

SPECIAL ISSUE

# Newsweek®

THE YEAR  
OF YELTSIN

EXCLUSIVE



INTERVIEW

N0130

9 10 18

*Their Point Sizes.*

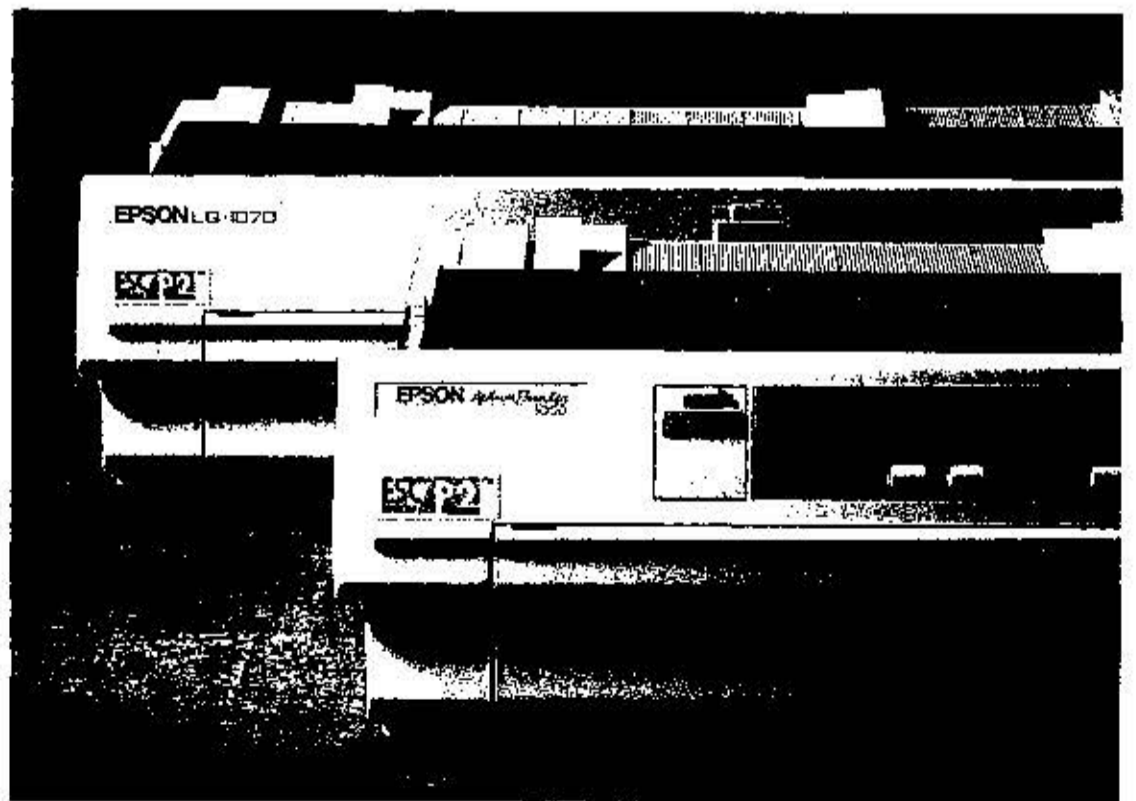
# You Could Buy An Printer. But There's



Certainly not when the new Epson® LQ-570, LQ-1070, ActionPrinter™ 5000 and ActionPrinter 5500 offer such sizeable advantages.

All four feature ESC/P2™, a breakthrough printer control system that, for the first time, brings scalable fonts to dot matrix printing. So now, as you've probably noticed, you can have a real choice of type sizes, instead of the usual two or three. Plus

a level of freedom in handling type that other dot matrix printers can only dream of. On top of that, you'll enjoy



sharper, more accurate, more sophisticated text and graphics. Advantages that previously were only available from lasers.

Images above are actual size, dot matrix printer output. \*Their Point Sizes\* were calculated from standard, compressed and double-high pitch sizes. All company and/or product names are trademarks and/or registered trademarks of their respective manufacturers. ©1991 Epson America, Inc., 20770 Madrona Ave., Torrance, CA 90509. For dealer referral, call 800-BUY-EPSON (800-289-3776). In Canada, call (416) 881-9955.

8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32

*Our Point Sizes.*

# Other Dot Matrix s Not Much Point.

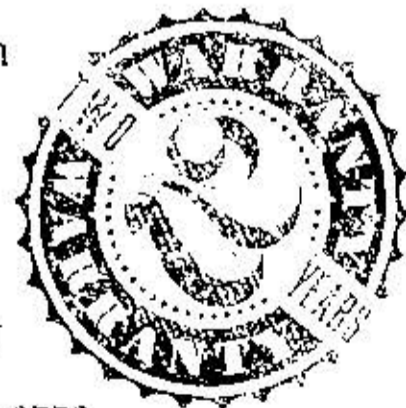
What's more, these new printers are as adept with paper as they are with type. They can put up to four different kinds of paper at your fingertips at once, feed up to 200 sheets automatically, and, with Epson SmartPark™ paper handling, let you easily switch from one paper type to another.

Additional strong points include a 2-year limited

warranty. The support of our helpful toll-free 800 number. And, of course, legendary Epson reliability.

So you could buy another printer. But before you do, visit your nearby Epson Dealer, or call 800-289-3776.

It will make anything else seem, well, pointless.



# EPSON



*Desktops*



*Dot Matrix*



*Notebooks*



*Lasers*



*Servers*

**EAT  
THINK  
AND  
BE  
MERRY.<sup>SM</sup>**

If you drink, please drink responsibly. We want you to enjoy this holiday season.  
But even more important, we want you to enjoy the next one.

**JOSEPH E. SEAGRAM & SONS, INC.**

NEW YORK, NEW YORK



German workers dismantling a statue of Lenin in Berlin last month

## The Year of Yeltsin

**T**he death throes of the world's mightiest socialist nation finally came to an end last week: the Soviet Union was formally disbanded and replaced by a Commonwealth of Independent States composed of 11 of the 12 former Soviet republics. It marked the end of a triumphant year for Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the hero of last August's failed coup attempt and now the new country's effective leader. In an exclusive interview with Editor Maynard Parker



Yeltsin meets with Parker and team in Moscow

and NEWSWEEK correspondents, Yeltsin pledged to maintain central control of nuclear weapons, to keep pressing for U.S. aid and to accelerate market-driven economic reforms. And in a special year-end report, Senior Editor Tom Mathews examines the democratic revolution that has swept the globe in the past 10 years. The

story is accompanied by photographs taken by NEWSWEEK'S Peter Turnley, who has covered almost every big story in the Decade of Democracy.

**The Year of Yeltsin: Page 18**

### ■ A Crisis of Confidence—And a Tax-Cut Stampede

The bleak General Motors announcement came like a Christmas massacre: the closing of 21 plants, with 74,000 jobs gone forever. With that, the nation's economic jitters became a crisis of confidence. Economists warned against any quick fixes. But George Bush's own job was at stake, and his recovery bill could launch a bidding war in Congress for middle-class votes. **National Affairs: Page 12**

### National Affairs

- The Christmas massacre—  
and a national crisis of  
confidence 12
- Cuomo: why the GOP  
wishes he had run 14
- GM's day of reckoning 16

### The Year of Yeltsin

- The takeover of the  
Kremlin 18
- An exclusive interview:  
Yeltsin on Gorbachev,  
nuclear arms and  
his new nation 21

### Decade of Democracy

- Ten years that saw  
symbols of tyranny fall  
around the world 24
- With pictures by Peter  
Turnley 32

### Transition '91

- Black or white 44
- Gender gaps 46
- Squabbles 48
- Last chapter 50

### Back of the Book

- A moment of joy 52
- Justice:** Selling ice to the  
Eskimos? 53
- Science:** The Christmas star  
... or was it planets? 54
- Television:** Rocky Mountain  
high life 55
- Health:** Can sunshine save  
your life? 56
- Movies:** Peter Pan, get lost 57
- Music:** Phantasmagoric  
"Ghosts" 58

### Departments

- Periscope 4
- My Turn 5
- Letters 8
- Perspectives 11
- George F. Will 60

**Cover: Photo by Peter  
Turnley for NEWSWEEK.**

Letters to the Editor should be sent to NEWSWEEK, 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022, and subscription inquiries to NEWSWEEK, The NEWSWEEK Building, Livingston, N.J. 07039, or call 1-800-631-1040. NEWSWEEK (ISSN 0028-9804), December 30, 1991, Volume CXVIII, No. 27, is published weekly except for two additional issues during the months of May and October. \$41.08 a year, by NEWSWEEK, Inc., 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022. Second Class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTERS: Send address changes to NEWSWEEK, The NEWSWEEK Building, Livingston, N.J. 07039.

HEALTH

## Hidden Data?

**D**id Dow Corning Wright, a leading manufacturer of silicone-breast implants, withhold critical data from the FDA? One member of the FDA advisory committee that recently reviewed the safety of implants, Dr. Norman Anderson of The Johns Hopkins Hospital, charges that the company held back information during the hearings. In a letter to FDA chief David Kessler, Anderson urges that all gel-filled silicone implants be removed from the market until further studies prove their safety. Anderson cites 17 internal Dow memos dating back to 1970 that he says discuss problems with the implants. Though Anderson says Dow denied having data like that discussed in the memos, Dow claims the documents were always available and it never hid anything. After the hearings, the FDA panel voted not to curtail implant sales. ■

### Cover-up? Breast implants



More trouble ahead? Washington heavyweights Clifford and Altman

BCCI

## It's Not Over Yet

**T**he \$550 million settlement with the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) last week closes the U.S. case against the failed bank. But federal and state prosecutors say the agreement, which requires the cooperation of the bank's liquidators, will aid their criminal inquiries in several other areas:

- The investigation of Clark Clifford and Robert Altman, the pair who fronted—unwittingly, they say—for BCCI's takeover of First American Bankshares. Prosecutors say they now have documents

showing that questionable BCCI stock deals with foreign insiders were similar to deals that yielded Clifford and Altman a \$9.8 million profit (they deny any wrongdoing).

- The probe of three wealthy U.S. businessmen who allegedly profited from BCCI deals.

- The investigation of BCCI's ties to a bank implicated in making fraudulent loans to Iraq. An official of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro's Georgia office has been indicted, but investigators now say BNL's New York and Rome offices may also be involved. ■

MARCOS

## Vote Bong Bong

**I**s the political future of the Philippines named Bong Bong? There's much talk that the fun-loving son of Ferdinand and Imelda will again bring the Marcos name to prominence. Rumor has Bong Bong running next year for



governor of Ilocos Norte province—an office he held once before. Some think he will later aim for the presidency. But many think Bong Bong is too much of a social butterfly to be taken seriously. ■

WASHINGTON FAX

## New Regime

**J**ohn Sununu's departure from the White House has cleared the way for the Bush administration to offer a health-care initiative. Sununu blocked all such proposals from reaching the president, prompting Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan to mail his recommendations to a Kennebunkport post-office box that Bush set up for ideas from administration outsiders. New chief of staff Samuel Skinner immediately invited Sullivan to the White House to discuss his ideas. Skinner also told budget chief Richard Darman, who shared Sununu's opposition to a quick health-care proposal, that Bush plans to announce an initiative early next year.

TECHNOLOGY

## Quid Pro Quo?

**T**here's a supercollision in Japan over the U.S. Superconducting Super Collider. Two weeks ago it seemed certain that Tokyo would reject U.S. pressure to help fund the multibillion-dollar research project in Texas. With its economy slumping and with plans to boost its own R&D capabilities, Japan opposed pumping money into a U.S. project. But Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa now backs the idea: he wants something to offer George Bush at their meeting next month, perhaps in return for a U.S. commitment to a Japanese R&D project.

LUCY HOWARD with bureau reports

### Texas Rep. Joe Barton, SSC model



CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

## '92 Democrats Edition

**W**ith Mario Cuomo (finally) out, the CW is reshuffling the Democratic six-pack. Here's how they stack up right now. But of course, this will all change tomorrow.

PLAYERS	Conventional Wisdom
Clinton	↑ Has boffo stump speech, bucks rolling in. But not scoring yet in New Hampshire.
Kerrey	↑ Good on TV, dodged child-labor bullet. But still finding his voice.
Harkin	↑ Saved by Cuomo exit. With labor, old Dems, running strong in the campaign—of 1932.
Tsongas	↔ Ahead in N.H. polls, but CW still can't buy a low-key Greek from Massachusetts.
Wilder	↓ No cutting issues, no traction. Even blacks may desert him on Super Tuesday.
Brown	↓ Old CW: Strong anti-Beltway message. New CW: 1-800-BUZZOFF

# Through a Glass, Darkly

BY JEFF MORRIS

Something happened to me the other night while I was closing down the bar that I tend, and it's been nagging at me. It was late, there were only a few people left in the bar and I was sitting down to a nightcap of a shot and beer. Suddenly an older man stuck his head in the door and shouted this holiday greeting: "Hey, everybody, you're all a bunch of f—ing Scrooges . . . every one of you!" Then he disappeared. At that, someone at the bar turned to me and said, "Only in New York . . ." I beg to differ. I think the man with the rude words was on to something. And I don't think it's happening just in New York City.

Ever since that incident, I've begun to see Scrooge after Scrooge all about me—myself included. I'm not talking about being tight with a buck—although there are those of you who could benefit from a couple of special classes in proper tipping. What I'm talking about has more to do with a stinginess of spirit—or what we have come to call the Christmas spirit. There just doesn't seem to be much of it around this season.

This is, after all, the time of year we call the holiday season, the stretch of time that falls between Thanksgiving and the New Year. And regardless of one's religious convictions (or lack thereof), most of us have come to expect something different, something spiritually uplifting, during these weeks. This year, that intangible something seems to be missing. That holiday spirit just doesn't seem to be around this year. Where did it go?

Maybe all this gloominess has to do with the fact that the holiday season comes at the end of the year. We don't just celebrate special days, we also look back on the past 12 months and try to evaluate where we've been and where we're going. This past year has been one of particular turmoil, change and extremes. We fought a war in a desert far away. Our old enemy, the Soviet Union, collapsed. Anita Hill did battle with Clarence Thomas. Magic tested positive for the HIV virus. Two people told a disturbing story about a sad night last spring in Palm Beach. And through it all, more and more people lost their jobs and ran short of money. That last seems to be most on everyone's mind as we head into Christmas week. We're in the middle of a recession. The future is uncertain. Maybe that alone is enough to kill the holiday spirit.

As I pour beers and mix martinis, I keep overhearing people say things like, "It just doesn't seem the same . . ."; "I just wish it was all over . . ." What is being passed off as holiday cheer these days seems a pale imitation of what I remember from Christmases past. "Happy New Year," "Happy Chanukah," "Merry Christmas," "Happy Holidays"—this is what we say, but from where I stand and

judging from what I see and hear, I'm inclined to agree with the old guy who stuck his head in the bar that night. It's looking and sounding more and more like "Bah humbug!" Heck, I had an off-duty department-store Santa come in the other day for an Irish coffee. Even *he* was in a bad mood.

Yes, we are in a recession; no, things do not look good; and yes, things could certainly get worse. But if we allow ourselves to get wrapped up so blindly in our individual problems and forget about the concerns of other people, of communities, of cities, what will become of us? How do we go about recapturing the lost spirit?

**Bartenderly advice:** Jogging, Stairmasters, aerobics classes and diets are not the answer. They only relieve the symptoms: stress, anxiety, poor physical condition. They do nothing to effect change or to alleviate the causes of our problems. All the effort that goes into focusing on one's self can be detrimental in the long run. All the energy we exert in the name of health and the glorification of the self is diverting and sapping us of the energy we need to come to terms with what our real problems are. The economy, AIDS, human rights, the environment, education—these things can't be fixed unless people think more about other people and less about themselves.

So what is the answer? One way to start is to look at

Dickens's Scrooge for some insight into our Scrooge-like selves. We're a lot more like the fictional character than we'd like to think. Dickens's Christmas manie was no more cognizant of himself as a Grinch than we are: he didn't recognize himself to be what we have come to know today as a Scrooge. And while he didn't go

pump iron at the gym or wear Cross Trainers to walk home in, he did share with us the same myopic focus on the self.

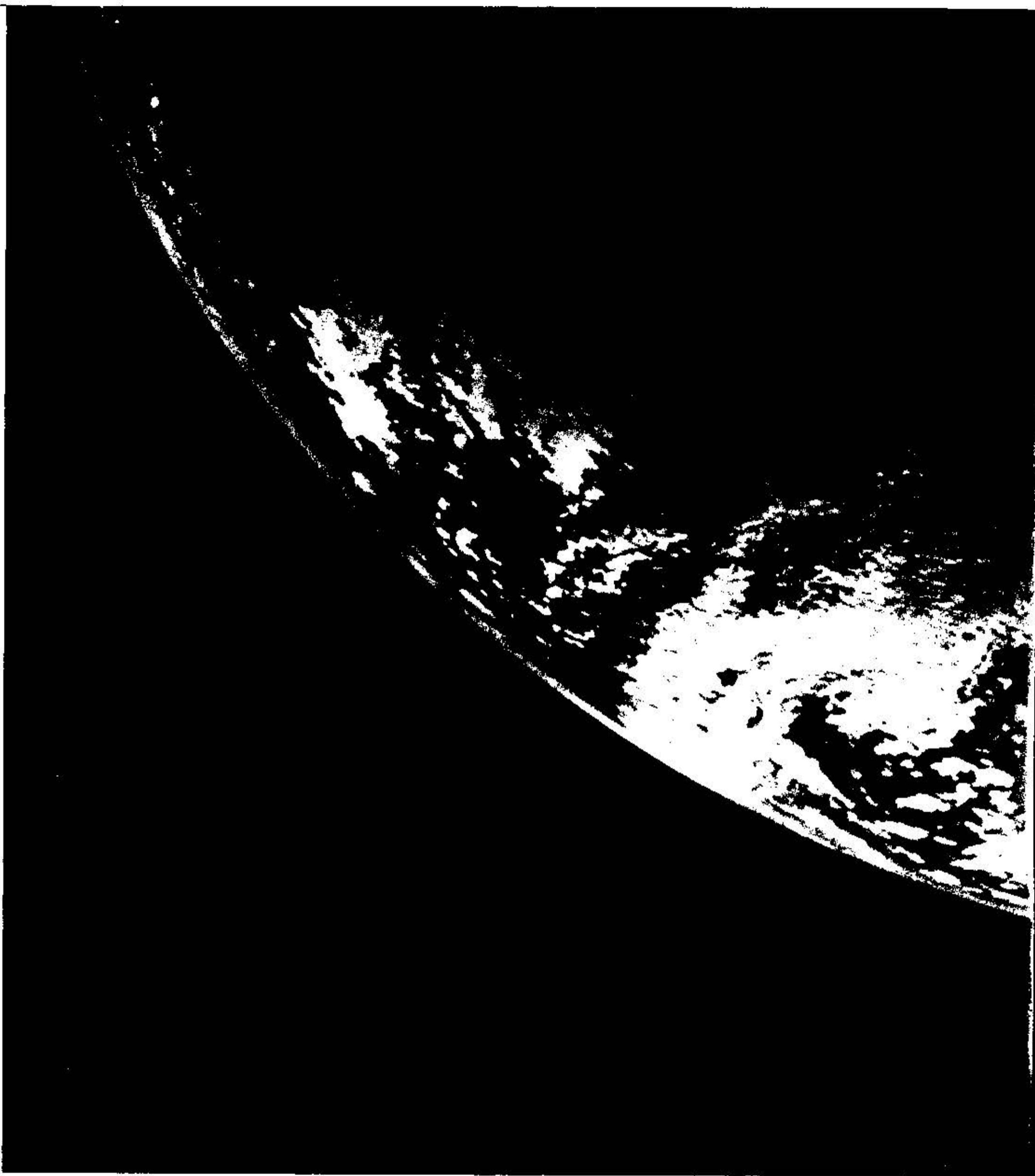
As Dickens's story goes, Scrooge went home on Christmas Eve, had some leftovers for dinner, went to sleep. During the night Scrooge had three visitations: the ghost of Christmas past, the ghost of Christmas present and the ghost of Christmas future. Three unsparing looks at himself. It was these visits that led to the transformation of our namesake. Maybe we, the modern-day Scrooges, can learn something from this.

If you want some bartenderly advice, here it is: take a little time over the next few days to sit down and reflect on just what your visitations might be and what they might mean to you. Which ghosts could come visit you in the night? What would they say about where you have been? Where you are now? And what you might become should you continue on this way? This may be a good time to visit your favorite watering hole and sit down with a shot and a beer (as politically incorrect as that may be these days). Heck, I don't care if you order a cup of coffee or a glass of soda while you're sitting there trying to sort it all out. The important thing is to try to get some of that spirit back on your own, before the ghosts come unexpectedly in the middle of the night. After all, even Scrooge managed to change his ways. P.S.: Don't forget to leave a tip.

*Morris, when he's not tending bar, writes plays and children's books.*



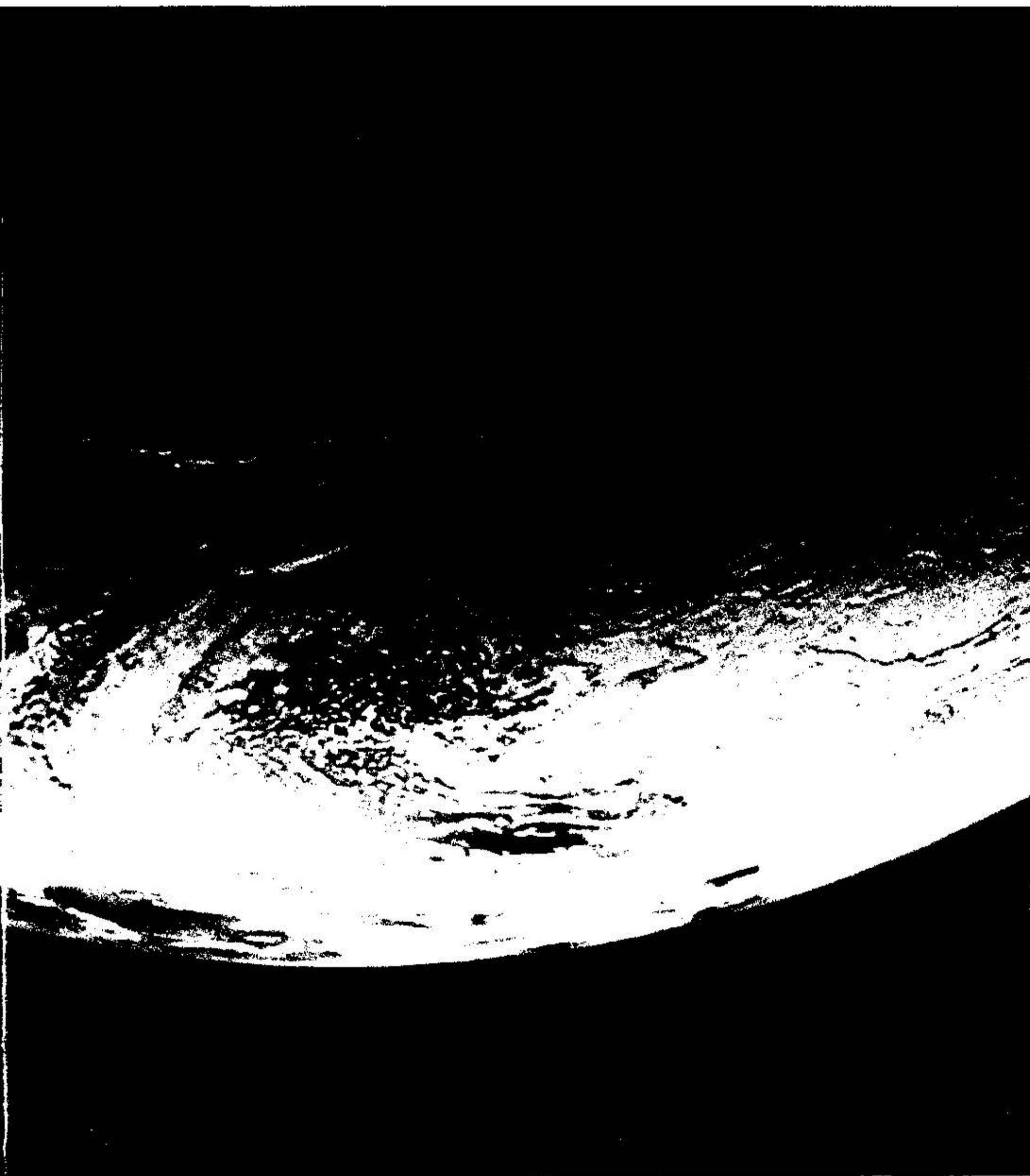
This holiday season, I see Scrooge after Scrooge—myself included



**WE COVER THE WATERFRONT. ALL 223,000 MILES OF IT.**

*World trade in goods and services now surpasses \$4 trillion annually, and the importers and exporters for whom the AIG Companies provide insurance coverages touch virtually every coastline in the world. Our global network consists of people with deep understanding of the laws, regulations, customs and business*





*practices of the countries in which they work. As well as local insurance markets and needs. That's why multinational businesses can rely on our people and our services. In the seven decades since our founding, we've built a global network in 130 countries and jurisdictions that could not be duplicated today. At any cost.*

**AIG** **WORLD LEADERS IN INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES.**

American International Group, Inc., Dept. A, 70 Pine Street, New York, NY 10270.

## AIDS: Never Too Safe

Your cover story on educating the next generation about safe sex ("Safer Sex," LIFESTYLE, Dec. 9) was appreciated, but sad. Sex without responsibility is the message today's children receive from advertising and television. Parents are too busy with their personal agendas to counteract that message with the proper instruction and guidance. By the time we turn our children over to the school system—which has no emotional investment in them—it is already too late. Stopgap measures like passing out condoms are an incomplete answer and will cost us dearly in the end.

ALICE BROWN  
Leavenworth, Kans.

In discussing AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases you discount teaching abstinence as a realistic approach to preventing infection. Why? Is teaching your children not to steal unrealistic? Until we teach our children about decent living, we will never have a healthy generation to look forward to.

DEBORAH WEIN  
Ridgefield, Conn.

Putting a photo of a condom with the words SAFE SEX emblazoned across it on your cover was very misleading. Condoms are not safe! Abstinence is. What we and our children should know is that condoms sometimes fail, as the article inside rightly states. Unfortunately, it is the cover of a magazine that usually makes the more lasting impression.

MATTHEW C. LUCZYCKI  
Oneida, N.Y.

To suggest, as you do in "Safer Sex," that education has failed in the fight to prevent AIDS is to do a great disservice to that campaign. Anyone with school-age children knows that sex education is not pervasive in our schools: the few hours per year most kids get is still controversial and requires parental permission. A change in attitude about safe sex will come about only with more exposure and information. What have failed are the historical alternatives of religion and family, as 3 million teens with sexually transmitted diseases prove. When it comes to AIDS, this failure is deadly. So teach morality, teach abstinence, teach safety; but most of all keep on teaching and, for life's sake, make condoms available.

DEBRA A. BODINE  
La Jolla, Calif.

☎ Denotes letters received via telephone mail, 1-900-990-MAIL.

## MAIL CALL

### Morality 101

Readers of "Safer Sex," our Dec. 9 cover story on AIDS-conscious sex education, agreed that protecting children from AIDS is a top priority. But they disagreed on strategy. Many hailed a return to chastity: "If half the money and energy spent pushing the myth of safe sex were spent promoting abstinence, it would again become the popular point of view," wrote one reader. Some also called for an end to "the media, advertising and the arts inundating us with blatant sexual imagery." Still others saw this as a time for pragmatism. Wrote one reader, "Given the galloping hormones of adolescence, we need comprehensive AIDS education now, not self-appointed morality police."



As a psychologist who has spent five years working with hemophiliacs to prevent the spread of HIV infection, I can attest that education does work, but it is a difficult, time-consuming process that desperately needs federal and state support. If the government is truly committed to stopping AIDS, it must allocate more resources to true prevention education, not to "Just Say No" campaigns.

HEATHER C. HUSZTI  
Oklahoma City, Okla.

### An Army and a Leg

David H. Hackworth is correct in stating that the military needs restructuring ("Amputation, Not Pedicure," NATIONAL AFFAIRS, Dec. 9), but cutting National Guard and Reserve forces will do more harm than good. Many guard and Reserve units are indeed not combat ready—but this is partly because they already suffer from inadequate manpower and equipment. And combat readiness would only decline further if we close Fort Drum, N.Y., as he suggests. It is the only base in the Northeast that can accommodate the large-scale maneuvers and heavy-weapons firing that realistic training requires. Hackworth should also be reminded that the guard and Reserve support units, whose contributions in Operation Desert Storm he lauds, often train by serving guard and Reserve ground forces. While guard units may require fur-

ther training, large-scale conflicts (like Desert Storm) usually provide us with several months' notice before they become heated. Outfitted at a fraction of the cost of active-duty units, part-time units provide cost-effective readiness. Reduce active-duty ground forces first.

First Lt. JOSEPH A. FRANCIS  
Massachusetts Army National Guard  
N. Dighton, Mass.

Professional military people (turf fighters and empire builders aside) have seen for years the merits of Hackworth's recommendations to reduce military budgets. He has my vote for secretary of defense.

Lt. Col. LYNN V. FRITCHMAN (Ret.)  
Renton, Wash.

Hackworth's premise that a reduced military would be more efficient and less costly ignores the lessons of World War II. A similar mentality prevailed after World War I, resulting in a military so strapped that recruits trained with broom handles and a Navy that was ill funded and unprepared for war. I wonder if Hackworth has seriously considered the feasibility and safety of his proposed cuts apart from what sounds good on a soapbox.

HARRY I. NIMON  
Dayton, Ohio

While Hackworth's suggestion to consolidate the armed forces into a single, unified service would undoubtedly reduce the waste of billions of dollars, such solutions are likely doomed to fail. About 20 years ago I was part of a team charged with finding ways to reduce paperwork in the civilian and military branches of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Many forms were found to be identical. Yet neither the military nor the civilian Army managers would compromise and use the other's forms, and little was done to avoid duplication. Let's hope that ideas such as Hackworth's are incorporated to reduce waste while maintaining military readiness.

ROBERT D. JARRETT  
Lakewood, Colo.

Letters to the Editor, with the writer's name, address and daytime phone number, should be sent to: Letters Editor, NEWSWEEK, 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 or faxed to: (212) 350-4120. You may also phone NEWSWEEK'S Telephone Mail Desk, 1-900-990-MAIL, and voice your comments. The cost is \$1.95 for the first minute, \$.95 each additional minute. Calls and letters may be edited for space and clarity.



# If you're going to the 1992 Olympic Games we'll be picking up your tickets.



UNITED STATES  
POSTAL SERVICE



OFFICIAL OLYMPIC  
SPONSOR

The U.S. Olympic Committee will use Olson Travelworld as an official travel company for the upcoming Games, because Olson has what it takes to get 120,000 tickets out in a few weeks. Likewise, Olson will use Express Mail® overnight service from the post office to deliver those tickets, because Express Mail has guaranteed overnight delivery,\* a low price and will pick up unlimited packages for a single pickup charge. Now, if you want reliable overnight delivery at a great low price, which company are you going to use? For pickup, call 1-800-222-1811. We deliver.

**EXTREMELY URGENT**



UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE



OFFICIAL OLYMPIC SPONSOR

Do something delicious.™



**Kahlúa**  
& CREAM

Nighttime. It's your time. For good times. And the treat-yourself taste of 1-1/2 ounces of Kahlúa mixed with 4 ounces of cream or milk over ice. Ahhh. Only Kahlúa tastes like Kahlúa.



**Newsweek**

Published by Newsweek, Inc.

The Washington Post Company

Katharine Graham, Chairman of the Board

Donald E. Graham, President and Chief Executive Officer

Alan G. Spoo, Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF and PRESIDENT: Richard M. Smith

EDITOR: Maynard Parker

MANAGING EDITOR: Kenneth Auchincloss

ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITORS: Dominique Browning, Evan Thomas, Mark Whitaker

ART DIRECTOR: Patricia Bradbury

PICTURE EDITOR: Guy Cooper

SENIOR EDITORS: David M. Alpern, Jonathan Alter, Melinda Beck, Nancy Cooper, Sarah Crichton, Alexis Gelber, Hank Gilman, Jack Kroll, Tom Mathews, Peter McGrath, Stryker McGuire (Chief of Correspondents), Ron Meyerson, Aric Press, Russell Watson, Susan Wyland

DIRECTOR OF ADMINISTRATION: Thomas J. Manning

DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH SERVICES: Ted Slate

OPERATIONS DIRECTOR: Al Pryzbylowski

PERISCOPE EDITOR: George Hackett

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Lorene Cary, Frank Deford, Gregg Easterbrook, Peter Goldman, David H. Hackworth, Larry Martz, Jane Bryant Quinn, Robert J. Samuelson, George F. Will

SENIOR WRITERS: Jerry Adler, David Ansen, Sharon Begley, Geoffrey Cowley, Angus Deming, David Gelman, Barbara Kantrowitz, Charles Leerhsen, Cathleen McGuigan, Annetta Miller, Tom Morganthau, Peter S. Prescott, Larry Reibstein, Michael Rogers, Eloise Saiholz, John Schwartz, Harry F. Waters, Kenneth L. Woodward

GENERAL EDITORS: Katrine Ames, James N. Baker, Mathilde Camacho, Patricia Conway, Nina Darnton, Mark Frankel, David Gates, Joshua Hammer, Lucy Howard, Malcolm Jones Jr., David A. Kaplan, Charles Lane, John Leland, Marc Levinson, Tom Masland, Susan Fleming Moran, Peter Plagens, Tom Post, Pascal Privat, Peter J. Salber (Library), Sam Seibert, Jean Seligmann, Laura Shapiro, Bill Turque

OPERATIONS: Vicko Fabris, Photocomposition; Donald Garrido, Production

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Ray Anello, Joseph M. Arena, Elizabeth Bradburn, John Burke, Bill Christophersen (Letters), Fred Coger, Jerry Eitelberg, Tony Emerson, Richard Ernsberger Jr., Richard Gerstner, Tita Dioso Gillespie, Susan H. Greenberg, Paul E. Keating, Niki Lee-Cunnon, Maggie Malone, Rebecca M. Pratt, Steven Shabad, Nancy Stadtman, Constance Wiley, Virginia Wilson, Ned Zeman

ASSISTANT EDITORS: Jennifer Boeth, David R. Friedman, Abigail Kuflik, Connie Leslie, Richard R. Mattei, Patricia W. Mooney, Nelson Mora, Tessa Namuth, Ray Sawhill, Elizabeth Shofner, Marilyn Souders

SENIOR EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS: Lincoln J. Abraham, Linda Buckley, Martin Burke, Gregory Cerio, Alden D. Cohen, Melanie Anne Cooper, Thomas A. Dougherty, Dobrija Dzolan, Andrew Eckmann, Regina Elam, Gary Faulkner, Lynn James, Patrice Johnson, Elizabeth Ann Leonard, Frank G. McCusker, Aidan G. Mooney, Patrick Rogers, Lourdes Rosado, Cecilia Salber, Kenneth S. Seggerman, Lynn Seiffer, Bruce Shenitz, Ed Silver, William Slate, Mata Stevenson, Dody Tsiantar, Anne Underwood, Larry Wilson, Ronald E. Wilson, John Wojno

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS: Rudolph Adams Jr., Vera Azar, Farai Chideya, Olwen Clarke, Lydia Denworth, Barbara H. Di Vittorio, Stephen Gencarello, Judith Hausler, Stephen J. Konzen, Gretchen Luchsinger, Joan McHale, Marc N. Peysner, Howard Price, Mary Talbot

ART: David Herbick, Peter Comitini (Senior Art Directors), Christoph Blumrich, Kim Evans, Gary Falkenstern, Alexander Ha, Meredith H. Hamilton, Lisa Michurski, Ellen Peterson, Vivette Porges, Kayvan Sotoodeh, Rose Unes, Andrea K. Wieder, Michael Zaccheo

PICTURES: Hillary Raskin (Deputy), Susan Ackerman, David N. Berkwitz, Dubravka Bondulic, Nia Krikellas Button, Cynthia Carris, Patrick J. Cashin, Jacques Chenet, Curtis Cravens, Jessica De Witt, Joseph Dwyer, Joan Engels, Elizabeth Gallin, Howard Heyman, Anthony Kleva, Myra Kreiman, Joseph L. Luppino, Silvio Marinozzi, Elizabeth Massin, Bernice McWilliams, Richard Pena, Meredith Rau, Joseph Romano, Robert J. Sullivan, Tom Tarnowsky, Suzanne Taylor, David Wyland

CONTRIBUTING PHOTOGRAPHERS: Shlomo Arad, Charlie Cole, Bill Gentile, Andy Hernandez, Mark Peters, Peter Turnley, Ira Wyman

DOMESTIC BUREAUS: Washington: Evan Thomas, Thomas M. DeFrank, John Barry, Clara Bingham, Eleanor Clift, Bob Cohn, Sandra Fine, Howard Fineman, Daniel Glick, Mary Hager, Shirlee Hoffman, Lindy Leo, Marcus Mabry, Ann McDaniel, Rich Thomas, Steven Waldman, Douglas Waller, Margaret Garrard Warner, Jane Whitmore, Pat Wingert, Amanda Zimmerman, Wally McNamee, Larry Downing, John Ficara (photographers). Atlanta: Vern E. Smith, Howard Manly. Boston: Mark Starr, Carolyn Friday. Chicago: John McCormick, Todd Barrett, Karen Springen. Detroit: Frank Washington. Houston: Ginny Carroll, Peter Annin. Los Angeles: Donna Foote, Andrew Murr, Lynda Wright, Emily Yoffe, Lester Sloan (photographer). Miami: Spencer Reiss, Peter Katel. New York: Tony Clifton, Lucille Beachy, Dorinda Elliott, Mark Miller. San Francisco: Patricia King, James D. Wilson (photographer).

FOREIGN BUREAUS: London: Daniel Pedersen, Jennifer Foote. Paris: Christopher Dickey, Ruth Marshall. Bonn-Berlin: Michael Meyer, Karen Breslau. Warsaw: Andrew Nagorski. Rome: Rod Nordland. Moscow: Fred Coleman, Carroll Bogert. Cairo: Ray Wilkinson. Jerusalem: Theodore Stanger. Nairobi: Jeffrey Barthelet. Johannesburg: Joseph Contreras. Tokyo: Bill Powell, Catherine S. Manegold; Bradley Martin (Asian Special Projects). Beijing: Frank Gibney Jr. Hong Kong: Melinda Liu, Peter McKillop. Bangkok: Ron Moreau. Mexico City: Tim Padgett. Buenos Aires: Brook Larmer

Newsweek International

EDITOR: Kenneth Auchincloss

MANAGING EDITOR: Steven Strasser

SENIOR EDITOR: William Burger

REGIONAL EDITORS: Scott Sullivan (Europe); Melinda Liu (Asia); Bill Powell (Asia Economics Editor)

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Joseph A. Cosenza

Published by Newsweek, Inc.

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENTS:

U.S. PUBLISHER: Peter W. Eldredge

GENERAL MANAGER: Harold Shain

PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL: Peter J. Luffman

SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT: Angelo Rivello

VICE CHAIRMAN: Don Durgin

ASSOCIATE ADVERTISING DIRECTORS: John M. Ernst, Newton J. Friese, J. Riley McDonough, Jonathan Grayer (Marketing Director), Gregory J. Osberg, Frank J. Tortorello

SALES DIRECTORS: Atlanta: James E. Baillie. Boston: Elizabeth A. Greenway. Chicago: Douglas Jeppe. Dallas: Cynthia J. Ivie. Detroit: Terrence M. Brady. Los Angeles: P. Michael Callan. New York: William E. Ganon, Gordon Lee Jones III, William A. Reilly Jr. San Francisco: William N. Murray. Washington: Joseph C. Werner. Worldwide Sales: Erich Bruhn

Director New Business Development: Joseph J. Willix

Operations: Robert E. Burnell

VICE PRESIDENTS: Jean E. Barish (Administrative Services), Patrick Butler (Corporate Programs), Frank M. Callea (Customer Services), Pamela W. Gillespie (Information Systems), Joanne O'Rourke Hindman (Controller), Tina A. Ravitz (Chief Counsel), Mary S. Rynecki (Circulation)

Overheard

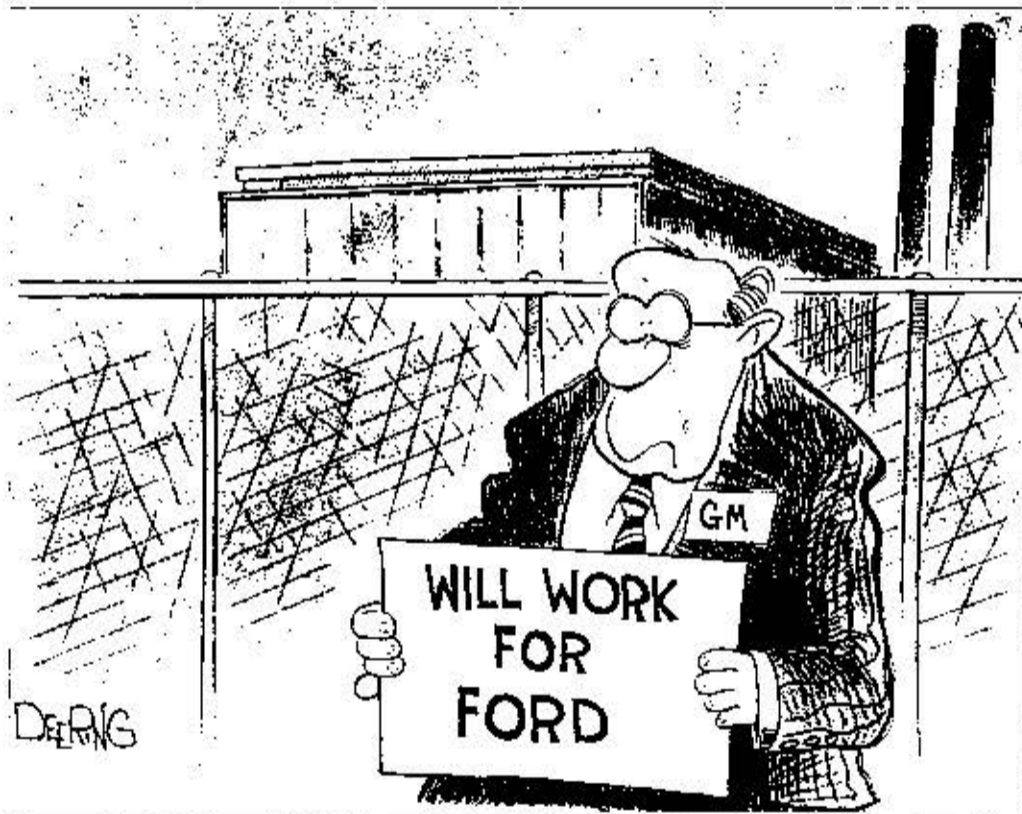
"It would have been nice to run for president."  
 MARIO CUOMO, after announcing he will not be a presidential candidate

"I decided this was more appropriate."  
 Sen. TED KENNEDY, on why he wore a plain gray suit to his annual Christmas bash. In the past he has gone dressed as Elvis and a member of Milli Vanilli.

"He was miserable [and] a man who said he was miserable was irresistible."  
 GLORIA STEINEM, on why she dated real-estate tycoon and media mogul Mort Zuckerman



© 1991 BORGMAN—CINCINNATI ENQUIRER



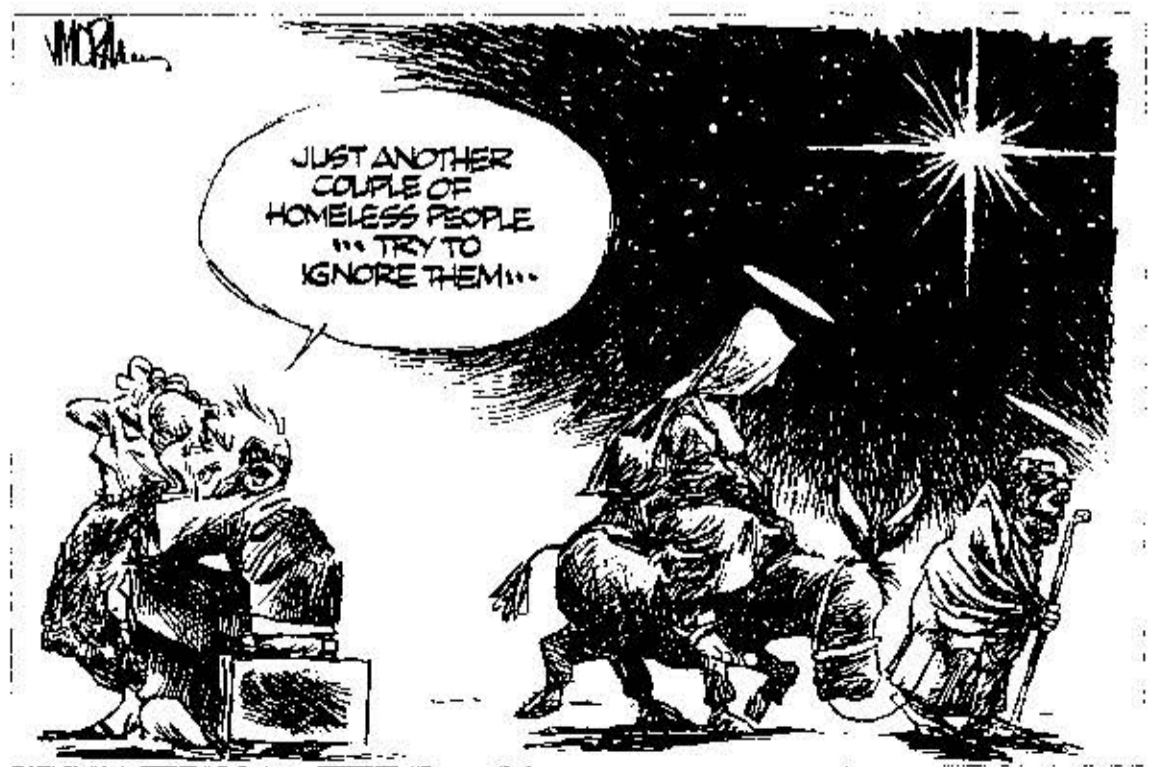
© 1991 DEERING—ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT

"Dan Rather is a tragic figure, in my judgment. He has paid his dues, he has done good work, has earned his spot. There is something in him though—and I'm not a psychiatrist—that drives him like a demon to his own destruction... You watch him now to see if tonight's the night when he's going to crack. Is tonight going to be the night that makes him go just berserk and turns him into the mad anchorman?"  
 ABC's SAM DONALDSON, in *Frisko* magazine

"Our friends say we're like Scarlett and Rhett. We have so much passion."  
 MARLA MAPLES, on her relationship with Donald Trump after the two reportedly had an ugly public spat in Washington, D.C.

"If I were writing the Bill of Rights now, there wouldn't be any such thing as the Second Amendment... This has been the subject of one of the greatest pieces of fraud—I repeat the word fraud—on the American public, by special-interest groups, that I have ever seen in my lifetime."  
 Former Supreme Court chief justice WARREN BURGER, on how the gun lobby trumpets the Second Amendment, which includes the right to bear arms

"I don't know if it has an E."  
 California Rep. PETE STARK, 60, when asked to spell the name of his fiancée, 24-year-old Deborah Ann (without an E) Roderick



© 1991 MOREN—MIAMI HERALD

# Christmas Massacre

GM's massive layoffs trigger a crisis of economic confidence—and a political stampede to cut taxes for the middle class



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

**T**he first qualms came in the S&L crisis, when people felt queasy tremors in the financial world.

Disquiet deepened as a recession that was supposed to be over dragged on for months, and workers who had always felt safe in their jobs were pounding the pavement. For the second straight Grinchy Christmas, stores became echo chambers for desperate announcements of preholiday knockdowns. There was a string of industrial disasters, from the retrenchment of giant IBM to the final throes of Pan American Airways. And last week General Motors, that icon of American industry, conceded the worst defeat in its 75-year history: 21 plants to be padlocked over the next three years, with 74,000 jobs gone forever. GM's Christmas massacre was a stark symbol, the downsizing not just of a company or an embattled industry, but of America's expectations. With that, unease turned into a full-blown crisis of economic confidence—and politicians from George Bush on down were scrambling to do something, anything, about it.

There were no good answers. The Federal Reserve Board won plaudits, and at least a one-day lift in the stock market, by kicking off an unusually sharp round of interest-rate cuts; but many doubted that lower rates alone would lift the nation out of its doldrums. A parade of economists, headed by Fed chairman Alan Greenspan, marched up Capitol Hill to warn that "quick fixes" such as income-tax cuts would do more

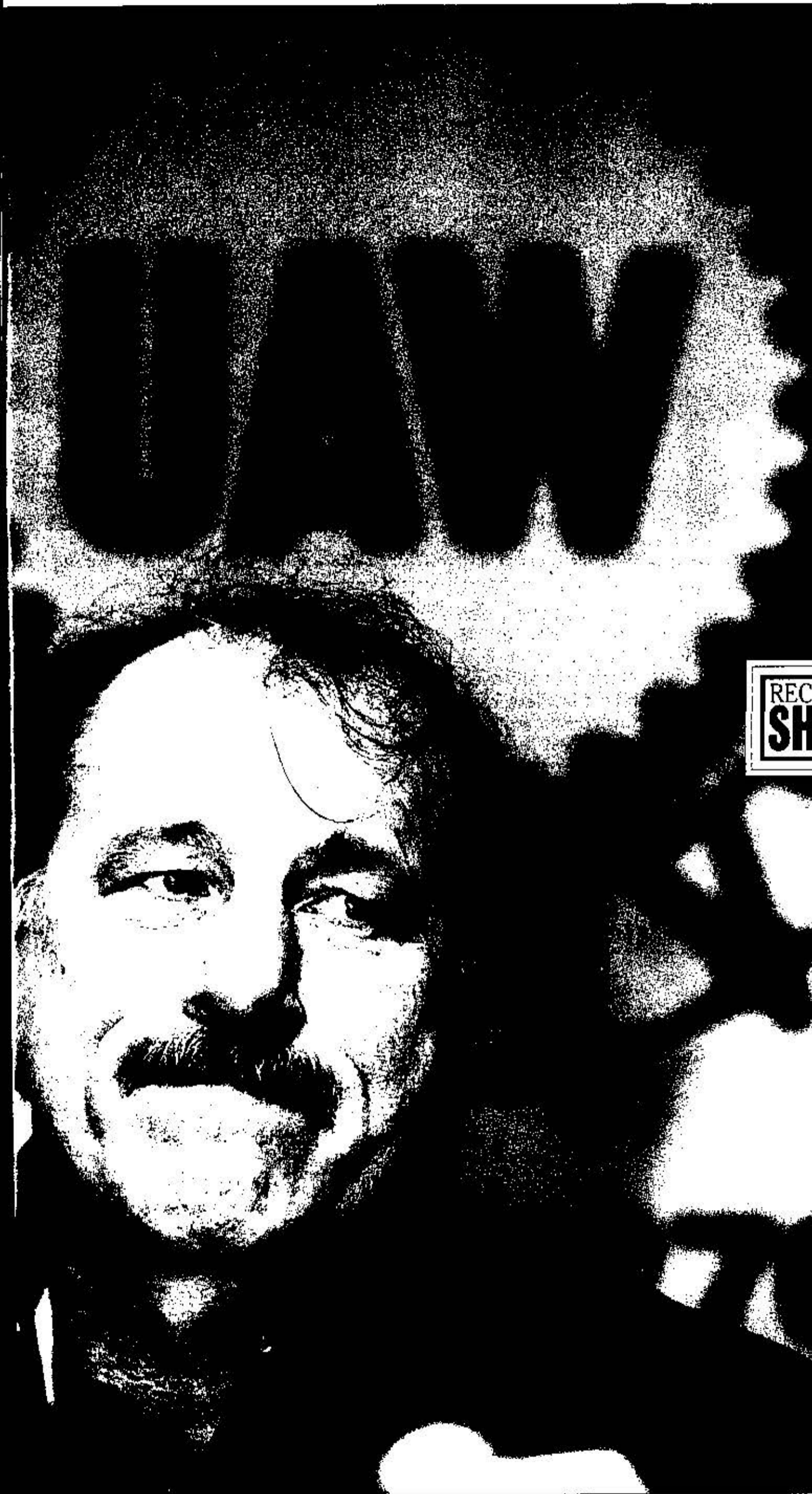


LUKE FRAZZA—AFP

**Do something:** *With GM's news, Greenspan led a chorus of experts against 'quick fixes.' But George Bush's own job was at stake, and he couldn't afford to be Herbert Hoover.*

**There is a deep-seated concern out there which, I must say to you, I have not seen in my lifetime.**

—ALAN GREENSPAN



DAVID WOO—DALLAS MORNING NEWS-GAMMA-LIAISON

harm than good. Nonetheless, Congress was flooded with bills proposing everything from quickie tax cuts to protectionist trade curbs. In the White House, Bush's aides squabbled inconclusively over measures ranging from business investment tax credits to a \$300 rebate for every taxpayer.

**'Economies wreck presidents':** As Bush's people freely conceded, any action might be too little, too late; a remedy offered now might not pass Congress before next spring, when it might touch off another round of inflation or prove counterproductive, scaring the money markets and choking off a recovery. Economic wisdom stood conventional advice on its head: DON'T JUST DO SOMETHING; STAND THERE. But whatever the risks of acting, inaction seemed worse. Thanks largely to the slump, Bush's approval rating in a Washington Post-ABC poll fell to 47 percent, his first dip below a majority. "Lousy economies just wreck presidents," said economist Murray Weidenbaum of Washington University in St. Louis. "Look at Jimmy Carter." Thus, good economics or not, Bush was bound to act. "No one knows what will be in the package," said one aide. "I can only say with certainty that there will be a package."

## RECESSION SHOCK

GM's bombshell was probably overdue. After years of dwindling market share and hemorrhaging balance sheets, the company was conceding that markets lost to the Japanese will never be regained,

and trying to trim down to fighting shape (page 16). But the move added to short-term public worries, leaving open which plants were targeted and which communities would suffer. "I'm kind of lost," said assembly worker Don Gunsolus, standing in the rain outside a GM plant in Arlington, Texas. "We've put everything on hold." And the shock seemed to crystallize the nation's fears of long-term decline and fall. "There is a deep-seated concern out there," Greenspan told the House Ways and Means Committee, "which, I must say to you, I have not seen in my lifetime."

Some worriers were even invoking the Depression of the 1930s. Federal deposit insurance and sharper economic tools have produced an economy "entirely different" from that era, said chief economist Lyle Gramley of the Mortgage Bankers Association, but "nobody has seen collapsing real-estate values and collapsing banks like this since the Great Depression. So people are worried and scared. Perhaps without cause, but nonetheless, the worries are real."

Is the economy really that sick? By most measures, certainly not. Although the apparent recovery last summer has clearly faltered and the recession is now the longest since World War II, it remains comparatively mild. Unemployment, at 6.8 per-

cent of the labor force, is little more than half the peak rate in the 1982 recession, and most forecasters still expect a modest recovery next spring or summer. Still, there were major new factors on the downside, and good reasons why the usual remedies won't work. Among them:

■ **Lower expectations:** GM was among the last of the big manufacturers forced to trim down. Now service businesses are having to cut their payrolls to become competitive. Large numbers of white-collar workers are at risk, and those cut won't be rehired later. Like rust-belt workers before them, they may find new jobs only at lower pay with fewer benefits. The nation's long-term rise in living standards has gone flat in the past three years, and as Greenspan warned, many Americans now fear that they won't live as well as their parents did. The huge baby-boom generation is especially vulnerable to such fears; many baby boomers are living through their first recession as working parents, with mortgages and children to worry about.

■ **Fewer new workers:** The low population growth of the "baby bust" years has also brought huge changes. During Bush's presidency, economic growth has created roughly 500,000 jobs, a pittance compared with 4 million new jobs in the first three years under Ronald Reagan. But the reduced rise of the labor force has masked this sluggish growth. If there had been as many new workers as in the early '80s, unemployment would now be around 10 percent. Paradoxically, the slow population growth also tends to retard recovery: there's less demand for goods and services, and fewer workers available to provide them.

■ **The deficit:** In rare consensus, most economists agree that the huge growth of the federal budget deficit, to a total debt of \$3.6 trillion, rules out major increases in deficit spending to stimulate growth. As it is, the Congressional Budget Office calculates this fiscal year's red ink at \$362 billion, and interest payments alone will total \$210 billion. The borrowing of the '80s would not have been harmful if the money had been invested in productive facilities, but it wasn't; as New York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan puts it, in the Reagan years we borrowed \$1 trillion from foreigners and used it to throw a party.

■ **The hangover:** The giddy boom of the '80s made major distortions in the economy. Speculative building has left thousands of vacant condos, warehouses, stores and offices. Businesses took on huge debts to perform tricky leveraged



When jitters turn to crisis: New York construction workers march to demand spending for

buyouts or avoid hostile takeovers. The decade's consumer buying spree left its own hangover. People went so far into debt that payments on it, which normally average 6 percent of household budgets, have risen to 8 percent. Now consumers have decided to pay back more than they borrow—and if they were to get a tax cut, economists say, it would be used mostly to work off debt. That would be good for long-term growth, but it would damp down any quick economic bounce from lower taxes.

■ **Chickens home to roast:** The S&L mess has compounded the troubles. Bailing out depositors in failed thrift institutions will cost \$115 billion this year—money that will have almost no economic impact, since it merely replaces squandered funds. The rest of the federal deficit, \$247 billion, is actually lower than the previous year's, and thus less stimulative. Economist Allen Sinai of The Boston Co. argues that "Fiscal policy actually has been restrictive," and the negative effect will get

## Life After Cuomo: Trouble for Bush

When New York Gov. Mario Cuomo exited from a presidential race he had never entered, there were Republicans—and Democrats—ready to declare the contest over and to anoint George Bush for four more years. "Cuomo was by far the Democrats' best candidate," said GOP strategist John Sears. Democratic lamentations were long and loud. Cuomo was a "towering symbol," said Rep. John Lewis. The Democrats "missed a big opportunity," said Democratic consultant Greg Schneiders. The faithful treated Cuomo's valedictory in Albany last week as a bittersweet elegy to what might have been.

But Cuomo's long goodbye

isn't good news for the president. Cuomo was the ultimate Democratic Known Quantity. Privately, many of Bush's shrewder strategists viewed Cuomo as an industrial-strength Michael Dukakis, destined to repeat the losing shibboleths of the past two Democratic presidential campaigns. "He was the easiest candidate for us to beat," said Republican strategist Bill McInturff, "because he's a caricature of a liberal Democrat." The president's demolition experts thought they knew where to place the plastic explosives on the Cuomo persona. "We would have needed him from day one," said one senior Bush adviser.

"Sooner or later he would have blown."

And from day one Cuomo would have been on the defensive. The governor has cut state spending and embraced some supply-side tax notions. But he still presides over and symbolizes a state that embodies Great Society liberalism—and that faces a \$5 billion budget gap. Bush's advisers were salivating at the thought of being able to switch the attention from the dismal national economy to New York's budget morass. Now Bush will have to answer more often for the federal debt and be pressed all the harder to offer economic cures more sweeping than tube-sock purchases.





RON HAVIV—SABA

*jobs—and Washington aims to pacify them*

even worse: federal, state and local taxes rose by \$33 billion in 1991 and will jump an additional \$17 billion next year. Perhaps worst of all, the S&L scandals have brought a crackdown by bank examiners that makes banks jittery about new loans. For the first time in U.S. history, total private debt has actually shrunk in the second half of this year—and administration officials have been pleading with banks to ease up on their credit crunch.

No reputable experts see economic disas-

ter in any of this. As in any recession, hardships ultimately will pay off: when the excesses are sweated out of the economy, normal growth can resume. But without government nudging, that isn't likely before next year's election, which puts George Bush's own job at hazard. Already, the Democratic National Committee has issued a press release mocking the parallels between the president's recent economic comments and Herbert Hoover's optimism in 1930. And even as New York Gov. Mario Cuomo bowed out of the 1992 race (box), he sounded the same theme.

**'The message will be jobs':** Bush himself has been watching with frustration as the recovery stumbled and his aides argued over what to do. He griped last month that he felt as if he were standing in a hurricane, hearing only noise—and last week it just got louder. A meeting in the office of the new chief of staff, Samuel Skinner, broke up in bickering; the \$300 rebate proposal, which had been an early favorite, was laughed off as too reminiscent of Jimmy Carter's stillborn \$50 rebate to jump-start the economy in 1977. Most aides favored an investment credit for business, and that seemed likely to survive in the package. Others wanted an increase in personal exemptions or a tax break for first-time home buyers. Bush's cherished cut in the capital-gains tax was on the table as always, but might not be passable in Congress. The only real decision was to repackage Bush's upcoming trip to the Far East as a quest for jobs and exports, not a foreign-policy junket. "The president's message will be jobs, jobs, jobs, every day he is out of the coun-

try," said a senior adviser. "That way Bush keeps his job."

But everyone knew that wouldn't be enough to dispel the image of drift and inaction. A decision on what to propose would be put off as long as possible, probably until just before the Asian trip. But sooner or later a bill would take shape—and that would be just the beginning. Any move big enough to budge the economy would probably break last year's budget agreement, with the president's declaration of an "emergency" as justification. And that would open a Pandora's box of bidding in Congress for middle-class votes. The resulting measure would pander to everyone, with a host of special-interest tax cuts thrown in, financed mainly by prayers for revenue. As Budget Committee chairman Leon Panetta said of his colleagues, "They'll never let that train leave the station without their baggage on it."

With a great deal of luck, the debate might last long enough for an upturn to start spontaneously, in which case George Bush could sail to re-election with a statesmanlike veto of the final Economic Recovery Act of 1992. But nobody should count on it. A better bet is that Bush will propose, Congress will dispose and the nation will be stuck with the result—no matter what it does to the economy in the long run. And if people suspect that their government doesn't know what to do, they're wrong. It's worse than that: the politicians know exactly what they're doing.

LARRY MARTZ with ELEANOR CLIFT, HOWARD FINEMAN, ANN MCDANIEL and RICH THOMAS in Washington and bureau reports



MARK PETERSON—JB PICTURES

**For the GOP, he was the ultimate known quantity:** *The governor's exit*

The Democrats' declared candidates—the "six-pack"—may not be as well known as Cuomo, but that could be a vir-

tue. One senior administration official worried last week about a late-emerging Democratic stealth nominee, all but

ignored by the nation until summer. The Bush team, he said, might not have enough time to "chip away" at the new Democratic nominee after the convention.

Cuomo's absence also allows Bill Clinton, Bob Kerrey and Tom Harkin—the consensus "first tier" for now—to make themselves known without having to spend all their time undermining the New York governor. Among the six-pack, New York columnist Pete Hamill worried, there is no one speaking, as Cuomo does, in the cadence of the cities that are the ancestral home of the Democratic Party. But Democrats need to realize that those days are gone: America is now predominantly a suburban nation. The party, said polltaker and Kerrey adviser Harrison

Hickman, must move on to "a new debate, on new issues, with a new generation of candidates."

**Famous speech:** Watching Cuomo's emotional speech last week, diehards insisted that he could still be forced to reconsider, or that the nomination would somehow be offered to him by a deadlocked convention next summer in, of course, New York City. But neither was a likely scenario, and most Democrats seemed ready to give up the obsession with Cuomo that began with his famous speech in San Francisco seven years ago. If they're really ready to get on with the rest of their lives, then Bush may be in even more trouble than he—or the Democrats—realize.

HOWARD FINEMAN and ANN MCDANIEL in Washington

# GM's Day of Reckoning

How did it come to this? The recession didn't help, but the roots of its decline go back for decades.

**R**emember when the opening of a new General Motors plant symbolized nothing but hope and prosperity? That's what it meant for the townsfolk of Arlington, Texas, when GM decided to locate a facility there in the early 1950s. "It caused the first extras of our little weekly Arlington newspapers to be printed and sold on the streets," recalls Tom Vandergriff, then president of the Arlington Chamber of Commerce.

Those were the days when GM's only worry was that it was too successful: it sold one out of every two cars in America, and competitors and federal regulators were beginning to whisper the word "monopoly."

Today the Arlington plant is the latest symbol of GM's decline, and the talk is no longer about how to slow down the car giant but how to staunch its massive financial wounds. Faced with a devastating \$7 billion loss in North America this year, chairman Robert Stempel had little choice but to take the drastic step of closing 21 plants, possibly including Arlington, and eliminating 74,000 jobs over the next three years. The dramatic move amounted to a

concession that GM will never regain a 50 percent market share, and might not even be able to sustain its current domestic share of about 35 percent. In the long run, the cuts should make GM a more nimble company. But coming weeks after fellow giant IBM announced drastic cutbacks, it was another painful reminder of the trouble U.S. business is having adjusting to global competition and a domestic slump in the '90s.

**RECESSION SHOCK**

How did it come to this? GM's troubles were certainly aggravated by the recession, but its decline has roots that go back for decades. Its response to the arrival of Japanese cars in the 1970s was late, confused and inept. Paralyzed by an entrenched and arrogant bureaucracy, GM jeopardized decades of consumer good will by building cars of shoddy quality and stodgy style. It also raised prices when the Japanese were limiting exports to the United States. Thinking automation was the answer, it spent billions on high-tech hardware like robotics in the 1980s, yet GM still takes longer to make a car than any other automaker. Says Laurel Cutler, a former Chrysler executive: "The



A decade ago top GM managers were saying

most profound difference is that American makers have said, 'If it's broke, we'll fix it.' Japan says it won't break."

**Hearts and minds:** Of course, GM was never competing on a level playing field. Saddled by huge pension costs and aging plants, it confronted Japanese competitors that benefited from government backing and cushy long-term financing. In recent years GM, as well as Ford and Chrysler, has significantly improved its cars' quality and looks with such models as the new Cadillac Seville. But, then, so have the Japanese, and GM has found that winning back consumers' hearts and minds isn't so easy.

GM once had a reputation for agility and

## A Bumpy Ride



Strike sympathizers

1908

The birth of GM. Founder William Durant begins a buying binge that brings the likes of Buick and Cadillac into the automaker's stable.

1937

Alfred Sloan Jr. is making GM an in-



'Engine Charlie'

dustrial power, but violent strikes occur. The result: the UAW becomes GM workers' representative.

1948

The big fin is born on GM's Cadillac and becomes all the rage in the 1950s, the golden age of the auto in the United States.

1953

Charles "Engine Charlie" Wilson, GM's chief, becomes defense secretary. A conflict? "I thought what was good for our country was good for GM and vice versa."

1962

GM controls more than 50 percent of

A Cadillac with fins

# GM

MARK OF EXCELLENCE

LENNOX McLENDON—AP

## Americans wouldn't buy foreign products: Stempel

responsiveness to consumers. Under its legendary chairman Alfred Sloan Jr., GM's divisions were autonomous. But by the 1960s it had grown into a committee-driven and insular behemoth, dominated by financial executives known in Detroit as the bean counters. When the oil shortages hit in 1973 and 1979, GM was ill prepared—and at first glibly dismissive of efforts to switch to more fuel-efficient cars. Says analyst Ronald Glantz, "I can remember top managers at GM as recently as a decade ago saying true Americans won't buy foreign products." Cutler says GM executives, refusing to believe they were threatened, "went through the most massive case of denial I have ever seen."

well with Smith. "The first EDSer to see a snake kills it," went one typical Perot remark. "At GM the first thing you do is organize a committee on snakes." GM eventually bought out Perot for \$700 million.

Smith retired last year, as GM's image got a new working over with the satiric movie "Roger & Me," a scathing look at GM's plant-closing policies. But it was the deep and lingering recession that finally convinced GM it couldn't face business as usual. The plant closings have been expected internally for some time, but Stempel went public because of pressure from Wall Street credit agencies, which were threatening to lower GM's credit ratings, thereby raising its borrowing costs.

Meanwhile, the Japanese were already making small cars for their home market and moving aggressively into the United States. GM responded by downsizing its cars, but early models were rife with transmission and engine problems. Recall the Chevrolet Vega, GM's 1971 small-car offering that turned out to be costlier and more troublesome than its rivals. "Consumers have had a decade of getting ripped off," says economist Clifford Winston, who has studied brand loyalty. "The moral is, history matters."

In the mid-1980s the nation's economy improved and GM's profits swelled again. Then chairman Roger Smith embarked on a diversification strategy, buying Electronic Data Systems from entrepreneur H. Ross Perot and Hughes Aircraft Corp. Those acquisitions still produce profits, but GM's cash might have been better used improving its cars. And adding Perot to GM's board was a costly public-relations fiasco. Perot's derision of GM didn't sit

Shutting down 21 plants will address the immediate problem facing all automakers: too much production capacity. The Big Three's North American plants can make about 11.5 million cars and trucks a year, but this year only about 65 percent of that capacity will be used. By cutting back, Stempel reckons GM will be running at full capacity by 1993. At that level, he said, the company could operate profitably with a market share in the low 30 percent range. The United Auto Workers union denounced the closings, even though its contract gives laid-off workers most of their pay until the end of 1993. GM, the UAW said, was reacting to "the insatiable demands of the Ebenezer Scrooge types who run Wall Street."

**White collars:** Can GM recover? Financial analysts generally applaud the cuts as a good first step but insist the company will need to do more just to stay in place. They say it should cut its white-collar work force, including some top executives, by far more than the 9,000 jobs scheduled to disappear next year. It should also modernize a sometimes archaic production system and reinvent the way it produces cars, as it is trying to do with its new Saturn plant in Tennessee. Says Eugene Jennings, a business professor at Michigan State University, "They're making the mistake of reducing head count, rather than instilling new thinking in their heads."

But even Perot concedes GM can't turn itself around with the economy in the dumps. "It's like the farmer hit by a drought," Perot says. "You can do everything right, but it had still better rain." Some argue that the government will have to help the Big Three by imposing a stiffer quota on Japanese sales. Stempel isn't asking for that yet, only promising that "GM will become a much different corporation." If it's still true that what's good for GM is good for the country, that's welcome news.

LARRY REIBSTEIN with FRANK WASHINGTON in Detroit, LOURDES ROSADO in New York and bureau reports

the U.S. auto market. Company officials worry the government will move to break it up.

Nader book



1965

The Corvair comes under attack from Nader. Undercover snooping by GM to dig up dirt on the consumer activist backfires.

1971

The notorious Chevy Vega is unveiled. The small car, GM's answer to its overseas ri-

vals, flops because it's too costly and has quality problems.

1983-84

GM and Toyota team up, the Saturn line is an-

nounced and the company buys EDS from Ross Perot. GM pays him to leave the board two years later.

1989

GM chairman Roger Smith is relentlessly pursued by Michael Moore in "Roger & Me," a biting documentary about the automaker's layoff policies.

1991

In the face of intense competition, a projected loss of \$7 billion for 1991 and pressure from Wall Street credit agencies, GM chairman Robert Stempel announces massive layoffs and plant closings.



'Roger & Me'



After the failed  
coup attempt:  
No more hammer  
and sickle

ROBERTO KOCH—CONTRASTO-SABA

# The Year of YELTSIN

**L**ike a conqueror galloping in from the steppes, Boris Yeltsin claimed the office that Mikhail Gorbachev had occupied when he was general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. Then Yeltsin mounted his assault on Gorbachev's last stronghold: the Kremlin, about half a mile away. He went to Gorbachev's third-floor presidential office in the old fortress on Red Square to accept what amounted to the surrender of his archrival. "It's over," Yeltsin told his staff when he returned two hours later. "Mikhail Sergeyeovich himself will make a statement in the near future."

Yeltsin then said to an associate: "This was the last time I will go to see him."

"You mean from now on, Gorbachev will have to come to you?" the other man asked.

"What for?" Yeltsin replied. "Maybe for his pension."

With a fine sense of history but little patience for the niceties, Yeltsin flattened the last, demoralized defenders of the dying Soviet Union last week. Two days after his meeting with Gorbachev, he took over the Kremlin itself, including Gorbachev's office and staff and even his hard currency. His Russian Federation asserted control over most Soviet ministries. Yeltsin nominated Russia for eventual membership in NATO. He made a quick trip to Italy, where he was honored as a head of state and received by the pope. Then, at a meeting in Alma-Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan, Yeltsin and the leaders of 10 other former Soviet republics formed a Commonwealth of Independent States. "The Soviet Union has ceased to exist,"

**Once  
laughed  
off, he is  
now a  
symbol of  
the people**

**On a quick trip to  
Italy, an audience  
with Pope John  
Paul II**

said a conference spokesman. Gorbachev's resignation was expected soon, but formalities aside, the Soviet president was already history.

The birth of the new commonwealth capped a year that turned Yeltsin from a discounted maverick into one of the great figures of modern history. In 1991, as democratic change swept whole quadrants of the globe, he completed a climb back from political oblivion, winning a stunning victory in Russia's presidential election. Then he scrambled atop the tanks of August to face down the makers of a military coup, rescuing Gorbachev and preserving the prospects for democratic change. Yeltsin used his newly acquired skills as a democratic politician to outmaneuver Gorbachev, and with the blessing of the people moved to dismantle the old empire. His courage and political daring also won admiration around the world, particularly in George Bush's White House, where he was originally dismissed as little more than a buffoon.

Yeltsin still has to demonstrate that he can run a democracy and make a free economy work. "I don't want to think about my destiny," he said in

LUCIANO MELLACE—REUTER



an exclusive interview with NEWSWEEK (page 21). "I want our people to live better. I want their lives to improve before my own eyes." He promised to maintain central control over Soviet nuclear weapons and to accelerate market-driven economic reforms. But would people's lives improve quickly enough to keep the commonwealth from dissolving into chaos? Secretary of State James Baker heard ominous warnings when he visited five republics last week. "Virtually everyone I met was concerned with the danger of a social explosion,

especially in Russia and especially in Moscow, St. Petersburg and the industrial cities of the Urals," he said afterward. Baker and his aides did not take for granted the long-term survival of any republican leader—even Yeltsin.

For the moment, however, his triumph was complete. The structure of the new commonwealth can only add to Yeltsin's power. "The commonwealth is not a state in its own right," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk pointed out. It has no budget and no central authority and exists simply to coordinate as much as possible the policies of member states, of which Russia is by far the largest and strongest. A bit reluctantly, the other leaders agreed Russia should inherit the Soviet Union's permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. Yeltsin boasted in Alma-Ata that "we are no longer forcibly bound by the chains of the center." No one was more liberated than Yeltsin himself.

Other countries were dealing cautiously with the commonwealth, sometimes in complete mystification. Not a single Chinese government official, for example, had ever met Yeltsin or any of his aides, and the new Chinese ambassador to Moscow didn't "know whom to present his credentials to," said a high-ranking source in Beijing. U.S. officials said Washington was likely to extend diplomatic recognition to several republics, including Russia, before the end of the year. At a meeting in Brussels, Baker told the NATO allies that Washington wanted assurances that each new nation "would truly be committed to democracy, free markets and nuclear safety." Eager for U.S. support, Yeltsin and the leaders of Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan had told Baker what he wanted to hear. But there were cracks in the façade of unity.

Before the meeting in Alma-Ata, Yeltsin argued that the commonwealth idea is "the optimal variant" for replacing the old union. "First of all, it makes it possible to preserve the existing borders [between republics], instead of recarving them," he said. "Second, a common economic and ruble zone remains. Third, there is a coordinated price policy and strategy for further reforms. And lastly, in this way we are able to prevent the disintegration of the armed forces into sovereign republican armies." The accord was woefully short of specifics, however, on how the commonwealth would deal with such key issues as creating a market economy and averting ethnic unrest.

The Alma-Ata meeting set up a unified military command, headed by Gen. Yevgeny Shaposhnikov, the last Soviet defense minister. But it still wasn't clear whose finger was on the nuclear button. "One question is, whom will Shaposhnikov obey?" asked Viktor Litovkin, a military-affairs writer for the daily newspaper *Izvestia*.

**Gorbachev holds one last official meeting with James Baker**



PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

**Yeltsin met Gorbachev at the Kremlin and accepted his surrender**

The 11 republican leaders said they would meet in Minsk on Dec. 30 to make a more permanent arrangement. But already Kazakhstan was disputing Yeltsin's assertion that Russia would become the only republic with nuclear weapons. And Ukraine and Azerbaijan had set up separate commands for conventional military forces.

Headstrong republics may put even more strain on a shattered economy. Without making much effort to consult the other republics, Yeltsin planned to push ahead with free-market prices for most goods on Jan. 2. Russian officials added another dose of shock therapy last week when they said their budget would be balanced. It wasn't clear where that left the other republics—which, among other things, may have to pay a lot more for Russian oil. Ukraine, meanwhile, dis-

puted Yeltsin's assurance to Baker that there would be a single currency. Aleksandr Savchenko, a vice president of the Ukrainian National Bank, said during a visit to Paris that his republic will soon issue its own "coupons"—in effect, a separate currency. "The word commonwealth is in small letters," Savchenko added. "In a month, no one will talk about it anymore."

If the economy doesn't get better fast, democratic government may come under pressure from the military. Already, Yeltsin has fallen out with his own vice president, Col. Aleksandr Rut-

skski, an Afghan war hero with a strong conservative following. Rutskoi supported Yeltsin during the abortive coup last August, but since then he has broken with him over economic reform. "There is no government or democracy in Russia," he complained recently.

Despite the commonwealth's problems, Yeltsin already has a remarkable string of firsts to his credit. He was the first Soviet politician to take advantage of Gorbachev's reforms and build a grass-roots organization. He was one of the first to challenge the Communist establishment and win a seat in Parliament, the first ever to be elected president of Russia and the first in Soviet history to turn back a coup. Now he is taking over Gorbachev's leadership of what used to be a multinational empire. And he is trying to take Gorbachev's place in the esteem of George Bush. Shrewdly adopting the president's style of personal diplomacy, Yeltsin plies Bush with letters, cables and phone calls. As the elected leader of a budding democracy, he is making some headway. "George Bush loves anybody who ever got elected to anything," a White House official says wryly. The relationship may never match Gorbachev's bonding with Bush and Ronald Reagan, but finally Boris Yeltsin is beginning to get respect.

RUSSELL WATSON with FRED COLEMAN and CARROLL BOGERT in Moscow, MARGARET GARRARD WARNER with BAKER and CLARA BINGHAM in Washington

# 'WE ARE TAKING OVER'

**A NEWSWEEK exclusive: Boris Yeltsin discusses Gorbachev, nuclear arms and his new nation**

It was only an hour before a crucial meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, and Boris Yeltsin was in a feisty, confident mood. He was virtually certain that the Soviet president's political surrender was imminent, he told NEWSWEEK in an exclusive interview in Moscow last week. In fact, Yeltsin made it abundantly clear that he was already in charge. At one point in the interview the Russian president even began playing commander in chief, sketching out on a piece of paper how the Soviet armed forces should be reorganized and controlled. Yeltsin's confidence was not misplaced. Immediately after the interview he called on Gorbachev, and they agreed on terms of succession: the Soviet government would cease to exist by the end of the year, its powers would be transferred to Russia and Gorbachev would resign. All that was left for Gorbachev to decide was the timing of his resignation statement. Excerpts from the conversation between Yeltsin and NEWSWEEK Editor Maynard Parker, Moscow bureau chief Fred Coleman and correspondent Carroll Bogert, and Warsaw bureau chief Andrew Nagorski:

**NEWSWEEK:** During your meeting with Secretary of State James Baker this week, did you ask for a summit with President Bush?

**YELTSIN:** No.

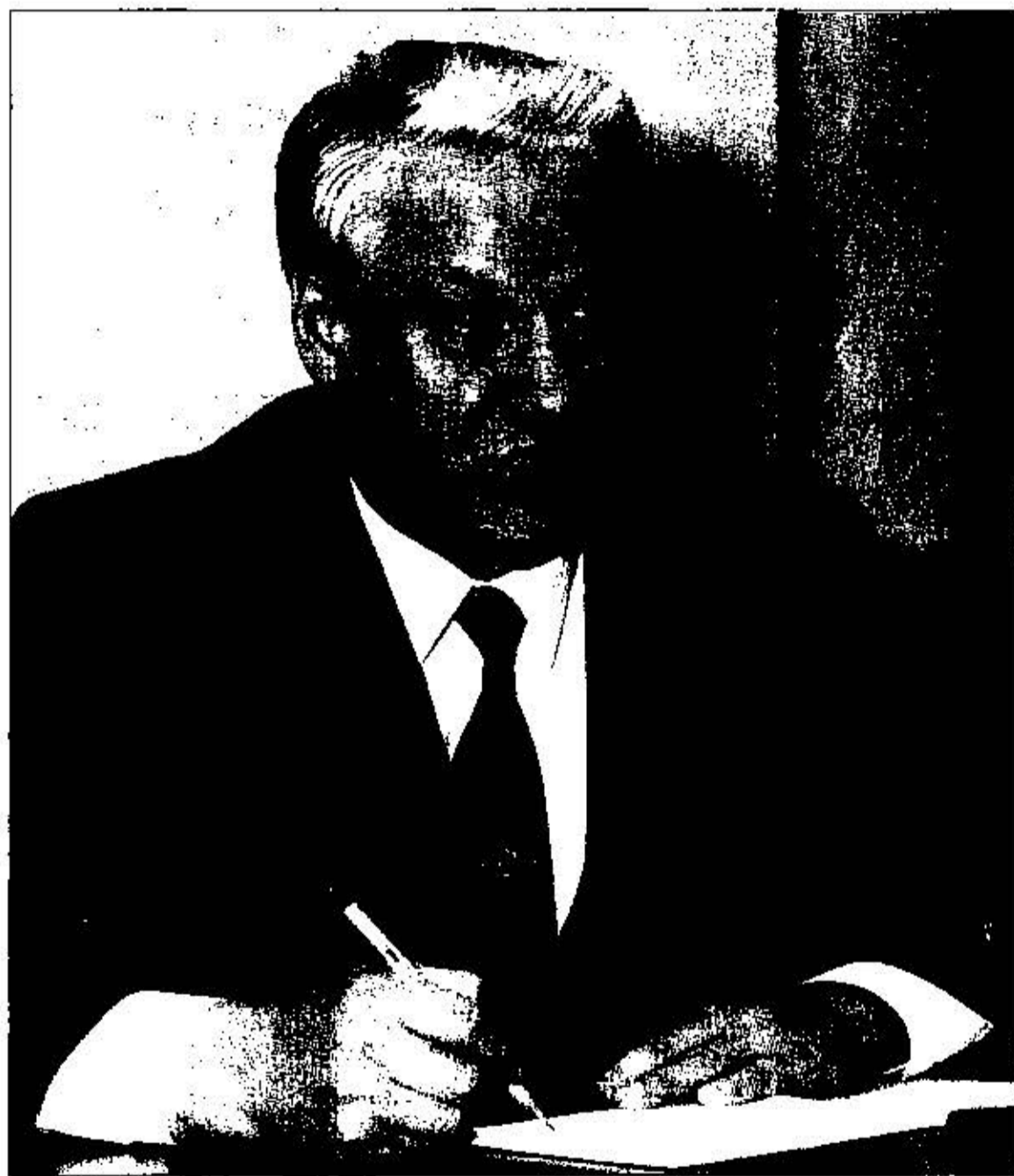
**Why not?**

When the Soviet Union's structures have fully disintegrated, when the matter of Gorbachev is resolved, then it will be necessary to meet with Mr. Bush. We respect Gorbachev, and we want him to shape his own destiny. We decided not to act too hastily. We want this to happen in the course of December, or by the middle of January.

**Do you see a future role for Gorbachev? Would you, for instance, make him an arms-control coordinator?**

No. He is a top-class politician. And for him that appointment would be, or so it seems to me, offensive. Still, I'd like to say again that he can state his preferences, and we can consider whatever preferences he expresses if he voices them. As for us, it would be tactless to make any suggestions to him, wouldn't it?

**If you look back over the past few months, where**



PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

**Sketching the military's future during the interview**

**do you think Mikhail Gorbachev went wrong?**

I think he began to go wrong in 1987. I said so at the time, and that is why he began driving me out. I told him that his *perestroika* tactic was a mistake. If we had followed the course that we are following today, we would have overcome the economic crisis—the catastrophic situation of our people—a long time ago. He wanted to combine things that cannot be combined—to marry a hedgehog and a grass snake—communism and a market economy, public-property ownership and private-property ownership, the multiparty system and the Communist Party with its monopoly on power. But these things are incompatible. He wanted to retain some of the old things while introducing new reforms. In his latest mis-

take he wanted our country to be a single state. That is impossible, that is unrealistic. But he decided to stick to his illusions and bide his time.

**If Gorbachev is going to be remembered as the person who took apart the old system, what do you want to be remembered for? What is your destiny?**

If anyone did that, it was the new democratic forces to which I belong. I don't want to think about my destiny; I want our people to live better. I want their lives to improve before my own eyes, that is the most important thing.

**So you decided instead to form a new Commonwealth of Independent States. But your critics say the Dec. 8 decision at Brest is unconstitutional and undemocratic.**

I disagree. All our jurists, not the ones who report directly to Gorbachev, have provided documentary proof that it was a constitutional step. Therefore the Soviet Union has ceased to exist.

**On your first visit to the United States, when you officially met national-security adviser Brent Scowcroft but not Bush, you were not treated very well. Do you nurse a grudge about that?**

They treated me in accordance with my status; I was part of the opposition. To someone [in] opposition they usually give no more than 25 minutes. So I don't have a grudge against Mr. Bush. As a smart politician, he acted correctly.

**Why do you think Bush and Scowcroft tried to reinforce Mr. Gorbachev's position, even after Brest?**

They aren't trying to reinforce Gorbachev's position. I talked with President Bush twice after Brest, and we discussed only one issue: everything must proceed here without any violence... I hope we'll succeed in this. If the people demand something, the president must go to the people, tell them that this predicament is temporary, that this is the last chance we are going to have [for reform] and we cannot afford to miss it. The people have to be told that in six or seven months, stabilization will occur, to be followed with improvements... The reforms have already started. I have already signed a decree that free-market prices will be introduced as of Jan. 2.

**If you should fail, isn't there a danger of food riots, ethnic strife, even civil war?**

If I didn't have faith, I would never have started this. I do not even want to consider a lethal outcome.

**Do you think the Russian people are counting too much on Western food aid this winter?**

Our people are proud. We must do the most important things ourselves, remedy the situation, make it healthier. That is what we are telling the people: we have given you freedom of enterprise. You can determine your own wages. We are setting prices free. We are forming a free market and liberalizing foreign trade. Now it is up to you to show us what you are worth. We have removed all the wage restrictions, so you can earn 10 times as much as you are earning today. Under the former system, no matter how much or how hard you worked, there was always a wage

**'Individual republics won't have control of nuclear weapons systems'**

ceiling. The people had no incentive to work.

**Will the Russian people really seize the initiative?**

The Communist command system has collapsed. The people's spirit of initiative has been unshackled. The people have sensed greater freedom, and that spirit is gradually taking shape. Add to this their contacts with Western businessmen, add to this the new schools of management in this country. We are gradually reviving the entrepreneurial spirit that was strangled in 1917. Don't forget that in the 19th century, Russian industrialists were famous for their products all over the world.

**The West wants to help you with food aid but hesitates because of fears that a corrupt, inefficient distribution system won't get it to the neediest. Is there a role for the U.S. military to fly in aid directly?**

Last year we had many such problems. In some instances, those responsible were corrupt Soviet trade organizations. We have disbanded them. The new Russian organizations replacing them have not yet had enough time to become corrupted. So this year deliveries should be better. We are also improving the distribution system. We want aid to bypass Moscow, where it has been going astray, and instead go directly to the area intended. As to the participation of the military, we have no problem. On my last visit to the United States I discussed this with U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney. Yesterday we had consultations with our Defense Minister Yevgeny Shaposhnikov, and he has no objections. "Go ahead," he said. His ministry has established a special transportation squadron for food deliveries. The United States, France, Germany should do the same. Incidentally, I visited Germany recently, and we agreed that the Wehrmacht would be delivering aid here.

**So we can expect to see a lot of U.S. Air Force planes flying aid directly to Russian cities this winter?**

Yes, we are talking about Russia.

**Are you satisfied that you have taken control of the military from Gorbachev?**

We have not yet taken over. We are taking over. By the Dec. 21 meeting in Alma-Ata, about 10 republics will have signed the commonwealth agreement. We will then sign a special treaty on a defense union and on the establishment of a unified command over the strategic [nuclear] armed forces. At that point we will have taken over control from Gorbachev.

**Will the head of that unified command report to you? Will your finger be on the nuclear trigger?**

He will report to the Commonwealth Council of Heads of State. As for the nuclear button, we'll talk about that next time.

**Will Russia replace the Soviet Union as the only nuclear power in the commonwealth?**

I evaded this issue intentionally, but the republics are not going to have control of nuclear weapons. Nuclear arms will be centrally controlled.



**So doesn't that mean the commander of the strategic forces will report to you?**

Next question.

**The Brest agreement says the commonwealth will have the unified command you've just described. But President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine says he is going to command the Ukrainian forces. Doesn't that cause a split in the Army?**

As I have said, there will be a unified command of the strategic forces. The strategic forces consist of units of the Air Force, the Navy, strategic nuclear missiles, tactical nuclear weapons, intelligence and air defense. They will be unified for all commonwealth members.

There are also ground forces, or the Army. Under the unified-command structure, states signing the commonwealth treaty are also to subordinate ground forces to the main command. However, Ukraine wants to have its own army . . . only ground forces. Ukraine will be giving the rest away, to report to the unified command.

[Here Yeltsin picks up a pencil and draws an elaborate diagram of boxes. The top box represents the unified command. Below is a row of boxes denoting nuclear and conventional forces from various republics under that command. Off to the side is a separate box for a Ukrainian force with conventional ground troops.]

**And you'll be in the top box?**

Next question.

**The other role for the military, of course, is in a coup. Do you think there is any chance at all of another coup happening now?**

After the Brest agreement, I had a meeting with all the generals here in Moscow. We have come to a mutual understanding. Russia has doubled the wages of the military, not only in Russia, but throughout the Army, and all of this will be financed out of Russia's budget. As a result of that, the mood in the Army is changing. At least among the generals one cannot see what I might describe as subversive activities. Also Shaposhnikov and the upper tiers of the Defense Ministry are reliable. At long last we have intellectuals, not military hawks, among the top military, and here we have no fear.

It really miffs me if the leadership of the former Soviet Union [i.e., Gorbachev] mentions such things as a military coup, civil war or hunger riots, thereby inciting the population and spreading fear. Today we must work calmly and confidently for guaranteed reforms, gradually dismantling the union structures and moving everything to the Russian government. There will be no coordinating organs. That's what makes the new commonwealth different. It won't have a center. If there is coordination, it will be between the heads of state of commonwealth members. They will have some kind of a working group to resolve certain questions, and that's it.



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

**An official meeting on his second visit**

**'They made a mistake by not shooting me in the morning'**

**If you wake up in the middle of the night, what do you worry about? Your biggest problem?**

I usually sleep no more than four or five hours a night, and wake up about five or six times. The first thing I think about is how do we make the transition from the old union to the new commonwealth of states. Also, who is thinking of doing something against that? Who can sabotage and how?

**Who do you think might sabotage the new commonwealth?**

The fragments of the old party structure, meaning the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are capable of that. Also, some of the former central authorities. Eighty union ministries were disbanded, leaving tens of thousands of people offended. But I think that Gorbachev wants this transition to proceed peacefully.

**But you seem to be confident?**

Yes. One cannot work otherwise, if one has no confidence.

**On Aug. 19, when you climbed on the tank, did you think your chances of stopping the coup were as good as they turned out to be?**

I have always believed that if you go somewhere, for example walking around a workshop at a factory, and you see a group of workers, men and women with a happy expression in their eyes, you just say hello and keep walking. But if you see angry eyes you should stop and come over to them. This would mean there is some kind of a problem there that perhaps I can resolve. The situation near the White House [the Russian Parliament building] on Aug. 19 was similar. We had to go to those tank commanders. They had been told to do one thing, and I had to convince them to change their minds. I had to ask them, "Are you going against democracy? Are you here to assassinate Yeltsin?" My order to the tank commanders was to get out of Moscow and return to base. And they started to pull out. Of course I did not have 100 percent confidence. They could have thrown me under the Caterpillar tracks.

**What was your worst moment during the coup?**

At 6 p.m. on Aug. 19, an assault on the White House by the special Alpha force of the KGB was scheduled to start. Those 257 men are better trained than the American Green Berets. That group would have put everything under their control. It would have killed us all. But they refused to attack. That was my worst moment.

There was also an earlier time when the standing orders were to have me killed. But the situation kept changing. I made unexpected movements and left places where I was staying at unscheduled times. The putschists were not prepared for that. They made a big mistake when they didn't shoot me in the morning.



**Newsweek**

# LET FREEDOM

In a year that capped a historic decade, symbols of tyranny fell from Central Europe to Kuwait, and the hammer of liberty shattered the Soviet Union.



# OVERRING

REGIS BOSSI SYGMA



The U.S. triumph ended with a total rout of Iraq's Army in Kuwait,

## THE WAR IN THE GULF

and Washington dreamed of a new world order and a remade Mideast



PATRICK DURAND—SYGMA

For all his losses, the Iraqi despot remained standing and

# SADDAM'S LONG SHADOW

turned his rage on Iraq's own Kurdish and Shiite peoples



PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK



JASON ESKENAZI—IMPACT VISUALS

The old guard  
rolled out the tanks  
in Moscow, but  
after three days the

## THE COUP THAT COULDN'T

putsch crumbled  
and even the Army  
hailed the victory  
of the people



BRIAN SMITH—MIAMI HERALD

As islanders fled  
after their leader  
was toppled, the  
U.S. offered

## EXODUS FROM HAITI

haven for targets  
of repression, but  
not victims  
of poverty



RON HAVIV—SABA

Old hatreds  
boiled up as  
central rule  
collapsed, and

## THE YUGOSLAV AGONY

funerals became  
a leitmotif  
of Croats'  
daily life



SERGE CARRERAS—SIPA

The end of the  
cold war brought a  
peace deal, but  
old memories died

## STARTING OVER IN CAMBODIA

hard as a Khmer  
Rouge leader re-  
turned to meet a  
vengeful mob



**THERE'S ONE PERSON  
WHO'LL APPRECIATE TAURUS'  
NEW SAFETY FEATURE  
AS MUCH AS YOU DO.**

**Ford Taurus now offers dual  
air bags: a Ford Motor Company  
exclusive in this class.**

Of all the things you'll notice about the new 1992 Ford Taurus—its sophisticated exterior, its sleek instrument panel and more convenient controls—the one that you may value the most is one you can't see. The reassurance of its new safety features. With a standard driver's air bag, available right front passenger's air bag and anti-lock brakes, Ford Taurus offers security few other cars can match.

Taurus' air bags work in conjunction with

your safety belts to give additional protection in the event of a moderate to severe frontal collision. The anti-lock brakes available on Taurus provide better control on wet surfaces and in hard braking situations by electronically preventing the brakes from locking. The anti-lock brakes are designed to shorten stopping distances on most surfaces as well, which may help you avoid accidents altogether.

These major safety features are enhanced by other touches. The new Taurus has illuminated switches that are easier to see at night. The rearview mirrors are tinted to reduce glare. And larger backlights improve visibility when

**Buckle up — together we can save lives.**





**YOUR PASSENGER.**

you're in reverse. By concentrating on all aspects of the car, Ford has helped to assure that Taurus—always a design leader—is a leader in safety as well.

**Ford Motor Company has sold more cars and trucks equipped with air bags than anyone else.<sup>1</sup>**

And if you're looking for other vehicles that take safety as seriously as you do, consider the wide array of Ford products. Both Taurus and Crown Victoria offer dual air bags.<sup>2</sup> A driver's air bag is standard on Mustang and available on Tempo. And only Ford has a driver's air bag to

supplement your safety belt in both its mini and full-size vans.<sup>3</sup> Plus all Ford light trucks and vans come with standard rear anti-lock brakes. At Ford, we are always looking for improved ways to take you and your passengers from point A to point B. Safely.

<sup>1</sup>Based on available cumulative sales and production data for air bag equipped vehicles, as of 10/31/91.

<sup>2</sup>Standard driver's and optional right front passenger's air bag Supplemental Restraint System.

<sup>3</sup>See your dealer for availability by model.

**HAVE YOU  
DRIVEN  
A FORD  
LATELY?**



# DECADE *of* DEMOCRACY

BY TOM MATHEWS

**D**emocracy is in the details. A printer's ink improvised from a household detergent. An essay on the power of the powerless. An electrician out of nowhere who says, follow me. The big things come later: the constitutions and free elections; the parliaments and presidents. Sometimes they work, sometimes despots return. Out of the crooked timber of humanity, Immanuel Kant once observed, no straight thing was ever made. But over the past 10 years, democracy has surged from the turmoil of the 20th century like a bird on the wing. To follow its course is to see once more that the best proof against totalitarianism is the human urge to be free.

Not just Marxists but despots of all kinds have fallen with the plop of rotten fruit. As the vanguard of the proletariat collapsed on the ash heap of history, individual faces, fresh, intense, unforgettable, lifted out of the crowds: Poland's Lech Walesa with his droopy mustache leading the insurgent workers at the Lenin Shipyard, Argentina's Raúl Alfonsín waving to the throngs in the Plaza de Mayo, Cory Aquino of the Philippines dumping the cronies of Ferdinand Marcos and the shoes of Imelda. An improvised Statue of Liberty rose in Tiananmen Square. Nelson Mandela, lean, graying, dignified, walked out of a South African prison. And the burly Boris Yeltsin scrambled atop a tank outside the Russian White House to save Mikhail Gorbachev from the death rattle of the Evil Empire.

The cast presented a morality play with an economics subtext. Who really had the ideas and resources to provide for the people: communism and fascism, with their straitjacket ideologies, or liberal democracy with its free spirits and free elections? The new imperatives of an unforgiving global economy made it impossible for despots to deliver the goods. Their subjects became fed up with self-appointed elites who gobbled up the most of what there was to have.

**It has  
seen the  
greatest  
expansion  
of freedom  
in human  
history**

**PHOTOGRAPHS  
BY  
PETER  
TURNLEY**

The information revolution broke the grip of censors, conveying images of a richer life to the impoverished and opening new modes of revolution: subversion by PC and fax. Gorbachev tried renovations, only to reform his side into oblivion. With the collapse of the Soviet system—and freelance despotism sinking in so many other countries—democracy towered above the ruins of the competition.

The decade did not, however, come to a simple, placid, happy ending. After bowling along on eight years of increasing euphoria, it overheated. The collapse of Marxism-Leninism threatened to release the poisons of tribal nationalism. In a dark foreshadowing of what could happen in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia tore itself apart in civil war. Greedy post-communist entrepreneurs often practiced the spirit of the Mafia, not Monticello. New heroes sometimes looked bad. Walesa began talking up the virtues of a leader willing to "swing an ax," and it wasn't clear whether Yeltsin's love for democracy was more than skin deep. Building sound democratic institutions to replace discredited authoritarian ones could not be done overnight, and unrelenting economic problems offered no country any breathing room. The worst pressures, as usual, fell on the poor, creating temptations for them to follow new demagogues.

If the great expectations that marked the Decade of Democracy were a bit naive, they were not unsound. As the 21st century approached, the prospects were encouraging. Freedom House, the American human-rights group, released its annual survey of the world's political systems last week. For the first time, democracies represented an absolute majority of the 171 countries included. The map showed encouraging progress in Eastern Europe, the breakaway republics of the Soviet Union, Latin America, Asia and Africa. In the last year, there was little backsliding—in Yugoslavia, for example. But over the past three years, roughly one third of the countries on the planet have decided to transform their politi-



**CHINA**

**June 1989**

Mourning the death of a Beijing student after the crackdown in Tiananmen Square: freedom sometimes starts with one step forward, two steps back.

cal systems, and not because war or famine forced them to change. Studying the numbers, R. Bruce McCollm, executive director of Freedom House, said, "It's probably the greatest expansion of freedom in the history of mankind."

## THE LAST BREATH OF COMMUNISM

**N**ow that Karl Marx's laws of historical inevitability have dissolved into toxic puddles, it can be seen that individuals, not inexorable forces, shaped the Decade of Democracy. It began with a midnight knock on the door in Poland. Late on Dec. 12, 1981, Zbigniew Bujak, a worker from the Ursus tractor factory outside Warsaw, left a Solidarity trade-union meeting in Gdansk with his old friend Zbigniew Janas. Their wives were also close. Bujak wanted to stay overnight, Janas wanted to catch the Warsaw train. "Listen," said Bujak, "if my Wacia finds out you've gone home and I stayed, there will be the most almighty row."

Janas won and they headed for the depot. When they got there, it was swarming with police. Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski had clamped Poland under martial law. The two men split up to improve their chances of getting away. Bujak hid for two days in a monastery. Disguised as a conductor, he made his way to Warsaw, rejoined Janas and organized the Polish underground. "There was no rational reason to hope," he recalls. "But there was no room for doubt." Free spirits could fight back—or be crushed.

What happened in Poland offered the rest of the world a new model in politics and moral witness. Workers, intellectuals, professionals and young people coalesced in small groups, modules of a democracy that would grow to confront the institutions of totalitarianism: the party, Army and secret police. The abortive Hungarian revolt in 1956 had shown the futility of violent resistance, and the Prague Spring of 1968 had demonstrated the hopelessness of reform within the system. Something new and with greater staying power was needed.

With significant help from Czechoslovak dissidents, the Poles created a new set of ideas to bury the corpse of Marxism-Leninism. The strategy was to undermine totalitarianism "from below," carving out a new space for free thinking and action. The tactics called for inventing a parallel society free of censorship, ideological dictates and lies. To bring down the party and rebuild the state might take a lot of time, argued Vaclav Havel, the Czech playwright, but people could start by expelling totalitarianism from their souls. "To live in truth," he said, would be the real power of the powerless. "Freedom is self-creation," Adam Michnik, a dissident Polish historian, wrote in his letters from prison. He quoted Czeslaw Milosz, the émigré poet, who said: "The course of the avalanche depends on the stones over which it rolls." And Michnik told his compatriots, "You want to be the

## EASTERN EUROPE

April 1987

A crowd greeting Gorbachev in Prague: Abroad he was a hero, but at home critics complained about the slow pace of reform

The gulag prisoner heard the Gorbachev speech and took heart





## GERMANY November 1989

Leading cheers from atop the Berlin wall: Its fall marked the end of the cold war—and the birth of German reunification

stone that reverses the course of events.”

If the theory seemed a bit abstract, the practice was shrewd and effective. To outflank the official system of propaganda and indoctrination, Poles organized a “flying university.” Dissident teachers held seminars in their apartments. An underground *samizdat* culture flourished. To get words into print, Witold Luczywo, a young engineer, made ink out of detergent. He used the elastic from men’s underwear in creating a compact, silk-screen method of printing that replaced antique—and easily confiscated—mimeograph machines. Poles became so adept at printing books and broadsheets that they even made profits. Grzegorz Boguta devised an insurance system to offset losses due to police raids. “If someone was caught, his insurance premium went up,” he says. “It was Western style. We were learning about the market.”

The vibrations spread throughout the Soviet bloc. In Moscow, Lev Timofeyev, a dissident writer with lively gray eyes and a beard worthy of Tolstoy, tracked Solidarity over Radio Liberty. “Poland is a little subsystem of the real communist system, which is the Soviet Union,” he thought. Then he had an even more incendiary epiphany: “Totalitarianism is doomed.” That possibility also struck Leonid Brezhnev, who considered invading

Poland, but the KGB and the Army reported that the Poles might fight back. Given Western sensibilities and the growing need of the Soviet Union for Western technology, to maul Poland after invading Afghanistan was risky. Brezhnev elected instead to use and hide behind Jaruzelski. Mikhail Gorbachev was also tracking the Poles. At the time, he was running a Central Committee program to improve food supplies for Soviet citizens. Ambitious and unorthodox, he concluded it would be wiser for the Soviet party to reform itself before it had to face a Solidarity of its own.

In the very center of Solidarity was a one-man generator named Lech Walesa. Walesa had a brilliant common touch and political instincts that allowed him to think several steps ahead of everyone else. Driving from Warsaw to Gdansk not long before Jaruzelski imposed martial law, he turned to Andrzej Celinski, a sociologist who served as one of his closest advisers, and said jokingly, "I'll make you foreign minister." When Celinski wondered how, Walesa replied without hesitation, "I'll be the leader."

**'Cold calculation':** Walesa didn't say "president" or "prime minister." His style of leadership was personal, charismatic. The authorities respected him. During martial law they jailed him for 11 months in a government villa rather than in the internment camps reserved for lesser figures. (He ate well enough to put on jowls.) When he got out, he saw Bujak as a possible rival. Often, after Bujak called for strikes, Walesa canceled them, recognizing that ordinary Poles were wary of high-risk protests. He won the gratitude of workers looking for an excuse to stay on the job even as he built his reputation as a man the government could talk to. "He exploited his position with a cold calculation," says Celinski. "He was pushing Bujak into the position of a crazy, underground activist, an extremist who was ineffective at the same time." This suited the authorities. They believed they could divide and rule.

The apparatus of totalitarianism supporting Jaruzelski was omnipresent. Boguta sometimes felt he and his writers and printers were "trapped in a black box" of their own frustrations, writing, publishing and reading only for themselves. Zbigniew Lewicki, who taught American literature at Warsaw University by day and by night served as a conduit to the underground, now admits that there were times when his sense of duty was a good deal stronger than his conviction that Solidarity would overcome. "It was a time when, honestly, a lot of people had enough," he remembers. "Only Bujak was still saying we were going to win."

Support, particularly from Czechoslovakia, helped steady the Polish underground. Petr Pospichal, an organizer for Charter 77, the Czechoslovak dissident group, managed to get word to Janas offering cooperation. Soon activists, including Havel and Michnik, were meeting in the mountains on the Czech-Polish border. The Poles used their sophisticated printing network to publish books and articles for the Czechoslovaks. Two groups of "hikers," one Czechoslovak, one Polish, both carrying identical knapsacks, would meet on mountain paths and sit near each other



**An African  
says his  
people  
must  
learn to  
walk by  
falling**

without talking. When they got up and left for home, each would be toting the other's bags. Such operations bolstered morale all around. The intellectual Czechoslovaks relished support from working-class Poles. The Poles saw they were no longer isolated. "This gave us a feeling we were needed," Janas recalls. "It recharged our batteries."

The voltage was still very low, but then a more powerful surge came from the Soviet Union when Mikhail Gorbachev rose to power. Timofeyev remembers that moment in 1985, because eight days later he was thrown into jail. For two years he stoked a furnace in a labor camp. As Gorbachev began to experiment with reforms, Timofeyev and the other prisoners considered the future. Some believed real change was afoot, others saw only idiotic communist games. Then one day Gorbachev's reform speech to the 1986 Party Congress came over the camp's public-address system. "We were all rapt," Timofeyev remembers. Suddenly Gorbachev was adopting terms like "period of stagnation" to describe the Brezhnev era. After using the identical phrase, Timofeyev had wound up in the gulag. Timofeyev says, "I felt like someone in the KGB had taken parts of my book and stuck them into the speech."



From the beginning, Gorbachev's course was erratic. "He was searching, searching," recalls Roy Medvedev, the revisionist Marxist historian. For all the effusiveness that the West showered on Gorbachev's policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, most of his programs didn't work. By January 1988, he had started to pepper his speeches with the word democracy. When the Central Committee voted to approve a plan bringing greater democracy to the Soviet Union, it didn't know what it was getting into. The idea was to supply fresh air, new blood, but not to kick over Marxism-Leninism. Gorbachev wanted to build "regulated democracy" or "democracy within the socialist choice." He could feel the society under him stirring. He wanted elections to protect him, not to abet a subterranean opposition.

In the end, his reforms undid the system. When Timofeyev got out of jail in 1987, he could sense that Soviet society was no longer the same. Only two years earlier it had been futile to reason with or criticize the party and government. Now he and his friends walked around Moscow searching for the most effective ways to act. They talked about a club of political prisoners. They formed Press Club Glasnost. After Gorbachev ended the internal exile of Andrei Sakharov, the physicist

## ETHIOPIA August 1988

Eritrean refugees from a pro-Soviet regime wasting away at a camp in Sudan: Despite the superpower thaw, some civil conflicts wouldn't die

and human-rights activist, Sakharov called the meetings "dangerous," saying, "Young people are going to be attracted to your sessions, and they'll be cracked down upon."

Even as Sakharov worried, the landscape was shifting throughout the Soviet bloc. "It was obvious that our plane had lost its undercarriage," says Stanislaw Ciosek, a Polish communist who urged the government to hold talks with Solidarity. "The engines were not working, but you had to make some sort of landing." The wan hope was that communists might cling to power by giving some of it away. But from Gorbachev down, Soviet leaders misunderstood their own system. Reform doesn't mix with totalitarianism. It is impossible to have a *little less* totalitarianism, or a *new improved* totalitarianism. When the people take to the streets—and it is no longer possible to con enough of them or shoot enough of them—the system collapses.

In the summer of 1989, Solidarity rolled through partially free elections and was on its way to taking over the country. Wiktor Kulerski, a veteran activist, won a seat in Parliament. One day Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, who had hunted him in the underground, rushed up to shake his hand. "Ah, Wiktor," the old communist said. "How we searched for you. Our best people. Five years!" "Ah, General," Kulerski replied, "if I'd only known—I really didn't want to cause you so much trouble." Janas paid a visit to Havel at his country house in Czechoslovakia. Everyone drank a lot of beer, and afterward Havel led his guests out to urinate in the general direction of the surveillance cameras aimed at the house. To the east, Lev Timofeyev was pressed to his radio. "That's it," he yelled to his wife as Solidarity came to power. "That's the end of communism." Timofeyev says the whole neighborhood heard the shout. So did the world. By the end of the year, Hungary, East Germany and Czechoslovakia were free. In Budapest, a slick entrepreneur was selling empty cans labeled THE LAST BREATH OF COMMUNISM.

## DICTATORS ON THE SKIDS

**T**o a dictator from the left or right who is losing his grip, democracy is quite fatal. When the decade started, the men in polished leather boots ran 12 of 18 countries in Latin America. Then the ebbing of the cold war deprived them of their self-justification: to suppress communism at any cost. Lt. Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri of Argentina found himself a two-time loser for the military's misconceived war in the Malvinas and its desecration of human rights. Chile's Gen. Augusto Pinochet was pelted with tomatoes. Haiti's "Baby Doc" Duvalier had to slink away to France. Gen. Manuel Noriega, the pineapple-faced narco-dictator of Panama, was busted and jailed in the United States. They learned it was far easier to disappear political opponents than to make hyperinflation and astronomical debts vanish. When the decade

ended, only Fidel Castro was still on his feet, muttering that Western democracy was "completely garbage." And the *comandante's* own people were beginning to wonder about him.

Argentina did for Latin America what Poland did for the Soviet bloc. When Galtieri invaded the Malvinas—the Falkland Islands, to their British claimants—Margaret Thatcher unmanned him. Reformers demanding free elections filled the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires. In 1983 they elected as president Raúl Alfonsín, a human-rights activist with nerve enough to oppose the war. His Inauguration transfixed Latin America. "The cold war had transformed our territory into a kind of battlefield for the propaganda of both superpowers," he recalls. From the 1950s, right-wing military rulers intent on throttling Cuban-style revolution—and backed by the United States—had set all the rules. Now there was Alfonsín, putting the leaders of three earlier juntas on trial for spreading "terror, pain and death throughout Argentine society."

The generals had concentrated on wiping out leftist ideas and guerrillas. It turned out that debt and inflation were far more dangerous enemies. Alfonsín took office facing an annual inflation rate of 434 percent and \$45 billion in debt. Brazil's President José Sarney confronted a \$100 billion debt. Eventually regional debt rose from \$330 billion to \$430 billion. Gloomily, Latin Americans talked about "the lost decade"—lost time, lost shirts, lost hope. "People thought recovering freedom meant that all problems were solved, but the crisis did not allow that," Alfonsín recalls. After suffering a terminal burn from inflation, he had to leave office five months early. "A president in a transition crisis makes, say, 10 bets a day," he says. "Maybe I made the wrong choice three times a day."

**Pots and pans:** The problem was to find a way of changing brutal, corrupt and ineffective regimes without bringing the military hurtling back from the barracks. Alfonsín had to choose between "blood and time." Retribution or stability was a hard choice, but forbearance did offer something to both sides. A pattern was set. Soon afterward Uruguayans, banging pots and pans, called for elections; the country's generals remained strong enough to negotiate a retreat that protected them while steadying the transition to democracy. In Brazil, Gen. João Figueiredo, who once said he preferred the smell of horses to the stench of the people, agreed to spur the policy of *abertura* toward an open society. The shift allowed Tancredo Neves, a Brazilian reformer, to subvert military rule from within. Gen. Andrés Rodríguez, who toppled his old boss Alfredo Stroessner in Paraguay, began to treat human rights more tenderly. Eventually he submitted to an election—and won.

General Pinochet of Chile made the right's last stand. In 1973, he had snuffed out the country's 150-year-old democracy by overthrowing Salvador Allende, a Marxist who was Chile's elected president. Pinochet was shrewd. Unlike Galtieri, he didn't putter in military adventures. Unlike the narco-dictators of Bolivia and Panama, he kept his Army clean. Disconcerting conservative



## JERUSALEM March 1988

**An Arab youth  
wielding a sling-  
shot above  
the Holy City: An  
uprising against  
the Israeli  
occupation  
showed it was  
time to talk peace**

economic theorists who believe that free societies are the sine qua non of free markets, he used his muscle to impose a free-market economy that made Chile the envy of Latin America. Still, his most reliable tool was fear.

Then, as in Poland, Chileans outfoxed the regime. Around the universities, intellectuals formed small insurgencies. Labor unions, peasant co-ops and white-collar groups preserved the elements of civil society. Human-rights groups fought on, supported, as in Poland, by the Roman Catholic Church. Pinochet tried to establish his legitimacy with a plebiscite granting him eight years more of rule. When Chileans voted no, the dictator had to negotiate a new future for himself and the country. Pinochet got to keep his job as military commander; no small concession, but Chile got democracy.

As the cold war wound down, the U.S. role in Latin America evolved considerably. For a time Washington put far more pressure on the left than on the right. After the breakdown of Maurice Bishop's tin-pot revolution in Grenada, Ronald Reagan invaded the island to protect Ameri-



cans and dispel the "Vietnam syndrome" that shunned the use of force overseas. Revulsion over death squads in El Salvador finally prompted the United States to drop its old see-no-evil approach to the right. Since 1989 several prominent Salvadoran leftists have returned home to participate in elections. But democracy means more than not killing voters on Election Day, warned Rubén Zamora, a victor in the elections last March. There was still a long way to go. The most forceful crackdown came in Panama. When Manuel Noriega stole the 1989 election, George Bush sent in troops. But something more than principle was at stake. "The fear of communism began to be superseded by a fear of drugs," explains Ricardo Arias Calderón, a Panamanian reformer. And that shift meant curtains for Noriega.

Elsewhere in Central America, the Decade of Democracy meant constant fighting and bloodshed. By the end of it, Nicaraguans were fed up with despots from the schools of Hitler and Lenin. As Catholic Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravoputs it, "When you have a people who have suffered under a brutal government like Somoza's, then suffered under a Marxist government like the Sandinistas, you have a people who know there is no other way but to go to the polls." In 1990, they voted to throw out Daniel Ortega. Like the Communists, the Sandinistas posed as a revolutionary vanguard only to degenerate into an oppressive elite, botching the economy and winding up in civil war with the American-backed contras. Tired of lies, sick of the draft, Nicaraguans elected Violeta Chamorro president. "They chose me because they wanted democracy, liberty and economic development," she says. "But my primary concern was to end the war."

If the election was a surprise, even more surprising was Ortega's decision to accept the results and go into opposition. Fidel Castro was not interested in such democratic niceties. Asked why communism had failed in the Soviet bloc, he snapped, "Why don't you ask why it hasn't failed in Cuba?" His line didn't impress Jesús Yáñez Pelletier, a Cuban dissident. Yáñez had seen it all. During the 1950s he lost his job as a warden for Fulgencio Batista because he refused to kill Castro during a hitch in Boniato prison. After the revolution, Yáñez became head of Castro's personal guard. When Castro went communist, Yáñez disagreed, and Castro jailed him for 11 years. Now he has been listening to the way Cubans openly joke about the miseries Castro's economic ideas have inflicted upon them. "There is a change taking place between the citizens and their comandante, even if the comandante can't sense it," he says. "They've stopped listening to his rhetoric." First, the people stop listening. The rest is only a matter of time.

**A**fricans pressed to their radios for news from Eastern Europe in 1989 began to look on Benin as their own Poland. Socialism is now as dead as the broken spotlights that no longer illuminate the statue of Lenin in downtown Cotonou, the country's largest city. All that is left of the statue is the black granite base. Goats graze nearby.

## Democracy means more than not killing voters on Election Day

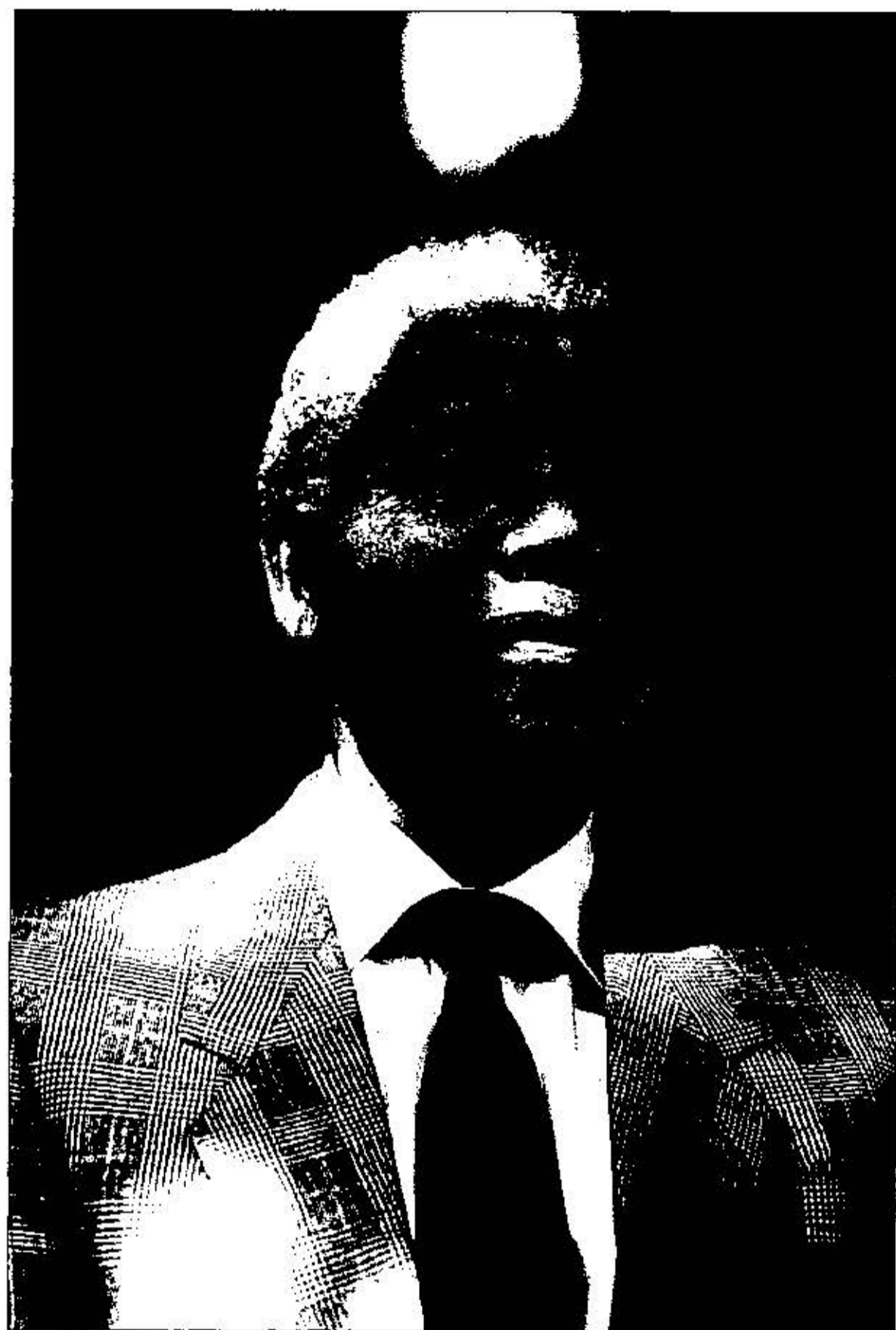
Two years ago, Mathieu Kerekou, the dictator, found he could no longer pay government salaries. Workers and teachers were on strike. The schools were closed. All three national banks had collapsed, and he owed foreign bankers \$1 billion. He summoned lawyers, clergy and professionals to ask for advice. They stripped him of most of his powers and made Nicéphore Soglo, who had worked for the World Bank, prime minister. Thirteen months later Soglo drubbed Kerekou in a free election.

Over the past year alone, according to Freedom House, 22 African countries improved their democratic standing, the largest political shift since independence. Colonialism and the cold war left the continent with peculiar borders and regimes ranging from Julius Nyerere's African socialism in Tanzania to Mobutu Sese Seko's kleptocracy in Zaire. Paternalism once offered stability in Kenya, Zambia and a few other redoubts. No more. Despots can no longer play the Soviet Union and the West against each other for table scraps and guns. Zambia has retired Kenneth Kaunda, its patriarch. Nigeria is rekindling its interest in a multiparty system.

**'Nothing left to steal':** Benin's progress has been modest, but instructive. Government revenues are up by 60 percent. People have gone back to work. Western advisers are improving the roads, hospitals and the telephone system. Four foreign banks have set up shop. "We've managed to encourage traders to take their money from the cupboard, mattresses and from under the floorboards," says Peter Graham Bates, director general of Ecobank-Benin. The National Assembly now has 64 seats and 22 parties. "Liberty is something everyone should drink everywhere," says Soglo. "People are fed up with the military," says Karim Okanla, a journalist. "And anyway, there's nothing left to steal."

Democracy in Africa may also make progress because Western donors now want to secure more than cold-war loyalty with their loans. A consortium of lenders has given Kenya's autocratic President Daniel arap Moi six months to open the political system. Moi once said he would crush his opponents "like rats." Now, after renewed anti-government protests, he has agreed to let them serve in a new, multiparty democracy, with elections expected next year. "Kenya should be the pacemaker," says U.S. Ambassador Smith Hempstone, who has mobilized pressure on Moi. Cornered, Moi may still try to rig the elections. Tribal frictions could also upset them. But the risk is unavoidable. "Let tribal parties form and let them die a natural death," says Paul Muite, an opposition lawyer. "Let African countries learn to walk by falling down—I believe democracy has inherent powers of regenerating itself and cleansing its systems."

Nowhere was there more cleansing to be done than in South Africa, where the politics of race had always made democracy impossible. When blacks rose up in the mid-1980s, President P. W. Botha imposed a ruthless military crackdown. But Botha's successor, F. W. de Klerk, saw things differently. He once told Sir Robin Renwick, then the British ambassador, that white Rhodesians



had made the mistake of "leaving it far too late to negotiate with the real black leaders." The Broderbond, inner sanctum of South Africa's Afrikaner power elite, had concluded in a report that a black majority in Parliament was inevitable; "the greatest risk was to take no risks," said the report. The waning of Soviet power led to the withdrawal of Cubans from Angola and South Africa from Namibia. De Klerk startled the world with his legalization of the African National Congress and his release of Mandela. "It was as if God had taken a hand in history," de Klerk told his brother Willem. "We had to seize the opportunity."

No one followed de Klerk's political evolution more closely than Mandela, the world's most famous political prisoner. In late 1989, Moses Mayekiso, a pro-communist union leader, came to Mandela's cell on the Victor Verster prison farm to argue that the new president would be just as stubborn as Botha. "De Klerk will catch you with your pants down if you keep to that rhetoric," Mandela replied. A few months later Zach de Beer, a white liberal, was sitting in Par-

## **SOUTH AFRICA** March 1990

**Nelson Mandela at his Soweto homecoming: His dramatic release from prison set off a chain reaction in the land of apartheid**

liament as de Klerk put the ANC back into legal politics. Turning to a colleague, de Beer said, "I can feel my body relax. All the things we've been fighting for are going to happen." After half a lifetime in jail, Mandela left prison. With 31 million blacks and 5 million whites in South Africa, "there has to be a compromise between black nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism," says Renwick. "You can't wish away 5 million people who are a key element in sustaining the framework of a modern state." But nowhere will democracy face a tougher test.

**G**unfire crackled over Tiananmen Square. First the soldiers shot out the loudspeakers of the demonstrators. Then tanks rolled in from the south, flattening makeshift tents. One tank lurched onto a sidewalk outside the square, crushing four young people like matchsticks. A horror on live TV. At 6 a.m. the phone rang in the apartment of Liang Congjie, a writer. It was a friend from New York, saying, "They're shooting. I can't believe it. Our Army is shooting its own people." Then another friend called, begging him to organize a protest. Choking with anger and grief, Liang replied: "No. Democracy is over."

After 10 years of economic reform, China seemed to be waking up. Factory managers restlessly pushed for more room to operate. Intellectuals challenged censorship. Students logged onto their computers and ignored the sayings of Chairman Mao. The Ford Foundation and National Science Foundation funded a survey that discovered that seven out of 10 Chinese thought democracy was "the best form of government." In the capital, the "democracy salons" of a bespectacled student named Wang Dan drew important guests like Fang Lizhi, a myopic astrophysicist who was known as China's Sakharov. As students filled Tiananmen to protest inefficiency and corruption, Gorbachev flew in. "How big is this square?" he asked as his plane descended into Beijing. Not big enough. After the Soviet reformer left, Deng decided not to adopt his lead. Instead of listening to the demonstrators, he rolled over them.

Dutiful Chinese used to sing a little song. "Without socialism," it went, "there would be no New China." Now the gallows-humor joke in Beijing is, "Without China, there would be no socialism." With Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea, China is the last bastion of Marx-Lenin-Mao-think. "My friends who are still in China can't do anything," says Fang, who lives in Princeton, N.J. Switching from communism to democracy will not be "like flipping a pancake," he warns. Nothing is likely to happen until Deng dies. "After that," he adds, "I am optimistic."

The Tiananmen massacre stalled a decade that started with great promise in Asia. Autocratic rulers in Pakistan, South Korea and Taiwan eventually fell from power or eased their grip on it. In the Philippines, Cory Aquino brandished the People Power that became a catch phrase around the world. But Aquino did not live up to expectations. Her promises of land reform

led nowhere. The economy stalled. Her own family replaced Marcos's as a dominant political power. Now that she says she will not stand for reelection, Filipinos are looking for a stronger leader—an unsettling prospect.

While the uprisings in the West were nonviolent—the exception was Romania, where insurgents executed President Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife—Asia was closer to the boil. After Burma's strongmen shot down 1,000 demonstrators in Rangoon to secure their rule, Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the opposition, sat unhappily in her dilapidated bungalow. "You can't solve political problems by massacring people," she said. "It's impossible to run a government in which the people have no trust." She was right, of course, and she won the Nobel Peace Prize. But she couldn't go to Oslo to accept it. She was under house arrest.

## DEMOCRACY AND ITS DISCONTENTS

**T**earing down a dictator's statue is easier than cleaning up after him. Fragile new democracies now confront the resentment of millions who owed their livelihoods to fallen regimes. Privatizing inefficient, polluting command economies has been more difficult than anyone imagined. New leaders face inhuman pressure to produce instant results. Old friends clash, grow overheated, fall back on authoritarian solutions. It has often been said that before the people can do anything they have to decide who the people are. Some are turning to authoritarian populists who stir up ancient religious and ethnic hatreds. "Two years ago the world was our oyster," says Robert Heilbroner, the economist. "Two years ago democracy was taking over. Now we're back to skinheads in Berlin."

Poland offers a case study in what the political philosopher Leszek Kolakowski calls "the post-revolutionary hangover in Central Europe." The new government arrived to face a \$40 billion foreign debt, hyperinflation and food shortages. Its response was economic shock therapy. Letting prices float and cutting subsidies, it reduced inflation from 1,266 to 70 percent. The shops filled with goods. But unemployment rose to more than 10 percent, wages and production dropped, and a deep recession settled over the economy. With the banking system overheating, fast-buck operators caused a run of financial scandals. Economic turmoil fragmented Parliament. Michnik and Walesa opened fire on one another. "In 10 years the communist dictatorship couldn't manage to destroy Solidarity," Michnik sniped. "The war at the top accomplished it in a year and a half."

Ethnic divisions now tear at the fabric of Czechoslovakia, where Havel has asked for expanded presidential powers. Yugoslavia is everyone's nightmare. In free elections, Serbs saddled themselves with Slobodan Milosevic, a neo-Stalinist in democrat's disguise. Since he took over,

**It's easier  
to write  
laws than  
to create  
respect,  
trust and  
tolerance**

the republic's once feisty media have been muzzled. Politicians meddle with the courts and banks. The federal government has vanished as a significant power. What is left is the Army, under Defense Minister Veljko Kadijevic. His armed crackdown on breakaway Croatia has produced scenes of devastation out of Guernica and Goya. "Strange as it may seem, we had more democracy under communism than we do today," mourns Tanja Petrovar, a human-rights activist. She worries that the next horror will be Latin American-style death squads.

To the east, where the Soviet Union is dissolving into a new commonwealth, democracy remains a lamb among wolves. "Whether we are a democracy or not is irrelevant because we are stuck with it," says Roy Medvedev. "No one can stop it. People will not be suppressed now." But most Soviets have lived all their lives under totalitarianism; they don't even know the language of democracy. No matter who is in charge, it will take a huge amount of power to run the new system. "The communists have demonstrated they cannot do it; the democrats, I guarantee you, will also not prove capable," Medvedev cautions. In a vacuum, a populist could loom up and subvert democracy. Surveying the current landscape, Lev Timofeyev sees more freedom of speech, along with a drive to adopt private property and the free market. A beginning, but that's all. "There's no road back to communism," he says. "But Russia will never be a Western democracy."

To expect the new fledglings to match up instantly is unrealistic. In the West, the prerequisites for democracy go back to Aristotle: a strong middle class, civic consciousness, enough wealth—distributed in healthy ways—so that people feel secure enough to challenge the state when it seeks to monopolize power. A democracy also requires groups that assert all of society's interests, not just those of a small group at the top. One problem now, observes Lucian Pye, a political scientist at MIT, is that "many of these countries don't have institutions to articulate the real interests of the people." Beyond that, as Adam Smith pointed out long ago, for free markets to work, people have to trust their institutions. Or to borrow an idea from Michael Walzer of the Institute for Advanced Study: it's easier to write a constitution that requires a civil society than it is to create the mutual respect, tolerance and trust needed to sustain one—particularly "if times are really bad."

**'Authoritarian traits':** The immediate dilemma is, which should come first: economic or political reform? The problem is acute in Africa, Asia and Latin America, where the central reality is crushing poverty. Economic reform often entails the sort of austerity programs required by the World Bank and International Money Fund before they will grant loans. The burden of these programs falls most heavily on the poor. They tend to vote for populists who damn the Bank and IMF. But they don't always get what they vote for. Some candidates promise to reject austerity only to impose it once they win. At the same time, elections don't guarantee democracy to people who face undemocratic courts, police and bureaucrats

every day. Then there are elected leaders who think they can do anything they choose. "We are headed toward a very restricted form of democracy with authoritarian traits," warns Argentina's Alfonsín. "A very superficial democracy."

Shepherding the new democracies into the 21st century will severely test the United States. Jimmy Carter's human-rights policies in the 1970s, considered softheaded by realists, contributed to starting the democratic surge. In the Persian Gulf, George Bush showed his willingness to commit armed forces against a dictator who invaded his neighbor. But the gulf war was hardly a crusade for democracy, and whether the United States will—or can—do economically what it has been willing to do militarily is doubtful. "We've run such large deficits that we don't have the resources to direct whatever unfolds," argues historian William C. McNeil of Barnard College. "We won't do anything significant, because we can't: \$1 billion here and \$1 billion there is not going to accomplish anything."

To ignore the threats to democracy would be foolish. Still, at the nadir of World War II the world had only 13 democracies. Twenty years ago, according to Freedom House, there were 44; now there are 89, with 32 more in transition. Undoubtedly the coming years will see a messy array of semidemocratic and semiautocratic systems—with a few, like Haiti, reverting to thugery. The evolution of the international economy should help democracy: it is harder to sell your cars or computers when you are locking up your dissidents. Science and technology run in its fa-

## Tearing down a dictator's statue is easier than cleaning up afterward

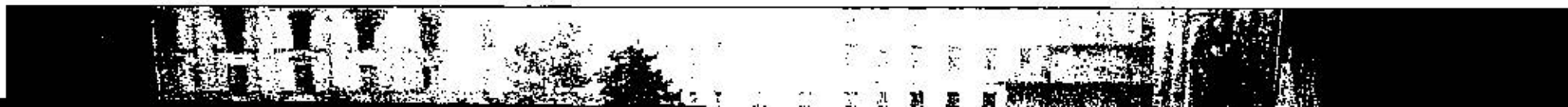
### ROMANIA December 1989

Tanks patrolling Bucharest after Ceausescu was ousted: The revolution was bloody—and unfinished

vor. "Freedom is a virus for which there is no antidote, and it travels on information networks," says Walter Wriston, former chairman of Citicorp. He likes to tell the story of how East Europeans followed the destruction of the Berlin wall on a TV network based in Atlanta beaming signals from a satellite launched by the U.S.S.R. Such a world can only make despots squirm.

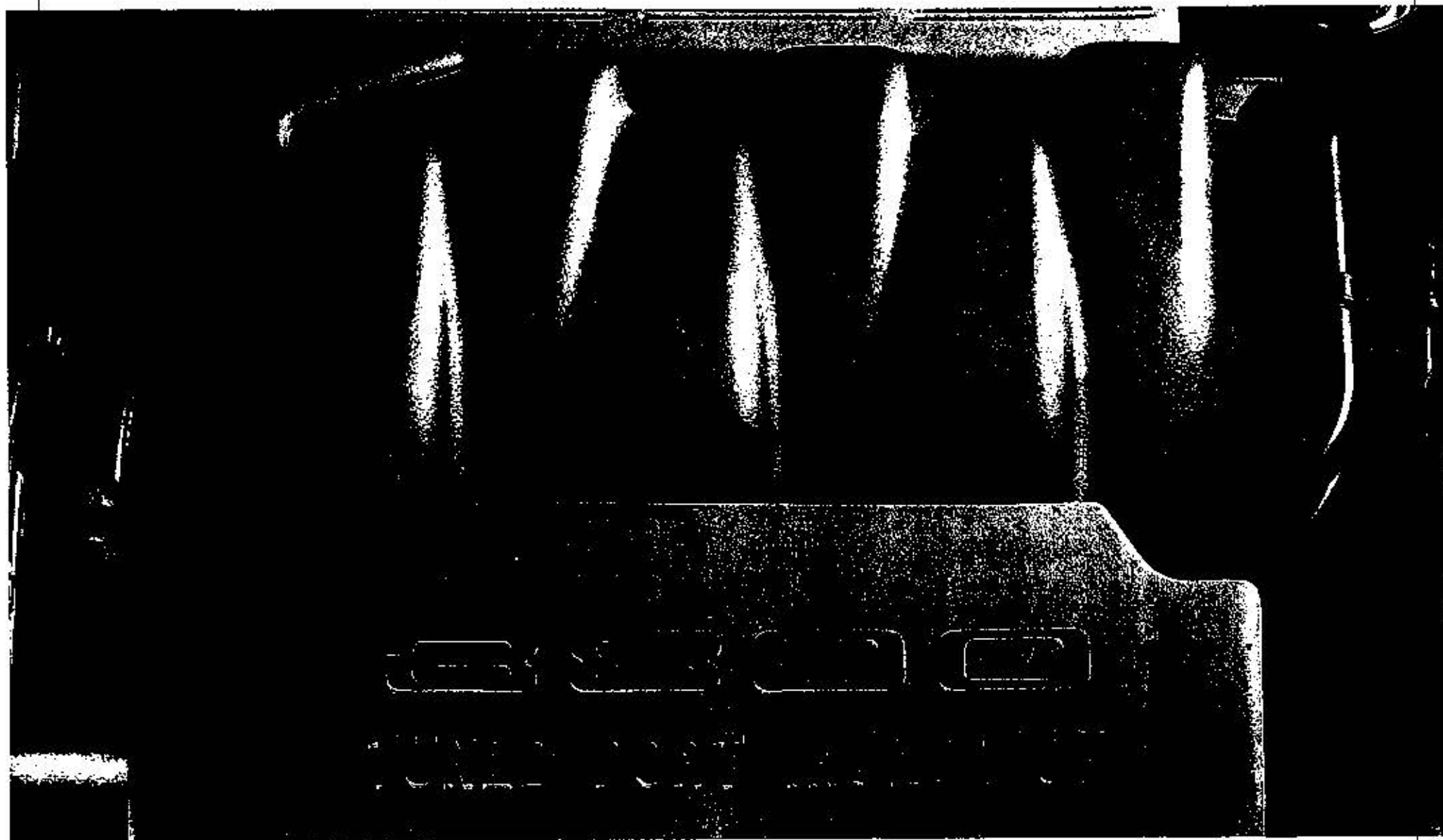
The most murderous ideologies of the century have gone down in their own flames. No Stalin or Hitler is in sight. "Democracy is the only game in town," says Robert Bellah, a sociologist from the University of California, Berkeley. A *fin de siècle* nostalgia for Marxism and the cold war persists here and there: as competitors, they galvanized thinking, feeling and action. Now the compass seems to whirl. But to replace false ideologies with a smug cult of democracy would be a mistake. What's needed, instead, is a new era of experiments and risks, trial and error, the bedrock of democracy. The future is sure to be rugged. "Freedom is never assured," says Kola-kowski. "It is always to be defended." Democracies may prize free markets. They have never offered a free lunch.

Reporting by Jeffrey Bartholet, Carroll Bogert, Joseph Contreras, Frank Gibney Jr., Brook Larmer, Melinda Liu, Marcus Mabry, Michael Meyer, Andrew Nagorski, Tim Padgett, Spencer Reiss, Anne Underwood and bureaus



# POWER.

One more good reason to climb into a Regal.



## The 1992 Buick Regal Sedan

The 1992 Regal is a premium motorcar specifically engineered for people who love to drive. Just one test drive will convince you that this new Regal is the car for you.

### Performance

With a choice of two powerful V-6 engines, Regal delivers excellent performance with the precision that's fast becoming a Buick trademark.

### Power and Efficiency

	Horse-power	Torque	EPA Est MPG	
			City	Hwy
3.1-litre V-6 with MFI	140	185	19	30
3800 V-6 with tuned-port injection*	170	220	19	28

\*Standard on Gran Sport, available on Custom and Limited.

And with Regal, we offer one thing no one else can — Buick quality.



**BUICK**

The New Symbol For Quality  
In America.



# TRANSITION '91

*As a decade of momentous change drew to a close, smaller dramas were playing out, too: furious shouts across the gender gap, racial fights on streets and ballots, private feuds and public follies. Some highlights of a lean and angry 1991.*

BY GREGORY CERIO

# BLACK OR WHITE

**The path to racial comity turned rockier in 1991. Hard times have a way of hardening hearts and heads. Shut-out minorities demanded more. And many whites felt it was time to say, enough. This year, everyone seemed to consider himself a victim.**



Maybe they'll rename the song 'Hail to the Grand Wizard': Duke

## CAMPAIGN '92

### Speaking in Tongues

**L**aunching his bid for the White House, Nazi turned Republican David Duke displayed his presidential timber when explaining his overseas trade policy: "We must go to the Japanese and say 'You no buy our rice, we no buy your cars.'" Nice—he speaks a foreign language. Duke, who won a majority of white votes in losing the Louisiana governor's race, has entered Maryland's March 3 primary. Smart move: the 1972 Democratic primary there went to George Wallace. ■

## POLICE

### Did Gates Get the Message?

**D**rawing a lesson from the videotaped beating of Rodney King by Los Angeles police last March, Chief Daryl Gates named a panel to study reintroducing the chokehold, a method of restraint Gates once said could kill blacks because their arteries don't function like those of "normal people." Gates also suggested that racist LAPD computer messages (e.g., "Sounds like monkey-slapping time") were actually written by minority cops. "Self-deprecating humor," he called it. Gates hinted he is rethinking his promise to resign in April—which some Angelenos will hope is the chief's own idea of a joke. ■

### Business as usual? The King beating





Demagogues divide a neighborhood: Orthodox Jews confront a black man in Crown Heights in the wake of the August riots

MOVIES

## Boyz N the Wood

Spike Lee finally has company—Hollywood released 19 films by black directors this year. The success of newcomers

like 23-year-old John Singleton, maker of "Boyz N the Hood," and others was marred by scattered violence at theaters showing their movies. But in L.A., money talks much louder than a few mindless yahoos. "Boyz," starring rapper Ice

Cube, posted the kind of numbers studio execs dream about. It cost a measly (in Hollywood terms) \$6 million to make and delivered a box office of \$55 million.



Too bad he's not in a class by himself

ON CAMPUS

## Nutty Profs

New course offering at the City College of New York: Racism 101. At one black-board, Leonard Jeffries. His thesis: whites are "dirty," "devilish folks"; Jews and the Mafia "put together a financial system of destruction of black people." At the other, Michael Levin, who argues blacks should be segregated on the subway and that "on average, blacks are less intelligent than whites."

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

## Politics Edition

The CW is cranky and resentful. Everything's let it down—from the gulf war to the economy. But at least there's someone to take it all out on: politicians.

PLAYERS

Conventional Wisdom

Bush	↓	He won the war, and all we got was this lousy recession (and those damn tube socks).
Quayle	↔	He earned an "up" arrow. We considered an "up" arrow. But Danny, you're no "up" arrow.
Reagan	↓	CW doesn't think he committed treason—would he know?—but it was voodoo econ.
Cuomo	↔	Graceful exit, but CW quickly goes revisionist: we never wanted you.
Democrats	↔	CW wants excitement and is dying to fall in love with one of you. But it's hard work.
T. Kennedy	↓	Held own on stand, but CW will fully monitor any backsliding into party-animal mode.

TROOPS

## A Quiet Triumph

The gulf war may have inflicted one *good* wound—on racism. From Gen. Colin Powell on down through the ranks, honors won by black soldiers made for a convincing victory in the black fight for respect. Minorities bear a disproportionate burden in the military (blacks make up 12 percent of the U.S. population, but they represented 20 percent of its forces in the gulf war). Most blacks in uniform say careers in the military offer them access to power and status they had never gotten as civilians. And, as they say about atheists, there are no racists in foxholes.



Top job: Desert Storm barbershop

RIOTS

## An Eye for an Eye

Local black residents begged for calm, but militant black activists and Jewish leaders in Brooklyn, N.Y., allowed the accidental death of Gavin Cato, 7, to escalate into violence. After a Hasidic man's car struck Cato, the Hasidim never apologized. The Rev. Al Sharpton and others from outside the area helped stir anger into bloodshed. A Hasidic man was slain in apparent retribution, and mobs filled the streets for four nights.

**MAGIC****Play Up-Tempo**

**M**agic Johnson was always good at the transition game. Now, in the biggest game of his life—for his life—he's still playing up-tempo and adjusting to the flow. He says abstinence is the safest sex. He works out—for the Olympics, he says—and is leading the Lakers from the bench. One assist to his mood: his wife's latest HIV test came back negative last week. ■



**Making points: Johnson at practice**

**UNMASKED****Behind the Blue Dot**

**N**ow it can be told: the name of the woman who accused William Kennedy Smith of rape is Patricia Bowman. After months of trying to maintain her privacy, Bowman decided that coming forward was the best way to regain some control of her life. And although Smith was acquitted, she said, "I believe me." ■



**Facing the scandal: Bowman**

# GENDER GAPS

**Amid 1991's rancorous battles between the sexes, Magic Johnson pointed both genders toward a common enemy: AIDS.**



**Feminism with a bullet: Susan Sarandon and Geena Davis buddy up**

**LAW****Ordure in the Court**

**O**ne group thinks something useful came of the ugly Senate hearings on Anita Hill's sexual-harassment charge against Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas: political consultants. Noting that blacks supported Thomas in polls, Republicans plan to use the hearings to draw blacks to the GOP. Democratic women's groups say "post-Thomas trauma" has added thousands to their fund-raising rolls. ■



**All over but the shouting: Thomas gets a pat on the back, Hill testifies**

**MOVIES****Female Bonding**

**I**f not an Oscar, "Thelma and Louise" deserves an award for Film Causing the Most Arguments in 1991. Women cheered as Geena Davis and Susan Sarandon gunned down a rapist, robbed stores and taught a trucker manners. Men got a nervous sensation in their stomachs. Murder, mayhem and sex—why, these women were acting like . . . men. In "Thelma and Louise," women call the shots and men, for a change, are passive ciphers. Turnabout is fair play. ■





Voyagers in search of the deepest core of masculinity? Or just a bunch of bozos with drums?

**MEN**

## The Campfire Boys

**T**he hunter spies his prey: tuna for \$1.09 in aisle 5. Modern man as provider. Frustrated by such an anemic role, hunter-gatherers by the thousands this year answered the tom-tom call of the men's movement—dancing and drumming by firelight, perspiring in tepees, rediscovering

the savage within. "We were chanting and sweating and screaming," recalls one participant. "It was fun and uplifting... people talked about pain." Sure. Expressing your feelings is all well and good, but isn't there something, well, dorky about playing caveman at age 45?

**CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH**

### Table Talk Edition

**T**ough times call for saving the cash we used to spend on movies, restaurants and fun at the mall. The dinner table, cradle of homespun CW, crackles with debate.

TOPICS	Conventional Wisdom
<b>Pride</b>	Old CW: We kicked butt, pass the Moët. New CW: We got fired, pass the Thunderbird.
<b>PC</b>	CW likes to be politically correct but is sick of PC police. Lighten up.
<b>Real Estate</b>	Old CW: Next year we'll get a bigger house. New CW: Remember when we <i>had</i> a house?
<b>Sex</b>	No sex is safe sex. But don't buy porn, just replay Thomas-Hill or Willie Smith tapes.
<b>Values</b>	Back to basics. Even Lee Atwater said it was time to do the right thing.
<b>The Future</b>	Yikes! Economy and enviro going down the tubes. <i>Sayonara</i> , American Century.

**SIN**

**Out of bounds:** Police officers in Sarasota County, Fla., who arrested actor Paul Reubens (a.k.a. Pee-wee Herman) for "indecent exposure" in an X-rated movie theater, thus revealing how at least some Sarasota cops spend their afternoons. And a dishonorable mention to the prudes at CBS and the Disney-MGM theme park who immediately ditched their Pee-wee shows. Toy-store owners who rushed to pull Pee-wee-related merchandise from the shelves got what they deserved: shops that stayed faithful to Mr. Herman reported booming sales. As for you, Pee-wee—buy a VCR.

Pee-wee and little Pee-wee



**ROLE MODELS**

## Teacher's Pet and Hit Man

**S**upporters of teacher-turned-murder-accomplice Pam Smart held a charity picnic for her appeal effort in September. Smart, 24, got life for coaxing her 16-year-old lover to kill her husband. She says her trial was unfair, a media circus. Maybe: testimony on steamy sex and Smart's bizarre decorum—she worried her dog Hayley might be traumatized if it saw the slaying—drew a worldwide TV audience. At the picnic, Hayley wore a PAM IS INNOCENT button. Smart lost her final appeal.



If looks could kill: Smart

**BOOKS**

## American Yuckie

**A** Yuppie murders women—with power tools, rats, household cleansers and anything else handy—and between slayings, talks about his wardrobe. That's all there is to Bret Easton Ellis's "American Psycho." A novel so atrocious, Simon & Schuster dropped it. So offensive, feminist groups called for a boycott or a ban. Vilified so long and so loudly, Ellis raked in royalties from sales to people who never would have heard of the book if not for the furor.



That book



Don't cry for me, Quezon City: Imelda eyes the hustings

TYRANTS

Wrath of God

As if things aren't bad enough for the Philippines, Imelda Marcos says she may run for the country's presidency in 1992. Back in Manila to

face charges that she helped husband Ferdinand loot up to \$10 billion, Imelda thinks God is on her side. She said Mount Pinatubo erupted because Corazon Aquino refuses to allow a hero's funeral for Marcos, still unburied since his death in 1989.

# SQUABBLES

In a year of worry and frustration, there was always the dubious satisfaction of watching the famous bicker, squirm and fall.

FUN COUPLES

Don & Marla: The Recap

Ex-billionaire Donald Trump and Marla Maples had a bumpy year. January: they say they'll live together. June: he drops her for a model. July: on again—Marla gets a 7.5-carat diamond ring. September: off—Marla dumps wayward Trump. November: love triumphs, Don repropose. December: Marla hurls shoe, ring, at Don in D.C. Then it's patched up. They love each other, they love each other not, they . . . oh, who cares.



Marla, peel me a grape: The mogul and his mate (at press time) share a snack

LIT. CRIT.

Bio of Bile

In war, it's called "massive retaliation." After Kitty Kelley's bio accused Nancy Reagan of greed, shrewishness and adultery with Frank Sinatra, Sinatra said he hoped Kelley walked in the path of "blind guys . . . driving cars." Kelley now has a TV show in the works.

Knocked: Kelley



CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

Egoiste Edition

Between the new perfume and Pee-wee, it was a year of self-love. As ever, the CW has mixed feelings about people whose main love interest is their pocket mirror.

CELEBS	Conventional Wisdom
Kathie Lee	↓ Regis is right: Enough about Cody. P.S.: And the CW is sick of Frank, too.
Schwarzkopf	↔ Desert Storm love affair blows over. Time for this old soldier to fade away.
Beatty	↑ There's life left in the old Narcissus: Has hit and baby on the way.
Dershowitz	↓ Used "I," "me" or "my" 18 times in a book review. And don't call the CW anti-Semitic.
Demi Moore	↔ Nice Vanity Fair pic, but emphasis is on vanity. What next—the placenta video?
Mac Culkin	↔ Cute "Home Alone" shtik. But CW thinks child-star monster needs a timeout.



Pack your bags: Sununu

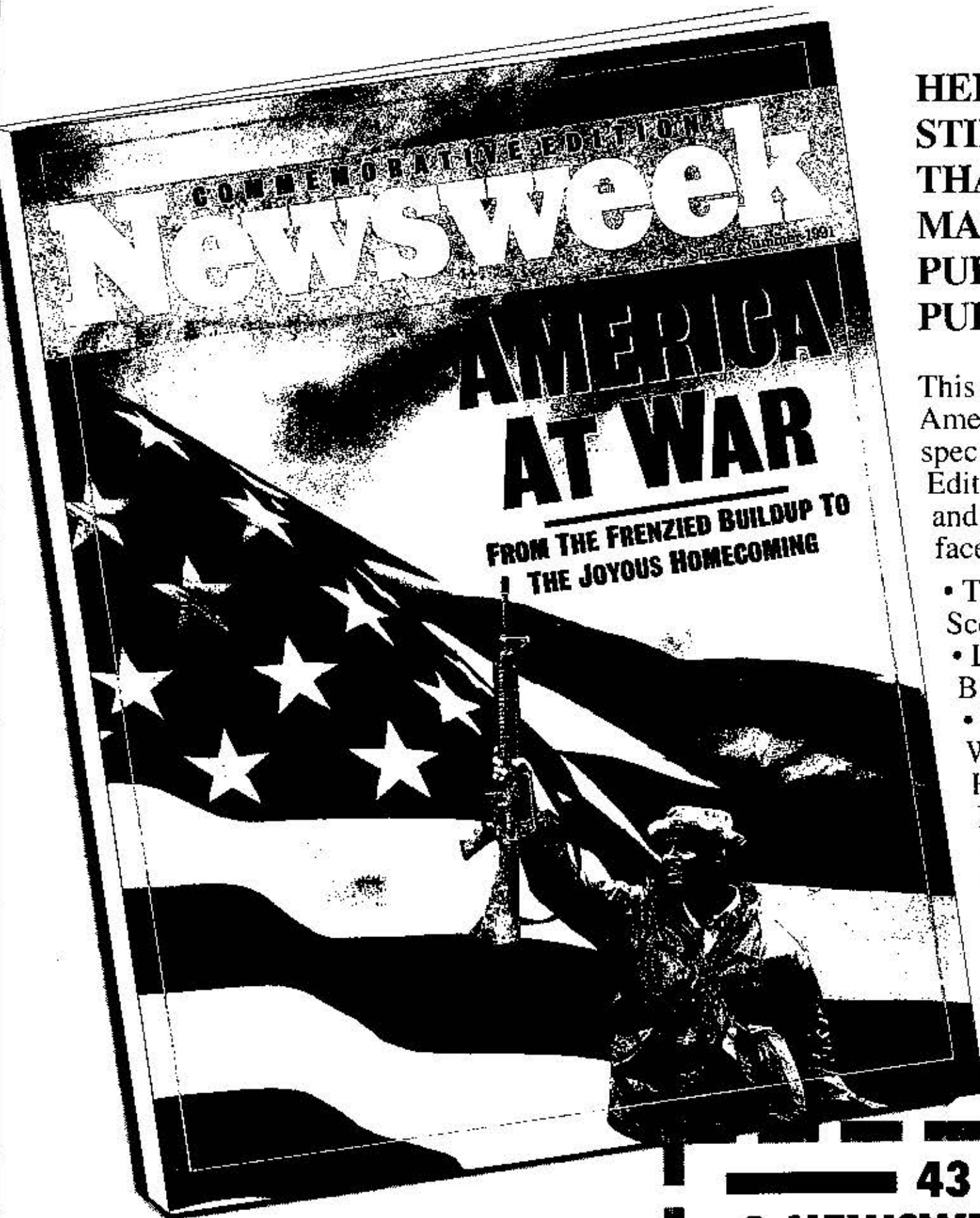
POLITICS

Bush to Sununu: Dear John . . .

Resigned (read: fired) White House chief of staff John Sununu is very smart—as he'd gladly tell you. But it's not too bright to alienate so many people that when you need a friend, all you have are enemies. One of the last calls Sununu made seeking support was to Sen. Bob Dole. In 1988, Dole led George Bush in pre-New Hampshire primary polls. The then governor Sununu persuaded Bush to air a misleading ad implying Dole would raise taxes. Bush won. Years later, despite his best effort, Dole couldn't save Sununu.

# 43 DAYS OF WAR

## A NEWSWEEK RETROSPECTIVE



HERE IT IS! OVER 100 STIRRING PAGES. MORE THAN 100 GRIPPING PHOTOS, MANY NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED. EXCLUSIVE PULL-OUT MAP.

This is the historical record of America's triumph over Iraq. This special *Newsweek* Commemorative Edition brings you complete photo and news coverage of the many faces of War...

- The Path to War • Behind the Scenes for 43 Days and Nights
- Life in the Desert • Bombs Over Baghdad • Saddam on the Ropes
- Blitzkrieg: The 100-Hour Ground War • The Final Push • The Iraqis' Hasty Retreat • The Big Five Leaders • Our Soldiers Return
- A Tribute to Fallen Heroes
- What the War Means For America

ONLY \$3<sup>95</sup>  
HURRY...ORDER NOW!

- OVER 100 PAGES • HARD-BACK BINDING
- SPECIAL COVER • EXCLUSIVE PHOTOS
- DETAILED FULL COLOR PULL-OUT MAP

Order toll-free

**1-800-634-6848**

8:30am - 8pm Eastern Standard Time

**Newsweek**

## 43 DAYS OF WAR

### A NEWSWEEK RETROSPECTIVE

Please rush \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the special *Newsweek* Commemorative Edition at \$3.95 each.

Check  Money Order

Or charge my:  Visa  MasterCard  American Express

Account Number \_\_\_\_\_ Exp. Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: Newsweek Commemorative Edition, P.O. Box 3004,  
Livingston, NJ 07039-7004

Call Toll-Free 1-800-634-6848 (8:30am - 8pm EST)  
Please allow 2-3 week delivery.



AUBERT—SYGMA

**The cremation of Rajiv Gandhi, 46**

Eugene Fodor, 85,  
travel writer

Rudolf Serkin, 88,  
pianist

Frank Capra, 94,  
filmmaker, "It's a  
Wonderful Life"

David Lean, 83,  
director, "Lawrence  
of Arabia"

# LAST CHAPTER

HOWARD ROSENBERG—OUTLINE

Lee Atwater, 40,  
George Bush's master political  
tactician

Lee Remick, 55,  
actress, "Days of Wine  
and Roses"

Robert Motherwell, 76,  
painter

David Ruffin, 50,  
singer with The Temptations

Red Grange, 87,  
football's "Galloping Ghost"

Margot Fonteyn, 71,  
prima ballerina

Kimberly Bergalis, 23,  
AIDS victim and crusader

Leo Durocher, 85,  
baseball player and manager

Graham Greene, 86,  
novelist

Gene Tierney, 70,  
actress, "Laura"

Danny Thomas, 79,  
actor and comedian

Arthur Murray, 95,  
dancing master

Colleen Dewhurst, 67,  
Tony Award-winning actress

Harry Reasoner, 68,  
reporter and news anchor



CAROL HALEBIAN

**Miles Davis, 65, jazz innovator;  
Theodor (Dr. Seuss) Geisel, 87**

## Some of the extraordinary lives that came to an end during 1991

Martha Graham, 96,  
dancer and choreographer

Fred MacMurray, 83,  
screen actor and "My Three  
Sons" dad

Yves Montand, 70,  
actor and singer

Edwin Land, 81,  
inventor of Polaroid camera

Claudio Arrau, 88,  
pianist

Isaac Bashevis Singer, 87,  
Yiddish storyteller

Redd Foxx, 68,  
comedian and actor

Brad Davis, 41,  
actor, "Midnight Express"

Tennessee Ernie Ford, 72,  
country-music star

Ralph Bellamy, 87,  
character actor

Paul Brown, 82,  
Cleveland Browns coach

Frank Rizzo, 70,  
ex-mayor of Philadelphia



NBC—GLOBE PHOTOS

**Michael Landon, 54, of 'Little House'**

Stan Getz, 64,  
jazz saxophonist

Robert Maxwell, 68,  
media baron



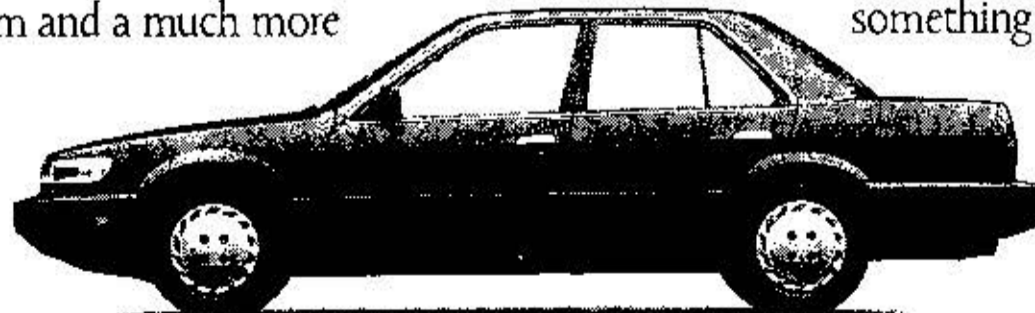
WE CAN SEE BY YOUR FACE THAT YOU'VE PRICED THE NEW CAMRY.

\$17,000 for a Camry LE? Yikes.

What you need is a dose of reality. Like the Nissan® Stanza® XE. It has just about everything you've ever wanted in a family sedan. Like a Value Option Package that includes air conditioning, AM/FM stereo cassette, cruise control and power windows and door locks. More headroom and a much more

powerful standard engine than Camry. Traditionally high resale value. And up to \$1,000 in factory-to-dealer incentives can help make it yours for under \$15,000\*. That's up to \$2,600\*\* less than you-know-who.

So after you've gotten over the Camry sticker shock, come see Stanza. But first, do something about your hair.



THE NISSAN STANZA. STILL UNDER \$15,000.



BUILT FOR THE HUMAN RACE.®

Smart people always read the fine print. And they always wear their seat belts. \*MSRP excluding title, taxes, license and destination charges. Incentive available for a limited time. Dealer participation may affect cost. \*\*Comparison based on Stanza XE with Value Option Package with automatic transmission to Camry LE. Actual price difference without incentive \$1,600. Differences in destination charges may affect price comparison.

## A Moment of Joy

**R**osalie Johnson wasn't expecting a memorable Christmas. She lives at Jamaica Armory, a homeless shelter operated by New York City. So the Christmas dance at St. Mary's Church in Queens earlier this month was a special occasion. It was also special because of her hosts: homeless men at the Borden Avenue Veterans Residence in Queens. They organized the affair—complete with mistletoe, a cappella singers and a rap group—for residents and women from shelters around the city. Everyone danced. Some made plans to get together again with those they met. "Just because I'm homeless doesn't mean I can't have a social life," said Calventi Harriot, another guest. For others, Christmas will be unspeakably bleak. A 28-city survey released last week by the U.S. Conference of Mayors estimates that 15 percent of those seeking emergency shelter were turned away this year.



**A special occasion:** *It was a day for dressing up and opening presents with new friends. To buy new shoes for the St. Mary's party, Johnson (top, and bottom photo, center) collected bottles and cans.*



PHOTOS © 1991 LORI GRINKER—CONTACT PRESS IMAGES



MOMATUIK/EASTCOTT-WOODFIN CAMP

Taking back their land and water: An Inuit family cruises Melville Sound

## JUSTICE

# Selling Ice to Eskimos?

## Canada carves out a new territory for the Inuit

It's being touted as the largest peaceful real-estate transfer in Canadian history and a model settlement between a government and its indigenous people. Last week Ottawa created a new Arctic territory called Nunavut—it spans more than 770,000 square miles of frozen tundra and wilderness, about one fifth of Canada's total landmass—and gave a chunk of it to the 17,500 Eskimos who live there. If they ratify it, and if the Northwest Territories and Parliament go along, the land-and-cash settlement would end more than 200 years of bad blood between Eskimos, known as Inuit ("the people"), and the descendants of European settlers who arrived in Hudson Bay in 1670. Tagak Curley, chief negotiator for the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, which represents the Inuit, called the agreement "a fair settlement."

But to some observers, the Nunavut deal seemed more like a new way of selling ice to the Eskimos. "It was a hollow gesture in a way, because what did Canada give up?" says Jason Clay, director of research at Cultural Survival, a Cambridge, Mass., human-rights group. "Basically, nothing." The agreement clarifies ownership within the vast area, but gives the Inuit title to only 136,000 square miles, about one sixth

of the entire territory in which they have fished and hunted for hundreds of years. And it comes at a steep price: the Inuit must renounce their claim to all ancestral lands, including regions rich in oil, gas and minerals, instead settling for limited resource royalties each year—50 percent of the first \$1.7 million and 5 percent of additional revenues. The Inuit will also receive a trust of some \$990 million over 14 years—slightly more than \$56,500 per person.

**'More control':** "I'm not looking for money out of this," says Mani Thompson, a 35-year-old schoolteacher in Rankin Inlet, a town of 1,500 people in the northwest corner of Hudson Bay. "It's more control we want." The Inuit have wrangled with Ottawa for decades for a definition of their rights. The agreement fudges most of those issues, perhaps because separatist emotions are so heated in Quebec. "The Inuit prefer to encourage their destiny within Canada," Indian Affairs and Northern Development Minis-

ter Tom Siddon told NEWSWEEK. "They have not indicated a desire to go a separate direction." The deal has enraged other Canadian aboriginal groups, which criticize the Inuit for cutting a separate deal. "The government continues to insist on extinguishment of aboriginal title as the keystone of land-claim settlements," fumed Ovide Mercredi, national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, a coalition of the country's 592,000 Indians that is seeking constitutional guarantees of self-government.

Still, compared with the fate of the world's 5,000 other indigenous groups, the Inuit got a sweet deal. Most aboriginal people are in far worse shape, afflicted by poverty, disease, starvation and violence. To make room for 400,000 Muslim settlers in Bangladesh, for example, the government has

driven the Chakma people from their ancestral homes in the Chittagong Hills, says Survival International, a human-rights group in London. The plight of the 22,000 Yanomami Indians in the Amazon is improving. But the preserves recently set aside by Venezuela and Brazil give only theoretical protection against illegal gold miners who have brought devastating malaria. The problem is economic as well as cultural: indigenous people occupy nearly 25 percent of the world's land—and sit on some of its scarcest resources. That's a good bargaining chip in democracies like Canada. But on the frontiers of the developing world, it's a magnet for fortune seekers.

TOM POST with MOLLY COLIN in Montreal and bureau reports





Up in the sky! It's a comet, it's a conjunction . . . : In Fra Angelico's 'Adoration of the Magi,' the star shines down on the Nativity scene ART RESOURCE

## SCIENCE

# The Christmas Star— Or Was It Planets?

## New astronomical theories of the Magi's beacon

**A**s sure as mid-December brings out eggnog and enough bearded men in red suits to make you believe in cloning, so it inclines astronomers' thoughts to the Star of Bethlehem—the "Christmas Star" that led the Three Magi to visit Jesus in the manger. There has never been a shortage of ideas: 17th-century astronomer Johannes Kepler put his money on a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 7 B.C. which, he thought, would have caused a star to explode. More recent notions have centered on novas (stars that suddenly grow brighter), such as one in 5 B.C. This holiday season, a British scientist makes the case for a comet, while an astronomer at Case Western Reserve University argues for a planetary conjunction. Both imply that the tinsel should be stashed near the Easter baskets: the comet as well as the conjunction appeared in the springtime.

There's no problem discovering what the night sky looked like on any evening of any year. Reliable astronomical records and tables go back millennia. The difficulty is in

deciding which year to look up, for the year of Christ's birth remains problematical. Clearly he was born during the reign of Herod the Great, but historians disagree on whether Herod died in 4 B.C., 1 B.C. or in between. Another clue is Luke's assertion that Jesus was "about thirty" when he began his ministry, and was crucified on a Friday during Passover. Only April 7 of the year 30 or April 3 of 33 meets these criteria. With such ambiguous evidence, the best astronomers can come up with is that Christ was born between 7 B.C. and 1 B.C. "The uncertainty surrounding Jesus' birth year leaves a great deal of freedom in choosing the astronomical effect" to link with the Christmas Star, says astrophysicist Kenneth Brecher of Boston University.

The Bible's description also leaves a lot to the imagination.

Here is Matthew: "... Behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem . . . And, lo, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, 'til it came and stood over where the young child was." The other three Gospels don't mention a star. Why did Matthew? Astrology was popular at the time, and including a celestial sign in the Nativity story would have given it cosmic significance and helped attract converts. Or perhaps the other Gospel writers suppressed the star. Astronomer William Bidelman of Case speculates that Luke may have wanted to "disassociate astrology completely from his account of the origin of Christianity."

One "star" that might have appeared first in the east and then stopped above the manger is a comet, says British researcher Colin Humphreys in a recent paper in the

### 'There Came Wise Men'

**S**cholars think the Magi began their journey in one of three cities, traveled through Baghdad to Jerusalem and then Bethlehem.





Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society. (A comet oriented with its tail straight up might appear to stay still.) Chinese records show that a comet appeared for about 70 days in the spring of 5 B.C. Humphreys's conclusion: Jesus was born in that year, between April 13 and April 27.

A spring birth squares with Luke's Gospel, which mentions shepherds tending their flocks by night, something they do only during the spring lambing season. In fact, there is nothing sacrosanct about Dec. 25: the birth of Christ was celebrated in January until the fourth century, when it was moved to Dec. 25 to coincide with the Roman observance of the first day of winter. The problem with the comet theory is that these long-tailed wanderers have, from antiquity, been considered portents of doom, not of joyous news like the Nativity. And they don't stay still for long, for the Earth's rotation makes everything in the sky appear to rise in the east and move west.

**Judah's Lion:** Bidelman thinks a conjunction of Venus and Jupiter makes a more plausible Christmas Star. Such a rendezvous occurred on Aug. 12 of 3 B.C. and again on June 17 of the following year. He suspects that the time between sightings matches the Magi's travel time from "the east" to Jerusalem and from there to Bethlehem (map). Venus and Jupiter are the brightest objects in the sky, after the moon, so the conjunction "would have been very conspicuous," Bidelman argues. Moreover, the August event occurred in the constellation Leo, which was associated with Judaism because the lion was the symbol of the tribe of Judah. "Seeing the bright 'star' in the morning sky in Leo may have been sufficient to set the wise men off," says Bidelman. If the Magi were astrologers—all working together in the cities of Ahwaz or Ramadan in Persia, or Basra in Mesopotamia—they would have paid particular attention to a planetary phenomenon, not a stellar one. "When the wise men reached Jerusalem, the same object they saw [from their starting point in the east] would have been before them, in the southwestern sky," says Bidelman. If the Magi arrived in June, during the second conjunction, Jesus might have been born in March, 2 B.C.

Scientists who keep track of Christmas Star theories find Bidelman's paper "very well done," as science historian Owen Gingerich of the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics says. But in the end, trying to match Gospel to astronomy is more an intellectual game than a research enterprise, especially since the star can be seen as "not a physical but a spiritual beacon," says Brecher. There will likely never be a definitive answer to the mystery of the Star of Bethlehem. Nor is one needed for those who still see it shine.

SHARON BEGLEY

## Rocky Mountain High Life

Fred Wiseman probes the glitz that is Aspen

Frederick Wiseman seems to be raising his camera sights. TV's most acclaimed documentary filmmaker, who once confined his scathing, *cinéma vérité* examinations to the likes of mental hospitals, police departments and welfare centers, has since taken on such temples of nouveau chic as Neiman Marcus. Now, in his 25th film, Wiseman goes even more upscale—literally. His target is Aspen, and his treatment—once again avoiding narration and interviews—is an eyeful. In the middle of the Colorado town's orgy of glitz and self-indulgence, Wiseman uncovers something no Aspen-basher could have imagined: a quest for the spiritual. Or could that be the biggest high of all?

Though *Aspen* opens and closes in a church, the 2½-hour film, which airs on PBS Dec. 30, explores a lot of territory. As always, Wiseman is fascinated by contrast and contradiction. You know that from his first outdoor shots. As cows graze in an ancient, mountain-rimmed meadow, a hot-air balloon wafts by carrying a couple of trendies exchanging New Age marriage vows. (No, it's not Melanie and Don.) From then on, Wiseman pulls us straight into Aspen's dichotomous heart. There are few towns on earth so wrenched between nature and human artifice, between Old West values and the whims of the superrich at play. Some carefully juxtaposed moments: elderly fiddlers playing for money in front of pricey boutiques; begrimed miners gouging for silver ore as tonily garbed skiers schuss the pristine slopes. It's the same with the culture scene. A local reading group engages in a lively, perceptive debate about a short story by Flaubert. Down the road, an art-gallery show unveils paintings of a pay phone, a fire hose and a Diet Pepsi vending machine. "Everything is authentic," boasts their creator, who is solemnly assured by one Aspenite: "It's the kind of thing that will do very well here."

In Wiseman's viewfinder, at least, Aspen throbs with spiritual yearning: maybe it's the altitude. Sipping wine in the cathedral-like living room of a glitzy chalet, a group that might have stepped out of Cyra

McFadden's unforgettable satire of Marin County reverently prattles about the "oneness of being" and arrives at such cosmic insights as, "We are all like holograms." Yet there's something basic and genuine at work, too. In the film's most affecting sequences, an ecumenical gathering of divorced males bare their pain and confusion. Cut to a middle-aged couple, both



ZIPPORAH FILMS

Nature and nonsense: Dance party on the Aspen slopes

longtime locals, celebrating their 40th wedding anniversary. Amid the long, loving testimonials of children and grandchildren, the best of the human spirit glows like a full Aspen moon.

As with much of Wiseman's work, the film hits tedious patches, especially when it keeps switching back to those fluorescent streams of skiers. But as TV's most incisive recorder of contemporary existence, Wiseman's entitled. In "Aspen's" last act, an engagingly earnest seminar professor concludes a lecture on "God and the Global Economy" with a pointed moral: "Without an eternal perspective, everything is meaningless." Any other documentarian would have ended there, but Wiseman is too devilish to go preachy. His finale shows a Jimmy Swaggartish minister directing a plea to the Almighty above the bowed heads of his flock: "May the world know that You are here as surely as the Denver Broncos are present at a football game."

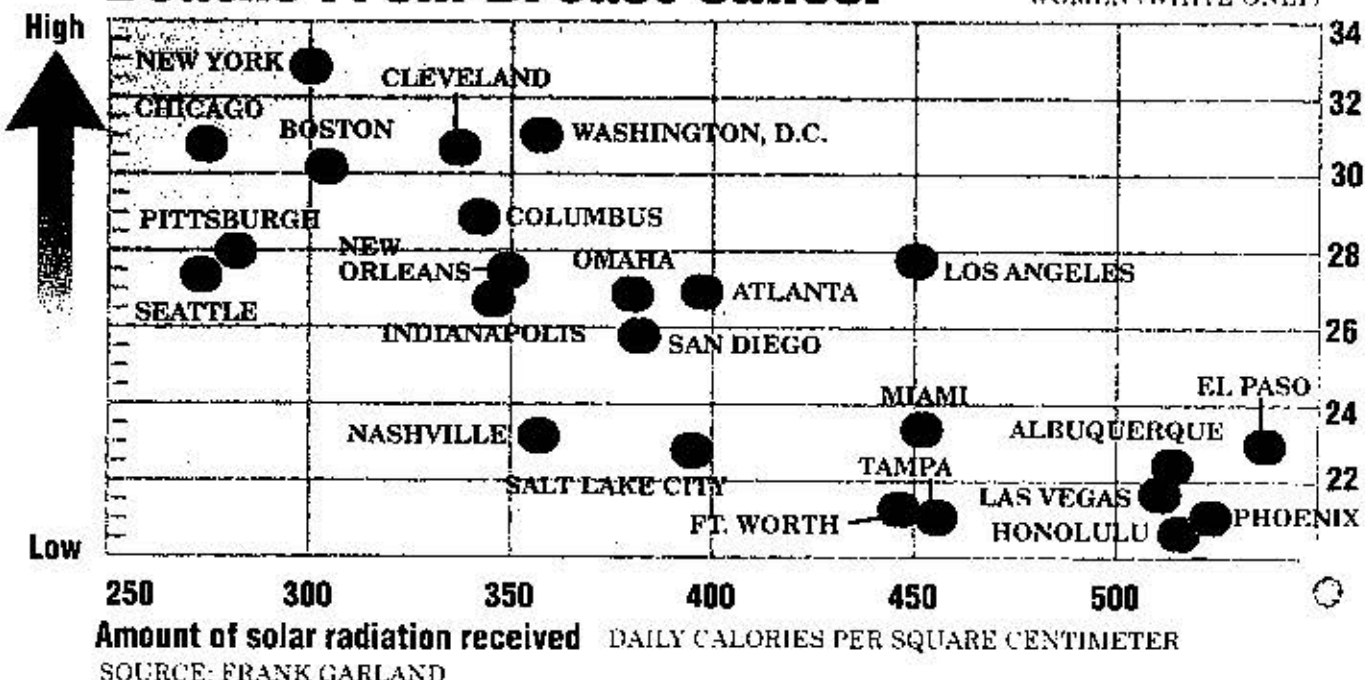
God bless them . . . every one.

HARRY F. WATERS



ALON REININGER—CONTACT  
Gray smog in L.A.

## Deaths From Breast Cancer



Amount of solar radiation received DAILY CALORIES PER SQUARE CENTIMETER  
SOURCE: FRANK GARLAND



MITTELDORF—IMAGE BANK  
Blue skies in Honolulu

### HEALTH

## Can Sunshine Save Your Life?

Vitamin D may help fight colon and breast cancer

Thirty-five years ago, herring fishing was big business in Norway but oncology was fairly slow. Today you could say just the opposite. The annual herring catch has dwindled from more than a million tons to less than 4,000—and the rates of breast and colon cancer have nearly doubled. The increase doesn't surprise epidemiologists Frank and Cedric Garland of the University of California, San Diego. Herring is rich in vitamin D, a nutrient that Norwegians receive only in paltry amounts from the sun. And as the Garland brothers have shown over the past decade, a population's vitamin D intake can be a powerful predictor of two leading malignancies.

Breast and colon cancer are rampant in the industrial world. In the United States, where the average adult gets less than half the recommended daily allowance of vitamin D, nearly a third of all cancers involve the breast or colon. Could a simple vitamin pill help control these common killers? It's still too early to say. "The epidemiologic studies are all there," says Dr. William Harlan, associate director for disease prevention at the National Institutes of Health. "But you need to do an interventional trial before you make clinical recommendations." The NIH is now planning a huge clinical trial that should yield definitive answers over the next decade. And Frank Garland, for one, is optimistic. "I think we'll find that colon and breast cancer are essentially vitamin-deficiency diseases of adulthood," he says.

Medical researchers have long regarded high-fat diets and delayed childbearing as key risk factors for colon and breast cancer.

But those factors don't seem to account for the striking geographic patterns these diseases exhibit. The Garlands started puzzling over the patterns in the late 1970s, when a colleague showed them a map of the world color-coded to reflect the prevalence of colon cancer in different countries. The map suggested the disease was virtually unknown at the equator and that its prevalence mounted as the latitude grew higher. One of the few exceptions to this rule was Japan, a country that has traditionally enjoyed low rates of breast and colon cancer despite its northern geography.

**Fish oil:** What did the lucky populations have in common? They all seemed to be getting plenty of vitamin D, whether from sunshine or (like Japan) from diets rich in fish oil, so the Garlands started exploring the possibility. In a 1980 study, they compared colon-cancer death rates for different regions of the United States. As they'd predicted, the rates were lowest in the sunny South and West and highest in the gray Northeast—even though Northeasterners ate more vegetables, and roughly the same amount of meat, as the other groups.

In subsequent studies, the Garlands and other researchers have put the vitamin D hypothesis to a range of other tests, and it has held up well. In 1985, a team led by Cedric Garland examined the health records of nearly 2,000 Chicago utility workers who recorded everything they ate for 28 days back in the late '50s. Over the next 19 years, the workers who'd consumed at least 150 iu (international units) of vitamin D each day suffered only half as much colon cancer as those who'd consumed lesser

amounts (200 iu is the recommended daily allowance for adults). A similar pattern turned up in a study of 101 blood samples drawn from volunteers in Maryland in 1974. The volunteers with the lowest vitamin D levels went on to develop colon cancer at three times the rate of other subjects.

More recently, the Garlands and their San Diego colleague Edward Gorham have concentrated on showing that breast cancer follows the same pattern as colon cancer. In 1990, they analyzed breast-cancer incidence in the Soviet Union and discovered a threefold discrepancy between the northern and southern republics. Back in the United States, a similar study revealed that breast-cancer death rates were more than 1.5 times as high in New York and Boston as in Phoenix or Honolulu (chart). Sunshine isn't the only amenity the South offers and the North lacks, but still other studies suggest it's the crucial one. Gorham has compared communities at similar latitudes and shown that breast and colon cancer are most common in the communities with the most light-blocking air pollution.

No one knows exactly how vitamin D might ward off these diseases. The molecule—which is found in egg yolks, liver and fortified milk as well as in tuna, salmon and other fatty fish—helps the body absorb calcium. Calcium, in turn, can help prevent uncontrolled cell growth. However the vitamin works, its potential benefits are immense. As part of the Women's Health Initiative, the massive NIH research project scheduled to begin in 1992, some 60,000 postmenopausal women will receive either a twice-daily calcium and vitamin D supplement or a placebo for up to nine years. The trial's formal goal is to reduce colon cancer and bone fractures by 25 percent, says Dr. Harlan of the NIH. But investigators will monitor the participants for breast cancer and other conditions as well. If the evidence to date is any indication, they could be in for pleasant surprises.

GEOFFREY COWLEY

# **Newsweek** ***SUPER DISCOUNT VOUCHER***

Now you can receive Newsweek for as low as 51¢ an issue — that's 79% off the \$2.50 cover price, and you'll receive this free gift set, too!

Newsweek's Cover Price **\$2.50**

Your Cost **\$.63**

You Save **\$1.87**

Check one:  24 months (104 issues) at 51¢ per copy  12 months (52 issues) at 57¢ per copy  6 months (27 issues) at 63¢ per copy  
Please check:  Payment enclosed  Bill me in full

MR./MRS./MS. (circle one)

PLEASE PRINT

STREET

APT. NO.

CITY

STATE

ZIP

Offer good in U.S. only and subject to change.

76520119-10



This handy 2-volume Historical World Atlas is yours  
**—ABSOLUTELY FREE—** with your paid subscription



NO POSTAGE  
NECESSARY  
IF MAILED  
IN THE  
UNITED STATES

**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**

FIRST CLASS PERMIT No. 250 LIVINGSTON, N.J.

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

**Newsweek**

The Newsweek Building  
P.O. Box 403  
Livingston, N.J. 07039-9967



# Peter Pan, Get Lost

In this 'I won't grow up' season, 'Prince of Tides' and 'Grand Canyon' tackle decidedly adult issues

In the face of *The Prince of Tides'* rampant emotionalism you have three options: unconditional surrender, grit-your-teeth resistance or some heart-wavering combination of the two. Everything about Barbra Streisand's adaptation of Pat Conroy's popular novel is Hollywood larger-than-life, from the postcard-perfect sunsets to the swelling score to the overripe lyricism of the narration and the overcooked Gothic secret our hero must face.

Sooner or later, however, Streisand's glossy, florid, heart-felt opus will get to you. She knows how to spin a good story, and in Nick Nolte's Tom Wingo she's created a big, complex, unforgettable movie character.

Tom, a charming, angry, emotionally crippled Southerner, can't connect to his wife (Blythe Danner), and just the thought of his social-climbing mother (Kate Nelligan) makes his flesh crawl. When his fragile, poet sister (Melinda Dillon) attempts suicide in New York, he rushes to the city to help. There he encounters his sister's psychiatrist, Susan Lowenstein (Streisand), and in the guise of serving as his sister's "memory" undergoes his own soul-cleansing therapy, exorcising his family's tragic ghosts—and falling in love with his shrink to boot.

**Leonine glamour:** Nolte's astonishing performance is huge in scale yet finely etched: his combination of leonine glamour and naked honesty is a paradigm for the movie at its best. At its silliest, "Prince of Tides" just serves up gift-wrapped movie kitsch. There's a ludicrously phony New York party at which Lowenstein's villainous violinist husband (Jeroen Krabbé) insults Wingo, and the love affair that follows is played out in romantic postures borrowed from "The Way We Were" and Ralph Lauren ads for country chic.

In these gauzy, soft-focused scenes and elsewhere, Streisand's presence on screen is problematic: her self-consciousness makes it hard to accept Lowenstein as Lowenstein; she's always Streisand. It's easy to pick on the producer/director/star, yet her film about forgiveness ultimately earns ours: Streisand's empathy for the



PHOTOS BY JURGEN VOLLMER

**A charming, troubled Southerner exorcises his family's tragic ghosts: Nolte and Nelligan (above); director, producer and star Streisand**



characters is bighearted and contagious. "Prince of Tides" may be a guilty pleasure, but it's a pleasure nonetheless.

The year started with Steve Martin's intoxicated valentine to the City of the Angels, "L.A. Story," and it closes with Lawrence Kasdan's ambitious *Grand Canyon* (which features Martin), a troubled, edgy vision of Los Angeles as a city of fear, paranoia, random violence, social inequity, traffic jams and earthquakes. Kasdan's sprawling movie, co-written with his wife, Meg Kasdan, is attuned to the jittery Zeitgeist, and any rattled urban dweller will find something in it that hits close to home.

It begins with a Yuppie immigration lawyer, Mack (Kevin Kline), menaced by young black hoods when his car breaks down (shades of "Bonfire of the Vanities") and follows with an avalanche of catastrophes meant to illustrate the precarious-

ness of life in the Big City. Mack is saved by a tow-truck driver, Simon (Danny Glover), whose sister's house is riddled with bullets from a gang drive-by shooting. Martin, a fatuous producer of ultraviolent Hollywood movies, gets shot in the thigh by a crazed thief. Mack's wife, Claire (Mary McDonnell), finds an abandoned baby in the bushes while jogging in Brentwood. About to lose her own teenage son (Jeremy

Sisto) to adulthood, she decides to adopt it. "Grand Canyon" attempts to deal with marital mid-life crisis, interracial friendships (Mack's and Simon's lives interweave), inner-city gangs, the loneliness of single women (Mack has a one-night stand with his neurotic, adoring secretary, Mary-Louise Parker), even, through the Martin character, the question of Hollywood's social responsibility.

"Everything seems so close together... all the good and bad things," McDonnell says, and she could be talking about this unsettling movie itself, which is alternately tense and sententious, witty and sanctimonious, powerful and irritating. Kasdan ("The Big Chill," "The Accidental Tourist") is a talented anomaly—a personal filmmaker without a strong personality. It seems apt that Kevin Kline is his star of choice: Kline can be a brilliant clown, but as a leading man he's oddly colorless, a handsome mannequin who radiates little more than guarded irony.

**Strange unreality:** For all the vital issues "Grand Canyon" raises, the film has a strange unreality: it never feels *lived in*.

Why are Kline and Martin best friends? Why does this immigration lawyer live so high on the hog? Is McDonnell's character a saint or a space cadet? Who has ever met a tow-truck driver who waxes as philosophical as Glover's Simon? There's some fine acting here: Alfre Woodard sizzles in her small role as Simon's girlfriend, and Parker is amusingly wretched. Glover is such a powerful presence he almost makes you believe in his gentle giant.

But Kasdan's earnest, apolitical "thirty-something" sensibility can take us only so far, offering vague cosmic notions of the "miracles" of daily life that are supposed to see us through these troubled times. "Grand Canyon" feels like the work of a good man, a citizen concerned for a society he sees going to the dogs. But concern doesn't necessarily translate into good art. Kasdan's movie doesn't succeed, but see it: it's the season's most fascinating failure.

DAVID ANSEN

## MUSIC

## Phantasmagoric 'Ghosts'

A new American opera is a hit at the Met



JOHAN ELBERS

An Arabian coloratura vaudeville and a kazoo-playing band: *Horne stops the show*

The best show on Broadway opened last week 20 blocks north of Times Square, at the Metropolitan Opera. If "The Ghosts of Versailles" were a musical, a producer would exclaim to artistic director James Levine, "We have a hit on our hands, J.L.!" The crime is that it won't draw the vast audience of "Les Misérables" or "Cats": to borrow a line from one of its characters, Louis XVI, "It's only an opera."

But what an opera. Composer John Corigliano and librettist William M. Hoffman (who consider themselves equal partners) call it "grand opera buffa," which doesn't begin to convey its musical and dramatic scope. The phantasmagoric "Ghosts" is about love, loyalty, politics and, most compelling, the power of art. In a time warp of shifting realities and possibilities, it's consumed with death, yet electric with life. Contemporary opera doesn't have a good track record, and at the Met it hardly has one at all. "Ghosts," Corigliano's first opera and the Met's first commission since 1967, beats the odds. With two orchestras (a chamber ensemble plays onstage), a byzantine plot and a lavish production that includes a mechanical pasha the size of an Aegean island, Corigliano, Hoffman and director Colin Graham continually set themselves up for a

fall (even a pratfall). They never stumble.

In the prologue, set in the present, ghosts of 18th-century French aristocrats drift (some high above the stage) into Versailles. They have come for a new opera which the playwright Beaumarchais has written to entertain Marie Antoinette, who is still mourning her beheading. Beaumarchais's characters—Susanna, Figaro, Almaviva, Rosina—are familiar not only to the wraiths but to the corporeal audience. (Beaumarchais wrote three "Figaro" plays: two were the basis for Rossini's "The Barber of Seville" and Mozart's "The Marriage of Figaro," the third is the jumping-off place for "Ghosts.") But Hoffman's Beaumarchais does not intend merely to amuse. He wants to alter history by having his characters smuggle the doomed queen (whom he has loved for 200 years) out of revolutionary France to America.

The first act glitters with perfectly calibrated hysteria: a patter song Gilbert and Sullivan would have envied, frantic chases, double-dealings and a kazoo-playing band. But restrained madness goes out of control in Act II, when Figaro rebels against the plot and refuses to help Marie Antoinette. Tragedy displaces comedy as Beaumarchais, desperate to restore order, enters his *own* opera. (To convince Figaro that the

queen has been unjustly condemned, he even re-creates her terrible trial.) Though he fails to rewrite the past, "Ghosts" ends happily: the Almaviva clan escapes by balloon to America and Marie Antoinette is finally at peace with her destiny.

"Ghosts" is an insider's opera. There are musical quotations (Mozartean and otherwise), both expected and sly, and referential plot devices. Opera novices won't be lost—they will respond viscerally. Hoffman's virtuosic libretto gives free rein to Corigliano, whose score is an atmospheric mix of serialism, romanticism, neoclassicism, Turkish pastiche and electronics. His keen theatrical sense and gift for orchestration are evident everywhere. (He isolates woodwinds, for which he has always had a special affinity, with particular effectiveness.) The prologue, with its eerie, evocative tone rows, sounds like a misty November afternoon. Haunting themes weave through the score like specters.

The cast, including Hakan Hagegard as Beaumarchais, is exceptionally strong. In a cameo, Marilyn Horne stops the show with a boisterous, Arabian coloratura vaudeville. As Almaviva's duplicitous friend Bégearss, Graham Clark is an acrobatic sadist, leaping, slithering and walking on his hands. Most chilling is Teresa Stratas as Marie Antoinette. Tiny and ashen, she is almost unbearably poignant as she reconciles herself to the past.

**Fun and profundity:** Only complex talents could have dreamed up "Ghosts." Hoffman, 52, best known for "As Is," a prize-winning 1985 play about AIDS, also writes for the soap opera "One Life to Live." Corigliano, 53, has never allied himself with any compositional camp ("I don't like pieces that resemble each other that much"). "Ghosts" has both the sheer fun of his flute concerto, "Pied Piper Fantasy," and the profundity of his award-winning First Symphony, written in response to the AIDS crisis. "Music is very often a foreign language, even to music lovers," Corigliano says. "That's one reason I vote for clarity at all times." He "builds" a piece before he composes. For the eerie prologue, for instance, he took a long stretch of paper and drew a "timbre fugue" with colored pencils. "I wanted to see if I could take a line of music, like smoke, and change its color as it moved," he says. The colors came together in clusters: "When the clusters of sound got thick enough, they dropped out. Three notes were left and they became a chord."

Unlike many contemporary works, "The Ghosts of Versailles" is already assured of an afterlife. PBS will telecast the Met production next season, and the Lyric Opera of Chicago will stage it in 1995-96. Other companies are sure to follow. "Ghosts" is a triumph. It echoes in the mind and settles in the heart.

KATRINE AMES

# Quality is Job 1.<sup>SM</sup>

142

**"The whole car is riding on what I do."**

Joe Mack, Underbody Assembly,  
Ford Employee for 18 years.

## Profile in Quality #25: Care

Joe Mack cares about every aspect of his job. Because he knows that even though you can't see his work, it's absolutely essential to the quality of your car.

Joe is one of over 366,000 Ford people worldwide who are committed to making quality Job 1.

Our goal is to build the highest quality cars and trucks in the world.



# Ford Motor Company

FORD, MERCURY, LINCOLN, FORD TRUCKS

Buckle up — Together we can save lives.

Always insist on genuine Ford Motor Company collision repair parts.

# 1991, Wielding a Blackjack



This odd year ends with Saddam Hussein as secure in power as George Bush is

**B**y a circuitous route but with wonderful precision, 1991 taught an old truth: Life is indeed a series of dark corners around which Fate lurks, wielding a blackjack. This odd year ends with Saddam Hussein as secure in his job as George Bush is in his. The year began with a bang—lots of bangs—in Baghdad. It ends with the last whimper from what was the Soviet Union. There hunger, disease, crime, collapsing transportation and pandemic incivility show that living under peacetime socialism is like losing a very violent war.

The arms control fetish reached its final absurdity when an American zealot said we should help hold the Soviet Union together because it is the entity that signed the arms control agreements. The British Communist Party changed its name but not before getting caught committing capitalism, earning \$270,000 speculating in stocks and real estate. Gus Hall, 80, head of the U.S. Communist Party (we have one, Russia doesn't), still believes: "If you want a nice vacation, take it in North Korea."

It used to be said that the Balkans produced more history than they could consume locally. It is progress that the butchery there is not igniting the continent, as it did 77 years ago. Bush ("The mission of our troops is wholly defensive . . . They will not initiate hostilities") was lionized as a war leader. He rented a coalition (by forgiving Egypt's debts, China's repression, Syria's terrorism, etc.). Then the coalition, especially the Saudis, rented the U.S. military and Kuwaiti feudalism was restored.

On the home front, Treasury Secretary Brady showed why he and Bush are soulmates. Brady, the administration's Churchill, sent the English language into battle to shore up consumer confidence, saying "the rush to judgment that this recession is the end of the Western world as we know it is entirely premature" and "it always looks dark at the bottom of a recovery." For some reason, consumer confidence did not perk up. Bush took time out from fixing the Middle East and testily denied he was neglecting domestic policy. He said he would try to fix Cyprus.

The right passion for the wrong reason: Americans, having watched Congress misgovern, finally became enraged—about members bouncing personal checks. The year of living dangerously: Bush ventured to live without the chief of staff who commandeered airplanes so he could constantly be in "secure voice contact" with the White House. No team had ever gone from last place one year to the World Series the next. This year two teams did. Democrats took heart.

Two hundred years ago the center of America's population was calculated to be at Chestertown, Md. In 1991 it was at Steelville, Mo., heading southwest. The interesting white population of Louisiana gave a majority of their votes to a 41-year-old gubernatorial candidate who said his Nazi and KKK activities were youthful indiscretions. A Los Angeles citizen with a video camera caught a gang of criminals in brutal action, and in LAPD uniforms. On the cutting edge of concerned parenting, a Texas mother was sentenced to 15 years in prison for trying to arrange the killing of the mother of her daughter's principal rival for a spot on the high school cheerleading squad.

Sex of various sorts made much news. In Palm Beach, a 78-year-old prospective juror said of the defendant's uncle, "somebody was running around without his pants. I think it was Kennedy, the fat"—pause—"the senator. He's idealistic but maybe a little horny." That senator and his Judiciary Committee colleagues discussed the Constitution and pubic hair. Senator Robb said he just got a massage. In basketball's centennial year, perhaps the sport's greatest player ever was proclaimed a hero for endorsing "safe sex" rather than the kind he practiced while "I did my best to accommodate as many women as I could." A college-bound New York City student said he was glad the schools were distributing free condoms because "I don't want to get no disease." Schools give children condoms before, or instead of, grammar. First things first.

**Living better than a king:** San Francisco's government declared the city a haven for war resisters and conscientious objectors to Desert Storm. It denied a request that it erect signs along freeways to declare the city a "sanctuary for sexual minorities." In the 1990-91 academic year the non-discrimination policy of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst forbade "discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, creed, sex, age, marital status, national origin, disability or handicap, veteran status, or sexual orientation, which shall not include persons whose sexual orientation includes minor children as the sex object." In the 1991-92 statement the last 15 words were deleted. Is pedophilia becoming a civil right? A feminist marketed an alternative to the Barbie doll, one with a thicker waist, shorter legs, larger hips. The feminist called it "responsibly proportioned."

On the 500th anniversary of the birth of Henry VIII—not a feminist—a London headline announced that he had been **REALLY A FLOP IN BED**. Seems that after his third marriage he was virtually impotent. He may have died of scurvy, brought on by vitamin C deficiency. Citrus fruit was scarce even for royalty in 16th-century England. Our middle class is feeling sorry for itself, but it is still living a lot better than a king lived in the good old days.

Good news came from France where folks eat 30 percent more fat than Americans, smoke more, exercise less and yet have fewer heart attacks. "Wine, particularly French red wine, has a flushing effect on the heart's artery walls." So says an ad for French wines, citing a French institute of health. And pâté de foie gras may also be good for the heart, according to a scientist (French, of course).

Death tackled pro football's first superstar, Red Grange, the Galloping Ghost. James (Cool Papa) Bell, dead at 87, retired the year before Jackie Robinson broke in with Brooklyn, so major league fans never got to see for themselves if Bell, a centerfielder in the Negro leagues, really was so fast he could snap off the light and jump into bed before the room got dark. We know he once overthrew third base, raced in to catch the carom of his throw off the dugout roof, and tagged the runner at third. The scoring on that putout was 8-8. You can look it up.



143

# DEWAR'S SCOTLAND

This time of year in  
Scotland, as elsewhere,  
home is where the  
hearth is.  
Happy Holidays from  
Dewar's "White Label."



To Give the gift of Dewar's,  
call 1-800-4-DEWAR'S.

© 1991 SCOTCH WHISKY IMPORTERS CO., INC.