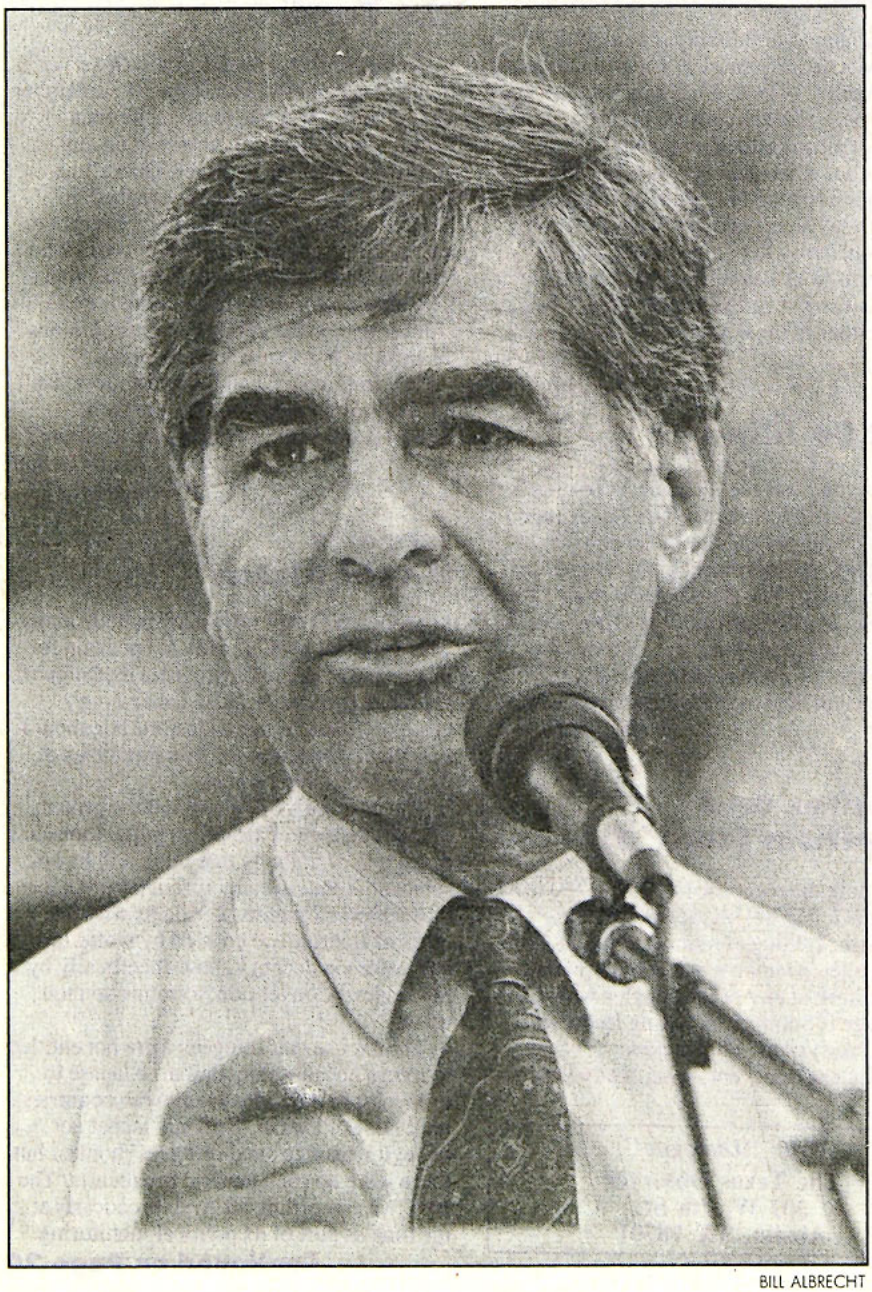
THE TEXAS Observer

A JOURNAL OF FREE VOICES

OCTOBER 28, 1988 • $1.50

THE PALESTINE QUESTION
Pgs. 19, 20

Michael Dukakis For President



BILL ALBRECHT

How Much Difference Will a Democratic Administration Make? Let Us Count the Ways (Page 3)

☆☆☆

PLUS

The Observer*'s Endorsements in Judicial, Senate and House Races*

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THE TEXAS
Observer

A JOURNAL OF FREE VOICES

We will serve no group or party but will hew hard to the truth as we find it and the right as we see it. We are dedicated to the whole truth, to human values above all interests, to the rights of humankind as the foundation of democracy; we will take orders from none but our own conscience, and never will we overlook or misrepresent the truth to serve the interests of the powerful or cater to the ignoble in the human spirit.

Writers are responsible for their own work, but not for anything they have not themselves written, and in publishing them we do not necessarily imply that we agree with them because this is a journal of free voices.

SINCE 1954

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DIALOGUE

Remembering Mrs. Rosengren

Thank you and Geoffrey Rips for the tribute to Florence Rosengren (*TO*, 9/16/88). The world may never be the way Rosengren's Bookstore was, but the existence of such a place "radiating understanding, order, and ferment all at the same time" was one of the signs of hope that the world might become so.

Milton S. Jordan
Jefferson

Cool Toward China

I was a happy, unthinking liberal until I read Tom McClellan's piece, "Liberalism: Let's Get Over It" (*TO*, 9/30/88). Now I see that I have been shallow, elitist, ineffectual, and, worst of all, racist. I don't want to be these things, but what can I do? Where can I go? Tom has destroyed my illusions, broken through my shell, and now doesn't he have a responsibility to put me back together? He seems to be suggesting that I go to China or get a cat that catches mice. I don't want to do either of those things. Please advise.

Walter Ligon
Kingsland

Not So Blind

Would you please tell the angry Tom McClellan that "liberals," as I understand them, are not so blind to racial equality as he implies; furthermore, a liberal opposes Contra-aid, excesses associated to so-called defense, destruction of our environment, a right of choice for pregnant women, the necessity of First Amendment defense, and *vigilance* in the search for truth and justice.

Helen R. Cleaves
Houston

Semites and Semitism (cont'd)

Regarding the response (*TO*, 9/30/88) to my letter (*TO*, 9/2/88) on racism and anti-Semitism, I'd like to remark, without going any further, that the word Semite refers to "a member of any of the peoples whose language is Semitic, including Hebrews, Arabs, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Babylonians, etc.; not, specifically, a Jew," according to the unabridged 2nd edition of *Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary of the English Language* (1959).

Of more importance is the fact that a gross injustice, to put it mildly, is being done to a relatively defenseless people, the Palestinians, with the financial backing coming from each U.S. taxpayer. (I volunteered for the Army in World War II, serving in North Africa and Europe, because I opposed atrocities imposed on the Jews by Hitler.)

William V. Kelly
Austin

Write "Dialogue"
The Texas Observer
307 W. 7th St.
Austin, TX 78701

Laughed Off the Earth

I am amazed that a reader of the *Observer* (letter, David Dow, Houston, 30 September 1988) would be so naive as to cite Joan Peters's *From Time Immemorial* on any question pertaining to Israel. Doesn't he know that the book has been laughed off the face of the scholarly earth by everyone, including the Jewish scholars in Israel who have reviewed it? We may safely say that any person who cites such a tome is quite uninformed on the subject and his opinions do not merit serious consideration.

To paraphrase the unfortunate Dow, isn't it the editor's job to keep people from embarrassing themselves in your columns?

Dennis K. McDaniel
Washington, D.C.

Israel's Moral Blotch

My fellow *TO* fans obviously include many who are passionately ready to speak up for Israel. I urge them to recognize that support for Israel does not require concealing unsavory parts of Israeli history nor should it inhibit criticism of the brutal policies of the present Government.

The passage of 40 years and the growth of the Israeli and Palestinian populations has made it very unlikely that there will be any substantial Palestinian repatriation, but the moral blotch remains. Civilians who flee areas of fighting are entitled by world law and common decency, now specifically by the Geneva Convention, to return to their homes.

The excuse that refugees were not entitled to return because they fled in response to broadcast instructions from Arab countries really doesn't wash. Not only is that not enough reason to steal refugees' homes, but there were no such general broadcasts. The BBC was recording all Arab broadcasts at the time as part of its political monitoring

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EDITORIALS

Dukakis for President

PROBABLY THE MOST costly mistake Michael Dukakis has made in his quest for the White House was to assume from the beginning that the Presidential campaign would be governed by standards of civil and rational discourse. Instead the thing turned into one great exercise in bamboozlement, with George Bush leading every step of the way.

Who could have imagined that a race between Dukakis, an experienced governor, and Bush, a man who touts his long record of government service, would have as its first major issue a candidate's allegiance to the flag? In the 1950s, in a culture obsessed with loyalty, yes. But this is 1988. We are supposed to have grown out of McCarthyism.

Bush pushed the flag issue to the limit and then turned to guns and crime. Lee Atwater, Bush's campaign director, is an old hand at exploiting the gun control issue: he used it against Bush in 1980 when Atwater was running Ronald Reagan's primary campaign in South Carolina. At that point, Atwater felt compelled to inform voters of Bush's votes in Congress for anti-handgun laws. Surely Atwater got a laugh this year to see how long it took the Democrats to catch on and say, "Now just a minute here." By the time they did, the damage had been done. Dukakis was seen, in places where guns are revered, as a Massachusetts liberal intent on confiscating (without compensation!) every citizen's personal weapon.

Dukakis finally got the word out in his television ads that he supports gun ownership for hunters and sportsmen. No matter. What about the governor's support for a furlough program that gave criminals a revolving door in and out of prison? Here was sure evidence that Dukakis was tenderhearted on crime. Reasonable examination of the furlough issue would take into consideration that a similar program was in place in California while Ronald Reagan was governor. Indeed, in our very own state, 5,000 felons have been let out on furlough since Republican Bill Clements became governor, as the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* reported October 16. But rational discussion is not the point, especially when it comes to crime. The point is to make Dukakis the target of whatever theme happens to be chosen by Bush's Hate Week committee.

A bait-the-liberal campaign is the easiest kind of campaign to run in America. Bush's media wizard Roger Ailes used the same tactics with great success on behalf of Richard Nixon's election and reelection. Lloyd Bentsen used the approach to knock Senator Ralph Yarborough out of the Democratic primary in 1970. Dukakis himself had been the target of a negative campaign after his first term as governor. He lost that race for reelection and is said to have learned a valuable lesson about politics: he would not again allow himself to be vulnerable to lowball attacks.

But Dukakis and his strategists were caught off guard by the sheer stupidity of the Presidential race after the Republican convention. It was if they really expected that Dukakis could pronounce himself non-ideological at the Democratic convention and then spend the rest of the campaign holding policy discussions. Before he knew it, Bush and Co. had exploited the wariness that many people around the country have about Massachusetts Democrats. Dukakis had been pegged.

There is no shortage of disappointment in Democratic circles, around this state and around the country, about the way Dukakis has responded, or failed to respond, to the Republican smears. We have our own criticisms of the Dukakis campaign, first because its central strategy has been to court quasi-conservatives (which means striking quasi-conservative themes), and second because in its emphasis on "competence" it has opted out of the battle over ideas.

Dukakis's campaign, in our view, has not yet done what a Democratic campaign needs to do; it has not defined itself as *the cause* for people who want to see the government on their side, and for people who are distressed that the rich have gotten richer while so many others are worse off, and for people who disapprove of the government bailing out the big banks when small businesses don't seem to get any breaks, and for those who know something about this economy that Republicans never acknowledge: too much of the real economic power is in the hands of a narrow band of corporations and corporate bigshots.

When Democrats speak to these concerns they have the chance to inspire enthusiasm. When they don't, the campaign becomes a marketing war waged on TV and pitted directly against the average voter's cynicism. Worst of all, the Democrats become victims of Republican charges that "the liberals" are somehow against the people — they want to take their guns, make the streets unsafe, let the moral standards slide. "I am not a member of the ACLU," Bush declared recently. "I'm for the people."

Somehow, in the final weeks of the campaign, Dukakis must make sure that voters think long and hard about what another four years of Republicanism will mean. And he must win people over to the idea that a Democratic administration will make a real difference — for the better — in their lives.

We believe that there are several compelling reasons to vote for a Democratic administration. For one thing, Dukakis's election would open the way for a new era in progressive legislation in Congress. Certainly a huge number of Americans recognize the need for some sort of national health insurance plan. Under Bush, 40 million uninsured citizens would continue to cast about on the rough seas of free market health care, which is to say, unaffordable health care. Dukakis has committed himself to a national health care plan.

Bush proposes that families who need child care be given a minor tax break. Under a Democratic administration, Congress could create a comprehensive child care plan that would truly help low- and middle-income families. An increase in the minimum wage would be encouraged by Dukakis and most likely vetoed by Bush. The national disgrace of three-quarters of a million people without homes would be

addressed by a Democratic administration; under Bush those people could rely on a "thousand points of light."

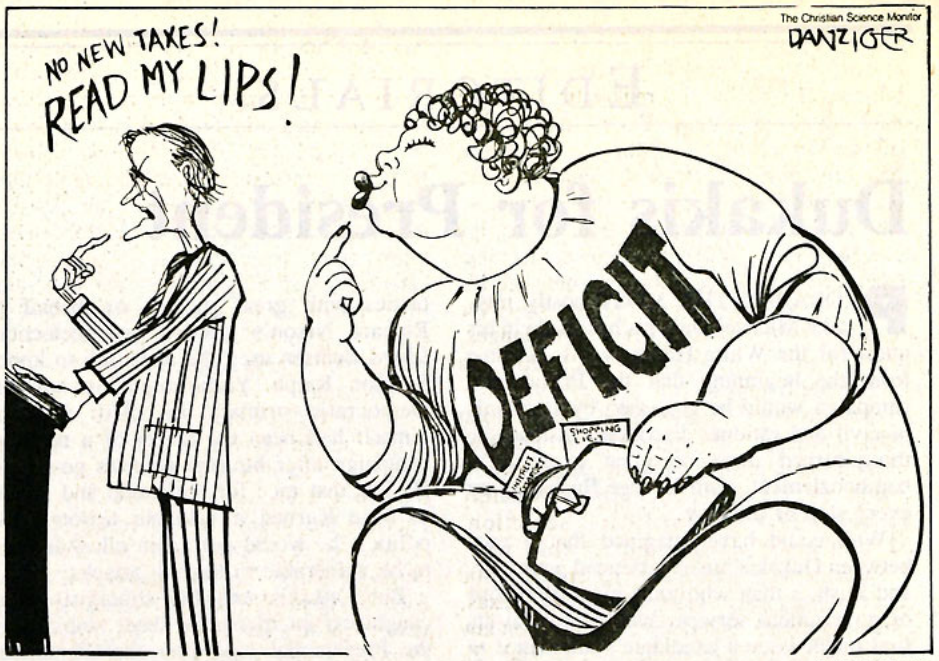
Bush and Co. reflexively disparage the idea that people want help from the federal government. But when citizens wake up one morning to find that their neighborhood has been hopelessly polluted by a hidden toxic dump, don't they want help from the federal government? Doesn't it make all the difference in the world to them whether the Environmental Protection Agency is run by a bunch of turkeys recruited from the corporate sector or instead by an aggressive leader who is committed to environmental safety? Doesn't it make a difference to people laboring in risky workplaces whom the president appoints as head of the Department of Labor and who heads the Occupational Health and Safety Administration?

Neither campaign has made much of an issue of the federal court system, and yet this is where the most radical Republican threat may lie. Imagine that after a lifetime in public service, George Bush would tell a national TV audience that he had not yet "sorted out" what penalties would be levied if abortion were to be outlawed. But he stands ready to pack the Supreme Court with conservatives and pave the way to making abortion a crime. Michael Dukakis asks how anyone but the woman can make such a private decision as whether to have an abortion. It is unlikely that the balance of the high court would change much with a few Democratic appointments, since it would most likely be the liberals who retire. But with even two Bush appointments the situation is drastically reversed. Is the public really ready for a federal court system — already half Republican due to Reagan's appointments — that will become overwhelmingly Republican?

Many progressives had hopes that this year's campaign would be more inspiring, or at least less disheartening, than the Mondale campaign in 1984. In fact, Dukakis made the same fateful decision that Mondale made: that it is not possible to run a progressive or populist national campaign against the Republicans. It is clear to all of us that the road to economic democracy probably will not be blazed by the likes of Michael Dukakis. But there are hundreds of ways a Democratic administration can directly affect day-to-day living conditions, especially for those on the margins.

This is not an either/or choice — either we vote for Dukakis or we work for more significant long-range change. It's clear enough that there needs to be a movement for change in this country — a populist movement — but it will have a chance to flourish under Democrats; under Republicans it will be met with stony resistance.

And if that were not reason enough, there is the matter of George Bush. Here is a man who has been, all through his career, a shameless apologist for all the worst of Republicanism. As Vice President, Bush has been so astoundingly deferential to the President that he has stood loyally by for every ill-considered policy of the Reagan era. And now he has the gall to offer himself up to the voters without ever deigning to explain his role in one of the administration's most important foreign policy decisions: that of bargaining with Iran for hostages.



JEFF DANZIGER

Bush has been the quintessential yes-man all his life. What kind of President will such a man make? Who will do his thinking for him? What kind of advisors will he surround himself with? (What will happen if his own chosen yes-man, Dan Quayle, has to take over?) On top of all these concerns is the fact that Bush has run a campaign that insults the intelligence of the American electorate. There ought to be no wringing of the hands over the decision: we are rejecting a dangerous leader in favor of an adequate one, perhaps even a good one. Do not stand idly by while George Bush becomes President. Cast a vote for Michael Dukakis.

— D.D.

Statewide Endorsements

THE JUDICIARY

IN ANY OTHER election year, voters would choose three members of the Texas Supreme Court. But since former Chief Justice John Hill announced last year that he was leaving the court — ostensibly to work on changing the high court from an elected to an appointed body — attorneys arguing cases have often needed programs to keep up with changes on the bench. Six of the nine positions, including that of Chief Justice, will appear on the ballot. The unprecedented number of vacancies has provided the Republican party with an opportunity to win a majority on the court. That is, however, only a remote possibility.

The closest race, and the best chance of a Republican win, is at the top of the ballot where incumbent Chief Justice Tom Phillips faces Ted Z. Robertson. Robertson is trying to move from his Associate Justice position to that of Chief Justice. Phillips is a congenital lawyer, born into the Baker & Botts Houston-based law firm and married into Bracewell & Patterson, another big Houston firm. Win or lose, he is one of Gov. Bill Clements's best picks — young, articulate, approachable, bright, and apparently squeaky clean.

But Phillips's $5,000 cap on contributions, and his refusal to accept money from law firms, is disingenuous and deceptive. The appointed Chief Justice's claim to the moral high road looks more and more like posturing, as he also lays claim to first or second place in amount of funds raised. While he refuses to accept direct contributions from law firms, tally sheets show him as the recipient of more than $31,000 from Baker & Botts lawyers. And he is the only justice or candidate thus far to hold an out-of-state fundraiser — an incestuous Washington, D.C. affair arranged by biological and law firm inlaws.

Unfortunately for Democrats, Ted Z. Robertson doesn't exactly pass the smell test when it comes to campaign finance. Robertson has received more "free media" than any other justice or candidate in the race. Unfortunately, most of it has come from *60 Minutes*, the CBS Sunday night news show. Robertson was the heavy in an episode broadcast last December, then rebroadcast September 25. The case against Robertson, made by CBS reporter Mike Wallace, former Chief Justice Jack Pope, and a former law clerk from the Supreme Court, was compelling.

"Pigs is pigs," Pope said of the perennial

scramble for campaign funds. He went on to describe how in 1983 Robertson stunned the court by voting to break a tie in a case that involved South Texas millionaire oilman/rancher Clinton Manges. Robertson had previously announced that he would recuse himself from the case because Manges was a major contributor to his campaign fund. When it became evident that Manges would lose, Robertson changed his mind — "in a heartbeat," as one observer testified — and voted in favor of Manges, who had contributed $120,000 to Robertson's campaign.

How to vote? Former Chief Justice John Hill — a Democrat — has endorsed Phillips. But Hill's judgement on these matters is now (in our view) so skewed that he is hardly a bellwether in candidate selection. Robertson's backers put it this way: "Robertson . . . has a long record of public service to the ordinary people of Texas, including work as a lawyer in the union law firm of Mullinax-Wells. . . . Ted Z. Robertson will be the most pro-people Chief Justice this state ever had." This from Austin labor lawyer David Van Os, in a published endorsement of Robertson. Lawyers who try civil rights issues before the court also give Robertson high marks.

The vote poses a difficult choice for progressives. The pragmatic argument for a better court suggests a vote for Robertson. As does the opportunity to go thumbs-down on a Bill Clements appointment. Those who see the race as a referendum on political ethics will consider Phillips or will simply abstain. You be the judge.

There is no such difficulty for Place 1 on the ballot; former Travis County State Senator **Lloyd Doggett** is clearly the better candidate. "A pinnacle of integrity," was the way state Senator John Montford of Lubbock described Doggett; and Montford frequently found himself squarely in opposition to Doggett in the Senate. In his valedictory legislative session Doggett passed bills regulating monopolies, requiring reports on prisoners' deaths in custody, and providing workers compensation payments for funeral benefits. He also went to bat for nursing home regulation, prevailing wage on public works, workers' right-to-know about hazardous substances, open meetings, anti- discriminatory employment practices, and a dozen other laudatory causes. Doggett's experience as a plaintiffs' attorney will also help maintain the court's reputation as a state Supreme Court that isn't controlled by corporate interests.

If elected, Doggett can be expected to join Associate Justice **William Kilgarlin** in providing the intellectual leadership for the court. As a legislator, Kilgarlin was a plaintiff in the lawsuit by which single-member legislative districts were created. As an attorney, he was involved in the *Ruiz* case at time when most attorneys wouldn't touch prison-reform litigation. During his tenure on the court, Kilgarlin has established that he is not afraid of unpopular decisions. And his opinions on due process and equal protection cases have earned him the respect of civil rights and civil liberties activists. We recognize that Kilgarlin was admonished by the Commission on Judicial Conduct last year for alleged financial improprieties. (Robertson was reprimanded, a more severe punishment reserved for more serious offenses.) And, Kilgarlin also got something of a broad-brush treatment on the *60 Minutes* segment, where it was alleged that contributions from Houston plaintiffs' attorney Joe Jamail might have influenced Kilgarlin's vote on the Texaco/Pennzoil lawsuit. (Kilgarlin responded to the *60 Minutes* feature: he insisted that network executives had an agenda of their own when they attacked the Texas court. Cravath, Swaine & Moore, the New York law firm that defended Mike Wallace against a libel suit filed by Gen. William Westmoreland also represented Texaco in its appeal of Pennzoil's judgement.)

Though Kilgarlin strays a bit too far



RONALD CORTES

Lloyd Doggett

toward political paranoia with his *60 Minutes* conspiracy theories, we do not believe the questions raised about his integrity are substantial. His defeat would be a setback for the court and for the state. And his opponent, Dallas appeals court judge Nathan Hecht is hardly a credible candidate. (Hecht no!)

Charles Ben Howell is a compelling reason for any sensible citizen to vote for Associate Justice **Raul Gonzalez**. Howell, an appeals court judge from Dallas, is considered by many to be a litigious crank. He has sued Associate Justice Oscar Mauzy, Republican court candidate Nathan Hecht, and the State Bar Association. Howell now faces a frivolous lawsuit sanction from a federal court and in another case has requested that the entire state Supreme Court recuse itself, rather than rule on a pending case in which he is involved. Howell has also appeared in court in his pajamas or bathrobe to protest working on a weekend. He makes the case for funding reform by refusing to accept campaign contributions — though it is not likely that contributors were beating a path to his door.

Gonzalez, though he has not satisfied every liberal voter in the state, has been a competent Associate Justice. He is carving out his place as the court's advocate of freedom of speech and press and has been reasonably sympathetic to organized labor (perhaps he has not forgotten his own roots as a migrant farmworker). A peculiar and unsolicited opinion on abortion and an adverse opinion on workers' compensation angered many who would like to see a more progressive voting record. Gonzalez is obviously a Democratic Party moderate, holding down a place on the middle of the court. He should be reelected.

The race for Place 4 is likely to see some Democrats defect to cast votes for the appointed Republican incumbent, Barbara Culver. A former County and District Court Judge from Midland, Culver is something less than judicial scholar. And for just a moment there, Culver acted like she was going to be a real serious justice — pondering the law and litigants' claims fairly, then rendering judgment. That was before she got crossways with the Texas Medical Association after she wrote an opinion that removed the cap on medical malpractice suits. Later, in an act that is not likely to win Culver a place in *Profiles in Courage* she contrived some sort of addendum to apologize for the earlier opinion, saying, in effect, that she didn't really mean to offend the doctors.

Culver's opponent, Jack Hightower, is a former boll weevil Congressman who lost his seat to Beau Boulter. Culver gets the nod from the Texas Women's Political Caucus and some progressive lawyers who claim that her judicial record on family law is better than Hightower's conservative record in Congress. Others argue that there are Republican women attorneys far more qualified than Culver and the Governor here missed a real opportunity. Democrats who would see Clements repudiated, particularly since there seems to be no great difference in political philosophy, will vote for **Jack Hightower** — who will probably win anyway because the agriculture commissioner (no relation) has made Hightower a household name in Texas.

Austin plaintiffs' attorney **Karl Bayer** is the better of two qualified candidates for Place 5. Bayer faces Houston lawyer Eugene Cook. If Cook loses, he will be probably be appointed whenever another justice resigns. Bayer would take his place among the court's intellectual leaders. His impressive credentials include an M.I.T. masters degree in biomedical technology, earned before he changed fields and entered law school. He was an Environmental Protection Agency attorney and tried the EPA's case against 2,4,5,-T, the herbicide found to be contaminated by dioxin. He has recently

been involved with a five-year lawsuit, filed to protect the Rio Grande River between El Paso and the Big Bend, according to the *Texas Lawyer*. And he helped draft the chemical right-to-know law sponsored by Deer Park Democratic Rep. Ed Watson. Bayer has imposed on his campaign the most stringent and ethically sound fundraising limits, accepting no contributions from political action committees, lawyers, and individuals with cases pending before the court. He has also pledged to accept no individual contribution larger than $5,000 and no more than $20,000 contributions from a single law firm or a group of lawyers from one firm.

Tallying up the funding disclosure sheets, and listening to the arguments on judicial reform, one might conclude that the no one other than plaintiffs' attorneys, insurance companies, and doctors ever appear before the court. And plaintiffs' attorneys, who earn huge sums suing for product liability and personal injury are unlikely heroes. Yet in the struggle for control of the court's soul, it just so happens that the self-interest of the state's plaintiffs' lawyers converges with the public interest.

Sometime next year the Texas Supreme Court will render a decision on the *Edgewood v. Kirby* lawsuit — the lawsuit that will determine just how much money poor school districts in the state will receive in the future. Other important policy issues will inevitably be resolved by the court. Doggett, Gonzalez, Kilgarlin, and Bayer represent the foundation of a high court where corporate interests do not exercise the same control that they do in the other two branches. Should they all win, along with Associate Justice Oscar Mauzy, they will provide the state with a Supreme Court as progressive as any in the country.

For the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals, the *Observer* endorses **Michael McCormick** for Presiding Judge and **Chuck Miller** for Place 2. The Court of Criminal Appeals is the court of last resort for criminal cases in the state court system. Both Miller and McCormick have served on the court. Miller is moving from associate to presiding judge.

—L.D.

TEXAS SENATE

THE PROSPECTS for a more progressive state Senate began to brighten in the Democratic primary last spring. In a race that surprised the political establishment in Austin, longtime conservative Democrat Grant Jones of Abilene was sent packing by Temple Dickson, a trial lawyer from Sweetwater. Dickson is now unopposed in the general election and is bound to be a more dependable Democrat in the Senate than Jones was.

Democrats seem sure to hold on to their two-thirds majority (21 votes) in the upper chamber; they currently have 25 of the 31 seats. There are seven contested Senate races on the ballot November 8. Four races involve Democratic incumbents who have drawn Republican challengers. One Republican incumbent, Cyndi Krier of San Antonio, has a Democratic challenger. Two seats are up for grabs. It's unlikely that the Republicans could add more than two new members; there is the possibility — if Democrats hold their seats and Krier loses — that they could see their delegation reduced from six members to five.



ALAN POGUE

Steve Carriker of Roby

Krier's race promises to be close. Elected in 1984, she won her seat partly because Ronald Reagan was at the top of the ballot and partly because her predecessor, Bob Vale, was perceived as a lazy and ineffective legislator. Krier certainly has improved on Vale's performance; no one faults her dedication or motivation. She has not been an overly doctrinaire Republican, and she has occasionally been a strong advocate on some women's issues. She is endorsed for reelection by the Texas Women's Political Caucus.

But Krier does vote a Republican agenda. She voted last session with the insurance lobby on "tort reform," she voted for an AT&T-supported deregulation bill, and she voted against a minimum wage for farmworkers. She can be counted on to support Gov. Bill Clements on prison and crime issues, regardless of the weaknesses of the Governor's programs with regard to civil liberties.

The demographics of the 26th Senatorial district are at least marginally Democratic. In our view, it's time to bring back Democratic representation. Krier's challenger is **Nef Garcia**, a political science professor at St. Mary's University. Garcia describes as his mentor the late Bill Crane, a St. Mary's professor who was as enlightened a political thinker as San Antonio has produced. In the 1960's, as a student at St. Mary's Garcia helped organize MASO, the Mexican American Student Organization, an alternative to the more activist and radical MAYO. Garcia said that education will be his area of legislative interest if he is elected to the Senate.

In the campaign, Garcia is taking Krier to task for "carrying the water for the banking lobby" when she sponsored a measure to repeal the homestead protection provision in the state constitution. He is also reminding voters that Krier opposed legislation that would have banned the short-handled hoe for farmworkers and that she opposed a farmworker minimum wage bill. Garcia has tried to pin Krier down on education funding and the Official Language question: "Where does she stand on *Edgewood v. Kirby*?" Garcia asked. "Why hasn't she come out against English Only?" All of these are issues that should play well in the 26th Senatorial district.

But Garcia's campaign does not have the money that Krier's does. To get his message out he will have to depend on grassroots support. And the help of San Antonio Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez. Ninety-three of the 159 precincts in the 26th district are also included in Gonzalez's 20th Congressional district. Gonzalez is expected to campaign for Garcia. Several political observers from San Antonio insist that the race can be won only if Henry B. turns out the vote. The current get-out-the-vote campaign by the San Antonio activist group, COPS, might also work in Garcia's favor. COPS describes itself as non-partisan but its members may be inclined to vote for Garcia, who will do more to advance their agenda in the legislature.

Though the Krier race offers voters their only chance to replace a Republican with a Democrat, two races for open seats hold the promise of bringing better Democrats. In West Texas, **Steve Carriker** stands a good chance of winning a four-year term for the seat formerly held by Ray Farabee, D-Wichita Falls. Carriker, a former House member from Roby, won a special election this summer by a resounding margin.

(Technically he is an incumbent, but he has served less than two months.) His vanquished opponent, Republican Bobby Albert III, is trying again in the general election. Albert is a political novice who was unable to win his own county against Carriker in the special election. Carriker, on the other hand, is known and respected throughout the district (his father served in the House of Representatives in the 1960s), and has compiled a consistently progressive voting record in his three terms in the House.

Carriker's predecessor, Ray Farabee, served for more than twelve years and became perhaps the most respected figure in the Senate. In terms of passing bills and wielding influence, Carriker may not be Farabee's equal. But the political climate in the Senate is bound to improve from Carriker's presence. He is a legislator who does not easily swallow the business lobby's line. (Farabee's power derived, in part, from carrying bills that were heavily supported by big business.) Coming from a rural area, Carriker is strong on agricultural issues; he is in the Jim Hightower stream of politics. One reason Carriker is a politician to watch is because he is not a conventional liberal or conservative. He defines his issues in terms of how they affect the working people of his district. He is an economic populist who has been able to survive right-wing attack by giving a clear idea of what he stands for. Of course, many candidates say they are "for the people" at election time. But Carriker is one of a number of up-and-coming state politicians who has a concept of how to be for the people even after the election, when the high-paid lobbyists come knocking.

The other open seat does not hold the possibility of progressive change — we are talking Amarillo here — but if a Democrat is elected to fill the seat that Bill Sarpalius filled for eight years it is bound to improve the general smell of the place. Sarpalius was a Senator who became known for turning in the kind of inept performances in hearings that, had he been on the baseball mound, would have had the fans holding their noses and yelling "Send him to the showers!" We asked one Democratic-oriented lobbyist if Mel Phillips, the Democratic nominee, would be likely to be an improvement over Sarpalius. "Mel Phillips?" he asked. "He can comb his own hair. He's toilet trained. . . . He's a decent fellow." So the answer was yes. "He's gonna be conservative — there's not anybody up there who's not, except for Stanley Marsh, 3," said the lobbyist.

In fact, Phillips has joined in the general election-year craziness that has broken out in West Texas, in which all candidates feel the need to prove themselves drug-free by one degrading way or another. Phillips has taken a "hair test," a method of drug-testing that is said to be more comprehensive than urinalysis. His opponent, cattle rancher Teel Bivins, took the conventional urinalysis test, but rejected Phillips's call to submit to the hair test.

Phillips is a real estate developer with dealings in Amarillo, the Rio Grande Valley, and Colorado. He is married to the niece of Senator Lloyd Bentsen. Bivins, a wealthy Republican from one of the Panhandle's oldest families, has financial ties to oilman T. Boone Pickens. He has the backing of Amarillo's wealthiest citizens and has spent a considerable amount on television advertising. Bivins is new to the political scene; it is widely suspected that Pickens is behind his candidacy.

Other than on the drug-testing issue, Phillips is trying to zero in on issues that affect the everyday lives of the district's citizens — such as problems in rural health care and in the area's drinking water supply. We expect that we would often disagree with Phillips politically, but there can be little question he would be a preferable choice to Teel Bivins. With Bivins there would be hardly a prayer that the concerns of farmers, small businessmen and minorities would be adequately represented. We do not give Phillips a ringing endorsement, but we urge a vote for the Democrat in this race.

Of the four Democratic incumbents being challenged, East Texas Senator Richard Anderson may face the strongest challenge. All over the first Senatorial district, one can see yard signs in support of Republican Bill Ratliff, an engineer from Mt. Pleasant. Anderson has suffered politically from news stories about his office staff having billed personal telephone calls to the state, and for having a DWI on his record. But Democrats in the area say that Ratliff's challenge amounts to little more than having sunk most of his money into yard signs. He has had Gov. Clements and U.S. Senator Phil Gramm campaigning for him, but, according to some Democrats, has proven to be less articulate than Anderson in public forums. "They never let Ratliff speak; they always speak for him," says Bowie County Democratic chair Bill Feazell.

Anderson won his seat by defeating the heavily backed Republican Ed Hargett in 1986. In the most recent session of the legislature Anderson surprised a number of people by compiling a decent voting record — at least in comparison to his predecessor Ed Howard of Texarkana. On the one hand, Anderson voted against progressive measures for farmworkers, but on the other, he registered a few good votes on consumer issues. He has been endorsed by the Sierra Club's Lone Star Chapter, which cites his acceptable voting record on environmental issues. And indeed there are important hazardous waste issues looming in this district on which the Republican engineer Bill Ratliff probably can not be trusted. Anderson is still something of an unproven quantity and he has yet to win the trust of many of his constituents, but in our judgement **Richard Anderson** ought to be returned to office.

A little ways to the south, in the second Senatorial district, Democrat Ted Lyon is engaged in a battle with the right-wing ideologue Richard Harvey of Tyler. Harvey, who publishes an extremist newsletter called the *Texas Tribune*, ran against Lyon in 1984 and got 49 percent of the vote. It was apparently enough to put the fear of God into Lyon — in the last session his overriding concern was to show himself to be conservative on the abortion issue. In fact, his performance was such a far cry from his generally progressive first session in 1985 that it was almost as if Richard Harvey's influence on the Senate could already be felt, even without his election. Perhaps if Lyon can dispose of Harvey's challenge one more time he will become more comfortable in his seat. While there is little in Lyon's recent record that we can endorse, we urge a vote for him, to keep a far-right loon from taking his place.

We wholeheartedly endorse Senator **Gonzalo Barrientos** of Austin for another term. He has drawn a Republican challenger in Matt Harnest, a 31-year-old political newcomer whose brochures bill him as a member of Mensa, the sky-high IQ society, but whose campaign tactics have been lowbrow Republican. Harnest's propaganda charges Barrientos with being too liberal and with supporting "militant homosexual legislation." Harnest has also called Barrientos's philosophy "Marxist-Leninist." Barrientos dismisses Harnest as being "far out." He ought to easily dismiss Harnest's challenge, as well. Senator Bob Glasgow of Stephenville is facing a challenge by Republican Jesse Coffey of Denton. There is not much we can rave about in Glasgow's record but he ought to be safe, despite some apparent Republican drift going on in his district.

TEXAS HOUSE

THE HOUSE of Representatives is the battleground that will best demonstrate whether Republicans are making significant headway in this state. The state party makes a lot of noise about breaking the Democratic majority in time for redistricting in 1991. As a result, Democrats have initiated a program that is designed not only to hold on to the majority, but to recruit and elect loyal Democrats — Democrats who will not vote with Republicans. The House is well on the way to becoming a much more partisan body than it has been.

The Republicans had 56 members in the 150-member House last session, but it only took the addition of 20 conservative Democratic votes for Republican-oriented legislation to achieve a simple majority. There have been at least that many Democrats, such as those who were active with the House Conservative Caucus, who sided with the Republicans more often than not.

This year the House Democratic Caucus has made a concerted effort to recruit and support a field of aggressive and promising

Democratic candidates. Their strategy is not to look just at the raw numbers of Democrats and Republicans, but to try to improve the quality of the Democratic candidates. The caucus set up a political action committee (the House Democratic Campaign Committee) and hired Austin-based consultants Susan Krute and David Butts to coordinate the Democratic effort. By providing campaign research and guidance and, in some cases, funds to candidates, the DCC has been trying to counter the efforts of their more well-funded counterpart, the Associated Republicans of Texas. This may seem like a rather elementary move for the Democrats, but it was only two years ago that such an effort was put in place — for years there has been no significant candidate recruitment and candidate support coming out of Democratic Party headquarters. (Even now, it is not the state Party, as such, that is involved, but the House Democratic Caucus.)

Ultimately, the question of whether Democrats will add to their 94 House members will depend to some degree on how the top of the ticket affects down-ballot Democrats. A gain of five seats would be a significant victory: it would give Democrats a two-thirds majority, which is necessary, for example, to override a governor's veto. But the most likely result of this election year is that Democrats and Republicans will swap a few seats and the overall makeup of the lower chamber will stay about the same. Of the 59 contested House races, there are 20 challenges against Republican incumbents and 19 challenges against Democratic incumbents. Twenty-one legislators have stepped down (or up, as the case may be) to create open seats (twelve of the seats were held by Democrats and nine by Republicans). A number of those who have quit the House were big wheels in the conservative caucus: Republican Mike Toomey of Houston, Republican Gerald Geistweidt of Mason and Democrat Tom Waldrop of Corsicana, for example.

The following endorsements are made, as always, with varying shades of enthusiasm. Some candidates are worth working for and talking about; others are worthy of a vote in the hope it will stave off the candidacy of the lesser dingbat. We are concentrating mostly on races in "swing" districts. In other instances we address races where particularly strong or worthy candidates have caught our eye. (The names of our preferred candidates appear in boldface type.)

North Texas

There are two interesting Democratic challenges here, pitting admirable progressive candidates against generally useless Republican incumbents. In the Denton area, **Karen Abernathy** is running against Rep. Jim Horn. This is a conservative district, but Abernathy is reported to be working hard and may have a chance to pull off an upset. She teaches economics at Texas Woman's University and is campaigning on "economic development through educational excellence." Abernathy criticizes Horn for his extreme right-wing views, which she says have made him "too polarized" to be effective in the House. Horn's main claim to fame in his four terms is his promotion of the English Only movement. Of this Abernathy says: "It's divisive, it's discriminatory, it's unnecessary and it's rude." The legislature would be improved by Horn's absence; Abernathy's expertise in education and economics would serve her well as a Representative.

Rep. Bill Carter of Fort Worth is another legislative zero (literally: Carter, like Jim Horn, has recorded straight zero voting records on the *Observer* voting chart for the last two sessions). He has a very strong challenger in Democrat **Art Brender**, a Fort Worth lawyer. Brender was recently in the national news when he took a racial discrimination case to the U.S. Supreme Court and won on an 8-0 ruling. Though his district has voted for Reagan and Gov. Clements in past elections it has also supported Democrats such as Jim Wright for Congress and Hugh Parmer for the state Senate. Brender describes the 91st as a "working folks sort of district," and is blasting Rep. Carter for a vote to repeal the workers' comp law and for a vote against a Buy American initiative. Carter has tagged Brender as a liberal ACLU lawyer. (Brender gladly admits to having worked for the civil liberties organization.) Even putting politics aside, Brender is clearly heads above Carter, an insuranceman and an Aggie, in abilities; he would be bound to get more done in the legislature for the people of his district.

Another Democrat worth supporting is **Richard Millsap** of Fort Worth, who is running for the seat vacated by his brother, Mike Millsap. Richard Millsap is said to be a potential improvement over his brother, who began to drift rightward after his election to the House.

Four incumbents who have challengers and deserve reelection are: **Keith Oakley** of Terrell, **Bob Melton** of Gatesville, **Garfield Thompson** of Fort Worth, and **Al Granoff** of Dallas. Melton's seat, especially, is targeted by the Republicans; he is opposed by insurance agent Brad Harris of Gatesville. Melton has taken a bad rap from a certain Texas magazine that names "Best and Worst" legislators, but from our perspective his voting record looks solid and he has served his district well.

Thompson is opposed by Democrat-turned-Republican Reby Cary, who lost a race in 1984 against state Senator Hugh Parmer. Granoff's challenger, Charles Chestnutt, is said to be pretty far to the right. And the legislature has enough nuts already.

East Texas

One good possibility for improvement in the East Texas delegation arises with the retirement of the odious Cliff Johnson of Palestine. Johnson, a Democrat, has gone to work for Gov. Bill Clements, of all people. He should be replaced by Democrat **Richard Swift**. Swift, an attorney from Palestine who is facing Kimball Hillencamp, a Rusk Republican, has represented laborers in workers' comp cases and is bound to vote more often with the Democrats than Johnson did.

Jerry Yost, the Alfred E. Neumanesque Republican from Longview, may be vulnerable to the challenge of Democratic businessman **Daryl Atkinson**, also of Longview. This is not a district that is going to produce liberal leadership but Atkinson would at least be more moderate than Yost, who has been extreme and ineffective.

Democrat **David Hudson** of Tyler is facing a serious challenge from Larry Jackson, also of Tyler. Hudson's voting record is a mixed bag but at least with a former government teacher at Stephen F. Austin University you get a semblance of enlightenment. The Sierra Club endorses Hudson and cites his "excellent" environmental voting record. As for Jackson, there is seldom a good reason to put a Tyler Republican in the legislature.

Houston area

A good race is shaping up in Houston between Republican Rep. Brad Wright and Democrat **Katy Caldwell**. Caldwell does computer consulting work for financial institutions and is a former schoolteacher. She is attacking Wright's record for his votes against the appropriations bills last session, claiming that Wright was willing to defund institutions important to Houston. Wright is running a typical Republican anti-crime campaign and will probably outspend Caldwell by $70,000 to $40,000, according to Caldwell's estimate. Wright has distinguished himself in the legislature as a rigid and somewhat humorless conservative, on a high horse to protect the free enterprise system but with little appreciation for government. Caldwell's election would be an immense improvement for the district.

Republican incumbents Keith Valigura of Conroe and Jack Harris of Pearland may be vulnerable. Both have across-the-board conservative voting records and both have solid Democratic opponents. **Joe Melton**, an insurance agent from New Caney, is opposing Valigura, an attorney. Melton very nearly won this seat in 1986; he deserves support in the rematch. We endorse **Randall Ferguson**, a Pearland attorney in private practice, to replace two-termer Harris. Ferguson's name is fairly well known in the district; he is said to be a "reasonable" Democrat who is running a well-organized campaign.

The Republicans are taking a run at Rep. Ed Watson of Deer Park. Watson is a veteran lawmaker and former official with the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers

union. He was instrumental in passing the "right-to-know" law two sessions ago and has the endorsement of the Sierra Club and the Texas Women's Political Caucus. James M. Jackson, the Republican candidate, is president of Force Corp. and is likely to be overly sympathetic to business interests. We'll go with **Ed Watson**.

Republican hardliner Mike Toomey has given up his seat to work for the governor. There is little chance the seat will go Democratic, since it is packed as tight as a cummerbund on a banker with Republicans. Still, we admire Democrat **Mary Burke** for making the race. Limousine liberals, arise!

Democrat Clint Hackney has given up his seat to run for the Railroad Commission. **Sylvester Turner** is the heir to the chair in this predominantly Democratic district. He is endorsed by the Texas Women's Political Caucus. It is our hope that he will bring another strong voice to the House Black Caucus (it could use some help) as well as to the legislature.

Central Texas

Democrats have at least two good chances here to bump off Republican incumbents, especially if Central Texas sees a strong turnout for Dukakis at the top of the ticket. Rep. Randall Riley of Round Rock may have difficulty holding onto the seat he won in 1984. He is increasingly viewed as ineffective in the legislature — his abiding concern seems to be with pleasing the business interests. He gets his political bearings from his participation in the family construction business. He introduced a measure to repeal the prevailing wage law and he once commented that the problem with trench site cave-ins might have something to do with the "fact" that 75 percent of construction workers come to work on drugs or alcohol. "He is always willing to bash us over the head," says one unionist who has observed Riley's performance. **Parker McCollough**, a Georgetown attorney who has labor's endorsement, is a better choice for this district.

Republican Anne Cooper of San Marcos faces an active challenge from **Libby Linebarger** of Manchaca. Linebarger is a private consultant, a former teacher and Texas Education Agency employee. In her campaign, she is focusing on education and has said that public education will be at the top of her agenda. She has good visibility in the district, good funding, and good volunteer support, and may well be able to deal the Republicans a setback. "She was out walking neighborhoods when it was a hundred degrees out," says one Democratic observer. This was for many years a Democratic seat, admirably represented by Bob Barton of Kyle. Cooper is a moderate — certainly not the worst of Republicans — but Linebarger is criticizing her for, among other things, her failure to go to bat for fired Southwest Texas State President Robert Hardesty.

Cooper did appear at the second San Marcos gathering where the firing of Hardesty, a popular administrator summarily dismissed by the Board of Regents, was debated. (Hardesty was fired several hours after a Clements appointee was sworn in.) According to Linebarger, Cooper should have taken the lead in the Hardesty case: "As a member of the party, she [Cooper] was in a perfect position to put some pressure on the Regents and the Governor. She failed to do so," Linebarger said.

Linebarger has demonstrated some rare political courage when she took Southwest Regents to task for their banning of the sale or distribution of contraceptives on the Southwest Texas campus. "It is a public health issue," Linebarger said. "Not a moral issue. AIDS is a very real danger and the high number of teenage pregnancies is a problem."

The closest House race of 1986 took place in the 32nd district, where Republican Steve Holzheauser of Victoria was very nearly defeated by Janey Lack. Holzheauser again has a strong challenger in Democrat **Glen Smith**, a Victoria sportscaster who is well-known in the area. Smith is no liberal, but he couldn't possibly be as conservative as Holzheauser.

In San Antonio, Democrat **Karyne Conley** is the obvious choice over Republican John Yost to replace retiring Rep. Lou Nelle Sutton. Sutton had slowed down over the years and Conley is sure to bring more active representation to the 120th district. Further south, down toward Pleasanton, Rep. **Eldon Edge** faces a challenge by Charlie Britsch, a Hondo Republican. Edge is an unassuming legislator with some populist instincts — he voted last session against the insurance lobby on "tort reform" bills. He is strong on education issues. Britsch is a political newcomer who manages Peter Piper's Pizza in Hondo.

West Texas

Our favorite West Texas conservative this year is **Floyd Holder** of Lubbock. Holder spent 20 years in the U.S. Army — his expertise is in nuclear physics. Upon leaving the army he went to law school at Texas Tech and has since become a noted defense lawyer. Holder is a recent convert to the Democratic Party — "I used to be a Republican when it was unpopular," he says. But he switched parties when he became fed up with Reaganomics. Holder is a straight-shooter, a give-'em-hell type with a streak of contrariness. He's not a liberal, but he's something a maverick. He's taken cases no one else in the Panhandle would touch, sometimes defending clients he suspected were victims of West Texas bigotry. He would certainly be a force to be reckoned with in the legislature, which is more than you can say about his predecessor, Republican Ron Givens. Holder is opposed by Delwin Jones of Lubbock, who served in the House from 1962 to 1972. Jones was the author of a Republican-oriented redistricting plan in 1971, so he is certainly one man to steer clear of as we move toward another redistricting period. But is Holder a "good Democrat"? He says he would not vote for a Republican Speaker and he would not vote for "any plan that would put in place Republican partisan advantage."

Another district that might turn Democratic if the winds blow right is District 67, formerly represented by Gerald Geistweidt, one of the most vocal of the House's hardline conservative bloc. The election of **David Currie** would be a marked change for the better. Currie worked for four years under Jim Hightower at the Texas Department of Agriculture. While in the marketing and agricultural development division, he helped organize farmers' markets, food producers' conferences, and farm cooperatives. Currie is a Baptist minister who readily admits that "my style of politics is different than [Hightower's]; Jim is more confrontational." Because there is some backlash in the district to Hightower's tough stance on pesticide regulation and his political endorsement of Jesse Jackson, Currie is tying himself to his friend and fellow sheep-raiser Senator Bill Sims of San Angelo, who is nothing if not a West Texas conservative. But Currie doesn't apologize for his populist politics; he is certain he can represent the rural and middle class population better than his young Republican opponent, 28-year-old Harvey Hilderbran of Uvalde. Hilderbran has worked for Amarillo Congressman Beau Boulter and has been a lobbyist for the Farm Bureau. He has also worked to elect Democratic Congressman Albert Bustamante — an item, according to Currie, Hilderbran likes to cite to his Mexican American audiences but not to the rock-ribbed Republican citizens. And, make no mistake: the 67th has been a Republican stronghold. Kerr and Gillespie Counties, Currie admits, are about as Republican a territory as you can find anywhere in the state. But Currie is working hard. "If a Democrat can win it, I'm gonna win it," he says.

We endorse **David Counts**, a real estate and insurance agent from Knox, in the hope that he will emulate the progressive style of Steve Carriker of Roby, who was elected in August to the state Senate. We would like to see Democrat **Mark Bragg** of Amarillo claim the Republican seat of retiring Rep. Chip Staniswallis. Bragg's father has been a coordinator for Hightower; Bragg, the younger, is said to be the kind of Democrat who is not afraid to stand up for his party. **Bob Junell** of San Angelo is a good candidate to replace retiring Democrat Dick Burnett.

In El Paso, we endorse **Nick Perez** for reelection, hoping he will improve on the performance of his first two terms. Perez has had his share of personal problems and

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tragedy, but there are some who say he has turned things around and is intent on making himself into a solid legislator. Debbie Tucker, of the Texas Council on Family Violence, credits Perez with moving important child support and protective custody proposals through a House subcommittee on which he serves.

Other Races

There are several incumbents who have little or no opposition but who are worth endorsing. These are candidates with decent records of accomplishment:

Democrats Mike McKinney of Centerville, Al Price of Beaumont, Lloyd Criss of La Marque, Hugo Berlanga of Corpus Christi, Eddie Cavazos of Corpus Christi, Alex Moreno of Edinburg, Juan Hinojosa of McAllen, Ernestine Glossbrenner of Alice, Wilhelmina Delco of Austin, Lena Guerrero of Austin, Paul Moreno of El Paso, Nancy McDonald of El Paso, David Cain of Dallas, Ciro Rodriguez of San Antonio, Paul Colbert of Houston, Debra Danburg of Houston, and Al Luna of Houston; and Republican Jack Vowell of El Paso. **—D.D.**

EDUCATION BOARD

SINCE 1984 the State Board of Education has been an elected board, then an appointed board, and again an elected board. The temporary appointed board was part of the education reform package of 1985, when it was expected that the next legislature would vote to continue with an appointed body. It didn't, but left the choice to the voters who opted for election again. The board's functions include recommendation of policy to the legislature, supervising the implementation of policy in the schools, and textbook adoption. The last function mentioned should be sufficient to encourage some voter interest: These 15 board members are about all that stand between us and Mel and Norma Gabler, the Longview couple who have fashioned themselves as the thought police of the textbook industry. Because publishers accommodate the huge Texas schoolbook market, educational decisions made here — and the censorious influence of the Gablers — reach far beyond our borders.

Here are the *Observer*'s endorsements, in some of the contested races:

Mary Helen Berlanga is an incumbent running in District 2, which includes all of the coastal counties from Nueces County, south to the Lower Rio Grande Valley. She is a Corpus Christi attorney who has been among the board's strongest special programs advocates. Berlanga is something of a teachers' board member who spends considerable time in her district's schools. She is a D mocrat.

Esteban Sosa, the Democratic candidate running in District 3, which extends south and east of San Antonio, has served on the Harlandale school board for 19 years. In the primary, he was endorsed by the AFL-CIO American Federation of Teachers, even though he was running against one of their members. Sosa is a member of the Texas Association of School Boards.

Donna Ellis is a financial consultant running in District 6. Ellis has taught political science at Wayne State University and at St. Thomas University in Houston. She has also taught at Harris County Community College. During the 69th Legislative session Ellis worked for the city of Houston as a legislative liaison, working with both the legislature and the state comptroller's office. Her diverse background in education and government, with an emphasis in finance, is an asset.

Carolyn Honea Crawford is a Beaumont educational psychologist and the incumbent in District 7. She has developed a background in finance and has advocated legislative funding of mandated pupil-teacher races. Even before *Edgewood v. Kirby* was filed, Crawford was warning of a dangerous shift of school funding responsibility in the direction of local taxpayers.

Mary Knotts Perkins is the Democratic candidate in District 8, which includes all of the East Texas state-line counties except the southeast corner of the state. Perkins is a Lufkin homemaker and school board member. She has steadfastly refused to define her candidacy in terms of state verses local control of schools. Perkins has served as president, vice president, and secretary of the Lufkin school board.

State Rep. **Bob Aikin** is running in District 9, the other large East Texas district. Aikin served on the House Public Education Committee and before election to the House was a lobbyist for East Texas State University. Aikin will provide the board with considerable insight into the legislative process and education finance. He is giving up his House seat.

Austin Attorney **Will Davis** served on the previously elected Board from 1983-1984 but was not reappointed to his seat by Governor Mark White. Davis has a background in school finance and has consistently made the case for "funding up" the state's poorer districts, rather than "funding down" the state's wealthier districts. The funding formula is the heart of what the *Edgewood v. Kirby* lawsuit is about — providing equal educational opportunity to students attending school in districts poor in local tax base. Davis will provide the board with direction on school finance issues. He is a Democrat.

Paul Dunn, a Levelland dentist and school board member, is an incumbent whose district includes most of the Panhandle. Dunn, who is highly regarded by other board members and educators in his district, has become an advocate of improved working conditions for teachers. He is a Democrat running in District 15.

Candidates in Districts 1, 4, 12, and 13 are unopposed. **—L.D.**

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INTERVIEW

Bush and the New Right

BY JAMES RIDGEWAY

Washington, D.C.

THE NEW RIGHT conservatives, who eight years ago so bitterly assailed George Bush's presidential bid as a Trojan horse for liberalism, this fall are united in their strong support for a man who they now believe will bring back a Nixon-style Presidency. Under George Bush, whose election conservatives believe is assured, they look forward to far more access and potential political clout than they enjoyed during the last eight years of the Reagan Revolution.

It has been widely assumed that as the Reagan era draws to a close, America is moving away from the right toward the middle of the road, and that Michael Dukakis can ride this current to victory in November. Yet the dominant themes in the campaign so far are neither liberal nor moderate. The Republican platform, the convention in New Orleans, and the campaign itself thus far have all been dominated by the imagery of the New Right — from anti-communism to abortion to the flag. And in the first debate last month George Bush continued to hammer home conservative, not moderate, themes. Far from asserting any sort of moderate — let alone liberal — policy agenda, the Dukakis campaign has been thrown on the defensive, moving rightward as it fends off attacks on the candidate's patriotism, his inexperience in foreign policy, and what increasingly appear to be flawed economic and social policies in Massachusetts.

How do conservatives see the future? In recent interviews, Richard Viguerie, Howard Phillips, and Paul Weyrich — three founders of the New Right — discussed the campaign and where conservatism might be headed in a Bush Presidency.

As in the past, Viguerie attacked liberals for being soft on communism, while Phillips assailed the administration for abandoning the contras in Nicaragua and Jonas Savimbi in Angola.

But Weyrich was another matter. He believes that for the conservative movement to truly triumph it must be prepared to do more than rail against liberals and, indeed, must strike out in new directions.

Weyrich goes back to the beginnings of the New Right. He was instrumental in starting the Heritage Foundation, the major thinktank of the Reagan era, and through his Free Congress Research and Education Foundation he presides over a panoply of coalitions that have provided organization and strategy for the right over the past eight years. Now, he has set out to chart new territory in a manner that puts him at odds with many of his Reagan-era allies. What Weyrich is calling for is the judicious use of government power to achieve social and political ends. Where some conservative purists eschew government altogether, Weyrich wants to experiment with such concepts as school vouchers. Weyrich also recognizes that the potential constituency for cultural conservatism cuts across both parties and draws from the Christian right.

Weyrich: We will probably see a shift away from some of the ideas of the past towards an amalgamation of various strains of conservatism, which, on the one hand, will be privatization-oriented, because that works better, and, on the other hand, will be programmatic and will look for ways through some means of government we can help solve some people's problems. Please understand this is a radical departure from previous conservatism. It is what George Will once called the conservative welfare state. I don't happen to like that terminology. The point is people have real problems. Government doesn't cause all their problems. This was the conservative line in the past, that all your problems were caused by government. Government generally doesn't make things better and certainly the kind of liberal welfare state-oriented government hasn't made things better. It has made things worse. The question is, should you be laissez-faire about it and simply have nothing done? Then the marketplace will take care of everything. And that has been a previous strain of conservatism which is on the wane. A strain of conservatism that I represent — which I think is on the ascendancy — is the strain which says, no, people have real problems. There are solutions within the context of our philosophy to these problems. Therefore, we ought to take power and govern for the common good in order to put some of these solutions into practice, which will help the overall situation. You're going to see a lot of things that are voucher-oriented. You're going to see a lot of things that preserve the idea of choice, but by the same token have an element of government in them. . . . I don't think that we as conservatives have enough experience at governing to know what works and what doesn't work. No one really knows, for example, what happens if you institute vouchers in a districtwide school system available to all students. . . . We've got to do a lot of experimenting. That means taking power at the state level to the point where you not only have a governor, but a legislature that could go along with these reforms and experiment and see what works.

Ridgeway: Has your thinking changed over the last decade?

To some degree. Although I was never totally comfortable with an anti-government position because, having been brought up in the Catholic tradition, we never looked on government as being wrong.

Do you think Dukakis responds to cultural conservatism?

There is no evidence of it. On cultural questions he's a radical. That's too bad for the Democratic party because I happen to think that if we are going to get cultural conservatism it probably has to be done by the Democrats.

Don't you think Jesse Jackson to a certain extent represents some of this cultural conservatism?

In the middle of the campaign, I was sitting there listening to an analysis of why he got such a high percentage of the white vote in one of the primaries, and the commentators were saying, "Well, these are liberals who feel guilty or something." I thought, "Nonsense. These are people who are hearing from Jesse Jackson a clear message on drugs that none of the other candidates at the time was touching at all." At the time, there was only one candidate out there — I guess Pete DuPont was saying it on the Republican side, but he almost wasn't credible. But there was one candidate out there who said, "I am committed to this war. If you elect me I'm going to do something about your neighborhoods," and somehow he was credible. I think he got a lot of the lower-middle-class white vote that said, "Yes, we are tired of this problem in our neighborhood and we don't care who's saying it. If he's saying it we're going to vote for him." That's why he got the white vote. So yes, in a strange sort of way

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James Ridgeway's column, "The Moving Target," which appears first in the Village Voice, *is a regular feature of the* Observer.

Jackson touched some cultural conservative themes.

Do you think Bush will win?

Yes, I think he may win. He may even win big. But the most likely result, as I told Dan Quayle this morning, is that Bush barely wins and that Republicans lose support in the Congress and they have a hard time governing. . . . George Bush is George Bush. I can't expect him to be Ronald Reagan. I can't expect him to be Phil Gramm. I don't think you overcome a lifetime of training and instincts just because of a political campaign. George Bush is an intelligent individual and probably more open to political dialogue than any national candidate I have ever dealt with. He genuinely wants to engage in political argumentation and discussion. In that sense, maybe we won't do so badly. Because, and with all due respect, and I love Ronald Reagan, but most of the meetings I've had didn't involve a lot of dialogue. They didn't involve a lot of dialogue because if we got off the 4-by-5 cards, you know we weren't able to carry on a whole lot. George Bush isn't like that. George Bush very much understands the issues and the questions. I don't agree with a lot of his conclusions. I would say Bush would like to be very cautious on virtually anything. Reagan's gut instinct was to go in a certain direction if he heard certain things. I always thought George Bush would be a bold conservative if he thought you could get by with doing it. Ronald Reagan taught him to a certain extent that you can be a lot bolder than Washington would like you to be. In that sense I think the eight years with Ronald Reagan have done him some good. The question is how much, and who exactly would he put in his administration? The early signs are not that encouraging. The new secretary of education is certainly not someone I would have chosen. Dick Thornburgh is a fine fellow. I would not have chosen him, not because he's not an able attorney general, but culturally I think he sends a message about what the Bush administration is going to be like. It's this upper-crust group of people that I think the Republican Party has been trying to live down. The great thing about the Reagan administration is that it did have a Bill Bennett in it.

To sum up, you've moderated your views?

Moderating is a pleasant way to put it. They say I sold out. I would like to see this younger generation of conservatives come to power to govern, not to oppose liberalism, but to govern in the positive sense.

Phillips: George Bush has never been my first choice for anything. . . . I think George Bush has discovered what Ronald Reagan learned many years before, not only in the Republican Party, but in the country as a whole: there is an anti-liberal majority. I think it first manifested itself in the mid-1960s. In 1966 congressional elections Republicans won back 38 to 40 House seats they had lost in 1964 in the Johnson landslide. . . . So I think Bush has discovered that appealing to the national concerns of the American people — anti-communism, patriotic values, pro-family values — is a politically desirable thing for him to do. But unfortunately that anti-liberal majority, even as it has had its expectations raised every four years, has never had a President who delivered on its promises.

I think a President Bush would be analogous to a President Ford. Jerry Ford carried forward with the policies of Richard Nixon. Conservatives tolerated wage and price controls, the betrayal of Taiwan, a one-sided SALT I agreement, economic détente with the Soviet Union, and substantial expansion of Great Society funding because they liked Richard Nixon the man. They loved him for his enemies. But they were impatient with these policies under Ford, and the New Right really gained its momentum under the Ford Presidency. I think you're going to see a similar situation under Bush. Reagan had that emotional bond with millions of rank-and-file conservatives. He was not subject to the same kinds of pressures Bush will encounter. . . .

Viguerie: Conservatives have never seen Bush as a conservative. We see Bush pretty much the same way we saw Richard Nixon and Jerry Ford — as part of the old-line Republican establishment coming primarily from the eastern wing of the Republican party — big business, country-club-type of Republicans. We're glad to have that element in the Republican Party but we don't feel comfortable with them and they don't feel comfortable with us.

There is a shame and a glory about the left in American politics in the 20th century. Their great glory was that early on they could recognize the evils and danger of Adolf Hitler. Their everlasting shame is that they cannot see the same danger, the same evil in the Soviet Union and in communism. I think Michael Dukakis has a very naive, almost childlike view of the dangers the free world faces from the Soviet Union. I really think he has a soft spot in his heart for the Soviet Union. Clearly there are areas of the world where he prefers a communist victory, such as Central America. Clearly he prefers the Sandinistas to govern in Central America, in southern Africa. And I think that issue alone will probably be enough to prevent him from being elected President. □

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Citizens' Group Finds Strength in Numbers

AUSTIN

Eleven hundred Austin Interfaith members participating in a statewide "Sign Up and Take Charge" campaign heard brief messages from Democratic Railroad Commissioner John Sharp, Democratic Congressman Jake Pickle, and Republican Secretary of State Jack Rains, each who affirmed his commitment to an Industrial Areas Foundation statewide agenda that calls for increased attention and funding for public education, higher education, housing, health care, and agriculture. Pickle, Sharp, and Rains were joined by Travis County Judge Bill Aleshire, Austin Mayor Lee Cooke, State Rep. Wilhelmina Delco, and other local elected officials and candidates who signed on with the local agenda of the three-year-old Austin Interfaith group.

Missing from the political rhetoric was the standard pledge of no new taxes — the single variable that is becoming a constant in the equation of political campaigns of the late '80s. Though pollsters have identified taxation as an issue popular with working-class voters, and candidates for the legislature use a single vote for the appropriations bill in the 70th Legislature to indict incumbent opponents, it doesn't work here. The Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) is one group that refuses to embrace the no-new-taxes theme.

The 15-year-old IAF, best known for its COPS organization in San Antonio and for Valley Interfaith in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, does not generally measure its size in number of individuals, but rather in the number of congregations participating in the ten IAF affiliates across the state.

But 250,000 registered voters who have thus far signed a petition affirming that they will support and vote for candidates who back the IAF agenda provide some measure of the organization's statewide strength. The figure, according to IAF state director Ernesto Cortes, Jr., is a "solid number." According to Cortes, the organization has set a goal of 350,000 signatures before the legislature convenes and a long-term goal of 500,000 signatures before 1990.

"The number is a symbol of constituent support to invest in Texas and a willingness to pay taxes — if they invest in people," Cortes said. "And from 'sign up' we go to 'line up,' " a second phase that includes an effort to turn out voters. So far, 2,000 members of the IAF statewide network have signed on to work as block-walkers and 500 have committed to work at telephone banks in the weeks prior to the election. According to Cortes, many IAF members are concerned that neither party is addressing important economic issues in the campaign. The current organizing effort will extend beyond electoral politics and into the legislative session that begins in January.

The IAF is a non-partisan, issues-oriented group. However, Democratic candidates and elected officials, who are generally more inclined to agree with the organization's agenda, most often accept invitations to appear before IAF accountability sessions. Bill Clements, who has never attended an IAF function, defeated Mark White by a 229,264 vote margin in 1986, after White had defeated Clements by 201,575 votes in 1982. So the 250,000 registered voters signed on with the IAF agenda already represent a margin sufficient to make a statewide election. And the 500,000 goal, set for 1990, the year of the next gubernatorial election, should attract additional bipartisan interest — even if candidates suspect that a considerable number of participants are Democrats.

The appearance of Republican Secretary of State Jack Rains at the Austin meeting might signal the beginning of greater Republican involvement. Rains, often mentioned as a candidate for governor in 1990, appeared at the Austin rally with several local Republican candidates and assured IAF members that he was in general agreement with their political agenda.

—LOUIS DUBOSE

Feds Respond to Activists' Cave-in

AUSTIN

Twenty-four-year-old Mark Sanders poked his head out of Kretschmarr cave in Northwest Austin and talked to fellow Earth First member Ron Cook about supplies.

The cave opening was little more than a hole in the ground about the width of Sanders's shoulders. But it opens into larger subterranean rooms, 15 to 20 feet below the surface, that house several species of rare invertebrates.

A bulldozer interrupted their conversation as it rumbled down a recently cleared service road 15 feet from the cave's mouth. Jackhammers pounded the earth as construction workers dug foundations for yet another Northwest Hills housing development.

Sanders and other protestors occupied the caves in late August to protest development in the area. They felt the rare species of beetles and spiders, known to exist only in these caves, were in immediate danger after owner/developer Fred Purcell reportedly threatened to fill in the caves with cement to protect his interests.

In the past three years, environmentalists and academics from around the country have cried out for protection of these Central Texas caves. In a letter to the Memorial Museum at the University of Texas at Austin, three University of Texas professors stated, "The proposed position of roads and commercial developments will have serious detrimental effects on the caves and their inhabitants." The letter continues, "In all cases the proposed roads would allow contamination of the caves by runoff from the streets both during and after construction."

Earth First, known for its dramatic protests, hoped the cave sit-in would call attention to the problem and push the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service into listing the species as endangered — giving them protection under federal law.

Their strategy paid off.

U.S. Fish and Wildlife claimed the demonstration had nothing to do with the listing. But Christi Stevens of Earth First said the listing was requested three years ago and nothing came of it. "And now we got the listing three weeks after the demonstration."

Stevens said the real victory was that the listing and ensuing protection became "effective immediately." Normally a listing doesn't take effect until 30 days after it has been published in the Federal Register.

What remains to be seen now is exactly what kind of protection the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service will give the caves and the natural inhabitants.

Chuck Sexton of the Environmental Protection Agency in Austin said a biological assessment team will be sent to the site to assess the size and placement of a protective buffer zone. The team will then submit their suggestions to U.S. Fish and Wildlife who will negotiate the protective measures with the landowners.

—GREGG WATKINS

Gregg Watkins is an Observer *editorial intern.*

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POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE

✓ **DEAR TEXAS**, began the letter we recently received from the Ann Richards Committee (we are on her mailing list as *Texas Observer* and a computer apparently put us on a first-name basis). "I may enter the toughest political campaign of my career — for just about the toughest political job in the country: Governor of Texas." Richards's letter discusses her achievements as state Treasurer and the goals she would set as governor. "We will build an agenda that allows us to shake off backward notions about our economy . . . about public education . . . about the stewardship of our resources . . . about the opportunities for our people," Richards writes. She is soliciting contributors to her fund who will make monthly contributions to show "that you are with me for the long haul." Richards is expected to officially announce after the Presidential election her intention to make the governor's race. She and her certain Democratic opponent, Attorney General Jim Mattox, will have to put fundraising on hold in January because of a law that prohibits state campaign solicitation while the legislature is in session.

✓ **NOT ALL** political activists have appreciated the long-range planning that early-bird candidates are showing. San Antonian Kathleen Voigt complains that fundraising appeals from statewide candidates have been a distraction from the campaign that matters most: Dukakis for President. In addition to the letters from the Richards and Mattox camps, she says she's received a mailing from Waco insurance executive Bernard Rapoport, who is asking Democrats to consider supporting state Senator Chet Edwards of Duncanville in the 1990 lieutenant governor's race, even though Comptroller Bob Bullock is staking that race out for himself. Voigt says she is not interested in the 1990 Lt. Gov.'s race. "Talk to me on November ninth," she says. "[Right now] I don't give a damn about either one of them."

✓ **BUT AS FOR** giving a damn, the League of Prayer does. The Montgomery, Alabama-based religious organization cares enough about the Presidential election to put out a "Dukakis Fact Sheet" that damns Dukakis as a "hardline pro-sodomist-abortionist." The fact sheet carries a cover letter from Mary Stewart Relfe that begins by quoting Jericho 4:19. "My bowels, my bowels! I am pained at my very heart; my heart maketh a noise in me. I cannot hold my peace." With that, Relfe relieves herself of a prayer she has said time and again, she says, since the Democratic convention: "Lord, deliver us from an 'ACLU' presidency. Lord, expose Dukakis's background. Lord awaken your people to this sinister plot to slip a hardline pro-sodomist-abortionist in the White House."

Relfe's eight-page screed (which came to us by way of an *Observer* friend whose mother-in-law receives right-wing mail) is truly a masterpiece of its genre and is worth quoting at length. Besides hitting Dukakis for supporting gay rights and abortion and vetoing the pledge of allegiance, Relfe breaks new ground on the witchcraft question. She reveals that Dukakis as governor of Massachusetts "appointed Laurie Cabot of Salem as the state's 'official witch in residence.' " Recall Deuteronomy 18:10-12, she advises: "There shall not be found among you anyone that . . . useth devination or . . . an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter." Letting Nancy Reagan and her astrologers off the hook, Relfe goes after Dukakis and one of his "closest friends and advisors," Costa Rican president Oscar Arias, "who is heavily involved in witchcraft."

While advising her readers to "pray for the salvation of Dukakis" it is the bad company of the Democratic nominee that is most disturbing: "The 'far-out' elements of our society, ACLU, People for the American Way, gays and lesbians, the union bosses, Madalyn Murray O'Hair, and even the Communist Party USA have joined with the NEA who all see in Dukakis their rising star. This coalition is orchestrating one great push for the Democratic candidate November 8, 1988."

"If Christians do not wake up now, join hands, work, pray and inform others of this impending catastrophe," Relfe continues, "I predict a Cultural Revolution, not unlike that imposed on the Chinese in the 1960s which saw 80 million Christians murdered, Bibles confiscated, and churches burned."

Of course, under the Reagan administration, such a group as the League of Prayer need not worry about its non-profit status being threatened by putting out such blatantly partisan propaganda. "My bowels, my bowels!" Indeed.

✓ **McALLEN MAYOR** Othal Brand made some interesting socio-biological observations in late September in a speech at Pan American University in Edinburg. "Mexico has a wealth of labor," said the mayor, who also heads one of the largest agricultural companies in the Valley. "They have a tremendous labor force. Of course, you know that. These people have manual dexterity that on a scale of one to ten is about a ten. Well, that's not true of many countries. Many peoples have thick fingers, heavy hands and are not good at that kind of work." With that, Brand suggested that workers in the American Southeast rank low in manual skill. "If you tried to put through the same thing we're doing here over in the Southeast, I'd have to say to you that labor on a scale of one to ten on manual dexterity would rank about three or four." He did not go on to discuss the comparative thickness of people's skulls.

✓ **AS CONGRESS** prepared to adjourn before the elections, the *Houston Post* decided that Jim Wright's one term as House Speaker was more than enough. In an October 9 editorial the *Post* likened Wright to Ed Meese and called for the Speaker's resignation.

It was not just Wright's recent comments on the CIA's role in destabilizing Nicaragua that angered the *Post* editorialists. Nor was it allegations of improper influence on behalf of Texas S&Ls, nor was it Wright's "autocratic leadership style" that set the editorialists off. "At bottom, what is at stake here is Wright's ability to do the job," the newspaper said. "It is the *Post*'s judgement that he has fumbled it irretrievably."

In contrast, the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* ran a profile of Wright the same day that, while acknowledging the House ethics investigation of the Speaker, credited him with leading the way to legislative initiatives on housing, education, welfare, trade and other issues. "Wright's Democratic-controlled House has completed the most ambitious agenda since the Great Society years of Lyndon B. Johnson's presidency in the 1960's," wrote Dave Montgomery of the *Star-Telegram*'s Washington bureau.

✓ **MANY DEMOCRATS** around the state were grumbling in October that Dukakis hadn't stood up to Bush's negative ad blitz with enough spine. Art Brender, a Democratic candidate for state Representative in Fort Worth, couldn't help admiring wistfully the recent performance of one of 1988's great non-candidates: Mario Cuomo. New York's governor was in Fort Worth October 11 at a Jim Wright fundraiser. According to Brender, Cuomo "went right down the liberal agenda and said it's nothing to be ashamed of." People in the audience were "yellin' and screamin' " with enthusiasm, Brender said. Cuomo in '92, anyone?

✓ **ALSO AT THE WRIGHT** fundraiser was Gov. Bill Clements, who praised the Speaker of the House as "a great American." Anti-Wright Republicans in Washington were not pleased with Clements's apparently faint heart in the war on Wright. □

Ghost Story

BY DEBBIE NATHAN

I CAN'T REMEMBER exactly when Danny and I broke up — it's been 15 years now — but I know it was after Halloween. That was the last night we were comfortable together, and even then, we were only half comfortable. We were going to a costume party at his friend Chato's house. His big sister went as a killer bee, in the bathing cap and goggles she had worn for her swimming class at UT-El Paso. I can't remember what he wore, but he took great pleasure in dressing me as Pancho Villa, with a wide sombrero from the tourist junk shops of Avenida Juarez and a fake moustache so thick it didn't matter I was a woman. He used to say I was the first Anglo girl he'd ever dated.

We had changed into our costumes at his place, which was by Fort Bliss, near the storefront lab he and his friends ran. They made a living there leaching the silver from old hospital X-rays. On the side, they assayed bags of ugly rocks brought in by Vietnam vets with sunbleached eyes — men driven by their GI surplus mine detectors and dreams of finding El Dorado somewhere in the Franklin Mountains.

He'd moved near the shop after he fought with his dad, a postman who had come to El Paso from northern Chihuahua a long time ago, back when it didn't matter if you had papers or not. He said it was because his father wouldn't come to his graduation when he got his B.A. in Philosophy; and the week he registered for the Master's program in Linguistics, the old man mocked him for wanting more school.

He didn't speak much about such problems; he was the type who'd rather talk about things like his Master's thesis project — which was to create a program you could use to run most words of the Latin language through a computer and come up with Spanish (using regular rules of historical phonological transformation). He seemed happy in his one-bedroom apartment near Dyer Street, though Chato and most of his other pals still lived with their parents where he'd grown up, near Piedras-Alameda and the Franklin Canal. The streets were narrow there, the houses crumbling but quiet; and housewives sat outside at night in damp little matchbox yards, watching *telenovelas* over the din of green parakeets and young men gunning eight-cylinder engines. Come October, the backyards grew chilly at night but the soap opera beauties still recited lovelorn lines in the cooling evening.

That night, on the way to Chato's party, we were whipping around the I-10 spaghetti bowl where all four Gateways meet, feeling the changing of the seasons, wearing sunglasses we didn't need so late in the year. He told me about his first Halloween.

He was in the first grade — this was in the early fifties — and the teacher had just taught his class all about witches and costumes and candy corn. His English wasn't good yet, but it hardly mattered since no one in the neighborhood spoke it much better. He asked his eight-year-old sister to take him trick-or-treating. She didn't want to. He begged and begged, and she finally agreed. But she said "*Ya veras.*" You'll see.

That night, on the way to Chato's party, he told me about his first Halloween

They both put on Caspar sheets and started their rounds, swinging brown grocery bags. The first house they knocked at a lady answered.

"Trick or treat!" he and his sister said. "*Que*???" said the lady. They explained all about Halloween, how she was supposed to give them a treat or they would do terrible things to her driveway and mailbox. "Ah," the lady said. She bustled to her kitchen and returned with two bean burritos, which she dropped into the paper bags. "*Gracias*," his big sister muttered. She looked at him, disgusted.

At the next house, the lady said she'd never heard of this Halloween. Was it like Day of the Dead? In any case, that wasn't until two days from now. Sorry. At the third house they got two more bean burritos. That was all the grocery bags could bear. The grease ate translucent holes in the brown paper; the burritos plopped onto the sidewalk.

"*Que te dije*," sneered his big sister. He tore off his sheet and cried.

As we pulled up to Chato's little driveway, he slowed down a little. "Chato's mom has been pregnant for seven years."

"Seven years! The woman's at least 50. What are you talking about?" I said.

"Yeah. Well, see, she's not really pregnant. She just *thinks* she is. She complains a lot about how it hurts, so I'm just telling you. Be nice to her."

"Jesus Christ," I said. "The woman's sick! Why doesn't Chato or his sisters take her to a shrink?"

He just looked at me for a second, through those sunglasses. "Hey. She's their *mother*. And that's not the way you show your mother respect. So you don't say anything. OK?" He turned away.

Not long after we broke up, we met and married other people. His wife was the blondest, most Anglo girl you could imagine, and they moved up in the hills where Highway 54 fades away from everything; then they left El Paso entirely, went to Houston, where everyone knows about Halloween.

He and his wife both got involved in computers. After a few years she took a job three states way, in Silicon Valley, leaving him in Houston, convincing him they could be a two-career couple and make very long calls late at night, after the rates went down. One day she called him early in the afternoon, when the rates were still high. She said she loved someone else.

IT WAS FRAN who told me that story; I'd lost touch with Danny over the years, but she had been in the Linguistics program with us, and she kept up on the gossip. A few days before a recent Halloween, I was at Pizza Hut with Fran and her lover Linda, who had just had her Ed Psych doctoral dissertation published by a very reputable press. We'd ordered deep dish, with black olives, salad on the side for half price. The talk ran from complaints about male chauvinism in the psychology department to loving descriptions of the house Fran and Linda had bought near UTEP. After their second beers, they got a bit maudlin about their neighborhood. Just perfect, except two close to the river, they said.

Debbie Nathan is a writer who lives in El Paso.

"The problem is all the people coming to the door all the time," Fran said. "Last week I was so embarrassed — I answered and one of them asked if I had any work, and there was my lawn with the grass high enough to *hide* in! And me and him standing in it up to our ankles. And I said no, I didn't have any work for him. God I was so embarrassed."

Linda, the quieter one, said. "You know, I hate Halloween. They've really ruined it."

Fran waved her hands back and forth in agreement. "There's just *gangs* of them," she said. "Little kids, big kids. They come from Juarez in truckloads. They don't even wear costumes, and you give them all your candy and in ten minutes there's nothing left. I guess they take it back and sell it or something. . . . Last year I gave them all my treats. And when that all ran out, I gave them dimes. Then I ran out of change. And they still kept ringing the bell. More and more of them! It's terrible!"

"And I so used to love putting out the jack-o-lantern and doing trick-or-treat and all," Linda sighed. "But those kids from Juarez . . . now we just put up a sign that says 'No Dulces,' and we turn out the porch light and hide."

Fran stabbed a black olive with her fingernail, then perked up.

"Hey," she said, "Did you know Danny's coming to visit in a few days?"

He showed up at my house on Halloween, 40 and divorced. There were never any kids, and I was silent and tactful about this, because he's the type we all thought would have many children, and quickly. My husband's an emergency room doctor at the nearby hospital but he had the night off, so after dinner, Danny told us to live it up, find a party; he'd love to babysit our daughter and son. They put on their costumes and got their bags, but Danny said no way! He wasn't going to let them go trick-or-treating. Not the way things are now, he said. Not with all the maniacs putting needles and razor blades in the treats.

"Danny!" I laughed. "Don't you know that's all a myth? Aside from some kids putting stuff in their candy to get attention, there hasn't been one documented case of razor blades or glass in treats in the whole country!"

"I don't believe you," he said.

"You should, because it's the truth."

"Well, then why does the hospital X-ray the kids' candy for free every year?"

"That's a lot of crap," I said. "Pure PR stunt."

My son and daughter looked at us, wide-eyed. Danny looked at me.

"You want them to hear you saying that about the place their father works?" he said.

So we took the kids to a party at the McDonald's on Piedras. It turned out that the manager was one of Chato's little brothers; he smiled a lot and gave each of the children a little hamburger and some shrink-wrapped cookies in a white sack. Danny and I sat watching the games, and I said, "Hey. Remember that story you told me about your first trick-or-treat and the burritos?"

He looked at me blankly. I repeated all the details, everything I could remember. But he just shrugged.

"You're thinking about someone else," he said.

"No, come on. It was you. I'm sure of it; I have a good memory."

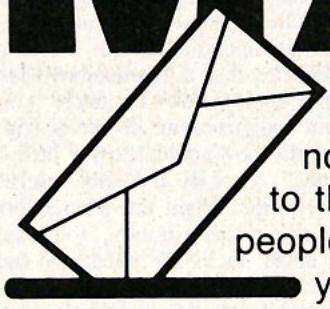
"Well, all that *was* a long time ago. And that kind of a story . . . maybe you heard it in Spanish. And to tell you the truth, your Spanish wasn't so good back then. So maybe you didn't catch all the words just right. Those kinds of things can get lost in translation, you know."

So I blew it off, and as we were ordering fries a big mob of Juarez kids in raggedy tee-shirts came in yelling, "trick or treat!" They pronounced it pretty good as they ran from table to table with their soggy bags, holding out handfuls of loose candy corn. They managed to sell a fair amount of it to the American kids, too, until a parent complained to Chato's little brother.

He was pretty nice about it though — he gave each of them a Happy Meal before he kicked them out. □

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Hungry Voices, Desperate Lives

BY LOUIS DUBOSE

GOOD ROCKIN' TONIGHT
By Wiliam Hauptman
New York: Basic Books, 1988
184 pages, $7.95

THE YEAR Elvis died is as good a point of departure as any for a collection of short stories. No single pop cultural figure so portended — and helped bring about — the age in which most of us now life. Not even Ronald Reagan. In Texas cities, most came to terms with His death — Presley's that is. But there are those smaller towns — sub-Waco-sized, say — where life without the King is, well, almost unbearable. Places like Nortex, where His death was certain to result in at least a few people's already slippery grips on reality giving way. So when Ross Moody's younger brother, Bubba, decided to trade in his future at Prudential for a white, sequined jumpsuit, an opportunity to become the state's, and maybe even the country's best Elvis impersonator, it came as no big surprise. Like just about everybody else living in rural or small-town Texas, Bubba Moody was not a happy nor a fulfilled person.

And Nortex isn't what it used to be. Already the town includes one uncloseted transvestite, Bobby Joe Pitts, barred from First Methodist after he showed up "looking something like Mary Tyler Moore." And progress has arrived in the form of a shopping mall: ". . . a depressing place. Nobody had been able to rest until we got one. There must have been a thousand editorials in the paper about it." And then there are those residents of Nortex bringing urban culture of the pop-psychological variety back home from Dallas. Worldly men like Harley Otis, who dressed "in polyester pants, white loafers with gold chains, a leather jacket, and a Dacron shirt with the collar spread out on the shoulders." Just back from a Successful Life course, Harley Otis was full of psychocybernetic wisdom, typically reduced to suggestions like, "You've got to set goals for yourself." Harley's immediate goal, as "Good Rockin' " unfolds, is to get into Tina Eubanks's pants. Beyond that, he has his sights set on the presidency of the Kiwanis Club.

But Nortex isn't Greater Tuna, either. There is, in William Hauptman's fictitious Panhandle town, as much pathos as there is humor. Bubba, we are given to believe, by the time he's run out of town by the IRS and a husband and father of two of his former lovers, is really a better and more interesting man than all the rest —who pretty much settle for the old American working class okey-dokey. Cut from the same fabric as Holly Golightly, Bubba will always land on his feet. He's certainly more interesting than his gynecologist brother, who has lost all interest in women and life in Nortex. And it's Nortex, not Bubba, that's lost its direction. "Life's a road," Bubba tells Ross. An apt metaphor. "The road," as Quixote tells Sancho, "is always better than the inn."

But, as Quixote learns in the beginning, the road is rarely as kind as the inn. (And remember, he stayed in some pretty bad places.) Particularly when the road leads to a place like Gillette, Wyoming, the "Boom Town" title of the second of seven very good stories included in this collection. It is to Gillette that a Nortex boy, just out of high school, follows his uncle "to make big coin roughnecking on an oil rig, and [where] the boy could learn a little about real life." Though the plot suggests a mechanism that might move a modern-day tale of the *picaro*, Bobby, following his drifter uncle, lacks the pluck and luck by which the *picaro* survives. And in Gillette, Bobby and Uncle Mickey can't even find an inn they can afford:

> . . . One day they'd been out driving around, and Mickey had opened a gate and had driven up to the top of this hill. "Why should we go back to that town," he asked, "where we just have to spend all our coin just keeping a roof over our heads? Why not just set up housekeeping right here?"
>
> Bobby had protested that this land belonged to somebody. It was somebody else's property.
>
> "Sure, it belongs to somebody," Mickey had said. "He's only got about a million acres. Don't you think he can afford to spare us some room?"
>
> So they bought the furniture from the Salvation Army, and the ice box, and the three big Delco batteries they used for power. The hill couldn't be seen from the road, and so far nobody seemed to know they were there. The couch folded out into a bed. On cool nights, they slept under a Space Blanket. At least they weren't starving to death, and Mickey said it wouldn't rain for a couple of months yet.

In the end, Bobby gives up on Uncle Mickey and looks for the road back to Nortex — and perhaps his old job at "Monkey Wards."

NORTEX, LIKE ANY other Panhandle city, is a place that tries to take care of its own business. Which is not always easy, particularly since "the bottom had dropped out of the price of oil." One of the town's biggest employers, Lone Star Drilling, filed Chapter 11 and the First Bank of Nortex is about to go belly up. "Local ministers were urging a return to the traditional values of God and family. Local oil men were praying for a war in the Middle East: Another oil embargo was the only thing that could save them." And though no one mentions national politics, I somehow suspect that George Bush will carry Nortex without too much difficulty.

But now and again Nortex cares, and reaches out to the rest of the world, as it does in "Hands Across America." Where things don't proceed as planned and a group of rednecks picks a fight with the story's protagonists — a family of four struggling to hang together — as they take their place in the transcontinental line. Participation in the event, by which Nortex makes the network news, serves to ratify the town's existence: "That's why we did it, she thought. To get our picture taken. To prove to everyone that we're here."

One also suspects at least a bit of autobiographical cartography in Hauptman's short stories, particularly "Kozmic Blues" — *recherche du temps perdu*-hippie-fiction so good that it will send you looking for the peyote field you remember from your own quest for self-knowledge 20 years ago. The story moves quickly from Austin, where Hauptman attended the University of Texas, to San Francisco in the springtime

of the Summer of Love. The protagonist once met Janis Joplin, who at the time of their meeting lived in the Scottish Rite Dormitory, "notorious for its homely girls." He had also read *On the Road*. And so he sets out for San Francisco looking for relief from a strange depression that Austin couldn't cure. In San Francisco, he moves in with friends, drops acid, and cheats on his macrobiotic diet, slipping off each day to a restaurant called the Pig Stand for a 50-cent, yang-filled pork sausage sandwich.

A date with Janis, once a possibility back in Austin, might be his only salvation. The story's protagonist finds Janis Joplin, singing at the funeral of Hells Angel, Chocolate George. Maybe it's the acid, or maybe a revelation that would have occurred without the blessed drug, but he realizes exactly what it is about her that thrills everyone: "It was the hunger of her voice . . . a cry for help — a cry for love. She was starving for love, like I was. She needed love desperately, she was suffering from the same all-consuming hunger, a hunger that could kill."

Then:

> A blow on my head knocked me senseless. One of the Angels had thrown a snowball made of crushed ice. I picked myself up and got another one in the face.
>
> The Angels were laughing. People started moving away from me. It wasn't good when the Angels singled you out.

In the end, the road leads back to Austin. And for Hauptman, on to the Yale School of Drama and then to New York where he now earns his living as a playwright. Recently, he won a Tony Award for *Big River*, his musical adaptation of *Huckleberry Finn*.

"Pure Sex" and "Moon Walking," the two stories set in New York, are more emotionally austere and hardly as fecund and freewheeling as the four Nortex chronicles. But Hauptman's sense of small domestic tragedy — with a city as cold and mean as only New York can be in winter serving as a backdrop —provides for urban/urbane fiction as good as anything he has set back in Texas. Here again it is evident that Hauptman is writing of what and where he knows; both stories develop on the periphery of the New York theater scene.

Yet the best story in the collection is "Sierra Wave," a short piece of derivative fiction that moves the triangular plot of Hemingway's "Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" from Africa to age-of-Reagan Southern California. The story is sustained by a growing undercurrent of dramatic tension that Hemingway perhaps never achieved. Technically and dramatically, "Sierra Wave" is nothing less than excellent.

Only William Goyen, among this state's writers, has come close to anything like magic realism — the Latin American *ficción* by which the boundaries of the real and the imaginary disappear. Others have to settle for extending the boundary — always watching out for that point where character becomes caricature. Larry McMurtry, though he occasionally crosses the line, does this as well as anyone. Hauptman here approaches the limit, particularly in "Rockin' Tonight" and "Stormchaser," both Nortex stories where amiable Texcentrics define what we're about. But he doesn't cross it.

And Hauptman the playwright obviously has developed a remarkable ear for dialogue, an ability to quickly develop a character, and a sense of place. It could be his experience in the theater by which, without a single line of description, he evokes a place as real as the Panhandle town of Nortex.

"As promising a book as I've seen come out of Texas in a long while," McMurtry writes in a publisher's blurb. That is not terribly overstated. □

The Irony of Palestine

BY GREG MOSES

BLAMING THE VICTIMS:
Spurious Scholarship
and the Palestinian Question
Edited by Edward W. Said and
Christopher Hitchens
New York: Verso, 1988
296 pages, $13.95 (paper)

WHEN JOSHUA fought the battle of Jericho, destroying everything, putting everyone to the sword — "men and women, young and old, and also cattle, sheep, and asses" (Joshua 6:21) — sparing only the lives of the prostitute Rahab and her family out of gratitude for services rendered, on that mythical day God's righteous army was just beginning its campaign against the kingdoms of the hill country.

"It was the Lord's purpose that they should offer an obstinate resistance to the Israelites in battle, and that thus that they should be annihilated without mercy and utterly destroyed, as the Lord had commanded Moses" (Joshua 11:20). By God's grace, and according to His battle plans, "Joshua massacred the population of the whole region" (Joshua 10:40).

Here in the Judeo-Christian West, where children are taught their traditional moral values to the accompaniment of a lilting melody about Joshua and Jericho, it is really too easy to be deliberately confounded. Hence the need for Edward W. Said and colleagues (in *Blaming the Victims*) to remind us that Palestine is "the birthplace of urban life. It is 'the only place in the world where a town is known to date back nine thousand years.' Jericho is the oldest continuously inhabited city in the world, being 'four thousand years older than any other urban settlement known at present.' It is one of the greatest ironies of history that in the middle of the twentieth century — in the golden age of people's rights to self-determination — Palestine was dropped from the map of the world."

By way of ancient habits and modern manipulations, we Americans have a way of turning our ugly side toward the Arab world. To begin with, we have inherited through our intellectual institutions a bias for the Greek as opposed to the Persian (Gore Vidal's crafty subversion of such bigotry in his novel *Creation* notwithstanding). And Colin McEvedy reminds us how our own West European stock for at least a millennium has been scandalously over-zealous in its brutality towards the Moslems. Hence a disgraced Catholic Church was forced to disown its own crusades. And when our Puritan Fathers set up their fortress of religious tolerance, they could take the story of Joshua as an allegory for their own destiny. The native infidel must die; God's righteousness must prevail. By a process of double validation, our Fathers affirmed the worthiness of Joshua's mission as he kindly confirmed ours. Did no one ever kneel along the way to pray as Augustine suggested: "Deliver me from my necessities!"?

Today, writes Said, "Israel is the recipient of more U.S. aid than any state in history. It is estimated that every Israeli citizen today is subsidized by the U.S. at roughly $1,400 per annum; each member of the Israeli military is underwritten by the U.S. at about $9,750 per year." Furthermore, "because attention to Israel has been institutionalized and because its valence is so positive in Western public life, there has been a tendency, in the U.S. especially, to associate resistance to Israel not simply with 'terrorism' and 'communism,' but also with anti-Semitism."

The latter tendency was confirmed most recently in Austin when pro-Palestinian

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Greg Moses, a longtime Observer *contributor, lives in Austin.*

graffiti on a Jewish student structure was labeled by students and reported by the press as an anti-Semitic gesture. Either one is for continued Israeli domination of the Palestinians, or one is anti-Semitic. Meanwhile the events of the past year demonstrate a need for alternative reflexes. Unless, of course, one takes the example of Joshua as a righteous mandate.

Said and co-editor Christopher Hitchens have collected and produced 11 essays in hopes that American reflexes are not inevitable facts of nature. Said writes an introduction and three essays, and he co-authors the concluding essay, "A Profile of the Palestinian People." Hitchens, in his article entitled "Broadcasts," looks for evidence that Arab broadcasters urged Palestinians to flee their land in 1947. "Even though nobody has ever testified to having heard them, and even though no record of their transmission has ever been found, we shall hear of these orders and broadcasts again and again." Why? Because hardline Israeli supporters prefer the picture of a voluntary abandonment, the better to occupy our minds and Palestinian land. Against this preference, Hitchens cites a 1986 article by Israeli historian Dr. Benny Morris who uncovered an intelligence report from the Israeli Defense Forces. The intelligence report concluded that the number one reason for emigration of Arabs from Palestine was "direct, hostile Jewish operations against Arab settlements."

Correspondents who continue to write that the story of expulsion of such natives in 1947 is "oft-repeated though false" (see "Dialogue," *TO*, 9/30/88) should check their reflexes against the findings of these collected essays. Of course, the most recent inspiration for the hard line, Joan Peters's tome, *From Time Immemorial*, published with chilling timeliness in 1984, is once again the subject of refutation. Norman G. Finkelstein, who gets credit as one of the few early critics of Peters in the U.S., readdresses concerns he first published in *In These Times*. Said ponders the critical fate of Peters's book in his essay, "Conspiracy of Praise," noting with consternation how U.S. kudos were issued in contrast to British and Israeli brickbats. "Granted that Peters is an inept writer, a bad propagandist and a hopelessly incompetent historian, how is it that virtually no criticism of her work has appeared in the U.S.?" In his outrage, Said develops an eloquent critique upon what Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer once called the culture industry:

> I speak here less as a Palestinian who wants to keep saying "but we exist and always have and always will," than as an American intellectual disgraced by the shoddiness of our present so-called life of the mind. . . . Has it come to this, then: an unconsciously held ideology that permits the most scandalous and disgusting lies — execrably written, totally disorganized, hysterically asserted — to pass as genuine scholarship, factual truth, political insight, without any significant challenge, demurral or even polite reservation? . . . In this way — democratically — do intellectuals and the state synchronize their efforts to sweep the small people of the world under the rug.

"We exist and always have and always will."

Enough ink has been spilled over these precious pages lately to indicate how much attention the Palestinian question is getting, finally. As we amateurs of the American electorate settle into our cushioned reposes, seeking to renew our own myth of our own participatory empire, perhaps we can at least open up a living testament from, this time, an unorthodox culture, and wonder if our compassion might not, this time also, come too late. □

DIALOGUE

Continued from Page 2

of the area, and correspondents found no such instructions.

On the other hand, reliable Palestinians and Israelis are still alive who heard the threatening loudspeaker announcements from the Stern Gang and Irgun trying to frighten villagers into fleeing. Panic also resulted as knowledge spread of the massacre of villagers at Deir Yassin by the Stern Gang/Irgun on April 9, 1948. It was natural for the Israeli military leadership at war to encourage and expedite the departure of the non-Jewish population, including mass urban deportations, although many moderate Israelis urged restraint and called for villagers to remain.

The Israeli historian, Benny Morris, describes the entire complex situation in his scholarly new study, "The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949,"

And so to the present. Once again an Israeli government is imposing brutal policies — arbitrary detention, beatings, illegal deportations. An "Iron Fist" to repress a Palestinian population which has been squeezed out of its land and water rights and feels it has no future and nothing to lose. Many Americans are sickened, but remain silent, even though Israeli activities are subsidized by U.S. dollars, because they feel any criticism of the Israeli Government is somehow "anti-semitic."

We need to Speak Up for human rights! U.S. taxpayer dollars should be used for development and growth — not to support brutality. Israeli liberals and moderates need every bit of support that we can give them. There has been an unprecedented explosion of new peace groups in Israel, reflecting the moral outrage of many Israelis, but Israeli politicians need to get a loud message that Americans are upset and expect meaningful efforts towards peace and reconciliation.

Bert Golding
Houston

Israel's Consul Objects

Mr. James C. Harrington has recently published in this newspaper an article full of distorted facts and false accusations under the title "Inside an Israeli Detention Camp" (*TO*, 9/16/88). He endeavors to describe therein at length conditions at the Ketziot Prison Facility, while at the same time admitting that he never visited the place. Moreover, in a most one-sided manner he totally ignores the background and the context, trying hard to portray a biased picture as if Israel arbitrarily detains innocent people and holds them under hard conditions. To set the record straight, I wish to state the following:

The first thing which must be remembered is that Ketziot and other Israeli measures are in response to a threat. The disturbances and civil disorders, which have racked the territories since December at varying levels of intensity, constitute the most recent link in a long chain of violence directed against Israel during the course of this century. The current violence and disruptions have threatened vital services, as well as the safety and lives of the inhabitants in the area, Jew and Arab. Extremist elements, belonging either to PLO-affiliated or militant Islamic Fundamentalist groups, have throughout this time done everything possible to exacerbate tensions and enforce the total compliance of the local Arab population with their will.

Facing a danger to its security interest and, as the authority now responsible for the welfare of the residents of the territories, Israel has been compelled to take all necessary measures to end the violence and unrest. The actions taken against extremist

elements, who are interested in a situation inimical to genuine dialogue and coexistence, are moreover in keeping with Israel's efforts to promote prospects for peace negotiations. These talks would also determine the final status of Judea-Samaria (the West Bank) and the Gaza District.

The scope and suddenness of the turbulent developments in the territories found the existing prison facilities inadequate. The need to handle a large number of prisoners — individuals who had been active in the rioting, or who had acted, openly or behind the scenes, to prolong and intensify the violence — necessitated the opening of a new facility at Ketziot in Southern Israel. With the quick establishment of Ketziot prison, not all problems pertaining to living conditions were immediately resolved, although at the outset every effort was made to insure proper conditions. With time the situation has improved. While life in any prison is never easy, a fair look at the conditions at Ketziot shows that the authorities are doing everything possible to meet the needs of the prisoners.

A few examples:

Water, stored in huge tanks which are refilled three times a day is available on the basis of 75 liters (20 gallons) per prisoner per day; shower facilities, latrines, and water faucets are available from 5:30 a.m. until 10 p.m.

Meals are provided three times a day. Based on the Israeli military diet, they are prepared by the prisoners according to their own tastes. Fresh foodstuffs are supplied, and special food items and spices are also regularly provided.

Medical care is provided by a doctor and medical staff who are present at the prison facility. The prisoners are also entitled to dental care. For the sake of personal hygiene, each prisoner is regularly issued his own bar of soap, toothpaste, laundry soap, and soap for cleaning eating utensils.

Family visits. Each prisoner is entitled to visits by members of his family, who must first submit their request to the authorities in their district. Transportation is also arranged. (However, extremist elements burnt one of the buses, and family members have refused to submit requests for visits.)

Sleeping conditions. In each tent, there are up to 28 prisoners, who have mattresses to put on wooden structures. Each prisoner is also allocated five blankets.

Legal procedures. Every prisoner has the right to appeal his detention, and petitions regarding conditions in the prison are submitted to the Supreme Court by attorneys representing the prisoners. A legal advisor is permanently present and the advocate of the Israel Defense Forces Southern Command visits the facility at least twice a week. The IDF Chief Advocate's office oversees the proper implementation of legal procedures.

During the last several months, the prison facility has been visited by members of Israel's Legislature, the Knesset, representatives of the domestic and international media, and representatives of various human rights organizations in addition to the visits of the Red Cross and the fact that the facility is subject to the inspection of the state ombudsman.

On September 1, three Israel Supreme Court Justices visited the Ketziot prison facility. Their purpose was to obtain a firsthand view of conditions there following a complaint submitted to the High Court of Justice by 17 security prisoners. During the visit, which took more than five hours, they spoke with prison officials and inmates.

This accessibility to a security prison during a time of crisis is unique in the history of nations, including democratic societies which have, in the past, felt the need to take similar measures against threats to their own security. This openness and scrutiny, especially by Israel's legislative and executive branches, as well as by the highest judicial authority in the land, is in keeping with Israel's democratic character and with the recognition that, while measures must be taken to contain the threat to public safety and order, satisfactory standards must be maintained for the prisoners.

Ketziot was established to meet immediate security needs and a problem which Israel hopes will be resolved as soon as possible. By restraining those who agitate for violence and engage in it, Israel is seeking to defuse a volatile situation. An end to the violence and movement towards peace will eliminate the need for places like Ketziot.

Mordekhai Artzieli
Houston

(The writer is the Consul General of Israel to the Southwest.)

Harrington Responds

It is ironic that Mr. Artzieli chose to respond to my column when his government refused to meet with us in Israel, even at the behest of the U.S. embassy.

True, our delegation, as a group, could not visit the prison camp in Ketziot — not because we didn't try, but because the Israeli government refused to let us. That's hardly our fault, and it's disingenuous for Mr. Artzieli to argue that point against us. In fact, shouldn't we be entitled to presume that Israel has something to hide?

However, as I mentioned before, one of our delegation did visit the prison facility — nicknamed "Ansar III" — surreptitiously with an Israeli attorney and verified the horror accounts we learned from our own interviews with numerous former detainees.

What Mr. Artzieli artfully fails to mention when he says that human rights organizations and international media have visited Ansar III is that every such group condemned the camp, including the members from the Knesset, most European countries and the United States. Our findings were entirely consistent with theirs — and those recently released by Amnesty International.

Sure, a prisoner held without proof of guilt can "appeal his detention"; but the "appeal" is to a military official, without semblance of trial; there is no right of appeal to the civil courts — not even to Israel's High Court, which has decided that it lacks jurisdiction in "military" matters.

Mr. Artzieli's food for prisoners which is "based on Israeli military diet" is actually rations with years-old expiration dates, which are often spoiled.

Indeed, families can visit the detainees; but they must know the prisoner's number because the military will not "recognize" his name; and, because Ketziot is inside Israel proper, relatives must hire an Israeli bus and driver for the four- to six-hour drive, prove that their taxes are paid (*i.e.*, that they are not engaged in passive resistance), and cannot stay overnight in the nearby town. Hardly a benign policy.

Mr. Artzieli forgets to mention that the prisoners' "mattresses" are on wooden slabs, inches above the ground, in open-air tents and exposed to insects, vipers, and other vicissitudes of the desert.

I could go on, but this should make my point.

Finally, many, many of the detainees are not violent, and certainly not terrorists. They are doctors, lawyers, professors, pharmacists, and Red Crescent executives — community leaders who disagree profoundly with Israel's repressive policies.

The proof is that Israel refuses to give the detainees a public trial with due process. A public trial would show the world, and force Israel to admit, that the detainees are political prisoners, pure and simple, and subjected to inhumane treatment.

Since I wrote my article, Israel has disbanded professional organizations for West Bank lawyers and doctors, dissolved charitable institutions, and abolished community-run vocational programs. Its military has killed 40 more Palestinian civilians. And prisoners at Ansar III went on a hunger strike and rebelled, with at least one being killed.

Israel must come to realize that its internal security is as much threatened by abusing human rights as it is by bullets.

James C. Harrington
Austin

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Social Cause Calendar

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS IN TEXAS

Join Democratic Socialists of America, the national progressive organization co-chaired by Michael Harrington. For information in Texas write Democratic Socialists of America, 5311 Roosevelt Avenue, Austin, 78756, or call (512) 453-4429.

CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE TALK IN AUSTIN

Michael Conroy, Director of the University of Texas Institute on Latin American Studies will discuss "Prospects for Peace and Reconstruction in Central America" on **Saturday, November 5**, at 6 p.m. in Austin at 4700 Grover (north of Texas School for the Blind located on 45th Street). Admission fee of $6 covers dinner and a contribution to the Unitarian Social Action Committee which funds various peace and progressive organizations.

PEACE THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS

"Alice in Blunderland," a musical allegory that makes a plea for peace, premiers in Austin on **November 6, 11, and 12** at St. Martin's Church, 606 W. 15th. The November 6 showing is a 3 p.m. matinee; November 11 and 12 showings are at 8 p.m. Sponsored by the Austin Peace and Justice Coalition. For information call 474-5877.

GUATEMALAN PEACE ACTIVIST IN AUSTIN

Rigoberta Menchu, author of *I Rigoberta* will discuss her planned return to Guatemala where she intends to test the Central American Peace Plan. Menchu, an internationally recognized writer and peace advocate, will speak at the First United Methodist Church at 12th and Lavaca in Austin on **October 23** at 7:30 p.m.

OBSERVANCES

October 29, 1929 • Stock market crashes, beginning the Great Depression.
October 30, 1947 • Bertolt Brecht testifies before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.
November 1, 1952 • First hydrogen bomb exploded by United States.
November 2, 1920 • Eugene V. Debs receives almost one million votes for President while in prison.
November 3, 1982 • Pope John Paul II says the Inquisition was a "mistake."
November 8, 1897 • Dorothy Day, Founder of the Catholic Worker movement, born.
November 9, 1935 • John L. Lewis founds Congress of Industrial Organizations.
November 10, 1924 • First U.S. gay rights organization, the Society of Human Rights, founded in Chicago.

ALLIANCE FOR HUMAN NEEDS

The Texas Alliance for Human Needs holds its 7th annual statewide conference and membership meeting at the Austin Crest Hotel, 111 East 1st, Austin, on **November 11-13**. The theme of the conference is "Human Needs for Texas Today and Tomorrow." Speakers include former state Senator Ray Farabee, Livingston Kosberg, Chairman of the Texas Department on Human Services, state Rep. Juan Hinojosa, and Bob Kafka, former President of the Coalition of Texans with Disabilities. Fees for sessions only are $25 for nonmembers. Fees for all activities, which include luncheons and a party, are $75 for nonmembers. For information call 1-800-456-5253. (Limited stipends are available based on need.)

MEDIA SKILLS WORKSHOP IN AUSTIN

Five nationally recognized journalists provide insider advice on effective use of the media and the reality of dealing with the press. Former White House Correspondent Austin Scott; Pulitzer Prize winner Virginia Escalante; Chuck Halloran, political ghost columnist for a nationally known politician; and Jan Rich, a Texas political news writer, join University of Texas journalism professor and former *Los Angeles Times* opinion page editor Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte at the UT Thompson Center on **Saturday, October 29** from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. The program is billed as a candid look at the inner workings of the press designed to help media relations professionals. The tax-deductible fee schedule ranges from $45 for non-profit organizations to $110 for for-profits, with limited financial aid available. Checks or money orders to La Peña, 225 Congress, Suite 256, Austin, 78701, or call (512) 477-6007 or 472-9357.

SINGLE PARENT SUPPORT GROUP

The book *Mega Skills* by Dorothy Rich will be the topic for discussion by the Single Parent Support Group at the Austin Women's Center, 1700 South Lamar, Suite 203, on **Tuesday, October 11 and 25** from 7 to 8:30 p.m. There is no charge. Call Laura Gonzalez at 447-9666 for more information or to reserve free child care.

WE SING OF KATE FITZGERALD

Kathleen Fitzgerald has been tendering her resignation from the *Observer* for several months now, and we have been tenderly refusing to accept it. She has been on our masthead in various capacities since she came down from Dallas for an editorial internship in 1985. She stayed on as an editorial assistant (unpaid) and as editor of the Social Cause Calendar (unpaid) while she worked her way through the University of Texas. Upon graduation she became possessed of the notion that she should seek gainful employment; soon thereafter she took a job with the Texas Department of Agriculture. She's over there now, doing useful things having to do with food distribution and farmers' markets. When she confessed a while ago that she loves her job, we had the sinking feeling she wasn't referring to her job as Calendar Editor. We have tried to ignore her increasingly frequent pleas that she has become too busy in her new work, but last week the Calendar stopped coming. This time she may mean it.

In her three-and-a-half years here, Kate has played a more important role than any title on the masthead would suggest. She has sold ads, she has helped raise money, she was instrumental in organizing the Scholz Garden radio debates we co-sponsored with KLBJ-AM this spring and summer. She has also been an emotional ballast for both the business and the editorial sides of this sometimes pitching and tossing enterprise. We won't say we'll miss her, because we don't really believe that she'll be gone. But there is that matter of getting the Calendar done.

True to form, Kate had the answer on what to do about that. She recommended Elisa Lyles to take over the Social Cause Calendar. Elisa, an Austinite-in-the-know, has generously agreed to do it. Send news of events, at least three weeks in advance, to her attention. □

Applied Reincarnation

BY TOM McCLELLAN

HERE I SIT near the most open drain on the storm sewer of our failing national economy, called Downtown Dallas, considering the phenomena of the past couple of decades. First The Public cozied up to the fireside chat of John Boy Walton. Depressions are lovely times: the family that struggles together snuggles together.

Then the Pulitzer Committee slapped the intelligentsia's Good Housekeeping Seal on another warm and wonderful depression-era memoir, Russell Baker's *Growing Up* (1982). Finally came Ravi Batra's best-selling Here We Go Again theory of macroeconomics, followed just the other day by his *How to Survive* sequel. The phenomenal sales of Batra's book — and his colleagues' attempts to suppress it — are more significant than the Oriental hop-aboard-the-great-mandala theory of history Batra employs; still, for those who saw the front page of their October 20 newspaper decorated with a graph of Black Friday, 1929, superimposed on the graph of Black Monday, 1987, the notion does provide food for thought. Particularly since the population has bloated 19-fold since 1930 and moved into crime-ridden cities.

So let's put Batra's applied reincarnation theory with its 60-year cycles to work on the current Presidential situation.

The present holder of that office provides a pretty face without much behind it. His genial duncehood has provided us with scandals sufficient to offend even a Dallas savings and loan executive. 1981, Ronald Reagan; 1921, Warren G. Harding, the man who complained of his own character, "I cannot say no." And, indeed, he could not, not to a pal anyway: Harding's porcine Attorney General (Daugherty) came to trial early on and produced a hung jury, but what soundly drove the nail into Harding's casket was the wheeling and dealing of Al B. Fall, who took the rap for the Teapot Dome Scandal and gave the term "fall guy" a fresh twist.

"There were other scandals," according to John and Alice Durant's *Pictoral History of American Presidents*, but the "trusting, unsophisticated President had no part in them. He simply did not know what was going on." Gosh.

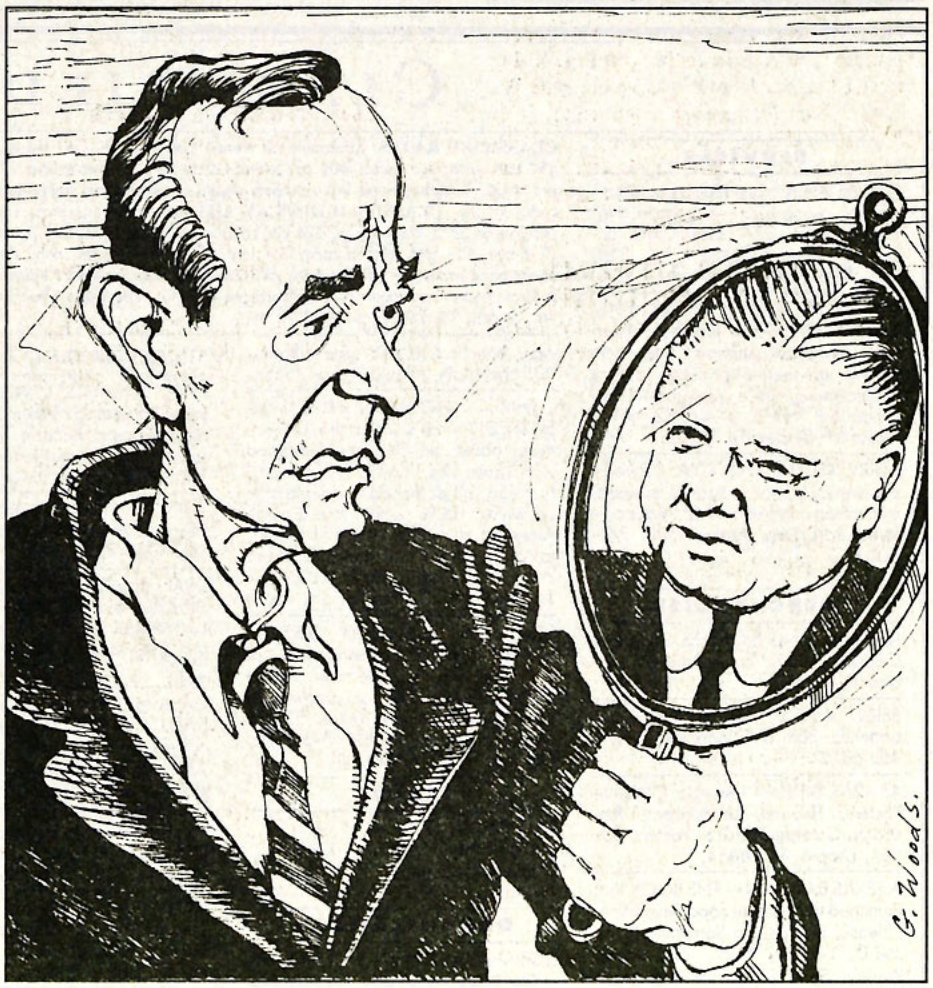
Harding, not equipped with sufficient acting skills to stupify the American people into adulation and thus make cowards of Congress and press alike, keeled over, and his Vice President, Coolidge, took office. And was elected to a second term, declaring that "the business of America is business." Coolidge was not born with a silver foot in his mouth, which he kept largely shut, though one Alice Roosevelt Longworth said he "looked like he'd been weaned on a pickle."

Successor to Cool Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, was possessed of a success story "in keeping with the American tradition of poverty-to-riches by honest toil," according to the Durants, and he'd earned some good press with a sort of European miracle during World War I: he'd extracted Americans stranded in London and stayed on to keep the Belgians from starving. Efficient, organized. Oversized head.

The profiles of Bush and Coolidge make for an interesting comparison, too.

At this point we have an explanation for Twiddle Dumb's apparently irrelevant promise of "jahbs, jahbs, jahbs": last time around he said, "Let them sell apples." He wants to make it up to us. Twaddle Deep still seems to have little to say beyond "the man who builds a factory builds a temple" to the Great God Business, whom he serves as High Priest.

Me? I was the warm-hearted, cool-blooded teller of tales, A. P. Chekhov, back then. Nor have I yet fallen in love with bureaucracy or human stupidity. □



GAIL WOODS

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