

THE TEXAS Observer

A JOURNAL OF FREE VOICES

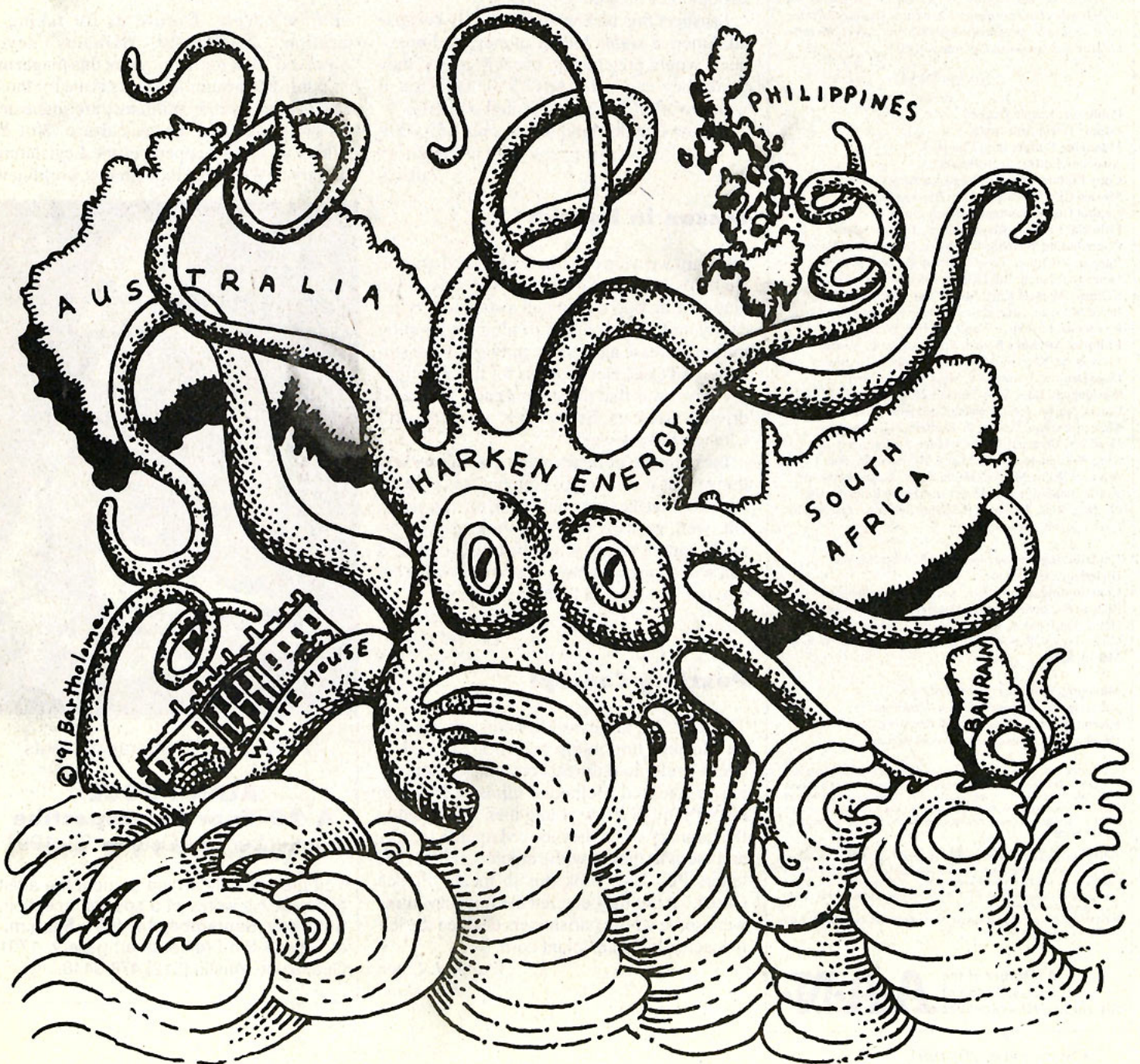
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pages 3 & 6

Global Entanglements

The Political Economy of a Texas Oil Company





A JOURNAL OF FREE VOICES

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DIALOGUE

Spread the Wealth

I agree with John Hollister (letter, *TO*, 9/6/91) that the lottery is a regressive tax. But it is becoming apparent that the lottery will probably get through. Thus we should work at minimizing its regressive effect.

One of the purposes of taxation is a redistribution of wealth. Thus, if a lottery were won by many people instead of just one person, it could have a much more proud economic effect. Say, for instance, rather than one person winning a million dollars, 10 won \$100,000 or 20 won \$50,000.

I suspect this idea would never fly because all America wants lots of money, and opponents would pretend "no one will play if they think they can win 'only' \$50,000." But it would work if it were presented properly.

I know I could stand to win only \$50,000!

Julia Lacey
Laredo

Lesson in Politics

I thought we were electing a liberal when Ann Richards became Governor. She was down here touting dog racing and a state lottery recently and took time out to plug a whopping tuition increase against the public college students of Texas. Her grounds for this reactionary drivel was that the students at UT were all driving nice cars. She sounds more like Bill Clements every week.

Inexpensive colleges were among the few things that our state government was responsible for that Texans could look to with pride. Oh, well, perhaps the poor students who already cannot afford to go off to UT or A&M can win enough money in the lottery or at the dog track to finance their educations.

Steve Schiwetz
Corpus Christi

Puzzling Concept

The term PC, in Texas Methodist circles, has an old and honorable tradition, though it doesn't refer to political correctness. According to a retired Methodist minister friend in his 90's, quite a few young men felt called to the ministry when they looked up into the sky and thought they saw the clouds spell out the letters PC. They took this to mean "Preach Christ." After they entered the ministry, there were some whose parishoners decided the letters actually mean "plant corn."

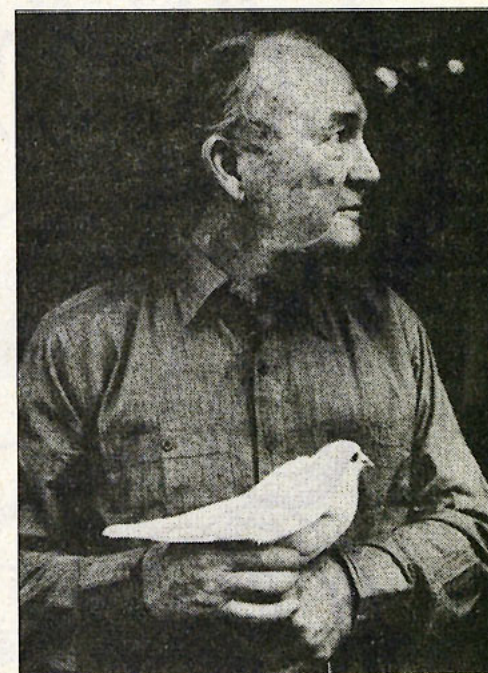
Walter J. Ligon
Kingsland

One for the Books

Just received the August 23 issue. I was appalled that not one article was devoted to recent political events in Texas. Did anyone "observe" that the Texas Legislature has been in session? If you fail to report on this and a lot of related matters, then I suggest you need to change your title. Quite frankly the August 23 issue was the most pitiful I have seen over many years as a subscriber.

Don Williams
Mountain Park, New Mexico

Editor's Note: Excuse us for taking a vacation. Apparently Williams never "observed" that for many years this magazine has published a summer books issue for those readers who, unlike Williams, are interested in new books and Texas culture. Not all politics in Texas happens in the Legislature, contrary to Williams' reductionist worldview.



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EDITORIAL

Kingmaker

IN OUR LAST ISSUE'S editorial, the *Observer* documented the abolition of the governance structure at the University of Texas at Austin English department, against the wishes of the majority of the faculty (see "Illiberal Arts," *TO*, 9/6/91). But that was only part of the story. Since UT President Bill Cunningham appointed Robert King Interim Dean of Liberal Arts, King has consolidated his hold on the position by forcibly exerting his regressive political agenda over the college. King, who holds the Audre and Bernard Rapoport Regents' Chair in Liberal Arts, previously held the deanship throughout the 1980s. Although King has only been appointed interim dean, after the abrupt resignation of the more liberal Standish Meacham last spring, Cunningham has also named him chair of the search committee charged with finding a new dean, and has asked King to keep the post through the 1991-92 academic year. In addition, despite the University's much-ballyhooed budget crunch, Cunningham granted King a \$21,000 pay raise — boosting his salary to \$124,000.

Of course, not every controversy in the Liberal Arts College can be traced to the interim dean. And it must be noted that King, under UT's hierarchical structure, technically has the authority to hire and fire administrators, and to institute or abolish departmental governance, at his pleasure. But even though he is only a temporary dean, King has not simply maintained a holding pattern — his actions toward the English department, the Middle Eastern Studies Center, Women's Studies and the Humanities program reveal a clear pattern of heavy-handedness, cronyism, and reactionary conservatism.

King's English Revisited

The *Observer* reported last issue that King, who still has not returned the *Observer's* phone calls, had ignored letters from the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) in his haste to demolish faculty governance in the English department. At the end of August, the AAUP sent King another letter, again informing him that by all appearances, his actions violated AAUP guidelines. The letter pointed out that King had ignored offers of compromise from the department chairman, Joseph Kruppa, and asked him to respond and explain his actions.

The chair of the English department's faculty recruitment committee, Kurt Heinzelman,

resigned his chairmanship on August 27 as a result of King's declaration. In a lengthy resignation letter, Heinzelman said he feared King's actions throughout the college risked AAUP censure. He argued that "[a]lready this acting dean's injudicious actions are becoming a scandal and a source of ridicule by colleagues around the country. This University is in danger of being denigrated by those very graduate institutions from which we draw our best assistant professors." He also wrote that by imposing a budget council, which restricts governing duties to only full professors, "King has virtually stripped the women in this department of any representation. Of the 35 full professors in our Department, only four are women and two are on leave all next year."

One of King's few supporters in the English department, however, cites other reasons why the dean might derail departmental governance. Norman Farmer, a full professor who last year along with King signed a "statement of academic concern" that led to the rejection of the revised syllabus for the controversial English 306 class (see "On the Question of Political Correctness," *TO*, 5/31/91) said he felt the English department "had become overly politicized, that it had become more of a political situation." Farmer fears that radical methodologies practiced by some junior faculty have subverted and "politicized" the governance process, because "members of the executive committee were all elected, and it led to increased politicking in the department." He argues that the "budget council is comprised of [sic] only full professors," who "have no specific constituency." Under the budget council, he says, "issues can be discussed on their merits without political interference."

Leaving aside for the moment the question of how elections or for that matter "governance" might be carried out apolitically, Farmer's criticisms are not borne out by the recent history of the executive committee. In July, English department chair Joe Kruppa told *Polemicist*, a student news journal at UT-Austin, that more than three-quarters of full professors currently in the department have served on the executive committee, which changes its composition every year. Representation on the committee, he said, cuts across every philosophical and methodological difference in the department. The most recent executive committee was made up of six full professors, two associate professors and two junior faculty. Even so, in the past two years

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Cover illustration by Richard Bartholomew.

Correction

In the story "Out of Touch" in our September 6 issue, Chris King is mistakenly identified as a faculty member at the University of Texas' LBJ School of Public Affairs. In fact, he is a research scientist and Associate Director of the Center for the Study of Human Resources, a research center of the LBJ School, and though he sometimes teaches there, is not a member of the LBJ School faculty.

no executive committee vote has been closer than 8-2, and most have been unanimous. The argument that full professors would somehow govern the department more efficiently seems unsupported at best.

But Farmer's critique does point up another possible reason for King's actions, which the acting dean doesn't mention in his memoranda: crushing the department's autonomy. Farmer's testimony implies, will somehow purify the governing structure of what has been portrayed in the press as a department wildly out of control, run by radical leftists, feminists, minorities, lesbians, etc. An inflammatory May 1990 *Texas Monthly* article, using only

undocumented rumors from anonymous sources, accused the department of radicalism and flag burning. Then, last summer, the department became the subject of statewide and national attention after the local chapter of the right-wing National Association of Scholars successfully engineered the blocking of a new syllabus for English 306. In the case of E306, the administration struck its first blow against the department's autonomy when President Cunningham strong-armed then-Dean Meacham into cancelling the course.

Many think that Cunningham struck his second blow by rehiring King, whose regressive history at UT is well known, and turning him loose on the department. Certainly Cunningham's silence in the face of the AAUP inquiries supports this claim. But whatever his intentions, Cunningham has only watched passively as King's iron jackboot has squashed the collective intentions of the largest department in the university.

All The King's Men

One of the patterns that has emerged during King's short tenure as acting dean is his refusal to honor commitments made by his predecessor, Standish Meacham. A prime example of this tendency came when King appointed Norman Farmer (quoted above) to head the Humanities program, an interdisciplinary honors degree. History professor Michael Stoff, Meacham's appointee, refused to comment on the incident, and told the *Observer* to rely on the version of the story in the student daily for the facts of the case.

According to *The Daily Texan*, Meacham had offered the position to Michael Stoff, promising a small pay raise and a reduced course load if he took on the added administrative duties. Despite King's own sizable recent pay hike, he retracted these conditions, and offered the job with no perks and a full course load. Stoff told the *Texan* King had given him a July 15 deadline to decide if he wanted the job.

King, however, had other plans. On July 10 he penned a letter to Stoff, informing him that he'd already given the job to Farmer. Farmer says he had no idea Stoff was still considering the job. He learned of it in the *Texan*, he said, just like everyone else.

Still, Farmer's appointment by King was not a complete surprise. Farmer, as noted above, has been one of the only English department faculty to support King's demolition of the department's chosen structure, having written a personal letter to the interim dean supporting the budget council just prior to his appointment. And last summer he joined King and the Texas Association of Scholars in their bitter opposition to English 306. Farmer was one of only seven English

faculty to sign the TAS's "Statement of Academic Concern" opposing his colleagues' E306 syllabus.

By contrast, Stoff, as chair of the American Area committee in the History department, had pushed for multicultural sections of a required lower-division History course, sought to compile a "multicultural reading list" for faculty and students, and proposed that the department develop "lectures and workshops on race and ethnicity," according to a May, 1990

[King's] actions toward the English department, the Middle Eastern Studies Center, Women's Studies and the Humanities program reveal a clear pattern of heavy-handedness, cronyism, and reactionary conservatism.

History department memorandum. Stoff's ousting represents another instance of King obstructing faculty with even a reserved multicultural agenda, and installing opponents of curriculum reform.

A Woman's Work

King's snatching the Humanities position out from under Stoff might be seen as an aberration, except that he repeated the pattern in Women's Studies. The Women's Studies Center has never received significant support, and is really just a vehicle for cross-listing courses from many different disciplines to allow a concentration in Women's Studies.

Last spring then-Dean Meacham offered the position of director of the Women's Studies Center to Susan Marshall, an associate professor of sociology. As with Stoff, Meacham promised Marshall a lightened course load and a pay hike. Also as with Stoff, Bob King refused to honor these conditions, asking Marshall to consider taking the position without them.

While Marshall mulled over the new terms, however, King again made other plans. According to English professor Carol Mackay, "I was offered the position while Marshall thought she was still negotiating with Dean King." Mackay turned down the offer, although she didn't know at the time that Marshall was considering it. She wanted more monetary support for the center as well as more physical space; currently the center shares a secretary and an administrative as-

sistant with several other programs.

After Mackay had turned him down, King went back to Marshall, and they negotiated a compromise, whereby she maintained a full course load, despite her administrative duties, but received an adjunct to her salary. The program's funding, however, will remain "at the same insignificant level as last year," according to Mackay. And Marshall's compromise with King was a cutback from what she had negotiated for the directorship under Meacham. Since the program's funding is so paltry, cutting support for the director amounts to cutting support for the center, said Mackay.

Observers say King's distaste for the center dates back to his first tenure as dean. One professor close to the center, who asked to remain anonymous, pointed out that, "King has never conceived of women's studies in the serious way that many women scholars on this campus do." "At another university, a women's studies program can be a strong, viable resource," she said, but at UT Austin, "our active growth is being curtailed."

The Merits of Cronyism

The case of the Middle Eastern Studies Center perhaps best illustrates King's high-handed style and his propensity to place his political agenda over accepted principles of academic merit. While the *Observer* interviewed several individuals knowledgeable about the center for this article, none, including the principal actors, would agree to speak for the record. In addition, the student daily has completely ignored King's actions affecting the center, printing not one story the entire summer. Thus the following account, while perhaps incomplete in some respects, represents the information we were able to confirm.

The story began in January, when former Middle Eastern Studies Center Director Ian Manners decided to resign his post as of this fall. According to sources close to the center, Meacham sent a letter to all the faculty connected with the center asking for advice or suggestions on who should be the next director. In addition, Meacham spoke personally with all or virtually all of the senior faculty. This consultation process took almost two months.

By March, Meacham had discovered a strong consensus within the center that Elizabeth Fernea should be its next director. Fernea, an English professor and well-known Middle Eastern scholar, is the only member of the center ever to have been president of the Middle Eastern Studies Association, the most prestigious national group for Middle East scholars. Fernea has been closely associated with the center. She has served as its undergraduate advisor and as a member of its executive committee. She has lived in the Middle

East for years at a time, and traveled widely throughout the region. She has an international academic reputation, and her Orientalist memoir, *Guests of the Sheik*, has enjoyed international acclaim and numerous printings.

At the time, Fernea was on leave in Israel helping produce a film about the Israeli peace movement. According to knowledgeable sources, Meacham phoned Fernea in Israel to ask her whether she wanted the job. She accepted informally. Meacham then forwarded his recommendation to Cunningham.

For weeks, however, no word came from Cunningham on the status of Meacham's recommendation. But at a meeting of the department chairs in May, just before he stepped down, Meacham announced that he had forwarded Fernea's name to Cunningham, and that he was confident she would be approved.

After King formally assumed the deanship, however, he called a meeting with senior faculty associated with the center, and informed them that he felt, after consulting with (unnamed) faculty and examining her credentials, he could not support Fernea for the directorship. According to sources, King gave no specifics as to his objections, but every Middle East scholar we talked to said that no one at UT was more qualified for the position.

Why then, given Fernea's credentials, would King reject her appointment?

Scholars at the center cite a number of reasons. First, as a member of the English department, Fernea had been a vocal supporter of the revised English 306 syllabus, which King, as noted, publicly opposed. She even at

one point appeared on a television talk show defending the syllabus. In addition, Fernea participated in a committee appointed by Meacham to study and formulate multicultural curriculum proposals for the College of Liberal Arts. And she chaired a subcommittee which produced two books on multiculturalism proposals entitled *Multiculturalism: Resources for Dialogue*, which were released last summer. King's opposition to multiculturalism has never been a secret in the Liberal Arts college.

But perhaps the most important reason King might have to oppose Fernea's appointment is her position on the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. A faculty member at the center describes Fernea's positions as "sympathetic to the moderate Arab/Palestinian position," although he stresses that she has "never let her sympathies affect her scholarship." Some faculty speculate that King, an ardent long-time Zionist, allowed his own political sympathies to affect his decision.

In her stead, King installed as director a geographer, Bob Holz, who sources say is a long-time friend and hunting partner of the interim dean. Most faculty at the center interviewed for this story were dismayed by the appointment, since Holz speaks no Middle Eastern languages and his primary field of research is not the Middle East. Holz has been affiliated with the center in the past, but, says one professor, has never been "central to its role." According to his vita, Holz has taught courses on Middle Eastern geography cross-listed under the center, and once chaired the

center's fellowship award program. He was once even hired by Fernea's husband, Bob, to help organize a summer teaching program in Morocco. But he has never served on the center's executive committee, nor in any administrative capacity connected with the center. While no professors interviewed for this article thought Holz was reactionary or incompetent — one professor called him a "good person, an honest person" — not one thought his qualifications came close to Fernea's, judged on objective merit.

In his research, Holz uses sophisticated technology to perform satellite mapping, mineral searches, etc. While he has used his skills with this technology in the Middle East, it's fair to say, judging from his vita, that his research doesn't reflect an interest in its culture or its politics. Most scholars in the center don't define "Middle Eastern Studies" as the study of how to exploit the region's resources.

During last year's English 306 controversy, President Cunningham received numerous letters from alumni, some of them donors, demanding that he save the Liberal Arts college from subversion by feminists, Marxists, lesbians, etc. State Rep. Kent Grusendorf (R-Arlington) even mailed UT officials a copy of the infamous *Texas Monthly* article, demanding to know what UT planned to do to purge the radicals. If Cunningham did hire Bob King as part of a backlash against liberals in the college, he's certainly getting his \$21,000 worth. — S.H.

Tom Philpott Jr. contributed to this article.

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The Education of Dinesh D'Souza

How an angry young man parlayed right-wing money into national attention

BY SCOTT HENSON

DINESH D'SOUZA'S BOOK-LENGTH attack on affirmative action and curriculum reform, *Illiberal Education*, has generated tremendous publicity, particularly for a 29-year-old author whose first book, an admiring biography of Jerry Falwell published in 1984, remains virtually unknown and unread. The splash created by D'Souza's new book makes more sense in its context, as part of a national, well-funded, and coordinated attack on multiculturalism in particular and Left activism generally.

D'Souza's discussions in his book, and in the slew of magazine articles published last spring, do not contain strikingly new analysis — his doctrinaire, neoconservative arguments follow directly in the lineage of another neoconservative, Daniel Patrick Moynihan (now a Democratic U.S. Senator from New York), who 26 years ago laid the foundation for D'Souza's critiques in his controversial report on the black family. Moynihan argued that blacks' problems stemmed from breakdowns within the black family, and denied that racism or prejudice played a significant contributory role in black unemployment or poverty. Moynihan, like D'Souza called for a "color blind" public policy, promoting traditional American family values. In a United States that had only recently dissolved Jim Crow in the Deep South, Moynihan's arguments were not taken seriously.

Illiberal Education, spouting the same neoconservative party line, has enjoyed greater success with this "blame the victim" argument than did Moynihan. But the evidence indicates that D'Souza isn't simply a young thinker with ideas similar to, or even influenced by neoconservative thought. A handpicked mouthpiece, financed by neoconservative moneybags since his teens, D'Souza is merely one more in an increasingly long line of right-wing authors attacking affirmative action, curriculum diversity and student activism. Other examples include: *Tenured Radicals* by Roger Kimball, *The Closing of the American Mind* by Allan Bloom, and *Profscam* and *The Hollow Men* by Charles Sykes. More books have been funded and will appear in the coming year.

Dartmouthing Off

D'Souza's personal history offers a prime case study of the process by which a handful of right-wing institutions can turn a virtually unknown writer into a national public figure — all it takes is money. His career began as co-founder of the notorious *Dartmouth Review*, one of the first in a string of right-wing student newspapers funded by what was then the Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA). In September 1990, IEA merged with the Madison Center to become the Madison Center for Educational Affairs. The *Dartmouth Review* taps into conservative funding sources that have supported D'Souza at various times

throughout his career. In 1989, for example, the John M. Olin Foundation approved a \$150,000 multi-year grant for the *Review*, according to the 1989 Olin Annual Report. Olin also funded D'Souza's work on *Illiberal Education*. With all this money and more, the *Review*'s staff is able to publish a weekly magazine on a campus with only 4,500 students.

According to the *New Yorker*, while D'Souza served as editor-in-chief, the paper ran a "lighthearted interview with a former Klan leader and illustrated it with a staged photo of a black man hanging from a tree on the Dartmouth campus." He also published an article on affirmative action entitled, "Dis Sho Ain't No Jive, Bro," written in a parody of black vernacular — for example: "Now we be comin' to Dartmut and be up over our 'fros in studies, but we still be not graduatin' Phi Beta Kappa." The latter article made national headlines, and catapulted the *Review* to the notoriety it (apparently) enjoys to this day. After the "jive" article, then-Congressman Jack Kemp, R-NY (who now serves as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and darling of the New Right) stepped down from the *Review* board of advisors

**"The question is not whether women should be educated at Dartmouth. The question is whether women should be educated at all."
— Dinesh D'Souza**

in disgust.

D'Souza himself in 1986 defended these and other exploits in an article published in the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review*, where he bragged that the *Review* during his tenure "commented on gender issues: 'The question is not whether women should be educated at Dartmouth. The question is whether women should be educated at all.' Further: 'Any man who thinks a woman is his intellectual equal is probably right.' On politics and mortality: 'We deny the foul rumor. Ted Kennedy was nowhere in the area of Catalina Island where Natalie Wood drowned.' On the Atlanta child murders: 'I ain't killed nobody.' Wayne Williams said, confessing his crimes at last.'"

D'Souza goes on in the article to lament that "Some of these items were dumb and should not have been printed. But we thought they were hilarious at the time, and some even had the added merit of being true." That some of these statements might be racist or sexist apparently never occurred to D'Souza. In any case, he never addresses in *Illiberal Education* or elsewhere, the role that he and others like him played in creating the racial- and gender-based divisions he bemoans in his book.

In 1983, D'Souza took a job editing *Prospect*, an alumni magazine started by a conservative organization called the "Concerned Alumni of Princeton." Apparently D'Souza's polemically bigoted style appealed to his new employer, because he proceeded to generate the same type of bile-filled journalism as had the *Dartmouth Review* under his command. The *New Yorker* reported that "under D'Souza's editorship, at a time when Princeton was trying to increase the number of women in its student body and on its senior faculty, the magazine published an article making fun of women's studies, and an article, written by D'Souza, in which the sex life of a female

undergraduate, who had declined to be interviewed by the magazine, was described without her consent." William Greider recounts that under D'Souza, *Prospect* derided the women's center as nothing but "freaks and frumps," and declared it the "pockmarked face of feminism."

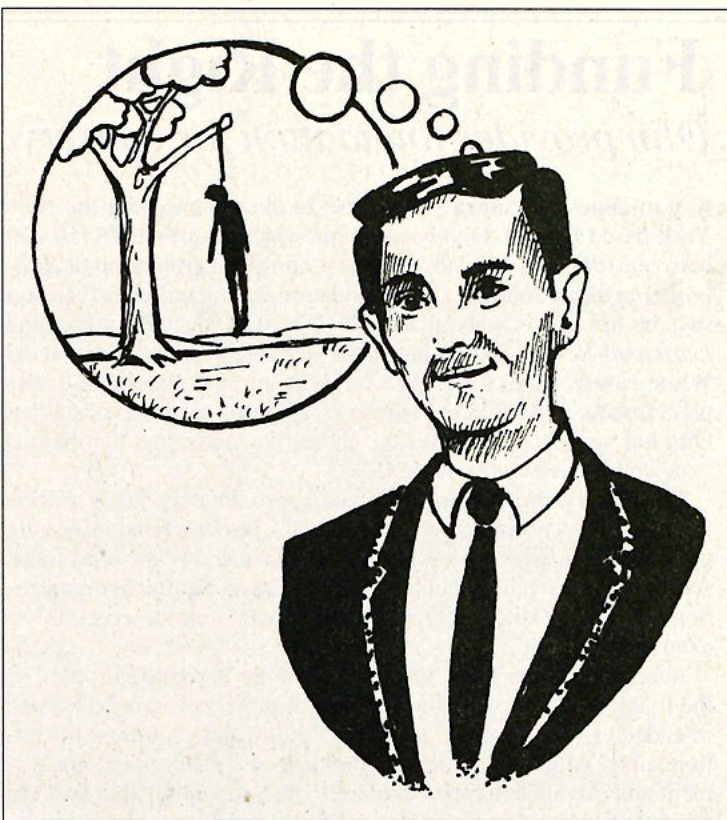
Prospect's favorite targets under D'Souza were women's studies, feminism, sex education on campus, gay rights, counseling women on birth control, and other issues related to women. In his first article for the magazine entitled "Let's Mainstream Women's Studies," D'Souza complained of "perspiring feminists" and declared that "no longer do slatterns have abortions to prove they are liberated." Responding in a letter to the editor, Princeton history professor Maurice Lee, class of 46, called D'Souza "ill informed and the possessor of ... a remorselessly adolescent sense of humor." He corrected D'Souza on one important point: "anyone understands," wrote Lee, that "women don't have vasectomies." In the October 1984 issue, D'Souza complained of "Mondale's Effeminate Style," all but openly gaybaiting the then-presidential candidate for his high-pitched voice and soft-spoken demeanor. In a letter to the editor the same issue, an alumnus complained of *Prospect's* "flagrant anti-feminism and paranoid homophobia, both expressed in sniggering terms that I have not heard since high-school days in locker rooms."

After his tenure at *Prospect*, and after publishing his Falwell book, D'Souza worked as managing editor of *Policy Review*, the theoretical journal of the right-wing Heritage Foundation. There D'Souza wrote a sympathetic analysis of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's theology, noting that many prominent right-wing groups take money from Moon's Unification Church, which lavishly funds anti-communist organizations worldwide. Of charges of Moonie brainwashing, D'Souza writes, "civil libertarians are right to point out that there is a fine line between 'being brainwashed' and 'discovering the truth,' and who is to say that this sort of control is not what the Moon convert was looking for in the first place?" After probing Moon's doctrine to determine whether it is inherently socialist, D'Souza decided that it is not terminally so. He concludes on a bright note, pointing out that "America is home to many religions that originally attracted hostility but have since gained comfortable respectability." Citing Mormons and Christian Scientists, D'Souza declares, "In these examples, the Unification Church finds hope."

Articles like this one soon attracted the attention of the Reagan administration — in 1987, D'Souza moved from the Heritage Foundation to become a "domestic policy analyst" under Reagan. While D'Souza today portrays himself as a champion of the First Amendment, at the time he promoted, among other issues, Attorney General Ed Meese's anti-pornography campaign. And for a man who just a few years before published an article decrying feminism's "pockmarked face," he was not above drawing on the arguments of feminists to make his point for banning pornography. While the issue of suspending free speech to ban pornography remains one of the most bitter disputes among feminists today, D'Souza was able to embrace this decidedly illiberal idea without blinking an eye.

Liberal Funding from Conservative Sources

After his stint with the Reagan team, D'Souza hooked up with his old neoconservative pals at the Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA) to start writing his next book. In 1988, D'Souza received, through the IEA, a \$30,000 grant from the John M. Olin Foundation to begin working on a book tentatively titled *The New Elite*, which would become *Illiberal Education*. From there, even though D'Souza was still an unknown to most everyone in higher-education circles (except to a few at Dartmouth and Princeton), the far-right accepted him as one of its own.



SEAN FRENCH

Dinesh D'Souza

In 1989, D'Souza became a research fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, and Olin upped its ante to \$50,000 for that year. The Olin Foundation also provided funds, \$30,000, for the first Madison Center conference in October 1989, at which a then-almost unknown D'Souza participated in a panel discussion on "The Politicization of Education." (The Madison Center, founded by Allan Bloom and former Education-Secretary-turned-drug-czar William Bennett, would merge with the IEA the following year.) In 1990, Olin gave D'Souza another \$50,000, and through the Madison Center authorized another \$20,000 grant for "promotion" of his book upon publication.

Meanwhile, D'Souza kept busy researching his book, and making occasional public appearances. According to the July/August 1990 Accuracy in Academia (AIA) newsletter, *Campus Report*, D'Souza spoke on "race, gender and class issues on campus," at the July 6-7, 1990 AIA Conference. *Campus Report* said D'Souza complained of "'victims studies' classes (i.e. Women's, Gay and Lesbian, Afro-American, and Native-American Studies) [which] can be traced back to the problem of admission by affirmative action rather than merit." The newsletter went on to report that "D'Souza said that the idea of anything non-Western being superior is the 'new cultural imperialism.'"

One might dismiss such wild-eyed, convoluted statements as poor reportage on the part of AIA, except that D'Souza kept repeating it in his book and in myriad articles the following year. In a Feb. 18, 1991 *New Republic* article, for example, D'Souza made basically the same argument: Affirmative action creates an unqualified group of minority students on campus who then embrace "minority separatism" to "seek support and solace from others like them." To avoid facing up to their own inferiority, then, minorities demand curriculum reforms and greater representation of minorities among faculty and administrators.

This line of "reasoning" ignores the history of black thinkers like Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X, who called for separatism well be-

Funding the Right

Olin provides foundation for conservative infrastructure

Key to Dinesh D'Souza's rapid rise to the top has been the New York-based John M. Olin Foundation, which contributed \$150,000 between 1988 and 1990 toward the writing and promotion of *Illiberal Education*. John M. Olin Foundation President James Piereson says he has "known about Dinesh [D'Souza] since he was at the *Dartmouth Review*. I knew him at the Heritage Foundation and at the White House, [and] then when he went into the American Enterprise Institute," he told the *Observer*. Piereson went on to say that Olin has supported D'Souza for about five years, and that he had "known him personally since 1986."

The Olin Foundation in 1990 paid approximately \$19.8 million in grants; this enormous sum (the leftish Live Oak Fund in Austin, by comparison, paid out less than \$150,000 in grants last year) funds scores of conservative scholars, think tanks and political organizations. With that kind of clout, the Olin Foundation deserves closer examination.

According to the Olin *Annual Report*, the "general purpose" of the foundation is "to provide support for projects that reflect or are intended to strengthen the economic, political and cultural institutions upon which the American heritage of constitutional government and private enterprise is based. The Foundation also seeks to promote a general understanding of these institutions by encouraging the thoughtful study of the connections between economic and political freedoms, and the cultural heritage that sustains them."

That philosophy translates in practice into funding for a shockingly large number of conservative academics, journalists and political activists. Piereson says the Olin Foundation funding pattern is "definitely conservative."

But Olin and three other big-league conservative foundations came under fire recently when Paul Gottfried, a conservative professor at Elizabethtown College, criticized the foundations in scathing terms. Charging that the foundations were dominated by neoconservatives, Gottfried argued that "[t]here is a definite worldview that neoconservative-controlled foundations subsidize," and complained that this worldview excludes most conservatives. In addition, Gottfried writes that "few humanities scholars on the Left hold the financial resources available to the neoconservative's kept intellectuals," and warns of "the concentration of power and money within its [the conservative movement's] neoconservative wing." Prominent conservative and former Nixon-speech writer Pat Buchanan repeated these charges in a nationally syndicated column.

Piereson responds that the foundation's goal is "hopefully helping different people from respectable strands of modern conservatism." He told the *Observer* "I have great respect for neoconservatives, and count among my friends people like Irving Kristol, Midge Decter, Michael Novak and Norman Podhoretz." He continued, "[i]t's true we support neoconservatives ... that is just a fraction of the total." Piereson points out that Olin gives money to prominent conservatives like William F. Buckley Jr. and Phyllis Schlafly, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (founded by Buckley in the 1950s), free-market and supply-side economists like Paul Craig Roberts and Alan Meltzer, programs in law and economics at Harvard, Yale, Stanford and Virginia, the Heritage Foundation, the Hoover Institute for War, Revolution and Peace, and others. Funding for these entities, says Piereson, proves that the foundation funds non-neoconservatives. Piereson said Gottfried's definition of a

neoconservative is "anyone who gets a grant from the John Olin Foundation."

Grant information from the Olin *Annual Report* confirms Piereson's assertion that Olin funding does not go only to neoconservatives. Out of more than \$63 million in grants currently authorized by the Olin Foundation, for example, nearly one-fourth, \$15 million, is destined to establish the John M. Olin Graduate School of Business Administration at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Large sums were authorized for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Economic Analysis of Law program, the Law and Economics program at Harvard Law School, and the Richard Nixon Presidential Library.

It's true, however, that the Olin Foundation funds a large number of the prominent right-wing academics, publications and think tanks, including the most prominent neoconservative in the country.

According to the Olin *Annual Report*, for example, its grantees in 1990 included prominent conservative media like *Commentary*, *The American Spectator*, *The National Review*, *New Criterion*, *The National Interest*, *The Public Interest*, *The Dartmouth Review*, Radio Free Europe, as well as William Buckley Jr.'s TV program, *Firing Line*. Olin also funds less well-known publications like *Benchmark*, a journal on legal issues, *Crisis*, a conservative Catholic journal published by the Brownson Institute, and *Encounter*, a journal originally founded in London by neoconservative Irving Kristol, reportedly with CIA money, and currently operated by the prominent right-wing publisher, Freedom House.

The smallest grant to any of the above magazines was \$25,000 for a single year. Irving Kristol's journal, *The National Interest*, received \$135,000 in 1990. Olin authorized a \$150,000 multi-year grant for *The Dartmouth Review*, but only \$25,000 has been doled out to date.

Among prominent conservatives who Olin funds, one finds the likes of Robert Bork and Irving Kristol, who receive \$230,630 and \$124,400 respectively from their Olin-funded fellowships at the American Enterprise Institute. Former drug czar William Bennett received \$50,000 of a \$175,000 Olin-funded fellowship at the Hudson Institute in 1990, while former Undersecretary of State and contra-booster Elliott Abrams, also at the Hudson Institute, was paid \$40,000 to write a book on post-Cold War foreign policy.

Former *Ramparts* editors and neoconservatives-come-lately Peter Collier and David Horowitz received half of a \$150,000 Olin grant in 1990 to support their "Second Thoughts" project (*Second Thoughts* is a book by Collier and Horowitz in which they repent for their 1960s radicalism.) H. Joachim Maitre, the Boston University dean who resigned recently after admitting plagiarism, was paid \$219,821 in 1990 on a \$635,352 grant to support a program of seminars in "defense journalism."

In short, Olin funding has helped create what Kenneth Cribb of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute has called "a conservative intellectual infrastructure ... that was but a dream in 1964. Scholars, books, journals, centers, reprints, tapes, fellowships, and similar resources," Cribb noted, "are now available in abundance to provide intellectual substance for a developing conservatism." The conservative movement has the Olin Foundation to thank for a great deal of that infrastructure.

— S.H.

fore anyone had invented the term "affirmative action," and whose arguments have since been adopted by groups other than blacks. This history easily discredits D'Souza's simplistic arguments, but his neoconservative rhetoric is touted nationwide as the ascendant wisdom. While one might agree or disagree with the merits of separatism, blaming its existence on affirmative action borders on the ludicrous. Perhaps the most commonly heard arguments for separatism today come from lesbians, who want to pull out of patriarchal society and establish separate spaces for women. These mostly college-edu-

cated women pursue this philosophy despite the fact that no university in the United States provides affirmative action for gay people.

Clearly the juggernaut of favorable publicity for D'Souza's book did not stem from the strength and cogency of his arguments. His reliance throughout his career on a handful of well-funded neoconservative institutions, and his systematic attacks on women and minorities, betray a right-wing political agenda, despite his invocation of "free speech" and calls for return to "liberal education." People who have followed his career have not been fooled. □

Battle of the Budget

Legislators fight over money in special session

BY LISBETH LIPARI

LT. GOV. BOB BULLOCK called it a "step backwards," and "nothing more than a stop gap." The *Austin American-Statesman* declared it "woefully inadequate." To *Dallas Times-Herald* columnist Molly Ivins, it was simply "another fine mess ... fouled up beyond all recognition." It, if you haven't guessed by now, is the 1992-'93 state budget, passed at the 11th hour last month by the Texas Legislature.

Although perhaps not as disastrous as it could have been (desperately needed funding for pre-kindergarten education was salvaged thanks to a walkout by 40 progressive legislators, for instance), the new budget package is a far cry from reforming the state's notoriously inequitable tax system and miserably underfunded human service programs. In fact, despite Bullock's tax-reform initiatives and the Governor's Task Force on Revenue (both of which called for property and sales tax relief coupled with personal and corporate income taxes), the Legislature's new tax package is at least as regressive as the current system, if not more so.

Tax Injustice

What makes the Texas tax system so inequitable is the fact that the state employs sales taxes and fees, rather than income taxes, to generate revenue. As a result, Texans wind up paying taxes based not on their ability to pay, but on their need to spend — on everything from gasoline to clothing. (See "Income Texas," *TO*, 7/12/91.)

Tom Plaut, the chief revenue estimator for the Comptroller's office, said Texas has one of the most regressive tax systems among the 50 states — meaning that poor Texans pay a much larger portion of their income to taxes than do wealthy Texans. "Our analysis indicates that in 1990, a family making \$10,000 a year would pay about 7.6 percent of its income in state and local taxes," said Plaut, "while a family making \$100,000 would pay 4.7 percent."

But now, with the upcoming budget's \$2.1 billion tax increases — which include an additional nickel per gallon tax on gasoline (up from 15 cents to 20 cents per gallon), a 3-to-5-percent bingo tax, a motor vehicle sales-tax increase from 6 to 6.25 percent, and a university tuition increase from \$20 to \$24 per semester hour — it looks like the tax burden will be spread even more disproportionately. Add in the likelihood of a state lottery (which voters will almost certainly approve on November 5th), and Texas taxes may sink from regressive to retrograde.

"I would say the new tax package is equally regressive, and maybe a little more regressive, than our present system," said Dr. Stephen McDonald, a UT economics professor. "But the lottery would be ter-



VIC HINTERLANG

Lt. Gov. Bob Bullock

ribly regressive. Economically, it's a small and unstable source of revenue. But philosophically, I think it's horrible. Instead of relying on a person's ability to pay, we will have people paying on their gullibility to pay. And the people most likely to be putting substantial portions of their income into the lottery are likely to be poor." (See "The Lottery: Not a Safe Bet," *TO*, 7/26/91.)

"Some components of the tax bill are a step backwards," agreed John Keel, special assistant to Lt. Gov. Bullock. "There's no property tax relief in this bill, and in fact, I don't think there's any direct tax relief in the bill. But obviously, the tax bill was a very delicate balance; it's a consensus bill."

Business Texas

Perhaps the one glimmer of hope in relation to the dream of progressive taxes is the new franchise tax, slated to raise about \$800 million in new revenue. Another new measure, an annual \$200 professional fee for doctors, lawyers, real-estate agents, accountants, engineers and dentists, is expected to yield about \$170 million.

A reincarnation of the previous, lawsuit-plagued franchise tax, which assessed a 5.25-percent tax on capital resources, the new franchise tax will assess either a 2.5-percent tax on capital resources, or a 4.5-percent tax on earned surplus (profits plus some portion of executive salaries), whichever is greater. As a result, the new tax will reduce the burden on capital-intensive businesses with low profits (such as the dwindling manufacturing industry), and increase the burden on low-capital, high-profit businesses (such as the growing service industry).

"The biggest criticism of the old franchise tax was that you were taxed whether you were profitable or not," said Keel. "The new tax reduces the burden on businesses that are not profitable, and taxes those that are profitable. At the same time, the tax provides a steady source of revenue to the state."

McDonald, however, is skeptical that the franchise tax truly will resolve the problems of tax equity. "I'm not sure that this does anything more than address the concerns of the business community, who were opposed to the old franchise tax," he said. "Some people think the new tax is an opening wedge to a corporate income tax, but I'm not sure that's true. I think it may be more of a compromise."

Your Tax Dollars at Work

So much for the revenue-producing side of the Legislature's budget package. On the expenditure side, Texans saw fewer cuts than anticipated. Overall, the budget increased 20 percent — from \$49 billion in the 1990-'91 biennium to \$59 billion in the next biennium. But as Leslie Lemon, staff director for the Senate Committee on Health and Human Services, noted, "Increases don't always mean expansion. Increases can often mean you just keep going how you've been going." Thus, when the Texas unemployment rate rises, as it has been, the amount of money needed to maintain basic services to the unemployed, also rises.

State employees received on a 2-percent pay raise instead of the 3-percent boost they had been promised; the Legislature approved the higher figure on the condition that there was enough cash in the coffers at the end of the fiscal year August 31; there wasn't. On the

other hand, the threatened 9,500 state jobs weren't axed, either. And while the University of Texas at Austin lost \$4.4 million in the 1992-'93 biennium, that's nothing compared to the astronomical cuts that had been discussed at the Capitol. During the thick of budget talks, for instance, UT-Austin Budget Director Danny Fletcher estimated that UT stood to lose at least \$40 million in tuition reallocation alone.

The beleaguered Department of Human Services will also see some expenditure increases and expansion in the next biennium, although not enough to bring Texas out of its miserably underfunded status. Nationally, Texas ranks 47th and 48th in expenditures for many health and human service programs. "Overall, we've moved ahead, but not significantly up the scale," said Bobby Halfman, DHS budget management director. "I don't think we've changed our ranking significantly at all. A lot of the cost increases that we had in this biennium were the result of federally mandated programs that other states are already providing. So we're basically playing catch-up, and I don't think we're there yet."

Even the most proudly touted expenditure measure — a \$1.1 billion prison bond proposal that includes a provision to build 12,000 sorely needed beds for drug treatment — takes on the character of a chimera when closely scrutinized. Not only does the proposal remain to be passed by Texans in the November 5 election, but it also requires legislative approval during another special session before any funds can be spent.

Yet aside from the relief issuing from the Capitol after it was all over last month, several gruesome ghosts are still lingering ominously in the halls. Among them are a ban on overnight protests at the Capitol, which opponents say violates First Amendment free speech rights (See "The Perverse Circus," *TO*, 6/28/91); and a hotly contested redistricting bill, which will determine the makeup of three new Congressional districts in Dallas, Houston and San Antonio. The *Observer* will take a closer look at these issues next month.

Finally, one of the more peculiar and foreboding proposals to reach the House floor last month died a silent, nearly invisible death: a bill sponsored by Rep. Billy Clemons, D-Lufkin, to award women \$500 for voluntarily allowing the state to implant them with a new birth control device. The proposal, attached as an amendment to the budget bill, disappeared with barely a murmur after minority legislators attacked it. "I heard that this was a proposal that David Duke had offered in Louisiana," said Lemon. "So they dropped it like a hot potato. No one wanted to touch it with fingerprints like that on it." □

Notice to All LIBERAL/PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS

The Texas Democrats — a liberal organization — invites you to attend a statewide meeting to discuss:

- ISSUES
- ORGANIZATION
- ACTION

...and to become familiar with the Texas Presidential Primary and Convention system and procedures that will be in effect for 1992. The probable Democratic presidential candidates have been invited to speak. Watch the *Observer* for further details.

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Global Entanglements

The political economy of a Texas oil company

BY DAVID ARMSTRONG

A MAP OF THE PERSIAN GULF emirate of Bahrain dominates the lobby of Harken Energy Corporation's modest Grand Prairie headquarters. It is a potent image; a totem of sorts to the tiny island nation and the vast mineral wealth Harken hopes to extract from its shores.

Despite the emphasis Harken places on this oil-rich sheikhdom, however, a more appropriate corporate symbol might well be a map of the earth. For Harken is truly a global enterprise. Its interests and influence extend world wide. Its financial ties to some of the richest and most powerful men on the planet belie the image of a struggling small oil company.

Among the many noteworthy figures associated with Harken are: George W. Bush, eldest son of the President; the billionaire Bass brothers of Fort Worth, who will finance Harken's Bahrain expedition; a South African tobacco, liquor and natural resources magnate; and a prominent attorney with ties to former Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos. In addition, Harken has numerous ties to institutions involved in gun running, drug smuggling, foreign currency manipulation, the alleged looting of foreign treasuries, and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency-assisted destabilization of the Australian government. (See "Oil in the Family," *TO*, 7/26/91.) While there is no evidence of wrongdoing on Harken's part, it is clear the company has benefited from these relationships. More importantly, Harken and its associates have repeatedly profited from American intervention in foreign affairs. And it is here that the company's true significance becomes apparent: For if nothing else, Harken offers a fascinating case study in how U.S. foreign policy is shaped by (and for) multinational corporate interests.

Humble Beginnings

Harken began inauspiciously enough as a two-man venture headed by Phil Kendrick, Jr. and Harry L. Mulligan. Kendrick and Mulligan (the Harry and Kendrick from whom the company derives its name) first met in the trenches of Wall Street while serving as account executives for the investment banking firm of White Weld & Co. Kendrick had grown up in the oil fields of Texas where his father, Phil, Sr., founded the Abilene-based Kendrick Oil Company in 1913. After graduating from the University of Texas in 1950, young Kendrick joined the family business, and remained an active partner until selling the company during the oil bust of the mid 1960s.

Kendrick had oil in his blood, however, and always knew he'd return to the industry. "I went to New York for the specific purpose of learning all I could [about finance] while the oil business was so dead and would be hopefully knowledgeable when the time was right for it to come back again," he told the *Observer* recently. By 1973, he'd decided that time had come and called his friend Harry Mulligan to inform him of his decision. "I told Mr. Mulligan I was going back in the oil business and he said, well, he was sick and tired of the brokerage business and could he go with me," Kendrick recalled. "I said, 'if you want to, I'd be glad to have you. I always need someone to help raise money.'"

Harken was incorporated in California on July 18, 1973. Its original offices were located in Pasadena, Calif. and New Haven, Conn., where Kendrick and Mulligan had settled while working for White Weld. By the end of 1974, the company had relocated to Kendrick's native



RICHARD BARTHOLOMEW

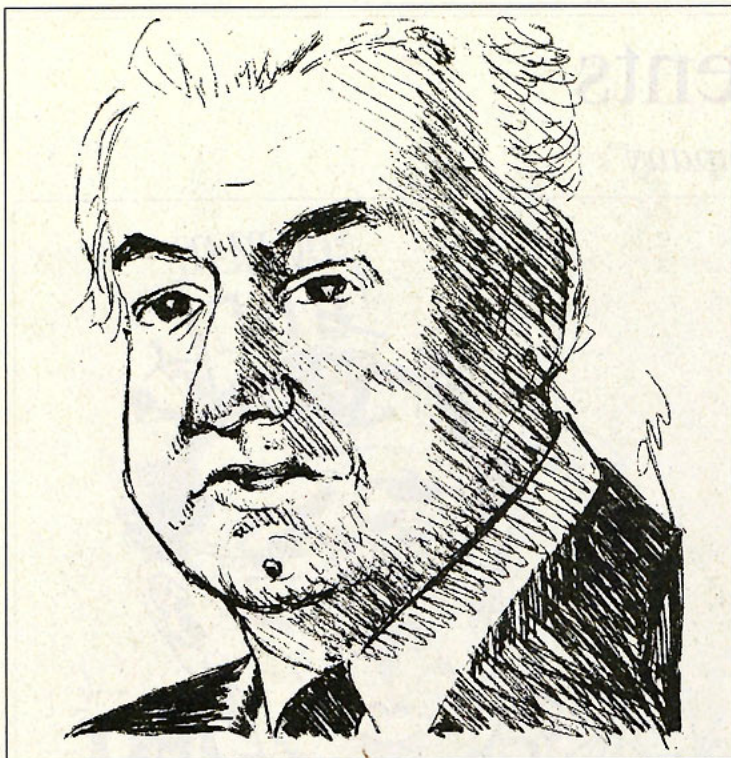
The President's son, George W. Bush

Abilene. Harken grew steadily, if slowly, over the next five years, adding employees and participating in the exploration of more than 300 wells, primarily in Texas and Oklahoma. It was not until 1979, however, that the company's first truly big break came along.

Buying the Farm

Phil Kendrick's quest for oil knew virtually no bounds. While Harken continued sinking holes in the Oil Patch, Kendrick kept one eye on other prospects. "I had always been interested in Australia and always intended to get into the Australia play," Kendrick said. "I'd read and studied the Australian situation for numerous years. ... It's a very large, unexplored country with a lot of area to find oil and gas."

Before Harken, or any other company, could explore Down Under, however, there was one major obstacle to be overcome — the Australian government. In 1972, the citizens of Australia elected a progressive Labour Party government for the first time in 23 years. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, the new government launched an ambitious program of reforms unlike any the country had ever seen. As *Mother Jones* reported in 1984, "In its first 100 days in office, the new Labour government recognized the People's Republic of China; abolished racial criteria from immigration policy; ... banned all-white South African sporting teams; conceded land to the Aborigines; promoted equal pay for women; added contraceptives to the list of federally subsidized drugs; outlawed the killing of endangered



GAIL WOODS

Former Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam

species; announced plans for a free national health service; posted a government reward for the best national anthem to replace 'God Save the Queen'; and withdrew all Australian forces from Vietnam."

While these policies raised hackles in Washington, D.C., business leaders were livid over Australia's new energy program. Whitlam's minister for minerals and energy was Reginald Francis Xavier Connor, nicknamed "The Strangler" for the time he'd grabbed a nosy reporter in a headlock. In his new post, Connor oversaw the management of Australia's bounteous natural resources: iron ore, bauxite, lead, coal, nickel, copper, manganese, silver, tin, uranium and, of course, oil. Connor's vision was of a self-sufficient Australia, richer and stronger than the United States, applying modern technology to the country's untapped resources. More importantly, he advocated 100-percent Australian ownership of his nation's fuels and minerals, including oil and gas, a proposal that carried no favor in the board rooms of multinational corporations. "The Labour government," Kendrick said, "made it impossible for anyone other than Australians to explore for oil and gas. And so all of the American companies pulled out and even the Australian companies dropped their leases. They just made it impossible. With the taxation and rules and regulations, etc., no one could possibly operate under the political climate at that time."

As the Labour government's term in office wore on, investment from the United States, Europe and Japan evaporated. While this was in part due to the world-wide recession of the period, Connor rightly assumed he was the target of an economic boycott. In 1975, faced with mounting inflation, unemployment and popular discontent, Connor turned to his fellow cabinet ministers for the authority to raise the \$4 billion he needed to regain control of Australia's economy and natural resources, or as he put it, "buy back the farm." Connor's plan was approved, and within weeks he was introduced to a middle-aged Pakistani commodities dealer who claimed he could obtain the loans for Connor at extremely attractive rates. What Connor didn't know, but should have, was that the commodities trader, Tirath Khemlani, was a well-known hustler with a long history of shady associations. As details of the loan arrangements and Khemlani's ties to interna-

tional arms traffickers dribbled out, Connor was forced from office.

With the Labour government still reeling from the scandal, a coalition of conservative parties huddled with their lawyers to discuss plans for ridding themselves of Whitlam and his policies once and for all. Upon close scrutiny of the Australian constitution, the conservatives reasoned that the governor general, a representative to the queen of England, could, at least in theory, dismiss an entire government with the stroke of a pen. All that was needed, they argued, was the appropriate crisis. The "Loans Affair," as it became known, was made to order.

The office of governor general is a formal relic from Australia's colonial past. The post was entirely nominal, appointed by the prime minister and traditionally filled by an elder statesman, whose primary responsibilities included attendance at the funerals of foreign dignitaries and state balls. But the governor general is also tasked with "advising" the queen to commission the leader of the ruling party as prime minister. The queen, of course, never declines. What, however, the conservatives wondered, would happen if the governing party were unable to pass its annual budget? Could the governor general then declare them unable to rule and install the opposition party as a caretaker government in their place? The conservatives believed he could, and set about putting their plan in motion. Citing the Loans Affair as evidence of mismanagement, the conservatives blocked the Labour budget proposal. Before the Labour government could act, Governor General Sir John Kerr canceled Whitlam's commission. Thus for the first time in modern Australian history, a "queen's representative" had dismissed a constitutionally elected national government in what has become known as "the Constitutional Coup." Although an election was held several weeks later, Whitlam's supporters were apparently not prepared to wage a constitutional revolution, as the conservatives were swept into office.

Meanwhile, Back in the States

Labour's defeat was good news indeed for Phil Kendrick. "When the conservative government won the election," he said, "they then changed all the rules and regulations and laws and made it attractive to acquire acreage [for exploration]. If that hadn't happened, nobody ever could have gone back in there. That was crucial."

In this newly attractive business climate, Kendrick began looking for Australian investments. He eventually discovered a small Canadian firm known as Coral Reef Petroleum, Inc., which, through its subsidiary Earth Energy, Inc., owned the prospecting rights to approximately 35 million acres of Australian oil and gas lands. Kendrick jumped at the opportunity and Harken purchased the companies in exchange for stock, along with their Australian assets. By the time the deal was completed a year later, Harken, in conjunction with a consortium of companies headed by Esso Exploration and Production Australia, Inc., a subsidiary of Exxon Corp., controlled the exploration rights to nearly 50 million acres of prime oil and gas drilling territory in Queensland, Australia.

By 1983, there were 13 discoveries made on Harken's Australian properties. Before production began and the money started rolling in, however, Kendrick and Mulligan sold their interest in Harken to a group of East Coast investors with virtually no experience in the oil business. Uncomfortable with the notion of a wildcat prospect half a world away, Harken's new owners sold the company's Australian holdings for the security of a sure thing. "As I recall," Kendrick said, "they sold our Australian subsidiary for \$4 million cash. So that turned out to be profitable, but not nearly as profitable as it would have been if they'd kept the property. There's now a tremendous amount of production on those properties."

Harken and its investors, no doubt, believed they had simply capitalized on an attractive business venture. Whether they realized it or

not, however, they had been the beneficiaries of an intelligence operation perpetrated against the Australian government.

Dirty Deeds Down Under

It was not just politicians and oil company executives who were incensed by Gough Whitlam's progressive policies. Whitlam and his government also incurred the wrath of both the American and Australian intelligence services. In his memoirs, *Honorable Men*, former CIA director William Colby lists "a left-wing and possibly antagonistic government in Australia" as among the major "crises" of his term as America's top intelligence officer — right alongside the Soviet threat to intervene in the 1973 Israeli-Egyptian war. Of particular concern to Colby and others of his ilk was Whitlam's threatened exposure of CIA "assets" in Australia.

The agency's most treasured Australian asset was a huge, heavily fortified military installation known as Pine Gap. Situated in the red moonscape desert of the Australian Outback, flanked by American Cruise missiles, Pine Gap is a super-secret satellite tracking station considered the most strategically valuable base outside of North America. It is from Pine Gap, for example, that the United States monitors Soviet spy satellites and intercepted enemy communiqués during the Vietnam war. It is also the point from which the CIA eavesdropped on loan negotiations between Rex Connor and Tirath Khemlani.

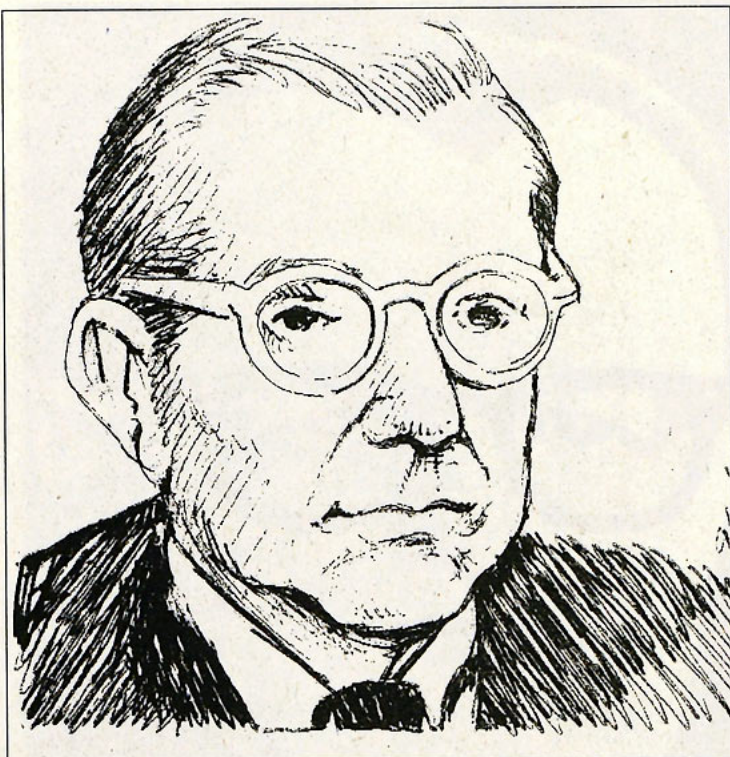
Pine Gap was ostensibly built as a space research station during the 1960s as part of a treaty between the American and Australian governments. Under terms of the pact, the United States agreed to provide the Australian Defense Department with information gathered through the facility. In reality, the most sensitive operations at Pine Gap are tightly controlled by the CIA which, naturally, shares the collected intelligence with the Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO). The only ones left in the dark in this arrangement were the Australian government. From the day it was built, no prime minister, not Whitlam nor any of his predecessors, were ever told exactly what went on at Pine Gap.

It was ultimately the loans scandal that gave Whitlam his first glimpse into the activities at Pine Gap. At the height of the crisis, Whitlam heard rumors that the facility was a clandestine American intelligence operation and that CIA personnel stationed there were providing campaign funds to the opposition conservative parties. Whitlam also discovered that former Pine Gap chief Richard Stallings was a CIA officer operating under cover of the Defense Department. Stallings had even rented a house from then Deputy Prime Minister J. Douglas Anthony, a leading member of the opposition.

During a campaign speech in November 1975, Whitlam publicly accused the opposition of being "subsidized by CIA money." He also identified Anthony as the man having the primary "association with CIA money." Although Whitlam did not name Stallings as the conduit for these funds, *The Australian Financial Review* the next day reported that Stallings had lived in Anthony's house and that both Pine Gap and Stallings were CIA.

These revelations were greeted with considerable alarm at the White House. The agreement with the Australians governing Pine Gap was up for renewal on December 9, 1975 just weeks away. Moreover, the U.S. House Intelligence Committee investigating covert operations between 1962 and 1972, had issued subpoenas demanding that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger release intelligence reports on Soviet compliance with the 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT). Pine Gap was, of course, central to monitoring Soviet missile tests. Any hint of a scandal could jeopardize the entire Pine Gap agreement.

Whitlam, however, kept up his attack, announcing that he knew of at least two specific instances in which the CIA had funded the opposition. The CIA issued a perfunctory denial, insisting it had no in-



GAIL WOODS

Former CIA Director William Colby

volvement in Australian politics. The State Department followed suit, categorically denying that Richard Stallings was with the CIA. In the Australian House of Representatives, opposition leaders demanded that Whitlam substantiate his charges. Whitlam agreed, saying he would produce his evidence in a live radio broadcast scheduled for November 11.

That was the CIA's cue to act. On November 8, the CIA's chief of clandestine operations for the Far East, Theodore Shackley, who would later resurface as a key figure in the Iran-contra scandal, issued an ultimatum to the director general of the ASIO. In a remarkable cable that was eventually leaked to the Australian press, Shackley first admitted that Richard Stallings was, in fact, "a retired CIA employee." He then went on to complain of other CIA personnel being exposed by Whitlam and in the press. "Is there a change in the prime minister's attitude in Australian policy in this field?" Shackley asked. Finally, Shackley played his trump card. Invoking the third-person voice typical of CIA communications, Shackley wrote: "CIA feel everything possible has been done on a diplomatic basis, and now on an intelligence liaison link they feel that if this problem cannot be solved they do not see how our mutually beneficial relationships are going to continue." This was the ultimate sanction: Shackley was threatening to cut off relations with a sister intelligence agency.

Shackley's cable arrived on the desk of Defense Secretary Sir Arthur Tange on Monday, November 10. Tange, whose responsibilities included oversight of Australia's intelligence services, phoned Whitlam's aides, warning that the prime minister's insistence on exposing Stallings and his CIA colleagues the following day posed "the gravest risk to the nation's security there has ever been," according to *Mother Jones*. "What Tange did not tell the prime minister was that his department's intelligence unit had been host that weekend to a visit by none other than Governor General Kerr," *Mother Jones* reported. "Although neither Tange nor Kerr has ever acknowledged the meeting, Kerr was briefed at an installation ten miles outside of Melbourne about American fears that Pine Gap was about to be exposed and that Whitlam might refuse to sign the renewal agreement for the base." It



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Theodore Shackley

is now known, moreover, that Kerr had close ties to the CIA. "The CIA paid for Kerr's travel, built his prestige, and even published his writings through a subsidized magazine," according to *The Crimes of Patriots*, a book by former *Wall Street Journal* reporter Jonathan Kwitny.

Whatever Tange and his colleagues said to Kerr over that weekend in Melbourne, it worked. On Tuesday, Nov. 11, 1975, the day Gough Whitlam was to expose Richard Stallings in Parliament, Governor General Kerr revoked the prime minister's commission. The CIA's secrets were protected, and the Pine Gap treaty went through.

Whitlam was not the only casualty of this period, however. On the very day Whitlam first revealed Richard Stallings' CIA ties, President Gerald Ford fired CIA Director Colby. Kissinger had decided Colby was a little too forthcoming with Congressional investigators. Ford replaced Colby with Republican Party stalwart George Herbert Walker Bush, who, he knew, would stall Congress for as long as Kissinger wanted. It is deeply ironic that George Bush should have risen to the head of the intelligence community in this manner, given his own oil company's activities in Australia during the 1960s and his son's later involvement with Harken, a company that directly benefited from the Constitutional Coup.

Changing of the Guard

When Harry Mulligan and Phil Kendrick sold their stake in Harken in 1983, they were bought out by a group of investors headed by New

York attorney Alan G. Quasha. Quasha, a partner in the firm of Quasha Wessely & Schneider, shelled out \$250,000 for 100,000 shares of the company. The remaining 10 investors, including Quasha's brother, Wayne, a member of their father's Philippines law firm, paid \$775,000 for 310,000 shares. Kendrick, however, recalls being perplexed by the deal. "I never could understand why Alan Quasha wanted to buy an oil and gas company at a time when he knew nothing about oil and gas and especially at a time when everything was beginning to go downhill and fall apart," Kendrick said. It was not the last time Kendrick would be surprised.

One of the group that bought into Harken with Quasha was Herbert Theodore Brunn, a retired vice president of international operations for RCA. Brunn says he was drawn to the company by its Australian assets. "I thought that was the most attractive thing about it," Brunn said, "[but] they sold those out to somebody to raise money. That was the first deal, I think, that Quasha made, was to sell those holdings off. There really wasn't much to the company except for those holdings at the time. ... When they sold those out, I more or less got out of the thing."

Curious as Quasha's activities may have been, others who he brought to Harken have also raised eyebrows. Quasha, who now sits on Harken's board, is also a director of North American Resources, Ltd. (NAR), a British Virgin Islands company and Harken's second-largest stockholder. According to Harken's proxy statement, NAR is a partnership between the Quasha family and the Richemont Group Limited, a publicly traded Swiss company controlled by South African billionaire Anthony E. "Anton" Rupert. Rupert, through his companies, Richemont and the South African-based Rembrandt Group, controls such well-known enterprises as Rothmans International, manufacturers of Dunhill cigarettes, luxury-jewelry retailer Cartier International and MontBlanc pens.

NAR is also the parent company of Intercontinental Mining and Resources Limited (IMR), another major Harken stockholder. IMR "and its affiliates" also own large stakes in two Harken subsidiaries, according to Harken's proxy.

Lawyers, Guns and Money

Quasha's most interesting affiliation, however, is not financial but familial. Quasha's father, William Howard Quasha, is a powerful Philippines attorney with some interesting associations of his own. The senior Quasha, the only American attorney licensed to practice in the Philippines, has numerous ties to individuals involved in Australia's infamous Nugan Hand Bank, an institution utilized by CIA officers Theodore Shackley and Thomas Clines of Iran-contra fame, along with their subordinate Edwin Wilson (who is currently imprisoned for selling plastic explosives to Libya), to fund a variety of covert operations, including the destabilization of Gough Whitlam's Labour government in 1975. Australian government investigations during the late 1970s and early 1980s also revealed Nugan Hand's involvement in gun running, drug-money laundering and close ties to the U.S. military and intelligence communities. The scandal-ridden bank collapsed in June 1980, six months after its co-founder, Frank Nugan, was found shot to death in his Mercedes Benz on a quiet road 90 miles outside of Sydney. Found on Nugan's body was the calling card of his attorney — former CIA director William Colby.

In April 1980, as Australian government investigators closed in on Nugan Hand, the co-administrators of the bank's Manila offices, U.S. Gen. LeRoy J. Manor and British subject Wilfred Gregory, turned to their lawyer, William Quasha, for advice. In addition to his duties with Nugan Hand, Manor was chief of staff for the U.S. Pacific Command and the U.S. government liaison with Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos. Gregory was Nugan Hand's original representative in the Philippines and a personal friend of Marcos' brother-in-

law, Ludwig Peter Rocka, whose family deposited \$3.5 million in the bank. Gregory has stated that Manor's decision to flee to the Philippines to avoid imprisonment was inspired by a conversation with Quasha. Gregory says Quasha "arranged for Manor to leave the country," according to *The Crimes of Patriots*. "He told me to go too. He said, 'You could wind up in jail.'" Upon hearing that, Gregory says, the three-star general left overnight.

Manor, however, denies ever receiving legal counsel from Quasha. He says he knew Quasha only through their work with the Boy Scouts of America. "I didn't deal with him in that regard, professionally," Manor told the *Observer*. "I knew him in the Scouts and I knew him somewhat socially." Quasha, however, acknowledges counseling both Manor and Gregory, but says that attorney-client privilege prevents him from saying whether he told them they faced possible imprisonment, or whether he advised Manor to leave the Philippines. "[Gen. Manor] had a problem here and I handled his work," Quasha said. "I don't discuss clients' business."

What Quasha will discuss is that he had additional dealings with Gregory. "I did a little emigration work for [him]," Quasha said. "Now that may have been paid for by the firm [Nugan Hand], but I billed him."

William Quasha's ties to Nugan Hand do not end there, however. The bank's president, retired Adm. Earl "Bud" Yates, says he met Quasha on "maybe two occasions" during social functions in the Philippines. Although Yates cannot recall who introduced them, Quasha says it was Gen. Manor. Quasha also says he was introduced to Nugan Hand co-founder Frank Nugan. "I met him at a social affair as well," Quasha said. Asked whether Frank Nugan had been involved in his meeting with Yates, Quasha replied, "I'm not prepared to say."

Even more intriguingly, the Thailand offices of William Quasha's law firm, Quasha Asperilla Ancheta Peña & Nolasco, are in the same Bangkok building that Nugan Hand occupied. In fact, when the bank held a gathering of its newly expanded staff in January 1978, the chosen venue for the three-day affair was this same Dusit Thani Building. Quasha says he was unaware of the bank's presence in the building. "We have had an office in Bangkok since that building was erected," Quasha said. "That was 23 years ago and there are many, many tenants in that building. I never even knew that that company that you mentioned [Nugan Hand] had an office in that building."

Quasha insists he never had any dealings with Nugan Hand directly. "I'm not at liberty to tell you why, but it would have represented a conflict of interest," he said. "I represent an insurance company that had a claim against them [Nugan Hand]. I'm not prepared to give details, but, it would have precluded, in any event, my ever representing them." Asked why this conflict did not prevent him from counseling either Manor or Gregory, Quasha replied: "My counselling of Gen. Manor and Mr. Gregory were regarded as personal. I did not see this [as] a conflict of interest. Besides, I had started advising them before I learned about this conflict between our client and Nugan."

"Very, Very Coincidental"

In a 1982 interview with *The Wall Street Journal*, William Quasha's client, Wilf Gregory, declared Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos "the best thing that ever happened to the Philippines since it was discovered by the Spanish. ... The Marcoses are bringing the simple things to people that you and I take for granted." Although not quite so blunt about it, Quasha has also expressed his admiration and support for Marcos.

At the height of the "People's Power" revolution that eventually toppled Marcos and his bloody regime in early 1986, Quasha and his American business associates in the Philippines were getting edgy. "What we worried about, and it has come to pass, were two things," Quasha said. "Number one was the loss of American bases. We knew



MATT WUERKER

Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos

that as long as Marcos was there the bases were safe. And the second thing we worried about was the growth of communism in the Philippines." Quasha feared that if presidential candidate Corazon Aquino took power, "we'd have trouble with the communists." "It was the opinion of all responsible Americans in the American Chamber of Commerce," Quasha said.

When Marcos was openly accused of stealing the election, Quasha fired off a telegram to Republican Congressman Dan Burton of Indiana, urging the United States not to intervene on Aquino's behalf. Calling the election "the least dishonest and least bloody" since the independence of the Philippines, Quasha warned Congress against prejudging the situation based on the "spate of distorted reports" in the media. Quasha also indicated that at least 40 U.S. businessmen in Manila, including the Philippine head of Proctor & Gamble, shared his view. Burton later read the cable on the floor of the House, stating that in two days time, Quasha and his U.S. business associates would produce evidence of as many as 50 cases of alleged vote fraud perpetrated by the Aquino forces.

When news of Quasha's telegram reached the Philippines, it sparked a rash of angry denials. The Philippines branch of the American Chamber of Commerce issued a public disavowal of Quasha and his views. "The American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, representing some 500 members, unequivocally disassociates the chamber from the statements of atty. William H. Quasha, as reported in the press, regarding the recent elections," the Chamber wrote in a public statement that appeared in the Manila press. "The AMCHAM board deplores the partisan approach taken by attorney Quasha, which is contrary to AMCHAM policy. The AMCHAM board has no knowledge of 40 chamber members supporting Quasha's views."

Quasha, however, insists that the chamber sanctioned the cable from the beginning. "I had signed the thing, but it was not anything to do with trying to influence public opinion in the Philippines," Quasha said. "It was sent at the request of the American Chamber of Commerce." According to Quasha, the chamber only backed away from the statements when the negative consequences of their pro-Marcos

stand became apparent. "These guys got all excited because their names were in the paper," Quasha said. "The head of Proctor & Gamble had a hemorrhage because he thought that Cory [Aquino] would boycott his company."

"We had information that there was funny business on both sides of [the election]," Quasha said. "They [Aquino's supporters] had agents out buying votes... What we wanted was for America to keep her hands off this election, which she had no business involving herself in."

The controversy eventually became serious enough that it caught the attention of the U.S. government. On the day the chamber's denouncement of Quasha appeared in the press, an unidentified U.S. embassy official contacted Washington, D.C. In a now-declassified State Department memorandum, the official stated, "The Quasha letter is a wildcard thrown out on the table by men whose lives and fortunes revolve on relationships with the Marcos government."

That view was substantiated a few days later when the debate spilled over into Congress. During a session of the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, Rep. Burton reiterated Quasha's remarks. That, according to Stanley Roth, staff director of the subcommittee, sparked a lively exchange between Burton and the subcommittee's chairman, New York Democrat Stephen Solarz. "He [Quasha] was one of the only pro-Marcos voices heard during the People's Power revolution," Roth said. "It got into a little flap at our hearing because we found out that this guy worked at a law firm that included [the] Marcos [family]. So we pointed out that this guy wasn't exactly a neutral person."

In fact, listed as a member of Quasha's firm is one "Mariano P. Marcos (1937-1985)," exactly the same name as Ferdinand Marcos' father, a lawyer, who was stoned to death during World War II for collaborating with the Japanese. Quasha says the Mariano P. Marcos in his firm died in 1985 and "was no relation to President Marcos," although he lived on Mariano P. Marcos St. in metro Manila. Quasha calls this "very, very coincidental."

Although Quasha contends that he "was not benefited in any way during Marcos' time," he openly admits his admiration for the Philippine dictator. "In all, Marcos was never unkind to me personally," Quasha said. "Whenever I went to see him on behalf of a client... he was quite friendly. And I liked his man-to-man approach. ... We had respect for each other."

Even Quasha, however, grudgingly acknowledges Marcos' transgressions. "Now, of course, we see what a crook he was," Quasha said, "but it was not evident to the public eye [at the time]. Even after all this time, five years, they still have not proven it. But certainly there's a lot of evidence that he was robbing the country."

The Swiss Connection

Further evidence of Marcos' malfeasance surfaced recently when a Philippine official announced that the former dictator's body could be allowed into the country for burial in exchange for \$5 billion in gold allegedly stolen from the nation and hidden in a Swiss bank. David Castro, chairman of a presidential commission charged with recovering funds Marcos allegedly stole from the Filipino people, said the gold could be used as evidence of Marcos wrongdoing during his 20-year rule, according to the *Los Angeles Times*. Castro said Marcos deposited the gold, 325 tons, at the Union Bank of Switzerland. The bank denies the claim, according to the *Times*.

Union Bank is an institution with which Harken is well acquainted. In 1987, Harken unveiled a \$25-million stock offering through the securities firm of Stephens, Inc. of Little Rock, Ark. Stephens placed the stock with a Union Bank subsidiary in London. In October 1988, *Business Week* reported that Union Bank held a 5.5-percent stake in Harken. The bank later sold its Harken shares to a wealthy Saudi Arabian businessman, Abdullah Taha Bakhsh, who is now the company's

third-largest stockholder.

Union Bank's name also turned up in Australia's Constitutional Coup in 1975. The Loans Affair that brought down the Whitlam government first erupted when a package of fake documents that was used to start the scandal was sent off with a cover letter on Union Bank letterhead. "By the time the opposition parliamentarians who received the package had turned its contents over to the press, the signature had been torn off the letter," according to *The Crimes of Patriots*. "Even though the documents were later exposed as bogus, their publication helped weaken and ultimately destroy the Whitlam government."

Union Bank also has connections to Nugan Hand. Bernie Houghton, a secretive Texan described in *The Crimes of Patriots* as "the mystery man of Nugan Hand [and] perhaps its most important figure," was well-acquainted with a traveling Union Bank official. Houghton, who may actually have introduced Nugan to his future partner, Green Beret war hero and CIA operative Michael Jon Hand, introduced the Union Bank official to Nugan Hand representatives in Asia, according to *The Crimes of Patriots*.

Frank Nugan himself also had dealings with Union Bank. After Nugan was found shot to death in his car in January 1980, it was discovered that he had forged the signature of New South Wales Attorney General Frank Walker on a letter to Union Bank, opening an account in Walker's name. At the time, Walker was directing criminal fraud proceedings against Nugan and his brother Ken (who was also charged with obstruction of justice and embezzlement) for their role in a stock scandal involving the family fruit business. "The only reason for writing such a letter," according to *The Crimes of Patriots*, "would be to try to frame Walker, to embarrass or blackmail him. But Walker says he never heard about it until the letter was found after Nugan's death."

Union Bank was also identified in Congressional testimony as one of several institutions that deliberately skirted Panamanian guidelines aimed at curbing drug-money laundering. In an effort to reduce this illegal laundering activity, the Panamanian Bankers' Association in 1984 proposed a voluntary \$5 million limit on the amount of U.S. currency that any one bank could return to Panama. But in a deposition before the House Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics and International Operations in 1988, Amjad Awan, the former manager of the infamous Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) and depositor of Panamanian dictator Gen. Manuel Noriega's personal banker, stated Union Bank and other Swiss banks deliberately avoid compliance with the restrictions by chartering aircraft to fly currency out of the country.

Several key Harken figures also have ties to Union Bank. William Quasha's son, Alan, who sits on Harken's board, is also the chairman of Frontier Oil and Refining Co. of Denver, Colo., where Harken President Mikel Faulkner is a director. Frontier is controlled by Anton Rupert, the Quasha family's partner in Harken. When Rupert acquired Frontier in a leveraged buyout in 1988, he announced an \$85 million "revolving credit facility" with Union Bank of Switzerland, replacing all of the refiner's previous "working capital facilities," according to *National Petroleum News*.

Faulkner told the *Observer* he was unaware of Union Bank's connections to Nugan Hand. "No, I didn't know that," Faulkner said. Alan Quasha did not return repeated phone calls. Anton Rupert did not respond to the *Observer's* request for an interview.

Slick Deal

When Harken's \$25 million stock offering was placed with Union Bank in 1987, the transaction was handled by brothers David and Mike Edwards, account managers with Stephens, Inc. (David Edwards had made headlines in the late 1970s, when he blew the whistle on irregular foreign currency transactions at Citibank in New York.) After

leaving Stephens and starting an investment firm with his brother, David Edwards played a key role in landing the Bahrain deal for Harken.

In April 1989, Bahrain was looking for a company to explore its offshore acreage. They employed the services of Michael Ameen, the American-born son of Arab immigrants, who spent 22 years with the Arab American Oil Co. (Aramco), the world's largest petroleum outfit, and 13 years running Mobil Oil's Middle East operations. Edwards, an old friend of Ameen's, put him in touch with Harken. After months of negotiations, Harken signed a production-sharing agreement with Bahrain in January 1990. The deal gives Harken the exclusive exploration, development, production, transportation and marketing rights to most of Bahrain's offshore oil and gas reserves. The territories covered by the pact lie sandwiched between the world's largest oil field, off the shore of Saudi Arabia, and one of the biggest natural gas fields, off the shore of Qatar. Bass Enterprises Production Co., the oil and gas exploration and development arm of the Fort Worth's billionaire Bass family, will finance Harken's Bahrain venture in exchange for a cut of the profits.

At the time the deal was announced, oil industry analysts marveled at how this virtually anonymous company had landed such a potentially valuable concession. "This is an incredible deal, unbelievable for this small company," Charles Strain, a Houston energy analyst told *Forbes* magazine last September. *Forbes*, however, failed to point out Harken's powerful political connections. Notably absent from the article was any reference to President Bush's eldest son, George W. Bush, who sits on Harken's board of directors and is a \$50,000-a-year "consultant" to the company's chief executive officer. Bush, who is the managing general partner of the Texas Rangers baseball club and frequently mentioned as a future candidate for statewide office, also holds roughly \$400,000 in Harken stock.

Beating Around the Bush

George W. Bush's involvement in Harken first came under scrutiny last October when former *Houston Post* investigative reporter Pete Brewton discovered that the President's son had sold off much of his Harken stock just weeks before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990. (See "The Great S&L Robbery," *TO*, 4/5/91.) Within days of the invasion, the value of Harken shares dropped dramatically, primarily due to fears that a war would jeopardize the company's agreement with Bahrain. Even armed with the knowledge of the Bush's transaction, however, Brewton could find no record of it on file with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC).

The mystery of the missing documents was finally resolved on April 4, 1991, when *The Wall Street Journal* reported that Bush had failed to report the "insider" stock sale until March of this year, nearly eight months after the federal deadline for disclosing such transactions. According to the *Journal*, documents filed with the SEC indicate that on June 22, 1990, Bush sold 212,140 shares of his Harken stock for \$4 per share. The sale represented 66 percent of Bush's holdings in the company and raised \$848,560.

Bush sold his Harken shares at near top market value. Just one week after Iraqi troops marched into Kuwait, for example, Harken traded for just \$3.03 per share, down nearly 25 percent from the price Bush received for his shares seven weeks earlier. Until recently, Harken had been trading for around \$4 per share and had dropped as low as \$1.12 during the past year. Over the past several weeks, Harken's stock has fluctuated wildly, hitting an all-time high of \$8.75 on July 28, before settling back to a more realistic \$6.63 the following day. Analysts attribute the sudden price surge to Harken's plans to begin drilling its first well in Bahrain in October.

Under SEC regulations, Bush should have reported the sale of his Harken holdings by July 10, 1990. According to the *Journal*, how-



FILE PHOTO

Former CIA Director George Bush

ever, Bush did not disclose the transaction until the first week of March, 1991. In the past, the SEC has mounted civil suits against flagrant violators of insider-trading rules, but such actions are uncommon. "The commission can take a variety of actions in cases in which SEC filing rules are not complied with," said Mary McCue, director of the SEC's Office of Public Affairs. "I don't want to speculate on actions because each case is analyzed individually. ... In fact, we neither confirm nor deny that investigations are underway."

Bush did not return the *Observer's* phone calls. The White House press office said it had "nothing to share" on the matter.

Oil's Well That Ends Well

On a visit to Australia in 1982, former CIA director and then-Vice President George Bush gave Labour Party leaders his personal assurance that the CIA was not involved in either the Nugan Hand Bank scandal or the destabilization of Gough Whitlam's government. But this was purely subterfuge, for the CIA clearly *did* engage in operations designed to alter the course of Australia's domestic affairs, as it has so many times, in so many countries, to the benefit of so many multinationals — including Harken.

But this should come as no surprise, really, for U.S. foreign policy is *driven* by the interests of these multinationals. The fact that Harken and its high-powered associates, for example, profited from the CIA's activities in Australia, American support for Marcos in the Philippines and George Bush's recent war in the Middle East, is not exceptional. It is merely a crystalline example of the interrelation between U.S. corporate and political interests. For Harken, unfortunately, is not the exception, but the rule. □

Observer intern Tracy Shuford provided research assistance for this story.

Rethinking Production in Our Culture

By William Wimpisinger

We need a cultural revolution in how we think about work. For too long we have denigrated productive labor. Business schools stress finance, not production. Apprenticeship programs have been starved for support, despite the shortage of many categories of skilled labor. Television programming systematically glorifies white collar jobs no matter how menial, while blue collar workers are depicted as prejudiced buffoons. (This last is a vicious calumny; you'll find far more racial and ethnic prejudice in the country club and the corporate boardroom than on the factory floor.) In this environment, even craftsmen encourage their kids to look down on their parents' skills and to opt for a college education devoid of any concept of how goods are actually produced.

As a result, we have a surplus of people who know how to write research papers, apply for foundation and federal study grants, talk learnedly about a host of highly specialized disciplines and theories, but they can't find jobs and do not know how to stop a running toilet, fix a leaking faucet, replace a broken light switch, or identify anything on an automobile more complicated than the gas tank cap.

We are a nation of industrial illiterates.

I do not wish to appear to be a blue-collar snob, but the time has arrived when society must give priority to manpower programs which may combine plumbing and steamfitting with poetry and philosophy; which will permit political science and sociology majors to learn how to be mechanics, machinists and tool and die and pattern makers, too, and vice versa.

In other words, we must learn how to work with both our hands and our minds. That requires respect for all productive work, both physical and mental. It requires a conscious societal effort at life-long education that uses part of the surplus from technological improvements to improve the skills and the knowledge of all Americans.

Americans suffer from a kind of philosophical Taylorism:

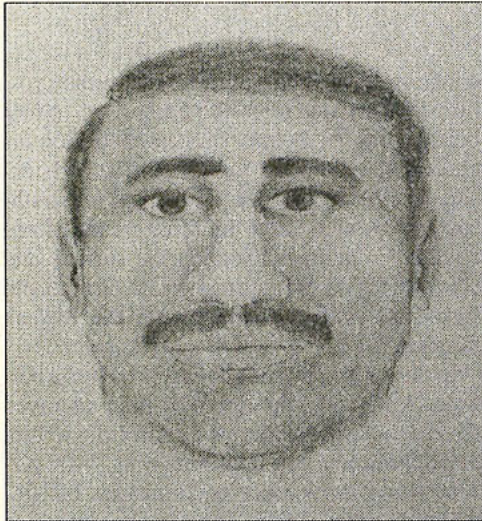
that we should know how to do one thing and one thing only. In Europe, craftsmen and laborers have a keen interest in things political and poetic, in knowledge for the sake of knowledge, as well as their primary economic and occupational pursuits, but there is a lack of interest in books, the arts, music and philosophy in the American workplace. That may have served us well enough when technology changed more slowly, but it has served us badly in recent years as the speed of change has accelerated, and it will serve us very badly indeed in the next century. As someone has said, "Training is for monkeys; education is for people." It is education that will permit workers to be creative, adaptive, and competitive in the global political economy.

It's a long road from the America of Ronald Reagan and George Bush—of each grabbing for his neighbor's share and the devil taking the hindmost—to the America that organized labor has always sought. Since the origins of the labor movement, unions have sought to achieve collectively a fairer, more equitable order in the workplace and in the larger society. There have been detours, side tracks, and leaders of limited vision, but labor's goal has always remained that shining city on the hill where there are good jobs for everyone in a fair society in which all participate in economic as well as political decisions. In that city, there is dignity for all work and all workers, and none enrich themselves by speculating in the misery of others. That is the basis for a good society and for a peaceful world.

From William W. Wimpisinger, Reclaiming Our Future: An Agenda for American Labor, ed. by John Loge, Foreword by Sen. Edward Kennedy, 267 pp., \$8.95 (paper). Published by Westview Press, 5500 Central Avenue, Boulder, CO 80301.

El Salvador Government Pursues Death Squad Defector in San Antonio

The long, tragic and sometimes murky saga of Cesar Joya Martinez, a Salvadoran army deserter and admitted former member of an alleged military death squad (see "A Soldier's Story," *TO*, 11/9/90), took another strange twist recently. Joya-Martinez was rearrested in May by U.S. marshals just outside San Antonio on an extradition warrant issued on behalf of the government of El Salvador. His arrest came immediately after his release from a Texas prison following six months in jail for illegally entering the United States. Now he faces the ominous prospect of deportation at a nextradition hearing before a magistrate in San Antonio on Sept. 12, after this issue of the *Observer* goes to press.



JIM CROGAN

Sketch of "Chicano" Lazo, alleged U.S. advisor to death squads

Joya Martinez's legal battles with the U.S. government began in earnest last summer when Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents arrested him in Long Beach, Calif. on a charge of illegal reentry into the United States. Joya Martinez was then transferred to Alexandria, Va. where he was tried and convicted on the charge and eventually sent to Texas to complete his sentence.

Having first gained national attention after publicly alleging Salvadoran army and U.S. military advisor involvement in death squads, operating out of the San Salvador-based First

Brigade, Joya Martinez has seen the legal noose tighten after he recently lost his case for political asylum, which had been pending in Washington, D.C. David Carliner, the attorney representing him in the asylum hearing, said the immigration judge denied his petition on two counts saying that "Joya Martinez did not fear persecution but rather prosecution in El Salvador for murder charges," and secondly, "that the nature of his alleged offenses make him ineligible for asylum consideration in the U.S."

Carliner said he is appealing the judge's decision on the grounds that Joya Martinez has been convicted of no charges except for the illegal reentry. He also said he is awaiting a determination on his discovery petition in which he has requested U.S. intelligence files on the activities of the Salvadoran Army over the last 11 years, interactions with U.S. military intelligence and any information regarding U.S. involvement in or pressure relating to the prosecution of Joya Martinez in El Salvador.

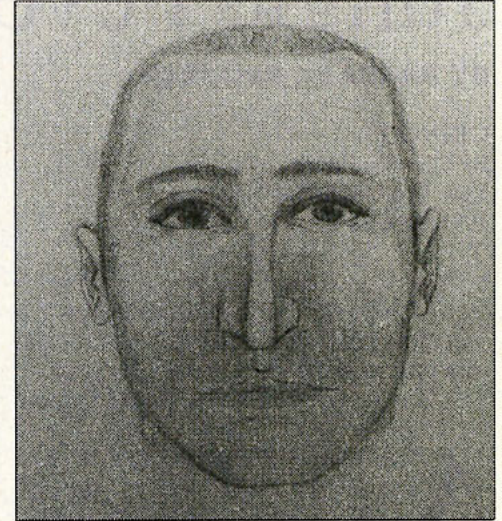
Carliner also filed a motion to dismiss the extradition warrant on the grounds that his charges are based on "alleged political crimes which are expressly excluded from our extradition treaty with El Salvador. There is a whole body of case law supporting that position even dealing with accused Irish Republican Army members arrested here in the U.S.," he continued, "the courts have ruled that even heinous crimes like murder committed within the context of a national conflict are considered incidents of the war. And there is certainly a war going on in El Salvador." The U.S. Government, he added, requested a delay in the scheduled Aug. 16 hearing in order to prepare a response to his motion.

Daniel Alcorn, a Virginia-based attorney representing Joya Martinez in these criminal proceedings, said "a decision to extradite him now would be tantamount to a death sentence." Alcorn emphasized that the official request for extradition by El Salvador comes almost two years after his allegations were first made public in Mexico City. "It's a political decision all the way," he said. "No matter what the decision is in Texas, the final determination on extradition will be made in the U.S. State Department." Supporters of Joya Martinez also claim it was the State Department that pressured El Salvador into making this formal request for extradition. State Department officials did not return calls for comment.

Since Joya Martinez's allegations first sur-

faced here in late 1989, his supporters have lobbied — so far unsuccessfully — to have Congress hold hearings on his charges. Those charges included allegations that at least two U.S. military advisors, whom he could identify only by their code names "Mauricio 'Cana' Torres" and "Raul Antonio 'Chicano' Lazo," financed and trained members of his "special unit" which operated out of the intelligence section of the First Brigade.

Joya Martinez alleges that he and his unit were part of an ongoing campaign of torture, terror, clandestine arrests and murders of suspected leftists, students, members of human rights and labor organizations and also suspected rebels of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. Joya Martinez claimed his unit also included Pvt. Oscar Mariano Amaya Grimaldi, the accused principal triggerman in the murders of the six Jesuit priests, their cook and her daughter in November, 1989 at the University of Central America in San Salva-



JIM CROGAN

Joya Martinez's sketch of "Cana" Torres, alleged death squad advisor

dor. El Salvador's government responded to the allegations by branding Joya Martinez a liar and demanding he be returned to face murder charges. (Joya Martinez has publicly acknowledged his involvement in the deaths of two Salvadoran civilians during what he says was a death squad operation near the capital in the summer of 1989.)

Eduardo Torres, spokesman for the Salvadoran embassy in Washington said he checked with the military in San Salvador and found that Amaya Grimaldi was never a member of the First Brigade. Torres also said he checked

with the First Brigade regarding the names of the U.S. advisors who were stationed there while Joya Martinez was on active duty and "no one knows anything about anyone named Raul Antonio Lazo or Mauricio Torres. I think this is just another case of Joya Martinez making up information to help his case." Neither the U.S. State or Defense Department would comment on the case or the allegations of Joya Martinez.

Others, however, have not been so tongue-tied. Following his rearrest in Texas in May, supporters, including Congressman Henry Gonzalez, D-San Antonio, protested the action, charging the U.S. was "selectively prosecuting" Joya Martinez and trying to silence him because of his disclosures about the death squads. After his arrest last year in Long Beach, Calif. by the INS, local immigration attorneys agreed with that assessment and even an INS official, who declined to speak on the

record acknowledged that prosecution for illegal reentry was "rare and usually reserved for major drug traffickers or international criminals."

Alcorn also points to a so-called "snafu" that occurred in February while the country's attention was focused on Desert Shield. Inexplicably, Joya Martinez was transferred on an early release from his federal facility outside San Antonio, to the jurisdiction of the INS and held in the county jail. INS officials claimed his early release was a "mistake in paperwork." There are, however, unconfirmed reports that paperwork to deport him back to El Salvador had been cut, and the process stopped only after an attorney from San Antonio was hastily hired to file a legal challenge.

From Washington, a Congressional aide who spoke on condition of anonymity, said that tabs are being kept on the current status of the extradition hearings but not much else

is being done. "Joya Martinez," said the aide, "generated a lot of interest when he first surfaced, but his subsequent action and action of advisors he's had around him have really hurt him in Congress." The aide points to an informal meeting that was held in early 1990 between Joya Martinez, his attorney Alcorn and a number of Senate and House aides in which Joya Martinez on advice of counsel, refused to discuss even the information which had previously appeared in print.

"That was an important meeting and could have helped make a case to hold hearings. If you don't want to talk, fine, then you tell people ahead of time, but you don't wait until you get a whole group of Congressional aides together and then blow them off," said the aide. "That really hurt his credibility in both houses."

— JIM CROGAN

Jim Crogan writes frequently for the L.A. Weekly.

BOOKS AND THE CULTURE

Jungle Fever

BY BARBARA BELEJACK

GRINGOS

By Charles Portis

New York: Simon & Schuster
1991; \$18.95

"You never know what you'll run into in Mexico, John Knox in a guayabera shirt, or a rain of tadpoles in the desert, or a strangely empty plaza in the heart of a teeming city..."

Charles Portis, *Gringos*

ARE YOU SUFFERING FROM post-eclipse depression? Are you staying awake too many nights, contemplating the mysteries of time and synchronicity, the eclipse of the century, the 500 years of encounter/discovery/whatever, the end of the millenium? Is there still an obscure corner of your brain where the calendar says 1978, or maybe even 1968, and you can't convince anyone to peel away the pages? Do you have an overwhelming craving for an ice-cream soda-sized shrimp cocktail, washed down by a pina coloda as big as a soup bowl, or maybe a pitcher of yucatecan beer, sipped ever so slowly as you look out on the Gulf of Mexico from a deserted beach café in Progreso?

Well, I have just the thing for you. What you need to do right now is go out and buy a

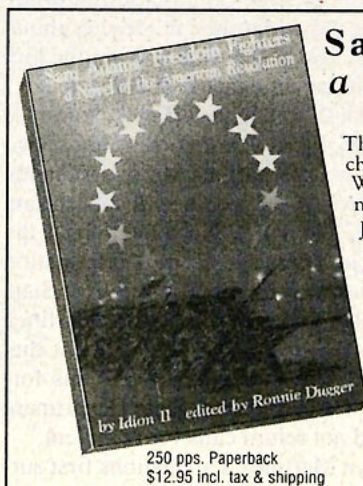
Barbara Belejack is a journalist in Mexico City.

copy of *Gringos*, by Charles Portis. It's the next best thing to a week in Merida or a sun-rise over Palenque.

In his latest fictional outing, the author of *True Grit*, *Masters of Atlantis* and *The Dog of the South*, goes scratching around the limestone peninsula of the Yucatan and swash-buckling (sort of) through the lush green foliage of the jungles of Chiapas. That's right. Mayaland. We're not talking about the sanitized, Mundo Maya mega-project that tourism officials in Mexico and Central America keep jumping up and down about. What we have here is a more authentic homegrown version, the unique blend of U.S. and Mexican surrealism that occurs whenever UFO-chasers, run-

of-the-mill con men from El Norte-turned cosmic con artists, teen-age runaways, aging beatniks, aging bounty hunters, Mormon archaeologists looking for a lost tribe of Israel and "people on grants," converge on south-eastern Mexico. Five hundred years of encounter be damned. Scratch the surface and what we have here is just so much Gringo and Eurotrash walking smack into the Mayan mindset.

In one of his previous lives, Portis was a big-time New York reporter who once annoyed the hell out of Malcolm X by referring to him throughout a press conference as "Mr. X." That same irreverence accompanies his fictional narrator, Curtis Burns, as he guides us



Sam Adams' Freedom Fighters a Novel of the American Revolution

by OTTO MULLINAX

The freedom-fighter of the American Revolution, as the principal character of this novel, develops swiftly but accurately around the lives of William Mollineaux, one of Sam Adams' Lieutenants in Boston, and his nephew J.J.

J.J. diligently searches for Laurie Aldrich, a Quaker mistress to Major Percy of General Gages' British Forces. She is also the dream girl of J.J.'s boyhood infatuation.

His quest, kidnapping, and flight with Laurie to the Carolinas is a romantic backdrop to that revolutionary history and the battle of Kings Mountain—the critical battle of the revolutionary war which resulted in Cornwallis' retreat through North Carolina into Virginia and surrender—ending the war.

The history of that time is told in faithful detail, since the Revolution itself is the principal character.

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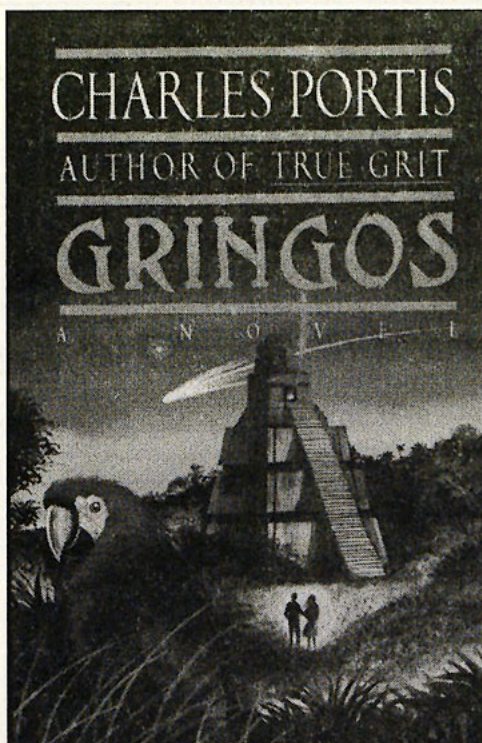
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through Mayaland. Our hero, Burns — or Boornez, if you prefer the local *yucateco* pronunciation — is a 41-year-old ex-Marine, expatriate, extrafferick in Mayan artifacts, who works out of his car and tries to limit his bounty-hunting to the human kind — teenagers yearning for a life on the road with rock musicians, but with “no wish to sing ... or otherwise make music,” and Manson clones preparing for the end of the world.

For more years than he cares to remember, Burns has been one of the curmudgeons-in-residence in a fading Merida *posada*. His character is nicely summed up by one of his “arqueo” cronies: “... a pretty good sort of fellow with a mean streak. Hard worker. Solitary as a snake. Punctual. Mutters and mumbles. Trustworthy. Facetious.” He is just enough of an Arklatex (his word, not mine). Our Burns hails from Shreveport) good ol’ boy to pass on some mumbo jumbo about the “trouble with female intellectuals.” He has just enough redemptive possibilities to allow him to confess that whenever he used to visit the female intellectual in question he always remembered to bring “treats” for her cat. You get the picture. Loner. Cranky. A man who abides by few rules and takes no shit.

It is Christmas morning when we first meet up with Burns, who marvels that “once again there had been no scramble among the hostesses of Merida to see who could get me for Christmas dinner.” He muses on the similarity between the dead week between Christmas and New Year’s and the 360-day Mayan calendar with “its five nameless days of dread and suspended activity.” But not for long. As Burns says, paraphrasing the Mexican dictator ousted at the beginning of the Revolution, “It was old President Diaz who said that nothing ever happens in Mexico until it happens. Things rock slowly along from day to day, and then all at once you are caught up in a rush of events.”

And what a rush of events it is. Before you can say “Professor Camacho Puut,” Burns and his pal and partner in 101 schemes, Refugio, are off searching for the elusive La Joye Mishell Teeter — a Florida runaway, Big Dan, the self-proclaimed “El Mago” (The Magician) from the Gulf of Molo, and the elusive Rudy



of Pennsylvania, a sometime lecturer on the space dwarfs who came to the Yucatan many years ago from a far-away planet and founded the Mayan civilization. Along the way, Portis becomes pretty elusive himself and gets caught up in his own time warp. Burns’ Marine expatriate who must constantly be reminded that no one says “hippies” anymore. This is the New Age. But as we say south of the border, “ni modo.” It doesn’t matter.

THERE’S NOT REALLY MUCH point to any of this, except to spin out some platitudes about commitment, stability and finding one’s niche in the midst of so much wackiness and instability and to reassure us with a boy-gets-girl happy ending that is so obvious we should have figured it out all along. For good measure Portis throws in some finely sketched characters such as the *gachupin*, the Spanish ex-Communist-turned-fascist or Nardo, the man of the party, the PRI, an ex-football hero who likes to relive his exploits at an obscure Illinois college in the bars of Merida. Just about everybody in *Gringos* is an ex-something or another. But Nardo is not without present talents; he is the man you want to call when you want to get out of jail as quickly as possible with as minimal a bribe as possible. Except for the mercantile aspects of tourism, he can’t quite understand what the fuss about Mayan archaeology is all about: “It gave people the wrong idea about Mexico. Departed glory. Blinking lizards on broken walls.”

Nardo is not so uninterested in history, however, as to be beyond engaging Burns in a major drunken confession. “The yanquis took

half my country in 1848,” he laments. Burns is not sympathetic. Or perhaps he’s just heard this before and is not up for a night of truth serum and soul baring. “They took all of mine in 1865,” he responds. “We can’t keep moping over it.”

From time to time Portis steps right up to the fine line between truth and cliché. In the hands of a lesser writer, or someone who doesn’t know the area as well as he obviously does, *Gringos* would be just an exercise in bilateral silliness. But — you should pardon the expression — this is a man who knows from *pollo pibil*. He’s got it just right, from the superbly named Professor Camacho Puut (blend of Spanish and Mayan names), the description of the old *henequeñ* mansions along the Paseo do Montejo in Merida, to the lure of Palenque, the magnificent Mayan site in the jungles of Chiapas, where there actually is a place called Mayaland, whose temporary and permanent residents tell wonderful stories and might have stepped out of the pages of *Gringos*:

They came now the year ’round to Palenque, which is everyone’s idea of a lost city in the jungle — real hippies, false hippies, pyramid power people, various cranks and mystics, hollow earth people, flower children and the von Daniken people — such as Rudy Kurle, with his space invader theories. At night they sat on top of the pyramids in the moonlight. They were right to come here, too, to see these amazing temples on a dark green jungle hillside. The scholars say that Uxmal has the finest architecture, and of course there is nothing to touch Tikal, for monumental ruins on the grand, Egyptian scale, but the hippies got it right instinctively. They knew Palenque was the jewel of Mayaland. □

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Hey, Hey, LBJ

BY STEVEN G. KELLMAN

LBJ

Directed by David Grubin

MORE THAN 18 YEARS after his death, at the age of 64, LBJ just won't go away. Though history is now reconceived as the textures and mentalités of the past more than the exploits of extraordinary figures, Lyndon Baines Johnson challenges the imagination in ways that no other American leader since FDR still does. Perhaps it is because, for all his power, he was a failure; for all his success, the Hill Country Gargantua was just like the rest of us, only more so. "He had all the weaknesses and strengths of a big man," observed Vice President Hubert Humphrey about his 6'4" boss. "He was an all-American president. He was really the history of this country, with all of the turmoil, the bombast, the sentiments, the passions. And, if you like politics, it was like being at the feet of a giant."

Writer-director-producer David Grubin makes no attempt to conceal the fact that those feet were made of clay and reeked. But his four-hour *LBJ*, which PBS affiliates will be broadcasting Sept. 30 and Oct. 1, is a work of cardiology more than podiatry; it aims less for the feet than the heart. Grubin claims to have spent five years examining more than 10,000 photographs and 400 miles of film to create his video mural of a life that was generated and defeated by its own enormous appetites. "He was just interesting as hell," says Ronnie Dugger, who is accorded the final words in *LBJ*. "I liked him when I was with him more than I did when I was thinking about him."

LBJ entertains many thoughts about Johnson, but the immediacy of the images and the testimony of intimates keeps Johnson more likeable than he is, for example, in Robert Caro's muckraking *Means of Ascent*. In addition to Dugger, several other LBJ biographers — including Doris Kearns Goodwin and Robert Dallek — offer their thoughts to the camera, but Caro is not among them. In pointed contrast to one of Caro's most controversial claims, that Coke Stevenson, the popular governor Johnson outsmarted in the 1948 Senate race, was a genial patrician defeated by the crude tactics of a yahoo upstart,

Steven Kellman is a professor of comparative literature at the University of Texas at San Antonio.



RUSSELL LEE

Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, Ralph Yarborough

Dallek describes Stevenson as "a terribly reactionary man, a racist and a segregationist of the first order." *LBJ* reviews the role of the 202 suspicious ballots in Alice Precinct Box 13 in LBJ's victory by a statewide margin of 87 votes. But, grinning like the cat who swallowed the canary and a few other cats as well, John Connally professes ignorance by the Johnson camp of what went on in Duvall County to swing the election to them. Rascality, which cost Johnson a Senate seat to Pappy O'Daniel in 1941, is presented as the norm of Texas politics, and *LBJ* portrays its subject's increasing proficiency at it. "You can't be a statesman if you don't get elected," he offered as his reason for opposing civil rights on the 1940s campaign trail.

LBJ repeatedly returns to an image of Johnson's greatest glory — the Jan. 20, 1964 inaugural gala. Lyndon and Lady Bird are dancing in euphoric slow motion, but we know that the moment cannot be frozen, that the acme of his opportunistic career is also the onset of his decline. He had already cozened Congress into passing the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, which Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach explains was "designed to take the wind out of Goldwater's sails." Goldwater's wind was too fetid to forestall a

cataclysmic loss to the "peace candidate" of the 1964 campaign, but Johnson was perpetually insecure. Dubbed "Landslide Lyndon" after his 87-vote election to the Senate, Johnson was obsessed by the need to establish his legitimacy, especially after inheriting the presidency from his martyred, urbane predecessor. "He was consumed with this passion of inferiority toward the Kennedys," says economist and Johnson friend Eliot Janeway. Surrounded by JFK's Harvard intellectuals, LBJ, suggests Janeway, created the Great Society as penance for a San Marcos pedigree. "I will out-Kennedy Kennedy," he declared as he precipitated an avalanche of legislation on civil rights, education, poverty, conservation, Medicare, consumer protection, housing, and public television. "He was probably the most effective president we've ever had in the White House," contends Congressman Jake Pickle, D-Austin, a former Johnson aide and his eventual successor in the U.S. House of Representatives.

That effectiveness was undercut by the consequences of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. "It's like grandmother's nightshirt," says former Undersecretary of State George Ball of the legislation that legitimized Johnson's actions in Vietnam. "It covered everything."

What it covered was a specious pretext for American aggression and a full-scale military effort that defeated nothing but Johnson's ambitious domestic agenda. "The war against poverty," explains Sargent Shriver, who headed it, "was killed by the war in Vietnam." "He would have been considered a great President if he hadn't gotten involved in Vietnam," contends J. William Fulbright, who led Senate opposition to Johnson's foreign war. *LBJ* tells the story of a president who broke his back on the fact that he could not twist Ho Chi Minh's arm the way he did Everett Dirksen's and George Wallace's. "If only I could get into a room with him," Jack Valenti recalls Johnson insisting about the Vietnamese revolutionary, "I think we could cut a deal."

THOUGH FOUR HOURS LONG, *LBJ* must cut a great deal out of a remarkably eventful life. Although it offers glimpses of his Hill Country background and his morose retirement to the LBJ Ranch, the film focuses on the active politician, particularly as the man who tried to preside over both the Great Society and the War in Vietnam. *LBJ* is narrated by historian David McCullough, whose steady voice told the story of Ken Burns' *The Civil War*. The difference with this project is that many viewers still live who can recall events in the narration, and events omitted from the narration. Johnson's shocking announcement, on Mar. 31, 1968, that "I shall not seek and I will not accept the nomination of my party for another term" is seen as the outgrowth of a meeting with senior sages who had concluded that the war could not be won, and of the candidacy of his nemesis Robert Kennedy. Eugene McCarthy, the anti-war Senator whose bid to unseat his own party's incumbent president was gaining impressive momentum, is nowhere mentioned. Neither is the 1967 Glassboro Summit with Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin or the 1965 decision to dispatch 14,000 troops to the Dominican Republic. Ignored, during the era of the Six-Day War and the Biafran secession, is Johnson's foreign policy anywhere but in Southeast Asia.

LBJ draws from more than 200 interviews that Grubin and his staff conducted, and most of the dozens who made the final cut, including George Reedy, Bobby Baker, Clark Clifford, Dean Rusk, Harry McPherson, Homer Dean, William Bundy and Howard Schuman, were aides or allies. Lady Bird recounts the Kennedy assassination and the swearing-in on Air Force One, and African-American Roger Wilkins, a then-youthful White House aide, describes his boss' monumental achievements in civil rights and his utter failure to understand black power. John

Connally, who describes his Lone Star crony as a Jekyll and Hyde and reveals that his advice to Johnson for extrication from the military morass was "to blow Vietnam off the face of the earth," presents LBJ as a monomaniac: "He had no interest really except politics. I don't know of one book he read in all the years I knew him."

With friends like Connally or Baker, a man does not need many hostile witnesses, and a director does not need to smother his subject in noxious Caro syrup. But you wonder what some Republicans might have said about the last of the New Deal presidents. Barry Goldwater, Richard Nixon or Gerald Ford might have further complicated the portrait in fascinating ways, as would a view from abroad — Harold Wilson, Willy Brandt or Yitzhak Rabin, for example. Robert McNamara, the brilliant secretary of defense who prosecuted Johnson's Indochina war but, on the verge of emotional collapse, resigned in 1968, is felt but not seen or heard in Grubin's record.

Lyndon proposed to Lady Bird on the day they met. *LBJ* allows viewers two days to get to know the man. "What he wanted," concludes Newark mayoral aide Donald Malafrente, "was to have people love him." *LBJ* is a lavish love story, in which lover and beloved combine in one monstrous mutation of American politics. Two decades after the collapse of the liberal consensus, Grubin's Johnson seems, more than ever, our own best enemy. □

This is Texas today. A state full of Sunbelt boosters, strident anti-unionists, oil and gas companies, nuclear weapons and power plants, political hucksters, underpaid workers, and toxic wastes, to mention a few.



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