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April 22, 1990
What on Earth will you he doing?
Twenty years ago, 25 million people made
history. That first Earth Day led to important
Changes in environmental policy, here
and around the world. Yet the forces
destroying the environment have
moved faster than we have.
T()d;1y.()ur global environment
is (m the edge of destruction. /
Global warming. ozone depletion
toxic wastes. decimated rain forests.
oeezm pollution. Our best scientists
say the next decade is absolutely crucial
to our survival. 80. we need more thzm
a day. We need :1 decade. Ahd, Earth Day
1990 Will begin that decade of commitment
for everyone who lives on this planet
And that mezms you. You must commit to
:1lifestylethzltnmkes sense for the environ-
hx ment. And more. Right now, people 1111
/ x over the world are organizing :1 new
campaign for Earth Day 1990... zmd
the decade beyond From huge
IOX urban demonstrations to cum-
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wide media net to organizing small
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Name I’m sending a check for: I
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City Send to: Earth Day1990, PO Box AA
Stanford University. California 94305 (415) 321-1990
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: A 7 A
No Rescue for Randy
I just finished reading the article on Randall Terry (IIWhere Did Randy Go Wrong?" Nov. 89), and I want to thank Terry for helping me make Lip my mind.
On the issue of abortion I have been pretty much middle-of-the-road. However, after reading, the article, I have become a firm advocate of choice for women. I am nonplussed at how a pin-brain like Terry (who commits yet one more crime in the name of religion), a man who has never been nor ever will be pregnant, feels such a strong desire to tell women what they must do with their bodies. As Florynce R. Kennedy once said, lllf men could get pregnant, abortion would be a sacramentfa
No one can deny Terry the right to Choose sides. He cannot, however, abrogate that right for others. I question both his motives and his sincerity. I do not believe that he worries much about the fetus.
Question: In the article there is a reference to a protester who punched a pregnant clinic worker in the stomach; as a result, the woman miscarried several weeks later. I would like to know what happened to the puncher who, in fact, committed murder by Terryls standards.
RICHARD OLSEN
Madison, Wisconsin
Editorls Note: The man was arrested and pleaded guilty to charges of trespassing but not assault. The district attorney dropped the assault charges, and the clinic worker, due to a certain amount of harassment and other personal reasons, decided not to pursue the matter.
Thanks to Susan Faludils in-depth exposure of the heinous Randall Terry, people across the United States will finally get to see the plain truth behind this paltry, vile creature. Having personally witnessed Terry and his fanatics harassing women and men who have sought safe and legal abortions, I am glad that finally a story has disclosed the IItrueIi Terry as an odious person who abhors women, gays, liberals, and all those who differ even slightly from his demented, narrow view of life.
Although most of America first heard of Terry through the national news, we in Binghamton, New York, who have known him liintimatelyll for years, are cognizant of his rhetoric and actions. It is not at all easy to hoodwink us.
HOWARD FISHER
Vestal, New York
I am a young college graduate trying to keep up with all facets of contemporary thought. I sympathize with many of the causes that

Motlyerjones promotes. Yet I was extremely disappointed with the content and tone of Susan Faludils article about Randall Terry. My disappointment began with Faludi’s perplexing description of the city of Rochester and western New York, and culminated with her disparaging attitude toward strong religious belief. Honestly, I was

shocked to find such a slanted tone in what I had thought was a respected, intelligent magazine.

I will continue to read your magazine for the duration of my subscription. I want to keep abreast of every viable point of view. Yet if Mother jones consistently contains slanted, almost insultingly one-sided articles, I will hnd another magazine.

jOHN A. KNAB
Washington, DC.

Randall Terry has the nerve to compare his iiworkli with the work of SNCC volunteers in Selma in 1965? Susan Faludi hits the proverbial nail smack 0n the head when she says that that comparison has its problems. The students in SNCC and their supporters fought for nearly a year and a half to help secure basic human rights for all Americans. Randall Terry and his gangs are lighting to subvert basic human rights for more than half of the American population.

I grew up in Selma, and it is there that I developed the sense of justice and injustice that has gotten me involved in activism. It is there that I was valedictorian of my high school class when I had to have an abortion. I am now working with a fledgling coalition of college students at universities across the South, protesting and lobbying for choice at the local, state, and national levels. Faludils excellent article showed me the necessity of such work-for the First time, Ilve had a close, frightening look at what we are up against.

KIMBERLY M. BARTLETT
Southern Students for Choice
’Iiuscaloosa, Alabama

Thank you for Susan Faludils excellent piece of writing. She was able to explore possible motivations behind the Ilsuccessll of Randall Terry types in their vehement put-down of all women. Terry and his ilk are truly evil and, as Faludi repeatedly shows, ultimately pathetic.

I copied this article for the other members of the Northern New York Planned Parenthood board that I serve on. It is good to know what we are dealing with.

SALLY C. WALLACE, R.N.
Ogdensburg, New York

First Rolling Stone, then Mother! Randy Terry no more deserves Mfs cover than Dan Quayle does. Terry and his cohorts at Operation IIBullW live for publicity like this. Personally, I think he should be shunned. Of the two Randys in your November issue, Randy Shilts deserves our attention. He continues to challenge and enlighten us about what living with AIDS is all about.

BARBARA COYLE
Ulster, Pennsylvania

In Conference

After reading Randy Shiltsls article IIThe Era of Bad Feelingsh (Nov. a89), I found that it makes everyone look like fools_scientists and activists alike. It overlooks a basic premise: both groups consist of dedicated individuals with a common cause-giving their time and energy to light a deadly disease-albeit with different politics and ideals.

I also take exception to the remarks that refer to the researchers as smugly drinking wine, a la Marie Antoinette, while foolish activists stormed the gate.

Perhaps the activists do expect too much too soon_no one can dispute that research and development of drugs and vaccines are lengthy processes. Leukemia is a prime example of this, with a thirty-year time frame from killer to curable. But perhaps the scientists expect too little too slowly.

I agree with Dr. Broderis assessment; lefs allow the scientists to make discoveries and get the results to the public. A research conference is held to disseminate information, not to deal with the entire AIDS story- many other forums and conferences are available for that purpose. However, we should welcome the activists to all gatherings, to remind us, to prod us, and to inspire us not to be obstructionists in the fight against AIDS.

JUDITH s. jOHNS
Executive Director
Howard Brown Memorial Clinic
Chicago, Illinois

Editor’s Note

Weld like to express our appreciation to readers who telephoned or wrote in the aftermath of the 7.1 earthquake that rolled through San Francisco last October. The quake bit as we began our work on this issue. Though windows and nerves were shattered, and our work was delayed, staff members and their families made it through without injury or the loss of their homes. Thanks for your concern.

Write your Mother. Send your reactions and suggestions to Backtalk, 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. 5

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and
Investment Performance
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VEMENTS
By Roger
l/Villzins
Before the Storm
Y ROUTE TO WORK IN THE EARLY DAYS OF
the Kennedy administration took me
through one of the loveliest national
parks in the country. I would pass the
Tidal Basin near the serene Thomas
Jefferson Memorial, embankments of flowers and
stands of japanese cherry trees, the Washington
During Bush’s
first year, the
world was changed
fundamentally by
events occurring
in Warsaw,
Budapesl, Tokyo,
and even Pretoria.
Monument, and catch a glimpse of the
imposing, Lincoln Memorial. l was
young then and awed by those daily
sights-nntl by the spirit in Washington.
In jFKls days the city exuded L1 sense of
potency and possibility. Many of us who
lived here even believed that the govern-
ment could meet all its challenges and be
molded into a powerful force for good.
But during the first year of the Bush
presidency, the world was changed fun-
damentally by events occurring in Wnt-
saw, Moscow, Budapest, Tokyo, and
even Pretoria, while Washington re-
mained afflicted by a bipartisan dither.
While leaders of other countries restruc-
tured their economies, Washington continued to
mismanage ours, trying to hide the price of the
savings-and-loan catastrophe the way my older
daughter used to place broken dolls under her bed in
hopes that darkness would heal them.
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The president huffed and
puffed but couldnT blow
Noriegas house down. This
is not to suggest that l yearn
for a return of the Oval Of-
t lice cowboy mentality that
produced the Bay of Pigs,
the Vietnam War, and Gre-
nada. I simply wish that
when our government acts
with restraint that it be the
result of deliberation and
decision-not a foul-up.
While the president falls
short on his "vision thing?
the Democrats continue to
flunk the test of providing
creative opposition. Bush
has given us no grander
View of the future than
t’kinder. gentler" and a
llthousand points of light?
Even when problems are
shoved his way, he flops. With the drug war and
educational needs stating him in the face, the presie
dent blinks and slinks away, hobbled by his own
hatebrained pledge of no new taxes.
Meanwhile. Senate Democratic leader George
Mitchell continues to act as the incredible shrinking
senaton his party haying booted the opportunity for

Ll real debate oyer capital gains taxes. Nor have Democrats had much sensible or stirring to say about Eastern Europe. the crisis in medical care, the condition of our cities or the future of our children. And it seems that the rest of us are only holding our breath. For the middle class, conditions have been pretty fair for the past few years. But there are bad straws in the wind: income levels stagnating for most of the past two decades, people finding new and damaging ways to drug themselves, govern-ments inability to deal with the mounting national debt, racism resurfacing in even more intractable forms, and the dangerous decay of our social ser-vices. Yet our political leaders-nnd we ourselves-hesitate to net.

When individuals encounter problems that re-quire courageous and dramatic changes in their be-havior and in their lives, many freeze, beset by monumental denial or paralyzing terror. From our own lives,;1nd from observing those closest to us, we know that some can overcome their fear and slash

Illustration by Victor’lu/msz

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MOVEMENTS
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By Roger
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monumental denial or paralyzing terror. From our own lives, and from observing those closest to us, we know that some can overcome their fear and slash
Illustration by Victorjuhasz

into unknown territory in which they hope to find salvation. Slaves dashing into the woods to begin their journey north and Europeans boarding teeming vessels to cross an ocean and join a nation of strangers successfully subdued this fear.
Small, cohesive groups also often act decisively, even when faced with overwhelming odds. When the Montgomery Improvement Association organized the bus boycott in 1956, for example, it did so against a backdrop of entrenched and sometimes violent resistance. But bravery in the face of uncertainty and unraveling security are not in the character of large groups, of politicians engulfed by the tedium of a demeaned politics, or of nations guided by the instincts

of people barely coping with the anxieties of daily life. Most people are not brave. Most of Europeis impoverished population declined the opportunity to start a better life in the United States in the early 19005. And most people are not wise enough to reason beyond the insistent sensations of the immediate t0 intuit both the present danger and the means of dealing with it.

In our large democracy, the voices of the brave are smothered by the fears of the cautious and the blindness of the pedestrian. Most of us prefer to do nothing and hope things will come out all right on their own. The politics of pregnant times have been shaped by low common denominators.

Before the Civil War, we elected leaders such as Zachary Taylor and james Buchanan, and before the Depression came Calvin Coolidge and Warren Harding.

Should we be comforted then by the thought that our democracy has always risen to challenges-and that a Lincoln or FDR is probably waiting in the wings?

I wouldnlt bet on it. Those two heroes rode to the rescue before television miniaturized our attention spans and trivialized our politics. john F. Kennedy used television as his tool, but in the quarter of a century since then, the medium has spawned an industry of ad people and image handlers who have turned presidential nominating conventions into studio shows and candidates into commodities. In televisionls thrall, we have become passive consumers of the events of our times.

So as I drive through my hometown these days, I still enjoy the memorials t0 jefferson, Washington, and Lincoln as much as ever. But I know itis not the same. Does our democracy retain its resilience? Or could it possibly be that the passivity and the ineptitude of Bushis first year is not the same old paralysis before the storm, but rather a reflection of the contemporary American character as shaped by the television era?

Stay tuned. D

Quayle
Wannabes
While Number _
No works hard
to keep his Iob,
Kemp wants It
known: He’s no E FINDS EARTHQUAKE-STRICKEN SAN
10h" L9""o"’ Francisco a itheart-rendeting sight?
He hails the anniversary of itNeil
Armstrong and Buz Lukensi, landing
on the moon. til ttyf, he says, bto get through Time
and Newsweek and US. News, but its much more of a
jumpy type thing? His favorite movie, he tells us, is
Ferris Buelleris Day Off. In short, Dan Quayle seems
to be doing his job-making Bush look smart and
presidential by comparison. And yet others
A" "’ey are already running hard for the 9?. VP slot:
, A hopeful Wisconsin Governor Tommy
are saying, Thompson began courting the president early
. , on: bAs the Reagan presidency ends, it is time
’5 give us for the Bush pregnancy to begin? And Iowa
State Representative Charles Poncy knows a
b’ dm’ue’ dark horse needs a fresh issue: hWhat really
causes marital abuse is small families. If all women had
a lot of brothers, this would never take place? William
Photographs by T. Westenberger/Sygma (Quayle)
and Max Winter/ Picture Group
Bennett is the decapitate-drug-dealers candidate:
bThereis no moral problem there. I used to teach ethics
-trust me? Florida Governor Bob Martinez hangs
just as tough: Should condemned inmates be killed by
lethal injection instead of electrocution? til think the
current system, to me, is acceptable.v Distuncing him-
self from the pack, top challenger Jack Kemp wants it
known that heid stand up to Bush, especially when the
president makes reference to john Lennon: uThat is
embarrassing, to have a Republican talking about
iGive peace a Chancef ,i
Not to say that Quayle hasnit carved out his own
themes: bl believe we are on an irreversible trend
toward more freedom and democracy-but that could
change." And he owns the space thing: bMars is
essentially in the same orbit. Mars is somewhat the
same distance from the sun, which is very important.
We have seen pictures where there are canals, we
believe, and water. If there is water, that means there is
oxygen. If oxygen, that means we can breathe?
While the fight for her husbands job heats up,
Marilyn Quayleis keeping up a brave front, sort of:
uiDani was ready to take on the world and do great
things, and it never dawned on me that he would not
accomplish great things? The vice-president himself,
though, is unfazed: "I consider myself a very strong
person? Quayle declares, .iso having people around
who ate my equals doesnit bother me? -Am’ta Kat:
JAN IQgOiMOTHER j()NI-.S 9

’
Judas Prlosl in
mid-throsh:
Their musk is
headed for Irial.
Heavy
Meddle
UDAS PRIEST KILLS. So SAY THE PARENTS
oI NeVada teenager james Vance, who
shot himself after a six-hout session of
drinking beer. smoking pot, and listening
over and over to the heavy-metaI head-
hangers album Stained Class, Vance lived.
but 11 suicide pact partner who also shot
h1mseIIdied.VaneeIs parents partly I1111111e
suhIiminaI messages buried in the
11Ih111n7s tracks. and theVIre taking
Indus Priest to court this IuIV’. The
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Zappa: "Disco
killed more
I11snIt the band, as the Vances argue. so-
ciaIIV’ irresponsible by marketing albums
with overt death references to 11 suicide-
prone audience? "Do you want to know the
real Itee1111ge1V’oung 11d11It1’ suicide st11tisties?"
says Zappa. "TheV’IV’e gone down since 19"_.
This leads us to 1111 inese11p’11hIe conclusion.
What WCFC theV Iistemng to in i"? Disco.
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little uncomfortable. At a key
moment in last springs congres-
sional vote for House majority
whip, CBS correspondent
Braver reported that justice De-
partment sources assured her
"the FBI has opened 11 criminal
investigation into financial deal-
ings inV’oIV’ing Democratic
Representative WiIIiam GraV oI
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Braver quoted more unnamed
sources saying that the FBI was
looking into the possibilitV’ that
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sured V16W6r5 that her sources,
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Comparative Politics
Comparative Economics
Comparative Cultures
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Zulu Soho
HOE THE BEST BASS PLAYER IN THE
world?" Laurie Anderson remem-
bers asking Paul Simon. His answer:
llBakithi Kumalo. And hels going to be in
town." And so the latest, perhaps oddest,
world music permutation was generated. An-
derson says that the Hbrilliantll playing by
Kumalo, a South African Zulu, helps give her
new album Strange Angels a lldeeply merry,l
quality of tension with her darker messages
and minimalist sound. The tension grows out
of her daily experience: ul just look around
New York and therels such an amazing
amount of suffering, and its changed so
much recently, that my main reaction to the
people who can deal with the suffering is that
its inspiringfl In her own work now, it is
communicating lloptimism rather than the
increased awareness of oppression that
strikes me as the important thing."
Kumalo refuses to make great claims for
the political power of world music. Yes, he
allows, South African blacks feel proud that
their music is internationally popular. But
does his success strike even a small blow for
justice against a white regime that denigrates
black culture? "NOT Kumalo, who has
worked with Simon Cyndi Lauper, and
Miriam Makeba, doesnlt worry that his tal-
" ,. ent is being ripped off by First World pop
23:33:; 3::23322r20n3 stars or bass musician imitators. ill can see a
new album? You can thank guy playing like me, and I say; That’s nicef
bass vir’uoso Baki’hl KU’M’O- You know; its making me famous."
Cltlzen
COhen His first product: Rainforest Crunch, a
_ mass-marketed candy, for which he buys
South Americas brazil nuts and cashews di-
rect from native pickers. Cohen wants to
support indigenous people and render the
rain forest more profitable alive (bearing
nuts) than dead (turned into furniture). And
whereas Ben and jerryls gives away 7.5 per-
cent of its nearly 53 million in annual profits,
Community Products. lnc., will donate 60
percent to the Rain Forest Preserve and
other causes. Employees receive 10 percent
AYBE YOU CONSIDERED I(jlz-
cream maker Ben & jerry’s
Homemade. lne., the perfect ree-
ipe for a socially responsible business. No
way, says Ben himself_and he blames his
shareholders. lKBen and jerryls is a publicly
held company? Ben Cohen explains. llLegal-
ly, we cannot make acting as a social force
our lprimaryl goal." Profits first, in other
words. 50 last summer he founded Commu- ICG-tream maker Ben Cohen, through profit sharing
; the rest gets r6-
nity Products, Inc., a private concern that "’e.’10’5’0(kh?’.d.ers"?ok invested into Cohe
ns new concern.
x a " socnal responSIbIlny private. -
makes profits a means to the goal. -El/ie Win71ingboff
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2 MorHi R JONH/JAN 1990 Photographs by Mtzggztnsmber .IB Pictures
and (Any Clayton I1all(C0/Jen)

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Looking for Nlcaragua’s Willie
Horton: Jeb Bush lobbied to
have taxpayers fund anti-
Sandlnlsta campaign videos.
Making Dads
Proud
N laAklN NlARCH, WlfliV (MIAMI) NHX’S itiai’on’iiit
(Inrlos Brieeno. :1 Nicaraguan exile 11nd former I,.I
Prensa director Petlrolonqnin (Ih.1n1orto. l1; were
denied :1 state license to open .1 private television
st.1tion in Managua. So Brieeno, endorsed hy President
Bushk son leh. went to Al llzliglh daughter Btll-llllllh
progmni director at the tax-fnndetl N.1tion.1l Endow-
ment for Democracy, with .1gr.1ntl scheme. The NH)
would put up over $700.00!) to huiltl .1 Mn-
n.1g11;1-h.1setl YlLlCUPI’()LlllCIl0H honse.1sp;1tt of
AI Haig: Do you the ne.1rly S9 111illion the group hus-heeyn given hy
(,ongress to .1itl opposition p.11’ties In Nenmgna.
Although lelTs ehnrter .1llows it only to help
HlHllltl patty inlmstrnettn’efl not to support (1.111%
children are? pnigitx Brieeno proposed thin the video center
churn out (LIIHlegH Videos for the eontm-linketl
UNO party, to he hro.1tle.1st during the thirty minutes
st;1te-r11n television gmnts llthe opposition." Brieeno
wrote to l lnig: Wlhe show more th;1n anything else
. . . eonltl serve.1stliee;tt.1lyst for Nienrngnans to hegin
demonstrating their displeasure with the present state
of :1ll.1irs. . .
In one memo to H;1ig, Brieeno .1tltletl: "I’ve attached
also .’1 letter from _I. 1511le who .1lsos11pports the
George Bush and
know where your
14 MoiiiiiitioNisgmN.1990
Gem
project? On the letterhead
of his Miami realty firm,
jeh Bush wrote to Briceno:
uYour professionalism in
the television field and
knowledge of Nicaragua
will he of value should the
production facility go on
stream. 1 wish you every
success in generating politi-
cal and financial support.n
By .Inly, Brieeno had en-
listed the support of
Senators Connie Mack,
John McCain, Bob
(it;1h;1i11.;1nd Charles
Rohh, who together wrote
.1letteron U.S.Sen;1telet-
terhead applauding the
National Association of
Broadcasters for eliciting
donations from its mem-
bers to fund the effort. In
11 July memo to Haig
Brieeno suggested that
customs fees for the Video
gear could he kept low
Usinee purchase receipts
could he l’llngCLl down." Briceno wasnlt interested in
loaners. sinee"theide.1 is for the equipment to become
the htisis tor the first independent TV in the country if
things change. If they tlonlt, I plan to . . . beam :1 TV
signal from .1 neighboring country."
So far. NH) h.1s .1lloe.1ted;1tle;1st 8200.000 for W-
M;111.1gn.1. The Institute for Medi.1 Analysist L1 New
Hbrk-hnsetl nonprofit th.1t h.1s been monitoring Nie-
.1r.1gu.1n teleVision .1s e.1n1p;1igning tot February’s

election he.1ts UP. h;1s Already notieed ;1 change. In ;1n
()etohet report ptox’itletl them by .1elest1it-tnn research
center in Nicaragua. .1n ohservet "was rather stunned
hy the teehnologiml leap that UNO has t;1ken.just
two weeks :1gm the ten-nnntite slot was ;1 complete
hot’e .1ntl totally unprofessional. presenting three aging
figures re.1tling stiltetlly into the e.11ner-.1. 111st night
UNO presented .1 slick Video full of images, music,
fancy elip teehniqnex .1nd ;1 linini-notieierof
While Snndinista video is even slicker, the report
s.1ys tlthe other p.1rties do not h;1veprep;1red Videos
and simply show 11p to tape their slot which consists of
candidates discussing issues."
lllt is quite ironief eoneludes the report. llThe U.S.
defines the Nie. electoral campaign in terms of -.1 hdttlc
between the lirente 11nd the UNO despite the fact that
there are eight other contenders. However, the money
th.1t the US. is giving to UNO will turn this definition
into :1 re.1lity. It is totalh’ distorting the electoral pro-
eess .1nd this is only the beginning."
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As Tibet Goes...

HAIRMAN MAO LOOKED pleased. The martial law restrictions on public gathering had been relaxed, and still the first day of Septembefs Sholdon Festival passed peacefully. At Norbulingka Park on the outskirts of Lhasa, families staked out their picnic turf with yards of bright fabric laid with yak meat, yak butter tea, and bowls of yak yogurt. With Tibet just reopening to the hrst tour groups since the imposition of martial law last March, tourism OfEcials were eager to market Lhasais attractions-and safety-to a group of junketeering Chinese travel agents A calm, colorful weekend of traditional operas and dances would be the perfect centerpiece of the tour.

The travel agents finished their sumptuous outdoor buffet and responded warmly to the introduction of llChairmanil Mao Rubei. In more than twenty-five years as a Communist Party cadre in Tibet_without mastering the local language-Mao had risen to become vice-chairman of the Tibet Autonomous Region. From the center table, Mao stood to offer a toast in Chinese to Tibetls bright future. His sidekick, a Tibetan named Ri Di who serves as vice-secretary 0f Tibetls regional Communist Party committee, was quick to join in. TlThere was trouble in certain parts of Lhasa, but it is stable nowf, he said. llThere have been some changes. There will be no more problems? The meal finished, Mao and Ri posed for snapshots with the guests.

The next day, underneath a billowing white tent, wide-eyed peasants, Khampa herdsmen, and boisterous Lhasa residents formed a circle around a group of masked performers. Suddenly, the music stopped, the crowd hushed. A dozen young Tibetan Buddhist nuns, heads shaved, burst into the center. Protected by the crowd, the nuns bowed before the empty review stand reserved for the exiled Dalai Lama, revered as Tibetls spiritual and political leader and honored with the Nobel Prize for his nonviolent resistance to Chinese rule. Pumping their fists, the nuns began chanting: lsFree Tibet! Free Tibet!w

Startled, a squad of cops dashed right, left, then right again before breaking through the dense crowd. The officers grabbed one nun by her arms and legs, subdued another in a headlock, and hustled them through the angry crowd into a van. A young man hurled insults, swung at police, and was taken too. Tibetans said the nuns almost certainly would be beaten, interrogated, and held for a long, long time. That night, the radio news made no mention of the first proindependence demonstration since the imposition of martial law.

A LITTLE REFORM Is A DANGEROUS THING, as the Chinese found out Hrst in Lhasa, and then in the rest of China. Tibetls Tlopen periodll began around 1980, when Hu Yaobang, then Communist Party general-secretary, visited Tibet and reportedly remarked,

11This reminds me of colonialism.n It ended in 1988, when Qiao Shi, Chinals security chief, Visited Tibet and warned that further nationalist protest would meet leerciless repression? The two menls political lines crossed again in Beijing. Last springls student demonstrations there were sparked by the April 15 death of ousted reformer Hu. Following the bloody crackdown on june 4, hardliner Qiao supervised the roundup of

prodemoeracy dissidents.
After the acknowledged excesses of the Cultural Revolution, Tihet became a key experiment in (Jhinals reform program. Eeonomie modernization replaced socialist liberation as the ideological justification for (Ihinals presence. During the 1980s, Beijing poured in capital, disbanded the despised agricultural collectives, and allowed Buddhists to practice their religion openly and rebuild their monasteries. Tibet opened in other ways as well. The Chinese stopped jamming All-lndia Radiok twiee-daily Tibetan language broadcasts. Exiles in India returned for family visits and some Tibetans traveled abroad. The flood of foreign tourists reached forty-three thousand in 1987. The Chinese hoped to create a suitable-for-framing version of Tibet, complete with the mystical charm tourists expect but stripped of the troublesome demands for independence. As in China proper, the process grew out of control. The infusion of capital that spurred the consumption of goods im-

ported from China highlighted the economic gap between Chinese settlers and the Tibetans themselves. Decollectivization freed peasants to produce more, but much of the surplus went to rebuilding the gutted monasteries. The returning monks then devoted themselves to political agitation along with Buddhist study. Even foreign tourists brought moral support for the cause of the Tibetans-and served as witnesses to the increasingly harsh Chinese reprisals. "It all added up to enormous growth in the political consciousness of Tibetans." said a representative of the Dalai Lamas government-in-exile.

In the autumn of 1987, monks from the Drepung and Sera monasteries staged the first of more than two dozen demonstrations that convinced the Communist Party a decade of reform had gone too far. In response, the Party launched an llantisplittist" campaign in Tibet that paralleled Chinak own campaign against lllaourgeois liheralization." The reform policy was abandoned, replaced by political re-edueation meetings, steppetl-up arrests and forced confessions. But Tihetans wouldn’t buy the Chinese insistence that democracy and human rights represented lithe return of the serf system." The demonstrations grew. For three days last March, two thousand Tihetans rioted in the streets of Lhasa, sacking dozens of (Ihinese-owned shops and heating their Chinese neighbors.

If the Chinese authorities initial response was surprisingly slow, the crackdown that followed was unexpectedly hrutal-a puzzling pattern that would he repeated a few months later at Tiananmen Square. In Lhasa, troops let three days of rioting, pass before they moved into the city at night and began shooting. Foreign witnesses estimated the death toll at between sixty and one hundred. On March 7, Premier Li Peng formally imposed martial law for the first time in the history of the Peoples Republic of China. Lias second martial law declaration came May 20 in Beijing.

If the strategy in Lhasa, as in Beijing, was premeditated to create a pretext for the consolidation of police control, it seems to have succeeded. Stern-faeed soldiers in dark sunglasses now stop vehicles at military checkpoints ringing Lhasa. At least one in each six-sided aluminum sentry box carries an AK-47 automatic rifle. Martial Law Decree No. 3 requires all Tibetans to carry identity cards. Passes are required for travel, even across town.

At the festival last September, the fear was palpable. As a uniformed police officer took snapshots, one young man said he could be picked up by police simply for talking to foreigners. Another resident added that p0lice still took people away from the Tibetan quarter at night.

"All of Tibet is like a jail,w said another young man in a hushed tone. He said he had recently been released from prison-six months after police came to his door at midnight during the March demonstrations and

accused him of being a spy for the Dalai Lama. There were no charges and no trial. His younger brother was still being held. "No Tibetan is free as long as the Chinese are herefl he said. showing off the scar on his right wrist that he said was caused by tight iron manacles. Despite repeated beatings. he refused to sign a faked confession. Like many young Tibetans, the former prisoner said he is considering taking up arms against the Chinese. A friend quickly contradicted him. replaying an argument they have had many times. Violence, he said, would be futile against the overwhelming strength of the Chinese. "We are like this? he said, cupping his hands in front of him. "The Chinese are like an ocean." He added, "I am feeling, very hopeless."

While martial law allows the Chinese to rule in Tihen it also undermines their ability to govern. The Sholdon Festival ended with a second burst of defiance: on the last day, a group of monks matched and were arrested as quickly as the nuns. Tibetans vow bigger demonstrations once the controls are lifted. That wont be anytime soon, according to officials in Tibet. As Chinals rulers crack down hard in their own country; the level of repression in Tibet will be a gauge of their ability to sustain military dictatorship.

David Bank and Peter Leyden write for Newsweek from Seoul.

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BENCH
MARK
THE NAKED EYE DECEIVES,
thatls the Hrst lesson ofpond
making. Sea level is of no
matter, is the second. Seek a
constant or else youlll mis-
judge altitude.
To start a job, you drive a
nail into a peak of ledge,
pound it deep, make it your
benchmark, your one hun-
dred scale. The transit mea-
sures from that arbitrary
point as you compute all
distance in links and chains.
Weather patterns can alter,
crops grow, houses get built
and collapse from age, but 7--
you could return in a hun-
dred years and position a
tripod, rotate the dials 0f the
spirit until the air bubble
precisely crosses the hair-
line, then aim an alidade at
that solitary, centering nail-and be in business.
I design a pond to order, I tell the property owners, no
two the same. They get more from me than a hole in the
earth. There lacks a T square in natureis plan, and I donit
tote one in my back pocket either.
If theres a boy handy, I have him hoist the end of the tape
high above his head or fix him in my sight while he balances
my seven-foot vernier. I-Ie stares back at me, his eyes to
mine, and that stick canlt help but adjust to vertical. For
reward, I focus on, say, a birch protruding from a ridge of
mountain miles away. Count the leaves, I dare him. He
squints, peers through, glances at me, peers through again.
He canit believe it, how close the branches of that white
bark tree appear. Sometimes a younger boy will extend his
hand, nervous fingers reaching out as if to touch, but I donit
laugh. I respect what he hasn,t learned to hide.
By Michael Dorris
My dad taught me the
trade, and more often than
not I use his words when I
work because they still ap-
ply. I-Ie instructed my eye.
One morning the year I be-
came his journeyman, we
were driving to a job in his
Ford. I was twenty, twen-
ty-one at the time, still a
kid, and thinking God
knows what, when he
called my attention to an
abandoned field we were
passing on the right.
What do you see, Frank,
_ he asked me.
There was nothing spe-
cial. A pasture left fallow
more than a few years-
you could tell from the
saplings that had come
back here and there-a
loom of exposed ledge off to one side, a muddy rut where a
culvert used to cut under the road.
Dad idled the truck to give me time. There was a depres-
sion in the weeds where once there had been a barnyard or a

structure of some type. The grass all around had that yellow, wild color that appears when it hasnit been sowed fresh for many seasons. Unbroken, the ground had turned tough, dense enough to seal a levy.

Ild sink a test at about thirty feet, I told Dad. Another halfways to the bank. We could conduct the overflow through a four-inch, and gravity would power it. V/ith any luck we could go down six feet.

Five, he said, but he stepped on the gas, satisfied that my imagination would now fill any empty space with water. He worked up to the week before he died, then left me his name and his equipment. A solid mahogany clipboard. A plane

he blushed when I realized Why she had brought
the blanket from the foot of her bed, then she
laughed at the look on my face.
table. The glass with Swiss-ground lenses. It rests each night
cushioned in its original case, in carved pockets lined with red
velvet. The forged-iron hammer. live replaced the wooden
handle, shattered once when anger got the better of me, but
the head is as black and unmarred as if it never met a stake,
never knew the head of a nail. I have his tape as well, that
century foot line of oiled cloth, mended with thread wherever
torn by sharp stones or roots. Therelve been some inches lost
in the process, but its still accurate enough. I used it until the
printed numbers faded beyond recognition, then I wrapped it
like a cast bandage around my hand for the last time and
stored it in the bottom drawer of my chest.
It bothers me, when I let it, that live apprenticed no suc-
cessor. My surviving children, Sam and Gloria, have moved
with their children to other states. They work indoors, as was
their ambition all along-he manages for Sears and she teach-
es school. They live in stone buildings with interior windows
and eternal fountains in the lobbies. The seasons pass by
them, blurred at the edges, of notice only on weekends. They
never get so cold that they have to rub their toes, one at a
time, or so warm that they fan the air with their hands. They
never rise in the dark of the morning, never go to bed when
its still light. They dwell within safe boundaries, my grown
Children, heed clocks, leave the world as they find it. Theyire
content, but for their guilt over me since their mother passed
away. Im the loose board in their floor.
Therels no right or wrong season for digging. You go in
whenever the backhoe’s free, and youire sure to fight some-
thing-hard crust in winter, swamp in spring, drought like as
not the rest of the year. When I dam a pond site in late
summer I forecast that the worst flood in a decade wiII sweep
over the dusty rim. The runoff must have an escape, a water-
fall if the contour of the bank will accommodate it. I sand the
bottom, install a hydrant for fire protection. I insist on a
minimum depth of eight feet. That way you can give up two
of ice, allow another three for snow, and yet there will remain
sufficient oxygen in the water to keep trout alive. Trout are
the secret of a healthy pond. They eat algae, you eat them. In
summer, they can be lured to the surface to take food, and
there,s something fine about the way the light plays on those
silver blades, crossing and reflecting like a handful of coins
tossed in the air.
Sometimes, when we were courting and after we were new
married, Martha would accompany me on an inspection. I
bought her good boots, wool knit socks. Canit beat them. I
explained each step of procedure and she nodded her head,
interested, a quick study. She got so she could spot a bowl as
well as I, foresaw the incline of slope, knew where to Clear

brush to make a scenic vista. It does her memory no dis-
respect to recall the use we put to certain warm afternoons,
when alone on what would become a bottom, on what would
be the deepest part, we came together beneath the sky.
That Erst time Martha surprised me. She blushed when I
realized why she had brought the blanket from the foot of her
bed, then she laughed at the look on my face. If you could see
yourself, Frank, she said.
She was strong, tall as me, a year older. Her hair was
straight and brown, the shade of clay, and afterwards I would
comb the straw from its tangle while she lay watching clouds,
identifying their silhouettes. Sam was an April baby, fuII-size
though two months premature as everyone consented to
agree, but Martha and I knew for a fact he came from one of
those excursions. Ben was two years later, a June after a late
fall, so we suspected that origin of him as well.
We had thirty-eight years, Martha and I, and I was never
with another woman, she was never with another man.
Thatls the way it should be, I admonished Sam when he

divorced Suzanne and married a second time. Not anymore, Dad, he answered me. You and Mom were born before people knew better. You had no options. You played by the book and didnlt question the rules.

Read your birth certificate and learn to count, I was tempted to say, but I held my tongue. The truth would sound like bragging, as though in defense of myself and Martha. I let him believe what he needed, but his accusation brought Ben to my mind.

They say the second horn gets lost by his parents, that the middle child, being neither first nor last, becomes the independent one. Yet Ben was equal parts Martha and me, in spirit as well as in form, as different from Sam as fire from wood. He always had a question, awoke with one in his mind, the leftover from his dream, and he listened when you answered, he remembered what you said. He was good with his hands, fixed things that were broken, located what was invisible to everyone else. By the time he was seven he was my number one. He had the eye, no question. He could sense the vibration of water where it moved under layers Of dry ground, could calculate on a sunny day the route a rain spill might follow.

When my business settled into the black, I saved enough to downpay twelve acres, then traded ponds for the labor and materials it took to construct a house. Our land had a southern exposure, a wooded knoll, but not the trickle of a stream. Where on the property do you want it situated? I asked Martha before the wooden frame was fully sided. Therels two choices, behind the house or beyond the hill for privacy.

She stood in what would be her kitchen and faced the space at hand through the bars of pine. I donlt see water in so close, she said. Too cramped a pocket for my taste. Martha paused, caught my eye. And I always valued privacy in a pond.

I smiled, recalled, approved her Choice. So I burned two meadow acres, and used the far side of the hill as the near embankment. When the depression filled, we could smell the water, hear it lap, only not behold it from our door.

The first summer was paradise. Gloria was two then, unsteady on her feet. She waded to her ankles and dropped pebbles to see the bubbles well, while Martha and I watched the boys cannonball off a weighted plank. Some muggy nights, whispering 0n the stairs, Sam and Ben shut the door just so to keep from waking us, and stole outdoors to skinny-dip in the moonlight. Once I felt Marthals body stiffen as she prepared to call them back. TheyIre good boys, I whispered, and stroked her arm the way she liked until instead she turned to me.

Ben, though younger, was the leader, and he was impatient

Photograph by Archie Lieberman

with time. Clocks and calendars moved too slow for his ambition. Every day he was gone before breakfast, out of breath and home from school ten minutes when Sam walked through the front door. When the winter came, he could not wait for center ice to thicken to try his skates.

We shook our heads. He was late to dinner, the third time that week. We called the neighbor boy, his schoolmate, at seven, and he was missing also. By the time in fear we realized where to search, the temperature had dropped, mending the hole, leaving as evidence only a glare in the shape of an explosion. I grabbed a pick, slammed it down until a pool broke through, then I dove into the darkness, still calling his name until my mouth was filled. I touched the bottom with my palms_it was but ten feet-and encountered only silt, grainy as powder. But when I ascended, Ben blocked my entrance. Obedient and sorry, he had floated to the sound of our voices. Martha had already dragged his head and shoulders onto the cradle of her lap. His legs moved in the gentle waves, the steel of his skates clicking (Continued OH page 47)

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THE TRUE
STORY
OF How
REAGAN
AND
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HOLLYWOOD’S

Illustrations by Steve Brodner

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merican movies are still reaping the harvest of Ronald Reagan’s reign of mediocrity and By escapism. From January to the fall of 1989 . only two films achieved greatness: Brian MIChael De Palma’s Casualties of War, the first Viet- Sra 0W nam War film to hold Americans to a full g moral accounting, and Bruce Weber’s Let’s GetLast, a portrait of iazz star Chet Baker, a fifties rebel who deteriorated rather than grow up. Most movies were so bland and cheery, from When Harry Met Sally . . . to Parenthood, that when The Fabulous Baker Boys, a bewitching romantic musical dra- medy, dared to conclude with an ambiguous ending, TV reviewers greeted that choice with scorn and

disbelief-they thought the Baker boys should simply live happily ever after. Movie lovers grew hungry for small-scale films that opened up a hidden way of life, like Drugstore Cowboy, Gus Van Santls movie about outlaw drug addicts. Stylized, dark-toned entertainments like True Believer, Batman, and johnny Handsome also came as a relief. The urban blight of those movies, with their layers of corruption made visible in corrosive images of claustrophobic, evil-infested alleyways, served as a renunciation of the yea-saying that turned this countryls pop culture into a suburban fantasyland.

In the eighties, the conventional critical wisdom was that American movies no longer reflect real life, that they offer only teen comedy, derring-do, gross-out horror, and special effects-in a word, escape. And its true that American movies are largely about escape. But thatls what American public life has been all about, too_form and symbol over feeling and substance, and the orchestration of video images rather than truth telling. If Ronald Reagan and Hollywood studio chiefs had huddled together in 1980 to form a ten-year plan, they couldnlt have meshed more perfectly.

Reagan conquered TV and radio so completely that the sound bite and the trademark image, the cornerstones of the Reagan and Bush media campaigns, not only dominated network coverage, but also, combined with the influence of rock video, corrupted the ambitions of the movies.

THERE,S NO LONGER As MUCH excitement attached to seeing the next big movies of important directors and stars. Too many careers have been plagued by blind turns and compromises. In the seventies, Al Pacino starred in the Godfather films, Serpico, and Dog Day Afternoon; in the eighties he starred in movies nobody remembers, like Author! Author! and Revolution, before coming back in 1989 with Sea ofLove, a run-of-the-mill suspense film that reduced him to playing one of the decades standard leading-man roles: a cop who falls in love with a murder suspect.

The 89 fall and Christmas release list contained half a dozen promising or at least intriguing titles, including Blaze (writeredirector Ron Sheltonls first film since Bull Durham), starring Paul Newman as Earl Long, the Louisiana governor who had an affair with stripper Blaze Starr; and Paul Mazurskyls film of Isaac Bashevis Singerls novel, Enemies: A Love Story, with a cast including Ron Silver, Anjelica Huston, and Lena Olin.

But it wouldlve taken a succession of terrific movies to salvage the decade. Perhaps even better would have been the one great and popular movie that could unite the entire movie audience the way From Here to Eternity did in the fifties, or The Godfather did in the seventies. The odds against that

merican moviemakers are issuing, en masse, avisual SOS. happening were enormous. Moviemaking became so stratified in the eighties that films were targeted to age and ethnic groups, and even to specific neighborhoods. (The films of Woody Allen are probably best viewed in the areas in which they are filmed: New Yorlds Upper West Side, say, or Soho.) Whatls missing is the general ferment in the culture that would make people rush to movies just to see whats going on, as

they did through much of the sixties and seventies.
As the eighties began, you could feel what turned out to be the last gust of the sixties creative breeze. Major new stars were still emerging, such as Bette Midler, who brought elements of camp sensibility#an emphasis on outrageous play and acting-out-into the mainstream. In her 1980 concert Elm, Divine Madness, she made her funniest entrance, in a wheelchair, wearing a metmaidls outfit. It was also in 1980 that Martin Scorsese and Robert De Niro staged their head-on collision with machismo in Raging Bull. In fact, 1980 was the last near-great year in movies. After a rocky start, it was filled with surprises. Some of the best movies came in the spring, summer, and fall-before the usual Christmas rush. And they tended to have the unexpected, even startling qualities you associate with popular artists who have enough confidence in their audiences to take chances with them. Richard Rush,s modernist adventure, The Stunt Man, was an inside-Hollywood movie that dared to treat x a Vietnam-vet antihero (Steve Railsback) with humor and playfulness.
Rushls movie turned the frustrations of serious American moviemakers into a source of wild black comedy: Peter OlTooIe played a director shooting a movie-within-a-movie about the llromantic insanitylT of World War I; he sees the Vietnam vet as the perfect replacement for a stuntman who died in action. By linking Vietnam to a moviemakerls quest to re-create World War I Europe in a Southern California beachfront hotel, Rush Challenged the VICWCIS, preconceived images.
Even 19803 best genre movies had some edge to them. Irvin Kershnefs The Empire Strikes Back (the best of the Star Wars films) was the rare outet-space fantasy-and the rare George Lucas-produced movie-that didnlt end by pasting a smile of mystical uplift over the universe. It featured manic-deptessive shifts of mood: the scenes of Luke Skywalker being whacked around and mutilated took the audience from the hrst Star Wars filmls womb of childhood to an adolescent world in which adventures are paid for with pain and grief.
The countercultural spirit of open-mindedness and egalitarianism persisted in the work of Jonathan Demme, who in 19803 Melvin and Howard (with a big assist from Bo Goldmanls script) perfected his View of the United States as a place where a simple man like Melvin Dummar could pierce the erust of billionaire Howard Hughes by cajoling him into sing-1ng a silly song. In the early-morning desert air outside Las Vegas, both the success-starved middle American and the terminally eccentric moneybags seem purified sniffing the

greasewood and sage after a rainfall_and the audience shares in their pop-culture communion. The sixties erals affection for freaks and outcasts also resurfaced in 1980. In David Lynchls The Elephant Man, a physically deformed pauper transformed himself from a sideshow attraction into the purest (and most poignant) of Victorian gentlemen.

Brian De Palma_a key figure in understanding American movies of the eighties-exploded the summer doldrums with Dressed to Kill, a bloody satiric vision of pre-AIDS sexual fears and confusions. As long as De Palma stuck to thrillers (no matter how far out or provocative), he did well at the box office. But in 1981, when he made his most ambitious and emotionally committed movie up to that time-the political melodrama Blow Out, which portrayed the electronic media as the opiate of the masses, reordering democracy into a dictatorship of cheap celebrity and placing a video scrim between contemporary humanity and IIrealityiT_he flopped with the mass audience.

The shift in De Palmais fortunes reflected the changing mood of the country. For between Dressed to Kill and Blow Out came an event that overshadowed all the gains American moviemakers had won. It was the election of Ronald Reagan, a character so permeated with media that he might have stepped right out of Blow Out.

What separates Reagan and his successor from previous right-wing regimes isnit just their ability to seem like Mr. Nice Guys, but also their unprecedented manipulation of the media. Expressing compassion through photo opportunities at disaster sites or slums takes the place of political action. Reagan and Bush are the embodiments of Benign Neglect_but they manage to accent the benign. Those who attempt to attack them come off as unpatriotic curmudgeons.

As the eighties progressed, movies like The Border, Under Fire, The Killing Fields, and Salvador, which risked taking on live issues, became increasingly uncommon. When they did come out, distributors often bobbled them like hot potatoes, either tossing them on the market as mere action films or opening them one . . . city . . . at . . . a . . . time. At least Universal and Orion showed they could market controversy with movies as highly charged as The Last Temptation of Christ, Do the Right Thing, and Mississippi Burning. But these movies_like much of the workaday press_attempt to do justice to complex themes and issues simply by bringing them up.

Instead, the new movies gave us the old sentimentality heated up, or warmed over. Through most of the eighties, the reigning spirit was nostalgia tempered by anxiety. Directors with a lot less feeling for childhood than Steven Spielberg (whose ET. was an authentic youthful masterpiece as well as a blockbuster) responded to right-wing shifts in the culture by making kiddie movies_or by burying their heads in the Malibu sand. In short, our movies not only gave in to the status quo, they propagandized it. Reaganized politicians hearkened back to mythical family values and stability while voicing one-dimensional perils. Moviemakers spiked their family-oriented soap operas with lewd frolics and/or fatal diseases. In Terms ofEndearment, Shirley MacLaine turned into a merry widow cavorting with ex-astronaut Jack Nicholson until. Debra Winger started to waste away from cancer and Mother MacLaine returned to her side in time to bond. That ultimate defense of family fidelity, the glossed-up slasher-thriller Fatal Attraction, starred Glenn Close as the single career woman from Hell, threatening the very core of good wife Anne Archerls existence by sticking a bunny in her stewpot. Action movies were leavened with brutality and paranoia. Vigilante justice became the norm, on an international scale. Sylvester Stallone turned Rambo into a jack-in-the-box Christ: nearly defeated by American quislings and Communists at every turn, he keeps rising again. With the notable exception of De Palmas Casualties ofWar, the emphasis of such eighties Vietnam hlms as Platoon and Hamburger Hill was on memori-

alizing the grunt. The Vietnamese figured as victims or enemies, never as characters. Few of the wars political issues were brought up, much less challenged.

Reporters were seen as the enemy-not just in Vietnam movies, but in Ihexposesl, like Absence of Malice, which had the audience cheering when the heroic liquor wholesaler played by Paul Newman tossed the stupid investigative reporter played by Sally Field to the ground. Under the Reagan-Bush, God-Mom-and-unborn-children influence, emotional complexities were touched on and then ignored in favor of Ilinspirationalk denouements-like the end of Dead Poets Society, in which a bunch of prep-school kids atone for betraying their free-spirited teacher by standing on their desks and calling him Captain (after WhitmanIs Lincoln, not Captain Kangaroo). Topical movies about education, such as Stand and Deliver, in which Jaime Escalante taught his East LA. kids advanced calculus somewhere offscreen, and Lean on Me, the Rochy-style deification 0f Reaganis favorite educator, Joe Clark, turned out to be as probing as pep rallies.

In any but the most jejune constructs, sex became verboten. In his directorial debut, master screenwriter Robert Towne was branded a voyeur for celebrating the female body in Personal Best (1982). Puritans of the Left and Right combined to attack his loving, unself-conscious lyricism toward torsos and crotches undulating over high bars; gay liberationists questioned his depiction of a same-sex love affair as a phase for his young heroine, rather than a life choice. Some even criticized Bull Durham for the knockabout sexuality with which Kevin Costner and Susan Sarandon made love in every room of her baseball shrine of an apartment, to the tune of IISixty Minute Man?

50 many public figures and entertainers proselytized for the sanctified sexuality of marriage and the all-importance of the family that there was no room for honest domestic drama. In 1982, the blistering Shoot the Moon, in which screenwriter Bo Goldman depicted the agony of a man (Albert Finney) Fighting for air in a family that,s closed in on him, emotionally bruising his wife (Diane Keaton) and then wanting her back again, divided critics and bombed at the box office. But in the next few years, the tragic faces of Finney and Keaton, locked in a deepening sorrow even when they reach out to each other after a slam-bang brouhaha 0n the family tennis court, gave way to the corny faces of Hannah and Her Sisters; in the cozy and bright climactic party scene, Michael Cainels adultery with Barbara Hershey is forgotten in his renewed love for Hannah (Mia F arrow), while Dianne Wiest discovers that her true love, Woody Allen, is no longer sterile. Reconciliation and Ilclosuref, no matter how superficial or bogus, became mandatory. This trend culminated in the four-generation baby parade that concludes 198913 Parenthood.

Iconoclasm and a robust emotionality in the eighties were

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Alames Tohack (T/Je Pickup Artist, 7710 Big Bang)
BREAKTHROUGHS:
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Tim Burton (Pec-wee’s Big Adventure, Beet/e/uicc,
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political sniping-its the way their movies reflect a full experi-
ence of life.
Gifted young British filmmakers have been nurtured by
British television: Most cut their teeth in the publicly funded
BBC. Some of their fearlessness must derive from the open-
ness and flexibility of British TV, even in the constraints of the
Thatcher years. Writers like Dennis Potter (The Singing De-
tective, Pennies from Heaven) and Alan Bennett (An English-

man Abroad) have done their best, most unconventional work for British television. Cults have grown up in cities like San Francisco and Boston around The Singing Detective, in which a pulp detective writer goes on a journey to self-knowledge thatls as detailed and circular as Remembrance ofThings Past. The sardonic social comedy of An Englishman Abroad ethe true story of actress Coral Brownes encounter in Moscow with notorious British defector Guy Burgess-has to be considered the most vivid, daring recent work not just of Bennett and Browne, but also of Alan Bates and director john Schlesinger (who made Midnight Cowboy twenty years ago).

British TV boasts a tradition of drawing on Londonls top theatrical, movie, and literary talents. And its programming has been filled with social criticism. Maybe what the example of Great Britain shows is that if you want to save American movies, you must first save American television.

THE RELENTLESS COMMERCIALISM OF AMERICAN TV HAS left American audiences a legacy of kitsch and flash. And the consumerist bent of the llyummiesll (young urban moviegoers) fits in with everyday TV's advertising-influenced superficiality. This media-rummed generation supports moviemaking that can be codified and quantified-and sold to the same sort of people who buy paintings to match a color scheme. The decades biggest Oscar winner, The Last Emperor, is the film equivalent of a collectible: a coffee-table movie for the decal generation. It candy-coats Maoismt making revolutionary thought easy to take. But at least Bertolucci works on a scale, and with a visual finesse, that TV sets canlt contain.

Whats frustrating about the bulk of todays movies is that even though big-screen heroes from Indiana Jones to the Ghostbusters continue to dominate pop culture, most filmmakers take their cues from TV's aesthetic shortcuts. The industry considers films like Risky Business and The Big Chill llpeoplel, movies, but theylre really just llsituationT movies-big-screen versions of middle-level TV situation comedies and dramas. These movies suffer from something even more damaging than audiovisual shorthand. They rely on a dramatic shorthand that forgoes developing feelings and Ideas in favor of syncopating social rituals. So, in Risky Bust?

ness, the action peaks when a bunch of upper-middle-class teens party with the parents gone, and, in The Big Chill, formerly countercultural friends display their current state of consciousness as they share kitchen chores-men and women alike!_and mellow out to tunes from Motown. A convincing surface reality and a rock- and- roll sound track conceal a lack of emotional depth or analysis. These movies are stuffed with histrionic effects, but in the end theyire red-hot vacuums; their one superficially ameliorative effect is to make messy emotions seem manageable.

In these high-concept soap operas, any controversial issue the moviemakers might raise, any authentic emotional torment they might touch on, is sacrificed for a cute cut or a wisecrack, or a crowd- -pleasing flourish of sentiment. They mix the prestige of Kramer us Kramer and Ordinarv Peonle. movies that 1 ml" MPH 11f? politics even more directly in his 1988 HBO series, Tanner.) American moviemakers are issuing, en masse, a visual SOS: TV is turning us into hollow men and women.

There are plenty of business reasons why filmmakers would want to get in their licks at TV in particular and at media slickness in general. More than ever, sales to network TV, cable, and Videocassettes have lubricated the major studiosl cash flow. Increasingly, big-star movies like the Lethal Weapon flicks (starring Mel Gibson and Danny Glover as LAPD detectives) are tailored to TV-audience reflexes. And once films actually get produced and distributed, their success is often dependent on the infiltration of clips and sound bites in i commercials and spot appearances ")1 on the morning and late-night 1W talk shows, or entire hours devoted to them by Oprah and Donahue. These days, not only are films advertised EA9RS-8 on TV, TV shows are advertised in movie theaters. You __ have to wonder whether 7 u E the audience that comes ; E 3.1K to see When Harry Met : g :n 1:: Sally . . . in the movie house _.: :3: am can tell it apart from the E g :3: 1, trailer for the Richard Lewis/ ff; 8 Jamie Lee Curtis TV series, ’3 5: g E Anything but Love 53?: 8 Even art- house dis-
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% g a pilot Fatal Attraction, directed 91/2 Weeks_the Tiger Beat version
Cb lead of of Last Tango in Paris, in which Mickey Rourke spoons
J-game foodstuffs down Kim Basingerls throat as the Newbeats sing
, -s a fair IIBread and Butteril). They package energy in TV-commercial
/ fashion, capturing an audience with the equivalent of low-
ieleav- level hypnosis: repetitious, heavy-handed imagery and a
hy and sound track that hammers viewers into submission.
)stalgia Whatis needed isnlt only politically aggressive moviemak-
blitz that could be called IIOn Golden Cornli) are acclaimed as
part of Hollywoodls foray into adulthood.

Even those moviemakers whoive worked in TV tend to view television as both a hype engine and an all-purpose addictive drug. In their movies, many of them have felt compelled to impose their gripes against the boob tube on seemingly unrelated plots, as Robert Altman did in his brilliant Nixon lampoon, Secret Honor. In this RMN sleazorama, N ixon pleads his guilt and higher innocence in front of a bank of video cameras-the source, one is led to presume, of his downfall and now his expiation. (Altman attacked media ing, but movies that confront the real adult world in which politics is one important component, along with sexual and psychological turmoil and euphoria, fellow feeling and alienation, and culture as its experienced in the streets and on the avenues. In this context, even an unassuming satire like Mazurskyis Down and Out in Beverly Hills_the movie that revived the talents of Bette Midler, Nick Nolte, and Richard Dreyfuss-is refreshing, even tonic. It captures both the coded nature of an upper-Class oasis like Beverly Hills, circa 1986, and the way its mansion-loving men and women yearn for direct experience. (Continued on page 54)

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FIFSI Class

an audiovisual shorthand. They rely
d that forgoes developing feelings and
paring social rituals. So, in Risky Busi-

ness, the action peaks when a bunch of upper-middle-class teens party with the parents gone, and, in The Big Chill, formerly countercultural friends display their current state of consciousness as they share kitchen chores-men and women alike!-and mellow out to tunes from Motown. A convincing surface reality and a rock-and-roll sound track conceal a lack of emotional depth or analysis. These movies are stuffed with histtionic effects, but in the end theylre red-hot vacuums; their one superficially ameliorative effect is to make messy emotions seem manageable.

In these high-concept soap operas, any controversial issue the moviemakers might raise, any authentic emotional torment they might touch on, is sacrinced for a cute cut or a wisecrack, or a crowd-pleasing flourish of sentiment. They mix the prestige of Kramer us. Kramer and Ordinary People, movies that ,. I established a mood of upper-middle-class angst and proceeded to tidy it all away, with the box-office appeal of Flasbdance, the movie where hyperactive editing combined with a girl-against-the-world story to bring American Elm into the age (and domination) of MTV. The results are relationship movies-with a beat.

The major recipe for blockbuster success in the Hollywood 0f the eighties was simple: rock Videos and Reaganism. From videos we get the camera and editing tricks, the relentless sound tracks, and the general predominance of sensations over storytelling. From Reaganism we get the yearning for old politics even more directly in his 1988 HBO series, Tanner.) American moviemakers are issuing, en masse, a visual SOS: TV is turning us into hollow men and women.

There are plenty of business reasons why filmmakers would want to get in their licks at TV in particular and at media slickness in general. More than ever, sales to network TV, cable, and Videocassettes have lubricated the major studiosl cash flow. Increasingly, bigestar movies like the Lethal Weapon flicks (starring Mel Gibson and Danny Glover as Q1 LAPD detectives) are tailored to TV-audience reflexes. And once films actually get produced and distributed, their success is often dependent on _ a the infiltration of clips and sound bites in i commercials and spot appearances ’1)x on the morning and late-night W talk shows, or entire hours devoted to them by Oprah and Donahue. These days, not only are films advertised on TV, TV shows are advertised in movie theaters. You have to wonder whether the audience that comes to see When Harry Met Sally . . . in the movie house can tell it apart from the trailer for the Richard Lewis/ Jamie Lee Curtis TV series, Anything but Love.

t Even art-house distributors rely on plugs from the ongoing real-life Paul Mazursky satire, Rex 8C Dixie 81: Jeffrey 8(Michael & Se?eiiciiiligi $3133; 33%: he major reCiPe for a $0355 ffii: lEEZZdytgubiiiilShS: for sentimentality and happy end- bl 0 Ckbu S te r was rock able to put it over in a sentence; now, ings. Where Reaganism and rock videos intersect is in their empha-

sis on attitude and image over thought and substance. One of the quintessential eighties movies was Top Gun (1986): basically, its an air show with all the air squeezed out of it, a story of a pilot named Maverick (Tom Cruise) who tries to go to the head of his flight class in scenes that reduce piloting to a video-game level, while the rock tracks give even the ground scenes a fair share of whooshes and crackles.

The MTV beat has grown so insistent that any movie leaving it behind is immediately taken to be praiseworthy and adult. So mushballs like Field ofDreams (a baseball nostalgia blitz that could be called IIOn Golden Cornll) are acclaimed as part of Hollywoodls foray into adulthood.

Even those moviemakers wholve worked in TV tend to view television as both a hype engine and an all-purpose addictive drug. In their movies, many of them have felt compelled to impose their gripes against the boob tube on seemingly unrelated plots, as Robert Altman did in his brilliant Nixon lampoon, Secret Honor. In this RMN sleazorama, Nixon pleads his guilt and higher innocence in front of a bank of video cameras_the source, one is led to presume, of his downfall and now his expiation. (Altman attacked media Videos and Reaganism.

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thats not only how a film gets made, but also how it gets favorably distributed, advertised, and reviewed.

Some directors just buy into TVls demands, like Stallone 0r Adrian Lyne (who, in addition to Flasbdance and Fatal Attraction, directed 9V2 Weeks-the Tiger Beat version of Last Tango in Paris, in which Mickey Rourke spoons foodstuffs down Kim Basingerls throat as the Newbeats sing IlBread and Butterh). They package energy in TV-commercial fashion, capturing an audience with the equivalent of low-level hypnosis: repetitious, heavy-handed imagery and a sound track that hammers Viewers into submission.

Whats needed isnlt only politically aggressive moviemaking, but movies that confront the real adult world in which politics is one important component, along with sexual and psychological turmoil and euphoria, fellow feeling and alienation, and culture as its experienced in the streets and on the avenues. In this context, even an unassuming satire like Mazurskyls Down and Out in Beverly Hills-the movie that revived the talents of Bette Midler, Nick Nolte, and Richard Dreyfuss-is refreshing, even tonic. It captures both the coddled nature of an upper-Class oasis like Beverly Hills, Circa 1986, and the way its mansion-loving men and women yearn for direct experience. (Continued on page 54)

Mot/aer Jone/
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Izonor roll: a
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LA. ’5 street-
corner man
Eduardo Gonzalez can nev-
cr finish a story anymorc. For
instance, sitting 0n the grass in
the sunshine at Los Angclcsk
Harhor Regional Park he is
describing his two-hour
Russian roulette torture by
Salvadoran death squadx
h(llickf he says, putting, his
finger to his hc;1d,;1cti11g()ut
the first of five pulls 0f the
trigger.
"I had an image of myself
dead." he says.
h(ilick," he says again, re-
membering the second empty
chamber.
But when a Guatemalan
quietly squats down next to
him, needing a form ex-
plained, and a Mexican lines
up to ask a question, Gonzalez
stops his story. hThese cannot
wait? he says definitively, geth

ting up from the grass.
The men who interrupt
Gonzalezls stories are Los An-
geles,s beleaguered day
laborers. Six mornings a week,
despite angry community
complaints, desperately bad
working conditions, and an
immigration law that bars
them from regular jobs, thou-
sands of largely undocu-
mented men crouch in wait for
drive-by hire on dozens of
street corners. On a typical
corner, maybe twenty out of
one hundred men will get
work digging ditches or haul-
ing trash.
Six mornings a week
Gonzalez is there, working
with the Central American
Refugee Center and Los An-
gelesls impressive coalition of
rights groups. He approaches
the men on the corners, passes
out comic book novelas out-
lining their rights, records
incidents of INS sweeps and of
men not being paid, and talks
up the power of group de-
fense. Since fleeing El Salvador
in 1984, Gonzalez, thirty-f’ive,
has devoted his life to these
men-many of them coun-
trymen. Displaced, he finds
consolation in organizing the
displaced.
Stunning victories have re-
sulted. When the city of
Glendale sought to ban the
soliciting of work from a side-
walk, the day laborers elected
representatives and joined a
drive to defeat the measure.
Later, Gonzalez helped con-
vince Los Angeles officials to
create day labor 1lhiring hallsl,
with work coordinators,
bathrooms, English Classes,
phones, and fair systems for
allocating jobs. The city hired
Gonzalez as liaison between
the men and the experiment.
Gonzalez concedes the in-
herent difficulty of convincing
hungry, transient, often trau-
matized workers from dif-
ferent nations and regions to
organize themselves. llThe
men are fearful and uncom-
fortable? he says. uThey feel
the hostility of the neighbor-
hood. Yet they have their
family waiting and donlt want
At the Center for Constitutional Rights Voting Rights Project in
Mississippi, Margaret Carey has yet to lose a case.
to go home without money to
their childls question, Where
have you worked? 50 they
must come to the corners?
To win their trust, so does

he, leaning close to the men to talk with them. llThatls the key. Each day, each day, each day. Eventually they come to know my intentions?

And his commitment. In 1978, as a young government worker in El Salvador, Gonzalez began organizing a public employees union; despite threats, he never stopped. Eventually his brother was killed, his two closest COworkers lldisappearedjl and Gonzalez was forced into a van, blindfolded. One bullet. Six chambers. Five pulls of the trigger. Each one, the story concludes, a 11Click?

s1Either they lied about the bullet in the gun or I got luckyf says Gonzalez, dark humor in his eyes. The incident led to his bitter decision to flee. Alone in the United States (his family has since joined him), he had one overriding thought: uNo matter where I am in the world, I will work with my people?

- Bruce Kelley

Challenging the Delta blues

As most lawyers will tell you, the keys to successful practice in the 19805 are the right connections, upscale offices, and large banks of computers. Few lawyers, however, are as successful as voting rights advocate Margaret Carey. Since setting up shop in 1983 in Greensville, Mississippi, to spearhead the Center for Constitutional Rights Voting Rights Project, Carey has yet to lose a case. And she wins without any of the customary trappings of U.S. law-access to power and money. Instead, Carey involves whole communities in the legal process, turning the traditional lawyer-client relationship upside down.

llFirst, you have to believe that they have the right to be involved, and second, that they are capable of doing itfl she says of the poverty-stricken black communities she represents. 91f you believe this, you respect them . . . you understand that you are working in their behalf. We empower the community to make its

j :le HJWH; tft. X!!!

own decisions, because they are the ones who have to live with the results."
Take her case in the town of Belzoni in the Mississippi Del-ta. 0n the advice of the South Delta Planning Authority (which has set up similar seams around the regionh lo-cal white authnrities made sure that any lmveineome housing was built just outside the town line. Soon the major-ity of Belzonians were tech-nically living outside of town and thus unable to vote in mu-nicipal elections. And 98.9 percent of them were black. As Carey puts it, 9They were given a choice between decent housing and citizenship."
Appeals about the situation had been made for twenty years, to no avail. But with the community involved, things began to change. When the town refused to carry out a new census, Carey organized the disenfranchised to carry out their own until the town gave in. ltAnd if someone wasnlt home because he was working at the catfish plantf she says, llthey knew when to come back.v
Last spring, as a result of Careyls successful challenge to elections within town, blacks won three of five seats on the town board, becoming the first black elected officials in Belzoni since Reconstruction. And the new leadership is moving to annex the llout-side" areas back into town.
Carey, thirty-five, says the civil rights lawyers of the 19505 and 3603 inspired her choice of profession, uhutl never thought I'd still have to be fighting the same cases they wereW ()ne of six children in a poor Key West family, Carey went through law school on scholarship at Georgetown University. She was soon picked up by the US. Com-mission on Civil Rights, but finding it gutted by the Reagan administration, headed for the South and the grass roots.
Though she moved to a slow-paeed rural area, Carey continues to work nonstop.
3o MOTIllak j()NI-.S/JAN. 1990
Margaret Carey's clients in Belzoni, Mississippi: Their house is owned by State Representative David Holbrook.
Her cases usually begin with community meetings, and she always stays lluntil all the questions have been an-

swered? Her organizing has spread to several states, and her car is a familiar sight on county roads as she drives, late at night, to another battle. uElections are not everything,n she admits. iiWC all know the role economics can pl;in Still, says Carey, voting rights matter in the communities she represents: ulf health centers mean people are going to be around longer, or a sheriff’s elected who wonlt shoot black youth so there will be more of them around, that opens up room for people to take the next step?
-Bob Oatertag

Nora Bredes

Shutting down Shoreham ’s nuke

Love and arrogance kept Nora Bredes on a ten-year quest to stop the Shoreham nuclear power plant from ever generating electricity on Long Island New York. Her intense love for tlThe Island? a place evoking childhood memories of days at the beach, made the Long Island Lighting Company’s attitude seem even more infuriating. llLILCO had this really condescending, arrogant attitude toward people? she says. "The utility thought that it could run roughshod over the community. The injustice of it all carried me on."

It was no small feat to stick with a battle that Bredes, back in 1979, thought was just a summertime commitment. She helped form the Shoreham Opponents Coalition to intervene formally in the Nuclear Regulatory Commissionls licensing proceedings for the

plant, serving as the groups paid organizer at the princely wage of five dollars an hour. For ten years, Bredes, now thirty-nine, clashed with the well-financed and powerful utility. In June 1989, Shore-hamIs shareholders approved a settlement that will keep the plant closed.

The victory at Shoreham was significant for other bat-tles in which local residents, inflamed by the nuclear indus-tryls financial boondoggles and afraid of environmental catastrophe, have organized to stop power plants. From Shoreham to Rancho Seco in California, success in shutting down plants has encouraged opponents of nuclear power.

The defeat of LILCO has made Bredes a recognized po-litical figure on Long Island-she now serves on the Long Island Power Authority-but her achievements diant come naturally. Bredes had to over-come personal doubts as well as LILCO,s lawyers and cor-porate executives. III was not a person who found it easy to speak in public. I enjoyed sit-ting quietly reading or writ-ingf she says. II had never known how to form people into a campaign? She had to learn how to write a press release and how to lobby. Doggedly, she drew legislators into the hght; by 1989, Bredes estimates, the county had spent $15 to 20 million trying to close Shoreham.

Bredes says LILCO was almost an ally, repeatedly shooting itself in the foot. 9Every year, they filed for rate increases to cover the costs, and they couldrft keep IShorehamJ on schedulef she says. When the coalition helped spearhead a ratepayers rights campaign, the office often logged a hundred calls a day protesting the increases. In 1970, Shorehamls cost was put at $271 million. In 1989, the shuttered plantIs price tag was about $5 .5 billion, more than twenty times its original estimate.

At times, Bredes wanted to quit-particularly as the movement grew and egos clashed. ’II was tired of the internal politicsf she says. 9W6 had all kinds of people and we didnlt always agree? As the media coverage in-

creased, people fought over the spotlight. 11Because of the way we treat people on television, (television isl supposed to have some special aura. But it can create tensionf, she says, sighing.
Still, as others drifted in and out of the movement, Bredes stuck with the fight. 11There was the personal romance and the exhilaration of participating in something you knew was changing peoples lives? she says. She vows to 9keep at it until the plant is decommissioned? Then, says Nora Bredes, she wants to do something else: create a political action committee to fight other environmental battles on her beloved island.
- Jonathan Tadim'

Bridget Milligan
A firebrand lights into Exxonb spill

Bridget Milligan insists that she is not an organizer. Wm just a one-person personj, she says, Ilwith my shop and my fishing license? But every other word out of her mouth since ExxonIs oil spill rocked her fishing town of Kodiak, Alaska, is Ilwef
IIWe took it personal? she says of the oil spill, and of Exxonk withdrawal of support for the towns innovative cleanup project. Milligan,
ALEDA YOURDAN
forty-four, saw that lit was ridiculous what Exxon was giving outn to clean up the oil: Ilhve-gallon buckets with holes in them." She and several neighbors developed the idea of using nets and booms made of geotextile, a fabric that absorbs twenty times its weight in oil while allowing water to pass through. Usmg an abandoned aircraft hangar, with support from the Kodiak Island Borough, a group of volunteers started sewing. Soon they were putting out 1,500 feet of boom a day, sending nets to other hard-hit areas, and developing a statewide network of people involved in seat-of-the-pants Oil rescue technology.
On june 9, says Milligan, IIwe were informed by Exxon that our services were no longer needed? and that Exxon would not support any cleanup effort that used geotextile. As the water temperature rose,

residents could see a sheen of oil and the edge of the spill coming closer. IIWe wanted to go out and get the oil out of the water, right?9 says Milli-gan. IIWeke fishermen; thatIs what we know how to do, get stuff out of the water. Exxon did everything they could to not let us get oil out. They,ll never use anything else but their own product?

Milligan kept working, bat-tling federal officials and oil company representatives, sew-ing around the clock, and organizing the community to keep fighting the spill. IIWhen I say we? she explains, 91 mean the whole town of Kodiak. We had to do some-thing about the oil spill. People were saying, IGod, whats wrong with me; they felt guilty for not stopping the oil. Its like a child who gets raped, the guilt is put on them? And Milligan knew it was useless to rely on Exxon. IIWhen someone asked why they weren,t doing anything, IId say, II-Ioney, they is youf I Now Kodiak volunteers have taken over beach cleanup, freeing money to implement their own pioneer oil bounty program.

An Alaskan for the last sev-enteen years, Milligan says she originally settled in Kodiak IIbecause I really loved the land and wanted to leave the world behind. And now its like the world came back around and said you can,t es-cape, you have to do your part? Today, says Milligan, 91 eat, sleep, drink, and breathe recovering oil?

The woman who has be-come one of the driving forces behind KodiakIs townwide campaign is still surprised at herself. 91 used to hear that the nineties were going to be the decade of ecology, and all kinds of people were going to get involved;, she says. III just didnlt think I was going to be one of them?

But the oil crisis has left Milligan with little patience for traditional environmen-talism. III feel were got to stop being peaceful, sweet lit-tle people saying isn,t nature beautiful; were got to wake up and take these guys at Exxon up by their shirt collars and say, IYoujve got to stop fucking people over, Icause

were not going to let you do it anymore? 9 - Sara Milea

Milk and power struggles down on the farm

In the winter of 1985, the odds against stopping genetic engineering research at the University of Wisconsin seemed overwhelming. The powerful chemical industry

and university officials were pushing experiments with bovine growth hormone (B(iH), a newly created substance intended to inerease milk produetion. Pieketing in front of the campus was a lone dairy farmer with a home-made sign and some crude leaflets. But by 1989 the chemical lobby had met its match: the lone picketer had grown into the statewide Coalition for Responsible Technology, and the university was unable to find any buyers or proees sors for milk from experimental herds treated with B(iH.

The pieketer, sixty-three-year-oldjohn Kinsman from a family dairy near Lime Ridge, Wisconsin, has become an internationally known rabble-rouser and BGH expert. Kinsmant traveling in 1987 to address the European Parliament, met European farmers who told him they had heard farmers in Wisconsin were marching on the university. lll said, lWell, youlre looking at himf 3, he recalls.

The U.S. chemical cartel (American Cyanamid, Monsanto, Lilly, and Upjohn) has a lot at stake in BGH, the first genetically engineered product to enter the food chain, although the use of the hormone in cattle of breeding age appears to cause birth defects in calves. In spite of initial tests suggesting it is also harmful to the human immune system and that these effects can be passed to future generations, the companies are attempting to rush it into use.

Kinsman says that widespread use of B(JH would not only endanger consumers but end family dairy farming in the United States. Only the largest agribusinesses could obtain the computer technology needed to administer B(iH, he claims, and vast amounts of cheap milk produced with the aid of the artificial hormone could flood the market, wiping out smaller farmers and eo-ops. Kinstnan describes the BGH controversy as lla power struggle for

multinationals to gain control of the dairy industryfl

Like many of his neighbors, Kinsman began his political life llinvolved in Republican issues." He is also a devoted

family man who listens closely
to his ten children. In the early
1960s his oldest son went to
Mississippi as a civil rights
volunteer; the following year,
when his son went back, he
was accompanied by his fa-
ther. HWe really had to rethink
our lives? says Kinsman of
the experience. Soon he was at
the center of a blaek-white
farmer exchange program be-
tween the Deep South and
Wisconsin. llNowf he says,
uwhen people from here go on
a vacation, they invariably go
through Mississippi so they
can see their friends?
It is the skills and commit-
ment acquired in the Civil
rights movement that have
made the anti-BGH organiz-
ing so successful. After failing
to win in the legislative arena,
where the money spread
around by the chemical lobby
was an insurmountable obsta-
cle, KinsmanTs movement won
at the grass-roots level by ap-
pealing directly to consumers.
Several consumer food giants
-Dannon, Yoplait, Safeway,
and Kraft-have announced
their refusal to purchase BGH
milk, and the University of
Wisconsin remains unable to
find any milk processor.
And if B(EH milk is sold,
warns Kinsman, utheylll have
to make it into cheese and
store it until people forget
about it. And people are not
going to forget."
-Bo/I Oatertag
Fred W’illiams
F rom gang-
banging to
common ground
The pavement of the jordan
Downs Housing Project in
Watts is strewn with refuse,
fastefood containers, eon-
doms, papers, rotting fruit.
But that doesnt hinder the
"IWister Fred" (left) and "blister Jim" with their kids.
"We’re there for them, and we don’t take no crap."
pace of Fred Williams as he
hurries to meet a kid named
Quincy. llWhy you not in
school?" Williams asks the
seventh grader after giving
him a big hug. Quineyls moth-
er comes out of her apartment
with an explanation: llHe
didnt have no clean clothes to
wear.n Fred Williams and his
partners slim (ioins, tell the
mother and son that the boy
will have to be in school to-
morrow. And that theylll be
back to cheek on him. Then

they move on to the next proj-
eet apartment. And the next.
And the next.
The pair are the sole staff
members of Common
(iround, a unique drop-out
prevention program in the Los
Angeles Unified School Dis-
trict, where well over a third
of the students drop out. They
combine old-style truant of-
ficer foot patrols, social work,
and a deep personal involve-
tnent with the kids in the
Watts neighborhood who are
besieged by poverty, drugs,
and violence. Williams and
Goins hold baby showers for
new teenage parents, provide
used clothing for families who
cant afford a school ward-
robe, and give free haircuts to
the boys who line up for them
in the projects. The haircutting
sessions are the pairs trade-
mark; they know how bad
kids can feel about their ap-
pearance. And they see a lot of
similar reasons students might

not come to school-teasons
bureaucrats donat know
about.
Thirty-year-old Fred
Williams is an ex-gang mem-
ber with a boxerls build and
an intense, nonstop way of
speaking about the kids, the
neighborhood, and its prob-
lems. Ten years ago, as the
hard-core leader of a notori-
ous set in south central Los
Angeles, Williams discovered
that his influence could be
used for Change in the commu-
nity. llSomething hit me thatls
still burning in me today? he
says. lll wanted people to rec-
ognize me as someone posi-
tive.n He founded the Youth
Outreach Organization, lla
very grass-roots, raw media-
tion programll between rival
gangs. llDuring my new birth
of social consciousness I took
a look at some of the little
fellows and said no, not
them?
Williams has a mission:
finding llbasic and creative al-
ternativesll for kids who
otherwise might end up selling
drugs and gangbanging. His
zeal for getting kids to stay in
school is shared by partner
jim Coins, twenty-six, who
grew up on the opposite side
of the tracks in suburban
Riverside. The two immedi-
ately hit it off when they met
as campus aides more than
four years ago at 102nd Street
Elementary School in Watts.
Today, everybody calls the
now-familiar pair HlWlStCl’
Fred and Mister Jim."
Over the past three years,
Williams and Coins have
brought 350 students back
into Watts area schools. Their
success comes from hitting the
streets every morning, from
the rapport they have estab-
lished with parents and
neighbors, and from their
practice of llphysical out-
reach’l_often literally hauling
dropouts onto campus.
llWelre like Mission Impossi-
ble? Goins says. llWe blend
into the community. We are
covert? Adds Williams,
llMost people who do these
wonderful studies lot drop-
outsj read a lot of books. They
never hit the streets or talk to
the parents of the children. But
weire there for them. And me
and jim dont take no crap.
. . . We been out here too
long? - SudanAnJeman

BJ Isaacson-Jones
The woman
behind W/ebater
just won,t quit
St. Louis, Missouri, nestles
alongside the Mississippi
River at the edge of the Bible
Belt. It is home to Reproduc-
tive Health Services (RHS), a
clinic providing abortion ser-
vices to women who come
from a ten-state area, and
who know it is one of the few
places that will treat all wom-
en regardless of ability to pay.
Four years ago thirty-eight-
year-old BJ lsaacson-jones,
the executive director of RHS,
helped launch a fight against
state antiabortion legislation,
which led to the Supreme
Court case Webster U. Re-
productive Health Services.
llAlthough we knew at the
time it would have no direct
impact on our agency,n she ex-
plains, llwe felt it had to be
Challenged? In an era of sharp
attack on the pro-choice
movement, rather than retreat
to the comfortable role of
service providers, lsaacson-
Jones and her staff took the
offensive as political activists.
january 1989 found the
abortion rights movement un-
sure of what the coming hear-
ing of Webster would mean,
and stymied by its bleak pros-
pects. lll-low can I sit here,"
lsaacson-jones remembers
thinking, bland wait for the na-
tional leaders to tell us what to
do around our case? I thoughtt
I need to get involved with my
family, with RHS. And Ilm
going to ask them if they will
support me if they will trust
jAN. 1990/ MOTHER ,IONYS 33

nu; 1nd it we um light :1 tin:
.uul start gcncmting activity
mm the bottom up."
She got .1 response. "N0 (mc
quit. Hwy .IH pitchvd in. Hwy
hclpcd nmkc telephone calls.
Thcy look out petitions And
dld vwrylhing Ihdt Ihcy could.
WC got m’u’r cight hundrcd
inquiries from enthusiastic
former patients who wanted
(0 gm involvcd." I)cspitc;1
tircbomb attack on :1 branch
facility, Isaacson-jmms do
clarcs nobody backed down.
 thn wc’rc powerful, the
stuff and I, then wc have the
ability, the skills, the resources
Charon Ascloyer-Rockboy a1 a Child’s grave 0n the Yankton Sioux Re
to allow our clicnts t0 Ix-
puwcrful as wcll.n
lsaacson-joncsK ()pcn Lct-
tcr to 21 Million Women,"
published in papers across the
country, raised over $150,000
for connnunity cducation and
helped loancomc womcn
travel to Washington, l).(L.,
Sen’ation, where
for the April 1989 March for
Womcnk lives. In February,
on ("W of the coldest days of
thc ycur, the clinic and its local
coalition also put more than
six hundred marchers (m the
streets of St. I.()L1is,atumout
anrcccdcntcd in that city.
Donations to thc clinids Iow-
infant mortality is 28.8%. At right, in a tribal council meeting.

income abortion fund poured in from every state and several foreign countries.
It hasnIt been easy, acknowledges Isaacson-jones. ItTaking different routes home each night on the advice of the bomb and arson people has grown just a little too comfortable. Death threats are very painful and scary. And when I have these experiences, in the middle of the night my sleep is fretful. And I find that in the shower the following morning, I wonder-could they possibly be right? But I always come back more Strongly committed to my position?
The Supreme Court ruling on Webster opened the door to state-by-state legislative assaults on abortion rights. Undaunted, RI-IS has now taken to doing firsthand education of Missouri legislators by providing them with clinic tours and the chance to observe counseling sessions with willing Clients. Through this, Isaacson-Jones explains, III think they understand how very complicated the choice issue is for women. Even if these people are antichoice, they come away with something they didnit have before. They will never look at abortion the same way again?
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Asetoyer-Rockboy
One life at a time, she saves a nation
iiNO other ethnic group has over 1 percent of its people infected? says Charon Asetoyer-Rockboy, a thirty-eight-year-old Comanche activist. IIWelre looking at whole nations that can be wiped out? Asetoyer-Rockboy, director of the Native American Womenls Health Education Resource Center on the Yankton Sioux Reservation in Lake Andes, South Dakota, is talking about AIDS. IIThe rate of AIDS in Native Americans doubled from 1987 to 1988;, she says, lland doubled again from 1988 to 89. In my community_there,s Eve thousand of us-how long could it take to get the majority of us in-

fected? Not very longll, Asetoyer-Rockboy has made it her business to talk about AIDS, despite the pronouncement a few years ago by the director of the national Indian Health Service that gay and bisexual Native Americans were nonexistent, and AIDS llnot a Native American problem? When an HIV-positive Client walked into her center, Asetoyer-Rockboy says she realized it was time to confront the homophobia and the silence around AIDS. uYou canlt just go along with blinders 0nd she says. llWell, you can-but you,ll wind up being pallbearers for your children, and your relatives.9

Her response was to produce homemade comic books and posters about AIDS and develop workshops where at hrst, she says, Ilonly six or seven people would show up? Undaunted, she taught reservation women safe-sex concepts, and got them to open the doors to their homes Ilso our youth can get confidential and factual information on a one-to-one basis?

Asetoyer-Rockboy is no stranger to controversy. In 1985, the Indian Health Setvice phased out its work on fetal alcohol syndrome and fetal alcohol effect-aftaid, charges Asetoyer-Rockboy, that the scope of the problem she and other community health workers were reporting was so vast that dealing with it would cost millions. Asetoyer-Rockboy knew that the diseases, which irreversibly damage children born to women who drink alcohol while pregnant, were Ildevastatinglnative Americans-and entirely preventable. So she started a one-person office in the basement of her home to deal with the frightening effects of fetal alcohol syndrome 0n the reservation.

I-Ier approach, in contrast to the punitive measures others have urged for alcohol-and drug-abusing mothers, was resolutely prowoman. IIFAS defined a lot of areas for us to work on? says Asetoyer-Rockboy_areas such as nutrition counseling, family planning, OB/GYN self-help, child-development programs, after-school and special education programs for PAS kids,

Alcoholics Anonymous groups, womenls support groups, adult education, domestic abuse work, and emergency safe housing. In 1987, with advice and donations from the National Black Womenls Health Project, the Latino Womenls Health Network, and the National Womens Health Network, Asetoyer-Rockboy bought a $6,000 brick house where it all could take place.

Today, the house is the nerve center of political activism on the reservation. Asetoyer-Rockboy is hoping to start support services and a hospice on the reservation for people with AIDS, since, she says, the Indian Health Service is once again not dealing with the problem. IIThey do blind testing," she says, lland won"t tell people if they have the virusfl Women are going to have to take the initiative, says Asetoyer-Rockboy. "The responsibility of protecting and providing for our nation falls right into our hands, as grandmothers, mothers, aunties, and sisters? -Sara Milm

SARA MILES

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Stopping cops and fighting racial Violence

In the first eight months of 1989, about one person a week died in police custody in New York City. Scores more-nearly all of them black, Latino, and Asian-have been the victims of police assaults. 9P0-lice brutality is the most infuriating kind of racist violence," says Mini Liu, explaining why the Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence (CAAAV) decided to seek justice in a case involving a police attack on a Chinatown family. IIThese are the people who are supposed to be there to protect you; it just brings out my ragefa Liuls rage-and her remarkable ability to organize-forced the city to settle in a case filed by the Woo and Wong family after police broke into their apartment and beat and arrested four family members. CAAAV helped the family find legal counsel, then mobilized the Chinatown community, collecting signatures on street corners in a petition drive, bringing people to the court-

room, and protesting on the
street until the district at-
torney agreed to meet with the
group. Charges against the
JAN. rggo/MOTHLR jONhS 35

victims were finally dropped, and the familyk eountersuit was settled out of court for $90,000-a significant outcome in New York, where cops are routinely exonerated and victims go to jail. "Many times immigrants want to believe that if you stay quiet. things will get better," says Liu. "This tells people its worth fighting, rather than taking the path of least resistance."

Liu, forty, has never taken that path. As a family doctor working in a community clinic on New Yorkls Lower East Side, Liu was inspired by hearing "the real stories the hardcore struggles of people's lives" from her patients, most of them Latinos, immigrants, and poor. She joined those struggles, organizing for community control of health services, against cutbacks in services, for tenants rights-always working to bring people together in coalition. ltAll together? she says, 1lwe are the majority. If we cant get together we wont see any real change.n

But its the issue of racial violence, believes Liu, that most sharply explodes the myth of Asian Americans as llmodel minoritiesll exempt from the problems faced by African Americans and Latinos in white America. llSuref she says, llpeople like to be told theylre smarter than anyone else, that we work harder, welre different from other people of color? She shakes her head: uThat myth is a lie. 1th like the Gold Mountain, a promise of something that eanlt be. That is not the experience of our people?

After the Howard Beach and Bensonhurst murders, Liu organized Asian Americans to come out in support of black protests. llMarching in Bensonhurst was scary. I just donlt understand where all the hate comes from. I mean, intellectually I understand it. But when I looked at those faces screaming at us, I wanted to say, lWait a minute, listen,

n
were all human beingsf

And yet, she says, there is positive movement, as (IAAAV brings together new immigrants from many coun-

tries and Asian Americans who llunderstand the system a little better," building a solid base for justice. llllve learned,n says Liu, uhow it makes sense to be working from your own base, be it your racial or ethnic community, or where you live and work. Thats what happened in New York around racial violence: each community developing its own organizing. And, fortunately, therels been networking and coalition building among all ()f us.H -Sara Miled

Edna Sauls
Proud to be a
daughter of
Mother Jones

Until April 1989, Edna Sauls never made waves. By her own description, she was a traditional housewife. Her days were spent doing laundry, cutting the grass, and fixing meals for her husband, Doug, a miner who works for the Pittston Coal Group, Inc. But on April 19, Saulsls life changed forever. At 9 A.M., she and thirty-eight other women walked quietly into Pittstonls local headquarters in Lebanon, Virginia, sat down in the lobby, and sang 11We Shall Not Be Movedfl They occupied the headquarters for more than thirty hours, in support of some 1,700 members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) who had struck Pittston after working without a contract for more than a year.

Since that day, the forty-one-year-old Sauls has emerged as a leader of the women involved in one of the most important and explosive strikes in current U.S. labor history. The women, who call themselves the Daughters of Mother jones, took the name as a way of resurrecting and finding inspiration in the fighting spirit of Mary Harris llMotherll Jones, a union organizer in the coalfields whom a prosecutor once called the most dangerous woman in America.

Sauls could hardly be described as dangerous or fiery. She is unassuming, modest, and quick to smile. But when it comes to describing the mine workers, fight for survival, she speaks in an even, forceful voice. llWelve got to be tough like Mother jones,n

says Sauls. llShe probably
didnt get a shower every day.
and she was tired, and we
keep reminding each other of
her. If weare picketing and it
starts raining, we say we have
to stay and be strong like
Mother jonesfl
Saulsls ability to articulate
the pain and suffering of
miners families has nudged
her into a leadership role. Al-
though her father was a
farmer, mining has played a
central role in her life. Six of
her brothers and two of her
sisters have picked at the fac-
ing of a coal mine deep inside
the earth. When she was eigh-
teen, Sauls married a miner.
The womenls takeover of
the companys headquarters
sparked a wave of militancy
among the striking miners.
Within weeks, thousands of
UMWA members, family
members. and supporters
would sit down in front of
coal trucks and coal mines.
Hundreds would be arrested.
But Sauls and her comrades
were not satisfied with the sit-
in. On April 25, she and more
than 450 other men and wom-
en sat down in front of one of
Pittstons preparation plants,
known as Moss 3, blocking
access to the facility. For Sauls
it was a family affair. uThree
of my brothers, my sister, my
husband; and my sister-in-law
were there,w she says proudly.
One by one, they were hauled
away by state troopers.
It was not an easy decision
to flaunt the law. Like most of
her peers, Sauls was raised in a
very religious family. Authori-
..
ty figures were to be respected.
lll never even had a parking
ticketf she says, laughing.
Sauls says she used to tell her
daughter llthat if anything
happened the policeman was
her friend. Now, I donlt trust
the state troopers."
Sauls admits to being net-
vous, but vows she will go to
jail again for as long as it takes
-until her husband and the
rest of the miners go back to
work. llUsually the ladies have
bake sales, but if we didn,t do
this, we wonlt have anything.
We felt that Pittston had al-
ready broken the law by
taking away our health bene-
fits. We wanted people to
know what was happening
down here? she says. 11My

husband is forty-two years old, hels worked in the mines for twenty-four years. Whols going to hire him for another job? If we donlt win, we might as well go to jail, because theylre taking everything we have?

She pauses for a moment and looks at her eleven-month-old grandson, Rusty. 11Welre doing it for him so hell have something when he gets older?

Saulsls actions are a powerful testament to the state of labor relations in America today. Pittston set out upon a determined course to break the union, eschewing the bargaining table for the strong-arm tactic of forcing the union out on strike. Vance International Asset Protection Team, a private security force, was hired to patrol the area; its ominous jeeps with polarized black windows cruise the tense roads.

Opposite this force the miners chose to sit in roads and practice nonviolent protest. But state and federal courts issued sweeping injunctions against the UMWA, prohibiting mass picketing or nonviolent civil disobedience and levying millions of dollars in fines. The state sent in about three hundred heavily armed troopers to keep the coal trucks rolling.

Edna Sauls (left) with her daughter and grandson, a ’lpicket-line baby" (above). Striking miners (left).

On September 17, ninety-eight miners, including Doug Sauls, stormed Moss 3 and 0c-cupied it for four days. Thou-sands of miners and their supporters blocked state troopers from breaking up the first takeover of a US. plant in over fifty years. With Rusty in her arms, Edna Sauls stood at the edge of the bridge leading to Moss 3, communicating with the occupiers by walkie-talkie. For hours, as the ten-sion ebbed and flowed, she remained steady, leading the crowd in chanting and sing-ing, ready to pay the price of incarceration.

Mary Harris Jones would have been proud of her.

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Japanese printmaker Masami Teraoka elevates AIDS
exhibit at Hawaii’s Contemporary Museum-and did double duty promoting condom use.
prevention 10 an art form. A poster featuring "Geisha in Bath" announced Teraoku’s recent

How the World Is Selling Safe Sex

0ND 0M
ONUNIRUM
By David Talbot

lfred Machela splits his life between the First and Third worlds. His lover is in Stockholm, his calling in Soweto, the sprawling, dusty South African township where he grew up. Machela,s cocoa cheeks are grooved with the ancient markings of his African tribe. The day he spoke at the Fifth International AIDS Conference, held earlier this year in Montreal, he was wearing stone-washed denim overalls, a T-shirt with dancing red hearts, and moon-walker athletic shoes.

During breaks in the conference, dozens of people from every continent hailed Machela by his first name as they passed him in the crowded hallways. Alfred Machela excites admiration and curiosity within the growing world federation of AIDS educators and activists because his task is so daunting. In a country that views black life as expendable, homosexuality as nonexistent, and sex education as an obscenity, Alfred Machela plays the role of safe-sex missionary to his African brethren.

IIIf you are black in South Africa, you are no more than a monkey? he says in a voice so soft and digniHed it makes his rage sound refined. IIIf you are gay, you are invisible-the entire African continent has done its best to deny the existence of its gay people. My job is to tell my brothers in Soweto that not only do they exist, they have a right to health, happiness, and life?

In the context of apartheid, this is a subversive measure. Machelals Township AIDS Project receives no funding from the Pretoria government. The Soweto safe-sex campaign has the quality of an underground operation, a guerrilla effort kept alive by a handful of dedicated souls like Machela, a thirty-one-year-old former medical technician.

Print courtesy ofMasami Teraoka and Iannetti-Lanzone Gallery, San Francisco.

On weekends, some Soweto residents stock up on bottles of liquor and home brew and turn their tin-roofed shacks into bars or sbebeens. Machela befriended one such shebeen Itqueenll and talked her into proclaiming every Sunday IIGay Day? thereby making her establishment the first homosexual bar in the black township. It became a safe place for men to dance and drink together. It is also a place for Machela and his colleagues to spread the word about AIDS and to hand out condoms. IIPeople are eager for information? he says.

On one occasion, a young colored intern (none of the white doctors who were approached were willing) slipped into Soweto without a pass to set up a makeshift AIDS testing center in the back of the shebeen. While the men in their dusty work boots and the drag queens in their dangling jewelry and radiant tribal robes danced to the music of Prince and Ladysmith Black Mambazo on the patio, the intern drew blood inside. Later he and his samples were smuggled safely out of the township. In black South Africa, the simplest AIDS education and prevention measures assume heroic proportions.

Promoting safe sex in South Africa is a particularly formidable undertaking. Here is a country, after all, where members of Parliament feel free to rise to their feet and salute this modern plague as the answer to the countryls social problems. But AIDS education all over the world gets enmeshed in political, cultural, and religious agendas that can greatly complicate efforts to stem the epidemic. No human malady is more vested with symbolic meaning than AIDS. To View AIDS posters, pamphlets, and commercials from around the world-the global art of public health-is to uncover countries deepest assumptions about sex, family, pleasure, and national duty.

Even the graphic images used to depict the AIDS Virus are often politicized; they can reveal our most haunting fears. In Israel, the virus is portrayed as a sinister-looking Palestinian commando in classroom literature. In a poster produced by the New York radical feminist group Gran Fury, the viral terror takes the explicit shape of a big, ballistic erection, accompanied by the caption: IISexism rears its unprotected
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To protect us from
disease we always
use a condom. And
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while indulging in
every sin, " declare
gay cartoon figuresY
while a poster
aimed at straight
Austrians urges
"Protection for
Love."
"BEWARE or AIDs/l Zambia

head. AIDS kills women? Men too, of course, but that half of the species is not Gran Furyls concern. In Poland, a country obsessed with economic erosion, unsafe sex has been depicted as a rust-corroded bolt penetrating a stainless steel nut: the socialist realism school of erotic art.

AIDS education is an ideological battlefield. Advocates of social tradition are trying to use the plague to enforce their moral convictions, while proponents of sexual modernism have seized the opportunity to expand the publicls parameters of tolerance.

In most parts of the world, AIDS propaganda is controlled by the state and the educational model is highly authoritarian. Official AIDS information campaigns tend to address the citizenry as misbehaving children and employ either fear or moral exhortation-what the British writer and gay activist Simon Watney refers to as the IIterroristw and IImissionaryIl strategies. Crosses and skulls are common images in these campaigns. A hair-raising series of TV commercials produced in 1986 by the Australian government, which showed the Grim Reaper mowing down rows of men and women like bowling pins in hell, is still the state-of-the-art AIDS terror campaign.

AIDS awareness material produced by gay groups and Scandinavian health ministries, on the other hand, tends to counter these morbid and moralistic communiques with messages that stress hope, eroticism, and humor. IISex is wonderfulf, rejoices a purple-tinted Danish safe-sex poster that depicts a naked young man and woman in a delirious embrace. We know nothing of the couples marital status; all we know is that latex sex has never seemed so appealing. In a Swedish TV commercial, a mischievous dark-haired beauty blows up a condom like a party balloon and informs the audience, IIIf he wont put it on, tell him its off?

NOWHERE DOES THE COMPETING IMAGERY or AIDS fight it out more feverishly than in the United States. Here we can see some of the worlds cockiest safe-sex propaganda, the unblushing homoerotica produced by groups like New YorkIs Gay Menis Health Crisis and the San Francisco AIDS Foundation. In these posters, naughty smooth-skinned youths tug at each others Jockey shorts like tussling puppies and shamelessly display themselves wearing nothing more than Trojan sheaths. Gay men are supposed to act grave and chastened in this era of contagion, but this AIDS art is filled with lusty irreverence.

Some gay-produced safe-sex material can be just as heavy-handed and propagandistic, in its own way, as official public health warnings. The obsession with phallic performance, the drive for eternal tumescence that is one of the more burdensome aspects of gay culture, is on full display in some of these posters. IIStay hardll is the underlying commandment of one such poster, which reveals a man at his peak and the inscrip-

ex is wonderful,"
rejoices a Danish
poster. We know
nothing of the couple’s
marital status, but latex sex
has never seemed so appealing.

tion IISafer sex_Keep it up? But most safe-sex art created by homosexual organizations promotes pleasure and responsibility, not performance. It is preventive medicine of a playful sort.

None of this sauciness has been allowed to seep into the

educational efforts of the U.S. government. Like most government-sponsored AIDS campaigns, the federal operation sells fear and family. No media materials that even vaguely acknowledge homosexuality as a viable sexual option or concede that sexual delight can and does take place outside marriage ever get through the rigorous screening process at the Centers for Disease Control (CDC). The ever-watchful Senator Jesse Helms, moral centurion from North Carolina, makes sure of that. The world presented in federal AIDS propaganda is one of biblical severity: on the dark side of the chasm wail the Sinners, i.e., the infected and dying; on the radiant side stand the Saved, those good family men and women who know right from wrong.

The family is the repository of all that is clean and chaste, in the federal view. IIThree good reasons for not being out with the boysfi declares a CDC poster featuring a Hispanic man with his adoring wife and two photogenic children. III used to feel like I needed to score with others to have a good time? the man confides. IIUntil I realized I was putting my family at risk? What this dark-eyed Latin lover was doing IIwith the boysll is not spelled out by the CDC, of course, but we can use our imaginations.

The appeal to protect onels wife and children can be an effective one in family-oriented communities. It makes sense to tailor AIDS education to the specifications of different ethnic, religious, and sexual groups. What plays well in San Franciscols Castro district would undoubtedly bomb in the barrios of San Antonio or in Miamils Little Havana. But when U.S. public health campaigns can only acknowledge bisexuality in the most veiled way, vital safe-sex information cannot be communicated. Some good family men will continue to have the occasional night out with the boys, and because these furtive pleasures are often filled with shame and panic, these men are unlikely to exercise caution.

Those unlucky Citizens who do get infected are dead meat, in the eyes of the US. government. cIIf you get the AIDS virus now, you and your Idriverisl license could expire at the same timef we are informed by another CDC poster. There is no recognition in the current CDC campaign, billed as America Responds to AIDS, that recently developed antiviral agents such as AZT may delay the onset of the disease in those who are infected with the Virus and that aerosolized pentamidine may extend the lives of those who are sick. AIDS doctors and scientists now emphasize that a positive AIDS test is no longer the imminent death sentence it once was. But federal AIDS literature continues to consign those who carry the virus to the sunless world of the damned, a message that

fllIf youIve been searching for I
something to enhance thel
sensual side of your life...
Yellow Silk offers fiction, po-
etry, art, reminiscences, and
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; brate the erotic in a way that
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from earthy and funny to
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understandably discourages those at high risk from finding out their HIV status. Nor can federal AIDS educators bring themselves to mention the 6 word, condom, a strange reticence not shared by any other Western government except that of Catholic Ireland The CDC has gone through bizarre contortions to avoid naming the, uh, latex device. In one advertisement, a young man slips a sock on his foot and earnestly tells us, llThat wouldn,t really save my life, but thereIs something as simple that could? Seat belts? Well, if you have to ask, the govern- ment probably reasoned, you,re too young to wear one.

Of course, one prominent U.S. official, the recently retired Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, did break the code of silence. But llDr. Condomil is no longer in oche and

embarrassing words no longer issue from his bully pulpit. Instead of promoting safe sex, we are told by Dr. James 0. Mason, the assistant secretary of Health and Human Services, the governmentIs current AIDS campaign will attempt to sell the nationls youth on the joys of sexual abstinence. 11Therels a simple way to prevent AIDS? goes a recent CDC poster. And, yes, the teenage girl pictured here, wearing jeans with a hole in the knee, has her legs resolutely crossed. The fashionably tagged state of her denims suggests that good girls can be cool. This is not the first time that Washington has tried to clamp down on teenage hormones. In 1981, the Reagan administration established a program to promote adolescent chastity. It was run initially by a former antiabortion activist from Minnesota, but she lost her job when rumors began circulating that she was having an affair with her married assistant. After these alleged slaves of passion were drummed out of ofhce, the chastity program was taken over by the more suitable Nabers Cabaniss, a self-proclaimed thirty-year-old virgin. Cabaniss, who continues in her role as the nations chaperon under President Bush, has spent millions of taxpayer dollars on tlfamily lifell school programs with titles like Saying No and Meaning It. Nonetheless, a majority of American teenagers continue to just say yes. In fact, more teenage boys are having sex now than at the beginning of the decade. The conservative morality campaigns of the 19805 have had virtually no impact on the nations high rates of adolescent sexual activity. But these chastity crusaders baue succeeded in limiting teenagers, access to contraceptives and information. As a result, the United States has by far the highest teenage pregnancy rate in the Western world. U.S. adolescents also suffer shockingly high levels of sexually transmitted disease. The Center for Population Options estimates that each year one of six teenagers contracts a venereal disease. Dr. Gary Strokosch, director of adolescent medicine at Rush Presbyterian St. LukeIs Medical Center in Chicago, predicts that AIDS infection among teenagers bis going to be the next crisis. Itls dreadful and itls going to be devastating? It is instructive to contrast the sex-education courses sponsored by the federal government with the safe-sex programs offered in European classrooms. While teenagers in suburban Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles, and other school districts are chanting slogans like IlControl Your Urginl, Be a Virginh and IIPet Your Dog, Not Your DatelI-part of a breathtakingly stupid program called Sex Respect-kids in the Danish county of Funen are watching explicit condom instruction videos and being handed safe-sex kits. The Mere Sikker Sex (More Safer Sex) campaign is run by a gay organization, but it receives county funding and widespread community support. Kids from twelve years up are taught about safe sex? says condom coach Paul Madsen, a stocky bottled blond with a silver stud in one ear and

an impish grin. llThe twelve-year-olds laugh during the video, but they like the colored condoms. We bring dildos into the class-room and let the kids roll on the rubbers." Madsen is treated like Father Christmas when he shows up in Danish schools with his bag of safe-sex goodies. But when AIDS activists from the group ACT UP tried to distribute condoms recently at New York City high schools, they were run off campus like low-life crack dealers.

THE GLOBAL WAR ON AIDS 15 A SEPARATE and unequal enterprise, a two-tier campaign that accentuates the differences between the worlds aftTuent North and impoverished South. While the developed world looks for-ward to controlling the disease in its stricken population with modern sciencels latest at-ray of wonder drugs, doctors in the Third World struggle to stay stocked with such basic medical supplies as syringes and latex gloves. The cost of caring for twentyefive AIDS patients in the United States is equal to the entire annual budget of a two-thousand-bed hospital in Zaire.

This same inequity is evident in AIDS ed-ucation and prevention. The worldls great Condom Gap was on glaring display at last yearIs international AIDS conference in Montreal, that one-of-a-kind global event that combines scientific exchange, gay hell-raising, and corporate hucksterism. In the exhibition hall, japanese condom salesmen hawked the latest in latex, an ultrathin but durable rubber made of something called Sheerlon-llthe product of space age tech-nologyf, Nearby, representatives from a

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J ’ ’ ne of six teenagers contracts
se. Dr. Gary Strokosch, di-
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at AIDS infection among
Ig to be the next crisis. Its
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U.S. pharmaceutical company demonstrated their new female condom, a device that will have big appeal when it goes on the market in North America and Scandinavia, they predicted, because its outer ring stimulates the Clitoris. Medically correct sex does have its rewards.

Meanwhile, in the workshops upstairs, health workers from the Third World complained that condoms were in short supply in their countries, had a high failure rate because they were often stored in hot, humid warehouses beyond their expiration date, and were too expensive for their impoverished populations to buy. llIf you go into a Village and find a man with a torn shirt, itls likely his condom is torn toof, remarked Dr. Samuel Okware, head of Ugandais AIDS control program. Only 3.3 percent of rural Ugandans have used condoms even once in their lives, according to a study of that countryls Rakai district presented at the conference. The U.S. Agency for International Development-the worldls principal condom pusher-ships halfa billion rubbers to the developing world each year. But this quantity is not even equivalent to one condom per year for each man between the ages of fifteen and forty-nine.

AIDS threatens to lay waste to much of the Third World like a biblical scourge. President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia told the Montreal conference he feared the epidemic would become ha soft nuclear bomb-silent and destructive and threatening the human race with extinction? In Thailand, at country that has functioned as a pleasure colony for the developed world, the epidemic is already exploding. HIV infections have multiplied tenfold among the huge sex work force in some areas of Thailand and twentyfold among injection drug users in Bangkok. Between 20 and 30 percent of sexually active young adults in some urban areas of sub-Saharan Africa are now infected, along with growing numbers of pregnant women and a majority of female prostitutes in these same cities-nightmarish statistics that cast a shroud over this African generation and the next. In Brazil, a new urban wave of cocaine injection has caused a fourfold rise in AIDS infections among injection drug users, the countryis blood supply is still unprotected, and a top health official there is predicting a tlmajor disasterf,

Despite the harrowing dimensions of the problem, AIDS education in the Third World is still a primitive affair, constrained by limited resources and religious, cultural, and political taboos. Some developing countries persist in seeing the plague as strictly a feature of the decadent old colonial powers and deny it is a problem within their borders. Catholic church officials have pres-

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sured other governments into watering
down their safe-sex campaigns. "We oppose
publicity that implicitly accepts inadvisable
relationships? in the delicate phrasing of
Bishop Luciano Mendes of Brazil. In other
words, condoms may spare the tIesh, but
they pollute the soul. In some countries it
is against the law for women to carry
condoms.
The crude AIDS warnings tacked up in
clinics in the African bush and passed out to
revelers at Caribbean carnivals reduce the
fear and family message to its simplest form.
The visuals in the Third World are skeletons
and stick figures, demons and graveyards.
The captions, too, are more blunt, though
the moralism is essentially the same as thdt
promoted by U.S. public health authorities.
IIOne man, one woman for life," commands
a typical skull-and-erossbones poster pro-
duced by the Zambian health ministry.
How EFFECTIVE ARE HiAR TACTICS IN
i changing people’s sexual behavior? This is
still a matter of heated deb.ite among the
psychologists and social scientists who
flourish on the fringes of the AIDS medieale
industrial complex. Terror is ;1 popular tool
of public health ministries throughout the
world. Even in sexually tolerant France,
there is now a push in this direction from
health authorities who have begun to ques-
tion the efficacy of the lighthearted and erot-
ie approach. "Weive tried everything to
make the French understand they have to be
careful, take precautions, use condoms. It
failed," the preeminent AIDS seientistjenn-
l,iie Montaigner has declared. "Sadly, we
hold the European record for the number of
eases. WeIre going to have to use our last
weapon: fear."
But other researchers contend that fear
Banned from schools and TV, Cape Town puppeteers fake AIDS ed "live to the people."
campaigns backfire. tIThese campaigns may
temporarily discourage sexual activity, but
then there is a boomerang effect as people

react against the scare tacticsf observes Glen Margo, director of AIDSCOM, a U.S. AID-funded operation that tries to adapt Western advertising techniques to Third World environments. This IIboomerang effeeth was documented in a Canadian study that was presented at the Montreal conference by jonathan Baggaley of Concordia University. Those AIDS educators who 0ppose the fear-based behavior modification strategy observe that sexual desire is as tangled and vibrant .1s a Rousseau jungle. Cut it back here it will assert itself there: its dynamism is not easily managed.

Michael Helquist, program officer at AIDSCOM, has concluded that people are more likely to AIDS-proof their sex lives when the educational campaigns adopt a hmore lighthearted. upbeat approach. When sate-sex infornmtion is presented in a cultural context. such as the carnival songs or plays lire seen in Trinidad, it seems to sink in better with people."

Fortunately there are growing signs of this eredtiyity throughout the Third World. A group called Puppets Against AIDS presents a snte-sex Puneh-and-judy show on the streets of South Attica. The puppet show is an effectiye way of reaching the country’s black population, half of which is illiterate, points out Gary Friedman, the thirty-threeyeareold Cape Town puppeteer who founded the project. IIWeIre not allowed into the schools because the government thinks weIH corrupt the students," says Friedman. ItWe dotft have access to television, which is totally controlled by the government. 50 we have to go live to the people?

In Thailand. Dr. Mechai Viravnidya, the I)/4iotrtw.1/7h by (ilse/t’ WHI/srm Afrapzx. Smith Afrull

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46 MOTHLR JONLs/MN. 1990
countryls leading family-planning expert, is
now adapting his colorful techniques to the
field of AIDS prevention. He has painted
condom ads in bold white letters on the sides
of elephants and has convinced Buddhist
monks to bless condoms in order to win

them wider acceptance in the Thai countryside. (This tactic has recently been emulated by voodoo priests in the sugarcane fields of the Dominican Republic, where hundreds of thousands ()fyoung Haitian migrant workers toil each year.) So successful has Mechai Viravaidya been at conditioning his nation to use latex, that his first name is now Thai slang for a condom. llWhy do we get so embarrassed about sex? the balding, ebullient Viravaidya likes to say as he hands out condom key rings and safe-sex T-shirts. llWelre all walking around with something between our legs."

Then there is Flavio Wiik, a Brazilian AIDS educator who uses explicit comic books, slide shows, and videotapes to reach the street kids of Rio de janeiro, a ragtag army about thirty thousand strong whose members commonly shoot drugs and sell their bodies to survive, and therefore suffer mournfully high rates of HIV infection. liWe donlt terrorize the kids and we donlt get preoccupied with moral habitsf says Wiik, a curly-haired twenty-four-year-old man with a trim beard, rose-framed glasses, and the make-aem-swoon good looks of a Latin soap opera star. llOur media stuff uses street language and characters that the kids can identify with?

Unfortunately. these Streetwise AIDS materials do not always contain the most sound advice. In one Brazilian comic book, a sixteen-year-old boy who has brought tropical paradise to a tourist with his mouth later gets worried and consults a more experienced streetwalker for AIDS advice. llWhat about blow jobs?" he asks her. llTheylre okay," she tells hime llbut donit swallow the cum." In fact. the risk is very low, but the AIDS Virus can be transmitted through oral sex if the infected person ejaculates in his partners mouth.

THE AIDS VIRUS ENTERED AN IMPERFECT world, a world of prejudice and fear, ignorance and want, and the plague has thrived in part because of these imperfections. "The decade of the nineties will be worse than the eightiesf predicts Dr. jonathan Mann, head of the World Health Organizations global AIDS program, uand that is not a pleasant message." Wherever a government denies the humanity of its Citizens because of race or sexual preference, there the contagion Ends a hospitable environment. Wherever moral dogma and prudery prevent a nation from speaking frankly, there the plague is

given license to flourish. Wherever poverty makes public health measures a luxury, there the virus prospers.

As Dr. Mann has observed, the international AIDS crisis is, in part, a human rights dilemma. This is obvious in countries such as Alfred Machelals, where white AIDS patients receive state-of-the-art medical care while black patients lie in overcrowded wards, bleeding onto other patients because their intravenous lines are neglected by the weary and harassed nurses. But it is also evident in countries like our own, where those who inhabit the post-Reagan urban wasteland-the poor, the addicted, the infected-are no more than CDC statistics.

This global plague will not be stopped by medical ingenuity alone. It will require a deeper sense of reason and compassion, a respect for human diversity, and a commitment to the free flow of information. In short, it will require the best of humanity.

David Talbot is the coauthor of Burning Desires: Sex in America (Doubleday). Some of the AIDS artwork included here was collected with the assistance ofProfessorjames Miller of the University ofWestem Ontario, whose Visual AIDS poster show has been touring Canada, Europe, and the United States.

BENCHMARK

(Continued from page 21) together in an undecipherable code.

I ran with him in my arms. Martha shouted a story of a boy who lived underwater in a frozen lake for close to an hour and was revived by immersion in a warm tub. She opened the tap while I laid Ben on the floor and pumped his lungs, pushing his back and raising his arms like chicken wings. His body was cold to the touch, so logged it chafed when our skin rubbed together. The water overflowed and splashed the floor as Ben displaced it.

LATER, MEN CAME, DRAGGED THE POND, and found the neighbor boy. The two were buried side by side. No word of blame was spoken. None was needed. Everyone knew which man had dug the hole. Martha and I did the bare minimum for Sam and Gloria, and had nothing left. For weeks after the service, we hardly saw each other. I for one was fearful of what might erupt. You had to have the pond so far away, I could easily have unleashed, and then those words could never again be caged. Privacy was a word we struck from our vocabularies, and thereafter, when it was uttered by another, we averted our eyes from any connection.

I sat by the parlor stove, kept the coals ted, the drapes drawn, and did not answer the knocks of those who came when I failed to walk their land. Martha spent her hours elsewhere. I was not curious, but at meals I saw she wore the same dress as on that night, its torn hem still unrepaired. One morning, I brought out my father,s leveler, set the case before me on the table. I lifted the hammer, brought it down with such force that the handle split, but the metal box was made to last, and the Swiss glass did not shatter.

Ben was taken November twelfth. On December twelfth Martha entered the parlor, parted the curtains. She had changed her clothes and twisted her hair into a tight bun. A month is all the mourning we shall indulge, she said. We have two remaining to us who will want their Christmas, and we are out of money. She grasped my hands, hauled me to my feet, and kept her hold as we faced each other, her breath beating on my cheek. She felt the tremble that started in my legs and worked its way up my body, but with a hard squeeze of her fingers she dammed it, cinching it off the way you save a well by crimping a severed feeder pipe uncovered by a careless hoe.

We lived an ordinary life thereafter. Martha joined clubs of women and I worked steady. Even in hard times, and the county went through many, there was no lack of orders, no slack as people moved from cities and were willing to go into debt for their ideal. Those locals who knew my story never aired it, and if the new ones heard, they couldnlt risk a question that might lose me. There was none other for a hundred miles trained to do my job, no other job I was trained to do. Necessity dictated amnesia and I stayed busy twenty years, every hour occupied, and I did quality work. First Sam and later Gloria showed no aptitude to follow me, the slant of their minds unpredictable and remote from my own. So I hired temporary assistants. I became less my father,s son and more a man known for himself, in my own eyes as well as in the estimate of others.

I took for granted the patterns, the pathways worn by repetition. Divert a stream and eventually the shape of rocks will alter. Veins appear, then channels carved so deep they seem the natural order. I trusted in the warm wall of my wife beside me in sleep, in the last cup of evening coffee for breakfast, and in the appearance of supper at five-thirty each night. My half of labor met and fit with Marthas I depended on her sensible gifts-long johns and caps and heavy gloves-and gave her the same. We maintained our truce without ever declaring the war. And if something was missing, it was replaced by this reliability. We spared

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each other surprise, and each was grate-
ful.
I expected I would go first. Men at sixty
dropped all the time, survived by robust
widows who improved their card playing,
who became the backbone ofthe church. I
had no fear. Death was not a polite topic.
50 when we went to the clinic for Mar-
tha’s appointment I lacked premonition,
was unprepared for the doctors verdict.
He had discovered a weakness in her cir-
culation, an artery so stressed that it
might not long endure the pump of her
heart. The condition was inoperable, he
said. The weakness threaded into her
brain beyond reach of the knife. The prog-
nosis was unclear. It could burst at any
time or last forever. She should avoid
stress, take the pills he would prescribe,
forget all worry if she could. She must not
drive a car.
We walked to the parking lot in silence,
embarrassed at this news. It was beyond
our bounds. I turned the key, gripped the
wheel. Martha rested her hand on one of
mine. Stop by the store on the way, she
said. I have a list in my purse.
We didnlt alert the children, made few
changes in our routine. Any acknowledg-
0 word of blame
was spoken. None was
needed. Everyone knew
which man had
dug the hole.
IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII
ment or compromise would make it real.
We sold my Ford, because mine was the
older. I tramped the ground each day,
drew my geometric diagrams, satisfied my
customers. On the surface, the nights with
Martha were the same. We reported the
news we had heard, we watched television
after supper. We were careful of each
other, but not so much we had to mention
it.
We made a weir of habit that lasted
almost a year, and gave the idea of death
the time to settle, buried it from conscious
thought the same as we had with Ben, or
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so I presumed. Martha saved her com-
plaints for swollen ankles, for fingers that
ached at the approach of rain. I lost my

temper at chores. Railed when the sink was piled night after night with the caked pots Martha used for cooking, and had left for me to scrub.

One evening, while she slept covered with an afghan on the couch, I had a craving and went to the freezer box in the cellar for ice cream. I lifted the lid, propped it against the wall, and there before me were a month of meals, each neatly wrapped in dull foil and labeled with masking tape-stews, casseroles, succotash-and I understood the pots. I stared into that lighted chest, let the cold wash my face, until above me I heard the tread 0f Marthals steps.

The lights flickered, I said. Fm here to check the fuse. I never mentioned what Ild seen, but after that it got so that we could talk in cautious ways, discuss arrangements, agree on plans. Martha took the lead and I listened, became the sounding board for her memory as she compiled albums of photographs for Sam and Gloria. Sheid pass the snapshots to me, and I held each one the length of my arm for a sharper focus.

THE CALL FROM THE HOSPITAL FOUND me in a fenced quadrant, looking east through my sight. The day was overcast, warm. The soil was cracked and tan below the brown grass. It was a Challenge, this property, for there were no natural outcrops in any direction. Either this pond would have to be much larger than was needed, or I would have to force an artificial hollow into the land. I had paced for half an hour seeking some slight incline, some immutable basset where I could anchor my nail, but in the end I had no choice but to employ the door of Marthals car.

I parked it at the terminus where the access road stopped, then measured eighty feet and set up my plane table. I sighted on the chrome knob of the handle, made it my hundred, computed my chains. The perspective worked. I could see the completed pond in my mind, smaller than I had guessed, the water running before the breeze. Now the trick would be to locate again the exact same benchmark, to distinguish that precise point of origin from all the other possible places, when I came back to dig.

Michael Dorris is the author ofA Yellow Raft in Blue Water (Warner Books, 1988) and The Broken Cord (Harper 6" ROW, 1989i

Previ
Si(and the
Solo Artist
% erformance artist Eric Bogo-
sian is no Puritan: the titles of
his solo shows-like Drink-
ing in America, which
brought his blend of music-
video energy and social satire
up from underground, or the
new Sex, Drugs, and Rock inl
R011, which opens off-Broad-
. way this winter-attest to
that. But this performer often plays
the crusading evangelist-like the
one in Drinking in America who
rants about lithe discipline of the
bulletli as a remedy for the modern
Sodom. And therels more than a lit-
tle soul-searching fervor in Bogo-
sianls voice as he talks about Sex,
Drugs, and Rock ini Roll.
llln the sixties-the last time peo-
ple really concerned themselves in a
big way with the world-it was
somebody else,s fault: Lyndon john-
sonls, or Nixonls, or the corpora
tionsl. . . . As we hit 1990, thereis this
pervading sense of something wrong
in what is actually a fairly affluent
society-something wrong thatls
our fault?
Never mind the title, says Bogo-
sian-Sex, Drugs, and Rock)nl Roll
is about guilt. uIf you say sex, drugs,
and rock n roll, to somebody in our
generation, they say, iWow! Great?
But what,s so great about sex, drugs,
and rock n roll, really, if you think
about it? Its a big red herring so that
people will come to the theater?
Photograph by Paula Court
The people who have come to
Bogosianls past offerings, like
Drinking in America or the 1983
FunHouse, encountered an array of
low-life portraits. FunHouse fea-
tured a porn-show hawker, a
scatological iiBowery Lear? and a
psycho killer spitting venom at his
sentencing. In Drinking in America,
the Characters included a joyriding
teenage goon goofing on the Man-
son legend, a fatalistic heroin addict,
and a wino with dreams of fast cars
and fast women.
This time around, Bogosian says,
the characters he has concocted in-
clude lla lawyer who believes he
works in a rock n roll tradition of
Eric and
mike: His
characters
range from
preachers to
rock stars.

Bogosian weds
Johnny Rottenls
snarl to Robin
Williams’ mimicry.
x
t :2 uilltlfol
ull-
liiiiiii
energy, when basically hels screwing over
everyone he comes into contact with. An
aging rock star who has renounced drug use.
A film producer whos having dinner in a
fancy restaurant. A doctor whos prescrib-
ing medication to a patient. A guy whols
putting a swimming pool into his backyard.
BOOKS
The View from Chile
llll.li FROM Wl’lll llN
Iitz’t’m/ with Susan Meisc/tzs mil) tm intmdudion by Marco
Antonio (Iv ltz Ptzrm tma’ text by Ariel Dorfnztm
WW. Norton, IOU/hIgUS, 3356/01/1. $19.95pt1per.
The first photograph shows Salvador Allende and his wife waving
to .1 crowd from u lmleony in the presidential palace; the next
reveals the same balcony mutilated by a bomb. So begins this collec-
tion of images by fifteen Chilean photographers. By chronicling life
in the churches plums, and bars; the llNoll campaign against Pi-
noehet; and the Vigil by families whose loved ones have disappeared
(pictured above), the pictures tell the stories of those who often are
unable to speak for themselves.
so M()’Illl.R ioM-myw. i990
A person who leads the audience in a session
to renounce negativity in their lives. A guy
whols very well endowed-and he talks
about it?
Bogosian has a reputation as a rebellious
stage punk, whose work weds rock-star
electricity to stand-up comic virtuosity,
combining the snarl of ajohnny Rotten with
the precise mimicry of 3 Robin Williams. In
his play-turned-film, Tal/e Radio, he played a
peremptory call-in host whose counter-
cultural fervor had curdled into a perverse
desire to piss people off_an urge the writer/
performer admits hels subject to himself.
But today Bogosian is a thirty-hve-year-
old family man who talks more like a
beleaguered nine-to-fiver than the sex-
drugs-and-rock-hl-rollers he portrays. "Ilm
getting older,n he says. llAnd l have to be in
terrific shape to do these shows . . . to be out
every single night is kinda difficult, with a
kid and a wife?
And so the contents of his character
sketchbook have changed, too. While once
his work teemed with panhandlers, hustlers,
and the homeless, this time around the
monologues move upscale, dropping some
of the gutter grit, if not the confrontational
stance. "I think of all the people in the show,
maybe two are street people, and most of
them are middle-class or upper-middle-
class. . . . But they’re all wild, ltheyllll put
people on the spot."
Bogosian works in a provocative twilight
zone between harangue and soliloquy,
stand-up comedy and drama; he invites you
to laugh and then makes you wonder why
youlre not shuddering instead.
In his szHouse, for example, the giggles
ought to have come to an abrupt halt as the
performer launched into the deadpan lec-

ture of an expert in electrical torture. Sometimes they did, sometimes they didn’t. At Bostoiis Institute for Contemporary Art, where Bogosian often tries out new material, hels been known to drop character and ask theatergoers, with an accusatory glare, uW/Jy are you laughing?"

No one has ever made :1 successful stage career solely out of making people uncomfortable. Bogosiun gets away with his disconcerting material because he also offers his audience more traditional theatrical thrills-with his astonishingly precise physical and vocal impersonations of everyone from strippers to insurance salesmen, bondage freaks to fry cooks. While other eighties solo performers, like Swimming to Cambodias Spalding Gray; place themselves in the foreground, Bogosian disappears into his characters minds-which look spookily familiar once your eyes adjust to the darkness. -Scott Rosenberg

Photographs/))’Ali/i1ro Happy (above) and Hector LOPEZ

MEDIA
Father Times: Whos
on the Op-Ed Page?
istinguished writers. Important Topics. Heartfelt
Opinions. The New York Times Op-Ed page has
them allfl boasted the New York Times in a recent
advertisement for itself. What the Times didnlt
trumpet is what it doesn,t have: female contributors
to that influential page of opinion and ideas.
Its no secret that the venerable llgood, gray
Lady,w as the Times is sometimes called, is still a
bastion of male chauvinism. Take a study done last
year by a Washington, DC, consulting firm. That
survey looked at the front pages of ten major newspapers
(the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times, for ex-
ample) for coverage by and about women. llThe worst
showingf the study found, 11was the New York Times,
which averaged the lowest percentage of female bylines
(16%), lwomen inl photos (16%), and references (5%)?
Well, the study should have persevered t0 the last page.
By coincidence, about the time the study was approved, this
writer had begun a six-month analysis of the New York
Times op-ed page: Is it the Union League Club version of an
opinion page? Does it rely
overwhelmingly on men The real headlines
when it seeks and publishes
articles on topics ranging
from baseball to ballistics?
Or is that the figment of an
overly sensitive female
imagination?
Right off the bat, the
imagination is buttressed by the index. Five out of the six
regular Times columnists 0n the page are men: in alpha-
betical order, Russell Baker, Anthony Lewis, Abe Rosen-
thal, William Safire, and Tom Wicker. Only Flora Lewis is a
woman. (Anna Quindlens once-a-week column, starting
this month, will provide some overdue female company.)
It gets worse when the Times goes outside the family. For
six months, from Monday through Saturday, this writer
read 124 issues. On those days, the op-ed page carried 309
outside contributors. Almost 90 percent of them were men.
Do you want precision? Two hundred sixty-nine op-ed
pieces, a whopping 87 percent, were written by males. That
left a paltry 13 percent of the total, a mere forty op-ed
pieces, that were penned by women during the Erst six
months of 1989.
January and June were the cruelest months. In the twen-
ty days of January that l cataloged, there were fifty-six
articles from non-Times writers: only four were from
women. As for the twenty-three days in june that l tallied,
only one of fortyeseven outside contributors was a woman.
The discrepancy (is that a nice word for discrimination?)
is compounded when you look at the subjects covered. For
men, the serious sky is the limit. They weigh in on econom-
ics and El Salvador, greenmail and Gorbachev, Star Wars
tell us that women
are not worth
listening to.
Illustration by jtzmie Hogan
and START. Women get printed in the venerable Times
mostly when they write about what they know best: Rape
. . . Political Wives . . . ttthe Mommy Trackh . . . llCat Trip
with My Husband,1 . . . Battered Ex-Wives. Yes, there were
women who wrote about Afghanistan and Cambodia,
Shamir and steel, politics and Poland. But the unmistakable
message that emanates from the op-ed page is a variation of
the words Whites Only that used to be plastered on test-
rooms and water fountains in the segregated South. The
contemporary Times version reads Men Only.
What makes this old-boy, llpop-ed,l network so impor-

tant and so hurtful? It perpetuates the myth that only men are the reliable experts in this society, that only men command authority and merit the respect that goes along with it. The real headlines on the op-ed page tell us that women are not worth listening to, that we rarely hold opinions of importance, that were not to be taken seriously. Every day, the Times op-ed page instructs its readers in whomeverls Views the newspaper values highly enough to publish.

Leslie Gelb, deputy editor of the opaed page, admits the Times has a problem: ttWe know there are far more male than female contributors and have been making a tremendous effort to rectify lthe situationljl he says. llThis year there are many more lwomenJ than in previous years and ltheir articles arel of equal importance: they contribute on a wide variety of topics, not just feminism. Weire working on it very, very hard. Of the five people on my staff, three are women. It really matters to the people who own this paper and to the people who run this page?

Stay tuned. Only the Times will tell. -Marion Goldin

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ADVERTISING
HOW Colorful
Can Ads Get?
ieture this: Two mule hands, one black and one white.
are handcuffed together. Which is the criminal. which
is the eaptor?
ltls not a Rorschach test of racial stereotypesv-al-
though itls been treated like one since Benetton. the
ltdlltln vendor of pricey togs. began running the ad.
which appears in magazines and on hillhorirals around
the country through next month. Some viewers lIUInCr
tliiltely-nntl perhaps l1nu)nSClOUSlY&LlCClle the lilaek
is the eriminalt the white the jailer. Othem seeing hoth
wrists wrapped in denim sleevest my therels no etiptor. only
it pair of criminals.
"l’l’heylte hoth eriminiils: thatk an interesting view of
equality!" says (ilntenee 0. Smith president of lissenre. .1
magazine ttirgetetl at hltiek women. Smith was one of the
first people in this eountry to see the ad. Benetton hiiys a lot
of pages in his magazine, so when the elothierk US. .ILlVCr-
tising agency; _I. Walter ’I’hompson, got the jitters :ihout
some of the rneiiilh’ mixed ads sent over from Italy for the
current ttill/winter seasom Smith and other Iissenee staffers
were invited to preview the hatch.
Seven of the eight passed. Benettonk Parisian agency,
lildorado, had emtted photos of :1 racially mixed rowing
51 M(YHHK IONI’H/IANr 1990
Benetton’s latest
United Colors
campaign: Does
it go too far?
crew and a white nurse or
teacher tutorng a black child,
among others. No problem;
as the latest executions in the
six-year-old United Colors of
Benetton campaign, these pic-
tures all llpresented people in
a natural, equal, and beautiful
way? Smith says. He even
found the handcuff photo ac-
ceptable, although llmy per-
sonal opinion is they could
have picked a different ap-
preach?
Rejected, though, was a
portrait of a topless black
woman nursing a white child.
Its a striking picture, aesthet-
ically pleasing, but not exactly
the most positive image of
race relations-at least in this
country, where generations of
black women were forced to nurse white peoplels children
while their 0er went hungry. Smith immediately told the
Benetton Lind NCT people that the picture "was anathema
to blacks because it conjures up all those negative stereo-
types."
The ad hasnit run in this country, or in the United King-
dom. where the handcufl image was also nixed. But the ad
does appear in the seventy-seven other countries where
Benetton has stores. "You can understand what they are
attempting to do," says jim Williams, public relations di-
rector of the Baltimore-hused NAACP. llTheylre attempt-
ing to show the universality of mankind, which is
laudtihlef Still, in the nursing picture, he says, that encom-
ptissing idea "loses somethng in the translation. The peo-
ple who created the ads operate in another milieu-they
nretft part of certain dynamics that exist in this country."
But now they know. Vittorvio Ravat the chains world-
wide Advertising manager. was surprised by the tumult but

learned a lesson from it. Sort of.
llltls it totally different background in America," Rava says. lTll tell you a very good example. You know how in America you make jokes nhoutjews spending a lot of money on status symbols? Here, it is about them not wanting to spend money. What is :mti-Semitie there is not here. I cannot say what is racist for blacks in your country, and you cannot say what is anti-Semitie in Italy."
Rani adds that he views the controversy as a natural stage in the evolution of a forward-thinking advertising campaign. "We didnlt envision a political idea when we started this lColorsl strategy five years ago," he explains, tlhut now, with racist problems becoming more important in every country, it has become political on its own?
-Denm’s Rodkirz
Photogmp/I by Dennis Keeley

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FILM
(Continued from page 27) G i v e n t h e Reagan-Bush cultural context, movie-makers who try to tackle itreal-lifeii themes are apt to get Ll break from the serious audience. The thirtia critics and audiences have cut Spike Lee and john Sayles considerable slack (although Steven Soderbergh, whose sex, lies, and videotape was a wildly over-praised psychodrama, may be homing in on them). But thereis nothing revelatory about their movies; they lack (in Leeis case) the coherence and (in Sayles’s case) the passion that would allow them to transcend agit-prop or pop sociology and take on the heart- and mind-expanding dimensions of art.
In Do the Right Thing, Lee hard-sells his view of Bed-Stuy as a black community that would be totally benign, were it not for whites. Lee was hailed prematurely as a promising new talent on the basis of his first Film, 51m Gotta Have It, which he made on a shoestring in 1986. But as his budgets and pretensions have grown, he’s shown that he t has the ambitions of a social artist and the i instincts ot a con artist. He seizes 0n utorn from the headlineh situations but renders them with the style and depth of an agitprop cartoon. Several critics noted the resem-blance of Spielbergs The Color Purple t0 Disney’s Song ofrbe South. XVhat Lee gave us could he called "Song of the North?
John Saylest whose Return of tbe Seamus 7 helped make 1980 a near-great year. is one of Americas most prestigious 1 independent filmmakers-assured of sym-e pathetic press coverage, especially in left-? wing publications. But most of his work has been stultifyingly earnest. Heis an Linin-spired director who could use some of Leeis kinetic instincts. Sayless most watchable movie is his least single-mindedly political ()ne-Eig/Jt Men Om. his version ofthe Chi-cago "Black Soxii seanan-largely because of the performances h); among others, john (Zusaek and D. B. Sweeney.

The most talented director under forty is the siienkily subversive Joseph Ruben, who, with I)rctmzsctzpe, T/Je Step/izt/Jer. and True Believer, demonstrated how much heat and light movies can gain from the combination of ramhunctious iconoclasm and sizzling technique. These uninhibited, tightly constructed thrillers have plots and gimmicks not far removed from those of drive-in movies. But Ruben creates audiovisual environments that fill the big screen (and look cramped on a small one)_and he attacks the status quo that most movies and TV pFOe grams take for granted.

The hook for Dreamsmpe isnit very ditl ferent from that of the Nightmare on Elm

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Street movies: Government researchers de-
velop techniques that allow psychics to enter
peoplek dreams. But the gimmick is played
out against 1111 apocalyptic background-
the president is having nightmares about nu-
e1e1ir war, much to the concern of his covert-
operations chief. The 111m 1s studded with
political and psycholog1ca1 jokes, and pop-
eulture parodies (one of the good guys is a
hest-selhng thriller-writer doing research, 11
111 Stephen King). The startling, barbed
dream sequences show off Ruben’s most dis-
tinctive t111ent-h1s ability to conjure vo111ti1e
moods while advancing the narrative. Even
though Ruhen plots his movies out meticu-
lously. he also leaves them open to pockets
()1 mystery; he doesnt predigest or overar-
tie11111te the h1ends of moods he creates.
Emotionalh; Rubens films are far more
liberating than those of Lee. Sayles, or
Soderhergh. T116 Stepfather puts a critique
of Reagan-era nostalgia into a slasher-fhck
form: 11s title character is 11 serial mass mur-
derer who consciously crusades for the con-
servative. Father Knows Best fantasy of an
orderly suburbia. He keeps looking for per-
fect families-and keeps offing them when
they inevitably disappoint him. The movie
gets its comic charge not from blood effects,
but from Rubens ability to communicate
the Stepfather’s dichotomy of craziness and
self-awareness. Its the perfect companion
piece to David Lynchs extraordinary Blue
11)ll11)1-1655 original and sensual than
Lynchis great surreal soap opera. but just as
cutting in its depiction of Smallvi11e, U.S.A.
111 other hands. Rubens latest movie,
1989s T1711) Believer, could have been noth-
ing more than 11 root-for-the-underdog
courtroom me10dr11m11. But Ruben, his
screenwriter Wesley Striek. and his star,
_1;1mes Woods. come up with one of the de-
e1111eis few entertaining. fighting liberal he-
roes: .1 sixties firebrand attorney who for-
sakes his recent specialty (defending the
constitutional rights of drugy dealers) to free
an innocent man 111 young Korean framed
for murder). 11 the east 111ch11r11cters is pre-
11iet11111e-croo11’e11eops.anambitious D.A..
11nd some eold-hlooded white supremacists
-the good and 111111 guys dont divide along
typi1’111 party11nes.Woodsis111wyerisagenu-
ineh’ democratic figure. And Ruben is 11
democrat among directors. throwing some
111 the best moments to the most peripheral
characters. like the mental p11t1entwhocon-
tends he knows the accused Korean d1dn3t
commit murder-hut also insists that the

phone company killed jFK. Ruben shot the movie in the electric. high-contrast style of the legendary news photographer, Weegee, and built the movie (like Leigh1s High Hopes) toward 11 clear-eyed declaration of faith. As the Lou Reed song puts it over the

closing credits, 0You can depend on cruelty/
crudity of thought and sound / You can de-
pend on the worst always happening / You
need a Busload of Faith to get by?
In both his success and his failures, per-
haps the most American of directors-and
the one who inspired the most faith-was
10hn Huston, who died in 1987. His fabu-
lous career, which started with the 1941
Maltese Falcon, was marked equally by at-
tistic triumphs like The Man Who Would Be
King and half-baked commercial ventures
like The Mackintosh Man. If a grizzled vet-
eran like Huston could start the eighties
with three of his worst movies-Phohia
(80), Victory (81), and Annie (382)_0nly
to shake off his torpor with the noble failure
of Under the Volcano (1984) and the back-
to-back masterpieces of Prizzils Honor
(1985) and The Dead (1987), then maybe
therels hope for American movies after all.
As the careers of Huston, De Palma,
Ruben, and others such as David Lynch 0r
1onathan Demme suggest, the potential
greatness of American movies doesnTt lie in
any one direction-it lies in moviemakers
feeling free to take their art in all directions.
Perhaps no American director has ex-
emplified that as much as Philip Kaufman.
His The Right Stuff(1983) is a liberal movie
with edge; it earns its patriotism by ques-
tioning patriotic values every step of the
way. By acknowledging the political game
playing and eareerism behind the scenes of
the Mercury space program, and by satiriz-
ing the media whitewash that surrounded it,
Kaufman allows us to exult in the astro-
nauts7 heroism, and not feel guilty about it in
the morning. As a movie, The Right Stuff
pushes the outside Of the envelope. It boasts
a jagged visual audacity to match its risky,
erratic mixture of moods and perspectives,
ranging from close-up slapstick comedy to
b1ends of real and simulated documentary
footage and panoramic views of t1ight.
Kaufmanls Unbearable Lightness of
Being (1988), a masterpiece equal to Hus-
tonls last work, doesnlt touch directly on the
United States in the eighties. But by captur-
ing the exhilaration of the Prague spring,
and the resulting despair when the Soviets
Clamp down, he makes us savor our own
free expression in sex, in politics, in liter-
ature. Kaufmanls film has the live-wire ener-
gy, and the exploding possibilities, that have
Vitalized the history of American movies.
And when Kaufman dramatizes American
themes, as he does in The Right Stuff, he
makes you feel, in all the best ways, that this
is still a country where anything can happen.
Michael Sragow is the movie critic for the
San Francisco Examiner.

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K L on out eyelashes with a tiny red
Y FATHER. FOR A LONG TIME I THOUGHT ABOUT
him and then I didnlt think about him and then
yesterday I started thinking about him again. I
was in the basement, and for no reason I went
around under the steps and suddenly saw his
camera case on this high shelf, and it was like that thing of where
youlre drowning and your whole life flashes in front of your eyes.
Except it wasnlt my whole life. It was just one day from a million
years ago when he lived with us still and this room was glowing
glowing red from the darkroom light. I was standing on a chair,
watching his hand pull a piece of
paper back and forth under the
water, him saying, IIWateh hon-
ey, now watch? And then I saw
the reverse disappearing ghost of
my face showing itself slow onto
that paper, and him saying what
he always said when he did
something like that. llOkay,
honey. Whols the best dad.w
Some nights he would tilt out
the lamp shade in the front room
and set his stacks of pictures on a
TV tray under it. Ild watch him
smoking and coloring me and
my sister and my mom with Q-
Tips and oils and special midget
paint tubes and then, for his last
finishing touch, he would draw
pencil with Life Magazine i
printed on the side. He would
ask me to hold it up for him to look at and Ild watch him lean back
and say IIAhhhhhhh. Another Perfect Masterpiece by Raymond
Robert Arkinslll And then my mother would see it and yell at him
for making us look like a bunch of Mexican whores.
Mom found a picture of another lady colored the same way. It
was in the street in front of our house. I guess it fell out of his car. It
was Pat, the checker at his store. Pat with the small teeth who did a
wink to my mom and rang our meat up really cheap. Pat colored
in and smiling under a tire mark, with her hands up behind her
head and no top on. My mom put it on our front door with so
many rows of Scotch tape that it looked like Pat was sinking in a
deep aquarium.
I can remember the sound of my dads feet coming up the steps
and then stopping. Then him coming in and saying it didnlt mean
anything.
A long time later, when my dad left, my mother took everything
that ever belonged to him and put it out on the front porch for
Goodwill. Afterwards, I remember coming into the kitchen and
seeing her holding her curved fingernail scissors, flipping through
M4,;
, all our photo books and cutting his head out of every picture there
was of him. I remember the pile of my dads heads in the ashtray,
her cigarette burning on top, and her singing along with the radio.
.
I
I remember hearing the bathroom door close, me sneaking into
the kitchen and taking three pictures to save. One of him and her
holding me, one of him squatting on a beach in an Air Force
uniform, and one of him laughing with his eyes shut, holding a
dog I didnlt know and a glass of beer. That last picture he had
colored. I-Ie colored the dog in blue.
I REACHED MY HAND UP AND PULLED DOWN THE CAMERA. IT WAS
the kind with the flip-open top viewer and I remembered once
how I watched him and Pat drunk through it, them singing upside
down at the company picnic. My
mom was at work and Dad took
me and my sister. He kept sing-
she kept laughing. I won the
footrace and I ran to show him

my silver dollar, then me seeing
them kissing, and then her trying
to act nice to me, and later in the
car him telling me how lucky he
was to have a kid like me. A kid
who understood his saying
Donlt Make Waves.
I SAW A YELLOW NUMBER EIGHT
dow. There was still film. My
hand started to kind of freak out.
It was like a backwards version of
l that Alfred Hitchcock Hour
where the camera comes from
something like the thirteenth di-
through the square glass win- a
ing llWeleome to my worldll and l
mension and can take pictures of the future. The moral of it was i
something like, Donlt Mess with Your Regular Life. I put the cam-
era back on the shelf, and then I took it back down. Iput it under my
shirt and walked up the stairs past my mom in the kitchen.
My friend Vicky Tallusols brother Victor has a darkroom in
their rec room bathroom and said for two joints he would develop
the film for me. I had one roach. He said okay. Me and Vicky
stood in the pitch dark and I could hear Victor dropping things
and saying IIFuck." Then he handed me a container and he said
keep shaking it and he lit the roach and Vicky lit a K001 and Mrs.
Talluso pounded on the door yelling "What in the hell is going on
in there.w She made us come out and each blow on her nose and
busted Victor and Vicky for smoking and made me go home.
This morning at school Vicky came running across the parking
lot saying she had a present for me. She opened her folder and v
handed me some pictures. IIOnly three came outfl she said. The
first one was of Pat in front of a car. Then two kids at a birthday
with Pat smiling and talking on the phone. Then my dad and Pat
with their arms around each other, kissing.
I remembered the sound of the automatic timer. How my dad
would set it and run fast across the room to get into the picture. :
ll
0
llWhols it of? Vicky says. C
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