THE DEFICIT DILEMMA

A Poll on Higher Taxes vs. Spending Cuts

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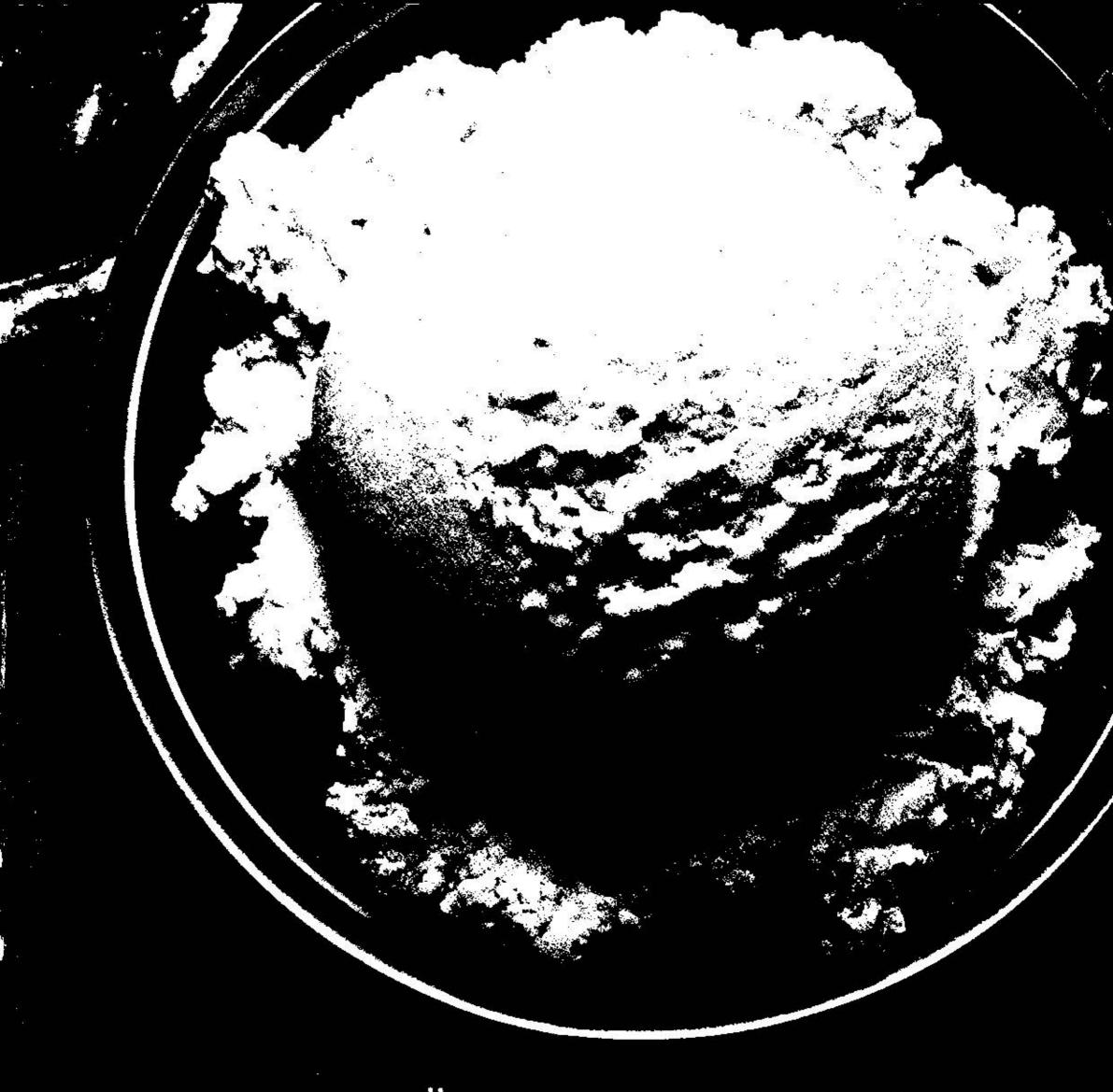
Probing the Mysteries of a Double Life





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HÄAGEN-DAZS TOPS MOST HOLIDAY DESSERTS.

The Politics of Austerity

Conomic belt tightening sounds good-except on Election Day. Even after Black Monday prompted calls for budget cuts and new revenues, politicians were wary. For good reason: a Newsweek Poll finds many Americans resist basic proposals for reducing the deficit. National Affairs: Page 18



Budget summit: The two Bakers



Knowing how the other half lives: Doubling up in Twinsburg, Ohio

The Mystery of Twins

Out of every 1,000 births in the U.S., there are about four sets of identical twins. They are an endless source of fascination to researchers. Do they really communicate by telepathy? Do they feel the same pains? Do they think identical thoughts?

As scientists (some of them twins) study such questions, they're gaining new insights into an even greater mystery: the way genes shape human nature. A related story looks at the double trouble of bringing up twins. Society: Page 58

War for Peace

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega and House Speaker Jim Wright opened up a new front in Central American peace diplomacy last week-much to the Reagan administration's dismay and the misfortune of the contras. International: Page 34

New cease-fire plan: Ortega





Abused Kids

■ he nation mourned last week for six-year-old Elizabeth Steinberg, victim of a beating. But she was only one of thousands who die annually from abuse or neglect. What can be done? Newsweek looks at a tragic trend that is on the rise. Lifestyla: Paga 70

Reaching out can help: Poster

A Hard-Won **Piano Debut**

Soviet pianist Vladimir Feltsman's public recital debut last week at Carnegie Hall was a resounding triumph. Feltsman immigrated to the United States in August after trying to leave the Soviet Union for eight years. Forbidden to perform publicly there, the pianist fought back, seeking support from Westerners and performing privately. Now music audiences everywhere can applaud his persistence. The Arts: Page 78

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Cover: Photo by John Ficara— NEWSWEEK.

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'Reluctance to go for it all out': A pensive Senate leader

Dole's Dilemma

cor all the public confidence ■ he exudes about his ability to capture—and manage—the White House, Sen. Bob Dole remains haunted by the dismal failure of his 1980 presidential bid, close advisers say. That ambivalence about his prospects is one reason for Dole not resigning his time-consuming post as Senate Republican leader. "He's willing to step out on a limb this time," says a top Dole strategist. "But he's not willing to saw it off." Even though Dole is in firm second place behind front runner George Bush, some aides worry that his reluctance to believe he can win could hamper Dole's effectiveness as a campaigner.

For now, most Dole advisers agree that he should keep the leadership role for its visibility—especially on the evening news. But throughout his kickoff campaign swing last week, they concede, Dole was distracted by the demands of his Senate post. Irritated by staff plans for a hastily called campaign press conference in Atlanta, he gave what one aide called a "flat, dead performance." And he was constantly on the phone-checking with his Washington office on Senate business, not calling local GOP leaders. "His desire for the presidency is palpable," says one frustrated staffer. "But we also detect in him just

the faintest reluctance to go for it all out. And if he wants to win, he'll have to."

■ The GOP race has split the family of Bill Brock, the former secretary of labor and Tennessee senator. Brock is campaign manager for Dole, hoping his Southern ties will help counter Bush's organizational strength in the "Super Tuesday" states. But Brock's son Oscar, 24, a Chattanooga stockbroker, has signed on with Bush in Tennessee. "I'd love to support [my father]," says Oscar. "But I made a commitment to Bush, and I don't back down."

Break-in?

A ttorneys for Harvard law professor Laurence Tribe a prominent opponent of Robert Bork's Supreme Court nomination-plan requests under the Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts to learn if illegal surveillance provided the Reagan administration with information on Tribe's activities. Following the recent discovery of an apparently illegal wiretap on his office phone, Tribe also determined that at least one of his office files had been rifled-and at least one document removed. The file involved the selection and qualification of federal judges. The missing item was a report by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, written when he was in the Justice Department.

■ Former Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas suspected that President Richard Nixon ordered federal agents to plant marijuana on his Goose Prairie, Wash., farm in 1970, according to a new book of Douglas letters. "I thought they were merely counting fence posts," he wrote to neighbors in Goose Prairie. "But I learned . . . they were planting marijuana with the prospect of a nice big TV-covered raid." Douglas believed that Nixon was trying to rid the high court of liberals.



No prude: Tipper Gore

Al Gore: A Boost in the South

Unhappy over admissions by Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore and his wife that they tried marijuana years ago, several key Southern state Democratic chairmen nevertheless are expected to endorse Gore this week for the 1988 presidential nomination. Their support will help solidify Gore's organizational base in the South, where he counts on a strong showing as the regional favorite son in the "Super Tuesday" primaries. Gore plans to reassign many Iowa staffers to the South—a move also meant to counter charges that he seeks an upset in the Iowa caucuses by publicly downplaying their importance while keeping a large staff there.

 Democratic strategists see Tipper Gore's pot-smoking admission ultimately helping the senator—by dispelling her image as an "uptight prude." Her crusade against sexually explicit rock lyrics has hurt Gore with wealthy Democrats in Los Angeles's entertainment set.

Afghanistan: Disappearing Deal

Despite a recent flurry of opti-mistic rumors, progress toward peace in Afghanistan at next month's superpower summit now appears remote. Soviet sources say Moscow is eager to see the Afghan rebels negotiate with the Soviet-backed Kabul regime to establish an interim government. The rebels, however, remain adamantly opposed to talks with Afghan leader Najibullah-demanding direct negotiations with the Kremlin. Some officials at the State Department think the rebels should at least consider talks with Najibullah—if the Soviets agree to an acceptable schedule for withdrawal. But with the Reagan administration already under fire from conservatives for its readiness to accept an armscontrol treaty with the Soviets, State is not about to push for that kind of concession.

No concessions: $Rebel\ fighter$



TV News

📭 oviet leader Mikhail Gorba-Chev may display his media mastery in connection with next month's summit by talking to a U.S. TV network, possibly NBC, Moscow sources say . . . Televangelist Jerry Falwell is preparing to launch a "Mercy Ministry" among the nation's "hurting" poor-in soup kitchens, shelters and on the street. He'll also add a Cnristian home-shopping show to his satellite Liberty network: religious books, tapes and articles.

UPDATE

'Vindicated'—Not Gloating

r. Reagan will raise taxes and so will I," said Walter Mondale, accepting the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984. "He won't tell you. I just did." Today, in the wake of a stock-market nose dive, the Reagan White House seeks a deficit-cutting compromise that might include—yes-tax increases. But Mondale doesn't gloat. "I feel sad that we allowed this problem to go on for so long that it's hurting everybody," he told Newsweek's Margaret Warner.

Mondale is "happy that the real costs of Reagan's economic recklessness are apparent while he's still in office." Reaganomics "was fraud or religion, but it wasn't economics," he says. "They thought they could do the hucklebuck and get out of town before the roof fell in. Now political accountability is being directed toward Reagan and those who supported him. And that's healthy."

The other point "I really feel vindicated on," he says, "is the issue of leadership, the point I tried to make without success. that this president is out of touch, not informed, not in charge. Now I think people see . . . it's really the empty White House that's at the heart of the market instability." And despite the influence campaign "marketers" exert on candidates to downplay the sacrifices current problems may require, Mondale thinks voters now will look for "someone who's going to go to the office in the morning, roll up his sleeves and really wrestle with the problems."

Is the former vice president still game for such grappling? Mondale moved back to his native Minnesota earlier this year, after two years in the Washington office of a Chicago law firm. He's now practicing law with the blue-chip Minneapolis firm of Dorsey & Whitney, but the return to his home



'He won't tell you. I just did': The once and future senator?

state is widely seen as positioning for a possible U.S. Senate bid against Republican Sen. Rudy Boschwitz in 1990. Mondale says he hasn't yet decided to run, but he clearly hasn't stopped thinking about political issues.

He's not ready to say that a Democratic candidate can survive calling for general incometax increases, but thinks his party should be making fairness an issue. So far he's "not impressed" by the gutsiness of either party's candidates. Among the Republicans, Bob Dole "ought to get some credit" for a more honest approach to the tax and deficit problem, says Mondale. He singles out GOP front runner George Bush for special scorn. "Mr. Bush has courageously come out against all taxes just as his president is coming around to the need for them," laughs Mondale. "His timing is exquisite."

A Hero Pilot's New Flight Plan

of all the ways to become a celebrity, having the muzzle of a terrorist's pistol clapped to your temple is among the most harrowing—and the least effective. Most people would have trouble putting a name to the familiar photos of TWA pilot John Testrake taken during the 1985 hijacking that began

in Athens and ended, with one U.S. Navy man dead, in Beirut 17 days later. But the Republican Party in Testrake's home state of Missouri believes he's enough of a national hero to run for a seat in the state legislature after he reaches TWA's mandatory retirement age of 60 next month.



'I want to recognize the Lord's leading': Testrake and captor in 1985

Although Testrake has never run for office, he's thinking about it now. "I don't want to just hang around the golf course," he says. "I want to make myself useful." Local GOP leaders approached him after reading his book, "Triumph Over Terror on Flight 847," in which he airs his conservative convictions. "It's more than the celebrity status," says state party executive director Tony Feather. "He has the right kind of philosophy."

Testrake, who identifies himself with the right wing of the GOP, recently helped presidential candidate Pat Robertson with a fund-raiser in Kansas City. But he also believes the Reagan administration has spent too much on defense and is critical of its foreign policy. Testrake says he'll make up his mind about entering politics by mid-December, after more thought and prayer. "I want to recognize the Lord's leading," he says. "I feel I've been in his hands for a long time."

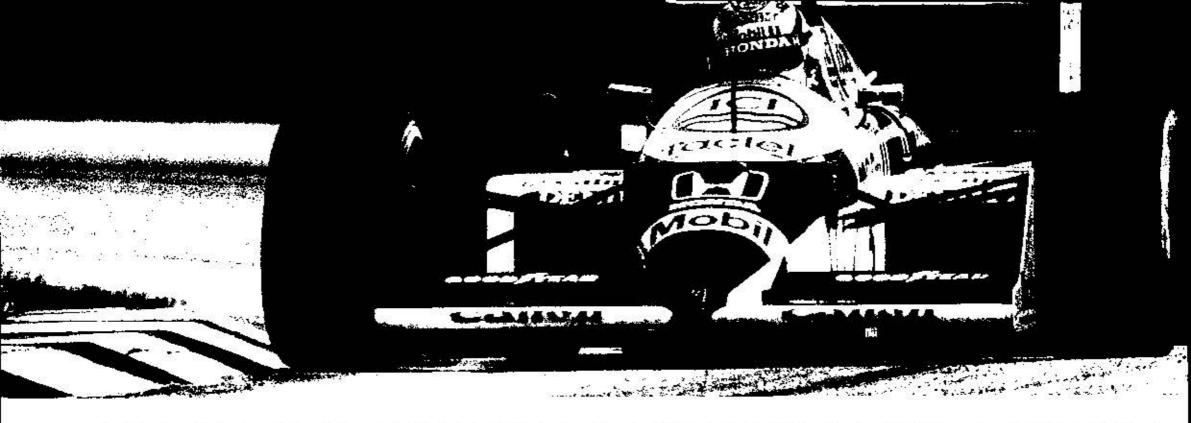
Just Saying No to Ritalin

A growing number of parents suspect that the powerful stimulant Ritalin-long prescribed for its paradoxically tranquilizing effect on hyperactive children-has become a convenience for teachers seeking quiet classrooms and a menace to normal kids (Newsweek, April 20). Last week the founder of a parents' advocacy group in Atlanta filed a \$125 million class-action suit against the local board of education—and the American Psychiatric Association, which, the plaintiff's lawyer charges, approves Ritalin for "normal childhood behavior." A similar suit is pending in California; another will be filed soon in Maryland. Ritalin itself is not held at fault-only its misuse. The APA refuses comment until it can review the Atlantasuit.

DAVID GATES with bureau reports

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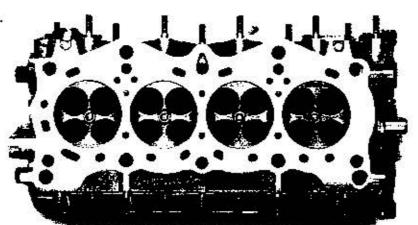
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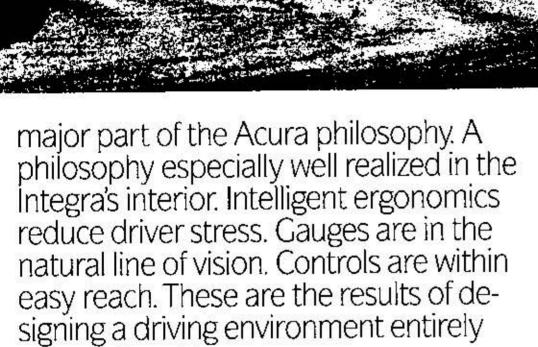
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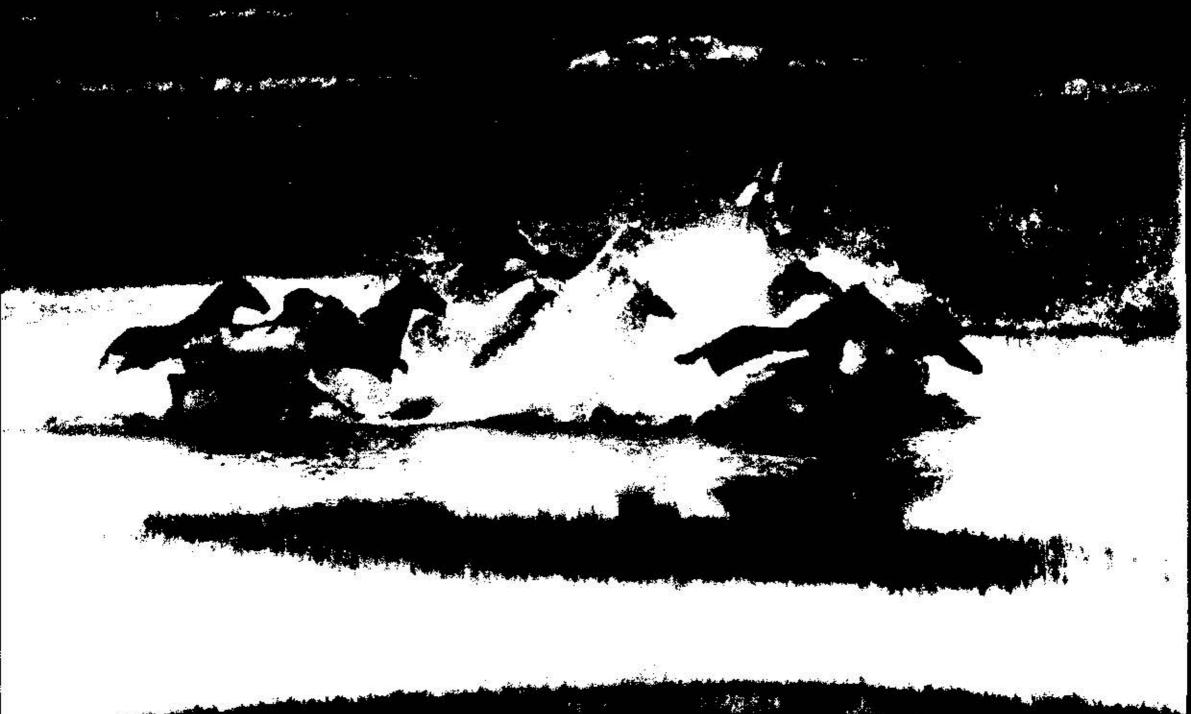
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Whales Off the Faeroe Islands



Those who love nature beyond the level of 'Bambi' must accept its brutality along with its beauty

BY LANDON LOCKETT

recently received an appeal, the second this year, from an organization called the International Wildlife Coalition. Having failed to raise my consciousness with tales of carnage in the North Atlantic, they were trying again.

The letter, accompanied by color photographs of the Faeroese—who live north of Scotland but are under the control of Denmark—up to their knees in bloodstained surf as they hack away at pilot whales, does its utmost to exploit the squeamishness of animal lovers. Readers who, unlike their forebears, have never gutted a squirrel or helped butcher a hog, or in fact faced anything bloodier than a supermarket lamb chop, are urged, in language dripping with self-righteousness, to send their dollars to stop "this monstrous, mass-scale savagery against nature." The letter also mentions the "modern homes and new cars" of the islanders, implying that were they Third Worlders instead of Europeans their barbarism could be excused.

I get this kind of mail because I am a lifelong conservationist. I belong to several organizations that are active in the fight to save the world's natural environment and its endangered species. I support the National Audubon Society, the Sierra Club and the Nature Conservancy, and over the years my name has migrated from one mailing list to another.

But as a conservationist, I am bothered more by the International Wildlife Coalition / Whale Rescue Project's solicitations than I am by the whaling practices of the Faeroese. The coalition's plea seems aimed at arousing reader sensibilities and strikes me as an appeal in behalf of individual animals rather than one for real conservation needs.

I believe that those who would save whales, and wildlife. have a lesson to learn: what counts is not the individual animal but the species and its habitat—save the habitat and you will probably save the species, even if individual members of it die. They must also learn more about the differences among the creatures they champion. Some species of larger whales like the humpback and blue are genuinely threatened with extinction. These urgently need protection. Can the same be said of the smaller pilot whales?

Although the coalition's letter speaks of protection being "desperately needed," and accuses the Faeroese of killing 3,000 pilot whales a year, a recent "Audubon Wildlife Report" says nothing about the species being endangered. Nor does it appear on the official list of endangered species

published by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Because it's not easy to kill a large animal quickly, I have no doubt that the whales suffer, as some animals always suffer so that others, including man, may eat. What the coalition seems to be trying to sell us, however, is the illusion that all such suffering can be stopped. Or that at the least we can keep our own hands clean if we have the wealth to distance ourselves from life's messier realities, or if we can bully people like the Faeroese into sharing our humane sentiments.

We are all involved in spilling blood—even those who give to the International Wildlife Coalition. When we buy meat or any animal product, including leather shoes, we in effect pay others to do our bloodletting. The killing that takes place in the slaughterhouses is no more respectable than what happens to pilot whales. Just contemplate the dismal lot of cows, calves and lambs that we breed and fatten only to

herd to their deaths.

Vegetarians do not escape responsibility, either. To raise the crops they eat, we have to clear land. The clearing of land destroys various species' habitats. Deprived of a source of food, wild animals crowd out other animals, or suffer slow death by starvation. Then to harvest the vegetarians' foods, we poison, trap, shoot or drive off creatures (such as the raccoon that last night raided my fig tree) that also need to feed on them.

Florida panther: Anyone who loves nature beyond the level of "Bambi" must recognize and accept its brutality along with its beauty. But we do not promote such understandingessential to saving our environment and its wildlife—by pretending that violent death is not part of nature, or that we human beings, in order to survive, do not play a part in that violence.

The point is that saving animals from suffering is not the same thing as saving wildlife. In preserving the natural environment, we also preserve the suffering that goes with it. Species prey upon species in the wild world. And in the civilized world, too. It's the only way the human species can survive.

Idon't think that sending dollars to the coalition will wash away the stain of blood. Yet great harm can be done, however appealing pilot whales may be. Money spent on a species that is not really endangered is money not spent on those actually threatened and that, for a lack of resources, we may lose. Like the sperm whale or the Florida panther.

Emotional campaigns can only undermine the environmental movement and encourage the tendency to dismiss conservationists as hand-wringing sentimentalists. Concern for the suffering of animals is legitimate but, whatever the members of the coalition may imagine, the Faeroese do not kill whales just to watch them suffer. Whale meat is still a dietary staple; it accounts for 25 percent of the meat Faeroese consume. And whale drives are organized on a communal and noncommercial basis—the Faeroese do not sell their catch.

The letters I received informed me that even Faeroese children are involved in the whale slaughter, yet I think these children will probably grow up with a deeper understanding of man's relation to and dependence on nature than those for whom all meat comes wrapped in a plastic package and all wild animals are images on TV. Indeed, herding whales from small boats seems not the easiest way to gather one's supper and is an experience that should leave the participant with a sense of just what is involved in reducing a living creature to food.

Lockett has taught linguistics in Mexico and Brazil and now lives in Austin, Texas.



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THE MAIL



Crash! The New York Stock Exchange

Market Meltdown

I found your cover story on the crash of '87 (NATIONAL AFFAIRS, Nov. 2) very interesting. I lived through the 1929 crash and experienced the agony of the subsequent Depression—the great shame of America. Apparently, Americans are never satisfied with well-being--were we not doing well enough when the Dow was at 1200? We know that whatever goes up must come down, unless it is lighter than air or in orbit. The stock market was violating a basic law of physics. I watched the recent stock-market binges and said to my family, "I see a replay of 1929 on the screen." How true the old adage is: experience is a great school and fools will learn in no other.

C. L. LAWRENCE Panama City, Fla.

Ronald Reagan has finally fulfilled the promise of those 1984 campaign commercials that assured us it was "morning in America." What with our becoming the largest debtor nation, our huge trade deficit, our being found guilty of violating international law by the World Court, our selling arms to terrorist Iran and now the crash-it is, indeed, mourning in America.

> JACQUES LEVY Santa Rosa, Calif.

Peter Peterson's "After an Economic Heart Attack" is the best article I have read concerning the economic problems facing this country. Yes, we must increase savings. I don't believe Americans avoid saving because of stupidity or hardheadedness but because the tax laws penalize saving and encourage borrowing. The deficit will never be solved if the runaway costs of social security and federal retirements are not controlled. It was discouraging to hear President Reagan state that everything is on the table but social security.

EDWARD T. KING, M.D. Yukon, Okla.

We, the public, are too lax in letting Congress and the administration get away with the mounting deficit. We need to be more demanding of Congress, in letters and with our votes. The market crash should be a stern warning to us that what doesn't get done in Washington will cost us back home.

RUSSELL C. LEFFEL Shawnee Mission, Kans.

Wall Street's slip is showing again, and cries of doom are echoing across the land. Why? If the Wall Street gamblers had gone to Las Vegas and dropped \$500 billion at the blackjack tables it would have made a very interesting feature story, but would it have caused a nationwide panic? While it is

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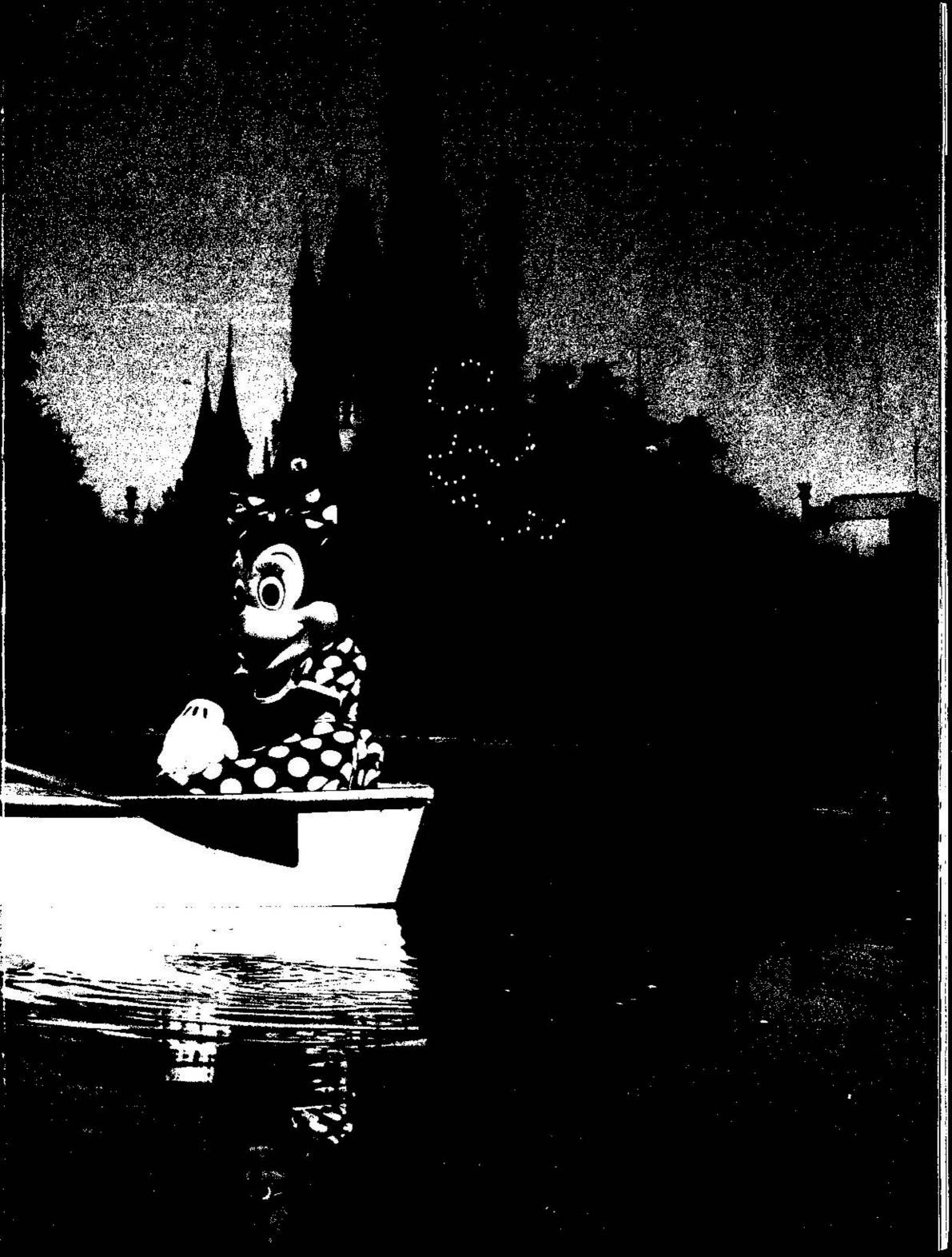
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true that billions have been lost in paper wealth, the real wealth of this nation, its natural resources, has not declined one whit since Black Monday. Perhaps it is time to recognize the Street for what it is: the world's largest casino. Common sense should tell us that any institution that creates 30-year-old millionaires, yet produces nothing but waste paper, is standing on very shaky ground.

R. M. OWENS New Castle, Pa.

I am tired of your attempts to lay the blame for the crash of '87 on President Reagan's economic policies, instead of where it belongs. Let's point the finger at the unremitting greed of Yuppie stockbrokers; at the fools who mortgage their houses to buy stocks; at the even bigger fools who can't live within their income and pile up credit-card debt at a terrifying rate. Until Congress finally passes a Reagan budget, or gives the president his oft-requested line-item veto, get off his back.

WALTER E. MURDOCK Palo Alto, Calif.

Ronald Reagan has achieved his goal of re-creating the good old days of the 1920s. During his administration, we've relived the corruption of Harding's, the laziness of Coolidge's and the crash of Hoover's.

> ALLEN HORSTMAN Albion, Mich.

Taking Stock

Your recent article "The Foibles of ESOP's" (BUSINESS, Oct. 19) does a great disservice to a powerful new idea. Employee stock-ownership plans offer workers a financial stake in a system that is far weaker for having left them out. And those who oppose worker participation in ownership without "worker control" simply discourage efforts by workers, and those helping them, to benefit from the success they help to create. ESOP financing can create a more equitable, productive and competitive society.

> RUSSELL B. LONG Former U.S. Senator from Louisiana Washington, D.C.

I'd like to clarify a reference to my book "Employee Ownership: Revolution or Ripoff?" (Ballinger Publishing Co./Harper & Row). You quote me as saying that many ESOP's could be improved if all employees were given "the basic rights of ownership," including the ability to vote on key issues like mergers or divestitures. Employees do, in fact, have some voting rights already. But this does not go far enough. I

also specified a number of other rights that are important for true ownership, such as board membership, profit sharing, involvement in solving company problems and voting on such issues as a tender offer or the issuance of new shares.

> JOSEPH R. BLASI San Luis Obispo, Calif.

You pointed out some potentially serious problems with the concept of employee ownership, but erred in suggesting that ESOP's are "commonly used in corporate restructurings." In fact, they are used primarily in profitable, ongoing companies. Moreover, they are only rarely used to replace a pension plan. Clearly ESOP's have their "foibles," but let's focus on the entire phenomenon of ESOP growth, not the handful of spectacular, but unusual, cases in which ESOP's are used in major corporate restructurings.

Corey Rosen, Executive Director National Center for Employee Ownership Oakland, Calif.

Series Record

Congratulations! You've just set a new world record: NEWSWEEK must be the only news magazine in history that has managed to avoid any mention of the baseball playoffs and the World Series in four consecutive issues. I realize that your star writers were far too busy interviewing scab football players and analyzing Andre Dawson's contract to take note of the series, but couldn't you have sent some novice underling to check it out?

> LEMAR NELSON Blooming Prairie, Minn.

The Value of Life

I was one of the millions who waited, watched, hoped, prayed and finally rejoiced when baby Jessica McClure was lifted from the well (NATIONAL AFFAIRS, Oct. 26). It was indeed heartwarming to see such a large number of people intensely involved and committed to the saving of one life. Paradoxically, though, during the 58½ hours it took to rescue Jessica, an estimated 10,000 legal abortions took place across our nation. Can Americans see this as an opportunity to re-examine the inconsistencies in the way we value human life?

CAROLE SMAY, R.N. Weirton, W. Va.

Expert Opinion

"The Lessons From Mrs. Reagan's Case" (NATIONAL AFFAIRS, Oct. 26) gives a welldeserved plug for mammography, a proven, effective lifesaver. However, your article does a disservice to readers by implying that most cancer specialists believe thermography can be trusted as an adjunct to mammography in diagnosis. Thermography is not seriously accepted by most experts as an accurate primary or secondary study for the diagnosis of breast cancer.

> MARTIN B. FLAMM, M.D. Metairie, La.

Just Say Yes?

Your story "Not Tonight, Dear" (HEALTH, Oct. 26) is worth reading, but it leaves out one important reason for Inhibited Sexual Desire. You say these couples are not having sex with each other. Did you ever stop to think they may be having sex with someone else? As a psychotherapist, I can tell you that sex is often enhanced by a new partner, who adds a sense of mystery, conquest, heightened sexual excitement and challenge. Bedding down with one person for a lifetime can produce boredom, apathy and sustained lack of interest. Of course, if couples would try to remain as sexually attractive, warm, interested and interesting with each other as they are with strangers, the lost thrill might return.

MARION BERGAD Manhasset Hills, N.Y.

If there is anything that will make a man feel like a man, it's making a woman feel like a woman. When a woman insists on looking, working, thinking and behaving like a man, what incentive is there for a man to respond like a man? And if he cannot respond like a man, what is left for him to say beyond "Not tonight, dear"?

> E. Allan Skinner Enfield, Conn.

As someone who chronologically qualifies as a Yuppie, I am fed up with being stereotyped as an impulsive, materialistic brat prone to buy a Volvo, invest in the stock market—and now catch what you call the "new Yuppie disease." Actually, as your article points out, ISD can "hit anyone" and may be experienced by "anywhere from 20 to 50 percent of the general population." This hardly justifies calling it a Yuppie affliction. The only difference between young, dual-career couples and the rest of the married world is that the former are facing up to this problem instead of repressing it.

> KAREN BERNEY Washington, D.C.

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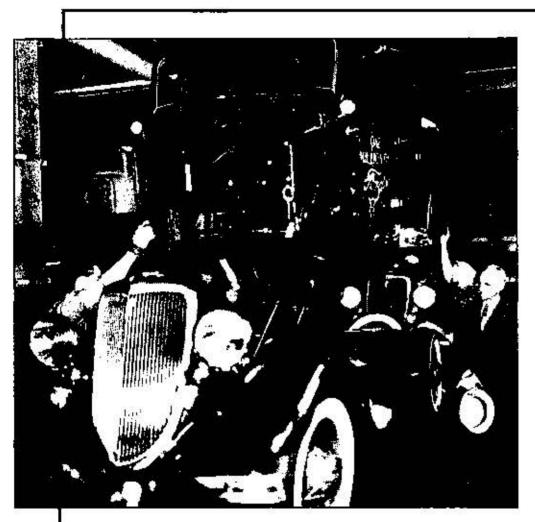


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-Eiji Toyoda, Toyota Motor Corp.

(From "Citizen Ford" by David Halberstam, AMERICAN HERITAGE, Oct./Nou '86)





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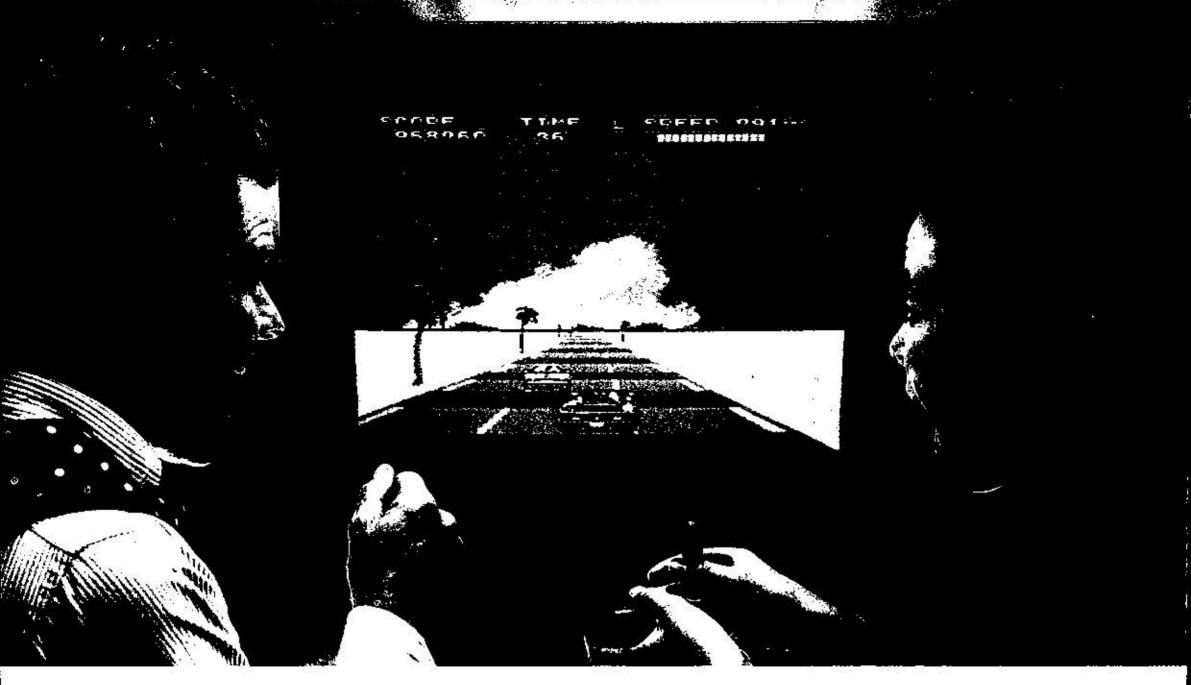
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Overheard

guess he's just a blip, but he's going to have to be a footnote, at least."

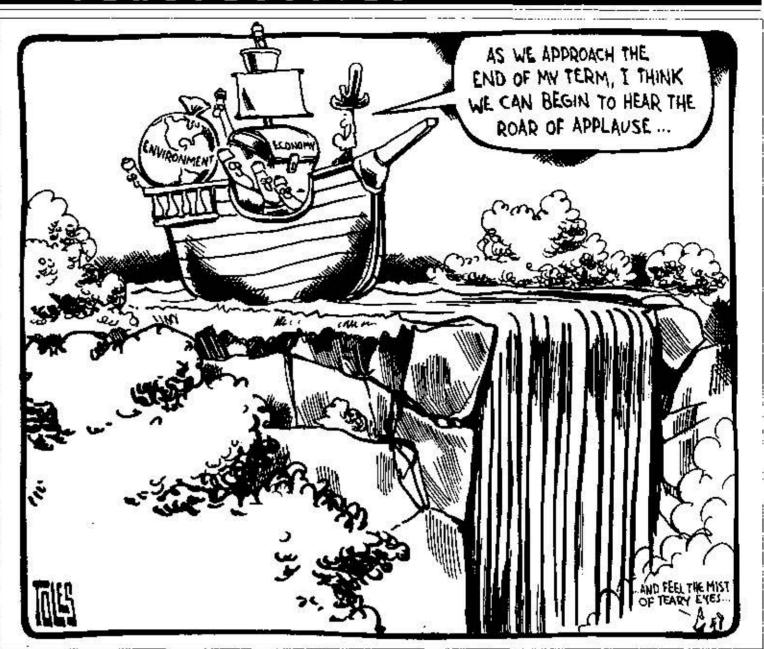
Senate legal counsel
MICHAEL DAVIDSON, on how
the annals of Congress will refer
to the withdrawal of Douglas
Ginsburg, whose Supreme Court
nomination was never formally
submitted to the Senate

just feel absolutely certain about it. Don't you?"

Richard Nixon's spokesman, John Taylor, on how he knows Nixon never smoked pot

ey, that really is none of your business."

Education Secretary
WILLIAM BENNETT, asked
what he did on a blind date he
once had with druggie rock singer
Janis Joplin



€ 1987 TOLES—BUFFALO NEWS



§ 1987 MIKE LUCKOVICH—TIMES-PICAYUNE

must say my whole life raced in front of me. I saw my dog.
I saw my parents. I saw my family. I saw my hometown. Then I didn't see anything for a long, long time."

Newly declared presidential candidate Bob Dole, on being wounded in World War II

God is in heaven, Reagan is in the White House and Robertson is on his way."

Telephone greeting of DAVE ZACHEM, Robertson's Florida campaign coordinator

his is no longer a slum neighborhood. I haven't heard of a Cubs fan being shot in a long time."

South Side Chicago resident CHARLOTTE NEWFELD

We don't have much empathy for a Negro who wears a white glove and has injections to make his skin paler."

Spokesman for an Aboriginal tribe in Australia, where three of Michael Jackson's eight planned concerts were canceled because of poor ticket sales

our, three, two, one . . . I guess it has launched. Wait. Oops. I'm going to have to call you back."

An Air Force official describing last week's test launch of an unarmed Minuteman-2 missile, which had to be destroyed in flight

e's no embarrassment to me."

RONALD REAGAN, on Ed Meese's handling of the Ginsburg nomination



g 1987 ED GAMBLE—FLORIDA TIMES-UNION

The Politics of Austerity

Despite urgent calls for budget cuts and higher taxes, the public isn't buying

n his hometown of Russell, Kans., Republican Sen. Bob Dole last week declared that his campaign for the White House would be a crusade for one cause: reducing the nation's budget deficit through austerity. In Iowa, Democratic candidate Bruce Babbitt, a lagging contender with little to lose, called for a national sales tax and a levy on entitlement benefits for affluent Americans. Across the country, an impressive array of economists, businessmen and former government officials took out full-page advertisements in newspapers urging "bipartisan cooperation" in Washington to reduce the deficits through new taxes and spending reductions. In fact, White House and congressional representatives at the "budget summit" on Capitol Hill seemed at the weekend to be relatively close to an agreement. Budgetary politics, though, is a notoriously fluid affair. A deal was by no means set-though everyone,

it seemed, recognized the urgent need for economic responsibility.

After a long period of hibernation, proponents of economic rectitude are poking their heads into the light. During seven years of Ronald Reagan's let-the-goodtimes-roll presidency, advocates of austerity and tax increases were banished to the political wilderness. Walter Mondale promised to raise taxes and lost a national election, 49 states to one. David Stockman practically got run out of his job as Reagan's budget chief for saying publicly what everyone privately knew was true about "the budget process." "None of us really understands," he said, "what's going on with all these numbers." Then came Oct. 19, Black



'Tough medicine': Dole campaigns with Sen. Warren Rudman

Monday on Wall Street. The crash was seen as a vindication by those who had for years been calling for realism about the budget. Polltakers* quickly probed the public's willingness to accept harsh economic measures. The once lonely voices were joined by the shaken financial community calling for less debt, tax increases and less consumption. Washington, they said, must do something. In short, let the good times stop.

But the politics of austerity remains a very tough sell. Public-opinion analysts say the public remains unconvinced, despite

*For this Newsweek Poll, Selection Research, Inc., conducted telephone interviews with a national sample of 500 adults on Nov. 13. The margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. The Newsweek Poll § 1987



At the budget summit: Conferees drew

the stock market's breathtaking collapse. A Newsweek Poll illustrates that: voters do not like the idea of tax increases to reduce the nation's budget deficit. It doesn't matter whether it's a slight increase in incometax rates or a 10-cent rise in the federal tax on gasoline-the public says no. By and large, Americans also resist most spending cuts. A majority favors reductions in only two areas: social-security outlays for relatively affluent retirees and defense spending.

That doesn't leave the politicians much room to maneuver. In the wake of the crash -widely perceived to have taken place in part because of the budget deficit-the White House and Congress convened

their budget summit. But amidst fervent pleas at home and abroad for quick action, the negotiations have been torturous. On Wednesday of last week the summiteers were hopeful; on Thursday everything had almost fallen apart; on Friday, before they broke for the weekend, hope returned. The summiteers said they were close to a deal that would save about \$31 billion in 1988.

Who knew if that would stick when they reconvened this week. The problem, as ever, was a reluctance to make politically sensitive cuts and raise taxes. There were reports that President Reagan, House Speaker Jim Wright and Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd agreed to a three-



closer, but an agreement was not certain

month delay in a cost-of-living increase for social-security recipients and federal employees. These two entitlement programs account for a huge chunk of spending, but they are among the most politically difficult to tamper with. A spokesman for Byrd denied they were part of any deal. But if and when a delay in these COLA's comes, protocol and good politics would dictate that Byrd, Wright and Reagan make a joint announcement, so all three can claim victory-and share the heat.

Delaying the cost-of-living adjustments in these programs would hardly be stunning. The savings would amount to all of \$2 billion. Wall Street is not likely to be impressed. But as the mercurial pace of the summit clearly demonstrates, congressmen do not take their cues

from either Wall Street or America's major trading partners. They listen to specialinterest groups in Washington and the constituents back home. Says California pollster Mervin Field: "The public just doesn't think about how we're going to reduce the budget deficit." Many legislators, indeed, haven't heard much of anything-from their constituents. Those who have say the response has been mostly negative to various proposals for cuts. Sen. Alan Simpson said he got only one letter from a group volunteering to take a cut in benefits if other groups would also make a sacrifice. The Disabled American Veterans would accept a freeze or cap on veterans' benefit COLA's if other groups did the same.

Most of the presidential aspirants on the stump treat the deficit the same way the politicians in Washington do—with lots of good-intentioned banalities and few specifics. Of the Democrats, no one offers the level of detail Babbitt does on tax increases or budget cuts. Doing "something" about the deficit is standard fare from all the Democratic candidates, but most remain haunted by the devastation of Mondale.

Pr. Dole: On the Republican side, Dole, now running second to Vice President George Bush in most polls, has positioned himself as the candidate of economic discipline. The United States needs "tough medicine" to cure its economic ills, he argues, and as the consummate Washington insider, he's the man who can administer it. The risk in that strategy is obvious. The man Dole is chasing, Bush, has said little about the deficit. And he has endorsed a reduction in the capital-gains tax. That would add to the deficit without spending reductions.

Are the candidates who say little on such issues being irresponsible? Arguably so. But they are also being politically prudent because there is no public outcry for a solution. In New Hampshire, James J. Finnegan, editorial-page director of the Manchester Union Leader, a highly conservative paper, says most people feel increased taxes would be "a disaster." In Iowa, few farmers are willing to accept cuts in subsidies.

A sense of urgency could emerge, of course, if the economy takes a sharp downturn. But that's a rather brutal Catch-22. If the economy sours, tax increases and budget slashing exacerbate the problem. Thus far the U.S. economy seems to be holding up fairly well after the crash. Consumer spending was off only slightly in October, and the U.S. trade deficit shrank appreciably, buoying the stock market briefly last week. So, the time to make substantive cuts in the budget may be now. This week the budget conferees will demonstrate whether there is sufficient political will in Washington. Don't bet the mortgage.

BILL POWELL with ELEANOR CLIFT.
RICH THOMAS, TIM NOAH and
SYLVESTER MONROE in Washington

The Public Says No to Higher Taxes

Which of the following should be the main approach used to reduce the federal budget deficit?

9% Higher taxes

43% Major cuts in defense spending

23% Major cuts in nondefense domestic spending

8% Caps on automatic cost-of-living increases in social-security and other benefit payments?

Do you favor or oppose the following specific approaches to cutting the deficit?

	FAVOR	OPPOSE
A 2 percent increase in federal income-tax rates?	32%	63%
A 10 cent-per-gallon gasoline tax?	20%	77%
A 2 percent reduction in automatic cost-of-living increases in social-security and other benefit programs	27%	69%
An actual decrease in social-security benefits for recipients who earn more than \$25,000 a year from other sources	55%	40%

Has Reagan Changed?

Not really, but the rest of the world has

BY JONATHAN ALTER

he headlines were blunt enough: A DIS-ENGAGED PRESIDENCY, REAGAN'S AR-TICULATION GAP, PRESIDENT DENIES LAPSES LAID TO HIM IN THE PRESS. Reagan was described variously by White House aides and others as "little more than a figurehead president," a "cue-card president," a "detached president." The right wing was suddenly aflame over Reagan's compromise with moderates on budget and tax issues. George McGovern would be PROUD, read the headline on a conservative column decrying the way the president, out of touch with his own principles, accepted the idea of Congress raising taxes and running fiscal policy in the middle of an apparent economic crisis.

That may sound like media coverage of Reagan in recent weeks and months. It's not. The characterizations are all from his first term. The date on Newsweek's a dis-ENGAGED PRESIDENCY Was Sept. 7, 1981. The "McGovern" column, written by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak after Reagan agreed to a \$100 billion tax increase, one of the largest in history, ran July 26, 1982. Similarly, the president's behavior amid the stock-market crash isn't new. The "helicopter noise" strategy for dodging the press began as far back as 1981. In those days Reagan could be just as halting, unimpressive and often plain wrong on the facts as he is now. Recent struggles among the president's men have a familiar ring too. Staff squabbling has always been intense and widely publicized—in part because there has always been so much delegated power for aides to fight over.

fell asleep: Ronald Reagan is older, a bit grayer and more distracted than in the past by personal matters like the health of his wife. But he is no more "disengaged" than he was when he called the only black in his cabinet "Mr. Mayor"(1981) or Sen. Don ! Nickles "Don Rickles" (1986) or fell asleep during a meeting with the pope (1982). And he is no more, or less, flexible than in the past. Last week's New York Times story entitled reagan's new reality: compro-MISE is in truth Reagan's old reality. Ever since he was governor of California, where he ran up historic deficits and raised taxes, Reagan has eventually compromised his principles if it spelled the difference between success and failure.

So if Reagan hasn't changed so much, who has? The answer is the political system's other players: the politicians, the pub-



LARRY DOWNING-NEWSWEEK

Now, events ride him: The president at Bitburg

lic, the press. These people have changed their impressions of Reagan's leadership partly on the basis of what they believe the other players think. It's a political hall of mirrors. Thus the politicians on Capitol Hill are less vulnerable to Reagan because the public defied the president's wishes in 1986 by shifting control of the Senate from the Republicans to the Democrats. And the moderates, most prominently White House chief of staff Howard Baker, are less vulnerable to the conservatives because they turned out to be right about the mood of politicians and the public on issues like the future of the Supreme Court. Then the press holds up a mirror to these new views on the part of the politicians and the public, reflecting and reinforcing them further.

All of this perceptual cross-pollination occurs, of course, against a backdrop of events. The Iran-contra scandal erodes trust in the president. The stock-market crash adds fear. In the past Reagan rode such crises, sometimes even turning them to his advantage. Now, in that old Ralph Waldo Emerson formulation, events are in the saddle and riding him. That change is a second-term phenomenon. Recall how Rea-

gan's brave recovery from an assassination attempt in 1981 created a heroic aura that helped him win his legislative program. His recovery from cancer in 1985 did not have the same emotional weight. In 1984 he could cut and run from Lebanon and few

> blamed him. By 1985, when he laid a wreath at a Bitburg, West Germany, cemetery containing Nazi war dead, he never heard the end of it.

> New clichés: Perhaps it's as simple as the words of the reggae song: the harder they come, the harder they fall. The tone of press coverage corresponds uncannily to a president's popularity. And the press pack is bearish en masse. Even the clichés can be neatly transmogrified. His warm campaign pitch is now the cold "It's Morning (After) in America"; "The Great Communicator" is now "The Great Prevaricator." The reversals can be dizzying. In its Fourth of July issue, 1986, Time magazine, under the headline YANKEE DOODLE MAGic, called Reagan "one of the strongest leaders of the 20th Century." Sixteen months later—under the headline wно's IN CHARGE? -- the magazine noted that "the nation calls for leadership and there is no one home." The president was the same man. Only the ethereal "magic" so dear to journalistic imagination had faded away.

Now comes the public lament, addressed to the press. Why didn't you tell us about this guy? Why do we find out the hard way? As the "disengaged" headlines from 1981 and 1982 suggest, those articles were written. But they slipped further and further back in papers and magazines, eventually disappearing altogether. Editors rationalized that the public knew and didn't care. And the criticism was out of sync with Reagan's brilliant TV images. It didn't matter what Sam Donaldson or any other reporter said about Reagan during the 1984 campaign. On television, the Normandy cliffs, the balloons, the bands, the refrain of "America standing tall," spoke louder.

Has the Reagan presidency really been one long TV show after all? If so, there may be another reason for the president's current difficulties—something beyond the control of politicians, the press and Reagan and his image makers. A popular TV series often has good scripts and strong characters through different episodes and many years. Then, overnight, for reasons no one can understand, the whole thing vanishes. Bored and restless, the nation has simply changed the channel.



A 'squeaky clean' nominee: Kennedy and family appear in the White House briefing room

Kennedy for the Court

After two strikes, Reagan may have hit safely

he experience of the last several months has made all of us a bit wiser," Ronald Reagan said last week. For a change, his actions spoke louder than his words. He had come to the White House briefing room to announce another nominee to the U.S. Supreme Court. Only this time he wasn't picking a fight with the Democratic-controlled U.S. Senate by pledging to send a conservative dragon slayer to the bench. Instead, as some of his more moderate aides had urged for weeks, Reagan quietly announced the selection of Anthony Kennedy, a 51-year-old federal judge from California, and the president's best hope to finally fill the ninth seat on the high court.

At the White House and on Capitol Hill, Kennedy's great strength is that he is neither Robert Bork nor Douglas Ginsburg, the two Reagan nominees who foundered this fall. Unlike Bork. Kennedy has not produced a library of controversial legal writings that challenge settled court doctrines. Unlike Ginsburg, Kennedy has a long record as an appellate judge—he's written 438 opinions. And, as he made clear during a White House grilling, he's never smoked marijuana. "They asked me that question, and the answer was no, firmly no," Kennedy declared during a brief press conference that followed Reagan's announcement.

The White House staff, which has been criticized for its hasty review of Ginsburg, was more careful this time. They enlisted Stuart Spencer, a veteran GOP political consultant, to work his network of sources looking for anything in the judge's past that might be embarrassing. He came up empty. Kennedy also was invited to the White House last Sunday for an extraordinary three-hour cross-examination on Washington's fearsome "character issue." As respectfully as possible, Attorney General Edwin Meese, chief of staff Howard Baker and Baker's deputy, Kenneth Duberstein, questioned Kennedy about adultery, drugs, medical problems, children's peccadilloes and past clients. Reagan him-



DENNIS COOK- AP A successful nomination? Meese and the president

self spent 30 minutes with Kennedy, asking him directly if he had anything to hide. The candidate, whom friends tirelessly describe as "squeaky clean," said he had no hidden skeletons lurking in his past.

Kennedy's past appears largely unobjectionable. An honors graduate of Stanford and Harvard Law School, Kennedy took over his father's Sacramento law office in 1963. He built a diversified local practice that included some legislative lobbying for corporate clients. In that capacity, he first came to the attention of the then Gov. Reagan and his aide Meese. Kennedy later worked with Meese on an unsuccessful ballot initiative to cut state taxes.

In 1975 Gerald Ford appointed Kennedy to the federal court of appeals.

On the bench Kennedy appears to have performed as a mainstream conservative. "He seems to be a cautious case-by-case judge who probably does not yet know how he would rule on the major issues," says Duke law professor Walter Dellinger, who advises Senate Democrats. In some respects, his judicial style resembles that of Lewis F. Powell Jr., the centrist justice Kennedy was named to replace. "His view is, why stretch to reach a controversial social issue unless you really have to?" says Clark Kelso, a former law clerk. "Why go out of your way to cause trouble?" For example, he upheld the Navy's power to discharge homosexual sailors because of "the special need for discipline . . . in the service." Unlike Bork in a similar case, Kennedy did not gratuitously excoriate the constitutional right to privacy, a doctrine the Supreme Court used to strike down most restrictions on abortion.

No fight: Kennedy's record irritates the ardent right wing. "After years of struggling, I think [administration officials] have finally mastered incompetence." says Paul Brown, head of the anti-abortion American Life League. "If you read Kennedy's decisions ... there's no way he could be with us." Senate conservatives say they will swallow their disappointment. Sen. Jesse Helms, who a fortnight ago threatened to filibuster against Kennedy. pledged his support. And Democrats appeared relieved that they might not have to fight the White House again. "The whole atmosphere is different," said Sen. Patrick Leahy, a member of the Judiciary Committee. But Senate aides and FBI agents will continue to rummage in Kennedy's record—and a final vote is not expected until January.

ARIC PRESS with ANN McDaniel in Washington and Lynda Whight in Sucramento

Trouble for the Early Birds

The perils of starting first in a long campaign



Campaigning at the 'retail level': Gephardt drops in on yet another living room

hen Bruce Babbitt campaigns in Des Moines, Iowa, these days, he stays at the Kirkwood Hotel. The Kirkwood offers no room service, one very slow elevator and patio furniture in the lobby. Until recently, the former governor of Arizona and current Democratic presidential candidate stayed at fancier places like the Savery or the Fort Des Moines. But Babbitt can no longer afford the luxury of high-priced accommodations. At \$32, the Kirkwood is less than half the price of the more comfortable hotels. Babbitt, like other "early bird" candidates, is beginning to feel pinched for cash. "I'm running a nuts-and-berries campaign," he jokes.

Babbitt followed the Conventional Wisdom for an obscure presidential candidate: start campaigning a year or two before anyone else, learn to love Iowa and New Hampshire and organize at the grass-roots level so you can spring a surprise when the voting starts. George McGovern won the Democratic nomination that way in 1972. Jimmy Carter perfected the technique on the way to the White House in 1976.

But the news from Campaign '88 is that the early birds may be headed for the endangeredspecies list. Running short of money, bone weary and overexposed in the longest and most video-intense campaign yet, these candidates are fighting for survival against latecomers who are benefiting from the mere act of starting "late." "The Carter strategy doesn't work anymore," says Gerald Rafshoon, the ex-president's former media adviser. "You just can't keep fighting the Jimmy Carter war over and over."

For one thing, that war is expensive. Early starters like Democrats Babbitt and Rep. Richard Gephardt and Republican Rep. Jack Kemp have borrowed heavily against the matching funds they will get in January from the government. That could leave them with precious little cash for later campaigning. And the long-distance run-

Kitchen crusade: Babbitt on the road in New Hampshire

ners are showing signs of physical strain. Babbitt's campaign managers have imposed a strict eight-hours-sleep-a-night rule. And Gephardt now carries a thermos bottle of hot water, lemon and honey to soothe his overworked vocal cords.

In earlier years obscure candidates could forage in Iowa and New Hampshire unobserved and without raising expectations. No more. Matters heated up quickly this year when front runner Gary Hart withdrew in May, focusing attention on the remaining Democrats. The broader problem is that in both parties ubiquitous CNN and C-SPAN television cameras and a computerized "hot line"-which daily disseminates massive amounts of campaign information (Newsweek, Nov. 2)—have knitted the national political culture together, making surprise difficult. "You can't sneak up on the process anymore," says Robert G. Beckel, Walter Mondale's 1984 manager. "There's no place to hide."

Out of steam? Indeed, starting early risks peaking too soon. Gephardt was the first Democrat to formally enter the race, in February 1987—a full year before the Iowa caucuses. The strategy at the time was for him to sneak up behind Hart. When Hart withdrew, Gephardt became the perceived Iowa front runner. In an effort to maintain that position, he has had to run an exhausting "retail" campaign—getting to know Iowans up close and personal. Gephardt is the only candidate to visit all 99 of Iowa's counties, sometimes spending the night in the homes of influential Democrats ("He was a good guest," says Timothy Bottaro of Sioux City. "He even made his bed"). But Gephardt's lead in the polls has slipped since Gov. Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts and Illinois Sen. Paul Simon arrived on the scene, causing some observers to conclude that Gephardt has already run out of steam.

Despite the potential pitfalls, the obscure candidates probably had no choice but to jump into the race early. Political

experts in Iowa agree that early organization in a caucus state is crucial since candidates are not just asking for a vote, but for attendance at a long precinct meeting on a cold Iowa night. If nothing else, the candidates have gained precious name recognition and experience—assets they will carry with them through the vicissitudes of a long campaign. In other words, while the Conventional Wisdom of the early start is under challenge, the race is far from over. The early birds could still soar.

> HOWARD FINEMAN and ELEANOR CLIFT in Washington, JOHN McCormick in Towa



Once a G-Man, Now a Pacifist

A costly conversion

row, John C. Ryan was the quintessential FBI agent. As a J. Edgar Hoover disciple, he believed the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was a communist and hawkishly supported United States involvement in Vietnam. He once helped hunt fugitive antiwar activists Father Daniel Berrigan and his brother Philip. With 21 years of honorable service and two bureau commendations behind him, Ryan, 49, was headed for a quiet retirement from the Peoria, Ill., FBI office. But 10 months before the big day, he was fired.

Ryan's career came completely unraveled when he refused last December to conduct a local investigation of attacks on 11 military recruiting offices in the Chicago area. The target of the FBI probe was Silo Plowshares, a group opposed to United States policy in Central America. In a letter to his supervisor, Ryan said he could not investigate the group in good conscience because he, too, believed the government's



'My foundations were coming out from under me': Ryan in Peoria with some friends

support of the contras in Nicaragua was wrong. Fellow agents were shocked by Ryan's refusal to carry out an assignment. Few of them knew that he had undergone a transformation from a case-hardened G-man to an unyielding pacifist.

The change began in 1978 after Ryan, a devout Roman Catholic who once studied for the priesthood, started taking college courses in religious studies. By the time he received his master's degree in 1984, his views had changed completely: he disavowed Hoover and embraced King; he

ardently condemned Washington's involvement in Central America. And he felt strongly that the FBI should not be involved in surveillance of peace groups.

But his newfound beliefs didn't fit well with his job as Peoria's chief counterintelligence operative. "I had painted myself into a corner with my own moral convictions," says Ryan. His first public act of defiance came in March 1984 when he took part in a nuclear-freeze demonstration. "He was in a very peculiar position," says Father Ronald C. Lievens, a local

antiwar leader who attended the seminary with Ryan. "He knew he was part of the FBI, he knew he had to be careful." John Greiner, head of the Peoria Peace Network, says some activists wondered, "Should we trust this guy?"

Dogged pursuit: Ryan's wife, Peggy, says the couple is "on a real high" now that the agonizing battle between the old hawkish Ryan and the new dovish Ryan is finally over. While that may be true, the battle over Ryan's future with the agency is only beginning. Last month Rep. Don Edwards, a Democrat from California, initiated an inquiry into the dismissal. Edwards, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, says he also wants to question the agency about how it classifies dissident groups. As for Ryan, he's looking forward to the day when he is given back his old job, so he can retire officially with his dignity-and pension—intact.

Harvard Title For Sale?

Institutions of higher learning have always had a cozy relationship with wealthy benefactors. It's hard to name a college or university that lacks a John Q. Megabucks Library, Dormitory or Hockey Rink. But what if the donor wants something more than a name on a building? Something more ... prestigious. Like, say, the title of officer of the university at an Ivy League school? How much would that cost?

About half a million dollars, it turns out—at least if you're dealing with Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. Under a proposed agreement disclosed by Harvard's student newspaper, The Crimson, the Kennedy school proffered the title (usually reserved for professors and school administrators) to Charles C. Dickinson III and his wife, Joanne—an oil-rich couple from Wichita Falls, Texas. In turn, the Dickinsons were to donate \$500,000 over 10 years to a fund for debt-encumbered graduates. "It is clear that the handling of this case does not meet my own standards or the standards of the university," said a contrite Dean Graham T. Al-

Dealing for donations: Allison
MICHAEL QUAN



lison, who granted tentative approval to the deal. "I regret that I did not review the draft more carefully."

Allison's lame apology did little to spare the school embarrassment. Though Harvard declined to explain just what special privileges the officer of the university title would have afforded the Dickinsons, a memo obtained by The Crimson made it clear the couple had something other than pure philanthropy on their minds. "What is the most prestigious title she can buy for \$250K?" a Kennedy school official says Mrs. Dickinson wanted to know. Elsewhere, the memo quotes Joanne: "Charles [a Dartmouth graduate] and I want an identity. We want to be affiliated with Harvard." Now it appears the Dickinsons will have to go shopping for an identity elsewhere. Look out, Yale.

> TERRY E. JOHNSON with MONROE ANDERSON in Peoria



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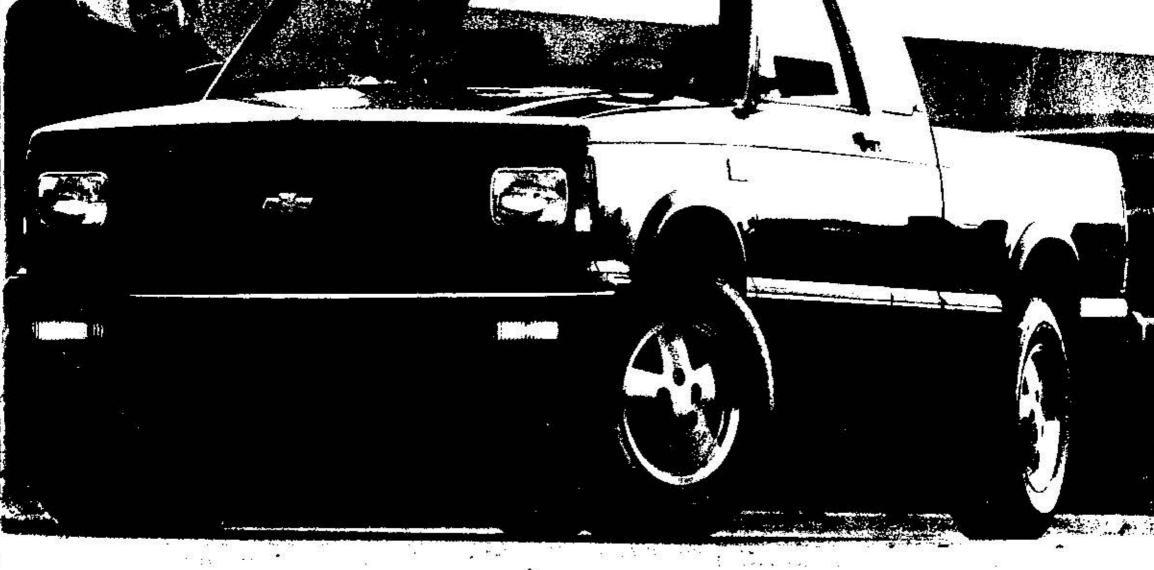
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1968	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE	1978	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE
1969	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE	1979	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE
1970	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE	1980	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE
1971	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE	1981	NORTHUESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE
1972	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE	1982	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE
1973	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE	1983	NORTHUESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE
1974	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE	1984	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE
1975	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE	1985	NORTHWESTERN	MUTUAL	LIFE
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The Southwest Drug Connection

Waves of pot, coke and gunpowder spread fear along the border

or a tumbleweed town on the Mexican border, Roma, Texas (population: 4,000), has a big-time look. Big as the million-dollar homes sparkling among its 19th-century frontier buildings. Or the Lincolns and Mercedeses bumping down its dusty streets. Or the customized pickups parked outside its public housing-along

with off-road vehicles for the kids. Around Roma, where half the work force is unemployed, convenience-store managers wear Rolexes and folks pay cash for their flashy cars. Roma is a nowhere place dressing up like Miami, and along with the glitter comes the scent of pot, coke and gunpowder.

Roma's prosperity has not gone unchallenged. When a SWAT team dropped in on the estate of former laborer Eduardo Eden Garza recently,

the lawmen broke up a network that they said had pumped 3,000 pounds of marijuana a week onto American streets. But that was only a minor write-off for a Southwest drug connection that is fast coming to rival south Florida's in ostentatious wealth and violence. Along a 2,000-mile border, the old Mexican families who have trafficked comfortably in drugs since the days of bootleg liquor are making room for high-tech cartels with an appetite for huge profits. More alarming, the familiar northward flow of marijuana and heroin now surges with more cocaine than ever, pushed by Colombian profiteers specializing in murder and intimidation. All the fresh money and manpower of Operation Alliance, Ronald Reagan's year-old border offensive against drugs, has had little effect. "I don't care what anyone says; this is a war," says Assistant U.S. Attorney Terry Clark of Houston. "Whoever has the most assets wins-and I am not at all sure we will."

Burgeoning supplies: Washington has dedicated a \$266 million budget and 20 agencies to holding the line against drugs on the Mexican border. In the last five months alone officers have interdicted more than twice as much marijuana and cocaine as in all of 1986. Yet agents estimate they are siphoning off no more than 10 percent of the drug flood from the south. Burgeoning



The flow of marijuana and heroin now surges with cocaine pushed by Colombian profiteers: ACalifornia bust, dope smuggled to Texas in cans, an Arizona radar balloon

supplies of cocaine, the main money drug, have pushed wholesale prices down by as much as 40 percent along the border—to \$12,000 a kilo—a bargain that can only feed demand in America's inner cities, where crack is taking a terrible toll (page 33). The limited success of the Reagan administration's blockade against drugs around Miami has increased the pressure on the Southwest. "Some of the trafficking organizations are trying not to go to south Florida," says Jack Hook of the Drug Enforcement Administration's Miami field office. "They'll go through Central America to Mexico and then fly light private aircraft into Texas and Arizona."

Smuggling giants like Colombia's Medellín cartel and Mexico's Guadalajara organization already have increased cocaine shipments across the Mexican border from a trickle in the early 1980s to at least 30 percent of today's U.S. supply. Mexico is an ideal transshipment center because of its rugged, radar-blocking terrain and its 2,700 airstrips. The smugglers' latest Cessna Citation and Gulfstream jets can make the 3,000-mile cocaine run from northern South America to Baja California without refueling. The cocaine is ferried across the border in cars and trucks or in some 18,000 small-plane flights a year.

Pilots are paid at least \$20,000 a hop to fly drugs into the United States, and "mules" earn \$200 to ferry a load acrossphenomenal money during a Mexican recession that has driven real wages down 40 percent in five years. Drug money also feeds the prevailing corruption. After the murder of U.S. drug agent Enrique Camarena in Guadalajara two years ago, the Reagan administration angrily demanded Mexican reforms. But of the 68 suspects rounded up in Camarena's murder, only one has been sentenced to prison. Drug kingpins Rafael Caro Quintero and Ernesto Fonseca remain in jail in Mexico City

awaiting trial in the case. Yet while they sit, their flourishing networks have helped enhance the purity of bargain-basement U.S. street cocaine to as much as 80 percent.

The strange glow of drug-financed affluence is jarring in a town like Roma. But drug money also is pouring into real estate in booming Phoenix and supports a thriving illegal economy of bribery and money laundering throughout the Southwest. In tiny San Ysidro, Calif., just across the border from the Tijuana drug route to Los Angeles, the main street is lined with little casa de cambios. These money-exchange huts, in the estimate of federal agents, do 3 percent of their business with tourists and the rest with drug smugglers eager to make deposits for transfer out of the country. The rewards can be breathtaking. Casa operator Patrick Solarzano accumulated a silver Porsche, a Mercedes 450SL, an Audi 5000 and a luxury condominium near San Diego before his arrest last year and eventual three-year sentence for laundering an esti-



'A war': Helicopter patrol, crashed smuggling planes at Roma, Texas

Trying to Blockade a 2,000-Mile Border Only an estimated 10 percent of illicit drugs are stopped at the border. San Diego CALIFORNIA UNITED STATES San Ysidro MEXICO Phoenix Tijuana TEXAS El Paso Houston • Rio Grande IFORNIA MEXICO Brownsfille McAllen Roma 18 OHLSSON

Along more remote stretches of the border, drug smuggling is an industry of long standing, protected by codes of honor and small-town togetherness. This atmosphere has darkened considerably with the arrival of the Colombians. They have formed uneasy partnerships of convenience with the big Mexican dealers, spread their cocaine violence to the sageland and made things uncomfortable for the small entrepreneurs. "They are businesslike, unforgiving, and they never trust you," says a longtime marijuana trafficker who left the cocaine business in part, he says, "to preserve myself."

The Colombians own ranches in the Mexican town of Ojinaga, just across the border from Texas's Big Bend National Park. They also operate in the towns of Mier and Miguel Aleman, across from Starr County, a Texas smuggling center. Among other things, the Colombians appear to control a Mexican network formerly run by Pablo Acosta, a notorious smuggler killed in a shoot-out with police last April. In the United States itself, Colombians have begun buying into businesses in McAllen, Texas, according to U.S. officials. Coincidence or not, two lawmen on narcotics cases and a confidential informant have been murdered in McAllen in the last year. In Houston, a hub for border drug traffic, police have connected eight drug assassina-

tions to the Colombians this year and are

bracing for a Miami-style drug war. Nouveaux riches: Reagan's Operation Alliance, announced with fanfare in August 1986, is still organizing its battle against the cartels. The Customs Service, Border Patrol, Drug Enforcement Administration and FBI have all bolstered their forces in the Southwest. The IRS has contributed stronger efforts to trip up the area's drug nouveaux riches on tax and currency violations—although many of its 20 added agents were recruited fresh from college after some veterans proved reluctant to serve in a drug-war zone. The usual friction between Customs and the DEA has slowed progress, and the two rivals are exchanging agents in an attempt to foster cooperation. Local lawmen are bristling that the big Operation Alliance budget has not rubbed off on them. "You know what Operation Alliance has done for me?" asks Sheriff Jimmy Judd of Arizona's Cochise County, where 61 deputies patrol 83 miles of the border. His own answer: "Not a damn thing."

Without question, Operation Alliance has intercepted more drugs with its 1,500 new agents, its E2C radar planes, pursuit jets and Blackhawk helicopters than could have been possible otherwise. Earlier this month the first of six aerostat radar balloons was floated over Arizona; in time the balloon network should spot drug flights 200 miles before they reach the bor-

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der. Even so, U.S. agents can count on eliminating only another small part of the drug inflow—and on facing smugglers whose own sophistication has increased apace. Lawmen now find themselves under routine countersurveillance by a Colombianbacked cartel in the Rio Grande Valley. Secret compartments and tunnels devised by smugglers are growing harder to identify. And even the poorest Mexican mules are beginning to carry \$10,000 night-vision goggles and high-tech firearms on their smuggling runs.

Indeed, Southwest drug smugglers are still operating with almost ridiculous ease. In Arizona a farmer turned on his flashlight to repair a tractor one night and several bails of marijuana fell from the sky—a pilot mistook the light for a drop signal. Elsewhere in the state a sheriff left on his car lights during an outback rendezvous with a woman and ended up illuminating a landing zone for a drug plane that swooped down out of the darkness. "We could stand shoulder to shoulder from one end of the border to the other and they'd dig under us

or fly over us," says Kenneth Miley, the DEA chief in McAllen.

An administration boasting of its victories against drugs in south Florida now finds itself losing ground on a broad new front. Agents along the Mexican border are notably short on boasts. Their strategy is at best defensive: to intercept as much dope as possible, to make their busts—and to wait for someone to eliminate the demand.

STEVEN STRASSER with FRANK GIBNEY Jr. and MICHAEL A. LERNER along the Southwest border, JOSEPH CONTRERAS in Mexico City and bureau reports

Drug Use: Down, But Not in the Ghetto

n the year since Ronald Reagan signed the \$2.8 billion Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, the good news is that middleclass young people seem to be getting the message about pot, pills and cocaine. The bad news is that crack—the potent, smokable and highly addictive form of cocaine-is now deeply entrenched in the ghetto. With prices as low as \$3 a dose, crack is tragically abundant on the streets of inner-city neighborhoods from New York to Los Angeles. And while more suburban teens seem to be heeding antidrug warnings like Nancy Reagan's "Just Say No" campaign, critics say such propaganda has little impact on the kids who need help most. "You're not using the right language to reach [low-income teenagers]," says Rep. Charles Rangel, chairman of the House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse.

The decrease in middleclass drug use is significant and the signs are it will continue. The annual survey of high-school seniors by the University of Michigan's Institute of Social Research, for example, showed an 8-point decline among those who had ever tried marijuana, from 66 percent to 58 percent, between 1981 and 1986. The same survey also showed that high-school seniors who reported recent pot use decreased from 39 percent in 1979 to 27 percent in 1986, which is even more encour-



Crack users with glass pipe: 'A very profit-oriented enterprise'

aging. Many drug-abuse experts are heartened by that trend, and Lloyd Johnston, a Michigan survey researcher, predicts that the 1987 highschool survey will chart a growing disenchantment in cocaine use as well. Cocaine use by high-school seniors rose to 17.3 percent in 1985, a U.S. record, and dropped only slightly in 1986. Now, Johnston says, events like the death of Len Bias, the University of Maryland basketball star, have helped convince many teenagers that cocaine is dangerous after all.

New attitude: Hollywood has also helped out. After years of glamorizing drug use, the entertainment industry is starting to turn against drugs. "Less Than Zero," the newly released melodrama of pre-Yuppie ennui based on Bret Easton Ellis's bleak novel, has

against cocaine abuse by its producers. And the Partnership for a Drug-Free America, brainchild of Los Angeles ad man Phil Joanou, has launched a \$150 million national campaign of hard-line antidrug ads. For the vast majority of teenagers, such warnings seem to be working: a recent Gallup youth poll showed that opposition to legalizing marijuana has grown by 20 percent, to 88 percent, since 1979.

drug trade in the ghetto is now so endemic kids can't avoid it: prices are down, profits are up and local law enforcement is swamped by the armies of youthful dealers and users. In Los Angeles, says Lt. Bud Harper of the LAPD's juvenile narcotics division, "cocaine is the big been turned into a jeremiad ! thing now. It's a very profit-

oriented commercial enterprise, and we're seeing more adults and teens working in concert." In Dallas, police officials say cocaine is readily available in most high schools, and Cindy Phillips, director of the Dallas police department's first-offender program, says 95 percent of her caseload involves drugs.

Bad premise: One reason for the breakdown may be that many antidrug campaigns are implicitly based on the premise that a young person has a lot to lose by getting involved with crack. That premise is unpersuasive to many inner-city kids. "The 'Just Say No' campaign isn't targeted where the problem is," says Dr. Thomas Kosten of Yale University's substance-abuse-treatment unit. Noting that 30 percent of the patients in the Yale program are jobless, Kosten argues that few inner-city teens are concerned by the threat of drug-screening programs now increasingly used by employers. And Johnston says the attempt to emphasize cocaine's health risk "isn't that much of a deterrent" for ghetto kids. "If anything," he says, "it [drug use] is a badge of But inner-city kids aren't courage" because of "macho listening. For one thing, the attitudes" on the street. The bottom line on American drug abuse, in other words, is that the signs of progress among middle-class teens, while preliminary, are encouraging-and that ridding the ghetto of crack is a goal that is years and years and millions of dollars away.

> MARK MILLER in Washington with bureau reports

A Tug of War Over Peace

Ortega tries to rope Washington into cease-fire talks, and the speaker of the House muscles in

his must really be ruining Ronald Reagan's breakfast," said Rep. Peter Kostmayer, a Pennsylvania Democrat. There, in the heart of Washington last week, stood House Speaker Jim Wright, flanked by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra and the archbishop of Managua, Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo. Only last August, Wright lent his name to the president's peace plan for Central America; now the speaker seemed to endorse an 11-point cease-fire plan proposed by the Sandinistas. "The speaker is trying to create a climate of peace," argued Rep. Tony Coelho, a liberal Democrat. "The only thing [conservatives] know to do is throw grenades." But to the administration and its supporters in Congress, Wright was usurping the role of the executive branch (box). "We don't believe it is in the best interests of peace to have the U.S. negotiating with the Sandinistas," declared presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater. Nor was it in the interests of the administration to move the focus

of the negotiations from Central America to the treacherous political mine fields of the U.S. Congress.

Behind the peace-plan politics lay another troubling issue: continuation of U.S. aid to the contra rebels in Nicaragua. By entering the negotiations, Wright may also have intended to sabotage further help. The administration had already postponed its expected request for \$270 million in military support to the contras until early next year. It planned to seek \$30 million in stopgap, nonlethal aid this week. But congressional Democrats contend that continued CIA supply flights to the contras—even if dubbed "humanitarian"would violate the terms of the Guatemala accords signed by the five Central American presidents. Administration officials counter that the contra insurgency has imposed massive political and economic pressures on the Sandinistas; that, plus dwindling support from the Soviet Union, is what brought them to the bargaining table in the first place. Politically, however, many congressional Democrats prefer to listen to the speaker. Even before Wright waded in, a White House official worried that "we're going to get blown out of the water." Now the political momentum seems to belong to the speaker-not the president. "We have nobody left with credibility," complained the White House aide. Assuming the speaker keeps the Democrats behind him, "if the Republicans think they are defending a Ronald Reagan agenda which is going nowhere, they will cut and run."

This newest twist began two weeks ago, when Ortega unexpectedly agreed to conduct indirect cease-fire talks with the contras using Cardinal Obando as an intermediary. "You must remember that Speaker Wright and President Reagan made public

'A movement in the right direction': Ortega and

a peace proposal on Aug. 4," Ortega told Newsweek in an interview (page 36), explaining he wanted "to get in touch with both people" in the interests of a cease-fire. In fact, the Nicaraguan president was angling to begin the negotiating process on American soil; the Sandinistas have insisted all along that the real issues between the United States and Nicaragua have to do with their respective national-security interests and that these can only be discussed by the two countries directly. Thus Wright became a U.S. government surrogate in the

The Wright Stuff for Central America?

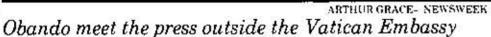
A s Jim Wright tells it, all he did was listen. "I haven't invited myself into any part of this," he said piously. "I really believe it is useful for people in Central America to feel there is ... a sympathetic person who will at least listen to them." The Reagan administration complained, with some justification, that the speaker of the House was more than just a good listener. By meeting with President Daniel Ortega and Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, Wright injected himself in the Nicaraguan peace process—violating

at least the spirit of the president's foreign-policy prerogatives. An administration official raged: "Ithink the speaker should buttout."

Wright says it was the White House that got him involved in the first place. Last summer President Reagan asked his help in drafting a Central American peace plan. White House political operatives may have calculated that the Sandinistas would show their true colors by rejecting the proposal, leaving congressional Democrats with little choice but to vote more aid to i 'Butt out'? The speaker









Nicaraguan concerns about national security: A Sandinista soldier in the field

game, participating in an Ortega-Obando face-off at the office of the papal nuncio to the United States.

It was only on Thursday evening that Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams learned that Wright planned to meet with Ortega and Obando at the Vatican Embassy the following morning. Alarmed, Abrams phoned the embassy in an attempt to head off the meeting. He warned that Obando, one of Ortega's harshest domestic critics, was in danger of becoming a pawn. The meeting proceeded

on schedule, however, and Wright emerged from the embassy to proclaim that while "peace is not yet at hand . . . the movement is in the right direction."

The Ortega plan grew out of last August's Guatemala accord. The president's five-page proposal calls for a monthlong cease-fire leading up to the Jan. 5 compliance review required by the regional plan. The truce would begin Dec. 5. In Ortega's plan, 15 days before the cease-fire's scheduled start, the Nicaraguan government would halt its military operations to per-

keep their weapons. Government troops would be withdrawn from the designated areas and the contras would receive "guarantees for their safety." Simultaneously, the Nicaraguan government would meet with contra representatives to negotiate a political amnesty. That done, the rebels would give up their armed struggle and return to their homes in Nicaragua. "The war would be dismantled," Ortega said, and the contras would

mit the contras to assemble in three cease-

fire zones where they would be allowed to

be free to join "any of the existing political groupings" in Nicaragua-where an enfeebled opposition continues to exist or to form a new party. Under the terms of the Guatemala plan, the Central American nations agreed to open their political systems.

'Shuttling process': The plan's shortcomings were obvious. It was almost unimaginable that the war could be settled in a month-and difficult to believe that the two sides could even agree on the ground rules for negotiation before Dec. 5. The location is itself a matter for dispute: the Sandinistas would prefer Washington, the contras insist on Managua. Nonetheless, with Wright's blessing, Obando flew to Miami to present the proposal to the contra leaders. In fact, said

the contra rebels. The Reagan-Wright peace plan was barely unveiled, however, when Central American leaders came up with a proposal of their own. Wright endorsed their plan and warned Reagan it would be "counterproductive" to request more contra aid.

Filling the vacuum: As the administration backed away from peacemaking in Central America, Wright filled the vacuum. When Ortega came to Washington last week to address the Organization of American States, Wright seized the chance to bring the president and the cardinal together on neutral ground for talks at the Vatican Embassy.

Before that gathering and the unveiling of Ortega's 11point peace plan, Wright held a previously scheduled meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz. State Department officials insisted later that Wright never informed Shultz of his intention to give the Ortega plan the support of his presence. Wright disputed the account. "Yes, I discussed that with Secretary Shultz." He paraphrased Shultz's reaction as: "Fine, good. I hope it works." Challenged by reporters, however, he retreated into such pieties as: "I don't take orders from the secretary of state ... I work for Congress, for the people and for the United States."

Wright may not be finished with his peacemaking activities. "If they come again and ask me to listen, of course I will listen," he said as he returned home to Ft. Worth for some weekend fund raising. By taking a hand in the peace process, Wright helped to spare his fellow Democrats from a politically painful vote on continued military aid to the contras. Now the Democrats can say they are promoting peace, and Wright's colleagues are grateful. "He really saved us," says California's Rep. Leon Panetta. It is by performing such political services that a speaker keeps his perch.

a key Democratic aide in the Senate, Wright saw the proposal as "the beginning of a shuttling process" in which Obando would convey a series of proposals between the contras and Sandinistas. "What I saw was promising," ventured the Senate aide. "At least this is a proposal, and we haven't seen many of these around Washington recently."

Not to be upstaged, Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd released a letter to Shultz, urging direct U.S.-Nicaragua talks on Soviet-bloc influence in Managua. According to Ortega, the Sandinistas would be prepared to negotiate the complete "withdrawal of foreign military presence in the region"—pledging no Soviet bases and the removal of all foreign advisers as stipulated in the Guatemala peace plan. Paul Reichler, the Sandinistas' American lawyer, said they would also pledge not to import offensive military equipment. The Reagan administration has spurned such offers in the past. "This is an administration that doesn't know how to take yes for an answer," complained a Democratic congressional aide.

Shifting ground: Last week, however, the political ground was shifting underneath the White House. In dealing with Ortega, Wright had made Congress—if not the White House—a party to the peace talks. To one State Department official, Wright's intervention exposed a painful irony. "For all these years," he complained, "the administration has used the line that the contras were merely a political pressure point to bring the Sandinistas to the table. That may now have become a reality"—but in an unexpected way. No one, including Wright, thought that the Sandinistas would permit Nicaragua to become a real democracy, but with his new power over the congressional purse strings, the speaker was in a good position to push both sides for accommodation on security issues and the Sandinistas for a modicum of internal political reform. That is far short of the Nicaragua Ronald Reagan envisioned when he said he wanted to make the Sandinistas "cry uncle," but it is more than many administration officials had expected to get.

HARRY ANDERSON with DAVID NEWELL and ROBERT PARRY in Washington

'Reagan Didn't Want to Talk'

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega came to Washington last week to "knock on the doors of the center of policymaking," as he put it. After three inconclusive days in which he enlisted House Speaker Jim Wright but not the Reagan administration in the Central American peace process, he spoke with Robert Parry, David Newell and Eduardo Levy-Spira of News-WEEK. Excerpts:

On the purpose of the trip: You must remember that Speaker Wright and President Reagan made public a peace proposal on Aug. 4, two days before the Guatemala meeting [that produced the Central American peace plan]. I tried to get in touch with both people on this trip, so they could help have the cease-fire proposal have positive effects. President Reagan didn't want to talk to me.SecretaryShultzwouldn't even meet with our foreign minister . . . Speaker Wright did receive us, just as he also receives the contra leadership in the interest of contributing to peace in Central America . . . We thought it was very important that here in Washington the first step should be taken in favor of the cease-fire.

On the results: These meetings demonstrate a will to peace on the part of Cardi-



'The war would be dismantled': Wounded Sandinista soldier

nal Obando, on my part, on the part of Speaker Wright, on the part of the Vatican. It might have been expected that the administration would have spoken out favorably, or at least prudently, in favor of this effort. But unfortunately, the reactions of the State Department's spokesman have been negative and confrontational ... I think that reaction was not in keeping with President Reagan's speech in favor of supporting the work for peace in Central America and respecting the Guatemala accords [of Aug. 7], which are the Central : American presidents' task to carry out.

On U.S. national-security concerns in Central America: We are willing to give assurances on the nonestablishment of foreign military bases. And on negotiating the withdrawal of foreign military presences in the region. In the first stage, we would seek only a regulation of this foreign military presence because we're pragmatic and we know that the Reagan administration right now would not agree to a total withdrawal of its forces such as exist in Honduras, for example. On the other hand, we Central Americans undertake by signing the accords... not to install foreign military bases or have military ma-

neuvers with forces from outside the region.

On the U.S. presence in Honduras: There's a very important new proposal from Honduras ... What they would do is withdraw all of the U.S. military presence and they would be willing to dismantle the contra camps and disarm the contras. They would be willing through a mutual agreement to establish a line of security along the border between Honduras and Nicaragua, with representatives of other countries outside the region. In exchange, Nicaragua would not mine the border zones with Honduras, not allow Nicaraguan troops to make incursions to the contras' bases in Honduras, withdraw our heavy artillery a certain distance from the border ... and also establish regulations on armament levels. Honduras has also offered itself as the site for meetings between the United States and Nicaragua ... We have been really surprised.

On a cease-fire with the contras:

This is the most important element to be decided, because if this point can be overcome ... the war would be dismantled, and an opportunity would open up for the contras to participate in the political life of our country in any of the existing political groupings, or by forming their own if they desire.

Yeltsin Walks the Plank

He took glasnost too far

I am very guilty . . . One of my most characteristic personal traits, ambition, has manifested itself of late . . . I tried to check it, but, regrettably, without success.

t sounded a little like a Stalinist show trial of the 1930s. At a meeting in Moscow last week, Boris Yeltsin, the head of the Communist Party organization in the city, was shouted out of office by a chorus of accusers. They denounced him for "political adventurism," for "splitting the Politburo" and even for promoting a "big-boss syndrome." Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Yeltsin's former patron and reformist ally, joined in the condemnation. "Comrade Yeltsin has put personal ambitions before the interests of the party," Gorbachev said, according to Pravda's astoundingly detailed account of the closed meeting. Yeltsin, 56, was fired and meekly offered up a self-criticism-leaving his career in ruins and Gorbachev's reforms once more in doubt.

'Discordant note': Yeltsin's sin was to speak his mind at a meeting of the party's Central Committee on Oct. 21. He groused that Gorbachev's program of perestroika (restructuring) was moving too slowly. He criticized conservatives led by Yegor Liga-

chev, the second-ranking member of the Politburo. Yeltsin "went so far as to say that restructuring was giving virtually nothing to the people," said an account published by Tass, the Soviet news agency. According to Tass, Yeltsin warned Gorbachev last summer that he might resign as Moscow party chief; Gorbachev told him to drop the subject until after the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution on Nov. 7. Yeltsin couldn't hold his tongue. The Oct. 21 speech breached party decorum and struck "a discordant note," as Gorbachev put it. Even in the era of glasnost (openness), that was too much. With reform in a fragile formative stage, and with a U.S.-Soviet summit in the offing, Yeltsin was a political liability. According to Soviet sources, Gorbachev decided that if the issue had to come to a head, he might as well deal with it quickly.



Self-criticism: The former Moscow boss

In his anniversary speech two weeks ago, Gorbachev tried to seize the middle ground between party leaders who want to speed up the reforms and those who want to slow them down (Newsweek, Nov. 16). Last week he abandoned Yeltsin in order to hold that ground. Some Western analysts thought Yeltsin's fall was a sign of Gorbachev's weakness. "Gorbachev has come under so much pressure from the conservatives that he's had to sacrifice Yeltsin," said Peter Reddaway of the Kennan Institute in Washington. Other Kremlinologists suggested that by acting firmly, Gorbachev showed that he was in command. "Despite his sympathies, Gorbachev is a politician," argued Jonathan Sanders of Columbia University. "Decisiveness is not a sign of weakness."

The replacement for Yeltsin in the Mos-

cow job was Lev Zaikov, 64, a Politburo member who previously supervised the defense industries. It wasn't known whether Zaikov was closer to Gorbachev's group in the Politburo or to the Ligachev faction, which favors reform, but at a slower pace. At the very least, the Yeltsin affair deprived Gorbachev of someone who used to run interference for him, trying to implement reform and sometimes deflecting criticism from the leader himself. He also sought to improve daily life in Moscow with well-stocked fresh-vegetable markets, for example. "Yeltsin was one of the few regional party leaders who looked like he was making an effort [on reform]," said Dawn Mann of Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies.

He was often frustrated; the party apparatus in Moscow remains inefficient and corrupt. Now Yeltsin is almost certain to lose his other post as a nonvoting member of the Politburo. Sanders said Soviet reformers will watch closely to see how the government treats Yeltsin. "Will they pension him?" he asked. "Will they exile him? Whatever they do, it will send a message to the other bureaucrats." One senior Soviet official seemed to suggest that manual labor might be in the burly Yeltsin's future. "Yeltsin is big and strong," he said. "It should not be hard to find him a job." His self-criticism may have earned Yeltsin a mere demotion to some lesser party post, rather than complete oblivion. Either way, his humiliation stands as a warning that Soviet reformers must speak softly and move with great care.

> RUSSELL WATSON with FRED COLEMAN in Moscow and bureau reports

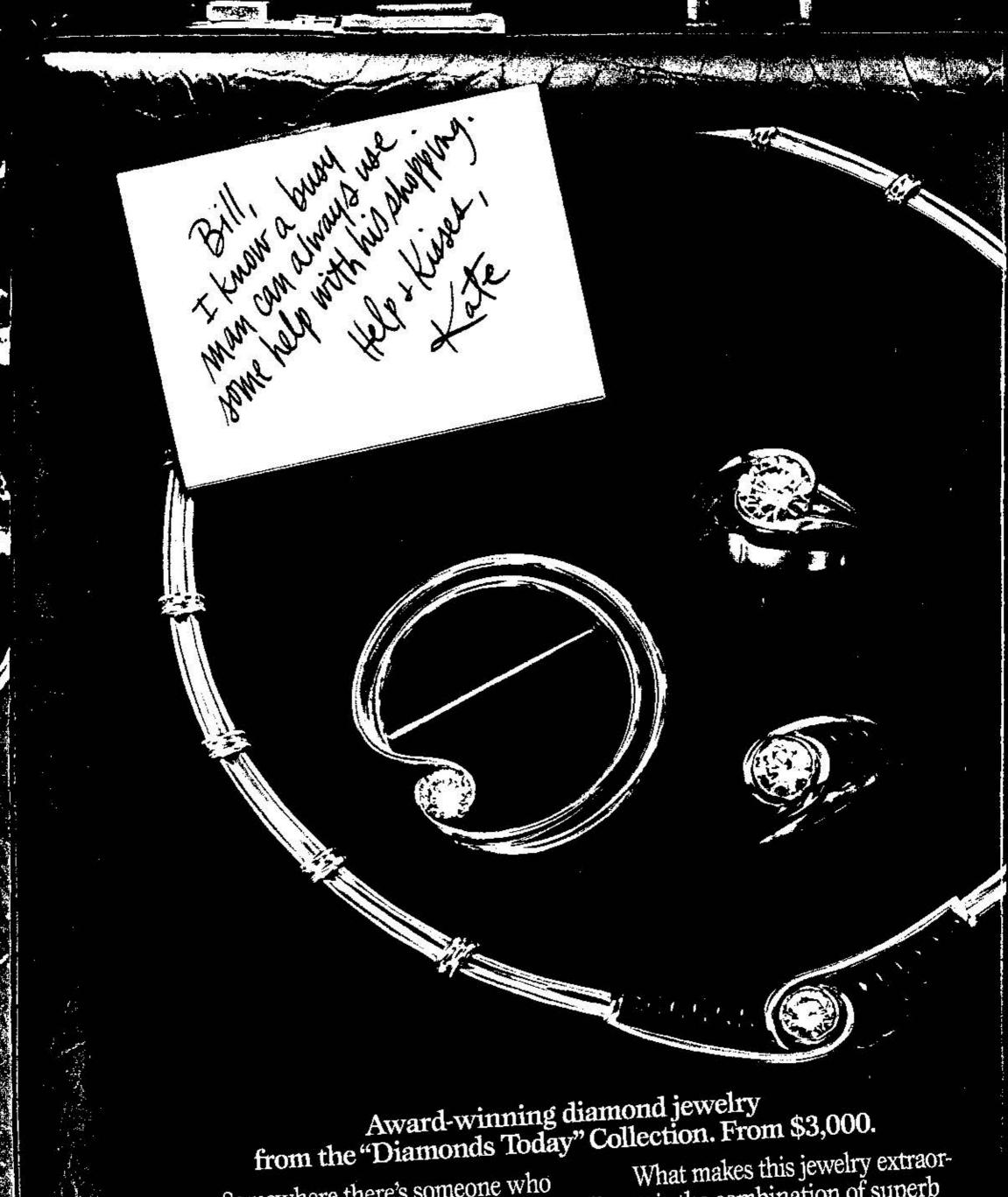
The Summit: A Few Fine-Tuning Points

ith the U.S.-Soviet summit less than a month away, the rumor mill in Moscow was working overtime. At first the word was that Mikhail Gorbachev's wife, Raisa, wanted him to take his peace pitch directly to the American people in a Khrushchevian tour of the States. That story died when the White House announced the Soviet leader's official schedule: he arrives in Washington Dec. 7 and leaves the country on Dec. 10, allowing him no time for the stumps after he talks with Ronald Reagan and holds a press conference. The Soviets "want to

make sure that it is seen principally as a business meeting," said a high Reagan aide.

Meanwhile, the summit's centerpiece, the treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF), developed finetuning questions. One hitch was a U.S. demand for inspection rights at the Soviets' SS-25 missile sites. As intercontinental-range missiles, the SS-25s are not included in the treaty. But they resemble missiles that are covered, the intermediate SS-20s. Therefore, U.S. negotiators say, the Soviets could evade INF limits by secretly disguising SS-20s as SS-25s.

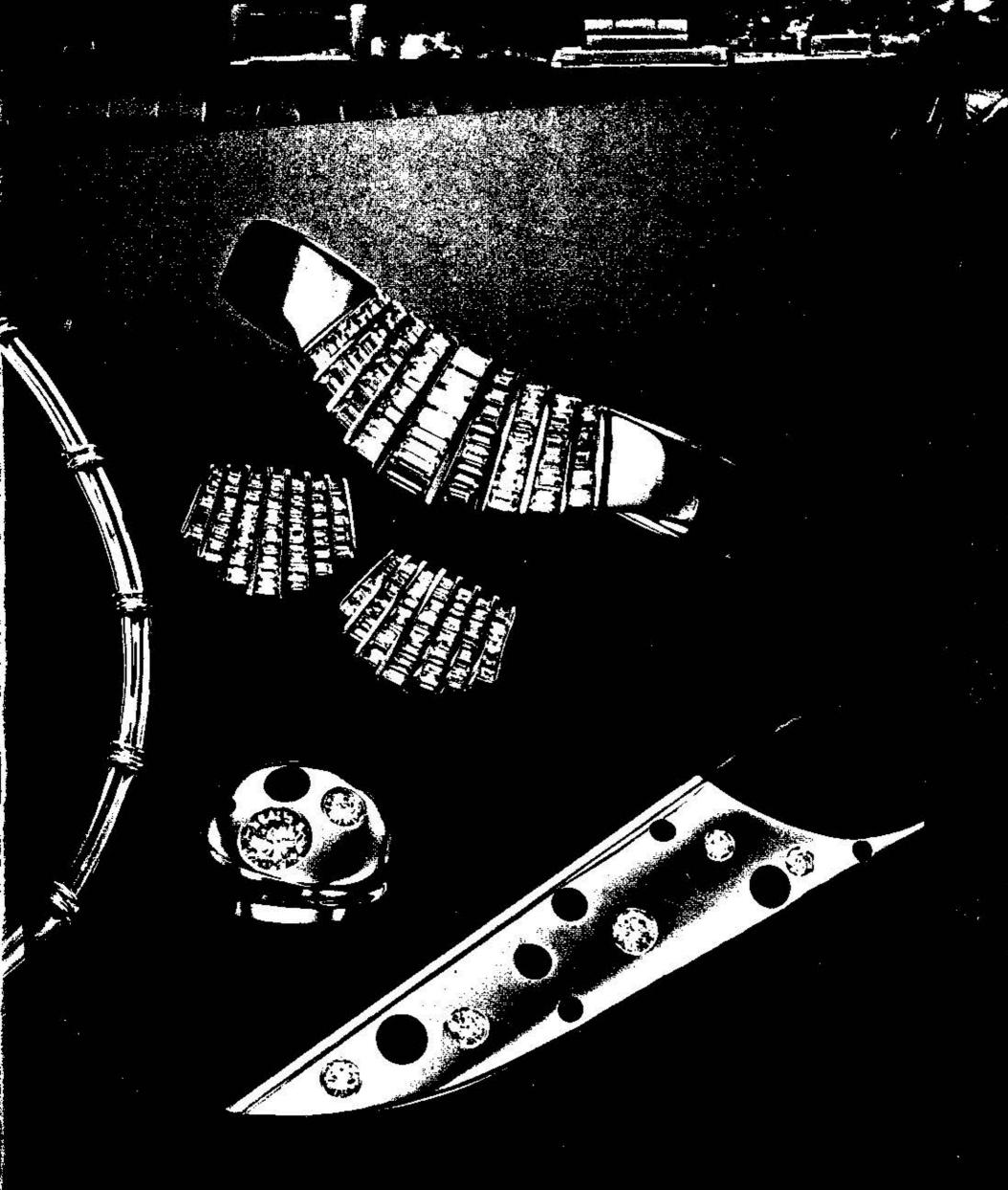
Even the Americans seemed to concede that it would make no sense for the Soviets to downgrade their arsenal with shorter-range weapons, but, said one, "Our job is to verify the INF treaty, not to account for Soviet intent." Given the haggling, one last presummit session between Secretary of State George ShultzandhisSoviet counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze, is "perhaps inevitable," said Arms Control and Disarmament Agency head Kenneth Adelman. But, he added, quoting an old song: "I can't believe we've come this far only for the Lord to leave us."



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Gravitating toward greater unity: King Hussein welcomes Saddam Hussein (left) and Assad to the conference in Amman

The Summit of Brotherly Love

Syria edges away from its alliance with Iran

■he winner and the loser looked easy to spot at last week's Arab summit in Jordan. There was a beaming Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, a pistol at his belt, receiving the congratulations, even the kisses of fellow Arab leaders who vowed to back him in his long war with Iran. There was Syrian President Hafez Assad-the ayatollah's only Arab ally and Hussein's longtime enemy—stooped, gray and alone. "Syria got nothing, on the surface," said a European envoy as he watched the summit's closing. "Who's kissing Assad?"

But appearances in Arab politics are nothing if not deceiving. Now even some of Assad's adversaries are extolling his role at the conference. Jordan's King Hussein called the Syrian president "an Arab leader of great capabilities." In Amman the Arabs seemed to be gravitating to greater unity and moderation—and Assad maneuvered Syria to the center. "The summit came at the right time for Syria to change position," said Jordan's foreign minister, Tahir al Masri. Whatever Assad's past offenses, no one wants him alienated now.

That the conference took place at all was a measure of the desperation felt by many Arabs. For five years the Arab nations have not been able to put aside their bitter rivalries long enough to meet in one place. More than a few of the 17 national leaders who came were looking around the conference room at other men who have wanted them dead. Even if the present talk of reconciliation is overblown, to get Assad and Saddam Hussein, Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasir Arafat and Jordan's 🕒

King Hussein even talking in the same room is a milestone of some sort.

As the price of his participation, Assad demanded that the summit deal with other issues than the gulf war. But by the time they reached Amman, a majority of the leaders, particularly the wealthy monarchs of the Arabian peninsula, was angered and frightened by Iran-inspired violence at the holy city of Mecca last July and Iran's recent missile attacks on Kuwait. They wanted more than a reunion. With Assad giving his reluctant agreement, the summit condemned Iran and its occupation of Iraqi territory and vowed support for Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. In effect, the summit declared the Iran-Iraq war an Iran-Arab war.

The Arab leaders also ended the isolation of Egypt imposed when Cairo signed its peace treaty with Israel in 1979. The return to Arab ranks of the most populous Arab nation—along with its armed forces of almost 450,000 men—suggested new strategic support for Iraq. Assad blocked Cairo's formal re-entry into the Arab League, but by the weekend not only Iraq, but Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Morocco had re-established relations with Cairo.

The Amman meeting was such a departure from past Arab summits that it left some participants a little puzzled. The Palestinian issue that dominated every previous conference was largely ignored at this one. Asked at a press conference if he was participating in the deliberations of the summit, PLO chairman Arafat answered testily in his erratic English, "I didn't come

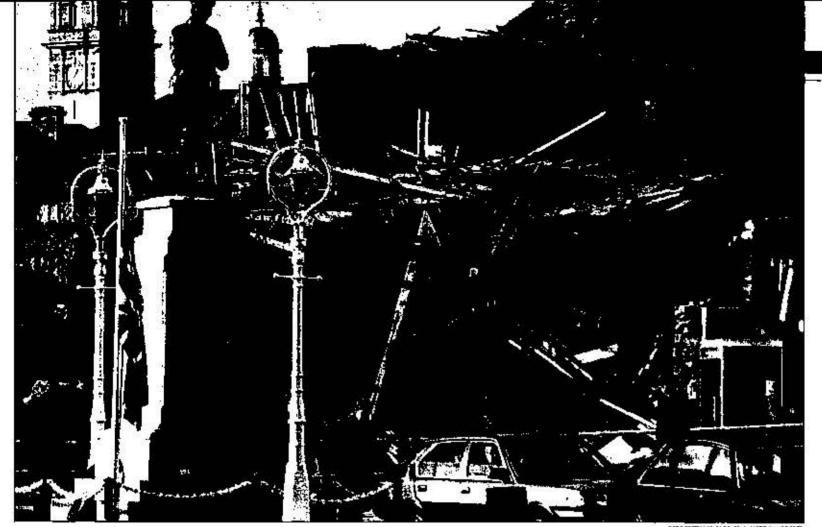
here to make jogging." But he didn't make much else, either, and some of his aides counted the PLO lucky it wasn't ignored altogether.

At the same time, Reagan administration policy in the gulf received an implicit boost. The summit embraced United Nations Security Council Resolution 598, which includes a call for tough measures against the Iranians if they refuse to sign a cease-fire agreement. Moscow, which has stalled on sanctions, trying to curry favor with Iran even as it courts the Arabs, is now under increased pressure to commit itself. The message was clear: as far as the Arabs are concerned, you are either with them or against them. "This war will end," says King Hussein, "when Iran realizes that it can't win it."

Sponsors of chaos: If Assad meant to represent Iran's interests, or even the Soviets'. he absorbed a major defeat. But Arab officials suggest the wiliest survivor in modern Syrian history may have a quite different agenda in mind. For more than a year, his alliance with Iran has been more a burden than a blessing. Iranian-backed militias have challenged Syrian troops deployed in Lebanon, even attacked them. The ayatollah's protégés are major sponsors of chaos in a region where Assad wants and needs to impose peace. Yet his alliance with Teheran has kept him from striking back; the Amman summit frees him to act.

Nor is that Assad's only incentive. Syria's economy is deteriorating rapidly. Even bread could soon be in short supply. Yet Iran's subsidies, in the form of free oil, are ever-more grudging. The gulf states can supply hard currency right now—a rumored \$1 billion already, in return for Assad's support of the gulf-war resolution. Given that, Assad must have found it easy to forgo the kisses.

CHRISTOPHER DICKEY in Ammon



'Why so many civilians?' Funeral procession passes war memorial, bombed-out building

The Carnage in Enniskillen

A blunder by the IRA, or a return to violence?

ay after leaden day, mourners bore the simple wooden coffins through the streets of Enniskillen. The injured trooped behind the dead, winding past the wreckage of last week's IRA bomb blast that killed 11 people and wounded more than 60 others. The attack on a rural Ulster community gathered to honor its war dead jolted Britain. It was the worst terrorist incident in Northern Ireland since a December 1982 explosion that took 17 lives. It also stripped the veneer from the IRA's claim to aim violence only at military targets. "If it was the IRA," said a senior source in the outlawed group, "the leadership will want to know ... why so many civilians were killed and injured."

When the IRA did acknowledge responsibility, it suggested that a British Army radio scanning device accidentally detonated the bomb—a possibility dismissed by police and independent experts. A second, more powerful bomb discovered and defused in a neighboring town suggested a coordinated effort-perhaps with civilians as targets. "The IRA is a desperate movement," said Paul Wilkinson, a terrorism expert at the University of Aberdeen. "And at present it is more desperate than usual as a result of recent setbacks."

Over the past year the IRA has suffered a series of rever-

sals. Police sprang a trap on the group in Loughgall last spring, killing eight recruits. This fall the British government convicted one of the organization's top bomb makers for a 1982 attack in London. Four other members have blown themselves up in makeshift bomb factories. And late last month the French captured several top operatives when they seized a ship loaded with 150 tons of Libyan arms bound for the IRA. At the same time, the tide has been running out on Sinn Fein, the group's political arm. It won less than 2 percent of the vote in elections in the Irish Republic last February. The electoral embarrassments have led militants in the Provisional wing of the IRA to



'A desperate movement': Removing a victim in Enniskillen

argue for violence, not votes.

With the IRA's decentralized cell structure, top leaders may have had no advance knowledge of the attack. "The unit [responsible] probably described it to the next most senior person as an attempt to kill three or four soldiers," a senior IRA man told the Independent, a British newspaper. "Well, we try that several times a week. You don't need to have a meeting about it."

IRA leaders conceded the political damage: the attack drew condemnation from the Soviet Union and even Libya, which reportedly provided the explosives in the first place. An IRA spokesman said that the group's "outer reaches"-community supporters who offer

safe houses, Irish-Americans who provide financial support, for example—"are just totally devastated." But, says Patrick Bishop, coauthor of the 1987 book "The Provisional IRA," the Provisionals' hard core of six top leaders and perhaps 300 troops in the field is "used to appalling setbacks. It takes a hell of a lot to dishearten them."

Mafia style: That may come soon enough. Officials in the Irish Republic last week pledged help for Ulster police in hunting down the Enniskillen bombers in the Republic. And a London-Dublin extradition treaty that looked shaky now seems almost certain. "The thing they fear most is the north and south uniting against them," said Wilkinson.

Thus far, both Ulster officials and the British government have resisted calls to ban Sinn Fein or to reinstate internment without trial for suspected IRA members, arguing that such measures would play into the IRA's hands. A few Britons held out hope that the general revulsion with the IRA could signal the beginning of the

> end for armed rebellion. But most are pessimistic. They point out that in recent years the IRA has become as much a Mafia-style criminal syndicate as a paramilitary organization. While its legitimacy may depend on political support, its survival is assured by a web of racketeering activities that reportedly generate more than \$3 million annually. The thin line between the rebel and the thug is often distinguishable only in the rhetoric of the IRA and Sinn Fein. But, said one Belfast resident, "the Mafia didn't go away because it had a bad image."

GERALD C. LUBENOW in London

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A Busy Swarm of Stingers

In the enemies' hands?

bove Rep. Charles Wilson's office door is the dark green firing tube from an American Stinger missile. A brass plaque says that the tube launched the first Stinger that Afghan rebels ever fired at Soviet aircraft; nearby is a photo of Wilson with one of the guerrilla leaders. He could have had a similar picture taken in Angola, where rebels have received an undisclosed number of Stingers since July 1986; or in Chad, which, the Reagan administration announced two weeks ago, will be receiving 24 of the shoulder-held weapons for its war against Libya. Such openhandedness with a state-of-the-art system worries many military experts. "This administration seems to hand them out like cigars, as diplomatic gifts," charges Sen. Dennis DeConcini. "There should be a lot more monitoring."

The Stingers are part of a class of arms known as fire-and-forget weapons—a category now proliferating at top speed. Japan, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan have bought Stingers. Italy borrowed some from the United States back in 1983 and never gave them back. Although Pentagon officials insist they keep a close watch on the weapons, some have slipped through their net. The Iranians have come up with a dozen or so Stingers intended for the mujahedin (Newsweek, Oct. 26), and there is no guarantee that the Libyans won't take some from Chad—on or off the battlefield. "There's not much in Chad that a guy with \$100,000 in a suitcase couldn't buy," says one State Department official.

Meanwhile, virtually every government with Soviet ties—including most Arab states—has SAM-7s, the Kremlin's main portable surface-to-air missile. Moscow has reportedly promised its more advanced SAM-14 to Syria and Cuba. The British make their own Blowpipe missiles, and more than 10 countries including Bahrain, Singapore and Tunisia have Sweden's RBS-70 missiles. Both the SAM-7 and the U.S.-made Redeye are sold on the black market.

Midsize car: Of all shoulder-launched missiles available, Stingers are the most sophisticated. Unlike Redeyes and SAM-7s, for example, which are tail-pursuit missiles, the Stinger can be fired at incoming aircraft from more than three miles away. It also is much harder to fool by electronic countermeasures. As the Stinger approaches, its guidance system steers it away from the target's exhaust plume and



Fire and forget: Launching a U.S.-made Stinger

into vulnerable areas of the fuselage. It hits with the force of a midsize car going 60 miles an hour.

A few years ago, a country like Chad would never have been offered such an advanced system. The United States normally reserves new weapons for its own military, NATO allies and a few other close friends like Australia and Israel. Later, the system might be offered to countries like Pakistan; only when the weapon was outmoded could Chad or the Afghan rebels get hold of it. But the Stinger's usefulness in guerrilla warfare has changed the rules. Since receiving the Stinger last year, State Department sources say, the mujahedin have brought down one Soviet aircraft a day. A Soviet-made Hind-D helicopter costs

about \$8 million; a Stinger. \$50,000. The missiles have also worked well in Angola, helping the guerrillas this fall to repel a major Cuban-Angolan offensive, says one intelligence source. The Reagan administration hopes the Stingers will now help the Chadians thwart Muammar Kaddafi. "If we are to deny our allies in the Third World this technology," says independent military analyst Anthony Cordesman, "it would simply hand over the monopoly to the Soviets and their allies."

Lone operator: Having Stingers end up in Libya, Iran or Cuba is not the only risk, points out Rep. Les AuCoin, a member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. "The more we sell it to movements in unstable parts of the world, the greater the risk of diversion to terrorists," he says. A lone missile

operator on a hilltop could be a civilian pilot's nightmare. "You could stand at Great Falls and take out any plane coming down the Potomac," says Smithsonian arms expert Edward Ezell. (Italian police arrested five Arabs in 1973 for an alleged plot to use shoulder-launched heat-seeking missiles against an El Al jetliner.) Other military analysts point out that SAM's have been on the black market for years, yet terrorists apparently prefer other ways of downing civilian planes. Still, as advanced technology continues to stream out, it is increasingly likely to flow into the wrong channel.

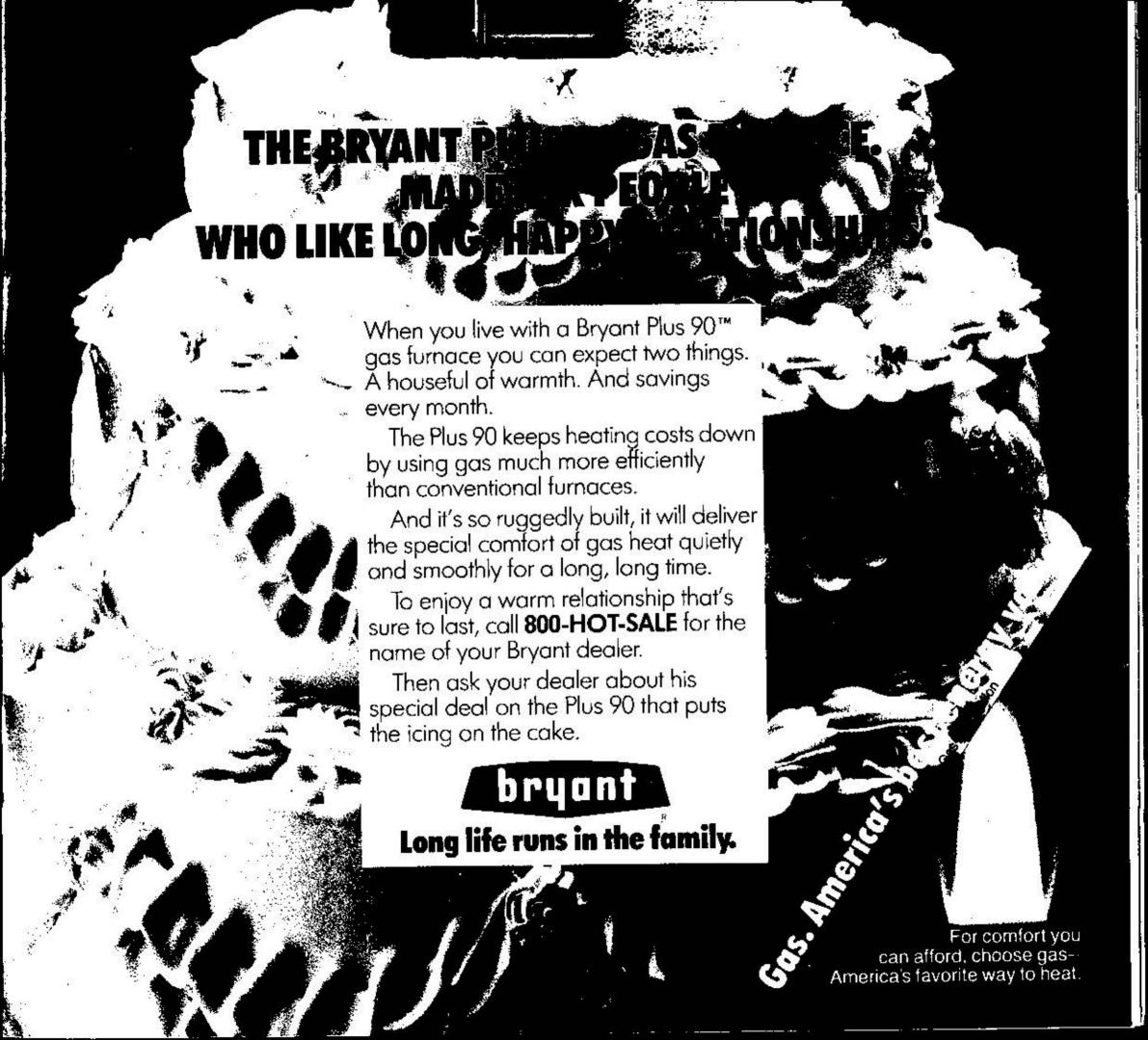
NANCY COOPER with RICHARD SANDZA and ROBERT B. CULLEN in Washington and bureau reports

An Arsenal of Shoulder-Launched SAM's

There are at least five different portable surface-to-air missiles in circulation, from NATO and the Soviet bloc to the arms bazaars of Third World war zones.

WEAPON	COUNTRY OF MANUFACTURE	COST PER UNIT	CAPABILITIES
Stinger 	U.S.	\$ 50,000	Fires guided supersonic missile; immune to many countermeasures.
Redeye	U.S.	\$ 30,000	In service since 1970; replaced in U.S. military by the Stinger.
SAM-7	U.S.S.R.	\$20,000	Similar to the Redeye; widely available on the world arms market.
Blowpipe	U.K.	\$38,000	Durable, lightweight and easy to operate; effective in Falklands War.
RBS-70	Sweden	\$105,000	Called the Ray Rider because the operator must guide it by laser.

SOURCE: Jone's Publishing Co. Ltd.; chart lists base prices





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A stock-market run-up fueled by heavy corporate investment—and potentially dangerous borrowing: $Trading\ on\ the\ Tokyo\ exchange$

The 'Crash of '88' Scenario

Could a Japanese stock-market collapse trigger a global recession?

orget the Crash of '87. That was just a curtain raiser. The next blow to the markets is coming—and coming fast-from Japan. As the New York Stock Exchange

rode out five more rocky trading sessions last week, Wall Street's prophets of gloom were updating a script for the Crash of '88. Tokyo's hyperinflated stock exchange, they predicted, is cruising for a fall. When it comes, Japanese companies will start selling off the billions of dollars of assets they have amassed in America (chart), pushing up U.S. interest rates and sending the Dow Jones industrial average into a free fall. That would reverberate in Japan and the rest of the world. Foreign stock markets would topple like so many kingpins. The result would be a Great Global Recession.

Until recently, that was just

\$69.6

a farfetched scenario, as hy-In Hock to Japan Inc. If the Japanese were to start retreating from the huge U.S. ■ investment positions they have established in recent years, it would punish the American economy. \$26.4 Japan's U.S. Investments POSITIONS, IN BILLIONS OF DOLLARS \$12.9 \$10.2 \$1 \$1 87 83 87 83 87 83 87 1983 **U.S. Government** Corporate Direct Corporate Securities Bonds Stocks Investment BLUMRICH NEWSWEEK 1987 DATA IS LATEST AVAILABLE. SOURCES: DEPT. OF COMMERCE; DEPT. OF THE TREASURY

pothetical as it was harrowing. But suddenly, with both the New York and the Tokyo markets jittery and the dollar slumping, it's getting serious attention. Felix Rohatyn, a senior partner at Lazard Frères & Co., worries that Japanese companies are dangerously overexposed. Many have borrowed heavily to invest in stocks and real estate, betting that values would keep rising. But "not even the Japanese can maintain a 'tulip craze' forever," Rohatyn says, referring to the famous 17th-century speculative run on Dutch tulips. "How long can a market keep going up?"

'Triple-barreled whammy': Allen Sinai, chief economist at Shearson Lehman Brothers. is also on a "crash watch." His main concern is the dollar. As it hit new lows against the yen and the Deutsche mark last week, Sinai warned of a "triple-barreled whammy." As he sees it, the dollar will fall to about 120 yen, possibly lower. Japan's investors in the United States, faced with horrendous foreign-exchange losses, will begin shifting funds elsewhere. Its exporters, already battered by the dollar's fall, may report lower profits, slowing growth in Japan. If money managers interpret all that as evidence of a coming recession, the Dow and the Nikkei average would plummet. "The crash scenario may not be probable," says Sinai, "but it's realistic."

Most financial experts continue to view

such talk as exaggerated. "It's an ultrapessimistic fad," says David Hale, chief economist at Kemper Financial Services in Chicago. "The Japanese market has outperformed all others during the crash." Yet not even hardened skeptics discount the vulnerability thesis altogether. Judging from the severity of recent market swings, it's clear that newly volatile elements have forced their way onto the world financial scene. One is the weakened American dollar; another, the yawning U.S. trade gap. The last, and perhaps most important to the doomsayers, is a phenomenon that until lately has received only passing attention outside Japan. The Japanese call it zaitech-literally, "high-tech finance."

Roughly defined, zaitech means the aggressive management of Japan's investments at home and abroad. It started in the early 1980s when Japanese companies, thanks to their growth prospects, found they could borrow money at low interest to pay off more expensive debt. They then took a logical next step. They began to act like banks, using the cheaper loans to reinvest at a higher return. Now, according to Global Finance, roughly half of the profits of companies listed on the Tokyo Stock Exchange flow from investment rather than business operations.

This brand of gamesmanship accounts for "maybe 80 to 90 percent of Japanese zaitech," says Tokyo economist Tadashi Nakamae. Japanese have also invested heavily in Tokyo real estate, which has soared in value to levels not seen in New York, London or Paris. (In the last decade, land in central Tokyo has appreciated more than 800 percent.) The zaitech boom shows up even in the price of golf-club memberships: widely traded, their value has increased 1,159 percent in the last 10 years.

High turnover: Abroad, Japanese financial institutions have expanded slowly but forcefully. Japan's banks now dominate the Eurobond market. Its Big Four securities houses—Daiwa, Nikko, Nomura and Yamaichi—trade about 20 percent of all long-term U.S. government bonds. Formerly staid Japanese money managers are becoming increasingly aggressive traders. Akio Kohno, chief economist in Tokyo for the European brokerage firm UBS Phillips & Drew International, says Japanese investors abroad hang on to so-called longterm securities for just three days, on average. "They get in and get out very quickly, chasing capital gains."

In the United States, the Japanese have come to play so important a role that



SADAYUKI MIKAMI-AF Force for moderation: Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita

they occasionally influence broad market movements. David Hale at Kemper Financial Services says, "The U.S. bond market remains hostage to the Japanese." Their presence is so large, their participation in certain bond issues so critical to a successful sale that they can often use their clout to win a higher interest rate. In uncertain times, argues Edward Yardeni, an economist at Prudential-Bache, that can affect yields on other securities, putting upward pressure on interest rates.

But while zaitech is clearly a factor in increased global-market gyrations, could it bring down the entire Japanese economy? Most analysts still don't think so. "I know a lot of people who have lost a lot of money betting against the Japanese," says Hale. "They're survivors. Whenever they experience an economic jolt, they recover." The golden era of the 1960s, when Japan grew by 10 percent or more a year, is gone. Yet even now, when the rest of the world is growing only modestly, Japan expects to expand between 3 and 4 percent. Says James C. Abegglen, a Tokyo-based business consultant: "The Japanese are getting stronger, not weaker."

The doomsayers inevitably invoke the sky-high price-to-earnings ratios of companies listed on the Tokyo exchange. In the United States, such "P/E multiples" tend to average about 20; in Japan, they are routinely three to four times as high. But many economists suggest that Japanese investors aren't fazed by high price-toearnings multiples; they evaluate market risks differently than do Americans.

Nor are all stocks on the Tokyo exchange heavily traded. Roughly two-thirds are tied up in "cross shareholding." Large Japanese firms often own huge stakes in the companies they do business with, and they retain those shares regardless of how the market performs. More than two-

thirds of Tokyo exchange stock will probably never be traded, says P. J. Johnson, a vice president of Nomura Securities International in New York. "An American investor would burn his buddies for 4 percent," he says. "Remember: [in Japan], these guys have to play golf together."

The Japanese government serves as another moderating influence. "The whole structure of Japan's financial markets is more oligopolistic and less market driven than in New York," says Kent Calder, a political economist at Princeton University. Tokyo authorities would move to halt a crash far more quickly than regulatory authorities in the United States. Indeed, early last

week, when the Nikkei average abruptly dropped more than 1,000 yen early in a session, the Ministry of Finance quietly worked with the Big Four securities houses, sending a message to buoy the markets by purchasing stock. The Nikkei quickly rebounded.

Danger signs: Recent economic developments may also diminish the chances of a crash. Rising domestic demand will encourage Japanese firms to put more money into manufacturing than investment. What's more, Japan's trade surplus has begun to shrink. (Last week the U.S. Commerce Department reported the September trade gap with Japan closed from \$4.9 billion to \$4.6 billion.) Both of these developments will tend to soak up excess cash. "The weight of money," says Akio Kohno at UBS Phillips & Drew International, "is no longer the driving force in the market."

While defending the strength of the Japanese economy, even optimists acknowledge danger signs. Officials at the Bank of Japan and the Finance Ministry have fretted for more than a year that share prices are overvalued. They also worry that the Tokyo property market has turned dangerously speculative. Noboru Takeshita, Japan's new prime minister, has promised to make the land-price problem a matter of highest priority. With so many Japanese investors buying stock with borrowings collateralized by real estate, the two are directly linked. "If Tokyo land prices changed dramatically," says David Resler, chief economist at Nomura Securities International in New York, "one could easily envision a collapsing stock market." Such a rolling collapse would not in itself produce the Crash of '88—but it would bring it two steps closer.

MICHAEL MEYER with BRADLEY MARTIN and YURIKO HOSHIAI in Tokyo and PETER MCKILLOP in New York

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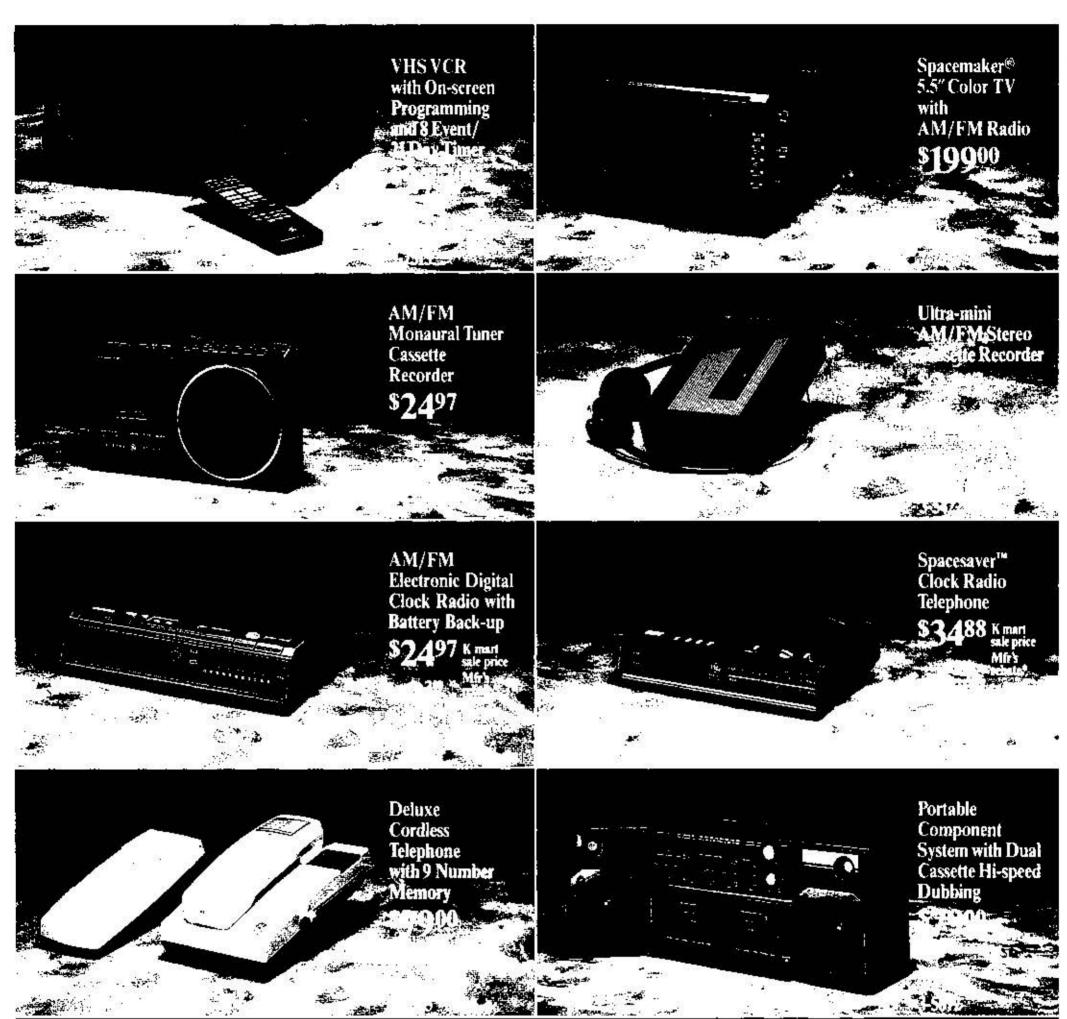
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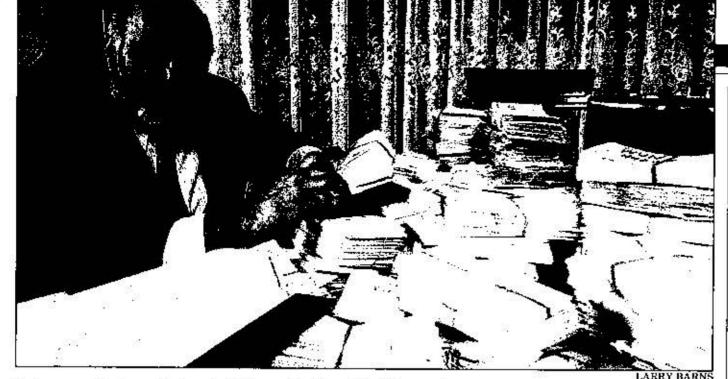
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 $\textbf{Unhappy with Drexel's 'vested interest'}: Stockholder\ advocate\ Valenzano\ with\ proxies$

Drexel's Heavy Hand

After years of breathtaking deals, it may have fumbled a bid to restructure Western Union

hen Drexel Burnham Lambert was at the height of its powers, it must have seemed as if a huge, docile cash cow had been dropped in its lap, ready to be carved up, hauled to market and sold in pieces for millions. During those glory days, Western Union, a once great company in frightful decline, called and asked for Drexel's help. Dismayed shareholders had watched the value of their stock erode steadily. Worse, bankers had cut off credit. It was time, chairman Robert Leventhal decided, to join the parade of companies trying to resurrect themselves through a massive financial restructuring. Drexel, thanks to its ability to raise money even for troubled companies, was the investment bank of choice. It stood to make a fortune in advisory fees alone—and even more peddling Western Union's assets.

A routine story-until Drexel went to work. Its involvement with Western Union is a case study of why the firm has become Wall Street's most controversial investment bank. In its "advisory" role Drexel has already attained an extraordinary degree of leverage over a company that sits at the brink of bankruptcy. Now it may be about to gain even more influence. Drexel, widely known for seeking control of various facets of the restructuring deals it finances, has rarely gone this far. The firm has in effect handpicked a new management team, accumulated a \$90 million financial stake in the company, placed millions of dollars' worth of newly issued debt into the hands of four or five of its regular junk-bond buyers and brought in close allies to help concoct the restructuring plans. Drexel denies any impropriety.

The Western Union restructuring could have been the ultimate Drexel power play. except for one thing: so far it has flopped. Shareholders have already rejected one of Drexel's plans for overhauling Western Union, and the firm itself withdrew a second. Last month Western Union sweetened its third plan, and last week it said investors would have until Nov. 19 to vote on it a one-week extension.

Even though Western's stock has plunged from \$39 per share to \$2.50 in three years, Drexel is not assured victory. In a complex series of transactions, Western Union is trying to swap old debt for new. Drexel is attempting to raise \$500 million in junk bonds to get the company some desperately needed cash and pay off the banks. In the postcrash market environment, that could be extremely difficult.



With a little help from a friend: LeBow

Last week, in an unrelated deal, Goldman Sachs and Salomon Brothers said they could not raise \$1.5 billion for the Thompson family's purchase of Southland Corp.

The new plan does have an obvious advantage for Western Union: if approved, it gets current creditors off the company's back. It also looks good from Drexel's perspective: the firm would get an extra fee of \$20 million for floating the junk, in addition to the \$12 million it gets just for its advice. There is, however, a disadvantage for the stock and bondholders. If they accept the swap, most will get far less than what they are owed by Western Union.

Drexel argues that the only alternative to approval is bankruptcy. In a less than subtle reminder of that, Western Union's board last week decided to "defer" an interest payment due next week on some of the company's debt to "conserve cash."

'Vested interest': A large group of dissident shareholders accuses Drexel of trying to restructure Western Union only for its own benefit. The leader of the group, Marcello Valenzano, is now fighting to dump Western Union's directors. In a separate proxy solicitation asking shareholders to elect a new slate of directors, Valenzano writes: "We question how Drexel could impartially serve Western Union's shareholders' best interest, given its past and present vested interest in groups proposing reorganization plans [while] at the same time acquiring large holdings in Western Union stocks." Drexel managing director Paul Levy says the company did not trade with the benefit of insider information. He said there were "a couple of small moments" during the drafting of the restructuring proposal when Drexel was not restricted from buying Western Union's stock. But he does not deny that the appearance of a conflict of interest has occasionally been there for all to see. Levy simply says those instances were "fully disclosed and approved by the company."

Management's approval, argues Valenzano, doesn't absolve Drexel of what he considers unethical behavior at best. On the same day shareholders roundly defeated Drexel's first proposal—Sept. 12, 1986— Western Union signed a letter of intent with Pacific Asset Holdings, which offered to inject \$250 million in return for 39 percent of the company. The president of Pacific is Gary Winnick, a 39-year-old financier who had been a top aide to junk king Michael R. Milken, head of Drexel's Beverly Hills high-yield-bond operation. Milken, his brother Lowell and other senior Drexel executives also own 27 percent of Pacific.

In July, before Pacific had even begun talking to Western Union, representatives of Resource Holdings, an investment firm closely allied to Chicago financier Jay Pritzker, approached Western Union with a new plan of its own. Since chairman Le-

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venthal had hired Drexel to be its investment adviser, he told Jerry Seslowe, managing director of Resource Holdings, to present his plan to Milken in Beverly Hills. "I thought the meeting went very well," says Seslowe. But he never heard anything more. Six weeks later "we picked up the newpaper and read that Pacific Asset had come in with a plan which was approved by the board of Western Union, and which was almost identical to our plan." Not only did the board approve Pacific's proposal; the contract included a \$20 million penalty if Western did a deal with anyone else.

Resource Holdings does not publicly accuse Drexel of stealing its plan and handing it to Winnick. But the firm is suspicious about the sequence of events. Levy denies Drexel brought Pacific into its deal. He says Drexel, in August, brought in a client, Denver-based MDC Holdings, which in turn alerted Pacific to the opportunity. But at least five months earlier Drexel had raised \$32 million in debt for the company—and placed one-third of it with Pacific Asset.

Mergar plan: Pacific withdrew the plan last spring, when Bennett LeBow, another Drexel client, came up with a better idea. LeBow had bought Liggett & Meyers Tobacco Co. in 1986 with Drexel financing. As a result of that deal, Drexel got a stake in LeBow's holding company and, through that, will eventually own 8.6 percent of Western Union. LeBow has an option to buy ITT's telex business, and he persuaded Drexel and Western Union that a combination of the two firms made sense. Together they put together the plan the shareholders are voting on now.

If approved, LeBow would end up controlling Western Union outright with a huge assist from Drexel. LeBow will invest \$25 million and in return get to name five of the company's nine directors and his own president, as well as get 51.5 percent of the common stock after Western Union shows a profit for a year. The SEC, Levy says, did ask a few questions about conflict of interest in the LeBow deal—but only a few.

The dissidents again cry foul. "Why can't Western Union restructure its finances on its own, and then go out and buy ITT's telex division without LeBow's involvement?" asked David Abrams of Dickstein & Co., a large owner of preferred Western Union stock. Leventhal says the company was hamstrung by its poor credit situation.

Valenzano believes he has the votes to beat Drexel again. If he does, Drexel ends up with very little: a lost chance to collect big fees and grab a 14 percent stake in a \$1.5 billion company. But some Wall Street analysts think the dissidents may be overly optimistic: a rejection may mean bankruptcy. Given that choice, a lot of investors may vote for restructuring—after learning a painful lesson in hardball, Drexel style.

CAROLYN FRIDAY with BILL POWELL



Pressure in the control tower: Guiding in planes at Chicago's O'Hare airport

To Rehire or Not to Rehire?

A dispute over the fired air-traffic controllers

onald Reagan was widely hailed for facing down organized labor when he fired the striking air controllers more than six years ago. Today the system is still woefully understaffed—at a time when air safety is more suspect than ever. Now pressure is building in Congress in favor of an obvious solution: rehire some of the fired controllers. Sen. Paul Simon, the Democratic presidential candidate, has endorsed the idea. And Republican Guy Molinari is sponsoring a House bill that would put 1,000 former controllers back to work. "Have they been punished enough?" he says. "I say, hell yes."

Spurred by deregulation, the explosive growth of air travel has outrun the Federal Aviation Administration's attempts to hire and train new controllers. While traffic has increased by as much as 20 percent in some cities, there are 26 percent fewer fully qualified controllers at work than before the strike. Six-day weeks and reduced vacation time are common, conditions that prompted controllers to form a new union in June. A Transportation Department plan to hire 580 more controllers is barely under way. Meantime, the number of near collisions is up almost 50 percent in the first nine months of 1987.

Caught between consumer worries about safety and a fear of renewed labor disputes, most airline executives have declined to take a position on the rehiring issue, leaving it to the FAA. Administration officials

maintain the system is safe. They say it may take just as long to retrain former controllers as it does to train new ones, and they predict dissension if strikers return to work alongside strikebreakers. They also condemn the controllers for walking out in the first place. "Those folks brought the entire system to its knees, and that should not be forgotten," said Gary Bauer, White House domestic-policy adviser.

Tough guy: Congressional opponents dismiss the administration's arguments. Rehired controllers, they point out, could be ready in four to six months. They might also be better able to meet the FAA's goal of reducing airspace between planes. A recent survey found that 90 percent of the fired controllers want their jobs back.

Advocates of rehiring say the president's hard line is based more on politics than principles. His sacking of the controllers helped establish his early popularity as a tough guy and set the tone for his labor policies. Now that he's in the waning days of his presidency, they say, he refuses to do anything that would undermine that tough-guy image. While the prospects for a bill in Congress seem good, Reagan is almost sure to veto it. The debate is therefore "academic," says FAA head T. Allan McArtor. Still, as the number of near collisions keeps increasing, the president's critics will continue to question whether he is standing tall at the expense of safety.

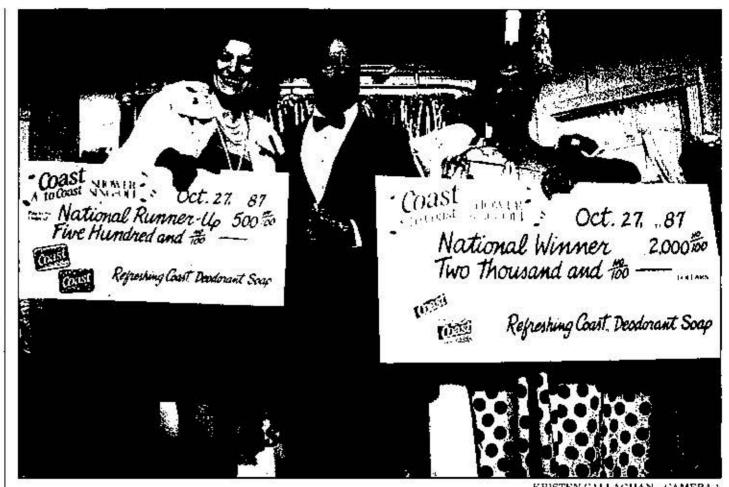
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Ad contests are a hit

t was Hebrew National's version of "The Gong Show." There was Rick Larrimore, a messenger from Somerville, Mass., singing "Mommy, please make schlami." And the Dellas twins from Speonk, N.Y., warbling about the joys of salami sandwiches. And Christopher Arzen (a.k.a. deli counterman Murray Goldbloom) performing a rap song in a thick Yiddish accent. ("My name is Murray Goldbloom / And I've got some news for you .../Stop bein' screwy, eatin' cottage cheese, yech tooey!") The not-yet-ready-forprime-time crooners were among 12,500 entrants in a recent Hebrew National ad contest. The winner: 31-year-old Lisa Levy of New York City, whose winning concept—an "83% fat-free model"—debuted recently in a national media campaign.

Move over, Madison Avenue. With corporate advertising budgets shrinking, everybody from Fortune 500 companies to nonprofit organizations is sponsoring amateur marketing contests. To advertise Coast soap, Procter & Gamble recently held "The Coast to Coast Shower Sing-off" in New York's Radio City Music Hall. TDK Electronics Corp. announced the "\$100,000 TDK Billboard Song Contest" to help sell



Soapy songs: Contestants in the Coast 'Shower Sing-off' with emcee Bert Parks

its audio cassettes. Order from Horder, a large office-supply store chain in Chicago, is searching for the ugliest office, which it intends to beautify as part of its new campaign. And Doctors Ought to Care, a Georgia-based physicians' group, is soliciting parodies of cigarette commercials.

Why the growing interest in customerproduced ads? "They're a great marketing tool," says a TDK spokesman, "because everybody wants to be a star." The Hebrew National contest, for example, attracted submissions from a fighter pilot, a stand-up comedian and a group of monks. Besides encouraging offbeat ideas (one entrant in the salami contest suggested a likeness of PLO leader Yasir Arafat saying "I love Hebrews"), ad contests can provide a quick infusion of revenues. Hebrew National spent about \$800,000 on its salami contest (the winner received \$83,000), but officials say the company has already made back many times that amount. To enter, contestants were required to submit one proof-ofpurchase seal from any Hebrew National product. That requirement, along with the

> publicity the contest generated, has already increased salami sales between 18 and 20 percent, says Hebrew National vice president Jim Dixon. In addition, says Dixon, "we've gotten several million dollars of free creative work."

> Will do-it-yourself spots ever threaten the ad business? Dixon charges that small companies like his often get "small ideas" from ad pros. One reason for the contest, he says, "was to playfully tweak Madison Avenue's nose." Not everyone was amused. Says industry veteran Jerry Della Femina: "Small companies are small because they think small; they believe anybody can be an advertising genius." But Della Femina also admits that some firms he represents come up with small ideas of their own. When it comes to amateur advice, he says, "better a smart stranger than a client's relative."

> > ANNETTA MILLER in New York

A Jungle War Over the 'Platoon' Video

Did you miss "Platoon"? Have you been waiting to see it-or see it againas a video? Well, you may have to wait a while. The cassette release of the Academy Award-winning film has run afoul of a corporate battle that is starting to rival the blood feud between the two fictitious sergeants in Oliver Stone's Vietnam War movie.

It started when Vestron, Inc., a major supplier of tapes, agreed to pay Hemdale Film Corp., the production company for "Platoon," \$2.6 million for the video rights. Vestron says Hemdale didn't deliver a print, and it sued for breach of contract in a California court. Hemdale countersued, charging that Vestron voided the contract by not making payments on time. Hemdale then signed an \$11 million deal with Home Box Office.



RICKY FRANCISCO Suit, countersuit: Film scene

HBO decided on an unprecedented price tag of \$99.95, invested \$2 million in national advertising—and 351,000 copies onto trucks. Then Vestron won a temporary injunction blocking distribution of the tapes. Last week a federal judge extended the ban until he rules on Vestron's claim that it owns the video copyright.

Even if Vestron thwarts HBO, its fight with Hemdale will go on. That could keep the video out of stores until after the Christmas season. By then, all hope may be lost of crowning "Platoon's" Oscar with another distinction: biggest-selling video of all time.

Investing in a Baby Bust



The rising generation is smaller, but it might have more money to spend

fter the boom comes the bust-not in stocks but in population. The leading edge of the baby bust, that smaller generation born since 1965, is now 22 years old and starting its long march through maturity. It may have a far more profound effect on the economy than the recent drop in the Dow.

All eyes remain fixed on the boomers, because of their rising potential to save and spend in middle age—which will hold true for most, even after the crash. But the huge. expansion they fueled is over. For the first time in recent memory, population growth in America is slowing down.

Throughout the 1970s, greater numbers of 22-year-olds surged toward adulthood every year—peaking in 1983 at 4.4 million. They needed more, much more, of everything.

But now you're seeing smaller and smaller numbers of 22year-olds—needing less, in the aggregate, of what it is that young adults buy. There are 5.9 million fewer teenagers today than there were 10 years ago. That will translate into 5.9 million fewer car buyers, 5.9 million fewer first-home buyers, 5.9 million fewer people to read Newsweek, watch network TV, use gasoline, drink Pepsi.

"Our present economy is built for a more rapid increase in demand than we're going to see in the future," says economist Jay Levy, publisher of Industry Forecast. Any business can look right now at the age mix of its customers and-if nothing changes—count the rise or fall in their numbers in the years ahead. Long term, businesses adjust to population drops (baby-food companies, for example, have diversified). But over the short run, specific industries can get hit.

It stirs up an argument to ask whether the baby bust will be good or bad for the economy. On the face of it, fewer young workers will mean less consumer demand. On the other hand, their smaller numbers should bid up wage levels and raise disposable incomes. Peter Morrison, director of population research at the Rand Corp., predicts that the busters in service jobs will earn 15 percent more than boomers did at any given age (although wages might be taxed to a fare-theewell to support the growing elderly population).

Where's the money? Specific predictions based on demographics are slippery at best, because they can be overwhelmed by unexpected changes in social and economic behavior. But when I asked the analysts, "Where's the money in the baby bust?", they pointed to the following trends that should survive the next bear market:

 Look at capital-equipment stocks for the very long term, especially in computers and communications. As the labor supply grows more expensive, companies will buy labor-

saving machinery, which leads to higher productivity. "A new crop of capital-intensive growth companies

should emerge," says economist Walter Cadette, a vice president at the Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. Meanwhile, laborintensive, low-wage industries, like textiles and retailing, will be hurt, as the shrinking labor pool finds better jobs.

■ Don't buy fast-food partnerships or restaurants. Franchisees have been pressing retirees into the gap as the supply of teenagers shrinks, but labor costs will inevitably rise. The big question is on the demand side: will an older population support as many Burger Kings and Pizza Huts?

■ It's too soon to worry about a long-term drag on the auto industry, says auto analyst Mary Ann Keller of Furman Selz. The heaviest car-buying years fall between the ages of 35 and 45, which is just where the hump of the boomers is heading. Also, older people have more income than they used to and are buying more cars. Keller thinks that any slowdown in demand arising from the baby bust is a good 10 years away.

Don't invest in real-estate partnerships that build small town houses, garden apartments or any other kind of starter housing. There is going to be a glut on the market. That's bad for price, bad for investors, bad for the middle-income middle-aged who plan to sell their first homes and trade up.

Boomers are a generation that, so far, has never learned to save, says James Hughes, director of the department of urban planning at Rutgers University. "They may be assuming that their savings are in the equity in their house, but they'll be selling their homes into the baby bust," he says. "So even upscale housing will become weak."

For baby busters, on the other hand, the news is good: it should gradually get easier to buy a home. Some of the unsold boomers' homes will turn into rental properties, easing the apartment shortage. But you won't find weakness everywhere. Strong local economies can produce sharply rising house prices, regardless of demographics.

Expect serious money to flow toward investments in child care. If too many mothers withdraw from the labor force because they can't find decent care for their children, the shortage of workers will grow even worse. To a corporation, subsidized day care will start looking cheap compared with the alternatives. So will flexible working hours.

■ Another big business will be worker training. To fill entry-level jobs, corporations will start accepting workers with less education and fewer social skills than are normally needed. Absent the school system's ability to grow a literate work force, industry will have to create its own—supplemented, most likely, by immigrants with special skills.

The leading edge of the busters may not be affected by these trends, because they're still blocked by a wall of boomers. But as the decade wears on and young adults thin out, their prospects should brighten. This news is especially good for skilled women and minorities who still suffer from some discrimination. So many hands are going to be needed that no one will care what color they are.

Will the wage increases forced by the baby bust set off inflation? Not necessarily. Higher productivity could lead to real income gains without inflation—thanks both to the substitution of capital for labor and to the maturing of the entire work force. Slower growth in the housing and auto industries is also deflationary, if it means that less credit will be injected into the economy.

But inflation could spring from other sources, like careless government policies. And the twin deficits, budget and trade, will still lie like a cold, damp hand over the standard of living. So demographics isn't everything. Still, it's something to conjure with. Fifteen years ago most investors missed the population play. Now you have a second chance.

Associate: VIRGINIA WILSON





All About Twins

They share traits and emotional bonds, communicate with each other in mysterious ways and provide tantalizing insights into human nature

wo years ago engineer Donald Keith was walking down a hall at his office in Rockville, Md., when he suddenly experienced a series of sharp pains like jolts of electricity in his groin. An acquaintance phoned to ask Keith if he knew anything about the "shared pain" that twins sometimes experience. Keith had never thought much about it. But it made him wonder if his identical twin, Louis, a Chicago obstetrician, might have had a flare-up of his bad back recently. He phoned Louis, who said no, but he had just injured a groin muscle. "The hair on the back of my neck stood straight up," Keith recalls.

Such uncanny affinities are just part of the mystery and fascination of twins.

Twins improve on the miracle of birth by doing it twice, a trick shot that never fails to dazzle us. Their matching looks inspire a certain voyeuristic curiosity, but at the same time their special bond arouses envy. Every lonely adolescent fantasizes a lost twin somewhere, the perfect companion, confidant and soul mate—another self. In their later years twins seem to embody the idyllic, unrivalrous sibling relationship so many of us, in vain, longed for. Phil and Frank Interlandi, 63-year-old identical twins in Laguna Beach, Calif., attended the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts together, landed advertising jobs together and quit about the same time. Well-known cartoonists, they see each other every day at their favorite bar and grill. "It's hard to say how

we're different," says Phil, whose work appears in Playboy. Frank, who drew for the Los Angeles Times before he retired, says, "Phil and I have more intimacy in thinking than I have with my wife. He can understand me better than she can."

Twins are equally intriguing for what they may reveal about the rest of us. As scientists study them in an attempt to sort out which qualities of body and mind are shaped by our genes, and which by our upbringing, the answers are forcing revisions in many cherished notions about how personality develops and how much control we have over our own lives.

But twins themselves still pose multiple puzzles. Although scientists have pretty much figured out how the rest of us are

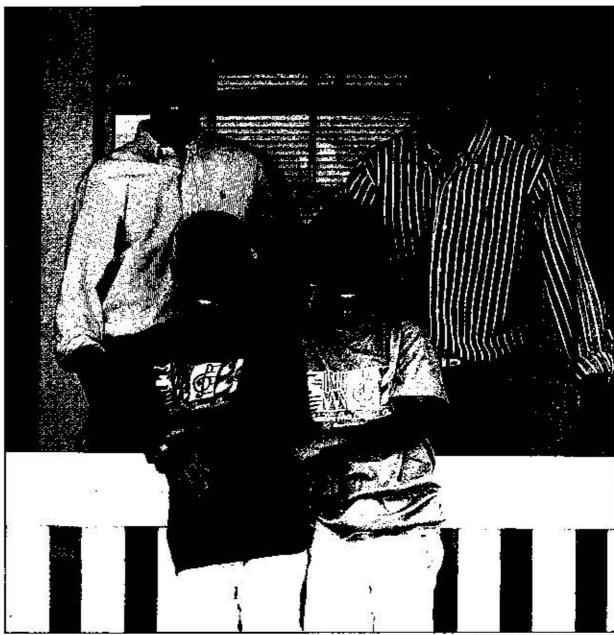




JOHN FICARA - NEWSWEEK

made, they remain a bit baffled about the origins of some twins, including how eggs and sperm fuse to create them. The questions scarcely end with twins' entrance into the world. Psychologists are trying to fathom how being half of a biological pair forever stamps a twin's sense of identity. And they are trying to understand how upbringing can influence twins' relationships (page 64). Researchers needn't worry about running out of subjects: there are 2.4 million sets of twins in the United States, and 33,000 more each year.

Researchers are now seeking to explain



Double, double . . . Pairs in look-alike contest at Ohio festival (far left); Eagle Scouts Buell and John Fuller, Tafts upon Tafts in Texas (above); young conventioneers (lower left) at the Twinsburg gathering

the strikingly similar choices many identical twins make even when they live far apart. Take the renowned case of Jim Springer and Jim Lewis, identical twins separated just four weeks after they were born in Ohio 48 years ago. Reunited 39 years later in a study on twins at the University of Minnesota, they discovered that they had married and divorced women named Linda, married second wives named Betty and named their first sons James Allan and James Alan, respectively. That's not all: they both drove the same model of blue Chevro-

let and they both enjoyed woodworking (and had built identical benches around trees in their backyards). They often vacationed on the same small beach in St. Petersburg, Fla., and owned dogs named Toy.

Researchers are wondering whether these "coincidences" are something more —a clue to the forces that shape beliefs, personality and even the path one chooses to follow in life. For 100 years twins have been used to study how genes make people what they are. Identical twins reared apart are the ideal keys to unlock such mysteries. Because they share precisely the same

genes but live in different surroundings under different influences, they are helping science sort out the relative influence of heredity and environment on such traits as shyness and thrill seeking. Or as Luigi Gedda, director of the Gregor Mendel Institute for twin studies in Rome, Italy, says, "Twins are not just a curiosity. They are a doctrine." In short, twins promise to reveal much about what makes us what we are.

'Twince Charming': Far from being self-conscious, twins often exult in their twinness. They have their own magazine—called Twins, of course—and hold an annual summer festival in, inevitably, the Ohio town of Twinsburg (which changed its name from Millsville at the request of twin brothers who donated land and \$20 to the town in 1817). At the most recent Twinsburg gathering last August, more than 1,300 pairs from around the world sported punny T shirts ("Twince Charming") and competed in contests for most and least alike, oldest and farthest traveled.

The closeness of the twins was obvious. One effusive pair, Karah and Sarah Isom, 11, of Akron, Ohio, have twin Cabbage Patch Kids, twin German shepherds and the same best friend. When Sarah had to take a summer math class, Karah begged to be allowed to join her—and they missed the same eight out of 200 questions on the final



Frank (left) and Phil Interlandi: Sometimes, more understanding than a wife

exam. When Karah broke her leg, Sarah asked for-and got-an Ace bandage and crutches from the hospital too. One would as soon leave the other as cut off her hand. "We want to get twin houses, twin cars," says Sarah. "We want to have our yards the same and live next door."

John and Buell Fuller, 79-year-old Eagle Scout leaders in Boston, are equally devoted to each other. They have always lived together, except for two years Buell served in the Air Force. Neither ever married. Every morning they race each other out of bed, don matching watches and outfits and plot new ways to fool a world of singletons. "Our hobby is confusing people," says John. While working for an airline, they took breaks at different times in the same cafeteria seat, leading people to think that a fellow named Mr. Fuller never worked.

Private language: Sometimes such intimacy can be destructive. Psychologists are trying to find out where closeness ends and pathology begins. From the time June and Jennifer Gibbons could speak, they seldom didexcept for rare simple sentences to adults and some words to other children. Eventually, they spoke only with each other. Around their hometown of Haverfordwest, Wales, they became known as the Silent Twins. They developed a private language that no one else could understand. Jennifer was so jealous of June—whom she thought prettier and more loved by their parents that she forced her into a childhood vow of silence. One acquaintance said Jennifer seemed to have "possessed" her sister: with eye signals, she told June when to talk, how to move, what to do. Each monitored the

other so they could act in perfect unison. They even fell off horses at the same time.

Once Jenniser intoned to her sister, "You are Jennifer. You are me." An agonized June screamed back, "I am June! I am June!" But in some ways the twins flowered—writing diaries of 1 million words and, in June's case, a novel published by a vanity press. Still, they remained deathly afraid of being seen as individuals. After committing petty theft and arson, they were sentenced in 1982 "without limit of time" to Broadmoor, a British institution for the criminal insane.

Such closeness can produce behavior that outsiders find mystifying, even eerie. Twins are renowned for creating "secret languages," supposedly unique tongues that only they understand. But more careful study has removed the mystery from several of these cases. The Silent Twins of Britain, for example, turned out to be using rapid-fire English with odd stresses. Jeffrey and Kristopher Cardwell of Midland, Texas, 10, used made-up words, much like the ones single children would. But while singletons discard the nonsense sounds after being corrected, twins keep them because each child reinforces the other. "They talked about 'woggies,' which seem to have been airplanes," says the Cardwell twins' mother, Linda. "'Gooden-goodens' were any small animal, especially raccoons. They kept this stuff up for years." By some estimates, 40 percent of twins develop a private language, although they usually drop it by the age of five or six.

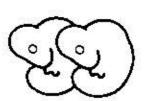
ESP events: Other mysteries of twin behavior have been harder to unravel—particularly ESP experiences. Psychologists have heard dozens of such stories over the years. mostly from identical twins. The ESP generally revolves around major events: injuries, births, deaths. Nancy Segal, codirector of an ongoing eight-year study of twins at the University of Minnesota, says she doesn't "doubt the reality of [ESP] events," since the stories are too numerous to be total fabrications. But she is reluctant to label

The Birds and the Bees of Double Births

Identical Twins



Accounting for about 1 in 250 births, these are created when a single egg is fertilized by one sperm.

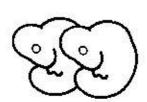


The egg splits into halves. Each develops into a fetus with the same genetic composition.

Fraternal **Twins**



Twice as common as identicals. fraternals arise when two eggs are released at once.



If both are fertilized by separate sperm, two fetuses form. Genetically they are just ordinary siblings.



Two platooning: Thirteen pairs of fraternal and identical twins attend the same high school in Sulphur, La.

them paranormal. She notes that researchers "never hear of the cases where one twin is sure the other is lying dead in the gutter, and he isn't." And since twins think about each other more than other siblings, experiences labeled ESP may be just coincidence.

Donald Keith, who studies twins with his twin, Louis, thinks there's more to it. He says that, by concentrating, he can make Louis phone him. At one point Donald was successfully sending the "phone home" message several times a week. "I think of there being electrical windows in the mind," he says. "Because twins are closer and more open to each other's thoughts, they are more likely to leave the windows open."

At times the legendary closeness of twins can be a liability. Twins used to sensing each other's moods often have to struggle "to say what they think and feel," notes Barbara Schave, coauthor of the 1983 book "Identity and Intimacy in Twins," "because they are accustomed to their nonverbal twin relationship." But another aspect of being twins can pay off. Their close bonds are attractive to other children, so they readily form other friendships. One reason, suggests Kay Cassill, president of the Twins Foundation in Providence, R.I., is that they are able to empathize with their friends quite early in life-a carry-over from their closeness to their twin. There are few better empathizers than "Dear Abby" (Abigail Van Buren) and "Ann Landers"—identical twins.

Different dads: Most people know of only two types of twins-identical and fraternal. But there seem to be more kinds of twins than scientists thought. Besides identical, who have exactly the same genes, and fraternal, who are born at the same time but are as genetically different as other siblings, there may be "half-identical" twins (chart). Half-identicals arise when a precursor to a true ovum divides into identical halves and is fertilized by two sperm. Thus they are more alike than fraternals, who come from two different eggs, but less alike than identicals, who come from one sperm. Twins can also have different fathers. If an ovum is released after the previous month's has begun developing into an embryo, it can be fertilized by the next act of sexual intercourse. They are, in essence, step-siblings, for they have the same mother but different fathers.

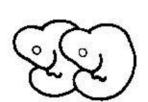
Identical twins, who make up a third of all twin births, seem to arise random-

e are more kinds of twins than the well-known fraternals and ticals, and they differ in their degree of genetic similarity.

alf-Identical Twins

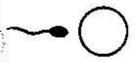


A rare type, half-identicals form when a precursor to an egg splits enly and is fertilized by two sperm.



The fetuses have about half of their genes in common—those from the mother.

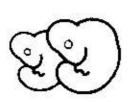
Twins of Different Fathers





In extremely rare cases, an egg is released even though the previous month's egg was fertilized.





If the second egg is fertilized by another man, the fetuses are no more alike genetically than half siblings.

CHRISTOPH BLUMRICH-NEWSWEEK





PHOTOS BY JOHN FICARA—NEWSWEEK

A trick shot that never fails to dazzle: Twins holding twins in Twinsburg, 'All America' winners at the festival

ly. The rate among all races is about four sets per 1,000 births. But the long shot may come in more than once, as happened to Susan and Don Taft of Corpus Christi, Texas. Four of their five children are identicals: Josh and Christian, 15, and Edward and Andrew, nine.

Chance plays a lesser role in fraternal twins. For one thing, they run in families. A study of 4,000 Mormon mothers found that they had a 1-in-58 chance of bearing twins if they themselves were twins. Someone with no twins on her family tree has a

slightly greater than 1 percent chance of conceiving a double blessing. A woman also has better odds of having fraternal twins if she has already borne children (especially other twins), used fertility drugs or is between 35 and 40. And she is likelier to have twins if she conceives soon after going off the Pill, since that triggers a burst of gonadotropins, the hormones that promote ovulation. Gonadotropins are used in fertility drugs: if they work too well, more than a single egg will be released. One study at Yale University showed that women who

had used the Pill and who conceived within two months of quitting had a two-timesnormal chance of having twins.

One of the more provocative recent discoveries about twins is that many more are conceived than are born-a phenomenon called the vanishing-twin syndrome. Sonogram studies indicate that up to 70 percent of pregnancies that start with two tiny fetuses end up with only one by about the fifth month. Apparently, many singletons really began life as a twin, which raises the possibility that the vague yearning

> some single children feel for a supposed long-lost twin may have a biological basis. Dr. Louis Keith, an obstetrician at Northwestern Medical School and the Center for Multiple Birth in Chicago, now believes the actual incidence of multiple conception may be as high as 20 percent, not the 1 in 90 that birth figures show. "We have taken the view that humans are animals that give birth to a single child except in rare circumstances," he says. "That may not be so."

> Odd cannibalism: A fetus can vanish in two ways. Its gestational sac can be resorbed by the mother, for reasons no one understands. This has no effect on the surviving twin. But in an odd sort of cannibalism, a fetus can also absorb or envelop its sibling, keeping the vanished twin inside itself long after birth. Such was the case with Nick Hill, a service-station attendant in Idaho. All his life Hill had complained of nearparalyzing headaches. Finally, when he was 21, doctors performed exploratory brain

Do You Really Want Twins? Try Yams

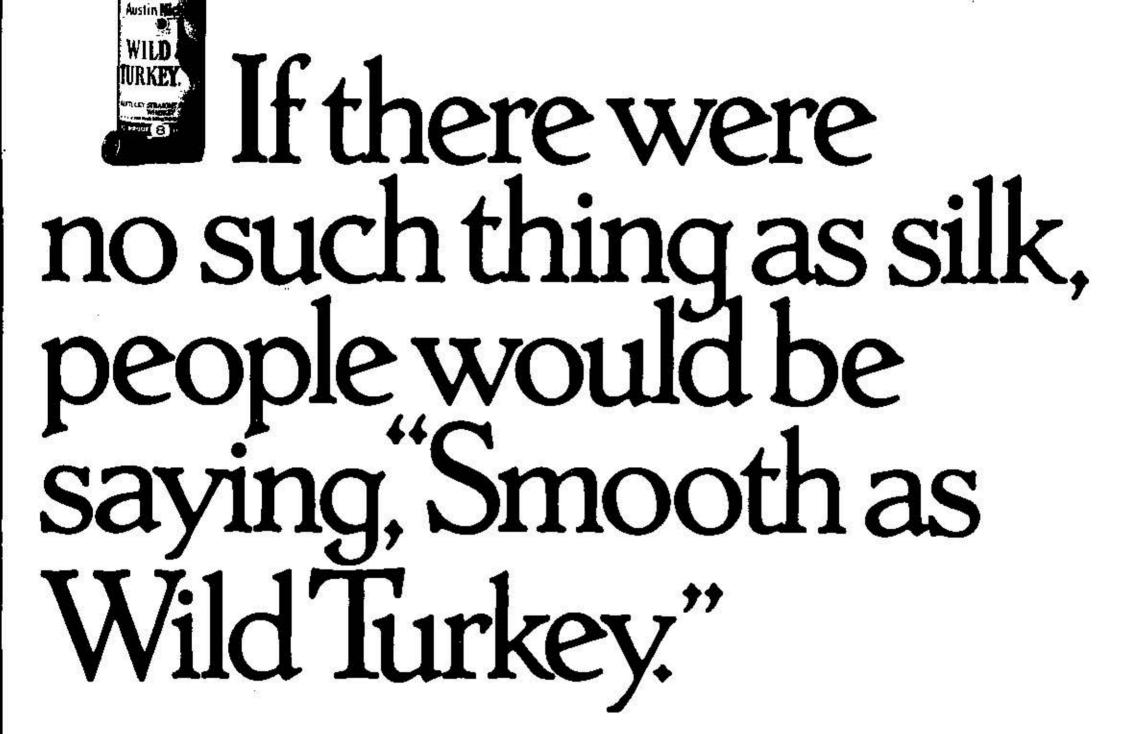
No culture in the world has more experience with twins than the 18 millionmember Yoruba tribe of western Nigeria. Twins ac-



MARILYN/KLINDT HOULBERG A veggie link? Yoruba pair

count for about 3 percent of the tribe's births, compared with 1.7 percent for other blacks, 1 percent for whites and .5 percent for Asians. At one time many Africans viewed double births as bad omens, and the newborns often were left to die. More recently the Yorubas decided that twins are harbingers of good fortune. Now research suggests the double blessings signify something else entirely: twins, it seems, may be caused by yams.

A typical Yoruba consumes huge numbers of local yams, a staple of the tribal diet. The vegetable contains high amounts of a substance similar to the female hormone estrogen, which in turn may stimulate the production of other hormones called gonadotropins. One gonadotropin, called follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH), may trigger the release of more than one ovum from the ovaries, thus paving the way for the conception of fraternal twins. (Yorubas who have abandoned yams in favor of more novel fare have fewer twins.) Although the hormone connection remains murky, there is circumstantial evidence that these chemicals do influence twinning. Yoruba women have higher levels of FSH than Americans, who have higher levels than Japanese women—a pattern that matches the rates of twin births in these groups. Americans who are eager to hear the pitterpatter of four little feet in the near future might thus do well to choose their Thanksgiving vegetables with care.





8 years old, 101 proof, pure Kentucky.

surgery. They found a mass of embryonic bone, skin and hair—thought to be the remains of an unborn twin. Other people have had cysts that contained vestigial teeth, hair or limbs—possibly relics of the twin who didn't make it.

At Rome's Mendel Institute. Gedda and his colleagues see striking peculiarities in how twins develop. "We have found that [identical] twins must be treated simultaneously," says Gedda, who founded the institute in 1953. "If one has a cavity, the other has it in the same tooth, or soon will.

Female twins often experience their first menstruation simultaneously, sometimes in the same night." Twins also cut their first teeth at the same time and go bald together. Gedda believes our genes come with built-in clocks that activate such developmental milestones. The idea of a gene clock may explain why the Jim twins-Springer and Lewis—have the same kind of headaches at the same times in their lives and even at the same time of day.

But what about Bridget Harrison and Dorothy Lowe, identical sisters separated

shortly after birth? Reunited at the University of Minnesota twins project, each arrived—not having seen each other for 34 years—wearing rings on seven fingers, a bracelet on each wrist and a watch. Bridget's children were Richard Andrew and Karen Louise; Dorothy's, Andrew Richard and Catherine Louise.

No scientist would seriously argue that somewhere in our chromosomes lies a gene for ring wearing or child naming. But Bridget and Dorothy's similarities nevertheless suggest that behavior patterns seemingly

For the Parents, a Delicate Balance

paising one child at a time is thard enough; parents of twins have an even more difficult job. They must help their youngsters to grow together and apart, to stay friends and still develop separate identities. "It's strenuous physically and mentally," says 39year-old Elaine Simon of Philadelphia, the mother of Nora and Claire, two. When she first found out she was going to have two children instead of one, Simon was "shocked." After the girls were born, she and her husband, David Crawford, struggled with a double load of diapers and midnight feedings. Now Simon is back at work as assistant director of urban studies at the University of Pennsylvania and the girls are in separate play groups, still enjoying each other. "I can't imagine having just one kid," says Simon. "It seems like it would be too easy."

The balancing act never ends, but as the twins get older, the trick is to make sure the children realize they are individuals first and twins second. "We don't want them to be so bonded to each other that one becomes a missing part to the other," says Adele Faber, coauthor of "Siblings Without Rivalry." Says Linda Cardwell, a Texas mother of 10-year-old twin boys: "Most parents are working very hard to give each of our children their own identity."

Competition between twins is almost inevitable, says Lawrence Balter, professor



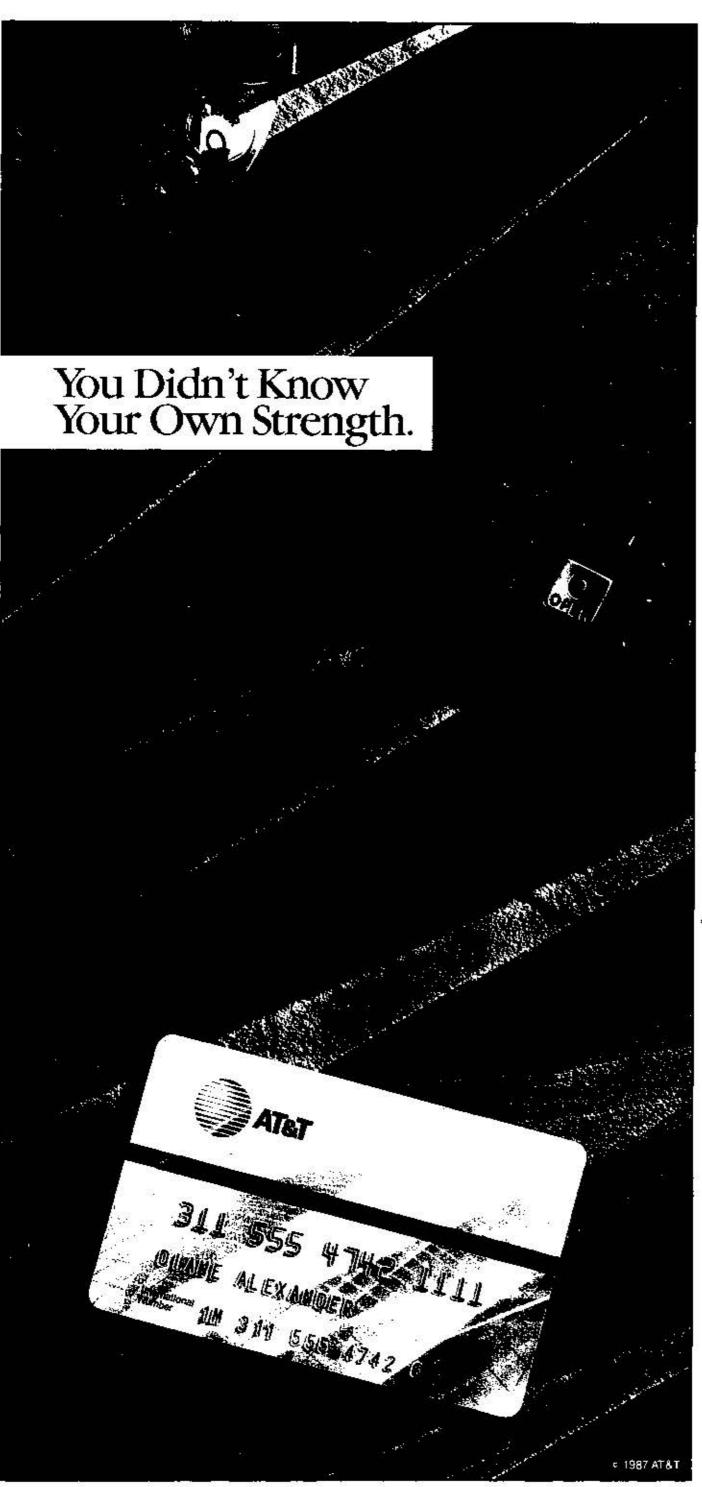
BARBARA LAING—PICTURE GROUP Separate identities: Cardwell, sons Jeffrey and Kristopher

of educational psychology at New York University, because twins are always at the same stage of development with the same set of parents. That may force them to develop different interests in order to maintain their identities, Balter says. Erica Frederick and her twin sister, Sheila Lambert, 40, sometimes felt like "interchangeable parts" when they were young, Frederick says. But, as they grew up, their paths diverged. Sheila was a cheerleader, Erica was not. They went to different colleges. Erica worked for nonprofit agencies; she is now executive director of the Karen Horney Clinic in New York. Sheila, publisher of Moody's Investors Service, says she's the "capitalist" of the pair. "It's hard to ever completely prevent rivalry among siblings," Sheila says, but "if you really encourage them to follow their own interests, there will be less rivalry than if you're trying to make them the same."

Still, it's impossible to ignore that twin connection. "Identical twins who are genetically exactly alike may be predisposed toward certain things," says Terry Pink Alexander, author of "Make Room for Twins" and mother of eight-year-old twins. Larry Silverstein, 26, a New York City lawyer, jokes that he and his identical twin, Lenny, have always had the same hobbies: "sports and sex." Although they went to different colleges, they now live in the same city and see each other twice a week. But the special intimacy that twins share can lead to problems. As they grow older, they may find it hard to develop intimate friendships or romantic relationships because they think no one will ever know them as well as their twin. Barbara Unell, cofounder of Twins magazine and the mother of seven-year-old twins, advises parents to talk to their twins about different kinds of relationships and how each can be rewarding.

Two heartbeats: There are many resources available to parents who are having trouble raising doubles. The National Organization of Mothers of Twins Clubs in Albuquerque, N.M., has free booklets with twin-rearing advice and can refer parents to 300 chapters. TWINLINE, based in Berkeley, Calif., is a social-service agency and hot line that offers advice on multiple-birth care and development. Unell's Twins magazine, based in Overland Park, Kans., is full of articles on such topics as breast-feeding, toilet training and research on twins. Sometimes, the best advice comes from twins and their parents who have been through it all. "Twins are not twice the trouble," says Detroit obstetrician Robert Sokol, father of twin 15-year-old boys. "They're about one and a half times the trouble." Sokol remembers that momentous day when he first heard two heartbeats inside his wife's womb. Years later, he says, "I still think it's neat." And, Sokol adds, "it's a great conversation piece at cocktail parties."

> BARBARA KANTROWITZ and KAREN SPRINGEN



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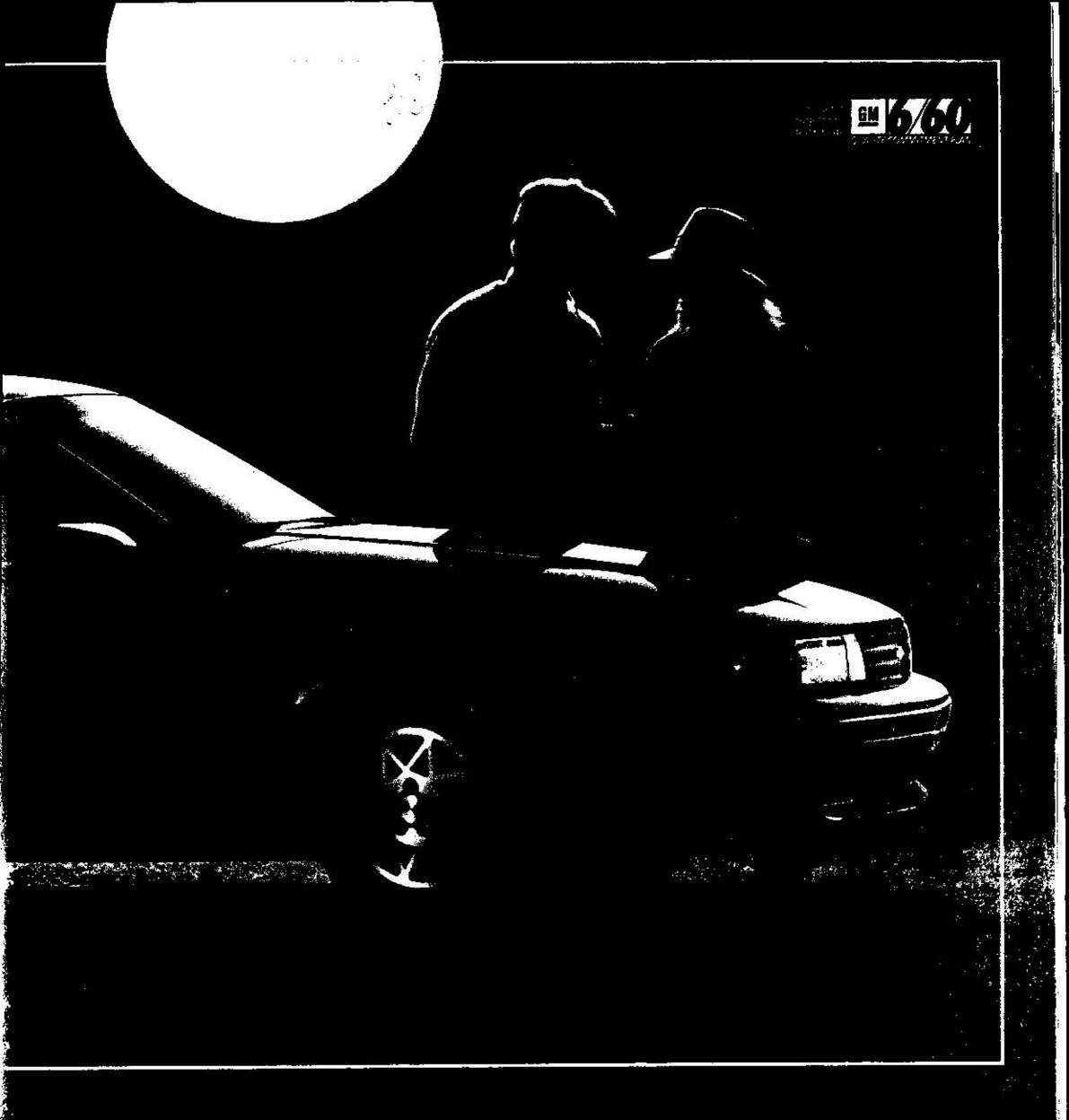
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remote from the influence of heredity may in fact be genetically based. The women, for example, might have inherited genes that gave them attractive fingers, eliciting compliments from friends. Then, independently, they might have come to wear numerous rings to show off their hands. And their children's names? The chance of any two people choosing the same names is high enough that statisticians just label it coincidence.

By studying twins reared apart, scientists are learning how the forces of nature and nurture interact to make us what we are. Last December researchers led by Thomas Bouchard of the University of Minnesota announced preliminary results of a study of 350 pairs of identical twins reared apart. Running them through a battery of physical and psychological tests that included 15,000 questions, the Minnesota team found striking similarities between the pairs in several major personality traits, suggesting a strong role for genetics. On the basis of the

tests, the researchers estimate that 61 percent of leadership ability is inherited. Other characteristics also showed strong genetic influence: the capacities for imaginative experiences, vulnerability to stress, alienation and a desire to shun risks were 50 percent to 60 percent inherited. But environment was a powerful factor in other traits. Aggression, achievement, orderliness and social closeness were all more strongly influenced by upbringing, with genetic components of 48 percent to 33 percent. "There is a very significant genetic influence across the broad range of personality characteristics," says Bouchard.

Water phobia: Fears and phobias seem to have sizable genetic components too. In a study of 15 pairs of identicals reared apart, the Minnesota team found three sets with multiple phobias. Two siblings, for instance, were afraid of water and heights and had claustrophobia. Three other pairs of twins shared a single phobia. One of these pairs, although separated soon after birth, worked out the same solution to their ! water phobia: they waded into the ocean backward, averting their eyes from the surf. Perhaps, researchers speculate, evolution selected genes for such fears because they conferred a survival advantage on early humans. Avoiding heights and water is a good way to avoid falling off cliffs or drowning.

Like phobias, shyness seems an inborn



Is biology destiny? Joyce and Janet Freeman, biologists

characteristic. Studies of identical twins of all ages show that "shyness is the most heritable of any trait," says Robert Plonin, professor of human development at Pennsylvania State University. Although there is no shyness gene as such, an interplay of genes does seem to put shy people in a higher state of physiological arousal. "People in a high arousal state would try to avoid a lot of activity and stimulation to keep their arousal level down," explains Laura Baker of the University of Southern California—making them seem shy.

Researchers lately have been trying to understand how genetic influence on the brain can produce a whole spectrum of different behaviors. One nascent theory holds that a person's genetic makeup influences the kinds of environments he seeks, which in turn influence personality. In this way genes would have an indirect effect as well as a direct one-a sort of nature via nurture, as Minnesota's David Lykken puts it. A genetic predisposition toward risk taking, for instance, may create a typical urban criminal. So while there is no gene for criminality, there may be one for behavior that, in the wrong setting, produces it.

By the same token, genes may make us more sensitive to our environment. In a study of anxiety and depression published in May, researchers at the Medical College of Virginia examined 3,798 pairs of identical twins more susceptible than fraternal twins, clear evidence of a genetic connection. But there do not seem to be separate genes for anxiety and depression. Rather, it appears that there is only a single set of genes. Its function: to make one "particularly sensitive to environmental effects," says MCV's Lindon Eaves. A person with this sensitivity who experiences, say, a death in the family, may plummet into depression. Another who has a stress-filled job may succumb to anxiety.

Long-held notions: The idea that genes strongly influence how we think and act upsets longheld notions about the primacy of free will. But clearly, we are not slaves of our genes. The proof is obvious: identical twins are not necessarily identical in behavior. One twin studied by Minnesota's Lykken was separated from her identical sister at birth. She grew up to be "a professional-caliber pianist," says Lykken, although her adoptive family was not at all musical. Her sister was adopted by a piano teacher-

and doesn't play at all. "An environmental difference, different families, reached into the genes and pulled out something," says Lykken.

If identical twins teach us anything, it is that while we may be stuck with what nature deals us, nurture is somewhat negotiable. Says USC's Baker, "Given the same genes, different circumstances-including different educational opportunities—will produce different results."

To identical twins, just being half of one of nature's most delightful sleights of hand can seem the best of circumstances. Karen Braaten and Laura Terheggen, 35-year-old identical twins, couldn't be closer—although they have always hated to be compared. At one point, Karen seriously thought about having her nose changed. When she heard about it, says Laura, "I rushed to the mirror to say, 'What for?'" Both married and residents of South Padre Island, Texas, for the past decade, they are now undergoing a difficult two-year separation while Laura takes a degree in physical therapy. "Twins are wonderful," observes Karen, confidently summing up the feelings of most of her singular breed of doubles. "You have a built-in best friend. If you can't relate to something half of yourself, you can't relate to anything."

SHARON BEGLEY with ANDREW MURR in Chicago, KAREN SPRINGEN in Twinsburg. JEANNE GORDON in Los Angeles, cal and fraternal twins. They found identi- DOANNE HARRISON in Houston and bureau reports

FAMILY

How to Protect Abused Children

The systems in place are tragically overburdened

lizabeth Steinberg was buried last week in a white coffin lined with pink satin. She was mourned by hundreds of New Yorkers-most of them strangers, some of them friends-who lined up in the morning cold outside a Greenwich Village funeral home. They had read the shocking accounts of the six-year-old girl's death. Law-enforcement officials allege she was savagely beaten by 46-year-old Joel Steinberg, a lawyer who claimed to be her adoptive father-although authorities now say the "adoption" was probably illegal. Steinberg and his | longtime lover, Hedda Nussbaum, 45, were arrested two weeks ago as Elizabeth lay dying in a hospital. The tragedy seemed incomprehensible: How could such a horrible thing happen? More important, who could have saved the child?

Elizabeth's legacy may be that her death has once again focused national attention on the problem of child abuse. It is growing at an alarming rate. According to the American Humane Association, the number of official reports of child abuse and neglect has risen 223 percent nationally since 1976. There were 2 million reported cases in 1986, an increase of 12 percent over 1985. Some officials say the rise represents more diligent reporting, but others say it is all too real, particularly in poor, urban neighborhoods. "Unemployment

and crowded housing in cities are contributing to the increase in child abuse," says Dr. Vincent Fontana of the New York Foundling Hospital. He also points to higher rates of divorce and separation, teenage pregnancy and drug and alcohol abuse. "There is no question in my mind," he says, "that people are finding it more and more difficult to cope today."

The increase in abuse-related deaths is especially disturbing. A survey by the National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse found a 23 percent increase in such deaths between 1985 and 1986. Those statistics don't tell the whole story. Some deaths listed as accidents and sudden infant death syndrome may actually be related to child abuse. Officially, 1,200 children died of abuse last year; some experts say, however, that the true figure is probably closer to 5,000. Babies are at the highest risk. Recent surveys by Los Angeles County and the State of Illinois found that 75 percent of the victims in those areas were one year old or younger. Half of the children are beaten to death; the rest die from neglect because their parents fail to supervise them or provide adequate medi-

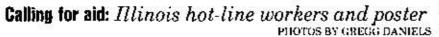
When Elizabeth died, many New Yorkers blamed the city for not protecting her. But caseworkers in New York and other cities say that they are overwhelmed, and



A sad farewell to Elizabeth: Mourners carry the

experts acknowledge that many children may fall through the cracks. Federal, state and local funding for child protection has fallen far below what's needed. Workers are underpaid and struggling with heavy caseloads. The accepted professional standard is for a social worker to carry 20 to 25 cases, but Patricia Schene of the American Humane Association estimates that the average is between 35 and 50—and even higher in some places. Many caseworkers aren't adequately trained for what is undeniably a demanding, frustrating job. Workers burn out quickly and the turnover rate is high. "A major part of the problem is that we've been taking these 22-year-old, wet-behind-the-ears zoology majors at best and putting them on the front lines in life-or-death situations," says Jim Lardie, president of the Association of Child Advocates.

Some state and local agencies are trying to help child-care professionals do a better job. Wisconsin has instituted an intensive









RALPH ALSWANG sket; at right, Nussbaum and Steinberg

eight-day training program for that state's child-protective-service workers. In Corpus Christi, Texas, Metro Ministries runs the innovative Adopt a Child Abuse Caseworker program, a three-year-old effort that has paired 35 caseworkers with various churches. The congregations supply help that includes providing food and medical attention to needy youngsters. In the Aurora, Colo., public schools, teachers have been educated to notice signs of abuse among their students. Those signs can be subtle at first-a talkative child who becomes withdrawn, a drop in grades, speech and language problems. But the 10-yearold Aurora program is working. Officials say that the number of reported cases has increased dramatically.

First step: Child-care workers are often especially reluctant to interfere if the parents, like Joel Steinberg and Hedda Nussbaum, are middle class and well educated—although child abuse is a problem in all economic classes. Carnie Hayes, a nurse at the Phoenix Indian Medical Center in Arizona, says that "when a person comes in in clothes that are a little scruffy and their income is below \$15,000, their child is looked at closer for scratches than the child whose mother pulls up in a Mercedes-Benz and has every hair in place."

Identifying a case of child abuse is only the first step, and even placing the child in foster care isn't always the answer. Lenore Behar of the North Carolina Children and Family Services says that "historically, we have slipped into believing that if you remove a child from a bad situation, everything will be better. It's not like that." There is an acute national shortage of foster parents, in part because of changes in family structure. With fewer two-parent households, there are not enough families willing to take in children. Earlier this month Gordon Johnson, director of the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services, made an urgent plea for 1,000 foster parents to prevent a "collapse" of the system in that state,

Officials report a growing incidence of abuse within the foster-care system itself. Although some foster parents are simply unqualified, others are overwhelmed by the problems of their wards. "Some of the best foster parents mistreat children," says Emily Jean McFadden of Eastern Michigan University. Given the shortage of foster parents, caseworkers "overload them with kids," says McFadden. "Something finally snaps."

Many child-care professionals say the answer lies in better efforts to keep troubled families together—and most families, even those with severe problems, want to stay together. "We need to get away from rescuing the child from the family to rescuing the family," says Schene. One alternative is intensive one-on-one counseling with a social worker who comes to the home. Homebuilders, a private agency in Washington state, works with 500 families a year. Agency officials say that after ther-

> apy, 85 percent of families report improved communication and 95 percent showed a decrease in violence.

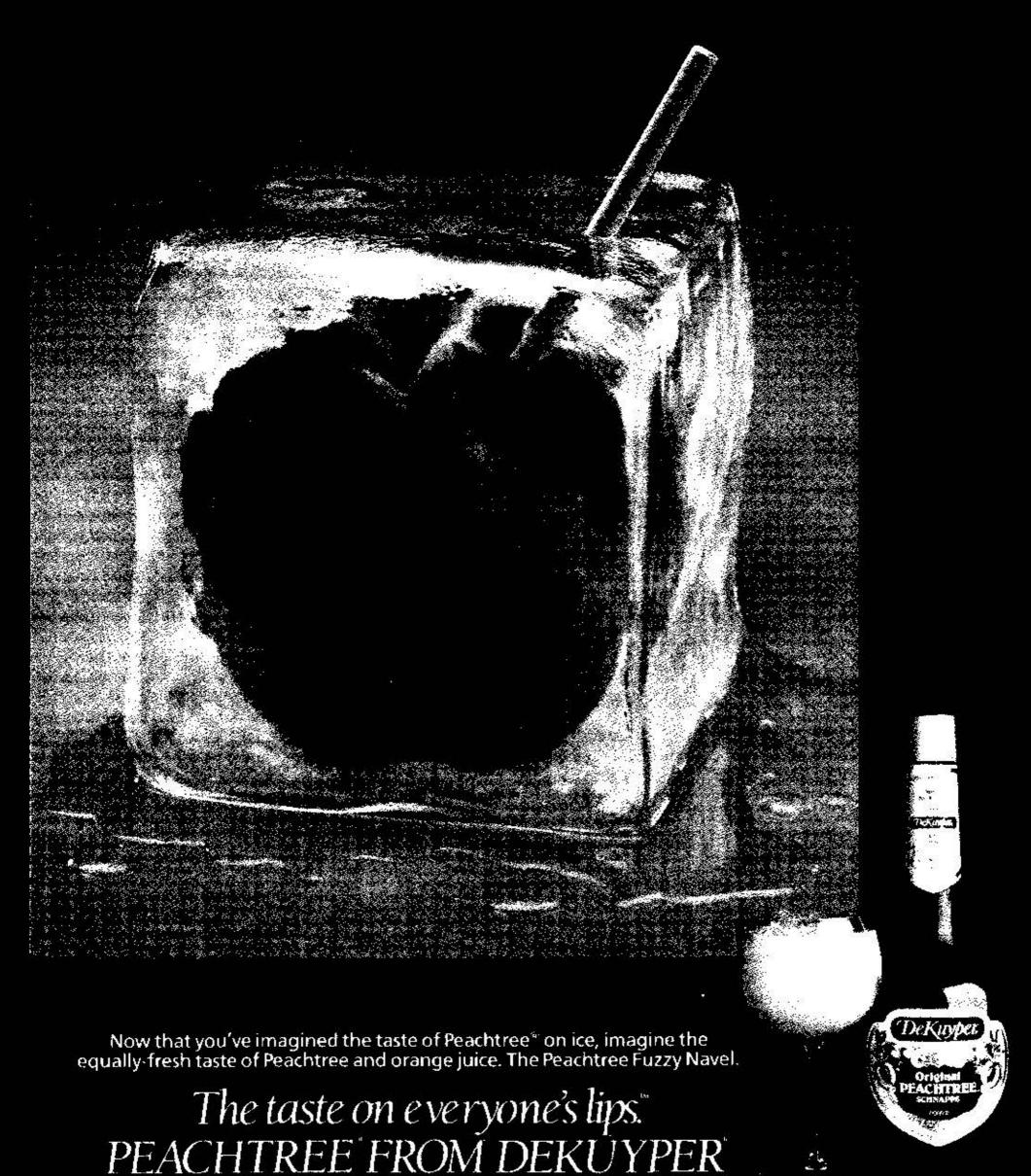
> Crisis nursery: Short-term intervention is also helpful. Fontana runs a crisis nursery at the Foundling Hospital where parents can leave their children for a few nights if they feel themselves losing control. Cynthia Gwynn, a 25-year-old single mother, has brought her daughters in twice. "I didn't know what to do," she says. "I never hit my children but I got tense." She adds: "You shouldn't be ashamed. You should get help."

Of course, prevention is the

best cure for child abuse—and that may involve fundamental changes in the way society views child rearing. James Garbarino, president of the Erikson Institute for Advanced Study in Child Development in Chicago, says parents need more support from social agencies. In other countries, public-health workers regularly visit new parents. There is no stigma attached to the visits. "We have to have a community relationship with every single family, Garbarino says. While some people argue that this involvement means government intrusion into family life, others say the situation is desperate. "Child abuse is everybody's business," says Fontana. "If you are a neighbor, go to the people and knock on the door and say, 'Can I baby-sit? Can I help?' You must become your own little social worker. And you must remember not to give up."

BARBARA KANTROWITZ with PATRICIA KING in Chicago, DEBORAH WITHERSPOON in New York and TODD BARRETT in Atlanta

Peachtree on ice. Imagine the taste.



TELEVISION

Here She Comes, Again

Dolly takes control of her ailing show

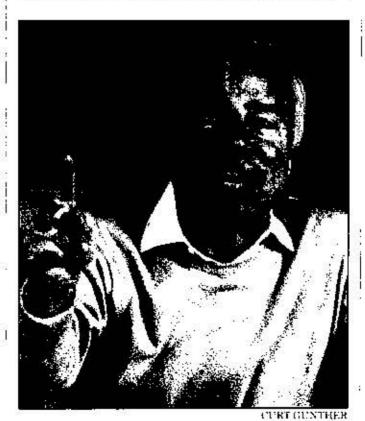
olly Parton is still wickedly skinny, six weeks into the run of her new variety show, and that is what's truly surprising. After all, until she dropped 40 pounds in preparation for the task of carrying ABC from (as they might say in her beloved Great Smoky Mountains) the outhouse to the penthouse, Dolly had always been the sort of person who thought there was no mood-altering substance like corn bread. She'd whittle off a little weight say, for those movies she made with Burt Reynolds and Sylvester Stallone-then, a couple of months after the reviews came in, she'd look like an albino Ella Fitzgerald. "Bad write-ups," says Dolly, a country poet who sometimes doesn't know it, "can always get me down." But now, wow: here she comes again, traipsing through her manager's L.A. office last week in practically Barbie-sized blue jeans. And joking about "having to take a pee break first because when I get started about this show I can't stop." An amazing state of affairs, really, when you consider that since Sept. 27 Dolly could be excused if she felt (as they used to say in the hills of the Bronx) so low she could play handball off the curb.

Sept. 27 was when the network unveiled the show that was supposed to bring back the variety format, family television, brotherly love, Amelia Earhart and good, 10-cent cigars. Talk about your openingnight pressures: Capital Cities, ABC's parent company, had invested \$44 million in the show-which Brandon Stoddard, the president of ABC Entertainment, had, in turn, slotted in at 9 p.m. Sunday, the prime of prime time. Stoddard, in his second year at the helm, hoped Parton could put a positive spin on the entire '87-'88 season, not to mention his career. (He had followed his success as the force behind "Roots" and "The Day After" with "Amerika" and "Life with Lucy.") Dolly herself was "as curious as anyone to see how what we'd done would play on regular TV." So she and her longtime companion Judy Ogle, her manager Sandy Gallin and a friend of Gallin's all took off their shoes that night and climbed into the bed in her luxurious L.A. manse, the better to "watch the show," as Parton says, with a 1 naiveté that can only be born of her reported \$200 million net worth, "like normal people."

What they saw was Dolly taking an ersatz bubble bath; Hulk Hogan wrestling;

Pee-wee Herman looking like he wanted to stop the videotape and call his agent. "It was overproduced and hysterical," says Gallin, a variety-show veteran (Sonny and Cher, Tom Jones) who admits he was partly responsible for what was wrong. For Dolly, who says she "disliked about 50 percent of the show," the "falsest moment" came when she crooned "Someone to Watch Over Me" with all the ease of Eugene Hasenfus live from Nicaragua. "I just didn't grow up with those beaded gowns and that kind of melody structure," she says. "It was the equivalent of Barbra Streisand singing 'Don't Come Home a-Drinkin'." Subsequent audience research indicated that her loyal fans were even more put off by the weekly Dolly-goes-on-a-date segment. What was a woman with a wellknown predilection for tall, skinny men doing with Dudley Moore? And, what about her

much-discussed but rarely photographed husband of 21 years, Carl Dean, the world's most mysterious asphalt contractor (all we know is that he's tall and skinny)? What did he think of such goings on? ("His only comments," Dolly says, "were that there's too many shoulder pads and too much hair'.")



A tough climb up Pork Chop Hill: Stoddard



No one to watch over her: Parton turns up the country

In any case, by early November the show had slipped from fifth to 40th in the ratings, and Stoddard, while claiming to be more confident in Dolly than ever, was comparing what's supposed to be 40-odd minutes of pickin' and grinnin' to "a very tough climb up Pork Chop Hill." "Spenser: For Hire" wasn't exactly the strongest lead-in, he noted; the other networks were counterprogramming with blockbuster mini-series and, not to make all the traditional excuses, but "let's not forget that the World Series went to seven games." Asked if he was having fun yet as head of programming, Stoddard, after a pause, could only laugh loud and long-and then, when it came time to answer, laugh some more.

Smart and professional: Occasionally, the show has produced real smiles. Asked, during an impromptu question-and-answer segment, how long it takes to do her hair. Dolly said, "I wouldn't know-I'm never there." Still, there has been nothing funnier, to those who know Dolly even a little. than the idea of a bunch of male TV execs telling her to go out and warble about wanting someone to watch over her. "This is one very smart, tough person," says Nick Vanoff, another variety-show vet ("The Julie

Andrews Hour," "The Hollywood Palace") who came aboard in late October to work with producer Don Mischer. "I told her, 'Look, I'm not afraid of you,' and she said, 'Well, I'm not afraid of you, either.' I like that." Good thing. Dolly has a contract that guarantees her complete creative control, and she says the time has come to stop taking suggestions and start exerting her power. "I have thought about the situation and prayed on it," she says, "and I have come to realize that there are a lot of people out here in Hollywood who don't know what the hell they're doing."

Theme shows: In the past few weeks Dolly has been personally involved, she says, in the hiring and firing of writers, as well as in a shake-up of the guest list that will result in the show getting (to the chagrin of those network types who kept telling her not to make this a \$44 million "Hee Haw") quite country, quite fast. Whereas the early offerings featured Oprah Winfrey and Moore, the next batch offers Jerry Reed and Mac Davis—and maybe if you look close you'll see that their guitar picks were fashioned out of a few shows, already in the can, that Dolly decided to scuttle. The bubble-bath opening has been capsized, and an autobiographical "continuing drama" called "Beulah Faye," as well as a nightclub segment, added. Dolly has also decreed that there will be theme shows originating from a Texas ghost town and Hawaii. What does the network say when she announces that she's taking the cast and crew on the road? "They don't say anything, "Dolly says. "They know that I'm in charge now and that I have promised to make this show what I want it to be by my birthday, Jan. 19."

This is a somewhat different approach to high-stakes TV than one hears from an executive such as Stoddard, who tends to speak in terms of sweepsweeks rather than his birthday, and who, judging by his office, has yet to adopt an emblem comparable to Dolly's trademark butterfly. Stoddard's next move will probably be the standard time-slot switch, with Dolly winding up on Saturday nights, because the Barbara Mandrell show did all right there for a few years, and on TV imitation is the sincerest form of programming.

Dolly says she could live with a schedule change. To hear her tell it, she's actually having fun throwing around what little bit of weight she has and burning the midnight oil in her office while the guys in the suits and ties wonder what comes next. "It's not like I'm going around being a bitch or anything," Dolly says. "It's not like there's panic on the set." No, but when asked what he thought about his boss last week, one person close to the show seemed not to hear the question. "What did she say about me?" he asked.

CHARLES LEERHSEN in Los Angeles

FASHION

It Couldn't Be Worse for Wear

Fashions for after dark

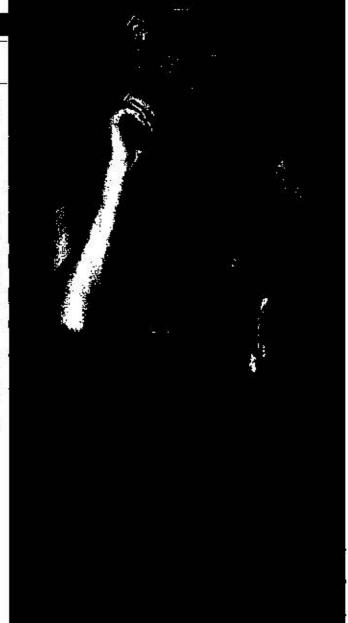
at her office dressed in the latest spring fashion, a crisp blue blazer and pleated shorts. Shorts? Miniskirts with legs? As if to snub workingwomen, designers have consulted the archives and brought back shorts as another knee-baring gem loaded with professional potential. Who are they kidding?

Next spring's fashions couldn't be worse for workingwomen. In the New York collections that recently concluded, few designers showed clothes respectable enough to wear by day. The thigh-high hemlines, skinny skirts and see-through shirts would overpower any power breakfast. Even Donna Karan, known for her chic executive suits, turned her attention to "ladies who lunch." Her low-cut lace tops and gauze miniskirts would bring any company cafeteria to a standstill. Sportswear designer Calvin Klein featured racy slip dresses so snug they apparently precluded underwear. And Cathy Hardwick—she used to be such a nice girl—showed her bralike tops and tiny flared skirts sans culotte. Many top designers—such as Oscar de la Renta, Carolina Herrera and Bill Blass concentrated on clothes for after dark.

"Designers OD'd on social-occasion clothes," says Bernard Ozer, vice president of the Associated Merchandising Corp. "They forgot that most people's social occasion is going to work every day."

Ruined ruffles: Of course, many of this season's most regrettable get-ups can be blamed on Christian Lacroix, Paris's hot new designer. His silly couture collection managed to inspire thousands of ruined ruffles and botched boleros. Lacroix knockoffs ruled the runways in both Europe and New York, setting the theme of frivolous, fantasy-dressing. Real clothes for real people were in short supply. "Designers were looking to create the excitement of Lacroix," says Joan Kaner, vice president of Macy's New York; adding, "we've all seen a suit before." Yes, but not lately.

As always, when fashion is



Professional potential? Cameron's shorts

unwearable pants come back into style. Many designers—such as Klein, Karan and David Cameron—helpfully included pants and jackets in their spring collections, giving workingwomen a reasonable and attractive alternative to the skimpy skirts. Klein's trousers had tapered legs, while Karan's had legs fuller than any of her skirts. Cameron gave women every option, offering pantsuits with wide, long

or short legs. And Geoffrey Beene took a perfectly good thing one step too far and revived the jump suit. Big mistake. The jump suit—a single swath of fabric that manages to make the most of what should be seen the least—is fine for house painters, but it should be banned from high fashion forever. Even Beene's catlike black numbers made the willowy models look bottom-heavy.

The best thing about any trend is that it will eventually disappear. According to fashion forecasters, these bright leggy skirts are for 1987 only. Longer, more graceful silhouettes may be in again next fall. As for summer clothes, women might as well do their shopping in the lingerie department—they'll find the same stuff, and it will cost less.

JENNET CONANT



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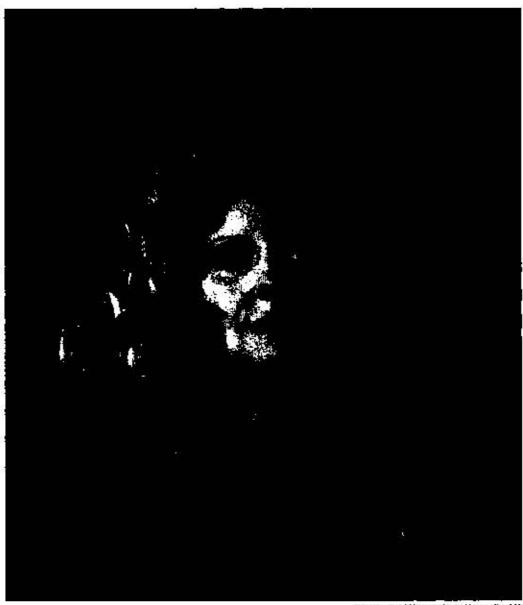
Men Aren't Her Only Problem

A bizarre month for sex researcher Shere Hite

s the Shere Hite story entertaining or just plain creepy? ■Until recently, the answer probably depended on how you felt about Hite's man-bashing studies of female sexuality. But this fall, with the publication of "Women and Love: A Cultural Revolution in Progress," Hite has been involved in a bizarre chain of events that only tangentially involves her work. The latest came last week, when The New York Times called Hite's home and an employee identifying herself as Joan Brookbank took the call. Brookbank's "voice bore a strong resemblance to Ms. Hite's," the Times reported. When the reporter asked why Ms. Hite couldn't come to the phone, Brookbank said, "She's awfully busy," then snapped: "What is this, a witch hunt?"

Well, no. But Hite surely has been acting odd lately. Even before the publication of "Women and Love," for example, a Hite associate named Diana Gregory was phoning up and down the East Coast hectoring jour-

nalists on Hite's behalf. Hite told The Washington Post that Gregory was an employee of four years' standing, and that her duties were to "answer the mail, retype things, take them over to Knopf." Trouble is, according to the head of publicity at Hite's publishing house, "No one to my knowledge has ever met or seen or spoken with Diana Gregory." Imagine reporters' surprise to learn, in a recent Time cover story, that Shere Hite was born Shirley Diana Gregory. Coincidence, Hite said before she clammed up on the subject; in an interview with Newsweek last week, the author refused to discuss Gregory. But the Post was suspicious about the similarities in Hite's and Gregory's voices, and a handwriting expert retained by the paper adjudged their signatures the same. The farce got even higher when a Post reporter visited Hite's home/office on Fifth Avenue in New York, confronted a woman identified by Hite as the mysterious Gregory, asked the woman for identification and was summarily booted out. Last weekend it was reported that Hite had confirmed to an AP



Frantically dithering away her credibility: The embattled author

correspondent that she and Gregory are the same person.

In late October Hite reportedly slugged a limo driver for calling her "dear"; the next day she stormed off the set of a talk show when informed that the driver was waiting to, ahh, discuss the matter with her. Early this month a caller to a New York radio show said that he had worked as a doorman at Hite's apartment building in 1972, and that he and some friends had "made up the wildest things imaginable" in response to questionnaires Hite gave them. Some of those data apparently made their way into her first work, "The Hite Report." The story fits in nicely with existing doubts over Hite's methods. Those doubts bubbled up again the week before last, when Hite appeared on "The Oprah Winfrey Show" claiming that the president of the American Sociological Association said that "my methodology is great." But Herbert Gans, ASA president and a sociology professor at Columbia, had just received a copy of the Hite book the day the show aired, and hadn't read it. "It was really bizarre," Gans told the Times.

What to make of all this? It would be easy to dismiss Hite as a publicity hound, if only there weren't something ominous about her behavior. She seems to be running at a high emotional pitch. After reading a recent review of "Women and Love," a distraught Hite tried to roust the critic out of bed at 2:30 a.m. (The

> critic's husband answered the phone, listened politely for a moment and hung up.) Hite blames "Men and the male media" for the unattractive press. "[They] are trying to shift the emphasis to statistical problems or character assassination of me," she said last week.

> Low response: Men might have a right to be steamed at some of Hite's findings: 95 percent of the women in her study reported "emotional and psychological harassment" from men; 70 percent of women married five years or more say they're having affairs. The fact is, though, there has been much substantive discussion of Hite's research. Most of that discussion has been negative. Hite mailed 100,000 questionnaires to women's and church groups and based her findings on 4,500 responses (4.5 percent). Typically, says chairman Donald Rubin of the Harvard statistics department, one looks for response rates of 70 to 80 percent. With "such a terribly low response rate," Rubin says, the Hite study amounts to "a bunch

of people who wrote something down." A Hite defender, University of Washington sociology professor Gladys Engel Lang, says, "The statistics are only a small part of the book. I would emphasize the findings and ask people to think about them." Hite herself maintains in a 17-page "Essay on Methodology" appended to "Women and Love" that "in a larger sense, no one can generalize from their findings." "I'm trying to be spokesperson for 4,500 women who may or may not represent anyone else," she said last week.

But to argue this is to want it both ways: "Women and Love" has been marketed aggressively as a look into the very souls of American Women. One can't publish a study subtitled "A Cultural Revolution in Progress" and then expect readers to believe its sole subject is 4,500 people. The picture that has emerged of Shere Hite in recent weeks is that of a pop-culture demagogue, caught in the glare of public scrutiny and frantically dithering away whatever credibility she may once have had.

BILL BAROLwith KAREN BRAILSFORD

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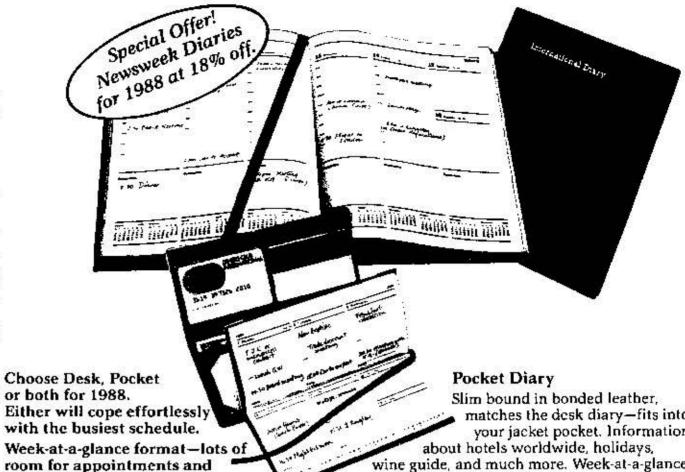
New R: Try an **Atemoya a Day**

Tropical fruits take off

lant avocados, everyone urged Marc Ellenby. It was 1980, and Ellenby had just purchased eight and a half acres in subtropical Dade County, Fla. prime land for what was then a thriving avocado industry. But it wasn't avocados that had lured Ellenby from the Midwest to Florida. Instead he took a chance with sweetsop, or sugar apples, a fruit beloved in much of the world but not a commercial crop here until Ellenby and his wife, Kiki, harvested their first 4,000 pounds in 1982. Today the Florida avocado industry is flat; and the Ellenbys, working some 70 acres. run one of the largest independent tropical-fruit businesses in the state.

Tropical fruit is such a new enterprise that many Americans have never even heard of some of the Ellenbys' crops. Along with sugar apples they grow atemoyas, carambolas, lychees, longans, passion fruit, mangoes and three kinds of sapote, as well as other fruits for experimental purposes. Much of their fruit is shipped to ethnic- and specialty-food markets, but a few items have begun to show up in grocery stores; and for the second straight year Harry and David, the Oregon fancy-fruit mail-order company, will be offering carambolas along with the usual pears and grapefruits. Production throughout the industry is still low and prices are high: carambolas, for example, can run from 79 cents each to \$5.99 a pound. But J.R. Brooks & Son, one of Florida's largest tropical-fruit shippers, marketed 32,000 pounds of atemoya this year—double the amount sold two years ago-and expects to ship a million pounds of carambolas, up from less than half a million pounds in 1986. "To say that we love tropical fruits is an understatement," says Marc with a grin. "This is really an exciting time for all of us in the industry. The rare-fruiters are out of the closet."

Both Marc, 37, and Kiki, 36, were raised in Chicago and never even turned over a shovelful of dirt until they graduated from college and moved to the shores of Lake Michigan, where they taught Transcendental Meditation and planted a garden. "We were hauling all this soil; we didn't know what we were doing, but Marc loved it," says Kiki. "He decided he had found his niche." Going on to study horticulture at the University of Florida, Marc became entranced Newsweek Diaries-the choice of corporate America.



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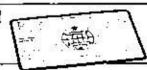
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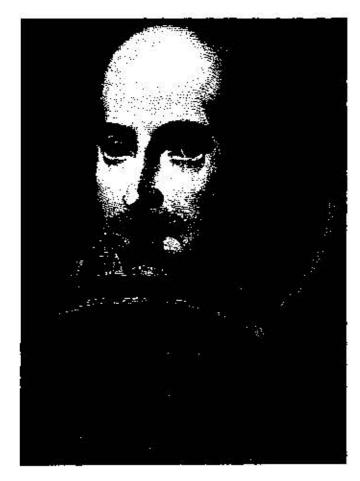
On beyond kiwis: The Ellenbys with fruit

with tropical fruits, especially the exotic backyard trees that Floridians had never bothered to cultivate commercially. The success of those first sugar apples—"We took them to Miami, opened a box, and all the Cuban grandfathers went absolutely wild"—convinced him there was a market for fruits that had long been ignored by local growers.

Slurpy flesh: Florida's tropical fruits look weird and taste sensational. The sugar apple is the creepiest: gray-green and bumpy, it looks like a thousand-year-old pine cone; but cut it open and you'll find thick, slurpy white flesh so sweet you'll have to brush your teeth after eating it. The sugar apple is too fragile to be transported very far the Ellenbys sell their entire crop to Miami's Cuban and Southeast Asian populations-but it has a more decorous and commercially viable offspring called the atemoya, a hybrid raised to be firmer, less sweet and not quite so dazzlingly tropical in character. Lychees, the small, reddish fruits with the rough jackets that can be slipped off easily to reveal loose, translucent flesh, taste like melon that's been dipped in a sweet white wine; their cousin the longan is said to be similar in looks and flavor. Passion fruit is about the size of an egg but light as a Ping-Pong ball. When it's ripe the skin wrinkles unpleasantly, but that's the time to cut it in half and spoon out what's inside: a slippery and brightly flavored pulp clinging to little seeds you can crunch. All these fruits are remarkable not only for their novelty but for the intensity of their flavors. At a time when more and more of our mass-produced fruits taste like white bread, the tropicals remind us how extraordinary a fruit can be before agribusiness reaches it.

Alas, agribusiness has already reached





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It may just be the factor that decides whether this year's sales goals are to be or not to be.

BUSINESS COMMITTEE FOR THE ARTS, INC. Prepared as a public service by Ogilvy & Mather. the best known of Florida's tropical fruits: the mango. More than a hundred varieties are grown in the state but only two-the Tommy Atkins and the Keitt—are likely to show up in your neighborhood market. Neither is the best Florida has to offer, but what has happened to the mango is exactly what happened to the apple: commerce has settled on a few hardy varieties to the virtual exclusion of others. "The Tommy Atkins comes in early, in June, and gets a beautiful red color on it," says Kiki. "That's what the American housewife wants to see; that's why the Red Delicious apple has become the apple-a-day." The Ellenbys have decided to try planting a yellowish-green variety from Thailand, to see if Americans can be wooed to better mangoes. "We'll go to the Thai and Vietnamese markets first, because they know the fruit, and then we'll see if we can get into the gourmet market," says Marc. "It's taking a big chance—these mangoes won't be as attractive as the red ones—but they'll taste great."

Right now the hopes of the tropical-fruit industry are fixed on the carambola, or star fruit. A firm, yellow oblong with five fins it can be cut in slices that look like little stars—the carambola is as juicy and zesty as a citrus fruit. It needs no peeling; the seeds are inconsequential. It's a high-yielding fruit that will ripen fully on the shelf, and the tart variety that has been on the market for a couple of years is giving way to a new, sweet variety. "The plans for the carambola are that it's going to be another kiwi," says Kiki. "Everybody's jumping on the bandwagon and growing it." The Ellenbys will pick some 80,000 pounds by the end of the season and, over the next five years, Marc predicts, the Florida crop will increase more than fivefold to some 7 mil-

lion pounds annually.

Sweat and ambition: The Ellenbys still med- itate every day—in fact they attribute a lot of their success to the practice—but they work their farm with a great deal of very un-'60s sweat and ambition. Constantly on the lookout for the exotic fruits of the future, they experiment with whatever they see growing around them. And once in a while they come up with a fruit plainly destined for greatness. Almost offhandedly, for instance, they offer a taste of the muntingia-no big deal in a Florida backyard, perhaps, but for the rest of us one of the most wonderful fruits in the world. About the size and color of a cranberry, the muntingia has a delicate, edible skin around a wispy bit of pulp that gives a burst of startling, nutlike flavor. "Doesn't it taste like Froot Loops?" says Kiki. Well, maybe the kind they make in heaven. If the Ellenbys decide to go ahead and cultivate the muntingia, it will be packaged like raspberries: a few pricey morsels to a box. Watch for them.

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MUSIC

88 Keys to the City

Three months after leaving Moscow, Vladimir Feltsman makes a triumphant debut



'There are only two kinds of music, good and had. I play the good': Feltsman at home and outside Carnegie Hall before his debut

ladimir Feltsman was under siege. The Soviet pianist immigrated to the United States last August after eight years of isolation and creative stagnation imposed by Soviet authorities. He had announced the program for his first American recital well in advance: a Schubert sonata, Schumann's "Etudes symphoniques" and three selections from the contemporary French composer Olivier Messiaen. Where, people demanded, were Tchaikovsky, Rachmaninoff, Scriabin? Why wasn't Feltsman playing any Russian music? "Listen," he replied. "We're in a free country. I don't have to play that."

Before an overflow crowd in Carnegie Hall last week, Feltsman demonstrated what an individualist the Soviets had abused and lost. When the house lights dimmed, the lean young pianist shot from the wings straight to the Steinway. For a moment, he stared down at the keyboard, then looked up to watch the latecomers file in. He began with the Schubert, a deceptively simple piece, songlike, full of light. He played with great delicacy; if anything, he was a bit too restrained. Then, as if getting through the Schubert had freed him, he took the briefest bow and returned transformed. He attacked the Messiaenpieces from the long, sacred work "Vingt regards sur l'enfant Jésus"-with an almost religious fervor and a passionate intelligence. His playing was wondrous.

When Feltsman came to the Schumann he could revel in its intricacies and his obviously fine technique. Watching from a center box were his wife, Anya, Mikhail Baryshnikov and Ron Reagan. The audience, growing warmer as the recital progressed, gave him a standing ovation. As if to rib his critics, he played a Rachmaninoff. prelude for an encore. Backstage immediately afterward, while a mob waited to congratulate him, he said, "It's happened. I've presented my credentials."

Unlike many world-class Soviet artists who came to the West, Feltsman, 35, is still something of a secret commodity, even to



record collectors: only one of his discs—a collection of Chopin preludes, made at the American Embassy in Moscow and smuggled out-is available. He had won two piano competitions and was just beginning to establish an international career when, in 1979, he applied to immigrate to Israel. For two years he could not perform in public; later he was permitted to play, but only infrequently and usually under bleak conditions. American politicians supported Feltsman, as did cultural figures, who gave a Lincoln Center benefit in his behalf in 1982. When he landed in New York with his wife and son, Daniel, it was definitely an Event. In September he gave a private White House performance. As the brouhaha surrounding his public recital debut grew, Feltsman was nervous: "I already have a big name here, but nobody has heard me. Everybody is running to Carnegie Hall, but nobody knows how this guy plays the piano. They'll say, 'Now we'll see what he can do.' People expect a lot."

But he seemed remarkably calm. He had prepared for this moment for years; even when he was forbidden to concertize, he practiced and learned quantities of new music. Interpretive artists—with the exception of the late Glenn Gould-develop by playing for audiences, and Feltsman has clearly suffered for the lack. Yet, only 24 hours after he arrived in New York, he had declared: "I'm ready to play now, I was

ready to play yesterday."

'Noisy stuff': Feltsman says he was "an egotistical kid," the only child of musical parents: his father is a famous composer of popular music, his mother was his first piano teacher. In his teens he displayed the purposefulness that would later get him into trouble: Feltsman's teacher wanted him to play more Russian music, but the headstrong pupil held out for more Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert. "My colleagues always play Russian music, and there's nothing wrong with it. It's lovely music, but it's sporting, noisy stuff. After two or three years my teacher understood that I am hopeless and just let me go my own way." When he began to play Messiaen, he battled authorities to get the titles of the sacred pieces included on his concert posters.

The Soviet bureaucracy was less flexible about issues of artistic freedom. "I was never seriously involved in the Jewish movement in the Soviet Union," Feltsman says. He wanted to go to Israel—where his wife had family-because he was looking for "more artistic independence." The moment he and his wife applied for visas, he lost all of it. Feltsman refused to give in. He played programs for friends in his and Anya's one-room apartment. He used every opportunity to meet with Western visitors to make them aware of his plight; he maintained good contacts with the Western dip-



Performing for a private audience: With Anya and the Reagans at the White House



Family portrait: Arriving in America last summer

are a handsome, English-speaking couple, undoubtedly helped.) Though Feltsman never gave up, he did sometimes despair. In 1982 he was at a low point, and sitting in his kitchen he told Newsweek's Andrew Nagorski: "The protests are like cannons going off into the air. They make a noise and then drop into the sea somewhere and sink without a trace." With the dawn of glasnost, the cannons were heard.

The Feltsmans left Moscow with only three suitcases. Now they commute between New Paltz, N.Y., where Volodya teaches at the State University, and

New York City, where they have an apartment furnished with gifts from friends. Their delight in their new life is offset by a new brand of survivor guilt. Several of their friends, among them Sergei Petrov and Valery Soifer, are refuseniks. Because they are not prominent, Feltsman says sadly, they are stuck in the U.S.S.R. "So it is still the same game. I hope one day I will see them again."

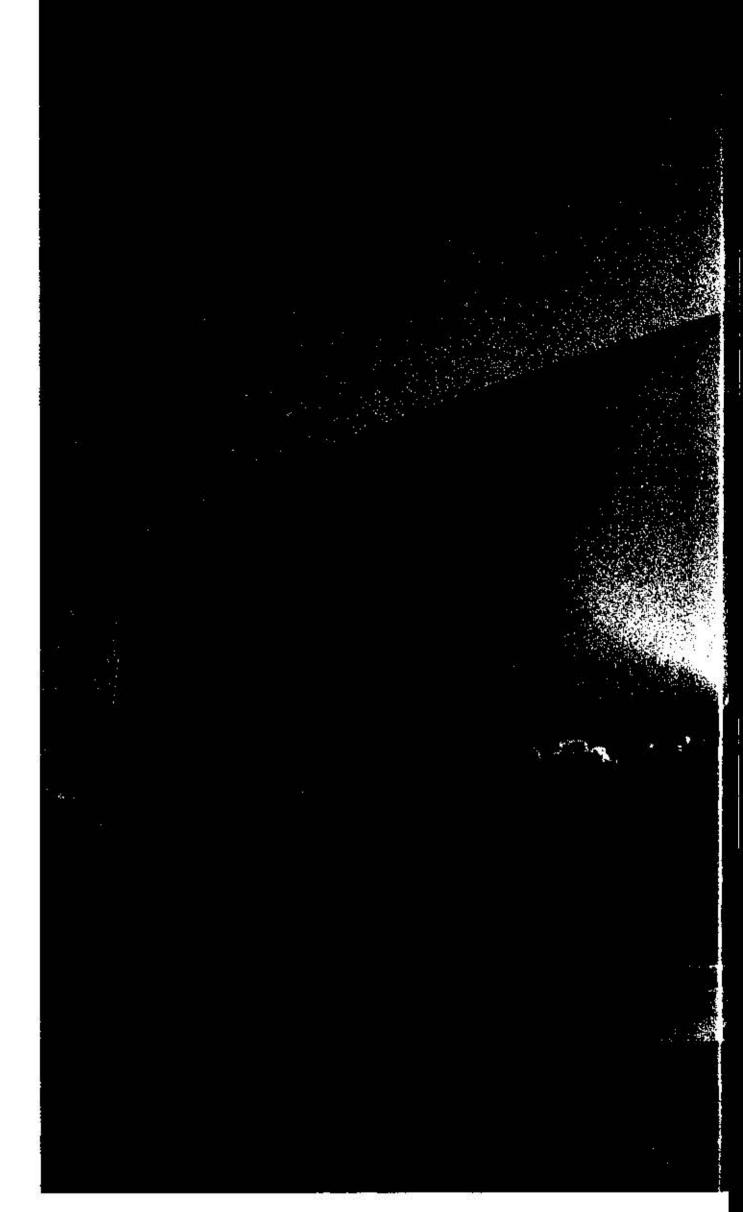
Schnittke marathon: Feltsman has a dazzling schedule. This season he will give recitals in Washington and Chicago, play concertos with the New York Philharmonic, the Chicago Symphony and the Israel Philharmonic, star in a marathon of music by his friend Alfred Schnittke, a Soviet composer, and appear at major American summer festivals. He has just signed a recording contract with CBS Masterworks. He remains single-minded: he will not, for example, build his pro-

lomatic community in Moscow, particular- grams on popular choice. He says, "I think ly with the Americans. (The fact that the best music in the world is German. I Volodya, as his friends call him, and Anya think that there was only one composer in history, and his name was Bach. Then his name was Haydn, then Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms and so on." But he also believes "there are only two kinds of music, good and bad. I play the good. That's my only specialty." Confidence is part of Feltsman's makeup-but so is self-doubt. Before his Carnegie debut last Wednesday he said, "Sometimes, before a concert, I say to myself, 'I hate my job. I have to find something else to do.' But then sometimes, the day after, I say, 'I love my job'." Surely last Thursday was one of those days.

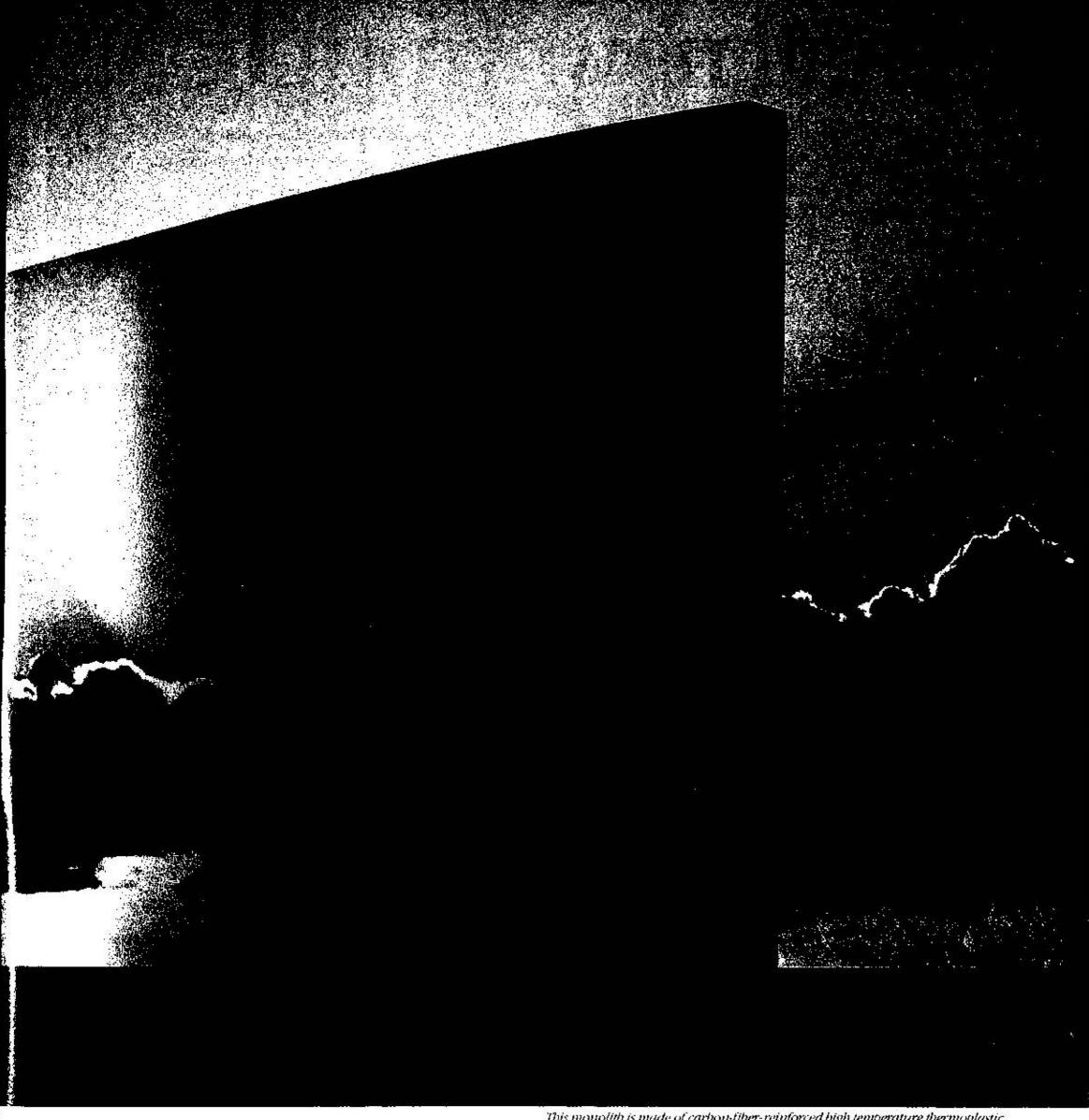
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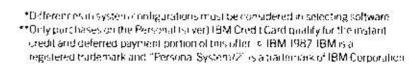
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Visions of Oriental splendor and political disgrace: Mimei, Lone and Chen

MOVIES

The Emperor's New Clothes

Bertolucci creates an epic from a Chinese enigma

hen the government of China threw open the doors of the Forbidden City to the man who made "The Conformist" and "Last Tango in Paris," did it know what delight it would bring to the decadent hearts of movie buffs? Turning Bernardo Bertolucci loose in the treasure chest of Imperial China is like locking a chocaholic inside a Godiva factory for the night. In The Last Emperor, his first film in seven years, the cinema's most sensuous stylist goes on an image binge, conjuring up visions of Oriental splendor that would make Josef von Sternberg green with envy.

But there is more than spectacle here. For his subject, Bertolucci has taken the long, ambiguous and spectacularly ironic life of Pu Yi, enthroned in 1908, at the age of three, as the emperor of China. When he died, in 1967, during the madness of the Red Guard, he was employed as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens of Beijing, having been "re-educated" during a nine-year prison term in a Maoist jail. Within that 60year span lies the astounding tale of a man who lived his life as a pawn of history. Three years after Pu Yi took the throne, China became a republic, and the Ching dynasty was forced to abdicate. Politically



China opens its gates: Between takes

powerless, the child emperor was allowed to remain in the Forbidden City, where he grew up as both prisoner and potentate of a tiny, extravagant kingdom. Unable to leave the palace walls, endowed with the privileges of a god, he was tutored by a Scotsman (Peter O'Toole) and fawned over by two wives (Joan Chen and Wu Jun Mimei), his every whim attended to by legions of eunuchs, advisers and servants.

It was a life as artificial and as rarified as an ancient Chinese drama, and in 1924 it came to an end: the 18-year-old Pu Yi was expelled from his palace. He took refuge in Tientsin under the patronage of the Japanese, China's enemy. There we see him living the life of a Westernized playboy, crooning "Am I Blue?" in a tuxedo and going by the name Henry. The Japanese are grooming him for future use: when they take over Manchuria in '31, they offer Pu Yi the opportunity to restore his monarchy by crowning him emperor of Manchukuo. He accepts this puppet throne, acting out a charade of power while the Japanese pull the strings. no less a prisoner than he will later be in the jails of the Russians and the Maoists.

Sixty years of history is a lot of

Lone's Stardom Rises in the West

ohn Lone, the extraordi-Unary Eurasian actor who plays the last emperor, feels a peculiar kinship with his character. "I thought I had been alone and isolated in my life until I learned about the emperor. I feel great compassion for him, and sadness." Like Pu Yi, Lone was not raised by his real parents. "I grewupalone, with no family, in Hong Kong. An old lady took care of me. She was a nanny and took care of other children from time to time. She kept me till I was 10, and since she was poor and

couldn't afford to send me to school, she sent me to the Peking Opera." At the Opera's Hong Kong academy, Lone underwent eight years of rigorous, dawn-to-dusk training, learning dance, acrobatics and juggling, playing everything from old men and ghosts to women and gods.

Lone left the academy at 19, and after turning down an offer to make kung fu movies in Hong Kong, moved to Los Angeles, where he worked at Disneyland selling mint julips and fritters while learning English at a community college to pursue his acting career. Success first came on the New York stage, where he won Obies in David Henry Hwang's "FOB" and "The Dance and the Railroad," which he also directed and choreographed. His film career has been short but potent: his stunning physicality asa Neanderthal in "Iceman" was followed by an elegantly sinister gangster turn in "Year of the Dragon." "I want toactonly in movies I like," he says. "So far I am proud of everything I've done. I want to keepit that way."

ground for any film—even a two-hour-and-45-minute one—to encompass. Historians will argue with Bertolucci's liberties and omissions, and audiences may be perplexed by the sketchy, off-screen references to the passing political parade. But Bertolucci does not intend a history lesson. We're witnessing the century from Pu Yi's rarefied perspective—from inside a gilded cage.

Wedding night: It's easy to see what attracted Bertolucci to the tale: Pu Yi is like a grander version of the chameleonlike hero of "The Conformist," who succumbs to Fascism in his quest for normalcy. Bertolucci, always torn between his Marxist politics and his voluptuary esthetics, is once again drawn to the spectacle of prerevolutionary grandeur. Not surprisingly, the years amid the unearthly luxuries of the Forbidden City draw out his most breathtaking images: the toddler emperor, mesmerized by a billowing curtain, descending his throne and waddling into the great courtyard where thousands of his subjects await him; the unweaned adolescent Pu Yi enfolded in the breast of his beautiful wet nurse; the delightful eroticism of the teenage ruler's wedding night, as invisible attendants impersonally disrobe the emperor and his new bride while they kiss. These are sights no one but Bertolucci could imagine. With the great cinematographer Vittorio Storaro and production designer Ferdinando Scarfiotti, he maps out the steps of Pu Yi's journey as a kind of fading rainbow, from the opulent orange glow of childhood to the bleak blue-grays of his prison cell.

Bertolucci believes that Pu Yi made a genuine conversion to humanity in prison, that his political reformation was also spiritual, yet his dramatization of that transformation is oddly halfhearted, as if he doesn't expect anyone to believe it. In the end, Pu Yi remains a fascinating enigma, whom Bertolucci won't presume to explain too thoroughly. The charismatic John Lone, who plays Pu Yi from 18 on (three children are used for the early years), has a touching grace: even at his most arrogant, he's sympathetic. But we are never invited too close: a regal formality is bred into his bones. The movie itself maintains a ceremonial distance; it's mesmerizing, but it rarely engages the heart. In its thinest moments, the screenplay (by Mark Peploe and Bertolucci) has an almost comic-book texture. "I hate China," says the glamorous spy Eastern Jewel (Maggie Han) to the emperor's now opium-addicted wife. "I hate *you*, "replies the wife. If at times "The Last Emperor" is closer to DeMille than Dostoevski, and its parts greater than the whole, when was the last time a pageant offered such splendors? Bertolucci creates images other people just dream about; he may be the last emperor of the epic cinema.

DAVID ANSEN





Down and Out in the Psycho Ward

Barbra Streisand carefully trashes her star image

Mayor Edward Koch authorized the police to round up and detain homeless people deemed to be mentally ill. This controversial move—intended for their own protection and the safety of the community—raised thorny questions about civil liberties, the role of the state and the nature of sanity itself. Who is to say who's crazy, and at what point does the line between protecting and persecuting the unstable get crossed?

The makers of Barbra Streisand's new movie, **Nuts**, are not talking about the homeless, but they're playing with related, and relevant, issues. Based on a 1980 Broadway play by Tom Topor, it's about a woman fighting to claim responsibility for her actions by refusing to be declared insane. Claudia Draper

(Streisand) is a high-priced call girl who murdered a john. The issue is not her innocence or guilt, but whether she's mentally competent to stand trial for manslaughter. She says she is. Her hospital psychiatrist (Eli Wallach) and her upper-middle-class mother and stepfather (Maureen Stapleton and Karl Malden) say no. They want her institutionalized, maybe for life, thus avoiding a possible prison sentence. Claudia isn't about to go gently to the loony bin: in court, she slugs the family-appointed lawyer who wants to plead no contest. A new lawyer is assigned-a white-bearded mensch named Aaron Levinsky (Richard Dreyfuss) who finds his client a first-class pain in the ass but senses that her wild hostility is a harsh form of truth telling.

Directed by Martin Ritt, who has often tackled social themes ("Sounder" "The Front" "Norma Rae"), and produced by Streisand, "Nuts" is a classic example of A-list liberal Hollywood turning out what it thinks is Important Entertainment. It doesn't just take on the hypocrisy of the medical-judicial establishment, it even raises such up-to-the-moment issues as child abuse. Why, then, does "Nuts" feel so safe, so uncontroversial, so undaring? Because everything about this slick, intermittently rousing courtroom drama is a foregone conclusion. Because instead of wrestling with the issues, the script (by Topor, Darryl Ponicsan and Alvin Sargent) simply stacks the deck. Flashbacks quickly erase any ambiguity about Claudia's guilt



Crazy they call me: Dreyfuss and client in court

in the murder charge, and one look at the stereotypical Malden and Stapleton cues the audience to blame them for their daughter's emotional problems. I won't disclose the supposed shocking revelation from Claudia's past, but it—like everything else—is telegraphed from miles away. Eli Wallach's hypocritical shrink might as well be wearing a placard reading "Villain." Only the more sympathetic characters have any shading, and the actors who play them come off much better: Dreyfuss's nervy, frustrated lawyer, and James Whitmore's subtly incisive presiding judge.

Sound and fury: But Streisand is the draw here, and her flamboyant performance embodies the contradictions of the movie. Her rage has real guts, her passion real fire, and when she talks dirty hooker talk you can see her delight in trashing her star image. But she never lets you forget that image, either: this star turn hedges its bets. One can't help but notice that even when she's down and out in the psycho ward, her makeup remains impeccable. Interrupting the court proceedings with a quip, one hears the cadences of an accomplished Broadway comedienne, not screwed-up Claudia Draper. Streisand puts on quite a show, but is there anyone in the audience who will seriously entertain the notion that this force of nature is really "nuts"? Or that the outcome is ever in doubt? Without that doubt, "Nuts" is just a lot of sound and fury. Signifying a lot less than it thinks.

D.A.

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THEATER

A Genius's Double Enigma

Alan Turing couldn't crack the moral code

n Breaking the Code playwright Hugh Whitemore has the audacity to insist that ideas can be as exciting as action that ideas are, in fact, a form of action. His premise is confirmed by the great success of his play in London, a success which, if there's any justice on Broadway, will be repeated in its New York run. Whitemore's play deals with Alan Mathison Turing, one of the most extraordinary men of this century, a breakthrough thinker who originated many of the ideas that have led to the development of the computer and to the still burgeoning possibilities of artificial intelligence.

No, this isn't an updated specimen of those uplifting old Warner Brothers movies with titles like "Dr. Turing's Magic Machine." Turing was at the center of some of the great events of our time: he was largely responsible for cracking the supposedly uncrackable Enigma codes that the Germans used in World War II. And he was a homosexual during a time even more confused and unenlightened on that subject than our own. Convicted of "gross indecency" in 1952, he was sentenced to undergo medical treatment with hormones that "feminized" him to the extent of growing breasts. In 1954 he died, at 42, from eating an apple dipped in potassium cyanide—officially declared a suicide.

Whitemore adopts an effective, cinemat-

ic style that moves back and forth in time, telling Turing's story in scenes that evoke the force of his brilliant, eccentric and tormented spirit. His early platonic love for a school mate is juxtaposed with his later pickups, sexual encounters that lead to his downfall when he naively confesses his homosexuality to a detective whom Turing had called in to investigate a burglary. We see his relation-

ships with his sweet, slightly addled and conventional mother, with his colleague at the code-breaking center and with a young woman friend who vainly loves him. (This is one of Whitemore's few departures from his source, Andrew Hodges's superb biography "Alan Turing: The Enigma," which reveals that Turing was for a time engaged to marry and even discussed having children.) Director Clifford Williams maintains a strong theatrical pace, focusing the action in a fine set by Liz da Costa that reflects a dream Turing describes, in which he is trapped in a hangar with a giant computer.

Stunning performance: The Broadway production is even stronger than the London one. Two major roles are played by English actors—the always splendid Michael Gough as Turing's code-breaking colleague



Passionate genius in a time of confusion: Jacobi

and the beautiful and sensitive Jenny Agutter as the young woman who loves him. But the play pivots on the stunning performance of Derek Jacobi as Turing. Jacobi is one of the best actors in the world. and in this play he does the impossible: he portrays genius, or at least the incendiary passion of genius that burns up every obstacle in its path to revelation.

Whitemore has bravely written long speeches that bristle with mathematics, logic and philosophy. But these are Alan Turing's love speeches, and Jacobi performs them with a blazing power that is erotic in its effect. Turing's stammer becomes not an actor's virtuoso trick, but the overflow of energy that bursts its bounds as thought and feeling collide. This is an unforgettable performance.

JACK KROLL



Mystery bidder's prize: Another record-breaking van Gogh

ART

Blue Irises and Blue Chips

all Street may be wobbly, but prices in the art market are climbing faster than you can say international hedge against inflation. Last week a powerful van Gogh painting of a garden of blue irises became a new sort of blue chip when it sold at Sotheby's in New York for a breathless \$53.9 million, the highest price ever fetched at auction for a work of art.

Painted in 1889, when van Gogh was a patient at the mental asylum in St.-Rémy, "Irises" was bought by the late Joan Whitney Payson in 1947 for the then considerable sum of \$84,000. Her son, John Whitney Payson, an art dealer, consigned the work for last week's sale. The identity of the buyer remained a mystery-one rumor pointed toward Alan Bond, the Australian beer baron who underwrote the winning 1983 challenge for the America's Cup. Bond was reportedly the underbidder in last spring's sale at Christie's of van Gogh's "Sunflowers" for \$39.9 million.

The Met Goes for the Gold

A test of artistic policy

y longstanding tradition "Il Trovatore" is an opera that puts everyone to the test. The singers must live up to Verdi's intense and demanding music by delivering pyrotechnics in the grand style; the audience has to accept on faith every sort of operatic silliness, including a tortuous plot. When the Metropolitan Opera unveiled its new production of "Il Trovatore" last week, the company faced yet another test—of its own artistic policy.

The Met has scheduled only three new productions this season: "Trovatore" and Wagner's "Das Rheingold" and "Siegfried," the second and third installments of a promising new "Ring" cycle. Grappling with financial pressures, as well as audience resistance to contemporary music, the company has cut back on more innovative projects in favor of programming designed unabashedly for the box office. This policy, in effect defining the Met as a museum for ;



Pyrotechnics in the grand style: Sutherland, Pavarotti

ble—as long as the company can be a great museum. Unfortunately, the new "Trovatore" doesn't add much to the collection.

With a story involving Gypsies, duels, suicide and revenge, "Trovatore" hardly wants for action; yet this production, directed by Fabrizio Melano, is static. Gil Wechsler's lighting keeps the stage swathed in a black fog; Ezio Frigerio's set is a massive musical old masters, is perfectly defensi- black staircase adorned with giant pillars

that glide back and forth as the scenes change. Nobody, not even the Gypsies uncomfortably quaffing wine on the staircase, looks really at ease in this setting; as a result the singers tend to stand locked in position like tableaux vivants. The sense of doom is palpable, but it's not supported by any sense of human passions; and the audience seemed unconvinced. By the third act people were chortling as the pillars changed partners once again.

Luciano Pavarotti and Joan Sutherland, featured attractions of a gala opening, managed by sheer star quality to outperform the set. Sutherland's voice is dwindling, but at 61 she can still thrill us with

her brilliant musicality and dramatic integrity. Pavarotti had the opposite effect: singing beautifully, he gave us nothing but his voice until the last act, when he finally threw himself into the drama. The reigning star, of course, was Verdi. Despite this leaden production, the Met will always make music with "Trovatore"-and it will always make money.

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Chancellor of Charm

Some people think he's a pretentious pup. But to the folks at Anheuser-Busch, Spuds Mackenzie, the dapper mascot for Bud Light, is The Original Party Animal. The 47-pound, fourlegged phenomenon, an English bull terrier, has appeared in 10 TV commericals. Sen. Strom Thurmond last week objected to the ads because he thinks they encourage young people to drink. But Spuds has captured the hearts of most Americans, including teetotalers and dog haters. And the Guru of Good Times has also become a sartorial taste maker; his image appears on T shirts

Dapper dog: Spuds in calendar

and hats-and last week he was cited in People as one of 1987's best-dressed celebrities. Upon reading that Oleg Cassini was one of the judges who named him, Spuds wrote in a letter to NEWSWEEK, "I felt a little guilty, because quite frankly, I don't wear any of his designs." Spuds does, however, sport a number of other distinctly noncanine duds in his new 1988 calendar, including a George Washington outfit for July (the signing of the Declaration of Independence) and a baseball uniform for August. But underneath all that boyish charm, it must be told, Spuds's special secret is this: "he" is really a bitch.



Retaking a holiday: Oxenberg

Doing as the Romans Do

Gatherine Oxenberg has plenty of experience with royalty. Her grandfather was the deposed king of Yugoslavia; as the snooty Amanda on "Dynasty," she married a princeand she played Lady Di in a TV movie. Next month Oxenberg will inch even closer to the throne when she plays Princess Alisa in a TV remake of the 1953 movie "Roman Holi-! day." The romantic tale of a

runaway European princess who falls in love with an American newspaperman (Tom Conti), this "Roman Holiday" sticks close to the original starring Audrey Hepburn and Gregory Peck. The remake takes place in the '80s; however, says an NBC spokesman, "there's no sex-this is a movie for the holiday season." But at the end, the lovers do as the Romans do: hug and kiss.



Yows on 'Vice': Johnson, Easton

As the **World Turns**

ary Beth Whitehead no longer has a publisher for her planned book about the custody battle for Baby M, but her saga is clearly irresistible fodder for a TV movie. Now pregnant by Manhattan accountant Dean Gould, whom she plans to marry "very soon," Whitehead was granted a divorce last week from husband Richard. And as she watched their daughter, Tuesday, 11, triumph on the hockey field, her once and future husbands were both on hand to cheer.



GIGLI-THE RECORD GAMMA-DAISON

Once and future husbands: Whitehead with Richard (right), Could

Miami Bride

he road to the altar was a little rocky, but Sonny Crockett will finally tie the knot this month on "Miami Vice." The role of his bride was originally assigned to Lorraine Bracco (costar of "Someone to Watch Over Me"), but amid reports that she and Don Johnson squabbled fiercely on the set, the part fell to Scottish rocker Sheena Easton. Sheena plays a witness in a payola case Crockett is investigating, and the pair meet, bed and wed in a single episode.

BERNARD GOTFRYD-NEWSWEEK Poetic prodigy: Turbina

Born to Be Well Versed

was born with poetry, and poetry chose me," declares 12year-old Nika Turbina, who spoke her first verses at the age of four. Some 30,000 recordings of her poetry readings have been sold in her native Russia, and two years ago she won the Golden Lion of Venice award for a book of verse, "First Draft," published when she was eight. A fan of Walt Whitman and Robert Penn Warren (in translation), the young Soviet prodigy gave dramatic readings of her poetry in New York and Boston last week and also spent a couple of hours shopping for two dolls. Her purchases: Barbie and Elvis.

Encore: I Got You Babe

Sonny and Cher's appearance last Friday on "Late Night with David Letterman" was heralded as a nostalgic one-shot reunion, but viewers may not even have noticed their hand-holding or Sonny's teary expression when the couple sang "I Got You Babe." The star of the show was clearly Cher's sartorial splendor, a slinky black outfit that covered her arms and legs but little else. The TV audience couldn't see the elaborate tattoo on her backside that wowed Letterman, but the rest of Cher was in plain sightexcept part of her face, which was shielded by a massive kinky coiffure. It was an act no one could follow-so Letterman canceled his only other guest.





A hard act to follow: Cher slinks solo and with Sonny on 'Letterman'

This Girl's Back in Town

ANDRE WEINFELD SYGMA A renaissance woman: Welch

really like being versatile," declares Raquel Welch, who first swam onto the movie scene in a featured role in "Fantastic Voyage" (1966); she was part of a miniaturized team of scientists who entered the bloodstream of an ailing man to cure him. She wore a spectacular fur bikini in the otherwise forgettable "One Million Years B.C." and later played a bruising roller-derby pro in "Kansas City Bomber," enchanted Broadway audiences when she replaced

Lauren Bacall in "Woman of the Year" and jerked copious tears as a fatally ill mother in the recent TV-movie "Right to Die." Now Raquel is taking another new direction: she's strutting her stuff in a black leather miniskirt on a new music video (produced by husband André Weinfeld), "This Girl's Back in Town." A follow-up album is planned, but Raquel is the first to admit, "I'm a far cry from Bruce Springsteen."

TRANSITION

BETURNED HOME: Soviet-born dancer Rudolf Nureyev, 49; temporarily, to see his ailing mother in Ufa, in the Southern Urals. He has lived in exile mostly in Western Europe since defecting from Leningrad's Kirov Ballet in Paris in 1961. Asked whether Mikhail Gorbachev was responsible for his being able to go back, Nureyev said: "It was in the cards."

OVERTURNED: The mail fraud and racketeering convictions of former Maryland governor Marvin Mandel, 67; by a federal district judge, in Baltimore, Md., Nov. 12. He was convicted in 1977 of helping five associates get extra racing days for the Marlboro Race Track (which the other defendants owned), allegedly for more than \$350,000 in bribes. Mandel, now a consultant to a construction company, spent 19 months in prison. Prosecuters plan to appeal.

DIED: Comedian Jackie Vernon, 62; of a heart attack, in Hollywood, Calif., Nov. 10. Vernon played TV, nightclubs and Las Vegas and was known for his deadpan delivery and his offbeat, satirical humor. One of his trademark sayings: "You had to be there."

Civil-rights leader Channing E. Phillips, 59; of cancer, in New York City, Nov. 11. The Rev. Phillips became the first black to be nominated for president by a major political party when his name was entered at the 1968 Democratic Convention.

Reporter LLoyd Norman, 73; of a heart attack, in Tampa, Fla. From 1958 to 1979 Norman served as Newsweek's Pentagon correspondent (with a briefstint in Vietnam). Regarded as one of Washington's foremost journalists in defense activities, he broke such stories as U.S. military buildup plans in the Berlin crisis in 1961 and the foul-up of intelligence estimates of enemy infiltration into South Vietnam.

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Eight (Years) Is **Enough**



Misery loves company and Reagan is in the good company of most two-term presidents

he future often resembles the past, so a prophet needs a well-stocked memory. Thus people trying to predict the trajectory of what remains of Reagan's presidency, and what will become of his reputation, should study Eisenhower's second term.

Not since 1959 has the nation experienced a president in his seventh year. Since Andrew Jackson, only four presidents have served eight consecutive years—Grant, Wilson, FDR, Eisenhower. Grant's second term ended mired in scandal. Wilson was incapacitated during his last 16 months. Roosevelt staggered into the last half of his second term reeling from the 1938 elections that produced a conservative legislating majority that would endure until broken by the anti-Goldwater landslide of 1964. Eisenhower, too, had a largely dispiriting second half of his second term, from which Reagan can derive some warnings and some consolation.

Eisenhower said 1958 was the worst year of his life. And the next two were not pieces of cake. After lunch on Nov. 25, 1957, seated at his Oval Office desk, Eisenhower, then 67, had a stroke, his third illness in two years. Editorials urged resignation. Walter Lippmann urged him to delegate his powers to Nixon. Three of the four strongmen of his cabinet (Treasury's Humphrey, Defense's Wilson, Attorney General Brownell) had resigned in the previous four months and the fourth, Secretary of State Dulles, would die of cancer before the second term ended. Scandal (a vicuña coat) would force the resignation of Eisenhower's closest aide, Sherman Adams. In 1958 Congress used sputnik as an all-purpose excuse for spending, and in that autumn's elections Republicans suffered their severest reverses since the Depression. On New Year's Day, 1959, Castro entered Havana.

In 1959 Eisenhower made a modest recovery, issuing believable veto threats and turning his attention in the direction of his inclinations—toward foreign affairs where, in those ancient days, presidents were largely free from close congressional supervision. Eisenhower, like Reagan, had been regarded by the chattering classes (a.k.a. the intelligentsia) as a naif with a winning smile. Truman said, "The General doesn't know any more about politics than a pig knows about Sunday." But Eisenhower's biographer, Stephen E. Ambrose, notes that Eisenhower had worked in Washington during most of Hoover's presidency and into the New Deal, when Truman was scuffling for advancement in Kansas City. Eisenhower had lobbied Congress for the Army and had testified at dozens of hearings. According to Ambrose, Eisenhower knew Washington's ways "at least as well as any of his predecessors, and far better than most." Regarding foreign affairs, "he was undoubtedly the bestprepared man ever elected." He had met Macmillan and de Gaulle in Algeria in 1943. He had worked with Churchill and Adenauer. He had met his main opponent, Stalin. He had lived in Asia (the Philippines), Central America (Panama), Paris (in the 1920s and in 1951), London in 1942 and 1944, Africa (Algeria in 1943). He had made extended trips to the Soviet Union, the Middle East, China and Japan.

However, from 1958 on Eisenhower's experience did not make the sledding smooth. His focus on foreign policy, and especially arms control, made him a hostage to a vigorous new "liberalizing" Kremlin leader. By September 1959 Khrushchev was in Washington, and Iowa and Hollywood (where Ronald Reagan boycotted the gala luncheon). Détente (a.k.a. "the Spirit of Camp David") was in flower. It proved to be, not for the last time, a frail blossom.

Nineteen sixty brought the century's third presidential election with no incumbent on the ballot (1988 will be the fifth), so public attention turned from Eisenhower, for whom virtually the whole year was dismal. In May Khrushchev's fury about U-2 flights blew up the Paris summit. Khrushchev charged that Eisenhower was an inattentive president who had not known about the flights or much else in his administration. Khrushchev was wrong on both counts, but he was echoing a Democratic theme. The administration never recovered from Khrushchev's blow.

Distasteful job: In 1959 Air Force One, the first jet Eisenhower flew in, replaced the old Columbine, and off he flew, like the down of a thistle, hither and yon. A hoped-for trip to Moscow was, after Paris, impossible, and his consolation trip to the Far East was tarnished when Japan asked him not to drop in because street riots made a visit unsafe. By midsummer he found his job increasingly distasteful and Mamie was packing for the move to Gettysburg.

If misery loves company (and if Reagan's nervous system can register misery), he has the consolation of being in the distinguished company of almost all two-term presidents. (Cleveland cleverly sandwiched a defeat, and hence a fouryear respite, between his terms.) Reagan's experience suggests that the 22nd Amendment is not bad. Eight years is almost always going to be enough, and the limitation to two terms does not appreciably hasten the onset of lame-duck status. Even if Reagan were 10 years younger, the amendment would not today be counted among the primary factors contributing to the anemia of his presidency.

Eisenhower's experience should warn Reagan against trying to resuscitate his presidency with the Kremlin's help. But Reagan should be consoled by the fact that the second half of a second term does not determine the place a president holds in the nation's heart or the historians' estimation. When Eisenhower left office a poll of historians rated him near the bottom of the list of presidents. By the early 1980s, a similar poll rated him ninth. The condescenders who swept into Washington in 1961 have not fared as well.

Furthermore, Ambrose says that Eisenhower was only the third 20th-century president (the two others were the Roosevelts) who left office enjoying more popularity than when he entered office. It is still possible that Reagan (elected in 1980 with just 51 percent of the vote) may become the fourth. When a president leaves office, he is no longer under the microscope of journalism. Rather, he is seen through the wide-angle lens of history. Reagan, like Eisenhower, will be judged in the context of the three or four presidents who came immediately before and those who came immediately after. His achievements and mistakes will be judged by historical standards that consider the calamities that could have happened but did not.

Love often comes with strings attached.

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