingo Boingo) put the finishing touches on The Simpson! theme. Groening had given Elfman some impressionistic instructions: III told him I wanted

bongos and plucked violins he says. Earlier in the week a forty-piece orchestra was in the studio giving Elfman just that, creating a mini-opus somewhere between Leonard Bernstein and The Jets, theme. Today they are rerecording Lisa's sax solo. The original session man refused to create the bebop sound Elfman wanted; instead he did crossword puzzles, satisfied that he was being paid scale.

What was the strangest thing? says Groening, Clearly mystified by such behavior. His own attitude suggests a newfound willingness to work with a creative team. One of the decisions my father made, which I bought for a long time and realized I didn't have to, was the idea of working in solitude? Now, the once lone ranger sings the praises of collaboration. As creator of the show, Groening works in an overseer capacity, supervising character design, going over the story boards other artists have created, directing the complicated animation done here and the more generic background work done in Korea, and especially codirecting the dialogue, where a good deal of improvisation is done. Writing is, as always, his major concern, a chore he handles with coproducer Sam Simon (Taxi, Cheers) and executive producer James Brooks (producer of The Tracey Ullman Show and director of the films Terms of Endearment and Broadcast News).

In making The Simpsons the most memorable animated prime-time family serial since Hanna-Barbera's sixties series The Jetsons, the Fox network is taking a risk. In spite of the family's popular outings on Tracey Ullman's show, Groening is still regarded as an alternative cartoonist, definitely not mainstream. Still, Life in Hell made it safely from the alternative newsweeklies into the dailies with no major repercussions (in spite of one Oregon paper wanting to retitle the strip "Life in Heck"). Does this mean Matt Groening has mellowed?

I've probably changed a little bit he says, "but I think it's mostly a matter of getting the same kind of material across to a larger audience." Still, newspapers don't play by the Russian roulette rules of the Nielsens, and Fox has committed to only thirteen episodes of The Simpsons. And as much as Groening would like to see Americans take the Simpsons to their T-shirts (there are already plans for a talking Bart doll, which would say such patented phrases as "Kids in TV land _you're being duped"), he is more concerned that the show succeed on his terms. There is not very much TV I enjoy he admits. In fact, that may be my biggest obstacle to success in Hollywood, that I don't enjoy most of what Hollywood does.

What Groening believes sets his animated family apart from most of their counterparts is their humanity. The Simpsons are people who love each other and drive each other crazy he says. My problems with a lot of the violence in a lot of cartoons and live-action shows is that there is an antic-

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 Work Is Hell Love Is Hell School Is Hell
 ipation of cruelty which I Hnd really repugnant. With the
 Simpsons we have the Cruelty and the violence, but its not
 anticipated at all, its all impulsive, its all based on people
 doing things thoughtlesslyf,
 GROENING,S CARTOONING BEGAN IMPULSIVELY, AT EVER-
 green State College in Olympia, Washington, in the early
 seventies, an Iialternatived school that was an ideal place for a
 disgruntled high school student who had vowed never to take
 another test as long as he lived. Evergreen had a loose, cre-
 ative atmosphere, and though such schools were already
 being derided as unproductive, Groening still feels fortunate
 to have been part of it.
 Among the people at Evergreen was Lynda Barry, who
 worked at the college newspaper with Groening. IIMy goal in
 life was to be a writerfi he says, and hers was to be a fine
 artist. We did cartooning as this other thing and neither of us
 expected it to be part of how we paid the rentf,
 Groening says Barryls style liberated his own work, llbe-
 cause she would do anything that came to mind? And while
 he acknowledges the influence of other underground comic
 artists, especially R. Crumb, he saw their limitations. IIOne of
 the things that I tried to do in my comic strip was something

that women would like? he says. 11The rage against women in a lot of comics, and a lot of pop culture in general, is something that I never felt. I could never figure out why cartoonists and rock stars who couldn't get laid in high school felt compelled to get their revenge for the rest of their lives in creative self-expression?

There is, however, a competitive edge to Groening's relationship with Barry: he sees her, a writer of fiction with a successful play based on her works, as being on a higher road. I've had a tendency in my career to go through the low end of trash culture-greeting cards, advertising, cartoons. And television, the lowest of all. And she, on the other hand, has elevated her aspirations, and I admire them and hope someday to turn my attention to extended writing, too? He adds, 11If I start doing those windshield stick-on dolls, the disapproval will be deserved?

Groening also credits Barry with helping him explore the darker side of childhood. 11Most humor about children is based on the idea that the traumas of childhood are cute because we as adults realize how trivial they are, how irrational their fears and frustrations are, explains Groening. 11What I try to do is take the Child's point of view? It shows in an early episode of The Simpsons, where Mom sings little Maggie to sleep with 11Rockabye Baby? The toddler imagines herself in her cradle in the treetop, rocking in the wind, finally crashing to the ground with the speed of a missile, baby and. all. Back in their bedroom Mr. and Mrs. Simpson congratulate themselves on being 11just about the best parents in the whole wide world?

THERE IS SOMETHING SUBVERSIVE IN MATT GROENINGK

vision, though he chooses to downplay it. mSubversive is such a strong word, he says. 11I like genius: one doesn't use it about oneself? His operative word is 11fun 11This will be fun, he tells me as we drive deep into the San Gabriel Valley to see a kung fu vampire film at a little Chinese movie theater he frequents. With us are Mili Smythe, who works with Groening on The Simpsons, and Steve Vance, a graphic artist who collaborated on a series of faux movie-poster greeting cards.

It's the first time Groening's been able to rope anybody into seeing one of these Hong Kong products with him, and the movie, Vampire vs. Vampire, is fantastic, as strange as a dream. Throughout, characters fly and fight in the most preposterous fashion, giving each other kung fu kicks as loud as the sounds from a passing boom box, while ghosts covered with billowy material are sliced, martial-arts style, in midair. On the long drive back to Venice, Groening is still laughing over the bad translations of the subtitles. I-I especially loves the scene, he says, where the Tao master's two students are running over a rickety drawbridge, away from an indomitable foreign vampire who's already punched through a couple of walls and devoured several innocents. 11It's scaring! 11 one of them says to the other, and Groening laughs at the memory. 11It's scaring! H he repeats, amused at the understatement. Sean Elder is a senior editor at California magazine.

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The world's
top ozone
scientist
saw the
future - and
tried to
warn Silicon
Valley. It
didn't work

. SHERWOOD ROWLAND

coauthored one of the most significant scientific findings of this century. His Finding was troubling. Very troubling. But it came early enough to allow us a chance to head off a disaster of global proportions. Rowland discovered, back in 1973, that chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) shred stratospheric ozone, our planet's delicate shield against harmful solar radiation.

In the sixteen years since, Rowland's peers have honored his ozone work profusely; most recently he was awarded the prestigious Japan Prize for Environmental Science and Technology. But in that same time the threat to the ozone layer has grown bigger than ever. Over Antarctica, a hole in the ozone the size of the United States is widening. If it keeps widening, if the world's ozone layer becomes too thin, the result could be more skin cancer and cataracts, weaker immune systems, the obliteration of many animal species. CFCs also speed up global warming and its projected effects: melting ice caps, flooded shores, dwindling forests, more smog.

And so Rowland the atmospheric chemist has become a kind of ozone detective, gathering air samples from all over the world, searching for clues that can help measure the real damage, tracking down the worst ozone offenders . where they live. One day last May, Rowland stood in his laboratory at the University of California at Irvine, sorting through air sample results. He inspected a graph showing the molecular footprints of CFCs in air from Samoa: a negligible bump. From Alaska's Point Barrow: a slightly bigger bump. From Amsterdam: a bigger bump again. Then Rowland came across a steep spike that dwarfed all the rest, on a graph bearing the label Santa Clara, California. Illustration by Anita Kunz

A decade ago,
the U.S. electronics
industry decided to
ignore the best
evidence and shred
the ozone layer
anyway-erasing all
gains made by
banning aerosols.
Now, before Congress
and behind the
scenes, it actively
blocks our best
chance to save the
planet's atmosphere.
Highest
yard

1 HYIENNISHAYES

Rowland held in his hand clear evidence that Silicon Valley- the design and development center for the Information Age- may be the worlds leading hot spot for the ozone-shredding solvent called CFC-113.

We were if surprised, says Rowland. He knows that the electronics industry is the leading user of solvent CFCs. (The refrigeration and foam industries lead in nonsolvent CFC use.) He also knows that unlike older CFC users, U.S. electronics firms began using CFCs long after Rowlands 1973 discovery, after it was known that CFCs attacked the ozone, after CFCs had been outlawed in aerosol sprays. As a result, the industry of the future more than erased progress made by the aerosol ban in the 1970s. There is strong evidence, in fact, that the electronics industry had the knowledge and means to help lead us away from ozone destruction, but chose not to.

Today, the US. electronics industry acknowledges that CFCs harm the atmosphere. But behind the scenes, it works to defeat and dilute local, state, and federal CFC-phaseout legislation. In doing so, it increases the odds that high technologys future will unfold under different, dangerous skies.

IT IS QUITE COMMON ON THE SCIENTIFIC SIDE OF INDUSTRY to believe that there aren't any real environmental problems, that there are just public relations problems, observes Rowland over the creaking of his desk chair in his fifth-floor UC Irvine office. His brow furrows when he recollects the puzzling chain of events his 1973 discovery set in motion.

In 1975, a fourteen-agency U.S. task force suggested it may be necessary to regulate CFCs in aerosols, then the largest use for CFCs. In 1976, a US. National Academy of Sciences re-

fter years of collecting air

samples from

around the world

Rowland has found

readings of CFC-113

taken near electronics

plants in Silicon Valley

to be far and away

the highest. Rowland

calls these spikes -

the largest is over

ten times higher than

any he'd measured

before at the "signature

of Silicon Valley."

Howland -

Packard,

Ian Jan

ICRROVL, AMMRDUM YOKYO ' IBM -

Alaska Sun Jan

port confirmed the need for regulation. By then, the debate had spilled out of the forums of science into the chambers of state and the boardrooms of industry.

In 1976, the EPA and FDA announced the aerosol-CFC ban, effective 1978. In the interim, consumers boycotted aerosol spray products. Most of the US. aerosol industry, after predicting ruin, got out of CFCs by 1977, 9swiftly and smoothly, recalls Rowland. Du Pont, then as now the largest CFC producer, soon reported that substitutes for other, non-aerosol CFC applications were a few years away. So concluded 34 MOTHER JONES/DEC. 1989

Phase 1 of the regulation. Phase 2, a closeout schedule for remaining CFCs, was next on the agenda. But then the momentum to regulate CFCs dissolved under the corrosive influence of the Reagan EPA and lobbying by the Chemical and refrigeration industries.

EPA administrator Anne Gorsuch discounted ozone depletion in 1981 as just another environmental scare issue; as late as 1985, Interior Secretary Donald Hodel proposed hats, tanning lotion, and sunglasses as an alternative to CFC regulation. Scientists following up on Rowlands work made the

policy reversal possible by injecting uncertainty into ozone depletion estimates. Their findings never challenged Rowland's hypothesis, but rather his estimate that CFCs eventually would destroy 7 to 13 percent of the ozone layer. As it turned out, those critics who placed the figure lower had based their argument on computer models soon recognized as flawed. As early as 1976, the scientific consensus had re-formed in support of Rowland, and in 1979 the National Academy of Sciences published a report that boosted Rowland's estimates to an eventual 15 to 18 percent ozone loss.

The most serious challenge to Rowland's scenario was short-lived, but it lasted long enough for corporate lobbyists and obliging government officials to redefine the decisive debates over the next step in CFC regulation. As the Phase 2 total ban on CFCs evaporated, Du Pont scaled back plans to bring CFC substitutes on-line, and an ecological crisis was reincarnated as a public relations problem.

Rowland reflects somberly on the logic that prevailed during the Phase 2 debates. If there are any uncertainties, then the almost universal assumption is that those uncertainties will, of course, work in the direction of making environmental problems less important. The assumption is that the person who is raising the problem is exaggerating. In this case, it turns out we weren't exaggerating.

If the comprehensive CFC phaseout Rowland's discovery initiated had won the day, the United States, the world's largest producer and consumer of CFCs, might have been within spitting distance of zero dependency by 1984. Instead, a new stage of CFC production led by the United States, much of it for the new U.S. electronics market, had surpassed the rolled-back levels achieved by the 1976 aerosol ban.

THE ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY HAD VERY LITTLE TO DO WITH detailing CFC regulation during the 1979-81 period. That's because U.S. electronics had only just begun to get into CFCs in a big way. Since 1979, CFCs have become critical elements in the manufacture of all types of electronic equipment. Terry McManus, a manager at chip maker Intel told the U.S. House Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee this year. Representing the American Electronics Association (AEA), McManus explained how his industry came to rely on CFCs as the chemical of choice in many operations and built whole new technologies based on the compounds' special properties. CFCs are now critical in one hundred to two hundred different electronics applications?

Most of those applications involve cleaning, where engineers have found use after use for a solvent so perfectly gaseous and compatible that it penetrates microscopic crevices of chips, disk heads, and circuit boards and then evaporates.

CFCs' ability to clean in small places helped make big for-
C/mrt btztkgromzd illustrated by Anita Kim

tunes. During the 1980s, microdevices shrunk in size every year. Miniaturization was the key to faster processing speeds, and a faster product could render the competition instantly obsolete. That's why the industry hustled, at great expense, to redesign its product lines and retool its processing technologies for use of CFC solvents throughout the 1980s. As it did so, it dismantled ozone-safe water-and-detergent-based solvent approaches widely used in the 1970s. It also chose to ignore an atmospherically clean inorganic, solvent derived from citrus rinds and wood pulp that is now, ten years later, proving a more effective circuit cleaner than CFCs (see sidebar). The CFCs in refrigerators and air conditioners are contained by plumbing until junked or refurbished. By contrast, in electronics, CFCs' primary mission is to clean and evaporate. Throughout the 1980s, venting CFCs freely into the atmosphere was a standard electronics industry practice. Only recently, as a result of EPA regulation, are most electronics firms beginning to install emission traps for CFCs. All along, the Pentagon has discouraged recycling the chemical by specifying that its contractors use all virgin CFC. Indeed, a codependent in the electronics industry's plunge into CFC addiction was the Pentagon, which still insists on using CFCs in an array of electronic product specs. This sent a message to high technology firms the world over: to simultaneously qualify your commercial products for U.S. military acquisition, a huge market for electronics, use CFCs. As much as 40 to 50 percent of CFCs in electronics today is driven by military requirements, claims Joseph Felty, a process engineering manager with longtime Pentagon prime contractor Texas Instruments. In a recent trade magazine report, he explained that what happened was, the military spec for CFCSI became a de facto world standard. It's a badge of quality?

IF ANYONE HAD BEEN IN A POSITION TO KNOW ABOUT THE Characteristics of CFCs, it was the U.S. electronics industry, with its brain trust of top chemists and engineers. Yet it discounted Rowland's well-respected discovery that CFCs deplete the ozone. Then it ignored a popular political movement to ban CFCs. Bud Ward, a former director of environment and occupational health for the ABA, recalls the debate of CFCs and the ozone threat within the industry while its firms made their historic technology choice, from 1979 on.

A decade later, little has changed. It's almost as if they existed on another planet, Rowland notes, recalling the questions he took from electronics industry people after addressing a Silicon Valley conference called by the EPA and AEA last February to discuss the industry's threat to the ozone. It is clear that a large fraction of the problem we have with CFCs now is with companies that expanded their major uses enormously during the time period in which it was known to be a danger. It has to be either massive ignorance that they were involved with CFCs, says Rowland, or they didn't believe there were any real environmental problems? Either way, Rowland observes, the research directors of high technology corporations are supposed to know what's going on?

Those at the very top are still incorporating CFCs into their next-generation technologies. Sematech is the government-subsidized industry consortium charged with, as its press kit puts it, reclaiming worldwide semiconductor manufacturing leadership? Sematech's Austin facilities this year vented hundreds of tons of CFCs.

HE U.S. ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY DIDN'T HAVE to shred the ozone. Proven and promising CFC alternatives have been available for some time: Water. Under new pressure from the EPA, IBM and the industry are returning to ozone-safe water-based cleaners. Aqueous cleaning was the industry standard in the 1970s, and it remains effective, according to recent studies - by AT&T Bell Laboratories. In 1985, an SRI

International study concluded that switching from CFCs to water-based cleaners would increase total printed circuit-board manufacturing costs by roughly one percent?

Terpenes are organic cleaners whose active ingredient occurs naturally in nearly all living plants. John Tuck, publisher and editor of the trade journal Circuits Manufacturing, observes that terpenes seem made to order from an environmental point of view because they don't damage the ozone and are noncorrosive and essentially nontoxic."

In 1988, Circuits Manufacturing published tests showing CFC solvents leaving more residue on circuit boards than terpenes did. AT&T researcher Leslie Guth claims that Cleaning with terpenes is superior to the use of CFC-113 . . .

Petroferm, a small Florida firm, has developed a terpene product, Bioact EC-7, from orange rinds and wood pulp.

AT&T is already successfully using EC-7 in at least three of its U.S. plants. In fact, scientists have known about terpenes for decades. Petroferm's R&D director Michael Hayes: The United States Department of Agriculture sponsored work on . . . citrus-based terpenes as long ago as the 1930s. For many years after that, there was little interest in the industrial use of terpenes, probably because of the availability at very low cost of halogenated atmospherically dangerous solvents and petroleum distillates. Some electronics firms, including IBM, have dismissed terpenes because they're potentially combustible and smell strongly of citrus. Developments in processing technology are removing these objections as stumbling blocks to widespread terpene use.

Taken together, terpenes and water-based cleaning enable cost-effective electronics assembly without the need for consumption of CFCs. AT&T Bell Labs concluded in a presentation to the EPA and the American Electronics Association this year. Still, the U.S. electronics industry vigorously lobbies that it can't be deprived of CFCs for at least a decade.

D. H.

dreds of gallons of CFCs into the atmosphere. When asked to comment, Sematech spokeswoman Ann Marett said, "Well, isn't everybody using CFC? Another spokesperson called back to say Sematech was planning to scale back its ventilation, if not its use, of CFCs in 1990.

WE ARE, WITHOUT DOUBT, THE BIGGEST ELECTRONICS USER of CFCs in the world, said an IBM executive in the spring of 1989. IBM uses over forty-four thousand pounds of CFC-113 every workday. IBM's Endicott, New York, facility is the mac. 19893 MOTHER JONES 35

United States single largest industrial source of ozone-depleting chemicals. IBM's San Jose plant is not only the biggest CFC-113 user in Silicon Valley, but in all of California. Where Big Blue goes, its competitors are inclined to follow. IBM led its industry to CFC-113 and another solvent, methyl chloroform (TCA), in the late 1970s and early 1980s. (TCA shreds the ozone, although not as prolifically as CFC-113, and is a significant greenhouse gas.) The computer giant liked the economics of CFCs, but the chemical held other attractions as well. Evidence suggested trichloroethylene (TCE), a solvent used extensively by IBM and the industry during the 1970s, was carcinogenic. TCE's successor, TCA, was soon implicated as a reproductive health hazard. (In 1982, TCA solvent leaked from IBM's storage tanks into a San Jose neighborhood's drinking water and a sharp rise in birth defects occurred locally. In 1986, IBM settled a class action suit brought by the neighborhood residents, keeping the terms secret. IBM still denies that its chemicals helped cause the defects, despite a corroborating follow-up study. And IBM continues to use TCA, though the company uses over twice as much CFC solvent.)

The company claims its big switch to CFCs was motivated by the fact that CFCs are less toxic to workers than TCE. IBM's development of CFC uses in and before the early eighties was fueled by the desire to use the safest process for our employees, reads a company statement. (IBM would not grant Mother Jones a face-to-face interview with those who pilot its CFC policy, insisting instead on providing written answers to written questions.)

Didn't turning to CFCs invite danger of another sort? IBM writes that from 1973 to 1986, its calculated estimates of the seriousness of ozone depletion were constantly changing, and we could see no clear consensus that made it necessary to eliminate CFC use. The issue was controversial among leading scientists during this period and the data was inconclusive." The only source IBM cites is a paper F. Sherwood Rowland wrote in 1989 for American Scientist (It's Chlorofluorocarbons and the Depletion of Stratospheric Ozone).

After Rowland's initial discovery, IBM explains, its estimates of total stratospheric ozone depletion due to CFCs fluctuated between 7 and 13 percent in the period between 1974 and 1978. Indeed, this was the range Rowland originally published in 1974. It was upheld by supercomputer modeling at the National Center for Atmospheric Research in Boulder, Colorado. And it was a range the 1976 National Academy of Sciences report deemed conclusive enough.

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to predict the need for an aerosol ban. Between 1979 and 1983, IBM continues, its changes in model data input reduced estimation of total ozone loss to 5 percent. By the end of 1983, calculations ranged from 4.2 percent depletion down to

even smaller losses under some scenarios? IBM leaves out key context. The 4 to 5 percent rates that it cites were the product of a computer model, developed at Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, that was soon proven incomplete by more accurate models, as well as by evidence showing more rapid ozone loss rates. As Rowland points out in the very paper IBM cites, the surest sign of the Livermore models flaw was the wide range of estimates it produced; in 1984 other experiments using the Livermore model placed the steady state ozone depletion at 24 percent and 31.7 percent. In this debate, IBM chooses to rest on temporary, selective views for support, pointing to technical detours like the Livermore model as evidence that the ozone debate has never been free of scientific uncertainty-even though absolute certainty, or full consensus, is almost impossible to achieve in science.

But if there is one fact about the ozone that almost all scientists have agreed on since Rowland's first discovery, it is that ozone in the most sensitive, upper layer of the stratosphere is being seriously eroded by CFCs. In the paper IBM cites, Rowland makes very clear that all changes in estimates of total ozone depletion have resulted chiefly from changing calculations of ozone concentrations in the lower stratosphere and troposphere. Since the 1970s, Rowland explains, ozone depletions in the upper stratosphere have always been large . . . being relatively unaffected by the various adjustments over the years in the input data for the atmospheric models." In other words, data indicating the eventual loss of up to half the ozone in the upper stratosphere has never been significantly called into question; the limited debate IBM points to has to do with estimates of overall ozone depletion rates from 1979 to 1984. While the distinction might be a bit confusing to a reader new to ozone issues, it wouldn't be to any Silicon Valley scientist up to speed on the properties of CFCs and the atmosphere. And yet, IBM's official version of the history of CFCs and the ozone makes it seem as if the company was the last to be informed. The spring 1989 issue of Visions, an IBM magazine for employees, reports that data presented in 1988 gave the first convincing evidence that CFCs were depleting the world's protective ozone layer, which might allow more of the sun's ultraviolet rays to reach the earth's surface."

Why does IBM still equivocate that ozone depletion might allow more of the sun's ultraviolet rays to reach the earth's surface? Is there any question today? The company's answer: "Because of the role of clouds, atmospheric particulates, and ozone in the lower atmosphere, the magnitude of changes in UV radiation at the earth's surface due to stratospheric ozone depletion is not at all certain. We agree that the prudent course is to assume that UV radiation will likely increase if the stratospheric ozone is seriously depleted, but the future extent of

the changes is not known?

THE AMERICAN ELECTRONICS ASSOCIATION, like IBM, prefers to write its own history of CFCs and the ozone, clinging just as tenaciously to the concept of scientific uncertainty as a defense. In testimony before a Senate Environmental Protection Subcommittee in May 1989, AEA Director of Environment and Occupational Health Cheryl Russell said that when U.S. electronics firms switched to CFC solvents, a date the AEA identifies as 1979, CFCs were believed to be environmentally benign, neither contributing to air pollution nor to any hazardous waste problems?

It was in 1979 that the National Academy of Sciences published its 15 to 18 percent ozone loss rate, a range well above Rowland's original 7 to 13 percent estimate that prompted the aerosol ban. As Rowland observes, "The now-widespread use of CFC-113 for cleaning electronic components has been developed almost entirely since the bans on CFC-11 and CFC-12 as aerosol propellants, even though it has been obvious all along that all three CFC molecules are roughly equivalent in their ability to deplete stratospheric ozone?"

IBM now claims to be leading efforts to reduce CFC consumption. "We believe we will achieve reductions of between 40 and 50 percent by the end of 1989," the company writes. Much of IBM's effort involves trapping and controlling CFC emissions, a short-term approach since it prolongs dependence on CFCs and courts accidental emissions. Already, IBM has reported leaks in the ducts of its current CFC-solvent recovery system.

Solid progress would be the development of solvent processes that don't use CFCs. Last year, IBM San Jose prominently announced that it was experimenting with a water-based cleaning process that could replace up to 30 percent of its CFC use. The "new" process involved a mild detergent called Triton X-100 and an ultrasound drying technique. The entire project went from conception to operation in less than two years and it (Continued on page 47)

The Novels Next Step

If someone could create the Global novel, we'd all have a sequel.

I'm going to give you a head start on this: hook that somebody ought to be working on. The hands of the clock are minutes away from nuclear midnight. And I am slow, each book taking me longer to write. I didn't finish the story to stop the war in Vietnam until 1980. I've set down what has to be done, and maybe hurry creation, which is about two steps ahead of destruction.

The protagonist has been born already; in fact, he's twenty-three years old and his name is Wittman Ah Sing, hero of Tripmaster Monkey. He has potential, having devised a fake book of political and artistic intentions to be improvisationally carried out. All the writer has to do is make Wittman here ready

0 Who

A Special Previews Section

grow up, and Huck Finn and Holden Caulfield will grow up. We need a sequel to Dostoevsky—an idea of the humane beings that we may become. And the world would have: a sequel.

How to write a novel that uses nonviolent means to get to nonviolent ends? We are addicted to excitement and crisis. We confuse "pacific" and "passive," and are afraid that a world without war is the place where we'll die of boredom. About a society in which characters deal with one another nonviolently seems so anomalous that WCK's hardly begun to invent its title. Its drama. There's a By Maxine Hong Kingston

My (immense) Royalty: I'll be here for a long time

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rRe .
\$yMQQ
crentive-writing adage that the loaded gun
in L1H early chapter has to go off Liter on.
How to break that rule? The loaded guns-
and the titst-strike and seeontl-sttike bombs
-;lre read): How to not shoot and not
launch, and yet have drama? The writer
needs to imagine the world healthy, nnrtnt'
ing young Wittman to be ti good man, :1
citizen whose work improves life.
Suppose: After gathering everybody he
knows and putting on a show, as he does in
Tripmtzsler Monkey. Wlttlndn Ah Sing and
his wife Tana, like many Californians of the
sixties, go somewhere to start 3 commune.
They will take along Paul (loodmnnls (Iom-
mzmitas as their field guide. A good man, a
good Buddhist, builds his simg/m. Animals
have been miraculously appearing and will
help deconstruct the cities. Pheasants have
been spotted flying low along the streets of
Detroit. In Studio City, where I lived for L1
whilet coyotes cross Ventuta Boulevard to
hunt cats. We need more ideas like the junk-
cat reef off Honolulu; the crannies :md sur-
faces of the sunken cars attract fish and bar-
nacles. In British, Dutch. and Australian
writing, there are stories about squatters il-
legally claiming empty houses and apart-
ments. And jimmy and Rosalynn Cutter set
an example of charity, repairing inner-eity
buildings with their own hands. (Is it better
to restore cities, though, or to rethink them P)
As Tripmaster Monkey ends, Wittman Ah
Sing decides to flee conscription. Having al-
ways lived in cities, he will not have it in him
to go to the north woods and start a com-
mune from scratch. May-
be llll have him do whatl
did_go to Hawaii on the
way to japant L1 country
he thinks has a strong
peace movement. lint he
stops at the verge of
America. His fellow draft
dodgers are lighting out
for Molokai and Kztnni.
h(io stay Kauai. FBI man
no can find lemfl Most
Hawaiians, however. pn-
tbiotienlly enlist, L15 the
poor and the minorities have done during all
the American wars. Paradise turns out to be
the staging area for Vietnam. The moun-
tains eeho with target practice. ili'dlilx's go
around and around Oahu. Lllkl ships loneled
with rockets leave the harbor. Soldiers, ban-
daged on shockingly variolis parts of their
bodies. recuperate on the beaches. The
peace demonstrators are few, only about ten
38 Moi'in-k ioxizsini-o mist)
The danger is the
Global novel has
to imitate Chaos:
bombs, leaking
boats, people who
refuse connections.
paeitists and Quakers;
Wittman tinel Ttinti join
them.

The motley people of
Hawtiit tetieh Wittman
that .1 (ihinese American
is ti ptikez he is to be the
niiellex thent in the eal-
Jbash ttiinily of man. He
studies strangers to see
who his long-lost rela-
tives might be. livery
family ttilks-story about
some lonely old .ineestoi' who e.tine across
the sen tlllLl became l,itiiztiz' to them, llwotked
hard that ptilwfl and took etire ot the entire
family. Wittmtin identifies with Hawaiian
men, who look somewhat like himself be-
cause theylre part (Ihinese. but who are as
in;leho physically as he is macho Verbally.
He is a tripping traveling monkey and they
arc of the imztz. the land, which theylre lose
ing. Vivid nature tlnorescently gets through
men to out city monkey. Sitting on the
ground in silence with others. listening to the
()CCJH under the night sky. he understands
tlmt the universe is made Up of more silence
than words. All he need do is stop talking,
and he becomes one with everything and
evetx'body else. KThe silence will counter-
point the twelve-speaker blnst-out in The
lizke Book All of us lost land. and we mi-
grate from country to country. vying with
those who got there earlier. Forget territory.
lets make lovet mate and mix with exotic
peoplest and create the new humane being.
Because he has married Tana De Wileesei
blond and (:LILIC'JST'JIL Wittmant who in-
vents philosophies to catch up with his ac-
tions L15 well as chc versa, recommends
interracial marriage as the way to integrate
the planet. Hapa children of any combina-
tion are the most beautiful, and the Ah Sing-
l)e Weeses adopt one. With its dark red skin

and little blue-black eyes, their lmnai baby looks like all babies, so they decide that it can be any race. Wittman, taking up the role of father, practices the principle that we ought to be able to learn to love any stranger.

There are male animals_h:msters and rabbits are two species I myself have witnessed-that have to be separated from the birthing females to stop them from eating the babies. just so, older men, even war veterans, draft boys and send them to war. Nations have wars every generation, and kill off young men. Why is this? Why doesn't Wittman have this instinct? Doesn't he know the difference between being fatherly and being motherly?

Sometimes strangers don't like being loved. Soon after arriving in Hawaii, I worked in a community project, my portion of which was to get dropouts to drop in and learn how to read. Saul Alinsky lectured to Taking Aim at War

DEEDS OF VJAR

Photographs by James Nachtwey with an introduction by Robert Stone Thames and Hudson, 166 pages, 535. James Nachtwey's photographs of the world's war zones are always grounded in human emotion: futility, determination, and, occasionally, even joy. In this collection, he captures the people caught in the principal areas of conflict in the 1980s, from a counterinsurgency soldier flirting with a Salvadoran girl to an elderly resident of Belfast trying to douse a burning truck with a pail of water. Here, in a photograph shot after Israel's invasion of Beirut, a Lebanese father has lifted his small son onto an Israeli tank to play with a soldier's gun. In Nachtwey's camera has a way of finding tragic elements in a world so brutalized that it ought to be beyond tragedy? writes

Robert Stone in the introduction. If tragedy requires a certain nobility in its victims; seen in Deeds Of War, that nobility is poignant and collective. It is expressed in the pathetic artifacts of everyday life to which so many of Nachtwey's subjects vainly aspire; in their grief; in hope itself, which appears as a tantalizing implicit presence in so many of the photographs

us, we burn it down perhaps only quoting a slogan from Watts. The Hawaiians answered, it's too beautiful to burn down? Then they beat up our two Vista workers, who were blacks sent by a church in the Midwest, and ran them out of town. My next community project was Sanctuary for AWOL soldiers. They were on R and R in paradise, and did not want to go back to Vietnam. Wittman and Tana could teach reading in the front room, and try to keep their two AWOLs from coming out of the back room. They'll take their kid with them

and join the communal Sanctuary at the Church of the Crossroads, where everyone gathers- AWOL soldiers and sailors, servicemen's unionists, hippies, Yippies, sociologists, Quakers, Buddhists, Catholic Action, kalmnas, reporters, infiltrators. Outside, the black chaplain from Schofield yells into a bullhorn for his men to give themselves up. Wittman directs the drop-outs and the AWOLs in a performance of Megan Terryls Vie! Rock that wins hearts and blows minds.

The Sanctuary in Honolulu was the latest setting up of a City of Refuge, a free zone that would give absolute security to fugitives. Such an idea has been thought up and tried by many civilizations-Phoenicians, Syrians, Greeks, Romans. Moses appointed six Levitical cities and Ilintaking citiesf three on either side of the Jordan. Medieval and Renaissance churches were sacred precincts of asylum. On the Big Island of Hawaili, stone deities and a wall mark off a jut of land that is the City of Refuge. If the fugitive could swim or run to the City, the priests protected him or her. Mark Twain wrote about crowds lining the way to the gate, cheering on a man whose pursuers were racing to catch him. You can hide under the rock that hid Queen Kahhumanu, revolutionary feminist breaker of kapu. The City of Refuge is a desolate spot of black rock and salt water; fugitives could not have survived there without the cooperation of the community. Fictionally, it would be dramatic to set the Vietnam Sanctuary on the Big Island, but I want to tell the true history of places of peace, and how they were established during the worst of times. Sanctuary has evolved so that it can be set up in the middle of a secular city like Honolulu. Can Cities of Refuge last and grow without war conditions? Is there an Asian tradition of refugees attaining sacred ground and claiming protection by its deity? I want to follow the evolution of a humane impulse, and support the newest Sanctuary movement, harboring refugees in flight from repressive Central American regimes.

By carrying out Visions of aim and sang/Ja, Wittman, Monkey of 72 Transformations, becomes almost Hawaiian. (When he learns their music, he will be truly I-Iawaiian.) A human being is a thinking creature; whatever and whomever we know belong to us, and we become part of them. Learning the culture and history of the land were living on, we take root in the earth; we have Native American ancestors. We are already part white from learning in school about pilgrims and pioneers. And we are getting better at being black because of ethnic studies and Alex Haley giving us roots. The Monkey, who is able to change into fish, birds, mammals, and buildings, can now realize himself as many kinds of people. The ancestors connect us tribally and globally, and guide our evolution. We can make the planet :1 beneficent home for all. The dream of the great American novel is past. We need to write the Global novel. Its

setting will be the United States, destination
of journeys from everywhere. Wittman and
Dl-.C. 1989 MOTH1:R_ION1-,S 39

Northern Exposures

ALAKSI IAK:

Tl lli ()RliXI' COUNTRY

Pbotogmpbs oftbe Alaskan

Wilderness by A rt Wolfe

Text by Art Davidson,

ITMCMYJHII by Galen Rowell

Tbe Yollu Holly Press, 1791215465, \$7?

In the wake of the Exxon Valdez oil

spillt Art Wolfek photographs in

Altzlesbtz/e (Aleut for llThe Great

(jountryll/ take on particular urgen-

cy. They remind us how little time is

left to save the caribou of Denali Nae

tioiml Park, the shocking pink lire-

weed of the Susitnn Valley, and the

granite of Kenai Fjords National Park

lpietured above) from the effects of

petroleum and ehlorofluoroeurhons.

"Never hefore have I seen such seen-

ery so hopelessly beyond deserio

tionf naturalist john Muir wrote in

1879 during his first visit to Alaska.

Over one hundred years later, Al-

tI/csbtz/z evokes the same feeling.

40 MOTHl'R jONlaM'IHIC. 1989

Talia cut out of California only to find them-

selves among more Americans. Everybody

gathers and regathers, unable to get away

from one another until we work out how to

live peacefully together. The pheasants and

coyotes are amongst the hunters. Refugees

from Southeast Asia and South America are

coming to the last place that you would

think North Americans would make unliv-

able, the United States. We shut the borders,

migrants drop from the sky, as in The Samu-

ic Verses, a pioneer Global novel for which

the author has risked life and art. The dan-

ger is that the Global novel has to imitate

chaos: loaded gunst homhs, leaking boats.

hroken-down civilizations, a hole in the sky.

hroken English, people who refuse connec-

tions with others. How to stretch the novel

to comprehend our times-no guarantees of

inherent or eventual order_without it tull-

ing apart? How to integrate the surreal. soci-

ety, our psyches?

Start with the characters. Find out_in-

vent-how those AWOL soldiers, who came

from the lvlidwest and the South and went

to Vietnam and back, make themselves

whole. And how those black Vista workers

become generous men. And how the Hawai-

ians save the tzma. Another Global writer.

Bharati Mukherjee, wrote about a Canadi-

an orphanage that took in mutilated chil-

dren from Korea, Cambodia, Central

America. One of those children, Angela-

soldiers had cut off her nipples and thrown

her into a pit-has turned eighteen and is

about to leave the orphanage. How does she

grow up A whole woman? Wittman has to

break open the Chinese-American con-

sciousness that he built with such difficulty

and he a world citizen. And Tafia has to use

the freedom the feminists have won. These

struggles have got to result in happy endings

for all. And readers must learn not to wor-

ship tragedy as the highest art anymore.

For inspiring the Global novel, I would

read again these ancestral guides: nineteenth-century Russian novels on social experiments. the most famous being Tolstoy's utopian farm at the end of Anna Karenina. The most entertaining were about free love; a trio loves together, each with a room of his or her own, Sensei and His People, by Yoshi Sugihara and David Plath, about a commune that Japanese settlers started in Manzanilla in the thirties. Paul Goodman's Making Do, to remind us of urban conditions and humanitarian values and goals. These books keep to classic form; the prob-

lems are not so chaotic nor outcomes so revolutionary that they explode fiction. Tolstoy did not foresee technology overwhelming the land and its people. The free lovers do not go much outside the house. Sensei's commune ignores the existence of native Manchurians. And making do, scraping along, squatting and cadging, leaves too much in place. A few people living cooperatively could make repercussions that slowly change society; such a novel ought to take a long time in the reading, teaching readers to enjoy the slowness.

You have to withstand about a hundred pages of chaos in Mario Vargas Llosa's *War of the End of the World*, which seems to be a descendant of *Water Margin*, the eight-hundred-year-old saga that was Mao Zedong's favorite. Then the outlaws and outcasts build Sanctuary; Canudos is a community with no property, no money, no taxes, no hunger, and no marriage. The government of Brazil surrounds Canudos and blows it up. Vargas Llosa foretells this destruction from the beginning, explosions and prophesies flashing backward and forward in time. The Global novelist of the future has to imagine the commune winning so that there will be no war and no end of the world.

I have never tried writing a novel by looking at it as a whole first. I've never before given away the ending and the effects-how I want readers to react. Ideas for a Global novel are rushing in to fill some empty sets that have been tantalizing me for a long time. William Burroughs said, 'There is no such thing as a great Buddhist novel?' Kurosawa tried making a great Buddhist movie, *Kagemusha*, which is about sitting still as war strategy. Pauline Kael said that even Kurosawa can't make a good movie about not moving.

Once upon a time China had three Books of Peace. Those books were hidden and never found, or they were burned, their writers killed, their reciters' tongues cut out. But we can retrieve the Books of Peace by envisioning what could be in them-something like the intimations that live written here. Should I not have the ability or the years, this which you're reading may have to be it-a minimalist Global novel-short enough so the speedy reader can finish up using his or her own words and deeds.

Maxine Hong Kingston was one of the United States' delegates to the PEN International Conference in Canada.

McKibben's topic is the future of human life on the planet - whether there'll be a future. From Greenhouse to Our House

THE END OF NATURE

By Bill McKibben, Random House, 226 pages, \$19.95.

BY MARK HERTSGAARD

his is a momentous book, one of the few that genuinely deserves the llmust readingii rave so freely bestowed Within the publishing business. That is because its topic is the future of human life on the planet—specifically, whether there, ll he a future, now that weve irrevocably overheated the place with all the smoke and chemicals fifty-odd years of hyperactive industrialization have spewed into the heavens. The books agenda is radical change. Anyone who can read these pages and believe we can continue to indulge our collective addiction to the automobile is either not paying very much attention or drawing a regular dividend check from Exxon.

The End of Nature makes it inescapably clear that the worlds consumption of fossil fuels must fall dramatically, and soon, if we are to avoid catastrophe. Granted, that is a little like saying the United States and the Soviet Union must disarm completely tomorrow. Petrochemicals are the lifeblood of modern industrial civilization, and are seen as the key to ildevelopmenti, for the worlds poor majority. But thanks to the greenhouse effect—whereby carbon dioxide released into the atmosphere by fossil fuel combustion prevents the suns rays from reflecting back into space, thus warming the earth— all this must change. Choosing to burn ever more oil and coal, author Bill McKibben warns, llwill lead us, if not straight to hell, then straight to a place with a similar temperature? As it is, weve already set in motion climatic forces which guarantee that our children, to say nothing of their children, will inhabit a planet significantly warmer than ours. Whether humans can survive such a habitat, I need hardly add, is very much open to question. Though not a scientist himself, McKibben summarizes the latest scholarship on the global environmental crisis with chilling clarity. He discusses acid rain, deforestation, ozone depletion, and other hazards, but his overriding concern is the global warming problem. I-Iis prose is at once lyrical and erudite, composed yet impassioned. He roots the ecological crisis in the fact that itwe, all of us in the First World, have participated in something of a binge, a half century of unbelievable prosperity? Through our debauchery tlwe have marred a great, mad, profligate work of art, taken a hammer to the most perfectly proportioned Of sculpturesfi

This book is being touted as a successor to Jonathan Schellis Fate of the Earth and

Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, the two most influential environmental books of the last thirty years. Like them, it was first excerpted in the *New Yorker*, where McKibben used to be a staff writer. But *The End of Nature* is different in a fundamental way. Unlike the pesticide poisoning decried by Carson or the nuclear holocaust feared by Schell, the dangers McKibben outlines have already happened and, even more ominously, they cannot be undone.

The latest estimates predict that man's release to date of carbon dioxide and other gases will warm the atmosphere as little as 1 degree Fahrenheit or as much as 2.8, he writes. And even drastic, remedial action cannot prevent additional warming in the decades ahead. For example, one optimistic scenario hypothesizes the initiation of vigorous reductions in greenhouse gas emissions, sharp declines in industrialized countries per-capita energy use, a halt to rain-forest destruction, massive reforestation efforts—all the countermeasures any good environmentalist would prescribe. Yet even had these dramatic changes been implemented in 1980, the earth would still be on a trajectory bound to leave it as much as 7.5 degrees warmer by the year 2075.

That may not sound like much, but scientists theorize it should be plenty to trigger Genesis-like floods the world over as polar ice caps melt and rising oceans submerge their shores. At the same time, the interiors of continents may dry up because of increased evaporation, thus threatening water supplies and food production. And these are just (some of) the foreseeable consequences. Because we are altering the climate at a rate ten to sixty times its natural rate of change, it is impossible to know what other unpleasant surprises may be lurking ahead, much less to prepare for them. Factor in the awesome momentum of the present system—the certainty that global energy consumption will grow as energy-gobbling economies in the First World expand and populations, DEC. 1989/MOTHER JONES 41

and aspirations, in the Third World increase
-and things look pretty damn bleak.
So, what to do? Scientists say we must
somehow slow the rate of warming enough
so that we can try to adapt to it. That, in
turn, requires overcoming our addiction to
fossil fuels, and fast. As if that isn't a challenge
enough, McKibben himself argues further
that we must also purge ourselves of the idea
ology so widely, if unconsciously, embraced
in industrial societies: the belief that man is
at the center of creation and it is therefore
right for him to do whatever pleases him?
For failing that, our impulse will be to spurn
the doomsayers and pursue such new and
alarming methods of dominating the earth
as genetic engineering. The images McKib-
ben conjures of a genetically engineered fu-
ture are grotesque: "inefficient little chickens de-
signed without the unnecessary heads,
wings and tails," assembly-line lamb chops
grown "with red meat and fat attached to an
ever-elongating spine of bone."

What most disturbs him about humans
creating new forms of life, however, is that it
"puts us forever in the deity business," when
our best hope for salvation actually lies in
precisely the opposite direction. We must be
God's creatures, not gods ourselves, McKib-
ben concludes. Rather than the dehumanization rep-
resented by genetic engineering, we must
adopt a humbler cosmic vision, one that sees
human beings as but one species among
many and sets stiff limits on material con-
sumption. What all this would mean in
practice, beyond drastic reductions in living
standards, is unclear, and indeed this is the
weakest part of the book. McKibben seems
lost in an intellectual maze as he advocates
utterly transforming all industrial civiliza-
tion, only to acknowledge a few pages later
that poverty-stricken Third World countries
are scarcely likely to curb their desires in
deference to the greenhouse effect. And he
never does show that the humbler path will
actually save us. Another disappointment:
McKibben implies that individual life-styles
not corporate priorities, are to blame for our
wasteful consumption patterns-as it were
ever put suburban sprawl or electric power
plant construction to a vote in this country.
Still, to focus on these shortcomings is to
miss the point. Outlining a compelling, de-
tailed blueprint for overcoming one of the
greatest challenges in human history would
take, at least, a book in itself. Bill McKibben
has already performed an immense service
simply by bringing our predicament home
to us in a powerful, plainspoken way. Solu-
tions are up to the rest of us.

Marie Hertsgaard is the author of *On
Bended Knee: The Press and the Reagan
Presidency* (Simon & Schuster).

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Life and

All that Jazz

MILES: The Autobiography,

by Miles Davis with Quincy Troupe, Simon
& Schuster, 412 pages, \$22.95.

JAZZ CLEOPATRA: Josephine Baker in Her
Time, by Playliss Rose, Doubleday, 321

pages, \$22.50

BY Lisa KENNEDY

In the first pages of *Miles, Miles* Davis interrupts his generous detailing of his earliest boyhood memories of East St. Louis with this historical aside: "Another thing I think about East St. Louis is that it was there, back in 1917, that those crazy, sick white people killed all those black people in a race riot. . . . They shot them in their houses, shot babies and women. Burned down houses with people in them and hung some black men from lampposts. Anyway, black people there who survived used to talk about it. When I was coming up, black people I knew never forgot what sick white people had done?"

Twenty years his senior, Josephine Baker was one of those black people. In jazz *Cleopatra*, Phyllis Rose writes of Baker: "When she was eleven years old . . . the East St. Louis race riot of 1917 stamped itself upon her memory. . . . It made such an impression on her that when, later, she told the story of her life, she sometimes began with the East St. Louis race riot as though it was her earliest memory?"

Call it biographical synchronicity that this incident figures prominently in both Davis's and Baker's memories. But its more than that. What is stunningly evident in both books is that the issue of race competes with and supplements the more obvious themes of jazz, performance, and stardom. It is also clear that racism is the sum of impersonal assaults that inform the personal narrative of an African American subject. For Davis, who wasn't born until 1926, the riot was a part of his community's oral history, a tale that affected his worldview. He says, "Maybe some of remembering that is in my personality and comes out in the way I look at most white people."

Rose alternates between reading Baker's life through the racial mythologies that conditioned her success as well as her career, and looking at Baker as a figurine in a fairy tale with an edge. Baker's life lends itself to both enterprises. Rose writes, "To a girl who had been doing hard domestic labor from the age of seven, the story of *Cinderella* seemed more like local realism than distant myth. She had scrubbed floors, cleaned out ovens, and ironed clothes until she wept from exhaustion? And within her family Baker was an outcast because, in comparison to her stepfather and his children, she was disagreeably light-skinned. This shaky childhood prefigured Baker's parablelike trajectory from East St. Louis to Philadelphia to New York and, finally, to the City of Light. The arc ended with her obsessive attempt to realize a racial fantasy, to create a family of Children of so many nationalities that they resembled nothing less than an all-star international cast; she called them the Rainbow Tribe."

One of the disappointments of Rose's book is the author's failure to give us Baker's voice. When we do hear it, even at its most

anecdotal it is refreshing, if a bit corny.
Here's Baker on celebrity: "Fame is a ladder
with many rungs . . . and there is one for each
of us. Back in St. Louis, everyone knew Mrs.
Nicholls' cat because one of its ears had been
ripped off by a dog."

Rose persuasively shows that Paris's early
adoration of Baker and her *Danse Sauvage*
was tainted by the Parisians' belief that, be-
cause she was black, she was animal-like
and therefore unself-conscious. Yet the ab-
sence of Baker's voice in jazz *Cleopatra* cre-
ates a similar effect: we are left with an
evocative object but a muted subject. This is
ironic since Rose spends a number of pages
attempting to provide a theory of racism
and its variants, exoticism and primitivism,
each of which thrives on refashioning ob-
jects out of subjects. Some of Rose's material
on racism is disquieting, in part because she
talks about it as if it were a thing of the past,
existing sometime in the early 1900s: "In the
heyday of racism, white men had an epic
historical vision in which civilization itself,
the jewel of the white race, was threatened
on every side by barbarian hordes." Which
heyday was that, the reader might wonder,
especially in light of the fact that some of the
most interesting details Rose shares with us
are about Baker's work against racism years
later in the civil rights movement.

Absence of voice, however, is not a prob-
lem in Miles. This is a talking book, a tran-
scribed book, Miles on an incredible free-
associative binge. No wonder the first word
of the book is "listen." He goes on to be
quintessentially Miles: "The greatest feeling
I ever had in my life—with my clothes on—
was when I first heard Diz and Bird. . . .
Man, that shit was so terrible it was scary. I
mean. . . . It was a motherfucker. Man, that

shit was all up in my body.w
 If Baker shared Gertrude Stein's Paris,
 Miles Davis shares Stein's ability to drop
 names, to give the reader the sense of being
 in the middle of something quite remark-
 able. What that is is nothing less than the
 history of jazz. Bird, Dizzy, Bud Powell, Col-
 trane, Gil Evans, Duke Ellington, Billy hBii
 Eckstein, Jimi Hendrix, Herbie Hancock,
 Ahmad Jahmal, Monk, Sonny Rollins. Part
 social registry, part book of the dead (there
 are at least a dozen Milesian eulogies), Miles
 anchors the black subject securely in its sub-
 jectivity, almost entirely by virtue of voicing.
 Race then unavoidably becomes embodied
 and shaken off, embodied and shaken off.
 This is the story of a participant with a keen
 eye and ear. Sometimes arrogant, often con-
 flicted, Miles Davis is candid on just about
 every bit of his past: his feelings for his
 mother, Bird, his father, his wives, Gil
 Photographs courtesy of Bettmmmm Archive
 Evans; his battles with drug addiction, first
 with heroin, then with cocaine. Buoying
 these highly personal accounts are impas-
 sioned words about music, its production,
 its distribution, and its pull.
 Strangely, Miles and jazz Cleopatra are
 likely to leave the reader wanting almost op-
 posite things. Miles's firsthand reminiscing is
 both its strength-the black subject does ex-
 ist!-and its weakness. With its spoken
 rhythm rather than a writerly one, Miles
 tires the reader, not so much as to make one
 want to put it down, but enough that one
 sincerely wishes for some distance. On the
 other hand, Baker as a conflicted black sub-
 ject is never palpably present in jazz
 Cleopatra, creating a hunger for a simple
 autobiography.

Lisa Kennedy is a senior editor of The Village
 Voice.

The issue of race
 competes with and supple-
 ments the more obvious
 themes of both Miles
 and Jazz Cleopatra.

East St.

Louis Blues:

Davis and
 Baker share
 memories of
 a hometown.

No Place

Like Home

JASIVUNE

By Bbaratz' Mukherjee, Grove Press, 190
 pages, \$17.95.

BY DOUGLAS FOSTER

Leading jasmine was, for me, a flight
 into childhood. The son of a Peace
 Corps executive, I learned my num-
 bers in a kindergarten in Taiwan,
 French letters in elementary school
 in Liberia, and Latin American his-
 tory in junior high school in Brazil.
 Jasmine dislodged several ago-
 nizing homecomings lid long for-
 gotten. Once, returning from Brazil
 to high school in California, I suddenly pan-
 icked on the plane, realizing, as we prepared

to land, that I hadn't been able to make sense
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of Read.-

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two novellas.

house he built with wood from his own property. Initially, this seems to be a paradisiacal story of going back to the land successfully; but it soon becomes clear that trouble is in store. The farmer's wife, Liz, starts attending fundamentalist church services; his son, Tommy, mysteriously attacks the only black child in his school. Like much of Smiley's work, *Good Will* is full of information—we learn, among other things, a surefire method for getting close to 100 percent germination from carrot seeds as well as an abiding love for the earth, which the novella's inevitable, tragic ending only makes that much more poignant. To reveal the ending would be to spoil the impact of the novella, which is crafted as subtly as a mystery; suffice it to say that I came away from this sobering tale deeply troubled by the final pages, which are painful to read, and at the same time moved to a kind of catharsis by the final paragraph, in which the narrator offers an extraordinarily beautiful description of everything he has lost: the vast, inhuman peace of the stars pouring across the night sky above the valley, as well as the smaller, nearer, but not too near human peace of the lights of Moreton scattered over the face of Snowy Top. Along with *Ordinary Love*, *Good Will* not only testifies to Jane Smiley's enduring reputation as one of our wisest writers, but affirms her status as the contemporary American master of the novella form.

David Leavitt's most recent book is the novel *Equal Affections* (Knopf).

Illustrations by Los Stewarts

Wild West,

Elusive East

THE INCORPORATION OF L. C. CHUNG

By Steven C. Leacock, Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 220 pages, \$14.95.

BY PHILLIP Lopatkin

ric Chung, the narrator of this likable

and amusing novel, is a young man

from Taiwan who gets fed up with

his island and emigrates to the golden pastures of

America—more specifically, Lub-

bock, Texas. There he becomes a

computer science grind at Texas

Tech, clinging to his fellow Tai-

wanese students as they chart a tim-

orous course from library to classroom to

dormitory to post office. The English lan-

guage is their major stumbling block, and

they theorize how to conquer it:

You could read a magazine that

wouldn't bore you over and over again

(*Playboy*, for instance). . . . You could watch

Johnny Carson every night (plus the car-

toons on Saturdays and Sundays). You could

study a new phrase daily (beginning with the

basics such as No, but I would like to get my

hair shampooed until the time came when

you had learned all that could possibly be

said by Americans. The more philosophical

types were convinced Time could take care

of everything. With their doctrine, you'd

stay dumb and idiotic for a period of time

(the length of which would differ according

to individual sensitivities), until one morning the world would open up and you'd understand everything "

The group's most intrepid member, Victor, keeps urging them to "step out and Americanize." It is he who drags them to an X-rated movie theater, where the overweight ticket-booth lady strips between reels and sells hot chocolate and coffee, saying "Try it, you'll like it" an offer that epitomizes the bewildering temptations and terrors of U.S. society for these modest, 'repressed newcomers.

After graduation, Eric hooks up with an inspired con artist, Roger, who manages to convince a Texas millionaire, Mr. Coldwell, to bankroll an electronic import business with the People's Republic of China. Roger's vision is to turn China into the next Japan, with Coldwell Electronics getting exclusive rights; but he does not count on the elephantine ways of the Communist bureaucracy. The capitalists' sweet mirage of China's unlimited markets turns into a quagmire; the company loses millions of dollars, and nearly everyone gets canned. On the day he was fired, Roger gave me advice on doing business with China. He said, "I don't know what they are interested in, Eric. These Chinese. They are definitely not interested in business. . . . But they sure are interested in getting you all excited about doing business with them."

Eric, who has originally been brought in as a translator, is caught in the middle, finding both the Texans and the mainland Chinese inscrutable. He ends up being the only one (along with his secretary) left employed in the company, like the captain of a lightship going nowhere. It is from this melancholy, Beckettian position that he tells his rueful tale, alternating between flashbacks of his schooling in Lubbock, his various jobs, and the failed scam of Coldwell Electronics. Essentially it is the story of the souring of the American dream, though the tone is more bemused than disenchanted.

Eric is a winning character, given to all sorts of quirky perceptions rendered in a voice colored by corporate slang and fractured English idioms ("I passed in flying colors"). Unfortunately, his potential is never dramatically tested by the narrative: he remains a passive, resigned observer. Victor and Roger are the two "doers" and their optimistic belief in action is made to look somewhat foolish. Eric never does connect strongly with any other character; if he has a love life during the dozen years covered by

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the story, we are not privileged to hear about
it. Given his own self-protective distance
from others, his final indictment of the un-
feeling fickleness of corporate America car-
ries less weight than it might.
The b00l65 slight, anecdotal casualness is
part of its charm, but also keeps it from at-
taining the texture and density of serious fic-
Making Book: Mothere ,89 List
Each year our contributors publish novels.
investigative reports, and books ()fcartotms
and photographs. Herewith, 1989 offerings.-
The Good Times Are Killing Me, by Lynda
Barry, Real Comet Press, \$16.95. A comic
novel about the friendship between two
girls, one white and one black.
Burning Desires, by Steve Chapple and
David Talbot, Doubleday, \$18.95. An ex-
ploration of sex and its politics during the
age of Reagan.
Ancestors, by Robyn Davidson, Simon and
Schuster, \$19.95. A coming-of-age novel
that follows a young woman's path from the
Australian rain forest to a commune of revo-
lutionaries, a stint in the Circus, and a love
affair with a physicist.
We Have a Donor: The Bold New World of
Organ Transplanting, by Mark Dowie, St.
Martin's Press, \$16.95. The impact of organ
transplanting on medicine, health care, and
public policy.
Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle
Class, by Barbara Ehrenreich, Pantheon,
\$18.95. An examination of the middle class
from the liberal elite of the sixties to the yup-
pies of the eighties.
Behind the Silicon Curtain: The Seduction
()f Wor/e ll1 a Lonely Era, by Dennis Hayest
South End Press \$10. Trouble in the para-
dise of Silicon Valley: how the Information
Age could destroy the environment.
()ll Bended Knee: The Press and the Reagan
Presidency, by Mark Hertsgnard, Schocken,
\$1 1.95. How the media, by playing palace-
L'01ll1 press, let Reagan off easy.
Pearl's Progress. by James Kapl'an, Knopf,
\$18.95. The adventures (and misadven-
tures) of fictional professor Philip Pearl, :1
Manhattanite who heads south.
You Can't Take It with You So liar It Now,
by Nicole Hollander, Vintage Books. 86.95.
More words of wit and wisdom from Sylvia.
Tripmaster Monkey: His Fake Book, by

Maxine Hong Kingston, Knopf, \$19.95.

The fictional adventures of Wittman Ah Sing, a (Chinese-American rebel with a cause, set in late-1960s San Francisco.

Learning by Heart: AIDS and School-children in America's Communities, by David Kirp, Rutgers Press, \$22.95. How individuals, institutions, and communities respond to the challenge of AIDS.

El Beisbol: Travels through the Pan-American Pastime, by John Kitch, Atlantic Monthly Press, \$18.95. A look at the relationship between the United States and Latin America as seen through the prism of baseball.

I Like to Eat Right on the Dirt: A Child's journey Back in Space and Time, by Danny Lyon, Bleak Beauty. 835. One family's history shown through photographic collage.

The End of Nature. by Bill McKibben, Random House, \$19.95. A consideration of the moral and practical dilemmas precipitated by the greenhouse effect.

Trespassing and Other Stories, by Valerie Miner, The Crossing Press, \$15.95. A collection of stories taking up the theme of trespassing: culturally, politically, sexually, and emotionally.

The Knife and Gun Club: Scenes from an Emergency Room by Eugene Richards Atlantic Monthly Press \$35. Photographs of the Denver General Hospital emergency 1011111.

Discos and Democracy: Chintz in the Throes of Reformation, by Orville Sehell, Anchor Books/Doubleday, \$9.95. An account of Chinese student movement and the intellectual dissidence that led to last spring's protest.

Bulozu Hammock: Mind in a Forest, by David Rains Wallace, Sierra Club Books, \$17.95. Ruminations on the nature of nature (including human nature) as seen through a piece of Florida swampland.

tion. The characters are all lightweight constructions, there is no plot tension to speak of, the language is frequently slack and repetitious, there are few fully realized scenes, and some of the Coldwell Electronics subplot has a contrived, cartoonish feel. By contrast, the episodes in Texas Tech are fresh and convincing. Perhaps too little is done with the Texas setting; but the narrator makes the point that he and his fellow foreign students are working so hard they can't pick their heads up and look at their environment. The one flashback set in Taiwan, dealing with Eric's youth and his father, is unexpectedly moving: "My father had a small two-room souvenir shop then; the second room was where we cooked and slept. By the standards of the time, we were doing well. My father was to make what seemed to us a small fortune in the sixties when the Vietnam war brought vacationing American GIs and their girlfriends to our shop. Although apparently hoping his children would someday be clever enough to leave the country for their own good, my father never came out and said so. He did drop the hints though, once in a while, using certain occasions, such as a bloody street fight or a policeman coming around for his monthly bribe, to say, No, this is not a place to stay. But that was not enough to get us thinking. As children, we caught mice from under the bed and jumped in and out of open ditches for fun? If only there was more of this emotional tootness. Again, the author covers himself by having his narrator say that he couldn't afford to gaze backward lest he be overcome by homesickness. The result is a portrait of the new Asian-American immigrant as existing in a nowhere zone, cut off from the past, with nothing to hold onto but workaholicism.

In one of the book's funniest scenes, Victor tests his fellow Taiwanese students by conducting mock employment interviews. To his question, "Why should I hire you?" each answers solemnly, "Because I got straight A's and I work very hard." Victor finally gives up, contemptuous of their inability to sell themselves—to project, American-style, a "unique" personality or to talk for more than a sentence at a time. So we are left to puzzle out to what degree the lack of individuation in the novels' Taiwanese characters could be a function of different cultural attitudes toward personality, a specific emigre situation—or a failure of literary art. In any case, Steven Lo has demonstrated plenty of comic talent and sociological acumen in this first novel.

Phillip Lopate's most recent book of essays, *Against Joie de Vivre*, is published by Poseidon Press.

OZONE

(Continued from page 36) could be operational by 1990, the company magazine reports. That would make a total of three years in development. However, a retired IBM production worker says that IBM used a very similar water-based Triton X-100 ultrasound process in 1979, before IBM

switched to CFCs.

When pressed on this, IBM wrote, "You are correct, the new way is a return to the old in a sense, but that still means a substantial investment in time, engineering skill, equipment design, and effort to prove that the process can work for our specific application in a manufacturing environment."

IBM was saying, in effect, that it requires three years to redevelop an already proven technology in widespread use ten years ago.

Why are IBM and the AHA at pains to revise the CFC saga? One answer is that they hope their version of history will yield credibility and goodwill in their political battles against proposed CFC legislation today.

BY 1987 IT WAS HARD TO FIND ANYONE, outside of the electronics industry, who would deny that the planet's stratosphere was in bad shape, that CFCs were a culprit, and that something drastic had to be done about it. That year officials from around the world gathered in Canada to sign the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, an international pledge to phase out said chemicals. Today, the U.S. electronics industry is in the awkward position of publicly supporting the Montreal Protocol process but, behind the scenes, lobbying against legislation that seeks to implement the current Montreal Protocol agreement—a total, global CFC phaseout.

The measure with the most teeth, Senate Bill 491, would phase out CFCs, along with TCA, by 1997, with exemptions for national security and medical use. IBM and the AHA have many objections to SB 491, just as they object to virtually every city, county, and state initiative seeking to infringe on CFC-solvent use.

Trying to reduce CFC emissions in the US. on a unilateral basis will have a negligible effect on ozone depletion? asserted the AEAs Cheryl Russell in her Senate testimony against provisions of SB 491.

IBM does not believe that local and state legislation that calls for a ban of CFCs is the right way to proceed to protect the environment, writes the company. "A local ban on CFC use in a limited supply situation will only accomplish a shift in use to another state or country," IBM argues, adding that

This Holiday Season

GIVE THE WORLD

A PRESENT

For the holidays last year Anne Ferguson received a very special gift.

Not a subscription to the One-Hill-Plant-a-Month Club. Not an exotic tropical parrot.

Not a set of classic teak furniture. She received 25 living acres of lush, tropical forest in northwest Belize—home to the jaguar, the towering mahogany tree, the wood thrush and thousands of other plant and animal species facing an uncertain future. It'll never received a

more meaningful gift. Even though I don't actually own it, this is a gift which I know is saving a piece of pristine tropical forest for the children and grandchildren

of our world to enjoy"

At \$50 an acre, its a great gift idea. It buys and endows one acre of life sustaining, species-rich Central American forest in a 110,000 acre reserve. While you don't have any proprietary rights, you receive-or the person you designate, receives-a certificate stating that an acre (or more) has been protected in their name. So as you give a truly meaningful gift this holiday season, you also give the world a present.

This project is called Programme for Belize. Take direct action in a place where the results will last. Belize is such a place. Endorsed by several major conservation organizations including National Audubon, The Nature Conservancy and MrldWildlife Fund, we are buying 110,000 acres of pristine forest for the people of Belize to be a park and a model of sustained yield development. Join us in this venturesome project and make your holiday gift this season really count. Give a gift which endures. Give a gift which enriches your world. Send your tax deductible check for \$50.00 or more to: PROGRAMME FOR BELIZE, 13.0. Box 1088Q, Vineyard Haven, MA 02568. Certificates will be sent as you direct.

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More Information

Send Newsletter

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"conflicting local and state requirements will be very difficult to deal with, and may even slow down overall efforts to reduce CFC use."

F. Sherwood Rowland says that that argument ignores the political momentum of local and state CFC controls. "Since 1974, people who have tried to avoid having to do anything about CFCs have tried to slice the problem up into as small a lot as possible and say, 'Here in Oregon our contribution is negligible, if we ban it in Oregon, it won't make any difference.' This is not quite true," Rowland says. "Banning it in Oregon led to banning it in the United States. . . . Ban CFCs for IBM use, then you ban it for use by National Semiconductor, then for use by Japanese firms, and so on. They all add up?"

The AEA's Cheryl Russell argues that, until the year 2000 and possibly longer, CFCs must remain available to U.S. electronics firms. This, the AEA insists, will keep the United States afloat in the high seas of global electronics, an imperfect but real world in which the U.S. electronics industry would be disadvantaged because of CFCs presumed use by foreign competitors. Rowland recalls hearing a similar argument in the 1970s. He calls it the Chicken Little episode. Chicken Little is what some called Rowland for suggesting the sky was falling? But Rowland says the aerosol firms were the real Chicken Littles, predicting the collapse of their industry and U.S. jobs if CFC propellants were banned. The 1976 EPA-FDA regulation gave aerosol firms two years to get out of CFCs. Most were out in less, without the predicted losses. Couldn't the U.S. electronics industry do this today?

Current EPA regulations, framed in response to the 1987 Montreal Protocol, propose mere 50 percent reductions in CFCs by 1998. That timetable is fine with IBM and the AEA, but it has become unacceptable to the EPA and parties to the Montreal Protocol. This is because before most nations had a chance to review the 1987 Montreal Protocol, Rowland and his colleagues weighed in with new evidence.

The Ozone Trends Panel, which included Rowland and over one hundred other scientists, was formed in 1986 by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in collaboration with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the Federal Aviation Administration, the World Meteorological Organization, and the United Nations Environment Program. After a critical reanalysis of all available ozone data, the panel found that stratospheric ozone levels over North America and Europe fell by up to 3 percent from 1969 to 1986. And it confirmed that the ozone hole over Antarctica, which lost up to 60 percent of its ozone, was the result of CFCs. In response the EPA acknowledged that, even with full global compliance with the 1987 Montreal Protocol, the concentration of

ozone-depleting chemicals will at least double over the next eighty-seven years. Citing an even worse scenario than anticipated, the EPA urged a faster global phaseout. That was in September 1988.

Once again, when the electronics industry had a chance to take a leading role in saving the ozone by acting on the latest information, it preferred to cling to the most favorable, if obsolete, findings of the past. The EPA has for over a year now been urging Congress to legislate a speeded-up CFC phaseout; IBM today still maintains that additional legislation is not needed. We, like all other industries, are already under EPA regulations that are limiting the nations supply of CFCs.

While the electronics industry protests that a faster phaseout would inflict unmanageable hardships on the industry, not all insiders agree. Nick Pasch, manager of special projects at chip maker LSI Logic, says, "All federal regulation on compounds galvanizes the industry like lightning to pay attention. . . the industry can move very quickly to stop using materials. Northern Telecom, an IBM competitor, bears out Pasch's point. Northern Telecom received commendation from the EPA for cutting back CFC use by 50 percent in 1988-89 and for targeting a complete CFC phaseout by 1991. Northern Telecom has a large facility in Silicon Valley. But it is a Canadian-held company affected by Canada's aggressive, 100 percent phaseout of "electronic cleaning" CFCs in five years-by 1994. Sweden has scheduled a complete CFC-solvent phaseout by December 31, 1990. But U.S. electronics firms continue to insist they will need a decade or more to drop their CFC habit.

THE GLOBAL PROBLEM Needs A GLOBAL solution. Intel's Terry McManus told Congress recently, defending the American Electronics Associations opposition to Senate Bill 491 and other domestic CFC legislation. In fact, the purpose of the Montreal Protocol process is to encourage countries to implement global agreements through domestic legislation. And SB 491 does attempt a global solution by including a clause that would ban imports of electronics made with CFCs. But for that clause the AEA reserves its single greatest objection. A thoroughly global industry, U.S. electronics firms now make most of their products abroad, mainly in Asian and Pacific Rim countries. As it stands now, there is no law to prevent U.S. firms from cutting back CFCs at home while shifting more manufacturing to their off-shore, CFC-using facilities, many of them sited in countries exempt from the Montreal Protocol.

The AEA admits that firms in other nations may simply replace CFC-113 with TCA, despite TCAs own suspected hazards. What is to stop U.S.-based firms from getting out of CFCs, only to make another bad technology choice? In July the Irvine City Council passed extremely restrictive controls on the use of Chlorofluorocarbons

and TCA. According to Jim Jenal, acting environmental program administrator and an author of the CFC controls, a Western Digital corporate representative met with practically everyone on the city council to lobby against the TCA clause." Western Digital, as part of an effort to transcend its use of CFC-113, is building a \$100 million plant in Irvine that will make use of TCA.

The continued use of TCA is a reminder that CFC regulation could prompt the U.S. electronics industry to further jeopardize the health of its nonunion, largely minority, and mainly female work force. Contrary to the AEAs testimony before Congress that the U.S. industry is one of the safest, its semiconductor workers suffer systemic poisoning rates in excess of three times that of the manufacturing average.

Tim: U.S. ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY'S RECENT adoption of CFCs was the product of considered opinion among corporate scientists, the experts who remain at the helm of choosing new technology for us all. This suggests that our Chances for survival may depend on changing the way we choose, and who has a voice in the decision.

F. Sherwood Rowland stands in his UC Irvine basement laboratory his six-foot-five-inch frame towering over his equipment and cartridges containing new air samples from the parking lots of IBM, National Semiconductor, and Hewlett-Packard.

Chemistry PhD. student Tim Gilpin runs the samples through the pigtail tubing of Rowland's molecular distillery. The results: a series of jagged spikes that represent the highest readings of CFC-113 ever recorded by Rowland's lab. Some are over a hundred times greater than for pure Alaskan air.

F. Sherwood Rowland calls those spikes "the signature of Silicon Valley."

Dennis Hayes is author of *Behind the Silicon Curtain: The Seductions of Work in a Lonely Era* (South End Press). Research for this article was supported by the Fund for Investigative Journalism and the Mother Jones Investigative Fund.

A hybrid
architecture:
In the sense of
having no
discernible
culture of its
own, Costa Rica
is Swiss indeed.

Qletzalandia
Hiking in
Costa Rica's
cloud forest:
an Edelweiss
of the mind?

E,RE MORE OR LESS SATISFIED NOW

that Mr. Bush has wonf, shrugs our cab
driver as we head seven miles up from a
roasting January day to the wintry peak of
Costa Ricals tallest volcano, Irazzi. Mds o
menos contentos: menos, that Bush may not be
enough like Reagan, mds, that at least he isn't
Michael Dukakis. The dashboard bears a tidy slo-
gan: PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IS FREEDOM. At the sum-
mit the driver indicates how we'd be able to see both
oceans if it weren't so cloudy today-but then says
it's this cloudy every day. Turning to the north, I
make the mistake of mentioning I've also been to
Nicaragua. "Muy fed!" he yells into the wind. "Ugly!"
Here we don't light with anyone. We hate to light-
ha ha halll

A belligerent laugh, meant, I believe, to rattle us a
bit: throughout a three-week visit, this menacing
pacifism rang in our ears whenever Costa Ricans
called their country the Switzerland of Central
America, that is, very often. In the sense of having
no discernible culture of its own, Costa Rica is Swiss
indeed. Concrete Churches and plazas from the
1950s and 1960s in nearly every village. Mexican ma-
riachi and Colombian cumbia. Argentine steak, and
fondue at El Chalet Suizo. Bushes elaborately
sculpted into the shapes of rabbits and Shamrocks.
Garishly painted taxis, a cheery "indigenous" tra-
dition straight out of Pennsylvania Dutch country.
Photograph by Max and Bea Himm/ The Travel Image

TRIPS

By Dan

Bellm

This Edelweiss of the mind is a geopolitical state-
ment, of course. A large banner in San José's Na-
tional Museum reminds us of the many good reasons
for Costa Rican pride: the abolition of the army and
the death penalty, the enviable social welfare system,
the constitution. But there's a Swiss chill in the air, a
smugness among ticos about their neighbors' plight.
Costa Rica has known none of Guatemala's or El
Salvador's war: a more-or-less stable middle class
forms the majority, and as for ethnic strife, nearly all
of Costa Ricans' Indians were exterminated four cen-
turies ago. (They make an elegant one-room display
in the National Museum.) As Nicaragua's economy
collapses, Costa Ricans' small-business economy ap-
parently thrives: January, the onset of the dry sea-
son, is vacation time and the shop windows are a
wonderland of boom boxes, plastic beach toys, and
suntan lotion.

The cost of this Central American showcase is a
foreign debt as crushing as Bolivia's: some \$4 billion
deep, which makes for relentless pressure to turn
land into something exportable. And Costa Rica
happens to own an incredible variety of natural re-
sources—all of them worth good money, all of them

in danger. It contains large virgin rain forests, Central America's last tropical dry forest, temperate valley tropical wetlands, dozens of still-unspoiled beaches, a chain of volcanoes topped with subalpine flora. Costa Rica still chops nearly 150,000 acres of rain forest a year, the highest deforestation rate in the Western Hemisphere.

But since 1969, Costa Rica has also created thirty-two national parks and reserves. An example the United States would do well to match--so that

DEC. 1989 MOTHLR toms 49

roughly 10 percent of its national territory is now protected. Well, mds o menos.

WERE STANDING INSIDE A CL.()UD.1:OR several minutes a chilling, thick fog from the Pacific whips through us to nestle on this mountaintop, a "cloud forest" reserve in north central Costa Rica named Monteverde, one wooded peak above a wide expanse of hills shaved for dairy farms and ranches. Formed in 1972 by the Costa Rican foundation, the Tropical Science Center. Monteverde has been a major inspiration for the country's rush to save what remains of its bounty. Forty kilometers up a very bad road from the Pan American Highway, Monteverde was settled in the early 1950s by seven Quaker families from Fair Hope, Alabama, who escaped the Korean War draft by moving to a country with no army. They started a still-thriving dairy business, a cheese factory, and a Quaker school; while not especially environmentalists at heart, they had the foresight to protect their watershed by leaving the mountaintop alone. Far off we hear the ehufting and groaning of howler monkeys, intensifying, now and then as it they're in a fur-tearing squabble. Although we know this dense forest is replete with birds and other animal life, it's hard for our untrained eyes to see much but the unmooring density itself twines and lies has, an occasional red heliopsis tipped with glowing orange. The clearest analogy I've heard for a cloud forest is the combined action of a fan blowing water into a sponge: the "sponge" is the tangle of mosses and other air plants covering the trees, soaking up moisture, growing more than a foot thick in places, a catalyst between tree and cloud. The canopy is full of bird sounds. It's hard to light the zoo mentality, the feeling that all these hidden creatures should come out and pose on branches and tell us their names. A huge blue butterfly passes, each wing the size of a toddler's hands. A bright green hummingbird whirs around my companion

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Yoey, drawn to his red sweatshirt. We watch a platoon of reddish leaf-eating ants carry gigantic pieces of neatly sawed greenery to their composting factory under a log. A chubby pheasantlike bird scurries across our path and disappears. Later I learn this was a highland tinamou, a primitive floor-dwelling, species notable for reversing sex roles: the female enacts courtship and the male tends the nest. Why am I so pleased to learn this name, this fun little fact? It's not as if the creature, gone in a flash in the deep forest, has come any further into my possession or understanding.

At last we learn the rewards of patience: Yoey thinks he has spotted a quetzal/ resplandiente, now seen here more often than in deforested Guatemala, where it's the national bird. Some twenty yards up we glimpse a pair of slender, moth-long tail plumes hanging straight down and fluttering slightly, greener than anything else in the trees. For forty minutes they are all we can see, but we hear the quetzal's somber, two-

note eall. Then it flies and rests on a branch
taeing away from us. its body an almost me-
tallie green, the hrietest flashes of scarlet
breast visible when it litted its white under-
wings to preen itself. A male resplendent
quetzal: we admire it in silence until it stirs
again and soars away overhead.

To truly protect the quetzals habitat and
that of hundreds of other bird and mammal
species. the Monteverde reserve has had to
grow. Monteverde may soon become part of
a regional park under various jurisdictions,
but William Aspinall. the Monteverde
(Cloud Forest Reserve's young director
notes that the governments understaffed
and undermanaged parks are in much
deeper trouble than his private nonprofit
reserve. For now, he says, it's better not to
join the national park system. Under the
seant government budget, Monteverde
could lose its current ability to raise money,
and to withstand its own best friends:
an annual crush of visitors that has more
than doubled since 1985.

Aspinall is cooking up plans to meet the
influx: perhaps a new visitor center, or an-
other entrance from the east. He'll restrict
admittance if he has to, he says, but would
like to encourage more Costa Rican tourists,
who he claims tend to take the rain forest
more for granted than visitors from the U.S.
and Europe? Perhaps a short monorail
could channel visitors into less-traveled
areas. I must have gasped a little, because he
quickly adds that animals can adapt quick-
ly to just about anything, as long as they're
not endangered? But I am already envision-
ing Quetzalandia, the theme park. What
next? The Matterhorn? Painted ox-Cart
rides? O Switzerland!

WHAT IS AT STAKE IN COSTA RICA IS THE
interdependence of every life form in the
Americas, and life's toehold is slipping away
by the square mile. Much of Corcovado
National Park, a Virgin rain forest near the
Panama border, has been devastated by
poachers and miners since gold was dis-
covered there in 1980. Worse, as a govern-
ment study warned in 1985, gold is worth
less than Corcovado's timber: "Within the
next twenty to thirty years, Costa Rica's
parks will become storehouses of incredibly
valuable resources . . . ever more desired by
the commercial inclinations of the country."
Visits to a few other parks showed us what
tiny islands they can be, surrounded by a
rage of development. At Quepos on the Pa-
cific coast and Cahuita on the Atlantic,
parks protect some of the choicest beaches
and reefs. but they are hemmed in tight: by
palm-oil and banana plantations, logging,
the feverish buying and selling of resort
property the jarring electric hum in the air
that Acaules on its way.

But the latest Costa Rican buzzword,
even among candidates for the 1990 presi-
dential election, is "sustainable develop-
ment" There have been several recent
Victories. including a \$5.6 million debt-for-
nature swap via the Nature Conservancy.
And a gradual mellowing between the war-

ring claims of conservation and economic gain seems to be under way, as parks buy up endangered acreage and environmentalists help farmers find new employment in reforestation, research, and tourism. One business already recycled into parkland is a 39,000-acre airstrip, formerly used by the contras of a U.S. "rancher" named John Hull. For a while, this news left us feeling contented, mas o menos, about the fate of the earth.

Dan Belton's translations of Central American writers have recently appeared in *Clamor of Innocence* (City Lights, 1989). Photograph by Randy Hayes Rdmfnres/ A(tirm Network

Sweet Charity
How do you give
away money?
A guide to
responsible
philanthropy.

Illustration by Rirbard Salli

HEN SARAH PILLSBURY'S TRUST FUNDS

matured in 1975, popping \$40,000 into
her bank account, the then college student
wanted to give some of it away, but couldn't
figure out who most deserved to share the
wealth with her.

Pillsbury was twenty-four years old and over-
whelmed by the pressure she felt to do the right thing
with the money, nervous about making the correct
decision, a little guilty about inheriting anything at
all from her family's baked-goods fortune. She didn't
feel like this money was really my money to spend; I
thought of it more as my responsibility? she recalls.
Pillsbury searched for groups she thought could
help bring about meaningful social change. She also
looked at traditional mainstream charities. Finally
she chose direct action, using everything she inher-
ited that first year as seed money for a new grass-
roots foundation named Liberty Hill, located in San
Pedro, California. By helping the foundation, Pills-
bury ensured that her charitable contributions
would go toward advancing women's rights, ecolog-
ical responsibility, health care, and civil liberties.
Unfortunately, most of us share Pillsbury's dilem-
ma. We have to weed through scores of junk-mail
pleas, trying to decide how we can do the most good
with our limited largess#no easy task. Many people
throw their hands up in frustration and give to the
United Way, the eight-hundred-pound gorilla of
fund-raising. Last year, more than 2,300 local and
regional United Way offices raised \$2.78 billion.
Countless athletes, politicians, and entertainers give
OUT OF POCKET

By 10561e Anthony

their thirty seconds to the United Way
effort, drumming the "It Brings Out the
Best in All of Us" slogan into our collec-
tive conscience.

But critics point out that local United
Way boards usually exclude charities that
don't fit their definition of health and
human care" organizations. That policy
effectively eliminates groups focusing on
the arts, environmental and consumer is-
sues, international concerns, and wom-
en's and minority rights.

There are other funds around the coun-
try, though, that bill themselves as alter-
native foundations? Fifteen of them,
including Liberty Hill, the Bread and
Roses Community Fund in Philadelphia,
and the Haymarket People's Fund in
Boston, have banded into the Funding
Exchange, a national network dedicated
to redistributing wealth and radical phi-
lanthropy#taking money from the willing wealthy
and giving it to the movement for progressive social
change? in the words of special projects coordinator
Nan Rubin.

The Funding Exchange and other alternative na-
tional networks-such as the Alliance for Choice in
Giving and Community Shares/USA-try to address
the structural problems in society rather than the
symptoms of those problems. They fund employ-

ment opportunities instead of soup kitchens, for example, and support unions of the homeless instead of temporary shelters. 11We represent groups challenging the status quo, says Peggy Mathews, president of the board of the Alliance for Choice. In addition to determining which charities address the causes closest to our hearts, we have to evaluate which ones make the best use of the money they receive. An effective, legitimate Charity usually spends well over half its budget on programs. Administrative costs generally amount to less than 20 percent, and often less than 10 percent. Fund-raising costs-the money charities spend to raise money-are normally well under a third of total expenditures. (These costs can vary, of course: a cause that's controversial or low-profile will often have to spend more than the norm on fund-raising.) There are a couple of ways to try to ensure that your charity of choice is truly aiding a cause: Use existing research materials. Two organizations, the National Charities Information Bureau (NCIB) and the Philanthropic Advisory Service of the Council of Better Business Bureaus (CBBB), publish guides and reports on charities. NCIB and CBBB draw on audited financial statements, IRS reports, and statements on file with state attorney generals offices (sources that are also available to individuals). Still, separating the good charities from the bad isn't easy. You may think of a mailing that

me. 1989/MOTHER JONI-S 51

asks for money as a mailing expense, but the charity may list it as an educational mailer. "You can't always tell," admits Dan Boroehoff, research associate of NCIB. "For example, we take a hard look at high mailing expenses that seem out of line. But Amnesty International, for example is one group whose program really is its mailings? In the case of groups like Amnesty that focus on public education and letter-writing campaigns, high mailing costs often mean they are doing their job well.

Do your own research. While approval of a group by NCIB or CBBB may put your mind at ease, those two organizations monitor only a fraction of the nation's charities. So be ready to call or write a charity before you give. Ask what the group has actually accomplished. A legitimate charity should be happy to send you literature about itself, including an annual report or summary of its audited financial statement. Look for the lines that show total revenues, program services and grant expenditures, administrative or management expenses, and fund-raising expenses. If an organization can't give you an audited financial breakdown, look for another charity.

You can research until the cows come home (or until the junk mail stops) and still not be 100 percent sure of a charity's efficiency. And direct comparisons of different charities are virtually impossible to make. But experienced givers know a worthy charity can be analyzed on its own merits. Sarah Pillsbury currently gives to several causes and says she rarely has trouble getting information about a group. "It's usually not too hard to get people to talk to you," she says, laughing, "when they know you're thinking of giving them money?"

Joseph Anthony writes on finance and social trends from Los Angeles.

For more information about alternative funds, contact the Funding Exchange, 666 Broadway #500, New York, NY 10012, (212) 529-5300; or the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, 2001 5 Street NW #620, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 387-9177.

For guidelines on charitable giving and reports on larger charities, get:

The Wise Giving Guide, National Charities Information Bureau, 19 Union Square West, 6th floor, New York, NY 10003. No charge for a single copy of the guide and three detailed reports on specific charities. (But wisely, Philanthropic Advisory Service, (LBBB, Dept. 023, Washington, DC 20042-0023. \$1 plus SASE for single issues; no charge for individual charity reports.

CHINA

(Continued from page 26) should not advocate violent means, but that if and when a problem can only be solved by using force, we should not exclude the possibility of force.

Wang Jinrong: The question is: Do you want to just replace one regime with another, or do you want to try and build up a

new ideology that will ultimately produce its own different kind of fruit?

Shen Tong: If we start promoting violent revolution to subvert the current regime, we'll only get another similar dynasty. We should not just wait for another savior like Mao, or even for my fellow student leader Wu'erkaixi to become the Chairman.

Deng Shi: If you look at Chinese history, you can see that the result of a violent revolution has always been more despotic rule. Now, the nonviolent spirit promoted by Gandhi has become an important part of human civilization, and . . .

Ke Gang: But don't forget that brutal atrocities have been committed!

Deng Shi: Well, yes. But Gandhi also was aware of many cruel things that had happened in India.

Ke Gang: Personally, I am not in favor of Gandhi's course of action. But the key issue is what we want to achieve, not just the means of achieving it.

Zhang Langlang: Our goal should be to promote the democracy movement in China. For those of us who are abroad, our principle should be nonviolent struggle. But this does not mean that we should reject all temporary small-scale terrorist acts at home.

Shen Tong: Outside of China, some people are also talking about organizing armed forces.

Zhang Langlang: So far there has been no major Communist regime replaced by means of domestic armed force. When the Communist Party fought the Nationalists, they mobilized the masses with slogans about socialist democracy. But this goal was lost in the course of using so many violent means. It is sheer nonsense to talk now about overturning the powers-that-be by domestic or foreign armed forces. But terrorist acts on a small local level are understandable and justifiable

(The Government Crackdown)

Wang Jinrong: I want to know whether you students in Beijing discussed the prospect of failure as well as success, by taking into consideration the special political circumstances of China and the power of the military.

Shen Tong: We did not anticipate that they would go as far as they did in using the army against us. My belief was that the attitude of the soldiers had probably changed because during the course of the reforms in the rural areas, soldiers began to look upon the army merely as military service. As for the middle- and lower-middle-ranking officers, most of them had gone through some sort of higher education, and had become more open-minded than before. Nor did high-ranking commanders seem to pose a threat. We knew, for instance, of four hundred generals who were discontented with Deng Xiaoping and especially resentful of the dominance of Yang Shangkun's family over the army. What worried us most were those generals' sons, officers who repre-

sented the interests of the privileged and formed the so-called Prince Party. While we viewed them as a real deterrent to the democracy movement in the long run, we did not see them as an immediate threat to the movement of this year. Our estimate of the situation was rather too optimistic. But personally, I felt that the demonstrations should have been called to an end on April 27 when the Independent Student Union had its election. Historically, no movement has successfully become large-scale overnight, and by the end of April the magnitude of our movement already had surpassed our expectations. I felt that if it upsurged fast and too soon, it would only die down quickly. Therefore, I looked on the rule of the Communist Party as a big umbrella. The most that we could expect to do was to break a hole in it. No movement could have been expected to replace the whole umbrella immediately with a new one.

We had many weaknesses, too, not the least of which was that we did not have a solid foundation for ideological growth. We students had acquired only the most basic and simple democratic concepts from books. Our ability to act positively was rather weak, whereas the ability to react negatively was stronger.

1The Role of Intellectuals1

Zhang Langlang: During the protest some intellectuals did have discussions with students, but they often ended in discord. The students would say: We have had too much advice and too many suggestions from you intellectuals. But what are you actually going to do for us? Can you help us get a vehicle? Can you buy us something we need?

Shen Tong: Older intellectuals came to the square to talk to us, but usually acted as if they were talking to their children. What they did not comprehend was that we had

Dying for Democracy

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Ines dead after the Tiananmen Massacre - shot in the face.

THE MOVEMENT

1,000,000 Chinese students and citizens peacefully demonstrated in Tiananmen Square
asking for freedoms already guaranteed in Chinal's constitution.

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Tsao Hsingyuan: I do not agree with your
Judgment of the intellectuals. You young
students were as fearless as newborn calves.
You didnt really know how much the older
generation of intellectuals had suffered. You
grew up at a time when we Chinese had just
begun to be able to breathe like human
beings.

Deng Shi: By nature, an intellectual is usually a giant when it comes to thought and a dwarf when it comes to action. (laughter) But after martial law was declared, the intellectuals organized two more demonstrations when other people had stopped. However, the task of the intelligentsia is to think. Alas, the Chinese intelligentsia did not do such a good job. What were we doing, then? Weeping and shedding tears like others. We came up with no new inspiring thought or theory. On the contrary, all we produced were stale Maoist phrases.

Shen Tong: Exactly. In the several petitions signed by numerous intellectuals, all they did was plead with the government not to use force to suppress us students. They did not propose any independent set of new democratic ideas. They were great for what they did, but I think history will judge them as not having done well enough.

Deng Shi: Intellectuals like Sartre and Marx, they proposed a set of principles in a revolution. Yet we Chinese intellectuals let the students grope around in the dark at the square.

Shen Tong: Since 1979, some Chinese intellectuals have experienced an ideological process similar to that of the Enlightenment thinkers around the time of the French Revolution. Now the opportunity has come for Chinese intellectuals to do something. What do they plan to do? (turns to Deng Shi)

Deng Shi: Speaking for myself. I have written very little in the past few years. but have been reading a great deal. I want to concentrate my studies on the intellectual development of the West during the twentieth century. In regard to Chinese culture I think we should neither completely forsake nor completely accept it. Our task is to reconstruct it.

Shen Tong: Let me use a metaphor. Chinese culture is like a heavy pack on our backs in which there are good things and bad things. If we want to go forward fast, there are two ways to deal with the bag: One is to pick out the good things and then go forward; the other is to put down the bag first and then step forward. The things in the bag will not disappear, and can be reclaimed. But what is certain is that one cannot go very far with such a heavy burden on

one people
are also talking
about organizing
armed forces."
ones hack.

Tsao Hsingyuan: But an ideological burden cannot be put down as easily as dumping a pack!

Kc Gang: When we learn from the West, we must realize that they have passed the stage of industrialization, whereas we have not yet really entered that stage. We should take their experience and reflections into consideration. but our starting point of building up democracy should be to adopt first a system of political and cultural pluralism: second, a system of law and order;

and third. a system of social and economic justice.

Deng Shi: Its my conviction that China will develop from an agricultural society directly to :1 postindustrial society: which will bring numerous problems. If Chinese intellectuals do not realize and prepare for this process and suggest some theories for this transformation. modernization will be an enormous disaster for China.

lThe U.S. R0161

Liu Baifang: What do you all think of the reaction of the US. government to the massacre:

Ke Gang: Actually; the US. governments reaction is consistent with its past behavior. They claim that they are against dictatorial regimes. but look what the CIA did in the Philippines and in Chile! They supported dictators!

Deng Shi: The most basic rule is not to trust any politieian. (/tzzig/Jter) A government must safeguard its own national interests. So I do not expect the US. government to base its foreign policy on the principles of democracy. But what makes me angry is its stupidity in making its choice.

As many historians and statesmen with foresight and vision have pointed out, the future of the world will not center on Europe or the Atlantic. but on the Pacific Rim countries. Therefore. it is important to have :1 real understanding of the Pacific and the Orient, including China and japan.

Bai Xiaoying: Many young people in China look up to the US. as their ideal of freedom and democracy. Yet when these very Chinese were fighting and dying for freedom and democracy, the president otthe

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Ke Gang: When we learn from the West³ we must realize that they have passed the stage of industrialization, whereas we have not yet really entered that stage. We should take their experience and reflections into consideration. but our starting point of building up democracy should be to adopt first, a system of political and cultural pluralism; second, a system of law and order; and third, a system of social and economic justice.

Deng Shi: Its my conviction that China will develop from m agricultural society directly to a postindustrial society, which will bring numerous problems. If Chinese intellectuals do not realize and prepare for this

process and suggest some theories for this
transformation, modernization will be an
enormous disaster for China.
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Liu Baifang: What do you all think ()fthe l
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pare ourselves, while waiting for the day when we can return and join forces with those at home. We should, On the one hand, learn and absorb as much as we can; while on the other, try out democratic ideas and processes within our own organizations. If we cannot even run our own organizations in a democratic way under a democratic system here, how can we ever build up democracy in China?

Before the massacre, I thought the way to reform the existing Chinese legal system was to work for gradual improvement of legal institutions. But now my ideas have completely changed. My hopes that in the past ten years some sort of legal order was taking shape were totally smashed, and I realize now that the struggle has to start again completely from scratch.

Liu Baifang: Do you all plan to go back to China?

Shen Tong: Yes, I will go back, but not now. After seeing what the students and overseas Chinese are doing, I am determined more than ever to go back, eventually.

Ke Gang: Since I am studying social science, I know my role here in the U.S. is very limited. My place is in China. Especially since China is in a transitional period and we social science students are much needed.

Tsao Hsingyuan: I have just bought an air ticket. I don't know what the Chinese government might do to me after what I've said and done here. I hope they don't do something stupid. I've decided to go back now for the purpose of sounding out the situation for others who might want to follow. I've ultimately decided against going back.

Liu Baifang: What is your biggest worry and your biggest hope?

Sheri Tong: I have two big worries. One is for the future of the democracy movement. People back home have placed such high hopes in us, but we are not doing very well. Of course we will try our best to accomplish something. The other big worry is, of course, the safety of my family. Several days after this symposium Shen learned of his father's death and, like Tsao, could not return.

Ke Gang: I worry about the safety of my daughter in China.

Bai Xiaoying: I'm most worried about my son. I received several phone calls from home recently that my work unit is demanding that I return immediately. They are threatening that if I do not go back, I will be dismissed from the job, financial support will be stopped, and, worse yet, my son will be kicked out of school. And for China, I hope Deng will die as soon as possible. Only when he is gone will there be a chance for the country to take a turn for the better.

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Is T TURNS OUT THE WHOLE THING WOULD HAVE NEVER
happened if my friend judy Minterls dog Penny
hadnlt eaten the rotten baloney and then thrown it up
on the sidewalk of Mr. Vicks. If it hadnlt been for that,
Judy would have never called up Mr. Vicks, said the
thing about his balls, and then ended up having to go to Catholic
school. When you think about it, that your whole life can be
crime? Judy says, and then we both watch Mr. Vicks out the
window as she dials the number. I about start peeing laughing
when he gets up and goes into the house to get the phone. We .
squat down on the floor and then judy says, llI-Iello darling? She ,,
holds the phone so I can hear Mr. Vicks saying llWho is thisfljudy 3,
says, llWhat darling? You donlt remember our passionate love? Is ' i
this Vernon Vieks of 3489 West CranstonPII I hear him go llYes,
, (24.. wrecked by a dog throwing up, it is pretty weird.
on the front porch all day while
his wife works double shifts up
at St. Johns Hospital. Everyone
,, knows what a bum he is. He may
; ' do his yard nice and all but still
i he is a bum.
. judy did the phone thing to
him because Mr. Vieks called
Mrs. Minter to complain about
the barf and Mrs. Minter called
6:...3 Judy and said Penny is your dog
' and you have to take responsibil-
ity, and she made her go over
there and clean it up. Then while
she was cleaning it the twins
. Brian and Billy Bano of course
would have to walk by and now
g i! ll judy has the nickname of lldog
barf?
9 fl Every time she goes by Mr.
,x Vicksls house she gives him the
O Y hnger in her pocket. If Ilm with
2y _ her I do it too because that
' " makes the power of it even
stronger.
She got the idea to call Mr.
Vicks from another girl we
know a snob we donlt like that
much named Toni Larson who
has a yellow Princess phone in her room and when you go over
there she shows off how cool she is by looking up the names of
men in the phone book and then tells them her name is Debbie
Haskelm and that she wants to screw them. Debbie Haskelm is
if
Q 3
tr , , r .
Q fa; this other snob at our school who Toni hates. The one thing Toni
&f I always says that really blows their minds is uI want to suck your
balls.n
i l Okay. So judyls mom goes to the store and me and judy go up
to her momls room and start messing with her miniature perfume
bottle collection and looking at her jewelry and makeup and then
judy gets the idea to do a Toni Larson to Mr. Vicks. I watch out
, the window and see him sitting there whilejudy calls information,
gets the number, and then says, llWho should I say I am?" We
decide Debbie Haskelm because then if Mr. Vicks tried to bust us
Mr. Vicks is a man who lives by judy across the street and two
houses down. A drunk guy who has Indian corn teeth and just sits
who the hell is this? llItIs Debbie Haskelm, darling,n judy says,
land I simply must suck your ballsfl And then we hear her mother
yell IIJUDYPI over the downstairs phone. i
judy throws the phone down 2
and goes, "Oh god oh god oh
god? We know we are dead. We
hear the tiny voice of judyss t M
b4 mom keep shouting her name i.

. X
I
' 1
V" a
from the phone and then Mr.
Vicks's voice yelling something . '
Ma' like he is going to fix some little 3,
v V. , son of a bitch's wagon and then U
f i C we hear her mom's voice stop I
V x and her feet start coming up the (7
i ,7) stairs. lth god oh god oh god? Vt i
' ,. judy says, ushe's going to kill \$ s
mejl and then she slams her
mother's door shut and starts s
dragging the dresser in front of
it. "Help me manlll she yells, and
I push it and her mom starts try-
ing to shove open the door and
Judy goes out the window and
when Mrs. Minter gets the door
open its just me standing there
with the sound of Mr. Vicks's
voice yelling out in the back-
ground.
On the way home I try to
imagine what I would do if my
mom heard me talking like that
to a guy. I guess Ild kill myself.
Also, judy was for sure busted by Mr. Vicks. He knew for certain
it was her who said she wanted to suck his balls.
That night judy's mom called my house about ten times. She
eouldnlt find judy and she was freaking out. She even called the /-
police. She made me promise that if I saw judy I would call her ,I
and I said I would. y
I was asleep when I heard knocking on my window. It was judy, ,
who told me there was no use ever going home because she knew MZ&
for a fact her mom was going to make her go to Catholic school. I l
told her to come in, and then my mom woke up and busted us and
she called judy's mom, who came over. Me and judy had to sit at
the kitchen table while my mom stared at us and smoked and Mrs.
Minter asked us a hundred times could we please give her a 'a
reasonable explanation of why we would ever do such a thing.
She stood there with her arms crossed. llilm waitingf she said.
W .
Q
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