

Is Anti-Zionism Anti-Semitism?

A Speech by Marc H. Ellis

Last January 25, Jewish theologian, Marc Ellis spoke at the U-M Law School. The following article is a transcription of his speech.

"When I hear 'filthy Arabs,' I remember 'filthy Jews.' I see Beirut, and I remember Warsaw."

I'm very glad to be with you this evening to discuss what I consider to be the future of the Jewish people, an issue that is bound up with the future of the Palestinian people. Although we come from a people who has prided itself on its intelligence and the world has often said we are a very intelligent people, we have lost the ability to think.

Last spring Rabbi Marshall Mayer, in introducing me, made a startling comment. He said that today the Jewish people face the greatest crisis since the destruction of the temple in 70 [C.E.] when, in the midst of the loss of our sovereignty, a new course for the Jewish people was forged. Notice, he did not say the greatest crisis since the 1967 war, since the war of independence in 1948 or even since the Holocaust because today, like in 70, a new course for the Jewish people is being chosen. This time we have power and that power is being used to disperse, dislocate, humiliate and destroy another people—the Palestinian people. This is why Milton Viorst, a columnist for The New York Times and a member of the Jewish journal Tikkun, wrote recently that this is perhaps the most shameful decade in the history of the Jewish people.

Now you may wonder (some of you may be religious in background, some not) why I choose to focus on theology, on religiosity. I do that because it represents the deepest aspirations of a person and also a people. It provides the core of our identity, and the impetus for struggle. When I speak about theology and religiosity, I'm talking about those things which move us, those things at the core of our being.

Now theology arises within history, and the task of theology is to nurture questions a people needs to ask about the history they are creating. Theology provides a framework for our questions, not an answer to them. Thus, in a long tradition—in the Jewish tradition, in the Christian tradition, probably in the Muslim tradition as well—theologies come and go but the tradition remains. Theologies come into being when they nurture the questions they need to ask, when they are relevant to our history. They are no longer relevant when they no longer ask the questions we need to ask. Theologies help us move toward faithfulness to the history of those who have gone before us.

Holocaust Theology

Unfortunately, the theology which has guided the Jewish community for the past two decades—Holocaust theology, which was birthed in the struggle to be faithful on the crucible of our suffering—no longer guides us on the road of fidelity. But rather because of the questions it refuses to ask and cannot ask, it is leading us as a people to betray our history of struggle and suffering.

What is Holocaust theology? This theology was formed in the courtroom of the Eichmann trial and in the June 1967 war, the Six-Day War where Israel won a decisive victory over the surrounding Arab nations. (Adolf Eichmann was the mastermind of the final solution of the Jewish people. Eichmann was captured and tried in Israel in 1961.)

Picture for a moment Elie Wiesel before he was famous. In 1961 a Holocaust survivor travels to Jerusalem to be at the Eichmann trial as a reporter for a small Jewish paper. He sees this as the first time that Jews can try a person for crimes against the Jewish people for the first time in 2000 years. He sees in that courtroom a collective presence of the Jewish people. Not just the spectators, but every Jew in the world is trying Eichmann for crimes against the Jewish people. It becomes a trial also for Jewish suffering throughout history, not just the final discrimination, but a whole history in the West of being discriminated against, dismissed, dislocated and murdered.

(SEE PAGE 6)

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If the grounds around your home have been landscaped like most, then they are no doubt covered with expanses of grass. Lawns, those ubiquitous carpets of green (or facsimiles thereof) have been fashionable in this country for the last couple of centuries.

It was possibly during Thomas Jefferson's time that lawns came to denote prestige and status in this country. Gentlemen farmers, during that period, could afford to allow a portion of their land to remain untilled, and could bear the cost (as enslaved Africans performed the labor) of extensive planting and maintenance of large lawns on their estates. The natural environment was tamed and trained on these estates as the gentry class worked to subdue the greater land and its resources.

On the other hand, land held by the gentry's less affluent counterparts was being used in more efficient, practical ways. Here, an alliance was formed between people and nature; the land was encouraged to produce a wide variety of plants essential to basic survival. Plants, many of them native "weeds," were cultivated for food, fiber, dye, medicine, and other household necessities.

In our modern culture, lawns are still grown and often perceived as status symbols, at the expense of ourselves and the environment. Proper lawn care requires heavy use of fertilizers, pesticides, herbicides, and fungicides. The amount of water needed to keep a lawn green during an average growing season can cost many hundreds of dollars. Consider also the rigorous maintenance lawns require: frequent routine mowings with gasoline-powered mowers and trimmers; careful (and not so careful) applications of dangerous chemicals; grooming, raking, and removal of leaves and grass clippings (natural mulches no less) to be burned

by Lois Huff

or carted away to landfills; not to mention the time consumed in performing these tasks.

A lawn is also ecologically unsound, in part because it is a monoculture. The exclusive cultivation of one plant is foolish in ecological terms; under natural conditions, many types of plants exist together in communities. A population of one type of plant will yield more quickly and dramatically to blight or disease than will a naturally balanced plant community. For example, the potato famine of 1848 occurred because the Irish potato monoculture succumbed to a massive infestation of blight. To minimize this risk, Mother Nature promotes diversity; she will, if left to her own devices, see to it that dandelions, ground ivy, speedwell, and all manner of green exuberance is expressed in your lawn.

Assuming, then, that you don't care to express yourself in weedy abundance, the alternative is to rethink the importance of your lawn and how you might reduce its size. While a small lawn may be necessary if you like to cook out, play badminton, or lie in the sun, there are hundreds of lower-maintenance, more environmentally sensible plants available to help you enrich areas where a lawn is not needed. As many of our more practical ancestors realized, a plot of earth can grow much of our food. Vegetable gardens are beautiful in their usefulness, and are dynamic, fascinating displays of the progressions and cycles of nature. Fruit and nut trees are attractive additions to a landscape, as are berry bushes and vines. Small beds of assorted herbs possess understated charm and have obvious use for the cook. Large beds of herbs can be used as ground covers; some of them, such as chamomile, can even withstand moderate foot traffic. The mints

will tolerate occasional traffic and make your shoes smell great.

Ground covers of all types exist to free you from slavery to lawn maintenance, and many can deal effectively with problem areas in your yard. Sloping areas prone to erosion can be protected with dense mats of low-growing juniper, ivy, and periwinkle. Clumps of daylilies and sedum will add color to the landscape and are especially valuable in that they are resistant to drought. Ground covers that thrive in deep shade include pachysandra, lily-of-the-valley, violets, and sweet woodruff. Many ground cover plants will provide food and cover for birds as well.

It must be pointed out that ground cover plants are low-maintenance, not maintenance-free. Good gardening practice includes preparation of the planting area with supplements of organic fertilizers such as composted manure and leaves. A yearly trimming helps promote denser growth. Raking off leaves in the fall may or may not be necessary, depending on your attitude toward nature's recycling process. Insects and disease should not be a serious problem, especially if you have a variety of plants, as there will more likely be a healthier balance of beneficial insects, birds, toads, and other creatures.

With increased diversity in our own plantings and those of our neighbors, whole communities could become gardens in the finest sense. We would have occasional yard work, but have much more time to cultivate relationships with our plants, ourselves, and our friends. Leave the green crew-cut look and the chemical residues on the golf course, and form your own alliance with nature. There's more to life than a lawn.

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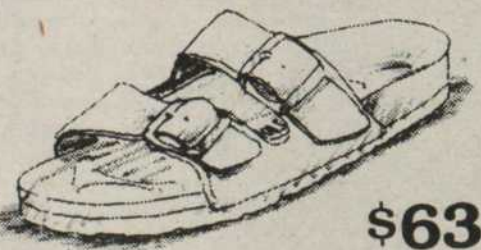
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Reform and the Left

by Mark Weisbrot

As the Cold War continues to wind down, and profound changes sweep across Europe and the U.S.S.R., the politics of the United States appear all but unaffected. The military budget will remain at historical wartime levels, and U.S. aggression against smaller nations, especially in Latin America will continue to be waged under the pretext of "stopping communism," with the war on drugs as a murky alternate. It seems as though the Soviet Union could literally disintegrate overnight without affecting either the U.S. government's excuses for intervention in the Third World or its ability to use them.

Part of the reason for the imperviousness of the U.S. to change is the political marginalization of the left. Compared to any industrialized (and many less industrialized) countries in the world, the political debate that reaches 98% of the U.S. population ranges from extreme right to center. And yet this does not, for the most part, reflect the views of the population. Polls show consistent majorities for deep cuts in military spending, comprehensive national health insurance, an end to U.S. aid to El Salvador, and other positions that rarely win an appearance in the public discourse. As Noam Chomsky is fond of pointing out, 70% of the public thought that the Vietnam war was "fundamentally wrong and immoral," a viewpoint that not a single commentator or columnist in the mainstream media has had the courage to put forward.

It is therefore worth thinking about why the left is so small and marginalized here. Much has been written about some of the historical/structural roots of this phenomenon. A few of the reasons commonly cited are: the differences between the U.S. and Europe, for example, where a long struggle against

feudalism developed the class-consciousness of European workers; the repression of radical labor movements in the U.S.; the role of racism and ethnic divisions among workers. There is another side to the question, however, which is internal to the left itself, although it cannot be completely separated from the historical facts of the left's isolation and consequent political immaturity.

I am including in the left all of those who have a shared vision of some form of socialism, or classless, egalitarian society as an ultimate goal, and are politically active. This includes all kinds of orthodox Marxists, as well as anarchists, pacifists, and a whole range of left activists who may never have paid much attention to Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Mao (or Bakunin). Almost all of these people are active in struggles for reform: of foreign policy, unions, gender and race relations. At the same time they remain committed to a much more radical transformation of society—"revolutionary" change. The relation between these short- and long-term goals is not necessarily antagonistic, but it needs to be reasonably consistent with historical conditions.

The basic problem is that the left's outlook has its origins in the 19th and early 20th century, a time when revolution was on the political agenda, or at least appeared to be. Under such conditions reform takes on a very different meaning than it does in the relatively stable social formation that capitalism has turned out to be in the U.S. and other developed countries. Any reform, of course, is always a double-edged sword. On the one hand it represents a victory for the people who are struggling to transform society, but there is also the problem that it can lend an

(see Reform, page 11)

"Boozho, Brother!"

by Stephanie Harrell

The interviewers then asked us what our mission was. I told them I didn't want to see the Native American culture die, and it was really hard for me to keep from crying because 20 million people would be seeing this and we had shared so much. And then I gave Kichiemon II a dream catcher. With tears in my eyes I said 'I wish you and your people peace.' Kichiemon II said 'I wish your people peace and also good dreams.' I looked up and he had tears in his eyes, too.—Julie Walker

This September, 20 million Japanese television viewers will be seeing a cultural exchange made between the touring artists of the Grand Kabuki Theatre and Julie and Paul Walker, local Native American rights activists who own Eagle Speaks, a Native American art gallery in downtown Ann Arbor. The Walkers were interviewed by Fuji television on June 3 at the Wexner Center for the Visual Arts in Columbus, Ohio about the spirituality, traditions and current political issues affecting Native Americans.

"We went first to the auditorium to watch the Kabuki rehearse," said Paul Walker, who is Ojibway, Potawatomi and Ottawa.

Kabuki—literally meaning song, dance and acting—originated as outdoor dance performances and brought off-beat dances and costumes to the stage. Kabuki players are generally born into the tradition and trained by a father or relative.

"Kichiemon II, the Kabuki actor," said Paul, "asked about our art and its meaning. I told him of the mandala which is made of wool and feathers and that it brought peace and good health. He also asked about the dream catcher. I told him it is hung over a child's bed and that the air is full of dreams—both good and bad—and that the good dreams know the way through the dream catcher to the child and that the bad dreams get caught in the web, then get destroyed by the light of the morning."

Among the political issues discussed for the TV interview, Julie talked about the attempt by resort owners and sports fishermen in Wisconsin to halt federally approved spearfishing, claiming that the Native Americans are taking all the fish. "The Native American harvest was only a tiny percentage of the total fish caught," she said.

"Those who oppose it are protesting at the boat landings in Wisconsin and throwing rocks at the Indians, and yelling racial slurs, and a bomb was even found on one of the protesters," said Paul.

The Walkers also raised the issue of Big Mountain where the Peabody Coal Company discovered tons of Black Mesa coal and uranium on Indian lands in the southwest and with the help of the U.S. gov-

ernment has been forcibly relocating hundreds of Diné (Navajo) peoples off their sacred land.

"The Diné are being relocated to homes that are falling apart, on land where the worst uranium tailing spill ever recorded has occurred. Many do not have adequate heat or electricity. They are bulldozing their homes on the reservation and reducing their livestock by 90% which is the Diné peoples means of food," said Julie.

"I also told of how Indians today call each other 'brother,'" said Paul, "and that we try to be at peace with each other because Native American religion is the same—honoring Mother Earth. Kichiemon II said his people of Japan also call each other brother. We shook hands and I said 'Boozho (Hello), brother.'"

For information on Big Mountain or spearfishing rights, stop in at Eagle Speaks, 207 S. Fourth Ave. Ann Arbor, MI 48104 or call 665-8066.

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Film

"Variety" Seeks to Locate Female Desire

Directed by Bette Gordon (1984); screenplay by Kathy Acker; music by John Lurie.
Shown 2 June by the Ann Arbor Film Cooperative

by Matthew Kopka

The camera, it is said, is always male. Like the pen, its movement is phallic, intrusive; it's no accident that when white people first trained it on various "indigenous" peoples, its prying gaze was resented. And the spectator, as filmmaker Bette Gordon has noted, occupies the camera's male perspective; the viewed is symbolically female.

Pornography reinforces this symbolic. That's, perhaps, what women really resent about it—the whole exploitative system of social relations it represents.

In the essay "Variety: The Pleasure in Looking," Gordon asks how one can begin to "locate female desire within a patriarchal culture?" How does one develop a way of looking at the world that might bring power and pleasure to women, to those on whom the camera has always been trained? Whole issues of feminist and film journals have devoted to the problem, and anyone trying to write or make films "against the grain" comes up against it again and again.

"Variety" suggests the difficulties faced in elaborating such an alternative. The deteriorating of its main character (Christina, played by Sandra McLeod, as a writer whose work "does not get read") to describe her own experience, becomes a metaphor for the project of the film itself, and suggests by extension that development of artistic vision and societal revision are very much the same project.

The artificiality of the film's opening scene, in which the protagonist and an acquaintance converse in a locker room, suggests just such a correlation between vision and artifice. The women are in many ways typical—intelligent, independent by necessity, struggling, it is quickly revealed, to maintain an economic toehold on the planet. They speak in self-deprecating, stilted tones, as if aware that their plight is so common as to sound banal. But its commonness makes it no less serious; millions of single American women live in poverty and near-poverty, by virtue, more than anything, of the fact of their womanhood. And scenes like this one, in which women share their experiences, interspersed through the film, lend it a documentary quality which continually reconnects it to its wider concerns.

Christine needs work. The friend informs her that there is a job available selling tickets at the Variety, a 42nd Street porn theater, and she hurries to get it.

The Variety is a pathetic world, one with few attractions for Christine. But when a cheesy philanthropist (Louie Tancredi, played by Richard Davidson) begins to prey on her, staring into the booth where she sits, suggesting a liaison, she suddenly finds herself looking back. She begins to follow him around the city, into porn parlors, to his furtive streetcorner meetings with various men, *looking* in a realm where men are the lookers. It's not clear immediately what has happened, but this turnabout is pivotal, potentially revolutionary.

It's as if Christine has internalized the camera; it peers out at a world run by men, for men. Within its new compass, a baseball game, a handshake, a pat on the shoulder—all that was previously dull and familiar seems full of strange and violent ritual.

Christine follows the mysterious Tancredi around the Fulton Fish Market, where the catch is picked up by the eyes—as if seeing or attempting to understand this world were itself a crime, a crime whose punishment, like Oedipus',



Christine risks incurring. Retrospectively, the underworld of pornography looks more sinister than sad; to a good extent, one realizes, most of us still live in a system of sexual apartheid.

Christine's boyfriend is also pursuing a story. He is a professional writer, operating in a realm made legitimate by facts and figures, unravelling a story about shakedowns by organized crime at the fish market. But though Tancredi may be a Mafia "bagman" himself, engaged in the very activities her boyfriend is investigating, Christine isn't privy to the kind of discourse that would enable her to tell this story, to connect it in any way meaningful to her with the narrative the boyfriend is constructing. In fact (in this fiction), she isn't writing at all. She is at work on something more elemental, something that prefigures writing altogether—storytelling, fable-making. She is, to employ the feminist phrase, "diving into the wreckage" in search of some way to describe the world as she's coming to see it.

The film's finest moment comes when Christine attempts to present this nascent vision to her boyfriend. The camera absorbs itself with his body as he finesse a pinball machine, never looking at her, while she tells the story of a woman's erotic encounters with a tiger and eventually a man, encounters that involve excitement, danger and delay. Again, the operative mode is seeing; Christine squints her eyes as she visualizes these scenes. But it is a vision based, interestingly enough, on speech, the kind of powerfully dramatic moment which film, in its obsession with the visual, often tends to overlook.

But Christine's vision threatens her boyfriend; he is silenced by it. In a world confined to the limiting binary of male and female, the film seems to suggest, there is only room for one vision, a vision over which but one sex can retain dominance.

This male (re) viewer found himself watching

the boyfriend's behind from an uncomfortable perspective. The camera's "I" is unused to such scenes, it is self-conscious examining them. Isn't this exploitation, I wondered?

It's interesting and risky territory, worthy of much discussion between lovers and friends. But there's an important point to be made about pornography and censorship here, because it is looking, seeing, the complete view that is perennially denied to the less privileged. It is through this very basic mechanism that (sex=knowledge=) power is withheld.

But unresponsive ears such as the boyfriend's are no different from deaf ones, and Christine is slowly reduced to the same practices which alienated her in the first place—dressing, for example, the image of the fetishized sexual object of film and magazines. But there is no pleasure for her here, either. In fact, there is a pleasure of sexual gratification for her anywhere in the film.

She follows Tancredi to Asbury Park. (There were gasps from women in the audience as she broke into his hotel room. "She's brave!" someone whispered. "She's crazy!" someone else said.) But although she discovers a little black book full of unreadable script, Christine only manages to steal one of Tancredi's porn magazines.

Christine fantasizes herself the sexual object (instead of because) she has struggled to become) of a pornographic film. In it, she poses on a bed very like that in the hotel room, stolen magazine and all, and offers herself to Tancredi. But first, she tells him, he must give her something. He reaches into his pockets and pulls out the black book—the apparent key to Tancredi's illicit activities, but also (in their apparent indecipherability) an explicit acknowledgement of the connection between the manipulation of language and male power.

One of my companions said she thought "Variety" hated men, that in it we seemed almost another species. And it's true—once the camera is turned on male activity in such a manner, that activity is (at least briefly) startlingly objectified; men might be baboons.

But "Variety" is an extremely heterosexual film—its characters, however they may regret it, desire men, seem to ask only equal footing with them. Although the film suggests that the dominant heterosexual paradigm is more the by-product of our system of economic relations than natural, the transsexual possibilities other than heterosexual practice are not examined. The film chooses to limit itself to an exploration of the limits of the heterosexual. But those limits, it shows, however problematic, are alterable.

At first "Variety's" ending seems a lousy trick; I changed my mind. Perhaps it's as indicative of our bleak prospects as of our possibilities. Or it may only be a kind of bluff-calling, an acknowledgement by its makers that the film can only take us so far, to a certain stage in struggle whose difficulties we are only beginning to really understand. It's an important film and deserving of wide viewing and discussion. Urge your video shop to procure a copy.

ADDITIONAL READING

"Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality," edited by Carolyn Vance, Routledge and Paul, 1984.

"Keywords," by Raymond Williams, Oxford University Press, 1976.

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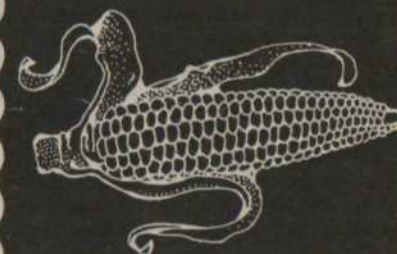


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Theatre

Chicago Drama Fest Thrilling

by Rachelle Urlist



A scene from the Renaissance Theatre Company of Great Britain's production of "A Midsummer Night's Dream."

The International Theatre Festival of Chicago is in its fourth year, and this year's schedule, running from May 22 to July 1, boasted 16 productions from 10 countries. On a recent weekend, I was able to see four, and what follows are brief impressions.

The festival's highlight was, without doubt, the Renaissance Theatre Company of England. Sprung full blown three years ago from the mind of young Kenneth Branagh (29 years old), the troupe has been playing packed houses both at home and abroad. Branagh's recent film success as adapter, director, and title player in Henry V has made him a matinee idol, and the results include sell-out houses for its current tour of "King Lear" and "Midsummer Night's Dream."

The thrill of this Lear is that Shakespeare's text takes center stage. Director Branagh does not engage in the fashionable trend that favors distracting flourishes, and he allows the enchanting Richard Briars to command the audience with a Lear pared down to human dimensions. Briars charms his audience from the moment he speaks his first words, and one marvels not only at the versatility of these actors, but at the play's infinite possibilities.

While Lear can range from a figure of mythic proportions to a child-like figure in his dotage, possibilities for the fool are infinite. In an intriguing conception, the fool is played here by Emma Thompson (Branagh's wife) as a crippled, asexual, humpbacked, ghost-like creature. Her face is powdered white, dark rings encircle her eyes, and she speaks with a hollow sound several registers lower than her natural voice. Much of her dialogue is sung, and the only frustration lies in the clear sense that behind these atonal, hollow strains lies a lovely singing voice.

Emma Thompson and Richard Briars again steal the show in "Midsummer Night's Dream" as Helena and Bottom, respectively. Thompson is a star among stars; she has that quality of inspired playfulness that can turn a simple line or even a word into a comic event. Briars' magnetism is accompanied by a mischievous twinkle that communicates itself to every corner of the house. In one of the funniest renditions I have ever seen of the play within the play, (Pyramis and Thisbe) the rude mechanicals take us into the 1930s, in satin tuxedos and a background of ragtime piano, and they bring the house down with a musical finale that left hardly a dry eye, so potent was the laughter. Through it all, Kenneth Branagh mocked his own directorship and newly found fame by playing a self-important Peter Quince, director of the mechanicals' play.

And yet, all was not perfect. Branagh is said to have paired "Lear" and "Dream" because the comedy would fortify the company for the tragedy during a long and potentially draining run. He is said to have chosen "Dream" because he thought its darker side would complement "Lear." Unfortunately, his interpretation of the play's dark side is rendered quite literally, with the stage only dimly lit through all of the faery scenes. The result is tedium, abetted by the insufferably frisky Puck played by the lithe and limber young actress who

prances about and coos to no particular purpose other than superfluous color. The dialogue in these scenes is lost, and one sits and wishes for the funny mechanicals to hurry back. Similarly, in "Lear," when Branagh chooses not to rely on the script, his struggle for effect ends up obscuring the text. In a technically interesting 10 minutes, there is rain on stage for the scene where the tempest in Lear's mind competes—unsuccessfully—with the storm on the heath. Let it be clear, however, that despite these disturbances, these are thrilling productions.

The Northlight Theatre in Evanston was host to "Born in the RSA (Republic of South Africa)." Barney Simon, artistic director of the Market Theatre of Johannesburg, resurrects the show he developed (with the original Market Theatre cast) with a new, international cast of actors. The show is a compilation of testimonies by his countrymen, both Black and white. It is a moving statement that forms another link in the developing theatre of protest in South Africa. These political shows are not, strictly speaking, true theatre. They are a kind of newsreel, a stage documentary. In a place where everyday life trivializes what normally passes as drama, scenes from real life challenge audacity of fiction to tell South Africa's tale. True stories are translated into declamatory, evocative speeches which stand as withering testimony to the tragedy of real life. The performances are astonishing.

Finally, in the Josephine Louis Theatre of Northwestern University's campus, the Cameri Theatre of Tel Aviv presented "Shira," an adaptation of a novel by Nobel-prize winner, Joseph Agnon. "Shira" is the story of a brilliant but stymied University professor who suffers from writer's block. Desperate for a muse, he has an affair with his wife's nurse while his wife recovers from childbirth. The nurse, Shira (the Hebrew word for "poetry;" a name whose popular English equivalent is, probably, "Joy"), has an inexplicable hold on the professor, and the affair continues intermittently for years. When Shira disappears, the professor pines until he finds her in a leper colony. The final scene closes on their last embrace, an intimacy that seals the professor's doom.

The play, like the novel, is a dream-like series of symbols. It is nothing if not evocative. For that reason, seeing this play is a bit like visiting a fond, old relative. Unless one has some close association to the object of the visit, the time spent there will be boring. I loved my visit. Judging by the number of seats left empty after intermission, others did not. To hear the familiar strains of Hebrew, to see familiar manners and gestures, to hear replayed such fond, familiar songs, advice, debate, and anguish, was balm to my soul. The performers were marvelous, particularly the dashing Ilan Dar, the 53 year-old star. It is unfortunate that Adapter/Director Yoram Falk never came to grips with the fact that the novel was never finished, and that it was published posthumously with two endings. The play, too, seems unfinished. It simply stops. In spite of that, I found the evening enthralling. But visitors should beware. This play, like a private joke, is not for all.

"The Memorandum" Unsettling

by Lyn Coffin

This is the Year of Eastern Europe. To go and see the first performance of a Vaclav Havel play thus becomes a civic duty as well as an aesthetic pleasure. The Memorandum—Havel's Obie Award-winning 1966 comedy—at The Performance Network, 408 West Washington through July 8—is talky and repetitive, as Havel's plays tend and intend to be. Indeed, the mechanization of dramatic forms possibly constitutes the primary aesthetic. "The Memorandum" is impossible to categorize—too absurd to be strictly allegorical, too allegorical to be strictly absurdist. There is little here of psychology, little of miracle, mystery, or authority. There is a trivial mythos, a minimalist ethos, a rudimentary dianoia. The play sets out not to edify, but to confuse and unsettle us. And in that it succeeds.

"The Memorandum" chronicles the Catch-22 dilemma of a director of a large organization. The play begins with Director Gross reading aloud from a "very important" office memorandum which both looks and sounds like "a hodgepodge of entirely haphazard groups of letters." It turns out that the memo is written in a new and unabashedly artificial "office language" which is being introduced into the organization. In order to know how his department is doing, Director Gross needs to un-



PHOTO: KRISSY GOODMAN

Jeff Seaholtz as Mr. Gross

In his plays and in his politics, Havel attempts to introduce a new model of behavior. In "Disturbing the Peace," Havel warns "[D]on't get involved in diffuse general ideological polemics... fight 'only' for concrete causes."

derstand the memo. In order to understand the memo, he needs to have it translated. To have it translated, he needs an authorization. To get an authorization, he requires documents. To get the necessary documents, it must be clear that his department has "passed" the audit. In order to know whether his department has "passed" the audit, and so on.

In his plays and in his politics, Havel attempts to introduce a new model of behavior. In "Disturbing the Peace," Havel warns "[D]on't get involved in diffuse general ideological polemics... fight 'only' for concrete causes." Gross is the main character of this absurdist allegory, but he is certainly not the hero. This becomes clear by the time of his final speech, when, as Havel explains, Gross "defends his own moral degradation by appealing to the general absurdity of the world and to alienation, which he expresses in the...jargon of existentialism."

The character called Maria runs through this play as a mouse through a castle. She is a creature of small triumphs and flourishes—a Frodo, if you will. In a tribute to Havel, Miroslav Cervenka wrote of "nehy a troufalosti"—tenderness and daring, and Maria exemplifies these twin Havelian goodnesses.

The point of The Memorandum is the point of Havel's political and theatrical oeuvre: "Man must...come to his senses (and) extricate himself from this terrible involvement in both the obvious and the hidden mechanisms of totality, from consumption to repression.... He must rebel against his role as a helpless cog in the gigantic... machinery...." ("Disturbing the Peace").

Cliché is cliché, as Havel has said and as no one can deny. All general statements are false, including this one. An anti-snob is the worst snob of all. Maria suggests the possibility of salvation, precisely because she is not thinking in any such terms. Maria is not grand enough to be "good" in

any metaphysical sense. Her credo, if expressed, which it couldn't be, might be something like this: "Work hard. Be helpful. Try not to lose your job."

Maria is the "gofer" of the organization. She gets the onions, she gets the limes, she provides the pseudo-climax of "The Memorandum" by going out on a limb because Gross's speech about making a "new and quite different beginning" has moved her. But the title memorandum is a non-communication which effects a non-change. The real climax of the play comes moments later when Maria "shyly bursts out" and says "I like you" to a Gross who has already dismissed her from his mind. "I like you" is the true climax of "The Memorandum" because it is the only time in the play that language serves to express an honest human connectedness. Tenderness and daring.

All the more discouraging is the play's end, therefore. Maria has been fired by Mr. Ballas because she translated the memo for Gross. She appeals to Gross. In the final speech (it amounts to a monologue) mentioned above, Gross categorically and self-righteously refuses Maria's request that he "perhaps at least put in a kind word" on her behalf. His final words outpace Pilate: "Chin up, my girl! Keep smiling! I know it is absurd, dear Maria, but I must

go and have lunch. So goodbye! Be good!" At this point, all of the actors, minus Maria, merge with each other and the audience. They all look at Maria.

And Maria responds, "Nobody ever talked to me so nicely before." She leaves happy. The snake of empty language has mesmerized the bird of hope. We should not be surprised. In Maria's one attempt at a speech, she fares little better than anyone else: "If your conscience is clear, you've nothing to worry about. Your innocence will be proved, but you have to fight for it. I believe that if one doesn't give way, truth must always come out in the end."

It is in a host of "minor" and "unimportant" details that "The Memorandum" shines, and these are brought into high relief in the current production thanks to the witty and energetic direction of Rick Sperling, a theatrical wunderkind who, like Maria, is "all grown up now," and a cast and crew whose efforts generally range somewhere between competent and outstanding. I particularly valued Kathy Kinsell's portrayal of Maria. She "translated" the infamous memo, for example, with mounting excitement and breathlessness which worked beautifully, right down to the "signature illegible."

Much of the fun of the play comes, of course, from Ptydepe, the artificial language Havel invented—along lines suggested to him by his brother Ivan, a mathematician. But only a fool or an angel would venture walking those particular waters.

Thanks to a host of genuinely funny "small touches," we leave the theatre feeling something of a cross between the innocent, gullible, smiling Maria, and the funereal others, on their lock-step way to "do" lunch. And what is there, after all, to say except (in the words of another Eastern European "dissident" writer) "Another day is coming. Do what you can."



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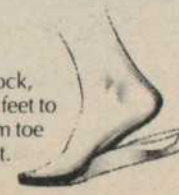
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(from page one)

Picture, then, Wiesel flying again to Israel on the second day of the 1967 war convinced, not that Israel would win, but that Israel would be defeated. As a survivor of the death camps, Wiesel felt he had to be where the Jewish people were coming to an end; that was his feeling, that Israel would lose and be destroyed. Yet, and this again is where Holocaust theology is given birth, a miracle happens. Israel is not defeated, but wins a fantastic, miraculous victory—and this is how he describes it—"which becomes a sign, a portent of redemption."

But also in Wiesel, in Eichmann, and in the '67 war there's a sense of isolation, there's a sense of being alone against the world, and so even this miraculous victory reinforces the sense of the Jewish people being alone and persecuted throughout the world. The taking of Jerusalem in '67 must be recognized as a central part of this new theology, a collective awakening of the Jewish people, and it puts front and center the place of Israel. In 1967, Israel becomes the central focus of the Jewish community around the world.

And you have the example of the great Jewish theologian Abraham Joshua Heschel, who comes from a long line of Hasidic masters, who as a social activist in the U.S. marched with Martin Luther King and marched against the war in Vietnam. When he approaches the Western Wall, he cries and says "I have not known how deeply Jewish I was." What I'm describing is the birth of the theology which replaces rabbinic theology and puts front and center the Holocaust and the state of Israel. You cannot understand the Jewish community in the U.S., Europe, and even in Israel today without understanding the birth of Holocaust theology which changed everything in the Jewish community.

So, by the 1970s a theology has been born which has two dialectical tensions at its core: suffering and empowerment. "Never again will we suffer; we need to be empowered as a people." And the other part of that dialectical tension is the sense of innocence, Jews as innocent on the portent of redemption. So we have suffering and empowerment, innocence and redemption, but something shadows that suffering and empowerment, that innocence and redemption. If you read Holocaust theology in the 1970s, especially Wiesel and Fackenheim, you see something that I call "the last stand" shadowing these dialectical tensions. That is, Israel has come into being because: Jews were persecuted, we are innocent as a people, we are on the threshold of redemption, but we are going to perish here. You cannot understand Holocaust theology without understanding that the Holocaust is not only an historical event, it is a possible future.

There is in the 1960s and '70s no mention of occupation, no mention of expansionism, no mention of the history of Israel vis-a-vis the Palestinian people. It is a great moment in Jewish history. It is our moment. The Palestinians do not exist.

From 1974-1988, it is Rabbi Irving Greenberg who charts the second and last phase of Holocaust theology. Summing up the contributions of Wiesel and Fackenheim and also attempting to guide this theology through the second decade of occupation, the Lebanese war, the Pollard spy case, and through the Palestinian uprising, he adds a third dialectical tension to Holocaust theology, a tension between specialness and normalization.

Specialness means Jews are special people. It means we need to have a special kind of ethics, but also that we are going through a very difficult process of normalization where we begin to do things more and more like other peoples and nations. That is, when we assume power (and Greenberg at least admits that we do) we are going to do things which are immoral, some of which are questionable, some of which are very difficult. But this is the process of growing up, becoming more normal. So, Greenberg can say quite clearly that though the Jewish prophetic tradition was born when we were powerless, it becomes a danger if it's continued when we are powerful. Any criticism of Israel which endangers the empowerment of Israel is the unpardonable sin. It is, as he and others have said, that sin for which one can be excommunicated from the Jewish community.

So Greenberg, in a sense, sees the end of the prophetic tradition with the normalization of the Jewish people. But still you find a profound innocence in him about the founding nature of the state, and even about the policies of the state of Israel. He admits, though, that we have power. Wiesel and Fackenheim were formed in our Holocaust situation. They come from that world. That's where they are focused. They believe in Jewish empowerment, but Greenberg takes it seriously. But still he is profoundly innocent. We could say that Wiesel and Fackenheim, and Holocaust theology in general tells us as Jews who we were. It does not tell us we have become powerful and too often oppressive. When Greenberg published "The Ethics of Jewish Power" in March 1988, it was the end of Holocaust theology as we know it.

The Tradition of Dissent

I want to suggest that there are three traditions which have been repressed and suppressed in Holocaust theology which need to be brought back to life in order to birth a new theology. The first is the tradition of dissent. From the beginning of Zionism, up to and including the Palestinian uprising, there have been Jews who have dissented from mainline Zionism. But Holocaust theology tells us nothing about that tradition.

Let me mention some groups who have dissented. One would be the Cultural Zionists: Judah Magnes, Martin Buber, Hannah Arendt. Some of the most famous Jews of the twentieth century who believed in a new and augmented Jewish community in Palestine were Zionists, but they believed in a Jewish homeland, not a Jewish state. Buber, Magnes, and Arendt spent their lives arguing against the erection of a Jewish state. Why? Because it would, forever in their view, pit us over and against Palestinians, and it would also create a structure of domination within the Jewish community. This for them was to be a new experiment without domination on another people or ourselves.

Now we have to state quite frankly that Buber, Magnes, Arendt, being Western, were imperialists. There's no question about it. They looked upon Arabs, as they were called then, as lesser than Western,

and he arrived at the roundup point for deportation dressed in prayer shawl and kaffiyeh as a form of resistance. Now after the Holocaust, this liturgy of destruction has assumed a public nature. For instance, the Bitburg affair: remember in '85 when Reagan went to Bitburg, and Wiesel spoke to Reagan on national television? That wasn't so much a speech as a liturgy of our destruction.

The liturgy of destruction, and even the collapse of the Berlin Wall—if you saw Elie Wiesel's op-ed piece in The New York Times titled "I'm Afraid of What's Behind the Wall"—all of it is interpreted in terms of our suffering. Yet from the beginning of Zionism and especially with the creation of Israel in 1947-1948 until the present, there has also been the recognition that this liturgy of destruction has taken on a new aspect. That is, Jews have understood from the beginning that the Jewish liturgy of destruction now includes another

people, a people Jews have attempted to destroy—the Palestinian people. If you look at just two works by

Is Anti-Zionism Anti-Semitism?

Any criticism of Israel which endangers the empowerment of Israel is the unpardonable sin. It is...that sin for which one can be excommunicated from the Jewish community.

in need of help, and felt that Jews would help Arabs come into the modern world. (By the way, this is how they elicited a lot of Western Christian support, too.) But, they also believed that the Jewish community in Palestine would not survive and would not fulfill its mission unless there was absolute equality with Arabs. We have forgotten this tradition. We don't know this tradition. It is not taught to us.

Another aspect of this is the non-Zionist and anti-Zionist tradition. Now let me just take three groups here. Reformed Judaism was formed in the 19th century explicitly denying that Jews were a nation. We were to be in the nations we lived in and were to take our prophetic ideals and contribute them to the societies that we lived in. Reform Jews believed in liberal democracy. They were very optimistic about the world. If there was to be a Jewish revival in Palestine, it was okay with the Reform Jews, but it had to do with culture and language, not politics and power. Orthodox Judaism formed in the 19th century as well. It did not have a concept of statehood, but rather of synagogue, prayer, and an attachment to the land. Yes, statehood in prayer, sometimes in visitation, but to await the messiah.

The Jewish left was universalist, not nationalist. They were against colonialism and imperialism and many of the Jewish left felt that the erection of the state of Israel would be nationalist. People like Noam Chomsky and Roberta Strauss Feurlicht would be an example of that. So we have the non-Zionists and anti-Zionists, and if you look at the history of Reformed Judaism, Orthodox Judaism, and the Jewish left, there were pitched battles over the acceptance of Zionism. And, of course, we know that Zionism won.

I want to just mention two other groups who protested and dissented. One is Jewish feminists. There's a chapter in Judith Plasow's new book "Standing Against Sinai" (reprinted in a book that I'm editing by Rosemary Radford Reuther), which has a very interesting discussion about the patriarchal quality of Israeli life and how that separates male and female Jewish Israelis, but also how that separates Jewish-Israeli women and Palestinian women. The second group is the Oriental Jews, who make up the majority of Jews in Israel. A title of a recent article, for instance, is "The Ashkenazi-Palestinian War." They didn't say Israeli-Palestinian, basically seeing it as the Europeans against the Arabs. Some believe that Israel keeps up this warfare with Palestinians in order to keep Jews of Arab background down in Israel.

The tradition of dissent has been a brutal, bloody battle within the Jewish community. You've even seen some signs today—a bomb threat—which show that they continue. And while the dissenters may take pride in dissenting, it is important to know that they have lost every battle with Israeli state power. If we're going to continue a tradition of dissent and not be satisfied with just "I'm a prophetic Jew," we're going to have to understand what that tradition gives us and what we need to do to make it effective in other cases.

The Tradition of the Inclusive Liturgy of Destruction

The second tradition is what I call "the inclusive liturgy of destruction." David Roskies has written a fascinating book titled, "Against the Apocalypse: Jewish Responses to Catastrophe" about the experience of Jews in the ghettos of Eastern Europe where he sees Jewish writers and artists really creating a liturgy. The Holocaust becomes a liturgy, where in a time of great crisis, these Jewish writers and activists and thinkers recover the symbols of our peoplehood. For instance, paintings and writings talking about the destruction of the temple, or our exile from Spain, act as symbols in that time of crisis. It was a way of saying to the Nazis "we started long before you, and our people will live after you, even if you kill us." So that at this time of great crisis Jews began to recover the symbols of their own past in order to form a resistance against those who seemed to be triumphing.

The example that moves me the most is Hillel Zeitlin, a modern religious existentialist in the Warsaw ghetto, who began translating the Psalms into Yiddish; and when his ghetto tenement was blockad-

Jewish Israelis on the origins of the state of Israel—first Benny Morris', "The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem 1947-1949," and second Tom Segev's book "1949: The First Israel"—you have eyewitness accounts of Palestinians being driven out of their homes by Jewish soldiers, recalling the destruction of the temple, the exile from Spain, the dispersion, and the most startling, the experience of Jews under Nazi persecution.

Now I want to spend some time on this constant reference to the Nazis in Jewish-Israeli literature. I didn't say Palestinian literature, I said Jewish-Israeli literature. For example, at the gate of *Yad-VaShem*, the Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem, a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto and Buchenwald staged a hunger strike against Begin's policy in Lebanon, after his son—a paratrooper—was killed there. He said, "When I was a child of 10 and was liberated from the concentration camp, I thought that we would never suffer again. I did not dream that we would cause suffering to others. Today we are doing just that. The Germans in Buchenwald starved us to death. Today in Jerusalem I starve myself and this hunger of mine is no less horrific. When I hear 'filthy Arabs,' I remember 'filthy Jews.' I see Beirut, and I remember Warsaw."

During the Palestinian uprising, these references are scattered all through Jewish-Israeli literature. I'll recall three newspaper articles published in the Jewish press written by Jewish Israelis. The first is a story right after the uprising, when a local company commander was told to take 12 Palestinians out away from their village and to beat them with clubs, to break their arms and legs, but to leave one with his legs unbroken so he could go back to the village as a warning as to what might happen to others if they continue the uprising. He said, "I can do it only if it's in a written order." He got the written order. They went. They took the 12 Palestinians out to a wooded area and beat them with wooden clubs so hard that the clubs were broken. The title of the article written by a Jewish Israeli in the Jewish-Israeli press was "The Night of the Broken Clubs." The Night of Shattered Glass, The Night of the Broken Clubs.

Another story: Dr. Marcus Levin was called down to position Anzar 2, an Israeli concentration camp. He arrives and asks "What am I to do?" Another doctor says "You examine patients before and after their interrogation." He said "After their interrogation?" "Yes," the other doctor said. "Yesterday, for instance, a 12-year-old Palestinian boy after the interrogation had two broken legs." Levin looked at him and said "Excuse me, my name is Marcus Levin not Joseph Mengele, and I refuse to do such things." So, he had to go to the commander and he said to the commander, "My name is Marcus Levin not Joseph Mengele and I refuse to do such things," and another doctor said, "At first you feel like Mengele, but after a while, you get used to it." The title of the article, written by a Jewish Israeli was "You Will Get Used to Being a Mengele."

One last story. After the 1967 war, there was a secret unit which was to encourage the transfer of Palestinians by setting up a part of Paraguay where they would pay certain Palestinians to go and then hope their families would come over, and the unit would finance the whole operation. There were several important people on that unit: Abba Eban, the great Jewish liberal was one of them (he was foreign minister at the time), Ariel Sharon (who was the deputy prime minister) and Menachem Begin (who was later to become prime minister). The title of the article which was just published in a Jewish-Israeli newspaper by a Jewish Israeli was titled "A Final Solution of the Palestinian Problem."

Now what do these Nazi analogies mean? I kept reading them. I was accused of making them. This is the one thing that a Jew should never do. What is being said here? And please listen because people always think I'm saying something else. This is not a comparison between Israelis and Nazis (although some of the policies are comparable). It is not an attempt to delegitimize the state of Israel (although it does attempt to delegitimize those policies which bring destruction and death.) What is it then? It's an intuitive link. It is a recognition that what we suffered we are now causing. It's an intuitive understanding that Jewish power is attempting to destroy a people, just like those who in times past attempted to destroy us. Intuitively, we understand this. It's an intuitive link between our suffering and Palestinian suffering, but it's also an intuitive desire to be neither victim nor oppressor.

End of Part I. Marc Ellis is a faculty member at New York's Maryknoll College of Theology. His speech was sponsored by the Palestine Solidarity Committee and the U-M Office of Ethics and Religion.

CALENDAR

To publicize August Calendar events, send formatted listings by Sunday, July 15 to AGENDA, 202 E. Washington #512, Ann Arbor, MI 48104, (996-8018). Listings for more than five events must be sent to AGENDA on Macintosh disc (with SASE).

FORMAT—Date, event, sponsor, time and place. One or two sentence description, fee, phone number.

Unless otherwise noted, all events listed in the CALENDAR are free and open to the public. All locations are in Ann Arbor unless otherwise noted.

1 Sunday

Fourth Annual Summer Raffle: Humane Society of Huron Valley 9 am to 5 pm, 3100 Cherry Hill Rd. Tickets now on sale for the August 31st drawing. Grand prize is \$500 cash. Tickets available at the Humane Society of Huron Valley and at various retail stores, fairs, and festivals in the area, \$1/\$5 for six. 662-5545

World Peace and Healing Gathering: Rainbow Family thru 7 Sun., Barker Lake, Lutsen, Minnesota. The Rainbow Family embodies those who believe we are all sisters and brothers who seek to love and serve one another and the earth in the cathedral of nature. 761-4243

Student Art: Arts & Programming thru 23 Mon., Art Lounge, Mich. Union. Display of the work of several U-M student members of the Ann Arbor Artist's Co-op. 764-6498

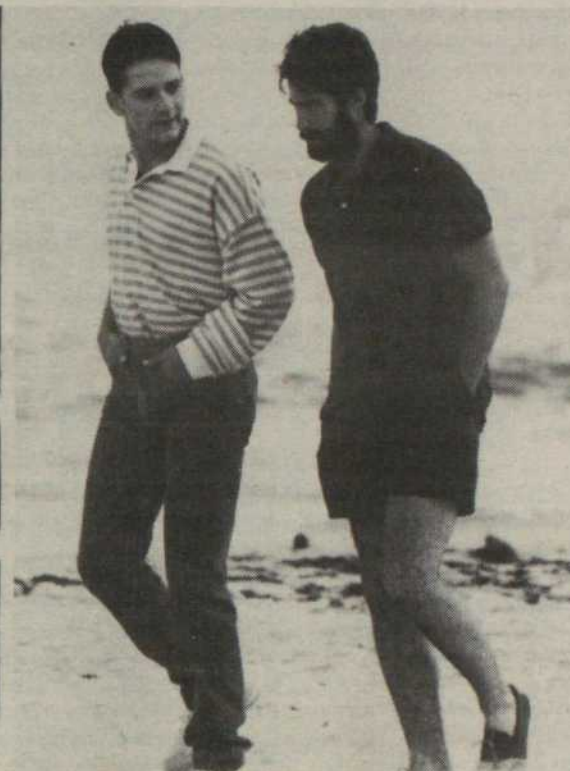
Photo Contest: Borders Book Shop turn photographs in at Borders, The A2 News, or any A2 Public Library thru Sept. 13. The contest's theme is "Ann Arbor Reading" honoring International Literacy Year. Photos may be old or new, 5" by 7" to 11" by 14". Categories are adult b&w, adult color, young photographer (18 and under) b&w, and young photographer color. 668-7652

"Alice in Wonderland": A2 Summer Festival 2 pm, Power Center. This rollicking adaptation of Lewis Carroll's classic also offers sign language interpreting and audio-description for hearing and visually impaired audience members, \$5/\$3 children. 763-TKTS

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 4 pm, Argo Canoe Livery, 1055 Longshore Dr. Rowing program for the mobility impaired. Specialized aides available for those who use modified craft on the river. 437-5286

"Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down": Michigan Theater 5 & 9 pm, 603 E. Liberty. A satiric look at the battle between the sexes, \$4.50/\$3.50 stud, srs, & under 12. 668-8397

"The Memorandum": Performance Network 6:30 pm, 408 W. Washington. Obie-award winning comedy by Czechoslovakia's foremost playwright and newly elected President, Vaclav Havel, \$9/\$7 stud & seniors. 663-0681



Scenes from "Longtime Companion," which begins its run at the Michigan Theater with a 7 pm benefit screening for Wellness Networks on 20 Friday. (LEFT) On the phone with his lover, Howard (PATRICK CASSIDY) reads one of the first stories written about a strange new disease. (RIGHT) Willy (CAMPBELL SCOTT) and Fuzzy (STEPHEN CAFFREY) get to know each other.

"Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown": Michigan Theater 7 pm, 603 E. Liberty. Wild, hilarious film directed by Pedro Almodovar, \$4.50/\$3.50 stud, srs, and under 12. 668-8397

Lloyd Cole and Michael Penn: Prism Productions 7 pm, Clubland at the State Theater, 2111 Woodward, Detroit, \$15.50 advance. 665-6666

Women's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm, Blind Pig, 208 S. First, \$3. 996-8555

2 Monday

Rally and March: Homeless Action Committee 6:30 pm, A2 Inn, Huron at Fourth Ave. Rally to demand that City Council direct the DDA to help purchase and convert the Ann Arbor Inn into low-income housing. 936-3076

"Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown": Michigan Theater 7:15 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Gotta Dance!": A2 Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Center. A2's own Dance Gallery dancers perform works by homegrown and east coast choreographers, \$12/\$10/\$8. 763-TKTS

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation 8:45 pm, Canterbury House, 218 N. Division. 665-0606

"Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down": Michigan Theater 9:15 pm (see 1 Sun)

3 Tuesday

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 5 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Closets are for Clothes": Lesbian/Gay Radio Collective 6 pm, 88.3 FM, WCBN. Call-in talk show. 763-3501

Living with ARC and AIDS Support Group: Wellness Networks-Huron Valley 7 to 9 pm. For location: 572-WELL

"From Hawk to Peacemaker": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. The chaplain for the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bomber crews, Fr. George Zabelka, describes his profound conversion from hawk to dedicated peacemaker. 769-7422

"Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown": Michigan Theater 7:15 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down": Michigan Theater 9:15 pm (see 1 Sun)

4 Wednesday

Independence Day Celebration: Dept. of Parks & Rec. noon to 4 pm, Cobblestone Farm, 2781 Packard Rd. Festivities include period dancing

demonstrations, storytelling, and refreshments. Also farmhouse tours, \$1.50/.75 kids & seniors, and horse and wagon rides \$.75, 994-2928

"Annual 4th of July Extravaganza: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 1:30 to 3 pm, Fuller Park Swimming Pool, 1519 Fuller Rd. Celebrate the holiday with children's activities such as balloon toss, penny hunt, relays, buoy ball, and a parade, \$1.50/\$1.00 youth & seniors/\$3.50 family. 761-2460

"Top of the Park Jazz Festival": Southeastern Michigan Jazz Assoc. 6 pm, top of the Fletcher Street parking structure. Ragtime Charlie and Sister Kate will perform first. The Olivia Street Stompers will play at 7 pm. 484-3997.

"Womyn's Rites and Rhythms" 6 pm, 88.3 FM, WCBN. Weekly public affairs show focusing on womyn's issues. 763-3501

Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee (LASC) 8 pm, rm. # at info desk, Mich. Union. 665-8438

"Star-Spangled Brass": Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Ctr. River City Brass Band, a 27-member ensemble has grown to become the most active professional concert band in America. A special outdoor barbeque will precede the concert. Reserve \$12.50/\$5 BBQ tickets. 763-TKTS

5 Thursday

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 5 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Top of the Park Jazz Festival": Southeastern Michigan Jazz Assoc. 7 pm, Power Center. Cary Kocher will lead a quartet including pianist Rick Roe, bassist Kurt Krahnke and drummer Peter Siers. Vocalist Cynthia Dewberry will sing at 8 pm backed up by the Ron Brooks Trio. 484-3997

Meeting: AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP Ann Arbor) 7:30 pm, rm. # at info desk, Mich. Union. Meet with an organization of individuals united in the struggle against the inadequacies of the government and the health care system in responding to the AIDS crisis.

"Yaaba": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm, 603 E. Liberty. Cannes Film Festival winning tale of invincible love and the unique bond between the old and the young, \$4.50/\$3.50 stud, srs, and under 12. 668-8397

"The Memorandum": Performance Network 8 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down": Michigan Theater 9:15 pm (see 1 Sun)

6 Friday

"From Hawk to Peacemaker": Peace InSight 6:05 pm (see 3 Tue)

"Top of the Park Jazz Festival": Southeastern Michigan Jazz Assoc. 7 pm. With vocalist Fiona Duncan, then the Lunar Octet. (see 4 Wed)

"Yaaba": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm (see 5 Thur)

Gay Men's Coffee House: Brothers 8 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. 763-4186

"The Memorandum": Performance Network 8 pm (see 1 Sun)

Dorothy Donegan: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Ctr. The world's leading female piano personality, \$17/\$14/\$11. 763-TKTS

"Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down": Michigan Theater 9:15 & 11:15 pm (see 1 Sun)

Dance Jam: People Dancing 10 pm, People Dancing Studio, 111 Third St. An alternative to the bar scene for people who love to dance. Highly varied recorded dance music. Occasional live percussion. Feel free to bring own music. Smoke- and alcohol-free. Children welcome, \$2. 996-2405

7 Saturday

Youth Fishing Clinic: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 9 am, Gallup Park Livery, 3000 Fuller Rd. Ages 7 to 14. An introduction to fishing equipment and basic fishing techniques. Rod and reel are included with registration. Registration is limited. 668-7411

"Top of the Park Jazz Festival": Southeastern Michigan Jazz Asso. 7 pm (see 4 July). The Andy Dahlke

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Quartet will start things off at 7 pm. Acoustic Blue will conclude the festival with their set beginning at 8 pm. 484-3997

"Yaaba": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm (see 5 Thur)

"The Memorandum": Performance Network 8 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down": Michigan Theater 9:15 & 11:15 pm (see 1 Sun)

8 Sunday

10th Annual Huron River Day: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 8:30 am to 4:30 pm, Gallup Park, 3000 Fuller Rd. Events include: children's games, environmental displays, canoe lessons, tree clinic, a 1.5 mile and 5K Fun Run, youth fishing derby, and canoe races including races for the specially abled and music. 994-2780

Pilobolus: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 2 pm, Power Center. Special dance program for young people by a troupe that stretches the boundaries of dance as they stretch themselves into seemingly impossible shapes, \$10/\$5 children. 763-TKTS

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 4 pm (see 1 Sun)

"The Memorandum": Performance Network 6:30 pm (see 1 Sun)

Peter Murphy: Prism 7 pm, Clubland at the State Theater, 2111 Woodward, Detroit. Back by popular demand, \$17.50 advance. 665-6666

"The Nevada Nuclear Weapons Test Site: American Peace Test Action, Spring 1990": WAND 7:30 pm, St. Aidan's/Northside Church, 1679 Broadway. Videotape of the nonviolent resistance (over 1100 arrests) at the Nevada Test Site in April, plus a panel of WAND members who participated. 761-1718

"Yaaba": Michigan Theater 7 pm (see 5 Thur)

Women's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm (see 1 Sun)

Pilobolus: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Ctr. Astounding melange of modern dance, acrobatics and theater, \$20/\$17/\$14. 763-TKTS

"Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down": Michigan Theater 8:50 pm (see 1 Sun)

9 Monday

"Yaaba": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm (see 5 Thur)

Pilobolus: A2 Summer Festival 8 pm (see 8 Sun)

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Lib 8:45 pm (see 2 Mon)

"Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down": Michigan Theater 9:15 pm (see 1 Sun)

10 Tuesday

August Issue Deadline for News & Feature Stories: AGENDA 5 pm, 202 E. Washington #512, 48104. 996-8018

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 5 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Closets are for Clothes": Lesbian/Gay Radio Collective 6 pm (see 3 Tue)

Living with ARC and AIDS Support Group: Wellness Networks-Huron Valley 7 to 9 pm (see 3 Tue)

"Second Anniversary Sampler": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Clips from some of the best Peace InSight shows since the premiere in July '88. 769-7422

Meeting: Amnesty International Group 61 7:30 pm, Mich. Union, check at desk for room. Activities to protect human rights and free prisoners of conscience. 761-1628

"Yaaba": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm (see 5 Thur)

Peter Yarrow: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Center. Ex-

Peter, Paul and Mary member and dedicated activist Peter Yarrow will perform, \$18/\$15/\$12. 763-TKTS

"Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down": Michigan Theater 9:15 pm (see 1 Sun)

11 Wednesday

"Wet'n'Wild Wednesday": Dept. of Parks & Rec. 2 pm, Buhr Park Swimming Pool, 2751 Packard Rd. The first of a series of crazy Weds. at Buhr Pool which will include a jello pit, & water balloon launch contest, \$1.50/\$1.00 youth & seniors. 971-3228

"Womyn's Rites and Rhythms" 6 pm (see 4 Wed)

"A Cathedral for Managua? A Dialogue on Nicaragua's Needs": Interfaith Council for Peace and Justice 7:30 pm, Newman Lounge, St. Mary's Student Ctr, 311 Thompson. Guest panelists explain their reactions to the Managua Cathedral Fund, based on their recent experiences in Nicaragua with religious leaders and parishioners. 663-1870

The Dead Milkmen: Prism 7:30 pm, State Theater, 404 S. Burdick, Kalamazoo. All ages, \$10.50 in advance. 665-6666

"Yaaba": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm (see 5 Thur)

Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee (LASC) 8 pm (see 4 Wed)

Virtuoso Organ Series: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 9 pm, First Cong. Church, 608 E. William. Music in honor of the great French composer, Cesar Franck, \$10. 763-TKTS

"Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down": Michigan Theater 9:15 pm (see 1 Sun)

12 Thursday

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 5 pm (see 1 Sun)

"My Left Foot": Michigan Theater 7:15 pm, 603 E. Liberty, \$4.50/\$3.50 stud, srs, and under 12. 668-8397

Meeting: Bread for the World 7:30 pm, Memorial Christian Church, 730 Tappan. Discussion of international and domestic hunger issues, legislative updates and planning of Fall events. 487-9058

Meeting: AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP Ann Arbor) 7:30 pm (see 5 Thur)

"What Fresh Hell Is This?": Performance Network 8 pm, 408 W. Washington. Starring Anne M. Stoll, Arwulf Arwulf, Sasha Moscovit and others, \$9/\$7 stud & seniors. 663-0681

"The Anastasia Game": A2 Summer Festival 8 pm, Lydia Mendelssohn Theater. Exciting new "chamber musical" based on the mysterious story of Anastasia, daughter of the last Russian czar, \$15/\$12. 763-TKTS

"Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down": Michigan Theater 9:15 pm (see 1 Sun)

13 Friday

Meeting: Alliance for U-M Campus Childcare noon, rm. # at info. desk, Mich. Union. 763-2047

Meeting: ICPJ Disarmament Working Group noon (brown bag), ICPJ office, Memorial Christian Church, Tappan/Hill. Topic: Jan. 1991 United Nations Nuclear Test Ban Conference. 663-1870

"Second Anniversary Sampler": Peace InSight 6:05 pm (see 10 Tue)

"Krishna Murti: With a Silent Mind": Michigan Theater 6:45 pm, 603 E. Liberty. The 2nd film on Krishnamurti's life by M. Mendizza. "It is only the silent mind, the mind that is free, that can come upon that which is beyond time," \$4.50/\$3.50 stud, srs and under 12. 668-8397

"What Fresh Hell Is This?": Performance Network 8 pm (see 12 Thu)

"The Anastasia Game": Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm (see 12 Thu)

"My Left Foot": Michigan Theater 8:45 pm (see 12 Thur)

Virtuoso Organ Series: Ann Arbor Summer Festival 9 pm, First Cong. Church, 608 E. William. This all-Bach recital will feature the renowned organist Dietrich Wagler, from Freiburg, E. Germany, \$5. 763-TKTS

"Adult Dip": Dept. of Parks & Rec. 9 pm, Buhr Park Pool, 2751 Packard Rd. A chance for adults only to swim laps, float, or exercise without the kids, \$1.50/\$1.00 seniors. 971-3228

"Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down": Michigan Theater 10:45 pm (see 1 Sun)

14 Saturday

Square Dance: St. Francis of Assisi Catholic Church 8 pm to 11:30 pm, St. Francis Church Parish Activities Ctr, 2150 Frieze Ave. Proceeds benefit Seasons '90 Young Adult Conference. Snacks provided, bring your own non-alcoholic beverages. Reserve, \$4. 662-3555

"The Anastasia Game": Ann Arbor Summer Festival 8 pm (see 12 Thu)

"What Fresh Hell Is This?": Performance Network 8 pm (see 12 Thu)

Little Anthony and The Shirelles: A2 Summer Festival 8 pm, Power Ctr. Two legends of the early Rock Era invite you back to the golden days of rock & roll, \$20/\$17/\$14. 763-TKTS

15 Sunday

"2nd Annual Summer Bash": WCBN-FM 88.3 1 to 7 pm, West Park Bandshell. Music by five bands including The Vole Beats and WDET disc jockey/blues guitarist Robert Jones. Refreshments will be sold. Money raised will benefit WCBN. 763-3500

"The Anastasia Game": Ann Arbor Summer Festival 2 pm, \$13/10. (see 12 Thu)

Meeting: Parents-FLAG/Ann Arbor 2 pm, King of Kings Lutheran Church, 2685 Packard. 763-4186

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We didn't call you? See the back page for your post-Phone-a-thon pledge form! Don't miss out on some great premiums!

4 pm, Ann Arbor Dog Training Club, 1575 E. N. Territorial Rd. Suggested don. \$2. 662-5585

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 4 pm (see 1 Sun)

August Issue Deadline for Calendar & Community Resource Directory: AGENDA by 5 pm, 202 E. Washington #512, 48104. 996-8018

"What Fresh Hell Is This?": Performance Network 6:30 pm (see 12 Thu)

"Yaaba": Michigan Theater 7 pm (see 5 Thur)

Women's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down": Michigan Theater 8:50 pm (see 1 Sun)

Dread Zeppelin: Prism 9 pm, St. Andrew's Hall, 431 E. Congress, Detroit. Where reggae shakes hands with Elvis and Led Zeppelin, \$7.50 advance. 665-6666

Virtuoso Organ Series: A2 Summer Festival 9 pm, First Cong. Church, 608 E. William. Robert Clark presents a special recital dedicated to the German composer Luebeck, \$5. 763-TKTS

16 Monday

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation 8:45 pm (see 2 Mon)

17 Tuesday

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 5 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Closets are for Clothes": Lesbian/Gay Radio Collective 6 pm (see 3 Tue)

Living with ARC and AIDS Support Group: Wellness Networks-Huron Valley 7 to 9 pm (see 3 Tue)

"Non-Violent Resistance": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. A2 panelists discuss their decisions to commit civil disobedience to resist U.S. militarism at Wurtsmith Air Force Base, Williams International, and the Nevada Test Site. 769-7422

Religious Coalition on Central America Meeting: Interfaith Council for Peace and Justice 7:30 pm, Curtis Room, 1st Presbyterian Church, 1432 Washtenaw. Topic: the campaign for a cathedral in Managua and the concern about much greater needs in Nicaragua. 663-1870

18 Wednesday

"Art Fair Oasis": Dept. of Parks & Rec. 1 to 4 pm, Kempf House, 312 S. Division. Victorian Art display, demonstrations of theorem painting and refreshments. Through 21 Sat. 996-3008

Free Short Films: Michigan Theater 1 to 6 pm, 603 E. Liberty. 668-8397

"Wet'n'Wild Wednesday": Dept. of Parks & Rec. 2 pm (see 11 Wed)

"Womyn's Rites and Rhythms" 6 pm (see 4 Wed)

Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee (LASC) 8 pm (see 4 Wed)

19 Thursday

"Art Fair Oasis": Dept. of Parks & Rec. 1 to 4 pm (see 18 Wed)

Paper Making Workshop: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 3:15 to 4:30 pm, Leslie Science Center, 1831 Traver Rd. Children 2 thru 4 will experience the unique art of paper making. Using recyclable materials, each child will make a sheet of paper to take home. Pre-registration is necessary, \$2. 662-7802

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 5 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Mini Adventure Trip Down the Huron River": Leslie Science Center 6 to 9 pm, Argoe Canoe Livery, 1055 Longshore Dr. This trip, departing from Argoe Canoe Livery, is for children 8 to 12 who are accompanied by an adult. Fee includes canoes, equipment, instruction and dinner. Register at City Hall, \$15/\$17 non-residents. 994-2780

Meeting: AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP Ann Arbor) 7:30 pm (see 5 Thur)

"What Fresh Hell Is This?": Performance Network 8 pm (see 12 Thu)

Savoy Brown: Club Heidelberg 10 pm, 215 N. Main, \$12.50. 994-3562

20 Friday

Meeting: Alliance for U-M Campus Childcare (UM-ACCC) noon (see 13 Fri)

Free Short Films: Michigan Theater 1 to 6 pm, 603 E. Liberty. 668-8397

"Art Fair Oasis": Dept. of Parks & Rec. 1 to 8 pm (see 18 Wed)

"Non-Violent Resistance": Peace InSight 6:05 pm (see 17 Tue)

"What Fresh Hell Is This?": Performance Network 8 pm (see 12 Thu)

"Longtime Companion": Michigan Theater 7 & 9 pm, 603 E. Liberty. (Tonight's 7 pm screening is an AIDS benefit.) This film's title derives from the euphemistic phrase often used in obituaries to describe the surviving lovers of those lost to AIDS. The story, about a group of friends, unfolds from the first mystifying reports of AIDS to the more-informed but equally uncertain present. The film is buoyed with humor and sensitive performances, (an American Playhouse production), \$4.50/\$3.50 stud, srs, and under 12. 668-8397

Gay Men's Coffee House: Brothers 8 pm (see 6 Fri)

Dance Jam: People Dancing 10 pm (see 6 Fri)

21 Saturday

"Art Fair Oasis": Dept. of Parks & Rec. 1 pm to 4 pm (see 18 Wed)

Free Short Films: Michigan Theater 1 to 6 pm, 603 E. Liberty. 668-8397

Rumored Arb Picnic: Rainbow Family 3 pm, Nichol's Arboretum. There will be no organized picnic in the Arb. It is possible that a number of people will take some food and percussion to the same spot as last year and that some circles, love and good vibes will be shared. 761-4243

"What Fresh Hell Is This?": Performance Network 8 pm (see 12 Thu)

"Longtime Companion": Michigan Theater 9:10 pm (see 20 Fri)

22 Sunday

"Celebration of Music": Dept. of Parks & Rec. noon to 4 pm, Cobblestone Farm, 2781 Packard Rd. A "Living History Day" focusing on music and dance of the mid-19th century, \$1.50/\$.75 children & seniors. 994-2928

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 4 pm (see 1 Sun)

"What Fresh Hell Is This?": Performance Network 6:30 pm (see 12 Thu)

Women's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Longtime Companion": Michigan Theater 8:30 pm (see 20 Fri)

23 Monday

"Longtime Companion": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm (see 20 Fri)

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation 8:45 pm (see 2 Mon)

24 Tuesday

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 5 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Closets are for Clothes": Lesbian/Gay Radio Collective 6 pm (see 3 Tue)

Living with ARC and AIDS Support Group: Wellness Networks-Huron Valley 7 to 9 pm (see 3 Tue)

"Peace Dividend Town Meeting": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Local experts and audience members debate where the peace dividend should be invested. 769-7422

"Longtime Companion": Michigan Theater 9:25 pm (see 20 Fri)

25 Wednesday

"Wet'n'Wild Wednesday": Dept. of Parks & Rec. 2 pm (see 11 Wed)

"Womyn's Rites and Rhythms" 6 pm (see 4 Wed)



"Longtime Companion": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm (see 20 Fri)

Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee (LASC) 8 pm (see 4 Wed)

26 Thursday

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 5 pm (see 1 Sun)

Meeting: AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP Ann Arbor) 7:30 pm (see 5 Thur)

"Dark Pony" & "Reunion": Performance Network 8 pm, 408 W. Washington. Bosco Productions presents two plays by David Mamet directed by Bj Wallingford, \$9/\$7 stud & seniors. 663-0681

"Longtime Companion": Michigan Theater 9:25 pm (see 20 Fri)

27 Friday

Meeting: Alliance for U-M Campus Childcare (UM-ACCC) noon (see 13 Fri)

"Peace Dividend Town Meeting": Peace InSight 6:05 pm (see 17 Tue)

"Longtime Companion": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm (see 24 Tue)

"Dark Pony" & "Reunion": Performance Network 8 pm (see 26 Thu)

"Adult Dip": Dept. of Parks & Rec. 9 pm (see 13 Fri)

28 Saturday

"Reveling on the River Music Series": Dept. of Parks & Rec. 6:30 pm, Gallup Park Livery, 3000 Fuller Rd. Music on the deck overlooking the Huron River. 662-9319

"Longtime Companion": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm (see 20 Fri)

"Dark Pony" & "Reunion": Performance Network 8 pm (see 26 Thu)

Nine Inch Nails: Prism 9 pm, St. Andrew's Hall, 431 E. Congress,

Detroit, \$13.50 in advance. 665-6666

29 Sunday

Third Annual Ann Arbor Summer Criterium: Dept. of Parks & Rec. Main Street. Series of 10 to 12 U.S. Cycling Federation-sanctioned bicycle races for USCF amateur racers and races for citizen participants. 994-2786

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 4 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Dark Pony" & "Reunion": Performance Network 6:30 pm (see 26 Thu)

"Longtime Companion": Michigan Theater 7:05 pm (see 20 Fri)

Women's Music: Gay Liberation 8 pm (see 1 Sun)

30 Monday

"Longtime Companion": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm (see 20 Fri)

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation 8:45 pm (see 2 Mon)

31 Tuesday

"Women's Art": Arts & Programming through August 23, Art Lounge, Mich. Union. Works by Nadine Epstein including pastel drawings, etchings, Japanese paint and enamel works. 764-6498

Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 5 pm (see 1 Sun)

"Closets are for Clothes": Lesbian/Gay Radio Collective 6 pm (see 3 Tue)

"Longtime Companion": Michigan Theater 7:30 pm (see 20 Fri)

Living with ARC and AIDS Support Group: Wellness Networks-Huron Valley 7 to 9 pm (see 3 Tue)

Rosier Players: Dept. of Parks & Rec. 7 pm, thru Aug. 4, Cobblestone Farm, 2781 Packard Rd. The Rosier Player Company is the longest running repertory show in America and the last of the old-time traveling tent shows. They even let you help raise the tent, \$3.50 adults/\$2 seniors/\$1.50 children. 994-2928

"Hiroshima, Never Again": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Last year's inspiring commemoration held at Gallup Park on Hiroshima Day, August 6. With songs and drama by Common Ground Theatre Ensemble and Performance Network, children's activities, interfaith worship, and the traditional Lantern Boat Launch. 769-7422

Benefit Concert: Rainforest Action Movement 8 pm, the Ark, 637 S. Main. With O.J. Anderson, Matt Watroba, Tracy Lee, and Utah Phillips. Net proceeds will support the Redwood Summer Campaign, \$10. 994-8553

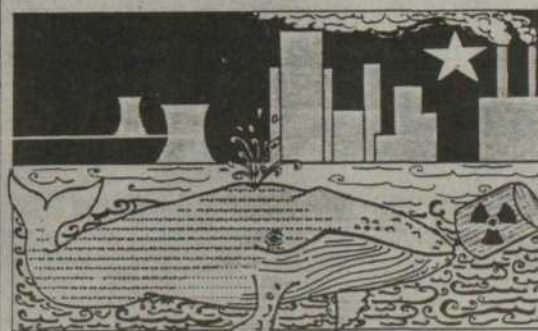
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LASC: Boycott Salvadoran Coffee!

The boycott of Salvadoran coffee, initiated last November by Neighbor to Neighbor, an organization working for peace and justice in Central America, has changed the political and economic stakes both in El Salvador and in the United States. The success of the boycott on the national level truly threatens the coffee-supported oligarchy in El Salvador. Considering that of their \$900 million annual budget, over \$300 million is generated by taxes on coffee exports, the boycott has opened an important new avenue for consumers to apply direct economic pressure against the Salvadoran government.

The U.S. government once again is avoiding the growing wave of popular opposition to its support of El Salvador. The State Department has requested that the four major distributors of Salvadoran beans (Folgers, Maxwell House, Hills Brothers, and Nestle) continue buying the beans, suggesting the boycott will hurt "the small farmers and employees who cannot weather any further hardship." But clearly the unions are behind the boycott, including SICAFE, the Salvadoran Coffee Industry Union.

Hoping to stop the flow of local dollars from coffee sales to the ARENA death squad government, the Latin America Solidarity Committee has begun the coffee boycott here in Ann Arbor. Many area merchants, restaurants, and distributors have broken the death squad habit. Already 21 area stores have joined in and taken Folgers, the primary target of the boycott, off their shelves. For consumers and merchants who would like more information about El Salvador and the coffee boycott, LASC can be reached at 4120 Michigan Union, or call 663-8438.

Latin America Solidarity Committee (LASC), 4120 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, 665-8438.

Veterans for Peace A2 Chapter?

Are you a veteran concerned about peace, justice and social concerns, and have serious qualms about the agenda of mainstream veteran groups like the American Legion or the VFW? Veterans For Peace may be for you then. The goals of VFP include educating the public about the true cost of war, to restrain our government from intervening in the internal affairs of other nations, to end the arms race and to abolish war as an instrument of international policy.

Veterans For Peace issues a quarterly newsletter, and while there are no membership dues, an annual \$15 donation is requested. For more information write: Veterans For Peace, P.O. Box 3881, Portland, Maine 04104. The contact person for southeastern Michigan is Robert Krzewinski, (313) 487-9058. If enough interest is shown, there could be the formation of a Michigan Chapter and also local groups.

Veterans For Peace, P.O. Box 3881, Portland, Maine 04104, or Robert Krzewinski (313) 487-9058.

Friends-Huron Valley Closes: Wellness Takes on Work

With the sad closing of Friends-Huron Valley, Wellness Networks is the only AIDS education and support service in the area. WNI is taking on the responsibilities that Friends left behind, including ongoing support services for HIV positive testers and those diagnosed with AIDS and ARC. Wellness is also trying to administer the food bank that Friends ran so well, and of course, maintain the original support groups initially started by WNI. Although we are saddened by the folding of Friends, we are looking forward to the challenge ahead of us.

Wellness still has an AIDS referral line that can be used for general questions about AIDS, AIDS antibody testing, legal services and local health care. The number for the referral line is 572-9355 and is also the number to reach for general information about support group meeting times and locations. In addition, if a speaker is needed for your symposium, class or church group, Wellness Networks can provide one for you. The Speakers Bureau can also be reached at our referral line. The phone is staffed afternoons Monday through Friday and several evenings during the week.

Annual elections have just been held and the new board of directors is made up of several qualified and capable professionals in counseling, grant writing and AIDS services. Wellness should be accomplishing much in the next year with this new board. As of this writing a date has not been set for the monthly board meeting. That will have to be determined by the new board. If you are interested in attending, please call the referral line for the meeting time.

Wellness Networks Inc.-Huron Valley, 3075 Clark Rd. Suite 207, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, 572-WELL.

COMMUNITY RESOURCE DIRECTORY

Gay Games III: Sports + Culture

The largest lesbian and gay men's cultural event in recorded history will be a highlight of the eight-day Gay Games III, to be held in Vancouver next month. The first festival event will begin in Boston as "The Light from a New Torch" dance tour will cross the United States with dates in eight cities, ending in Vancouver August 5-6. According to Boston artistic director Jeffrey Pike, "The Games are about diversity of people, and the theme of the tour is relationships...with people, ideas, and objects. We will be choreographing from a lesbian and gay perspective. When I started this project, I didn't know how expansive it would be...both as a dancer and as a person. It has uncovered treasures in terms of friends." The entire tour will be documented by Michele Gisser, a Boston videographer, for the use of artists and educators.

The Celebration '90 Festival Chorus, a choir of 1000 voices, will perform at the Vancouver Place Stadium during the Games' Opening and Closing Ceremonies, and will present a concert on August 10 at Celebration Centre. The Cultural Festival will also include ArtCelebration '90, a juried exhibition of works by visual artists; a film festival; a literary festival and book fair; performances by the Lesbian and Gay Bands of America and the Vancouver Men's Chorus; dance presentations; plays; and Gayla! A Celebration of Women's Culture.

Light from a New Torch and Celebration '90 Festival Chorus would welcome tax-deductible contributions to help with expenses. Send them to: Light from a New Torch, c/o Wisebird Productions, P.O. Box 515, Kenmore Stn., Boston, MA 02215. To contribute or register (call immediately) for the chorus, (303) 331-2306. For

general information call (604) 684-3303 or write: Celebration '90, 1170 Bute St., Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6E 1Z6.

Common Language, a bookstore for women and their friends, has replaced Common Destinations bookstore at 214 South 4th Avenue, Ann Arbor (313) 663-0036.

Gay Liberation's Purpose is to provide information, counseling, and related social services for people concerned about sexual orientation. We maintain a hotline for crisis intervention, peer counseling and referral. We help provide factual information to offset prejudice and misinformation about lesbians and gay men. We work to obtain human and civil rights for all, regardless of sexual orientation. We help lesbian and gay men's groups organize. And we are a link to other community groups.

Community Services include: a Hotline for crisis intervention, peer counseling, referral. **Education:** workshops and conferences on lesbian and gay male concerns, with an emphasis on how people in the "helping professions" and "teaching professions" can work positively with lesbian and gay male clients, patients, & students. **Speakers Bureau:** phone for information. **Human & Civil Rights:** information and referral to help people who are being discriminated against because of their actual or presumed sexual orientation or because of their presumed "cross-gender" characteristics; lobbying for human and civil rights. **Community Organizing:** information and assistance in organizing groups, setting goals, addressing conflict, linking with other groups and resources.

Gay Liberation Meetings vary according to purpose; we do most of our work in subcommittees (counseling, groupwork, education, civil rights). Call for time and place. Gay Liberation includes U-M students, staff, and faculty, and people from the larger community. We have a president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer. We're a registered non-profit organization.

Gay Liberation, c/o 4117 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, MI 48109; Info: 763-4186.

WAND: U.S. Must Support Total Nuke Test Ban

No matter how many cuts are negotiated in the world's nuclear arsenals, the arms race will continue as long as new nuclear weapons can be tested. This is an especially crucial fact right now because a United Nations Test Ban Amendment Conference will take place in January 1991. There is overwhelming world support—112 nations, including the Soviet Union—for amending the 1963 partial ban on nuclear weapons testing to make it a complete or "comprehensive" test ban. Yet the U.S. government is actively lobbying other nations to oppose such an amendment. The U.S. wants to be able to continue its underground testing of new nuclear weapons, no matter how willing the other nuclear nations are to end all testing.

This U.S. stance is in direct violation of two U.S. treaties which, according to the Constitution, are the law of the land. In the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty, the U.S. agreed that both superpowers "were determined to continue negotiations to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time."

In the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the U.S. agreed as

one of the nuclear "haves" to negotiate nuclear disarmament in exchange for the nuclear "have nots" promising not to acquire nuclear weapons. With the U.S.S.R. and so many other nations willing to stop all nuclear testing, and with satisfactory verification no longer an issue, the U.S. no longer has any excuse for this violation of its treaties.

Come to the Sunday, July 8, WAND meeting to see a videotape of the international protest against the U.S. government's determination to continue testing. Four WAND members who were part of the nonviolent resistance—over 1100 arrests—at the Nevada Test Site in April, will describe their experiences and show their videotape "The Nevada Nuclear Weapons Test Site: American Peace Test Action, Spring 1990." The meeting begins at 7:30 pm, at St. Aidan's/ Northside Church, 1679 Broadway (across from the Baits Drive entrance to North Campus). Call 761-1718 for more information.

Washtenaw County WAND (Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament), P.O. Box 1815, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1815, 761-1718.

UNITY: "Public Housing Tenants Deserve Due Process"

by David Levin

Editor's Note: The following is the conclusion, inadvertently omitted, of an article begun in our June issue. We apologize for any inconvenience to our readers.

"You're aware of what we're about, and that's putting our people back together," a UNITY member told the Commission. "We're for drug rehabilitation programs, programs for employment. Everything we do is blocked. You won't let us seek alternatives—and throwing people into the street doesn't deal with the problem."

The Housing Commission should immediately place the families in vacant public housing units, UNITY argued, in order to provide them with shelter and to send a message to the federal government that, "public housing needs a real war on drugs, not a war on poor women of color."

Housing Commissioners denied that the commission had played any role in the evictions, and stressed that any future role would be restricted by pressure from the federal government. "HUD (Housing and Urban Development) made it very clear to me that if we don't do something (to rid public housing of drugs) or if we put these people (the evicted tenants) back into units, it will jeopardize our funding," said Newlun.

The commission currently receives approximately \$2 million in funding from HUD, \$200,000 from a federal Community Development Block Grant, and \$100,000 from the city.

Palmer, in a recent interview, said the Housing Commission is interested in due process for tenants, contrary to activists' beliefs. Palmer said the commission has its own eviction process regarding drugs and they "do not appreciate" the fact that Ann Arbor Police Chief William Corbett bypassed the authority of the commission and brought the federal government into a process they were already handling. Palmer believes HAC and UNITY's anger is misdirected and should be aimed at the police department.

During the course of the meeting tenants also expressed grievances on other public housing issues, alleging shoddy repairs, the Commission's misuse of funds for rehabilitation, "harassment" from Commission Director Bonnie Newlun, and the Commission's denial of available funds to UNITY members who wanted to attend an April convention in Dallas where approaches to fighting the drug problem in public housing were to be discussed.

After nearly two hours of pleadings from the tenants and their supporters the Housing Commission voted against re-housing the evicted families. Instead the Commission passed a resolution requesting only that the U.S. government make no future seizures of Ann Arbor public housing units unless they are "specifically requested by and coordinated with the Ann Arbor Housing Commission."

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REFORM AND THE LEFT

(from page 2)

PHOTO: GREGORY FOX



Candidate Dean Baker and Top Aide Mark Welsbrot getting arrested sometime in 1986.

undeserved legitimacy to a fundamentally unjust and oppressive system. In a society that has arrived at or is near a revolutionary situation, the negative aspects of reform may have as much or more significance than the positive ones. Thus Lenin supported reforms only as a means of winning workers and peasants to the revolutionary movement, and emphasized that the reforms themselves were a dead end. This approach is still the dominant one in liberation movements such as the FMLN or the ANC, although both hold open the possibility of negotiated settlements which would initiate the revolutionary changes they are seeking.

In a society such as ours, however, where there has not been a revolutionary situation for at least a century, reforms should be a tremendously important part of any left movement's overall strategy. Yet in spite of the often dedicated work of thousands of leftists in struggles for reform, this is not true. This can be seen in the way a typical leftist contemptuously dismisses "reformists" (it's considered an insult) and "reformism" (another dirty word). More importantly, it is evident in the left's failure to consider the strategic significance of structural reforms, and its rejection of the electoral strategies that are necessary to achieve them.

Interestingly, the left appreciates the significance of reforms when they are brought about through revolution, as in the case of the Sandinistas' achievements in the areas of health care and literacy. However, where even wide-sweeping reforms occur without an armed seizure of power, the left shows little interest. The people of Sweden enjoy free health care, education, and the most extensive system of economic rights in the world, including a state allocation of \$11,000 per child for childcare—but neither the history nor politics of that country have attracted much attention from the left.

During the Carter Administration there was a bill before Congress that would have made it considerably easier to organize unions in the U.S., by providing for union recognition wherever a majority of workers had joined. This would have eliminated the requirement for costly (to the unions) National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) representation elections that employers are often able to win, by propaganda and intimidation. The bill was defeated by heavy business lobbying, and today, after 10 years of Reagan/Bush institutional and legal changes that have weakened organized labor, the value of even this reform would be much more limited. But such legislation is not an unrealistic goal, and I cite it as an example of a structural reform that would help shift the balance of forces in favor of progressive change. In fact it is difficult to imagine any such change in the U.S. without a large and powerful organized labor movement; yet we now have about 15% of the non-agricultural labor force in

unions, by far the lowest in all of the industrialized world.

There are many other examples that could be given. Dukakis' campaign proposal for a Social Security-like payroll tax for financing student loans would have relieved a good deal of the tremendous pressure that students now feel to graduate quickly and find high paying jobs to pay off their loans. Political activity among U.S. students has been very adversely affected by the rapid rise in these debt burdens, and it is unlikely that it will ever reach levels comparable to many European countries without some major structural changes.

Reform of campaign laws is of the utmost strategic importance, since more than 98% of incumbents in the U.S. House of Representatives win their bids for re-election. This is a difficult problem to attack, since Congress obviously does not want to vote to abolish its own "tenure" system. But other countries with less of a democratic tradition than this one (like Brazil, where campaign spending limits helped the Workers' Party get very close to winning the presidency this year) have a considerably more level playing field in the electoral arena. However, the left has shown no interest in campaign reform.

Unlike the left, the right is often keenly aware of the strategic implications of structural reforms. Thus Reagan instituted tuition in the previously free California state university system when he became governor and as president did his best to destroy the NLRB. Perhaps more importantly, the mortgage income tax deduction along with other measures encouraging home ownership in the post-WWII era helped to drive a wedge between homeowners and mostly poorer renters. This remarkable piece of social engineering had the dual (and intended) effect of creating a sizeable class of homeowners with a conservatizing interest in real estate values, while depriving renters of the political base they would need in any struggle for tenants' rights. And in the last decade, changes in the tax code have helped to significantly expand a permanent electoral base for regressive politics in the U.S., in both parties. These and other counter-reforms make our tasks considerably more difficult. It does not appear that the left, lacking a concept of strategic reform, can fully appreciate how far we have been set back in just the last decade.

The left conceives of itself as a protest movement, and offers no realistic strategy for change. Protest is of course, very important and it is conceivable that demonstrations, riots, and even insurrectionary rebellions will by themselves force concessions from those in power, as has occasionally happened in the past. But most of the changes we want will require political power, and in the foreseeable fu-

ture that power will have to be won primarily at the ballot box or it will not be won at all.

The left has no electoral strategy primarily due to its 19th century approach to reform.

Many leftists even celebrate the low and decreasing voter turnout, especially among poor and working people. They see it as a sign of disaffection with the two major parties, when it primarily reflects a profound alienation from the entire sphere of politics.

One of the greatest immediate costs of the left's self-limiting world view is the loss of many dedicated and talented activists who could make important contributions. Many of these people end up selling out in various ways, not so much for the financial and societal rewards (although they quickly become accustomed to these), but because they wanted to see some results of their political work, and the left offered them little hope of doing so. Many others end up pursuing their political activity as individuals. As academics, lawyers, professionals, etc.; some of these people do not sell out, but their contribution is much less than it could be if they were to participate in an organized movement.

There are of course important exceptions to this tendency of the left to treat reform struggles as merely a means of winning people over to the revolutionary movement. One of these can be found in the labor movement, where organized labor is seen, in accor-

Our only hope is that at some point, perhaps in a future period of political upheaval, large numbers of ordinary people will concern themselves with questions of political power, and force their common sense down the left's collective throat.

dance with the Leninist (and Marxist) tradition, to be of particular strategic importance. Hence leftists have been able to make some significant institutional changes in this sphere, from the Communist Party's historic role in the building of the CIO, to the present day where leftists of many stripes play an active role in union elections, collective bargaining, etc. But we have reached the point where organized labor's very existence as an arena of struggle will now be contingent on serious legislative and institutional changes outside the labor movement itself.

There are of course many leftists that do not share this 19th century view of reform, but unfortunately they are in the minority among the most active and dedicated political organizers. (Among intellectuals respected by the left, Manning Marable is an example of a radical thinker whose approach to reform is grounded in contemporary society). A good part of these activists belong to small sects, whose organizational history reveals very clearly the origins and mode of reproduction of the left attitude toward reform, as well as these groups' lack of grounding in U.S. politics and history. But there are numerous others who do not belong to any of the sects yet nonetheless share this fundamental approach to reform.

I would like to end on an optimistic note, and say that the left is gradually shedding that part of its world view that prevents it from playing a significant role in the politics of the United States. But for now, at least, it looks like the left will enter the 21st century with its feet still firmly planted in the 19th. Our only hope is that at some point, perhaps in a future period of political upheaval, large numbers of ordinary people will concern themselves with questions of political power, and force their common sense down the left's collective throat. The slogan of the anarchist bumper sticker will then come true: "When the people lead, the leaders will follow."

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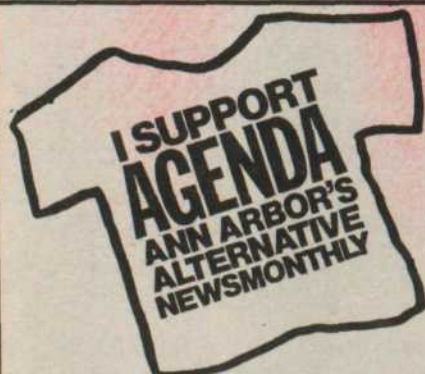
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