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#62 OCTOBER 1991

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# AGENDA

ANN ARBOR'S ALTERNATIVE NEWSMONTHLY

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*Editor's note: Last month Noam Chomsky delivered the following lecture at the First Unitarian Universalist Church in Detroit. Chomsky, a professor in the Department of Philosophy and Linguistics at MIT, is regarded as the father of modern linguistics but is also well known for his trenchant criticism of U.S. policy and big-picture analysis of global affairs.*

*In addition to his book on Central America, "Turning the Tide," Chomsky has authored works ranging from the Vietnam War to the Middle East. His most recent book is titled, "Deterring Democracy."*

*The speech, "Central America in the New World Order," was sponsored by the Detroit Central America Solidarity Committee (CASC) and transcribed by AGENDA staff. The use of quotation marks in the text represents our best guess as to where quotes actually begin and end.*

**L**atin America has faced more than its share of troubles, ever since its liberation from Spanish rule, and one of the most grave of these was in fact emphasized by the liberator Simón Bolívar himself. He said that there is at the head of this great continent a very powerful country, very rich, very warlike and capable of anything. Central America and particularly the Caribbean have suffered from the proximity to what down South is called the "colossus of the North" and their place in the new world order—the topic of this discussion—will be determined to an overwhelming extent by what happens within our own society, pretty much as has been the case in the past.

So this kind of discussion is not an academic seminar on the lives of the Sumerians or even the current tribulations of Sri Lanka, but it's a bit more like a discussion, had this been possible, about the fate of Eastern Europe in the Soviet Union 20 years ago.

There is a spectrum of opinion on how we ought to deal with Central America, Latin America generally. You can get a picture of one extreme from this morning's New York Times, which has an interesting memorandum from 1984 by the next head of the CIA in which he outlines his proposals as to how we should deal with Nicaragua. It's worth reading. The basic thesis, as he puts it, is we have to rid the continent of this regime and we should do it any way that's required. He doesn't think covert action, covert terrorism, or international terrorism is going to succeed, so therefore we ought to go on to economic strangulation (his advice was quickly followed by the embargo). He calls for direct bombing, although he suggested that might be politically unacceptable. But basically, we have to do anything that's required to rid ourselves of this regime, he says, if we're still committed to the Monroe Doctrine (which he interprets as a kind of early variant of what used to be the Brezhnev Doctrine), namely



**"The guys with the guns establish the rules and they also determine the meaning of the rhetoric that's used to disguise them."**

## NOAM CHOMSKY

that we rule this continent and if there is something in it that we don't like we get rid of it by whatever means are required.

Well that's one extreme. And it will be interesting to see—hardly left to see it's so obvious—if a person who is so openly committed to blatant violation of international and domestic law, not the secret violation that everyone is committed to, but open, blatant violation, is confirmed for head of the CIA.

At the opposite extreme of the spectrum

you get the liberal thugs who are usually the most interesting. They define the outer limits of permissible thought and therefore are revealing. Maybe the best of these in this case is Robert Pastor, a Latin American scholar who was a major advisor on Latin America to the National Security Council in the Carter administration (the job Elliot Abrams eventually had with Reagan). Pastor is about as far toward the liberal extreme as you can imagine being in American political or intellectual life and still be kind of on the map. And

# THE NEW WORLD ORDER

he has an interesting book about U.S. policy toward Nicaragua (worth reading), and in it he reviews U.S. policy over the years and says: "The United States did not want to control Nicaragua or other nations in the region, but it also did not want to allow developments to get out of control. It wanted Nicaraguans to act independently, except when doing so would affect U.S. interests adversely." So, in other words, they should be completely free to do what we want them to. And if they use their freedom unwisely, then of course, what can we do? We have to rid the continent of this regime, I suppose. Anyway, those are the two extremes.

Again turning to the hawkish extreme, as we move back on the seesaw, you get people like John Foster Dulles, who happened to be talking about the Middle East in this quote. He says that we should grant the countries of the Middle East "plenty of latitude as long as they don't get out of control."

That's the spectrum. At one extreme we allow them the latitude until they get out of control. And at the other extreme we allow them to act independently until they get out of control. And between those two extremes—that's the political spectrum.

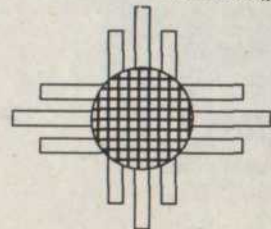
John Foster Dulles also explained his fears in interesting internal documents that have been declassified, especially about communism. He is talking about Central America here. He says "the problem is," (this is a private conversation he had with his brother, Alan Dulles, who was head of the CIA when Foster was Secretary of State under Eisenhower), "the communists' ability to get control of mass movements, something we had no capacity to duplicate. The poor people are the ones they appeal to and they have always wanted to plunder the rich." Eisenhower was president at the time and he agreed. He complained that unlike us, "the communists could appeal directly to the masses." And that's kind of like an unfair advantage.

(see New World Order, page 13)

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# et cetera

## Ecology Center Sues Polluter

On Sept. 16 the Ecology Center of Ann Arbor filed suit in federal Court alleging that the Whitmore Lake based-Johnson Controls violated the community's right to know about toxic pollution.

An Ecology Center investigation revealed the apparent failure of Johnson Controls to report the storage and emission of millions of pounds of hazardous chemicals. According to the Ecology Center, the Whitmore Lake plant released up to a million and a half pounds of methylene chloride, a suspected carcinogen, every year since 1987.

This would rank the Johnson Controls plant as the second largest known emitter of the chemical in the state.

Due to its failure to report, the company does not appear on any of the EPA's published rankings of industrial toxic emitters. The Ecology Center is demanding a toxics reduction plan that would substantially decrease toxic emissions into the community and the workplace.

Note: The Ecology Center's action marks the first time any environmental organization in this state has used the "citizen suit" provisions of the federal Community Right-to-Know Act. The Ecology Center brought the action under a section which allows citizens to initiate enforcement action when government agencies responsible for enforcing the law do not.

## Palestinian Theater

Before leaving for an international tour this fall, Al-Masrah, a Palestinian theater troupe, will perform "Ansar" at the Towsley Theater in Washtenaw Community College on Oct. 2 at 8 pm. "The play represents a prime example of the impact of the Israeli occupation on all facets of Palestinian life, including the Arts," says the press release from the play's local sponsor, the

Palestine Aid Society of Ann Arbor. And it should, as the troupe is composed of playwrights and actors who were all prisoners at Ansar 3, an Israeli prison camp in the Negev Desert that has been cited by international human rights groups for its harsh treatment of prisoners. For ticket information, call 741-1113.

## Work-a-Thon for El Salvador

Detroit CASC (Central America Solidarity Committee) is the local sponsor of a Work-A-Thon for the people of El Salvador, sponsored nationally by CISPEP (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador). Participants collect dollar amount pledges, then work repairing low-income housing, providing care

to AIDS patients, and helping to rebuild neighborhoods. Funds raised will support FMLN health care systems. These provide medical care to FMLN members, captured government soldiers, and civilians. The work-a-thon will take place Saturday, Oct. 26 from 9 am to 2 pm. The gathering site is the Friends School of Detroit, 1100 St. Aubin at E. Lafayette, Detroit.

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## Teenage Propaganda

The magazine Extra!'s recent review of the teenager-oriented magazine Junior Scholastic revealed slanted war propaganda and superficiality in coverage of the gulf crisis. According to the article, coverage became less informative as war became more likely.

"In November, coverage was limited to the story of an Iowa boy escaping from Kuwait (Nov. 2, 1990) and how soldiers coped with the heat (Nov. 16, 1990)." In January, an article dealing with Israel began with a description of Palestinians stoning praying Jews at the Temple Mount, "a story that had been debunked by Marshall Emory in the Village Voice and by 60 Minutes months earlier." The Extra! article concludes that for many students, their understanding of these events may turn out to be as superficial as the magazine's.

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# Trick or Treat?

by Jay Pinka

This is the month that makes you look behind you twice as you fumble with your keys at the lock, makes you wonder if you really know what's in the attic when tree branches fall like amputated limbs with the haunting winds of October.

Halloween. Cliche enough, all right, but the visitation of David Sosnowski to the Guild House Writers Series on Monday October 7 will haunt listeners through the 31st.

"Writing is as close as we get to alchemy in this world," says Sosnowski. "It lets us turn the garbage of our lives into gold—or at least, prettier, better organized garbage."

In his writing, Sosnowski works out serious issues such as addiction, fear of physical contact, alienation, psychiatric illness, and incest with a touch of black humor that makes it tolerably entertaining, while simultaneously haunting. Yet, Sosnowski puts on more than the mask of the speaker in his writing.

"When I write—especially when I write fiction, I think primarily in terms of narrative voice," says Sosnowski. "Each story has its own teller, who is ultimately some exaggerated, mutated particle of me."

From the galaxy of freaks Sosnowski brings the dissected hearts of creatures fea-

ured in publications such as The National Examiner (Surgeons Sew Man's Head Back On). But before you turn away in dismay or disgust, force yourself to look hard again at characters which reveal parts of your own psyche. There is a method to Sosnowski's madness and if the stitching job of this poetic Dr. Frankenstein doesn't win the Miss America Contest, it certainly manages to mirror the patchwork of personae comprising mankind.

"The wonderful thing about writing is that it doesn't cost much to do and is still legal in most states," says Sosnowski.

David Sosnowski's writings have been published in the Alaska Quarterly Review, Heartland, Passages North, The MacGuffin, Creative Computing, Confrontations, and Alaska Today. He has earned his MFA in Creative Writing from the University of Alaska.

Sosnowski could be plunging and lifting us from the dark depths of human nature for the purpose of reorganizing and re-ordering our lives, or he could be dredging up a skeleton so fascinating to play with you'll never touch Barbie again. Only you can find out, at 802 Monroe at 8:30 pm, on October 7.

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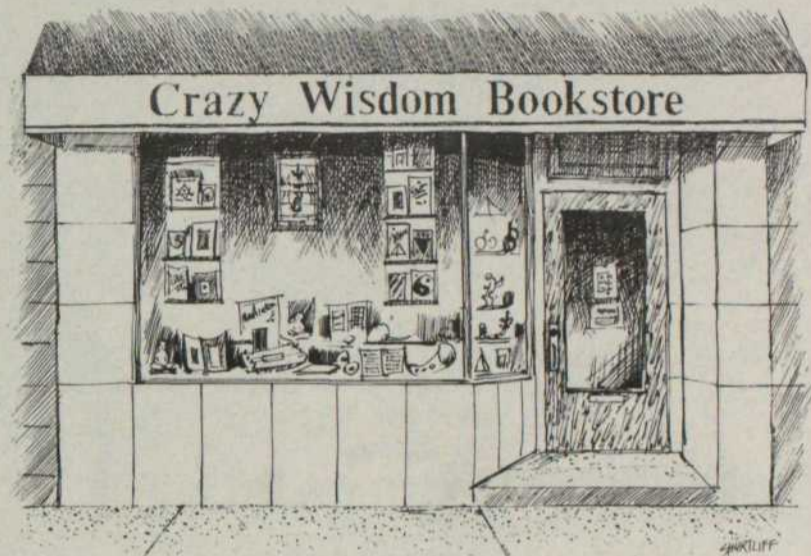
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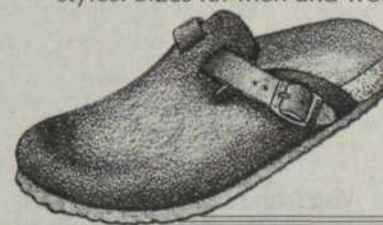


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Late in the summer of 1971, Frank "Big Black" Smith was serving time on a robbery charge at Attica Prison in upstate New York. Big Black coached the football team, got along with prison officials and was looked up to by younger prisoners.

Horrible conditions, unkept promises, an influx of prisoners influenced by 1960s radicalism (including some who were in prison because of their radical activities) and the August 21, 1971 murder of California Black Panther prison leader George Jackson created an explosive atmosphere. On September 8 at Attica Prison, a guard breaking up a scuffle between a White and a Black inmate was punched by the White prisoner. When the authorities decided to punish only the Black man, a crowd gathered and forced the guards to back down. The following morning, prisoners provoked by another move to punish the Black inmate took over part of the prison and held several dozen prison employees hostage. Several guards were hurt in the initial takeover, one fatally.

Inmates of all races, religions and ideologies united. They demanded both modest improvements in living conditions and far reaching social changes.

The inmates turned to Big Black to take charge of security. He led an inmate "police force" that protected hostages and ensured the safety of prison officials and observers who came into the prison yard. Injured hostages were evacuated for medical attention. Prison racketeers, informers and those who threatened the hostages were locked up.

On September 13, 1971, New York governor Nelson Rockefeller ordered an all-White police force to retake the prison. After a helicopter dropped tear gas, the cops came in shooting, killing both inmates and hostages. In all, 43 men died in the Attica rebellion.

For his role in the rebellion, Big Black was forced to lie naked on his back on a metal table, with a football balanced under his neck and a shotgun to his head, for 5 hours. Threatened with instant death if he allowed the football to drop, he was burned with cigars and cigarettes, beaten and spat upon. Subsequent beatings for two his genitals caused him to urinate blood for two years.

On September 30, 1991, more than 20 years later, Big Black, the other living Attica rebels and relatives of those who died will go to trial on a civil suit against many of those responsible for the massacre and subsequent brutality. The trial is expected to last several months.

Last month Big Black was in town as part of a week-long commemoration of the Attica rebellion sponsored by The Freedom Campaign, and spent some time talking to AGENDA staffers. The following text is an edited transcript of that recorded conversation.

**AGENDA:** What happened at Attica, from even before day one, from your perspective? Because the dominant perspective we've seen is from what we've read in the mass media or seen on TV.

**BB:** Prior to that, everybody was in pretty bad shape, thinking about George Jackson. The morning that we got [the news] about George Jackson everyone went in the mess hall, and I never seen nothing like it. Nobody didn't eat, nobody didn't pick up no silverware, because when you go to the dining room you got to pick up whatever it is, whatever silverware that you're going to eat with. In the morning it's basically a spoon, 'cause it's nothing but cereal, and whatever you're going to eat you eat with a spoon. Nobody didn't pick up anything. We had on black armbands. You got to see 700 people that's doing this, and nobody talking. It was really cold, you know. I said "Wow, what's going on?" to myself, because when you in prison, you got a little clique. I had four or five people with me, but we wasn't talking.

So everybody was really a little aggravated, and at that time we had a manifesto that was going around, speaking on the conditions. There turned out to be 33 different demands that we asked for. People started talking about that. People started rebelling all over the facility.

And when they pushed the wall down a month later they said "hey Black, they got your man," (which was a cop friend of mine), "in the

yard, man, and he's really hurt." I said "What's going on?" They said "Man, the shit's on, you know, everybody's just fed up, and everybody's forming in D Yard, so you got to go out there and see what's happening."

So me and my little crew went to the yard. That was almost like freedom, really. When you're locked up for nine years, and so many people that's been locked up 10, 15, 20 years, and now we're in the yard and all kind of food was in the yard, where we took food out the commissary, out of the dining room. We'd rather just stay in the yard and do what we got to do.

Then we started organizing. And we started talking about the conditions. That's when my views and my head started changing. Because before then I was what you call a hustler. I was working for the warden. I was hustling cigarettes, hustling nutmeg, making booze. I was a hustler.

But I started focussing in on what was really happening, especially when they asked me to take charge of the security part of it. I was known in the penitentiary. I was the coach of the football team. I couldn't play anymore so I started coaching. And then I guess my values and my principles started changing. And that's what stimulated Attica. They say it was race, they say it was a whole lot of things, but the 8th brought the 9th to the 13th.

Race is the easiest thing to create a problem. The police can come in right now and start something racial and the public eat that up. Because racism is one of the biggest enemies we got. That's the most powerful piece of dynamite that we could use. And it's always been that way, especially with the Black and the Whites. That was the escalation from Attica 1971 to Attica 1991.

See, we had a slogan, and it's not rhetoric, that "Attica is all of us." We wasn't talking about escaping, we were talking about conditions. And the conditions that we were speaking about at

Attica State Prison is on a national, international and inter-community level. We're talking about the same conditions in our community as well as what's in prison. Because we came from communities. They're talking about rehabilitation. For what? For the facility? For the institution? You got to be rehabilitated for some other location. And where's that location? Back in our communities.

We were asking for less starchy, fatty food. For more people of your peer. (You didn't have no Black cops, no Latin cops, in Attica State Prison. But the population is 87 point whatever percent—you know it's more than that now—of Black, or minority people, with all White cops.) To be able to practice the religion of your choice. More updated books. Better educational programs. So that's community needs, not just Attica State Prison. It wasn't just isolated in the prison perspective.

That's why we say Attica is all of us, Attica is everything. In order for Attica to change, out here's got to change. What we see, from the community, through the police department, through the courts and into the maximum prison, we say that both is a prison: one is minimum and one is maximum.

**AGENDA:** Is your goal to go around bringing those two things together?

**BB:** Yeah, bring them together, but bring them together on this level. I'm more interested in now. I am very concerned [about] prior to going to prison and what we can do about that.

See, it don't make sense to start preparing a person once they go to prison. You know, the maximum prison. You got to talk about things out here now, what we can do about the economics. How we can deal with the drug parts of it. How we deal with the education parts of it, the schools and various agencies. So it's not just the prisons that we got to revamp. Society is where we come from, and that's where we're going back to. We weren't born in prison.

I really embrace the people that's moving around prisons, and I do that too. I'm a prison activist, and I do that work. I really support the people that's working on that level. But we need to start doing the job in the community that we need to do, and keep the focus in the community.

We need to pay attention to what the little city councilman is saying, what the little mayor is saying, what this little statesman is saying and who we're electing to office and how we vote, what the governor is doing and all the little politicking. Because we all assist in part of the government. The government could not be without people. People is government, and that's a fact.

If you look in New York state, and especially the Black population, and looking at that as a Black, what is happening when the drugs is involved, you got 90% of the people in prison right now is affiliated with drugs. That's why they're there. So what are they going to do? Their attitude is outdoors, and you going to start working on the prisons? They say "I'm going back on the streets and my mama is on welfare, and even if I got an education I can't get no job. So what I'm going to do? I'm going to go out there and take me some money. I'm not like Michael Jordan."

They way they say with Blacks, all you can do is play sports or play music, or drive big cars—that's what they say—and sell dope. That's where they got us at. So all of that kind of thing will have to change. And that's what I've been looking for.

**AGENDA:** You came here and spoke last night in Ann Arbor to a nice crowd that packed Guild House. How do you find the response, and particularly with a new generation? Half the people there weren't even born when Attica happened. I see what happened last night partly as a transmission of information from generation to generation, and I'm wondering if in New York and the other places you're going the message is getting out, and especially how young people are relating to that.

**BB:** I show them the scene of how Attica started in 1971. But I also move with it, just like I said earlier, about Attica being everything. Attica becomes a part of the college, what we get there,

# Attica

# is

# all

# of

# us

what we take back to the community. What we do while we are there, what's the educational process. It would be good if people in the colleges would start some kind of relationship to the community that they come from, also to the communities in prisons.

So the level of consciousness don't have to be around 1971 when you're talking to young people. You can tie it in to what's happening now. You can talk about that, because the average person don't know what to say or to think anyway when you talk about prison and the community. Because it's the way the world is, the way the violence is. And people is supposed to go somewhere for some things that they do. That does not mean that a person has got to be treated like some kind of an animal. Even animals shouldn't be treated like that, a dehumanized person or whatever word that we want to use. You just cut it off and say "You don't have no rights." Those are the things we're talking about. We're not saying "Prison shouldn't be." It shouldn't be the way it is now, in the form that it's in. And that's the way you talk to people.

You talk to people now, and especially the young ones, about the education process, about how you got to watch the education department too, because that's another institution. You can get tied up there more so than if you go to the maximum jail. So people got to know what's happening in the colleges and in the high schools and the elementaries and in whatever when you're talking about education, because you can get programmed there more than you can any place. So that's what you got to do. You got to be talking about 1991, because the needs in 1991, like I said with the economics, with the drugs—everybody is just about duped. If you ain't got a job you selling drugs. If you ain't selling drugs you in jail. And soon as you in jail somebody pops up and starts doing it. Even though you go get an education, the average person is saying, it don't make no difference. As a minority, you can't get a job. And if you get a job it's got to be washing the floor, when you went to school to be a lawyer. Everybody think about that, and that's what I talk about now.

I lay out Attica in 1971, but I show that Attica is here. Just like what we seen last night, those people sitting in the Guild House. Those people are part of Attica, what they're doing there. And I say to them over and over again "How you unify yourselves [is that] you don't get too bogged with racism. Because racism can dupe and tie you up too. I'm Black, you White, that's the bottom line to that. There's nothing we can do about that. You come out of this neighborhood, I come out of that one. You like this, I like that. We can talk about culture and lifestyle and class more than we do racism today. Because racism is just a pick that's set up to keep us separated. But that ain't the real deal. The real deal is more class than anything. And culture.

Racism among Black and Whites has been the strongest enemy ever since I was born. At each other, at each other, because they systematically, selectively, made us do this. The Bushes, and the this, and the that. "Race, race, you Black and I'm White, so you ain't supposed to do this."

So the Attica now is the Attica then and it's going to be in the future. And if we don't change our—I won't say awareness, yeah, we got to change our awareness too—but we really got to knock racism. Racism, it's a pain in the behind. The way people discuss it, and the way people talk about it, and the way people get bogged with it. And it's a set-up. And I stopped being set up a long time ago around racism. I see it. Sometime I get sick on my stomach. But that's behind seeing it, and people not becoming aware that it's just pick and just leave it alone. It don't make sense to get bogged with it. We got to be able to rub, we got to be able to talk, we got to be able to sit down, we got to be able to look at the situation because it involves all of us. That's what I tell people, and that's a part of Attica. Don't get bogged with racism.

Frank "Big Black" Smith was interviewed by Laurie Wechter and Eric Jackson.

# A Walking Tour of Downtown Ann Arbor

**1** **The Ann Arbor Y:** The addition of three floors to the "Y," paid for in part by \$100,000 of Downtown Development Authority (DDA) funds, was an attempt by local politicians and business people to address Ann Arbor's housing crisis. The Y is heralded as "affordable housing," but at a cost of \$22.80/night, or \$310/month, who can afford to stay here? People working full-time, minimum wage jobs would pay more than half their monthly incomes to rent at the Y, leaving less than \$300 for food, clothing, transportation, medical and other expenses.

The Y's 100 rooms are all 9x12 ft.—just big enough for a bed, a closet and a desk. Residents must eat every meal out, as there are no refrigerators or stoves. One bathroom serves each floor. There are no rooms for women with children, who make up the fastest growing group of homeless people.

The Y project provides minimal shelter for single adults who can afford it, but it does not address the need for permanent housing. Nor does it address the housing needs of minimum wage workers, non-wage workers such as women with children, and people who receive GA, ADC, SSI, or Social Security.

**2** **Tally Hall:** Tally Hall, the DDA's first project, is a seven story complex with six levels of parking, one level of retail space and a basement "food court" featuring "multi-ethnic" dining. It was designed to accommodate several stories of housing. It was intended to attract students, tourists and people who shop in Birmingham.

Then-Mayor Lou Belcher pressed for the project because State Street merchants wanted more parking in their area. The city and private developers decided in September 1983 to co-fund the \$10 million project. The City would operate the parking structure. The DDA would float a \$5 million bond issue.

The mall opened in July 1986. Retail occupancy never exceeded 50 percent. The city tried to sell "air rights" (the right to build on top of the structure) to a developer who wanted to build luxury condos, but this fell through due to Tally Hall's "image problem." In July 1987, the city parking manager noted that only an average of 40 percent of the available non-monthly parking spaces were used daily. The building closed in November 1990. The parking structure is still used.

When asked why this project flopped, some merchants pointed to a glut of retail space. Some critics cited design flaws and the lack of street level retail space.

**3** **301 E. Liberty:** This office building was built in 1985 by a group which included Mayor Belcher, with a zoning variance from City Council. Council Democrats supported the variance in exchange for an Affordable Housing Task Force. A bakery and boarding house were razed to make room for this building. For a while the ground floor contained a clothing store, but it is now vacant. Half of the building's offices are empty.

**4** **The Ann Arbor Inn:** This 189-room hotel went into bankruptcy despite a central location and an attached parking structure. Since it closed in December 1989, several new uses have been explored. One developer wanted to

turn it into a private student dorm. U-M's Intercooperative Council (ICC) nearly bought it for co-op housing. HAC proposed converting it into 69 apartments for low-income families and single adults. However, due to the building's construction and fire codes, the cost of renovation blocked all serious bids to buy the building.

HAC's proposal called for \$4.26 million of DDA funds to buy and fix the building, a drop in the bucket compared to what the city spent on parking structures and business subsidies. Only with such a subsidy could rents be kept affordable to people on social services grants. The city refused to explore this option.

**5** **Downtown Club:** This building, Ann Arbor's original YMCA, provides a clear example of how government supports the loss of low-income housing. In 1960, the building was converted to the Downtown Club—a single room occupancy (SRO) for nearly 60 people. Dave Kircher, a notorious Ypsilanti slumlord and former Ypsilanti city council member, owned and managed the building.

A 1982 plan to convert the building to offices prompted the formation of the Ad Hoc Committee to Save the Downtown Club. Nevertheless, early in 1983 utilities were shut off and the tenants were forced onto the streets. Mayor Belcher and his associates bought the tax-delinquent building at a bail-out price in December 1983. After a year of "bargaining," Belcher ended talks with the Ad Hoc Committee and announced plans to convert to offices. The Belcher group obtained \$698,000 in federal tax credits by "donating" the building's façade to the Ann Arbor Historical Society. The Department of Social Services rented office space in the building up until two years ago. The building's present occupancy rate is 38 percent.

**6** **Braun Court:** This seven-building court on Fourth Avenue near Catherine Street was built in 1910 to house German brewery workers. Later it was home to moderate-income families until sold at \$16,000 per house to realtor Hayes Cavanaugh. Cavanaugh raised the rents, forced families out, and moved students and young single working people in. Seven years ago, the court was lost to developer Peter Allen who, after a long battle with residents, turned the court into a "multi-ethnic" restaurant strip. Only 4 of the restaurants survive. The 3 remaining houses stand empty.

**7** **Ann/Ashley Parking Structure-One North Main:** In the mid-1980s, Mayor Belcher made a deal with the Kojaiian

family of Detroit. The DDA would sell approximately \$8.5 million in bonds to build a parking structure at the corner of E. Ann Street and N. Ashley Street, leasing a couple hundred spaces to the Kojaiians. In return, the Kojaiians would build an 11-story office and luxury apartment building at 101 North Main Street. The tax revenue from this building was supposed to pay the debt service on the DDA bonds. The 837-space parking structure was built in 1987.

Rubin Bergman, a staff member of the DDA, cites this as an example of how parking structures attract new businesses and additional tax base. Bergman ignores the downtown office space glut. New development just fights old development for a limited number of tenants. One North Main has a 27 percent office vacancy rate, with 63 percent of its apartments unused. The Kojaiians filed for bankruptcy, which means lost revenue for the DDA.

**8** **The J.J.R. Building:** The Johnson, Johnson and Roy architecture firm moved to Miller Street in 1989, after the construction of the Ann/Ashley parking structure. The Ann/Ashley structure straddles business and residential districts. The DDA built there, intending to expand the business district. To make room for its headquarters, J.J.R. demolished five houses with 42 units. The new building has three stories. J.J.R. uses two. The third floor, intended to be an office, is vacant.

**9** **The Salvation Army Thrift Store:** The Salvation Army's Red Shield Thrift Store used to stand at the corner of Main and Ann, which is now "A Little Park for a Little While." This park will disappear when the county decides to build on the site. The thrift store, which sold used clothing, furniture, dishes, and more was a popular shopping place for people who could not afford Ann Arbor's pricier establishments.

While it was open, the store took in three truckloads of donations a day. In December 1987, Washtenaw County bought the store for \$440,000, intending to raze it and expand the adjacent building. The Shelter Association then proposed using the building for its Day Program (see below), but by this time asbestos was found in the building, which increased renovation costs. The county's consideration of the Shelter Association's plea to save the building surprised the Salvation Army's Captain Roger Senn: "I was told we would be getting in their way if we didn't leave."

The Salvation Army intended to relocate to a larger space, but never did. Now the area's only Salvation Army thrift store is in Ypsilanti. The demolition made Ann Arbor less hospitable to poor people.

**10** **The Day Program:** On Jan. 2, 1985, the Day Program, a daytime drop-in center which provides counseling and job services to homeless people, opened in a house at 117 South Division Street. The Ann Arbor Shelter Association leased the house from Great Lakes Federal Savings Bank. The shelter was created to serve people who, until then, sought shelter during the day in the library, local businesses, and University buildings—establishments which disliked and harassed homeless people. About 60 people per day used the Day Program. In May 1987, Great Lakes tried to eject the Shelter Association. The bank and the DDA wanted to put in a parking structure.

The Shelter Association looked for a new site, but met opposition everywhere they went. In October, the newly formed HAC went to City Council with four demands, one of which was space for the Day Program in a city leased building. On November 16, 1987, after seven weeks of pressure at their meetings, the Council voted unanimously to sublet the building at 112 South Ashley Street to the Shelter Association to temporarily house the Day Program. This building, formerly the Michigan National Bank, is on a block owned by developers who planned to raze it to add 15 spaces to the adjacent parking lot.

The Day Program constantly faced the prospect of relocating. The owners of the 200 South Ashley block can refuse to release the building to the city whenever a profitable development venture comes along. Developer Bill Martin proposed the construction of a convention center. Had the plan not failed, the Day Program would have had to move again.

112 S. Ashley had problems with electrical wiring, a leaking roof, and a crumbling ceiling in the adjacent storage building. This year, the city and owner gave the Shelter Association a three-year lease. The Michigan State Housing Development Authority, the city and the county agreed to pay for needed renovations and repairs. During the renovations, which began in August, the night shelter houses the Day Program services, but there is no daytime drop-in center.

**11** **The Kline's Lot:** The Kline's lot, at the corner of Ashley and William, was the object of a long struggle over the DDA's plans for a \$10 million parking structure. This struggle highlighted many of the questions raised on this tour. HAC asked: Whose needs do the parking structures serve? Why does the city subsidize merchants, commercial landlords and developers instead of building low-income housing? Why do business interests dominate city priorities?

HAC challenged these priorities by squatting two empty houses then located on this site, by picketing at the parking lot, by taking over the City Council chambers and by gathering over 5,000 signatures on a petition to put the construction of the Kline's structure to a public vote. Two years of HAC actions led to the proposed parking structure's defeat in a May 1991 City Council vote. Two of the squatted houses were saved for low-income housing.

HAC meets every Thursday at 5:30 pm at the Guild House (802 Monroe).

# CALENDAR

To publicize November Calendar events, send formatted listings by October 15 to AGENDA, 202 E. Washington #512, Ann Arbor, MI 48104. Listings for more than five events must be sent to AGENDA on Macintosh disc. Send SASE if you want your disc returned.

**FORMAT**—Your name and phone. 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 Tuesday

**"Berlin: November 1989"** Photo Exhibit: U-M Arts & Programming thru 4 Oct., Mich. Union Art Lounge. 764-6498

**"I See America Dancing"**: U-M Museum of Art thru 10 Nov., 525 S. State. Images of the dance by photographer Barbara Morgan. 764-6498

**ArtBreak:U-M Museum of Art** 12:10 pm, 525 S. State. Twenty-minute tour of exhibitions and special objects. 747-2067

**"Recycling Fun and Games"**: The Ecology Center 4 to 5:30 pm, Leslie Science Center, 1831 Traver. Workshop for grades 1-3. Snack provided, \$3 per session or \$8 for all three sessions (also 8 & 15). Register 994-2780

**Freedom on the River Rowing Program: Dept of Parks & Rec. M-F, 5 to 7:45 pm, Argo Park Livery, 1055 Longshore. Water recreation for the mobility impaired, \$10 for 6 sessions. 662-9319**

**"Closets are for Clothes"**: WCBN-FM 6 pm, 88.3 FM. News, announcements, interviews & commentary for the Lesbian, Gay & Bi communities. 763-3500

**Womyn's Rites & Rhythms"**: WCBN-FM 6:30 pm, 88.3 FM. 763-3500

**"Living Environmentally"**: Community Education Program 7 to 8:30 pm, Slauson School, 1019 W. Washington. At each of four sessions, an Ecology Center staff will focus on a different aspect of environmental living (also 8, 15, & 22). Register 994-2300

**"Brigadista" (Act 1): Peace InSight** 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Multi-media play about a young woman's journey to Nicaragua in the '90s. 769-7422

**Support Group: Adult Daughters of Alcoholics & Other Trauma** 7:30 pm, 3200

Mich. Union, 530 S. State. 763-4186

**Hunter Davis: Schoolkids Free Concert Series** 8 pm, The Ark, 637 S. Main. 761-1451

**Paul Keller/Cary Kocher Quartet: Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$3. 662-8310

## 2 Wednesday

**Brown Bag Lunch: Kempf House** noon, 312 S. Division. Topic TBA, \$1. 994-4898

**ArtVideo: U-M Museum of Art** noon, AV room, 525 S. State. "Degas: The Unquiet Spirit." 747-0521

**Beans and Rice Dinner: Guild House** 6 pm, 802 Monroe. Supper with others who are interested in peace and social justice issues, particularly in Central America, \$3/\$1 kids. 662-5189

**"Living Poets"**: WCBN 6 pm, 88.3 FM. Interviews & readings. 763-3500

**Meeting: Lesbians' & Gay Men's Adult Children of Alcoholics** 7 pm, St. Andrew's Episcopal, 306 N. Division. 763-4186

**Weekly Run for Lesbians & Gays: Ann Arbor Front Runners** 7 pm, entrance to Gallup Park, Fuller at Huron Pkwy (across from Huron High School). 484-1287

**Open Stage: The Ark** 7:30 pm, 637 S. Main, fee. 761-1451

**Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee** 8 pm, Mich. Union. Ask for room # at information desk. 665-8438.

**"Ansar": Palestine Aid Society** 8 pm, Towsley Theater, Washtenaw Community College. Banned by Israeli censors in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, this play portrays Palestinian life in an Israeli prison camp, Ansar 3. It is based upon personal experience and performed by Al-Masrah, a Palestinian theater troupe. \$12.50/\$10 students. 741-1113

**"The Buried Mirror: Reflections on the Culture of Spain and the New World": Hispanic Heritage Celebration 1991** 8 pm, Rackham Aud. With distinguished Latin American novelist Carlos Fuentes. 763-9044

**Social Group for Lesbians, Bisexuals, & Gay Men: East Quad/RC Social Group** 9 to 11 pm, East Quad, 701 E. University. 764-1673

**Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$3. 662-8310

## 3 Thursday

**ArtTalk: U-M Museum of Art** noon, AV room, 525 S. State. "Roman and Early Christian Art" with Nan Plummer. 764-0395

**Meeting: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Law Students Association** 5 pm. For location 998-8136

**Meeting: Homeless Action Committee** 5:30 to 7 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. Help expose myths about homelessness and confront businesses and politicians who contribute to existing poverty and homelessness. 996-1788

**"Second Opinion"**: WCBN-FM 6 pm, 88.3 FM. Interviews, with host Irwin Knoll, editor of The Progressive. 763-3500

**El Mundo Latino"**: WCBN-FM 6:30 pm, 88.3 FM. News, announcements, interviews & commentary focused on Latin America. 763-3500

**Central American Night: Hispanic Heritage Celebration 1991** 7 pm, Residential College Aud., E. Quad. First, focus on El Salvador with Teresa and Ernesto Mariona, and Pilar Celaya on "Salvadoran Refugees in the United States." At 8 pm, Dr. Omar Cabezas, novelist and Rep. of the Sandinista Front to the National Assembly of Nicaragua will speak. 763-9044

**Support Group: The Domestic Violence Project/SAFE House** 7 to 8:30 pm, 2301 Platt. For women who are or have been in an abusive relationship. Free childcare. 973-0242

**Meeting: Gays & Lesbians Older & Wiser (GLOW)** 7 pm, Turner Geriatric Services, 1010 Wall. 763-4186

**Meeting: ACT-UP/Ann Arbor** 7:30 pm, Mich. Union 662-6282

**"70, Girls, 70": Performance Network & Robeena Productions** 8 pm, 408 W. Washington. Performed almost entirely by senior citizens, the story revolves around a plan, by a senior group, to heist furs in order to buy the run down NYC hotel they live in and open it up to aging homeless persons, \$9/\$7 studs & srs. 663-0681

**"Late Summer Blues"**: Hill Street Cinema 8 & 10 pm, 1429 Hill, \$3. 769-0500

**Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm (see 2 Wed)

## 4 Friday

**"The Peace Process: Behind the Rhetoric"**: Guild House Friday Forum noon, 802 Monroe. With Mark Buchan, Palestinian Solidarity Committee member, and recent visitor to the occupied territories. Discussion to follow. Lunch \$1. 662-5189

**Lesbian & Bisexual Womyn's Potluck: Common Language Bookstore & Lesbian Programs Office** 6 to 8 pm, 214 S. 4th Ave. Get a chance to socialize! Bring a dish; (no cooking facilities). 763-4186

**"Grey Matters"**: WCBN 6 pm, 88.3 FM. Focus on the news media. 763-3500

**"Brigadista" (Act 1): Peace InSight** 6:05 pm (see 1 Tue)

**"Community & Culture"**: WCBN 6:30 pm, 88.3 FM. 763-3500

**Folkloric Mexican Music and Dance: Hispanic Heritage Celebration 1991** 7 pm, Pendleton Rm., Mich. Union. 763-9044

**Jewish Feminist Group: Hillel** 7 pm, 1429 Hill. Special women's minyan celebrating Shabbat and Rosh Chodesh Heshvan in a creative service that will explore women's relationship to Judaism. 769-0500

**Meetings: Lesbians, Gay Men, & Bisexuals' Alcoholics Anonymous & Alanon** 7:30 pm, St. Andrew's Episcopal, 306 N. Division. 763-4186

**"Dancing on the Edge": Jazz Dance Theater** 8 pm, Power Center. Bill De Young will premier his new piece "Heartbreak Angels" to music by Melissa Etheridge. \$12.50/\$10 / \$5 studs & child 12 and under. 995-4242

**"70, Girls, 70": Performance Network** 8 pm (see 3 Thu)

**Oasis: The Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley. With Stephanie & Cliff Monear, \$5. 662-8310

**People Jam: People Dancing** 10 pm, Dance Jam Studio, 111 Third St. Varied recorded dance music. Okay to bring own music and acoustic instruments. Smoke and alcohol-free. Children welcome, \$2. 665-7911

## 5 Saturday

**Schiele and Klimt Drawings: U-M Museum of Art** thru 22 Dec., 525 S. State. A local art appreciator's collection of Austrian expressionist master drawings. 764-6498

**Weekly Run for Lesbians & Gays: Ann Arbor Front Runners** 9 am (see 2 Wed)

**Open House: Michigan Water Pollution Control Association** 1 to 3 pm, Wastewater Treatment Plant, 49 S. Dixboro Rd. Part of Michigan's 8th Annual Water Quality Awareness Week. Tours of the plant, which treats 18.5 million gallons of wastewater a day, are at 1:15 pm and 2:15 pm. 994-2811

**"From Procreation to Recreation": Conference on the Cultural Construction of Sexuality** thru 6 Sun, 8:30 pm, Rackham & Modern Languages Bldg. Keynotes, panels, workshops. 769-4241

**"Our Names Are...": Detroit's James Baldwin-Pat Parker Society** 7 pm, International Institute, 111 E. Kirby, Detroit. Poetry, dramatic readings, music, dance and more, \$8. 763-4186

**Meeting: Sober Sisters, An Alcoholics Anonymous Group for Lesbians & Bisexual Women** 7 pm, Common Language Bookstore, 214 S. 4th Ave. 763-4186, 663-0036

**"The Changing World Political Situation and the Nicaraguan Revolution": Latin American Solidarity Committee** 7:30 pm, Rackham Amphitheater. Informal talk and discussion with Dr. Omar Cabezas Lacayo who currently serves in the Nicaraguan National Assembly as Sandinista Front Representative from Leon. A vocal critic of the Somoza dictatorship and FSLN guerrilla veteran, Cabezas based his acclaimed book "Fire From the Mountain" on his experiences. 665-8438

**Buddy Guy: Prism Productions** 8 pm, Majestic Theatre, 4120 Woodward, Detroit. "The best guitar player alive"—Eric Clapton, \$12.50 advance. 99-MUSIC

**"70, Girls, 70": Performance Network** 8 pm (see 3 Thu)

**"Dancing on the Edge": Jazz Dance Theater** 8 pm (see 4 Fri)

**Drum Circle: Guild House** 8 pm, 802 Monroe. Instruments provided or bring your own. 662-5189

# COMING OUT!

**National Coming Out Day is Friday, October 11**

### RALLY AND MARCH

7pm, Rackham Building front steps, 915 E. Washington

### CELEBRATION DANCE

10pm -1:30am, North Campus Commons, Bonisteel at Murfin. Sliding scale donation.

**Another LESBIAN AND GAY MEN'S PRIDE • AWARENESS • COMMITMENT WEEK Project. 763-4186 for info.**



### HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE PRISM 99-MUSIC CONCERTLINE

This amazing percussionist has performed with Sting, Herbie Hancock, Branford Marsalis, & Taj Mahal  
WAMX welcomes Pangaea/IRS recording artist



# VINX

& THE BARKING FEET

Oct. 15 • The Ark 2 Shows! 7:30 & 9:30 pm

WDET & Office of Major Events welcomes

Oct. 16  
7:30 pm  
Power  
Center

# Michelle Shocked

On The Road To Arkansas



The Peter Pan of Pop Returns!

# JONATHAN RICHMAN

Oct. 23 • 2 shows! 7:30 & 9:30 pm • The Ark



Tickets on sale at TICKETMASTER outlets. Charge by phone: 645-6666. For 24 hr. concert info. 99-MUSIC. To get on the Concertcard Mailing List. 665-4755.

**"Late Summer Blues": Hill Street Cinema** 8:30 & 10:30 pm (see 3 Thu)

**Night Flight: Polo Club** 9 pm to 1 am, 610 Hilton Blvd. Live reggae roots and soul music. 761-7800

**Oasis: The Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm (see 4 Fri)

## 6 Sunday

**Harvey Reed: Bird of Paradise** 11 am, 207 S. Ashley. Jazzy brunch! 662-8310

**"Brigadista" (Act 1): Peace InSight** 1:05 pm (see 1 Tue)

**Sunday Tour: U-M Museum of Art** 2 pm, lobby, 525 S. State. Hour tour of major exhibitions. 764-0395

**Support Group: Adult Daughters of Alcoholics & Other Trauma** 7:30 pm, 3200 Mich. Union. 763-4186

**"Special Ministry to Gay Men & Lesbians": Huron Valley Community Church** 2 pm services, 3 pm social hour. Glacier Way United Methodist Church, 1001 Green Road. 741-1174

**Kitten and Cat Training & Care Clinic: The Humane Society of Huron Valley** 2 to 4:30 pm, Ann Arbor Dog Training Club, 1575 E. N. Territorial Rd. Introducing a new cat to the household, grooming, discipline, preventative health care, and nutritional needs. Do not bring your cat, \$2/children under 12 free 662-5545

**"70, Girls, 70": Performance Network** 2 pm (see 3 Thu)

**Meeting: Dawntreaders** 3 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. Mental health consumers and advocacy group. 662-5189

**U-M Community Eucharist: Canterbury House** 5 pm, St. Andrew's Church, 306 N. Division. An informal celebration of the Holy Eucharist for the U-M community. Supper held next door at Canterbury House following service. 665-0606

**Swim Practice: A2QUA (Ann Arbor Queer Aquatics)** 5 pm, Central Campus Recreation Bldg., 401 Washtenaw Place. Call for guest pass. 665-8063

**Meeting: Huron Valley Greens** 6 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. An organization for people seeking radical synthesis of environmental and social change movements. 662-5189

**Weekly Run for Lesbians & Gays: Ann Arbor Front Runners** 6 pm (see 2 Wed)

**Meetings: Lesbians', Gay Men's, & Bisexuals' Alcoholics Anonymous & Alanon** 7:30 pm, First Congregational Church, 218 N. Adams, Ypsilanti. 763-4186

**Meetings: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian AA and Alanon** 7:30 pm, First Congregational Church, 118 N. Adams, AA downstairs, Alanon upstairs. 484-0456

**Israeli Dancing: Hillel** 8 to 10 pm, 1429 Hill. Instruction followed by open dancing. Beginners and advanced welcome. \$2. 769-0500

**Harvey Reed Jazz Jam: Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley. 662-8310

## 7 Monday

**Poetry Readings: Hispanic Heritage Celebration 1991** 3 pm, Henderson Rm., Mich. League. With Gloria Anzaldua, renowned Chicana feminist writer. 763-9044

**No Turning Back Women's Reproductive Freedom Rally: Detroit ACLU & Others** 4:30 pm, McNamara Building (Michigan at Cass), Detroit.

**"In These States": WCBN-FM** 6 pm, WCBN, 88.3 FM. Focus on domestic issues. 763-3500

**"Midwest Perspectives": WCBN-FM** 6:30 pm, WCBN, 88.3 FM. Focus on the Middle East. 763-3500

**Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy (CHAS) Public Meeting: City of A2** 7 pm, City Hall. Meeting to solicit public input on what community housing needs are, and how federal and state housing money should be spent. Comments will be incorporated into the 5-year CHAS plan. A draft of the CHAS is on reserve at the Ann Arbor Public Library. 994-2912

**Lesbian Health Series: Lesbian Programs Office** 7 pm, Common Language Bookstore, 214 S. 4th Ave. 763-4186

**David Sosnowski and Shaarazetta Natelege: Guild House Writers Series** 8:30 pm, 802 Monroe. 662-5189

**Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation Front** 8:45 pm, Canterbury House, 218 N. Division. 763-4186

## 8 Tuesday

**ArtBreak: U-M Museum of Art** 12:10 pm (see 1 Tue)

**"Recycling Fun and Games": The Ecology Center** 4 pm (see 1 Tue)

**"Closets are for Clothes": WCBN-FM** 6 pm, 88.3 FM (see 1 Tue)

**Womyn's Rites & Rhythms": WCBN-FM** 6:30 pm, 88.3 FM (see 1 Tue)

**"Living Environmentally": Community Education Program** 7 pm (see 1 Tue)

**"Brigadista" (Act 2): Peace InSight** 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Finale of multi-media play about a young woman's journey to Nicaragua in the '90s. 769-7422

**Meeting: Amnesty International Group** 61 7:30 pm, Mich. Union, check room # at desk. Activities to protect human rights and free prisoners of conscience around the world. 761-3639

**Meeting: Washtenaw Citizens for Animal Rights** 7:30 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe. 665-2480

**Meeting: Lesbians' & Gay Men's Rights Organizing Committee** 7:30 pm, 3100 Mich. Union. 761-2627

**Support Group: Adult Daughters of Alcoholics & Other Trauma** 7:30 pm (see 1 Tue)

**"Legal and Political Perspectives on Puerto Rico's**

**Colonial Status": Hispanic Heritage Celebration 1991** 8 pm, 150 Hutchins Hall, U-M Law School. With Dr. Ruben Berrios Martinez, Prof. of Law, Univ. of Puerto Rico. 763-9044

**The Mad Hatters Educational Theater: Hillel** 8 pm, Irwin Green Aud., 1429 Hill. Dramas which depict the lives of people with mental, emotional, physical or sensorial impairments. 760-0500

**Paul Keller/Cary Kocher Quartet: Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm (see 1 Tue)

## 9 Wednesday

**ArtVideo: U-M Museum of Art** noon, AV room, 525 S. State. "Velasquez & Rembrandt." 747-0521

**Brown Bag Lunch: Kempf House** noon (see 2 Wed)

**Beans and Rice Dinner: Guild House** 6 pm (see 2 Wed)

**"Living Poets": WCBN-FM** 6 pm (see 2 Wed)

**Meeting: Student Organization United for Peace** 7:30 pm, Pray-Harold, EMU. 482-2797

**Open Stage: The Ark** 7:30 pm, 637 S. Main. 761-1451

**Meeting: Lesbians' & Gay Men's Adult Children of Alcoholics** 7 pm (see 2 Wed)

**Weekly Run for Lesbians & Gays: Ann Arbor Front Runners** 7 pm (see 2 Wed)

**International Folkdancing: U-M Folkdancing Club** 7:30-10:30 pm, Angell School Aud., 1608 S. University. Line and circle dances from the Balkans, Europe and the Middle East. Earthy music, good exercise; no partner necessary. 663-3885

**Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee** 8 pm (see 2 Wed)

**Social Group for Lesbians, Bisexuals, & Gay Men: East Quad/RC Social Group** 9 pm (see 2 Wed)

**Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm (see 2 Wed)

## 10 Thursday

**ArtTalk: U-M Museum of Art** noon to 1 pm, AV room, 525 S. State. "Romanesque and Gothic Art." 764-0395

**"Latino Contributions to Psychology": Hispanic Heritage Celebration 1991** 4 pm, E. Conference Rm., Rackham. With Ramon Garza, of Univ. of Texas-San Antonio. 763-9044

**Meeting: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Law Students Association** 5 pm (see 3 Thu)

**Meeting: Homeless Action Committee** 5:30 pm (see 3 Thu)

**"Second Opinion": WCBN-88.3 FM** 6 pm (see 3 Thu)

**El Mundo Latino": WCBN-88.3 FM** 6:30 pm (see 3 Thu)

**Support Group: The Domestic Violence Project/SAFE House** 7 pm (see 3 Thu)

**Journey Women: Guild House** 7:30 pm, 802 Monroe. Women's spirituality group. 662-5189

**Meeting: ACT-UP/Ann Arbor** 7:30 pm (see 3 Thu)

**"M" A\*S\*H": Hill Street Cinema** 8 pm, 1429 Hill, \$3. 769-0500

**"70, Girls, 70": Perf. Network** 8 pm (see 3 Thu)

**Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm (see 2 Wed)

**"The Wall": Hill Street Cinema** 10 pm, 1429 Hill, \$3. 769-0500

## 11 Friday

**"The 500th Anniversary of Columbus": Guild House Friday Forum** noon, 802 Monroe. With John Powell of Caribbean/African Dialogue. Optional lunch, \$1. 662-5189

**"Grey Matters": WCBN-88.3 FM** 6 pm (see 4 Fri)

**"Brigadista" (Act 2): Peace InSight** 6:05 pm (see 1 Tue)

**"Community & Culture": WCBN-F 88.3 M** 6:30 p.m. (see 4 Fri)

**Lesbian's & Gay Men's Pride-Awareness-Commitment Week: National Coming Out Day Rally & March** 7 pm, Rackham Bldg. front steps, 915 E. Washington. 763-4186

**Grads & Young Professionals Veggie Shabbat Potluck: Jewish Law Students Union** 7:30 pm, Lawyer's Club, Law Quad. 769-0500

**Meetings: Lesbians', Gay Men, and Bisexuals' Alcoholics Anonymous & Alanon** 7:30 pm (see 4 Fri)

**"70, Girls, 70": Performance Network** 8 pm (see 3 Thu)

**Nirvana: Prism Productions** 8 pm, St. Andrew's Hall, 431 E. Congress, Detroit. All ages show, \$8.50 advance. 99-MUSIC.

**Bill Held Trio: The Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

**Lesbians' & Gay Men's PAC Week: Celebration Dance** 10 pm, N. Campus Commons, Bonisteel at Murfin. Sliding scale donation. 763-4186

## 12 Saturday

**Free Puerto Rico March: Puerto Rican National Liberation Movement** all day, Washington, D.C. "499 Years of Colonialism in the Western Hemisphere is Long Enough!" 763-3241

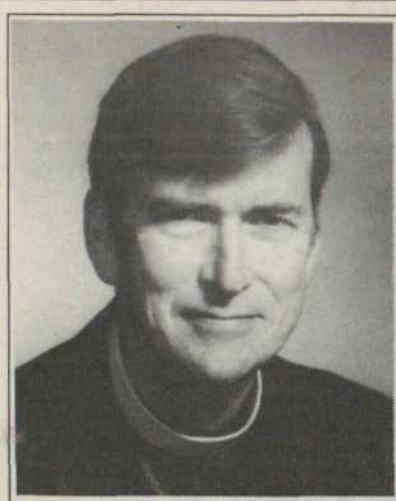
**Landfill Walking Tour and Recycle Ann Arbor Processing Facility Open House: City of Ann Arbor & RAA** 9, 9:45 and 10:15 am (RAA tours), 9:45 am (landfill walking tour). Meet at Swift Run Park. Wear hiking boots. 994-2807

**Weekly Run for Lesbians & Gays: Ann Arbor Front Runners** 9 am (see 2 Wed)

**Meeting: Sober Sisters** 7 pm (see 5 Sat)

**"The Power of Myth": Open Arches** 7:30 pm, Inter-Cooperative Education Ctr., 1522 Hill. Joseph Campbell video hosted by Bill Moyers (for PBS). 665-3522

**"70, Girls, 70": Performance Network** 8 pm (see 3 Thu)



### The Rt. Rev. John Shelby Spong

Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Newark, will visit Ann Arbor October 14 - 16 and speak to various church and university groups. Sponsored by Canterbury House / Episcopal Student Foundation at U-M and St. Andrew's Church. Spog is author of *Living in Sin? A Bishop Rethinks Human Sexuality*; *This Hebrew Lord*; and *Rescuing the Bible from Fundamentalism*. Events open to the public.

**Monday, October 14, 8 pm**

**"Sex and the Church"**

Talk at Canterbury House, 218 N. Division St. (Cosponsors Canterbury House & Gay / Lesbian Open House)

**Tuesday, October 15, 8 pm**

**"Questioning the Authority of the Past"**

Rackham Amphitheatre, 4th floor Rackham Bldg. (U-M) Washington Street

**Wednesday, October 16, 4 - 6 pm**

Book signing at Shaman Drum Bookstore, 313 South State Street

**Canterbury House**

The Episcopal Church at U-M

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October 31 - November 10

Thursdays, Fridays & Saturdays at 8:00pm  
Sundays at 6:30pm

Performance Network  
Info and Reservations  
**663-0681** of Ann Arbor  
408 W. Washington

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# Main Street

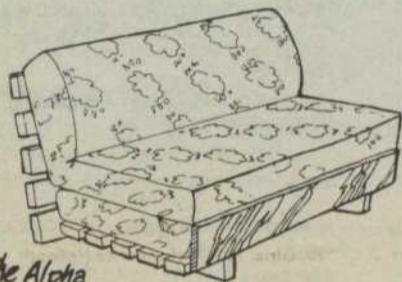
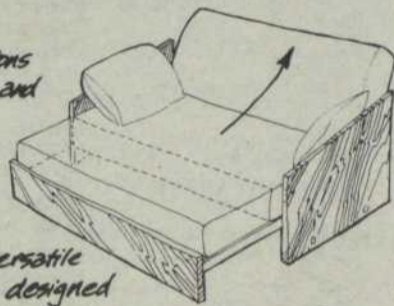
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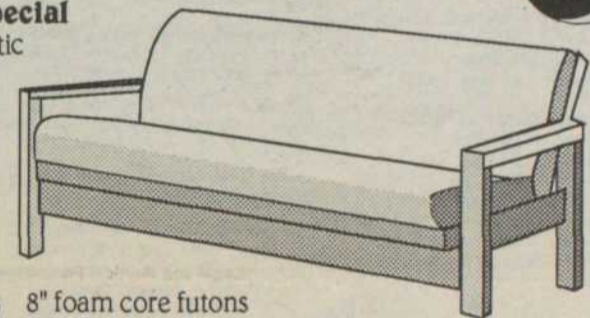


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"M" A\*S\*H": Hill Street Cinema 8 pm (see 10 Thu)

Drum Circle: Guild House 8 pm (see 5 Sat)

Bill Heid Trio: The Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm (see 11 Fri)

"The Wall": Hill Street Cinema 10 pm (see 10 Thu)

## 13 Sunday

Helmetour: A2 Dept. of Parks and Recreation between 8 am & noon, Fuller Pool, 1519 Fuller. Bike tour accommodating all riding levels. \$10. 994-2786

Educational Outreach Program Facilitators Meeting: Lesbian-Gay Male Programs Office 11 am, 3100 Mich. Union. 763-4186

Harvey Reed: Bird of Paradise 11 am (see 6 Sun)

Living History Day: Cobblestone Farm noon to 4 pm, 2781 Packard. Watch the farm come to life as it might have in the mid-19th century. 994-2928

"Brigadista" (Act 2): Peace InSight 1:05 pm (see 1 Tue)

Washtenaw County CROP Walk for Hunger: Interfaith Council for Peace and Justice 1:30 pm, Zion Lutheran Church, 1501 W. Liberty. Ten kilometer walkathon to raise money for hunger-relief projects. Be a walker or a sponsor. 663-1870

Welcome to Black Pond: A2 Dept. of Parks and Recreation 2 to 3:30 pm. Explore Black Pond with naturalist Anne Lindsay. Wear wading clothes. \$2. 662-7802

The Mini-Matinee Club: The Goodtime Players 2 pm, Stone School Aud., 2800 Stone School. Performance for children 4 & up. With "Midas' Golden Touch," a musical comedy by The Goodtime Players, and folk-musician Dale Petty on guitar and mountain dulcimer. \$4/\$3 children. 994-2300

Tour: Museum of Art 2 pm (see 6 Sun)

"Special Ministry to Gay Men & Lesbians": Huron Valley Community Church 2 pm (see 6 Sun)

"70, Girls, 70": Perf. Network 2 pm (see 3 Thu)

U-M Community Eucharist: Canterbury House 5 pm (see 6 Sun)

Weekly Run for Lesbians & Gays: Ann Arbor Front Runners 6 pm (see 2 Wed)

"Discovering Columbus": Women's Action for a New Direction (WAND) & Women's Int'l League for Peace & Freedom 7:30 pm meeting, 8 pm presentation, St. Aidan's/Northside Church, 1679 Broadway (across from Baits entrance to North Campus). Panel discussion and skit about myths surrounding the "discovery" of America. 662-2475.

Judith Plaskow: Hill Street Forum & Jewish Feminist Group 7:30 pm, Irwin Green Aud., 1429 Hill. Judaism from a feminist perspective. 769-0500

Meetings: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian AA and Alanon 7:30 pm (see 6 Sun)

Meetings: Lesbians', Gay Men's, & Bisexuals' Alcoholics Anonymous & Alanon 7:30 pm (see 6 Sun)

Israeli Dancing: Hillel 8 pm (see 6 Sun)

Harvey Reed Jazz Jam: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm (see 6 Sun)

## 14 Monday

"In These States": WCBN- 88.3 FM 6 pm (see 7 Mon)

"Midwest Perspectives": WCBN-88.3 FM 6:30 pm (see 7 Mon)

Lesbian Health Series: Lesbian Programs Office 7 pm (see 7 Mon)

Larry Francis & Bob Hick: Guild House 8:30 pm, 802 Monroe. 662-5189

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation Front 8:45 pm with Bishop Spong (see 7 Mon)

Bird of Paradise Orchestra: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm (see 7 Mon)

## 15 Tuesday

ArtBreak:U-M Museum of Art 12:10 pm (see 1 Tue)

"Current Research on Minority Students with Emphasis on Hispanic Students": Hispanic Heritage Celebration 1991 3:30 to 5 pm, Sch'l of Ed., Tribute Room. With Lehman College President, Ricardo Fernandez. Reception to follow. 763-9044

"Recycling Fun and Games": The Ecology Center 4 pm (see 1 Tue)

"Closets are for Clothes": WCBN-FM 6 pm, 88.3 FM (see 1 Tue)

Womyn's Rites & Rhythms": WCBN-FM 6:30 pm, 88.3 FM (see 1 Tue)

"Living Environmentally": Community Education Program 7 pm (see 1 Tue)

"A Certain Terror: Homophobia, Oppression and Violence": Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. With Richard Cleaver. 769-7422

Support Group: Adult Daughters of Alcoholics & Other Trauma 7:30 pm (see 1 Tue)

Meeting: Lesbians' & Gay Men's Rights Organizing Committee 7:30 pm (see 8 Tue)

Paul Keller/Cary Kocher Quartet: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm (see 1 Tue)

## 16 Wednesday

Standing Outside with the People of Nicaragua: Religious Coalition on Latin America Call for time and place. Five-Cents-a-Plate Dinner to raise money for people's basic needs in Nicaragua, on the occasion of the Five Hundred Dollars-a-Plate dinner for a cathedral in Managua. 663-1870

ArtVideo:U-M Museum of Art noon, AV room, 525 S. State. "Vienna 1900." 747-0521

Brown Bag Lunch: Kempf House noon (see 2 Wed)

Beans and Rice Dinner: Guild House 6 pm (see 2 Wed)

"Living Poets": WCBN-FM 6 pm, 88.3 FM (see 2 Wed)

"Latinas, Puerto Ricans, and Puerto Rican Women in the U.S.": Hispanic Heritage Celebration 1991 7 pm, Trotter House. With poet, novelist, Judith Ortiz Cofer. 763-9044

"Alcohol Abuse by Lesbians & Gay Men & Its Prevention": Lesbian-Gay Male Programs Office 7 pm, location TBA. Workshop facilitated by local mental health professionals. 763-4186

Meeting: Lesbians' & Gay Men's Adult Children of Alcoholics 7 pm (see 2 Wed)

Weekly Run for Lesbians & Gays: Ann Arbor Front Runners 7 pm (see 2 Wed)

Introduction to Waldorf Education: The Rudolf Steiner School of Ann Arbor 7:30 pm, 2775 Newport. Find out how children can develop self-esteem, creativity and a life-long love of learning. 995-4141

Michelle Shocked: Office of Major Events 7:30 pm, Power Center. Reserved, \$17.50. 99-MUSIC

Open Stage: The Ark 7:30 pm (see 2 Wed)

Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee 8 pm (see 2 Wed)

Social Group for Lesbians, Bisexuals & Gay Men: East Quad/RC Social Group 9 pm (see 2 Wed)

Ellen James Society: Prism Productions 9:30 pm, Blind Pig, 208 S. First. \$5.50 advance. 99-MUSIC.

Ron Brooks Trio with Fiona Duncan: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm (see 2 Wed)

## 17 Thursday

ArtTalk: U-M Museum of Art noon to 1 pm, AV room, 525 S. State. "Van Eyck and Late

Gothic in the North" with Bobbie Levine. 764-0395

Meeting: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Law Students Association 5 pm (see 3 Thu)

Meeting: Homeless Action Committee 5:30 pm (see 3 Thu)

"Second Opinion": WCBN-88.3 FM 6 pm (see 3 Thu)

El Mundo Latino": WCBN-88.3 FM 6:30 pm (see 3 Thu)

"Differing Perspectives on the Meaning of 1992 for the Americas": U-M & Kalpulli 7 pm, Alice Lloyd Residence Hall lounge. Two students of Kalpulli Koalko will present Azteka dances and lead discussion. 763-9044

Support Group: The Domestic Violence Project/SAFE House 7 pm (see 3 Thu)

"Oshun, Goddess of Love and Culture": Open Arches & Girlfrenzy 7:30 pm, Inter-Cooperative Education Ctr., 1522 Hill. Nisi Shawl, Dawn Treader Bookshop proprietor and poet, leads discussion of this attractive African deity. 665-2270

Meeting: ACT-UP/Ann Arbor 7:30 pm (see 3 Thu)

"Don Don or The First Burning": Performance Network & Prospero Theater Co. 8 pm, 408 W. Washington. The "Dons" refer to Don Juan and Don Quixote who are both dead. Their servants Sancho Panza and Sganarelle are alive, however, and meet for the first time in "Don Don." \$10/\$8 studs & srs. 663-0681

Prof-ferred Film Series: Hill Street Cinema 8:30 pm, 1429 Hill. Film TBA by English Prof. Ralph Williams. \$3. 769-0500

Ron Brooks Trio with Fiona Duncan: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm (see 2 Wed)

## 18 Friday

Peace with Justice Week Videotape Preview: Guild House Friday Forum noon, 802 Monroe. "Deadly Deception: General Electric, Nuclear Weapons and Our

Environment" (Infact 1991) and "The Folgers Coffee Connection"(Neighbor to Neighbor 1991). Optional lunch \$1. 662-5189

**Open House: Lesbian-Gay Male Programs Office** 4 to 7 pm, 3116 Mich. Union. 763-4186

**"Grey Matters":** WCBN-FM 6 pm, 88.3 FM (see 4 Fri)

**"Homophobia, Oppression and Violence":** Peace InSight 6:05 pm (see 15 Tue)

**"Community & Culture":** WCBN-88.3 FM 6:30 pm (see 4 Fri)

**"The Oral Traditions of the Indigenous People of the North and South":** U-M & Kalpulli 7:30 pm, Anderson Room, Mich. Union. With Native American Elder Grandmother Kitty and Maestro Tlakaalel, United Nations representative for indigenous people. 763-9044

**Meetings: Lesbians', Gay Men and Bisexuals' Alcoholics Anonymous & Alanon** 7:30 pm (see 4 Fri)

**Open Stage: The Ark** 7:30 pm (see 2 Wed)

**Gran Balle Final: Hispanic Heritage Celebration 1991** 8 pm to 2 am, Mich. Union Ballroom. K-Che Orchestra and Patricia El Carilo Musical Band, \$4/\$2 students. 763-9044

**"Don Don": Performance Network** 8 pm (see 17 Thu)

**Blues Traveler: Prism Productions** 8 pm, St. Andrew's Hall, 431 E. Congress, Detroit, \$12.50 advance. 99-MUSIC

**Tower of Power: Prism Productions** 8 & 11 pm, Alvin's, 5756 Cass Ave., Detroit, \$12.50 advance. 99-MUSIC

**Ron Brooks Trio with Fiona Duncan: The Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

**Dance Jam: People Dancing** 10 pm (see 4 Fri)

## 19 Saturday

**Weekly Run for Lesbians & Gays: Ann Arbor Front Runners** 9 am (see 2 Wed)

**Property Tax Management Workshop: The Housing Bureau for Seniors** 10 to 11:30 am, Sylvan Township Hall, 112 W. Middle, Chelsea. With speakers from the Washtenaw County Treasurer's Office, Legal Services of Southeastern Michigan, the Lima Township Treasurer's Office, and the Washtenaw County Council on Aging. Register 763-0970

**Harvest Fun for the Young: Leslie Science Center** 10 am to noon (ages 5-8), 1 to 3 pm (ages 7 to 11), 1831 Traver. Make applesauce, cornhusk dolls and herbal sachets, \$10. Register 994-2928

**"Ceremony of Four Colors":** U-M & Kalpulli 10 am to 1 pm (oral teachings), 2 to 5 pm (ceremony), east bank of Gallup Park. Story and ceremony that honor the unity of all the races and provides a time to pray for peace among all the world's peoples." Bring lunch. 763-9044

**Meeting: Sober Sisters** 7 pm (see 5 Sat)

**Benefit Concert for Kewawidinoquay: Unitarian Universalist Church** 7:30 pm, 1917 Washtenaw. Benefit concert for Ojibwa elder featuring Stephanie Ozer and Kathy Moore, Repercussions, and Dwight Peterson, \$7-20+ sliding scale. 761-9148

**"Don Don": Performance Network** 8 pm (see 17 Thu)

**"Hair": Hill Street Cinema** 8 & 10 pm, 1429 Hill, \$3. 769-0500

**Drum Circle: Guild House** 8 pm (see 5 Sat)

**American Music Club: Prism Productions** 9 pm, Alvin's, 5756 Cass Ave., Detroit, \$7.50 advance. 99-MUSIC

**Ron Brooks Trio with Fiona Duncan: The Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

## 20 Sunday

**Harvey Reed: Bird of Paradise** 11 am (see 6 Sun)

**Amphibians and Reptiles: Leslie Science Center** 1 to 2 pm (ages 4-first grade), 2:30 to 4 pm (grades 2-4), 1831 Traver, \$3-\$4. Register 662-7802

**"Homophobia, Oppression & Violence":** Peace InSight 1:05 pm (see 15 Tue)

**Meeting: Parents-FLAG/Ann Arbor** 2 to 5 pm, King of Kings Lutheran Church, 2685 Packard. 763-4186

**Charles Baxter: Granite Line Writers** 2 pm, Freighthouse Cafe, inside Farmer's Mkt., Ypsilanti, \$3. 994-4341

**"Special Ministry to Gay Men & Lesbians":** Huron Valley Community Church 2 pm (see 6 Sun)

**Sunday Tour: U-M Museum of Art** 2 pm (see 6 Sun)

**Womyn's Poetry Reading: Common Language Books** 3 pm, 214 S. 4th Ave. Akasha Fleugge will be the featured reader followed by open mike. 663-0036

**Meeting: Dawntreaders** 3 pm (see 6 Sun)

**Swim Practice: A2QUA** 5 pm (see 6 Sun)

**U-M Community Eucharist: Canterbury House** 5 pm (see 6 Sun)

**Meeting: Huron Greens** 6 pm (see 6 Sun)

**Weekly Run for Lesbians & Gays: Ann Arbor Front Runners** 6 pm (see 6 Sun)

**"Don Don": Performance Network** 6:30 pm (see 17 Thu)

**Meetings: Lesbians', Gay Men's and Bisexuals' Alcoholics Anonymous & Alanon** 7:30 pm (see 6 Sun)

**Meetings: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian AA and Alanon** 7:30 pm (see 6 Sun)

**Israeli Dancing: Hillel** 8 pm (see 6 Sun)

**Harvey Reed Jazz Jam: Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm (see 6 Sun)

## 21 Monday

**"In These States":** WCBN-88.3 FM 6 pm (see 7 Mon)

**"Midwest Perspectives":** WCBN-88.3 FM 6:30 pm (see 7 Mon)

**The Arts In a Market Economy: Performance Network & Schoolkids** 7 pm, 408 W. Wash. Discussion series. 663-0681

**Lesbian Health Series: Lesbian Programs Office** 7 pm, "Menopause," with Dr. Sandra Cole, Certified Sexologist & Human Sexuality Educator. (see 7 Mon)

**"The Struggle for Latin America's Soul": Religious Coalition on Latin America** 7:30 pm, call for location. With Gary MacEoin, writer for the National Catholic Reporter and author with long experience in Latin America. 663-1870

**Sandra Vallie and Lorraine Erikson: Guild House Writers Series** 8:30 pm, 802 Monroe. 662-5189

**Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation Front** 8:45 pm (see 5 Mon)

**Bird of Paradise Orchestra: Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm (see 7 Mon)

## 22 Tuesday

**ArtBreak: U-M Museum of Art** 12:10 pm (see 1 Tue)

**"Water and Wildlife": The Ecology Center** 4 to 5:30 pm, Leslie Science Center, 1831 Traver. Workshop for grades 1-4. Snacks provided, \$3. Register 994-2780

**"Closets are for Clothes":** WCBN-FM 6 pm, 88.3 FM (see 1 Tue)

**Womyn's Rites & Rhythms":** WCBN-FM 6:30 pm, 88.3 FM (see 1 Tue)

**"Living Environmentally":** Community Education Program 7 pm (see 1 Tue)

**"A Year of Conscience":** Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Chan. 9. Interviews with participants of a year of vigils for a Just Peace in the Gulf. 769-7422

**Support Group: Adult Daughters of Alcoholics & Other Trauma** 7:30 pm (see 1 Tue)

**Meeting: Lesbians' & Gay Men's Rights Organizing Committee** 7:30 pm (see 8 Tue)

**"The Hydrogen Jukebox":** Michigan Theater Drama Season 8 pm, Michigan Theater, 603 E. Liberty. Music-theater by poet Allen Ginsberg and composer Philip Glass, \$29.50/\$27.50 members. 668-8397

**Paul Keller/Cary Kocher Quartet: Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm (see 1 Tue)

## 23 Wednesday

**ArtVideo: U-M Museum of Art** noon, AV room, 525 S. State. "Matisse." 747-0521

**Brown Bag Lunch: Kempf House** noon (see 2 Wed)

**Beans and Rice Dinner: Guild House** 6 pm (see 2 Wed)

**"Living Poets":** WCBN-88.3 FM 6 pm (see 2 Wed)

**Open Stage: The Ark** 7:30 pm (see 2 Wed)

**Weekly Run for Lesbians & Gays: Ann Arbor Front Runners** 7 pm (see 2 Wed)

**Meeting: Lesbians' & Gay Men's Adult Children of Alcoholics** 7 pm (see 2 Wed)

**Peace with Justice Week Videotape Preview: Interfaith Council for Peace & Justice** 7:30 pm, Trinity Lutheran Church, 1400 W. Stadium. (see 18 Fri) Both tapes are available on loan from ICPJ at no charge. 663-1870

**Jonathan Richman: Prism Productions** 7:30 & 10 pm, The Ark, 637 S. Main, \$11.50 advance. 99-MUSIC

**International Folkdancing: U-M Folkdancing Club** 7:30 pm (see 9 Wed)

**Meeting: Latin Amer. Solidarity Committee** 8 pm (see 2 Wed)

**Cassini Ensemble: Performance Network & Schoolkids** 8 pm, 408 W. Washington, \$9/\$7 studs & srs. 663-0681

**"The Hydrogen Jukebox":** Mich Theater 8 pm (see 22 Tue)

**Social Group for Lesbians, Bisexuals, & Gay Men: East Quad/RC Social Group** 9 pm (see 2 Wed)

**Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm (see 2 Wed)

## 24 Thursday

**ArtTalk: U-M Museum of Art** noon, AV room, 525 S. State. "Giotto" with William Hennessey. 764-0395

**Meeting: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Law Students Association** 5 pm (see 3 Thu)

**Meeting: Homeless Action Committee** 5:30 pm (see 3 Thu)

**"Second Opinion":** WCBN-88.3 FM 6 pm (see 3 Thu)

**El Mundo Latino":** WCBN-88.3 FM 6:30 pm (see 3 Thu)

**Support Group: The Domestic Violence Project/SAFE House** 7 pm (see 3 Thu)

**"Rethinking the Role of the United Nations":** Huron Valley Chapter of the United Nations Associations of the USA 7:30 pm, Hutchins Hall, (State at Monroe). With Clovis Maksoud, professor and former permanent representative of the Arab League at the United Nations. 996-2596

**Meeting: ACT-UP/Ann Arbor** 7:30 pm (see 3 Thu)

**Violent Femmes: Prism Productions** 8 pm, Michigan Theater, 603 E. Liberty, \$18.50 Reserved. 99-MUSIC

**"The Color Purple":** Hill Street Cinema 8 pm, 1429 Hill, \$3. 769-0500

**"Don Don": Performance Network** 8 pm (see 17 Thu)

**Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise** 9:30 pm (see 2 Wed)

**"Tootsie":** Hill Street Cinema 10 pm, 1429 Hill, \$3. 769-0500

## 25 Friday

**El Salvador: Guild House Friday Forum** noon, 802 Monroe. With Carmen Argueta, from Building with the Voiceless of El Salvador. Optional lunch \$1. 662-5189

**National Ecumenical Conference on the Philippines: Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines** thru 26 Sat, 4 pm,

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Meetings: Lesbians', Gay Men, & Bisexuals' Alcoholics Anonymous & Alanon 7:30 pm (see 4 Fri)

"Don Don": Performance Network 8 pm (see 17 Thu)

Eddie Russ Trio: The Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm, 207 S. Ashley, \$5. 662-8310

## 26 Saturday

Weekly Run for Lesbians & Gays: Ann Arbor Front Runners 9 am (see 2 Wed)

"Bid from the Heart" Auction: The Humane Society 7 pm, Holiday Inn Holidome, Jackson Rd. Live auction to benefit the Humane Society of Huron Valley's shelter animals, \$25 includes hors d'oeuvres buffet, live auction, coffee and dessert. 662-5545

Meeting: Sober Sisters 7 pm (see 5 Sat)

"Don Don": Performance Network 8 pm (see 17 Thu)

Drum Circle: Guild House 8 pm (see 5 Sat)

"The Color Purple": Hill Street Cinema 8 pm (see 24 Thu)

Eddie Russ Trio: The Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm (see 25 Sat)

"Tootsie": Hill Street Cinema 10 pm (see 24 Thu)

## 27 Sunday

Harvey Reed: Bird of Paradise 11 am (see 6 Sun)

"A Year of Conscience": Peace InSight 1:05 pm (see 22 Tue)

"Special Ministry to Gay Men & Lesbians": Huron Valley Community Church 2 pm (see 6 Sun)

Sunday Tour: U-M Museum of Art 2 pm (see 6 Sun)

U-M Community Eucharist: Canterbury House 5 pm (see 6 Sun)

Swim Practice: A2QUA (Ann Arbor Queer Aquatics) 5 pm (see 6 Sun)

Weekly Run for Lesbians & Gays: Ann Arbor Front Runners 6 pm (see 6 Sun)

"Don Don": Performance Network 6:30 pm (see 17 Thu)

Benefit Concert: Ecology Center 7:30 pm, First Unitarian Universalist Church, 1917 Washtenaw. The concert will feature Charlie King, a talented East Coast singer/songwriter in the Pete Seeger/Holly Near mold, and Common Ground, a local cultural troupe directed by Elise Bryant, \$8 advance/\$10 at door. 761-3186

Meetings: Lesbians', Gay Men's, & Bisexuals' Alcoholics Anonymous & Alanon 7:30 pm (see 6 Sun)

Meetings: Ypsilanti Gay Male/Lesbian AA and Alanon 7:30 pm (see 6 Sun)

"M. Butterfly": Michigan Theater Drama Season 8 pm, Michigan Theater, 603 E. Liberty, \$29.50/\$27.50 members. 668-8397

Israeli Dancing: Hillel 8 pm (see 6 Sun)

Harvey Reed Jazz Jam: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm (see 6 Sun)

## 28 Monday

"In These States": WCBN-FM 6 pm, 88.3 FM (see 7 Mon)

"Midwest Perspectives": WCBN-FM 6:30 pm, 88.3 FM (see 7 Mon)

Lesbian Health Series: Lesbian Programs Office 7 pm, "Choosing a Physician," with Dr. Mindy Smith, General

## COMMUNITY RESOURCE DIRECTORY

### October is Ecology Month

October brings falling leaves, crisp fall days, pumpkins and Ecology Month. This year the Ecology Center is sponsoring a number of special events to mark Ecology Month. These events are a mix of activities for the young, the old and everyone in between! So join us for one program or join us for all. The activities are described below.

"Living Environmentally" is a class offered through The Ann Arbor Public Schools' Community Education Program and taught by Ecology Center staff. There are four sessions (October 1, 8, 15, & 22), each one focusing on a different aspect of environmental living. The class will be held at Slauson School, 1019 W. Washington. To register, call 994-2300.

Come try out some fun new recycling and solid waste reduction games and activities at the Ecology Center-sponsored series "Recycling Fun and Games." For grades 1-3, October 1, 8, & 15, from 4 to 5:30 pm at Leslie Science Center, 1831 Traver. Snacks provided \$3 per session or \$9 for all three. To register, call 994-2780.

Join us on the streets with bucket in hand for the October 4 & 5 "Ecology Center Bucket Drive" or seek us out and donate funds in support of the Center's environmental education and advocacy programs. To volunteer, call 761-3186.

Get some hands-on experience in the Ecology Center-sponsored class, "Water and Wildlife" for grades 1-4, Tuesday, October 22, at the Leslie Science Center. Snacks provided, \$3. Call 994-2780 to register.

Practitioner. (see 7 Mon)

Lawrence Pike and M.L. Liebler: Guild House Writers Series 8:30 pm, 802 Monroe. 662-5189

Open House for Lesbians & Gay Men: Gay Liberation Front 8:45 pm (see 7 Mon)

Bird of Paradise Orchestra: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm (see 7 Mon)

## 29 Tuesday

ArtBreak: U-M Museum of Art 12:10 pm (see 1 Tue)

"It's A Wild World": The Ecology Center 4 to 5:30 pm, Leslie Science Center, 1831 Traver. Workshop for grades 1-4. Snacks provided, \$3. Register 994-2780

"Closets are for Clothes": WCBN 6 pm, 88.3 FM (see 1 Tue)

Womyn's Rites & Rhythms": WCBN 6:30 pm, 88.3 FM (see 1 Tue)

"Living Environmentally": Community Education Program 7 pm (see 1 Tue)

Live Call-In Show: Peace InSight 7:05 pm, A2 Comm. Access TV, Cable Channel 9. Topic TBA. 769-7422

Support Group: Adult Daughters of Alcoholics & Other Trauma 7:30 pm (see 1 Tue)

Meeting: Lesbians' & Gay Men's Rights Organizing Committee 7:30 pm (see 8 Tue)

Paul Keller/Cary Kocher Quartet: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm (see 1 Tue)

## 30 Wednesday

ArtVideo: U-M Museum of Art noon, AV room, 525 S. State. "Delacroix: The Restless Eye." 747-0521

Brown Bag Lunch: Kempf House noon (see 2 Wed)

Beans and Rice Dinner: Guild House 6 pm (see 2 Wed)

"Living Poets": WCBN 6 pm, 88.3 FM (see 2 Wed)

Open Stage: The Ark 7:30 pm (see 2 Wed)

Meeting: Lesbians' & Gay Men's Adult Children of Alcoholics 7 pm (see 2 Wed)

Samhain Celebration: Open Arches 7:30 pm, First Unitarian Universalist Church, 1917 Washtenaw. Celebrate this traditional Celtic festival, ancestor of Halloween, with a night of storytelling. Share a story or just listen. 482-8233

Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee 8 pm (see 2 Wed)

Social Group for Lesbians, Bisexuals, & Gay Men: East Quad/RC Social Group 9-11 pm (see 2 Wed)

Weekly Run for Lesbians & Gays: Ann Arbor Front Runners 7 pm (see Wed 2)

Ron Brooks Trio: Bird of Paradise 9:30 pm (see 2 Wed)

## 31 Thursday

ArtTalk: U-M Museum of Art noon to 1 pm, AV room, 525 S. State. 764-0395

Meeting: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Law Students Association 5 pm (see 3 Thu)

Meeting: Homeless Action Committee 5:30 pm (see 3 Thu)

"Second Opinion": WCBN-FM 6 pm, 88.3 FM (see 3 Thu)

El Mundo Latino": WCBN-FM 6:30 pm, 88.3 FM (see 3 Thu)

Support Group: The Domestic Violence Project/SAFE House 7 pm (see 3 Thu)

Meeting: ACT-UP/Ann Arbor 7:30 pm (see 3 Thu)

"Silence! The Court is in Session": Performance Network & Blue Donkey Productions 8 pm, 408 W. Washington. Comic look at social justice in contemporary India, \$9/\$7 studs & srs. 663-0681

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## Author to Speak on Nicaragua

On Sat., Oct. 5, "Fire From the Mountain" author, Omar Cabezas will address issues of a changing Nicaragua at Rackham Amphitheater (see CALENDAR for details).

The Latin American Solidarity Committee (LASC) is group of community members and students active around issues involving Latin America.

LASC's statement of purpose reads, "LASC is a non-profit group dedicated to supporting the legitimate aspirations of Latin American peoples to self-determination. Our goals are to increase awareness here about contemporary realities in Latin America and the U.S. role in perpetuating these, and to pressure our government to change its military, political, and economic policies toward Latin America."

In real terms, we are bound together by a common belief in non-intervention and our work focuses on two main areas—education and direct action.

In the past LASC has hosted numerous talks and forums by both local and international speakers. Speakers have ranged from U-M professor John Vandermeer, a noted expert on Nicaragua, to Guatemalan Indian activist Rigoberta Menchu. Last spring, LASC put together a day-long forum on Nicaragua one year after the changeover in government from revolutionary Sandinistas to U.S.-backed right wingers, and what the change had meant to the revolution.

Direct action has also taken many forms. Almost yearly LASC members confront Central Intelligence Agency personnel with the crimes of the agency, when the CIA attempts to recruit on campus. In 1986, over 100 LASC members were arrested in a week of sit-ins at the local office of U.S. Rep. Carl Pursell, protesting his support for aid to the contras in Nicaragua. More recently, LASC has promoted a boycott of coffee from El Salvador by pressuring over 60 local stores and restaurants to stop stocking/serving Folgers coffee, the largest U.S. buyer of Salvadoran coffee beans.

LASC meets every Wednesday at 8 pm in the Michigan Union. Ask at the information desk for the room. If you have any questions, please call us at 665-8438.

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

## COMMUNITY RESOURCE DIRECTORY Celebrate National Coming Out Day

Please take special note of the Rally, March & Dance scheduled to celebrate National Coming Out Day, Friday October 11 (see Calendar). These events are organized in the context of Pride-Awareness-Commitment Week, sponsored by the Lesbian-Gay Male Programs Office. For information on other PAC Week events, call 763-4186. Come out and help us celebrate!

The LGMPO has an entirely new look! Join us on Friday October 18 from 4 to 7 pm at our Open House to show off our newly-redecorated and refurbished space. Bring a friend. Light refreshments will be served.

The Sexual Assault Prevention & Awareness Center and the Lesbian Programs Office are planning a Workshop for Lesbian Survivors & Partners of Survivors of Sexual Assault. The Workshop is scheduled for October 29 during Sexual Assault Awareness Week, October 21-25. Call 763-4186 for information.

Note the Lesbian Health Series beginning October 7 (see Calendar). The October 21 topic is "Menopause," with Dr. Sandra Cole, Certified Sexologist and Educator in Human Sexuality from the U-M Medical School and Department of Physical Medicine & Rehabilitation. The October 28 topic is "Choosing a Physician," with Dr. Mindy Smith, a general practitioner from Chelsea Family Services.

The National Association of Black & White Men Together has issued a manual to help us explore issues and concerns about racism. The manual contains workshop outlines, resource materials, essays, and bibliographies. "Resisting Racism: An Action Guide," edited by Gerald Mallon, may be purchased for \$19.95 (check or money order) from NABWMT Publications, P. O. Box 408641, Chicago, IL 60640. Be sure to check for its availability at Common Language Bookstore.

The President of Kent State University has asked the Pentagon to review its policy of banning lesbians and gay men from the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC). U-M President James Duderstadt should make a similar request; urge him to do so! Address him at 2068 Fleming Administration Bldg., U-M, Ann Arbor, MI 49109-1340, telephone 763-2110.

**Gay Liberation Front'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 Organization and Liaison:** 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, 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; 763-4186.

## Wildflour Bakery Hiring!

Wildflour Community Bakery was begun in 1975 to provide healthful baked goods and education to the community. The work is done by six collective members and an always-evolving group of volunteers. Wildflour has become a successful business, offering over 20 kinds of whole grain bread made with organic, locally milled flour, as well as goodies of all kinds. There are dairyless and wheatless offerings of both bread and goodies. Its educational program, called Rolling in Dough, teaches Ann Arbor schoolchildren how to make healthy bread while explaining some basics about nutrition and food politics.

Besides its unique services, Wildflour is also special because it is owned by the community and run collectively. This means that you, as an interested person reading about the Bakery, are an owner. This gives you the right to attend Community Involvement Meetings (CIM's) which are held quarterly and at which community members and bakers make decisions together about policies and directions for Wildflour Bakery. Between CIMs, day-to-day operating decisions are made by the six collective members.

Wildflour is now taking applications for a full time position in the collective. Work will begin in December. Job descriptions and applications are available at the bakery and will be taken through October.

Briefly, the position entails working on shift four days a week and some off-shift work, plus a weekly collective meeting. A commitment to whole grains, organics and collectivism is a must. Baking and collective experience a plus.

Wildflour is an equal opportunity employer.

Wildflour Community Bakery, 208 N. 4th Ave., Ann Arbor MI 48104; 994-0601.

## Attention Readers:

AGENDA publishes the **Community Resource Directory** in order to give local community organizations a low-cost forum in which to publicize their activities. The text of each listing is written by a representative of the group. We invite all local grassroots organizations—political or human-service—to contact AGENDA (996-8018) to find out how to be included in this monthly section.

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## NEW WORLD ORDER

(FROM PAGE ONE)

Characterizations like that are pretty common and they are more or less accurate. But they have one problem, namely they stand the theory on its head. It's not that the communists appeal to those who want to plunder the rich. Rather it's that those who work for the interests of the poor are communists by definition, whether they're following the preferential option for the poor of the Latin American bishops or any other method of plundering the rich. Having done that, they are communists and then they're out of control, and they're working in a manner adverse to our interests and then we have a right to rid the continent of them, in fact, rid the world of them.

These are central themes to the old world order—when you talk about a new world order you kind of presuppose an old world order—and they are going to remain central themes of the new world order. What is the new world order? The phrase was used about a year ago in quite an important study (a study worth reading) called "A Challenge to the South." It's a study of the non-governmental South Commission, headed by former President Nyerere of Tanzania which includes leading economists, ministers of development, and such folks from various countries of the South and the third world. It has quite a conservative cast, actually, if you look at it, like the Minister of Planning from Kuwait. They give a rather accurate description of what's called the North-South conflict—that's the latest euphemism for imperialism in recent years—and how the South is being treated and what the problem is. And they end up the description with a call for a "new world order that will respond to the South's plea for justice, equity, and democracy in a global society," after just having gone through a couple hundred pages showing how its going exactly in the opposite direction and why. Well, the South's plea for justice, equity, and democracy, from another point of view, is a call to plunder the rich.

A couple of months later, that term, "new world order," was appropriated by George Bush as part of a rhetorical background for his war in the Gulf. So there's two versions of what the new world order is. The guys with the guns establish the rules and they also determine the meaning of the rhetoric that's used to disguise them, and therefore it will be George Bush's new world order and not the new world order of the South Commission that will prevail. Unless, that is, there is a virtual social and cultural revolution among the wealthy and the privileged. And that is for us to determine.

What about the question of the place of Central America within this new world order? Here I think that if we try to think through this we really want to move to a slightly higher level of abstraction and ask two broader questions within which this one fits. One is the question of how the new world order differs from the old and what kind of continuities there are with the old. And the second question is the one that the South Commission had confronted: What's the role of North-South conflict within the world order, new or old? Recalling that the phrase North-South conflict is just a euphemism for what we might call the European conquest of the world which has been going on for 500 years. And which has in fact been, you could argue, the dominant theme of the old world order with various manifestations as the years and centuries passed.

Elsewhere in the world they have different names for this 500-year phenomenon. It's sometimes called the Vasco Da Gama era of world history, or the Columbian era of world history, or the "500-Year Reich," to use a phrase, the title of a book on the topic that was just published in Germany (except its publishers wouldn't allow the title to be used, they had to change it). Whatever you want to call it—500-year reich, European world conquest—this era was initiated with two colossal episodes of genocide, virtually wiping out the population of the Western Hemisphere and probably decimating Africa through the slave trade. Next year, as everyone knows, is the 500th anniversary, which we either celebrate or we mourn—depending on which side we place ourselves in this international race/class war—that's been going on ever since.

I'm using the phrase Europe, of course, as a

metaphor: Europe includes and in fact is led by the former European colonies in the Western Hemisphere and Asia. And of course Europe now includes Japan, which we may regard as honorary Europeans. So that's what we mean by Europe. And of course the situation is more complex. It's not just Europe versus the world. So for example, the U.S., which is the richest and most powerful state of the North, from Europe in a sense, is also moving towards a society with notable third world characteristics. It is detectable everywhere. I'm sure it is in Detroit.

If you go to a country like Brazil, or Mexico, or any third world country, African countries, whatever—they're typically very sharply two-tiered societies. There is a sector that is quite wealthy, maybe super-wealthy and live in a sort of Western-European style. They would be quite happy in Paris or in London or in New York where they spend a lot of their time and their money. That's a small sector, the ones who run the branch offices for the foreign corporations and the local oligarchs. And then there is a huge mass of the population which lives kind of like Central Africa. In Brazil, for example, there is maybe five to ten percent of the population in the first group and 75% of the population in the second group, with modulations in between.

The U.S. is a rich industrial society, so the proportions are different but the characteristics are similar. And what's more we are moving towards it. I think you all know that and I won't go into it. So the situation is more complex than just a North-South conflict but with all the qualifications it still makes sense to think of the North-South conflict as a central theme of the old world order as it will be in the new world order.

So what was the nature of the North-South conflict in the old world order? Well, there is a lot of information here if you want to learn about this. Because this is a very free society by world standards there's a ton of documentary information that has been released. And it tells you exactly the thinking that was going on over the years about how to establish the old world order, the one which essentially was run by the U.S. since the Second World War.

Going back to the origins of the European conquest of the world, the third world itself was assigned a certain role, and that role was a service role, quoting from the wording of George Kennan's policy planning staff at the State Department, which in the late 1940s was very influential in planning and designing the post-war world order: "The South must fulfill its main function as a source of resources and raw materials and cheap labor for the North. The South is supposed to be there to service."

They provide resources and, as Kennan put it, "we have to protect our resources." It happens to be in their country but because they're "our resources," we have to protect them over there. And they have got to provide the resources, the raw materials, the cheap labor, the markets, the investment opportunities, and nowadays the opportunities for export of pollution. That's what they're for. That's the function of the South.

Given that, when you start looking through what the planning documents say about Latin America, certain things follow. It follows that the main threat to our interests are what are called nationalistic regimes or what is sometimes called ultranationalism. And that means regimes that are getting out of control. Nationalism, or ultranationalism, or sometimes radical nationalism, is defined in a National Security Council document as "regimes that are responsive to the pressures from the mass of the population for improvement in the low living standards and diversification of production for domestic needs."

Now that is a threat to our interests, adverse to our interests in a classical sense because our interest, remember, is to keep them in the service role. And if they're responsive to the needs and pressures of their own populations they're not responsive to our needs—which is the dominant principle—so then they're out of control and we've got to do something about them. Or, quoting from the same top-secret document: "The problem is that these nationalistic regimes interfere with the creation of a climate conducive to private investment and repatriation of a reasonable return on foreign investment." That's critical, of course, because it's harmful to the protection of our resources and that's unacceptable.

The basic problem with this is going to be democracy, democracy in anything but a formal and meaningless sense. Any government that is responsive to the pressures from the mass of the population—that's going to be more true to the extent that there is more meaningful democracy and popular organization—is a major threat which has to be stopped. Therefore it follows, you would expect, and you discover, that the U.S. has been extremely hostile to democracy unless the democracy is just a purely formal matter.

Take the last elections in Honduras for example. George Bush made some speeches about how it was an inspiring example of democracy in our hemisphere. There were two candidates. One of them was a wealthy landowner. The other was a wealthy industrialist. They had exactly the same program. The campaign, like the American campaign at the same time, had no issues—just insults and slander. One of them was elected, the other wasn't. The rule is that the military had been always supported by the U.S. In the weeks leading up to the election there was an increase in state terror—bodies on the side of the road, torture, and so on and so forth.

During this decade of democracy which we are so inspired by, the level of poverty—which was already extreme—got worse. Dispossession of land got worse. Ownership by foreign corporations got better. So it's an inspiring example of democracy. That was 1989.

That kind of democracy is okay. But the kind of democracy that might lead to governments which are responsive to the needs of the population for improvement of their living standards—that's not okay. In fact, that's a threat that has to be stopped. If those tendencies get out of control we've got to move in. And that's explicit. You'll find it all the time.

Just a couple of months ago there was a seminar called "The Pentagon On U.S.-Mexican Relations," with academic specialists and all sorts of other people. And they concluded that U.S. relations with Mexico were unusually favorable—completely untroubled by endemic torture, stealing elections, death squads, harsh repression of labor, grotesque conditions of working, maquiladora industries—no problem with that. They were extraordinarily favorable. But there was a problem. The problem was that what they called the "democracy opening" in Mexico might threaten the current favorable relations for the usual reasons. It might lead to a government more responsive to pressures from the mass of the population to do something about their own problems rather than the problems of American investors. And that's intolerable, that's getting out of control, that's plundering the rich.

Things become worse if these nationalistic regimes actually give some indication of some success, that is if independent development begins to be successful in responding to the needs of the mass of the population. In that case a new rhetorical framework is introduced. These countries become "viruses" that are going to "infect" the region. They become rotten apples that are going to infect the barrel. That's the standard rhetoric in public. We've really got to do something about it because it's becoming dangerous. We have to prevent the virus from spreading and infecting the region and getting others to try to plunder the rich and to interfere with foreign investment and proper repatriation profits, and our raw materials, etc., etc.

And when that begins to happen, then the retribution is savage. Indochina is a case in point. Guatemala is a case in point. Nicaragua is a recent case. The popular movements in El Salvador are another case. All of them are viruses. They're trying to plunder the rich. They exert pressure for meaningful democracy not the formal meaningless kind. And at that point there is no room for soft pardons. Especially if the virus threatens to spread. To quote again and again back in the late '40s, "there is no room for vague idealistic slogans about human rights and democratization and raising of the living standard, rather we have to use straight power concepts, referring police states to liberal governments that are too relaxed and indulgent towards communists," (where the term "communist" again means the people who are trying to plunder the rich and who are organizing).

A good deal of modern history falls within the framework that I just sketched out, which happens to be unusually well documented and also is,

much more significantly, illustrated quite consistently in practice.

In fact, within this framework, I think we can also place a good part of what's called the East-West conflict—the Cold War. That is usually described in quite different terms, but at least in my view it's more accurate to describe the East-West conflict as a kind of special case of the North-South conflict. I think it's always been that and I think that's now becoming clearer than it was before.

What do I mean by that? This is a contentious view, so think about it. It seems to me a reason for believing that if we look at cold war over time and ask how it fits into the old world order, to me, that is just exactly what emerges. Recall that before 1917, before the Bolshevik Revolution, what is now the Soviet Union was part of the third world. It was a typical third world, two-tiered, extremely impoverished society, but with sectors of wealth, and sectors of industrialization. These were usually foreign-controlled or foreign-owned and tied into the much more restrictive transnational corporations at the time. It was a country developing yet falling continually behind the West at that time. It was basically a quasi-colony of Western Europe. That was essentially the status of Russia at that time.

Now before 1945 that was also the status of a good part—not all—but a good part of Eastern Europe. Czechoslovakia, for example, was part of the industrial West. But a large part of, say Bulgaria, was very much like that. In Bulgaria in 1939 about half the peasants were still using wooden instruments. And that reflects the deeply third world character of much of this part of the world. It was the service area for Western Europe in the usual sense with the usual third world amenities which I mentioned.

These regions separated—Russia in 1917, the parts of eastern central Europe conquered by the Red Army in 1945—they followed an independent path. They fell under what was called "ultranationalism," when you talk about the third world. They pursued a form of independent development interfering with the service function. They were not a service area for Western Europe, a quasi-colonial area. And what's more, they did provide a model that was not without appeal to the third world. In fact, it had considerable appeal, especially in the earlier stages. And if you look at what happened to the third world during that period you can understand why.

In the West, the standard rhetoric is to compare Western Europe and Eastern Europe and to pat ourselves on the back and say how wonderful we are. But that's a meaningless comparison. Western Europe and Eastern Europe haven't been alike for probably a thousand years. Certainly in historical memory they've never been alike.

A meaningful comparison would be to take Eastern Europe and compare it with the domains of Western capitalism—the South. In other words to compare Russia to Brazil or Poland to Guatemala or something like that.

And when you make that comparison things look a little different. It's a tricky issue but that would be the right comparison to make, but that might be meaningful. And that comparison was not lost on the third world intellectuals and economists.

And there's just no doubt that the Soviet Union was regarded as the kind of a model that offered something that they might think about compared with their own lives under capitalism. They were a virus providing a model others might follow. And the reaction was therefore exactly what it's like when this happens in any third world country. The reason is the same whether it's a speck in the Caribbean or a huge region like Russia and later its empire. And that's the way it's looked at by mainstream scholarship—by liberal, well-respected scholarship.

One of the most important, maybe the most important contemporary diplomatic historian, rather on the liberal side is John Lewis Gaddis, who has an important book about the Cold War which he calls "Long Peace." And he discusses the Western intervention in Russia in 1917. He said it was justified. "It was a defensive intervention," I'm quoting, "in response to the potential intervention of Bolsheviks everywhere, namely the revolution's challenge to the very survival of

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## NEW WORLD ORDER

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the capitalist order." So, in other words, there was a change in the social order in the Soviet Union interfering with the service function and there was a declaration of revolutionary intentions which amounted to a potential intervention in the West which would if it ever took place challenge the very survival of the capitalist order and therefore it's justified for us to invade them to prevent that threat to us. It's defense. You change your social order, and you say you would like to have changes elsewhere, we have a right to destroy you. That's the logic—and I am not talking about the media—but of the scholarship on the kind of liberal side. And that contention goes without criticism.

But what does that mean that we are allowed to "defend" ourselves when somebody else changes their social order because that's a potential challenge to our privilege? The implications of that are pretty clear and they're not very different from what I just quoted from Robert Gates' memorandum of 1964. In fact the reasoning is the same. We cannot tolerate such challenges because we rule the world, the rich deserve their wealth, and if anyone threatens to plunder them anywhere, if a government is getting out of control, then the usual mechanisms have to go into effect.

And exactly as in the case of other viruses, it was taken very seriously. Western intervention in Russia in 1917 and 1918 was no laughing matter. For example, the British—we now know from declassified British records—used poison gas and in fact the British military command attributed its early successes on the northern front to its use of poison gas. Remember, this is right after World War I when poison gas was the ultimate atrocity. But they really used poisonous gas, exactly as they used poisonous gas against what were called "uncivilized tribesmen"—namely Kurds and Afghans—in the Mesopotamian area as was recommended by one of the great heroes of the West, Winston Churchill in 1919, who felt that it was right to use poisonous gas against "uncivilized tribesmen." And he condemned the squeamishness of those who did not want to use the methods of modern science to establish order in these remote regions.

Well, that's what he responded to—challenges, and it's right because it's defensive. After all, we're defending ourselves from a potential challenge, namely a challenge to the survival of the system of privilege and power—the capitalist order.

The same was true in the past couple of years. One of the famous government/media hoaxes was the "revolution without borders" allegedly declared by the Sandinistas. Well, as I say, that was a media hoax, known very quickly though it continued to be presented. But there was a truth lying behind the hoax. The declaration of revolutionary intentions, that is, the declaration to establish a society which would be a model for others came from a speech by Thomas Borgé in which he said, "Other people have to carry out their own revolutions, but we want to be a model that others will follow." And that was the source of the phrase used by the State Department, then transmitted by the media.

That's an unacceptable challenge. That's a potential intervention everywhere and we have a right to rid the continent of that regime by any method possible. And on that, there is essential unanimity. You won't find much controversy over that in the mainstream, only controversy over how to do it. Do you do it by strangulation; do it by murder and terrorism? Do you do it by invasion? That's the hawk/dove spectrum, but outside that spectrum there's essentially nothing.

This point about the threat of communism, incidentally, is pretty well understood even in academic circles. If you look carefully they don't talk about plundering the rich, the way the Dulles brothers do, but they put it in bigger words. For example, there was a quite important study called "The Political Economy of American Foreign Policy" back in 1955—a big study by the National Planning Association—run by a major Harvard political scientist named William Yandell Elliot. And they discussed what they called the threat of communism. And they say that the main threat of communism is "the unwillingness or inability of

the communist powers to complement the industrial economies of the West."

In English that means they're refusing to play the service function. They're not complementing us. They're not providing what we need—cheap labor and investment opportunities and so on. And that's the problem that's equivalent to plundering the wealth and we've got to do something about it.

Going back to the Cold War, at its core is a classic North-South conflict. A sector of the third world, and in this case a few sectors, pulled itself out and started going on an independent course and furthermore was declaring revolutionary intentions and was regarded as outside of the models worth looking at. That's the typical, unacceptable effect, from Grenada to the Soviet Union—opposite extremes of power—the same reason applies and the same reaction takes place unreflexively, without too much thought. And it's natural. It's kind of logical the way it follows some basic assumptions which you find in the planning record. You find it justified in scholarship and you find it setting the framework for discussion in the media, the intellectual community, and so on.

Basically it doesn't get questioned because it's a deep commitment. It's a commitment to preventing things from getting out of control and making sure that the South (meaning most of the world) performs its service function just as internal to the domestic society, most of the population perform their service function for the internal wealthy and privileged. That's a given. They don't discuss those things. That's the international race/class war with its domestic analog. It just happens to be the same in the United States for example. It is a class war that's fought quite consciously and viciously, but only by one side. There is only one group that recognizes themselves as a class, the business class, and they do and they carry out the class war and they're serious about it.

That threat in the case of the Soviet Union was enhanced by things which we usually don't find in the third world. Even in the days when Russia was effectively a colony of the West, it did have a powerful military force (that goes way back, into the 18th and 19th century). Russia was a very backward society but powerful from a military point of view, quite different from Nicaragua or Vietnam or Grenada. And that power was a real problem particularly in the post-war period because of its deterrent effect. The Soviet power constrained the use of U.S. power to keep the world under control. There was always a concern that you might run into a confrontation with the Soviet Union and that's just too dangerous.

There's various ways of saying that. One way of saying it, for example, is when speaking about the war in Indochina. It is said that the U.S. had to fight with one hand tied behind its back. That's a big complaint about the war in Indochina—we fought with one hand tied behind our back. It wasn't fair, and so on and we lament about it again and again. What that means is that we could attack South Vietnam with complete impunity, bomb and destroy the dams, use chemical warfare and massive B-52 bombing of heavily populated areas. That was all free—no one hand there.

And in the southern areas of North Vietnam we could turn the place into a moonscape, which is what happened. And in Laos we could just carry out huge destruction and devastation, the heaviest bombing in history of a scattered peasant society, soon to be exceeded by the bombing in inner Cambodia, which killed a hundred thousand people apparently, completely unconstrained. All of that was free, no one hand tied behind our back.

But in the northern parts of North Vietnam we had a problem. If we carried out unconstrained military action we might run into the Chinese or the Russians and it's like an axiom of statesmanship that you don't fight anybody who can shoot back. It's the understood criterion for being a statesman that you never attack anyone who might shoot back. And that's what's called deterrence, except we use the term only for half of the story, for part of the story, in fact the smaller part. Namely our deterrence of an alleged Soviet attempt to conquer the world, which incidentally American planners never believed in. So, for example, President Eisenhower was always strongly in favor of NATO, but because, as he said, NATO will give the Europeans strength and courage to respond to the political challenge of the communists, not their conquest of the West, their

political challenge.

But that's what's called deterrence theory and it's real except that it worked the other way. It's the view that the Russians were rotten enough in their own domains, but their domains were limited and there they acted with complete brutality. We acted essentially the same way everywhere because we're a global power and were deterred, we had to fight with one hand behind our back because at some points there might have been a threat that we would run into a big power. So that was the deterrent effect which made the Soviet challenge even more serious than a normal third world challenge.

Another crime of the Russians was that they gave aid and assistance to targets of U.S. attack. If the U.S. was targeting somebody for destruction, the victim country could sometimes turn to Russians for support, and they'd give them some help. And that combined with the deterrent effect amplified normal North-South conflict into even bigger dimensions.

The East-West conflict was kind of a big version of the North-South conflict. Different because of the scale, but potentially the same in terms of reasons. As the Soviet system collapsed, you see all this coming out. So by the late 1980s American strategic analysts and others were explaining, some quite publicly, that one of the major benefits of the Soviet collapse is that it frees the United States to use military power without constraint. For example, in December of 1988 in an op-ed summarizing what happened in that year, Dmitri Simes, who's a senior associate and Soviet expert at the Carnegie Institution for International Peace, described the various dangers and advantages to us. The major advantage to us, he said, is that this frees the United States to use its military force without concern that there might be a problem of conflict with the Russians. That's good, we can now use military force freely.

When the U.S. invaded Panama, Elliot Abrams, then the Latin American advisor to the Reagan Administration, pointed out that this was the first time the United States was able to carry out a third world intervention, meaning an invasion of some country, without any concern that there would be a Soviet reaction anywhere. So we were much more free to use force than before.

And during the Gulf War this was standard. Lots of people pointed out what was in fact obvious, that now the U.S. was free to use force. We didn't have to fight with one hand tied behind our back. It wasn't like the northern part of North Vietnam. Now we could do anything we want because there is no deterrent. You can find that today in the New York Times.

There is a discussion of Bush sending war planes to Saudi Arabia and they say the Democrats don't have any objection. Fine. Then they quoted a Democratic policy adviser who says "It's fine. There is no cost involved. There is no concern that there might be a superpower confrontation." That's the only possible cost. The only possible cost would be a cost to us. That's the meaning of cost. And now there is no such problem. Because nobody is going to respond. The U.S. is no longer deterred. It is now capable of using force wherever it wants.

Ten years ago the British and the Americans couldn't send half a million troops to the desert because it was just too dangerous. You know, there is a big force out there, we might get in trouble with them, they can shoot back. Now there is no problem. Now we can do what we like.

The other aspect to deterrence has to do with the aid to targets of U.S. attack. And that's a problem that's also going to be disappearing. And again there is much crowing about that. Throughout the late '80s there were constant discussions of what's called Gorbachev's new thinking. You could read the editorials in the Washington Post which would say "well, we really don't know if he is serious about this but the test for Gorbachev will be if he stops giving aid to people we are trying to overthrow and destroy." They didn't use these words but that is what it amounts to. The test of Gorbachev's new thinking will be does he withdraw assistance from the Sandinistas, that regime that we are trying to rid the continent of, to return it to the Central American mode as the Washington Post put it, and get it to observe regional standards.

If the Russians really let us do this freely without getting in our way by giving them aid and

assistance, then we will know that the new thinking is serious. In other words they've got to leave the third world free and subject to our whims. In that case we will know that they are serious, that the new thinking is real and maybe we'll pay some attention to them. Meanwhile the fact that we have an absence of deterrence means we can use force freely, as we wish.

That's the Soviet new thinking, and incidentally it is not to be matched by any new thinking on our side. We continue with old thinking. It's just that we are now more free to do it than before because the deterrent is gone and the dangerous tendency to give aid to our victims is gone, and the spreading virus effect is gone, so we are more free than before to carry out the old thinking. And the old thinking is in fact quite old and its worth bearing in mind that its themes are very resilient.

Coming back to the Central America and the Caribbean, let's take the next obvious victim, Cuba. The U.S. has a long relationship with Cuba and it basically had the same theme all the way through. Thomas Jefferson felt that we ought to annex Cuba but couldn't do it at that time. The British then had a turn but there was a problem because the British Fleet couldn't get there without being shot at. So we couldn't carry out the annexation of Cuba although it was the natural thing to do.

John Quincy Adams argued that we ought to wait "until the fruit is ripe"—and that was the common idiom that was used for a long time—"and then it will fall into our hands by the laws of political gravity." In order to make sure that happens, it is necessary to prevent the liberation of Cuba. So the U.S. was strongly opposed to the liberation of Cuba. This was the kind of comment that elicited the statement by Simón Bolívar.

One problem was that the liberation movement in Cuba had dangerous democratic tendencies. I think it was calling for the abolition of slavery and for equal rights for all Blacks. And that was unacceptable, it was that virus effect again. So plainly the liberation of Cuba was not a good idea. By the end of the century, finally the laws of political gravitation worked, and the U.S. conquered Cuba in the guise of liberation and turned it into what amounted to a colony and that's the way it stayed until 1959 at the time of the Castro takeover.

That elicited an almost immediate hostility. It didn't take very long. CIA actions to destabilize Cuba began within a few months. The basic policy was explained in a secret planning document, now declassified, of March, 1960 (that's virtually right away). And it called for "replacement of the Castro regime with one more devoted to the true interests of the Cuban people" (which of course we would determine for them), and "more acceptable to the U.S." So we've got to rid the continent of this regime, a standard thing, to replace them with one more devoted to the true interests of the Cuban people and more acceptable to the U.S. And bear in mind that this was at the time when CIA studies and others were talking about the tremendous popularity of the Castro regime—its growing popularity because of its national character. But that didn't matter. Only we understand their true interests. And furthermore, the document continues, "this must be done in such a manner as to avoid any appearance of U.S. intervention." Why is that important? Well, because we've got these kind of crazy people in Latin America to worry about and they don't like the appearance of U.S. intervention so we have to make it seem as if it's just the laws of political gravitation. That is the policy from early 1960 and the policy that has been followed since.

There were problems. One problem was the Soviets posed a deterrent to our direct attack and they also were giving them aid before new thinking and that prevented the ripe fruit from falling into our hands. But now that's gone. We've got new thinking. The Soviet Union is refusing to give any sustenance to the parties of our attack and there is no longer any deterrent. So now there is a good deal of crowing about how finally we can rid the continent of this regime and satisfy the true interest of the Cuban people and our own.

But, of course, remember this has to be done, according to a March 1960 document, "in such a manner as to avoid any appearance of U.S. intervention." So that means that if the U.S. is going to achieve its long standing goal which goes back to Thomas Jefferson then the media and ideological

institutions have to play their part. And that part requires a few conditions and you'll notice that they are being met with great consistency.

It's necessary and crucial to suppress the record of aggression and the vast campaigns of terror against Cuba. Since the Kennedy administration it has been subjected to more international terrorism than probably the whole world combined: economic strangulation, cultural quarantine, intimidation of anybody who might try to disrupt the ban, and in fact all the other devices that are available to a superpower who is dedicated to the true interests of the Cuban people. All of this has to be suppressed.

Cuba's plight, which is real enough, has to be attributed solely to the regime of Castro, or maybe the failed ideology of socialism. "They alone," I'm now quoting from the New York Times, "bear full responsibility for the poverty, isolation, and humbling dependence on the Soviet Union." "Solely their fault," a New York Times editorial says on September 8th: "The Cuban dictator has painted himself into his own corner"—no help from us—"by doctrinal necessity."

We have to make it clear that it's all his own doing. That's the way we satisfy the policy goal of avoiding any appearance of U.S. intervention. "Castro's reign deserves to end in homegrown failure, not martyrdom." Notice by taking that position the New York Times lines up on the dovish side of the spectrum. It's opposed to the tough guys who say we should just invade and overthrow them. Rather we should continue to rid this hemisphere of the regime but without appearance of U.S. intervention, in other words by using economic strangulation, by intimidation, by economic embargo, or by terrorism if necessary, but in such a way as to make it look like it's all their own fault. In order to do that you suppress the entire record of what has been happening as we have been doing quite successfully for about 30 years. That's standard, predictable, and in fact, that's the record that is to be played until the ripe fruit drops in our laps or maybe is pulled from the tree.

These are all the themes of the old world order which just continue. Now we can apply them more freely than before. The end of the Cold War does lead to changes, no doubt. So, this big area of the third world that had separated itself in 1917, and more extensively in 1945, is now moving back in. So the West is imposing the standard principles that we impose on the third world, what is called liberalization, structural adjustment, free markets, all that kind of stuff. Notice that no industrial society ever accepts that for itself for the very simple reason that there is no way to achieve economic development if you follow those rules.

If you look at the history of economic development from England right through to South Korea you find that, as far as we know, 100% of the time it has been achieved by violating those rules. The development of England, the first modern industrial society, really began with the Navigation Act of 1651, which closed off the British empire and made it a controlled area subjected to British domination, by kicking out the Dutch and the Spanish, and carrying out capital accumulation through the slave trade and the robbery of the colonies and later the rape of India.

All of that state activity finally leads to a point where you have take-off and then you can impose free trade. Free trade is a doctrine of those who know they are going to win. If you know you're going to beat your competition then you're in favor of free trade. On the other hand if you have to develop your own economic system you're not in favor of it. And, in fact, every later developing country followed the same prescription.

The United States did not follow the principles we're imposing on the third world. Never has. If we had done so we would probably still be pursuing our comparative advantage of exporting furs to England and importing steel from them. We wanted a steel industry, and an auto industry, and that sort of thing, so we acquired huge protective tariffs, closed off the system so we could deal with the much cheaper and more efficient British industry and prevent them from stopping our own development. This goes right up to the present. The Reagan administration was one of the most protectionistic administrations in American history. It virtually doubled the percentage of imports subject to duties of one kind or another.

The Pentagon itself is a massive state interven-

tion in the economy. From an economic view, the Pentagon is just a system by which the state insures the viability of high technology industry. It's the system by which the state forces the taxpayer to pay the cost of research and development for high-tech industry, and to provide a state-guaranteed market to produce unsellable waste. That's massive state intervention.

In fact every sector of the American economy which functions internationally is protected in the same way. Take agriculture. It doesn't mean peasant farmer, it means capital-intensive agribusiness. It functions through massive taxpayer subsidy plus by forcing the products onto the third world. Take a look at the history of development. That's the way it works. Countries that pursue that path have some chance maybe to develop, others don't. Structural adjustment, free markets, that's a prescription for robbery by the rich. Take Germany for example. Their subsidies to industry are estimated by the Economic Commission of Advanced Countries as amounting to about 30% tariff. We would never permit any third world country to do anything like that because they have a service function. They are supposed to serve the rich, not develop.

Now that is all being imposed on the former Soviet domains which means that large parts of them are very likely to undergo a process of Latin Americanization. They will probably move towards something like Brazil or Mexico. There will be historical differences and so on and there will be diversity within the region, like Czechoslovakia will probably become apart of the industrialized West again. But for much of it the prospects are something like Latin Americanization. And you can see it when you look at, say Poland.

Remember that in a Latin American-style or African-style third world country there is a rich sector. And there will be one there too. Somebody is going to be running the local franchises of the transnational corporations, running the McDonald's franchise or whatever. As very likely that will be the old Communist Party. Those are the guys who know the ropes. And those are the guys who the Western countries want to deal with because they know there way around and they have contacts and so on. And you can see that developing too. Take a look at Eastern Europe and see that, not universally but to a large extent, those are the people who are still in the managerial roles but now subordinating themselves to the interests of the West, and are therefore quite acceptable.

So one part of the new world order is very likely to be a reversion of substantial parts of the former Soviet empire to something like the traditional role of the service area for the West. Now that's not a real gain for the United States. In fact the U.S. is kind of ambivalent about all of that. And the reason is very simple. We are not ahead in that competition. It's Europe that's ahead in that competition. Europe means German-led continental Europe. They are way ahead. The U.S. economy suffered a severe blow in the Reagan-Bush administrations. It's capital-short and deeply indebted. Germany and Europe on the other hand have investment capital, and furthermore they are close by and have traditional relations. So they are way ahead of us in the game of robbing the former Soviet domain.

Furthermore the Japanese are just sitting there on the opposite side, capital-rich, with their eyes on Siberia. They are waiting until it becomes profitable but sooner or later they will move and the U.S. is still kind of out of that game.

So that's not good. In fact the U.S. is responding to that as best it can by strengthening the U.S. control over the Western Hemisphere. That's called a free trade agreement—first with Canada. Canada has a role in this system. It's supposed to provide resources which it has aplenty and skilled labor, but of course it has to handle all the disruptions like the welfare system and unions and all of this stuff that interferes with the devices for plunder-

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ing the rich. And that's happening. In two years of free trade Canada, according to Canadian labor unions, has lost about a quarter of a million jobs with lots of capital flight.

Mexico is supposed to come in next. Mexico offers many advantages. The maquiladora industries in

northern Mexico are very attractive. That's the reason for that euphoria I mentioned before from the planning commission. There is very cheap labor, some of the cheapest in the world; essentially no environmental protection so that you can pollute at will; and large profits. That's another part of the world order as the U.S. tries to shore up its own domains as the other powers stake their positions.

Well that's one part of the growing new world order. Another part is at the kind of rhetorical level. It's necessary to find new pretexts for interventions. From 1917 until the mid '80s there was a reflexive justification for intervention. We were doing it in defense against the Russians. It didn't matter how absurd the pretext was, you could always pull it out. The purpose of these pretexts is to frighten the domestic population so they will go along with policies they don't approve of. And that was always frightening: Russians were brutal and vicious and had missiles and power.

Woodrow Wilson needed a different pretext in 1916 when he sent the Marines to invade the Dominican Republic of Haiti, the consequences they still haven't escaped from. And George Bush needed a new pretext when he invaded Panama in 1989. That reflexive justification was gone. And that's a problem. In fact this problem of the vanishing pretext was recognized right from the '80s and that led to efforts to compensate for it, you know, international terrorists, narco-traffickers, crazed Arabs and nuclear madmen, etc. But none of them really live up to the image of the Soviet Union. So that's an increasing problem.

The third feature of the new world order, as I mentioned, is there is no deterrent and no aid to the victims of U.S. attack. The third world is quite aware—there is a lot of concern about this issue which was very much enhanced by the Gulf War. It's hard to get a sample of third world opinion in the U.S. but if you look I think you will find a good deal of consistency. The general mood is expressed rather well by Cardinal Paolo Evarista Arns of San Paulo, who wrote recently that "the mood throughout the third world is one of hatred and fear. When will they invade us and under what pretext?" And that looks pretty accurate.

You find responses like that, especially to the Gulf War, throughout Latin America, Africa, and in the other parts of the third world and it's quite understandable. They can understand what is happening before their eyes, that this lawless violent power is now free to do what it wants, at least militarily. These are all basic elements of the new world order.

Let me make mention that this Soviet collapse is just part of a much more general change, a crisis in the '80s. Around 1980 there was a major global economic crisis. Germany and Japan sort of pulled out of it but they never resumed earlier growth rates. By Germany I mean German-led Europe. The U.S. partially pulled out but only in a sort of a fake way. There is enormous indebtedness sucking in capital from the outside, and sharp deterioration of infrastructure as we move toward a third world society.

As far as the third world is concerned, the domains of Western capitalism were just completely devastated by the crisis. The 1980s were a tremendous setback to virtually all the domains of Western capitalism except for the sectors right on top—West Germany, Japan, and to a limited extent the U.S. (at least the richer parts of it). The Soviet Union was hit by that as well, less severely than the third world, but badly, and that combined with the growing stagnation, the protests against a tyrannical system, and that led to the deterioration of the Soviet system.

Parts of the third world escaped this. The so-

called Newly Industrialized Countries escaped. South Korea and Taiwan were hit by the economic crisis but unlike the rest of the third world they escaped. They are quite different from Latin America. It's interesting to look at the differences to learn something about what's going on. Up until about 1980, Latin America and these East Asian countries were developing more or less equally. From about 1980 they diverge very sharply. Central America, all of Latin America went way downhill, hit very hard. South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore kind of pulled out.

What was the difference? One of the major differences is if you look at the crisis of Latin America, a large part of it reflects the openness of Latin America to international capital markets. They suffer from the free market. Which means that if you're a wealthy person in Latin America and U.S. interest rates go up you will send your capital out to the U.S. to make money. That's what capital is for. And there was a huge capital flight from Latin America. In fact throughout the third world there has been an enormous drain of capital to the North.

The big flow of capital from the south to the north, which kept the U.S. economy floating, very seriously harmed the third world. In fact a large part of the Latin American debt is accounted for just by the fact they can't control their own wealth. That didn't happen in South Korea for a very simple reason. In South Korea the state is not only powerful enough to discipline labor in the usual situation but it's also powerful enough to discipline capital. So there is no problem with capital flight in South Korea because you can get the death penalty for it.

In short, South Korea insulated itself from international markets and therefore it didn't suffer the way more open societies did, the ones that were more subject to liberal free market problems. There is much more to it than that but that's a good part of the story and it's worth remembering. And let me just stress again that the developed economies have never been willing to accept these rules themselves in the past—that's why they're successful economies—and they certainly don't know, including crucially, the U.S.

Another major element central to the new world order is the changes within the North. And those changes go back about 20 years, and the Vietnam War was a major factor. By about 1970 the U.S. had lost its domination of the international economic system. That was symbolized in 1971 when Richard Nixon essentially destroyed the international economic system that had been established after World War II, a reflection of the fact that the U.S. couldn't dominate it any longer.

And from that point on the rich parts of the world have been moving towards what in those days was called trilateralism, now sometimes called a tripolar economy, various terms that mean there are three major sectors of economic power—the German-based European sector, the Japan-based Asian sector, and the U.S.-based regional sector which incorporates, Canada, Mexico and so on. That three block system is more complex than it used to be because the notion of a nation doesn't have the meaning that it once had. With the internationalization of capital it's hard to decide where a corporation is from if it has an executive office in New York and another one in Zurich and an assembly plant somewhere else. Where is it? Well it isn't anywhere particularly. It's a transnational corporation and that interpenetration has developed to such a point that the conflict among the three blocks doesn't have the same kind of status that it had before.

That's the developing new world order. The various players have their own interests. Germany and Japan don't necessarily have the same interests as the United States. For the South and for the growing third world at home the prospects are not at all auspicious unless there are major social changes and a kind of cultural awakening here and in other rich countries. Now to try to carry that out is not an easy task but it never has been an easy task and it's a task that has often been confronted under conditions that few of us can even dream about. And in fact it is being confronted under horrifying conditions right now in Central America, for example in El Salvador, and not only there. And those are facts that we should keep in the forefront of our attention as we think about these problems.

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