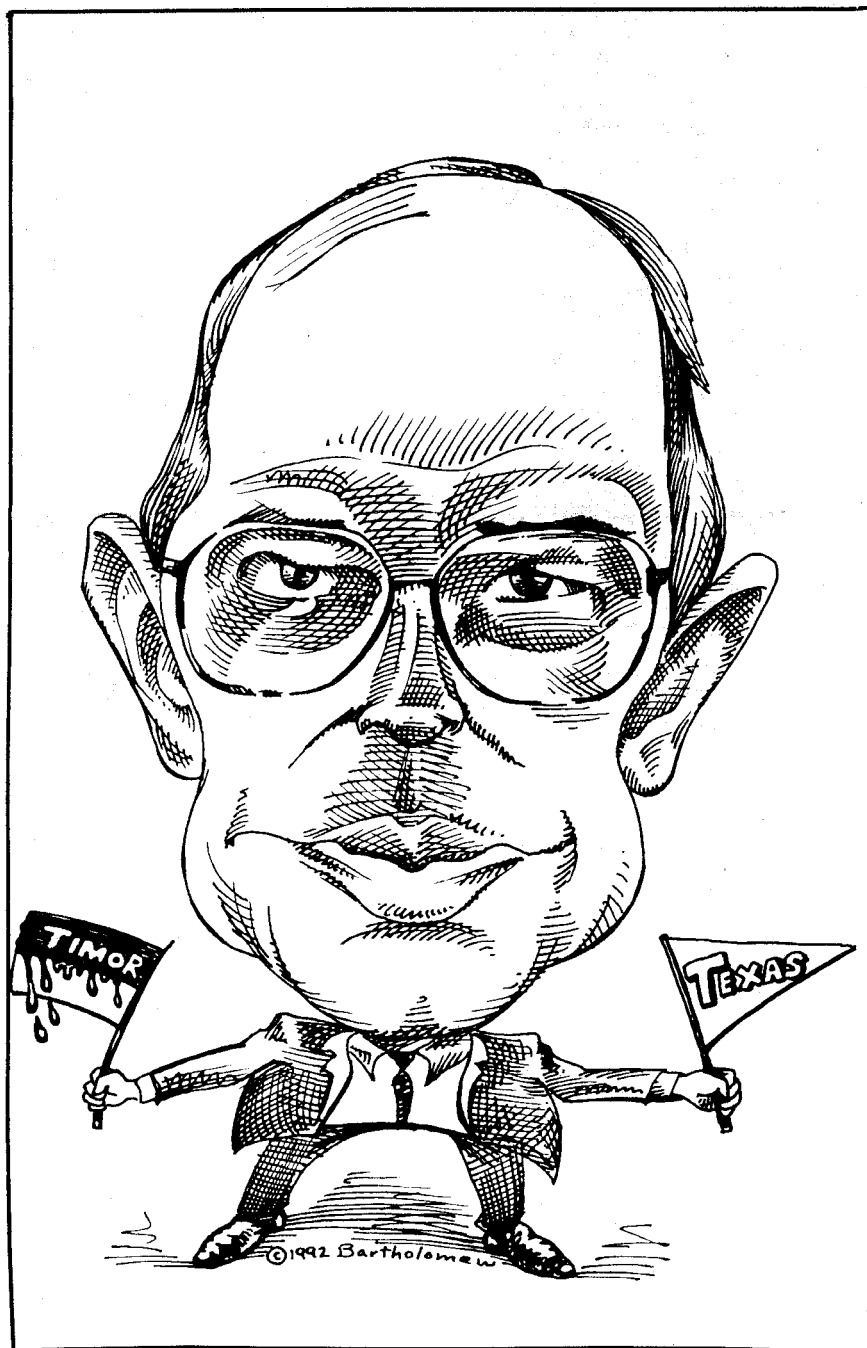




Polemicist

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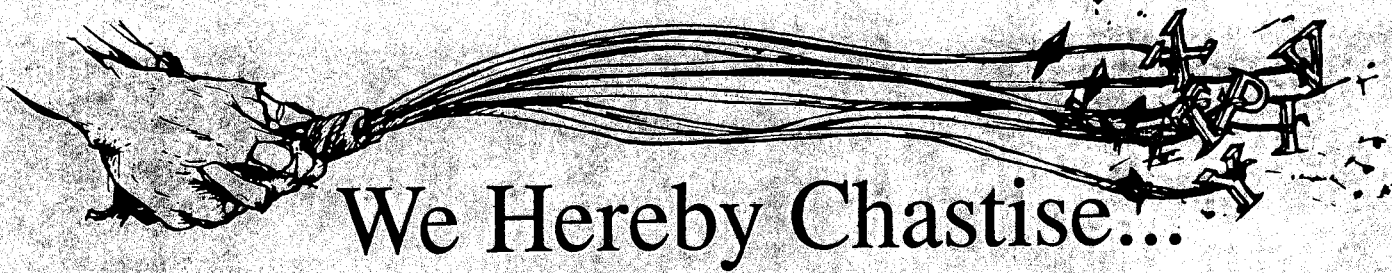
The Only Candidate for Chancellor?

Extended Chastisement by
Scott Henson and Tom Philpott

With the promotion of "Dollar" Bill Cunningham to chancellor of the UT System, we confess to feeling much like Michael Kohlhass, the horse trader in Heinrich von Kleist's inspiring tale of the same name. Wronged egregiously by a petty noble in 16th-century Germany, Kohlhass sought justice through every official venue, only to find it had been compromised or bought by his enemies at each turn. Ultimately, Kohlhass gathered together a band of angry men and rampaged through Germany sacking townships, burning buildings, and demanding with the sword, the torch and the lash what he couldn't gain through the court system: that the petty noble who'd behaved so shamefully be brought to justice.

Like Kohlhass, *Polemicist* has identified injustice and sought its redress through accepted avenues. In the last three years, we have documented Cunningham's complicity with Freeport in developing Barton Creek and collaborating with the Indonesian butcher Suharto, his use of UT resources to subsidize powerful capitalists, his quashing of academic freedom in the E306 case under pressure from

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We Hereby Chastise...

"If, when a man has fallen into habits of idleness, of daydreaming and of sloth, putting off his most important duties continually til the morrow, another man were to awaken him one fine morning with the heavy blows of a whip, and were to whip him unmercifully, until he who was unable to work for pleasure worked now for fear—would not that man, the chastiser, indeed be his benefactor and truest friend?"

—Charles Baudelaire

Continued from page one

monied alumni, and generally the half-truths and obfuscations with which he confronts university issues. In order to halt this injustice, we started our own newspaper to publish our investigations, we used the Texas Open Records Act to discover his misdeeds, we testified to his transgressions before the university council and city council, we questioned him vigorously in public forums, and we supported editorially and participated in peaceful demonstrations against his most odious policies (and were once even hauled away in chains by uniformed thugs for our trouble). Indeed we have issued countless polemics lambasting this profane man, and worked diligently to galvanize opposition to his foul doings on campus and off. A reviled figure, after a time Cunningham appeared in public only at risk of facing jeers and epithets from angry mobs.

At a university with self-respecting trustees and a courageous faculty, Cunningham's administrative career would have ended in shame long ago. Instead the regents rewarded him for his vile behavior by granting him the most powerful post in the UT-System bureaucracy. Elevating such an undistinguished academic—this marketing specialist, a scholar of sales—to such a powerful position reveals the moral bankruptcy and philistinism of the insurance executives and oilmen who dominate the board of regents. In the face of this abomination, we can see, like Kohlhaas, only one option: open and angry revolt.

Historical Precedents

At other points in history, American students launched Kohlhaasian revolts against such defilement of their universities. In his autobiography, the distinguished journalist Lincoln Steffens recalls a successful uprising at Berkeley during his freshman year in 1885, in response to breaches of student privacy:

"One evening, before I had matriculated, I was taken out by some upper classmen to teach the president a lesson.... Fetching a long ladder, the upper classmen thrust it through a front window of Prexy's house and, to the chant of obscene songs, swung it back and forth, up and down, round and round till everything breakable within sounded broken and the drunken indignation outside was satisfied or tired.... [The President] was allowed to resign soon thereafter."

Other students throughout U.S. history have behaved just as heroically. Seymour Martin Lipset recounts how in 1836 students at the University of Virginia "organized an independent military company and announced that they would resist the 'tyrannical movements of the faculty.'" At Harvard in 1834, according to Samuel Eliot Morison's *Three Centuries of Harvard*, then-President Quincy once called the police to quash student demonstrations:

"Then, hell broke loose! ... The 'black flag of rebellion' was hung from the roof of Holworthy. Furniture and glass in the recitation rooms of the University were smashed, and the fragments hurled out of the windows. The juniors, led by Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, voted to wear crape on their arms, issued a handbill with an acute dissection of the president's character, and hanged his effigy to the Rebellion Tree. A terrific explosion took place in chapel; and when the smoke had cleared, 'A Bone for Old Quin to Pick' was seen written on the walls. A printed seniors' 'Circular,' signed by a committee who were promptly deprived of their degrees, gave their version of the Rebellion in language so cogent that the Overseers issued a forty-seven-page pamphlet by Quincy to counteract it.... Quincy never recovered his popularity."

At Princeton, according to Lipset, six major student rebellions occurred between 1800 and 1830. Once, after three students were unjustly expelled, "for several days Nassau Hall resounded to the report of pistols and the crash of bricks against doors, walls and windows."

These actions must not be seen as the isolated antics of callow schoolboys. Indeed, they are part of a grand American tradition dating to the colonial period of resistance to abuse and misuse of power by arbitrary authority. That learned historian Bernard Bailyn recounts how in Boston one night, during a confrontation between colonial Massachusetts Governor Thomas Hutchinson and Samuel Adams' group the Sons of Liberty, Gov. Hutchinson could make his way home in the dark by the light of his own burning effigies. Ultimately, the Sons of Liberty burned the governor's home to the ground, drove him out of office, and forced him into exile in Great Britain—for much more minor grievances, we might add, than has Austin for ousting Bill Cunningham and his patrons.

The Shame of the Professors

Nevertheless, we fear that news of Cunningham's ascension will be met on campus not with a thunderclap of determined revolt but with the dull thud of pervasive docility. Student activism has all but collapsed; faculty activism, despite all the cant about "tenured radicals," is nearly an oxymoron. Historically, college faculties ran universities—today they run from controversy in their attempt to further their careers. The situation is not new. In the 1920s H.L. Mencken contended that the professor is "almost invariably inclined to seek his own security in a mellifluous inanity—that is, far from being a courageous spokesman of ideas and an apostle of their free dissemination ... he comes close to being

the most prudish and skittish of all men." His solution was downright Kohlhaasian: Mencken argued that to reform the universities, one must begin by burning all the buildings and hanging all the faculty.

Academic freedom, as Russell Jacoby once pointed out, has decayed into the freedom to be academic. Although protected by the First Amendment and by tenure, most UT professors shun the burning questions that haunt the University, retreating to their little offices at the barest hint of controversy. They behave not like protected intellectuals but like IBM employees, fearful that a critical opinion on a company issue might offend the boss. The great majority of the faculty, including a number of the self-styled radicals, watched idly as student journalists exposed Cunningham's most heinous actions.

How many professors dissaproved strongly—yet silently—of Cunningham's ties to Freeport McMoran, with its plans to ruin Barton Creek? Will they now speak? Karl Galinsky, former chairman of the classics department, privately praised *Polemicist* editors for exposing Cunningham's Freeport ties, and denounced the president for using his prestige to profit from such an environmentally destructive venture. Galinsky bragged that he donated money to Ann Richards and the Sierra Club, and considered himself an environmentalist. But despite his misgivings and professed liberal credentials, Galinsky kept publicly silent—will he remain so even after Freeport's UT point man becomes chancellor?

The shame of the professors lies in their utter failure to claim responsibility in the governance of the University. Like the courtiers and petty judges who denied Kohlhaas justice while pandering to powerful interests, most UT professors shuffle meekly along while the board of regents violates every known academic principle. Perhaps they hope to express their outrage at Cunningham's promotion vicariously, through the voice of student protest. But as we said above, student activism at UT is sadly but effectively dead. As evidence of its demise, consider that the arch-philistine Robert Ovetz has emerged as a leader of the student left. With his sullen immaturity and childish tactics, he seems hell-bent on confirming Lenin's charge that "left-wing Communism is an infantile disease." If Cunningham's ascension to chancellor were to be stopped, the faculty would have to initiate the opposition; we harbor no illusions that this will happen.

Our Invaded University

Like the petty noble in Kleist's tale, Cunningham turns to powerful and monied figures to protect himself from the punishment he so richly deserves. For Michael Kohlhaas, the chief obstacle for gaining retribution was a powerful chamberlain, a kinsman of the guilty noble, for whom the idea of justice meant promoting the interests of political allies. UT dissidents, like Kohlhaas, face a formidable adversary in blocking Cunningham's obscene rise: Bernard Rapoport, chairman of American Income Life Insurance Company and recently appointed member of the UT System Board of Regents.

Rapoport personally championed the idea of naming Cunningham chancellor. When he joined the Board

"The past informs and reassures.
The Future beckons bright.
I face all human misery
And plan to set it right."
—Harvey Jackins,
"The Re-Emergent Human," *The Human Side of
Human Beings* 1982.

Attack Theory

Re-Evaluating RC

by Steve Carr

RC makes its image of mental well-being affordable to the un- and underemployed. "Co-counseling is effective," says a Kansas City, Missouri psychiatrist and former RC member. "But it's not new. People have been doing that for years."

RC is more than its techniques, however. RC's octogenarian leader, Harvey Jackins, has been accused of sexually abusing his female clients. And open criticism of Jackins' statements on homosexuality and AIDS—like his call to quarantine all people with HIV—is discouraged and even forbidden within the organization. RC, at one time, prohibited homosexuals from

"propagandizing" their lifestyles. Today, RC teaches that if gays and lesbians "discharge" their sexual "distress," they can be cured of their aberrant sexuality. Some former RC members accuse the organization of indoctrinating its membership into a complete reliance upon Jackins. If nothing else, RC remains shrouded in mystery—very little information on the organization is available in the popular press. An outgrowth of L. Ron Hubbard's Dianetics, which employed Jackins in the early 1950s, RC tends to claim complete loyalty from its students.

Lessons from the "Human Side"

An RC Fundamentals Class, a year long course, teaches students the principles of co-counseling, and is the first step to becoming a teacher and leader in what it calls the "RC Community." For the cost of the class, beginners receive a copy of Harvey Jackins' "The Human Side of Human Beings" and "The Fundamentals of Co-Counseling Manual." From early on students learn of Harvey Jackin's seminal importance. Once a person completes the Fundamentals class, he or she is then eligible to become a teacher, a leader, and eventually an area or regional reference person.

While RC appears to maintain few traditional concepts of psychotherapy, it does insist upon the confidentiality of the relations between leaders and students, and among students themselves. Students taking classes or providing counseling are instructed that their shared experience must not go beyond RC. Further, RC theory emphasizes the importance of both good leadership and respect for leaders, in particular leaders of RC.

At a workshop entitled "Creating a Rational Soci-
cont'd on p. 6 ...

Re-Evaluation Counseling (RC), a international psychotherapy movement, pervades the grassroots peace community in Austin. Combining psychotherapy with a left political agenda, RC has influenced groups like New Bridges—an organization that fights racism, sexism and homophobia through controlled personal encounters—and has introduced new terms like white or male "allies"—to everyday political use. Popular in its own right, one RC leader estimates that around 300 people currently participate in RC activities in Austin. Several times that many Austinites have taken classes in RC's therapy techniques. Yet, few people in Austin have heard the variety of charges made against the organization and its founder over the years—from brainwashing to sexual abuse—because RC representatives refuse to talk about it.

RC has become popular because many leftists find it's unqualified humanism and the use of the term "liberation" appealing. RC theory is very simple. Sit down with a person, listen attentively, encourage him or her to laugh or cry or yell or tremble, and that person will feel better than they did before. Allowing people to switch roles as counselor and client deflates the power dynamic of the doctor-patient relationship. And offering homespun psychotherapy on a sliding scale rate,

of Regents, many liberals on campus hoped that Rapoport might be a force for progressive reform. His vast wealth has made him the kingmaker of Texas Democratic Party politics—candidates who he anoints, most recently Bill Clinton, typically rise to positions of power and prominence. One object of his benefactions, former Speaker of the House Jim Wright, left public office in disgrace after the press revealed that Rapoport and others purchased thousands of copies of his vapid autobiography to supplement his income.

For years, in every issue of the *Texas Observer*—a journal which, incidentally, stays afloat financially only due to Rapoport's largesse—Rapoport has bought full-page advertisements in which he prints articles by people or about causes he supports. Since his appointment to the UT System Board of Regents by Ann Richards—to whose gubernatorial campaign he donated \$75,000—Rapoport has at times turned his bi-weekly ad space into a forum for UT-Austin bureaucrats to justify their egregious policies. So far we have heard from Liberal Arts Dean Bob King, whose chair Rapoport endows, and from "Dollar" Bill. Critical articles about both men by the authors of this polemic had appeared in the *Observer* over the prior 18 months.

In Cunningham's column, he (or more probably his ghost writer, former *Austin-American Statesman* reporter Monty Jones) reshapes the same tired obfuscations he has employed for years concerning the source of UT-Austin's fiscal crisis. Cunningham tries to convince us with an eight-point apology that UT-Austin is an impoverished institution, whose only budget problems stem from its valiant attempt to fulfill its educational mission on a shoestring budget. He never mentions the tens of millions UT spends on capital for high-tech and military research, and thus paints an entirely misleading portrait of UT's budget.

We find it bizarre that a member of the UT Board of Regents would use what has long been his personal forum to promote false and obfuscatory propaganda.

Cunningham gets paid to spew such apologies, however offensive, but Rapoport's decision to feature them prominently in this self-proclaimed "journal of free voices" is the mark of a vulgarian. Someone should tell Rapoport, and the editors of the *Observer*, that with freedom comes the responsibility to tell the truth.

Inexplicably, Rapoport has sided with reaction, and helped engineer the ascension of perhaps the university's most despised villain to a position of even greater power. In the process, he has disgraced himself, and profaned the liberalism he pretends to champion.

For Kohlhass, justice came only at the price of his death. Just before his public execution, Kohlhass learned that the noble who had wronged him had been convicted and sentenced to two years in prison. We hope that justice will prevail in the case of Bill Cunningham without the university suffering the same fate as this noble German horse trader.

Louis Dubose
Apologist, *Tx Observer* editor

Between August 1991 and January 1992, the *Texas Observer's* founding publisher Ronnie Dugger, who resides in Wellfleet, Massachusetts, fired or drove away his entire editorial staff for fear of offending his liberal patrons. After this shameful period, which became known around the office as "the killing fields," Dugger somehow convinced former *Observer* editor Lou Dubose to return from Spain to reclaim the low-paying editor's position, since Dugger himself had been editing the magazine via fax from Wellfleet. Many wondered why Dubose would traverse the globe to take a job under such sordid circumstances.

Soon after his return, insurance tycoon and UT regent Bernard Rapoport printed an article by UT

President Bill Cunningham in the space he buys in the *Observer* every issue. At the time, Rapoport was championing Cunningham for chancellor. (See "Our Invaded University" section of the front page Cunningham-lashing.) In turn, we called Dubose and asked whether he would print a rebuttal if we wrote one, and told him we wouldn't waste our time if he didn't plan to run the letter. He told us to "Have at it." Later that day we brought him a cogent point-by-point breakdown of Cunningham's article, lashing the UT president for his obfuscations, and Rapoport for presenting them as fact.

Dubose's cowardice became evident after he failed to return our repeated phone calls, and held our letter until after the regents announced Cunningham's chancellorship. When we finally cornered him weeks later, he claimed that he had failed to publish the letter because he considered it libelous. He went so far as to claim that Rapoport, an appointed state official, wasn't a "public figure" in terms of libel law—a wholly specious claim.

We challenged Dubose to show the letter to the magazine's libel lawyer, who informed him not a word violated the law. Dubose then shifted, declaring the letter "unfair" in its depiction of Cunningham as a "perhaps the most despised villain on campus," and Rapoport as a "phillistine" who had "disgraced himself and profaned the liberalism he pretends to champion." Although we offered Dubose the opportunity to respond and defend those men, he simply refused to print the letter.

Because Rapoport's money sustains the paper, Dubose apparently feels obliged to portray him in a positive light, no matter what his negative attributes. On its cover, the magazine proclaims itself "A Journal of Free Voices." But Rapoport's ability to buy the magazine's sympathy suggests the magazine's voices are not exactly free. Simply "A Journal of Voices" might better fit its editorial policies. P

Death Squad Activity Threatens Peace

By Bill Stouffer

The civil war in El Salvador entered a new phase when peace accords ended full scale military confrontation between the government and the FMLN earlier this year. As expected, implementation of the peace accords has become the central focus of conflict in the country since February 1. Ruben Zamora, a member of the supervising commission for the peace (COPAZ), claimed that, despite setbacks, the compliance process is progressing, but noted "the honeymoon phase is over and now the power game begins."

Last fall, when peace negotiations began to advance rapidly, right wing factions within the Army and the ruling

On March 15, a member of the Committee of the Unemployed (CODYDES), Jorge Alberto Martinez, was found dead on the outskirts of San Salvador after having been abducted from his home the night before by armed men identified as members of National Police.

From National Guard to Border Police; More of the Same

The failure to fully demobilize the Treasury Police and the National Guard, whose human rights record is among the worst in the Salvadoran military, is one of the most serious violations of the accords by the government to date. Instead of completely dismantling these forces by March 2 as called for in the

human rights, delinquency, and robbery inside the Armed forces," despite the fact that the two forces that would form these police themselves have among the worst records for such abuses.

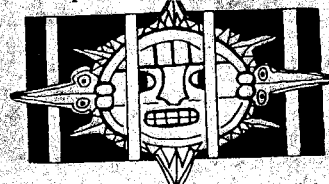
A more realistic hope for controlling such problems lies in the new bipartisan national police force (PNC) to be created under the provisions of the accords from members of the FMLN and civilian opposition as well as the government and the military. Citing the increase in armed assaults and assassinations, the FMLN proposed as an immediate solution that all infrastructure, vehicles, radios and equipment of the Treasury Police and National Guard be turned over to the National Police and that additional administrative personnel be hired to augment the number of agents until the PNC is formed.

The Christian Democrats announced a proposal called "10,000 NOW" to initiate the new police force immediately. The plan calls for the hiring of 1000 women as traffic police and thousands of men as agents. The PDC also suggests that the Treasury Police-National Guard infrastructures and budgets be assigned to the PNC. According to the current implementation schedule, the process of selecting members for the PNC will begin in April and the first group of cadets will begin training May 1.

Government Evictions Threaten Land Reform

The activities of the government also threaten to vacate agreements made over land reform: The accords stipulate that current land tenure will be respected subject to a subsequent arbitration process that has not yet been fully clarified. Nonetheless, the government has already begun carrying out a series of evictions of peasant cooperatives around the country in favor of long absentee landlords. One of the most notable evictions occurred in mid-March when the National Police evicted the residents of the 11 year old "El Campeche" Cooperative in Usulután, completely destroying the houses and property of the residents in the process.

A number of foreign observers confirm the evictions, including a US Jesuit priest and a member of the UN observer mission (ONUSAL). The police arrested and subsequently deported the priest when he attempted to mediate on behalf of the peasants. The ONUSAL repre-



sentative failed to note this clear violation of the accords or interfere with the process in any way, raising questions about the effectiveness and impartiality of the UN in overseeing the accords.

Constructive action by the UN is critical if the peace is to take hold. Given its willingness to legitimize the slaughter in the Gulf War, the UN has so far played a surprisingly constructive role in mediating the Salvadoran conflict. Since the accords were negotiated, however, the UN has come under criticism from all sides.

The FMLN and the civilian opposition have been sharply critical of the passivity of the UN in permitting a "twisted interpretation" of the accords in the case of the Treasury Police and the National Police. For its part, the government has accused ONUSAL of complicity in the "destabilization of the country." The right wing newspaper Diario de Hoy published a poem which complained "It's a lousy thing, that wherever you go, everywhere you find ONUSAL emissaries, looking like the owners of our native land." More seriously, the government unilaterally attempted to expel an ONUSAL representative without offering any justification for its action. Foreign Minister Pacas Castro argued "The government has the right to object to anyone and not to give any public explanation," insisting that the incident was a "private matter" between ONUSAL and the government.

Instead of completely dismantling these forces by March 2 as called for in the accords, the government shifted their mission and official title —leaving their personnel, command structure, and old headquarters intact.


National Republican Alliance (ARENA) party escalated a campaign of threats and attacks aimed at sabotaging the accords. Newspaper advertisements placed by shadowy extremist groups have threatened everyone from FMLN combatants and their families to U.N. personnel to U.S. Embassy staff.

A number of death squad murders followed these threats. The caretaker for the main office of one of El Salvador's largest labor federations (FEASIES) was found hacked to death by machete on the morning of March 2. The victim, Nazario de Jesus Gracias, had apparently put up a struggle against at least two assailants; marks on his wrists and face suggested that he had at one point been bound and blindfolded in death-squad fashion.

His assassination coincided with the date set for the demobilization of the Treasury Police and the National Guard.

accords, the government has simply shifted their mission and official title while leaving their personnel, command structure, and old headquarters intact. Gerson Martinez of the FMLN political committee charged that the National Guard "hasn't even complied with the formalities. They are still in the same barracks, wearing the same uniforms."

The Treasury Police and the National Guard have been redeployed as the border guard and as military police. The formation of the border guard was justified by citing increased tensions along the Honduran border, areas which are largely FMLN zones of control. ARENA deputy Moises Daboud justified the creation of the Military Police in light of the difficulties controlling the military in the encampments to which they have been confined under the accords. He said the Military Police would "control abuses of



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CHRONICLE

Olives and Orange Branches:

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Author of the recent book *Voices from a Promised Land*, Penny Rosenwasser will present in slides and audio tape the Israeli and Palestinian peace movements, the Intifada and the Israeli peace camp.



"Intifada means changing things from the roots."

**April 11 at 7:30, Friends Meeting House,
3014 Washington Sq., Austin. A PSC/NJA production**

... cont'd from p.3

ety," members were encouraged to appeal to Harvey Jackins as the authority—and especially to purchase his books which were for sale at the back of the room. "People look to other people to show the way," one leader told the group. "One person getting lots of other people to go along gets things done." In the ensuing discussion, students ruminated on the broad possibilities for RC leadership during the coming economic collapse.

Some former RC members—who now call the organization a cult—conclude that the emphasis on following leaders in fact destroys individual initiative and the self confidence of its student/trainees. "People don't just leave cults," says Shirley Siegel, a former RCer in Seattle, Washington and founder of the organization Stop Abuse By Counselors. She told *Polemicist* in an interview: "People become so convinced, so indoctrinated that this authority figure is right, that he has all the true answers, that his theory and therapy are the best in the world—something that he keeps telling people over and over again in as many ways as he can think of...that they're kind of powerless to go elsewhere. That's what cults do: they deprive people of their ability to make reasonable choices."

A History of Pshychopolitics

The central figure in RC is its leader and founder Harvey Jackins, the "designated" International Reference Person. In many ways Jackins' personal history is paradigmatic of the changes in left politics through the 20th century. Jackins was an member of the Communist party in the 1930s, and later a victim of anti-Communist hysteria of the late 1940s and early 1950s. After three witnesses named him before the House Un-

American Activities Committee's (HUAC) investigation into Communist activities in the Pacific Northwest, Jackins was hauled before the committee in 1954.

Jackin's testimony to HUAC reveals the tragic impact anti-Communism had upon him. Between 1939 and 1941, Jackins organized a Young Communist League at the University of Washington in Seattle. Never completing his undergraduate degree, he became a labor organizer in the 1940s. He was soon expelled—first from local 46 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, then from the Building Service Employees' Union, and from Lodge 751 of the Aero Mechanics' Union—all for alleged Communist activities. On top of that, Jackins was eventually expelled from the Communist Party (CP) as well, although he took the fifth when asked to name former associates by HUAC. By the early 1950s, however, he went to work for the Dianetics Institute of Seattle, and by the '60s had woven politics and psychology into a "New" left politics of interpersonal relations. Only when asked by HUAC about his newly-developed "personal counseling" technique did Jackins wax eloquent:

"I am working with a very new approach to the problem of individual human beings. We have discovered, a group of us, that apparently anything wrong with an individual human—any limitation on his ability, his enjoyment of life, his ability to be intelligent in any situation—is purely and solely the result of the experiences of hurt which he has endured . . . It is possible in a teamwork relationship for one person's intelligence as a counselor to be linked with that of the person who is enduring the difficulty or the limitation or the emotional problem—to go back in memory, in effect, and, by repetively seeking out these experiences of hurt, discharging the stored up painful emotion; and in assisting the person to think them through over and over and over again, it is possible to free an individual from the inhibiting effects of the distresses which have stored up on him during his life. Now this is a very exciting field; the possibilities implicit in it—and we are pioneering in the group with which I work—are amazing."

The "we" Jackins identified was none other than The Dianetics Institute of Seattle. At the time, L. Ron Hubbard was losing control of Dianetics to a number of unauthorized groups that began mixing Hubbard's theories with the occult and alternative medicine. Dianetics' "personal counseling" was an attempt to position the organization within mainstream psychiatry. In an undated form letter (circa 1952), Jackins wrote to doctors attempting to distinguish Dianetics "from panacea claims on its behalf and certain 'fringe' manifestations of group enthusiasms for it. Dianetics has appeared from the beginning to have some sort of essential validity." In the letter, Jackins had already articulated RC theory, although he referred to it as "Dianetic Processing":

"The listener or therapist can be very forthright and direct in seeking out past traumatic experiences which are continuing to mar the rationality and well-being of the person. Once located, the exhaustion of the distress and the re-evaluation of the experience apparently leads uniformly to dramatic improvement in ability, emotional tone and well-being."

Dianetics later evolved into the Church of Scientology—the same folks who offer free "personality tests" at 22nd and the Drag. Dianetics uses techniques remarkably similar to Re-Evaluation Counseling. According to J. Gordon Melton's *Encyclopedic*

Handbook of Cults in America, the Church of Scientology offers an "auditor" who takes a member through exercises to release their "reactive" mind. Once this happens, the individual is "clear." The Church, however, has itself been embroiled in controversy: the IRS has pursued it for not paying taxes, former members have accused the Church of brainwashing them, and after an FBI raid of its churches, documents revealed that Scientologists had kept files on its critics and had tried to infiltrate various anti-cult organizations.

Leadership and "Attack" Theory

L. Ron Hubbard aside, Re-Evaluation Counseling has faced its own series of controversies. After nearly twenty years of steady growth, a number of women came forward in the early 1980s, claiming to have been sexually abused by Jackins. One 19-year RC veteran in Seattle, whose RC's international headquarters are located, claims Jackins had sex with "hundreds" of female patients. One of these women, who was 15 years old at the time that Jackins, her counselor, was sexually involved with her, brought a suit against him in 1990. She later withdrew the suit after Jackins filed for court costs should he win. Another, Shirley Siegel, formed STOP Abuse By Counselors. Several long time RC staff members in Seattle began to raise questions about Jackins' sexual conduct, and in 1981 he fired them, according to Siegel. At this point Siegel and other women came forward. "Women who'd been silent about all this, kept all his dirty little secrets, began to talk, and I began to find out that he'd had sex with literally hundreds of female clients over a period of thirty years," she said.

Siegel's personal story is particularly poignant. In the mid-1960s, Jackins had pressured Siegel not to seek medical attention for a condition she later discovered was Kron's disease, instead encouraging her to increase her counseling sessions. "Because I was ill," says Siegel, "I was not functioning very well, either mentally or physically." Siegel entered the hospital twice needing blood transfusions. "The doctors didn't know why, and Jackins wasn't saying 'Go find out.'" Meanwhile, Siegel was unable to care for her daughter, who had herself contracted a respiratory ailment. "My daughter died in the middle of all this, and finally it became very apparent to me that I needed help and soon." Siegel left RC in 1967.

Fourteen years later, as women came forward with their stories of sexual abuse, Siegel went to Washington State Representative Georgette Valle to develop legislation that would regulate abusive behavior by counselors and therapists. RC opposition to the legislation was strong, and the bills stalled in committee. Jackins himself refused to discuss the allegations against him. Instead, in an eerie twist of therapeutic logic, he began to develop a theory of human behavior called "attack" theory that would explain why RC members would express opposition to RC.

Jackins proposed that an "attack," which is basically any criticism of RC, its theory, or its leadership, is the result of an individual's personal distress. According to a Fundamentals Class session attended by the author, an attack makes being upset a public thing, a desperate attempt to get support from others. To counter attacks on RC and its leaders, RC members are instructed to interrupt the person, approach the accusation as the personal problem of the accuser, and vigorously come to the defense of the person or people being attacked.

When *Polemicist* queried a number of Austin RC leaders on the allegations of Jackins sexual abuse and the organization's positions on gays and HIV, this writer was told that he had distress in these areas, as did

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everyone, and needed to have a counseling session on them instead of "attacking" RC and its leadership. All of the Area and Regional Reference People contacted refused to comment on record about RC's controversial history; one person said that use of her name in an article would give the impression of a "dialogue"—an impression she most decidedly did not want to give. When asked if *Polemicist* could use her name, she simply replied, "I don't want your article."

"It needs to be made immediately clear by other RCers," wrote Jackins in 1983, "that no 'vulture' can attack an RC leader without losing some tail feathers in the process." An RC member in Maryland, who likened Jackins to Christ and Joan of Arc, opposed holding Jackins accountable, "even if Harvey had committed murder." When Thomas Copeland, an elected delegate of the Minneapolis-St. Paul RC community and a vocal opponent of Jackins, tried to attend the 1981 World Conference of the Re-Evaluation Communities, Jackins summarily refused his application and shut down the Twin Cities RC organization altogether. At this same 1981 World Conference, Jackins-approved delegates officially dropped the long-standing RC policy that prohibited counselors from initiating or participating in sexual relations with clients. Jackins later explained that the policy served as a basis for "attacks" from within the organization, and was removed "to prevent further attacks."

The Responsibility of the "Adult Woman Client"

While RC theories deflect criticism from leaders, they also tend to throw a heavy burden of responsibility onto the ordinary RC student/client. RCer Gay Janidlo, in a 1982 letter to Washington State Representative Dick Nelson, urged him to oppose Bills 953 and 954, because the women chose sex with Jackins and should be held responsible for their choices.

He compares "the adult woman client and the alcoholic, fat person, smoker and others who have difficulty taking charge of certain areas of their lives." If Janidlo, the therapist, offers the alcoholic a drink "and he accepts it, one may question the wisdom of my offering him a drink, but the ultimate responsibility for acceptance or refusal is on the alcoholic himself." The same is true for the adult woman client: "We females have been encouraged to be immature in certain areas of our lives," wrote Janidlo, "and this has led to a great deal of irresponsible behavior on our parts. This is *not* our fault, any more that [sic] it is the alcoholic's fault that he is addicted to alcohol. But this immaturity on our parts leads us to addictive type behavior, much like that of any other addict."

Janidlo further declares that a woman "who has consented to and has willingly engaged in sexual activity . . . has to

accept the consequences of her actions . . . If she feels bad about it later, she needs to explore the reasons for her decision, but accept full responsibility for the sexual activity. To blame the man for 'seducing' her is no different from the alcoholic blaming me for 'seducing' him with alcohol." In keeping with RC theory on sexual distress patterns, this analysis

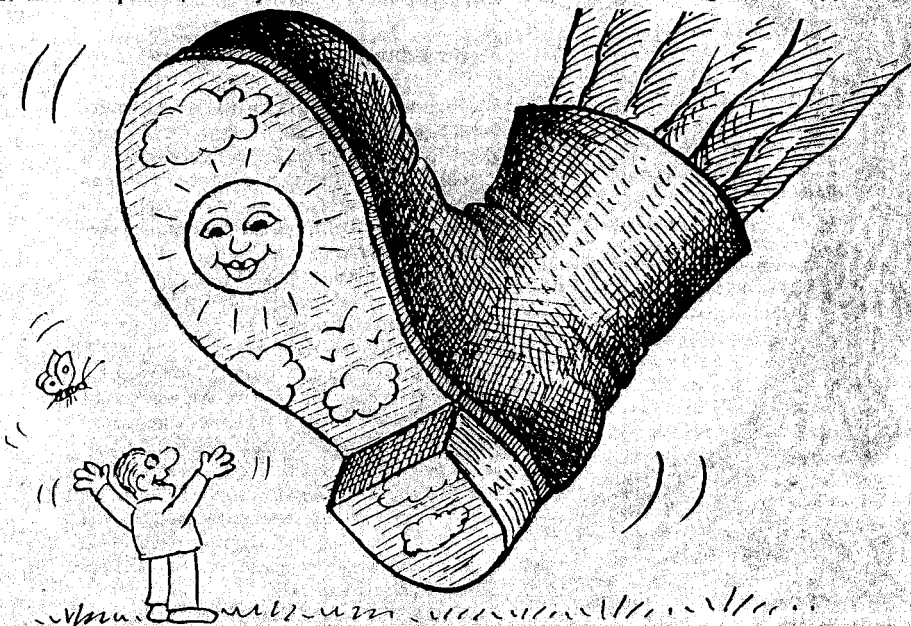
ignores the power dynamic of a counseling relationship—especially in light of RC's position on deference due to "leaders." Jackins, for his part, only counsels and but does not receive clienting.

RC's gay and lesbian policies offers even greater insight into the organization's troubling policies on sexuality. In a 1974 article entitled "Is Homosexuality a Distress Pattern?" Jackins concludes that homosexuality, "as distinct from the desire to touch or be close, is irrational, is the result of distress patterns (often very early in origin and chronic), and will disappear by the free choice of the individual with sufficient discharge and re-evaluation."

Jackins then proposes that "gay persons be welcomed into RC on the basis that they are expected to *not* propagandize for nor advocate . . . the position that *homosexuality is rational*." Having made the decision to let them in the organization, hethen had to adjust his theories to account for homosexuality without embracing it. RC publishes many journals, and it soon began one for gay and lesbian "liberation." Unlike the other journals, RC requires all gay and lesbian contributors to use pseudonyms. The Assistant International Liberation Reference Person for Gay Men, "David Nijinsky," calls being Gay a "correct policy" of being intimate with other men. But, according to Nijinsky's 1985 article, being Gay also means "a little pile of sexual compulsions" resulting from "early sexual hurt" whose restimulation directs men toward men "and away from

women." As recently as 1990, Jackins called for a "quarantine" of people with HIV. A number of people responded, one of whom complimented Jackins for his willingness "to debate with civil libertarians." In attempting to clarify his position, Jackins appeals to "the civil rights of the individuals threatened with infec-

principles of leadership. One RC representative refers mildly to its organization as a "different leadership structure from democracy" and others have simply called it "effective." In Seattle they call it dangerous, and Austinites would be well advised to carefully examine the structures of leadership in RC or any other organization they join.



tion." Recalling a time when quarantines were used "to deal with smallpox," Jackins suggests that "large numbers of human lives" could be saved if "carriers of the virus [were] quarantined until they are educated out of their ignorance or until their patterned irresponsibility is discharged." Richard Jackins supporters say the International Reference Person is just generating discussion. But as Matthew Lyons, a former RC member in Ithaca, New York, points out, William F. Buckley and Dr. Paul Cameron have already generated discussion with their proposals for tattoos (Cameron suggests a large letter 'A' on the face), quarantines and imprisonment for people infected with HIV.

The question of the relation between leaders and followers, the "intellectual" and the "people," has vexed the left since Gramsci first outlined a possible role for "organic" intellectuals in his notebooks. What do we expect of our leaders? What motivates ordinary people to work with others towards a common goal? Who should define the common goal, and through what process? Once committed to an organization, where does an individual member's responsibility begin and end?

Rejecting the nightmare of Stalinism, New Left intellectuals in America scurried away from hierarchical models of political organizing, yet many discovered that hierarchies exist in the face of the most anarchistic intentions. During the same period, groups like Dianetics and RC developed extremely top-down

Polemicist....
 is a non-profit news magazine published by Liberated Learning, Austin's Free University. In case any of you have been looking for the Free U, we lost our classroom space because we didn't make enough money at our benefit to continue paying rent. Thanks to all you folks who came, and many more thanks to those who sent in generous donations. We used the money to catch up on back rent, and get the magazine out. The classes will begin again in the fall. For anyone wondering about the masthead change, you try and sell ads year in and year out with a Marx quote on page one. We have not changed our outlook, and will not compromise our content, but we are tired of the same stupid reactions and explanations.

Editor: Kathy Mitchell

Contributors:
 Steve Carr, Richard Bartholomew, Scott Henson, Dave Armstrong, Tom Philpott, Bill Stouffer, Kamala Platt

Letters...

Polemicist asked readers to respond to the dialog on the demise of the student movement that we ran in the last issue. We received only one letter (Thank you!), but we encourage others to continue the discussion.

To the Editor:

The February *Polemicist's* responses to the question, "what happened to the student movement of 1990?" offered both insightful self-critique and examples of some of the detrimental dynamics within the movement (i.e. the preferencing of personal conflict over political alliance and the idealizing/demonizing of individual leaders) that contributed to its demise.

However, discussion of negative factors outside the movement were for the most part missing from the five men's analysis of the movement's deterioration. Critical discussion of any movement's relationship to world, national, university and community level events is essential to strategic analysis of that movement's effectiveness. While I agree with some of the authors' points on in-house failings, I think some mention must be made of negative outside factors, in particular the Gulf War and the conservative assault (I believe the term "backlash" misrepresents the malignant nature of most of the attacks) that at UT has focused primarily on delegitimizing already marginalized groups and curriculum within the university.

Both the E306 cancellation and the Gulf War were highly orchestrated and strategically planned, as are current tuition hikes, "PC debates," Japan bashing, and the everpresent "war on drugs"; whether intentionally or not they disrupted the lives and priorities of all of us involved in resistance to them. During Desert Shield/Storm the agendas of most progressive groups fell by the way as did the academic and personal lives of most individuals involved in Gulf War protest and education. Information despatching on racism, sexism and heterosexism in the military and racist attacks on Arab Americans replaced time spent exposing, discussing and protesting racism, sexism and heterosexism as manifested on campus.

Constructive and effective voices of resistance to the tyranny and genocide of these events from the UT community must to some degree, trace their success back to the coalition building and SA elections of Spring 1990. The material support of the SA office, as mentioned in previous discussion, was vital to the exchange and dissemination of information on many facets of the war in the Middle East. While the maintenance of trust between groups and individuals was inadequate, many of the vital connections that facilitated work during the war and during various stages of the E306 saga were established in Spring 1990.

However, since the "end" of the Gulf War and the burial of E306 there have been, to my knowledge, no large demonstrations, little coalition building and not much public activism on the part of progressive campus groups despite increasing civil rights abuses and increased structural violence. While I would assert that these crisis events contributed to a displacement of the progressive energy on campus in Spring 1990, they are not directly responsible for its demise. Post-crisis burnout has claimed its victims, but I think there is a larger issue at stake.

While the "moderate" right has the structural support of the military-corporate complex at its disposal, marginalized groups have little access to large scale utilization of technology, money or state-endorsed

political power. We cannot effectively and continuously resist the structural violence of the university, the government or any other institutions without a base of our own that encompasses and empowers the struggles of all whose rights are denied by structural violence. In order to even begin to create a student movement with long-term endurance we need to develop our own alternative power sources—everyone ill-affected by this university.

We need to discuss how to create leadership without built-in hierarchy. We need to learn to listen to and respond to each other constructively not defensively. We need to learn how to deflate puritanical judgement and accusation and other destructive interpersonal dynamics, and replace them with firm and informed articulation of the problems at hand.

We need to come to terms with the degrees to which we all participate in structural violence; at the same time we need to establish standards of respect whose violation we will not tolerate. When such a base is in place exterior crisis can become opportunity to focus support. And coming out of crisis can be opportunity to reassess, and develop strategy that is not merely reactive but proactive.

Kamala Platt

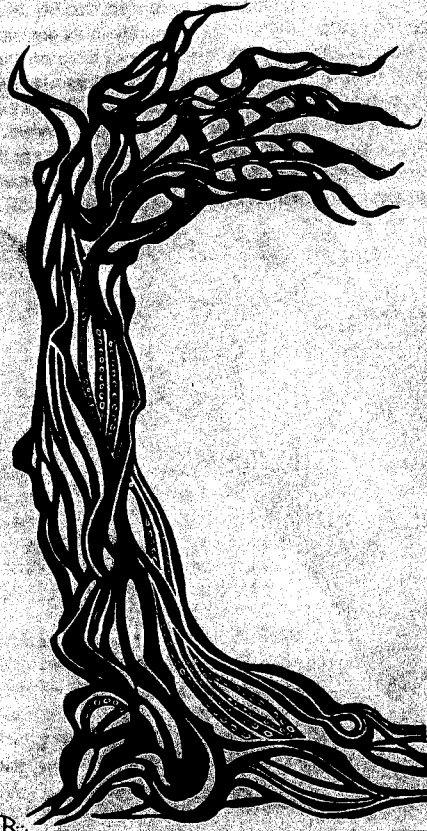
Editor's Response: Who will establish the standards of respect in our non-hierarchical organizations? "We"? How do we as individuals learn to work as coalitions of people without honest and public examination of specific incidents and the individual people—kind, insecure, vain, compassionate, terrified, pompous, guilt ridden, needy, abusive, defensive...as well as black, white, asian, indian, latin, woman, man, old, young, gay/straight—that made them happen in precisely the ways they did.

Academic professionalism has taken its toll on our common sense and filled us with fear of public debate. The campus rightists and the campus leftists toot the same horn. Both fear personal exposure to public scorn. Both cower beneath their robes, hoping that no one will notice that their high-minded ideas conceal persons with wrinkled thighs, balding skulls, nipple hairs, moles, embarrassing childhoods, awkward pruderies, disgracefully kneejerk emotional outbursts and many different kinds of blinders.

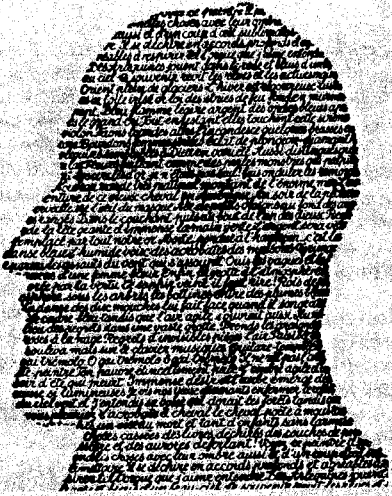
Why should I fear to subject my ideas and actions to public scrutiny? What harm can it do? At worst, they can only appear flawed. This is what the Allen Gribbens of the world call their "oppression." People might hold them personally responsible for their actions and opinions. They might fall from the pedestal of universal truth into the mire of ordinary debate. Some young whippersnapper might stand up during a lecture and call their version of history a racist fraud. They might, god forbid, feel humiliated and momentarily nude before a crowd.

"PC" broadsided the left because academics left and right share the same fears of exposure and hide behind the same kinds of oblique generalities. A Liberal academic does not want to be read any more than a conservative does. The squawk over academic freedom brought liberals to their knees, not because they were guilty of some kind of jargon-ridden conspiracy, but because they all know in their hearts that they gave up academic freedom and replaced it with fear decades ago.

I'm not saying that we should renounce generalities, but they must be built of specifics. If at times we point, angrily dissect each other, and laugh at one another's vanities we will grow stronger. No one that I know of has died from a good telling off. People who are afraid to knock their knees together are never gonna learn to two-step.



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Debating PC:
The controversy over political correctness on college campuses
 Paul Berman, ed.; Dell
 New York, 1992;
 Paperback; 338 pages

by Scott Henson

In reflecting on the national debate among academics over "political correctness," one is struck by the tiresomely repetitive way our country's leading intellectuals tread endlessly over the same ground. The only thing anyone has learned for sure is that—if it were still a question after Allan Bloom's *Closing of the American Mind*—books attacking academic radicals and liberals sell big.

Roger Kimball's *Tenured Radicals*—a collection of essays originally printed in the *New Criterion*, where he serves as managing editor—fired the first volley in the recent debate in 1990. But the really big guns only appeared in 1991, starting with Dinesh D'Souza's *Illiberal Education*, which spent months on the *New York Times* bestseller list. Soon PC hit the cover of nearly every national magazine, and publishers realized that debating PC could mean big bucks.

Thus it was inevitable that someone would produce a book like Paul Berman's *Debating PC*, an anthology made up mostly of articles reprinted from the national press. In his excellent review in the *Nation*, Russell Jacoby wondered aloud if Berman mightn't at least have looked past his mailbox for articles. Indeed, the anthology is useful only to the extent that it summarizes previous positions taken. It breaks no new ground, and in some cases obfuscates issues more than clarifies them.

For example, Berman reprinted three articles ostensibly about PC debates here at UT-Austin under the trite heading "Texas Shoot-Out." Although student journalistic investigations by both *Polemicist* and the *University Review* had focused on the E306 debate, and numerous professors had hashed out the details of the case in *The Texan*, the *Statesman*, and *Texas Academic*, Berman chose Oxford graduate and Beltway columnist George Will to represent the conservative viewpoint and a New Jersey philosophy professor to represent liberalism, presumably for balance. This treatment tells nothing about what actually happened at UT, and allows this pair of east coast intellectuals to frame Texas' debate.

The only article by UT professors, "The Statement of the Black Faculty Caucus" by Ted Gordon and Wahneema Lubiano, addresses a different issue—multicultural curriculum reform—and was written before the E306 controversy. (Perhaps since Wahneema has since moved to Princeton, Berman thought the article less parochial.) But since Berman offers nothing but cursory introductions to each piece, the reader wouldn't necessarily understand that the latter article appeared in a separate context.

This sloppy treatment results in confusion, not clarification, of the issues at

stake. For instance, Paula Rothenberg's essay mentions not once "Dollar" Bill Cunningham's unprecedented breach of faculty control over the curriculum, and by extension academic freedom, around which campus debate centered. Nor did it raise the grave issue of wealthy alumni exercising undue control over university policy. Rothenberg instead defends the central assumptions of her own book, which was briefly considered for use in a revised E306 and the dropped well before the controversy's climax. Pardon me, but who cares?

George Will's article also focuses chiefly on Rothenberg's book, quoting out of context from sections the English department never included in its syllabus. Will never mentions that Rothenberg's text was dropped months before Cunningham canceled the course, and the editor either didn't see fit or didn't know enough himself to make clear this distinction. Especially in UT's case, Berman's selections perpetuate myths rather than dissect them.

The list of contributors to *Debating PC* sounds so familiar the entire book feels like a cliché. *Illiberal Education* Dinesh D'Souza, *Tenured Radicals* author Roger Kimball, Kimball's boss at

these tired and often tiresome cultural gladiators degenerate into a polemic—such as the one by UC Berkeley professor John Searle—over whether Western Civilization is a good or bad thing.

Stanley Fish, former chairman of the Duke English department contributed a shameful article entitled "There's no such thing as free speech and it's a good thing too." Here he argues that free speech doesn't really exist, because under certain circumstances it may be restricted, hauling out Canadian case law and a 1942 Supreme Court decision on "fighting words." From these examples, Fish concludes that the only real question is where to draw the line between acceptable and unacceptable speech, and argues a case for drawing it more restrictively.

Perhaps Fish thought himself quite creative in teasing out this rationalization, but his argument is not new. It is the central thesis of William F. Buckley Jr.'s 1952 book *God and Man at Yale*, in which Buckley argued for restricting the academic freedom not just of Communist Party members, but of "Keynesians" and "atheists" as well. Perhaps Fish plans to eschew his liberal politics and take a post at the conservative American Enterprise Institute. His article in *Debating PC* would fit right in.

By contrast, (ostensibly) liberal Wil-

Fish's reduction of the free speech debate is nothing new. It is the central thesis of William F. Buckley Jr.'s 1952 book *God and Man at Yale*, in which Buckley argued for restricting the academic freedom not just of Communist Party members, but of "Keynesians" and "atheists" as well. Perhaps Fish plans to eschew his liberal politics and take a post at the conservative American Enterprise Institute.

The New Criterion. Hilton Kramer, Irving Howe, a Cold War liberal and editor of *Dissent* magazine, and Assistant Secretary of Education Diane Ravitch all chime in from a traditionalist viewpoint. But did we need *Debating PC* to give these people a forum?

Opposing views also came from very usual suspects—for example, superstar academic Henry Louis Gates Jr., 1990 Modern Language Association President Catharine Stimpson, and professors Cornell West and Barbara Ehrenreich. Far too often, the arguments between

lance Voice columnist Nat Hentoff's position on free speech is a polar opposite to Fish's, and nearly as silly. Hentoff attacks "hate speech" codes at universities, but really this is only a straw man to hide his real target—left student activists. Hentoff's obfuscations typify his recent drift toward neoconservatism, which culminated in his endorsement of Clarence Thomas for Supreme Court Justice.

Let me say here that I disagree with speech codes both in principle and practice, but speech codes have little to do

with Hentoff's real position. Despite his talk of such rules as "gags on speech," the heart Hentoff's critique is that "politically moderate" students are "intimidated," not banned, from speaking.

The first amendment grants one the right to speak or print one's thoughts, not the right to have everyone respect your opinion. The same first amendment grants radicals the right to disagree with the political moderates, even angrily and boisterously. No one's rights are violated, although perhaps some feelings are hurt, when heated debates intimidate the meek-minded.

Paul Berman seems not to have put much effort into this book. Not only are the article choices uncreative, but frustratingly he compiled no index. And his introduction to the book reveals truly shallow thinking. Amazingly, at once point he comes close to redbaiting those he calls PC professors. He explicitly compares PC with "fellow travelling"—a Cold War liberal's euphemism for the activities of Communist sympathizers.

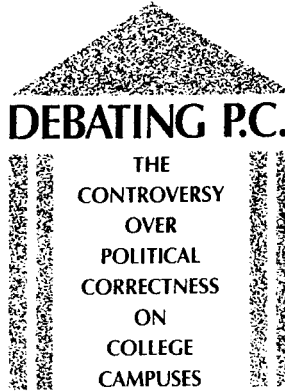
Berman assumes without debate that PC is a real issue because conservatives and a few elderly liberals say so. But he can only discuss PC generally; he never allows case studies to get in the way of his arguments. Instead of talking through actual incidents, Berman draws an extended "caricature" (his word)—"Race/class/gender-ism"—and then argues against that instead of anything real.

He periodically mentions (drops?) names like Heidegger, Lacan or Foucault as sources of PC, but never critiques specifically anything they said or wrote, other than to label Heidegger a Nazi. One can't tell from this essay whether he's even read these thinkers.

Unable to explicate any of the thinkers behind or within his book, Berman substitutes mini-bios at the beginning of each article for analysis, and uses them to puff his friends. He calls *Dissent* editor Irving Howe a "distinguished literary and social critic" and *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff a "veteran battler for free speech and other issues"—Berman writes for both *Dissent* and the *Voice*. On the other hand, he identifies Henry Louis Gates merely as an "author" and Edward Said as a "well-known author." These distinctions may serve Berman's career goals, but they do not help elucidate this amorphous "debate."

Berman's anthology will provide light reading for individuals who have read little or nothing about PC, but the book sadly contributes little toward the debate's resolution, and actually misrepresents what happened at UT. So what else is new?

...Books



EDITED BY Paul Berman



In Search of the Holy Mother of Jobs
By Pat Littledog
Cinco Puntos Press, 1991, 125 pp.

by Kathy Mitchell

A woman's life is a multi-layered, scattered thing of many selves and works. An economic theory, like a glass bowl dropped from a great height, shatters with her experience. Pat Littledog, in her most recent book, *In Search of the Holy Mother of Jobs*, sets out to write an economic theory of women's work. Instead, she walks her reader barefoot across the fragments of theory into a life that fits no discernable discipline, reaching out to anyone who has ever been broke, irresolute, giddy, expansive, confident, demoralized and badly in need of a job.

This "left handed theory of women's work" begins mightily, a rumination on maternity, impoverishment, housework. But alas, an economic theory by its nature vivisects, edits, freezes the life. Work, not life, is its subject matter. Capital, market production, the sexual division of labor, the public sphere, the private sphere, the heroic, the fecund. These are the ancient bowls into which economists shovel their statistics until the numbers overflow and messily commingle. What should a woman put into her economic theory of work? What should she leave out...

"Should I tell about the shady friendships I then developed? The acid experiences? The ecstatic revelations which kept me busy? The lack of a broom? The dirty dishes and sticky floors? If I was going to write a tract defending housework, urging modern women back to these magical jobs of ironing and cleaning, then how was my own history going to fit into that?"

Marx, the pragmatic humanist, wrote that labor gave life value, made it discernable, gave its different nuances a commonality. Labor, he said, created use-value and market value, self and other. Yet, while voluminous about circulation, markets, and alienated man, Marx abandoned the world of use-value and self creation to the future. Feminist economists continue to struggle clumsily with the double meaning of labor and the allocation of value to women's work. Littledog, addressing "the woman in the moon" and the 14,000 women who met in Nairobi, begins with poetic value, "my children and my creativity."

In a series of bio-mythographical essays, she tumbles joyfully and sometimes sadly across the middle years of an extraordinary woman's life, through jobs, lovers, poetry, children, bare mattresses, weedy gardens, and strip teases. Her world is Austin, and she traces the windings of the "river that flows under beds and seeps under floors," connecting the living corpses in high-rise office buildings with bookstore visionaries, nightclub dancers, and T.V. anchormen that swarm across the screen like bugs, caught in a cesspool too deep for even the Terminix man.

Littledog confronts labor with poetry, and a symbolism peculiar to Texas. Roaches flutter through the

pages, feeding on the rising waters of a rich fantasy life that mingles sex and death with the work that keeps body and soul together.

The black bugs of girlhood horror stories crawl from an imagined french twist, while she prepares for her day as a secretary to George Hunk, a lawyer of remarkable depositions and impeccable questionings. With Henry Miller in her top drawer, she imagines herself Kundalini, the serpent of Tantric yoga, caged by a Playtex girdle and the cap of hair. The goddess of secretaries protects her from the tired drama of office screwing by channeling impulse into fantasy. "A long time ago I was a secretary," she later tells Alice the blues singer while pinning her hemline. "That was a very depressing kind of work."

Roaches fill the bookstore basement, enveloping her body like the man with whom she shares a mattress. "When a cockroach crawls across my bed in the basement he doesn't feel slick and black like he looks when the lights are on, he brushes so lightly and sweet as a lover-I wouldn't even shake him off if I didn't remember what he looked like, I would let this bed fill up with feathery cockroaches, I would let them crawl in and out of my legs..."

And in an epiphany, she envisions them crawling out of the mouths of gay friends whose lovers have died of AIDS. "They learn to let the insects crawl in and out of their ears without flinching, even adapting the unearthly cricket calls as their own, opening their mouths, allowing streams of black bugs, red bugs mixed with petals of various flowers, to pour out of them like buckets of water."

Taking on the archaic imagery of the lunar goddesses of death and transformation, these moon-men of the final chapter pose the greatest challenge to any simple view of women, men and their labors. The men flood the world and renew it. They grow beautiful gardens in the midst of midnight parties created for fucking. They float in the dark sky, craters of eyes and anuses. The moon is no longer the same woman to whom she addressed her preface, but is man, floating and sucking.

The woman returns to earth to be a poet. "Certainly while I have been typing and re-typing, editing and throwing out and putting back in and rearranging and cleaning up and polishing and re-polishing, I haven't been doing much housework." She disrupts the easy association of woman with fecundity and the home without denying that these things are a part of life.

The poet, Pat Littledog, soars with an outlandish humor. Sometimes in the first person, sometimes from some other person, the tales follow "I/her/she" through every conceivable job. She creates a new goddess, the Holy Mother of Jobs, who sits a third of the way down the classified ads of the daily paper. The Holy Mother tells us of the time the poet sold firecrackers from a camper by the side of the road. "Mr. Pow-Pow Discount Fireworks: More Bang for Your Bucks." The poet is also a seamstress, a party dancer, a scholar (briefly). Mostly she sold books.

She could be found behind a small counter in a corner bookstore that anyone who has lived in Austin over the last ten years would recognize. The dusty and cramped store was home to raggedy-ass college students, dreamers, pot smokers and young punks with blackened eyes and hair who hoped to become art. Now the building is something else. And this is the poet's second collection of fiction. I also recommend the first, *Afoot in a Field of Men*.

"So I do my job. I burn candles. I burn little packets of incense. I make up chants and charms. I fold whatever affection I might have on hand into special packages. This is woman's work for those who are left-handed."

BEFORE PARIS

The Parthenon Friezes

by Erentiss Moore

That need may bear witness to its powers in the image, and that vanity is the craving of those who do not believe in themselves, this much is certain. So that if we start here, certain things of our self-trust may appear... how art does not need, blind

to all but itself, to enslave itself, but may see, breathing its body's speech directly into stone. For the eye's stone is true to itself because it gives itself nothing it does not dwell within the long, infinitesimal passing of, the folds'

cataract flaming down the loin, the horse's nostrils flared, the delicate spectrum of a youth's hand suspending the reins as if to lift the coverlet from his lover's body's sleep to let his eyes hold close such music. No, this

stone Art of Fugue in flight around the temple of Her who knows herself to be free does not eternalize pain but allows it to this utter faithfulness in stone. Hearing itself thus in every feint of such careful majesty, flowering

within the eye having learned such patience through the hand, pain assumes this mineral silence that yields nothing to thirst which thirst does not yield to itself and bear itself into so that in dying it may bloom.

There is no eternity for our human soul beyond that courage by which our body makes itself worthy of our heart. So that these triumphs are not images alone; they are the mind, the body's entering wholly into

such mastered self-judgement and prolific and earthly calm, that desire's rivulets do not scatter themselves, but become instead their own harvest and future in this conflagration of stone. Who

would have thought the fluttering of cloth in the stupendous horse's veins would behold itself through the fire of a people's remorseless and imperiled anguish reaching, open and clear, to be unchained by this empathy

in stone? As the fugue carries itself always into the embrace of its first clear moment, so need that knows itself to be wealth becomes its own flesh and composes that peace which only mortality's eyes can trust is life.