

WWI BWBHICH
MR. f
IHICS
Nill Congress
Lild the voters
rite back?
OCTOBERI989
Sago
10
0 765414 SI"

Most co ..
by-products." .
live animals like dogs, m. and rabbits that
must endure needless suffering and oftentimes
senseless death for beau care research.
15 animal suffering rea y necessary for
beautiful looks?
No.
That's why the Carme' Company, the leader
in natural hair and skin roducts, created
Sleep Hollow Botanica 5. Our beauty
pro ucts contain no animal by-products
and undergo no animal laboratory testing.
We think that's a si nificant advancement
for animalkind an humankind.
They can.
ems derived from animal
re tested In laboratories on
Sleepy Hgllow's natural plant protein formulas are oil-f
so they dont clog your skin's pores. nor build u on u , t_
halt. They leave your hair and s in c eani
ftesh. healthy and alive...never dull and
lifeless. Best of all. your good looks don't
have to kl" when you use Sleepy Hollow.
For more Information on Sleepy Hollow
Botanicals write to Sleepy Hollow. 20 Box
5397, Novato, CA 94948.
Sleepy Hollow
BOTANICALS
We're waking up the world?
:0 1989 Carme', Inc, Novato, CA 94W

"The values of the Left

Motherlones

weaken cities, make F I A T U R I s

It difficult for us to In

fact survive as a

mun", . . . Th, mm, 21 CASEY KASEM,S FLIP SIDE .3); Bernard Obanian .

America Is to blame For over twenty years the king of Top 40 has been counting ,em

f" mos'd'ha W'" down for millions of listeners. Off the air, though, all his dedication

s

major diseases which

have struck this

society." p. 28

are political.

24 CULTURE CRASH By John Krich

As Southeast Asian refugees bring their war to the couch, U.S.

therapists find some key assumptions about Western psychiatry are being shot down.

28 MASTER OF DISASTER By David Beers

Once dismissed as irrelevant, Newt Gingrich led the charge against

Jim Wright and Tony Coelho and emerged the second most power-

ful Republican in the House. Now the self-styled ethics czar is

himself facing scrutiny in Washington-and at home, by a constitu-

ency that wants him to get Georgia back on his mind. Plus: 1The

Cases Against Gingrich and 11The Real Ethics Debate?

DOCTOR KAMIKAZE Fiction by Ayi Kwei Armah

With a PhD. from a Western university in hand, she headed home

to share her knowledge. But, as she discovered, helping people isn't

merely a matter of degree.

DIPLOMATINTI

The kids are all 13 OUTFRONT

r:ht. gutdwhere's Half-pint punkers, AIDS drugs under-

t e TV E nu -)

babysm p be ground, Bobby McFerrin's worry, etc.

BACKTALK .' I 8 HOT SPOTS By Melissa Baumann

Readers offer facts on Fidel, help for After twenty-three years of conflict, can

teens with AIDS, tips for shrink resistance, peace come to Namibia?

and more.

39 TRIPS By Robyn Davidson

6 LATEST THINKING By Dixon Terry According to aborigine legend, the heart

If national farm policy isn't Changed, well of the universe is made of stone, and it's in

face another agricultural Great Depression Australia.

-this time on a global scale.

47 PREVIEWS

9 BAD ATTITUDE By Barbara Ehrenreich Mood over Miami, folks musical

'is The Supreme Court took away women's magazine, the word from the feminist

rights, civil rights, and gay rights. But bookshelf, and more.

's the Bush administration balanced all

that out by creating a new right: the

right to pollute.

60 1619 EAST CROWLEY By Lynda Barry

It was supposed to be an easy job, baby-

sitting on the rich side of town. Then it

Prepubescent

punks are

rocking cradles

with songs that

are all grown

up.p.'13

October 1989 - Volume 14 Number 8

la ' '

Into Africa: the prodigal daughter

returns. Flctlon p. 34

Women with a

past: Looking

back to

understand

feminism's

future. p. 47

Southeast Asian refugees left the

battles, but not the war. p. 24

turned into Nightmare on Cascadia Street.

Cover illustration by Phillip Burke

THERE COULD BE MORE
POLLUTION IN THESE FILES
THAN ANY PLACE IN THE US.
Tlmr'x Iwumxc we run the Imucxr wcinlly rcspona
inNIc lm mcy nmrker tilmI in HM US.
XVc'x'c Ix nmd that A an Mm: number ufpu)pIc
C2l13 u urmr LICIII uh)ur what their much ix duing
while cumin: mrcrcxr.
Amung urher rhinux, uur xImrcIn wldcrx ka nft
want it ugu IW u)mpumw rlmr have a history nf-
CHYIIDHIHCHFLII pulluriun. Smxur Irsurchers keep
thew dcmilcd I'CCULIIx and xcrcn nut Violators.
Our im'csrmcntx HIM I exclude nucIczlr power
pn quccrx, lll;le n- milimn' a mtmcn m and arm me
with Smith African Cunccrimns.
This mmm ll Imrwfmxczlrch. :md ll Iur erccord
keeping. Imr ir JIM) mums lm immnncm fur mu us
clam as the m)rld VuukI Iikc tn live in.
Call Us
1 -800-533-3863
I_WORKING ASSETS MONEY FUNDj
.ICI IhIIIII IVur' xmIImumk III-IIII
I'Imw wInI my I: llc;- ph vxpm Ilix xx IIII lm m- U :mplurv IHIHI/
mm. -H JIM xur IVurking AncIs Mum-V Fund, um ImIm: rum
ImII mlu'nwx
I I
I I
I I
I I
I I
' Ilium, , , , 7 , , , ,7 7,& I
I mm , I I
I I
I I
I I
I I
XIII ,
Wm , , , ,7 , i , , ,/:y 7
Ik Ix IIIIUIH'I ,i, I
WORKING ASSETSGEIMONEY rum:
THE LARGEST SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE MONEY MARKET FUND IN THE US

The ultimate in sound. . .The ultimate in savings . . .
 Fine Young Cannibals
 The Raw And The
 Cooked 01068
 Madonna: Like A
 Prayer 01029
 Anna Baker: Giving You The Best That
 IGot - Good Love. em Elektra 00586
 Bon Jovi: New Jersey - IIII Be There For
 You. others Mercury 00516
 Phoebe Snow: Something Real - Touch
 Your Soul, etc. Elektra 01101
 Dirty Dancing Original Soundtrack
 Ive Had The Time 01 My LIfe. etc.
 RCA 82522
 Love And Rockets - So Alive. Motor-
 cycle. etc. RCA 01083
 Great White: Twice Shy - Move It. She
 Only, 910 Capitol 01100
 R.E.M.: Green - Stand. Orange Crush,
 etc. Warner Bros. 00715
 The Cowboy Junkies: The Trinity Ses-
 slon - Sweet Jane. etc. RCA 01043
 Paula Abdul: Forever
 Your GIrI - Straight Up,
 etc, Virgin 00933
 Kenny G: Silhouette
 Tradewmds. title song.
 etci Ansta 00603
 TNT: Intuition - Learn To
 Love. WlSdOrTI. etc.
 Mercury 01087
 Bobby Brown: Don't Be
 Cruel - My Prerogative,
 Rom, etc. MCA 00621
 The Sun Story - EIVns. Roy OTDISOn.
 Jerry Lee Lewts, others. Rhino 44534
 Debbie Gibson: Electric Youth - Lost In
 Your Eyes, etc. AtIanlIc 00827
 Edie Brickellm; Shootin Rubber
 Bands... -What I Am. etc Ge en 00789
 Elvis Costello: Spike . Veronica, ...ThIS
 Town. . . 9th Warner Bros. 00841
 Peter Pan/Original Cast - Nevei Never
 Land, I'm Flying. etc RCA 44102
 Whitney Houston: Whitney - Where Do
 B(oken Hearts GO. etc. Ansta 52854
 Milli Vanilli: Girl You Know It's True
 Title song, etc1 Ansta 01048
 20 Million Dollar Memories - The Everly
 Brothers: Bye Bye Love; etc. Laurie 20773
 DJ. Jazzy Jefi & The Fresh Price: He's
 The D.J. I'm The Rapper - Jive
 64134
 THE; ULT' 7 0'
 sbmc TEMPLE
 Repeat Offen er
 01118
 Guns N' Roses: Ap-
 petlte For Destruc-
 tion - Welcome To
 The Jungle, etc.
 Geffen 70348
 Hank WIIIIams. Jr.: Greatest Hits III
 There's A Tear In My Beer,
 etc. Warnert'Curb 00840
 Pops In Space- Musnc from
 Superman. Close Encoun-
 ters, etc. Philips Dig. 05392
 Steve WInwood: Roll Wlth
 It ' Hoidmg On. etc.

Virgin 54633
 Enya: Watermark
 Orinoco Flow (Saul Away),
 etc. Geffen 01041
 New Order: Technique
 Fine Time, All The Way, etc. Owest 00938
 Kingdom Come: In Your Face - Do You
 Like It, etc. Poiydor 01093
 Cocktall (Orlginal Soundtrack)
 Don't Worrry Be Happy. more.
 Elektra
 00459
 Dire Straits: Money
 For Nothlng - Sultans
 S w I n g , e l c t
 Warner Bros, 00713
 The Cult:
 Sonic Temple
 01015
 VladImir Horowitz Plays Mozart - Con-
 certo No. 23. Sonata No. 13, D6
 Dlgltal 15436
 Winger - Seventeen, Madalalne, Hungry.
 more. Atlantic 00 30
 Melissa Etheridge - Like The Way I Do,
 Similar Features. more. Island 60352
 Rimsk -Korsakov. Scheherazade
 Vienna hIl. Pprevm Philips Dlg. 15415
 Bon Jovi: Slippery When Wet - Never
 Say Goodbye, etc. Mercury 43465
 Tchaikovskn 1812 Overture; Romeo
 And Juliet; utcracker Sulte - London
 Digital 25179
 Alabama: Southern Star - Song Of The
 South, etc, RCA 00914
 R0?! Orbison: Mystery Girl - You Got It.
 In he Real World, more. Virgin 00842
 Rhapsody In Electrllc Blue - JR. Baker.
 synthesizer. Newpon CIass-c Digital 34547
 ,
 m.
 01%
 351.50
 R SIDE
 FOR DETAILS. . .
 AND LOTS MORE HITS
 TO CHOOSE FROM
 C0615A
 XTC: Oranges And Lemons - The Mayor
 01 Simpletom King For A Day, etc
 Gefien
 Lyle Lovett And HIs Large Band - Stand
 By Your Man. etc. MCA/Curb
 Rick Astley: Hold Me In Your Arms
 MIke & The Mechanlcs: The Living
 Years - Atlantic 00710
 Karyn White - Superwoman. Love Saw It.
 Slow Down. 8101 Warner Bros, 00832
 Van Halen: 0U012- Feels So Good, When
 It's Love, morei' Warner Bros. 50913
 Chick Corea: Akoustic Band - Some-
 day My Prlnce Will Come, etc.
 GRP Digital 01006
 Genesis: Invisible Touch - Phil CONInS
 & Co. Tonight Tonight Tonight, etc.
 Atlantic 53740
 Metallica: ...And Justice For All - One.
 Blackened, etc. Elektra 00478
 Crosby, 5003, Nash & Young: Ameri-
 can Dream - ThIS Old House. etc. Atlantic
 Digital 00714

Tlffangz Hold An Old Friend's Hand

Radio omance.more. MCA 00707

01086

00932

Gwnng Up On Love. etc.

RCA 00684

Whitesnake - Still Of The

Night, Give Me All Your

Love,etc. Geffen 63629

The

Traveling

Wilburys.

VoL One

0071 1

YOUR SAVINGS START HERE

Complete And Mail This Card Today!

YES, please accept my membership in the BMG Compact

Disc Club and send me the four compact discs I've indicated

here, billing me for just shipping and handling under the terms

of this ad, I need buy just1 CD at regular CIub prices during the

next year_after which I can choose another 3 CD5 FREE!

That's 8 for the price of 1..twith nothing more to buy ever!

(Shipping & handling is added to each shipment.)

RUSH ME 1

THESE 4 CDs

(Indicate by number):

I am most interested in the

musical category checked 1 I'- EASV LISTENING (Instrumental Vocal Moods)

?eref-butlrgay alvzrays 2i COUNTRY 3f IHARD ROCK

ee reetoc oose rom

any (checkone only): 4i 7 POP/SOFT ROCK 53 CLASSICAL

' 1 MR.

7" MRS.

r e MISS First Name Initial Last Name (PLEASE PRINT)

Address Apt.

City State Zip

Telephone (Avea Code)

1% 131 C; Signature

LImIIed to new members, continental U S A onIy CurrenI BMG CD CIub

members not eIIgIbIe Ior thIs miter One ITIBITIDEISIIID per Iam.Iy We

reserve the right to request addIIIOHaI

vmz

IniounaIIon or reject any appucation

Local taxes. II any, WIII be added

-)t%--

n'a-
3 nothing m
,J 0.!
Lou Reed: New York - Duty Blvdv,
Halloween Parade. etc. Sure 01058
Randy Trevla: Old 8x10 . Honky Tonk
Moon, etc. Warner Bros, 00008
Tesla: The Great Radio Controversy
Heaven's Trail. etc Geffen 00839
Skid Row - Youth Gone erd. Big Gunsy I
Remember You, etc Atlantic 01038
Bird: Original Recordings 01 Charlie
Parker - Verve 01044
Vangells: Direct - The Motion Of Stars.
First Approach. etc.' Ansta 00470
SAVE
50%
_mm U
_ SO: 8
'- - (D 1'4
: 3903 m
__ 220 m
:)QO 2
: U4; l:
: OA'U E
._ Ergg m
2 m A E
: _ U
-_ 2 g g
: a o as
"_ m 0 g
- o r- m
9 CP ace 3
:_ 8 m
-_ (.n
-_ CD
3
33
(/1
-1
O
r-
b
(I)
(1)
TJ
m
IJ
S
-1
Z
O
U1
C)
j
N! .SHOdVNVIGNI
Jody Wetley: Lar r Than Llfe - Real
Love. Friends. etc CA 01104
John Cougar Mellencamp: The
Lonesome Jubilee - Mercury 34420
Poison: Open Up And Say...Ahh!
Capitol/Enlgma 73989
Robert Palmer: Heavy Nova - Simply
lrresustible, etc. EMI 00035
The Judds: Rlver 01 Time - One Man
Woman Young Love, etc. RCA 01027
Natalie Cole: Good To Be Back - Muss
You Like Crazy. more. EMI 01119
INSTANT HALF-PRICE BONUS PLAN
Unlike other clubs. you get 50%-otf Bonus Savings
with every CD you buy at regular Club prices.

effective with your first full-price purchase!

WIVW A'Idatl SSENISDG

% z

2

:_?g0

m U

UngO

-t)(nm

(IJIFm_i

gmmb)

-t 0136)

m "(m

U)

Tone-de: Loc-Ed After Dark - Wild

Thing, On Ftre etc. Delloous 01033

Led Zep Iln IV (Runes) - Stairway To
Heaven. lack 009. etc. Atlantic 12014

Guy - I Luke, Tedd '5 Jam. Groove Me.

Goodbye.more.M A/Uptown 50625

Dolly Pertou, Llnde Ronstadt. Em-

mylou Harrls: Trlo - Warner Bros. 14804

Guns N' Roses: GN'R Ltea - Pattence,

Reckless Lute. Mama Km, more.

Geften 00805

The Replacements: Don't Tell A Soul

I'll Be You, etc. Sure 01024

Aretha Franklin: Through The Storm

Title song. Think. etcv Ansta 01097

Bulletboys - For The Love Of GREATEST HITS ON CD

Money, Hard As A Rock, moret Whob Better,Who's Best 00790

Warner Bros 00831 Fleetwood Mac: Greatest Hlts . . 00796

Carole King: City Street: - Legacy. Steely Danzoecade 54135

others. Capitol 01099 James Taylor: Greatest Hits. . . . 23790

White Llon: Prlde -Waut, Tell Me. Hun Iy, Supertramp: 14 Classics 04891

Lonely Nights. etc Atlantic 73 81

Glenn Miller Orch.: In The Dlgttal Mood

Jimi Hendrix: Kiss The Sky 61349

The Very Best01 Connie Francis 23434

To come. 43293 Dave Grusin: Collection 00929

22 Top: Afterburner - Sleeping Ba . etc. Eric Clapton: Time Places 23385

Warner Bros 2 Jack Bruce: Willpower 00931

Tracy Chapman - Fast Car. Talkln' Bout A

Revolution. etc. Elektra 53582

The Judds: Greatest Hits 44578

Kiss: Smashes, Thrashes. Hits. 00736

Animation - Room To Move, Send It Over. 20 Years 01 Jethro Tull 00817

Calling '1 Love. more Polydor 01091 The Best or The Band 34405

Sldewlndarn: Wltchdoctor - Cigarette. Beach Boys: Endless Summer . 23559

Bad. Crazy Sun, moree RCA 01075 Best or The Moody Blues 53900

Allmn Bros. Band: Eat A Peach

Mellssa. Blue Sky, etc. Polydor 63353

Jazz CD Sampler - Ella, Armstrong,

Eagles: Gt. Hits 1971-1975 23481

Elvis Presley:18 No. 1 Hits. 0 72190

Foreigner: Records 53317

Gem Basra. more Potygvam 73406 Styx: 14 Classics 14022

Dot Leppard: Pyromanla - Phot raph. Steppenwolf: 16 Greatest Hlts.. 13453

etc. Mercury 0402 Dion: The Wanderer (10 Gt. Hits) . 00999

Restless Heart: Big Dreams In A Small The Best 01 The Art 01 Noise . . 00848

Town - RCA 24777 R.E.M.: Eponymous 00701

Bruce Hornsby And The Range: RusthShowOHiends 00608

Scenes From The Southslde CarlySimon:Gt.Hits-Live 54537

RCA 30137 James Galway: Gt. Hits 73233

Police: The Singles 73924

Simon A Gartunkel: Concert . . . 44006

More Dirty Dancing 30766

Diana Ross: 20 Gt. Hits 63867

Wrcury Vocal Groups 04854

45's On CD. Vol 1 50044

Squeeze: 14 Classics 00601

Marvin Gaye: 15 Gt. Hits 53534

BestOfBedCompany:10From6. .0 60321
The Cure: Staring At The Sea . . 50024
Barry Manilow: Gt. Hits, Vol. 1 . . 72863
The Cars: Greatest Hits 53702
Lionel Richie: The Composer 3. 24700
START NOW WITH 4 COMPACT DISCS!

Yes, pick any 4 compact DISCS shown here! You need buy just one selection at regular Club prices (usually \$14.98-\$15.98) and take up to one full year to do it. Then you can choose another 3 CD3 FREE! That's 8 compact DISCS for the price 0H and theres nothing more to buy .ever! (Shipping & handling added to each shipment)

HOW THE CLUB OPERATES

You select from hundreds of exciting compact discs described in the Clubs magazine and mailed to you approximately every 3 weeks (19 times a year). Each Issue highlights a Featured Selection In your preferred MUSIC category. plus alternate selections If you'd like the Featured Selection. do nothing It will be sent to you automatically. If you'd prefer

an alternate selection. or none at all. just return the card enclosed with each issue of your

magazine by the date specified on the card You will have at least 10 days to decide. or you may return your Featured Selection at our expense. Cancel your membership at any time after completing your membership agreement. Simply by writing to us.

FREE 10-DAY TRIAL

Listen to your 4 introductory selections for a total 10 days. If not satisfied, return them with

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

BMG Compact Discs Cm!) 655M 30m St
Indianapolis IN 462194194 CDS15A

Landau's Castro

Saul Landau (IAfter Castro? July/August 89) seems to think that Castro single-handedly brought about the tremendous improvements in housing, schooling, etc., that Cuba has seen since the Revolution. Not so. Castro has had a little help: \$30 billion in Soviet foreign aid since 1961, \$11 million a day by now. And that doesn't include military aid. Plus, Cuba has a favorable trade agreement whereby it imports petroleum at artificially low prices. Granted, Castro deserves some credit-I'm sure there are some Third World dictators who could blow \$30 billion-but he hasn't worked miracles.

COLIN RUST

Toronto, Ontario

IIAfter Castro's war was perceptive and provocative. It mentioned the Cuban military victory of Cufo Cuavale against the South African forces in southern Angola.

Vainly I looked for basic news about the battle in the U.S. press. The New York Times, which is supposedly the newspaper with the broadest coverage of international events, had only a few minute references. This pivotal battle, which lasted several months, was the decisive event that led to the positive steps for an independent Namibia and peace in Angola.

CHARLES W. ARNADE

Professor, International Studies and History
University of South Florida
Lakeland, Florida

I seriously value your magazine and generally agree with everything in it. But in this case I live with conflicting facts. Saul Landau's article on Castro's Cuba leaves out vital information when it reports that Castro has ended illiteracy and homelessness in his country.

You see, I live in Miami, Florida, and the other Cuba? Over the past fifteen years or so, Castro has shipped upwards of 200,000 illiterate and/or homeless Cubans to this city.

Quite a solution, eh? If Landau would come to this community he would see a transported, not transformed, Cuba.

RICC EDWARD BISHOP

Miami Beach, Florida

Surviving Attitudes

The importance of networking was emphatically brought home to me in the second paragraph of David Kirp's article on HIV-infected teens (11A Boy's Life July/August 1989). Kirp states that, with Marcus Robinson, II. . . this is the first time any community in the country is known to have taken responsibility for a teenager exposed to AIDS through gay sex?

In fact, Gay and Lesbian Adolescent Social Services (GLASS) has been providing long-term, residential group home care for HIV-infected and at-risk teens since 1984. Our foster care program, Triangle Project, also provides long- and short-term foster placement for gay and lesbian and HIV-infected teens, for children whose parents have died of AIDS, and for drug-dependent and HIV-infected infants.

As long as we have beds available, we will accept any youngster under the age of eighteen from anywhere in the country.

TERESA DECRESCENZO

Executive Director, GLASS
West Hollywood, California

I am a board member of several AIDS service and education organizations. As a lllong-term survivorl, of not only AIDS but of homophobia, I would like Marcus to know that there is hope, and that there may also be a happy ending to his story. Of course people are dying and will continue to do so. More and more, however, the medical community is changing its outlook in regard to survivability of people with AIDS. Persons living with AIDS are insisting that they are chronically rather than terminally ill, and demanding that their treatment be approached with that fact in mind.

Two years ago I buried my lover of many years. We were diagnosed within thirty days of each other in 1985. While missing and grieving for my loss and that of so many other friends, I continue to choose to celebrate my life daily and to have it be a joyous experience.

DAVID G. FARRINGTON

Syracuse, New York
The Grass Ia Greener

I was pleased to see the piece on proposed national parks (IThe Next Four National Parksf july/August 189), which included what David Rains Wallace described as the Old Growth National Park. However, there are important points about the proposal that he did not cover.

The generally accepted name for the national-park proposal is the Siskiyou National Park, which calls for a park of just over one million acres. It is the intent of this proposal to provide permanent protection for much of the largest remaining intact coastal ancient forest ecosystem in the lower forty-eight states.

Approximately 98 percent of the land proposed for the park is managed by the U.S. Forest Service and the US. Bureau of Land Management. Federal plans for the lands proposed for inclusion in the Siskiyou National Park will result in the logging of BAC KTALK

over 50 percent of this irreplaceable resource. The timber industry of the Pacific Northwest can be expected to fight this park proposal with all of the economic and political support it can muster.

For more information contact: Siskiyou National Park Campaign, 522 SW. Fifth, Suite 1050, Portland, OR 97204; (503) 223-9012.

BRUCE AMSBARY

Exec. Dir., Siskiyou National Park Campaign
Portland, Oregon

In his article IThe Next Four National Parks? Wallace holds up Japan as an example to emulate based on the percentage of land that it has declared national parks. This is very unfortunate given Japanls poor environmental protection record at home and abroad.

Despite international protests, the Japanese government backs plans to build airstrips over rare coral reefs and log off habitats for endangered birds. Japan fails to rein in its corporations that are destroying rain forests and dumping toxic chemicals in Southeast Asia.

Undeveloped land in Japan isn't so expensive. A lot of the parkland is mountains that nobody can farm or build on . . . yet. Yes, the United States and the world need to preserve more of our vanishing ecosystems. But the appeal to save wilderness areas should not give credit to those working against those very goals.

MICHIAKI SOGA

Itabashi-ku, Tokyo

Anti- Shrinks Expanding

Thanks and congratulations for recognizing some of us activists in the anti-psychiatry/inmates liberation movement in North America (IIThe Anti-Shrinksf July/August ,89). There are roughly fifty inmates, liberation/self-help/advocacy groups in the United States alone. In Europe, there are at least twenty-five anti-psychiatry groups.

In Canada, there are fewer than ten such self-help/advocacy groups, but a number of ex-inmates and supporters have produced two very radical anti-psychiatry groups: RAP (Resistance Against Psychiatry), and Phoenix Rising, the only anti-psychiatry magazine in Canada. A new Canadian book titled Shrink Resistant is helping to support our continuing struggle. Thanks to the net-working, we know we are not alone.

DON WEITZ

Toronto, Ontario

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. El

MOTHER JONES 3

Illegal Abortion MotherJones
Kl1l3 One Woman
Ever)I 3 Mmutes
MARY HARRIS "MO I'HInR" IONIIS 'IMIPWW,
()RAIUR. UNION ()R(.ANl/.l-.IL AND HLHxRANR
IIIIIIIn I LIA.
I(IIItII IX III'II.
. I IIIIIIIInIJnII II.IIrIIIIII
I IszI'IIIIIIzIIInIIx IIIIIIIII IIIIIII.
I II I'IIII'I IHIII'I IIII IIII
I I'INI'II'IH IIIIIII '.I-IIIILl
. - I
IjIIyIIIIg IIIIII/III::,;IIII I I IIIIII
-.IIII_'I2;III'IIIjIIIIII INIIW
Yet Abortion F068 _
III'IH/ IWIK'IIIHIIJIZI' II ILIIIIII
Call Themselves
I W xIXE v IIII/II jIIIZ,
W WM IX H K'I III.) II
-v . III xzxzv I X)?
HII'II' Is nIIlI' IIIII' II':II In IIIxIl I
Wllll I'lll IssIII' IlI;II ll:15 IIUUH :15 (lb I w l.:wa
IIHHI :15 HIV riglll In :IlInIIInII I IIIIIII, ;.
U V III'I: FINN I VI V
IIIIIIIS xIIImx IIIIIM IIxII I x I-I
I .I I -. . 3 I . I 'I, I . ILIIIEIIIIxIxIIIIIIIIIIIX'Ij III I:IIIIII:I IIIIII
NIIIIIIIIII IIIIIIs MIIIIIIII IIIIIIs HWMMm_wml W VMMWLHi,
l w I:I-IIINII.I I W! I:
II- wx xxx:
ngzll IEII'Is,
xl/mr/IUH: lI'nr IIHH'IM/ LlI)('ll
lll0lle Iht' III'IIII I'nr :IlInIIInII llll(1 IIIx
IIIIIIIIII'IIHIH' In WIIIIII'II :IIIIII IIIINIV
llI-;IlIlI WIIFIIIWIIII', This prnII'mInIIullI
IIInIlIIII'I'Il SI) IIIIIIIIIU' VIIIUUI Ix IZlIlIlIl
lll(1 panII'I'IIl, II DIIH51lHlelL'Ill'S.
MnllI I;IrIl (lll15 :l/NJW/lI/M l'IN'
,X'IH'I'H'H/ HIHII' IIIII'IIIIIIII) JIIIMHII' In
IIIII lII-s nI' IIII- :IIIII :IlInIIInII I'xII'I'III IIII' IIIII'IISIII'H
Ists ICII-zIIInI 3lll0lll says llI(' IIIIHI II 15 IIIII IIIIISI SIIIIIkIHg I'IIII'n :IIIn
III IEICIJITIIIIII; III?"XIIIIII'IIl:II'CIIII: IWII
HPIIIS lllV :IIIII :IlInIIInII IIIIIInI'III nII :IlInI'IIInII IIII'I' IlIlIlIlC II Is :len
llW IHWSI, Wm WM- IHIIIIHHIWI
IIIIIIIIIIII IIIII.I'I'.. HIIIIJZII I
,IIXILI.
LIIII IHXV. IT IINMII EMIIICIIW
MIMI
LN IIa-I I
P_"Ir'an 'IIIXII :uquI I IWVW
-III 'Ix m JII nIXIIIXII
I IIIxII I I IXA IIII'II II'I'II lth: H II'I'II.
I InIII VIIII I
I IIIIIIIIV II :. I IIIIIIV A IWIIIJZII
R HxWx Ir
TIII'W I'I'IIII. Iu'I I'LnII'IIixI
.V I I W HWIIT
HHNINHIIIN I'UR NHIUNNI PROGRl-Ss
I)UIIHI'IM I InIII'.
VIIIIJII III'A
.RIIIIIIIII
Hum- M'IIII IIIIIII IInIIIIIX nl NWIC ,IWWII. IN N WW
I I ,I . . I I I I MIIL/ I
.I/HII/IIIH lnr IVH/llt(/ IIIIIIlIl-SS I
H ., HIIIII! II' IIIxI x Ixxx mu HI. I IIIIII I:I.II um; I mm I II
MIIW 3Jl IlI) IlI: II ('le BHI'IX XIII :Ier IIIVII II IIIIII,III xIII:I I.II'IIHI III? II
I III IIIII.-III.II:I II
I I(Ilmh Ql nn Hm IIUIII III? I VIIHIII I(lIIIIIIIIIRIW, WEI
IIIIIIII I ' I. I II . I I I IIIII
I III'Ik H5I IINIIII'I .IIIII I IIIIIIIII III III IIIIIIIII. , IIIII IIIII h w ,IIIIIIImIc
I I
PHXIIUK HLHIIHIIIIl 5.: IN I IIIIIIIIIII IIIxIx IwI IIIIIIIIIIIII xIIIIIIII

1.1m XIIIIIIIII-I'
IIIIIIIII nII J
iIIIII III. I .II IIIIIIII II IIIII IIIII III IIIII I
'l'nII'II'IIIIan-II 5
-IIII-IIIII III HII IIIIIII.I:III I IwIIII III
I _ III III-IIII IIIIIIIIII IIIIIIII III IIIII IIIIIIII. I
IIIIII I(I'III' III III IIIII-III II I IIIIIIIIII l'IIIIIIIIIIIII lW III IN
. IIIIIIIIIIIuIIIIIIIIwIw
.IIInIIIIInI'I' HIIIIIII'IIIII BIIIIIIIIIII'II IIIIIIII II I
II III II IIIIIII I IIIII-III I
HIHII IxxIIIIHIKII'nIaII
I XII HI! I' III xIIImII-IIIIII
Hmw .xIIIIII I III'I'kN IILIIIIIIII In I' lIIII lnr IIIv IPIIIIIHNI IIIIIIII'III In III
IIII'I IIIMIXNN IWIIHI
THE FUND FOR THE FEMINIST MAJORITY w
H III IIIII IIII
II
I IIIIIIIIII IIIIIIIIII II
VI I(IIIIIIIII IIIIIIII III III I WI HUIHIR IUIIn II
I IIII-- I III III III xInzIII II Ian x II IIIII-III I-I
xIIIIIIIII IIIIIIII III-.IIIIII I.IIIIIII II. IIIIIIIIIIII IIIIIIIIII. W 6
H11)" II 'Iil'll NII'IIIII .NIIIIIII IInx IIIII'VIIIIHI l IIIIIIIIX IIIIIIII II IIwII NIIl
,NIIIIIII 'III ,IIIIIIIIIIIII, H LIJIN WWW mm m" M Pm l
IIII IIIIIIIIIHIIII IIIMIIHIIIWJIIHII II-l I'H'II xflIIKIII IWM'IHIIJJIIJIII MIIII

You and
 your Foster Child:
 A peace pact to show the world.
 You care. When you see our
 world battered by turmoil and
 strife. . .when you know innocent
 Children are hungry and hurting. ..
 your heart cries for them.
 But what can you do?
 The truth is as 21 person who
 cares about other human beings_
 even 21 child thousands of miles away
 _you can do a lot
 You can stop the hurting for one
 little Child_and Change the condi-
 tions that cause it And in one small
 corner. you can help with the healing
 of our troubled world.
 Create a bond of peace and
 love for only 72¢ a day.
 While world leaders hold peace
 talks, and spend billions on aid and
 arms, there's another way you
 personally can make a difference. By
 reaching out to a desperately poor
 child overseas as 21 Foster Parent.
 All it takes is \$22 a month_-only
 72¢ a day_to help a child and his or
 her family build 21 better life Through
 health and nutrition programs
 Schooling. I)ise;Lsc-free water. Higher
 food production and other long-term
 help.
 And along the way. you create a
 special bond of love. Through your
 exchange of letters and photos, you
 send real hope and encouragement. as
 you share your Foster Child's dreams
 and the family's progress as well.
 With your one-to-one sharing
 and caring you help attack the
 poverty that breeds resentment-and
 help build new understanding around
 the globe.
 See the difference your help
 is making.
 Being 3 Foster Parent may not
 win you the Nobel Peace Prize, but
 with every letter and progress report
 you receive, you'll see the difference
 your help is making to one small
 child whose life is Changing because
 of you.
 And in a world full of conflict.
 you'll know that you and your Foster
 Child are setting an example for
 people everywhere to live together in
 peace.
 Live what you believe!
 Call toll-free
 1-800-225-1234-today.
 r_____

YES, I want to be a peacemaker. K325
 sponsorship is enclosed.
 Kenneth H. Phillips, President
 Foster Parents Plan, Inc.
 8%; Foster Parents Plan
 Help so complete, it touches a child for life.
 157 Plan Way 0 Warwick, RI 02886
 I
 Enroll me as a Foster Parent to. . . D I'm not yet sure if I want to be 21 Foster Parent I

The child who needs my caring most. but Im interested. Please send me information I
Girl Boy Either about the child I would be sponsoring. I

_ Ecuador Guatemala India Mn Mm I

Africa Colombia Thailand Miss Ms

Philippines I

Any country where the need is greatest Addlw I

Please send my Foster Parent Kit with H y _ I

my Foster Childs photo and case history (A'ty mm Z'p I

My check for 822 for the first month's Mail to: I

I

I

I

A copy oi'I'VNt-r Ihn'ms PLm's fumirul report is .anIhlr- In nu the New thk lX-puruncm oh
mic. ()mu' oi(Imnun Rrgmnuion. Albany hV or I'uslcr Pm'nrs Plzul Wurwek. RI

LATEST THINKING

By Dixon Terry

Farm Futures

Editofs note: With his keen grasp ()feamomics and politics and his gift for making the complicated plain, Dixon Terry might be the best spokesman farmers ever had. He eo/ounded the grass-roots rural advocacy group Prairiefire and was president of the National Family Farm Coalition. ()7: the last Sunday in May, while haling hay with his son and father on his Iowa farm, Dixon Terry was struck dead by lightning. He was thirty-nine. A New York Times story painted the scene of his funeral in vivid heartland detail, but missing,I from the account was the message that Terry devoted his life to spreading. Here, adapted from a 1987 speech, is the thinking of Dixon Terry.

ms 15 NOT THE FIRST TIME OUR nation has faced a far-reaching farm crisis threatening our soil and water resources. Some writers mistakenly attribute the agricultural Great Depression in the United States to the Dust Bowl era of drought, blinding sandstorms, and parched earth. In fact, the opposite was closer to the truth. Falling farm prices in the 19205 and '305 led first to the abandonment of standard conservation practices,

I3BOOKS 3BUCKS

. NO COMMITMENT i

_ NOKIDDING ; ,

se

_ t : :H . , ,

--'//n --I 1. HH 1M)V1AV H ___' 7 r I , , .

((IIIIIIII'k "- I(IIIRIII 'l I . I I . . I

51 ()Ix1 BHINKLEY 1 ()11 1 i 1 ' V D1111: \$1113

I - I k ,

NORM mm mm m.tm . I 91. W

I ..._... _ ' m

((1 R1104 WASHINGTON 111111 :itlmxrB .1ln1-Khnllxlk1 . V 013 1'11 11

i; (111" Mm A ___ "11111111811" "mammar. e

h I um-qw-n-At"

,, I 777 7 , 1- 1 liuhleuflmI '1" 1 ..

791, X 1("1IHIII1I' '400. 1A 1H11I'rul.h1('1 S47V1111111K1I'1 1% 1w MIIIIImIIx '710. 1'1v 111H11I'1H1L1V1 '110. um. II 1 571.1'111111111Ih1 (I01. 11Iccvulunnxmt 40S.1111111L1111JH 01H '481 Thu latest

tw UIIIIIIIImu11I-I IIIII "14'1va I IN 11'11I'II1INV1H'(11111111 11111 I'I II 1L! mum I nI HIVHULC Man. I II 111 1IMM1HHH'! IrrL'H'rI'IH mung: helu-IxIhnmghuut mun tmm thx- mm n e dmunat thvtllmous

mdmhnu sm 1'11 LIIIIJI. .11'K'IV1 1lw mm: IIIL'I IIIII-III III 11IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII 3x1 11m 11111I'111.1H I1111H' I. h HII' .Ihum vwnthmgtrmu humn IITHJtmi prune at 'lanth thirmmn h as

Ivm Iumh Imtmu Lumlun WMIIIIIIIIIIII 1111 1mm Inm ZUIme IICI' 11'x11'1 x nhtrmwmdulw H "mm " gig Q; MIIHMNII 491133mmmmMc

unpuhluhmlI.I1I-I lruymhuu JIIIIIIIIIIW 11 H 11.nlum 5IWI Huthm- v34 1h mu 11I111U11-11K'I' 11'11 t-u-nInm-tnmIN.Irnm Q1111: 5159; HJRINWF 511) t); quottmunx

IIIIIIIMN 333 wt ILWIWI aw: ILmIWI MNWI QI'IHSTW QMLSILIIIR IImW-I 3st Im-IIM- QPII:\$:I.9% HIIIIHW 5-13

QIIH- \$1099 kw", 5.95); QPB- 19 R0 QIIII. 5w: Q1'1; ;\$750 QPB: \$18.95

FRMINI IH'I JIN-ZI'NI .wnuul. ' M A k I 0'

IIII IR I mu Hwi R SENSUAL

m ; ()I MYTH MESSAGE

L I II I I1 "'I't-"M-W" _ MMMNI'D . t. ..

1011A prIIM1Q1'11HIu 1m 147.1HIIIIWUIH1HN1HY1 100. 11ml YIV111NI'11 mm A hm wilmu 421A xt huLIrnn 169 Fm 11 hk'x1x1' LX'pI 167 1lw mm at 143 .ZKII0thrd 197. Soothmg

114IIm'IIIxIIIIVihI. 1hr! 1HHI'HII IIIIIII I1III uullmnx InIht- 1mm wt .I HIHL'1NN1111111' N1'n Ithnlugx 1k'11x1luu tun (mm Ihe uuhwr null: .mnn III mmquc pmtssorexplnrncsdw lhvr-I PL'HVII

IIImeuum HIM-ImmuImI III-IxIIm IIw m 1m! IIHIIIIJ 1m Mmtmlm-II Im(1h1LIHWLIIIIIL'A1MII uhhc beu scllmg Jun hIrnmt m-Iummqu hxhnlqlles 1W

'Wmmtl HM 1.1M, \$j; 5 I IIIII1I'I-1 11111'1t1111'11'b1 Hudwwy \$13th 1m-x HIIIIIIIIW 1mm Ht mhuwr 3:003 snhmth- umphu phumgmphs

IZIIIIqm-r QI'II 511m QIIII; \$10.99 QHI- sms HJerII-r 53'; an QPB:\$99\$ QPRSISHS HMWW, 517
03 QPB;\$9.S0
Q1 11-31mm QI'B: 51 ms QPB: \$895

and then farmers were forced to try and make up for lower prices with greater volume. Crop rotations had to be abandoned, by forging a national policy to repair and restore the soil and water resources. A price support mechanism kept commodity prices at or above the cost of production, allowing farmers to buy back their land and make conservation investments. You can walk the

3 BOOKS. 3 BUCKS.

NO C OWL YMENT. NO KIDDING.

1

Let 5 try each other for 6 months.

Quality Paperback Book Club'. Camp Hill, PA 17012. 111eiiw enroll me 111 Q1111 .11111 wut 1 tht- Ktlioit 0

I've lixtctl belon, hilllng 111k' only 51 e.ttli, plux xliippiuuunt111.111111111u Lildl'L Ik'N. 1111111etxtiintltlml.1mnot

required tolwtiy Juntlietlmok. You Will xentl 1111- 11K"QP11 h't'ticu (11 111Y.1kk1111111 1x 111L11Miy1x1.1111111111 1111211

least wk uionthx, 11 I 11.lw not lmuulit .1t lemt 1111c lmolt 111 .11n xivuioiitli ptitim 1, you 111.11 1.11111-1111y

tuetnliehlp. A xlnppuii .uitl liantlluui 1 11.11'LZL' 1x 11k111k'11 111 on 11 N1ilpllitn 1.

ludieale 11y number your three rhoiecs: E E 1:

9-16

Name Lji'v'rn 10X

Address

City

11'111111111111-1111)

, , ,Apt.

State_ Zip

How membehhip works:

1. QPB Review: You tuctyc llic QPH 111m 1L'11 13

tiiiesJ yt'.1t(.1111111t1-x'cry 11/: neelx'x). 1111(111hx11k'

rt-y Ieyyx .1 non Selection, plux xl URN oiiutlict lmolxx.

2. Selection: 11 you 11111 the Selection x11111111111111L1.

1t yH11 lw xlilppctl to you .1111om:1rn.111y. 11youw.1111

t)11t1)111111'CU1111L'1V1Nihx or 11111V11UK111 .111 , 111 tl.n,x 11: 11.11111 ux, you ui .iy return 11 1111 111-11".

intlituite your tin Mon 1111 the Reply Form .111111yx 5. Cancellations: You 111.11 tum el iit'uihcnhip .11

enclosed and return II by 111Cx1.11cxpCCith1. 1111V1111L'1W'HUHLV1HL' Q1111. W'e 111.1y mntel y: vut

3.130nus books for Bonus Points: liot c.1th soit/ nicuihetxliip 11 you clett 11111 to buy .It lam 11111'

eoycr hook or wt you mLe (vxtt-pt hit the 11111110 111 hookln.11iyx1x/111omh171111111.

tlux Ullk'l'ly you c.1111 1ltvnux 1luuux 111111 11 entitle

you 1UL11111MC(111V0111111 Mill'llintl'iuuleW You p.11

only xluppinuit111.111111111: (11.1mm

4. Return privilege: 11 111C Q1111 thiuu 1x del.iyetl

and you reteiu- the Scluctiun 1111111111 11.11111: 11.111

x 11 11111011111'1111xl.:_11111111111.4.1.1 1 11WQ111111; I'q-ulml 111mb 1.11

.111 .1 innuii... 1 1111

pay farmers the lowest price possible to maximize their profits. Secondly, agricultural firms that sell pesticides, fertilizer, and hybrid seed oppose supply management programs because surplus production increases their sales The combined force of these two industries was gradually able to repeal the successful farm programs of the Roosevelt era, beginning in the 1950s. As farm prices were forced downward, farmers produced larger crops to try and maintain their cash flow, and without effective supply management, massive surpluses accumulated.

In their advertising, agribusiness corporations idolized big farmers_their farms, their production, and their investments. Banks and other lenders encouraged this invest-

ment for all-out production. I was working
as a hired hand on my parents' dairy farm in
the mid-seventies, and my wife and I were
trying to borrow money to buy our own
farm. But our goal of starting a traditional
moderate-sized Iowa farm went against the
grain of expansion-minded lenders. We had
great trouble finding lending because we
weren't thinking big enough.

By the end of the 1970s, farmers were pro-
luding at a loss and were only kept in busi-
ness by two factors that went hand in hand:
increasing debt on inflating land values and
intensifying production. Bankers and other
lenders took greater control over farming,
dictating production practices, almost al-
Photograph by V Lewis

anvil
1-1'1 Mirquez,
1111- Nnht-1
tail 1-K 1.111'5
5 the tourw 111 .1
'111' 10111-1111
git
Irdtoxvt 5
QPB: \$7.
A BRIEF
HISTORY OF
5 SHINING LIE
P41111511 and
' MAngrminwgwn
NEILSHEEHAN
STEPHEN
W.H_AWKING
'321. Stephen
Hawking offers a
convincing big picture
of the origins of the
47.7., A new nllled- 270.1 hc Batman oi
toebursting collec-
tion of oyet 5311
liV'KIL'tKal ul:.11'
'498. 10119 edition
What to wrllle.hoyx
to write it, where
it to sell it
'319, Fascmatlng
techniques on
overcoming "presenta-
tion anxiety" In all
1309. A disturbing
biography of an
army ofhcer who per-
sonlfied America's
1 111111111
(otruption .md eyen
1'11) 1 an)oul
Hardcover 537 30 business encounters cosmos Side" cartoons presence in Vietnam Hardcover
512 1):,
lb 15 QPB: \$13. 50 Hardcover \$1505 Hardcover- 513,95 QPB: \$895 Hardcover \$24 03 QPB: \$8.9
5
95 (2138:5795 QPB: \$9.50 QPB: \$12195
1'hL' 100311111119: crime.
INNIIMERACY
mmmmw IUJHM
MD "S CIMSEQUIJENEES
lw no 11 111 1111.19
'163 1111- ytotx 11:11.11
.Hilxt n ho 1111M
182. Movers talks
about everything from

morahy to seiente
 '335. What happens
 when welledueated
 mntmut 111L' 1111111111: people are ignorant of
 with notable ziiemunea 11! 111-1 basic mathematics
 individuals. tuildhuod Hardcover \$1695
 Hardcover, 529 95 111.11.11.11 1- ' QPB: \$8.95
 QPB:\$15.95 Q1113: 5930
 1QPB Exclusive: The only softcover edition now :ly2iilzi_lhle
 How QPB Membership Works.
 Big Savings: QPB books are
 softcover books in hardcover si_:es.
 durably bound and printed on hne
 paper. But they are priced up to (10%
 less thzm their hardcoyer
 counterparts,
 QPB Review: Youlll rescue the
 QPB Review 15 times 11 year (about
 every 31/: weeks), Each issue reyiexys
 :1 new Selection, plus scores of other
 books. lfyu want the Selection do
 nothing. It will be shipped to you
 automatically. lfyu mint one or
 more ofthe other booksmn no
 book at allgindicate your decision
 on the Reply Form always enclosed
 and return it by the date specified. A
 Bonus books for Bonus Points:
 For each softcover book or set you
 take (except for the books in this
 offer), you earn Bonus Points which
 entitle you to choose any ofour
 softcoyer books. You pay only ship
 ping and handling charges.
 Cancellations: You may cancel
 membership at any time by
 notifying QPB, We may cancel your
 membership ifyou elect not to buy
 at least one book in any sinmonth
 period.
 to
 QLPB
 Quality
 Indicate by number
 your)choiees.
 tsTry Each Other for 6 Months.-1
 Quality Paperback Book Club? PO Box 8804, Camp Hill,PA 170118804
 Please enroll me in QPB and send the 3 Choices lye listed
 below. billing me only \$1 each,plus shipping and
 handling charges. I understand that lam not I
 required to buy another book. You will send
 me the QPB Review (if my account is in good 1
 standing) for at least six months. 1U have not
 bought at least one book in any simeonth period.
 you may cancel my membership.
 :12:
 9.10 1
 shipping and handling charge is Paperback Name iPlcase pnm (Imrlw QB555.10.Q
 added to each shipment. B k I Address Am 1
 Return privilege: 1fthe QPB
 Revieu is delayed and you receive the Club I Cit Stat . Z' w I
 Selection without having had 10 y L 11
 days to notify us, you may return it lyllAlW)jrnt'tAlit111plu'rink'MLItL1 1 itawgmim 11.1
 11.111.11 11.111 11.1. AHMJHMHIW. ,hwwm
 for credit .

L EST THINKING
Byl)ixon Terry
Farr 1:. 14.1 1 mm
H'rll
BUS
H59 M!x
ININL
NESS REPLY MA'L
H IWWH 5"
x HH'HH I 1'3
x_Ir I'M V34
KHH M J'WMJ'H:
XWW'F. 1 5'
Qualm Pupcrhm L Bonk Club
(.Hzllt HIH 1W ITHH (MN
NH mxwm
leLl-, & WY
H MAILH)
IN lmi
! M 1 HI N'HHiS
'IIII'IIHIIIIlil'1lHHlllllil111'11111'11'111il
In factfthel oppositg was closer to theA truth. Falling
farm prices in the 19205 and 305 led first to the
abandonment of standard conservation practices,
LRNLEVI
HiiMINK EWAY
K.
-_r//, (--_
(m)Ick' .
HM!
Slums
I ((131er
ll)mn Sway
_-(
'795.A.lrmmm-
nnu'vwHmu'AUHHHUM rvd't'uu'mmsr
Lnghnlmu sum
prruuuslx
manun Lnndun
unpuNnhuiMIN (numfhm
Hurdunrr S11 SC
QPB: 510.9% QPB: \$9.95
109. A mum QPBKHU lhr
Hmmm 0/ 5012. Th lflzmamx
u/(?mmmm. Th: Humumu/
Izdmng
Mnlumr sur
QPB: \$10.95
t406. HA mHUrumsr cr
LmJu .npc u! lhr mm;
Hunhm'cr SIWH
BRINKLEY
WASHINGTON
GOES TO WAR
547.15rulHn-x
m mm rhc vlm 1 m x
159. Iannmsnn's
Puhrrur pnzc mnrr
Turnmrdllnxn" NY
Iwmw
mphnmlu n1
Wlnhummn DL
dunanW II
Hdnlmn-r 5P V1
QPB: \$950
HmL uu'r SH Q9
gm ms
AMsTURV'
THUR uwx
.
l I . '

. V ,
H7. turnymn hhlurx 360.lrc." vnnrsL'H
tramrhcwmmmr tnthvanlusntu
MK vmr UMJIhl hlz
Nlnmui'llurr .ultcr x110
QPB: \$10.95
pvrxpz-xtm-
Hunlun'vr \$17 i3
QPB: 511.9;
7161. Hum th' pdm'x
utKnng Vuru .I
dnuum-num mt Hu-
pm 10 mm
Hurdwwr 5H 05
QPB: 512%
'HO. An.mm
u Huulmtmni u ntL'r
um'rx mnn' 'lmn
031 m WW m
MUM Huh hRK .H C H. VH
Hmimu-r \$1004
QPB: \$9.9;
KHSIH (lel'lxlill.
'lhl-Z
IX)WER
(rmv'm
"I. Is." Mum.
'559. A but scllmg
mwcl wt m rho Ncu
Mcxu n dcsvrr
421A sxhulJr on
nnthnlng tells how
Hunt m'cr SIVH mu
QPB: \$7.95 HdeWr 317 30
QPB: 515.95
ULRTRL'DE:
STEIN
Ikxl IIHIILN
.un huh ml xll4l
501. Th:- m'nlnnnun or
bchcfs Ihmuuhnur
hmun- Hlmtmkxi
Hardmu'r SN 09
QPB: 51235
\$71, hmm .md
HH'VK'YL'HI mung)
.Ilmm L-rcrvrhoo Imm
nurmuu IO mm. M
m crwnc from Phw m
Pm Row
QPB: \$750
MS
THE DAMNED
L ,J
169. FJS1'pdCCd crwpv 267. The non of
fun tmm the author
:m'ths)mw shaped uur nfrhc besrselling
nnhzannn m 4 umquc
.harr furmar
Hdrdrm'rr \$10 95
QPB: \$15.95
thpueLemu
QPB: \$9.95
W
Oer mm
m "m 55 m
k ,
01; m It M
9182. This Lites:
tdmon nt rhc famnus
dlmumn' has

49%. Bum): hxlauus
Cumlvx tram rhc mm n
prlmr of Huunmm
xunrmlmn 40,030 mcmuraHe
HJrJuVH'r 5pm; quomrmns
QPB: 58.9% Hurdmxcr \$45
QPB: \$18.95
xnoAk11H
SENSUAL
MASSAGE
m6
297, Smurhm:
rhempmm
kwhmques 15C
graphlc phnmgraphs
QPB: \$9.50
H). An Oxford
professor explores the
:reJtn'c mic of-
solitude
Hardcover 51? Q3
QPB: \$8.95

the best spokesman
 mick ldf1')! iitiiun
 h rhewurse nt .1
 CAT rtVlHtlHl1A
 lulu
 farmers ever had,
 and then farmers were forced to try and
 make up for lower prices with greater vol-
 ume. Crop rotations had to be abandoned,
 heavier equipment was introduced, and the
 centuries-old practice of allowing fields to lie
 fallow gave way to intensive cropping. Even
 with cost cutting and intensified production,
 many farmers did not hold onto their farms.
 Millions of acres were abandoned, left to
 dry up and blow away. Insurance companies
 and other lenders farmed repossessed prop-
 erties with an eye toward short-term profits,
 not long-term protection of the land.
 Dixon 'l'erry was
 fighting farm
 The Roosevelt administration responded
 by forging a national policy to repair and
 restore the soil and water resources. A price
 support mechanism kept commodity prices
 at or above the cost of production, allowing
 farmers to buy back their land and make
 conservation investments. You can walk the
 fields of rural America and see the effects of
 conservation investment that this era pro-
 vided. But just as important, the new farm
 program included strong supply manage-
 ment provisions to halt the surplus produc-
 tion that was destroying Americas soils.
 These three factors-specific soil conser-
 vation programs funded by the government,
 fair prices to farmers, and supply manage-
 ment-laid the foundations for the eco-
 nomic recovery of farmers and
 the environmental recovery of
 the countryside. Those factors
 no longer exist. As a result, we
 may be creating another agri-
 cultural Great Depression, this
 time on a global scale.
 Two VERY POWERFUL FORCES
 have traditionally opposed
 price and supply management
 programs. The first are the
 grain and other commodity ex-
 porting corporations that op-
 pose price support programs. They want to
 pay farmers the lowest price possible to
 maximize their profits. Secondly, agri-
 chemical firms that sell pesticides, fertilizer,
 and hybrid seed oppose supply management
 programs, because surplus production in-
 creases their sales. The combined force of
 these two industries was gradually able to
 repeal the successful farm programs of the
 Roosevelt era, beginning in the 1950s. As
 farm prices were forced downward, farmers
 produced larger crops to try and main-
 tain their cash flow, and without effective
 supply management, massive surpluses
 accumulated.
 In their advertising, agribusiness corpora-
 tions idolized big farmers-their farms, their
 production, and their investments. Banks
 and other lenders encouraged this invest-
 ment for all-out production. I was working

as a hired hand on my parents dairy farm in the mid-seventies, and my wife and I were trying to borrow money to buy our own farm. But our goal of starting a traditional moderate-sized Iowa farm went against the grain of expansion-minded lenders. We had great trouble finding lending because we weren't thinking big enough.

By the end of the 1970s, farmers were producing at a loss and were only kept in business by two factors that went hand in hand: increasing debt on inflating land values and intensifying production. Bankers and other lenders took greater control over farming, dictating production practices, almost all-

Photograph by V. Lewis

FROM

THE BIG

BANG io

BLACK ,

HOLES

T321. Stephen

Hawking offers a

'498, MW cdmon

What to write. him

to wwnn.wllere

to sell it

Hardcover 537 3C

u319. Fascinating

techniques on

overcoming "presenta

tion aiixlety" in all

business encounters cosmos

_. IE

Gig" var

TIME,

.WQ

STEPHEN

W.H MG

CUnVlang big picture

ofrhe origins of the

I

NE". SHEEHAN

Mm:

'309 A disturbing

biography ol'an

army ofhccr who per-

sonified America's

presence in Vietnam

47.7.. A new nllede

to-hursting collu-

non ol'orer 5N

liysturital "Far

Side" tartoons

370. The Batmtm oi

ihL' 'W's lmnls trime

torruption iind eyen

lnsteri soul

Hartlmyer Sll 03

irduvwr SIVH QPB: \$13.50 Hardcoyrcr \$1995 Hardcover 518 0,5

QPB: \$795 QPB: \$7.95 QPB: 59.50

How QPB Membership Works.

Big Savings: QPB books are

softcover books in hardcover sues,

durably bound and printed on line

paper. But they are priced up to 003,;

less than their hardcoyer

counterparts.

QPB Review: You'll receive the

QPB Ret'ieu 15 times a year (about

eyety 3% weeks). Each issue reviews

a new Selection, plus scores of other books. If you want the Selection do nothing. It will be shipped to you automatically. If you want one or more of the other books or no book at all indicate your decision on the Reply Form always enclosed and return it by the date specified. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

Return privilege: If the QPB Review is delayed and you receive the Selection without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit.

Bonus books for Bonus Points:

For each softcover book or set you take (except for the books in this often, you earn Bonus Points which allow you to choose any of our Softcover books. You pay only shipping and handling charges.

Cancellations: You may cancel membership at any time by notifying QPB. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy 211' 1635: One book in an annual period.

QLPB

Qg

Quality

Paperback

Book

Club

QPB: 58.9%

Hardcover 514 93

QPB: \$11.95

QPB: 58.95

INNUMERACY

mm INT!

W

IND ITS costume

m um um

CATSEYE

A T WOOD

'lhi Tin. mp. n! tzn

182, Movers talks

about everything from J "Nul") i lthl'

'335. What happens

when WCllfClUC'dmd

morality to SCIL'NCE mu 'hr irntilil int; people are ignorant of

With notable :im new oi her basic mathematics

individuals iziiti hootl Hardcover \$16 95

Hardcover, 529 03 Himltuii-r flh ll; QPB: \$8.95

QPB: \$15.95 QPB: 5930

TQPB Exclusive: The only softcover edition now available.

Name

Address

Please enroll me in QPB and send the 3 choices I've listed below, billing me only \$1 each plus shipping and standing) for at least six months. If I have not bought at least one book in any six month period, you may cancel my membership

Indicate by number

your 3 choices.

handling charges. I understand that I am not

required to buy another book You will send

me the QPB Review (if my account is in good

m l

Please print clearly)

QBSSSlea0

Am, I

tmn-m-ui-rinitiugiivnneiittii i iwwomimtampyiutiixmwit Hiw Auitmit-mMiywmtppmm

State Zip I

On July 3rd, 1989 the
 American way of life was
 put to question . . .
 . . . Answer it!
 Don't just get mad...GET ACTIVE!
 Designed With
 a woman in mind
 Glistening sterling silver earrings derived
 from a rare totem pole designs The pole,
 carved for the Tlingit Indian village of
 Tongass, was one of the few ever dedicated
 to a woman, The earrings are shown actual
 size. \$29.95 postpaid. Credit card orders
 call TOLL-FREE 1-800-262-0040. Or send
 check or credit card number/exp. date to:
 Coldwater Creek
 Dept. K23, 212 N. First Ave, Sandpoint, 11) K1864
 ways pushing more acres, more machinery,
 more chemicals.
 The rapid growth of huge superfarms,
 many owned by corporations, led to irri-
 gation systems bleeding the underground
 aquifers dry; massive doses of chemicals and
 fertilizers poisoning the water and killing the
 essential organisms in the earth; and ever-
 larger pieces of equipment compacting the
 soil. To any objective observer, such pressure
 to produce had created a system that was
 quite unsustainable. Yet all official sources of
 information_government, colleges, corpo-
 rations_recognized no alternatives.
 Farmers had to build a biological farming
 movement on their own. I learned from my
 father and from experienced organic farm-
 ers how to farm in a sustainable manner.
 Since buying our own farm in 1977, we've
 used no herbicides or insecticides and very
 little commercial fertilizer. We've practiced at
 full rotation of crops, which leaves a limited
 amount of ground exposed to erosion.
 We've fertilized our soil with cow manure
 and crop residues. The results have been
 positive: reduced erosion, average crop
 yields, excellent herd health and milk pro-
 duction, and some cost savings.
 However, it was clear from the beginning
 that the cost savings from biological agri-
 culture would not be enough to make up for
 low prices. Ed Hauck, an award-winning
 conservation farmer in Wabasha County,
 Minnesota, bought a badly eroded farm in
 1958 and restored it to model condition. But
 in 1984 Hauck lost his farm in foreclosure to
 the John Hancock Life Insurance Company
 of Boston. The insurance company rented
 the land to a farmer who plowed up the
 whole farm. To maximize inefficiency for
 twenty-six years worth of conservation
 work on terraces, waterways, and contours
 was destroyed_work that had been sup-
 ported with thousands of dollars of tax-
 payers, money.
 TODAY, THE NATIONAL FARM POLICY, BASED
 on the 1985 Farm Bill signed by President
 Reagan, is only creating more Ed Haucks.
 The bill cut farm prices dramatically, accel-
 erating family farm foreclosures and consol-
 idation of land into the hands of insurance
 companies and lenders. Increasing chemical
 pollution and continuing soil erosion are
 the results.

On my own farm, I've been forced to expand from twenty to forty cows to keep up with the price cuts in milk. And I've rented an additional eighty acres. Like the majority of U.S. farmers, I face an uncertain future of high debt and reduced land values.

But the environmental impact of present U.S. farm policy doesn't stop at our borders. Due to our overwhelming dominance in the world market, our policies very much affect the whole world. Especially in relation to Third World countries-both the emerging food exporters and the hungry importing nations-present policy has been intentional. And deadly. Most Third World exporters have responded to the United States setting world prices lower simply by expanding their acreage and production, often at the expense of rain forests or other fragile ecosystems. Rarely is this enough: lower commodity prices translate into higher debt for already-debt-crippled developing nations.

WE NEED A GLOBAL CAMPAIGN TO ENSURE

that farmers and peasants regain control of the land. And we need a global campaign to ensure that the land is being farmed in an environmentally sustainable way.

This is becoming more and more crucial as we approach the twenty-first century when, increasingly, our economy will be based on the transformation of farm-grown products into fuel, fiber, medicine, and manufactured goods that our whole society will need. We could have a bright future, with our economy converted from one based on nonrenewable, highly polluting petroleum and coal to one based on renewable resources-plants and trees that can, if we choose, be grown and transformed in an environmentally safe way. But this bioindustrial revolution could also mean a dark future, if corporations are allowed to take control of the land and means of producing the food and fiber we now grow.

We must come to understand the link between the concepts of who controls the land and how the land is treated. We must be sure that our struggle for land reform is broadened to include what is grown on the land and how it is grown. And our struggle for sustainable agriculture must include the economics to ensure widespread, diversified family farm control. Only together can we win these struggles. Separated, we will lose it all.

For more information contact:

League of Rural Voters
212 Third Ave. N., #300
Minneapolis, MN 55401
(612) 338-3382

National Family Farm Coalition
80 F St. NW, Suite 714
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 737-2215

Dixon Terry Memorial Fund
PO Box 86
Greenfield, IA 50849

Can you judge

a man by

the size of his

oil slick?

Illustration by Gary Baseman

BAD ATTITUDE

By Barbara Ehrenreich

Pollute the Market

IT WAS THE YEAR THAT THE SUPREME COURT SET

aside its black robes for white ones and began to

cancel all rights as we had known them: civil

rights, women's rights, minority rights, gay

rights, constitutional rights. But just as the usual

malcontents were gathering to build a papier-mache

Statue of Liberty and launch a democracy movement on

the Washington Mall, two brand-new and hitherto un-

suspected rights were announced: the right to burn the

U.S. flag, and the right made available through Presi-

dent Bush's June 1989 environmental program: to pol-

lute. In fact, by putting these two ground-breaking

rights together, it became possible and entirely legal to

pollute a major patch of the countryside, if one was so

inclined, with the thick, pungent smoke produced by

thousands of U.S. flags on fire.

The business community was at first alarmed by the

administration's plan to sell the right to pollute. Quite

rightly, they complained that the right to pollute had

always been free in the past. Quite understandably, they

worried that a price tag would soon be slapped on those

other inalienable rights enjoyed by the corporate com-

munity: the right to befuddle the U.S. public with fork-

tongued advertising, the right to move freely about the

globe in search of the hungriest, most downtrodden

employees, the right to sponsor W programs so inane

as to induce the widespread neurological damage on

which the corporate order depends for its peaceful con-

tinuation, and so forth.

But not to worry! By thrusting the government into

the pollution rights business, President Bush meant only

to demonstrate, once again, the undying magic of the

market. Many Americans, raised on Communist-in-

spired doggerel (To market, to market, to buy a fat . . . f,

and this little piggy goes to . . . 7), had come to associ-

ate the market with the more porcine side of human

nature, or to think of it as something resembling a sty.

With the sale of pollution rights, the administration

hoped to establish, once and for all, that the Invisible

Hand, which had up until now busied itself tossing filth

into our streams and breezes, was in fact soft, gentle,

and admirably clean under the nails.

Of course, things didn't work out quite so nicely.

First, once the EPA published its price list, an avid and

seemingly unquenchable demand for pollution rights

arose among the white overclass. We all know of the

great real-estate mogul who was so pleased with his

son's high grades in tennis and wine-tasting that he re-

warded the boy with the right to pollute a medium-sized

midwestern city, by air and by water, with the toxins of

his choice. Not to be outdone, Malcolm Forbes present-

ed Liz Taylor with the right to pollute a well-populated

mountain state with hair spray and shredded fanzines,

which she accomplished by running about on foot, fol-

lowed by hundreds of gaily shrieking celebutantes

spraying and shredding as they tore through the desig-

nated land mass.

Soon everyone was vying to participate in the con-

spicuous consumption of pollution rights. On sale days,

long lines formed outside the EPA: yuppies seeking the

right to hurl Evian bottles from their BMWs, subur-

banites in the market for the right to toss doggy doo

onto their neighbors' lawns, even schoolchildren who

had saved their pennies for the right to affix chewed
Trident to the undersides of their desks. It was said that
you could judge a man by the trail he left: the size of his
oil slick, the density of the chlorofluorocarbon vapor
MOTHER JONES 9

rBUDDHIST
 SUPPLIES
 i Rli'l'A/I, 8 WHOLESALE
 t Status 0 Cushions 0 erhes
 t Hells F4 Gongs - Rosaries
 t Incense 0 Swolls I Itwdry
 Allin SHW'15 0 Pastas :
 i Books ("1 Tapes
 October 27-29
 Chapel Hill. North Carolina
 t For hilly Illustrated and annotated
 419390 CATALOG. send 31.0010:
 1 SHASIA ABBEY BUDDHIST SUPPLIES
 Dapu, P.O.Box199,
 Mt.\$l'mta,CA96067 (916)926-4268
 wmo
 Sluden! Enw/onmenla/ Action Coal/Iion
 tmnmom m: m- mmw. v
 cmw. no. 51 x5 mm Building
 u N a mi euow.
 cnw ml NC 275w bus
 19m 962 ms
 CONCERNED?
 Consider
 A Peace Oriented Portfolio
 PAX WORLD FUND, .Nf
 uThe) Fund ondoa vars through Its Investment obloctives to
 make a contributlon to wodd peace. " - from the Prospectus
 by investing in:
 0 non-war related Industries
 0 companies exercising pollution control
 0 firms with lair employment practices
 0 international development
 Pax World is a no-load, diversified mutuai fund deSIGNED for those who wish to devetop
 income and to invest 'in lifevsupportlve products and services IRA and Keogh ptans
 available Minimum investment: \$250
 This is not a solicitation m those states where the securities have not been quahfied
 A prospectus conulnlng more complete lntorm-llon about an WondiFund.
 Including I" charge: and oxpenm, will be uni upon receipt 0! this coupon.
 Road n cnnlully below you Invest. Send no money.
 To:
 PAX WORLD FUND, INC.
 224 State Street
 Portsmouth. N.H. 03801
 Menu and me I Inc prospectus and lnlorm-IIon on Pu Work! Fund.
 D Send IRA Packet
 D Simplified Employer Pension Plan
 Name
 Address
 cny, sum. Zip
 Occupation
 Telephone No. D Day D Evening
 io ()(I'I'OBLR 1989
 National Student Environmental Conference
 lingering Hftcf' him.
 But that wasn't the end of it. The magic of
 the market kept unfolding! Soon smart
 young B-school grads, recognizing that pol-
 lution rights were now a commodity just like
 pork bellies and Third World debts, went
 into the business of trading pollution rights,
 and then into the business of trading pollu-
 tion rights futures, and then into the sale of
 highly speculative ujunk rights" involving
 untested carcinogens and uninformed popu-
 lations. Honest polluters complained that
 the business was being overrun by callow
 speculators who had never in their lives pro-
 duced an honest days supply of carbon
 monoxide or PCBS. But who cared? Wall
 Street was jumping as bets were taken on the

price of engorging Walla Walla with plutonium, on the future cost of shrinking the ozone layer to the size of Rhode Island, and on the probable date of the end of the world. Then there was the inevitable pollution rights-related crime wave. In Dallas, a well-heeled gent was mugged and relieved of the right to scatter Styrofoam peanuts across the entire state of Montana. Then on Wall Street, a wave of inside trading hit the pollution rights market. Everywhere, crafty brokers sought to bribe the ecologically-minded with tasty tofu dishes, hoping thereby to inflame the environmental movement and thus covertly raise the future price of soiling and desecration. But the market had a solution for crime, too, as one of the savants at the American Enterprise Institute was quick to point out. If the government could sell the right to pollute, why not also market the rights to embezzle, loot, and pillage? Soon corporate jets and personal helicopters buzzed thickly around the justice Department, as representatives of the overclass bid for the rights to lie cheat, and defraud the public. We all know of the brilliant career of that young Yale-educated investment banker who started out as a humble broker in pollution rights. moved on to inside trading in pollution rights futures, and then redeemed himself by buying the right to be an inside trader. From there it was an obvious leap to trading inside trading rights, and finally to inside trading in the inside trading rights futures market! Unfortunately. the environmenn which had been more or less forgotten in the frenzy of speculation, continued to head for hell in a hand-basket. But what could I do? I could barely afford the right to throw thumbtacks in a sandbox. Then I realized: the market has a solution for everything! It was time for some comparison shopping. The right to riot and revolution is a bargain these days. justice Department officials assure me I can pay with a credit card. I

IIWelre looking for
to write CthI'GIYS
IIWriting for children is
the perfect way to begin, "
says the author 0f53chil-
drenis books. iIYour ideas
come right out of your
own experience. And
while its still a challenge,
itls the straightest possible line between
you and publicati0n_ify0ulre qualified to
seek the success this rewarding field offers?

E i I guy
people

An old mansion, deep m the Connecticut woods, IS the home of The Institute of Children's Literature.

By Alvin Tresselt, Dean ()fFac'u/ty
published, I cant think ofa better way to
do it than writing books and stories for
children and teenagers. Ideas How naturally
rightout ofyourown life experience. While
its still a challenge, the odds of getting
that first unforgettable check from a
juvenile publisher are better than they are
from any other kind of publisher I know
Later on, you may get other checks from
other publishers. But right now, the object
is to begin-to break into print_to learn the
feeling of writing and selling your work
and seeing your name in type, After that,
you can decide if you want your writing to
take another direction

But after 30 years of editing, publishing,
and teaching_and 55 books of my own_I
can tell you this: You'll go a long way before
you discover anything as rewarding as
writing for young readers.

Your words will never sound as sweet as
they do from the lips ofa child reading your
books and stories And the joy of creating
books and stories that truly reach young
people is an experience you'll never have
anywhere else,

I F YOU WANT TO WRITE AND GET

The soaring childrenis market

But, that's not all. The financial rewards go
far beyond most people's expectations be-
cause there's a surprisingly big market out
there for writers who are trained to tap it.
More than 81 billion worth of childretfs
books are purchased annually and some
4 ,000 diffferent titles share in this bonanza
many by new authors,

()f approximately 500 publishers of
books related to children, over 500 ofthem
welcome manuscripts from aspiring writers
And over 400 magazines rely on freelancers
to fill their issues. You can imagine how
much writing that takes!

Yet two big questions bedevil nearly every
would-be writer: HAm I really qualified?"
and "How can I get started?

ttAm I really qualified?"

This is our definition ofa "qualified person":

It's someone with an aptitude for writing
who can take constructive criticism, learn

AlvinTresselt wasVice Presidentand Executive EditorofParents'
Magazine Press. the first editor nfullumptvlhmplyk Maguzinefor
Children. and: board memberofthe Author'sGuildi His 55 books
for young readers have sold over two million copies.
from it and turn it into a professional per-

formance. That's the only kind of person we were looking for. The reasons are simple: Our reputation is built on success, and, if prospective students don't have the earmarks of success, we probably can't help them. And we tell them so. It's only fair to both of us.

To help us spot potential authors, we've developed a revealing test for writing aptitude. It's free, and we don't charge for our evaluation. But no one gets into The Institute without passing it. Those who pass and enroll receive our promise: You will complete at least one manuscript ready to submit to a publisher by the time you finish the Course. One-on-one training with your own instructor

I've learned a lot about writing for children and I love it. Now I'm passing my knowledge on to my students so they can profit from it. When I'm not writing my own books I spend my time at The Institute of Children's Literature, a workshop for new writers that does one thing and does it better than any other educational institution I know of: It trains qualified people to write for young readers.

This is the way I work with my students, and my fellow instructors—all of whom are experienced writers or editors—work more or less the same way.

Learn at your own pace

When you're ready—at your own time and your own pace—you send your assignment to me and I read it and I reread it to get everything out of it you've put into it.

Then I edit your assignment just the way a publishing house editor would if he had the time. I return it along with a detailed letter explaining my comments, I tell you what your strong points are, what your weaknesses are, and just what you can do to improve. It's a matter of push and pull with each assignment. You push and I pull and between us both, you learn to write,

—my dream come true!!!

This method really works. I wouldn't spend five minutes at it if it didn't. The proof of the pudding is that many students break into print even before they finish the course.

"The thing that gives me the most satisfaction" writes Brandy S. Wells, Greensboro,

'The testimonials in this ad were provided without remuneration and voluntarily by The Institute's students between 1985 and 1988.

MD, "is the idea that my story will be read by 150,000 Sunday school children—my dream come true."

Seeing my story in print, and knowing that some child out there is reading it and maybe enjoying what I have to say is all the reward I'll ever want," says Win Simpson, New Providence, NJ.

"My how-to article that sold to 4-H Magazine for \$75 was my rewrite of a Course assignment?" says Jeanne Shoemaker, Birmingham, AL. "My beloved instructor has made this Course one of the highlights of my adult life!"

Free Writing Aptitude Test offered
To find qualified men and women with

an aptitude for writing, our Faculty and Consultants have prepared an intriguing Aptitude Test It is offered free and will be professionally evaluated at no cost to you by our staff.

just mail the coupon below to receive your free Test and 28-page illustrated brochure describing our Course, Faculty, and the current market for children's literature. If you demonstrate a true aptitude for writing you will be eligible to enroll But that is up to you.

There is no i

. . W Itin WIS

obligatzon, I n dg y Chg"

'- _____ Aputu e male" _ .1

Get both

FREE

The Institute of Childrens Literature

Redding Ridge, Connecticut 06876

t "u.-- .

I

I

l

I

l

Dear Mr. Tresselt: I am interested in :
your program to help new writers get I
started. Please send me your free Writing I
Aptitude Test and 28-page brochure. l '
understand I am under no obligation I
whatever and no salesman will visit me. I

l

l

I

I

l

l

I

I

l

l

I

I

Mr. Mrs. Ms. Miss H89

Please circle one and print name clearly

Street

THE INSTITUTE OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE, INCV 1989 _ _ . _ _

(City

State Zip

Founded in 1969 ' APPROVED BY THE

COPYRIGHT I

O
i

P/m/u (Murray (Wrzsmdc/ 72m: 077/!

According to Dr. Benjamin Spock,
breathing can be hazardous to
your children's health.

Air pollution is all around us and it hurts damage to young lungs is intensified.
children most. Kids inhale more pollutants per So do what Dr. Spock recommends.
pound than adults, and their length of expo- Call or write the Public Information
sure is longer, which increases their risk of Office of the Sierra Club
permanent damage. Additionally, children and find out what you
under 10 have an increased rate of respi- can do to help clear
ratory infections. When infections are the air.
coupled with irritating air pollutants the
144;?

Public Information 730 Polk Street San Francisco, California 94109 415/ 776-2211

Old Skull advertises,
"Tlffany can kiss our
ass!" From left:
Guitarist J. P. Toulcn
and drummer Jesse
Colllins-Davies, both
ten, team with J. P.'s
eight-yonr-old broth-
er Jumle on trash-
can-Ild percusslon
and Yamaha key-
boards.

Photograph by Lisa jo/mson
Prepubescent
Punk

P. TOULONE FRIENDS DONLT TALK ABOUT POL-
lution, AIDS, or the homeless much. "Theyid
rather talk about fun things," he admits. "But
we think that people need to know more about
whatls going on, and to try and help out." ttWe" are
Old Skull, 3 preteen trio from Madison, Wisconsin.
Their debut LP, Get Outta School (Restlessl ap-
peared in the summer with a sticker dubbing them
llThe Youngest Punk Band in the World."
llPeople back in Madison have said its just a
gimmick? J. P. says, llbut now we have a record,
And you thought
rock had lost
its rebel spirit:

Meet the
and some people like it?
Among them is Village Voice
critic Robert Christgau, who
praised the discls "shrill tan-
trums and chaotic coher-
ence." Gregory Sadow of
the LA. Herald Examiner
sensed the bands llpunk at-
titudew as tla terrible free-
dom . . . in which the band
itself probably doesnlt know
whats going to happen
next? In July, J. P. was in-
vited onto the Artists Panel
at the New Music Seminar in
New York.

The LP was produced by their musician dads, but
the kids wrote and played as they pleased. Lyrics
pummel fast food (Hot Dog Hellii) and school
(Get On the BusU. Two of their most startling
songs are tough and topical. tlAIDS" opens with the
cry, "What is AIDS?" and the admission, uWe donf
know much about AIDS? then shudders into :l
playground panic attack without blame: ttAIDS!
How does it make you feel? Terriblelli llHomelessli
begins with Ll chant of the title while J. P. enunci-
ates: llPeople that dorft have homes; when I look in
their eyes I see sadnessj' and ends with disgusted
shouts of, .llI'm pissed off? and lll hate you Ronald
Reaganlil Next album, llwe may do some raps,"
j. P. offers, ltbut the words are going to be exactly
what we think and what we feel? Drummer Jesse
Collins-Davies agrees, llbut the next one will sound
like music? -Adzmz Block
MOTHLR .IOleS l3

Holiday Gift Ideas from Mother Jones:

From Yam to Yucca, a yummy
year of culinary exploration.

Totally "Inbular"

\$74.95

0 Tuber of the Month Club)

Cellular Phone/Vibrator

Stimulating conversation guaranteed

\$165.95

Australian Moongi Hound

From last year's hottest country
comes this year's coolest canine.

The Mountain Trike

For the trendy toddler on your list.

\$325

On VHS for the

first time,

\$39.95

Liposuction Kit

Makes ('hetmg and

exercise obsolete

4/ \$3500

Half Price Subscriptions to Mother Jones-\$12

As the holiday season approaches, so does the search for that LIIIKIUC gift. And each year
that gift seems more

elusive. You can spend a lot of money and still end up with something that's gathehhg dust b
y Super Bowl Sunday

But don't despair, Mother Jones has the answer

right now, a one year subscription to Mother Jones is only \$12. That's half off the regular
subscription rate.

Mother Jones delivers a unique blend of tough investigative reporting, Spotted writing. All eve
rything from politics

to the arts, as well as humor and award-winning graphics. So get 8 Jump on the season and s
end for your gift

subscriptions to Mother Jones today.

1-800-2577600

Halz'day sztsAt .
 my lists
 I mml to gnu Ll unenczu' M(Hi HzR JONES gill xuhxcriplmn 10 the penple Ihlcd. I pg!) iLN
 \$11
 101' c.lch gills 'i'hzllix ihL' lmwxl price :lxuiliblc almxthctc. Send me giil Curtis mm
 Im' u t-rxnne nn
 Bill me later.
 Fitment cnclmcd.
 Chicane: Iii:
 not our myih,
 IIIICI warrior
 Axis: thing."
 I L I
 Your Name Second Gift To:
 I Address Address
 I City State Zip City State Zip 1:
 ;_____. I_____.
 I First Gift To: Third Gift To:
 I Address Address
 I City State Zip City State Zip
 I Pleuw .idtl Si tumh IUI pixxltlgt' ln luteign cuunlntw MEJ 9A5-4
 La Boom
 E ARE DEFINITELY THE ILLEGAL ALIENS OF
 American lit? says short-story writer and poet
 Sandra Cisneros, who lives in San Antonio,
 Texas. iiThe migrant workers, in terms of respect? For
 years Chicana writers labored in the shadows. Now
 Cisneros and others are changing that. For her upcoming
 collection of short stories, Cisnetos has received the first
 major publishing contract ever awarded a work of fiction
 "I'Iml's by and about Chicangs; this after winning 3 Be-
 fore Columbus American Book Award for her
 previous collection, The H ouse on Mango Street.
 Tm excited about this whole generation of Chi-
 cana writers. . . . It took us a while to finish our
 educationf Cisneros says. iiAnd by that I mean
 our understanding of gender and class conscious-
 ness. iGenderi by figuring out our relationship to
 the machismo of male culture, and iclass consciousnessi-
 well, a lot of us have spent time working in the barriosfi
 Demetria Martinez is happy shes beginning to be
 known for her poetry as much as her politics. In 1988, the
 Albuquerque journalist was indicted for conspiring to
 smuggle two pregnant Salvadoran women into the United
 States. The jury believed she was acting strictly as a jour-
 nalist when she accompanied a Sanctuary movement min-
 ister to meet the women, and acquitted her. Her poem
 iiNativity: For Two Salvadoran Women, 1986-1987f
 which prosecutors attempted to use as evidence against
 Photograph by Robert Cardellino
 I I
 Cisneros broke the barrlers
 for Chicano wrlters by slgn-
 lng wllh Random House.
 her in the trial, now can be read in the book Three Times
 a Woman, just out from Bilingual Press.
 Poet Lorna Dee Cervantes (Emplumada, University of
 Pittsburgh Press) sees Chicanas struggling against both
 white culture and the machismo of Latino males. iiWeire
 not just a literary movement? she says, iiweire a cultural
 force against spiritual and psychological oppression.
 Machismo is just another handle for domination. We em-
 brace our history, we love our culture, but love can be an
 act of resistance? Lesbian Chicanas are among the lead-
 ing new voices, particularly playwright Cherrie Moraga.
 Says UC Berkeley Professor of Chicano Studies Norma
 Alarc6n, itlfs fascinating that, at least in the artistic com-
 munity and among young people, homophobic tendencies
 of our culture are not manifest?
 Fiction is where Chicanas are really making their mark.
 Some of the best: Denise Chavez (Face of an Angel, due

fall 1989), Ana Castillo (The Mixquiabala Letters), Helena Maria Viramontes (The Moths and Other Stories), Mary Helen Ponce (The Wedding), and, of course, Sandra Cisneros. Professor Tey Diana Rebolledo Of the University of New Mexico explains the Chicana sensibility by pointing to a forthcoming Chicano-edited book of essays on Aztlan, that mythic land, that imaginary homeland Chicano writers have created. And not one woman has an essay in there. Why? That is not our myth, that warrior Aztec thing the men writers have. We have found our identity elsewhere. We have found our heroines and our role models, and now we have moved on to the larger issues. Our women writers have turned out to be better, much better in some ways, at capturing the complexities of life?

-Michael DiLeo

MOTHER JONES 15

Holiday Gift Ideas from Mother Jones:

3 NO POSTAGE

1 NECESSARY

IF MAILED

IN THE

1 UNITED STATES

—
BUSINESS REPLY MAIL —

Cellular Phone/Vibrator Fmt Class Permit No 671 Manon, OH —

Stimulating conversation guaranteed. . —

\$165.95 POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

—
NxII/W '9

F —

x Vm MOthGFJOHGS

PO BOX 1918

Marion OH 43306-1918

Australian Moongi Hound

From last year's hottest country

comes this year's coolest canine.

The Mountain Trike

For the trendy toddler on your list.

\$325

On VHS for the

first time.

\$39.95

Liposuction Kit

Makes dieting and

exercise obsolete!

..lz,av-"ot'ho;hh_ \$3500

Half Price Subscriptions to Mother Jones-\$12

As the holiday season approaches, so does the search for that unique gift And each year that gift seems more

obvious You can spend a lot of money and still end up with something that's gathering dust by Super Bowl Sunday

But don't despair, Mother Jones has the answer

Right now, a one year subscription to Mother Jones is only \$12 That's half off the regular subscription rate,

Mother Jones delivers a unique blend of tough investigative reporting, spirited writing on everything from politics

to the arts, as well as humor and award-winning graphics. So get a jump on the season and send for your gift

subscription to Mother Jones today.

1-800-257-7600

Chicane: Iii: "That's

not our myth,
the! warrior

Axis: thing."

La Boom

E ARE DEFINITELY THE ILLEGAL ALIENS OF

American lit? says shott-story writer and poet

Sandra Cisneros, who lives in San Antonio,

Texas. thhe migrant workers, in terms of respect? For

years Chicana writers labored in the shadows. Now

Cisnetos and others are changing that. For her upcoming

collection of short stories, Cisneros has received the first

major publishing contract ever awarded a work of fiction

by and about Chicanas; this after winning 3 Be-

fore Columbus American Book Award for her

previous collection, The House on Mango Street.

818m excited about this whole generation of Chi-

cana writers. . . . It took us a while to finish our

education,'8 Cisnetos says. 8And by that I mean

our understanding of gender and class conscious-

ness. tGendef by figuring out our relationship to

the machismo of male culture, and hclass consciousness-

well, a lot of us have spent time working in the barrios?

Demetria Martinez is happy shes beginning to be

known for her poetry as much as her politics. In 1988, the

Albuquerque journalist was indicted for conspiring to

smuggle two pregnant Salvadoran women into the United

States. The jury believed she was acting strictly as a jour-

nalist when she accompanied a Sanctuary movement min-

ister to meet the women, and acquitted her. Her poem

ttNativity: For Two Salvadoran Women, 1986-1987?

which prosecutors attempted to use as evidence against

Photograph by Robert Cardellino

Clmeros broke the barriers

for Chicano writers by sign-

lng with Random House.

her in the trial, now can be read in the book Three Times

a Woman, just out from Bilingual Press.

Poet Lorna Dee Cervantes (Emplumada, University of

Pittsburgh Press) sees Chicanas struggling against both

white culture and the machismo of Latino males. 8Wette

not j ust a literary movementf she says, 8we8re a cultural

force against spiritual and psychological oppression.

Machismo is just another handle for domination. We em-

brace our history, we love our culture, but love can be an

act of resistance? Lesbian Chicanas are among the lead-

ing new voices, particularly playwright Chertfe Moraga.

Says UC Berkeley Professor of Chicano Studies Norma

Alarcon, 8185 fascinating that, at least in the artistic com-

munity and among young people, homophobic tendencies

of our culture are not manifest?

Fiction is where Chicanas are really making their mark.

Some of the best: Denise Chavez (Face ofan Angel, due

fall 1989), Ana Castillo (The Mixquiabala Letters), Hele-

na Maria Viramontes (The Moths and Other Stories),

Mary Helen Ponce (The Wedding), and, of course, Sandra

Cisneros. Professor Tey Diana Rebolledo Of the University

of New Mexico explains the Chicana sensibility by point-

ing to a forthcoming Chicano-edited book of essays on

Aztlan, 8that mythic land, that imaginary homeland Chi-

eano writers have created. And not one woman has an

essay in there. Why? Thafs not our myth, that warrior

Aztec thing the men writers have. Wehve found out identi-

ty elsewhere. Webve found our heroines and our role mod-

els, and now we've moved on to the larger issues. Our

women writers have turned out to be better, much better

in some ways, at capturing the complexities of life?

-Micbael DiLeo

MOTHER JONES IS

Fred Ross(right) laugh' Cesar
Chavez and Fred, Jr. (left)
about organizing. The new
target: U.S. old 90 El Salvador.
Compassion
fatigue: (1
super-organizer's
I 6 ())(j'I'O LH-.K i 98 L)
Like Father,
Like Son
N Tiiiiiii DRIVh T0 (IUT US. All) TO Tm: CON
tras, Fred Ross and his grass-roots group Neighbor
to Neighbor have out-organized some of the
most powerful right-wing lobbies. But now he fears
a new opponent, what he calls "moral fatigue."
hThere were sixty-three votes on contra aid? he
says. Some people are just burned out on Central
America." Ross is anything but: Neighbor to
Neighbor is now gearing, up to defeat George
Bush's planned \$415 million aid package for El Sal-
vador, on which Congress is likely to vote this fall.
Most of that money will fuel the Salvadoran mili-
tary and bolster the death squad-linked ARENA
gem
party now in power. argues Ross. "You know the
difference between China and El SalvadorE'i he
asks. uIn El Salvador, were paying for the repres-
sion.w His group is running full-page ads making
the case that ARENA is, in the words of former
US. Salvadoran ambassador Robert White, WA vio-
lent fascist party modeled after the Nazis." And
Neighbor supports House resolutions calling for a
negotiated settlement of El Salvador's civil war, as
well as a cutoff of US. aid.
Ross expects this to be his toughest fight, but he
has the right background: his father taught Cesar
Chavez about organizing. In fact, the younger Ross
may demand too much. During, the peak of the
contra-aid battle, Neighbor pushed its phone-bank
fund-raisers so hard that many quit in protest. But
Ross is ready to go around again. "The best
antidote for moral fatigue,w he says. his moral
outrage? _Michael DiLeo
Photograph by Martin Klimelz

Life

Underground

ARTIN DELANEY SOUNDS THE

cry of a growing movement that insists dying AIDS patients gain speedier access to promising drug treatments. Founder of Project Inform, an AIDS information and advocacy network, he argues that if the federal drug research and regulatory bureaucracy His guerrilla doesn't bend, frustrated patients will take matters into their own hands? Delaney made that threat reality recently by organizing an unauthorized underground human treatment program using high doses of the much-touted experimental spark a new movement.

Photographs by Haruko (Delaney) and Carol Friedman

Dolanoy: "We were frustrated we couldn't get access to drugs that were out there."

experimental AIDS drug Compound Q.

A former Jesuit seminarian, Delaney says he and the doctors he recruited to run the program feared thousands wouldn't live the two or more years it has taken to develop other AIDS drugs. The FDA asked Delaney to stop the renegade research (one of sixty patients died during the program), but also invited him to help develop new community-based studies. "Actually," he says, "I can't imagine a better outcome?"

Delaney, who is gay, was pulled into this medical maelstrom in 1984 when his lover developed the AIDS-related conditions that often signal the onset of full-blown AIDS. "Had we followed the doctors' advice to just wait, he surely would have died," Delaney says. Instead, they used whatever promising drug was available at the time and so far have staved off an AIDS diagnosis. Delaney predicts his brand of AIDS advocacy will benefit those with other life-threatening illnesses, such as cancer and Alzheimers.

-David Israels

He's Worried,

Not Happy

OBBA MCFERRINE

hit song "Don't Worry, Be Happy" became

-despite McFerrin's objections-the theme of George

Bush's presidential campaign.

Now Bush is finding McFerrin's name on a letter urging him to "reject the Radical Right's attempt to control the rights and bodies of women" and warning, "Don't let yours be known as the Coat Hanger Presidency? Behind the cam-

paigh is the Men Who Care
About Women's Lives, a
group of more than nine hun-
dred men claiming to be the
country's first all-male pro-
choice organization.
Men's names also fill a
11Men Support Reproductive
Rights11 statement signed by
Allen Ginsberg, Kurt Vonne-
gut, Benjamin Spock, Isaac
Asimov, and fifty other promi-
nent writers, actors, profes-
sors, and religious leaders.
Edd Doerr, one of the coor-
dinators of the statement,
explains, 11Now that the
Supreme Court has invited
state legislatures, which are
overwhelmingly male, to go
ahead and restrict abortions,
it's a question of men making
laws that apply only to wom-
en. That's playing dirty pool?
-Susan LaCroix
Contact Men Who Care About
Women's Lives, 71 Ashton Ave,
San Francisco, CA 94112 (415)
337-2061; Men for Abortion
Rights, PO Box 6656, Silver
Spring, MD 20906 (301)
5981447.
MOTHER JONES 17

Villagers around an
open grave of
SWAPO war vldlms,
near Oshukutl.
N amibia on
SWAPO and South
Africa balance
on the same high
wire in uparlheid's
backyard.

18 OCTOBER 1989

Edge

CROSS THE PALM- AND ANTHILL-STUDDERED
plains of Ovamboland home to half of
Namibia's 1.5 million people the hold of
peace is being tested. The heaviest fighting
between the South-West African Peoples
Organization (SWAPO) and the South African se-
curity forces took place in this area along Namibia's
northern frontier during SWAPO's twenty-three-
year war for independence. Now, in Oshakati, an
Ovambo town that is little more than a long strip of
wooden bars, liquor stores, and hangouts known as
cucas, men and women dance deep into the night,
haunting SWAPO caps, shirts, and scarves in soli-
darity-exhibitionism that last year could have got-
ten them killed. This night they dance in cums with
names like Love Station, Mississippi junction and
Beverly Hills, celebrating the latest airlift of SWAPO
exiles arriving at the nearby Ondangwa airport_
long used as a landing strip for South African 0130
Hercules troop carriers.

The spirit in Ovamboland is often euphoric as
exiles who have been away for as long as twenty-five
years return home; but barely contained tensions
could ultimately sabotage the peace accord signed
last December by South Africa, Angola and Cuba,
the primary proxies in one of Africa's last colonial
wars. The U.S.-brokered agreement links the with-
drawal of Cuban troops from Angola to the with-
drawal of South African troops from Namibia, and
mandates a November 1 election for a new Constitu-
ent Assembly. But the election campaign waged
across the sprawling open spaces and black shanty-
HUT SP 5

By Melissa Baumann

towns in one of Africa's least
populated and most mineral-
rich countries has brought into
sharp relief the fierce rivalries
that still divide the dominant
Ovambo also the strongest
force within SWAPO from the
southern Herero and other
tribes. Behind the whole tenuous
arrangement still looms South
Africa, which seems unlikely to
allow a peaceful transition of
power that could be a model for
other troubled spots in southern
Africa: Angola, Mozambique,
and South Africa itself.

ON THE TAR ROAD STRETCHING

across Ovamboland to the
border at Ruacana, South Af-
rican armored vehicles patrol
continuously, guns mounted. Many are operated by
former members of Koevoet (TTCrowbarTT), the ace
South African counterinsurgency unit absorbed by
the Namibian police (SWAPOL). The force-at last
count three hundred whites in charge of three thou-

sand blacks-remains headquartered within Oshakati's white town a military compound surrounded by barbed wire. Most of the military families have moved south, deserting their bungalows, hibiscus gardens, and sandbag shelters. But a core of SWAPO officers-most often dressed in shorts, T-shirts, and thongs-still gathers for a few lagers each evening at the International Guest House, where they toast the fallen empire to German beer-hall tunes.

General Hans Dreyer, mastermind of Koevoet, now SWAPO chief for the northern region, is one of the men who remained. Dressed in battleship gray, the towering, silver-haired general stands before a map of Ovamboland. The war is over, but he is still hunting SWAPO guerrillas. "Look," he says, "we are trying to locate them, and their arms caches. We have a network of informers. I came up here in 1978, and after six months I realized the potential to counter the revolutionary onslaught lies with their own people. There is no better combination than a white man and ten black men to help him?"

Human-rights activists receive regular reports of physical harassment and intimidation by SWAPO. "Detention, murder, rape, beatings, destruction of property have been going on here for twenty years," says Foibe Jacobs of the Human Rights Centre in Ongwediva. "They're still happening. The trouble is that people have to report the crimes to the people committing them-the police?" In April, more than two hundred SWAPO guerrillas and civilians were killed during a surprise raid by South African security forces, an attack that SWAPO claims was unprovoked and almost derailed the peace accord. In July, the South African administrator-general for Namibia, Louis Pienaar, agreed to remove some

Photographs by Guy Tillim/Afrapix

Before you buy What a
company sells investigate
the company it keeps.
Which company makes
the HBreakfast of Champions"
and champions women in the
workplace?

Which company claims to
ttbring good things to life" yet
manufactures components for
nuclear weapons?

Which company, whose
president portrayed ttCool Hand .1 t
Luke," hands over all its proceeds
1'. 2,, " K at 5V GUIDE

But in order to break this
story_and expand our investiga-
tive work-we must have your
help.

By donating to the MOTHER
jONES Investigative Fund, you,11
help bolster one of the few indepen-
dent media outlets left in America.

Information is power. It can
educate. It can inspire. It can
effect change.

SUM 47E WV
to Charity?

In a blind taste test, could
you tell which cookie is baked by
a leading cigarette company?

Shoppingfor a Better World answers these ques-
tions (and more!) in a 130-page pocket-sized guide rat-
ing the makers of nearly 1,400 brand name products on
ten crucial social issues, including the environment,
womenIS advancement, minority advancement, defense
contracts, animal testing, South Africa, nuclear power,
and Charitable giving.

well give you a free copy of this fascinating guide to
socially responsible shopping when you make a contribution
of \$25 or more to the MOTHER JONES Investigative Fund.

As a MOTHER JONES subscriber, you know the im-
portance of our ongoing battle to break the stories that
change society

For example, a MO'IIHERJONES investigation has just
pinpointed the highest industrial producers of ozone-
destroying pollution_companies who currently brag
about their high tech, "clean" operations. Behind the
scenes they are actively lobbying to protect their ozone-
depleting manufacturing methods, while their big public
relations efforts portray them as leaders in the fight to
SAVE the ozone layer.

With your help we can expose their public relations
scam, and take a positive step forward in helping to
protect our environment.

WITH YOUR DONATION
OF \$25 OR MORE

Remember, 27 corporations
now control the majority of the
media outlets in the United States.

As corporations tighten their
grip on the media, there is no greater weapon for change
than new, dramatic, and relevant information.

Support the MOTHER 10an Investigative Fund.

There is no better time than now to make a difference.

THE MOTHER JONES INVESTIGATIVE FUND

- - - - -

YES! I want to make a difference by supporting the MO'lHERJONES
Investigative Fund. I understand that with a contribution of \$25 or
more I wi l reLeive my copy of Shopping fora Better World. I have
enclosed by tax- deductible Lontribution ln the amount of:

D \$25 : \$55 H \$50 :I 35100 LI \$231) 1 1 Other
My Check in the amount of IE is endorsed. I
Please charge my K Visa or D MzisterCaid for \$%
Name As It Appears On Card C lrd NumbLi Fxpiration Il1tL
Name
Address
Cityl Stzitwlip PhonL
EJ I would like my donation to remain anonymous. I
1663 Missmn Strut Sin I 1lmm 1) CK 94km (115) 558-8881HUU1' Iiix Numh(Lr
is 94- 22827539. th Immdutmn for V11211m111Pr1wrlsx IS a :3UI(L)'111d 509(11
Liiganiz mm and all mntributiims 1111 IudingV stock 'lrL tax- (ILLILictihlL
Ple 2m makL your LhL-ck payable to thL Iwunduliun jar N'11I11nmlPr1lgrlsx.

A DTA campaigner from the Ovahimba tribe. Koevoet members from the northern SWAPO force after the UN's special representative in Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari, protested that they had created an atmosphere of fear and intimidation among much of the population in the northern region."

SOUTH AFRICA IN AN OCCUPIED NAMIBIA

since invading the German-controlled territory in 1915. Since then, it has governed "South-West Africa" as a fifth province in its apartheid system. South African administrators and protégé governments have administered the multinational-dominated mining industry (representing the bulk of the Namibian economy), controlled transport and communications, and will continue to operate Namibia's only deep-water port at Walvis Bay. In 1971, the International Court of Justice declared South Africa's occupation of Namibia illegal, and two years later the UN recognized SWAPO as the sole and authentic representatives of the Namibian people." Sixteen years and billions of rand later, the war is estimated to have cost South Africa up to \$350,000 a day-Louis Pienaar was officially put in charge of the transition, which is supervised by the United Nations Transition Assistance Group. UNTAG has nearly five thousand personnel in the country, including one thousand police officers, most stationed up north to monitor SWAPO. Fifteen hundred South African troops will remain in Namibia until the United Nations declares the election "free and fair."

But few trust that South Africa will administer the election fairly. They fear that more likely it will attempt to impose a "Mozambique-style" solution: sowing discord and instability through military and financial pressures. South Africa has already cut its direct financial aid to Namibia by 10 million rand (R 1031) over two-thirds; combined with Namibia's foreign debt of about \$300 million, mostly to South Africa, these cuts are guaranteed to destabilize the fledgling nation. Whatever happens after the election next month, thousands of former members of the South African Defense Force (SADF), SWAPO, Koevoet and the Namibian territorial forces will remain inside Namibia-a spawning ground for a Namibian version of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), the South African-supported guerrilla movement that has wreaked havoc in Mozambique since its independence. Danny Ilisongarero, 21 member of SWAPO Central Committee, comments, "Look at the way South Africa destabilized Mozambique and Angola, and to a lesser extent Zimbabwe and Botswana. In none of these countries has it been as intimate as in Namibia-it knows every tap and wire here."

POLITICALLY, THE COUNTRY IS FRACTURED

Here in the populous north, it seems likely SWAPO will win a two-thirds majority in the upcoming election. But in the southern and eastern 'homelands, the Democratic

Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), a moderate party made up of whites and the Ovambok traditional tribal rivals, hopes to block SWAPO from obtaining the 67 percent of the vote needed to pass a new constitution through the soon-to-be-created Constituent Assembly. The DTA and other opponents of SWAPO have made a campaign issue of the testimony of 150 ex-SWAPO prisoners, who claim that they and others (many of whom SWAPO claims were spies for South Africa) were tortured by SWAPO fighters and held in underground pits in Angola.

At times the antics of the election campaign have taken on Chicago proportions: UNTML the group officially monitoring the election, admits that hushloads of white South Africans have been crossing the border of Namibia to register to vote-attempting to tip the margin against SWAPO. Altogether, the country has seen a proliferation of forty-three political parties, many of which are forging new political alliances as the election approaches.

Although SWAPO issued an election manifesto calling for a mixed economy to close the gap between black poverty and white wealth, and for controls over some of the VVOFLKLLS richest fishing and mining reserves, the campaign has centered around the simple question of who will bring peace and food after years of war and drought. Down sixteen miles of white sand track north of Oshakati, a palsied and sun-heaten grandfather, wearing a German soldiers jacket from World War II sits on the sand outside his kraal and articulates his politics: "One man puts you in the fire, another takes you out. We will vote for the man who takes us out of the fire.... Many of us have children who have gone. SWAPO has taken care of our children and is bringing them back. It is the wild animal of the people?"

THE DTA, Ml-.ANWHH,I:, ls (IAMPAINING on a platform of llsavingll Namibia from SWAPO llterroristsll and llcommunists," championing private enterprise, education, the sanctity of the family, and God. Most of the church community in this highly Christian nation, however, rides behind SWAPO, which has nurtured this connection through years of struggle.

For most of the five thousand white farmers who own more than 70 percent of Namibia's best farmland, the political differences between SWAPO and the DTA seem irrelevant. Their defiance surfaces through bumper stickers like one that proclaims, swim WITH A SOUTH-WESTER, WE NEED MORE () IJTHhM,:lndthroug farmers a local defense units set up by the SADF that are still in place. "I don't think most of us will leave, but we fear SWAPO will not respect our property, ownership, religion, law and order as we know it," says David Keyser, on his ten thousand-acre cattle farm in Tsumeb. Keyser comes from the conservative stock that runs South Africa-an Afrikaner and National Party member, he is also a former tracker for Koevoet. His options are limited: move next door, to South

Africa, or stay through a probable SWAPO victory to hold onto what he believes is rightfully his. "The SADF trained us to defend ourselves gave us weapons. We trained our wives, children and laborers, formed area force units. We've been disbanded, but the structures are there, and we could do the same thing again."

For months NAMIBIA witnessed A TESTING ground for South Africa's apartheid legislation and a training field for its troops. Namibia remains an experiment, a trial-challenging SWAPO's ability to transform itself from a liberation movement to a political party to a parliamentary government-and a conspicuous test of the UN's ability to broker a peaceful transition in volatile areas. Taunted by ties between SWAPO and the African National Congress; it also challenges South Africa to adapt to a Namibian government that will probably be composed of those it once considered revolutionaries"-a portent, perhaps, for its own day of reckoning.

Melissa Bazemmn is a freelance journalist based in Cape Town, South Africa.

The king
of Top 40
sends one out
to Yasir and
Yitzhak.
-_,l id

IF HE WERE INTRODUCING HIMSELF, IT WOULD
sound something like this: llCominl up: an immi-
grant shopkeepers son who grew up to wear dia-
monds on his fingers and conflict resolution in his
heart. Hells a disc jockey now, a
master storyteller who believes
in reincarnation, follows a strict
vegetarian diet, admires Yasir
Arafat, and calls Noam
Chomsky lmy all-time favorite
BUY: ,,

He would tell you all this in an
enthusiastic and earnest tone, a
tone so relentlessly wholesome
that itls made him an easy mark
for comedians like Dana Carvey
and David Letterman.

But the lampooners be
darned; the tone doesnlt change.
It is born of believing that it nev-
er hurts to be nice, and that you
will listen to him more carefully
if you consider him a friend. And
Kemal Amen Kasem, known the
world over as Casey, desperately
wants you to listen.

The way he figures it, the .,
world is too full of Violence and pain precisely be-
cause people donlt listen. Sure, 10 million people
listen to him each week when hels introducing hit
songs on radio stations around the world, and
some people are starting to listen to him off the air,
when he calls Menachem Begin and Yitzhak
Shamir terrorists. But hels worried that the Shamirs
and Arafats of the world are not listening to each
other, and in their deafness may end up blowing us
Photograph by Gary Moss/Outline Press
all up. Bad as that would be for most people, it
would be a double tragedy for Casey Kasem; he
plans to be reincarnated, and he wants there to be a
world to come back to when he is.

IN THE MEANTIME, THIS WORLD
is treating him pretty well. Last
year, Kasem signed a five-year
contract for around \$20 million
with the Westwood One Radio
Networks to do his weekly pop
music countdown show, Caseyis
Top 40. With a format he origi-
nated over twenty years ago as a
local jock in Los Angeles, Kasem
counts down the top songs of the
week, imagining his audience-
since many stations air the show
on Sunday morningeas lla fam-
ily on the way to church? He
uses twelve or fifteen teasers in
each four-hour show_llCominl
up? Kasem gushed recently be-
fore a chart-Climber by Cher, sla
rags-to-riches story: how a poor
BV BPrnard Ollilllllall girl,ahigh-schooldropoutanda
runaway, with a mother who
was married six times and a father with a serious
drug problem, grew up to be one of the biggest stars

in Hollywood1,-and joyfully dishes out a constant supply of minutiae about the songs and their performers. Where else would you learn the hometown of the band Poison? Or how many times records with the word llangelrh in the title have appeared in the top ten? Why, these aren't just songs: they're icons around which to build worlds

MOTHER JONES 21

i of knowledge. Let the academics disassemble Joyce;
% Casey Kasem's got Whitney Houston.

Hels also got his dedications, which he says Choke him up 80 percent of the time. These heart-tuggers, sent in by listeners to introduce a favorite song, go beyond "For Jennifer, because I love her, from Jason"; they are more often miniature morality plays, in which a listener bemoans never having said "I love you" to a now-dead relative, remembers an old love affair torn apart by selfishness or foolishness, or thanks the nurse at an alcohol rehab center who helped her sober up. This is earnestness squared; you can almost hear the writers for Saturday Night Live and Late Night with David Letterman sharpening their pencils.

Make that earnestness cubed, for if the Top 40 songs are Casey's icons, the dedications are his parables. "The dedications teach that life is worth living?" he says, "that it's easy to give up, that it isn't easy to make life worthwhile, and that, if you take the time to participate and to give, it will all come back at you. They're a way of showing that if you look for help you can find it, and that there are caring people in the world? No wonder that in his new \$6.8 million house in the Holmby Hills, where he lives with his actress wife Jean, Kasem is known jokingly as "Gandhi." The Mahatma never had a star on Hollywood Boulevard, of course; he never had a hairdresser he called "L'Oréal," and he never had a platinum-haired wife who was named one of the worst dressers of last year by People magazine. And Gandhi never lived like this, with a private tennis court and three-hole golf course in the backyard, and a kitchen full of chocolate tofu bars and meatless pepper steaks. Throw in the photo of Casey and Jean with Jesse Jackson on the mantel, the two black Mercedes with car telephones in the garage, and the copies of In These Times and Variety stacked in the study, and the picture emerges of yet another garden-variety rich Hollywood lefty.

But this isn't that picture: Kasem gets arrested at the Nevada test site, all right; he hands out taped speeches by the Christie Institute's Danny Sheehan and ex-CIA agent John Stockwell, and he spends Christmas Eve feeding the homeless in Washington. But he also, in Jean Kasem's words, "lives, eats, and breathes" the one issue that divides - OW, U.S. progressives more than any other. Casey Kasem is as Cy

obsessed with the Middle East.

that he And in Hollywood, as in most places where rich liberals flocked, the 1967 congregation, he's outnumbered. He's certainly not alone in his belief that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is responsible for "the deaths, beatings, torture, mass arrests, deportations, and detention without trial of thousands of 7) Palestinians"; very few Hollywood types, though, would baffle between the go so far as to say publicly, as Kasem has, that "Arafat's Beatles and I heart is in the right place?"

Stones Probably Just as few would debate a rabbi on television, for Chartbuster, but there was Kasem on KNBC in Los Angeles late last year, trading wildly divergent views of Middle East history with Rabbi Marvin Gross, director of the western region of the Jewish Federation. Gone was Casey the happy king

as not a Kasem amidst the rock trivia; in his place was a somber, almost sad-Capitol Hill against looking man in professorial gold-rimmed glasses who is homelessness. identified as "an entertainer and Arab spokesman? He Photograph by Wide World Photos

slammed the Israeli government for saying, as he put it, "We'll never give up the West Bank, the settlers won't leave, we won't give up Gaza, we don't recognize the PLO, and we're not interested in a two-state system?" For those who know Kasem, the most telling moment of the half-hour debate came at the end, when he shook Gross's hand and said earnestly, "Of course—I am looking forward to the day when the Middle East is at peace?" Chalk up another one for the Gandhi of the airwaves, the champion of conflict resolution.

CASEY KASEM, SPOKESMAN FOR EMERGENCY ARAB

He began in 1982, when the Israeli army invaded Lebanon. He stepped up the pace a year later, when the U.S. battleship New Jersey began shelling the Shouf Mountains from which his father had emigrated to the United States more than eighty years before.

Like many children of immigrant parents, Kasem tried hard for most of his life to blend in. He spent hours refining his baseball skills as a kid, refused to speak Arabic at home as a teenager, and embraced the concept of the melting pot as an adult. Even when many U.S. ethnics began to celebrate their roots in the 1970s, Arab-Americans remained in the shadows. There were no KISS ME, FM ARAB coffee cups in souvenir shops, no ARABS DO IT IN THE DESERT bumper stickers on pickup trucks.

But in the early 1980s, with his career on cruise control, Kasem started to notice that you can't watch television for six hours without seeing an Arab or Muslim defamed and he grew tired of editorial cartoons skewering Arabs as oil-thirsty, lecherous subhumans. Drawing on his show-business contacts, he began writing letters to newscasters, talk-show hosts, and film and television producers, protesting what he called the vilification and defaming of Arabs in motion pictures and television.

When a book called *The TV Arab* came out in 1984, detailing the vicious nature of Arab images on commercial television, Kasem bought hundreds of copies and sent one to anyone he could think of who might be able to produce or direct a show featuring an Arab who wasn't a billionaire, a bomber, or a belly dancer? He stopped doing most of the commercials and cartoon voices that filled up his week, and used his newfound free time to devour books about the Middle East. Though he never said a thing on the radio show about his nascent ethnic pride, the word was out in Hollywood. Casey Kasem was an Arab. It took a lot of balls for him to step out at a time when stereotyping of Arabs was at an all-time high, says Zev Puterman, a television producer and Jewish activist. Kasem himself says his coming-out was neither agonizing nor risky, and maintains to this day that financially, his refusal to do commercials for meat products has hurt him more than his public Arabness has. After all, there are caring people in the world; how could it hurt to simply stand up for who you are?

But strip away the language of song dedications, and Casey Kasem knows better. He will tell you that his new house has the most sophisticated security system possible; Jean will tell you that she's never seen a look on Casey's face like the one he wore on an October day four years ago, when he found out that his friend Alex Odeh, a leader of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, had been blown apart by a bomb planted in his Orange County office.

With Odeh's murder, Middle East violence had come to Los Angeles. Kasem began looking for a way to use the power of his voice, the power of the word, to defuse the tension. He had always believed that he could change the lives of teenagers by reminding them to ask for help when they need it and to give others help when they can; wasn't there something he could do to get Arabs and Jews talking to each other?

A year later, Kasem found a young Jewish lawyer named Michael Lame, who had started running workshops in the United States and Jerusalem that included Arabs and Jews. Lame was shooting high with the workshops-sessions at which participants confronted their own, and each others, prejudice-arguing that ordinary citizens could use dialogue to urge their governments to negotiate, just as U.S.-Soviet citizen diplomacy helped lay the groundwork for the Reagan-Gorbachev arms reduction agreement.

Lame, a serious political sort who didn't have much time to listen to the radio or watch television, had never heard of Casey Kasem. Soon, however, his nonprofit Foundation for Mideast Communication had a volunteer who was so enthusiastic that, according to Lame, it was almost like having another staff person?

Kasem, who has always prided himself on being a very good salesman? began selling the Foundation. He joined the board of directors, licked envelopes, went to long meetings in tiny apartments, and spent hours on the phone urging Jewish and Arab acquaintances to come to the workshops. And as the final step in Kasem's coming-out as an Arab, he and Zev Putterman began speaking at synagogues and Rotary Clubs-Kasem presenting a Palestinian view on the Middle East to contrast with Putterman's Zionism, while both of them pleaded for dialogue. The only way to change the environment of hate, fear, and mistrust?

Kasem told anyone who would listen, it's through conflict resolution, one on one, enemy talking to enemy?

The dialogue approach fit perfectly into the world according to Casey. No matter how much you disagree? he says, you have to keep the door open so you can communicate? Socially, he continues to mix with friends that include influential Republicans as well as followers of Israel's racist Rabbi Meir Kahane. He even badgered for two years a business associate who was a Kahane supporter until he attended a Foundation workshop, leading Putterman to mutter that Casey's either naive or a saint?

There was a time when (Continued on page 54)

Off-air, Kasem favors politicians over pop stars.

MOTHER JONES 23

IIITIIII

By John Kric hRH

24

HY? WHY AMERICANS s0 SELFISH? I WANT '10 risk the president right now. Why you need money? You want money, here is my money! You want friend, I be your friend! Why you say no when I say yes? America is freedom, I told, freedom of speech. But when I say this, they say I crazy!w Patient A rages, weeps, and pounds on the desk of his therapist. For this twenty-nine-year-old refugee from Vietnam, the promised land is the Department of Psychiatry at San Francisco General Hospital. The youngest of ten children, he was put out to sea by his mother and went three days without food and water, drinking his own urine to survive. At a Philippine resettlement camp, he began showing signs of schizophrenia. Sponsored by a Catholic service in New York, he lived in an orphanage and washed dishes for seven years in a Chinatown restaurant. 0 hard. Then I see that what you put in one garbage can, it can feed a hundred Vietnamese. I want to eall to the presitlent-I want the phone rightnow! Iaskhim,please,illake Americans not so selfish. In Vietnam, we help each other. Here, no one helps. They say I need doctor, but I am doctor, too. When you go up, I make you go down. I hear your voice. I see into your heart! So why, why we cannot be friend?"

I work very hard, so

To 81-; A FRIEND, ONE MUST HRsT BE A(IKNOWLEDGIiI), AND Patient A is part of the unrecognized underside of the least-oe'I'o 11.1: R 19 8 9

understood group of newcomers to the United States. Welve heard plenty about the psychological sears left on Vietnam vets, but little about the conflicts other head cases. For all our involvement with Southeast Asia, Americans remain profoundly ignorant of the emotional baggage over 900,000 refugees have carried here since the end of the war. From tribal hill dwellers to urban sophisticates, Americanized delinquents to Buddhist monks, Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians are lumped together in contradictory stereotypes: as grasping parasites and overaehieving threats, todays welfare hounds and tomorrows nuclear physicists. They are also burdened by an underlying racial myth-partieularly applicable to these dogged survivors-that Asians are psychiatrically indestructible, immune to emotional collapse, uniquely outfitted by religion and temperament to endure all that life heaps upon them, or at least to keep their troubles hidden behind the doors of family.

Yet wherever significant numbers of Southeast Asians have settled, itls become obvious that upheaval and uprootedness, battle fatigue and culture shock have taken a toll. According to a recent California State Department of Mental Health study, while 67 percent of the U. 5. population has no need for mental- health seniees only5 5pereent of Southeast Asian refugees have none. While 15 percent of Americans report a moderate to severe need for such services, the figure rises to over 30 percent for Vietnamese and almost 50 percent among Cambodians_over 55 percent

among Hmong tribal people. While many refugees present their problems in terms of somatic, or physical. complaints and rarely seek help until their symptoms are severe, one elinie found that 44 per- Before refugee therapists can

recommend a cure, they cent of its clients were suffering from major depression, 13 per- firSt have to eent from a constellation of

complaints known as post-traumatic stress disorder: recurrent nightmares, flashbacks share their patients' view

.
backs and distress associated Of disease.
with past events.

And why not? The Department of Mental Health study reveals that 63 percent of incoming Cambodians have experienced the death of a close family member. Many refugee women suffered rape during their exodus. Add the ruthless exigencies of Americanization to the process of healing the wounds of war and you have an unprecedented experiment being performed on the human psyche. The leap in consciousness required of immigrants from preindustrial backgrounds is probably greater than that

The Photographs
Smcc 1986, Leah Melnick
has bccn photographmg
Khmer communities in
the Bronx, New York
and Amherst. Massachu-
setts. "War is not some-
thmg that just happens
somcpldcc else, " she
says. "The Vlctlms of war
are m our communities.
. . .The photographs ex-
plore the meaning of re-
building a culture,
restructurmng a society,
and healmg personaL
falnlly.dxld spiritual
losses while struggling
with the pressures of ad-
lustmg to a new land?
MOTH! R IOXLN ZS

111311y 1111111111 111 11151111): 111155111 1'111111111111111'3111151'11-1'511'1'111,
1'113111'11111'5111111'111'1 51'511'1115, 3111111,1'111'1311111131 1'1111111'1511'311t11
w1131 (1111' 111'1111'551111131 111115 ":1 111111111111'11131 3111111111 (11
5111-5511157 A5 1111111'11'111111'11 111111111111111' 11111115 31111 5111131-
51'11'11'1' 11111211111'3111'5 5111111111 111 111111111311 3 1'1'51111151',
1111'1'11'1' 1413111131111 1111111111; 3 111'w 311111113111 111 115ycl111t111'1'11111'.
1131111111131 1'11111'1'1115 111 1111'11131 111'31t1131'1'111'11111, 1'113111'11111'1111
1
1111' 131'1'111 3 11011111311011 with 3 5y111111111111111111gy 35 1'11151v1' 35 115
1111'3115111 1111111'11111311711111 1111'11131 1111'. 111111111111; 1111' W31 11) 1111'
1111111 1111115 3 111'511 111111111111111y 111 1'1'-1'x31111111' 1111' 111111111111-
1111115010111111'13111'11111511111'11' 31111 1111':15511111111111115111w1'51-
1'111 115111113111.
1111.15131111.1'1111111'151N SAN 1)11-,(;11 11111.11 1.11115. DURING A
11111'511'311'x.1111111;111111131t111'Uiliv1'15ity111(13111111111311115111131,
3 111111111 111111115 1111' 51111 1135 3 11311'1111 :11111 31111111111115 11131 it
1311 111' 13151111 31111 11311111'551y 11'11111v1'11. ()111'11111'11, 1111' 13mily
1131151111 11115111131. \$111131 1'1'315 13t1'1, t111' 13111ily11'11535111'131
w11r11'1'1 1113t 111111111; 1111'11 1'51'3111' 1111111 L305 1111')! were 11111111
111 w3111' 111311y 111111'5 :11111 1:11 1111 1131/5 without 1111111. To 5t3v1'
(111 5131111111111, 1111' 111151131111 11111111 3 111111 with 3 111111. But the
111111 11311 11111 1111'11 1111111'111311'ly. At 1111' 111111', 1111' M11 w35
111111113111 with 111111 51111. When he w35 110111 with 3 11311'1111,
1111' 131111111 111'111'v1'11 1113111115 W35 1111' 1113111 1111111' 11111115 5111111-
11111. Removing t113t 111:11k would 31111 1111' cyl'11'1111131111',t111'
1131131111 1111111131 111311 31111 311111131, 111'tw1'1'11 11351 31111 11111110
11115. There 15 11311g1'1 111 1111111311 11111'1v1'11t1111 1111 this 51311'.
81'51111'5, t111' 13mily 51'1'5 111111111111, ugly 3111111t111'11311'lip. It's 35
110311111111 35 :111y111111g,t11311'1111'rg1'5 (1111111113111.
BEFORE R11FUGI111 11111110113515 (:AN RECOMMEND A CURE,
they 11151 h3vc to 511311' their 11311111151 vi1'w 111 11151'351'-31111
11111 11151 imp1151' 3 11135011 511 (11 111311110515. 1191511 (:311111111113115 i1
t111'y11' h311 1'1111v1'r531111115 w1111 111'311 101311115 31111 1111' 11131111-
ity will 3115w1'1 y1'5,115;1y51)r. P3111 1)1'1.3y,3111'xpl'11111 111111111
h1'3lth 51'rvil'1'5. S11m1' 511111111351 A513115 11111511111 113111111113-
t111115 31111 (311-111111111111 1'V1'11t5 11111101111111311'. S(11111' M1111 111111
h1'3115 35 :1 511111 11111511011, whi11'111h1'15 1111 11111 111'111'v1' 111 using
the word 111111.1' ()t111'15 11111511111 11111111115 11311py 111135111115.
D1. 1111311 Nguycn 111 S311 113111151115 1)1'113111111'11t 111 P1111111
H1'31t11 51111111515 11131 1111111111 with 1111'51' 1111111115 1111111115
311111111111; 3 11111111111 vi1'w 111 1111111311 1113111151 11'13111111511111 111
11311111'. 11'1'111'51' 311' 31111111113131 people who 1'11111'111'111'1' 1111'5
311115111111w5 within 1111' 11'31111'w11rk 1111'1'11311151'35111131 1111115.
111111 51'11-111'11111111111 m3y 111' 11111111 1111111' 1'11111111111111-1111-
1'1111'11.WC113v1'11111'1111'111111'111131t111'ir11'151111111,'3111111111115
11111 111115531in 113111.111
1115 1111 511111111' 1113111'1 111111111; 1'111'1115 111 11'11311 111'15111131
11311131.:1' 111 11'1'1111111 11115111131 11155 when t111'y 3131' 11111 V1CW
1111'11 13111111111115 51111111' 111 11'1'111511w11311111- W151 111131115 35
3 "111-15111131 1111.11 1111.5 15 well 11111511311'1111y 0311131111, (33111111-
1113'5 11111111111-1111'311111;1151311 (111111111111111y M1'11131 H1'31111S1'1-
v111'5, 111111111 111 1974 1311;1'11' 111 51'1111' A513115 111 A131111'113
County 31111 1111w 51:1111'11 111' 1'11111151'1111'5 11111'111 111 tw1'lv1' 1311-
111131115. Acr1155 city 11111'5 111 51'11-311511r111'11 151'111'1'11'1', 1111'11"5 1111
13111 111 work 1111 3 glut 111 5111111115: 11111111311, 111111111311, 111
111111'111'1'111'111. B111 1111' 0311131111 1111111 51113111511111111111511111'
11:1111111g111111111111151111 1111' 1'111'15 15113111111111,(1311111011131131111
1.3011311 1111111111111111'5 who 11131' 11111 51'1' 1111' v31111' 111 111111111111:
11p 1131111111 1111111111115. "W1 113v1' 111 511111 11111 11111115011115 11111
11111 1111' 111'111, 111 1'51311115h 111151 111' ((,'11111121111'11011ptIgUSZ)
2(1 111111111111 11181)
e don't want
to create more
popcorn," says
Evelyn Lee.
"Those are
little yellow
kernels that, under
' n
pressure, turn whlte.

Previous page. mp.-
Foster brothers
working,y out in the
bedroom of 3 Bronx
apartment. A: chil-
dren, rwo of the
three were soldiers in
Cambodia. Bottom:
A Buddhist monk
riding rhc New York
City subway. This
page, clockwise.- A
Khmer brldc before
her wedding in the
Bronx: 3 womelfs
support group learn-
ing to bake com
muffins; a Khmer
family in Amherst
sorting cans and bot-
tles for redemption_
they send the pro-
ceeds to their rela-
tives in Cambodia.

On the Masha: Newt Gingrich
WM! his wife Marianne, answering
cough questions abom hls
wand book deals (top):
part of III: nnlvo cons'mnncy,
which Includes largo numb." of
lanom mike" (Man).
#20
J,
NE
:ER

Newt Gingrich,
New Right celebrity
and Republican
point man on ethics,
says he's confident
he can "shift the
planet." But will
he be the next
victim of his own
paranoid style?

By David Beers

When I debated Mondale, they told
me to go for the jugular. So I did?
Bob Dole says, his impish grin sig-
naling the Washington ballroom
full of listeners that a punch line is
coming. Unfortunately, it was my
own?

Dole laughs. His audience laughs
along with him, but a bit impatiently,
because Bob Dole, Senate minority
leader and GOP patriarch, is in an un-
natural role here at the mid-June meet-
ing of the Republican National Com-
mittee. I-Ie,s the warm .up act. The crowd is eager to hear
from Newt Gingrich, the new House minority whip who
led the politically fatal attack on Speaker Jim Wright, and
who just this week made more headlines when the scur-
rilous rumor that new Speaker Tom Foley is not only gay
but a child molester was traced to his office.

Toward the end of his talk, Dole rues the bloodletting
in Washington, mentioning the Titraedy for John Tower,
Robert Bork, and yes, for Tom Foley. I love politics. I
know its rough and tough. I know we can have our
differences. And I know we want to win. But its gotta be
based on wanting to win for some good reason? When
Gingrich, the man who once called Bob Dole Iithe tax
collector for the welfare state,I mounts the stage and
Photographs by James K. Wt Atherton (top) and RaIpI7/j.B. Pictures
offers his hand, Dole, the man who once called Newt
Gingrich and his allies Iithe young hypocrites? looks
past him, barely acknowledging the gesture.

But by the time Gingrich has had his turn at the micro-
phone, Dole,s concern for Foley seems passe. Gingrich
has emerged, after all, as the point man for Republican
upstarts who expect their party to become dominant in
Congress, and they have used ethics as a potent battering
ram against the Democrats. Gingrich mesmerizes the
room with his triumphant gloating over the still-fresh
resignations of Wright and Democratic whip Tony C0-
elho. The applause builds as Gingrich neatly segues from
ethics to ideology: iiThe values of the Left cripple human
beings, weaken cities, make it difficult for us to in fact
survive as a country. . . . The Left in America is to blame
for most of the current, major diseases which have struck
this societyfi Then Gingrich warns of a Ieft-wing Tima- -
chineb out to get both him and Republican National
Committee Chairman Lee Atwater. IIYouire gonna see
weird things coming out of this city over the next few
years, because youire watching the death throes of the
machine, and youire watching its power to smear, and its
power to intimidate. And the next time you hear anyone
say, iLetis fire Lee Atwater,a the first thing you ought to
know is . . . they are either left-wingers or they have been
intimidated by left-wingers?

Gingrichis last words, comparing Bush to

.e

The Real

Ethics Debate

thicsLW roars Ralph Nader. 11Where does Mother jones get off using a piddly-ass beltway word like ethics? Corruption is the issue. Ask the average person outside of Washington 1Why are you dismayed with Congress?7 and they're not gonna say, 1Well, there's a problem with ethicsf Theylre gonna say: These guys are in the pocket of the rich, the big corporations, the fat cats. They donk care about me.' 1, Nader charges that Congress-Democrats and Republicans alike-isnlt interested in real ethics reforms that would lessen the power of moneyed interests on the Hill. And he seems to have a handle on public opinion. A recent Harris poll found that eight in ten adults believe 11individuals, groups, and corporations which contribute to political campaigns end up having too much influence over the public officials to whose Campaigns they contribute? Most considered 1ltaking money in return for political favors11 the worst ethical violation a politician could commit; only 4 percent considered extramarital sex more serious. Suddenly, in the wake of recent scandals, clean-government groups like Common Cause, Citizens Against PACs, and the Nadet-founded Public Citizen are gaining momentum. While their agendas overlap quite a bit (Newt Gingrich dismisses elements of all as 11socialist11), Public Citizenls is the most aggressively democratic with a small 11ldf1 Here are the basics:

- 0 Limit overall spending and provide partial public financing. Candidates who voluntarily agree to establish spend-

30 OCTOBER 1989

ing limits and raise a threshold amount of money from small contributions would receive funds from voluntary taxpayer check-offs. Spending caps would guarantee that campaign spending does not reach obscene levels. Just as important as these ceilings is the floor: public financing would guarantee that any major party candidate could be heard even without access to big money.

- 0 Curtail the role of PACs. At present, PACs can give \$10,000 to a congressional candidate during an election cycle. Their influence is actually even greater, since similar PACs run in packs, giving en masse to favored candidates. PAC donations during an election cycle would be limited to \$3,000 or less under the Public Citizen plan. Also, a limit would be placed on an aggregate amount a candidate can receive from all PACs during an election cycle-\$125,000 for House races and up to \$1.5 million for Senate contests.

- 0 Guarantee television and radio time for candidates. As a condition of their right to broadcast over the public airwaves, TV stations would be required to provide a limited amount of free airtime to qualified candidates.

- 0 Ban honoraria. Members of Congress and their staff would no longer be allowed to take speaking fees and free trips from special-interest groups.

Campaign spending limits and public financing are the most important of these reforms, ones Congress is least likely to impose on itself. says Michael Waldman, director of Congress Watch, a division of Public Citizen. With a re-election rate of 99 percent, members have little incentive to change the present system.

Newt Gingrich, ever ready with a partisan blast, says the Democrats, in their drive to preserve a majority, 11have rigged the game better than Noriega? Would he, then, limit campaign spending? 11Thatls the opposite of a good reform. The fact is, in almost any other business in America we spend vastly more

Illustration by Victorjubasz

technology and medicine.
as well as words that reflect the changes in the
I
o
tionarye
ls \$60 off the original price! Unlike other
the Websterls is thumb-indexed for easy reference and features
lc

.
GREAT BOOKS AND SO MUCH MORE

WE'RE 0" 1'0 REDEFINE THE WORD SAVINGS!

Just \$19. 95 for the complete unabndgd Websterls!

For less than the price of most abridged dictionaries, you can get the Websterls New
Universal Unabridged Dictionary. That
dictionaries of this size,

320,000 words defined! Whether you're looking for a common word or an obscure
one, you're sure to find it here. You'll find words from science,
You'll discover words used centuries ago,
syntax and idiom of American speech.

easy-to-read type. Its the perfect reference for home or office.

More supplements than any other d

Turn to the back of this volume and you'll find more
than a dictionary. There are 19 supplements with
over 150 pages of specialized information.

Originally published at \$79.95

Now only \$19.95

ll 3 dUULlL UCIHUCIKUC ICPFCSCnIaUUn.

Ralph Nader believes that as the Democratic party
becomes increasingly reliant on big money, it aban-
dons its original bedrock of poor and working-class
voters. If Democrats can ensure incumbency by
courting PACs, there is little incentive to mount voter
registration drives. llOver 350 districts don't have a
competitive second party getting more than 30 per-
cent of the vote. In safe districts there is no interest in
the poor voting? says Nader, adding, IITV is the new
precinct. The two parties are skeletons beaming elec-
tronic ads at one another? While Gingrich wants to
strengthen the fund-raising power of the parties,
Nader wants to hold them accountable. The only
way to unseat entrenched, money-backed politicians,
he says, is with a new kind of political movement
that can fluctuate strategically, without any ad-
herence to party labels?

In the meantime, don't look to Newt Gingrich as a
shining example of even his own proposed reforms.
Not only did he receive \$265,697 in PAC money for
his 1988 re-election campaign, he's one of Congress's
highest spenders on junk mail. Naturally, he also
pocketed close to the limit, \$26,800 of \$26,850, al-
ater to Patton, are nearly drowned out

)5. Atwater rushes onstage to hug and
'h. RNC co-chair Jeanie Austin takes the
ning. Illsnit he something? Maybe we
iotapeli, Gingrich is flushed, soaking up
3 is no longer in the room. The hatchet
ORDER NOW AND SAVE!

LICH Is ADDRESSING A FAR LESS FRIEND-

5 ie turf. Georgia's Sixth Congressional

In (I southern Atlanta, encompassing the
0 'port, fast-growing suburbs, textile-mill

0 states richest county (where Gingrich

I , and pockets of black poverty. Though

Q o metropolis, the agricultural colleges

5 filled with some one hundred constitu-

. downright hostile toward their con-

0 luestion comes from Ed Henderson, 3

0 :an college student and former Gingrich

a Is upset that Gingrich—who once urged

' 'esentatives Gerry Studds, a Massachu-

Dan Crane, an Illinois Republican, for

ressional pages-hasnk gone after Rep-
:ens, a Republican from Ohio convicted
l sixteen-year-old girl. IINow Newt, I
are good friends . . . and very likely he
Iou the one-vote majority you needed to
vhipfi Henderson is then disappointed
'er that Lukens should be investigated
t expelled because the sixteen-year-old
wasnlt in the care of Congress.
.nds up. If Congress is so worried about
by did Gingrich oppose the minimum
.ge hike for people like her? lllI donit
-__low of a single economist who disagrees
that when you raise the minimum wage
you kill jobs for the poorf, Gingrich
shoots back, then suggests, over some
snickers, that a tax cut for minimum
wage earners would be better policy.
Several Eastern Airlines employees
take turns accusing Gingrich of ignor-
ing their plight while he was ranking
minority member of the aviation sub-
committee of the House Public Works
and Transportation Committee. Gin-
grichls district is reputed to have more
aviation workers than any other in the
country, and more than a third are strik-
ing Eastern workers. That he gave up
the committee assignment and became
whip has only deepened their skep-
ticism, and the dark rhetoric that
worked so well for Gingrich the day
before in Washington doesnit seem to con-
nect here. His railing against the Iicorrupt lib-
eral welfare stateli draws n0 applause. And Gin-
THE PUBLISHER'

CALI. ANYTIME, TOLL-FREE 'I

"The Left is
to blame for
the current
diseases
Which have
struck
society."

grichls now-patented warning that Ilover the next six or eight
months you will see a fairly serious effort to go after mell
elicits only a few Chair squeaks.

Gingrichis problem is that here the most tangible Villain at
lowed per year in honoraria. IlThe idea that a congressman
would be tainted by accepting money from private industry or
private sources is essentially a socialist argumentf explains
Gingrich. -D. B. 1

MOTHER JONES 3 I

```

x
l /_
e l// /##AKws l i;
ltt-x I e
x5 bl ' _e 3) no.
. .Q d
3' NZ gins.
3 /l P
5 I b O
geA HO ; 3m!
2 . E44 F a
3/ E q u
g I) x_- 3) do
3 -' h '5 cm
3 f/ihh &/ J ix (0
: eve_, b ::
2A6 v / t a
559: x_. 09 3:
335% , , V.
Save 5 2 - Beg Ir "Id
r "39950 #7376 "r3 p '
38.37252 ging; $E9: k ::
322.2%: necgsvs 3%; x: I-
EyeOCWwC-EnmieE--.:_ELE X g
Jng'"mdn$ebwegy 9,5112 vi a
s caueleSweL-wceze .2; k :,
. uOmEe#:P--Q-00w,_. 0,23... s. d
:cag'zsaaeaegggnggog :- o
H ..... N
3;:iE?v%$-:2S36%an 0,,
b253$$E55q2E83H3%3 :z
-
f.
'32
W
B. a g
6e: g g
Eggigs t a s
E EggE _ %5 EE 3' 43-
2m; 8%; :3 %/
glean Eigg 86 2
H- SS 38 i% aiiw
in-m- m Co0 :
gegegggg g ( gag 9%
5e 5 E i5%
522:
thicst roars Ralph Nader. llWhere does Mother
jones get off using a piddly-ass beltway word like
ethics? Corruption is the issue. Ask the average per-
son outside of Washington lWhy are you dismayed
with Congress?, and theylre not gonna say, lWell
therels a problem with ethics? Theylre gonna say:
These guys are in the pocket of the rich, the big
corporations, the fat cats. They donlt care about mef ll
Nader charges that Congress-Democrats and Republicans
alikeeisnlt interested in real ethics reforms that would lessen the
power of moneyed interests on the Hill. And he seems to have a
handle on public opinion. A recent Harris poll found that eight in
ten adults believe llindividuals, groups, and corporations which
contribute to political campaigns end up having too much influ-
ence over the public officials to whose Campaigns they contrib-
ute? Most considered lltaking money in return for political
favors'l the worst ethical violation a politician could commit; only
4 percent considered extramarital sex more serious.
Suddenly, in the wake of recent scandals, clean-government
groups like Common Cause, Citizens Against PACs, and the
Nader-founded Public Citizen are gaining momentum. While their
agendas overlap quite a bit (Newt Gingrich dismisses elements of
all as usociallistl'), Public Citizenls is the most aggressively demo-
cratic with a small dd? Here are the basics:
' Limit overall spending and provide partial public

```


financing. Candidates who voluntarily agree to establish spend-

30 OCTOBER 1989

The features of the New Universal Atlas has made it Rand

:as t E.

E ETAE? 300

'0 NO .00.

Q) m:W.-O

L: amwghb-

g cgzmovg

.... N-Uu.:BE_

: thQH-um

:v EUWmOWV

u usmue%e

(U W H"#u

"0 02838-58 /

3 8vtt53wu

_. m_vw -...

e NTQENEE

0' ajmawsu

w 00 01; v)

7.: LVNQL-BS

.3 WSMEWxA

g: Egg-CH'Ef X,-

w...

h. tawe'gSct W

__--00

4; ?mgumcg

U QD-UEGJOLO

g (350-5130

.- 5911: cam,

... NNoEE:

m 012,5: H... In

I. 501-") 'U N

550630

,2 No_cE W o

: QWH NEE

Q _Ql"5u"mm

o _m3t._c:'uc v-l

CL EE'UEEENW

:72 -:F5-Tu:m23 ;.-'

L-

ggaagsaz --8

mmowgzgfgt G5:

'eolx-gHamsd O: h'.. /

v-Ox_...u. V._m vh/

?Hewogo'L-o 38 h

29; :mmwa; m t

U3'_'.:%.UEEC ON

EONO baaw Zea

#-eeu 0.. V

N

-

y addition to your library, kitchen, living

EXCLUSIVE

Another Barnes & Noble

or computer station. This durable bookstand is

handcrafted New England birch and treated with a moiSv

ture and abrasion resistant finish. Sixty eight ball

bearings let it revolve smoothly and evenly every

READING TAKES A 'I'IJRN FOR THE BE'I'I'ER!

time. It measures a full 14" wide by 8%" high, and

stands 5" tall. A super strong 1/2" tongue and

groove ledge holds books securely in place.

What a hand

roolm

At,

llUU1: puuue unauuug wouiu guarantee that any malor party

candidate could be heard even without access to big money.

0 Curtail the role of PACs. At present, PACs can give

\$10,000 to a congressional candidate during an election cycle.

Their influence is actually even greater, since similar PACs run in

packs, giving en masse to favored candidates. PAC donations during an election cycle would be limited to \$3,000 or less under the Public Citizen plan. Also, a limit would be placed on an aggregate amount a candidate can receive from all PACs during an election cycle—\$125,000 for House races and up to \$1.5 million for Senate contests.

0 Guarantee television and radio time for candidates. As a condition of their right to broadcast over the public airwaves, TV stations would be required to provide a limited amount of free airtime to qualified candidates.

0 Ban honoraria. Members of Congress and their staff would no longer be allowed to take speaking fees and free trips from special-interest groups.

Campaign spending limits and public financing are the most important of these reforms, ones Congress is least likely to impose on itself, says Michael Waldman, director of Congress Watch, a division of Public Citizen. With a re-election rate of 99 percent, members have little incentive to change the present system.

Newt Gingrich, ever ready with a partisan blast, says the Democrats, in their drive to preserve a majority, have rigged the game better than Noriega? Would he, then, limit campaign spending? That's the opposite of a good reform. The fact is, in almost any other business in America we spend vastly more

Illustration by Victorjubasz

NO
 Q
 U
 _ . g
 3 0x1 PM29
 M _
 .
 g Q Name
 0 & Address ____%_Apl
 h N City Stave 21;))
 l m .g nwwmasn T NAMEOfHEM on
 N T p
 .
 h- . , to
 H '4
 N _ ,V, _ T 7,
 a Q 1 H. _ T, _T .T
 h 9 1 " 1 h
 III a: 1 1 1 1 1 1
 g Q Mlnln'llmrlmo
 Q mm and shlpnglng m" k
 lln'd.l'r;:ll'lsn::ocw:'gol Ali III.- Oll
 mu. 3 Ermnlhtsesl) cl..." Ja'::".'.'.":f,
 nglamprice
 In E #4323
 Q VII :15 MINIMUM ON CREDII CARD ORDERS ,
 h h 215 X 1".) he 8 6 o - .Check MasterCard mlvovug
 a WWW wt m
 Q a .v t m U '8 u a s:
 U E 205.: 8 CL gnu O ._, CL CrednCord Explrono
 : Q) 95) 0E gF'D'S ESQ: a H / Number E001
 H . ._)--.1"-1 _ h
 u- rn cu t: ,mv- --- C Q, '
 03 segggsg 6::aze lsrgnowreT
 on 0. cc (:2. w 1. _ . x: o _ .
 050 235001090 chwge .h
 m : giggging N:g_ ; 1,- _ onninrou.
 'N 52 93\$?) 00 ET: g 33,8 t; g 3 INNEBRASKA,CALL1801
 u. Q6 11:0592%8 sings: 71 5 H1-800-242 6
 ... vl -
 h S E.Su-58135 eiggith \$2 2
 4;: 1/: 1 (n __ , _ C
 u. 1,, 3ggg83gg ggbggg w; :3 CALLANYTIME,DAYORI
 ODH T.) h'U "U u 1- ... 1. 'U a)-- H-
 NWOL-gmi-JE oclcoUh al)al oooo
 .. H _ , _ .
 E egg Eitsgem fgwgege m 832% 833.8
 N .- .-
 1. :gggoegg agasgu 7, 1:2 5998
 33: (32ng HCL0:0 ll 1" M 1' thn. N .u
 R 1:38_'.8"u- 93203::55 1,7,"041 113;: W%A
 c); gmteaigi %L4"g? x 1': (5189 31:1?
 0 % u U: u 1' ' '
 u _'U o O H 0 m :3 cu P r Lg; . 0 x0
 miau-U'EBE mmSmLQ W / Amos 204.5;
 ____ -___.____o_- .--,,-,____. TV uoieee
 Ralph Nader believes that as the Democratic party that when you raise the minimum wage
 becomes increasingly reliant on big money,ltaban- "The left is you 1(111 10bs for the poo
 r, Gingrich
 dons ltS original bedrock of poor and working-class Sh00tS back, then 51183653, OVCF some
 voter's If Democrats ean ensure incumbency by to blame for ShiCkCFS, that a tax cm for mi
 nintlm
 courtmg PACs, therels llttle mcennve to mount voter wage earners would be better pohcy.
 reglstration drives. thver 350 districts donlt have 3 Several Eastern Airlines employees
 competmve second party getting more than 30 pe'r- the current take turns aceusing Gingric
 h of ignor-
 cent of the vote. In safe dlstrlcts theres no mterest ln ing their plight while he was ra
 nking
 the poor votmgfsays Nader,addlng, hTVlsththe new diseases minority member of the aviation s
 ub-
 precmct. The two partles are skeletons beamlng elec- committee of the House Public Works

tion ads at one another? While Gingrich wants to and Transportation Committee. Gin-
 . r .
 strengthen the fund-raising power of the pames, Wthh have grichts district is reputed to
 have more
 Nader wants to hold them accountable. The only aviation workers than any other in the
 way to unseat entrenched, -money-baelfed polttlclans, struck country, and more than a thir
 d are strik-
 he says, 15 wth 1121 new kmd of polttlcal movement ing Eastern workers That he gave u
 that can fluctuate strategically, without any ad- the committee assignment and became:
 . "
 herence to party labels? SOCley o ' '
 In the meantime, donlt look to Newt Gingrich as a 31:11:: ajnczlnlth edzefrefich 21106::
 1:125;
 shining example of even his own proposed reforms. _ . .
 Not only did he receive \$265,697 in PAC money for wotked so well for GngnCh the day
 his 1988 re-election campaign, hets one of Congressls before lnIWa\$hlngtondon doesn t seem to
 an'
 nect here. H15 ralhng agalnst the 11corrupt 11b-
 highest spenders on junk mail. Naturally, he also a, '
 pocketed close to the limit, \$26,800 of \$26,850, 211- CF31 welfare state draws no applaus
 e. And Gln-
 1L 3 dUUuL UC111UL1'dL1L LCPleC11LaL1U11.
 lowed per year in honoraria. hThe idea that a congressman grichls now-patented warning th
 at hover the next SlX or Clght
 would be tainted by accepting money from privateindustry or 1 months you will see a fairl
 y serious effort to go after melt
 private sources is essentially a socialist argument," explains elicits only a few Chair s
 queaks.
 Gingrich. -D. B. Gingrichls problem is that here the most tangible villain at
 MOTH1'R JONES 3 I

ml" "01
mo
(ms) qoea S6'#I\$ Arno
ueea sbzzazvi
ueslox 'beZEZI
assuedef 'SELZQZI
'L zzzzr
'thazvi
'6ILZEZI
lIOLZEZI
malqaii 'f69ZSZI
lPulH
ueilell
qsul
uerseuopul
'I1799lSl
asaw8ul9IA '6SSZQZI
WILL '9Ife9fl
smqeads HSEUEdS
10; 113113113 'L98Zle
3018381 'HBZEZl
qsipems '9Z8ZfZl
LMPPLX
LFlel. 'ZWZEZI
The Real
)19910 '989ZfZl
HMBMS 'SISZQZI
91
3lam :35.
maDB' 35,75:
"age anl
5.5 g g 5'2 0
D9m-1 "WE
HHHHHHH mnm0U_.
333333: ggwa wag
333333; "swag 888 nmnmamw x
newest); ggog 333 gggngig gm
(I2 as (DOD ('D
n n: n:'UE""NH"
9;;9992; segmeiganzeaw? ?13
"sszvmmi 69E'Qmegmn8midr
Bng-ra'gE, Borg; emo 5:29:03er x
gr:- 730\$ gnarxncaggergaog 5%
x! 0 ma...
-T "580 :Ssaawapcjm NN.
550:: egE'eeH:m s93?
gxnmn, n mmm r...
##Heew :3"? 3%: 393% 07% N9
NNNNwNN- #5329..ng ...se' no 99 kg
mmmwoww- 30.330 qr! "'O)"\$?m '
NNNNONNu one... .Oe: 599:: E'wn'u x0:
8:583:33: gags avg g:a::2-" MB;
.osvaepxwpg 03.5.33 g3? 5.52st? 3
H ,_.. m '10 n .
0:5: 0- 00 a o
\$\$W???Z% ., 8g 96% 'ungag. g
928.53.539! DE",., 0-: adam'Vs h
E-OE'OggSIE 8:21.. 0" \$2.333: x.
em: :02: eggs F" eaacaz o-
3 a S wane s5 02w5;w %
m a 5 gnaw 5A 50:55???
g ' D-m5 mg?" cans: Q
:1 9 7f 3.00 h!
Iumu mnm' '.
mm": 9mm;
us 19mm ",9. 11111111
Ethics Del
thicsW, roars Ralph Nader. 11Where does Mother
jones get off using a piddly-ass beltway word like
ethics? Corruption is the issue. Ask the average per-
son outside of Washington 1Why are you dismayed

with Congress?7 and they're not gonna say, 'Well, there's a problem with ethics.' They're gonna say: These guys are in the pocket of the rich, the big corporations, the fat cats. They don't care about me.11

Nader charges that Congress Democrats and Republicans alike- isn't interested in real ethics reforms that would lessen the power of moneyed interests on the Hill. And he seems to have a handle on public opinion. A recent Harris poll found that eight in ten adults believe11 individuals, groups, and corporations which contribute to political campaigns end up having too much influence over the public officials to whose Campaigns they contribute? Most considered braking money in return for political favors11 the worst ethical violation a politician could commit; only 4 percent considered extramarital sex tmore serious.

Suddenly, in the wake of recent scandals, clean-government groups like Common Cause, Citizens Against PACs, and the Nader-founded Public Citizen are gaining momentum. While their agendas overlap quite a bit (Newt Gingrich dismisses elements of all as usocialist11), Public Citizen1s is the most aggressively democratic with a small 11dfl Here are the basics:

0 Limit overall spending and provide partial public financing. Candidates who voluntarily agree to establish spend-30 oc'i'oum 198 9

uuu. .

ruuAAv .u....nn..o ..

o..m.....-- ,Jiy major party

candidate could be heard even without access to big money.

0 Curtail the role of PACs. At present, PACs can give \$10,000 to a congressional candidate during an election cycle. Their influence is actually even greater, since similar PACs run in packs, giving en masse to favored candidates. PAC donations during an election cycle would be limited to \$3,000 or less under the Public Citizen plan. Also, a limit would be placed on an aggregate amount a candidate can receive from all PACs during an election cycle-8125,()00 for House races and up to \$1.5 million for Senate contests.

' Guarantee television and radio time for candidates. As a condition of their right to broadcast over the public airwaves, TV stations would be required to provide a limited amount of free airtime to qualified candidates.

0 Ban honoraria. Members of Congress and their staff would no longer be allowed to take speaking fees and free trips from special-interest groups.

Campaign spending limits and public financing are the most important of these reforms, ones Congress is least likely to impose on itself, says Michael Waldman, director of Congress Watch, a division of Public Citizen. With a re-election rate of 99 percent, members have little incentive to change the present system.

Newt Gingrich, ever ready with a partisan blast, says the Democrats, in their drive to preserve a majority, 11have rigged the game better than Noriega? Would he, then, limit campaign spending? 11That1s the opposite of a good reform. The fact is, in almost any other business in America we spend vastly more

Illustration by Victorju/msz

money trying to communicate with the American people than we do in campaigns. Look at the cost of advertising beer? Eliminate honoraria, then? Gingrich dismisses that as Ilanti-free enterprise, anti-private market. My speeches are frankly worth \$2,000. If I were a private consultant I would make a lot more? In fact, Gingrich thinks members of Congress should have more time off to make money giving speeches. He suggests, lIYou may want to make rules that no association or companies doing business with the committees I serve on could have me give a speech for money, Iandl rules that say I have to give a real speechfi

Gingrichls own reform agenda contains proposals designed to weaken the incumbents advantage, including abolishing congressional junk mail, requiring candidates to start campaign funds from scratch every two years, limiting PAC money, and requiring that 50 percent of direct contributions come from the members own district. Illf anybody spends over \$100,000 out of their own pocket, there would be no contribution limits to the other candidate, which is an explicitly anti-rich people provision," Gingrich says. At the same time, he would increase the amount of money individuals and businesses could give to parties, and the amount parties could then funnel into races. IIThatls hardly a moneyed-interest set of conditions? declares Gingrich.

Michael Waldman begs to differ. IIRepublicans don,t like public financing, because the way theyive traditionally won is to outspend Democratic incumbents. They say no PACs, but they also support a vastly increased ability to channel money to parties from rich people, and thatis going to be Republicans? While Gingrich and his peers try to ngure out how to reform Congress without challenging their own power bases, cynicism spreads. Philip Stern, co-chair of Citizens Against PACs and author of The Best Congress Money Can Buy, says people vote less and less because they live in llan America where money power talks louder than people power. That leads to a sense of futility. The ethics debate is not really about ethics. Its about democratic representationfl

Ralph Nader believes that as the Democratic party becomes increasingly reliant on big money, it abandons its original bedrock of poor and working-class voters. If Democrats can ensure incumbency by courting PACs, thereis little incentive to mount voter registration drives. IIOver 350 districts donlt have a competitive second party getting more than 30 percent of the vote. In safe districts theres no interest in the poor votingf says Nader, adding, mIIV is the new precinct. The two parties are skeletons beaming electronic ads at one another? While Gingrich wants to strengthen the fund-raising power of the parties, Nader wants to hold them a:countable. The only way to unseat entrenched, money-backed politicians, he says, is with IIA new kind of political movement that can fluctuate strategically, without any adherence to party labels?

In the meantime, donlt look to Newt Gingrich as a shining example of even his own proposed reforms. Not only did he receive \$265,697 in PAC money for his 1988 re-election campaign, hels one of Congressls highest spenders On junk mail. Naturally, he also pocketed close to the limit, \$26,800 of \$26,850, allowed per year in honoraria. I"like idea that a congressman would be tainted by accepting money from private industry or private sources is essentially a socialist argument? explains Gingrich. -D. B.

"The Left is to blame for the current diseases which have struck society."

h

Eisenhower and Atwater to Patton, are nearly drowned out by cheers and whoops. Atwater rushes onstage to hug and raise fists with Gingrich. RNC co-Chair Jeanie Austin takes the microphone, eyes shining. ~~Is~~ Isn't he something? Maybe we can all get that on videotape. Gingrich is flushed, soaking up the ovation. Bob Dole is no longer in the room. The hatchet is passed.

THE NEXT DAY GINGRICH IS ADDRESSING A FAR LESS FRIENDLY crowd on his home turf. Georgia's Sixth Congressional District wraps around southern Atlanta, encompassing the busy international airport, fast-growing suburbs, textile-mill and farm towns, the state's richest county (where Gingrich does best in elections), and pockets of black poverty. Though Griffin, Georgia, is no metropolis, the agricultural college's old brick auditorium is filled with some one hundred constituents, many of them downright hostile toward their congressman. The first question comes from Ed Henderson, a bespectacled Republican college student and former Gingrich campaign worker. He is upset that Gingrich—who once urged the expulsion of Representatives Gerry Studds, a Massachusetts Democrat, and Dan Crane, an Illinois Republican, for having sex with congressional pages—hasn't gone after Representative Buzi Lukens, a Republican from Ohio convicted of having sex with a sixteen-year-old girl. Now Newt, I know the two of you are good friends . . . and very likely he voted for you, giving you the one-vote majority you needed to become Republican whip? Henderson is then disappointed with Gingrich's answer that Lukens should be investigated and censured but not expelled because the sixteen-year-old girl, unlike the pages, wasn't in the care of Congress. A single mother stands up. If Congress is so worried about its own pay raise, why did Gingrich oppose the minimum wage hike for people like her? I don't know of a single economist who disagrees that when you raise the minimum wage you kill jobs for the poor. Gingrich shoots back, then suggests, over some snickers, that a tax cut for minimum wage earners would be better policy. Several Eastern Airlines employees take turns accusing Gingrich of ignoring their plight while he was ranking minority member of the aviation subcommittee of the House Public Works and Transportation Committee. Gingrich's district is reputed to have more aviation workers than any other in the country, and more than a third are striking Eastern workers. That he gave up the committee assignment and became whip has only deepened their skepticism, and the dark rhetoric that worked so well for Gingrich the day before in Washington doesn't seem to connect here. His railing against the corrupt liberal welfare state, draws no applause. And Gingrich's now-patented warning that over the next six or eight months you will see a fairly serious effort to go after med elicits only a few Chair squeaks. Gingrich's problem is that here the most tangible villain at

MOTHER JONES 31

the moment is not some liberal bureaucrat but that symbol of unregulated capitalism run amok: Frank Lorenzo. Most airline pilots are military-trained Republicans, and Gingrich has always been able to count on their votes and money. Now, in addition to the Eastern strikers, much of the local Airline Pilots Association has become wary of Gingrich. Even though he wears a big anti-Lorenzo button pinned to his lapel and has vowed to have Lorenzo investigated, he's also accepted campaign contributions from Lorenzo's Texas Air. What irks the strikers most is that Gingrich failed to support a House measure asking President Bush to convene an emergency board to arbitrate the dispute. In early June, a striking Eastern machinist—one of Gingrich's constituents—killed himself, a drama that seized the local imagination far more than the Wright resignation.

"I supported Newt when he first ran," says Eastern pilot Pat Broderick after he and colleagues have met privately with Gingrich later in the day. "When we went to him with the Eastern situation he shied away from it because he saw it as an attack on big business. In the 1990 election, says Broderick, I'd be very surprised if Gingrich wins? In a July 1988 poll conducted for Democratic opponent David Worley there is ample evidence of this sentiment: less than half the constituents sampled could say, 'Newt Gingrich cares about people like me?'"

IT HAS BEEN FIVE YEARS SINCE MOTHER JONES LAST LOOKED in on Representative Newton Leroy Gingrich. Then in his third term, he was grabbing attention with tirades delivered to an empty House chamber but beamed into living rooms.

The Cases

Against Gingrich

Congressmen are not bribed anymore. They simply have a lot of friends who are willing to help them out whenever they find it necessary. 8 -Newt Gingrich, candidate for Congress, 1974

The too-generous help of influence-seeking friends and shady dealings regarding a book eventually hung Speaker Jim Wright. Now, the same elements may prove Newt Gingrich's undoing. In late July, the House Ethics Committee was preparing to launch an official investigation of Gingrich.

Then in early August, the picture darkened still further for him. Representative Bill Alexander, 21 Gingrich foe, sent a letter to the committee alleging he had evidence of over two hundred instances of potentially unethical practices—including illegal campaign contributions and a questionable real-estate deal.

A primary object of the committee's scrutiny so far is the unorthodox deal Gingrich constructed to promote his 1984 book *Window of Opportunity*. When his publisher deemed the work not marketable enough to warrant a hardcover run and extensive promotion, Gingrich created a private partnership, COS Limited, managed by his wife Marianne. Twenty-one donors, most of them wealthy businesspeople or influential Republicans, including beer

32 OCTOBER 1989

nationwide via C-Span cable television. When he repeatedly accused the Democrats of being blind to communism, an enraged Speaker Tip O'Neill committed his now-legendary mispronunciation in 1984. "You deliberately stood in that well before an empty House, and challenged these people, and challenged their patriotism?" roared O'Neill, and it is the lowest thing I've ever seen in my thirty-two years in Congress? It was the Speaker, though, whose remarks were ruled out of order and stricken from the record as too personal an attack, and the confrontation moved Gingrich from cable to network news.

When Mother Jones reporter David Osborne went back to Newt's roots a short while later, he discovered a politician nothing like the clean crusader image Gingrich had promoted. Friends and former staffers in his own district south of Atlanta told on him as a candidate who ran a family-values campaign while cheating on his first wife, Jackie, then appeared at

her hospital bedside as she recovered from surgery to negotiate a divorce. They described a moderate Republican who relied heavily on moderate friends' hard work in two failed election tries, but who, in his victorious third attempt, heeled sharply to the right and shoved those friends aside. Osborn's profile has become a kind of shadow dossier: it was circulated by the Democrats during the Wright scandal, and a recent Washington Post profile drew heavily from it. This summer, in the speech that so excited the Republican National Committee, Gingrich denounced the 1984 article as "truly vicious." He has never, however, rebutted the piece factually. His former wife, Jackie Gingrich, says today, "All I can say is Mother Jones scooped the world on Newt Gingrich?"

Baron Joseph Coors, kicked in \$5,000 each for advertising and a Gingrich book tour. Publisher Jim Baen then agreed to print the book in hardcover as well as paperback, ensuring Gingrich the higher royalties possible from hardcover sales.

Marianne Gingrich was paid \$11,500 by the partnership, and the Gingrichs have netted \$24,036 in royalties on sales of only 29,000 copies. Baen has said he knows of no similar deal in the publishing industry; Gingrich has termed it "weird" but defends it as a straight business venture.

Gingrich's critics read it differently, charging that the \$5,000 contributions were illegal gifts. Some of the partners have indicated that giving Gingrich exposure, not making money, was their main motivation. "It was a soft investment?" local developer Joel Cowan told Michael Hinkelman of the Atlanta Business Chronicle. "The reason I got involved was because I wanted to help disseminate his [Gingrich's] ideas." COS Ltd. lost more than \$100,000 during the book's first five years, and partners got tax write-offs, which may be illegal. According to the tax publication Highlights (a Document), "If the point of the book was to promote Gingrich's career, then the expenses of promoting it could be classified as political campaign expenditures, which are not tax-deductible."

Window of Opportunity investors and their family members also contributed at least \$60,000 to Gingrich congressional campaigns between 1978 and 1988. And some of them have bid on or received federal contracts. One question certain to be uppermost in the minds of the ethics committee: Didn't many partners join his high-risk venture simply because he was in a position to sway legislation to their benefit? "This was no riskier than a Broadway

Five years ago, Gingrich was hard to take seriously. He promoted wacky ideas such as statehood for space colonies and replacing Social Security with mandatory IRAs. He headed the Conservative Opportunity Society, a kind of young, rightist, best-and-brightest club in Congress, but didn't manage to author any significant bills. And Bob Dole wasn't the only one branding Gingrich a hypocrite. Early on, it surfaced that Gingrich the ultra-hawk used student and parental deferments to avoid Vietnam duty. Then his penchant for pork-barrel and liberal-style spending was discovered by conservative columnists like George Will, who dubbed Gingrich and friends the 8Conservative Opportunist Society? (Gingrich once lobbied for the sale of locally made Lockheed planes-to Libya.) Even fellow Republican Representative Mickey Edwards dismissed Gingrich as l1irrelevantf, in 1984.

But now, Lee Atwater tells me he considers Gingrich, who still has authored no significant legislation, one of the 8two or three most importantll Republicans, a llprofile in couragell playf asserts Gingrich. 8llm a public celebrity . . . so is William F. Buckley. William F. Buckley routinely raises a lot of money for National Review every year without any legislative influence? So they invested in the book because Gingrich is a celebrity, not because he is a congressman? 8Thatls right? Gingrich replied. Long before Gingrich could call himself a celebrity, however, he raised \$13,000 for another book. In 1977, after two losses, Gingrich was gearing up for a third, successful run for Congress, but was strapped for cash, say those close to him at the time. A group of prominent Republican businesspeople formed a limited partnership to advance him the money to write a novel about the Russians invading Europe. Gingrich used the \$13,000 to take his family on a research trip to Europe, but he never produced a complete manuscript. Gingrich says this, like the COS partnership, was an aboveboard venture that didn't work out; he simply found out he was no novelist. The deal for the 1977 novel llwas nothing more than a sweetheart arrangement by a select group of Newt Gingrichls wealthy friends? charges Arkansas Representative Beryl Anthony, Jr., chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC). llAfter eleven years and no book, it now appears the real objective of this business partnership was to allow Gingrich a means for financial gain not available to the average American?

Photograph by John Spink
Gingrich being chalngled at a town meeting in Griffin, Georgia.
with an llunlimitedli future in the party. Gingrich has become not only the second most powerful Republican in the House, but its self-styled ethics czar as well-personally filing the charges that eventually brought down Speaker Jim Wright. The Wright/

Coelho debacle made some ethics-reform legislation inevitable, and Gingrich will be one of its key architects. Of course, lbethics reeformll could mean a serious improvement in how democratically the United States elects and pays its Congress, or it could mean quite a bit less. (See llThe Real Ethics Debate? page 30.) Gingrich, for one, sees ethics in the starkest of partisan terms. About not only Wright but the entire Democratic leadership in the House, he has asserted: llThese people are sick. . . . They are so consumed by their own power, by a Mussolini-like ego, that their willingness to run over normal human beings and to destroy honest institutions is unending? But direct a few questions about his own ethics Gingrichls way, asking him about his own suspect book deals or any other of the odd arrangements now under investi- (Continued on page 42)

For a self-styled champion of entrepreneurship, Gingrichls own ventures tend to raise more accusations than money. Last year, the DCCC charged a Gingrich-headed political action committee, Conservatives for Hope and Opportunity (CHO), With mail fraud. An April 1986 direct-mail piece signed by Gingrich assures previous donors, llYour gift has been put to work helping CHO fund conservatives running for the House of Representatives in this years electionf then hits up the reader for more money. In fact, while CHO raised \$217,868.80 from March 1985 through June 30, 1987, only \$900.00 was spent on direct contributions to candidates. The rest was spent on direct mailings, fees for consultants and vendors, and travel for Gingrich.

On January 31, 1988, nine days after the DCCC filed its charges, CHO told the Federal Election Commission that because it 9is now obvious that CHO cannot get out of debtf it had ceased fund-raising. That averted an investigation, but Anthony is convinced Gingrich and his PAC knowingly bilked the public. CHO treasurer Robert Weed has admitted, llWe realized about the middle of 1986 that we were going to crash? Asks Anthony, 9lf they knew CHO was a failure in mid-1986, why did they continue to make claims to donors that their money was going to candidatesw Gingrichls defense: 9Everything we did was clearly, without any question, within the normal pattern of American politicsfi-D. B .

MOTHER JONES 33

Doctor

E AZE

.g....re--n-...A,In L.

It was a pleasant trip to Mlima Moja. But What about the trip out?

The doctorate achieved, she fled homeward as if the ascent into privilege had not begun right there. She had specialized in Strategies of Economic Development. Beyond stats and models, she concluded the economists she had studied with were nice people but that they were in no position to know how Africans

A Short Story_b)1

Ayi Kwei Armah

could lift themselves from poverty to wealth without the use of slaves, colonies, Or Bantustans.

Home from the Western world, she was appointed Technical Adviser in the Ministry of Economic Development. She fed the Principal Secretary factual data and technical advice on planning. Because she had
Photo by Sebastido Salgado/Magnum

taken the job without first trying the international honey boats, the Principal Secretary nicknamed her Doctor Kamikaze. A week after she started work she told the man to drop it. He seemed hurt, but promised never to call her Doctor Kamikaze again.

The Principal Secret tllry didn tdislike paperwork but he had 11 civil se rvllllt 5 soul and w as comfortable signing documents, not writing them. Soon the two settled into 11 pleasant office marriage: she wrote the memos, he signed them.

In tilnel she realized that she and her fellow economists had been theorizing about vigorous mountain streams when all they were required to eon-
template was 11 motionless pond losing
water through evaporation.

Three months after
her arrival some joker
tripping through the international development
maze hurled a conceptual brick into the pond.

Up came the cyclical
question: what are these
governments doing to
end their crisis of negative economic growth? The government reflex was quick, modern: hire consultants. In the office air a hot name floated above the others: SYNDEV INTERNATIONAL, HOUSTON. She wrote a four-point memo on the Choice, which not only brought the Principal Secretary rushing to her office but also made him forget his promise never again to call her Doctor Kamikaze.

Reminded, he apologized. 11But what are you trying to do:
speak truth to power? Leave that to the watchtower people."

She said: 111111 revise every point you think unsound.n
1KYour points are reasonable.v He ticked them off. 11One:
were paid to think, not to hire foreigners to think for us. Two:
were broke; we cant afford American experts. Three: SYN-
DEV has no experience in the field anyway. Four: We have
competent people. Why not put them to work? Very reasonable.
Look, 1111 tear up the memo for youf1

11Whatls the problem?

wIf this goes to the President, helll iail you or make you 11
minister. Either way itls 11 fate worse than rapef'

uYouire hiding something from me?

11Moneyf he said. "There's 11 tied US. aid grant for the study."

11lf I take personal responsibility, will you send it in?" she
asked.

11Certainlyf1

SYNDEV ARRIVED, A TEAM OF FOUR 111110111 AMERICANS.

They got suntanned in December at their Seaspray Hotel operational base, took helicopter trips to regional towns to collect on-the-spotdat11,11ndleftin April. In june their report arrived. Title: Blueprint for Development.

It was 11 high resolution job, tastefully ventilated with Charts andgraphics, tr115r11ntwlth optimism from first to final page. Yet no matter which way she turned it, it looked like A practical joke. In the interests of efhcient management, the country s ten regions were to be doubled. Each region was to have its ministerial-level Regional Development Agent. A grade below the
36 oc'ron 11.11 19 8 9
team of giraffes flowed into
sight, then disappeared among silvery saplings,
as if riding on the breeze.

m

RDAs there were to be Regional Finance, Administrative, then Liaison Agents. Each agent would have an assistant. One hundred and sixty new high-level bureaucratic posts in just one microstate: she thought the notion was so absurd she felt relieved. No intelligent cabinet would accept these proposals. On a cool evening the news began with the announcement

that His Excellency the President had approved an innovative development blueprint guaranteed to launch the country into full-fledged modernity by the year 2060. She turned off the radio and went to bed.

In the morning she was surprised to find the Principal Secretary had come to work early. He was cheerful, eager to talk about the changes.

"You deserve it?" he said, his voice breaking. "Deserve what?" she asked.

"You didn't listen to the news last night? I felt tired," she said. "With your celibate life? He showed her the newspaper. Where."

"That's you. RDA for Vilima Region Excellent perks. Two cars: one Volvo, one jeep. You won't need your salary to live on. The peasants will bring you gifts of food. After one year you'll be rich. You're the first woman to land such a ministerial appointment."

"A fate worse than rape?" she said. "All was joking then?"

She was to report at the State House conference room the following morning. She arrived five minutes early to find the others already assembled. The President arrived, a small man who might have made an excellent headteacher in a viable nation. He read a speech about loyalty, then withdrew into an office behind the dais, and the new officials took turns going to him for short talks.

When her turn came, the President told her he hoped she would consider this transfer up-country a welcome challenge, not, like many high-echelon cadres would assume, a punishment. It would help her get to know the country not as an idea but in its profound reality. On her way out she saw the presidential dais and heard the distant echo of a school bell in her mind. It made her infinitely sad.

In her school days there'd been a sports festival each year, a month before the exams. A prefect in her final year, she had accompanied the school team to the school hosting the events. Walking about that strange compound, she found it hard to believe it was a school in the same sense hers was. No clock tower to regulate the students' movements, only hand bells rung erratically along the corridors. Toilets, clean porcelain fixtures at her school, were holes in the ground here. Unused to such arrangements, she wet herself badly the first time she tried them and had to find a place to wash off the spray of old urine from her bottom while from the hall another of her school's victory songs wafted into her ears.

On her return, curiosity had pushed her to read about her school. In the library, she discovered the other school received less than a quarter the subvention allocated hers, and had to

educate twice the number of students.

Contemplating the enormity of gains unaccounted for, she felt afraid. On the way to her dorm she almost panicked at the thought: what if I'd gone to the other place? Relief followed a calmer thought: I am here. Sunlight touched her eyelids, and she felt a breeze lift her.

After the Hnal exam, prize day came. That year also she won several prizes. But partway into the school anthem she remembered a spray of old urine and her happiness soured. The song over, she looked at the headmaster reciting the years triumphs, introducing the prize-day speaker. She saw the speaker's polished shoes, and her eyes wandered down to the mobile stairway she'd have to climb to receive her prizes.

The top step was steeper than the lower steps. 80 each prizewinner had to do a slight hop at the end of the climb. In previous years she'd done it without a thought. Now she wondered if she would have the energy.

The speaker wound up. Work hard, be loyal, disciplined; the heights reached and kept by great men. Then it was time to go for the prizes. She heard her name and started up the makeshift stairs. For a flash she was sure she wasn't going to make it up the final step.

But from behind her came a tide of affectionate applause. It entered her feelings, touched her consciousness, conjured away her panic, calmed her fear of failure. She felt lifted above the last step, and in the same motion she smiled up at the first lady as they reached out to each other. The tidal wave of affection brought her back to her seat, died down, then gently rose for another chosen child.

IT WAS A PLEASANT TRIP TO MLIMA MOJA, CAPITAL OF VILIMA Region. She traveled in a green army Mercedes van with tires so new they looked oiled in the sunlight. Once, off the road to the right, a team of giraffes flowed into sight, then disappeared among silvery saplings, fluid in their motion, as if riding on the breeze. In the distance ahead, the mountain from which the town took its name swung into view, a remote bluish white top above a spray of clouds, a summit with no visible means of support on the earth below.

The town was a modest interruption in the mountain scenery. The main street, haphazardly tarred, went up to the administrative buildings on a steep hillside. Lower down there was a red-roofed school next to a hospital dying for paint. Apart from that there was just the unplanned Village.

The third day after her arrival she started work. She asked to see all files on development work done to date. What she got was a catalog of unrelated projects: resurfaced roads, bridges, waterworks facilities. She drew up a schedule of inspection trips.

When shown the itinerary the clerk in charge of logistical details seemed distressed. "I don't understand?" he said. She explained the obvious: I'll take out road and track maps covering the region. Pinpoint each project listed as completed. I need to see what we have to start with?

On the way to the first project site the clerk was morose. The project indicated should have been a solid concrete bridge. The Kijito valley came into sight. Opposite a lone hill on the far bank the jeep stopped. She looked at the map. The river was narrowest at this point, between foothills on the right bank and a wooded spur on the left. The bridge should have been here. She looked from the river to the clerk. The clerk looked at the vehicle floor. She sat thinking of the river's power and the beauty of the place as if they were a consolation for losses unaccounted for.

The clerk said nothing when she asked to see the next site. The road was bad, and it took over an hour to reach the dam site. There was a structure on the spot; it wasn't a dam, though. It was an abandoned jetty. The clerk said a German priest had come to set it up early in 1945. He died of heart failure when the Nazis were defeated.

Back at work she had the clerk prepare letters inviting the contractors listed on the disbursement sheets to a meeting with all regional agents. The clerk looked at her in dismay but com-

plied.

The contractors came, four men. Sheld met them before, only then theyId come as members of the Regional Party committee: the Chairman, the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the Liaison Officer. She started with the information in the files: each contractor had received funds from the government treasury for work to be done.

The Regional Party Chairman put in a correction. IIThe government has no money. Aid money. Foreign loans?

She didnTt follow up the point. lIAt the sites I found no construction work done? she said. III trust you have a satisfactory explanation?

The Chairman stared at the tabletop. The RDA recast her statement as a question. The Chairman rose: IIWe need time to prepare our defense.w

The Development Agent explained that she was not accusing anyone. She was asking, as a routine part of the preparation for doing her job, exactly what had happened.

llWe heard you the first timef the Chairman said in a dignified tone. lIGive us time. Welll give you your explanation?

Early Tuesday morning she found a majestic sheep, its whiteness heightened with blue laundry dye, tied up outside her front door. The watchman said a relative of the Regional Party Chairman had brought it.

She wrote a note thanking the Chairman but declining the gift, and added a reminder that the Civil Service Code proscribed such gifts. The watchman left with the sheep, looking murdered in his soul.

Wednesday after work the Party Secretary came with an offer of a bungalow held originally intended for himself, beautiful on a scenic ridge. She declined the gift, recycling the now-limp defense-the Civil Service Code.

Next Monday, the Party Treasurer came. He bore no gifts; only a conversation circling round the importance of relationships, the sacredness of a persons livelihood, especially the livelihood of men, family heads each with numerous dependents. Cut one down, you starve whole clans to death.

The third Monday the Party Chairman came. He gave every sign of having forgotten the incident of the rejected sheep. He called the RDA his beautiful daughter and wished her a prosperous career.

IIWe here know more about you than you suspect? he said.

llWe know you,ve got all the degrees a human being can get without going completely mad. One day youlll tell us all about books, aeroplanes, skyscrapers, the wonders beyond our horizon. But today let me talk about what I know: life in this region.

IlWhen the President first came here, he needed help. He was agitating against the colonial government. It was a risky business. But he had grasped something: there was a new world coming, and there would be room on the mountain peak for a

MOTHER JONES 37

few Africans able to control the colony more cheaply than the white government agents. ul was a Works Department cashier at the time. I risked my career to help him. Hels been grateful ever since. That's the secret of his power: that man doesn't forget his helpers.

llAt first he imagined held create the Party by persuading honest individuals, one by one. I told him to be a politician, not a priest, and to see the notables instead. Once they agreed with him the rest followed. Thatls how we did our part to plant the seeds of independence.

"But power brought the President a sad surprise. On the mountaintop he found no fruit, only rind and pips. Sometimes fruit gets like that. Pretty, but cut it open, the worms have been there. Its bitter, our independence.

"We are told that far from having fruit to share, every African nation is in debt. My beautiful daughter, even debtors can't stop eating. What to eat when the fruits of independence have vanished? Whatever comes.

Loans. Aid. Where are you from?

The personal question caught her off guard. Recovering, she answered: llThe capital.n

llWent to school there?"

llYesfl

llTbe school, no doubtPl1

The accuracy of this probe made her laugh as she nodded yes.

llAnd after that you went abroad to all those universities? the Chairman said, smiling. llHow long did you stay overseas?

Seven years? she said.

llNice. Time to read and think. NO worrying how the butcher kills, the farmer digs. So young, yet already youlve been given everything. To see the world, then come home to a spacious house, cars, servants?

llTheylre not mine? she protested. uThey come with the job?

The Chairman laughed: uAnd whats a government job like yours but a lifetime promise youlll never starve or worry? Be kind, my daughter. Donlt look down on us. Very bright, the fruit taken straight from the sun. Here we're content to wait for fruit that drops into the mud, where we live. Donlt search too deep under the roots ofyour luck. You might have to ask yourself why, after the nation paid for your education and sent you abroad to open your eyes, the same nation welcomes you back with a job that makes you rich in a burgled country, instead of ordering you to pay a lifetime billfl As he rose to go, his smile was inclusive, protective, loving.

The planned meeting of contractors and Development Agents took place as scheduled the next Monday. The RDA read her
38 OCTOBER 1989

terms of reference, emphasizing her duty to find out what had been done with resources allocated. The Party Chairman opened his eyes when the RDA ended her speech, and he had to reply.

He spoke of peace. llPeace in each soul.

Peace in the nation and in the great world, why not? livery year the value of the crops we sell in the markets of the world goes down. People say: lYoulre being robbedf llWe answer: lPeaceY With peace a little of the stolen wealth finds its way back here. Aid. Loans. And," he nodded pleasantly toward the RDA, llscholarships for our young. When the Finance Minister signs a loan agreement and the money gets shared in the capital, we don,t march there to call the sharers thieves. If we did, life here would become a dance of guns. And the same whites who give grain so reluctantly to help us live would rush to give us bullets to help us die.

llWe prefer peace. When we get a little something, we distribute it carefully. Thatls why welre all at peace here? The other eon-tractors walked out with him.

In the postmortem conversation the Regional Financial Agent said the RDA should have avoided antagonizing the local Party notables, going to see the dam site, the road, the bridge.

The RDA asked the RPA: uDid you know these constructions didnlt existFl llEveryone knows thatfl llThereels been a waste of national funds,v the RDA said.

llNot really? said the RFA. llThe nation no longer has any funds. Thatls what the Party Chairman and Secretary were trying to tell you. They donlt believe anyone is developing anything here. Every fool knows where the project loans went. The Chairman set up a timber business with foreign exchange. Touch him, you wound the President. The Party Treasurer is a shareholder in the Seaspray Hotel system. His partners include the President's wife. She has a slogan: lMy husbandls business is integrity; my business is businessf One more thing: llf you quote me llll deny everythingm The meeting cracked up on that one.

To keep unsettling thoughts at bay she turned her energies to practical work. The area around the regional capital was potentially good farming territory, but water was a problem. Studying hydrological stats she found this strange. The place should abound in mountain springs.

She set out to investigate, taking long strolls after hours. About nine kilometers from the town she was shown a spring of such volume and power that she returned ehastened because it was unused. Ancestral permission had to be sought for tapping the water, she was told. She assumed that was a problem, but the priestess guarding the spring was pleased when consulted.

llltls not my opinion you wantfi the priestess said, hits the ancestors'. You plan to take the water to irrigate common land. Take all you need. But the day you decide to sell it to traders, youlll have to kill me to unlock the stream? The priestess added one condition: that a stand of trees near the spring, cut down the previous year by a certain timber merchant, be replanted.

At the Regional Works Department the

RDA found plastic tubing that had lain unused because officials had assumed the custodian of the waters was a wild traditionalist who wouldnt let the spring be tapped. She talked to technicians capable of laying irrigation pipes but too young to have reached decision-making positions in the Works hierarchy. What remained was to bring people together to work.

The Party Chairman had traveled to the capital in some haste, the RDA was told. The Party Secretary had accompanied him. She asked to see the Assistant Secretary, and found a calm, quick-eyed fellow about twenty-five years old, who in a single day brought together over a thousand individuals armed with digging implements. In a week the trench was complete, the pipes were laid and fitted, and the water of the spring began its controlled flow to the fields near the town. Working with this generous line of people stretching down the mountainside, the RDA felt her thoughts blocked by the knowledge that only she and a handful of bureaucrats would draw salaries from the common work.

The Regional Party Chairman and the Secretary returned from the capital to find over a thousand Party members celebrating the completion of a long-postponed irrigation project. The young Assistant Secretary went to greet them in the street, but they ignored him publicly and went home. The next day the Assistant Secretary was expelled from the Party on charges of attempting to create a faction loyal to himself prior to a power grab.

The third night after the water began to flow, the RDA was in her bedroom rewording an appeal on behalf of the sacked Assistant Party Secretary, re-examining old contract tiles and trying to decide what further steps were called for in the case of the phantom projects, when the lights went out. She could hear the generator still throbbing. She took her bedside flashlight and went to the fuse box in the entranceway. She was checking the fuses when she was seized by several strong but palpably nervous hands. She was carried rather gently to the kitchen and made to watch (Continued on page 46)

R0 Ck

Between Australia's
Caucasian and
aboriginal cultures
is Ayers Rock, one
of the country's
most spectacular
sites and symbol
of its emerging
identity struggle.
Ayers Rock, center
of the aborigines'
world, at sunset
(right); on
aboriginal rock
painting at Kakadu
National Park.

TRIPS

By Robyn Davidson

Dreams

N THE BEGINNING, BEFORE

the world took on its pres-
ent form, carpet-snake
people journeyed from the east
and settled at a sand hill contain-
ing what they came to call the
Uluru water hole. Soon after, a
party of venomous snake men
came from the west to attack
their peaceful settlement. At the
close of the battle, Uluru rose up
#a monolith bearing all the
physical and metaphysical signs
of epic destruction. A water hole
that now sits at the foot of the
Rock came from the blood of a
dying carpet-snake man; a frag-
ment of stone is the severed nose
of a venomous snake warrior; 3
large cave was formed from the
mouth of a woman weeping
with grief for the loss of her son
and spitting aru/zwita, the spirit
of disease and death, over her
enemies.

Thus was created Ayers Rock, one of the most
spectacular sites in Australia. For the Pitjantjatjara
aborigines, descendants of the ancient carpet-snake
people, the Rock, located at the center of a vast tract
of desert spreading over three Australian states,
forms an axis around which the universe turns. Eth-
nocentricity perhaps, but when you gaze for the first
time at Ayers Rock, floating like Leviathan in a sea of
orange sand, it's easy to agree with them. Uluru, as
they call it, is like nothing else on earth.
It rises, isolated and improbable, over a thousand
feet above the dunes. From a distance its size is diffi-
cult to appreciate, but as you travel closer, its gran-
deur begins to penetrate your consciousness until,
walking around the six-mile base, you are receiving a
powerful dose of what Jorge Luis Borges called the
wonder distilled from elementary things. Euro-
peans, who have been on this continent for only two
hundred years, also have a special feeling about the
place, clinging as they do to anything that enhances a
sense of national identity.

Aboriginal people not only come from the land,
they are the land. Concepts of ancestor, descendant,
country, story line, and ritual art form an eternal
continuum. Or, as a Pitjantjatjara elder put it, "This
Photographs by Gene Russell (right), and Dylan Andrew,

both courtesy of The Travel Image
is not a rock, it is my grandfather. This is a place
where the dreaming comes up, right up from inside
the ground."

I FIRST VISITED ULURU PARK OVER A DECADE AGO. IT
was under the control of the Northern Territory gov-
ernment, which promoted state rights and economic
development at any cost. The government was pro-
mining, anti-land rights, and decidedly antagonistic
toward "southern do-gooders" of which I was one.
During the protest years of the seventies, land
rights for aborigines became an article of faith across
the spectrum of left and moderate politics. Liberal
whites-lawyers, anthropologists, advisers of all
sorts-arrived in Alice Springs, about two hundred
miles northeast of Uluru, to work for newly formed
black organizations. I had gone there to prepare for a
journey across Australia by camel, and soon became
involved emotionally and professionally in the ab-
original battle for land. But in 1977 it was time to
leave politics, along with everything else, behind me.
I set out with my camels on a journey that would
take me right through Pitjantjatjara country, and
that would, years later, provide the material for my
book Tracks.

When I first came upon Uluru, I had been walking
MOTHER JONES 39

for two weeks without seeing 21 soul. Up one sand hill, down another, and on either side of me an infinity of dunes stretching away into blue. I was not looking forward to seeing, the Rock, having overdosed on its shape on billboards advertising life insurance and on T-shirts sold in kitsch shops in Alice Springs. But when I saw that great blue mass shimmering on the horizon, I was spellbound. Uluru was too ancient to be corruptible.

I spent a week there, exploring every cave, fold, and gully of it. There were three small motels at its base, a little shop, and some houses for the rangers. Aborigines lived in humpies just outside the settlement; tourists wandered into those camps taking photographs. I spent another week there before continuing west into blissful emptiness.

In 1983, after eight years of lobbying, the Pitjantjatjara were granted freehold title to the park, which they then leased back to the government. They received a share of the financial benefits of tourism and, more importantly, acquired a majority on the board of management. Since the arrival of Europeans in the area during the early part of the century, the Pitjantjatjara had been forced off their country by ranchers and miners, been employed as virtual slave labor on the great cattle estates, and had their half-caste children taken from them by welfare agencies. They had watched their young men force-marched three hundred miles to prison in neck chains for the spearing of a sheep and seen relatives blinded or killed by the British nuclear bomb tests at Maralinga. In returning the Rock to its original owners, white Australia made a gesture toward acknowledging those injustices. The hand-over ceremony was, by most accounts, very moving despite the outrage expressed in the local press. As one headline put it, "Ayers Rock is white man's dream too?"

A DL-ZCAIH-L IS A LONG TIME TO LIVE WITHOUT experiencing the sand-hill country of central Australia. When a friend came out for a holiday last autumn, I decided to return to Uluru. After getting off the plane, I gave in to nostalgia and pantheism and walked the five miles to YuIara-a village built twelve miles north of the Rock to house tourists, taking the ecological pressure off the Rock and the social pressure off the aborigines who still live at its base. My friend, reluctant to walk such a distance, climbed into a bus along with all the American, Japanese, and German tourists.

The dunes were the color of conch shells, of rosebuds. Thanks to the rain, there were explosions of color everywhere-purple parakeelya, bright yellow grevillea, blue shrubs sprouting scarlet flowers, silky orange trunks of desert poplars, and, furring the ridges of the dunes, pincushions of pale green spinifex. I struggled to the top of a sand hill, and there it was: the Rock, bruise-colored, striped by waterfalls, and capped with gray mist. The rain came down in buckets, but what did it matter? I was in the

40 OCTOBER 1989

heart of the world and I was happy.

Until I turned a corner and saw Yulara. This was no village; this was a blueprint town complete with a Sheraton hotel, a mock Greek amphitheater, and tourist-trap boutiques. We rented a car and drove straight to the Rock.

As it swelled before us, the IIskinII of the Rock was changing from steel gray to purple to shiny red. We parked the car and stepped out into the freezing wind. The path took us around the western face, past the white line painted up the side of the Rock. By the time I had walked a mile, I was so numb with cold that it seemed perfectly sensible to take off my drenched clothes and plunge into one of the new water holes beneath a cascade thundering down at us from the gods. The water was pure as crystal, and so deep in places that it was bluish black.

After my impromptu swim, we continued walking around the Rock, struggling through the needles of rain until we came to a sign notifying the public that this small fenced-off area was a sacred site closed to visitors. A group of tourists was reading it; one of them crossed the fence and headed off for the cave. I called him back and explained in my most polite voice that the Rock belonged, morally and legally, to the aboriginal people, and that he was their guest and about to break their law. Since he could explore every part of the Rock except two or three tiny sections, I added, why did he feel the need to trespass? He walked on.

I recalled the words of a frail, elderly aboriginal woman who once told me, "When ignorant men go into a womenIs place, they rape all womenn-not just us Iaboriginal womenI, but all women everywhere. They ruin everyone with their ignorance?"

TOURISM IS NOT A BENIGN INDUSTRY. Unless it is rigorously controlled, it can fundamentally alter the natural environment and adversely affect the host culture that tourists wish to experience. The custodians of Ayers Rock are lucky in many respects: they have the power to veto the use of Uluru. (Recently they turned away a musician who offered enormous amounts of money to make a video on top of it-a new definition of IRock clip?) Even so, many of them are abandoning it for more private settlements out in the desert_away from public display. They worry about and feel responsible for the climbers who fall to their deaths, and they are powerless against the trespassers who blunder about in fertility eaves, ignorant of the deep distress this causes.

Eventually, the very element that now attracts so many visitors to Uluru Park-aboriginal culture-could be subsumed by a kind of tourist imperialism; or the Rock itself, the return of which was such an important aboriginal victory, could be taken over by commercial interests after all. As one disgruntled Pitjantjatjara elder put it, uYou are money people, with money to burn. You work like hell for money. We work for the land, to look after the land?

All this isnIt to say that we shoulant join

the hordes visiting this wonder of the world
-only that tourism is full of uncomfortable
ironies. Even with the best of intentions,
cross-cultural travelers can never be a neu-
tral presence.

Robyn Davidson is an Australian writer liv-
ing in London. Her latest book is *Ancestors*,
published this month by Simon & Schuster.

"Our daughter tells us you're a choreographer. "

PBBDIIBTSianHBGRESSIVES
T-SHIRTst \$8.95 EAEH
Ina ' :6 l -. Viki A (Anarchy.
black on red - , l l, i - .
on It blue
gilt iNI.
whllv mi mark tildvk llll wimp
'-'.
3va l)" UAUV Llhllt
W22 hhth
It Will be a great day
when our schools get
all the money they need
and the Air
Because
' I'm the Mom Force has to
. h lot l-; k
THAT 5 way 50m \$0 3;;
a bomber
3
AND U! NIH
lt) ml mhmuvx hm
qim-ii mi
win
mm-k U" wimp m Wow 0!! lmqutnsv
W'lllP UH tildi'k
Mimi Ull lmigmt .-
CHOICE RAnimal I
esearch
CHO'CE "w
c H 0 I c E mm mm: ' BABY SEAL FOR
c H 0 I c E " ' W'"" CHRIST
nltlcolor on white hvy wt
2
black 8. wlilte ml tutquISe
ivory 8. orange on black
NUCLEAR WA!"
mu 5Xl MY (ull'
' x
WE DON'T CARE
x WE DON'T NAVE menu:
6' t Welne
. 2 _
-
ANOTHER SKINHEAD Anh-m-wv-wu-M
rod. while 8. blue
W Uw Ami punk UH mm u TOEPEACF
nr (mttilv (fit) H0, (in light bltnx
LOVE YOUR
MOTHER
lllUHll i lit it" ll ti l.t'
VQgQTnbh or
Noxious Weed?
wtl Ull wllilu
white on mtvy
19 your
washroom
brccdmg
Bt Sh
BAIHROUM BOLSHEVIK
lL/Lll most popular poster)
11"x17" \$3.50
PEBSONALIIY
3i POSTERS
h 28"x38" \$6.00 ea
Martin Luther King
Gandhi
Albert Einstein
John Lennon ll Ulmw
Mushroom Cloud
Karl Marx

\$11.95 KAFFIYA

Illt Haimiiqu twtmlm

Mitltlli' l tlklt' lll Hi All

tivtiiltilili- Ill film k

onwhiti-

T-SHIRT SIZES: S/M/L/XL (All cotton unless noted)

XXL T-SHIRTS ADD \$1.50 _

(XXL no purple or turquoise; will be substituted With royal blue)

SWEATSHIRTS: Available for all the above shirt designs \$18.95 (50/50 Crew neck)

EARTH FLAG

An Inspiring banner symbolizmg peace and

envnonmental preservation. 3, x 5' flag with the earth

In white, blue, brown and green on a dark blue

background. The flag IS made of nylon and treated

with an ultraviolet inhibitor for outdoor use,

Each , \$39.00

Guatemalan Bracelets Beautiful, colorful woven wrist bracelets \$1.00

NORTHERN SUN

MERCHANDISING

Box Mtl

2916 E Lake St

Mpls , MN 55406

(612) 729-2001

Add \$2 ()0 shipping per order

We (:zirry 100 T shirts, and

hundreds of buttons, posters,

bumperstickers, postcards and

lots mom politically correct

merchandise All listed In our

catalog, available for \$1 00

or free With any order

SAT lfjl/XC l MN (ElJAH/XN ll l l)

m GINGRICH

(Continued from page 33) gation by the House Ethics Committees special outside counsel Richard Phelan (who also led the investigation of Jim Wright), and Gingrich is likely to say, "If you're a whistle-blower in the conservative movement . . . there are no holds barred in trying to destroy you." (See "The Cases Against Gingrich" page 32.)

This is vintage Gingrich, and it is also a vintage kind of US. politics, what Richard Hofstadter over two decades ago named "the paranoid style." What seems to work some of the time with some of the people, what demagogues like McCarthy have ridden to bold, if ultimately soiled, fame is the practice of positioning oneself as the lone warrior exposing and battling an evil, alien conspiracy within as well as outside the country. It has traditionally been a politics of resentment against power centers and social change that has played especially well in the South. (In 1968, Gingrich's district voted for George Wallace in the presidential election while surrounding areas voted for Nixon.)

The paranoid style was supposed to play less well in the New South, the more educated, white-collar, postindustrial districts like Gingrich's own. But Gingrich is expert at converting up-to-date concerns into grist for his conspiracy theory. While he claims to hold out a positive vision—the high-tech, deregulated utopia outlined in his 1984 book *Window of Opportunity*—for Gingrich, it's not morning again in America, it's the twilight before permanent, moonless night.

Take drug abuse. We associate drugs with the "values" of the sixties, do we not? And the children of the sixties are now the Democratic politicians and liberal bureaucrats and "left" media of the eighties, who, Gingrich argues, have spent the last twenty years misleading this country about how destructive drugs are? Therefore, he continues, the Left is to blame for the present crack epidemic and the country's other drug problems. Now that communism isn't the credible evil it was even five years ago when Democrats were "blind" to it, "Islamic extremism may well be the greatest threat to Western values and Western security in the world," Gingrich says. "It's steadily replacing communism as a threat on an active basis."

In Washington, where the media lusts for the big quote and political parties can always find a role for a rhetorical pit bull, Gingrich has made a career of this kind of talk. At home, Gingrich fine-tunes the signal for the particular frustration of each interest group. After the town hall meeting in Griffin, Gingrich allows me to tag along with him to a session with a group of doctors and insurers at the Griffin Hospital. Dr. Alex Jones, the white-haired chief of medicine, asks why Medicare covers less while red tape grows. Could Newt be their

42 OCTOBER 1989

nal for the particular frustration of each interest group. After the town hall meeting in Griffin, Gingrich allows me to tag along with him to a session with a group of doctors and insurers at the Griffin Hospital. Dr. Alex Jones, the white-haired chief of medicine, asks why Medicare covers less while red tape grows. Could Newt be their

advocate, modify the program?

Gingrich listens for a while, then launches into a discourse on the ilHarvardl-stylel centralized bureaucracy-driven model of health care, which is inherently, catastrophically bad. . . . There are two realities to the current system: one is the government is trying to cheat you. And the second is the government is lying to you about what its doing? Gingrich says his llbiasli is to abolish the whole federal health-care bureaucracy. illim very seriously thinking about putting a bill in, just a symbolic bill that says look, you cant reform that culture. . . . Nobody on the battle line would notice that they were gone if you decapitated the top twelve thousand bureaucrats and started over with a new model?

Instead of Medicaid, he proposes tax credits for doctors whenever they treat card-carrying indigents, a farfetched scheme for dozens of political and practical reasons, not the least of which is that it would force the poor to rely purely on the kindness of health-care strangers. But that, and a ilsymbolicll attempt at bureaucratic decapitation, is all that is offered today by Gingrich. At one point, while CXe plaining why malpractice suits persist, he tips his hand: llThe public has to have a bad person? he lectures. ultls the nature of Western culture?

This follows the grand overview:

"There has been a fifty-year-long war between the Left, which loves socialized medicine, loves coercive centralized bureaucratic power. . . and the rest of us. And theyre very smart," he says, pausing for effect. 9They always conceal their greed for power in the language of love." His listeners are no friends of bureaucrats, yet they seem startled at the distance theylve traveled in the half hour since Dr. Alex jones asked the original question. jones, a confirmed conservative and Gingrich fan, admits later that Gingrich had conjured an appealing, but impossible, dream. uYouill always have the bureaucracy? he says, coming back to earth, dbut I think it can be reformed so the patient is number one?

NEWT GINGRICH, A FORMER HISTORY teacher, clearly imagines himself a historic figure. 9I have an enormous personal ambition. I want to shift the entire planet. And Fm doing itf he declared in 1985. These days he equates his toppling of Wright with the momentous events in P0-land, China, and the Soviet Union, and he has already created an archive for his personal papers at West Georgia College, where he was terminated (ironically, for not publishing enough) in 1978 after seven years of teaching, according to Dean Richard Dangle.

Sometimes, apparently, the hne points of congressional ethics can seem an obstacle to history-making, though. Dolores Adamson, Gingrichs self-assured former aide, is in a position to know. Gingrich asked her to stay on as district assistant

when he succeeded Democrat Jack Flynt in 1979; at his request, she took him to the local mall and showed him how to warm up to people, stand in line with kids waiting for Braves autographs, .th up to someone and be a congressman.n Adamson was happy to oblige; at hrst she thought Newt was ligreatf, In the first months, Adamson remembers, 9He would always say, lIf ever I get out of line, call me down, 9 But after the first term, tilts like he turned a corner? Adamson says. llThere seemed to be a new Newt. . . . He quit being the humble servant? For one thing, Gingrich began to insist that his every public utterance be taped. llAnd I asked him, lDon,t you think that when we record your voice at every meeting you go to, that you're looking like a pompous someone who wants to hear themselves talk? 9 Adamson remembers. KlHe said, No, its important? . . . He thought . . . thereld probably be a museum someday where you could go and check one of those tapes out? If posterity was slighted because a staffer failed to record him, Gingrich would dock that persons pay up to \$200- and dock Adamsonis as well. Then, for good measure, "Held cut you down, blast you unmercifullyfl Adamson remembers tussling with Gingrich most, though, over matters of ethics. llDolores was his conscience when it came to ethical things. She was all our conscience,n says Dot Crews, a veteran Republican activist who worked in the office then. She was a real stickler about keeping congressional and campaign stuff separate, very, very tough." But Gingrich wasn't conscientious, Adamson says. Though the rules prohibit it, Gingrich many times tried to use tax-paid staff and office space for campaign work, according to Adamson. 9l would say no, you cant do that. You,ll have to go to someoneis home. . . . We went to a lCongress-sponsored seminarl for ethics. We had a manual this high. So why were we arguing about it? . . .

It always would amaze me how insignificant Newt thought all of that was. Because to me it was significant? Adamson neared the breaking point when, after returning from a week-long vacation, she found out that against her wishes Gingrich had put the district office staff to work editing and copying early drafts of Window of Opportunity. In my mind, it was illegal Adamson says, and by strict interpretation of the law and House rules, she may be correct. Not long after that confrontation with Gingrich, Adamson quit.

Gingrich has said that only one staffer helped with the book. But Dot Crews, who along with Adamson has not discussed her relationship with Gingrich publicly before, confirms Adamson's version. She remembers working on the book, though one higher-up tried to convince her it was just a government-related policy statement, not strictly a business venture, as Gingrich has since proclaimed. Crews, who worked in Gingrich's office until she resigned in 1984, says that after Adamson left, Gingrich and his staff began to blur the line of separation between congressional and campaign work?

That line has apparently continued to blur at taxpayers' expense. Records show that Gingrich took members of his congressional staff off the payroll to work on his campaigns in 1986 and 1988 and then gave them big, temporary raises when they returned to congressional work. If the money was meant to compensate for campaign work, Gingrich violated federal law. We weren't trying to avoid campaign laws, Gingrich declared when his practice came to light this summer. They weren't doing anything that isn't done widely by many members?

Dot Crews, still a Republican Party booster, came to her own conclusion about her former boss: He never had a philosophy, he always had an agenda: to get where he is right now. He's not interested in ethics as an issue, he's interested in ethics as a tool to complete his agenda?

AT HOME, ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL, Mr. Ethics has developed a reputation as Mr. Hardball. Gingrich, who once told a roomful of college students that one of his sandals was in need of repair.

RESOLE &

RECONDITIONING

This Includes new soles and cork

16 PAGE

FULL COLOR

CATALOG

Quick Service

Guaranteed Fit

repair.

NEW SUEDE

\$14 LINER INSTALLED

If your sandals are cracked across the ball of the foot, they need a new liner,

53 Polish Leather Uppers

56 Heel or Toe Taps

29 Styles

CALL OR WRITE

913-841-7027

VISA OR MASTERCARD
OR PERSONAL CHECK

IMORE EFFECTIVE By duplicating the motion of cross country skiing, the world's best exercise, NordicTrack provides the ideal aerobic workout.
.MORE COMPLETE

Unlike bikes and other sitdown exercisers, NordicTrack exercises all the body's major muscles for a total body workout,
.MORE CALORIES

BURNED In tests at a major university, NordicTrack burned more calories than an exercise bike and a rowing
N? :V

PLUS 32.50

Shipping & Handling
1339 VA-3 MASSACHUSETTS
LAWRENCE, KS 66044

ILESS TIME Because NordicTrack is so efficient, you burn more calories and get a better aerobic workout in less time.

INO IMPACTRun
ning and some aerobic workouts can cause painful and potentially harmful jarring.

A NordicTrack workout is completely jarless.

INO DIETING No other exercise machine t: burns more calories than NordicTrack . . . so you can lose weight faster without dieting.

INO SKIING EXPERIENCE
REQUIRED Easy and fun to use.

FREE BROCHURE AND VIDEO

Call Toll Free Or Write:

1-800-328-5888

In Canada 1-800-433-9582

141 Jonathan Blvd, N, Chaska, MN 55318

C Please send free brochure

' : :Also free video tape I LVHS C1 BETA

Namc__

Nordic rack _p_

A CML COMPANY Phonu()

machinef

IMORE CONVENIENT With

NordicTrack, you can exercise in the r
comfort of your home, 1 I

the great problems we have in the Republican party is that we don't encourage you to be nasty? has worked especially hard at recruiting young people to his cause. In Gingrichk 1986 re-election campaign, a meeting of young Democrats was interrupted by an uninvited, self-styled lltruth squadil of Republican teenagers, led by an adult Gingrich campaign aide who demanded to tape-record the proceedings.

NordicTrack easily folds, requiring ' 3; storage space of only 17" x 23W

3; L 1

'Stientllu ttwt I'gulls inClutlul in
Nm'tlulmtk him huw
r 1988 Nordvclirack

With AudiorForuml s x t , , . .
intermediate and advanced materials,
it's easy to maintain and sharpen your
foreign language skills.
Besides intermediate and advanced
audio-cassette courses_most devel-
oped for the US. State Dept._we
offer foreign-language mystery dramas,
dialogs recorded in Pan's. games. music,
and many other helpful materials.
And if you want to learn a language,
we have beginning courses for adults
and for children.

We offer introductory and advanced
materials in most of the world's lan-
guages: French, German, Spanish,
Italian. Japanese. Mandarint Greek,
Russian. Portuguese, Koreant Nor-
wegian, Swedish. and many others.

CALL 1-800-243-1234 FOR FREE 32-PAGE

CATALOG, OR WRITE:

BUDla-FORUITIG)

Room 1603,96 Broad Streett

Guilford, CT06437 (203) 453-9794

MAKE IMPORTANT

conmrs

We're glad it's our business to reach out
respectfully to the people at the back doors
of society. Sometimes we find them in the
inner city, sometimes in a third world village.
Our prize-winning newsletter, Word gig.
helps by reporting on creative approaches to
problems like homelessness. and tells about
careers in religion and social action. We'd like
to send it to you free. Contact us at Room
701% m, 205 W, Monroe St. Chicago.

1L60606,

The Claretians

A Roman Catholitic tornmunity

Ofpriests. brothers. and laypeople

44 oeromak 19 8 9

This kind of aggressiveness fairly charac-
terizes Republican party-building at the 10-
cal level, say insiders. At a recent state con-
vention, one of (iingrich's closest aides,
Mel Steely, grabbed and dragged a precinct
chairman several feet in an attempt to con-
vince him to support a Gingrich favorite.
The man suffers from cerebral palsy and
was badly shaken, according to two eye-
witnesses, and Gingrich later apologized
for the incident. (Steely refused to talk to
Mother jones.)

Then there is Bob Cooley's story, which,
if nothing else, demonstrates just how
much paranoia the Gingrich style can
breed. The Republican aircraft mechanic
worked on the 1986 re-election campaign
and hosted organizing meetings in his large
home. Two weeks before the election,
someone broke in, strewn garbage all
over the floors, and wrote llNewt Sucksll
in toothpaste on the mirrors. At the time,
Cooley, and lots of voters, assumed Gin-
grich's Democratic enemies were to blame.
Gingrich won by a healthy margin. The
crime remains unsolved, but Cooley-
who has since soured On Gin-grich-today
is convinced that unbeknownst to Gin-
grich, some of his own people staged the
break-in to taint the opposition.

For L. H. 11Kipl1 Carter, another former Gingrich ally, the smearing of Speaker Foley has a familiar ring. He was Gingrich's first campaign treasurer and one of his closest friends and advisers until becoming disillusioned with the young congressman in 1979. "We created a monster, and I'll never be able to do enough good things in my lifetime to balance the scale." the businessman now tells the press whenever he gets a chance. But he's paid a price for his conversion. After Carter blasted Gingrich publicly, a rumor began circulating that Carter was a homosexual, eventually working its way into the local Carrollton paper. Carter was forced to deny the rumor in print.

Most jaded of all among Gingrich's former supporters, though, might be Lee Howell, Gingrich's first press aide. Howell, along with Carter, provided a lot of information in the first Mother Jones profile. Nothing since has changed his mind, says Howell today. "Newt's like a bully. Remember when you're kids and there's always some tough-talking little kid, and when somebody stands up to him he caves in? Newt's never had anybody stand up to him. Newt's scenario is always: We're talking the truth, and you're playing dirty?"

A YOUNG, CLEAN-SHAVEN AIDE IS DRIVING. Press secretary Sheila Ward sits beside me in the backseat. Gingrich is in the front passenger seat, staring ahead, saying, "The thing that shocks people . . . is that I mean what I say. I don't use hyperbole." I ask why he didn't fire Karen Van Brocklin, the aide who spread the lie about Foley, and Gingrich doesn't miss a beat, calmly explaining that Van Brocklin had done a great job leaking damaging information about Wright to the press, and she was never burned. . . . I would have given any person with that track record one major mistake? He goes on to blame the New York Daily News columnist who linked Van Brocklin with the rumor: "He called her. . . . She answered him honestly, she told him flatly we were not investigating Foley. . . . He then turned that into a viciously dishonest column?"

The week before, openly gay Massachusetts Representative Barney Frank had called Van Brocklin "Madame Defarge" telling me in an interview that she was not only passing the rumor along, but in the most despicable fashion saying Foley likes little boys. When people use these smarmy, smearing methods, use it as a weapon, it reinforces the idea there is something wrong with being gay?

But Gingrich doesn't yield an inch. "It's a disgustingly dishonest column," he finishes, as the car comes to a stop for the day's next meeting.

"And what your aide did wasn't disgusting?" I ask.

"No . . . pipes up Ward, but Gingrich shuts her down with a sharp, angry, "Let me talk." His big silver head comes wheel-

ing around, and he fixes his suddenly fierce eyes on me. ttMot/Jer jones smeared me. All right? You are lucky that I believe you guys are trying something different. NO Democrat defended me. No Democrat said Tony Coelho shouldn't have sent out hundreds of copies of that article. And no newspaper said it was dishonest, demeaning, or wrong, and nobody was fired. Now, Karen Van Brocklin made a mistake. But a number of hypocritical left-wing news media people and hypocritical Democratic politicians . . . none of whom ever minded when John Tower was being smeared, none of whom ever minded when Bob Bork was being smeared, suddenly found religion because it was one of theirs. Now I apologized personally to Foley. . . . All I ask for is a fair shake, and I feel very deeply and very vehemently that the press ought to adopt the same standard for conservatives and liberals . . . and in Washington, DC, in 1989, they don't. And that's why I wouldn't fire Karen Van Brocklin? Gingrich throws open the car door,

leaving me to sort out these ethical standards. The rules of guerrilla warfare would seem the best guide. Karen Van Brocklin, a very useful person, made a mistake, and finally got burned. The verified facts of Gingrich's record are no different from the most personal falsehoods spread by Van Brocklin, because all are damaging smears? Gingrich will crack down on his own smear artist when the enemy cracks down on its. Victory is paramount.

I ask Sheila Ward if Gingrich's burst of belligerence toward her is common. "You were here. You saw?" is all she will say. EVEN IF NEWT GINGRICH IS STRIPPED OF his power by the ongoing ethics investigation this winter, or turned out by dissatisfied voters in Georgia next year, it is his wing of the party, representing younger, more aggressive conservatives, that is on the ascendancy now. And so his approach to party-building, the deft use of fear—of drugs, crime, terrorism—is bound to be honed sharper still by an entire new class of conservative politicians in electoral contests ahead, no matter what happens to Newt Gingrich.

But if Gingrich wins his guerrilla war, what would a reformed Congress full of Gingrich types be like? Hardly a kinder and gentler place. Would it be more democratic and responsive to constituents' needs? Not likely, would say the thousands of airline employees in Gingrich's district who find him too interested in the party line to make their needs a top priority. A Congress less beholden to corporate wealth? Gingrich happens to be among the top earners of honoraria and a major recipient of PAC money, most of it from corporations and probusiness lobbies, which has allowed him to build a powerful base of support independent of voters in his district. A Congress in which members are less prone to abuse their office budgets in order to promote their own re-election? Dolores Adamson and others who've worked for Gingrich wouldn't put any money on it. A Congress, then, whose members refuse to exploit their position of power by trading access for money? When Newt Gingrich needed money in 1977 to tide him over until his next run for Congress, and again in 1984 to help promote a book he hoped would become a best-seller, he didn't hesitate to solicit contributions from those he knew had an interest in legislation.

It is the end of the day and Gingrich is resting at his Griffin district office. He is on his favorite subject, how the Democrats have "usurped" power and why Republicans will soon be the majority party in the country and in the House. He draws a diagram on a napkin, placing the names Buckley, Goldwater, and Nixon on a rising line until Watergate plummets the curve. Then the line moves up again, through Reagan and now Bush, pulling horizontally above where Nixon was. This is how

he tracks the U.S. public's natural affinity for Republican versus Democratic values, and one is only to conclude that Newt Gingrich believes he will be the next champion on the curve, higher even than Reagan and all the rest.

I ask Gingrich about his new ideas that he keeps predicting will seize the voters' imagination. What new and positive, for example, can he offer regarding the crack epidemic? Eventually he acknowledges that his prescription—more prisons, police, prosecutors, paid informants, border guards, and executions—is very old-fashioned, because it works? Gingrich talks vaguely of the need for much more empowerment, much more self-control, and programs that promote self-ownership and self-management among what the Victorians would call the deserving poor. I ask why, if Republicans can offer those things, aren't more of the poor Republicans? His answer: Reagan was literally unknowing in the whole zone of race relations. It wasn't part of his world, and he was very, very insensitive to it. For eight years we communicated a symbol of insensitivity? With Reagan gone, Gingrich predicts Republicans can organize up to half the black community within a decade. Jesse Jackson will be a competitor for their allegiance only because he's an ethnic symbol, Gingrich says.

I point out that the rise of the liberal welfare state came in response to some old-fashioned ideas that clearly weren't working sometime around 1929. Don't the Democrats continue to win congressional elections because they've forged a coalition of working class and poor, the very people who get hurt in an unregulated economy? That's not a very accurate history lesson, Gingrich says. "The rise of the liberal welfare state prior to Lyndon Johnson tended to be centrist liberals who were very tough on law and order, very tough on anticommunism."

Since then, something has happened to the Democrats, something most people don't realize, or they certainly wouldn't keep voting in a Democratic Congress. The Democratic party has been infected by destructive values," and Newt Gingrich knows just about when it happened, because he has a name for this new, alien

1 TO STAY

ON TOP!

1

of world events... as
i as the tables turn!

Sign up now for

; 50 great issues of

; POLITICAL PIX,

TAmerica's only

iweekly Chronicle

of the very best

political cartoons.

Insights with a

bite. Only from

POLITICAL PIX.

Call TOLL FREE
1-800-548-2745
or send \$59.00 to
POLITICAL PIX
P.O. Box 804C
' Norwich, VT 05055
The unSuit by DEV A
casual cotton jacket & punts
look gr "at together or separately
l'NDRESS JACKET
\$36 ppd
and guaranteed.
The tuxedo lapel tapers in one
burnt Mimi button for u Cldwt
lmk. 'lim pitch pockets; onc
inner breast pocket. Add 33
it mu Ham shoulder pads.
Sure height. Might,
hip ind bustchcst mca-
suremem (Up m 45"!.
l'NDRESS TROUSERS
\$53 ppd
and guaranteed.
Plated tmuscrcs hiic
sharp. xcun-in t'rcuscx
and mom) slush pockcu
fur Ll slimming look.
liINici/ed druumrd
uuisl, 34" mx'cum Ix
easily hemmed State
MN hip meisurcmemx
lup ii. 45"!,
Both xtilcs in lllatk,
Muiril, Nun, Pearl (Bret g
or lurqumxc. l.
VISA/MC orders
call 1-800-222-8024
Send 3! mi lulmi samples
ind utilugiic wt 40
styles (Free uith order).
DEVA, a munge indusm
Box NUJQ.
Burkinsxillc, XII) 11718
MOTHER JONES 45

"HESII Allll

Bllllllll"

GIIIIIISTIAIIIIY

CROSS AND SWORD

An Eyewitness History of Christianity
in Latin America

ll. Mi Iwnnie (jmxlprixlure

This epit eyemttness history gives flesh and
blood to 300 Vuirs oi Christianity in lulin

Amerit a and the (lirihlxnm,

Paper \$11.03, (iloth \$29.95

ROMERO: A LIFE

lamm R, Hun lxmrn

"The reader will (lose er kman's biog,-

raphy feeling. V the need to see that

Romero's lite and death will serve the highw

est purpose of the Salvadorean people"

-El) MNER Paper \$9.95

CRUCIBLE OF FIRE

The Church Confronts Apartheid

lim Wa/lix and low e Hollyday, editors

Foreword by Alan Hoesak. Through the

words of South Africa's leading Christian

figures In the anti-apartheid resistance,

C'rur ible of fire brings home to every Chris-

tian the urgent need to know and to act,

Paper \$9.95

THE CHURCH AND

SOCIALISM IN CUBA

Raul (Ir'mie7 Trelo

Foreword by I(Jlm Kirk. A provotative

analysis of the developing relationship be-

tween the Catholit Church and the social-

ist government in Cuba Paper \$9.95

WAR AGAINST THE POOR

Low Intensity Conflict and Christian Faith

Iar h Nrt/snn-Ri/lmever

How the poor in the Third World (ountries

are vi(timin-(I by e(onomk, psyr liologb

ml, (liplomtit, and military interierem e

designed to l)l() (k six ial (hange.

Paper \$993

DANIEL BERRIGAN:

POETRY, DRAMA, PROSE

Mir hiu-l Iruv, editor

Containing the "best of Berrigdnf' this Is

the most Uprrluirllvdl1lil1()l())3,y(llelilllllt'l()

(lay. Intervvws, letters, nmnil-t-stos, inurml

entries, parables, poetry, and (llama are all

Im ludwl. Paper \$1295, ('lolli \$24.9")

ORBIS BOOKS

Mdryknoll, New Yorlx IONS

l-BUOJSTi-Sll \$8

In NYS Called 914-9417087

46 OCTOBER 1989

Democratic party. He calls it upost-

McGovernXl And as the man says, the

public has to have a bad person. Its the

nature of Western culture.

David Beers is senior editor of Mother

Jones. Research for this story was sup-

ported by the Mother jones Investigative

Fund.

KAMIKAZE

(Continued from page 38) as the papers

were burned over the stove. She was then

taken back to her bedroom, tied to her bed,

and left in peace.

It was the watchman who freed her. He

had been briefly kidnapped, but not

harmd. It occurred to her that at no time

had she been frightened. There'd been a peculiar gentleness to the night's Violence. She concluded this was an event planned not to shake her but to produce an effect elsewhere.

The special Civil Service telegram from the capital came before noon the next day:

HALT EVERYTHING RETURN IMMEDIATELY

HQ SIGNED PRINSEC MINDEV. She reported back to the Principal Secretary in her old office and was instructed to wait until the President was ready to receive her.

11The news says you were a mover and shaker in Vilima Region? the Principal Secretary said, shaking his head in disbelief.

11You seem to think I went looking for trouble, she said.

11Not if the Principal Secretary said.

11The Regional Party Chairman. In his last but one phone call he said you'd subverted the youth wing?

Y1t1s natural to consult the Assistant Secretary when both the Chairman and the Secretary are away, she said.

11Logical, not natural," the Principal Secretary chuckled. ttYou show a Party big shot some teenage deputy can do his job better than telling him to drop dead?

HWhat was his last call about?"

Security," the Principal Secretary said.

11Yours. Your behavior had so angered the Party faithful some militants had tried to kill you. Is it true you asked to see the work done with aid funds?v

uI was supposed to?

The Principal Secretary stopped laughing.

11What were you looking for?" He would stay for an answer.

The President's call came at the start of her third week of waiting. She was ready at 8:55. She was able to go in at 11:23 after a delegation of twelve women wearing the presidential portrait on their bellies and bottoms came out smiling and flashing airline tickets.

The President was pensive, as if he needed to collect his wits after the Party women's visit. 11Your work in Vilima. Efficient. So fastf he smiled at her. 11Congratulations, and thank you. Water had been a problem there. You solved it?

11I took part in solving it, Mr. President? she said. t1There were people ready to do the work, once it could get started?

11I understandf the President said. 11The problem then was leadershipV She pretended the interrogative inflection had passed her by. He did not insist. tWX/ewe been asked to send a qualified expert to Geneva. Your work indicated you'd be the best we could send there. The UNDP Resident Representative will brief you." In the silence he didn't dismiss her. He seemed bothered by some explanation ungiven. 11Don't think of your recall from Vilima as a sanctionf he said finally, and she understood he had decided to leave out explanations, to touch only the core. tholitical relationships can't be ordered neatly. I called you back not because you were wrong. You were outnumbered. A thousand young people with you.

But you were outnumbered, you know, even if against you there was only the local political bureau.n

And you, she thought. She had expected the thought to stop there, but something deeper than her self-control let it through: And me. Aloud she said: llThank you, Mr. President." She saw his pupils as she said farewell. They were gray, not brown. Under his white hair his head seemed unnaturally small, as if the exercise of power had shrunk it.

The Principal Secretary was elated when she told him where she was going. llSame bureaucracy? he said, tlbut the international level offers more personal advantages. Come drop some foreign exchange in my pocket whenever you breeze through here. Ah, UNCTAD. Which department?n ltInvisibles."

"Dont sound so ruefulfl ttI feel I'm getting initiated into some 0cult sect," she said.

"You are? For a flash she felt weak, but then unaccountably a surge ofenergy rose in her. The questions rising in her mind gave way to a pleasant rush of warmth. She heard applause, not in her mindls ear, but all over her body. It was mingled with almost-forgotten phrases from school songs, the sound rising in a friendly wave that lifted her away from the present place and moment, beyond the prevalence of failure.

Q1989 by Ayi Kwei Armab. Ayi Kwei Arma/a is a critic, essayist, and fiction writer living in Popenguine, Senegal.

I mmt Iogixe 2lonuixeurM(HhIII-RJUNI'S gill xuhxcrlplinn to the PK'UPIU hxledv I W) lle \$
 13 I
 for each gill. Ihulhx lhc hmexl price tnrlhthle .mytxhcre Send me \$111 e.ttdx mm lm ewrw
 ne nn
 my Iixl. Bill me later. Putmem enclmed. I
 l. I I
 Your Name Second Gift To:
 Address Address I
 City State Zip City State Zip I
 I. e I I
 Fu'st (Jift 10: Third Gift To:
 Address Address I
 City State Zip City State Zip I
 Heme .Idtl SF mch IUI pmmgt- IH hut'Ign mnnmw MEJ9AS-4
 Previews
 -tn v-KEK ' 3 L t 'l m5. V _ 1.,
 Conscious of the Past
 WOMEN TOGETHER, WOMEN ALONE: The
 Legacy of the Consciousness-Raz'sing Movement,
 by Anita Sbreve, Viking, 275 pages, \$19.95.
 INESSENTIAL WOMAN: Problems ofExclusion in
 Feminist Thought, by Elizabeth V. Spelman,
 Beacon Press, 221 pages, \$22.95.
 hat have we learned from the last twenty
 years of feminism in the United States? What
 have we forgotten? Where are we going? Who
 are hweh? In Women Together, Women Alone,
 journalist Anita Shreve interviews women
 around the country about their experiences in
 19705 consciousness-raising groups; philoso-
 pher Elizabeth V. Spelman examines problems
 of exclusion in feminist theory in her scholarly
 Inessential Woman.
 These two engaging, optimistic books represent a
 growing genre: looking back and forward at the
 Illustration by Nicole Hollander
 womenhs movement. In the last Hve years the femi-
 nist bookshelf has expanded to include histories,
 autobiographies, anthologies, novels, poetry, and
 drama, their authors all conscious that the future of
 the movement depends on remembering its past(s).
 Women Together, Women Alone is a lively
 though narrowly focused chronicle of the experi_
 ences and legacies of the grass-roots consciousness-
 raising movement. Shreve juxtaposes portraits of
 members of a fictionalized New York City CR
 group with more traditional interviews, tracking a
 number of women from the first blush of sisterhood
 through vociferous exchanges about housework,
 sexuality, motherhood, physical appearance, and
 sexism On the job. As the years pass, many mem-
 bers become immersed in their private lives and
 express nostalgia for the old feminist collectivity;
 some are even starting . .
 By Valerle Mmer
 new CR groups.

tickets.

The President was pensive, as if he needed to collect his wits after the Party womenTs visit. TTYour work in Vilima. Efficient. So fastf, he smiled at her. hCongratulations, Democratic party. He calls it hpost-McGovern." And as the man says, the public has to have a bad person. lth the

"HES" AIIII

Blann,, natureiofWestern culture.

f NO POSTAGE

_ NECESSARY

IF MAILED

IN THE

CROSS AND SWORD

An Eyewitness History of Christianity in Latin America

Hr Mt lwnnw (Iomlpmturv

This vpir' eyewitness history givvx flesh and blood to 300 years otChristianity In Latin Amorir a and the Carihhoan.

Paper \$12.95, Cloth \$29.95

ROMERO: A LIFE

ldmvs R. B'OCAIUJH

"The reader will (lose BHX kmank biog raphy feelings . the need to see that Romero's life and death wull serve the highest purpose of the Salvadorean people,"

-ED ASNER Paper \$9.95

CRUCIBLE OF FIRE

The Church Confronts Apartheid

lrm Ha/Hs and loyce Ho/Iyday; editors

Foreword by Alan Boesak. Through the words of South Africa's leading Christian figures in the anti-apartheid resistance, Crumble of Fire brings home to every Christian the urgent need to know and to act.

Paper \$9.95

THE CHURCH AND

SOCIALISM IN CUBA

Raul Camel Treto

Foreword by Iohn Kirk. A provocative analysis of the developing relationship between the Catholic Church and the socialist government in Cuba, Paper \$9.95

WAR AGAINST THE POOR

Low Intensity Conflict and Christian Faith

/d(k .N'o/son-PaI/mr-yor

How the poor in the Third World (ountrim are Vi(timized by economic psy(hologi- (,al, diplomatic, and military interforvnto designed to blork smial change.

Paper \$9.93

DANIEL BERRIGAN:

POETRY, DRAMA, PROSE

Muhav/ Irut', P(Ilmr

COHMTIIIUJ, the "host of Bvrrigan," this Ix the most up-to-(Ltto anthology dvailahlv to-day. Interviews, Ivttors, nmnfostos, journal entries, parables, poetry, and drama are (ill im Iudvd. Paper \$12.95, Cloth \$24.93

ORBIS BOOKS

Maryknolh New York 10343

1-800-258-58 58

In NYS Collvtt 914-941-7687

46 OCTOBER 1989

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL T

Permit No 671

Flrst Class

POSTAGE Vv L BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

MotherJones

i UNITED STATE

Marlon, OH

PO BOX 1918

Marion OH 43306-1918

lllllllllHIIIIHIIHIIHIIIIIIHIIIIIIHIIIIH'IIII

uuun LU uu, LLuluAyaA uLyLyLaL; AAL uvL Vnu

office and was instructed to wait until the President was ready to receive her.

hThe news says you were a mover and

shaker in Vilima Region? the Principal Sec-

retary said, shaking his head in disbelief.

ctYou seem to think I went looking for

troublef she said.

TTNot If the Principal Secretary said.

hThe Regional Party Chairman. In his last

but one phone call he said youid subverted

the youth wing?

KtIth natural to consult the Assistant Sec-

retary when both the Chairman and the Sec-

retary are away," she said.

TTLogical, not natural,u the Principal Sec-

retary chuckled. stYou show a Party big shot

some teenage deputy can do his job better,

that,s telling him to drop dead."

hWhat was his last call about?"

uSecurity,n the Principal Secretary said.

nYours. Your behavior had so angered the

Party faithful some militants had tried to kill

you. Is it true you asked to see the work done

with aid funds?

uI was supposed to?

The Principal Secretary stopped laughing.

uWhat were you looking forPT' He wouldrft

stay for an answer.

The Presidenfs call came at the start of

her third week of waiting. She was ready at

8:55. She was able to go in at 11:23 after a

delegation of twelve women wearing the

presidential portrait on their bellies and bot-

toms came out smiling and flashing airline

s.su uuxuuu.

And you, she thought. She had expected

the thought to stop there, but something

deeper than her self-control let it through:

And me. Aloud she said: tsThank you, Mr.

President." She saw his pupils as she said

farewell. They were gray, not brown. Under

his white hair his head seemed unnaturally

small, as if the exercise of power had shrunk

it.

The Principal Secretary was elated when

she told him where she was going. TtSame

bureaucracyf he said, hbut the interna-

tional level offers more personal advantages.

Come drop some foreign exchange in my

pocket whenever you breeze through here.

Ah, UNCTAD. Which departmentPTT

Tilnvisibles."

'TDonTt sound so rueful."

"I feel Iim getting initiated into some Oc-

cult sectf she said.

"You are." For a flash she felt weak, but

then unaccountably a surge ofenergy rose in

her. The questions rising in her mind gave

way to a pleasant rush ofwarmth. She heard

applause, not in her mindis ear, but all over

her body. It was mingled with almost-for-

gotten phrases from school songs, the sound

rising in a friendly wave that lifted her away

from the present place and moment, beyond

the prevalence of failure.

Q1989 by Ayi Kwei Armab. Ayz' Kwei Ar-
mab is a critic, essayist, and fiction writer
living in Popenguine, Senegal.
IJJJHH

\$121M OF

Acac'Ncrteven J900cm! you
9:114. LQOK C1009 'N meats):

CLOWE; You wore '
high SLHOO L AND CALL': i123
Conscious Of the Past

WOMEN TOGETHER, WOMEN ALONE: The
Legacy of the Consciousness-Raising Movement,
by Anita Shreve, Viking, 275 pages, \$19.95.

INESSENTIAL WOMAN: Problems of Exclusion in
Feminist Thought, by Elizabeth V. Spelman,
Beacon Press, 221 pages, \$22.95.

What have we learned from the last twenty
years of feminism in the United States? What
have we forgotten? Where are we going? Who
are we? In *Women Together, Women Alone*,
journalist Anita Shreve interviews women
around the country about their experiences in
1970s consciousness-raising groups; philoso-
pher Elizabeth V. Spelman examines problems
of exclusion in feminist theory in her scholarly
Inessential Woman.

These two engaging, optimistic books represent a
growing genre: looking back and forward at the
Illustration by Nicole Hollander

women's movement. In the last five years the femi-
nist bookshelf has expanded to include histories,
autobiographies, anthologies, novels, poetry, and
drama, their authors all conscious that the future of
the movement depends on remembering its past(s).

Women Together, Women Alone is a lively
though narrowly focused chronicle of the experi-
ences and legacies of the grass-roots consciousness-
raising movement. Shreve juxtaposes portraits of
members of a fictionalized New York City CR
group with more traditional interviews, tracking a
number of women from the first blush of sisterhood
through vociferous exchanges about housework,
sexuality, motherhood, physical appearance, and
sexism on the job. As the years pass, many mem-
bers become immersed in their private lives and
express nostalgia for the old feminist collectivity;

Some are Even Starting - , o

By Valerie Wiener

new CR groups.

Shreve includes a blueprint for 1990s feminism. She asks over two hundred questions to kick off the next movement.

Shreve writes well; the fictional story that threads through the direct reportage is particularly strong.

While I find it interesting to identify with in Women 't Together/wr. Women Alone, I am astonished by the relative lack of public activism among Strey's subjects and by their predominantly white, middle-class heterosexual worlds. Her questions seem oblivious to the diversity of feminist friendships, conferences demonstrations hooks, and courses that have developed during the last two decades.

Throughout the book, Shreve maintains an odd authorial detachment. Although she asks a range of intimate questions, she doesn't introduce herself in the text with details about her race, class background, sexuality, or age. Did she participate in CR during the 1970s?

One of the most surprising aspects of Women 't Together/Jer, Women Alone is the author's consistent assumption that women want to be partnered with men. Aren't there happy single women? And what about lesbians? Shreve's treatment of gay women ranges from the embarrassing to the offensive from the first chapter, in which she

firsts Tracy Chapman and Suzanne Vega

The Magazine of Record

Suzanne Vega. Michelle Shocked. Tracy Chapman. All three singers seemed to burst forth, bona fide overnight sensations heralding a new revival of folk music. In truth, they were "discovered long ago and recorded by Fast Folk, a not-for-profit musical magazine" that's been documenting the scene

for seven years. Every six weeks, Fast Folk's editors send out a twelve-page album accompanied by a twenty-page magazine. The disc features well-known singers, as well as emerging crooner Christine Lavin, as well as newly discovered talent. The magazine provides lyrics, as well as essays, record reviews, bios of featured artists, and the foremost guide to folk happenings.

Through sixty albums the publication has consistently encouraged songwriters to make strong political, romantic, and environmental statements, as it did Shocked's hashing of the Pentagon and David Massengill's documentary on racism.

To order a twelve-month, ten-issue subscription, send \$65 to Fast Folk Musical Magazine, PO Box 938, Village Station, New York, NY 10014.

48 () (I 'I 'O I H . R 1989

- Valerie (Ia/egari

dehnes being alone as being without a man, to her infantilized portrait of the token fictional lesbian character, to her final blueprint, where the only specific question about lesbians, under "Sex? is that if you are not a lesbian, how do you react when you meet a woman whom you know is a lesbian?

Women Together, Women Alone is a sort of journalistic Heidi Chronicles, an impressively crafted, sympathetic account of one sector of the women's movement.

Elizabeth V. Spelman's Inessential Woman-

an is an analysis of and an antidote to the shortsightedness of Western feminism. The word 'essential' is intentionally ambiguous, recalling that traditional philosophers denied women essential human qualities, while criticizing the homogenizing essentialism that currently inhibits women's studies. A philosophy professor at Smith College, Spelman examines Plato and Aristotle's distinctive misogyny, then takes on such feminists as Simone de Beauvoir, Nancy Chodorow, Betty Friedan, and Shulamith Firestone.

Spelman suggests that anyone who says 'we feminists' or 'we women' needs to examine the social construction of "we." Many contemporary feminists, when they do acknowledge difference, tend to see identities such as working-class or Native American or Chinese as accessories to the basic definition of 'woman' rather than as lenses through which to understand various concepts of 'woman.' This dismissal of distinction is often done, seemingly innocently, in a rush of solidarity—is the root of white domination in so many feminist activities. Those of us who have engaged in it must give up the hunt for the generic woman—the one who is all and only woman, who by some miracle of abstraction has no particular identity in terms of race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, language, religion, nationality? Spelman writes. "Don't misunderstand me: I've never met a generic woman I didn't like. But I wouldn't want my brother, or my sister, to marry one?" During a time when men are assuming procreative authority in the laboratory and in the court, when women's studies is being swallowed by gender studies, when the media dilute popular feminism into vague humanism, these two books illustrate the power of female friendship and scholarship to provoke, support, and provide momentum for the feminist movement. Amid the postfeminist gloom-peddling, the expanding bookshelf forms a literary barricade against despair by marking the essential link between memory and vision. Valerie Miner is a novelist whose newest book is *Trespassing*, a collection of short stories published by The Crossing Press. Illustration by Christopher Bing

Illustration byjamie Hogan

TELEVISION

aw .

, Qm /

1M (3 4m\$ /h

Previews

A new program to

expand PBS'S

creative boundaries

opens its doors.

and a series that plumbs such
working-life issues as benefits

packages, unions, and job

stress. One-shots might in-

clude a compilation film in

which a group of filmmakers

responds imaginatively, not

journalistically, to a national

crisis such as the one caused

by last spring's brutal Tiwild-

ingi, episode in Central Park.

The Corporation for Pub-

lic Broadcasting, which dis-

tributes federal funds to pub-

lic TV, lobbied hard against

the formation of the produc-

tion service. tTWe felt we were

already allocating significant

production dollars to inde-

pendent producersf, says

Mary Maguire of CPB. Op-

.. X. _.

Beyond Masterpiece Theater

ver think the Public Broadcasting System could do

better than to air increasing numbers of wildlife

shows and preapproved British imports?

If so, prepare for a change. Last year Congress

passed a law creating a new independent production

service, the sole mandate of which is to expand the

creative boundaries of PBS's programming. With an

initial \$6 million a year to spend over the next three

years, the program opened its doors this month and

will shortly begin soliciting responses to its ideas for

projects. The results should roll on the small screen a

year or two from now.

Among the possibilities: a magazine show that

critiques television the way the Sweater Guys do

movies; a program designed to prepare inner-city

adolescents for adulthood (Sesame Street grows up);

posing the CPB was a group

known as the National Coali-

tion of Independent Public Broadcasting Producers,

whose members feel that PBST's programs are too

unimaginative to truly serve the public and that the

way to counter cables continuing raids on PBS's au-

dience is with alternative programming, not with

more of what's already being offered.

Though the National Coalition won round one,

the bell for round two won't be rung until it comes

time for PBS stations to decide whether to air the

new programming. The stations have the right to

turn down any shows they feel don't meet their

standards. National Coalition Chairman Lawrence

Daressa expects resistance. In fact, he says, TTWe rel-

ish the prospect. It'll mean we have actually done

something that hasn't been done before?

-Erik Hedegaard

MOTHER JONES 49

the uncommon magazine
 -----) tEngland's bestselling and most influential literary magazine' TIME
 Now available in the U5.
 GRANTA is the 256-
 page paperback .VWQW q,
 qwm qmnm.
 magazine of new Q,J,1,(,q,,w,,,q,_
 writing. It is the most
 widely read serious
 magazine in Britain
 because it fills a W 11"1"10'3n119'"1'1 '1' W W
 qmvmqvm ()rarlta qmr 'dqud qmvm quman'd qmrm
 need: a need for a (lmm: qullsqvanta quwa qmnulqmma mm 1.1 ry,
 ()hmlvxqmv'm manta qvcw'nqwm qwm quumwmr '7; V 7 , H 7, N
 publication thafS qmvm gummqvanm gnmm gmmmqmvm gum.) 1'li ull()NZ .lCElniCttVC W intCrSUN
 prepared to publish qm'm'mWMg'tl'm'm'11'1' Salman Rushdie. Richard Ford
 qmnm qmnhlqrdmd qmvm qv mtngmvm qul'
 writing not Simply qmnmqmvm qmnm gwmqvcma mania qmv nnwrm John Berger. Vudinc (inrdimer
 qmnm qmumqmnm qmm gmmgwm gwm
 because ifs topica' Or thmgramm gmum gmvmqmnm qmntd gmmgmnta P()Llix1l(' ;
 qnmm granmgramd gmvm gnmiuqmnm quanta
 newsworthy, but qmrvmgmmn granta gramagnanlagwm (yantagvamd mm (d Germaine (irccr. (;Unt0
 r (hquS.
 because it's good. "'dmg'amg'ama gmmg'a'w'"q'dm'm'mand Milan Kundcru On the death Of Euro
 pe
 qmnhs gvtlmglqunta gvan'a grantaqrrn 1018018
 qmvtagn H g'ama g'arv'agrama 91 I ngranlagranta
 rmlgm' '(I germ g'antag: 77 ,
 rIG'Tt'Va Tamwg
 l(3angurmgt'agranta gm
 granm grangth grantag .d gram: 7' _ 1 v
 GRANTA now sells gmmdg'ama gag gagrantag (11(3ng Irqld'v'a XL 1()Bl()(lePHyI
 - gvanta g'artag'am gina g'nntaqnmva guy 'a . .
 1327695 cop'es per gmntdgrnnla g'ama grantag'aNa gaxnta gr V" quanta Dons Lessnu-I"
 lssue_ gmmn 9' w q'anta g'anva g'amagnr' a John l'pdike
 gmmgvavm guwa gtaTag'd'Ha gm ' gmrttd
 HOW is it that a 9mm gra'wagrawa grawa gvar-Iagvama g'av'ki Graham Greene - his journal.
 l gtantag'arta granva grantagrarta granta qvarlaqvanta
 magazine of literature W18 graqagma 9lm gyamagwa gym TRAVEL: "W hile Waiting for a Wan
 - ' ' gmmgmnta gvama gvamagvama g(amzl grdnlagrama g 1
 and poltltcs IS read I ngHId g'avvxagvama gvama gramianta granta SJUI Bdnhh
 by so many people? gvamag'avvta grama grantagranta gvama gmmagvama Paul Theroun Martha Ge
 llhnrn
 grama g'amagvanvagrana gvama gva1llag'ama grama t . _
 glamagrama gvanva gvantagrama gvanta gvantaqranla Bruce (hutmn. follmung the .xlmrlglncs
 In Australia
 g'ama gvaPIagranta grar'a grahmgmntn gumta
 Because of what
 GRANTA publishes: FIRST! - Interrogation transcripts of Adolph Eichmzm
 Aulnhingruph) of life under the Khmer Rouge
 For the last two years,
 each issue of ' REPORIIIXGE:
 GRANTA has sold out James Fentnn (m the looting of Hurcm's
 in bookstores, and palace in the Philippines
 each issue has been .luscph Lcl) wld on riding lhc buses xtith
 reprinted, some as blacks in South Africa
 many as six times. R) smrd KupuScinski On busting road blocks
 Dontt miss out on the in Angola
 magazine Newsweek
 called ta stunning
 contribution to
 contemporary writingl
 SUBscribe!) Special subscription otter - only \$1810r one year,lourissues,a savings 01 \$1
 0lrom the subscription price.
 A speual Introductory
 Offer of onIy \$18 for Name:

 one year, four issues, Address

 a Saving 0' \$10 from I

the subscription price. Signature
.....
Card no: Expt date, I 1 American Express
MJ4
I 1 Visa
Telephone Hotline tor credit card orders please call 212 246-1313 I 1 MasterCard
I 1 Cheque enclosed
Return to: GRANTA, US Otfices. 250 West 57th St, NY, NY 10107
Foreign orders please add \$8 postage; Canada add \$4. I 1 Bill me. I will pay later.

Previews

MIAMI 1989, by Lyon Danny

Mood Over Miami

Danny Lyon is perhaps best known for his pictures of the civil rights movement, taken when he was staff photographer for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. But Lyon has been roaming across the United States for over twenty-five years, making films and photographs of bikers in Chicago, prisoners in Texas, and subway riders in New York City. He says he began experimenting with collage several years ago because "I want to get more out of a photograph than there is in a photograph." Lyon's first all-collage book, *I Like to Eat Right on the Dirt: A Childhood Journey Back in Space and Time*, will be published this fall by Bleak Beauty Books.

MOTHER JONES

REFUGEES

(Continued from page 27) helping with such basic needs as finding adequate housing and financial assistance or employment before we can counsel them on mental-health problemsfl says Director of Clinical Services Diana Li-Repac. The shame and stigma attached to being seen going into a mental-health clinic causes some to feel that they might jeopardize future opportunities for marriage. TlAmong Southeast Asians, no one would come in and announce, Tm depressed,' ll says Paul DeLay.

Those who come usually want a quick fix. "When they go to a doctor, they expect to receive somethingf says Cambodian counselor Touch Sim. llAnything, even if its an aspirin? Many donlt return after the first visit. Explains Dr. Evelyn Lee, chiefprogram director of the Department of Psychiatry at San Francisco General Hospital, llOur patients say lFix the handle of my cupl and donlt understand why you want to look all around the cup? Sim observes, TlThey donlt see the use in all that talk, talk, talkfl But enough clients eventually come back to keep counselors overworked and clinic waiting lists long. Thatls because, as Diana Li-Repae says, TlThe presenting symptom is rarely the whole problem. Therels a lot of confusion between physical pain and cultural pain? Counselors are further hampered by the lack of reliable client histories. While mental conditions such as insanity or sexual deviation can be grounds for the US government to deny immigrants entrance, few of those fleeing Southeast Asia have been scanned for much more than tuberculosis, syphilis, and leprosy. Doctors reporting to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service tend to view complaints in terms of intestinal parasites rather than emotional unhinging. American diagnostic tools like the Hopkins Symptom Checklist 25 are beginning to come out in Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese versions, and, fortunately, there has so far been no equivalent of the 1917 H. H. Goddard study-a low point in the practice of refugee psychology. By testing Eastern and Southern European immigrants at Ellis Island with questions full of American values and reference points, making no allowance for language difficulty, Goddard came up with results that deemed some 50 percent of all immigrants admitted to the United States llfeeblemindedfl This conclusion led to Goddardk infamous argument that lit is never wise to discard a scientific result because of apparent absurdity.n But with the current wave of immigrants, there is a different set of uapparent absurditiesll that canit be dismissed.

52. OCTOBER t989

PATIENT C, A YOUNG VIETNAMESE, SUFFERS from an eating disorder. She consults her fortune-teller, who divines that lla strange man from the East will heal you? C tells a San Francisco clinic worker about her faith in this prediction. The therapist recalls that a psychiatric social worker from New York, a young man, has just joined the staff. Cs

therapist says that you must never discount the patient's beliefs, that you must relate to a patient as a good aunt would. Southeast Asian clients require a shrink who can be a healer, even a friend-not an aloof and objective monitor. The therapists in the clinic need to respect the patient's cultural values and the family's tradition. . . . You know you've won trust when your clients say you've got a good heart? The therapist says. Some patients put their faith in coin-rubbing, chanting mantras, or shamanism. And faith is the only medicine a therapist can offer. So C is referred to the stranger from New York. She knows she will be cured by this man from the East?

AT THE END, THERE WAS ONLY A HANDFUL of psychiatrists in Vietnam-not counting those brought over to console invading forces. There were probably no Laotian analysts. Throughout Southeast Asia, maladies of the mind are traditionally viewed as imbalances of the body, treated by village healers with herbal remedies and acupuncture; or as imbalances of the spirit, treated by holy men or shamans, who have the power to exorcise ancestral ghosts. Southeast Asians believe numerous souls can inhabit or re-inhabit the body. In the Southeast Asian concept, an individual has at least three souls, and the greatest misfortune is to die with no male heirs to feed these immortal souls, says Tuan Nguyen. Of course, there are differing beliefs in all the countries. You cannot just lump everyone together as "Indochinese," a colonial term. Among the Mien tribe, for instance, the standard treatment for depression is slaughtering a pig. Some of the refugees are not even used to conceptualizing in a written language, so it would be absurd to force them into an "insight-oriented" Western approach. By contrast, Asian approaches to mental health could be called "result-oriented"-not such a bad idea when you consider the number of neurotics stuck in analysis twice a week for decades. The Asian view of an individual tends to be more holistic, suggesting that everyone functions within a web of relations, including past karma and future fate, and that everyone has a spiritual balance to be maintained.

What unites East and West, in the end, is the human psyche and its response mechanisms. Depression, says Paul DeLay, is the same in all cultures. It has the same vegetative symptoms? During refugees' adjustment to their new land, survival skills are stretched to their fullest, and most families are able to focus on new challenges and new learning. It's only after this overcompensation when refugees become reasonably settled, that "decompensation" can trigger severe symptoms. Old wounds emerge and new ones grow from conflicts between the quickly assimilated young and their overly strict elders. Corporal abuse and marital violence become more common. Refugee parents often see American culture as being too permissive, so there's a great deal of parent-child conflict? says Diana Li-Repac.

PATIENT D 15 A FORTY-TWO-YEAR-OLD MAN referred to the clinic because he can't concentrate in English classes. At first, he complains only of the chronic pains from shrapnel wounds he suffered in the Cambodian army. After a period of stability during his adjustment to the United States, D is involved in a car accident while learning to drive. Through no fault of his, a woman passenger in a second car is badly injured. The event stirs memories of the war, triggering flashbacks and auditory hallucinations. He has recurrent dreams about being buried alive. Twice, D tries to commit suicide by lying in the middle of a busy street. But his concern for the victim of the car accident enables him to speak aloud for the first time of two daughters who starved to death on the South China Sea. He describes to the therapist how his wife committed suicide on the boat after the death of their daughters. He stops having hallucinations. He no longer fears being buried alive.

How IS IT THAT SUCH MEMORIES DO NOT bury the entire Southeast Asian community? Part of the answer is that the refugees themselves have stepped forward to become trained in their new country's methods of care-giving. At last count, there were eighteen Vietnamese mental-health professionals in the ten counties of California that have the highest concentration of Southeast Asian refugees-including Minh Ta, an idealistic young man practicing in San Jose who speaks of wanting to enter the mental-health field never since I saw the children of my village throwing stones at a naked madwoman! Evelyn Lee, who was raised in a Chinese refugee family, prefers to stress the positive features of the culture refugees bring. I think we must recognize the strength in refugee families, not just the pathology? argues Lee. They can all learn a lesson by identifying what makes most of the FOBs-that's fresh off the boat-and the JOs-just off the jet-cope so well with un-

precedented change?

Like all stereotypes, the image of hardy, industrious Asians is a backhanded compliment rooted in some element of truth. t|The new refugees bring with them a highly dedicated group orientation? Lee says. It|They give each other a tremendous amount of community support, and where families have been destroyed, they are able to re-create extended family networks. The strong belief in fate can help in the acceptance of cataclysmic events. The emphasis on hard work and discipline enables many of the Southeast Asians to maintain self-respect and focus quickly on new dreams. Above all, they are products of some of the oldest cultures, cultures that emphasize trust in neighbors, gratitude for the smallest gestures, and patience with hardship? The refugees, according to Lee, are writing a prescription for mental health that other Americans would be wise to follow.

IlDon't forget, this is a society where alienation and loneliness are the major problems? she argues. tVile can'tt just take people who come out of isolation and depression and help them assimilate into a mainstream that is largely isolated and depressed? Given the current psychic condition of the nation they are entering, Southeast Asians face difficulties no refugees have ever encountered. Illn 1940; , Lee continues, llhigh school students listed the main problems to be running in the halls, talking in class, too much gum-chewing. In a 1980 survey, the answers were drugs, rape, alcohol, and suicide? Argues Lee, ItOur job shouldn't be to accustom people to these things. We don't want to create more popcorn-those are little yellow kernels that, under pressure, turn white. We mustn'tt complete a genocide by forcing people to give up their identities?

E, HANDSOME AND AFFABLE, IS A CAMBODIAN counselor. He was recruited by a social-welfare group when he was still in a refugee camp and has since supplemented his natural skill at helping others with coursework at a junior college. His dress and confident manner seem entirely Westernized. ttIn Cambodia? he scoffs, Itthere was only one word for crazy: cbakourt. There was only one hospital and the people sent there never came back. Cambodian people believe that mental problems are caused by loose spirits. When you have a problem, then you consult a Buddhist monk or a shaman. When I was a boy, I went into an area of the forest which I was warned might have ghosts. I woke in my sleep, eyes wide with a crying spell and convulsions. Maybe it was a childhood fever, and maybe I had seen a tiger. My father had to call the monks to chase the ghosts from me. I was cured with offerings of sticky rice, palm sugar, and eggs. My father, too, had the power to talk to ghosts. My brother, he died from ghosts?

When the Khmer Rouge came to power, E had just finished among the top of his class at the police academy. ItOnly Eve or six from my graduating class of one hundred sur-

vived. I avoided execution because I was valuable as a teacher. I escaped the labor camps and spent four months walking across the country to Thailand with only one pair of shorts? As E tells his story, tears form in his eyes. He is his own best client. Sometimes I get too emotional, I am too close to a problem. But I must use my experiences to go with my patients to the depths of their suffering. So many Cambodians, they sit at home and watch the television, they cry and see the past, they see themselves dying in Ere. So the first thing is to get them involved, to get them in a group. They won't say they are going to a mental-health clinic. They call it E clinic, after me. For my people, I am not a social worker, I am a community leader. I am like a shaman to them. There are many shaman in Oakland. They still sacrifice animals in their houses. I cannot tell you where, because that is illegal? And do Cambodian-Americans still seek the power to placate ghosts? IIOf coursef, says E. IIThere are plenty of ghosts in California, tooof, AREN,T MOST AMERICANS HAUNTED BY ANCESTRAL ghosts from lands left in turmoil? Evelyn Lee paraphrases the intuitive wisdom of a friend: ltWhen I came here, I was like muddy water. After three years, the mud has settled and the water is clear. The last thing I want is people to stir up the mud at the bottom. I want them to respect me for what is different? Respecting differences is hardly an American specialty, especially when dealing with differing concepts of time and rationality, spirit and flesh. Yet if our psychiatric system can respect and absorb some of our latest immigrantsl means of maintaining wholeness, then the United States may yet become a saner place-guided by a broader formulation of mental health, even a multicultural definition of self.

In the meantime, there is not much that can be done to calm Patient A or answer his incessant plea, ttWhy you say no when I say yes? Why we cannot all be equal? Why America so selfish? America drives everyone crazy. Like so much madness, AIS problem is seeing too clearly, being just a little too right.

john Kricbts most recent book, El Beisbol: Travels Through the Pan-American Pastime, is published by Atlantic Monthly Press.

Sexual
Aids:
How to order them
without embarrassment.
How to use them
without disappointment.
If you've been reluctant to purchase sexual aids through the mail, the Xandria Collection would like to offer you two things that may change your mind:

1. A guarantee
2. Another guarantee

First, we guarantee your privacy. Should you decide to order our catalogue or products, your transaction will be held in the strictest confidence.
Your name will never (never) be sold or

given to any other company. No unwanted, embarrassing mailings. And everything we ship to you is plainly packaged, securely wrapped, without the slightest indication of its contents on the outside. Second, we guarantee your satisfaction. Everything offered in the Xandria Collection is the result of extensive research and real-life testing. We are so certain that the risk of disappointment has been eliminated from our products, that we can actually guarantee your satisfaction - or your money promptly, unquestioningly refunded.

What is the Xandria Collection?

It is a very, very special collection of sexual aids. It includes the finest and most effective products available from around the world.

Products that can open new doors to pleasure (perhaps many you never knew existed!)

Our products range from the simple to the delightfully complex. They are designed for both the timid and the bold. For anyone who's ever wished there could be something more to their sexual pleasure.

If you're prepared to intensify your own pleasure, then by all means send for the Xandria Collection Gold Edition catalogue.

It is priced at just four dollars which is applied in full to your first order

Write today. You have absolutely nothing to lose. And an entirely new world of enjoyment to gain.

The Xandria Collection, Dept. M10989

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

Please send me, by first class mml, my copy of the Xandria Collection Gold Edition catalogue, Endosed Is my check or money order for four dollars which will be applied towards my first purchase. (\$4 11.5., \$5 CANV, E3 UK.)

Name

I

I

l

I

I

I

I

:

I

I

I

l Address

I

l

I

l

I

I

I

I

I

I

l

I

City

State

I am an adult over 21 years of age:

Zip

(signature required)

Xandria, 87-1 Dubuque Ave, South San Francisco 94080,

In order to include
some special new
items in our
Holiday Gift Catalog,
we have decided
to include the catalog
with our November
issue. Look for it next
month!

.. 1
relics from the decline and fa"
N

54 (),(,1())151-.R 1989

i KASEM

(Continued from page 23) people in the
American Arab community didn't under-
stand his Arab-Jewish dialogue stuff? says
Jim Zoghy, director of the Arab American
Institute in Washington. But when local
Jews were among those who rallied to sup-
port the seven Palestinians and one Kenyan
arrested in 1987 by Los Angeles police on
suspicion of terrorism, Zogby and other
Arab-Americans began to think that Ka-
sem's pleas for dialogue were bearing fruit.
Zogby later joined the Foundation advisory
board. He realized that the Foundation
wasn't just let's talk and feel good and un-
derstand each other. It says Zogby. "It was
deeper than that?"

THERE'S NOT MUCH SIGN OF THE DEEPER

Casey during his weekly countdown, no
hint that he knows that the intifada is not an
Italian rock band and the 1967 War was not
a battle between the Beatles and Stones for
chart supremacy. "I've been very careful,
with the letters that I read and the informa-
tion that I use, not to bring in politics on the
radio show," he says. He did some radio
promos, independently of his show, for the
Great Peace March in 1986, and read one
dedication that year from a man who asked
him to play. "Imagine it as a tribute to the
nearly seven hundred people on that walk
from coast to coast. It remains his all-time
favorite dedication.

But he also says he can't think of a song he
would refuse to play if it was in the Top 40,
even Ray Stevens' nasty 1962 hit "Ahab, the
Arab? His reluctance to be political on the
air is a question of credibility, he says; lis-
teners would be turned off if he started to
proselytize. Besides, they've known him for
years as the schmaltzy tune spinner who ad-
vises listeners at shows end to "keep your
feet on the ground and keep reaching for the
stars? It's an image, he says, that helps him
bring radical politics to mainstream Amer-
ica, to the family driving to church. "Time
and time again," he says, "I've had people
come up to me at rallies for the peace move-
ment and say, 'You give us credibility, be-
cause of your career, because of what you
represent, because of the way you look.'"
For Kasem, who wears richly patterned
sweaters as a kind of trademark on his
weekly TV show "America's Top 10," this last
part is important. "One of the things wrong
with the antiwar movement in the sixties,"
he says, "was the way people dressed. If
those same people had been dressed in shirts

and ties and coats, America would have been more willing to listen with both ears." So in Hollywood, political credibility is preserved by telling listeners that Stevie Wonders real name is Steveland Morris and that Bruce Springsteen's 11WaW is a cover of Edwin Starr's 1970 hit; political credibility is risked by slipping into the trivia mix that Wonders hometown of Detroit is a center of Arab-American culture, or by saying that the world's nuclear arsenal has grown by 44 percent since 1970, making war even more dangerous now than it was during 11Warials first incarnation.

And while Kasem worries about on-air politics damaging his professional integrity, he readily makes an off-the-air confession that would seem a far bigger risk. It turns out that Casey Kasem, the master of the Top 40 countdown, knows far less about pop music than his show would have you believe.

He doesn't listen to the stuff in his spare time; he doesn't even listen when he's working, since all he does in the studio is record the intros and outros to the songs on the Top 40. You could play part of the number-one song in the nation to him, and he might not recognize it. Play part of number 40 to him, and he's almost sure to draw a blank. He doesn't carry tidbits of pop trivia around in his head, and he doesn't research or write the show. He comes in once a week, after spending several hours editing the script that a team of writers has sent him, and reads the script into the microphone, often using several takes for each sentence. When his day is done and he's driving down Wilshire Boulevard, his car radio is off and his tape deck is playing a speech by Malcolm X or Martin Luther King, jr., or Gore Vidal. Off the top of his head, he's as likely to know that Wilshire Boulevard is named after an early utopian socialist as he is to know how many times Prince has had a song in the top ten.

"I've seen lots of singers live," he says when pressed. "I saw Elvis in Vegas and the Beatles at the Hollywood Bowl. I've seen Sinatra, Sammy Davis is great, Mathis is fun to watch, and I've seen Julio at his best. . . .

But I've never loved listening to music? Perhaps this is business as usual in Hollywood, where your fans don't really care if you know your pop music trivia as long as you give it to them in a tone that says you do.

Art has always thrived on illusion shared between creator and observer; why should Casey's Top 40 be any different? Kasem is, after all, a salesman, a wildly successful commercial pitchman. The Top 40 is simply the most lucrative product he represents. Yet he insists there is a thread between the pitchman and the political activist, a thread that his friends see as well. 11Casey's a fusion of popular culture and political culture? says Jim Zogby. 11His message on the radio is the positive affirmation of life, work, truth,

500/0 DISCOUNT FOR MOTHER IONES READERS!

Tired of Cheap Talk!

Try The Progressive.

DYEs! Send me a one-year
subscription to The Progressive
for \$15-a 50% discount.

I: My payment Is enclosed.

i Please bill me.

I/IH 11/117' L'HH(//1'/' 211M w/w 'xj'fh 1 1x 1 1,1'

m/z/ V) 111/'1'111/1 w/m 17/711111: 1/1

11/1/er mut' (mum/p/u 11m Wm 11w mu!

' , Po Box Mum

Bunidc: (1151-1314,,p

i BRAD HOLLAND

You get enough chirping and twittering
from the mass media-Dan Rather, Tom Brokaw,
Peter Jennings, Ted Koppel, John McLaughlin. . .

What you donlt get is insights-about who
really runs America, and about the activists
who are trying to make this world a better place.

Thafs why youlll want to read The Progressive.

Plus June JOFdElIfS powerful essays and Molly
IvinstS irrepressible humor. HereTS what Ivins

had to say about Reagan and Bush: It was such
a fun administration-half of it was under average.
and the other half was under indictment?

The Progressive. The rest is for the birds.

Pm tired of cheap talk.

Send me a one-year subscription
to The Progressive for only \$15.

Thavs 50% off the cover price.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS, APT NO.

CITY

STATE, ZIP

My payment Is enclosed.

: Please bill me.

1' his offer good for men substripnons onlv fazeign orders add
\$6. 00f0r each submzpzm.11llou 91'.va dam f'm delivery Of/HSZ
issue. Complete this form and mail If to.

PO. Box 54615, Boulder. CO 80321-4615 5sz

Luther King, jr., or Gore Vidal. Off the top of his head, he's as likely to know that Wilshire Boulevard is named after an early Utopian socialist as he is to know how many times Prince has had a song in the top ten. I'll have seen lots of singers live," he says when pressed. "I saw Elvis in Vegas and the Beatles at the Hollywood Bowl. I've seen Sinatra, Sammy Davis is great, Mathis is fun to watch. and I've seen Julio at his best. . . . But I've never loved listening to music." Perhaps this is business as usual in Hollywood where your fans don't really care if you know your pop music trivia as long as you give it to them in a tone that says you do. Art has always thrived on illusion shared between creator and observer; why should Casey's Top 40 be any different? Kasem is, after all, a salesman, a wildly successful commercial pitchman. The Top 40 is simply the most lucrative product he represents. Yet he insists there is a thread between the pitchman and the political activist, a thread that his friends see as well. Is Casey's a fusion of popular culture and political culture? says Jim Zogby. His message on the radio is the positive affirmation of life, work, truth, I'll live!

500/0 DISCOUNT FOR MOTHER IONES READERS!

Talk is
cheep.

You get enough chirping and twittering
from the mass media-Dan Rather, Tom Brokaw,
Peter Jennings, Ted Koppel, John McLaughlin. . .
What you don't get is insights-about who
really runs America, and about the activists
who are trying to make this world a better place.
That's why you'll want to read The Progressive.
Plus June Jordan's powerful essays and Molly
Ivins's irrepressible humor. Here's what Ivins
had to say about Reagan and Bush: "It was such
a fun administration-half of it was under average.
and the other half was under indictment."
The Progressive. The rest is for the birds.

' a t
. K C)
/ K" _ x4 x V
a (JV ' , -
' v; - m:
f .37
-/ - 6-st
- , ,

c BRAD HOLLAND

I'm tired of cheap talk.
Send me a one-year subscription
to The Progressive for only \$15.
That's 50% off! the cover price.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS, APT, NO.

CITY

STATE, ZIP

My payment is enclosed.

Please bill me.

This offer good for new subscribers only: Foreign orders add
\$6.00 for each subscription, plus low 3-day delivery for first
issue. Complete this form and mail to:
PO. Box 54615. Boulder. CO 80321-4615

and justice. It sounds corny, but after all, its the same vision that has inspired many people on the Left for all these years."

That vision continues to inspire Casey Kasem, to give him the juice he needs to run from event to event, from meeting to meeting. This is no time for complacency for a man sensitive to images of Muslims and Arabs in the media; a new wave of Muslim-bashing is upon us in the wake of the death threats against Salman Rushdie, which Kasem says he opposed. And once again, television comics are getting laughs with jokes about a show of hands being impossible in Iran because no one there has any hands left.

The contrast between Kasem's political dedication and his musical dedications is sometimes hard to figure. He probably has the largest weekly audience of any progressive in the country, yet he keeps his politics out of his radio show except in the most general of ways. He says he can't yet afford to give away a million dollars a year, even though that would leave him at least 21 million annually in pocket change after taxes. He revels in his celebrityhood, eating out at see-and-be-seen Spagols and then signing autographs for homeless people when 116,5 arrested with them. In the end, he may be reaching for the same stars as other progressives, but his feet aren't always on the same ground.

But if Casey Kasem is no saint, he's not naive either. He accepts the loopy notion that as long as you're famous for something, you can be quoted in all seriousness on anything. Its the state of US. political discourse that a disc jockey who worships Noam Chomsky is more likely to be asked to debate a rabbi on television than Chomsky himself.

And while it is Chomsky's political thinking that most attracts Kasem, the best metaphor for understanding the unlikely mix of corny disc jockey and dedicated political activist might be found in Chomsky's linguistic theory-that each sentence has a surface structure and an underlying deep structure. Think of the breathless disclosure of Phil Collins mother's maiden name as Kasem's surface structure; Dana Carvey and David Letterman certainly do. But think of Arab Jewish dialogue and outrage over military spending as the Chomskyan underlying structure, the true sources of Casey Kasem's unyielding earnestness. Along with homelessness, animal rights, and several other hits, they make up Kasem's real-life top ten. Bernard Obanian's most recent piece, on the San Francisco Mime Troupe, appeared in the January issue.

CLASSIFIED

Art

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

Spiritual Images-handcrafted

Rock Art replicas. For catalog
write: Southwest Prehistory, 2629-
83 Humboldt, Bellingham. WA
98225.

Associations

Bertrand Russell Society. For infor-
mation write: M1, R1) 1. PO Box
409, (Qoopersburg, PA 18036.

Mental illness drugs cause permm-
nent neurological damage. Psychia-
try and the pharmaceutical industry
do not want you to know about Tar-
dive Dyskmesia and ilardive Dys-
tonia, a public health ensis that at-
fects over 11/: million people. Please
write or call: 1m (Huber, ilizirtlive
Dyskinesia-'l';irdive Dystonlu As-
socraton, 1206 liast Pike St, Seat-
tle, WA 98122; (206) 32474292

Better Health

Healthy Lights-Reduee fatigue, see
better. Vitalitc Hfull-spectrumv
4X" tube: 315; 24": \$12.75; NEO-
white bulbs (60 or 100 watt): 2/59.
Shipping: 531 M(JVISA. erte or
call: Network. 25-Mj West Fair-
view, Dover, NI 07801; (800) 777-
1NFO (4636).

Free price list: personal products tor
men and women (condoms. tam-
pons, and more). Call us at K800)
289-8882 or write to: The 132 Prod?
ucts, PO Box 1108wMJ, Haymarken
VA 22069.

Free: Immune System, a health-
roduct guide. Write: Meadows, PO
Box 1998, Brattleboro, VT 05301.
stamped envelope. Write: Abelard,
PO Box 5652AR. Kent. WA 98064.
Your source for publications on
Jewish vegetarianism and animal
rights. Inquire: Micah Publications.
255 Humphrey SL. Marblehead,
MA 019-15.

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

Books 8! Publications

Publishers' Overstocks I

I Over 3,500 mles at up to 80% savmgs I
I In our FREE CATALOG! Choose trom
Biography. History Fiction. Art.
Literature. Health. Mowes. Naturet
Cooking and Gardening and much
I more Everything tromyesterday's best I
sellers 10 hardetovhnd books you never
knew 8Xl81607InC1Udlng about 600 new I
I arrivals monthly Write I

HAMILTON I

Box 15-201, Falls Village, CT 06031
L-___--___-J

Religion is a boring subject. Agree?
The opposition is more interesting,
honest. reasonable. ()ne-yetir sub-
scription. S6: sample, 51. Write:
Amyrium thtirtmtz/ist, PO Box 994,
St. Louis, MO 63188

Proof Jesus fictional-SS. (For de-

tails only, send a self-addressed,
Free book catalog: environmental
and social issues. novels. music. al-
ternative and controversial views.
Write: New Moon, 81131 PO Box
197631 Brentwood, MO 63144.
THE HIGHWAY
GOURMET.
An 1100511.!) (mm. 413v the
pegs" mm A 1.01008
sense oi 01111101 Send
5495 plus 5100 SH
lfhECh m m (1 1 10 Emmi
Bnuks 10545 C Saw
Pablo Avenue 1:119!"qu
CA 94530 (CA vmaetus
.1111! 1th l
Bumper Stickers
Democracy in China! bumper stick,
er. Send 5250 check to: Freedom
(iraphrm, 41 Sutter. PO Box 1212.
Dept. (1.5.5.111 Franciscm CA 94104.
Business
Opportunitles
Easily make \$60 hourly giving
unique personal readings. \$3.000
monthly. For free information,
write: Orion. 1493 Beach Park,
#177Mj, Foster City CA 94404.
Earnings unlimited! Mail our bur-
glar alarm advertisements from
home. RBM Merchandising, PO
Box 59314, Chicago, IL 60659.
56 OCTOBER 1989
Make money: Custom Auto Tag
Kits: letters, novelties, frames. Write
or call: Creative Plastics, PO Box
260365, Tampa, FL 33685; (813)
885-4257.
Buttons
Progressive paraphernalia for peace
and iustice movements. Anti-
apartheid, Central America, pro-
choice, women, lesbian and gay,
antiracist, disarmament, and more.
Buttons, T-shirts, stickers, posters,
balloons. Union-made. We can
custom-print your message. For cat-
alog write: Donnelly/Colt, PO Box
188-311, Hampton, CT 06247. Fax
line for C.O.D. orders only: (203)
455-9597.
Cassettes
Nxxuwnbc/w
:3 .1, ATHEIST OR
'7 3: BELIEVER
90-Min Audio-
Cassette. Rare
Letters/Articles
Challenge Your
Intellect- Honesty
\$19. Inclds Pstge Shpng Cal. Res.
Add 6V2% Tax
No Refunds. Order from:
The Venture Theatre
PO. Box 16145
San Francisco. California 94116
I Vimnm ihtNA
erigmus Quinmmmts of
Uinmas Omm
Books on audiocassettes: free cata-

log, rent, buy by mail-\$1.50 and
up. Write or call: Books in Motion,
East 9212 Montgomery #501A,
Spokane, WA 99206; (509)
922-1646.
Your audible alternative! Fiction,
poetry, history, radio. Free bro-
chure. Write: Voices, PO Box
2014M, Brookline, MA 02146.

Children

Kid Vid: The best quality videos for children. For catalog, write: Panorama, PO Box 1046, Dept. MJ79, Huntington, NY 11743.
Billboard poster, 22 x101/2 feet: ttPeaceful Toys, Peaceful World . . .
Why Give War Toys? Send 550 to: Pendleton FCR, PO Box 1771, Pendleton, OR 97801.
Finally! The New Age catalogeiuist for kids! \$1 to: Hugs for the Heart, PO Box 85MJ, Rainbow Lake, NY 12976.

Clothing

Products to inspire: Natural-fiber clothing and handmade gifts that reflect an appreciation of art and our environment. Catlog \$1 (refundable with Erst order). Write: Artventure, Dept. M110, 21151/2 Ashby Ave., Berkeley, CA 94705.
Wear Africa! Free information.
Call: Image Builder, (800) 322-0859 from 6:30 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. (PST).

Communities

Alternative communities across North America welcome visitors. Live in the country with others who value equality, ecology, and non-violence. For our brochure, write: Federation of Egalitarian communities-East Wind-M189, Tecumseh, MO 65760. Free (52 appreciated).
Our Land Cooperating Community International, PO Box 185, El Nido, CA 95317; (209) 383-2690.

Contests

POETRY

CONTEST

\$1.000 Grand Prize. over \$11,000 Iolul prize value 152 wmcnrx Nocnlrytce All vam. lllpics. xlyles ofpucms, New pncu welcome! Your pocrm also considered for publication Send up to six poems. 20 lines muxnmum for each poem Send lo: American Poetry Association. Dept. MJ-2U, 250 A PolreroSt.. Box 1803, Santa Cruz, CA 95061. Send poetry now to get free booklet uPoet's Guide to Getting Published." (Supply limited.)

Dreams

Remember your dreams! New, Dream Dragonsb Dream Tea-have a cup before you sleep to induce vivid, memorable dreams and restful sleep. 3 oz bag-\$8.95 (add \$1 shipping per each bag ordered): NightAdventures, PO Box 2581-MJ, Berkeley, CA 94702.

Education

Learn meditation as a world service. For bimonthly materials write: MONA, PO Box 566-1, Ojai, CA 93023. No fees; voluntary contri-butions support the work. Also available in Spanish.
Off-campus individualized programs for professionals at Somerset

lead to US. doctoral degrees, including higher doctorates. For a prospectus, send \$8 to: International Administrative Center, Somerset University, 11minster, Somerset, England TA 19 OBQ; or call: (0460) 57255.

Employment

CommunityJobs, the only monthly nationwide listing of socially responsible jobs and internships. Opportunities in organizing, disarmament, health, environment, labor, more. Send \$12 for 6 issues/SIS for 12 issues to: PO Box 8941, 1516 P St., Washington, DC 20005.

Government jobs \$16,040-\$59,230/year. Now hiring. Call (805) 687-6000, ext. R-2665 for current federal list.

Financial Services

Socially responsible investing-Two women investment advisers in partnership, MBA and former Methodist minister, help you invest wisely according to your specified social and financial objectives. Call Sacha Millstone or Pamela More: (800) 368-5897 or (202) 857-5462 in the DC. area.

Foreign Newspapers

Worldwide English newspapers/magazines. Sampler: 3 for \$2.49. For free brochure write: Multinews-papers, PO Box DE-MO, Dana Point, CA 92629.

Gifts

Penis poster (23" x 35") depicts 12 animal penises (man to whale). Scientific novelty. Send \$10 postpaid (0: Poster G, PO Box 1348, New York, NY 10025.

Lingerie video catalog. Beautiful models. Fantastic outfits. \$29.98 plus \$2.50 shipping and handling. MC/Visa accepted. Plake Productions, Dept M1, PO Box 7053, Overland Park, KS 66207.

Happy Birthday

Yo-yo Ma!

Instruction

Foreign language, self-instructional book/cassette courses. 190 courses in 56 languages. Write or call for free catalog: Audio-Forum, Dept. 540, Guilford, CT 06437; (203) 453-9794.

J ewe lry

Glowing Party Earrings

Hot Pink Blue or Green

82 99 a pav or 2 on r 'or 55 CO

Q's-

Spec ly color am

:3 96951 or c lo-om

Send wow :0

Day Star - P O. Box BBBS-M - Boise. ID 83707

MAGIC-IN-THE-NIGHT

Merchandise

R.1.P. Republican Elephant Paperweight, \$6.95 postpaid. Free listing of interesting merchandise and

newsletter. Write: Progressive Prag-
matist, 3214 Tibbett, Bronx, NY
10463.

.. RUBBER STAMPS FOR POLITICAL
AND ICONOCLASTIC
PURPOSES: SANDwo,
CHE.GLASNOST,FR10A
KAHLO, MEX1CAN FOLK
ART,APARTHE1D,PRE-
COLUMBIAN, SLOGANS.

.- MORE CATALOG \$1
REVOLUYIONARY IMAGES

423 N 1RV1NG BLVD
LOS ANGELES CA W

Government-seized vehicles from
\$100. Fords, Mercedes, Corvettes,
Chevys, surplus, and more. For
buyefs guide call: (805) 687-6000
ext. 5-2665.

League of Nations Trading Cards
presents 113 premier ed/uon of
WORLD LEADER TRADING CARDS
6mm with national stats & facts
\$2.45 per set of 18
postage & lax mcluded

Checks payable to
3 CALICO GRAPHICS

733-A Cortland, 5.51., CA 94110
Call (415) 648-0240 about

_ - wholesale prices (or your shop
/-'..- or fundralslng event.

Governments my USE & (a(l Hurry & collect them all'
Metaphysics

Ancient WICCA wisdom brings
freedom from old limitations. Wicca
Seminary offers five home-study
courses and residential programs.
Writeor call: PO Box1366. Nashua,
NH 03061; (603) 880-7237.

Extraordinary psychic counselor
and problem solver. Phone read-
ings.V1SA/MC/AIV1EX. Randal
Clayton Bradford. (213) 820-5281.

One day you too will die. Where
will you go? For free information
write or call: Universal Life. the ln-
ner Religion, PO Box 3549, New
Haven, CT 06525; (203) 281-7771.

/

Psychic phenomenon video The Un-
explained. Revealing interviews.
\$29.98 plus \$2.50 shipping and
handling. MC/Visa accepted. Plake
Productions, Dept. MJ, PO Box
7053, Overland Park, KS 66207.

READER

SERVICE

Let us know us soon as possible 50
Mother Jones con follow you.

Attach a mailing label From a recent
issue to this space and write your new
address below.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE ZIP

PROBLEMS?

It you encounter any problems with
your subscription, you can save time
by writing directly to our computer
house at the Ohio address listed

below. Please enclose a recent mailing label or invoice for accurate handling. Note-because of our advance mailing schedule, please allow six to eight weeks For address changes, payments or other adjustments to be reflected on your subscription label. 11 tor some reason the odiustment to your account seems to be taking longer than that, Feel tree to write to the address below, or to Morno Graham, Mother Jones, 1663 Mission Street, Son Francisco, CA 94103.

From time to time we make our subscriber list available to carefully screened organizations that advertise by mail. It you would rather not receive such solicitations, please check the box below, and ottix your mailing label to this term.

Please remove my name from your mailing list.

MAIL THIS FORM TO:

Motherlones
1886 HAYMARKET SQUARE
MARION, OH 43305
MOTHER JONES 57

Miscellaneous

Owl collector's 1990 calendar:

311250.141 V Owls" humpcr sticker

51. Ncwsletttcr mmp1c \$1. 111

monthly xuhscriptions \$15. (Liming

Sl (rctunthhlc). Ole Next. PO

Box 5491(1). Fresno, (A 91755.

Save a tree with your next printing

job. We list 100% rucyclcd p.lpcr.

No hlcachcs or lx'hltcncl used. For

details. erfC or call: Fine 1.1110

Press. 350 Whitney St., Rochester.

NY 14606; (800) 326-8760.

Movie/tclcvision writcr-produccr

with strong studio contticts sucks

your truc-litc storics. Producer,

Sultc #870, 279\$.Bcvcrly1)r.. Bev-

erly Hills. CA 90212.

Music

Bamboo Shakuhachi flutes. Bmu-

titully crattcd. Affordable. Frcc cnt-

alog: Bamboo Musig Ken 1.11 (20551:.

2267-M 45th Aux, San Frdnciscn.

CA 94116.

Free 30-minute sampler cassette.

Jazz fusion, new age. and custom

subhminals. Send S3 for shipping

and handling to: Mirrorimngc.

3600 L. Honoapiilani, #H110Z,

Lahaina. HI 96761.

Messengers of Light. Revitalizing,

spiritual folk music by singer song-

writer Shelley Koffler. Powerful.

Pure. Evocative. Send \$12 to: Spot-

ted Fawn Music, 32 Oriole Dr.,

Woodstock, NY 12498.

Natural Products

Spare the Animals offers personal

care/household products which are

not tested on animals. For a free

catalog write: PO Box 233, Dept.

M1, Tiverton, RI 02878.

String bag kits. Contents: Hard-

wood netting needle and mesh stick,

instructions and diagrams, 234 feet

ofstring.Thesc bags are mmpollut-

ing and cnvironmcnt-fricndhx Send

\$12 to: The String Bag Lady. 70A

Waterloo Avenue, Guelph. Ontario

NIH 3H5. Canada.

Personals

. v,

9;; Concerned Singles :16

kNewsletter 1/

links compatible Singles concerned

about peace, JUS1ICe, enVIronmeni

Nationwlde. All ages Sincel984

b- Free sample. __6)

Box 555M, Stockbndge. MA 01262

Connect, the nationwide network

for selective singles.h0rlrcc details,

write: PO Box 09506-311 Colum-

bus, OH 43209.

Group marriage-Ncw book tells

how to succeed! Send \$7.95 plus

\$1.50 postage. Quarterly newsletter

59111211. 111-11). P1) 116x 9247-511,

liugunc, ()R 94705.

Art Lovcrs' Exchangc-lmking sin-

gic lnvurs 01' thc Arts n.lt1011wldc.

ALX. PO Box 265. Bcnsnicm. PA

191121); (X11111 542-5251).

Politics

Guide to Campaign Politics. How to run 10ch c.1111paig11s. \$8.95 to 1.1115111 (Lunsulmnts, 1)() 151m 111, Whitchxh. MT 59937.

Public Interest

If you see a mention of C (.1511 Motherjones in your local rd- 1 newspaper or in another magazine. we'd love to see it. Please send it to Press Clips. Motherjones. 1663 Mission St.. San Francisco. CA 94103.

Self-Improvement

Mind-cxpansion video: free brochure. Improves memory, sexuality, confidence, healing, stress. meditation, energy, psychic, 1003 more! Hypnovision, PO Box 2192311, Halesite. NY 11743.

Support

Wanted 1,000,000 Americans to restore the Goddess of Democracy to Tiananmen Square. Small dum-tions welcome. Write: Students for Democracy Statue in China, 179 South 215t'St., Sanjose, CA 95116; (408) 286-3220.

Travel

Learn Spanish in Guatemala. Family living. Write or call: CASA, PO BOX 11264, Milwaukee, WI53211; (414) 372-5570.

Great Expeditions Magazine-

Trekking, cultural discovery, budget travel in Asia, Africa, Latin America. For sample, write or c1111: PO Box 8000-411, Sumus, WA 98295; (604) 852-6170.

Nicaragua. Intensive Spanish. political and cultural seminars. family living and community involvement. NICA, PO Box 1409-TT, Cambridge. MA 02238; (617) 497-7142.

Study/work/livc overseas. Plan your own adventures with Transitions Abroad. \$15 subscription includes four issues and the Educational Travel Directory, Guide to Living Overseas. Write: PO Box 344-3551, Amherst, MA 01004.

T-Shirts

T-shirts with a message of justice and freedom. Send one stamp for free catalog: Infinitccs, PO Box 342811, Bethesda, MD 20817.

MORE

GREAT

FACES!

Che Guevara.

041111111 Sartre

Lemur Camus

(want Katmai.

Machiamm JFK .

K1111 Marx Nietzsche

Shevlock 110111183. Pm;

B111181101108y Var Gogh Shakespeare Beemmer

Steinneck HQme-Va/ Jung am '1'th

T-Shirt: (mm: 11 0111(1111'193131225 1

Sweatshirt: (white or grey) 821 23
 Sizes: S M L XL Ship: 8? 00 01:1 (."lk'
 Illustrated brochure: 75c
 HISTORICAL PRODUCTS
 Box 220 AP Cambridge, MA 02238
 CALIFORNIA'S
 BEST T-SHIRTS
 Great Beach and Sud
 designs plus Original
 Activewear. Sportsgear
 and Other cool stutL.
 that you'll only find in...
 The California EDGE Cafal- .
 225.109 805-965-6665 333;
 FORLOVEOFCOUNTRY
 L. KEEP GEORGE
 3.. HEALTHY!
 100% COTTON
 T-SHIRTS
 PRICES
 INCLUDE
 gHIPPIING
 1WHITEONVLVVVI
 ACLR SLK SCR ON RED WHITE YELLOW BLUE
 QUALITY T-SHIRTS OR SWEATSHIRTS
 Send check or mono order 11:
 PRESIDENT'S PH YER CLUB
 PD. 8011 14am LENEXA KS 56215
 FOR INF11191315994410 / VISA - M/C
 Learn tlai chi-Strengthen your
 mind, body, and spirit with China2s
 most healthful and intriguing exer-
 cise. Free catalog. Over 150 quality
 videotapes. books, and other useful
 products. Write: Wayfarer Publica-
 tions, Dept. MJ, PO Box 26156, L05
 Angeles, CA 90026.
 Who killed Kennedy? Assassination
 research. Literature, photographs,
 Videocassettes. For catalog, send S3
 to: Archives, PO Box 2, Beacons-
 field, Quebec H9W 5T6, Canada.
 commissions 0n clas'xiticd ads
 58 OCTOBLR 1989
 MOTHERJONES
 CLASSIFIED
 When you advertise in the Mother Jones Cla551lieds, you're
 reaching out to over halt a million quality-conscious consumers
 A88% 01 whom w111 purchase goods or services via the mail
 or phone in the Coming 12 months 11 you own or work for a
 company that Could benefit from effective advertising, Moth-
 erJones is the place to get rcsultg
 RATE: Pht 1M H 1 1', deep, 12/16" widei Camera-ready art
 only 1x \$120/Column inch, 3x \$110/c0lumn inch each time
 PER WORD 1x \$3/word. 3x \$2 85/word each time, 6x
 \$2 75/word each time, 10x \$2 40/word each time
 DIADLINFS CeneraHy, the 15th 01 the month, 21/: months
 before the 185116 date 16 g , 1thruary 15th lor the May 155L161
 Fcbruary/March and luly/August are combined issues
 PAYMF NT All Ciassitied ads mint be prepaid Sorry, no agency
 SAMPLES Please send a sample 01 your product, or literature
 about your service, with your ad
 MORE DETAILS?
 Contact Michael W611
 Mother Jones Classifieds
 1663 Mission Street
 San 1:1tanclsco, CA 94103
 14151558411181

S MADE _H__IS'10

DE

get Vthle emotional and
.al words of twentieth
passionate orators? Now
ne you can experience the
words in this collectable
From the famous to the
eir words made history.

R

THE SPEECHES OF :

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

We have nothing to fear but fear Itself..."
Franklin D. Roosevelt was one of our country's
most extraordinary leaders. He chose to serve
his country through its worst economic
depression and most terrifying World War
despite a crippling disabilityt
#2435 60 min. \$19.95

THE SPEECHES OF

WINSTON CHURCHILL

Winston Churchill was the British
Lion, it's bulldog, the defender of its
freedom, the pride of her people. In
the dark early years of the World
War II-when all the world cowered
before Hitler and his hordes_
Winston Churchill alone stood firm.
#2439 30 mins. \$19.95

:ECHES OF

' LUTHER KING

2r King was perhaps the most
moving speaker in American
Iis century His achievements
, but none were greater than
) move men with the passion
This tape affords a rare
to see and hear King's most
ed pleas, collected and
to-ether. #2438 60 mins. s19.95
entire 6 Vol. collection and SAVE
s119.70 NOW ONLY s99.70 # 2869
For 48 Hour Delivery, Call
Our 24-Hour, ToH-Free Hotline:
1-800-358-7710
' Ext. M) 910

-- -- -- -- --

TO ORDER cease sendcheu Money orcer 3i vent cam m cash :0

ALL PAVMEMS MUST BE W J S 30.;ADS

FUSION VIDEO

i72i4 80 Oak Park Ave rDept MJQtOvTIhiey Park iL 6047?

ALL CASSETTES ARE VHS ONLY.

17800-33877710 inside IiiihOIS 312632-2050

Name

Address

City , , 7, , State , Zip ,

YES! Please send me a Free FUSION CATALOG With my order

, i am endosmg 32 95 i0! a FUSION CATALOG

CASSETTE NUMBERS

inLj

B H my credit card VISA MasterCard

Irceful or dynamic President.

speaker. The speeches of

atorical barbs, but they do

Account Number Expiration Date

Authorization Signature 01 Cardholder

Video Cassette Totai S

ShIppIng & HandiIng 8460' A

TOTAL Amount S __ , W55 'mms

ado I n sates tdx

tCanadian Orders S8 95 tor shipping 8. handiIng

VAii other Foreign countries 5i3 95 mi surface "Vdii
Or 523 95 an maii tot shIppIng & handiing
FUSION VIDEO is a division 0! FUSION INDUSTRIES. INC.
1806

Miscellaneous

Owl collector's 1990 calendar:

\$11.50. ul V Owls" bumper stickcr
\$1. Ncwsletttcr sample 53. Bi-
monthly subscriptions \$15.Cat;11()g
\$1 (refundahlc). Owl's Nest, PO
Box 5491(1), Fresno, CA 9.1755.
Save a tree with your next printing
job. WC use 100% recycled paper.
No blcnchus Or whitcnrcs used. For
details, write Or call: Finc Linc
Presx .150 Whitncy 5L, Rochcstcn
NY 14606; (800) 326-8760.

Movie/tclcvision writcr-produccr
with strong studio contacts socks
your truc-life stories. Pmduccn
Suite #870, 279 S. Bcvcrly DL, Bcv-
erly Hill\$1 CA 90212.

Music

Bamboo Shakuhachi Hutes. Beau-
tifully crafted. Affordable. Frcc cat-
alog: Bamboo Music, Ken 1.11 (2055c,
2267M 45th Aux, San Francisco,
CA 94116.

Free 30-minute sampler cassette.
jazz fusion, new age. and custom
subliminals. Send S3 for shipping
and handling to: Mirrorimage,
3600 L. Honoapiilanh #H110Z,
Lahaina, 1-11 96761.

Messengers of Light. Revitalizing,
spiritual folk music by singer/song-
writer Shelley Koffler. Powerful.
Pure. Evocative. Send \$12 to: Spot-
ted Fawn Music. 32 Ori0le DIX,
Woodstock, NY 12498.

Natural Products

Spare the Animals offers personal
care/household products which are
not tested on animals. For a free
catalog write: PO Box 233, Dept.
MJ, Tiverton, R1 02878.

String bag kits. Contents: Hard-
wood netting needle and mesh stick,
instructions and diagrams, 234 feet
of string. These bags are nonpollur
mg and environment-friendly. Send
\$12 to: The String Bag Lady; 70A
Waterloo Avenue. Guelph, Ontario
N1H3H5, Canada.

Personals

9;; Concerned singles 9::

gNewsletter ,4/

links compatible singles concerned
about peace. Justice. enVIronmenl
Natuonwnde All ages. Since 1984.

Q_ Free sample. ____6)

Box 555-M, Slockbridge. MA 01262

Connect, the nationwide network
for selective singles. For free details.
write: PO Box 09506-Mj, Colum-
bus, OH 43209.

Group marriagc-Ncw book tells
how to succeed! Send \$7.95 plus
\$1.50 postage. Quarterly newsletter
SWVVCJr. PEP, PO Box 5247-MJ,
Eugene, OR 94705.

Art Lovers' ExchangeAinking sinV
glc lovers of thc arts nationwide,
ALX, PO 150x 265, Bunsalcm, PA
190211; (800) 54275250.

Politics

Guide to Campaign Politics. How to run local campaigns. 58.95 to Logan (Lonsultunts, PO Box 111. Whitefish, MT 59937.

Public Interest

If you see a mention of CT 1 Motherjones in your local (97:15 newspaper or in another magazine. we'd love to see it. Please send it to Press Clips, Motherjones. 1663 Mission St.. San Francisco. CA 94103.

Self-Improvement

Mind-cxpansion video: free brochure. Improves memory. sexuality, conhdence, healing, stress, meditation, energy, psychic, 10015 more! Hypnovision, PO Box 2192Mj, Halcsite. NY 11743.

Support

Wanted 1,000,000 Americans to restore the Goddess of Democracy to Tiananmen Square. Small dczzi tions welcome. Write: Students for Democracy Statue in China, 179 South let St., San Jose, CA 95116; (408) 28643220.

Travel

Learn Spanish in Guatemala. Family living. Write or call: CASA, PO Box 11264, Milwaukee, WI53211; (414) 37245570.

Great Expeditions Magazine-

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

Nicaragua. Intensive Spanish, political and cultural seminars, family living and community involvement. NICA, PO Box 1409-TT, Cambridge, MA 02218; (617) 497-7142.

Study/work/live overseas. Plan your own adventures with Transitions Abroad. \$15 subscription includes four issues and the Educational

Living

344-3f

T-Sh

T-shiri

and fr)

frcc c;

34281

M01

GR!

FAC

Che Gue'

Gandhi. 5

1611111 Ca

Twain. K81

MdCh1aVC

Karl Man

Sheilock

Bllhe H011:

Slembeck

T-Shm: (

Sweatsn.

Sizes: S
Illustrate
H ISTO
Box 221
CALIF
BEST
Great Be
designs 1
Activewe
and Othe
that you'
The C1
1'68
0r
co
er_
011
PFI
\$2
DP
bel
1:61
Pm
C01
ab(
58 OCTOBER 1989

EIR WORDS MADE

le H1810

WFO N v I 1) H ()__,

Who can forget the emotional and

.2 ,,. inspirational words of twentieth

S i T ,_ . centuryis most passionate orators? Now

i J i t V for the first time you can experience the

power of their words in this collectable

video series. From the famous to the

infamous, their words made history.

a ,o g

THE SPEECHES

OF HITLER

The oratory of Adolf Hitler was one of the key ingredients in his rise to power. This is a rare collection of his most famous speeches. To gain insight into his style, the original German words are used with English sub-tittes.

#2888 50 mins. s19.95

THE SPEECHES OF

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

We have nothing to fear but fear Itself..."

Franklin D. Roosevelt was one of our countryts

most extraordinary leaders. He chose to serve

his country through its worst economic

depression and most terrifying World War

despite a crippling disabilityi

#2436 60 min. s19.95

THE SPEECHES OF

WINSTON CHURCHILL

Winston Churchill was the British

Lion, it's bulldog, the defender of its

freedom, the pride of her people. In

the dark early years of the World

War II-when all the world cowered

before Hitler and his hordes-

Winston Churchilt alone stood firm.

#2439 30 mins. \$19.95

THE SPEECHES OF

JOHN F. KENNEDY

John F. Kennedy was the most

dynamic President of recent memory.

Poised and relaxed at all times, he

spoke well. This tape focuses on

Kennedy, the public orator. You'll see

and hear every major policy address

of his three years in office in this video

collection.

#2437 60 mins. s19.95

MARTIN LUTHER KING

Martin Luther King was perhaps the most

forceful and moving speaker in American

politics in this century. His achievements

were many, but none were greater than

his ability to move men with the passion

of justice. This tape affords a rare

opportunity to see and hear Kingts most

impassioned pleas, collected and

assembled tOoether. #2438 so mins. s19.95

Purchase the entire 6 Vol. collection and SAVE

\$20.00. Was s119.70 NOW ONLY s99.70 a 2869

THE SPEECHES OF

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Dwight D Eisenhower was not this country's most forceful or dynamic President.

And neither was he the most eloquent public speaker. The speeches of

Eisenhower do not zing with witticisms and rhetorical barbs, but they do 1-800-338-7710

communicate the forthrightness of the man. ' Ext. M1 910

#2435 60min. s19.95 - - - - -

TO ORDEp n PdSP send them mo'itw LirjO' JT"OLHC&T21 '10 rash to

ALs PAYMENTS MUST BE W J S DOLAQS

FUSION VIDEO

17214 80 Oak Park Ave Dept MJ9i0-Tiniey Park iL 6047?
ALL CASSETTES ARE VHS ONLYt
148007338777i 0 lnstde liiinois 3i 27532-2050
Name
Address 77,,
City State Zip h
VES! Ptease send me a Free FUSTON CATALOG With my ti'cte'
Ea'n cnctosmq 9? 95 tor a FUSiON CA tALOG
CASSETTE NUMQERS
i__l__t__l__l
B it my Ctedit Card V 5a MasteiCarO
For 48 Hour Delivery, Call
Our 24-Hour, TolI-Free Hotlinc:
Acaiunt Numbei Expiration bate
Aimhorirzatbn Signature oi Cardholder
Video Cassette Total 8 7, 7i, ,
84 50'
Itiinois iesiitcnt:
TOTAL Amount \$ __, 7 add / 'u sates tax
'Canadian Orders x8 95 tov stiipping z; imitating
'Aii 0mm FUIHTQH L(MHTUTUS 313 9510i surlace mutt
Or 823 95 air mm to! shipping 8. hdttditttg
FUSION VIDEO is a division of FUSION INDUSTRIES. INC.
Shipping & Handling
1806

I!
GOT THE BABY-SI'I'TING JOB AT THE MUNCES!
because a girl from my homeroom named Anna Bar-
tolli called me up and said she just got a ticket laid on
her for the Five Man Electrical Band and she needed
a sub. Itltls an easy job," she said. llThey live on
Caseadia." Cascadia was a rich street and I started thinking about
all the houses I knew up there with color TVs, shag carpets,
Trimlines, and full boxes of Ding Dongs in the freezer. llOkayj,
I said.

Mr. Munce picked me up at seven olclock in an old green
station wagon with big bite
marks all over the dashboard.
It turns out therels a eruddy
part of Cascadia I didnlt know
about and the Munces' house
was on it.

Mr. Munce tells me to go in-
side and get Mrs. Munce for
him. When I open the door
there's this smell and by the
couch I see a baby with a red
rash across her face yanking on
the ear of a giant black dog
who has long strings of slobber
dripping down. When the baby
sees me she starts screaming
and then I hear feet running in and its a little girl in a yellow
nightgown who looks at me and starts screaming also. Then the
sound of high heels, and Mrs. Munce walks in screwing on her
earring and asks the nightgown girl if she wants a spanking and
then tells me she cant remember my name. I get a feeling in my
stomach like I am going to throw up and then I notice there is no
TV.

Mrs. Munce tells me the dogs name is Stinker, the baby's name
is Angela, the other one is Clarissa, and if she gives me any trouble
spank her good. Im thinking How am I going to get out of this?,
and then Mrs. Munce turns down the thermostat, hands me a
baby bottle full of green Kool-Aid, goes out the door, and The
End.

I pick up the baby who has black dog hairs stuck to her face and
go over to Clarissa who is crying at the window and I say itls okay,
your mom will be back soon. Clarissa hits me and I tell her the
number-one rule is no hitting and she hits me again. The doorbell
rings and it's the paper boy coming to collect, a seventh grader
from my school named Tonio. He tells me the Munces suck be-
cause they never pay. Then the baby reaches out her hands to him
and Clarissa leans against me and for about one second its like
these are my kids and this is my house and I about tell Tonio to
shut up and get off of my property.

It takes a long time to get the baby to sleep. Nothing works
except to keep on holding her so I hold her and hold her until its
pitch-black outside and I sit on the couch letting Clarissa Ex my
hair with a green chewed-up brush. I feel a blob of something cold
on my head and its Clarissa rubbing in a giant squeeze of Alberto
Stinkerls back.

By the time theylre asleep it's ten olclock. The house is freezing i
V05. Then the phone starts ringing and the baby wakes up.

When I answer llMunce residencell its a man who says
Iljanet?" I say he must have the wrong number and lm about to
hang up when he says, Iljanet. Wait a second. Im sorry? I tell him
wrong number again and hang up. I feel a little freaked out by his
voice. I tell Clarissa its time for bed and she asks me if Stinker can
come upstairs with us. I say okay, then I notice the V05 all over
cold. On the table downstairs I notice a fishbowl full of cloudy
water with something moving
and I realize there is a hsh in
there. I decide to change the
water. When I get the fish in my
hand the phone rings again.
IljanetFII the man says.

I lYou got the wrong number A
again?

I lJanet, wait!, l he says. He
sounds like he's crying and I
hang up.

When the phone rings again

I get the sickest scariest feel-
ing in my stomach and just let

it keep ringing. I keep washing S
the fishbowl until it slips out of

my hands and breaks in the sink. I look at the goldfish swimming 4
in the Yogi Berra glass and pick up the phone. (i

IIWhy are you doing this to mePl the man says.

III swear to god, you got the wrong numberjl I say, Ilthis is the
Muncesl residence. There's no Janetfl Finally he believes I am not
Janet and asks me if I will just talk to him anyway. In the back-
ground I can hear ltColor My Worldll playing and I think there is
no way he can be a killer if he is playing that song. So I say okay
and he tells me about Janet, how messed up he is about her and _
how she gave him the wrong number probably on purpose.

His name is Victor, he's nineteen from Santa Monica, he is
stationed at Fort Lewis, and he hates the army. I feel so bad for
how sad he is. I'm looking at the Muncesl record player and all of
a sudden I see the album Bridge Over Troubled Water and I get the
idea to play it for Victor. IIHang onfl I tell him, and I put the
phone next to the speaker and start playing the song. All the
words seem so significant to Victor's life and my life too. I start
imagining him and me together, him forgetting all about Janet. I v
think about how this baby-sitting job was all worth it and how :
later when Victor was my boyfriend we would tell everyone the 5
incredible story of how we met. And then the song ended and I a
picked up the phone and said IIVictorW and there was no one
there.

When Mrs. Munce came in it was past 1 A.M. I told her about
the fishbowl and that I was sorry and that she didn't have to pay
me and she said okay and she didn't. Before I left she said, IlGive
me your number in case we need you againfl and I made sure I
said it wrong.

RETARDED.

BLAGK.

Xmorica IS the land of oppmtunitV. Exerwno has the Chance to live in freedom.

But in American courtrooms, some hav 1 a better Chance of being sentenced to death.

The poor convicted 01:1 brutal killing (110 from the want 013 good lawyer.

The mcntaHy retarded (110 from thc igno Vance 01 their own anions.

The young are sent to the death Chamber for crimes committed before reaching full physical or emotional maturity.

And blacks convicted ofkilling whites are more likely to be sentenced to death than any other category 0101fcndors

Tho death penalty

It's a horrifying lottcn' in which political financial, community and racial pressures play a more decisive role in sending a person to the (10th Chamber than the actual crime itself.

It's irreversible and. own with the most stringent judicial safcguards, has been111111ttodonthvinnocent.

171timatoly.it's('n'iolationofhumanrights.

The death penalty. It's not a punishment. It's a crime.

Join Amnesty International USA and help abolish the death penalty. I want to:

310m Mnnvsty Internulitmal 118111 11102151) send mo mm'v int'ormatiun.

1101p uhulish 111v (1mth penalty Please send me morv information.

: contribute _ tn vtmnvsty International 181's mn'k.

()mttrtlmtiuns to Mnnost) lntmmntional 1 SA are tax (lv(lu('tihl(:.

Mum!

111(11'1'55

(711) State Xiptludt-

mail to:

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL USA

, 322 Highth Monuo - Department DP - Vt'wYork. NY 10001

WM)

INTRODUCING
TWO OF THE BEST
CAMERAS

WE'VE EVER MADE.

InfinityTWlN

Olympus has done it again.

And again.

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

The new Infinity Twin.

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

And, since the lenses never
lay mrmlmz' m l xx t lH u-H llww l win w:

OLYMPUS

LENS

35mm

70 mm

extend outside the camera body,
the Infinity Twin is more compact
than any dual-lens camera has a
right to be.

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

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

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

OLYMPUS

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

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

Focused on peopleg

lmm) m. mun' nuunnuhun, unle Olympus Corporation, Dept. 312, Woodbury, NY. 11797. In Cana
da: W Carsen Co. Ltd., Toronto.