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Presidential Address on Drugs 9/5/89 [OA 6267] [7]

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STRATEGY ON DRUGS ENDORSED BY BUSH

Continued From Page 1

sional candidate and then vacation at Kennebunkport, Me., for three weeks.

The President, who has made drugs one of his top priorities, has been meeting regularly on the issue. Mr. Bennett's plan has circulated through the top levels of Government and most of it has become known over the few three weeks.

Most elements of the plan were approved today by the White House Domestic Policy Council, which is made up of several Cabinet members. Any revisions would probably come from Mr. Bush himself.

The strategy of Mr. Bennett, the Director of National Drug Control Policy, contains dozens of recommendations, but a key thrust is spending more money for local law enforcement to rid drug dealers from the streets of major cities, rather than targeting drug trafficking operations abroad. In addition, the plan would double the funds for treatment and increase spending on education and prevention programs.

The plan is also aimed at making casual drug users more accountable, recommending, for example, that school districts suspend or expel students who are caught using any illegal drugs, as well as stricter penalties in the workplace for employees who use drugs.

The one area that is still not fully resolved is the role of the American military in combatting the drug trade. The section of the report dealing with that is still being drafted by the National Security Council. But Administration officials said there was general agreement to send military advisers to South American countries where cocaine flourishes and to increase economic aid to those countries so that they are not as dependent on the narcotics trade.

Military Force Ruled Out

While Bush appeared to support a greater noncombat role for the military, he ruled out imposing military force against the will of drug-producing South American nations. Yet his remarks seemed to leave open the possibility of such actions if requested by the country itself, such as for a raid on drug laboratories.

"I don't think you can inflict force on a country and I wouldn't," Mr. Bush said. "I wouldn't want to be a part of that at all."

In other topics at the news conference Mr. Bush also asserted that he



The New York Times/Jose R. Lopez

President Bush said yesterday that it was "too hypothetical" to say what he would do for Iran if Teheran authorities helped arrange the release of American hostages, but stressed that "there are many

ways that countries who are estranged can get back together." Above, the President stopped to answer a question on his way out of the White House briefing room after his news conference.

A Federal drug agent was arrested in Boston on charges of transporting 62 pounds of cocaine. Page A14.

agreed with unusually pointed remarks Sunday by Richard G. Darman, the budget chief. Mr. Darman urged the Federal Reserve not to be so concerned about inflation as to tip the economy into recession by keeping interest rates high.

"I thought what Dick Darman said was very balanced," Mr. Bush said. "I can feel very comfortable with his salient points and saying that."

Squabbling Over Plan

But the President declined to say whether he supported Mr. Darman's warning that if the economy went into recession he would hold the Federal Reserve responsible. Mr. Bush's comments served to remind the Federal Reserve that its policies were being

closely scrutinized by the Administration.

Mr. Bush, who met several times this week with Mr. Bennett to discuss the drug plan, indicated that there were no fundamental stumbling blocks. But some elements of the plan have been shelved or revised because of inter-agency squabbling, White House officials said.

For example, a proposal in Mr. Bennett's original draft for an intelligence center in which Federal agencies would share information on drug traffickers has been dropped, after resistance from the Justice Department. The latest draft also downgrades the role of an inter-agency group that would develop future drug policy strategies. Justice Department officials saw these proposals as infringing on Attorney General Dick Thornburgh's authority in the drug effort.

"There was much more right than

there was wrong, and a lot of it was a matter of fine tuning," said Harri Kramer, a drug policy specialist at the Justice Department. The agency, she added, wanted to "make sure that the Attorney General's rightful place as the nation's chief law enforcement officer is recognized and taken into account."

Because of other objections, officials said they also may delete from the plan a proposal that would require states to revoke driver's licenses of convicted drug users as a condition of receiving Federal highway money.

Senator Joseph R. Biden, Democrat of Delaware, raised the question of whether Mr. Bush would back his verbal pledge with money and suggested that taxes would have to be raised to adequately battle drugs. And he asserted, "The American people believe that we should spare nothing in waging an all-out war on drugs."

Bush Endorses Strategy Outline For Drug Battle

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 15 — President Bush endorsed the outline of a national strategy to attack the drug problem today, placing more emphasis on local law enforcement and less on international drug trafficking. He pledged to find money to pay for the program without raising taxes.

Without committing himself to the program's specifics, the President said the plan formulated by his chief on drug policy, William J. Bennett, is in its outline "balanced, decisive, effective and achievable, and it will target all aspects of the problem." Details of the plan are scheduled to be announced Sept. 5.

Mr. Bennett has asked the Administration to spend at least \$1 billion more than the \$5.96 billion the President had proposed for drug programs in the fiscal year 1990, which begins Oct. 1. Mr. Bush has not committed himself to an increase of that size, but he has said he wanted more money shifted from other programs, possibly military and social, to the effort to fight drugs.

'Reallocation of Resources'

"We will have to do some reallocation of resources," Mr. Bush said. "There's no question about that." He said specific decisions were still being discussed by Administration budget officials.

"We'll be working on the final points of the strategy over the next few weeks," the President announced at a news conference the day before he goes on vacation. On Wednesday he plans to travel to Miami for a campaign appearance for a Republican Congress-

Continued on Page A8, Column 1

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mark,

Here is some material from Gamble for the drug speech. The only line Chris saw as interesting was the plague line - talk to her about it, I think it has some definite possibilities.

Kristen

- the big question is, did you buy the car or not!?

CONTACTS: DON HAMILTON
+ C.O.S.

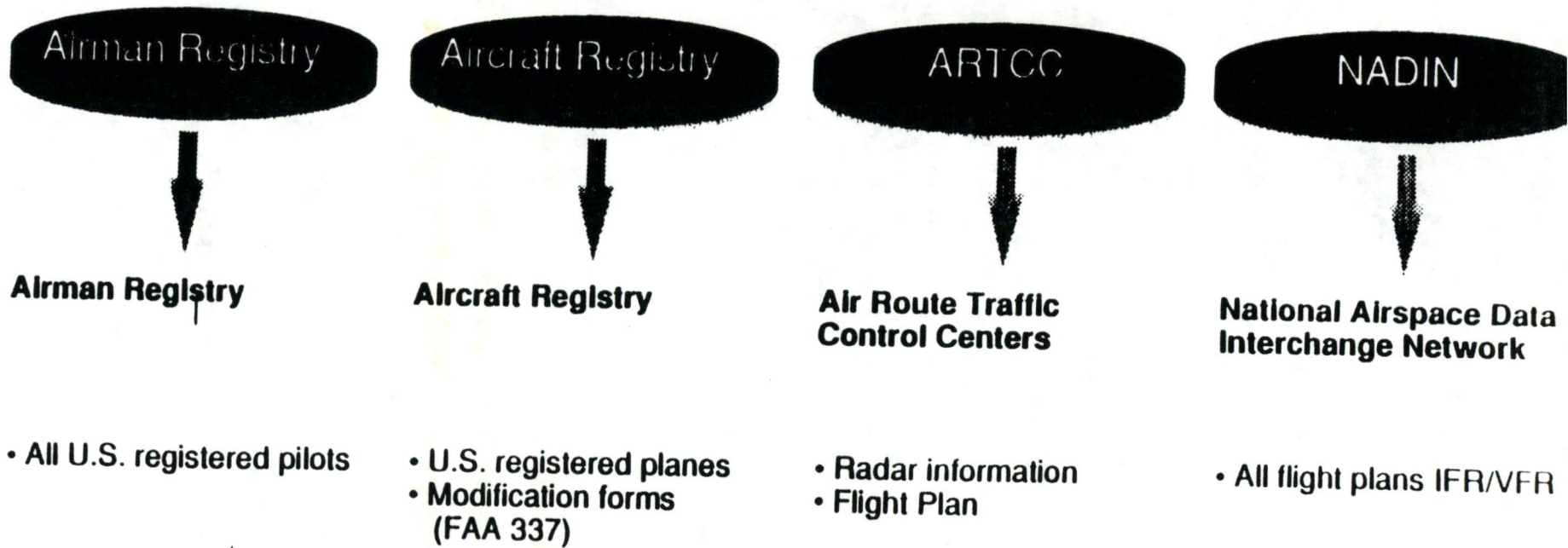
QUESTION: Spells out 10-YR-GOAL
20-YR-GOAL

DO WE WANT TO MAKE SUCH AN
EXPLICIT PROMISE?

F2/Osprey IDEA

FACE The Nation

ADP Systems - FAA



DRAFT

August 11, 1989*

APPENDIX F

Consultation Process

"Bill Bennett asked ..."

Section 1005 of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 stipulates that the Director of ONDCP will seek advice from a wide range of sources, in and out of government, in preparing the National Drug Control Strategy. Specifically, the Act requires that the Director consult with: the heads of the National drug control program agencies, the Congress, State and local officials, and private citizens with experience and expertise in demand and supply reduction.

Accordingly, ONDCP conducted an extensive outreach effort. We asked Federal agencies, Congress, State and local governments, private citizens and corporate groups to provide comments and recommendations on the following areas and issues:

- o Ways to improve the coordination and effectiveness of public and private sector efforts.
- o Cooperation or possible partnerships among the various levels and segments of society, domestic and international.
- o Successful State- or area-wide strategies or programs.
- o "What works", in prevention, education, treatment,

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rehabilitation, law enforcement, crop control, diplomacy and international cooperation.

- o Information on special initiative(s) of any organization or special interest group involved in drug control efforts.
- o Perceptions as to changing attitudes or trends.
- o Public information programs and other means of communicating anti-drug and drug-free messages to prevent illegal use of drugs and heighten awareness.
- o Ways to generate community support for the various drug control programs, including accepting treatment centers, prisons, neighborhood watch programs, education and prevention efforts, drug-free public housing initiatives and user accountability.
- o Additional tools needed (i.e., new or additional legal tools or laws, educational brochures, training, etc.) or ways to improve the responsiveness of the medical, educational, and criminal justice systems.

In addition, we asked for perspectives on the cause(s) of the drug problem, and suggestions for actions needed to assail illegal drug use.

ONDCP sought ideas and recommendations from:

- I. All Executive Departments and Agencies. We held formal meetings with officials of all Federal agencies, and in particular solicited input from all the Drug Control Program

agencies. We also asked the Department of Justice for material on State and local programs and strategies developed in connection with applications for funding.

II. Every Member of Congress (535).

III. State/Local Officials (160): All governors; mayors with known city-wide strategies or from a representative sample of large, medium or small cities/towns; State alcohol/drug abuse directors from particularly hard hit areas, plus U.S. territories; select District or State Attorneys and U.S. Attorneys; and national organizations which represent State and local officials (i.e., National Association of Counties).

IV. Private Sector Interests (134). Individuals having expertise in one or more areas of the drug problem (i.e., law enforcement, criminal justice, prevention, mobilizing the community treatment, communications, workplace issues); and a variety of groups and organizations representing certain segments of society (i.e., medical, judicial, law enforcement, education, drug-specific).

V. Existing Strategies and Relevant Documents. In consideration of previous Federal strategies, the report of the White House Conference for a Drug-free America, and other governmental and non-governmental, and domestic and

international plans, we reviewed as many of these documents as could be identified and culled pertinent portions.

VI. Current Cooperative Efforts. The drug control agencies of the Federal government were asked to describe the existing and planned cooperative efforts between their agency and State and local governments or private sector organizations. The State and local government and private sector officials from whom written material was requested were also asked to identify existing and potential cooperative efforts between the various levels of government and the private sector, including both domestic and international levels.

VII. Face-to-Face Consultations. The Director met with Federal, State and local government officials, Members of Congress, and representatives of the private sector, including former drug policy advisers to discuss the various aspects of the drug problem. These people were asked to offer, informally, their ideas and recommendations for combatting illegal drug use and trafficking. In addition, the Director met with groups of experts from the private sector on such areas as treatment, drug-free workplaces, drug testing, the criminal justice system, law enforcement, education, communication, prevention and community mobilization. These latter meetings were used to raise issues of mutual concern for the participants and to identify the measures, initiatives and resources needed to expand their effectiveness.

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Many of the failures of the past can be attributed to over-simplification of the drug problem--searching for a magic bullet and relying solely on input from Federal agencies. If we are to succeed in our efforts, all segments of society must be fully involved in finding and implementing solutions to the Nation's drug problem. The breadth of our consultations demonstrates our commitment to an inclusive and truly national strategy.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 16, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID TELL

FROM: EDWARD E. McNALLY

SUBJECT: FOUR IDEAS FOR COMBATTING DRUG TRAFFICKING

I. **YOU CAN RUN BUT YOU CAN'T HIDE:
APPREHENSIONS ON THE HIGH SEAS**

Two years ago, all America was electrified at the news that Fawaz Younis -- one of the world's most wanted terrorists -- had been apprehended on the high seas and brought to justice in a U.S. courtroom. It was a striking, White House-led operation that ran without the assistance (and outside the jurisdiction) of any other nation. The CIA found him, the FBI arrested him, and the U.S. Navy transported him direct from the Mediterranean to Andrews Air Force Base. (See U.S. News cover story, attached.)

Well, today's narco-terrorists are harming a lot more Americans than the old-fashioned kind. And it's time to go after fugitive drug lords the way we've gone after fugitive terrorists.

During yesterday's press conference, the President noted the Younis case -- and declined to rule out the possibility that the U.S. might try to abduct fugitive drug kingpins (specifically, Manuel Noriega). "We have an indictment out against [Noriega] for drug trafficking," the President said. "I am told that it's a good indictment, that it's an in-depth indictment, and I'm not saying what I would or wouldn't do. I have an obligation to try to bring people to justice."

For over a year, the Justice, State and Defense departments have had an operational plan to obtain jurisdiction over another drug fugitive -- one of the biggest in the world. Whatever the outcome of the Panamanian situation -- we should pick up the reins and move forward on this other operation now.

II. **THE CARROT AND THE STICK:
HOW TO MAKE THE BIG GUYS TALK**

Thanks to the tough new drug laws enacted in 1984, 1986 and 1988 -- along with many of the new reforms proposed by Secretary Bennett -- narcotics prosecutors like me can now wallop federal

drug violators with some of the toughest penalties going, including life in prison without parole.

These laws have armed us with a terrific "stick." And federal prosecutors have used these sticks to lock up some of the biggest drug lords in the hemisphere -- kingpins like Carlos Ledehar and New York's Mafia godfathers. All across America, these convicts represent a knowledge bank of inside information that could wreak real damage on the ongoing criminal networks that still control the heroin and cocaine pipelines.

What we need now is the tools to tap into this knowledge bank -- the tools to get the big players in prison to talk. Congress gave us the stick. What we need now is a good carrot.

The Drug Czar should announce that "the bazaar is open" -- that the United States is ready to tear apart underworld loyalties by talking commutation of sentence with imprisoned leaders who are prepared to break what the Mafia calls "Omerta" -- the criminals' vow of silence.

As you know, an overwhelming percentage of successful narcotics prosecutions involve "accomplice witnesses" -- a bad guy who crosses over to testify for the Government. This is especially true of the kind of prosecutions that actually make a difference in the drug war -- big time cases that put the top leadership behind bars, and take out an entire organization.

To get these accomplice witnesses, we use the carrot and the stick. The stick is the threat of severe prison sentences. The carrot comes in the form of relief from those penalties through plea-bargaining, or -- if they are already doing time -- through Federal Rule 35, which permits the Government to ask for leniency for up to a year after the defendant is sentenced.

Plea-bargaining and Rule 35 are used all the time. They work fine for garden-variety "mutts" -- the street-level drug dealers who scare easy and sign on with the Government early on. The problem is, it takes a lot longer than the one year allowed under Rule 35 to break the kingpins -- the Mafia capos, Colombian cartel lords, and Harlem "Mr. Bigs." For them the only way out is via outright pardon (an inappropriate remedy) or commutation of sentence -- which doesn't let them out of jail, but does offer the possibility that they won't die in prison by turning their fate over to the U.S. Parole Commission.

It is this under-used tool -- commutation of sentence -- that should be dusted off and added to our arsenal in the war on drugs.

These top players rarely cooperate. But when they do, their testimony is devastating to the top ranks of the drug underworld.

Consider, for example, the case of one of Harlem's most famous drug lords -- Leroy "Nicky" Barnes. In 1978, Nicky Barnes was convicted of running a massive heroin operation that put him in touch with virtually every big time trafficker in New York City. He was sentenced to life in prison without parole -- and still refused to give up his "friends." After a year in prison, the Rule 35 deadline passed, and Barnes missed his last chance to get a break.

But it takes more than a year for underworld loyalties to fade. And it takes more than one year in prison for a hardened criminal like Nicky Barnes to realize that life without parole meant means just that -- and that he was destined to go home in a box. But after a couple more years in Marion -- the prison built to replace Alcatraz -- Nicky Barnes finally broke. In 1981 he picked up the phone and called the U.S. Attorney's office in New York.

When national headlines revealed Barnes' defection, the shock waves reverberated through the underworld. Omerta, the vow of silence, was to last until death. But if Nicky Barnes could be broken, no one was safe. It was a major coup for the United States. And ultimately, Barnes' testimony cleared up several unsolved murders and led to the successful prosecution of more than 40 murderers and drug kingpins. Five of those caught in Barnes' net got his sentence -- life without parole.

Jerry Capeci, the crime columnist for the New York Daily News, recently called for the commutation of Barnes' sentence, citing Justice Department veterans who argue that fairness requires it, and that it would be good for law enforcement. (See attached article.) He also reports that the U.S. Attorney's office in New York has recommended to the Pardon Attorney that the President commute the sentence of Nicky Barnes -- that is -- turn his case over to the U.S. Parole Commission to determine when and if Barnes should ever be released.

A whole generation of imprisoned drug leaders are now watching the Barnes case -- and waiting to decide whether or not to come over to the Government's side in taking down the intact organizations they still lead.

We should seize this opportunity -- and use the Barnes commutation to send a powerful message to the drug leadership now behind bars -- that the bazaar is open -- and that extraordinary cooperation will be rewarded by extraordinary Government action.

III. RAMBO MEETS RED HEAT: AN INTERNATIONAL DRUG STRIKE FORCE

Also in yesterday's press conference, the President noted his long-standing commitment to giving "serious consideration" to

invitations from countries seeking U.S. military assistance in battling drug lords abroad. He also expressed his interest in the idea (raised at the G-7 summit by several of the European leaders) that "we ought to have some kind of international effort" to go after "people that have been out of the reach of law enforcement of the local country itself."

In a recent editorial (copy attached), the conservative Chicago Tribune proposed an even tougher international force, suggesting that the U.S. and Soviet leadership announce that they were

putting together a king-hell Soviet-American SWAT force, to go terrorist-hunting and hostage-freeing, [producing] some scrambling in the Middle East like nothing since Moses got the Red Sea parted.

As with apprehensions on the high seas, perhaps we should be thinking more about creating an international force directed at drug lords rather than at terrorists. And perhaps we should consider whether some progress on such a proposal could be made in time for announcement at the Costa Rican summit in October.

IV. THE AUSTRALIAN SOLUTION

You may also be interested in the attached op-ed piece from a recent edition of the New York Times, which suggests exile (perhaps to one of the Aleutian Islands) as an effective and cost-efficient punishment for the murderously violent. Others have proposed we save the cost of building expensive new American prisons by "contracting" criminals out to prisons run abroad by allies like Korea, Taiwan, or even Mexico -- where the cost of living is one-tenth that of the U.S., and where discipline actually works.

cc: Chriss Winston
Jim Pinkerton
Mark Davis

1) Burke

~~2) Porter~~

3) POTUS

~~INTERDICTION / AT BORDERS [where?]
COORD. NATL. STRAT.
FED GOV. CAN'T DO IT / counter Biden-Rangel~~

~~People auto. turn to Wash / schools
(not a fed. strat. / A NATL. strategy)~~

~~TAKE OUT Dems / generic.~~

~~NOT TOO TOUGH~~

~~LINCOLN (PORTRAIT)~~

~~BARCO'S REBUKE "Who can forget, some of us
w/ a twinge of shame."~~

~~Schools out / PRES. + Nancy Reagan~~

4) Dave

Personalize / collg. / In this ~~world~~

"As you sit here listening ~~to~~

"Sit down w/ your kids ~~to~~

KEEP CHALLENGES + CONGRESS + STATES

CUT - White / State House / LORELAINE HALE

ADD w/OUT RAISING TAXES

w/OUT RAISING BUDGET

OMB, in the next few BUDGET w/

submit a plan, w/in bipart. BUDGET
AGREEMENTS.

5) Sununu

USER

OWNERSHIP OF C3a / CREDIT FOR CONNS.
PROD. / PROC. / SHIPMENT / inter. - judicial-prosecutioned.

COORD / DODetail (SAY it early spec.)

Six times as what?

Numbers 53% / 321 over half a trillion

\$233 m. a quarter of a billion

Parents + family must set the just ex.
of a drug-free life. And when there are
no parents —

War-footing

(Circulate now [Bennett's people] -
DRAFT to focus end of Day Mon.
Meeting in K w/ Bennett)

Meet Def. prebloom (STARS)
Different ~~casual~~ + hearing

Correct. laborer
Doing dump + freedom/ can't be too w/out
Dump ~~everywhere/ every workplace~~
Every parent who does, Every workplace
ETC., is part of the solution

America has decided. We have made
a decision in this country. We've made
the decision ((gives us way to get out of
trap of last eight years))

CHARTS + GRAPHS / Down by a third/ up by
A THIRD (VISUAL) / may be a point
later in speech to do some thing
in their kids

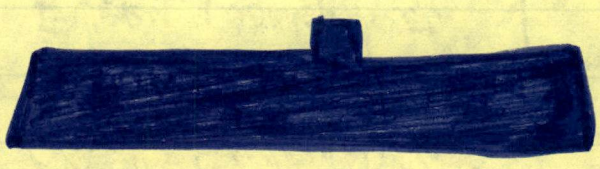
Promo 30. AD. - A week from today,
I'm going to have a special address
to the kids of America to talk to

Booker - Billion / Million a day for 3 years
Raising
Drug free media publishing
Already done \$100 million

after
charts
what
the
sol

~~[Cavity on one front, defect
consider on all fronts, discuss]~~

~~(Interlocking / attack at every
stop.
* - never been packaged
- mandatory reviewing
- chain only study covered till~~



~~President should credit media - add in~~

~~More kid [ATEND?] See/uta~~

~~[Leave a space for extraite
[Timely new events]~~

~~HT Suppliers / inter agents~~

2ND DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Luncheon With
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The President's Agenda

The President. Well, first, let me just say, welcome to Washington. And I've been traveling some, but I like this much better -- you all coming here. And we're delighted that you are here.

We've got a broad cross section of both print and broadcast journalists here, and what I really want to do is to take your questions. I'm delighted that you heard from our drug czar, Bill Bennett [Director of National Drug Control Policy], this morning, and Roger Porter [Assistant to the President for Economic and Domestic Policy], as well. And I'll be glad to follow on to any subjects that you have taken up with them. Our Chief of Staff John Sununu came over here with me -- hey, you don't get off that easy, Joe. You haven't heard my speech. [Laughter]

No, I'm not going to spend a lot of time, but I do want to indicate that certain important things have taken place at the outset. We went up with a good budget agreement -- we hope we'll get an agreement -- a good budget proposal. We've thrown an idea, a plan out there for the savings and loans, and I think that is an important thing to have happen. We've introduced a child-care initiative in keeping with the philosophical approach that I talked about in the campaign: parental choice. We've done that one. We've made a vigorous start in the narcotics area, and I want to congratulate Bill Bennett, who really -- antinarcotics area -- hit the ground running. And he has to formulate under the law a specific plan. But we're not going to wait for that to move forward in various ways.

Next week, we'll be sending up new legislation on ethics and education. The ethics guidelines will enable us to sustain an honesty and integrity in public service. I've been talking some about my belief in public service: those not that are in and out on the political basis, but those who serve in a career basis. Though we have no legislation on that, I want to keep saying how important I think that is.

We recognize that the major problem facing us is the budget deficit. And Dick Darman is doing a very good job. Nobody declared our budget dead on arrival, which pleased me very, very much. Nobody has anointed it, either, in every possible way. [Laughter] But nevertheless, we are making progress.

On the national security-foreign affairs side, we're going to have a vigorous week next week with President Mubarak [Egypt] here, Prime Minister Shamir [Israel] here. And then we're going to have several of the Central Americans up here very soon. You've seen our new approach, you might say, on Nicaragua, where we are working with the Congress, we're together with Congress. One of

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 453

my regrets is that we were sending two signals. We'd have one signal out of the executive branch and then another signal coming out of Capitol Hill. And I think that now we've laid that to rest, and we're going to do what we can to move forward -- help move forward the democracy that I believe the people of Nicaragua want and the democracy that they've been denied.

So, we've got a big agenda there with forthcoming meetings on Europe, on the NATO summit coming up at the end of May, and then, of course, we'll have a big meeting in Paris in July. So, we're going to -- the agenda is full. We're moving forward on our national security reviews. I remain optimistic about working with the Soviets, but I've said and I'll repeat to you all, I'm not going to precipitously move just to have some meeting going on out there. There's a lot happening, and when I come forward with a proposal, I want it to be sound. I want it to have the full support of the NATO alliance, and I want it to have a credibility, an instant credibility that shows our commitment, not only to enhancing the peace but to preserving the alliance and keeping it strong.

So, there's a lot happening out there. I'm just delighted all of you are here. And now, let's just go to the questions.

Substance Abuse and Alaskan Oil Spill

Q. Mr. President, I was wondering whether you, in the light of the Alaskan oil spill, whether you think the Federal Government should take measures in perhaps two areas: one, to tighten up the requirements -- the restrictions on alcohol and drug abuse by the people who are in charge of these ships, and perhaps more importantly, to ensure that there is a quicker response on the cleanup efforts?

The President. I would certainly support constitutional steps in the former area. I feel that substance abuse is wrong. I want to see a drug-free workplace, and I would certainly think we could expand that to reasonable requirements in terms of people who are fulfilling important functions like taking crude oil through straits.

I will say it's awful hard to guard against abuse of this nature when you're making laws. And I think one of the things I learned from our meeting with our EPA Administrator [William K. Reilly] and the head of the Coast Guard [Adm. Paul A. Yost] and our able Secretary of Transportation [Samuel K. Skinner] was that this strait was pretty wide and that I don't think there is any way you could plan, as you're making the pipeline, against this kind of abuse. But in terms of testing, I do favor that. You noticed I used the word "constitutional."

What was the second part, Joe? [Joseph Day, WNEV-TV, Boston]

Q. Regarding the cleanup, sir. There's been criticism in Alaska that, for a number of reasons, that the cleanup didn't begin --

The President. I think there were some reasons that it didn't go fast enough, and yes, I think we will have to do everything we can to see that the Federal Government, working with the States and private industry, has as rapid response time as possible. And I will say I feel very concerned about the environmental damage up there. When you look at those pristine shores and then see the threat to the fisheries and certainly the loss of life that's taken

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place so far -- birds and animals -- you have to be concerned about the environmental damage. And we have a very able Administrator of EPA, a man with unquestioned credentials in environment. And I expect that he and his people will learn from this, and then maybe there are things we can do to guarantee quicker cleanup. Gabe? [Gabe Pressman, WNBC-TV, New York]

Nuclear Proliferation

Q. Mr. President, Iraq is reported as seriously engaged in a program to build nuclear warheads and missiles. Does the prospect of this tiny, sometimes warlike nation being able to wage nuclear war -- does it give you great concern for the future?

The President. Well, one, I don't want to give credibility to the reports. Two, I strongly stand against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We must strengthen IAEA [International Agency for Atomic Energy] safeguards to be sure that there is as much inspection as possible. But I don't want to give credence to the fact that Iraq is in the process of building nuclear weapons. I cannot confirm that. And so, I don't want to go beyond that, Gabe. Anytime you see representations that there will be nuclear proliferation it has got to concern us. And we will be making those representations, if we feel it's about to take place, to any country.

Q. Is it a matter that you feel that the Soviet Union and the United States should take action on in connection with small countries developing -- other countries developing those weapons?

The President. Well, I think we do agree with the Soviet Union, who has also made its statements against proliferation. And you look around the world and there's some very worrisome areas. You know our position on Pakistan. Pakistan's very concerned about Indian proliferation. And so you can just keep going and find areas that we have to be alert to the dangers, and then try to find ways to see that nuclear proliferation does not happen. But I don't want to -- I just don't want to be pushed into giving credence to the reports.

Oil Exploration and Drilling

Q. Mr. President, if I might follow up on the Alaskan situation for just a moment.

The President. Please.

Q. Might this cause you to review and possibly change your support for oil exploration and/or drilling in the northeastern part of Alaska, near that wildlife refuge up there? Might you now review the policies on this because of this oil spill?

The President. No.

Q. No? [Laughter]

The President. You asked me if I would review the policies about ANWR [Arctic National Wildlife Refuge], about somebody bringing oil out of a strait 10 miles wide who was allegedly intoxicated. And the answer to your question is no.

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Q. The reason I ask is because environmentalists now are very concerned, as they were after the Santa Barbara spill of 1969, which I think you remember --

The President. I do.

Q. -- about transporting this oil from Alaska down the coastline.

The President. Well, we have to transport oil. We are becoming increasingly dependent on foreign oil. And that is not acceptable to any President who is responsible for the national security of this country. So what we will do is not go backwards; what we will do is redouble every effort to provide the proper safeguards. And I think most people are reasonable enough and fair enough to look back at the record over the years in terms of the pipeline, and found that there had been very little damage, if any. Certainly there's been no lasting environmental damage.

Now you have a ship that runs on a reef at 12 knots and driven by somebody or in command by a person who allegedly had been under the influence. And I'm not sure you can ever design a policy anywhere to guard against that. The logical suggestion would be, well, should we shut down the Gulf of Mexico? Should we shut down the oil fields off of Louisiana because of this? And the answer would be no. That would be irresponsible.

So what you do is do the best you can, express the genuine concern that you feel on the environment -- and I do feel a concern -- but not take irresponsible action to guard against an incident of this nature.

Drug Abuse and Trafficking

Q. Mr. President, I'll ask you a question I asked Mr. Bennett earlier today. We've seen a number of antidrug programs --

The President. You didn't like his answer?[Laughter]

Q. -- in the last couple of decades, and my question is: Are you confident that the Federal Government, working with local governments and -- I'm here in Washington at WMAL -- that you will be able to come up with something this time that will actually have an impact on the Nation's drug problem?

The President. I hope so. I would never suggest that the Federal Government will design a program and implement it that will be imposed on every locality. We can't do that. I believe the Federal Government has a certain role, and I believe that the control and power rests with the States and the localities.

But we have a responsibility, and there's no better person to fulfill that responsibility than Bill Bennett in making suggestions in terms of training programs, or educational programs, or enforcement programs, or programs that relate to prison space, programs that relate to utilization of the military assets -- and we are using them in the interdiction field -- than Bill Bennett.

American Hostages in Lebanon

Q. Mr. President, what is the administration's plan to obtain the freedom of the American hostages in Lebanon?

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The President. The plan to do it?

Q. Well, what is the plan? What is the administration's plan --

The President. The administration's plan is to do its level best to try through intelligence to find who is holding these hostages and where they are, and then to do what we can to release them. The plan is not to knuckle under to demands that will put American citizens at risk all around the world. That's the plan.

Two Forks Dam

Q. Mr. President, I gather you had a meeting this morning with Senator Armstrong of Colorado about the Two Forks Dam. Are you willing to ask the EPA to change its decision on that dam at all? What do you have to say to the people who feel they haven't been given a fair shake by the EPA?

The President. Well, I have a feeling that -- you ask what I plan to do -- I heard from Bill Armstrong a very strong presentation representing the need to go forward with the dam. And what I have asked is that our Administrator, Bill Reilly, be there for that presentation. He was, and he will be back in touch with me. It is a matter that is decided by the EPA Administrator, and I was very anxious that Bill Armstrong have him in attendance so that he hear this side of it. And I have confidence that Bill Armstrong, a very fair individual -- and we'll just see what is recommended. But it was a good meeting, and I was given a lot more detail on it than I had had before. But there's -- no final decision has been taken on that matter.

Dependency on Foreign Oil

Q. Mr. President, during the campaign, the general and primary, you were asked several times to protect the textile industry from foreign imports. Invariably, your response was that you would enforce existing laws. Since you've come into office, can you point to a single specific instance in which you have taken some action to --

The President. No, no, I can't.

Q. The question is on U.S. dependency on foreign oil. Would --

The President. Let me go back. Existing laws, to my knowledge, are being enforced. I can't think of any new existing law that's in force that wasn't before.

Q. Okay. On the question of U.S. dependency on foreign oil, can we reach a point where your administration would take steps such as an oil import fee or other stances that would help the domestic oil industry?

The President. Well, the domestic oil industry is doing a little better now, the price of crude oil having risen to some \$20 or \$18 -- I don't know what West Texas crude is today -- \$18.50, something of that nature. The industry is doing a little better. The rig count is still very low. I repeat: There is no security for the United States in further dependency on foreign oil. I have made proposals that would stimulate domestic production and I'd like to see the Congress move on those proposals.

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And so I -- but I am not -- have not changed my view on the oil import tax.

Education and Drug Abuse

Q. Mr. President, what do you envision for the role of education, especially in the fight against drug abuse? Do you see a blending together of the two?

The President. I think it is absolutely essential. We are not going to win the fight against narcotics on the interdiction front alone. And I think Bill Bennett agrees with me that the demand side is the place where we've got to do better, and that means education.

Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia

Q. Mr. President, we've been hearing about the new whip in the House, and all we hear is: He's a pretty tough guy. Are you going to meet the Congressman, and you are going to talk to him -- I mean, talk to him about the style that he's known for with respect to what you have at stake in legislation over there?

The President. I am absolutely convinced, having known Newt Gingrich, that we are going to work together very, very well. I don't think he needs any lectures from me. I think that every Congressman that I've talked to since then feels that he'll be what he said he'd be: a team player. He's not going to suddenly become a shrinking violet, but we don't want that. He's going to be a good leader. And I'm going to work with him, and I'm going to work with him productively. He's got his style, and I got mine.

Private Enterprise's Role in the U.S. Space Program

Q. Mr. President, a few days ago, a small company out of Houston called Space Services launched a private rocket. What are your plans to incorporate private enterprise in space? How is that going to work with NASA?

The President. It's going to work that we're going to encourage it. I've had a feeling -- and I can't document this -- that there has been some reluctance in some quarters of the government against privatization, against the commercial aspects of this. David Hannah, who was the founder, certainly one of the key honchos in that company, has risked a lot of capital. He's gone out and done what he believed in. He had one dramatic failure -- and a lot of people were giving him grief over that -- and he stayed with it. And he's had a successful launch -- he and Deke Slayton and others -- and I applaud them.

My role will be to tell the bureaucracy -- NASA -- that we want to encourage the privatization. NASA has a role that's a government role, and it'll continue to be a government role. But when you have enterprise like this, I think it is nothing but good for the United States. And we need alternate ways to put things into space, and this is good.

Q. Can I just follow that up, Mr. President?

The President. Yes.

Q. Are you saying then, that at some time private enterprise will take over NASA's role of the R&D?

The President. No.

Q. Do you see that coming?

The President. No, no I don't. But I see NASA making room for a significant private role in terms of putting things into space. And I don't sense, at the highest levels of NASA, a total resistance to this. But I've had a feeling that some involved in the process, not just in NASA, but along the way, have not been pushing the concept of privatization -- not being as cooperative as we might. So, I see NASA's role continuing in R&D. And I see it continuing in its shuttle business, space station business -- that I hope to see come to fruition. But I just think that we need to support and applaud those who, in the private sector, have big dreams like David Hannah has had.

Aid for the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance

Q. Mr. President, you have come under criticism in some conservative circles due to your policy toward the Nicaraguan contras. The fact that apparently you have no plans to request military aid for the contras -- is that a tacit admission on your part that the Reagan administration policy, which you had a part in for 8 years -- of asking for military aid for the contras -- was a failure in forcing out the Sandinista government or making it make reforms in Nicaragua?

The President. No, I think the Reagan policy brought the Sandinistas to the table. And I think, had there been no pressure, the Sandinistas would have gone about their merry revolutionary ways without keeping their commitment to the Organization of American States, a commitment for free press, for freedom of worship -- democratization, if you will. So, I think now we are -- the problem we had is you go to recommend aid and you have a different foreign policy set on Capitol Hill. Now we're saying -- and my own view is: There was no way, not a snowball's chance in hell, of getting a dime for lethal aid, military aid, from Congress. And I think anybody that's familiar with Congress would acknowledge that.

So, what we've done is get together with the Congress -- with strong conservative support, I might say. I'm not suggesting your question is wrong, because I hear some voices out there hitting us. But it's not bad. The policy has been well received. And we're speaking with one voice, and we are going to push for democratization. And by getting humanitarian aid that goes through this election, I am hopeful that the Nicaraguans will go forward and do that which they give rhetorical support for, but that which they've failed to implement, and that means democracy: free certifiable elections.

And you hear some criticism of Salvador and what's taken place down there recently. You don't hear it from me because I want to give Cristiani a chance. Those elections were certifiably free -- Democrats and Republicans on our commission going down there and saying that. So, we will treat the Salvadoran winner on his word: that he wants to continue the democracy that we salute Duarte for moving forward; that he stands against the extremes. And I think he's got some big problems with these Marxist-backed guerrillas coming at him. But we're going to support that, just as we're going to support the Central American Presidents as they now, hopefully, push Ortega to do that -- what Ortega should have done long before now.

Foreign Trade

Q. Secretary Yeutter and Ambassador Hills, Mr. President, go to Geneva next week for very important trade negotiations that I've been told will determine the shape of the U.S. foreign policy in the next decade and how the world reads it. What are your expectations from that meeting? Are you optimistic?

The President. Well, it's hard to say. So far, I've been pleased with what came out of Canada, for example. I had a talk with both Clayton Yeutter and Carla Hills two days ago. I would say that Carla expressed a certain optimism about moving forward with the agenda, and that would include agriculture. But I'd just say, I'm reserved on it. I'm reserved on how that's going to come out. But I think it is very, very important, if you believe as I do in free trade. I also think we need to get the emphasis on fair trade. And so I'm hopeful that they can make more progress. But I think they think there will be progress, if I have to give you the judgment of both the Secretary of Agriculture and the USTR.

Q. Did you give them any advice that you could share with us?

The President. No. I just said I hope they're right. And they're both professionals. They know my view on opening up agricultural markets. They know my view in fair trade. They know my abhorrence to more protectionist measures. But they also know that I support selective shots. I supported the wheat flour shot that was fired several years ago. And where the United States is being unfairly treated, I think we have every right to fire a selective shot. But I don't want to see us unleash the hordes of protectionist legislation. It gets back to the textile question: I'm not supporting legislation. Fortunately, that industry is doing fairly well right now.

Drugs and Drug-Related Crime

Q. Can you be more specific about your intentions in dealing here in Washington with drugs and drug-related crime?

The President. Well, I'd have to defer to Bill Bennett in more specificity. But it's going to be across the board where we can help: education, law enforcement, prison -- maybe expansion of prisons and prosecutors and judges, if we can help on that area. I'd say those are some broad fields, but I really would have to, on a 5-point program, defer to Bill Bennett on that.

Tritium Production

Q. The Department of Defense has expressed concern over tritium supply to fuel nuclear weapons and such.

The President. What was that?

Q. The tritium supply to fuel nuclear weapons.

The President. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you plan to have the Savannah River Plant be started this year, and what is --

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The President. I'm waiting to hear from Secretary [of Energy] Watkins on that, but I do share the concern about it. I am one who believes that it is important that we not -- in this era where some are proclaiming no need, almost, to keep our guard up -- that we not succumb to that and that we recognize we have got to have a tritium production capability. But I can't give you a time frame yet or anything of that nature.

Foreign Trade and Chicago Mayoral Race

Q. Mr. Bush, thank you for calling on me. I have a regional question to ask you. Governor Thompson [of Illinois] is in Moscow to establish a trade bureau with the Soviets there. I'd like to know if he went with your blessing, and do you encourage similar initiatives on the parts of other States? And why didn't the Republican Party support Ed Vrdolyak in the Chicago mayoral race?

The President. Very good questions -- somewhat unrelated, but let me try to help. [Laughter] I have absolutely nothing but admiration for those Governors that try to expand trade between their States, thus the country, and other countries. We have certain laws governing them and Jim Thompson is very familiar with them. I must confess that I personally did not bless this mission because I wasn't familiar with it. He's done other such missions that he's done on his own, as a Governor of a State should do. So that would handle the Thompson one. The other one was on Ed Vrdolyak?

Q. Fast Eddie.

The President. Fast Eddie?

Q. -- support of the Republican National Party as Rich Daley with -- be a -- Democrats. So, we were wondering why didn't the committee support him --

The President. Well, I don't know. We'd have to refer that to Lee Atwater. If you want to know whether I'd support the Republican nominee, I do -- Ed Vrdolyak amongst the nominees. And he supported me, and I don't forget those things. If the question is, how much in the way of assets or stuff, I really would have to refer you to the National Committee.

Federal Aid to Cities

Q. Mr. President, I've just come from Philadelphia, where the mayor last night unveiled the most austere budget they've seen in decades, and he's planning on eliminating city services that have been long protected. And the feeling is that much of the problem is the elimination of revenue sharing and other forms of Federal aid, that cities are being abandoned by Washington. What hope can you offer the mayor of Philadelphia and the citizens there that Washington will begin to help them with some of the social problems they're trying to deal with?

The President. Well, first, I'd tell there isn't any revenue to share, and say it respectfully, but make sure he understands that. And the best hope that we can do for Mayor Goode or for anybody else, is to get our Federal deficit down, because that's going to have a major impact on interest rates in this country. So we've got to get an agreement. And I would ask people who are pressed for funds -- and certainly a majority of a major urban area would fit that description -- not just Philadelphia, a lot of cities -- but the best

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thing -- you say what can we do? What we can do is get the Federal budget deficit solved and get this -- get the deficit going downward in accordance with Gramm-Rudman-Hollings.

And that is the best thing to do because if we do that we keep the economic growth going -- the longest in a long, long time in American history. That means job creation -- the new job creation reached I think it was 20 million jobs in the last announcement that I have seen. Interest rates have been creeping up, and this worries me. We've got to always be on guard against inflation. But I don't want to see an interest crunch slow down this economy. And that means then that we are going to have to do the best we can on the spending side. And we are going to have \$80 billion more revenue to the Federal Government this year than last -- under existing law, no change in law -- \$80 billion more coming in.

Now some programs have claim on that, many in the entitlements area, I will concede that. But we've got to take that money and use some of it to meet our obligations to get this deficit under control. And that is the best thing -- that is the priority thing that the Federal Government can do for any city. And there are other -- there are a lot of programs that are still amply funded or well funded, and we're going to try to continue as many of those as possible.

Medicare

Q. Mr. President, you promised a kinder, gentler nation, yet your budget calls for a \$5 billion cut to Medicare beyond the current law. How can that help but not adversely affect beneficiaries?

The President. Well, what we want to do is take it out of the side on terms of efficiency, of service -- delivering services, and that's what the proposals that we have sent up to the Congress and that Dick Darman is discussing with the various committees -- that's the emphasis that our recommendations take. And I hope that it will be -- I hope they'll be implemented. There will probably be some give-and-take on that recommendation, I think.

Q. Won't there be adverse effects, though, to beneficiaries with such a deep cut?

The President. Well, as I'm saying, it needn't be. It depends what's worked out with the Congress. Our proposal did not -- our proposal took it out mainly on the side of services. So we're not talking about drastic cuts to monies to families.

Last one. Once, twice. Then I'll go peacefully.

Former Presidents

Q. Your resident scholar, Dr. Porter, gave us a brief history lesson this morning on the Presidency. And he recalled a conversation he had with you about the great Presidents of the past, and why we don't have great leaders today -- talking about Jefferson and Monroe and Madison. Who are your two favorite great Presidents?

The President. First, I'd make a point that everybody looks better over time. [Laughter]

Q. But who are your two?

The President. Herbert Hoover looks better today than he did 40 years ago, doesn't he?

Q. No.

The President. People remember --[laughter] -- not to you, but to a lot of people, they do. They remember the compassionate side of the man. You couldn't even talk about that 30 or 40 years ago.

Q. Is he your model?

The President. No he's not. [Laughter] But I want to just -- I was trying to make the point that time is generous to people. I remember the hue and cry around Harry Truman from guys like me, and Republicans. Now, we're all kind of moderated and think the good things and leave out some of the contentious matters.

So history is basically kind to American Presidents. A model, I think -- I was talking to some people the other day about it -- would be Teddy Roosevelt. He comes out of the same elitist background that I do.[Laughter] And he had the same commitment to the environment I did, although the rules on hunting have changed dramatically since he used to shoot with no limits out there in South Dakota, or North Dakota.

But he was a man of some action. He was a person that understood government, didn't mind getting his hands dirty in government. I remember part of his life being on the Police Board in New York City. Ask Abe Pressman about that. That's -- probably combat pay was required in those days. So he was an activist.

I have great respect for Eisenhower. I'm not trying to compare myself to any of these people, but in Eisenhower's case, he was a hero. He was a man that, I'm old enough to remember, was our hero. He led the Allied Forces, and helped free the world from imperialism and nazism. And he brought to the Presidency a certain stability. Others may have had more flair, but he -- and he presided, I will concede to you -- and I take it you're a student of history -- in fairly tranquil times. But he did it. He was a fair-minded person, strong leader, and had the respect of people. And I think he was given credit for being a compassionate individual. So, those are two who I would throw out there. And you can't live in this house and do as I do: have my office upstairs, next door to the Lincoln Bedroom in which resides one of the signed, handwritten copies of the freedom doctrine that will live forever -- Emancipation Proclamation -- right there in our house. So I think all of us -- I think almost all Americans put Lincoln on that list some place.

Q. Any Democrats in your pantheon, sir?

The President. Well, there could well be. Sure.

Q. One?

The President. Well, I respect certain things about Harry Truman. He liked to go for walks. [Laughter] But he was tough -- said what he thought and had

am not up to speed enough to tell you exactly what I can propose on that, or
itself to disaster aid, and we can fulfill our obligations there. But I really
The President. I can't give you any numbers on it. Current law addresses
realistic for those farmers to expect in the way of disaster aid?
that the rest may be in jeopardy. Given the current budget problems, what's
wheat crop has already been destroyed by drought, and there were indications
Q. Thank you, Mr. President. In the State of Kansas, about a third of the
Assistance for the Agricultural Sector in Kansas

Last one.

Back in 1980, people like Lloyd Cutler, for whom I have great respect, were
saying, look, this is so complex today that maybe we need a parliamentary
system. He wasn't proposing it; he was saying it ought to be looked at. Reagan
came in, stood on certain principles, stayed with them, and never asked for
sympathy or never asked for understanding of the great overwhelming burden of
the Presidency, and left with 61 percent of the people saying, Hey, wait a
minute. He did a good job. Good lesson right here in modern history.
for one man -- never heard it.
Never. And when Reagan left office, you never heard the Presidency is too big
job in the world -- how can anybody be asked to bear the burden single-handedly.
to me or to others around him for understanding about the toughest, loneliest
I never once in 8 years, no matter how difficult the problem, heard him appeal
thing I was telling these guys at lunch here: Once thing I learned from him is,
Let me just end on one that -- I learned a lot from Ronald Reagan. And one

that great leaders were all back there somewhere. I'm not sure of that.
So I don't think that -- I would argue with your premise. I could just go on
forever here. [Laughter] But I would argue with what I thought was the premise
about the question that you just asked. And again, I'm no student of history.
You can't live here without becoming more of a student of history, but you learn
the redeeming features. You begin to pick up the redeeming features of those
that maybe you hadn't had down as a hero, or hadn't even thought much about in
the history of this country.
But it's interesting, because when you live in the house here, you think

Johnson. But there are certain things about him that were good. And he was
certainly a very gracious freshman Congressman in those days to Barbara and me.
So we had a little insight that came from a personal knowledge of the man. And
he got all caught up in Vietnam, but people forget that, for his legislative
agenda, he got through what President Kennedy couldn't get through. We ought to
give a little credit for somebody that can do that. He controlled both Houses
of the Legislature, which is slightly different than the 41st President is
facing.

So there's -- and you can walk down -- I had a lot of differences with Lyndon
Johnson. But there are certain things about him that were good. And he was
certainly a very gracious freshman Congressman in those days to Barbara and me.
So we had a little insight that came from a personal knowledge of the man. And
he got all caught up in Vietnam, but people forget that, for his legislative
agenda, he got through what President Kennedy couldn't get through. We ought to
give a little credit for somebody that can do that. He controlled both Houses
of the Legislature, which is slightly different than the 41st President is
facing.

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what will be proposed in terms of disaster aid.

Q. Are you aware Senator Dole and Senator Kassebaum are trying to get some

--

The President. Well, they're talking to our Secretary of Agriculture right now in terms of trying to come up -- but I just can't tell you what the administration is going to come up with on it.

Fairness Doctrine

Q. Are you going to sign the fairness doctrine -- passed by Congress -- expect to veto?

The President. I never talk about what I'm going to sign until I know exactly what's in it -- read the fine print. Or better still, given the size of some of this stuff that comes around, have somebody else read the fine print that you have confidence in.

Thank you all. Listen, I've got to run. Thank you all very, very much. Hope you've enjoyed your stay.

Note: The President spoke at 12:45 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks at the Associated Press Business Luncheon at the
Annual Conference of the American Newspaper Publishers
Association in Chicago, Illinois

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 603

April 24, 1989

LENGTH: 3251 words

Thank you all for that warm welcome. And my friend, Bill Keating -- friend from Congress days -- thank you for that most generous introduction. I also want to thank your able -- I don't know whether I should say leaders or deputies of the Associated Press -- Lou Boccardi, sitting over here, and Jim Tomlinson -- and thank them and you for including me in this AP luncheon, given at the time of the Newspaper Publishers Association meeting. And I also want to say how pleased I am to be with you once again.

I've just come from Norfolk, a very moving ceremony paying tribute to the 47 young men that died in the turret aboard Iowa -- and it was indeed moving. And it made me once again realize how precious human life is and how sometimes you can't control things the way you'd like. And that leads me to just say a word about Terry Anderson, because in a meeting just now, in the greeting by Lou and Bill Keating, they brought up with me, once again, with this sense of urgency that all in the Associated Press feel about Terry Anderson -- the question of the hostages [in Lebanon]. And I just want to say, without being able to give you any good news, that we are concerned; we will follow every intelligence lead; we will go the extra mile to do what we can. And I vowed when I came into the Presidency not to talk about the burden of the Presidency, the loneliness of the job or the great toughness that nobody understands. I learned that from my immediate predecessor; 8 years and I never once heard a call for sympathy or a call for understanding along those lines. But I will say that when you do take that oath of office you do feel perhaps a disproportionate concern for a fallen sailor or an individual held hostage against his or her will anywhere in the world. And so, we will continue to keep this question of these hostages on the front burner.

I know the news business is a serious and sometimes extraordinarily dangerous business. Mark Twain liked to recall that Napoleon once shot at a magazine editor. He missed him, but he killed a publisher. [Laughter] Twain says: It seems his aim was bad, but his intentions were good. [Laughter]

You all know Jefferson's tribute to the importance of the press: "Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

And now, despite the fact that there are days when I think that all we really need is a sports page -- [laughter] -- both of us, government and the news media, need one another; we owe each other a measure of respect, honesty, and integrity equal to the work we're engaged in.

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It's been a little over 3 months since I took the oath of office, and I am pleased with the progress that we've made in a short time. And I'll say more about that shortly, but before I do, I'd just like to share with you some impressions of the past 3 months.

People often ask me, understandably: What's it like -- how the Presidency compares to the expectations you bring to it. I can sum up the thing that's made the deepest impression on me so far, in one word, and it's history, a sense of history all around you. And you can't live in the White House and you can't sit at the desk in the Oval Office, or upstairs in the office that I have now right next to the Lincoln Bedroom, without constantly experiencing the history of the place without thinking of the Presidents we all know, but perhaps in a different light.

And I think of Washington, working to define the Presidency, to mix power and restraint in a way that created a Chief Executive consistent with democratic government. This Sunday I'm going to go up to New York to join in the ceremonies marking the 200th anniversary of Washington's swearing-in. Each of those 200 years is lasting testimony to the solid foundation laid by Washington.

And I find myself thinking a lot of Teddy Roosevelt: his limitless energy; his mental, moral, and physical toughness. I want the record to show it's not just that he was an elitist, like me. [Laughter] I think of his dedication to serve his nation, a dedication instilled in earliest childhood, this sense of service, and then, I guess most of all, his love of nature, passion for reform and preservation.

I think of Harry Truman, a man who spoke his mind, a practical problemsolver, a fighter who never gave up. And I learned that one the hard way, because I'm old enough to have bet 10 bucks on Tom Dewey back in 1948.

And there's Ike, Dwight Eisenhower, hero to a generation, a man who, once he became President, didn't appear to seek the spotlight. He understood the value of quiet, steady leadership and led this nation through a decade of growth and progress and prosperity.

And of course, I do think of the man that I served for 8 years, Ronald Reagan -- his commitment. People wondered what was it. Why was he successful? It was his commitment to a handful of principles, a commitment to his beliefs, plus his great faith in the American people and then this unshakable optimism that he brought to the job. The opportunities open to us today, to my administration today, were made possible by the peace and prosperity that Ronald Reagan left as his legacy.

We used to hear a lot about the Presidency being too big for one man. Indeed, a very distinguished Washington lawyer wrote just at the end of the Carter Presidency, just as President Reagan was coming in -- there was talk, because of the frustration abounding, that what we might need is a parliamentary system. That talk stopped when Ronald Reagan became President. Different men, different methods, different circumstances -- proof, as I see it, that the Presidency is ample enough to accommodate the strengths and styles of our nation's rich political history.

In the past 3 months, these thoughts have framed my own approach in dealing with the pressing problems that confront us -- some of them decades in the

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making -- and in working to put the United States on a steady course for the decade ahead and the new century beyond it. I do not feel compelled or pressed because of a column here or a column there to reach out for something dramatic.

The first step in every initiative that I've undertaken is to square our action with enduring American principles. Whatever the problem, we can count on public support so long as our policy and principles share a common root. And these principles are: freedom -- for individuals, for nations -- self-determination and democracy; fairness -- equal standards, equal opportunity -- a chance for each of us to achieve and make our way on our own merits; strength -- in international affairs, strength our allies can count on and our adversaries must respect -- and at home, strength and a sense of self-confidence in carrying forward our nation's work; excellence -- the underlying goal in the collective efforts that we undertake, and accountability for the work we do; and in the workings of government, a firm sense of the responsibilities and powers of government and the private sector that lies beyond its limits.

My starting point has been a respect for American institutions -- for Congress, for the dedicated civil servants in the executive branch, for State and local governments, for the concept of public service -- and a firm belief in the constitutional powers of the Presidency. Each has its role; each can be enlisted in the work at hand. The emphasis is on cooperation, not confrontation, as the surest route to progress.

I've read more than a few news stories before and after the election -- you can remember them -- said that the new President and the Congress could not possibly work together after a bitter campaign that made cooperation impossible. I didn't believe that then, and I think we're proving it wrong now. When I took office, I told the Congress that the American people hadn't sent us to Washington to bicker. They sent us to govern, to work together to solve the urgent problems that confront us, and to shape the long-term strategies to ensure peace and prosperity in the future. I think the work we've done these past 3 months demonstrates the value of tough, principled negotiations between this administration and the Congress.

The bipartisan budget agreement that we worked out 10 days ago is a key example. That agreement -- ahead of schedule, on target with Gramm-Rudman, and with my "no new taxes" pledge intact -- is a strong first step towards dealing with the deficit problem and keeping our economy -- 76 straight months of expanding, uninterrupted growth -- on track. Difficult decisions lie ahead. I'm well aware of that. But the important first step, an important agreement, has been reached.

And of course, there's the accord we reached on Central America. The people of Nicaragua -- like their neighbors in the region, like people everywhere -- deserve to live in peace, with freedom. The United States is now speaking with one voice and standing behind a plan that will put the Sandinistas to the test. And this unity has encouraged leaders like President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica to support -- strongly support -- the U.S. policy. And the support of the leaders in that area, in Central America, those democratic leaders surrounding Nicaragua, is vital if we're to succeed.

And in 3 short months, we've made a good start coming to grips with issues demanding urgent attention and decisive action, and we've taken that action.

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Action to stabilize the troubled savings and loan system -- the reform plan that I sent to Congress will restore stability and put the savings and loan system back on its feet, in sound fiscal order. My plan guarantees that depositors will be fully protected -- they are today, and they will be in the future. The S&L system must be reformed so that the questionable practice and outright illegalities that caused the crisis will not happen again. And those S&L officials found guilty of criminal actions will be punished for the losses that they have caused. Last week the Senate passed my plan by 91 to 8, and I urge the House to act promptly and pass this S&L reform bill with its central provisions intact.

Action to strengthen ethics in government -- the ethics reforms that I've sent to Capitol Hill this month will uphold honesty and integrity in government service, and they will apply an evenhanded ethics standard across all branches of government.

Action in the war on drugs, where we're advancing on all fronts -- education, treatment, interdiction, and tougher law enforcement -- the antidrug effort, even in these tight budget times, will receive almost \$1 billion in additional funding in 1990, a 21-percent increase in the outlays over what we'll spend in 1989. We've imposed a temporary ban on the import of certain semiautomatic rifles, weapons all too often used in drug-related killings. And we're tackling the drug epidemic in the District of Columbia, a test case for a full range of innovative antidrug measures.

Of course, dealing with problems that demand immediate attention is only part of the picture. We need to look to the long-term as well, to focus now on the kind of future we want to see for ourselves and our nation. And investing in that future is high on our national agenda.

First and foremost, that does mean improving education. Investing in the rising generation is long-range planning at its best. Our future in this technological age depends upon the qualities and capabilities of the American worker, and not just the most talented among us but each individual member of the work force. The seven-point program on education reform that I sent to Congress early this month will help us reward excellence, reach out to students most in need, increase choice, and introduce a healthy element of competition and accountability that will promote quality in our schools.

I have no intention of shifting the emphasis to Washington, away from the localities, away from the States, away from the diversity that is one of the hallmarks of our educational system. But I do want to use the White House as a bully pulpit to encourage excellence in every way and to encourage the private sector in every way. And I would say to you publishers here: I salute those of you who have already taken up the cause of education -- be it literacy or dropout rates or whatever it is -- you can do the Lord's work in no better way. The seven-point program is going to help us reward excellence, and you can do an awful lot as well.

Preparing for the kinder, gentler future I've spoken of means helping Americans cope with the changing nature of society, helping fundamental institutions like the family remain strong and prosper. We have big differences. We talk now about child care. I want the family to remain strong, and that's the guiding aim of my child-care initiatives: a tax credit proposal designed to expand the options of low-income families, keeping the ultimate

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choice of who will care for the children in their hands. One of my greatest concerns as President of the United States is the diminution, the denigration in some ways of the family structure. We in government must see that everything we do is aimed at strengthening, not weakening, the families.

Preparing for the future has got to mean protecting our environment. Teddy Roosevelt put it best when he said: "I do not recognize the right to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us." Roosevelt spoke those words almost 80 years ago. And now, a little more than a decade away from the 21st century, safeguarding our environment is a national and international imperative. And we've taken the first important steps. We've urged Congress to enact legislation enabling us to ban the export of hazardous wastes to nations where safe handling of those dangerous substances cannot be guaranteed. And in response to growing concern about global warming, the U.S. will work in concert with other nations to end the discharge of CFC's [chlorofluorocarbons] into the atmosphere by the year 2000. And in the case of this Alaskan oil spill, we've taken steps to ensure a Federal role that is strong: a Federal role in oversight of the cleanup effort and to explore ways to prevent such spills in the future or to react more promptly if they should occur.

And finally, we've launched an initiative to strengthen the international strategy on Third World debt, which has already received broad international support from both the industrialized and the developing countries. We've set our course with this policy, and now I want to see this Third World debt a success on a case-by-case basis. I want to see us successful as we negotiate with Mexico, with Venezuela, and with other countries as well.

We've examined and I've made decisions on U.S. strategy for Afghanistan, Poland, Central America, and other problems and opportunities needing prompt attention. We have moved there. Within a few weeks, nearly all of the far-reaching and systematic defense and foreign policy reviews will be complete. And I've already made some decisions. Others, including arms control, will be forthcoming soon.

We're mapping strategies for a period of remarkable change in international affairs, change more wide-ranging and rapid than at any time in the postwar period. While we will lead, we also intend to consult and listen to our friends abroad and to consult and work with -- listen to the United States Congress. I've met with the leaders of 34 nations, renewing my acquaintance with many of them, establishing a working relationship with the others. Secretary of State Jim Baker has met once with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union. He will meet again next month in Moscow to continue that dialog. And as with the bipartisan agreement on Nicaragua, I will work closely on all international matters with the Congress. We have had several meetings already with the leaders of Congress to discuss, in a nonstructured way, consultation -- not only the process of consultation but we've begun it on individual areas around the globe.

Last Monday in Michigan I announced a new policy towards Poland in recognition of the positive changes taking place there. We'll be watching events in Poland closely -- the fate of Solidarnosc, the follow-through on the free elections promised by the Polish Government. Freedom is proving a powerful force in world affairs, a force for peace and stability. The United States must seize opportunities to strengthen and support developments that advance the cause of freedom, and we will do exactly that.

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I think we've made a good start these first 3 months, and there's more to come. The completion of our defense and foreign policy reviews in late May, draft legislation for a new Clean Air Act, a new strategy to curb the increased use of lethal weapons by drug dealers and other criminals, and new initiatives to combat the problem of homelessness -- all are on the near horizon.

You know, some of my toughest critics are not in your line of work. Quite often, they're the kids, the children who write to me at the White House. I want to share with you a letter from a young 7th grader from Torrance, California. He wrote asking me to take action on pollution, toxic waste, smog, littering -- and a very detailed list, if you will, of environmental concerns. And he says in his letter: "I'm not saying you're doing a bad job, but could you put a little more effort into it?" [Laughter] That letter was written on January 20, 1989 -- Inauguration Day. [Laughter] And I have no way -- maybe I ought to check on it as we go to California -- I don't know whether I've satisfied that guy or not. But I can say, I got his message. And as I said before, I'm a practical man; I like what's real. I'm not much for the airy and the abstract. And I like what works.

And there's a running debate now on what it takes to move a nation forward. Some will tell you it's ideology that matters. Some say it's a question of competence. And others say that issues are the issue. But the fact is, what it takes to move a nation can't be captured in one word. It's a matter of principles and performance, ideology and action on the issues. And this administration understands that the American people expect all of this and something more: They expect results.

And so, while I'm pleased with what's been done and what we've accomplished in these 3 months, there is a long road ahead of us. And I am optimistic that our reforms will produce lasting results, that the long-range planning we do today will pay off in the future, that our consultations with Congress will result in progress in domestic and international affairs as well. But most of all, this nation is ready to move forward to meet the central challenges that we face: keeping America free, prosperous, and at peace, tomorrow and into the century ahead.

Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 12:17 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to William J. Keating, chief executive officer of the Detroit Newspaper Agency; Louis D. Boccardi, president and general manager of Associated Press; and James F. Tomlinson, vice president and assistant to the president of Associated Press.



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OF FAMILIES IN ACTION**

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Celeste Wallace
J. M. Williams, Jr.
Williams Service Group, Inc.
Joseph H. Wernigton
State Farm Insurance

DATE: August 17, 1989

TO: Mark Davis

FROM: Sue Rusche

RE: Grass-Roots Organizations Working to Prevent Drug
and Alcohol Abuse

Here is a list of grass-roots organizations that are working to prevent drug abuse. I've marked especially active ones you may want to talk with. They will give you endless stories about people who are cleaning up their communities. We're also sending some newsclips that describe other folks' efforts.



2296 Henderson Mill Road
Suite 204
Atlanta, GA 30345
404-834-6364

GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZATIONS
WORKING TO PREVENT DRUG AND ALCOHOL ABUSE

I. NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

SERVING ALL COMMUNITIES

NATIONAL DRUG INFORMATION CENTER FOR FAMILIES IN AMERICA
2296 Henderson Mill Road
Suite 204
Atlanta, GA 30345
Sue Rusche
404-934-9394

SCOTT NEWMAN CENTER
6255 Sunset Boulevard
Suite 1906
Los Angeles, CA 90028
* → Jackie McDonald
213-469-2029

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR DRUG EDUCATION
204 Monroe Street, Suite 110
Rockville, MD 20858
Lee Dogoloff
301-294-0600

PARENTS' RESOURCE INSTITUTE FOR DRUG EDUCATION
The Hurt Building, Suite 210
50 Hurt Plaza
Atlanta, GA 30303
Thomas (Buddy) Gleason
404-651-2547

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR HIGH-RISK YOUTH AND FAMILIES
Arizona Department of Education
1535 West Jefferson
Phoenix, AZ 85007
* → Kathryn S. Begaye, Co-Chairman
602-255-4391

Spring Valley Mental Health Clinic
80 North Madison Avenue
Spring Valley, NY 10977
* → Philip Oliver-Diaz, Co-Chairman
914-425-8608

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF PARENTS FOR DRUG-FREE YOUTH (NF0)
1423 North Jefferson
Springfield, MO 65802
Ann Meyer
417-836-3709

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON ALCOHOLISM

12 West 21st Street
New York, NY 10010
George Marcelle
212-206-6770

SERVING ASIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

ASIAN AMERICAN RECOVERY SERVICES
2024 Hayes Street
San Francisco, CA 94117
Davis Y. Ja
415-386-4815

NATIONAL ASIAN AMERICAN FAMILIES AGAINST DRUG ABUSE
6303 Friendship Court
Bethesda, MD 20817
→ Pat O'Kura
301-530-0945

SERVING BLACK COMMUNITIES

→ INSTITUTE ON BLACK CHEMICAL ABUSE
Mr. Peter Bell
2616 Nicollet Avenue South
Minneapolis, MN 55408
612-871-7878

CORK INSTITUTE, MOREHOUSE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
720 Westview Drive, S.W.
Atlanta, GA 30310
Omwale Amuleru-Marshall, Ph.D.
404-752-1779

HALE HOUSE
68 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, NY 10030
Lorraine Hale
212-690-5623

NATIONAL BLACK ALCOHOLISM COUNCIL
417 S. Dearborn Street
Suite 700
Chicago, IL 60605
Maxine Womble
312-663-5780

THE LINKS FOUNDATION
1200 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005
Flavia Walton
202-842-0123

* → *SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE*
Rev. Richard Dalton* (MLK-Martin Luther King's organization)
334 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta GA 30303
404-522-1420

SERVING HISPANIC COMMUNITIES

*Rev. Dalton was the Washington DC pastor who helped organize the Fairlawn Coalition. SCLC hired him to replicate that effort in Atlanta, Dayton Ohio, Detroit and Los Angeles.

NATIONAL COALITION OF HISPANIC HEALTH/HUMAN SERVICES (COSSMHO)

1030 15th Street, N.W.

Suite 1053

Washington, DC 20005

Jane L. Delgado

→ Paul Cardenos
202-371-2100**ALAMO AREA COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENTS**

118 North Broadway, Suite 400

San Antonio, TX 78205

Martha Reyes

512-225-5201

NATIONAL HISPANIC FAMILIES AGAINST DRUGS

1511 K Street, N.W.

Suite 1029

Washington, DC 20005

Rudy Sanchez

202-393-5136

II. STATE ORGANIZATIONS**ALABAMA**

Mobile Partnership for Youth

305A Glenwood Street

Mobile, AL 36606

→ Ninky Vickers
205-473-3673

Rural Alaska Community Action Program

P.O. Box 200908

Anchorage, AK 99520

* → Doug Modig
907-279-2511**ALASKA**

Alaskans for Drug-Free Youth

P. O. Box 8515

Ketchikan, AK 99901

* → Lynda Adams
907-246-2273**ARKANSAS**

Arkansans for Drug-Free Youth

311 North Elm Street

Little Rock, AR 72205

Betty Herron

501-564-7865

CALIFORNIA

Californians for Drug-Free Youth
P. O. Box 492292
Redding, CA 96049
Shelley Coulter
916-241-0395

COLORADO

Colorado Federation of Parents for Drug-Free Youth
2522 Snowmass Court
Grand Junction, CO 81503
Jill Aguilera
303-241-1260

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut Communities for Drug-Free Youth
156 South Avenue
New Canaan, CT 06840
Karin Kyles
203-972-3234

DELAWARE

Delaware Federation of Parents for Alcohol and Drug-Free Youth
11th & Washington Streets
Wilmington, DE 19801
Pamela Wright
302-571-6974

FLORIDA

Florida Informed Parents
2334 Capital Circle NE, Suite 201
Tallahassee, FL 32308

→ Jeane Myddleton
904-385-7641

Informed Families of Dade County
9200 South Dadeland Boulevard
Suite 509
Miami, FL 33156

→ Peggy Sapp
305-670-4886

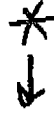
Operation Par, Inc.
6613 49th Street North
Buccaneer Plaza
Pinellas Park, FL 34665
Shirley Coletti
813-577-5545

GEORGIA

Georgia Task Force on Alcohol, Marijuana and Other Drugs
974 Myrtle Street
Roswell, GA 30075

Becky Nelson
404-998-6725

IDAHO
Parents and Youth Against Drug Abuse
7200 Barrister, Box 500
Boise, ID 83701
Jerry Lister
208-377-6656



ILLINOIS
Illinois Drug Education Alliance
85 Bailey Road
Naperville, IL 60565
Judy Kreamer
312-420-9163

Joan Bellm 217-854-4150

INDIANA
Indiana Federation of Communities for Drug-Free Youth
39 Boone Village
Zionsville, IN 46077
→ Jean Pock
317-873-3900

LOUISIANA
Louisiana Takes a Stand
P. O. Box 30806
Lafayette, LA 70503
Mona Burris
318-981-4910

MAINE
Mainely Families
P. O. Box 8594
Portland, ME 04104
Salley Kenney
207-384-2605 or 774-1884

MARYLAND
Maryland Alliance for Drug-Free Youth
404 Shipley Road
Linthicum, MD 21090
→ Beverly Preston
301-859-4320

MICHIGAN
Michigan Communities in Action for Drug-Free Youth
470 North Woodward Avenue
Birmingham, MI 48009
Ann Hansen
313-642-6270

MISSISSIPPI
Drug Research and Education Association in Mississippi, Inc.

* → 1991 Lakeland Dr., Suite B
Jackson, MS 39216-5014
June Milam
601-362-9329

MISSOURI
Federation of Parents for Drug-Free Youth
2002 Meadow Lane
Jefferson City, MO 65109
→ Ed Moses
314-751-3313

MONTANA
Havre Encourages Long-Range Prevention
Help Committee
P. O. Box 68
Havre, MT 59501
Linda G. Hybner
406-265-1233

NEBRASKA
Parents in Action in Nebraska for Drug-Free Youth
3014 Cedarberry Road
North Platte, NE 69101
→ Willa Kirts
308-534-2141

NEW MEXICO
Families in Action
300 Del Aker NW
Albuquerque, NM 87107
Gloria de Tavis
505-299-9426

OHIO
Ohio
Judge Andy Devine
Jackie Butler

OREGON
Oregon Federation for Parents
4205 NE Alameda Street
Portland, OR 97213
→ Arleen Thieman
503-282-6951

PENNSYLVANIA
Pennsylvania Aware
P. O. Box 673
Paoli, PA 19301
→ Carol Wortman
215-688-1889

RHODE ISLAND

→ Rhode Islanders for Drug-Free Youth
 57 Could Place
 East Greenwich, RI 02818
 → Gillette Hunt
 401-464-2191

→ TENNESSEE
 Tennessee Families in Action
 P.O. Box 3023
 Jackson, TN 38303
 → Dorothy Hudson
 901-422-6524

TEXAS
 Texans' War on Drugs
 P. O. Box 1022
 Alpine, TX 79831
 Stephanie Haynes * → Bobby Heard
 915-837-3393
 * ↓
 General Robinson Beisner
 Director
 Youth Coordinator

VIRGINIA
 Virginia Federation of Parents Against Drug Abuse
 7760 Shrader Road
 Richmond, VA 23228
 Chris Konschak
 804-755-7015

WASHINGTON
 Washington State Substance Abuse Coalition (WASSAC)
 WASSAC-14700 Main Street
 Bellevue, WA 98007
 Sharry Heckt
 206-455-1683

WISCONSIN
 Wisconsin Federation of Parents
 P.O. Box 150
 Mishicot, WI 54228
 Sally Patton
 307-326-5757

Milam

... And in the Streets, Citizens Fight Dealers

By MICHEL MARRIOTT

Special to The New York Times

NEW YORK, Aug. 17 — As homicide detectives moved in and out of the towering brick rectangles that make up the Frederick Douglass Homes public housing project on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, residents tried last week to measure the meaning of the handwritten words on large pieces of construction paper taped to the entrance of their building.

"Yesterday, we began a war against drugs and the drug pushers. We had to retaliate for the murder of Edith Richardson," one sign read, referring to the recent and unsolved stabbing death of a 74-year-old woman who lived near the building's rooftop crack den. "Tell me privately the names and apartment numbers of the drug pushers."

It was signed simply Mr. Ombu. It gave only his address.

Obatala Ombu is not the building's manager or project supervisor. He is a slightly built, 45-year-old father and self-employed video cameraman. He said he was tired of having to live amid

the project's blatant illegal drug trade, its relentless degradation and violence. So he is trying, in some way, to do something about it, although he knew that some would probably doubt his sincerity.

"There's always a risk," Mr. Ombu said. "There is a greater risk if you do nothing."

Despite the shooting death last week of Maria Hernandez, known along with her husband in her Brooklyn neighborhood as longtime fighters against drugs, people like Mr. Ombu say their resolve to fight drug dealers remains strong. And in recent months the police have moved to help citizens to stop drug dealers.

All across the city, in poor and middle-class neighborhoods, New Yorkers — in groups and sometimes alone — are increasingly standing up to drug dealers. It is part of a trend that is beginning to emerge in other major urban centers like Washington, Los Angeles and Miami.

In New York, people are trying to create citywide networks of neighbor-

hood anti-drug patrols and watchers, swapping successful strategies like they used to exchange gardening and cooking tips.

"It's growing and it's everywhere," Judith Holmes, a member of the West Union Crackdown in the Chelsea section of Manhattan, said of the citizens against drugs movement. "The issue is

Continued on Page 10, Column 1

NYT 8-14-80

Angry Citizen Groups Are Taking to the Streets to Fight Back Against

Continued From Page 1

that everyone knows that we can't depend on the police to deal with it."

While it is difficult to measure, the police and the citizen groups themselves say there are thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, of New Yorkers who have started challenging drugs in their backyards.

A Watchful Eye

In the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, Muslims continue to keep a watchful eye to prevent crack dealers from returning to their neighborhood. In the Park Slope section and some surrounding areas, neighbors are trying to hire private security officers to patrol their streets.

In the Bronx, ministers are leading marches and holding demonstrations in the heart of crack-infested and hope-divested back streets.

For the last several months a crimson-colored 45-foot-long banner has been stretched across Manhattan's 42nd Street business district, near the Avenue of the Americas, warning drug dealers and other criminals to beware because "We Are Watching You."

In the nearby East Village, small bands of unarmed residents, mostly women linked by two-way radios and

common concerns, go on night patrols three times a week, looking for drug dealers and users.

"We tell them they have to move on, that they can't do this here," said John Woods, president and founder of East Villagers Against Crack. "The police are an integral part of the whole thing, but they cannot do it alone."

The police have welcomed much of the new resident militancy, which is creating a new subculture of citizen involvement against drugs. A cornerstone of the Police Department's Tactical Narcotic Teams is citizen participation, Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward said during the inception last year of the multimillion-dollar program.

In many cases, the police have helped train anti-drug citizen groups and have informed them of what they can and cannot legally do in their fight against drug dealers. The police have also created special programs, like Drugbusters, to enlist citizen assistance in getting tips and descriptions of neighborhood drug operations.

"I think it has been effective," Dennis Ostermann, a community affairs police officer, said of the East Village effort. "I'd say 14th Street has improved 1,000 percent."

Yet some issues still arise whenever civilians take to the streets to enforce the law. The police and the Guardian Angels, for example, have long had an antagonistic relationship, even though both say they are trying to rid the city of drugs. That tense relationship repeatedly flared last summer after restaurateurs along Restaurant Row on 46th Street invited and sponsored the self-styled crime fighters in an effort to beat back a menacing wave of drug trafficking from the area.

Help on Night Patrols

Members of the Angels were frequently arrested and charged with harassing and assaulting people the group suspected to be drug dealers. A small contingent of Guardian Angels help the East Village group on its night patrols. Their purpose is to provide an element of protection to the group's members who regularly face down drug dealers, Mr. Wood said.

And there have been more serious examples.

Last year, a Long Island grandfather fired his 12-gauge shotgun at a cluster of people he said he thought had been selling drugs in his neighborhood, wounding a 30-year-old woman. Also last year, two men set fire to a crack

house in Detroit.

The New York City police said they have no recent reports of citizens groups becoming overzealous in their campaigns against drugs.

Concerned and Encouraged

But Norman Siegel, executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union is both concerned and encouraged by the apparent rise in the number of New Yorkers challenging the drug trade.

"We have to channel the energy of the people who are frustrated and make the system work," he said, cautioning that he did not mean that citizens should take the law into their own hands.

Mr. Siegel said a disturbing element inherent in citizen patrols is their distrust of the local authorities. "We cannot accept the rationale of some groups that say the police are ineffective, incompetent and even corrupt and cannot be counted on to protect the community," he said.

If the police are not doing their job, then New Yorkers need to force them to fulfill their mandate, Mr. Siegel said.

Robert M. Stutman, the special agent in charge of the New York office of the Federal Drug Enforcement Adminis-

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st Drug Dealers

ation, has said that citizens play a
 al role in law enforcement but that
 ey must not stray into vigilantism.
 City Councilwoman Carolyn B. Malo-
 / agrees. After leading several anti-
 ig demonstrations this month in her
 trict, which covers upper Manhat-
 and parts of the South Bronx, she
 d the police must be part of a neigh-
 hood's fight against drugs.

he credits the Tactical Narcotics
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 of drug dealers in her district.
 ch includes the Frederick Douglass
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is police said they have developed
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er Ostermann said.

er the shooting death of Mildred
 ne, a 61-year-old woman who was
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 87, the police instituted a new
 dure to better protect witnesses
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 he police said.

Bishop Assigned To Combat Drugs

WAP
8-11-89

Methodist Pledges to 'Be on the Street'

By Marjorie Hyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

In a move believed unprecedented among major religious denominations, the United Methodist Church has released one of its bishops for a year to attack the drug problem in Washington.

Bishop Felton E. May of Harrisburg, Pa., will be relieved of his church administrative tasks Jan. 1 to launch what he has termed "guerrilla warfare" against drugs and violence in the nation's capital.

"We do not want to be understood as thinking that the assignment of one person for a year can in itself solve these massive issues, but we believe that we can make a difference," Bishop Jack M. Tuell of Los Angeles, president of the 9 million-member church's Council of Bishops, said this week in announcing May's selection for the unique assignment.

May, 54, is traveling in Africa. In a statement prepared before he left he pledged "a multi-pronged campaign" coordinated with existing efforts of religious, community and governmental groups.

"We will be on the street," said May, who developed his own street smarts growing up in Chicago's inner city. "With God's help, we will be working with victims to demonstrate that there are alternatives to substance abuse and violence."

The 49 bishops of the United Methodist Church, the nation's second largest Protestant denomination, decided at their meeting in May to exercise for the first time a little-known provision of the church's Book of Discipline. The measure allows the assignment of a bishop for a year to an issue "deemed of sufficient importance to the welfare of the total church."

The bishops agreed that "the massive deterioration of the social and spiritual fabric" of major metropolitan areas of the nation met that specification, said Bishop Mel-



BISHOP FELTON E. MAY
... will launch "guerrilla warfare"

vin G. Talbert of San Francisco, secretary of the council.

Church spokesman Tom McAnally said in Nashville that the bishops decided to name one of their own to the antidrug effort to give it added visibility. "What they were trying to say is that this matter is so significant that they should assign one of their own number to it."

The nation's capital was chosen, he said, because they felt, "If they were going to do something so symbolic, it made sense to do it in Washington."

Tuell said the church's bishops took the unprecedented move because they fear the nation is facing "massive deterioration of the moral and spiritual fabric of our society... reflected in a burgeoning traffic in drugs and a sharp increase in violent crime."

Gerald Wagner, an associate of May in Harrisburg, said the bishop's goal is to "take one neighborhood in Washington and bring to

See BISHOP, D6, Col. 5

Bishop to Battle Drugs, Violence Here Full Time

BISHOP, From D1

gether all of the resources of church and community, and to work for a year to make that neighborhood drug- and violence-free."

Although May does not start his work here until the beginning of next year, he has consulted widely with Washington area church groups already involved in fighting drugs, said the Rev. Clark Lobenstein, director of the Interfaith Conference here.

Eighty D.C. churches recently pledged to participate in a citywide network of drug counseling services for entire families.

May, elected a bishop in 1984, has served churches in his native Chicago and in Wilmington, Del.

In addition to his role as a bishop, he is also president of the church's General Council on Ministries, which McAnally described as the "chief coordinating body of the church," on which all the national boards and agencies have representation.

This position, McAnally said, gives him "access to the resources of the church through its agencies and 72 annual conferences."

Wagner added that the bishop "will be able to go to the national boards of the church and get personnel," particularly those skilled in community development.

change presentation

6-19-89

THE WASHINGTON POST

A Friend for Tough Times

Mentor Program Gives D.C. Youths a Listening Ear

By Charles Elder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Shantha Preston's mother watched proudly as her daughter received a Best Friends button, an Estee Lauder cosmetics bag and congratulations as a proud graduate of a mentorship program for young women.

"She has definitely had more self-esteem. She's become more independent," said Sylvia Preston of her 11-year-old daughter since Shantha began participating in the Best Friends program at the District's Amidon Elementary and Jefferson Junior High schools.

"When her friends try to coax her into doing things she doesn't want to do," Shantha makes up her own mind, Sylvia Preston said.

Nearly 50 young women sat around tables at the Smaer School in downtown Washington yesterday, eating croissant tuna sandwiches and fruit salads while listening to advice, warnings and concern about teenage pregnancy and peer pressure from some old friends they've come to know through the Best Friends program.

The program, started in 1987 by Georgetown University child development specialists Elayne Bennett and Phyllis Magrab, is

designed to bring young women messages about growing up in an increasingly complicated world.

The program includes a series of discussions at the schools on topics ranging from AIDS prevention to the difference between love and sex to choosing friends who can help the young women make wise decisions.

Bennett and program coordinator Kristin Cottingham go to the schools five or six times a year with their mini-curriculum.

"I really was beginning to see a need for a network of older women helping younger women," said Bennett. "I think girls today are under so much pressure. Older guys try to hit on the young girls and sometimes we're asking them to function as adults when they are still children."

Through films, guest speakers and open discussions, she and Cottingham provide guidance, suggestions and "help them through a tough time," Bennett said.

Some of the participants who spoke about the lure of drugs and premarital sex at the ceremony yesterday were people the students previously had only heard of or seen on television.

Marilyn Quayle, wife of Vice President Quayle: "Each one of you women has made a choice to live for the future. You understand the importance of your decision. And

it's a decision I think will make you very proud."

Effi Barry, wife of Mayor Marion Barry: "A friend is someone who accepts you as you are, but encourages you to grow. I hope that [in this program] you have been able to develop some extra special friendships with some of the older women in the community."

National drug policy director William J. Bennett, husband of Elayne Bennett, also spoke at the ceremony.

In the role model program at Jefferson, many of the students chose women whose opinions they respect to sit with them informally for 30 minutes each week to discuss their personal lives.

"I chose Mrs. Williams because I can relate to her," said 12-year-old Tamisa Brooks from Jefferson, referring to Colette Williams, a French teacher at the school. "It's nice to have someone older to talk to."

When asked what she and her role model discuss, she rolled her eyes and said, "I mean, everything."

Shantha was more forthcoming about her talks with her role model, Elayne Bennett.

"We talk about our friends and what they try to pressure us into doing."

The height of the program was a performance by 13-year-old Robin Williams, a seventh-grader at Jefferson, who has performed at the Apollo Theater in New York City and on the national television show "Star Search."

She sang a soulful rendition of "That's What Friends Are For" and "You Are My Friend. Both received standing ovations.

OBITUARY NOTICES

New group forming to fight di

by Kathleen Koshar

Two local mothers, angered by the effect drugs and alcohol are having on local youth, have started a communitywide organization to fight drugs in Oberlin.

The Community Against Drugs (CAD) is meeting weekly for panel discussions and organization of members. The group's goal is getting the community involved in the fight against drugs before Oberlin is faced with the drug problems larger cities have.

Benita Jones is chairman of CAD. While the group has about 30 members attending weekly sessions, CAD is keeping the names of the other leaders and members confidential so everyone is guaranteed privacy.

Instead the group advises anyone interested in the group to call the Oberlin Police Department and ask to speak to a CAD member.

"The goal of the group," explained Jones, "is to make the

community aware that there is a drug problem here. And when we say drugs, we also mean alcohol."

The group started out with just four members meeting at a private residence to talk about how they could get involved in the fight against drugs. Interest swelled as the members began talking to friends and neighbors.

The result is a group of concerned citizens building a network of reference material and professionals to aid the community in its fight against drug abuse. The group is meeting this Sunday at 7:30 p.m. at the Masonic Temple at the corner of S. Pleasant and E. Vine streets. The meetings are open to the public and any new members.

"Our goal is basically to teach and educate people to the symptoms of drug abuse and the resources available to help them," one member said. "We are not professionals but we do have professionals

who can help."

CAD members do not want the public to perceive them as a group of vigilante drug busters, but rather as a group of caring individuals who want the drug dealers to know they are fighting the spread of drugs from the homefront.

Members said parents, as well as youngsters, who feel they need someone to talk to immediately can call the police station and ask for CAD.

"If it is a parent that needed someone to talk to, we have people who are just good listeners," a member explained. "And it's not just for parents. It is also open to young people. We'd like to go into the schools and educate the children and teachers, also."

CAD members are hoping to set up panel discussions with speakers

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rug war

the fall at each of the Oberlin schools for students as well as for teachers. They are also available to schedule programs at any churches or groups.

Although they are meeting now in Oberlin, CAD members said they hope to expand the program to include the Elyria schools and community.

The panel discussions, which include professionals as well as local law enforcement officers, center on the symptoms of drug abuse, problems related to drugs and the available resources.

In the future, CAD members hope to hold some type of fund-raisers to finance pamphlet materials and programs.

Right now, their goal is to let the public know they care and to get the public involved before it is too late.

*File file***Chicago Journal**

7-18-89 NYT

Disquieting Success Sign In Anti-Drug Program

By DIRK JOHNSON
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, July 17 — The Rev. George Clements has no doubt that his anti-drug crusade is making a difference.

It is not so much the kind words from his parishioners. It is not even the statements of support from politicians. Rather, it is the strangers who call in the middle of the night and threaten to kill him.

"The death threats," Father Clements said, "are a sign that we've been effective."

The Roman Catholic priest is leading a crusade to force stores to stop selling drug paraphernalia. It is aimed both at stores that specialize in the pipes, papers and bags that serve as the silverware of illegal drugs and at the hundreds of variety stores, especially in poorer areas, that sell the paraphernalia alongside chocolate bars and potato chips.

Father Clements, the pastor of Holy Angels Church on the South Side, said he became angered by what was going on in the stores near his parish's school. "The children in my school would go in to get candy and bubble gum," he said, "and they'd see cocaine vials, coke spoons, roach clips, bongs."

So he began a campaign using the threat of a boycott as a weapon, and he has been able to get more than 100 stores on the South Side to stop selling the paraphernalia.

The result has not made everyone

A priest is leading a crusade against the sale of drug paraphernalia.

happy. A week ago, Father Clements went to his car after Mass and found its window had been smashed. Inside, a brick was wrapped with a note that read: "The first of many. Your friendly drug dealers."

Since Father Clements began his campaign, the Illinois Legislature has passed a bill that would outlaw the sale of drug paraphernalia. Many states already prohibit it. Others are moving to do so.

The Chicago movement against drug paraphernalia has grown to include many clergymen, politicians and ordinary citizens.

Mel Reynolds, one of the leaders of the movement, visited a score of stores Wednesday in search of drug gear. Mr. Reynolds, too, has received threats. So an unmarked police car



The New York Times/Sieve Kagar

"The death threats," said the Rev. George Clements, "are a sign that we've been effective."

The store owner, Kamel Fara, had heard about this group. And he knew the power of boycotts.

"We have no choice," he said. "They could shut us down."

Some store owners profess ignorance about the purpose of the pipes. Others maintain that they have a right to sell anything that is legal.

But the Cosmopolitan Chamber of Commerce, which represents many inner-city retail stores, does not accept that argument.

"It's not enough to be legal," said Consuelo Pope, president of the chamber. "You must be ethical, too."

Father Clements and another priest, the Rev. Michael Pfieger, recently knocked at the door of a distributor of drug paraphernalia, a company with the name Good Deal. No one answer the door and the priests pounded so long and hard they broke the door down.

The priests were arrested on charges of criminal trespass and damage to property. They are scheduled to appear in Cook County Criminal Court on Wednesday.

A Chicago law firm has volunteered to represent the priests. The firm will also look into the business of drug paraphernalia.

"This is a subterranean economic activity," said Michael Kelly, one of the priests' lawyers. "They are seemingly nameless and faceless. They don't lobby the Legislature. They don't talk to the press. We're trying to find out how they do it."

threats. So an unmarked police car trailed behind him for protection.

"Do you sell pipes for drugs?" he asked a store owner.

"Of course," came the answer.

"We'd like you to stop," Mr. Reynolds said. "And we'd like you to put this sign in your window."

It read: "We respect your children. This store does not sell drug paraphernalia."

find out just who they are."

In the meantime, Mr. Kelly will work to clear the priests.

"It's highly unlikely that the clerk of the Good Deal company is going to show up in court to testify against two priests of the Chicago Archdiocese who are trying to protect their neighborhoods," he said. "And if I can't win a case like this, I'd better look for another line of work."

WP 6-4-89

Residents Have Drug Sellers on the Run

SE Neighbors Set Up Patrols, Close Crack Houses With Police Aid

By DeNeen L. Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ten months ago, the drug dealers stood brazenly at 17th and R streets SE. There were 12 crack houses on one city block. So many drug buyers drove down the street that it was, said resident Eddie Johnson, "like a drive-in window."

Now, in Johnson's neighborhood, it is the drug dealers and not beleaguered residents who are running for cover.

Each night, Johnson and about 10 other men and women patrol about a 30-block area of Anacostia, wearing blaze-orange hats and packing walkie-talkies. As they advance down 17th Street, the few drug dealers in the neighborhood slip

into apartment buildings and peek through windowpanes while the patrol passes by.

With the cooperation of police, the residents have driven out the crack houses and stopped the trail of cars with Virginia and Maryland license plates from creeping in. The street is quiet. And the residents mean to keep it that way.

"They are not coming back if we have to stand out here to next year," said Barbara Baker, a member of the Fairlawn Coalition, which mounted the patrols. "We've been here in the rain, sleet and snow, and they are not coming back."

Fairlawn is one of at least two District neighborhoods to mount nightly foot patrols in recent months, and a third neighborhood

foot patrol was initiated Friday night in Shaw. The patrols emulate the tactic used last year by the Nation of Islam to eradicate drugs from the Mayfair Mansions complex.

As with the Muslim group, the neighborhood patrols have achieved a surprising degree of early success. Working with police, both groups have helped scale down the open-air drug markets that have plagued their neighborhoods.

While the wave of shootings in the city has been largely confined to drug dealers and users, the face-to-face tactics used by the patrols could escalate the risk of retaliation by dealers. Inspector Melvin Clark, head of the police department's community relations division, said

the risk is greatest if a resident goes out on the streets and confronts the problem alone. "But as a group," he said, "the patrols are relatively safe."

Assistant Police Chief Isaac Fulwood, one of the department's most vocal advocates of increased community involvement in fighting drugs, said, "As a general rule, retaliation doesn't happen, [it's the] perception."

"The drug dealer is not as brave as we've made him out to be," Fulwood said. "We've given him too much credit. He's a bad-ass guy when he catches you in the dark. He's not as bad when you shine the light on him."

Nevertheless, the sense of danger was thick on Warren Street NE Thursday night as a five-member patrol made its rounds, sweeping the neighborhood from corner to corner, quietly staring away dealers until they left.

See PATROLS, C8, Col. 1

C8 SUNDAY, JUNE 4, 1989

THE WASHINGTON POST

NE Neighbors Formed Patrols After 'We Decided to Take Back Our

PATROLS, From C1

The residents began conducting six nightly patrols a week around Constitution Avenue and Warren Street NE in March, hoping to eliminate active crack and PCP markets that have plagued the neighborhood.

The patrols have been hit by eggs and rocks, said Stewart Harris, an organizer, who said a drug dealer threatened to shoot him.

"These guys are thugs," Harris said. "Fortunately they are cowards. I'll be damned if we're going to let our neighborhood get like it was last year.

"[We] came to the realization that waiting for the city to do something was not going to work. We looked at our short history and noticed when things happened, we made them happen. So we decided to take back our streets."

Police officials and Mayor Marion Barry increasingly have called for citizen support in the last year, acknowledging that there will never be enough officers to drive out drug dealers.

Although there has been a brief dip in drug-related violence in the last two months, a period in which District police have bolstered their street presence through extensive

overtime staffing, officials caution that over the long haul, residents must play a more active role in fighting drugs.

"The only way to get rid of it is banding together and supporting police," Clark said. "People must realize the police won't be there for more than five or six weeks. We want them to be organized after we leave."

Clark said he encourages citizen patrols in large groups, saying they can reduce drug activity simply by their presence. "People standing out on corners for an hour or two a night will normally disperse the trafficking," he said. "It might move it up the street, but it does move it."

When the patrols end their shifts on Warren Street, dealers creep back out into the streets and resume their places, organizers acknowledge. But several patrol members said they hope to disrupt the drug markets enough to push the dealers somewhere else. "We can't stop it," said one patrol member. "If we can move it, then it's somebody else's problem."

At 17th and R streets SE, residents began organizing last summer after a series of burglaries, which residents attributed to crack addicts seeking cash or quick-sell items.

Tired of the drug dealing on their street corners, crack addicts lingering on their blocks and the needles littering their sidewalks, about 20 residents organized an antidrug march in August.

The march started at 17th and R streets, described as a nesting place for drug addicts and dealers. "It was terrible. 17th Street between Minnesota Avenue and Q Street was an open drug market, where cocaine, crack, marijuana and PCP were sold," said Johnson, now chairman of the Fairlawn Coalition, the area's Neighborhood Watch group.

The demonstrators rallied in front of crack houses in the area and passed out literature to drug addicts looking for rehabilitation.

From there, the protesters met with Claude J. Beheler, captain of specialized units in the 7th District, who promised to come to every one of their meetings, which they held every other week. Beheler also encouraged residents to take the names of officers handling their calls, and pass on the officer's name if police did not respond.

Afraid of revealing themselves to drug dealers, the group began "invisible patrols" that casually strolled a four-block area, nodding silently to one another, peering out of the corners of their eyes at dealers

hanging out on curbs, making mental notes of suspicious-looking cars and houses with constant traffic.

"We had fears at the beginning," said Shelia Williams, who has lived in the neighborhood 20 years. "We couldn't let them monopolize us in that way. We were determined they were not going to get the best of us."

Johnson said the group's confidence grew and its fear lessened after seeing police respond swiftly to its information, raiding a few crack houses and making several arrests.

In January, the watch group—emboldened by its success and now numbering 200 members—came out of hiding.

The residents donned highly visible orange uniforms. They began using video cameras, 35mm cameras and binoculars to zero in, making dealers and buyers nervous. "We drove the buyers out," said James Foreman, the group's communications director. "If you're doing something crooked, you don't want it on camera. A crook never wants to be seen by nobody doing nothing."

By then, the patrol members had no fear. "They know you are going to call the police and, if necessary, walk police to your door," Foreman said. "When you let them know what you are going to do, they act accordingly. They leave."

The impact of the group on the

ur Streets'

area has been outstanding, Beheler said. The Fairlawn Coalition, he said, is one of a very few neighborhood groups in the District to succeed in ridding their blocks of blatant drug sales.

From January to March, 87 arrests were made, Beheler said. Of those arrests, about 50 percent resulted from information supplied by the coalition. In addition, 12 crack houses on the block between Q and R streets SE have been shut down, and the numbers in surrounding blocks have sharply diminished, police and neighbors said.

"There are still some problems," Beheler said. "I'm not saying it's Beverly Hills, but we've come a long way."

Church Members Team Up to Fight Alcoholism

Congregations Are Confronting Issue

By Gustav Niebuhr
Staff Writer

At least 20 percent of the members of any church suffer from the effects of alcoholism and drug abuse, either as addicts themselves or as their families or close friends, according to surveys.

Yet a recent national poll indicates that churches, which often identify alcoholism with sin, are the last places people turn for help when it comes to dealing with addiction.

To change that, six Georgia churches — four Lutheran, one Episcopal and one Roman Catholic — have decided to field "parish support teams," groups of lay people trained to respond to people afflicted by alcohol and drug abuse.

Dealing with each person confidentially, members of the teams provide information about addiction and the process of recovery available through groups that follow Alcoholics Anonymous's 12-step program.

"In the setting of a church, peo-

ple just don't want to admit" addiction problems, said David Holland, a member of the support team at Holy Trinity Lutheran Church in Marietta. "I think a lot has to do with their perception that alcohol abuse is a moral failing, rather than a disease."

But, Mr. Holland said, the spiritual setting of a church may be the best place to begin to confront alcoholism and other addictions. He added that 12-step groups like Alcoholics Anonymous, Narcotics Anonymous and others — which often meet in church basements — maintain a general spiritual focus as a means of helping people toward

recovery.

For a close-up look at how alcohol can affect a single church, Mr. Holland said the support team at Holy Trinity began its work by passing out questionnaires to 410 people in the church one Sunday last March. Of these, 135 returned the anonymous survey. The results: 88 percent said they knew someone afflicted by alcoholism; 27 percent said the alcoholic was a member of their immediate family; and 8 percent admitted they themselves were problem drinkers, he said.

The support teams are a project of the Task Force on Chemical Dependency, a committee of the Lu-

theran Ministries of Georgia headquarters at 756 West Peach St. N.W.

Last fall, the ministries issued a resolution stating, "Our hope is that we may have life abundantly. When the one we love is affected by a drug or other drug dependency when the quality of that life is threatened for those close persons, we are charged with responsibility to respond in a loving manner."

A chairman of the task force is the Rev. Ronald H. Weine.

CHURCHES Continued on

Churches Join Fight Against Alcohol Abuse

From Page E10

studies show that half of all prisoners are alcoholics or addicts, and half of the victims of domestic violence are attacked by alcoholics or addicts. "By addressing the issue of alcoholism and addiction, you're addressing a lot of the areas in our society where there is stress and pain and death," he said.

The Rev. Weine said he arranged for a training session last February for members of congregations that wanted to get involved. Six churches signed up, each sending a handful of members to a session run by professionals specializing in addiction treatment.

"It's designed for the parish level. If the parish is a caring community, it's going to reach out to persons who are hurting," said the Rev. Henry K. Wohlgemuth, executive director of Lutheran Ministries of Georgia. "And one of the ways to reach out is to find sensitive lay persons who can get in contact with their brothers and sisters who are hurting."

The idea of the support teams was originated by Parkside Medical Services Corp., which maintains a recovery center in Dublin, Ga., and is an affiliate of Lutheran General Health Care System. Requirements for membership in a team are that a person be "a caring Christian," emotionally stable, thoroughly knowledgeable about 12-step recovery groups and their literature and committed to keeping confidences.

"The big word is confidential," said the Rev. Weine, pastor of the Living Word Lutheran Church in Jonesboro, which is also participating in the program.

Lutheran Ministries will evaluate the support teams' work at a meeting June 11. The Rev. Weine said he expected another training session would be held later this year for other congregations that would like to get involved. Churches interested in participating should contact Lutheran Ministries' offices, said the Rev. Wohlgemuth.

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ASC 6-16-89

Bankhead Courts Gets Help Chasing Away Crime, Drugs

By Amy Wallace
Staff Writer

Edjeena Lewis measures recent improvements at the Bankhead Courts public housing project in hours of sleep. Just a few months ago, late-night gunfire between drug dealers often kept her awake and fearful in her apartment. Now, thanks to increased police presence and tenant cooperation, Mrs. Lewis says, "You can sleep at night."

Lately, however, the 36-year-old mother of four has chosen to stay up late. As the administrative assistant at Bankhead Courts' new drug treatment program, the New Life Center, she has told her neighbors. "If you feel like you're going to use [drugs], holler for me." Several have done so, without regard for the time.

"I sat outside the other night [talking] until about 3 a.m.," said Mrs. Lewis, a seven-year resident of Bankhead Courts who kicked her own addiction to crack cocaine

about a year ago with the help of a treatment center. "I've been at the bottom myself, so watching people suffer really gets to me."

The New Life Center, which opened in April, is part of a larger movement to turn Bankhead Courts around, residents and police officials say. Just six months ago, when postal carriers and telephone repairers interrupted services because they feared drug-related violence, the 500-unit project became a symbol for the city's public housing problems. Today, many say it is emerging as a beacon of hope.

"There's been a tremendous improvement out there. We've pretty much stopped the street sales [of drugs]," said Maj. Lovett Goss, the police commander of Zone One, where Bankhead Courts is located. After an initial period of round-the-clock police presence, he said, it has been possible to reduce the

BANKHEAD Continued on A12



NICK ARROYO/Staff

Joan Newman of Chapel Hill Harvester Church holds 3-month-old Santavious Chappell during a service at Bankhead Courts.

Bankhead Courts Tenants Get Help Sweeping Drugs, Crime Out of Project

From Page A1

show of force at Bankhead to two mobile units.

"It's inspiring," said Atlanta City Councilman Robb L. Pitts, who in January proposed that the city make an example of Bankhead Courts, recruiting private and public entities to help the community triumph over drugs and crime. "There's an increased sense of pride in the area, more active participation by residents and a more sensitive staff. It seems like all of the parties are coming together."

The groups who have taken an interest in the 1,700-resident community, located between the Perimeter and the Chattahoochee River in west Atlanta, run the gamut of private, public and spiritual organizations.

■ The Chapel Hill Harvester Church in Decatur has "adopted" the community. Last month, the church held a gospel revival to introduce its members to Bankhead residents. Several members have volunteered to work with young people whose parents use drugs, and there is talk of trying to build Bankhead a swimming pool. Already, the church is offering tutoring and classes in parenting, sewing, drama and self-esteem.

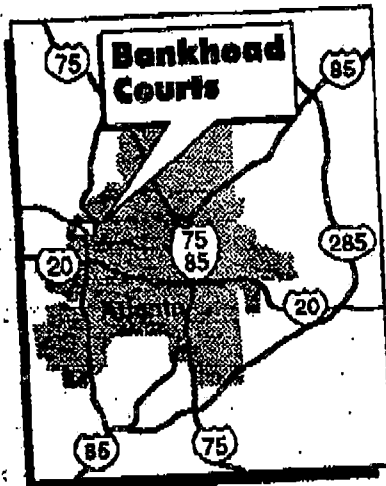
■ The Bankhead Courts Inter-agency Council, a group of tenants, AHA officials, pastors and business people have discussed ways to find work for Bankhead residents, particularly at the nearby Atlanta Industrial Park. And council-sponsored cleanups — including a "garden party" planned for Saturday morning to plant 50 shrubs and bushes donated by K mart — have spruced up the grounds.

■ Raymond A. Harris, the Southeastern regional administrator of the U.S. Department of Housing and



NICK ARROYO/Staff

The choir from Chapel Hill Harvester Church sings out at a recent service at Bankhead Courts. The church is among several groups lending a hand at the once drug-plagued housing project.



■ The Atlanta Housing Authority has requested extra funds from HUD to modernize units, as well as

The New Life Center is part of a larger movement to turn Bankhead Courts around. Just six months ago, the 500-unit project was a symbol for the city's public housing problems. Today, many say it is emerging as a beacon of hope.

ject has a long way to go. Thanks in large part to Mrs. Lewis, the word is spreading about the New Life Center, a partnership of the AHA and the North Atlanta Addiction Center. But so far, only eight people regularly attend the treatment center's classes, while Mrs. Lewis estimates that 85 percent of her

the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), has told HUD staff to make Bankhead Courts a priority. After tenants complained about spotty bus service, Mr. Harris met with MARTA. His Georgia management director, Wayne Er..., attends the interagency council meetings and raked leaves and dumped trash at the last clean-up day.

"Mr. Harris made it very plain that we were not to come down once and forget about the place," said Charles E. Clark, HUD's Southeastern director of public housing, who says he hopes HUD can apply what it learns at Bankhead Courts to other projects.

HUD to modernize units, ... to hire off-duty police officers to patrol the community on foot, 24 hours a day. Soon, it plans to implement an Action Against Crime program, approved by HUD, which will require identification stickers on residents' automobiles and will limit entry by posting sentries at two entrances and closing another entrance.

The Bankhead Courts Tenant Association has elected new officers, Marsha Walker and Peggy Barnes, who moved into the project soon after it opened in 1971. Association meetings are crowded for the first time in months.

Everyone agrees that the pro-

that more than 85 percent of the neighbors use drugs.

Mr. Pitts says he is disappointed that it is taking so long to demolish 106 vacant, dilapidated units that are havens for drug activity. Major Goss warns that the drug dealers will return to Bankhead Courts if the community and the police are not vigilant. The task of holding the line against the lucrative drug trade, many say, must include finding jobs for Bankhead residents.

"What was needed is what is being done," Mrs. Lewis said. "Things are getting better. But if you can't get a job, it's hard. And many people out here can't."

The Residents of Laurelton Mobilize To Nurture Their Queens Community

*Cherry
Smith
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8/15/89

By CELESTINE BOHLEN

Special to The New York Times

NEW YORK, July 14 — A row of abandoned stores at 228th Street and Merrick Boulevard tells the story of where Laurelton stands in its battle against crack dealers — the biggest issue in this predominantly black middle-class community on New York City's eastern edge in Queens.

Now boarded up, the stores were once the heart of a kingdom ruled by Thomas (Montana) Mickens, a local drug lord who, at 26, flaunted his power and wealth like a Persian satrap. After loud and persistent complaints from residents, the police last year cleared the drug sellers off the "Montana corner." Last month, Mr. Mickens was convicted on Federal drug charges.

Having gained a little ground in their war on drugs, residents are determined not to give it up.

"If Laurelton goes under, there is nowhere to go," said James Blake, who was the second black to move onto his block in 1970 and now heads the 228th Street Block Association, as well as the local chamber of commerce.

In this election year, the message from Laurelton — a tree-lined neighborhood with an estimated population of 28,000 — is directed at two audiences.

From the politicians, residents are asking for more sustained support for this distant corner of the city — more police officers against the crack dealers, more garbage trucks to clean up after the illegal dumpers and places where young people can be kept busy and away from the lures of drugs.

But people also talk of the need to redouble their own commitment to the community — whether by caring for Laurelton's public gardens, joining patrols that check license plates outside suspected drug houses or frequenting new stores and restaurants on Merrick Boulevard.

"There has got to be greater participation," said Michael Carter, ending his second year as president of the Federation of Laurelton Block Associations.

"Folks are going to have to make that commitment," he said. "What are the alternatives? A police state?"

Of the mayoral candidates, two are most often mentioned by Laurelton residents: David N. Dinkins, the Manhattan Borough President and the only black in the race, and Rudolph W. Giuliani, the former United States Attorney, whose law-and-order rhetoric carries a strong appeal.

"Most crime is black on black," said Marion Harper, a Vietnam veteran who owns Harper's Exterminating Service on Merrick Boulevard. "And Giuliani is someone who has shown he is not afraid to go against a powerful force."

But a majority of residents said they lean towards Mr. Dinkins, not only because of the symbolic importance of

Jewish neighborhood, Laurelton has had a reputation for civic activism. Even as most white residents moved to the suburbs in the early 1970's, some local groups tried to maintain racial harmony.

Now, Laurelton, where the average house sells for \$160,000, has high voter turnouts, a federation of 101 active block associations and a record for "tremendous cooperation" with the 105th Precinct, said the commanding officer, Capt. Joseph De Stefano. "You want to reach out for them, they're there," he said.

Drug Wave Peaked

The drug wave peaked about a year and a half ago, the police and community leaders say. From 1986 to 1987, the number of murders in the 105th Precinct jumped to 36 from 15; almost overnight, this attractive, well-kept neighborhood found itself the backdrop of a drug war.

Up and down Merrick Avenue, on corners like the one controlled by Mr. Mickens, young men used to hang out day and night, accosting passers-by and sometimes shooting at each other.

Much of the drug-buying traffic came from Long Island's neighboring counties. This spring, when the city's Tactical Narcotics Teams moved into southeast Queens, about half the cars confiscated by the police in undercover drug operations were from Long Island.

'It Was a Cornerstone'

The arrest last spring of Mr. Mickens is now seen as a turning point, coming after a long, painstaking investigation. "When they took him, that made a big dent in the drug traffic in the area," Captain De Stefano said.

"It was a cornerstone we could build on," said Ms. Moran.

Since then, the drug scourge, slightly less virulent as the number of murders in the 105th dropped to 26 in 1988, has moved on. Nobody hangs out on the 228th Street corner anymore. An Army recruiting center on Merrick Boulevard at 232d Street, which officials had reportedly considered moving from the area, will stay.

But, residents say, some of the drug traffic has moved off the boulevard, into houses in the neighborhood. At night, a cluster of young men gathers between 229th and 300th Streets, drawing a new fleet of fancy cars with tinted glass and blaring radios.

"It gets better temporarily," Mrs. Jenkins said. "Then it starts all over again. So the question becomes: how long is temporary?"

Still, many people in Laurelton say the situation has improved. They attribute Laurelton's small but precious success not only to the T.N.T. sweeps, which resulted in 2,438 arrests in the area during the first half of this year, but also to an invigorated sense of community, brought on by residents' fear that their neighborhood was being overtaken.

The most visible efforts have been made by the Garden Club of Laurelton, headed by Teresa Miller and Inez Hunt, who three years ago began ripping out the weeds on the median strips that divide many of Laurelton's streets and throwing out the crack vials, broken bottles and other refuse that had covered the malls, as residents call them.

"We feel we have made a difference," said Mrs. Hunt, a retired supervisor at A.T. & T. who moved to Laurelton in 1974 with her husband, a captain in the Department of Correction.

"I think we have revived local pride," said Mrs. Miller. "Gardening does that. Nobody can fault you for growing flowers."

But Mr. Carter, an administrator at the Federal Department of Health and Human Services and a Laurelton resident since 1976, keeps pushing for more, nagging friends, neighbors, businesses, the Garden Club and the whole damn community has to get involved," he said. "Otherwise, they don't have a right to complain."

Many merchants on Merrick Boulevard worry that the improvements are still not significant enough to bring new business to the area, although a Korean-owned fruit-and-vegetable store has opened, as have some West Indian restaurants.

Laurelton's residents keep score of small, but fragile, successes. On 228th Street, Mr. Blake remembers when the one-block walk from his Tudor house to Merrick Boulevard was a hazardous excursion. Two years ago, a neighbor, Helmut Multie, who had lived in Laurelton 40 years, was attacked and killed in his house.

"Now," said Mr. Blake, walking by a corner garden, planted and kept by residents in Mr. Multie's honor, "my biggest problem is a drunk who sits on the corner and drinks too much red wine. Isn't that wonderful?"

cause of the symbolic importance of his race in a community that is 70 to 80 percent black, but because his approach is, as Mr. Carter described it, "low key and sincere."

Mayor Edward I. Koch is not popular in Laurelton, where many residents say they are fed up with what they call his divisive rhetoric. Assemblywoman Cynthia Jenkins is a Dinkins supporter.

'It Comes Out of the Home'

"People out here are so anti-Koch they go for anyone against him," she said. "If he wins the primary, they'll go for Giuliani or else sit at home."

But many Laurelton residents worry that no candidate can solve the problems they face. "If there were a Dinkins, or a Giuliani, is it going to be better?" asked Veronica Bellan, who runs her own dress shop on Merrick Boulevard. "I cannot say a mayor can do it. I don't even know if the police can do anything about the drugs. It comes out of the home."

From its days as a predominantly

Jackson's message of hope caps Boston antidrug rally

People's Solidarity Jackson

By Sean Murphy
Globe Staff

P1

Ending a weekend filled with antidrug messages, about 12,000 people gathered at City Hall Plaza for a rally yesterday afternoon and gave their most rapt attention and loudest ovation to Rev. Jesse Jackson's patented message of urging youths to stay away from the "terrorism" of drugs.

As he neared the end of his speech, Jackson held out his arms and instantly quieted the Boston Against Drugs rally.

"If you know someone who is dead because of drugs," said Jackson, "please raise your arm."

A forest of arms rose. For a moment, all that was heard was thousands of shirt sleeves rustling in the wind.

Jackson, his voice powerful and persuasive, asked if anyone knew anyone in jail because of drugs, or anyone who had thought about suicide because of drugs.

Then, with 15 African-American ministers standing in solidarity behind him, Jackson transformed several thousand spectators into participants at the city's largest antidrug rally.

"If you have ever tried drugs, please come forward," he beckoned. "Come forward, please."

Nobody moved. Then, a couple of young people slipped down to the bottom of the amphitheater to stand in front of the stage. Jackson, dressed casually in a dungaree jacket, slacks and basketball sneakers, gently worked the crowd. "Come forward, please," he said.

RALLY

Continued from Page 1

Soon, the rally reached its climax, with thousands of young people linking hands in front of him and solemnly reciting a vow against drugs. And when it was over, the charismatic Jackson had to be escorted by police past

an adoring crowd reaching out to touch him.

A first-of-its-kind

Boston police and members of Boston Against Drugs, the two-year-old group that organized the rally, estimated the crowd size at about 12,000. Organizers last week said they expected perhaps 20,000 people at the rally, which capped a first-of-its-kind weekend of events that included a black-tie fund-raiser, a celebrity basketball game and a question-and-answer session for youngsters with Police Commissioner Francis M. Roache.

Several thousand people - mostly young people from the city's residential neighborhoods - earlier had paraded from Copley Square to City Hall for the rally. Led by Gov. Dukakis and Mayor Flynn, the procession drew sizable crowds along Boston's downtown streets.

The parade became noticeably more lively when Jackson, flown to Boston by private jet, joined Dukakis, Flynn, Sen. John Kerry and dozens of other political and religious leaders on Charles Street, near Boston Common.

"Late again," quipped Dukakis, who battled Jackson last year for the Democratic nomination for president.

A spontaneous chant of "Jesse, Jesse, Jesse," followed the creator and leader of a political organization called the National Rainbow Coalition, its name embracing people of all races.

Organizers criticized

The parade route through downtown caused some African-American leaders last week to criticize organizers for failing to bring Jackson into the predominantly black neighborhoods of Roxbury, North Dorchester and Mattapan.

Rev. Joseph E. Washington, senior advisor to Flynn on equal rights, said yesterday that the parade route was a mistake. "If we had to do it over again, we would have begun in Roxbury and

marched down to City Hall," he said.

Other criticism centered on the disclosure in The Boston Globe last week that Jackson's Rainbow Coalition was to be paid \$15,000 for his appearance.

Keema McAdoo, a high school student, was the only speaker who mentioned Jackson's fee yesterday. "I'm mad about all this talk about \$15,000 for Jackson," she told the audience. "That's \$15,000 wisely invested in our future. There should be more investments like it. Drug dealers make that in a week."

Don Muhammed, minister of the Nation of Islam Church, said the residents of Roxbury, North Dorchester and Mattapan are most affected by drugs. He said help must come from the federal, state and local governments, but said also that "it's time for each of us to stand up and fight."

Perhaps the most electrifying moment came when Jackson spontaneously invited two boys to jump the fence in front of the stage and join the rock singer Martika. The boys - Anthony Henderson, 13, and Michael Kelly, 12, both of Roxbury - danced like professionals.

Hope amid adversity

Introduced by rally organizer and Boston Herald publisher Patrick Purcell, Jackson recounted portions of his South Carolina childhood as a baby born to a teen-age mother who was herself the child of a teen-age mother. "I never spent one night in the same house with my father, never had his name, never had his warm embrace," he said.

Despite adversity, Jackson said, he "kept hope alive" by rejecting drugs. Once, however, he was medicated when recovering from surgery on his knee. Within three dosages, Jackson said, he was begging for more "dope," conning in his mind to do anything to get more.

"With drugs, you lose your mind, your values, your morality and your character," he said.

"Drugs represent the No. 1 threat to our national security and to our domestic tranquility," he said. "Drugs are the No. 1 issue, but not the No. 1 priority of our national government."

But, instead of waiting for government to respond, Jackson urged the crowd to "drive the pusher out of your neighborhood."

He likened drug dealers to the lynch mobs of the Ku Klux Klan — "terrorists" — in their threat to the African-American community.

"We've lost more to dope than we have to the rope," he said.

After naming a litany of martyrs in the civil-rights movement, Jackson said none died to "give you the choice to destroy yourself with drugs. When you say no to drugs, then you just reach point zero. Then you can go out and achieve something for yourself."

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*drug
problem*

THE TOWN THAT SAID 'NO'

BY MICHAEL RYAN

HAWKINS, TEX., LIES 80 flat, green miles east of Dallas. In its rural setting, the little town looks completely untouched by big-city vices, and the elders of the town are determined to keep it that way. A few years ago, they began to worry that the plague of drugs that has afflicted the nation would not leave Hawkins unscathed forever. And so they devised a plan that, they believe, will help ensure that their youngsters will never ruin their lives with drugs.

Wendell McGuire told me how the program began. His office, a large and airy room paneled in blond wood, could have belonged to the president of a prosperous college as easily as the superintendent of a 750-student school district. In fact, everything about the Hawkins schools—from their sprawling campus and well-groomed playing fields to their large library and the high school's 9:1 student-teacher ratio—bespeaks a community that cares about its children. "I'm not going to be naïve enough to say that we don't have a drug problem, or that we didn't," says McGuire. "We've never found any drugs on campus, but still we felt like we needed a program to help students to deal with the pressure to take drugs, to give them an opportunity to say 'no' if they wanted to."

What Hawkins did, in May of 1986, was to inform all of its junior and senior high school students that if they wanted to take part in extracurricular activities, they would have to submit to drug testing. As of the fall of that year, any student found to be using drugs would be barred from all after-school activities, from the football team to the National Honor So-

ciety. "It's a preventive measure," says John Moore, principal of Hawkins High School. "If a student feels that someone is tempting him to use drugs, he can say, 'I want to play football' or, 'I want to be in the band. If I do this, I may be out.'"

You might expect that the new drug-testing policy caused quite a controversy in the town; amazingly, it didn't. "We explained to the community what we wanted to do, and they supported it," says McGuire. Even the students have accepted the policy, which calls for each of them to be tested at the beginning of each sports season or term of an extracurricular activity. Each student also agrees to be tested again if a code number assigned to him or her is drawn by lot at random intervals during the year.

"A lot of people were talking about whether it was an invasion of our privacy," recalls recent graduate Trey Wolf, who was a split end on the football team. "But that died down. If you weren't doing drugs, you didn't have to worry about the test. You just took it and forgot about it." Parents also endorsed the idea. "My daughter just figured, 'I want to run track, so I have to take it,'" says Stephanie Smith, mother of a junior. "I think she takes pride in being one of the kids who's drug-free."

La Juan Hickey, the Hawkins school nurse, oversees the testing program. She came from a school district in the Dallas-Fort Worth area where drugs were a common problem

"You could see the effects of drugs," she remembers sadly. "Not just the bizarre behavior but also the loss of interest in school, the deterioration of appearance, the truancy. When it gets to that point, those kids are the poorest judge of all of what their condition is. They deny that they have a problem. We can put them in rehabilitation school, we can put them in jail, we can do whatever else our minds can think of to do for them. But, until they make up their minds to be drug-free, I don't think anything we do can turn them around."

Because of that experience, Mrs. Hickey is enthusiastic about the Hawkins program. "We can either stop it before it starts," she says, "or get them into a program that brings them to where they really want to stop, that helps them to see that life has something to offer."

The Hawkins program aims to do just that. If a student fails a drug test, he or she is asked to take a second one. in

continued

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which a more detailed urinalysis is performed. If the second test proves positive as well, the student is removed from extracurricular activities—but also referred to a special counseling program run by a hospital in Longview, Tex., about 30 miles from Hawkins. Students and their families, as well as faculty members and employees, may also voluntarily seek help from the counseling program, without any penalty.

"The program really mushroomed much more than we expected," says Mark Pool, principal of the middle school. This year, in fact, out of approximately 75 people who sought counseling, only one was a drug-use case referred by the school. The program has helped with emotional problems, learning disabilities or bad home situations that might have gone undetected before. "The best thing," says Nurse Hickey, "is to take these kids and deal with their problems *before* they feel that the only way to get relief is to take drugs to deal with the psychic pain."

There are criticisms of the program, of course. Some tests for athletes are administered by the athletic department rather than the nurse. The administration insists that the same rules and safeguards apply, but several students I talked with complained that athletes boast about being able to smoke marijuana and still beat the tests. Civil libertarians once planned to challenge the program in court but never followed through—perhaps because nobody in the community has wanted to make such a challenge. The Texas Supreme Court has ruled that extracurricular activities are a privilege, not a right, and the Hawkins schools are confident that their program could stand up to a legal test.

For now, though, the people of Hawkins are proud of their drug program—and confident that it is doing the job it was designed for. As one junior told me, "Once, at a party, I heard somebody say that he wouldn't use drugs because he could lose his eligibility to play sports, and it wasn't worth it to him."

That is one small victory in what may be the nation's biggest war ever. ■

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WASH. POST 10-22-88



BY JAMES A. HANZELL—THE WASHINGTON POST
Manager Annette Richardson, 59, makes sure that drug trafficking doesn't spill into her half of the Park Chester Apartments in Southeast Washington.

Woman Keeps Vigil Against SE Drug Traffic

By Victoria Churchville

Washington Post Staff Writer

An invisible line cuts through horseshoe-shaped Park Chester Apartments, separating the drug dealers and pimps from the decent, hard-working families. Three people were shot to death within four blocks and 10 hours of one another this month on the wrong side of that line.

Annette Richardson, 52, is the urban sentinal who makes sure that the unseen line divides the

good residents from the undesirable. A veteran property manager, Richardson maintains her vigil by walking through her buildings and grounds at all hours garnering respect and keeping order.

"The difference is, I care," Richardson said on a recent bright afternoon as she escorted a visitor through a parking lot and driveway that mark the contrast. "A good manager is a manager that walks her property, knows her property, is very observant

and communicates with the [police] precinct in her area. You have to get out there and make your home visits and interview your tenants, listen to their complaints, let them know you're just not going to tolerate that drug infestation."

At Richardson's approach, young men ran abruptly into buildings. Others, talking and smoking in small groups on the sidewalk, fell silent and separated. One man heard to utter an obscenity was chastised by a com-

panion. "You better tell Ms. Richardson you're sorry. Don't you be talking like that around her," the companion said. "Good day, Ms. Richardson. Sorry about that," the man said, sheepishly stepping aside.

Park Chester Apartments, located near Barry Farms in Southeast Washington, is a late-1950s brick garden apartment complex that is divided into two sections that are operated separately. Since 1969, Park Chester II has

See CHESTER, B4, Col. 1

Apartment Manager Pushes Back The Front of Drug Warfare in SE

CHESTER, From B1

been a resident-owned cooperative, guided by a board of directors and managed by Createsvilles Management Property. The 128 one- to four-bedroom units are on Martin Luther King Jr. Avenue, Pomeroy Road and Birney Place SE. Monthly rents range from \$317 to \$429.

Park Chester I includes 94 renovated units on Birney Place and Wade Road, operated by J. Washington Management Associates Inc. All the units are subsidized, with rents based on a percentage of the tenant's income.

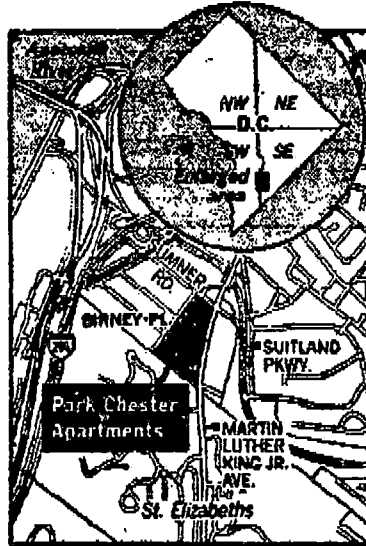
"On one end you've got the older senior citizens and on the other end you've got these young welfare recipients. The younger generation, they sort of identify with the drug dealers, the clothes, the jewelry, the fast cars . . . It gives them an identity," said one longtime police investigator.

Police from various jurisdictions said younger residents of subsidized housing often fall prey to out-of-town drug dealers trying to establish lucrative drug markets throughout the Washington area in low-income areas. The pattern is repeated as far out as Langley Park and Gaithersburg, police said.

"They [dealers] introduce you to the product, they pay your rent. You get to like their narcotics and before you know it, they've in effect snuff your apartment. The welfare recipients are initially exploited and then they're intimidated," the police investigator said.

At Park Chester, the life style difference is dramatic. At Richardson's end of the complex, Park Chester II, young mothers herded children out of cars and into apartments. Many paused to greet Richardson and to chat with one another.

Around a curb less than a block away at Park Chester I, bleary-eyed men smoked nervously in apartment entrances. Thin young women sat on building steps, some listless, others agitated as if they'd drunk too much coffee.



BY LARRY FOGEL—THE WASHINGTON POST

"There is an invisible line. Once you go down Birney Place you can see the difference. You can see them standing on the street and in the hallways. But we don't have that at [my end]," said Richardson, who has managed Park Chester II for a year and has worked at various complexes in the District since the early 1970s. She lives outside Park Chester.

Cheryl Jackson, 26, the resident manager at Park Chester I, said that she lives and works in the same kind of fear that shadows many older tenants.

"I stay in the office or my apartment. The only ones out there is drug dealers. It's no peaches and cream around here. It's rough. You have to watch your back," she said.

Since Jackson took the job as resident manager in February, her young nephews have not been allowed to visit her because of safety concerns, she said.

"None of the tenants will say anything because they're scared to death. A lot of times, I fear for my life," Jackson said. "In an environment like this, you don't know who's threatened enough to take your life."

Police are investigating four slayings that have occurred in the area

since the first week in August, all of them drug-related, according to spokesman Capt. William White III. On Aug. 6, a resident of Birney Place was found dying of a gunshot wound in a building behind his apartment. On Oct. 7, two young men—one a lifelong resident—were shot to death. The next morning, the body of a 17-year-old woman who had been seen with the two, was found shot in the face.

During the last year, police have made an average of one drug arrest a night in complex, White said. The 2600 block of Birney Place—half of which is in Richardson's territory, half in Jackson's—is listed in police intelligence reports among the city's most infamous open drug markets, offering liquid PCP and the increasingly popular cocaine derivative, crack.

And between January and August, police have answered 553 calls for police help in that block, 62 of them involving drugs, White said. They have made 47 drug-related arrests and have investigated reports of at least five shootings or stabbings, he said.

"And that's just one block," White said. "The problem is to the right of that imaginary line is a more stable, older community. To the left . . . is the drive-through drug activity."

A 74-year-old who has lived at Park Chester for 28 years rarely leaves her apartment, curtains and shades drawn against the danger outside. The woman said that the drug trade never seems to slow or stop and the police never seem to catch those responsible.

"There's been so many shootings around here, it's hard to recall them all. You do live with fear when there's so much shooting around here, like Friday night [Oct. 7]—three shots right here outside my window," said the elderly resident, who asked that her name be omitted as a safety measure. "You're scared to go outside."

"You just get wore down," she continued. "I wish somebody would catch these people that's killing everybody. It's just too much."

'The Block Was at Stake'

NE Neighbors Help Get Rid of Crack House

By Linda Wheeler
Washington Post Staff Writer

The neighbors first noticed the steady stream of visitors to the Stanton Park row house in Northeast Washington in July. By September, the street was clogged with double-parked cars. In October, the neighbors declared war on the crack house that threatened the stability of their quiet block.

Residents of the 600 block of E Street NE got in touch with D.C. police and asked for help. The police told them they could not shut down the drug den unless the neighbors helped.

By November, officers and neigh-

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bors declared a victory after a police raid drove out the tenants of the crack house.

"It was simply a case we had to win," said a longtime resident who asked not to be identified. "We had no choice. The block was at stake. Crack houses have an insidious effect."

Armed with field glasses, assigned to overnight surveillance shifts, the residents amassed a wealth of evidence and turned it over to police. Vice officers moved in to make an undercover purchase.

Deputy Chief Gary Abrecht of the 1st District called the joint ef-

See CRACK, Page C3, Col. 1



THE WASHINGTON POST

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BY LINDA WHEELER—THE WASHINGTON POST

Police raided a house on E Street NE last fall after neighbors, suspecting it was a crack house, kept tabs on visitors.

Neighbors Join to Get Rid of Crack House

CRACK, From C1

fort a "classic, textbook case of citizen participation."

"We are not trained experts on drug markets," said Bill Painter, who lives on Lexington Place around the corner from the former crack house, "but it was clear something was fishy with all those men walking down the alley all day and night. They stuck out like a sore thumb. There were just so many of them."

As pressure builds on police to respond to the overwhelming problem of drugs and violence in dozens of city neighborhoods, the department has responded by appealing to residents for help.

The Stanton Park operation was one of a few such cooperative projects to date, police said. They said most residents usually refuse to get involved because they fear that drug dealers and their customers might retaliate.

Stanton Park, four blocks from the Capitol, is typical of several city neighborhoods—in poor, middle-class and even affluent sections—where drug markets have opened in rented houses, as though dealers are testing the location.

Stanton Park is a working- and middle-class neighborhood almost equally divided between black and white residents, many of whom own their homes. Residents consider it a

stable, relatively safe inner-city neighborhood.

Several residents—some of them still afraid to attach their names to any action against gun-toting drug dealers—decided to help police in September after a man was shot near or inside the crack house at 637 E St., a two-story brick building.

When police responded to the shooting, they searched the house, looking for guns. Although they found nothing, the presence of flak-jacketed officers with shotguns clearly impressed residents.

"It was a rude awakening for a number of us," said one longtime resident. "I sat with my field glasses, keeping an eye on everyone. I am a light sleeper, so when I heard doors slam in the night, I would get up to check the house."

About a dozen E Street residents who could see the front of the crack house from their windows and several on Lexington Place who could see the back door began keeping notes describing visitors and their auto license tags.

After three weeks of surveillance by the residents, vice officers made their undercover move. With the resulting evidence of crack sales, they got a search warrant and raided the house on Oct. 29, police said.

Officers knocked down the front door with a battering ram and searched the house, Abrecht said.

According to the warrant, police found drug paraphernalia, a box of white powder and notes relating to narcotics.

No arrests were made because the tenants were absent, but the raid appears to have prompted them to move out.

The owner of the house, Floyd Grayson, a landscape contractor who lives in Northeast, said he was unaware of a crack market in the house, which he has owned for 20 years and had rented to a cousin.

"I don't know anything about drugs in that house," he said. "If anyone had called me, I would have evicted [the tenant], relative or not."

Residents praised the police for their response. Police in turn said that such operations move more quickly and often are more successful when residents help.

"A lot of people provided us with information," Abrecht said. "They called us constantly. That ... is what made that case work."

Abrecht said the E Street operation was particularly satisfying because it was the only crack house on the block and another one has not opened nearby, as often happens.

"When we have a block where the whole population is opposed less one or two, we can be successful," he said. "Together we knocked the problem off the block."

Saturday, April 7, 1989

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

mains a base for most of the militant Palestinians opposing the Palestine Liberation Organization's moderate approach to deal with Israel and its renunciation of terrorism. It is also cradle of the radical, pro-Iranian Hezbollah. With the new radicalism in Iran, specialists are worried about a revival of Hezbollah terrorism. More recently, Iraq - a rival of Syria - has begun to train the rightist Christian Lebanese Forces militia. This raises the prospect of globalizing the conflict.

Lebanon's domestic politics are equally messy. Its Christian, Muslim, and other ethnic and religious communities are divided over power sharing. Lebanon currently has two rival governments and no president. General Aoun was named acting prime minister by the outgoing President last year when Christian leaders refused to accept a Syrian-sponsored successor. A rival Muslim government headed by former acting Prime Minister Selim Hoss is supported by Syria.

There is little consensus in Washington or other concerned capitals on how to get a handle on Lebanon's problems, and specifically, how to deal with Syria's predominance in that country's affairs. Nor is there any identical desire here, or in the Arab world, to use the amount of leverage - military force or money - that might get the Syrians to budge.

"Most everyone agrees with you that the Syrians have to go," says one US Middle East specialist, "but not in the way he's thinking about it."

Other observers are more blunt. "Aoun went too far," says a senior Arab diplomat involved in the Arab League mediation efforts. "You can't humiliate the regional superpower."

Some US officials still see Syria's presence as a relatively stabilizing force. Some say a final solution will have to await progress in the Arab-Israeli peace process which would also remove Israeli troops from the South. Others say a Syrian presence now only locks the Lebanese from addressing their differences.

Syrian troops entered the fray in 1976 to help the Christians in Lebanon's civil strife. They have since imposed a degree of dominance on most of the country, under that dominance, however, Lebanon has disintegrated into a tangle of warlords many of whom live on war and drug trafficking, well-informed diplomats say.

"The general situation is very uncomfortable for Syria," says the French specialist. "It profits economically from drugs and contra-

band, it has hegemony, and it doesn't suffer much. It is happy to keep the Lebanese divided. It only moves when its interests are too threatened, as now."

A ranking US official likens Syria's presence in Lebanon to an elephant in the living room - "If you want to get him out, you have to work with him." But he and others admit that the US tried it last year and failed.

Washington attempted to help reform Lebanon's Constitution and find a presidential candidate for Lebanon, but eventually it ran smack into Syrian obstinacy on the presidential candidate. Now US efforts are focused on preventing further deterioration of the situation.

General Aoun has embarked on a very high-risk strategy that could end in his martyrdom, say

US officials. Aoun is seen by many as a nationalist who can potentially help bridge the Muslim-Christian gap that has kept Lebanon at war for 14 years.

"There is no one we see to easily replace him, and if he goes the Christian enclave could fall into the hands of the Lebanese Forces [a right-of-center Christian militia force]. That would mean the end of any pretense of a national government in Lebanon," warns a well-placed official.

The immediate question is how far Syria will push to teach Aoun a lesson. Some worry that Syria may be prepared to level parts of Beirut. Others say President Hafez Assad will eventually restrain his troops.

Some US critics argue that even if the US is not going to commit the resources needed to get Syria out now, it should at least be more forceful. "Every time the Syrians disagree with some event in Lebanon, they begin shelling and we and the rest of the world just cede to them," says a well-placed Washington specialist on the region.

"This just isn't consistent with US policy of supporting the restoration of Lebanon's central government and withdrawing all foreign forces"

Beyond the immediate crisis, say US and French sources, the key is to somehow get a dialogue started between Christians and Muslims free of Syrian interference. Aoun is being urged to offer ideas on constitutional reform that could serve as a basis for talks. Several sources suggest that the talks should start in private channels and could evolve into a gathering outside of Lebanon. But the top priority right now, they say, has to be stopping the killing.

'The general situation is very comfortable for Syria. It profits economically from drugs and contraband. . . . It is happy to keep the Lebanese divided.'

-French specialist

Churches Fight Drugs in D.C.

By John Dillon

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

APPALLED by the spread of drug violence, the Rev. Ernest Gibson led 100 fellow Christians on a march to a crime-ridden housing complex in Northeast Washington.

Mr. Gibson, a Baptist preacher, and his army of Christian soldiers did not know what to expect in the dangerous neighborhood. But what they got was a surprise: hearty applause. Welcoming them to the complex were a group of Muslims, who were also there to battle the drug scourge.

When Gibson's group returned with the Muslims two days later, children began to emerge from the complex's apartments. Then adults ventured out. A policeman later told Gibson that with the Christians and Muslims at the housing project, it was the first day in a year that many residents felt safe to come outside.

In this embattled capital, religious groups are struggling against an unprecedented wave of drug-related violence. Clergymen march into open-air drug markets to disrupt them at least once a week. Churches launch programs to help young people threatened by crack cocaine. Prayer-meetings continue around the clock.

Religious leaders say it will take a "moral reawakening" to save this city from a spiral of drugs, murder, and corruption that has shocked Congress and the nation.

Clergymen are mustering prayers, hymns, protests, and social programs to fight back. Yet so far progress is scant.

The Rev. James Robinson, pastor of Ward Memorial AME Church, admits that the churches "have not begun to do what we need to do."

Religious leaders say the root of the drug crisis is fear - particularly, fear of the future. Destroying the power of drugs will require destroying the fear, they say.

Across this city, more than 60 drug-related murders have already scarred the city this year. Many residents, too frightened to leave their homes, stay off the streets and out of public parks.

"It's immoral for people to allow themselves to become prisoners in their own communities by drawing curtains and locking doors and keeping their children at home," says the Rev. Mr. Gibson, executive director of the Council of Churches of Greater Washington.

But the Rev. Reginald Blaxton, special assistant to the mayor for religious affairs, says churches give people hope. "[Church-sponsored] rallies serve a purpose in a community hard hit by drugs and violence. They give people a sense of control over their lives."

Some religious leaders say the capital's greatest need is a moral rebirth.

Dr. A. Knighton Stanley, pastor of People's Congregational Church, says in recent years many congregations focused on social programs, rather than moral uplift. "Churches in Washington, for a time . . . forgot the added ingredient, the essential ingredient - taking a moral stand."

Churches especially must emphasize the moral development of individuals, Dr. Stanley says.

"While we were energetic with social services, we did not do enough of the other. We accepted too many government grants which ruled out what we do best: being faithful . . . to our particular calling . . . a strong moral position."

The drug crisis hits hardest at Washington's black population, and some leaders, like Mayor Marion Barry, say the churches here could offer critical help.

"The religious people need to get out and do some marching," the mayor says.

The Rev. Mr. Robinson says the churches must bring about a "restoration of real values. We are guilty of putting emphasis on the wrong things. Materialism. A building boom in our churches."

It's time for church leaders to "go back to the role of the prophets," Robinson says. "When they saw something wrong, they counseled with the king. . . . We need to be a voice in the wilderness. We need to say [to our children], there are alternatives. To emphasize supreme values."

A. James Reichley, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, says the drug crisis gives churches an extraordinary challenge.

"Frankly, some churches in recent years have tended to stay away from the kind of moral conviction they could bring to bear. They've played that down in favor of social actions," says Mr. Reichley, author of "Religion in American Public Life."

"There has been some feeling among some of the churches that being identified with traditional moral values has made the role of the churches seem out of date. . . . Some mainline [Protestant] churches and Catholic priests felt they would lose contact [with their members] if they pushed too hard on personal morality," he says.

Reichley observes that black, urban churches - ringed by drug traffickers - may find it difficult to reach the right audience. Many blacks who most need help do not attend churches.

CLERGYMEN respond that they hope to contact nonmembers in the black community with marches and outdoor prayer meetings.

White churches are also being confronted by drugs. But their response is sometimes uncertain.

David Roosen, director of the Center for Social and Religious Research at Hartford (Conn.) Seminary, says mainline Protestant churches are being pulled by conflicting forces.

Recent scandals on Wall Street and in Washington are forcing middle-class, white churches to grapple with questions of morals and ethics. But many churches submerge the challenge of drugs and alcohol abuse, seeing it as a problem for "those other folk," Dr. Roosen says.

Yet mainline Protestants also feel the impact of the religious right, he adds. As a result, there is now greater concern about sin, like drug abuse and drinking, and about personal piety.

At the same time, mainline Protestantism "has lost a sense of its public voice." The loudest calls now come from conservative Protestants and from liberal Roman Catholic bishops, Roosen says. "So even if they really wanted to take a stand on drugs, I think there is less confidence and credibility attached" to what they say.

These countervailing trends make some Protestant churches appear hesitant in the face of a growing national crisis.

In poor, urban neighborhoods, the Rev. Dr. Stanley says, the first threat that must be addressed is fear.

Drug users in the black community are fearful people, Stanley says. They are "frightened to death" by the future, he says. They see the 21st century coming, with all its economic and educational challenges, and they are not ready for it.

Young people are "tripping into the future, synthetically, with drugs," he says, while "old people using drugs are trying to keep from going there at all."

How can the church deal with that fear?

People need a greater sense of their self-worth, Stanley says. They need a stronger moral foundation. And they need to get rid of false beliefs.

"I think the church is equipped to do that," Stanley says.

*Handwritten signature**W.P.
5-7-89*

An Oasis in a Desert of Drugs

There is a building in this city, at 14th and W streets NW, where children laugh and skip and smile as they enter. They walk past crack houses, hardly even noticing them, because they know there is more fun to be had in the building with the big black and red "Y" on it.

The Anthony Bowen YMCA has been at this location for just over a year now—and the difference it has made in this neighborhood is nothing short of miraculous. There used to be a lot more crack houses around here—right across the street from the Y, in fact—but it is hard to sustain that kind of nefarious activity when young people are given such a powerfully positive alternative.

Anthony Bowen would be proud. Born into slavery in Prince George's County in 1809, he received permission from his slave owner to work on nearby plantations to earn extra money. After several years, he managed to save \$425, which he used to purchase his freedom.

And you know what the first thing he did was? He moved to the District, where slavery was still allowed, where he could have been kidnaped and sold back into bondage, and set about fighting the oppression of black people through the formation of the "Colored Young Men's Christian Association," which would later bear his name.

It was the first black YMCA in the country, and now, 136 years later, the Anthony Bowen legacy remains alive and well.

To watch neighborhood children flock to this place and be tutored in basic education, computer literacy and academic motivation is to realize there is hope for the future. To watch senior citizens come in for a morning swim, a workout on state-of-the-art fitness equipment, to operate a food bank and to help the children fills a visitor with enormous pride.

In one short year, the new Anthony Bowen Y has developed fine arts programs, a summer day camp, drug and alcohol prevention programs, child care programs, leadership development and values education.

Thomas V. Hargrave Jr., president and chief executive officer of the YMCA of metropolitan Washington, has expanded the Anthony Bowen vision to magnificent proportions. This is one black man who has made an enormous difference—and now he needs our help.

It was Hargrave's foresight to purchase the old Hillcrest Children's Center, renovate it, bring in some of the best staff and best equipment and turn

the Anthony Bowen Y into an educational and spiritual oasis in a desert of drugs and violence.

On May 19, the Anthony Bowen Y will celebrate its successes with its third annual black achievers program at the Sheraton Washington Hotel, hosted by Washington luminaries Linda and Marion O. (Duke) Greene. The program recognizes members of the Washington community who have been role models for our youths. These achievers will serve as mentors for young people and encourage the development of self-worth and sound values through participation in YMCA programs throughout the city.

Proceeds from the program will benefit the Bowen Y, which is attempting to retire the \$3.5 million debt on the building. Until the money is raised, programming funds must be used to pay a monthly mortgage note of \$28,000.

On May 17, the Riggs Bank will hold a reception to kick off the debt retirement effort. Delano Lewis, president of C&P Telephone Co., and Kent Kushenberry, a corporate director for IBM, will host the effort.

Last year, William Fitzgerald, president of Independence Federal Savings & Loan, got the ball rolling with a reception at the Washington Embassy Row Hotel celebrating the Y's 135th anniversary.

These three outstanding Washington residents have helped to put a big dent in the debt. Together with community-minded business leaders such as John Hechinger, chairman of the Hechinger Corp., Joe Albritton, chairman of Riggs Bank, and W. Reid Thompson, chairman of Potomac Electric Power Co., they will eventually raise the funds.

But time is of the essence, and the children served by the Y are eager for the services and programs that the Y would be starting if the money were available.

What is needed is a community effort, a grass-roots campaign that sends a message as well as cash—that says Washington residents believe in their children, are willing to make an investment in them, to buy stock in the future of this city.

If all residents, especially lawyers, preachers, doctors—and yes, journalists, too—wrote a check for whatever they could afford, I'll bet that the Anthony Bowen Y would become the subject of a Ted Koppel special report, showing how a city came together for the common good, rather than chit-chatting about drugs.

Pay a tribute to the legacy of a great American, Anthony Bowen. Support the YMCA that he founded for us. Call Patricia Diener at 797-4497 weekdays to find out where to send your contribution.

*drugs
presentation*

WP 7-8-89

Philadelphia Church Mobilizing to Fight Drugs

Associated Press

PHILADELPHIA—The youth department of a predominantly black pentecostal group says its primary effort into the next century is to fight drugs, and it urged other churches to help.

"The church must speak out loud and clear and more effectively," Bishop Charles Brewer told members of the Church of God in Christ, which claims 3 million members in the United States.

The drug program was disclosed Wednesday at the 14th annual convention of the church's United National Auxiliaries.

Bishop Floyd Perry of Cleveland, convention chairman, said "the church is the answer in the battle against drugs and crime, and it all starts in the schools."

"When those who are addicted leave treatment centers they often go back to drugs, and we have to change that," Perry said. "Treat-

ment is the Band-Aid; it only patches up the problem, but the churches must do the healing. We have to reach out to our youth to help change men's lives.

"We also need to change the image of the black community as being drug-oriented. Our 6,000 churches are going to send a message out about drugs that the real permanent answer is spiritual faith The church has to change the content of the heart."

SPECIAL REPORT

A Salute to Everyday Heroes

More than 80 million Americans volunteer—compassionate men, women and children who, bit by bit, earn the quiet satisfaction of comforting the needy. Their names usually don't make the headlines, but they do keep our nation great. They reflect the diversity of our people and remind us of what we still can be—folks next door who just happen to be outstanding citizens.

VERMONT

All God's Children

Hector and Susan Badaeu started their family unremarkably enough 16 years ago, with the first of two biological children. In 1981 they adopted 2½-year-old José, a severely malnourished Salvadoran; Raj, a premature 9-month-old with mild cerebral palsy, came from India; Joelle, a Florida infant with fatal alcohol syndrome, arrived in 1985; year later it was four learning-disabled siblings from New Mexico, followed by Todd, a biracial Vermont baby, and the six teenage siblings from New Mexico. Alysia, a 1-year-old Texan who also has cerebral palsy, came in mid-May. Yes, the Badaeus are one

IDAHO

The Harder, the Better

In 1979 most of Tom Whittaker's right foot had to be amputated after an auto wreck. The veteran outdoorsman had tackled some of the most treacherous mountains in Europe and North America, but he found that people were now reluctant to invite him on treks. In 1981 he formed C.W.HOG—the Co-operative Wilderness Handicapped Outdoor Group—and has taken hundreds of disabled adventurers on such expeditions as dog sledding in Wyoming and riding down Idaho's River of No Return. "If you turn people's minds from sympathy [toward the disabled] to admiration, the more negative feelings evaporate," says Whittaker, 40. "You can't feel sympathetic for someone you admire." The program, funded by private and public donations, has been replicated in five states.

of other adventurers: this year he was invited to join an expedition to climb Mount Everest, reached 23,500 feet but in was forced back, after three attempts to climb the rest of mountain, by fierce weather and illness.

Adventure leader Whittaker (right) with a group of disabled hikers in Idaho.



After the spill Weaverling ran a 43-vessel wildlife rescue mission in Alaska.

'A Kick in the Pants'

When the Bird Rescue Center in Valdez needed someone to help save animals after the Exxon tanker spill in March, Kelley Weaverling's name came up right away. A former kayak guide, Weaverling knows Prince William Sound inch by inch. He compares the disaster to "coming home and finding your

home totally vandalized, your pet dead, your wife raped." Weaverling organized a 43-vessel, 200-worker wildlife-rescue effort. Having moved to Alaska 13 years ago "to get away from the world at large," he now says 11 million gallons of oil showed him "I need to get involved. I'm ashamed it took this kick in the pants to get me going."



Hector and Susan Badeau took in a houseful of 'special needs' kids whom no one else wanted to adopt

those special families that care for "special needs" children—those who are disabled, members of a minority group or a large sibling family, or simply too old for most adopting couples. They decided to put their experience to work in 1985 and founded Rootwings Ministries, which has since found homes for 60 other special-needs kids. As if their 17 kids don't keep them busy enough, on any spring day, there's likely to be bunches of Badeaus playing Little League or in school concerts. The Barre household itself is a miracle of planning. A color-coded schedule tracks the activities of each child. Susan Badeau, 30, draws a salary from Rootwings, and some of the disabled children get government subsidies. Hand-me-down clothes and donations also help. Hector, 32, promises they won't be one of those families with 38 kids. "I look at those people and I think they're crazy," he says smiling.



Drugs destroyed his housing project, but Juakali is fighting back

LOUISIANA

Creating a Drug-Free Zone

The New Orleans housing project where Endasha Juakali grew up was a tight community; he went on from there to college and law school. "Since then we have lost a generation and a half to drugs," he says. Now, with a grant from the Housing Authority, Juakali, 34, is creating

and enforcing a "drug-free zone" in the project. The area has organized patrols and built new sports fields and fenced off alleys. Although Juakali was shot in the leg on patrol, he didn't give up. "The pushers have decided that we're not going away so maybe they'd better," he says.

TEXAS

Self-Help for Hispanics

Six years ago Eliana Schippel, a native of Peru, was fighting alcoholism in an expensive Texas clinic. The American staff was well trained, but Schippel wasn't getting anywhere. When a Spanish-speaking counselor came to the clinic one day, Schippel was finally able to use her own language to express the depths of her pain. Her recovery began that day, and so did her mission: to help other Hispanic alcoholics.

Public discussion of alcohol is still taboo among Hispanics, and the stigma is worse for women. "It's not acceptable for the female to drink," she says. "These women die painfully at home alone." Last fall Schippel and her husband used their savings to buy an old two-story building in Dallas's inner city. She opened an alcoholic-treatment program she called La Posada—The Inn—charging her



Schippel aids alcoholic women

16 clients on a sliding scale that starts at \$1. La Posada uses two paid counselors and three volunteers. Schippel draws no salary. The rewards? "I'm happy. I'm sober. Being here reminds me of where I was. And if at the same time I can help somebody else, it's a great bargain."

VIRGINIA

On the Alert Against Crime

In 1986 Shelby Long's 30-block neighborhood in Richmond suffered three murders, two rapes and 134 burglaries. The crime wave prompted Long to organize those who live around her into an effective crime-alert force. "It was really out of control," she remembers.

Long, a former surveyor and draftsman, developed a "telephone tree" to get the word out. She calls 35 neighbors and they each call 35 neighbors until everyone is alerted. She now publishes a monthly bulletin (circulation: 1,100) filled with anticrime tips. Recently she held a neighborhood exhibition of devices that protect against car and home theft. And she also acts as a liaison between police and those neighbors who have information on crimes.

In all, Long, 49, works nearly full time as a voluntary crime fighter. "No other citizen works as many hours trying to stop crime," says Richmond Police Lt. Herbert Nichols. Last year Church Hill showed the benefits of the neighborhood effort that Long has spearheaded. There were no murders, no rapes and only 20 burglaries.



RALPH ALSWANDER PHOTO

Credit Long with cutting crime



RICH PANSAR

Sadruddin's self-help group sends a message of hope and brotherhood to gang wannabes in Portland

OREGON

BGE, a Positive Alternative to Gangs

Waleed Sadruddin sees the dangers of drugs and gangs every day. Across the street from his Portland home, boards cover the windows of a former crack house. Last summer Sadruddin and a handful of classmates founded a group called Brothers Gaining Equality through Excellence, or BGE—"a positive alternative to gangs." "I see friends at risk, starting to associate with a gang. They could go to the negative, or to the posi-

tive. We're there to pull them to the positive," says Sadruddin, 17, who serves as the group's president.

Resembling a high-school fraternity, BGE has 25 members from four high schools. They sponsor dances and clean up graffiti, help one another with homework and talk about family problems. They're also planning a gang summit.

The BGE's have also taken their message of hope and brotherhood to area elemen-

tary schools, where they have seen students as young as fifth graders dressed as gang wannabes. Sadruddin knows the visits have worked when he hears elementary students say they want to be BGE's instead of Crips or Bloods. His own heroes, he says, are his father, who works with the Portland Development Commission, and Malcolm X. "I dream? Maybe law or politics. I've discovered I like speaking," he admits.

KENTUCKY

Teaching a Lesson in Love

To help the children of rural Cumberland County, Emogene Gwinn, 40, and Laurie Ernst, 34, have sacrificed pay for principle. The two teachers have given up their retirement benefits and cut their salaries more than 20 percent in order to keep their preschool open. Together they now earn \$19,000. But they feel it's worth it. Seventy-one percent of the county's adults are high-school dropouts, the teachers point out, and they believe early-childhood education can help break that grim cycle.

In 1987, with a \$91,413 one-time grant from the state Department of Education, Gwinn started a program for 3- to 5-year-olds. But the grant ran out, forcing layoffs and the levying of a \$6 daily fee; some children had to withdraw. Now Gwinn has obtained an \$11,000 matching grant from the Public Welfare Foundation. "We have to match it by July 30," she explains. "If we do, we'll help more kids. And maybe we'll be able to bring our salaries back up. If not, we're ready to cut them again."



Gwinn (left) and Ernst

NEVADA

More Loaves and Fishes

A sign above the fruit stand in the Las Vegas grocery store says it all: "Touch it. Take it. No limit." Gleaners, founded in 1982 by Celeste and David McKinley, is a supermarket for the needy. Shocked that stores threw away tons of edible food because the freshness dates had expired, Celeste McKinley persuaded one manager to donate items to her so she could help the hungry. Soon she had enough to set up a food bank in a garage. Now, with supplies also donated by casinos, wholesalers, caterers and the local Air Force commissary, Gleaners has moved into a warehouse, serving 20,000 people a month. The cost for a cart of groceries: \$2.

Most of Gleaners' customers are not homeless but senior citizens on fixed incomes or mothers who are single or have sick husbands. A firm believer in individual initiative, McKinley, 40, recruits shoppers as volunteer staff. Although other food banks have copied Gleaners, funds remain tight. But McKinley, a devout Christian who once pawned her jewelry to meet expenses, is unfazed: "God has never failed us."



DAVID LEE WARD

Take it from McKinley's store



Bradley helps women like herself, whose husbands are behind bars

CONNECTICUT

Giving Back

Fourteen years ago Tina Bradley's husband was dead from drugs, her two children lost to the courts. She was sleeping on the lawns of the state capitol in Hartford, nursing a heroin habit of her own. Therapy and steady work helped win the kids back in 1985. That's when Bradley decided to give back. Visiting her brother-in-law in jail, she started counseling wives of inmates. She accompanies them to court, helps find work and listens long into the night to their loneliness. Bradley, 35, understands. She met and married her second husband in prison.

ALABAMA

A Cop With a Conscience Who Always Pitches In

A captain with the Montgomery Police Department, Danny Billingsley just can't seem to do enough to help others. When he began in the department's juvenile division, he organized a Christmas fund that now brings cheer to about 20 underprivileged families. He also persuaded a local Chevrolet dealer to donate a used car and raffle it off to raise money for a woman in need of a double lung transplant. In his free time, he does household chores for the elderly.

Billingsley and a group from the Evangel Temple, a Pentecostal church, have also carried their charitable deeds to Central America. They've helped build a church in Guatemala and a student dormitory in Honduras. This September they'll travel to San Nicolas, Argentina, where they will work up to 16 hours a day helping to repair a dilapidated orphanage. Billingsley, 39, will pay the \$350 air fare out of his own pocket and use part of his vacation for the six-day trip. "I've always been crazy about

kids, and this gives me an opportunity to go down there and work with them," says the father of one. "There's not much communication between us, but they know why we're there." The policeman and his pals will bring along presents—including as many baseball caps as they can carry.



Billingsley's cause is kids



Yamashita builds confidence

HAWAII

On Their Own

At Helemano Plantation, residents grow their own vegetables, operate a restaurant and run a food service in downtown Honolulu. The 60 residents are all retarded—gaining independence. Pearl Yamashita, a founder of the nonprofit Opportunities for the Retarded Inc., which runs Helemano, says, "We just tell the patients they're capable and guess what? They do their best to make it work." The 68-year-old university instructor is proud of Helemano. Several patients have "graduated" to work at a nearby military base.

SPECIAL REPORT

ARIZONA

Riding the Reservation

An attorney was once asked to leave a Navajo tribal-council meeting after making what Annie Dodge Wauneka calls "a disrespect-



Wauneka educates her tribe

ful remark." He refused; she punched him in the nose; he left. Honesty, intelligence and feistiness have helped make Wauneka—who won the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1963—a legend. In the '50s, when thousands of Navajos contracted tuberculosis, Wauneka educated herself about the disease and began counseling isolated, often suspicious families. At 79, she still tours the sprawling reservation in a truck, addressing groups on health and education. Her six children ask when she's going to stop, but Wauneka laughs. "I've always loved to travel." Her top topic now—for good reason—is alcoholism. It's the No. 1 killer of Navajos.



RICH YOSHIDA

When the temperature drops, Grant helps keep the needy warm

WASHINGTON

The Wood Bank Delivers

When winter comes to Enunclaw, the temperature can drop to bone-chilling levels. That's when many people living in and near the town of 6,300 give thanks for the Wood Bank. The distinctive charity, brainchild of forester John Grant, delivered 160 loads of wood to the needy last winter. Local volunteer organizations cut up and deliver the wood, most of it donated

by Plum Creek Timber Co., Grant's employer. Grant, 36, says the typical Wood Bank clients are single mothers and the elderly; often the wood is their only source of heat. The ranks of volunteers swelled this year with grateful locals who have been helped by the program in the past. "It's a venture for everyone," says Mayor Bob Denison, who often helps load the wood truck.



DAVID MARTIN FOR PHOTODISC

Sisters Louise, Beverly and Loretta battle poverty with activism

MISSISSIPPI

Raising Hell for the Lord

In Holmes County, the fourth poorest in the nation and 70 percent black, three Franciscan nuns from Minnesota have come to do the Lord's work. Sisters Beverly Weidner, Louise McKigney and Loretta Beyer arrived in Lexington 16 years ago to serve in a free clinic. Now they fight poverty with political activism, working with the Rural Organization and Cultural

Center. A county political leader has called them terrorists; the editor of a local paper has dubbed them communists. But with their aid, ROCC has fought local political corruption and segregated voting districts. "If we're called hell raisers because we stand up for justice and speak out," says Sister Loretta, "then I guess we are hell raisers."

ILLINOIS

Mentors for Teen Mothers

At the Ida B. Wells Housing Project on Chicago's South Side, Helen Finner has seen more than her share of young mothers having a hard time. Their inexperience, she says, "is the reason why there is so much child abuse. Because there's no one to teach the mother." So, two years ago Finner started Mama Said, a mentor program that matches experienced mothers with young women who need parenting skills. Finner, 60, knows that success won't come easily, but, she says, "if I save only 10 or 15 young mothers—turn their



DAVID WALBER

Wells teaches how to parent

lives around—then I will feel that what I'm doing is not in vain." In March the Chicago Housing Authority recognized Finner's work by giving her office space, and the CHA may expand her program.

SPECIAL REPORT

CALIFORNIA

AIDS With a Human Face



Getting AIDS was not part of my game plan," says Christian Haren, a former top model. Using a mixture of humor and compassion to give AIDS a human face, Haren talks about the disease in San Francisco high schools, part of The Wedge program he helped found last year. "My volunteers keep dying. It's very rude," says Haren, 53, eyes twinkling. "But it shows the students—this dude's dying and he's here with us—they get that."

JAY WHITE

Geese helps troubled kids

KANSAS

An Advocate

For about 30 hours each week Kathy Geese acts on behalf of abused and neglected children in the court and foster-care systems around Kansas City. "I hate that anybody has to do this job," says the 35-year-old mother of one, who lives in Lenexa, Kans. The strength of Geese's commitment to children stems from her own troubled past. Beaten by a relative, she had to testify in a trial when she was 12 without anyone on her side. "I think back now and wonder how I ever lived through it." Thanks to Geese, there are some kids who don't have to go through troubled times alone.



Haren talks to students



PHOTOGRAPHED

Sternberg's profession is dentistry but his passion is the ocean

NEW JERSEY

Striving to Save Our Shores

May 16, 1981, marks the birthday of an activist. That was when Dennis Sternberg saw the surf near his Allenhurst home streaked with red sludge. The 40-year-old dentist founded Save Our Shores, one of the state's highest-profile environmental groups boasting 50,000 supporters. Beach rallies and boardwalk protests are their

trademark, but the group also filed a lawsuit last year forcing New York City to cover its trash barges so that waste would not blow into the ocean. Sternberg is taking the battle a step further: running for state legislature. After years as an outsider, he wants to develop environmental policy from the inside. "Just screaming," he says, "is not the answer."

TENNESSEE

Homegrown Project Manager

A high-school dropout and former welfare recipient who had the first of her six children at 14, Alma Lovett identifies with parents in the Memphis public-housing project where she lives. Now 51, Lovett has been active in the Joseph A. Fowler Homes for 15 years. She got her high-school equivalency diploma in 1983, and then a business degree from Draughons Junior College. In 1986, with a \$1,500 grant from Kentucky Fried Chicken, she opened a free day-care center for Fowler residents that now enrolls

27 children. "I would see kids being left alone," she says. "There were so many parents who needed to go to work but couldn't afford a babysitter."

Lovett's most recent project, funded with a \$25,000 grant from the city of Memphis and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, is the formation of the Fowler Homes Tenant Management Corporation. In September she'll graduate from a training program that will make her the first tenant manager of a public-housing project anywhere in the state.



KANSAS CITY

Once on welfare, Lovett is now a source of strength for others

SPECIAL REPORT

MARYLAND

Saving Lives

After an escaped convict shot and killed her 24-year-old son, Lois Hess considered smuggling a gun into court and shooting him. Instead, she turned grief into belief. Since that day in 1975, Hess, 61, has battled endlessly and effectively for gun control—testifying, writing, fund raising. Her lobbying was one reason why Maryland's legislature voted to ban the sale of cheap handguns last year. And still Hess is crusading. "It's rewarding to know that maybe I'm helping save one life," she says. "One life would be worth all the trouble I've been through."



Hess battles for gun control



A youthful 81, Moskowitz comforts, shops and cooks for the elderly

PENNSYLVANIA

A Friend for the Forgotten

Just two years ago a mugger broke her ribs, knocked her to the sidewalk and stole her purse. A few years before that, another thief had grabbed her purse and shopping bag. But 81-year-old Jean Moskowitz continues to make her rounds as a veteran Senior Citizen Volunteer, helping the elderly in Pittsburgh. "They depend on me," she says.

Moskowitz spends at least four hours a day, five days a week with her clients. She helps with light shopping, meal preparation, letter writing and getting to the doctor, as well as providing companionship and support—"showing people you care about them."

The petite, energetic Moskowitz was raised in an orphanage and lost her husband when her baby was only 1 month old. She supported herself and her son as a baby nurse. "Why not take it easy now? There's such a need," she says. "I am grateful I'm able to do it." Moskowitz is the best kind of volunteer. Her clients consider her a friend.

FLORIDA

Giving Back

As an intern in Miami, José Pedro Greer Jr. was appalled when a homeless patient died of tuberculosis, a treatable disease. So five years ago he started a free clinic next to a downtown shelter. Today the Camillus Health Concern, with 200 volunteers and a paid staff of 12, treats thousands of indigent patients annually. University of Miami medical students even get credit for clinic work. "You're supposed to give back," says Greer, 33, whose father emigrated from Cuba. "That's what this country is based on."



The poor go to Greer's clinic

RHODE ISLAND

Recipe for a Second Chance

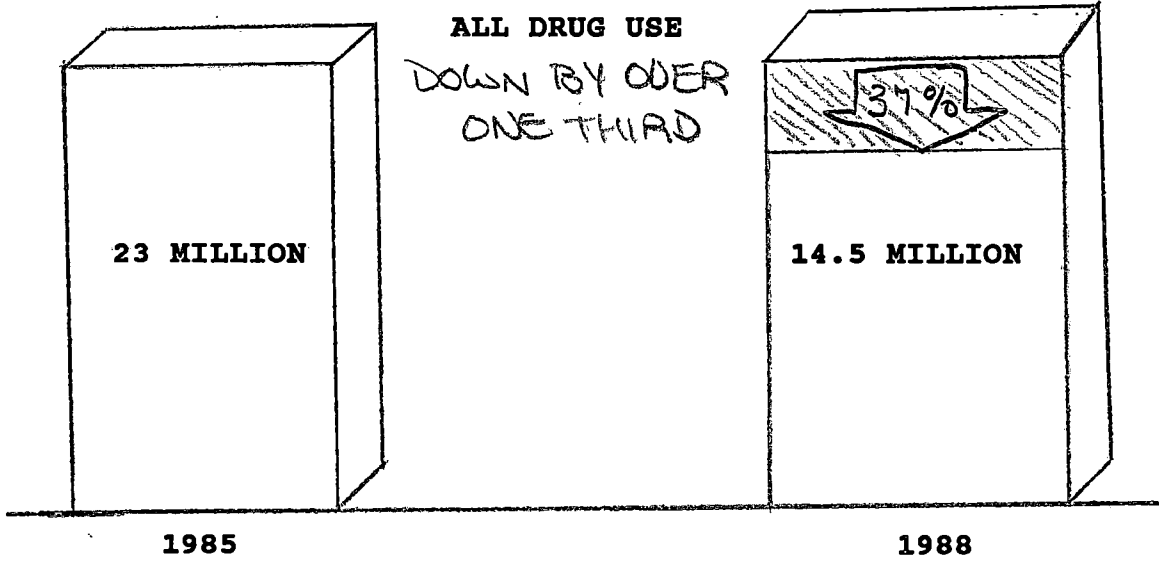
John Nelson shunned the soup line at Amos House during his drinking and drugging days on the streets of Providence. "I wasn't ready to give up and start over," he says. The 36-year-old Nelson heads the line now, serving 200 to 300 meals a day to the hungry and homeless. After he was left for dead in a 1982 robbery, Amos House founder Sister Eileen Murphy befriended him with odd jobs, cigarette money and a room of his own. The care was a turning point for Nelson, who

landed in a foster home at 8 and drifted through a string of jobs after high school. When Sister Eileen died in 1983, he eventually took over the cooking. He puts in four 12-hour days a week (plus weekends at cooking school), serving everything from liver and onions to the nouvelle hors d'oeuvres that arrive as contributions. He plans to take his new talents onto an ocean liner or a private yacht, but leaving Amos House, he says, "will be the happiest and saddest day of my life."



Nelson serves up to 300 meals a day to Providence's hungry

~~THE GOOD NEWS~~

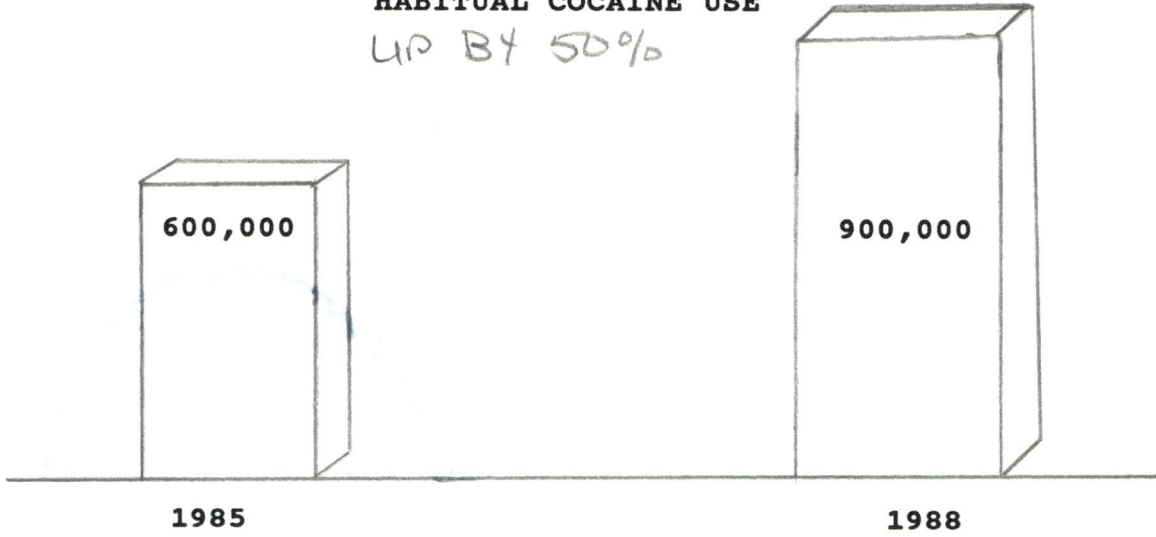


ALL DRUG USE
DOWN BY OVER
ONE THIRD

~~THE BAD NEWS~~

HABITUAL COCAINE USE

UP BY 50%



**the American
Council
for Drug
Education****Washington, D.C. Office**
204 Monroe Street
Rockville, Maryland 20850
301.294.0600**New York City Office**
136 East 64th Street
New York, New York 10021
212.758.8060

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THE WHITE HOUSEFACSIMILE NUMBER: 456-6218FROM: TRINA BRUGGER
ASSOC. DIR, ACDEFACSIMILE NUMBER: 301-294-0603COMMENTS: ATTACHED IS SOME
INFO. ABOUT "WASTED" - AN
ACDE SUCCESS STORY.
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CHARGE TO PROJECT: _____

**the American
Council
for Drug
Education**

Washington, D.C. Office
204 Monroe Street
Rockville, Maryland 20850
301.294.0600

New York City Office
136 East 64th Street
New York, New York 10021
212.758.8060

"WASTED: A TRUE STORY"

The American Council for Drug Education's award-winning program, "Wasted: A True Story" illustrates a success story in terms of the impact which corporate and foundation support of drug abuse prevention organizations can have.

"Wasted" began when a close friend of the President's, Peter O'Donnell of the O'Donnell Foundation, decided to support the production of the Council's planned drug abuse education and prevention film for children. "Wasted" combines vivid animation and candid interviews to tell the true story of 15 year-old Tim and his sister, Christy. Tim got into trouble with drugs and "Wasted" depicts the price he and his family paid. The 22-minute film, which Mr. O'Donnell paid for, has become the centerpiece of a school-based prevention program which includes a newsletter for parents, buttons and posters for children, and informative pamphlets and booklets for classrooms and libraries.

Through the support of the Metropolitan Life Foundation, the Council has placed the school-based program in the New York, Chicago, Rhode Island and Washington, DC metropolitan area school systems, as well as in Tampa-St. Petersburg, Florida and in communities on Long Island and in up-state New York.

The United Services Life Insurance Company enabled the Council to place the "Wasted" program in all Department of Defense dependents' schools world wide.

The Frick Foundation supported the Council in making the video of "Wasted" available to all private schools.

IBM Corporation makes the video of "Wasted" available to all its employees on a free loan basis, along with a video it produced with the Council for parents, "A Gift for Life: Helping Your Children Stay Drug and Alcohol Free".

"Wasted" has been broadcast on television twice. It appeared on WJLA-TV in Washington in January, 1987 as part of the announcement of the launch school-based program in the DC metropolitan area schools. WJLA-TV worked with the Council to produce a six-minute localized wrap around featuring drug-free kids. That broadcast was recognized on the Emmy's with the Scott Newman Award for excellence in Children's Drug Abuse Prevention

Programming and won a Washington Metropolitan Area Mass Media Award. Previously, "Wasted" had won the top award in its class at the New York Film Festival.

Perhaps "Wasted's" greatest award came in May of 1988 after WFLA-TV in Tampa agreed to work with the Council and broadcast "Wasted" as a public service when the Council and Metropolitan Life launched the school-based program in local schools. Like WJLA, WFLA worked with the Council to produce a localized wrap around with drug-free kids. The Council arranged for advertising in local newspapers which urged families to watch "Wasted" together.

A few days after WFLA-TV in Tampa broadcast the Council's film, "Wasted", we had a dramatic illustration of just how powerful this award-winning film could be.

The station received a phone call from the mother of a teenage girl who said the broadcast had changed her family's life. As the Council recommended in advertising to support the film, the mother and daughter had watched "Wasted" together. The film depicts a child who gets into trouble with drugs. Half-way through "Wasted", the teenager broke into tears and said, "That's my problem, Mom. I'm into drugs and I need help." The teenager is now in treatment and the family is addressing its problems -- thanks to one half-hour television program.

(Jason)

SUCCESS STORIES FOR PRESIDENT BUSH

FOR MORE INFORMATION CALL PHIL OLIVER-DIAZ 914-425-8608

IN ROCKLAND COUNTY NEW YORK COUNTY EXECUTIVE JOHN T. GRANT ANNOUNCED IN JUNE A COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGY FOR COMBATting ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE. THERE ARE THREE FEATURES TO THIS ROCKLAND COUNTY STRATEGY WHICH DISTINGUISH THIS APPROACH FROM EFFORTS IN OTHER COMMUNITIES:

I. THE DECISION WAS MADE TO CREATE LOCAL SOLUTIONS FOR WAGING THE WAR ON DRUGS THROUGH A COORDINATED SERIES OF TASK FORCES WHICH INVOLVED THE EVERY SEGMENT OF THE COUNTY. COUNTY EXECUTIVE JOHN T. GRANT SAID "THE WAR ON DRUGS CAN ONLY BE WON ON THE LOCAL LEVEL , VILLAGE BY VILLAGE , TOWN BY TOWN, COUNTY BY COUNTY AND WE AS COUNTY EXECUTIVES MUST TAKE THE LEADERSHIP ONE COUNTY AT A TIME THE PRESIDENT AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN NOT DO THIS ALONE." TO THIS END A COALITION OF PARENTS, LAW ENFORCEMENT, COMMUNITY AGENCIES, HEALTH PROFESSIONALS, MEDIA ,YOUTH, SCHOOLS, RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS, BUSINESS , LABOR AND GOVERNMENT WAS FORMED TO PLAN AND IMPLEMENT PROGRAMS FOR COMBATting DRUG USE IN ROCKLAND COUNTY.

II . THE FAMILY IS SEEN AS THE KEY PROTECTIVE FACTOR IN PREVENTING DRUG USE, AND THE VARIOUS ACTIVITIES CREATED BY

THIS EFFORTS ARE TO SUPPORT " STRONG FAMILIES AND RESILIENT KIDS " . THE LOCAL COMMUNITY COLLEGE PRESIDENT , TOM CLARK,

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((Grant))
August 31, 1989
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PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE
TO RUN IN 850 COLLEGE NEWSPAPERS NATIONALLY
ON NATIONAL DRUG STRATEGY

Summer is over and classes are back in session. As we begin the school year, our thoughts again turn to the future -- a future gravely threatened by drugs.

Americans agree that the biggest threat we are facing as a nation is drugs, in particular cocaine and crack.

Who is responsible? Anyone who uses drugs. Anyone who sells drugs. Anyone who looks the other way.

Some people used to call drugs just a benign form of recreation. They're not. Drugs are a direct and extremely serious threat to our schools, our homes, our friends and our families. It doesn't matter where you live or what school you attend. No one among us is out of danger. The inner cities, the small towns, and the college campuses are all under siege -- because America is under siege.

On September 5, I announced a comprehensive national strategy to end the siege -- to fight drugs with tougher laws and enforcement, and improved treatment and prevention. The programs we've proposed are an all-out assault against the evil of drug use and drug trafficking. We are aggressively attacking the problem from every angle, and proposing a 1990 drug-budget totaling over seven and a half billion dollars -- the largest single increase in history.

America is on war footing in the fight against drugs. Yet the most important weapons in the war on drugs are the least tangible: self-discipline, courage, character, support from one's family, faith in God and in one's self.

Fundamentally, the drug problem in America is not one of supply, but of demand. We are taking strong new action to stop the flow of drugs into this country and to stop the dealers themselves, but as long as Americans are willing to buy illegal drugs, somebody, somewhere in the world will sell them.

Recently, I met with Mrs. Everett Hatcher, the widow of a veteran DEA agent who was killed by druglords. A woman of considerable dignity, she put responsibility for her husband's death squarely on "casual" users of cocaine. She's right -- and there is now blood on their hands. Similarly, President Barco of Colombia recently made an appeal to Americans to stop buying the cocaine causing the slaughter of innocent civilians in the drug wars there.

College campuses have long been centers of social consciousness in this country, places where students have raised their voices to protest oppression, injustice and human rights violations around the world. Yet, drugs are the cause of more oppression, injustice and death than any government regime or tyrant. But where is the sound of protest? Innocent bystanders are killed at random on city streets. Babies are born addicted to crack and heroin. Young children are forced into the drug trade by addicts. What greater human rights violations exist?

What greater injustices? Yet, we see recreational drug users on the college campuses who are ambivalent to the death and destruction they are financing.

The solution lies in the social conscience of every college student on every college campus in America. But the way to protest the misery and oppression brought about by drugs is not to march in the streets, but to commit yourself to staying away from drugs -- and working to keep them away from your friends.

Drug use doesn't usually begin the way most people would think, with young people getting their first drugs from an addict or a dealer. Instead, they get them free from "friends" who think casual drug use hurts no one. Peer pressure is what spreads drug use.

What confounds me most when I read of "casual" drug use by college students is this: Why take the risk? You are attending college to open your minds and the door to your future -- to make something of yourself; to prepare yourself for a life of meaning and adventure. But those who use recreational drugs are rolling loaded dice, and the stakes are high. They are risking years of study, everything they've worked for, and everything that lies ahead of them. They are literally gambling away their lives. Those who will try anything once may not get a second chance.

Every student in America at some point -- at a party, in a locker room, in a dorm room -- every student must choose to accept or reject drugs. Make the right decision or drugs will make the wrong ones for you. # # #

50TH ANNIVERSARY SPECIAL
WORLD WAR II: The Desperate Years

SEPTEMBER 4, 1989

\$2.00


TIME



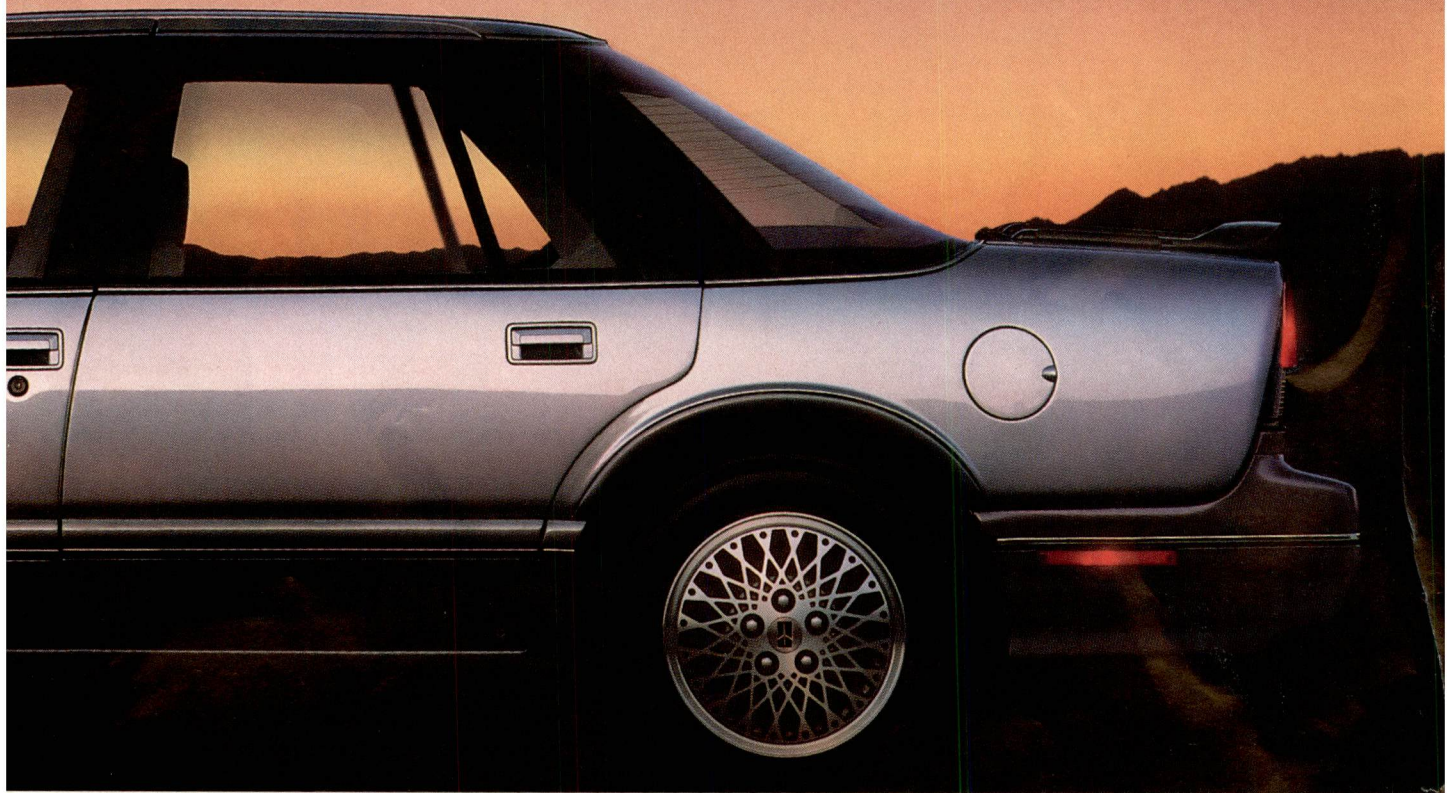
Rock Rolls On

Aging stars like
the Rolling Stones
strut their
staying power



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Here's how the new generation blasts off. The totally new Cutlass Supreme™ SL boasts some of the most ingenious

uses of space six people will ever find in a four-door car.

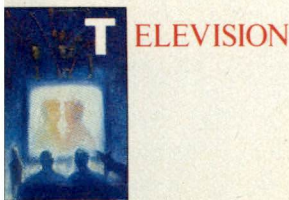
The ingenuity starts with the space under the hood, the home of the 3.1-liter V6 with multiport fuel injection.

It's a powerful engine that also happens to be very fuel efficient.* For space-age control, this sporty four-door boasts four-wheel disc brakes as well as independent

The background is a deep black space filled with numerous small, bright white stars. On the left side, there is a vertical, elongated nebula with a reddish-brown and orange glow. On the right side, there is a faint, blue-tinted galaxy or star cluster. The text is centered in the upper half of the image.

To
give you
more
space...

Critics' Choice



TELEVISION

BLACK IN WHITE AMERICA (ABC, Aug. 29, 10 p.m. EDT); **THE R.A.C.E.** (NBC, Sept. 5 and 6, 10 p.m. EDT). Two networks tackle the difficult subject of race relations. The ABC report is a series of profiles put together by the network's black producers and correspondents; NBC's live two-parter, with Bryant Gumbel as host, features a survey of viewers' attitudes on race.

ALIVE FROM OFF CENTER (PBS, Aug. 30, 10 p.m. on most stations). Meredith Monk transports us to a medieval French village circa 1349 in *Book of Days*, the penultimate offering of this summer series of offbeat video works.

THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH TALKING WITH DAVID FROST (PBS, Sept. 5, 8 p.m. on most stations). The British interviewer, last seen on the tabloid show *Inside Edition*, resurfaces for an hourlong chat with the First Couple.



BOOKS

HARP by John Gregory Dunne (Simon & Schuster; \$18.95). Novelist Dunne (*True Confessions*) fesses up that his own barbed style and snappish instincts have roots in an

immigrant Irish heritage in which he learned that writing well is the best revenge.

NICE WORK by David Lodge (Viking; \$18.95). A funny, adroit novel about an executive in one of Britain's rust-belt factories and the feminist lecturer who does field research on his old-fashioned methods.

AUGUST 1914 by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; \$50 hardback, \$19.95 paper). Since this novel first appeared in English 17 years ago, the 1970 Nobel laureate has added some 300 pages to his fictional but heavily researched saga of Russia's catastrophic involvement in World War I.



MOVIES

COOKIE. English teenager Emily Lloyd brings an acute ear and a fetching presence to her role as a Brooklyn punkster in this comedy about a Mafia don (Peter Falk) with a score to settle and a wayward daughter to raise.

DISTANT VOICES, STILL LIVES. Three children in a Liverpool family literally sing their way through two decades of air raids, poverty and a father's sere brutality. Prepare to be thrilled, perplexed, horrified, haunted.

SEX, LIES, AND VIDEO TAPE. Ann (Andie McDowell) doesn't care for sex; Graham (James Spader) can't have it. They make the perfect posteroic couple in this very funny, poignant psychodrama.



THEATER

PRIVATES ON PARADE. War is hell, and so are high heels, as British forces in Malaysia learn while staging musicals in a campy off-Broadway delight.

MADAME SHERRY. Connecticut's revival-oriented Goodspeed Opera House unearths another musical charmer about love, money and mistaken identity.

INTO THE WOODS. Although Stephen Sondheim's richest, deepest Broadway show is ending its run, the work thrives in a fine national touring version.



MUSIC

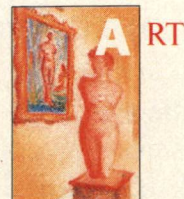
MAHLER: SYMPHONIE NO. 1 (Deutsche Grammophon). The young Lenny reintroduced Mahler; maestro Bernstein now leads the Concertgebouw Orchestra in a re-examination of the composer's kaleidoscopic genius.

N.W.A.: STRAIGHT OUTTA COMPTON (Priority). Rap that's angry, scary and tougher than the hard L.A. streets it comes from. Lots of beat, lots of truth, and no pity to spare.

EVAN JOHNS & HIS H-BOMBS: BOMBS AWAY

(Rykodisc). Stand back and let these boys explode: twelve scruffy juke-joint rock tunes as hot as the peppers at the far end of the bar.

PETER CASE: THE MAN WITH THE BLUE POST-MODERN FRAGMENTED NEO-TRADITIONALIST GUITAR (Geffen). Yeah, and that's not all he's got. An ear for the blues, a gift for the phrase, a way to make a song sound like a silent prayer.



ART

FIFTEEN YEARS OF COLLECTING, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York City. The Whitney claims the world's most comprehensive gathering of 20th century American art; this potpourri of works acquired since 1972 amply reflects its riches. Through Oct. 15.

ROBERT MOSKOWITZ, Hirshhorn Museum, Washington. Long in the shadow of contemporaries like Jasper Johns, this 54-year-old American, whose canvases feature the interplay of recognizable images and abstraction, gets his first museum retrospective. Through Sept. 17.

PERPETUAL MOTIF: THE ART OF MAN RAY, the Menil Collection, Houston. More than 200 of the haunting, mysterious paintings, works on paper, photographs and objects created by the pioneering Dadaist and surrealist (1890-1976). Through Sept. 17.

KEN REGAN—CAMERAS



COVER: Rock and a hard place—the music of the '60s is classic and current. But is it forever young?

58

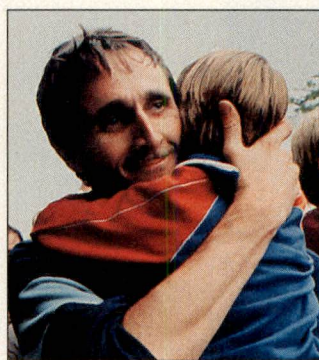
The sounds at the end of the '80s are startlingly familiar. This summer the music of a quarter-century ago is middle-aged and still crazy. The Who returned, Bob Dylan toured, Paul McCartney showed up and, flashiest news of all, the Rolling Stones rebounded with a new album, big concert series, megabucks in revenues. ▶ Young rockers who will carry on the tradition. See **MUSIC**.



NATION: The U.S. readies emergency aid for Colombia as drug barons declare "total war" against the government

President Barco strikes back against assassinations and bombings by threatening extradition of cocaine kingpins to the U.S. and seizing planes, yachts and lavish mansions of the *narcotrafficantes*. But the leading gangsters disappear after their hit men rub out Luis Carlos Galán, the front-running candidate in next May's presidential election.

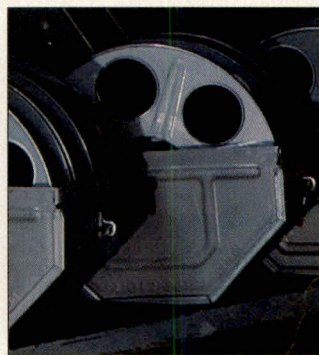
12



WORLD: Poland's Communists go with the flow

But change and resistance fray the East bloc. ▶ The Baltics line up for freedom. ▶ Is the *intifadeh* headed for a crisis? ▶ Unnatural death for an African conservationist.

18



BUSINESS: Here come the foreign movie moguls

They are pouring money into Hollywood, snapping up studios and bankrolling producers. ▶ Actor Robert De Niro launches his own film company in Manhattan.

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TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly for \$58.24 per year, by The Time Inc. Magazine Company. Principal Office: Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y., 10020-1393. Reginald K. Brack Jr., President; Joseph A. Ripp, Treasurer; Harry M. Johnston, Secretary. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. © 1989 The Time Inc. Magazine Company. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to TIME, P.O. Box 30601, Tampa, Fla. 33630-0601. For subscription queries, call Customer Service at 1-800-541-1000.



SPECIAL: Desperate Years. The second installment of a 50th-anniversary recounting of the century's greatest drama **24**

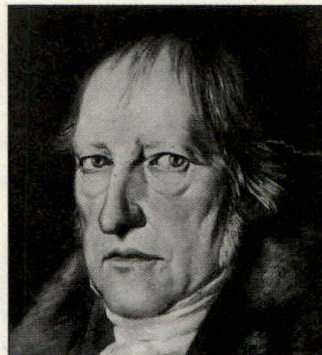
After conquering Poland, Hitler sweeps from triumph to triumph in Norway, the Low Countries, France. But the R.A.F. beats him back in the Battle of Britain, and so do the Red Army and the snows of Russia. Personal World War II recollections by a Habsburg descendant, a French Resistance hero, Mussolini's daughter. And a look at Japan's aggression in Asia.



SPACE: A close encounter with Neptune

After discovering new moons, rings and violent storms, Voyager 2 ends its twelve-year grand tour of four planets and heads for the stars.

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IDEAS: A bold new theory that history has come to an end

Reviving a Hegelian theme, a State Department policy planner offers new reasons why liberal democracy has supplanted Communism as the ideal form of government.

57



SPORT: The final out for Pete Rose

The toughest competitor in baseball takes a called third strike—and a lifetime ban from the game. Still unrepentant, he goes out holding the record for hits—and off-field errors.

64



ESSAY: America's worst export: political handlers

The inspiring triumph of free elections from Poland to Latin America does not automatically mean that U.S.-style campaign techniques are good for democracy.

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66 Books
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70 Milestones

Cover:
Photograph by
Ken Regan—Camera 5

From the Publisher

You mean, the Rolling Stones have never been on the cover of *TIME*? Well, they almost were, back in 1972, when their seventh U.S. tour was taking America by storm. Photographer Ken Regan posed the "satanic majesties" of rock backstage in San Francisco and Los Angeles, but the cover did not appear: it was bumped by one on George McGovern taking over the Democratic Party. "I've been waiting 17 years for this cover," chuckled Regan last week, as he arranged the Stones for their portrait, older but still flaunting their stuff.

Yet the bad boys of rock have definitely mellowed. "Through the years, the Stones have rarely been accessible," says Regan, who has shot pictures for several of the band's tours and albums. For our cover shoot, Mick Jagger and his mates interrupted (for 1½ hours) preparations for their first American tour in eight years. Regan trundled his gear up to tiny Washington, Conn. (pop. 3,700), where the Stones were rehearsing in a former girls school. "They're not terribly comfortable posing for pictures," Regan notes, "but this time they were as loose and relaxed as I've ever seen them." Quipped Jagger, after being asked to strike a new pose: "Oh, do we have to do this again? We did it years ago."



Golon, Regan and Hoglund join the band

"I've been waiting 17 years for this cover"

TIME had caught that old Stones magic.

TIME art director Rudy Hoglund, who coordinated the shoot, caught a glimpse of the personal Stones. "Their public image comes across as rather harsh," Hoglund says. "But I found them to be charming, regular people. Keith Richards had a friendly Labrador dog that followed him everywhere. He seemed like a very gentle kind of guy."

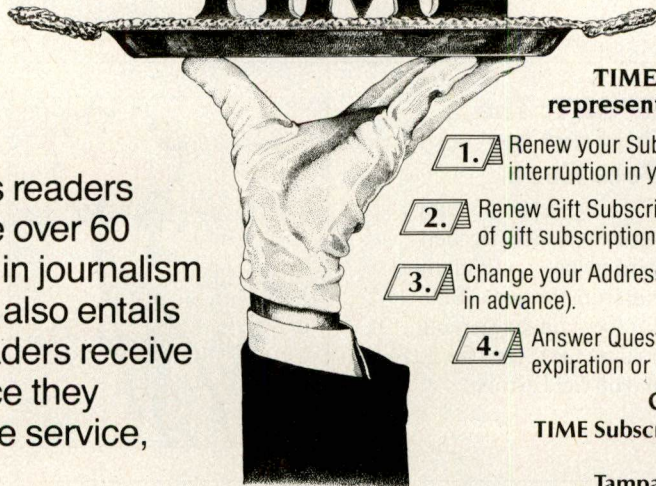
MaryAnne Golon, TIME's assistant picture editor for special projects, was struck by the natural excitement the Stones seem to generate. "You can plan where people should stand, what they should wear and which kind of background to use," she notes, "but you can't plan *them*." She didn't need to. Long before the session was over,

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Robert L. Miller

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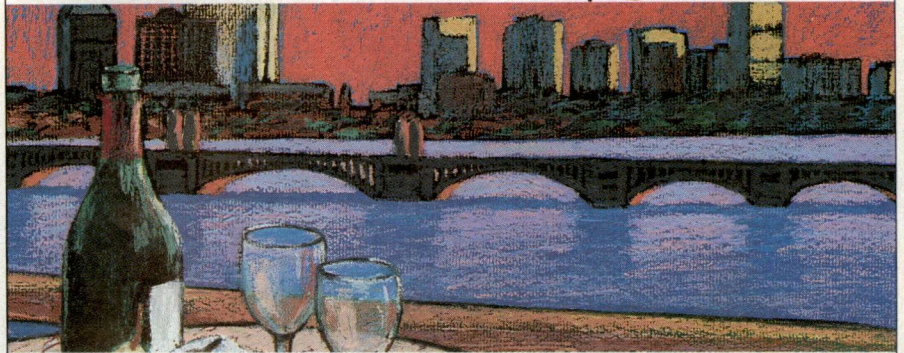
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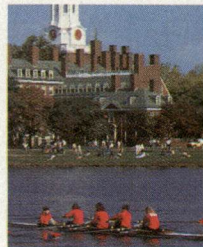
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Letters

THE HOSTAGE AGONY

"The U.S. must be prepared to back up its diplomatic initiatives with the threat of war."

Frederic Galacar, San Francisco

It is an international disgrace for an American Marine to be shown hanging from a rope [NATION, Aug. 14]. What is it going to take for the Bush Administration to realize that military action is the only way to stop terrorism in the Middle East? In 1981, at the end of the Iran hostage crisis, Ronald Reagan promised "swift and effective retribution" in response to any future terrorist acts against Americans. I believe Lieut. Colonel William Higgins and other Marines would be alive today if our political leaders had practiced what they preached.

*Roy Harrison Northcutt
Marietta, Ga.*

The U.S. cannot be held accountable for the safety of its citizens who choose to live in a precarious land. Those who go on official U.S. business or of their own accord are well aware of the possibility of abduction. If they are kidnaped, America can attempt to rescue them, but terrorists should not be allowed to hold our entire Government hostage.

*Ronald F. Gallop
Wallington, N.J.*

The Israelis are the only ones with the guts to fight terrorism. The leaders of other nations sit by while their citizens are kidnaped, but Israel is fighting fire with fire. By abducting Sheik Obeid, this brave country gave the murderous Arabs a dose of their own medicine.

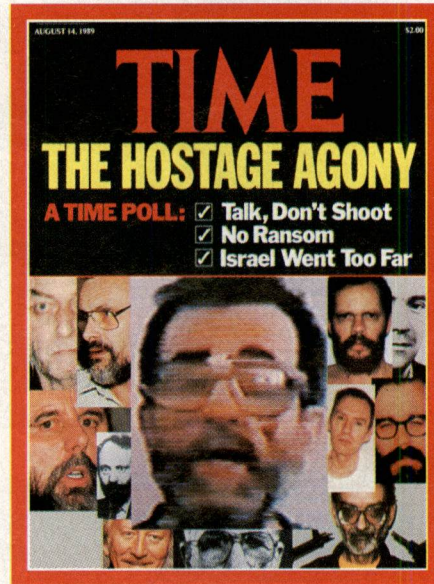
*Francis Rayfield
Nairobi*

Lucas and the Law

President Bush's attempt to appoint William Lucas as Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights was misguided [NATION, Aug. 14]. As a black American, I find it deeply insulting that someone who has never tried a case or written a brief should be nominated for such a pivotal post. It is not enough to be black; the candidate should be the best-qualified person to be found.

*Barbara J. Green
Dorchester, Mass.*

Shame on you for running down Lucas, who not only graduated from law school but who also has had a long career in the field of law enforcement as a police officer, an FBI agent and a sheriff. Have you forgotten that



Chief Justice Earl Warren never sat as a judge on any bench before he joined the U.S. Supreme Court?

*James Kurfess
Bakersfield, Calif.*

One Pace Behind

In her husband Denis Thatcher [WORLD, Aug. 14], Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has a companion with whom she can blow off steam, exchange opinions and share the grand adventures of political leadership. Mr. Thatcher has accepted his position with grace, secure in the knowledge that behind every good woman . . .

*William E. Cooper
New Orleans*

Secret Scrolls

You report that scholar J.T. Milik of the National Center for Scientific Research in Paris, a former Roman Catholic priest, is dragging his feet on publication of some of the Dead Sea Scrolls [RELIGION, Aug. 14]. Could the real reason be that the texts undermine traditional Christian dogmas?

*William Paul Barron Jr.
Salt Lake City*

It is sad that, apparently because of their egos, so-called scholars have withheld information that is possibly very im-

portant to both Christians and Jews. The Dead Sea Scrolls should all be made available, and people allowed to come to their own conclusions.

*Kurt H. Olson
Miami*

East and West

The rich and ancient Asian culture that playwright David Henry Hwang springs from [PROFILE, Aug. 14] is far more interesting and wise than the muddled, bland brave new world of homogeneity and amorphous impulse he now focuses on. As Hwang matures and his superficial attitudes fade, he will wake up one day and say, "Oh, my God, I almost traded a Ming vase for a Big Mac!"

*George DuBois
Los Nietos, Calif.*

Do unto Otters

I was enraged by your report that commercial fishermen are not upset about the deaths of sea otters in the wake of the Alaskan Exxon Valdez oil spill because an otter can consume as much as 25 lbs. of seafood a day [NATION, Aug. 7]. These fishermen seem to think every resource on earth is for humans only. The otters have more right to the seafood; it is their only source of sustenance. We must realize that we are encroaching on the sea otters' territory and their nourishment.

*Laurie Christian
Dallas*

Press Objectivity

It is futile for the New York Times, the Washington Post and other news media to forbid their reporters to participate in abortion-related or other demonstrations [PRESS, Aug. 14]. Restricting political activity will not prevent bias. Reporters and editors, even if they do not take part in demonstrations, should be required to disclose their personal views on sensitive topics. It is opinions, not activity, that induce bias. We readers deserve to know where they stand.

*Tom Pittman
Spreckels, Calif.*

I find it amusing that in the name of journalistic objectivity, the New York Times, which is noted for its liberal slant,

denies its reporters their fundamental right as Americans to participate in the political process.

*Eleanor Stoddard
Chicago*

Money for Art

In reply to Robert Hughes' piece supporting public funding for controversial art [ESSAY, Aug. 14]: yes, pharaohs, kings and Popes endowed great art, but for their own glory and to suit their own taste. U.S. artists trample on the values of the Neanderthals and make them pay for it.

*Christopher S. Johnson
Webster Groves, Mo.*

As a backer of the arts, I am concerned about Senator Jesse Helms' attack on the National Endowment for the Arts. I hope his amendment forbidding the NEA to underwrite provocative projects is defeated. Arts funding is hard to obtain, and we do not need this Neanderthal's prehistoric ideas on artistic freedom.

*Jane Jenkins
Hickory, N.C.*

I hate to admit it, but there is a valid point in Helms' "paleo-conservative" rhetoric that we in the arts must heed. While much of Robert Mapplethorpe's work is art, some of it is, in my opinion, highly polished pornography, and people are entitled to be outraged on seeing it displayed under the aegis of the NEA. The art community must be willing to admit that not everything that calls itself art merits public funding, or we will be handing Helms the ammunition for his attack on Government financing for the arts.

*Debora Meltz
Newton, N.J.*

The Corcoran Gallery of Art did not receive NEA funds for the Mapplethorpe exhibition. The NEA provided money directly to the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia, which organized a touring Mapplethorpe retrospective.

*Debra B. Shriver
Director of Public Affairs
The Corcoran Gallery of Art
Washington*

Artistic Judgment

A stack of mail arrived attacking Robert Hughes for his position on funding for the arts. Of the 87 letters we received, 81% excoriated Hughes' essay, 5% supported his views, and 14% were neutral.

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Going Too Far

The drug thugs trigger a backlash in Colombia and Kennebunkport

BY GEORGE J. CHURCH

Try to imagine drug gangsters murdering both Attorney General Dick Thornburgh and his predecessor, Edwin Meese. Next, pretend that drug triggermen and guerrilla allies rub out almost half the Supreme Court—say, Justices William Brennan, Byron White, Antonin Scalia and Sandra Day O'Connor—along with hundreds of lower-ranking but still prominent jurists. Expand the list of victims to include Washington *Post* editor Ben Bradlee and Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates, both slain, and Amy Carter, kidnaped and held briefly as a warning to authorities who might get tough with the narco-barons. And then the grand climax: the 1987 assassination of George Bush, murdered at a campaign rally just as he had become the favorite to be elected President the following year.

In the U.S. such carnage and terror striking at the vitals of effective government would be simply unbelievable. Yet an almost precisely equivalent list of crimes has been committed in Colombia over the past nine years. Since 1980, assassins have gunned down 178 judges; eleven of the 24 members of the Supreme Court died in a 1986 shootout between the army and leftist guerrillas thought to have been paid by the drug barons. Also hit were two successive Justice Ministers

(one survived), an Attorney General, the police chief of the nation's second largest city, Medellín, and the editor of the newspaper *El Espectador* in the capital city of Bogotá. The drug lords also kidnaped the 33-year-old son of a former President.

Then, two weeks ago, a drug hit team pumped five bullets into Luis Carlos Galán. A Senator and protégé of incumbent President Virgilio Barco Vargas, Galán was the clear front runner to win the presidency in next May's elections. But by killing him the *narcotraficantes* may have finally gone too far. Instead of further intimidating the government, the murder of Galán helped intensify a crack-down that by last week had escalated to what a drug lords' communiqué called "absolute and total war."

The raids, arrests and counterstrikes that followed presented the spectacle of a country fighting for its life against criminal combines financed by America's drug habit. The violence spurred the Adminis-

tration to jump-start its antidrug program, scheduled to be unveiled next week in George Bush's first major TV address to the nation. From his vacation home in Kennebunkport, Me., the President announced a \$65 million package of emergency military aid to Colombia, more than 2½ times the \$25 million the nation had been scheduled to receive. At the same time, the State Department warned that "Americans traveling to Colombia could expose themselves to extraordinary personal danger." Spokesman Richard Boucher said that State "strongly urges Americans to avoid visiting Medellín, headquarters of the drug traffickers' cartel."

Even before the U.S. announced its infusion of emergency assistance, Colombia's government had scored some early victories, confiscating in raids hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of drug kingpins' property. Included were 143 fixed-wing planes and helicopters believed to be

"We declare absolute and total war on the government . . . and all those who have prosecuted and attacked us."

—The cartel's communiqué





Drug violence strikes down the high and the low: presidential candidate Luis Carlos Galán, mourned by thousands, left, and an unidentified corpse dumped by a Medellín roadside

LE TIEMPO—SIPA
CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—BLACK STAR

used to smuggle drugs to the U.S., a number of yachts, and the mansions and ranches of the most prominent lords of the Medellín cartel: Pablo Escobar Gaviria and José Gonzalo Rodríguez Gacha. Colombian television showed viewers some indications of the drug lords' obscenely lavish life-styles. One of Rodríguez Gacha's spreads north of Bogotá boasts several swimming pools, an artificial lake and a two-acre flower garden. Another Rodríguez Gacha mansion, inside Bogotá, features a crystal staircase set amid pink marble walls and bathrooms equipped with gold-plated fixtures and rolls of Italian toilet paper on which were printed copies of classic artworks. Escobar's prize possession, a 1,000-acre ranch known as El Napoles, even had a private zoo stocked with giraffes, dwarf elephants, rhinoceroses and some 2,000 other exotic animals, many imported illegally from Africa. President Barco decreed that the drug lords can get their property

back only if they claim it in person and prove it was acquired with profits from legitimate business, not drugs.

Most important, Barco proclaimed a state of siege that will allow him to extradite to the U.S. any of the 80 drug thugs indicted by American prosecutors without getting a judge's signature on the order. That end-runs one of the biggest barriers to punishment of the gangsters: an intimidated Colombian Supreme Court in 1987 declared a U.S.-Colombia extradition treaty invalid on the flimsiest of technicalities. Both Washington and Bogotá officials declare that the drug lords fear extradition more than anything else because they cannot terrorize judges and juries in the U.S. as readily as they can those in Colombia. The gangsters agree. Their communiqués have been issued in the name of a group that calls itself, with defiant sarcasm, the Extraditables. It has adopted the slogan "Better a Tomb in Colombia Than a Jail Cell in the U.S."

Though Colombian police initially rounded up and arrested 11,000 people—many of whom were quickly released—by Friday they had nabbed only six people on the U.S. Justice Department's 120-name "long list" of those wanted for questioning, and not one of the suspects on a most-wanted list of twelve supplied to the Bogotá government. The biggest catch: Eduardo Martínez Romero, believed to be a financial adviser to the Medellín cartel. He is one of several people indicted in the U.S. for involvement in an alleged \$1.2 billion money-laundering scheme, in which drug money was passed off as the supposed profits of jewelry and gold-trading businesses. Martínez is described as only a middle-size fish, but he could turn out to be highly important. If he is extradited and decides to talk in return for a light sentence, he might point out where his chiefs have hidden billions of dollars in profits and investments. The U.S. and friendly nations could then seize those assets.

At week's end U.S. authorities, long out of practice in extradition cases involving Colombia, were racing against a Monday deadline to complete a small mountain of paperwork needed for Martínez's extradition. If they could not meet that deadline, Martínez would have to be turned loose. Since he had not been charged with any crime in Colombia, he could be held only seven days after his arrest, even during a state of siege.



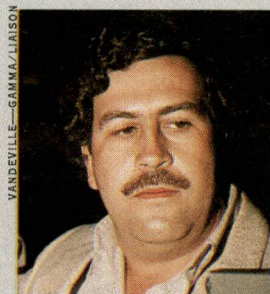
UPI—BETTMANN

"We will not be cowed. We shall prevail over the forces that would destroy our democracy and enslave our nation."

—Colombia President Virgilio Barco Vargas

The Dirty Dozen

Wanted in America: Colombia's biggest narcobarons



Pablo Escobar Gaviria, 39:

Leader of the Medellín cartel, which dominates the world cocaine trade. Escobar, who has a fortune estimated at more than \$2 billion, is under indictment in Miami, Los Angeles and Atlanta.



José Gonzalo Rodríguez Gacha, 42:

The most vicious of the Medellín kingpins, dubbed "El Mexicano."



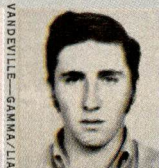
Gustavo de Jesús Gaviria Rivero, 42:

Escobar's cousin and right-hand man. Under indictment in Atlanta.



Jorge Luis Ochoa Vásquez, 40:

Chief executive officer of the family cocaine business, he is Pablo Escobar's peer in wealth, political influence and legal invincibility. Under indictment in Miami and Atlanta.



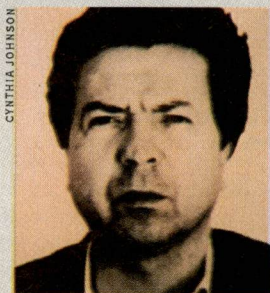
Juan David Ochoa Vásquez, 41:

Jorge's elder brother, he helps manage the business.



Fabio Ochoa Vásquez, 32:

The youngest Ochoa son, "Fabito" helps supervise the family business.



Miguel Ángel Rodríguez Orejuela, 46:

Brother of Gilberto. Co-owner of the soccer team and a chain of drugstores and big businesses in Medellín. Under indictment in New Orleans.

Jaime Raúl Orjúela Caballero, 46:

Indicted in New York in 1985 for drug trafficking.

Gilberto José Rodríguez Orejuela, 45:

Head of the Cali cartel. Owned a soccer team in Medellín and the First Interamericas Bank in Panama. Under indictment in New York, Los Angeles, New Orleans and Miami.

Geraldo Moncada, 42:

Money launderer for the Escobar and Ochoa families. Under indictment in Atlanta.

José Santacruz Londoño, 45:

Partner of the Rodríguez Orejuelas. A prominent figure in the Cali cartel, whose gang dominates the New York drug market. Under indictment in New York.

José Ivan Duarte Acero, 37:

Indicted in Miami for the attempted murder of two DEA agents.

The U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration was reportedly keeping a plane ready to fly him to America as soon as the last *i* was dotted on the extradition papers.

Yet Escobar, Rodríguez Gacha and the other drug lords had all escaped—perhaps into the Colombian jungles, maybe to Peru, Brazil or Panama, where strongman Manuel Antonio Noriega has helped them hide out during previous crackdowns. The Extraditables on Thursday issued a bulletin (printed on stationery with the cartel's makeshift trademark) declaring war to the death on any politicians, judges, journalists or members "of the political and industrial oligarchy" who oppose them, adding menacingly that they would not "respect the families" of their targets. To underscore those threats, the gangsters bombed the headquarters of the Conservative Party and of Galán's Liberal Party campaign or-

ganization, and burned the ranches of former Finance Minister Edgar Gutiérrez Castro and Senator Ignacio Velez Escobar.

Can the Colombian government win this war against the gangsters who smuggle into the U.S. an estimated 80% of all the cocaine snorted or smoked by Americans? The record is not encouraging. The drug barons have been forced to flee abroad before, notably during the crackdown that followed the 1984 assassination of Justice Minister Rodrigo Lara Bonilla, only to return and flaunt their wealth and power more ostentatiously than ever.

President Barco will have to sustain the campaign—at considerable risk to his own life—long after public outrage at the rubout of Galán has subsided. In an interview with *TIME* earlier this year, Barco asserted, "We're fighting a struggle that implies such high costs as no other nation has been will-

ing to pay." But, he said, "fighting against drugs means fighting for democracy."

Even if Barco persists, though, Washington is concerned that the Colombian government cannot match the drug gangs in money, firepower or training. The cartel runs a regular school for motorcycle-riding assassins (called *sicarios*) just outside Medellín. There, as shown on a videotape boldly distributed by the coke cartel, aspiring murderers are drilled in such techniques as twisting around on their choppers to blanket a car with lethal gunfire as they roar past. The trainers have been identified as British, South African and Israeli mercenaries; an embarrassed Israeli government pledged last week to investigate the reports and, if they are true, do all it can to stop such activity.

The U.S. aid package to Barco's military and police could help redress the im-

balance. In response to Colombian requests, by Thursday evening Bush's White House staff outlined to the President what could be scraped together. Bush insisted that the aid had to reach Colombia fast and be paid for without hurting other countries or Government programs. The assistance was shaped into a formal plan by Friday morning and announced by the White House that afternoon, following consultations with congressional leaders. It includes 20 Huey helicopters, machine guns, mortars, 18-man assault boats, jeeps, radio equipment and ambulances. The first installment, consisting of eight Hueys and various small arms and ammunition worth \$20 million in all, should be delivered in the next 14 days, the rest within a month or so.

There is some talk too of sharing more intelligence with the Bogotá government. In the past, the DEA pointed the Colombians to the sites of cocaine labs. But the CIA and the National Security Agency refused to make available satellite photographs and electronically intercepted messages—with some justification, considering how thoroughly the Colombian government was thought to be honeycombed by drug-gang spies.

Despite some initial press speculation, however, Bush from the beginning firmly ruled out the use of U.S. troops, and made that stand public after telephoning Barco Monday night. Barco briefly raised the subject only to dismiss it; the Colombians, he said, do not want any such assistance. Both Presidents are well aware that the presence of armed Yankees would be bitterly resented as U.S. interference. The White House, however, rather nervously disclosed that a "small" band of Americans will be dispatched to train the Colombians in the use of the military equipment they will be getting. One official estimated the number of trainers and support personnel at 50 to 100.

U.S. troops may not be needed anyway: possibly the drug lords began the latest round of murders in desperation because the Colombian government was already putting a deep crimp in their activities. One of the hits was on Medellín police chief Valdemar Franklin Quintero, who had commanded an operation called Rainbow that resulted in the destruction of 28 cocaine-processing laboratories and the capture of eleven tons of the drug.

Even more important, Colombian authorities in the first six months of 1989 seized more than a million gallons of processing chemicals such as ether and acetone—enough to make 320 tons of cocaine, almost the entire estimated yearly output of the cartel. It was the rubouts of Franklin Quintero and Superior Court



Colombian police commander with a cache of cocaine seized in a government raid



Soldiers awed by the obscene lavishness of drug lord Rodríguez Gacha's bathroom

The murder box score: 178 judges, one Justice Minister, one editor . . .

Magistrate Carlos Valencia, who invalidated a jury's verdict acquitting Rodríguez Gacha of murder, that caused President Barco to declare that he was reviving the extradition process. The murder of presidential candidate Galán, occurring minutes before Barco went on television, then prompted the mass arrests and the escalation to full war.

Though the U.S. has a big stake in the battle in Colombia, it cannot do much besides send matériel and cheer for Barco. Washington's antidrug policy is moving away from interdiction of supply to cutting down demand at home. Bush's program will propose shifting funds to expanded drug-education and -treatment programs, and stiffer penalties for casual users. Such an emphasis on curtailing the U.S. appetite for cocaine and other drugs is fine by

the Colombians. As President Barco told TIME, "Every time a North American youngster pays for his vice in the streets of New York, Miami or Chicago, he becomes a link in the chain of crime, terror and violence which has caused us so much damage and pain. The best help the U.S. could give for the tranquility and the defense of human rights of Colombians would be attacking face to face the consumption of drugs in that country."

After years of nagging Colombia to crack down on its cocaine gangsters, the U.S. is seeing the government literally risk its life to do so. Now the question is how hard America is prepared to fight the drug war in its own streets.

—Reported by Dan Goodgame/
Kennebunkport, John Moody/Bogotá and Elaine Shannon/Washington

My Lunch with Felix

A correspondent's very public encounter with a suspected spy

BY BRUCE VAN VOORST

For Felix Bloch it was "just another day," but a meal with him last week at Washington's posh Jockey Club took place under the watchful gaze of FBI agents two tables away, while a posse of reporters and TV cameramen waited outside. Two months have passed since the State Department accused Bloch of contacts with a Soviet agent, setting off a circus of public surveillance but no formal charges. Yet as Bloch sipped a vodka tonic and spoke angrily of the "F_____ Bureau of Incompetents," he seemed little changed from the career foreign-service officer I have known for more than 28 years. "I guess the bottom line is they don't have a case yet," he said.

Bloch, 54, appears much more dynamic than the stiff-necked, melancholy personality portrayed on television. Always a meticulous dresser, he suggested that we meet "someplace where you need a coat and tie" in order to keep the casually attired press mob outside.

"Do you really think I'm dour?" he began, referring to a description of him in a recent issue of *TIME*. It seemed an odd concern for a man at the center of the most serious State Department espionage scandal since the Alger Hiss affair. But perhaps Bloch's preoccupation with the media is understandable: he carried with him a color photo of a woman knocked to the ground in a supermarket by a burly TV cameraman who had been tracking Bloch's grocery cart. "That's the way it is nowadays," he said, sighing.

Some suggest that Bloch enjoys his notoriety. Yet he has rejected a barrage of telephone calls and messages from Diane Sawyer asking him to appear on *Prime Time Live* and from Mike Wallace for *60 Minutes*. Bloch plays along with the reporters who dog his every step. "Longevity runs in the family," he cautions. "This could go on for another 35 years."

With the skill of a veteran diplomat, he dodges questions about espionage. "There have been no charges," he said at lunch. What of the Government's statement that he had been involved in a "compromise of security"? "What's a 'compromise'?" he asked coyly. Anyway, he added, "there's no evidence of a compromise."

Does that mean he is innocent? Bloch paused an agonizing 30 seconds. "I can't comment on particulars, for then I must comment on the whole." He has heard that a federal grand jury is investigating. "What more can they learn?" Bloch asked. "They have all my papers and have talked to all my friends and colleagues."

Bloch's attitude toward the investiga-

tion is ambivalent. At his first FBI interrogation, on June 22, he not only surrendered his diplomatic passport, as he was required to do, but volunteered to give up his regular passport as well. He says he agreed to permit the FBI to search his car and apartment without a warrant and even reminded the agents to check the cellar storage space. But when Bloch and his wife Lou returned from a trip to New York City, they found a valuable chandelier cracked, the windows open and the air conditioning running. They submitted a bill to the FBI. To Bloch's great irritation, the FBI also confiscated his private

said. "I don't expect anything else." Can he endure the pressure? "I know people think of suicide," Bloch said, "but my roots are in Vienna, where everybody thinks of suicide all the time." Thinking and doing, he seemed to be saying, are two different things.

Acquaintances have searched in vain for an indication of what might have motivated Bloch's espionage, if indeed the Government's suspicions are justified. Money is an unlikely answer. He still earns \$80,000 a year from the State Department, and his wife has additional income. Except for their \$328,000 apartment, Bloch has modest tastes. He seems satisfied with his books, the theater, his stamp collection and a glass of good wine. Bloch resented serving under politically appointed ambassadors in Vienna, but his real complaint is with the State Depart-



Every breath you take, every move you make: Bloch in a quiet moment in Washington

"Longevity runs in the family; this could go on for another 35 years."

papers and only belatedly returned a checkbook, with just three blank checks, so he could pay some bills.

Angered by intense surveillance in New York City, Bloch took to marching up one-way streets, causing traffic tie-ups as the pursuing FBI autos bucked oncoming cars. At intersections the FBI held traffic, but Bloch chose to let cars back up while he waited for a green light.

In Washington, to ease the FBI's burden, Bloch generally tells agents where he is headed. Even so, as one agent allowed, there have been some fender benders caused by the troupe. In front and back of Bloch's Washington apartment, FBI agents sit in autos, the motors running, smiling wanly at passersby.

Still, Bloch does not play the deeply wronged innocent. A self-described fatalist, he is stoic. "Life is unfair, that's it," he

ment's failure to consider him for appointment as Ambassador to East Germany, and his later lack of success in becoming Deputy Ambassador to the Hague or Consul General in Munich, even though he had the backing of his immediate bosses.

Is he guilty? Bloch's Talmudic refusal to deny everything leaves the question open. After lunch we stopped in the men's room, where an FBI agent rushed in, standing, staring and listening as we washed our hands. Bloch agreed to meet again, "providing I don't defect to East Berlin before then."

"Just kidding," he added, smiling at the agent. Outside, Bloch headed toward Dupont Circle, trailing agents and media like the Pied Piper. "The guy's got guts," mused one agent as he rejoined the procession. ■

American Notes

OAKLAND

The Panthers' Lost Leader

It was not surprising that Huey P. Newton ended the way he did: lying in a pool of blood on a sidewalk in a crack-infested Oakland neighborhood with three bullets in his head. For much of his 47 years, Newton had preached and practiced violence as a necessary means of self-defense for blacks in urban America. He will be remembered most as the co-founder of the Black Panther Party, enthroned in a rattan chair, wearing a black beret, with a rifle in one hand and a spear in the other.

For a short time, Newton seemed to embody the spirit of ghetto uplift that the Panthers preached. After serving time in a celebrated case involving the shooting of an Oakland policeman, he earned a doctorate from the University of California. But



Huey Newton: Victim of self-defense?

after J. Edgar Hoover's FBI targeted the group, many of his fellow Panther leaders were killed, jailed or driven underground,

and Newton's life returned to its meaner roots. Charges of murder and assault led to conviction for possessing a gun. There followed a string of drug offenses, drunk driving and embezzling \$15,000 from a Panther-operated school.

At 5:30 a.m. last Tuesday, officers investigating a report of gunfire only two blocks from one of the Panthers' original headquarters found him dying in the street. On Friday police arrested a suspected drug dealer, who told them he shot Newton in self-

defense after they argued over a cocaine sale. Investigators found no gun near Newton's body. ■

LIBRARIES

The Great Patent Heist

Slipping rolls of microfilm into briefcases, the thieves evaded detection so effectively that their heists went unnoticed for weeks at the libraries of 13 major universities. When the operation ended, apparently in July, their collection of 3,000 reels was complete: a microfilm record of nearly every patent issued in the U.S. since 1969.

Why steal patents? Even a curious spy can buy a copy of any single patent for \$1.50. Still, a roll of the microfilm sells for about \$100, and the full set could be worth at least \$100,000 to inventors who must explore the past before pursuing a new idea. The FBI's best guess is that the thieves hope to sell duplicates at cut-rate prices. ■

RACE

No Place For Mankind

Mahin Root's father is white; her mother is black. So when the 14-year-old girl tried to register this year as a junior at Page High School in Greensboro, N.C., she faced a problem: a form that asked her to specify her race. Instead of filling in the blank, she left the question unanswered. School officials politely suggested that she make a choice, since the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights requires all public school systems to submit racial data on their students. Mahin, who had attended private schools since moving to Greensboro in 1985, just as politely declined. She and her parents, both born in the U.S., follow the Bahai religious faith. Explained her mother Brenda Mahin: "Our family be-

lieves very strongly in the oneness of mankind. There is but one race—the human race."

That satisfied school officials, who let Mahin enroll, but not the Washington bureaucrats. They advised Greensboro schools attorney William Caffrey that Mahin should be racially classified by using a "rule of reason" or an "eyeball" test. Caffrey did not consider that helpful. Finally he was told that the Education Department is trying to develop a policy on how to count children of interracial marriages. School officials are now waiting for Washington to apply its own rule of reason. ■



The Roots: Victims of bureaucracy?



Barney Frank: A victim of his own bad judgment?

CONGRESS

Barney Frank's "Pygmalion"

Massachusetts Congressman Barney Frank disclosed his homosexuality in 1987 and was re-elected the next year by a 70% majority. Now the Democrat must again test his constituents' tolerance of his sexual habits. Last week, after the *Washington Times* broke the story, Frank admitted that in 1985 he paid for sex from a male prostitute who had advertised in a gay newspaper. The Congressman then hired him, with his personal funds, as a \$20,000-a-year errand boy

for his Capitol Hill apartment. In 1987, Frank said, he decided that the man was using the apartment for prostitution. He said he fired him.

"I was conned by a good con artist," Frank declared last week. "Thinking I was going to be Henry Higgins and trying to turn him into Pygmalion was the biggest mistake I ever made. I thought I could help him reform." Frank said he has had a faithful male relationship since coming out of the closet, and he will seek re-election in 1990. He expects voters to judge him on his record as a hardworking, liberal Congressman, and explains, "The public didn't suffer. I suffered." ■

● EASTERN EUROPE

Uncharted Waters

Soviet allies draw conflicting conclusions from Gorbachev's agenda

BY JILL SMOLOWE

Only Mikhail Gorbachev and Mieczyslaw Rakowski know precisely what was said during their 40-minute telephone conversation. But the gist of the Soviet leader's advice to the Polish Communist Party chief last Tuesday apparently came down to this: Go with the flow. Within hours the Communists' belligerent demands for a greater role in Warsaw's as yet unformed government were replaced by conciliatory calls for "partner-like cooperation" with Solidarity. The arduous and uncharted process of piecing together the East bloc's first non-Communist government was back on track.

Extraordinary? Yes. Unexpected? Hardly. These days, events in Eastern Europe are so topsy-turvy that bloc uniformity seems to have given way to a breathless rush of uneven developments. In Hungary, where a multiparty system is in the works, Communist Party chief Károly Grósz reportedly announced that he was prepared to step down, a move that was interpreted as a victory for reformers. In East Germany the government sought to rid itself of malcontents by handing out unprecedented numbers of exit permits, while thousands of other unhappy citizens simply fled over the Hungarian border. In Poland the Communist Party Politburo marked the 50th anniversary of the 1939 Nazi-Soviet pact—whose secret protocols resulted in the partition of Poland at the onset of World War II—by denouncing the agreement as a violation of "sanctified moral norms of international coexistence." Lest anyone miss the point, Polish opposition leader Lech Walesa spelled it out in an interview with an Italian newspaper: "We are setting out . . . to return to the prewar situation when Poland was a capitalist country."

But Czechoslovakia offered a stubborn reminder of the old-style inflexibility. To commemorate the 21st anniversary of the Soviet invasion, the government of Miloš Jakeš ordered riot police to scare off some 3,000 demonstrators who had

POLAND: Prime Minister Mazowiecki calls for "thorough reform of the state"



DRUSCZ—AFP



PETER JORDAN

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Pushing a reluctant regime to change



HEGENBART—STERN/BLACK STAR

EAST GERMANY: The tide of refugees is a measure of disillusionment

taken to the streets of Prague. Wielding truncheons, the police arrested several hundred protesters, including some from Hungary and Poland. Warned the party-owned afternoon daily *Večerní Praha*: "History cannot be changed. It is necessary to know it and take a lesson."

Energized and emboldened by Gorbachev's daring reform campaign, many East Europeans are setting out to draw new conclusions from old lessons. If most Communist countries share a perception of the political and economic forces that have brought them to this juncture, they lack a common vision of where they are going. Acknowledged Solidarity leader Lech Walesa: "Nobody has previously taken the road that leads from socialism to capitalism." Poland and Hungary are pressing ahead with sweeping reforms that promise to disprove the theory that totalitarian regimes cannot change. Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Bulgaria tinker with old formulas in hopes they can stave off a reckoning with the new. Only Rumania, under the tyrannosaur-like leadership of Nicolae Ceaușescu, stubbornly pursues the Stalinist agenda without obstruction. As each country feels its way through this difficult period, the competing ambitions are putting considerable strain on the bloc.

The greatest rending is in Poland, where Solidarity is now officially leading the way toward a new and uncertain future. Last week the lower

house of the National Assembly, by a vote of 378 to 4, elected Solidarity's Tadeusz Mazowiecki to be the East bloc's first non-Communist Prime Minister. The vote followed by six days the resignation of President Wojciech Jaruzelski's hand-picked candidate, Czesław Kiszczak, who was unable to form a government after two former Communist allies, the United Peasants' Alliance and the Democratic Party, threw their support to Solidarity.

In his acceptance speech, Mazowiecki sought to play down the differences that had complicated Poland's political progress. "I want to form a government able to act for the good of society," he said from the oak podium of the Sejm. "I want it to be a coalition government for the thor-

ough reform of the state. Such a task can be undertaken only with the cooperation of all forces represented in Parliament." Ironically, Kiszczak had delivered a virtually identical acceptance speech barely three weeks earlier. The difference was that Mazowiecki has the popular legitimacy that Kiszczak, who as Interior Minister managed the 1981 crackdown on Solidarity, so conspicuously lacked.

Mazowiecki, who is expected to form a Cabinet by the end of this week if battles over portfolios can be settled, also addressed some of the enormous challenges ahead. Recognizing that Poland's bankrupt economy, not the Communists, poses the gravest danger ahead, he asserted that "Poland cannot afford ideological experi-

ments anymore" and promised to resurrect a market economy. He also pledged a return to a legal system that guarantees individual rights. Mindful of his audience in Moscow, he promised to support existing international treaties and obligations, making a special point of referring to the military arrangements within the East bloc. "We understand the importance of our Warsaw Pact obligations," he said. "The government I form will respect this pact."

Perhaps he need not have tried so hard. Though Moscow would clearly have preferred a Communist government, the Kremlin chose not to make matters worse. The Soviet media treated Mazowiecki's election with as much interest as a

Poland: The Vision Thing

Could George Bush imagine, even six months ago, that there would be a non-Communist government in Eastern Europe during his lifetime, much less his presidency? Probably not. Then why is his response so lukewarm to an ideological victory that his predecessors, from Harry Truman to Ronald Reagan, could only dream about?

The Administration is offering \$119 million in aid to Poland's Solidarity-led government—not a penny more than it was prepared to give the Communists who locked up Lech Walesa a few years ago. In contrast, U.S. aid to Israel this year will total \$3 billion, and to Egypt \$2.4 billion. Looking at the numbers another way, the total aid to Poland is less than one-quarter the price of one Stealth bomber.

To be sure, tossing extra money into the pot without follow-up thought and planning amounts to offering easy applause more than productive partnership. But the relative sum assigned is a symbol of priorities. Is the priority for Poland unchanged? Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's success may depend on his ability to deal with Poland's economic situation—quickly. Can the U.S. really afford to let him fall for lack of assistance? It is odd, to say the least, that George Bush appears to have been as comfortable with the Communist status quo as with this historic breakthrough for democracy.

report on a new sausage shortage in Moscow. But while Moscow was unusually open-minded about changes in Poland, the Communist Party Central Committee issued a shrill warning to the Baltic republics that it would not tolerate separatist talk at home.

Poland's promising though fitful progress, coupled with tacit approval from Moscow, has raised the hopes of millions of East Europeans. In countries where the leaders are proceeding at a far more cautious pace, these hopes have spawned an impatience that can be measured by the rising tide of refugees. Hungary's decision four months ago to dismantle the barbed-wire fences along its border with Austria has uncorked the largest flood of cross-border escapes since the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961. The number of escapees is topping 200 a day, and tens of thousands are applying to leave legally. If the flood continues, close to 100,000 East Germans will cross to the West this year.

The refugees testify to a disillusionment with the rigid rule of East German President Erich Honecker, 77, who seems to offer no hope of future change. Most of them are young people, skilled workers or university-trained specialists. As yet, Honecker has done nothing to stanch the flow. One joke making the rounds last week asked, "Why will Honecker abolish East German identity cards by 1990?" The answer: "Because by then, Honecker will be personally acquainted with all the remaining citizens."

The mass exodus is no joke. In the past, the trickle of legal refugees primarily involved senior citizens, which was East Germany's way of palming off some of its pension burden on the capitalist West. But the loss of so many young professionals presents East Germany with the prospect of a serious brain drain.

The tide is also no laughing matter in West Germany. In keeping with its constitutional commitment to a united Germany, Bonn re-

gards the refugees as citizens of the Federal Republic with full rights. Upon arrival, they receive \$100, and within days they begin receiving unemployment benefits. West German citizens, who already must contend with a huge influx of ethnic German immigrants from Poland and the So-

viet Union, are growing resentful of the refugee burden, which gluts the job market and strains housing resources. "The East German leadership carries exclusive responsibility for the situation," Chancellor Helmut Kohl charged last week. "We will not let them evade this."

Refugees also continue to pour out of Bulgaria; more than 312,000 ethnic Turks have fled over the past three months. With hundreds of thousands more refugees expected, the Turkish government reached the limits of its patience last week and closed the frontier to refugees not carrying visas. At 3:26 a.m. Tuesday, a train packed with ethnic Turks pulled into the Kapikule railway station, across the border from Bulgaria. At 6:10 a.m. the train began to move—but in the wrong direction. Young refugees jumped from the windows and flung themselves on the tracks. Finally, at 8:54 a.m., the refugees were granted asylum. But that human cargo—dubbed the Train of Shame by the Turkish press—may be the last for some time to come.

It is not certain that Eastern Europe will ever regain cohesion. Radical reform and conservative intransigence make uncomfortable bloc fellows. Comecon, the alliance's economic union, is crumbling as members scramble to cut separate deals with the West. And the allies are at one another's throats: the Czechs and Rumanians denounce the Polish reformers for sowing chaos, the Poles denounce the Czechs for trampling human rights, the Hungarians denounce the Rumanians for mistreating their Hungarian minority. Gorbachev's phone conversation with Rakowski last week suggests that the Soviet leader finds better promise in an uncharted future than in a failed past. But if Eastern Europe's summer of hope gives way to a winter of discontent, Gorbachev's go-with-the-flow optimism may bump up against an iceberg or two. —Reported by John Borrell/Warsaw and James O. Jackson/Bonn



Lithuanians among the millions who joined hands in protest

A Chain of Freedom

Vabadus! Vabadus! Vabadus! With interlocking hands held high, Estonians joined together in lines four and six deep in Tallinn to chant a single word: "Freedom!" The invocation was echoed last week all along a human chain, formed by an estimated 2 million people, that stretched from the Estonian capital of Tallinn across Latvia and into neighboring Lithuania to end at Gediminas Tower in Vilnius, some 400 miles from the starting point.

The protesters linked hands to mark the 50th anniversary of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, which included secret protocols that cleared the way for the annexation of the Baltics by the U.S.S.R. during World War II. In a sharply worded declaration, a coalition of popular-front leaders denounced the Soviet occupation and demanded the right to "restore independent statehood." The day before, a special commission of the Lithuanian parliament had declared that the U.S.S.R.'s annexation of the republic in 1940 was invalid, flatly contradicting Moscow's denial that the protocols had any bearing on absorption of the Baltics.

The increasingly defiant tone of the nationalists has provoked the ire of hard-liners in the Soviet leadership. In a harsh blast read over national television, the Communist Party Central Committee denounced the protests as an attempt "to incite the peoples of the Baltic republics to secede from the Soviet Union." The Central Committee criticized local party leaders for "playing up to nationalist sentiments," and called for "resolute, urgent measures to cleanse the Baltic republics of extremism and destructive and harmful tendencies."

The statement did not urge any specific steps for bringing the Baltic states into line, but its ominous tone came as a shock to Soviet liberals. With Mikhail Gorbachev out of Moscow on vacation last week, many wondered if the virulent anti-Baltic onslaught was yet another maneuver by conservative forces to discredit the Soviet leader's political reforms.

Is the *Intifadeh* Losing Steam?

Palestinians turn their frustration on one another

The first phase was remarkable: using stones and strikes, Arab youths managed to befuddle the Israeli army and gain some national pride. But after 20 months of rebellion and bloodshed, Palestinians in the occupied territories are growing tired as they grimly realize that their heady sacrifices have yet to budge the Israelis. Although the *intifadeh* promises to smolder indefinitely, fewer and fewer Arabs are actively taking part in the violence. The worst outbursts of rage are now directed at other Palestinians, while weary residents are increasingly willing to defy the frequent strike orders that once commanded near total obedience.

Last week, in a test of strength between Palestinian activists and the Israeli army, the underground leadership of the *intifadeh* banned Gazans from working in Israel for two weeks. The strike was called to protest the army's latest method for controlling troublemakers: a computerized ID card listing any previous criminal charges that all Gaza men aged 16 to 60



A strike enforcer tries to intimidate a worker from going to his job in Israel

Arabs are increasingly trapped between the Israelis and the uprising.

must now carry. The army says about 65,000 of the cards have been issued; Palestinians claim to have confiscated and destroyed thousands of them.

Nearly 10% of Gaza's laborers dared to flout the strike order. "Our situation is unbearable," said Mohammed, 51, standing at the heavily guarded crossing into Israel at 6:30 a.m. "We're trapped between the Israelis and the *intifadeh*." A father of 15, he risked attack by masked

strike enforcers to reach the checkpoint. "Either I sneak out to work or my family starves," he complains.

Defiance like Mohammed's is only one crack in the façade of Palestinian unity. In the first 17 months of the uprising, nearly 50 Arabs were shot, beaten or hacked to death by fellow Arabs for collaborating with the Israelis; since May, that number has doubled. In fact, many are believed to have been gunned down to settle private accounts and labeled collaborators posthumously. Nonetheless, many Palestinians are appalled by the brutality, prompting an appeal in the latest leaflet from the uprising "not to eliminate collaborators without a decision by the leadership, and not before he is given a chance to repent."

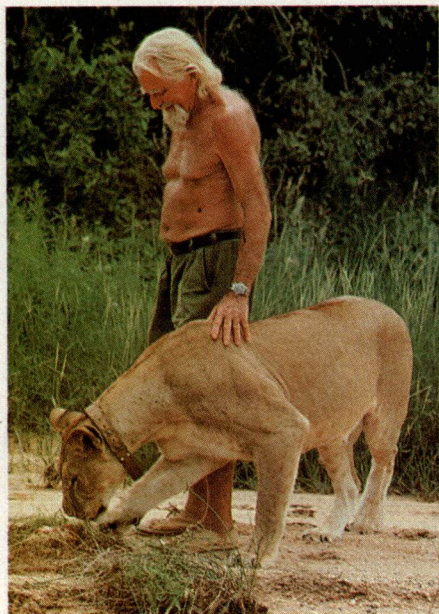
While the Palestinians despair, the Israelis are learning to live with and even ignore the "disturbances." As their sense of urgency wanes, so does the incentive to find a solution. Israel's grip on the territories may ultimately prove untenable, but in the short run, it is the Palestinians who are nearing the limits of endurance. That is precisely what worries Arab extremists, who contend that leaves but one option: to uncache their weapons and return to the front pages in the worst possible way. ■

Murder in the Game Reserve

Roving poachers bring down the man who helped lions live free

All lions, conservation pioneer George Adamson once wrote, "have been designed and perfected by nature to kill." But the former game warden who became foster father to dozens of lion cubs finally fell victim to deadlier animals—men armed with assault rifles. Adamson, 83, and two of his assistants were shot to death last week when he drove his Land Rover straight at three bandits in an attempt to rescue another employee and a woman guest who had been waylaid near his bush camp in northeastern Kenya. By midweek, police had seized three suspects.

Adamson, born in India, moved to Kenya in 1924 and in 1938 joined the government wildlife department. In the 1960s he and his wife Joy gained worldwide fame from her best-selling books, like *Born Free* and *Living Free*, which recounted their adventures raising captive



Lifelong love affair: Adamson with a friend


or orphaned young lions to return to the wild. She was murdered in 1980 by a servant who had been accused of theft and fired.

Last week's attack was apparently the latest in a prolonged war between the Kenyan government and heavily armed

bands of poachers set on pursuing the illegal trade in ivory, rhinoceros horns and leopard and lion skins. Richard Leakey, the noted paleoanthropologist who directs Kenya's wildlife service, said the killers would probably turn out to be poachers from neighboring Somaliland. These nomads are paid almost nothing for the hacked-off trophies, which are later sold for hundreds of millions of dollars in Asian and Middle Eastern markets.

Relentless poachers have thinned the ranks of some animals to perilous levels. In the past ten years, for example, they cut Kenya's elephant population from 65,000 to 17,000. This threatens to extinguish not only the species but also income from tourism, which last year totaled \$390 million. Kenya's antipoaching rangers have counterattacked, sweeping the armed invaders out of the national parks and killing 23 of them since mid-May.

Ironically, the success of the rangers has driven the poachers into banditry of the kind that killed George Adamson. During similar attacks in July, two French tourists and an American woman were shot dead. Nevertheless, the animals are still more at risk than humans. Friends of Adamson say even some of the lions he raised and set free have fallen to poachers' bullets. ■

A woman in a grey suit is walking down a sidewalk, smiling and holding the hand of a young child in a school uniform. The child is carrying a small basket. Other children in school uniforms are walking in a line behind them. In the background, there are other people and a building with a white fence.

All buttoned up in Seoul.

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World Notes

IRAN

Edging Toward Rationality

Are there any moderates in the government in Tehran? That is still uncertain, but there were signs last week that something akin to pragmatism is beginning to show itself. New President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani nominated a 22-man Cabinet that leaned toward technocrats and away from fanatics. Out were three of the most extreme radicals in the old Cabinet, notably former Interior Minister Ali Ak-



President Rafsanjani: a move to quell the fevers of fanaticism

ESLAMI RAA—GAMMA/LIAISON

bar Mohtashemi, the reputed backer of terrorist groups holding Western hostages in Lebanon. In as First Vice President was Hassan Habibi, a French-educated lawyer who could bring a more Western orientation to the Cabinet.

Middle East analysts expect that the new government's top priority will be to repair Iran's war-devastated economy. Such an economic program might eventually imply a political warming to the West, but not quickly. Nor do the experts foresee a push to release hostages held by Shi'ite factions in Beirut. ■

AUSTRALIA

Grounded Down Under

Passengers were issued earplugs instead of headsets, and sat in webbed slings instead of contour seats. The planes were noisy, lumbering Hercules

transports designed to fly the unfriendly skies of enemy nations. But civilian passengers lucky enough to be winging it aboard military planes of the Royal Australian Air Force last week were hardly complaining. Australia's airline industry has been thrown into chaos by the resignation of all 1,640 pilots from the nation's three major domestic airlines. The walkout has threatened the booming tourist industry and grounded most flights in a country where some 250,000 people fly weekly.

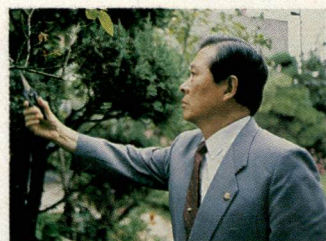


PETER O'HALLORAN

Strapped in for a lift in a Hercules transport

The turbulence began when the pi-

lots, who earn an average of \$60,000 a year, asked for a 30% pay raise and direct negotiations with the domestic carriers, instead of the 6% set by an independent wage-fixing authority. The request was rejected by the airlines and the government, which supports the wage-fixing system as a curb against inflation. The government fears that any exception granted to pilots will set off a chain reaction among labor groups. If that happened, said Prime Minister Bob Hawke, "the economy would be bugged." Determined to stand his ground, Hawke has called in the air force. So far, however, the pilots have shown no inclination to settle for more down-to-earth wages. ■



H. EDWARD KIM

Kim enjoying his freedom

SOUTH KOREA

The Charge Is Silence

Opposition leader Kim Dae Jung has spent seven of his 63 years in prison, and now the government hopes to lock him up again. Kim and two other members of his Party for Peace and Democracy were indicted last week for violating national-security and currency-control laws. According to the charges, they failed to report that one of their party colleagues, Suh Kyung Won, visited North Korea last year in violation of the ban on unauthorized contacts with the Communists. Kim, twice a presidential candidate, is also accused of failing to report that he accepted \$10,000 Suh was given in Pyongyang.

The charges are "deliberate political persecution," says Kim. He knew nothing about the trip, he insists, until just before Suh was arrested last June. "I have nothing to fear," he told his supporters. But if he is convicted, Kim could spend up to 15 years behind bars. ■

CUBA

Adios to Castro?

The ties that bind Moscow and Havana have lately been tenuous at best, thanks mainly to Fidel Castro's refusal to heed the Kremlin line. The antagonism has intensified since Mikhail Gorbachev came to power, particularly since the Cuban President and his brother Raul, who is Defense Minister, rejected *perestroika* as nothing more than warmed-over capitalism. Now Cuban officials who have recently defected to the U.S. are suggesting that Soviet disen-

chantment with the Castro brothers has become so great that the Kremlin has discreetly begun seeking ways to replace them.

Some State Department officials claim that the Castro brothers are aware and have fought back. Fidel suspected that Major General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, who was executed last month for drug dealing, was really acting under Soviet direction to topple the government. Most U.S. analysts, however, are skeptical that Soviet-Cuban re-

lations have degenerated to the point of covert hostility. A Moscow-based diplomat who closely monitors Soviet-Cuban relations dismisses the possibility as "very farfetched." ■



NEIL LEIFER

Gorbachev and the general eye each other

PART

WORLD WAR II

3

Desperate

BY OTTO FRIEDRICH

*Exiled Thucydides knew
All that a speech can say
About Democracy,
And what dictators do . . .
The habit-forming pain,
Mismanagement and grief:
We must suffer them all again.*

—SEPTEMBER 1, 1939, by W.H. AUDEN*

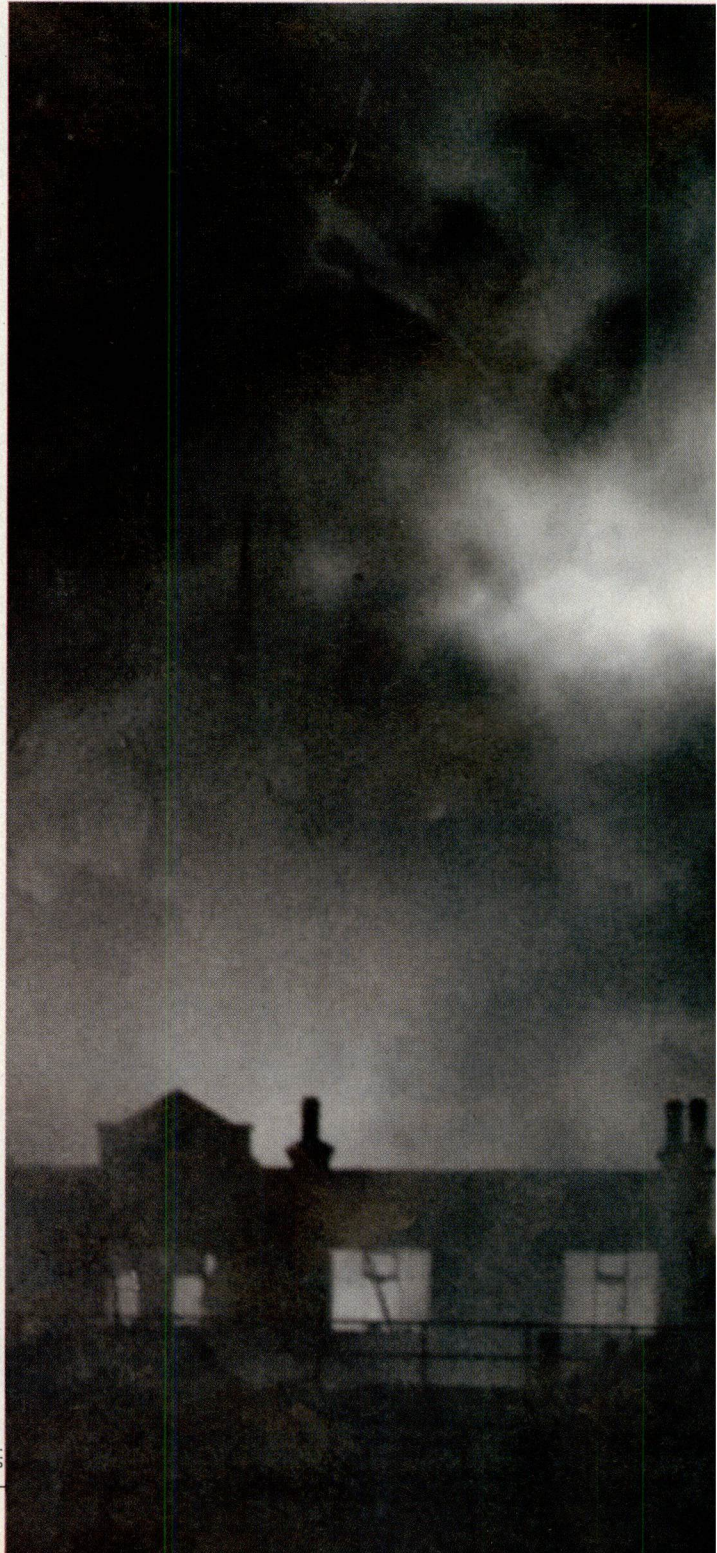
If one man could be singled out as Hitler's most resolute and effective antagonist, it was Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill. On the day the Germans attacked Poland, he was 64 years old and had held no Cabinet post in ten years. Yet in all the West, his was the voice that had most forcefully denounced Hitler, most prophetically warned that Britain must rearm to resist him. While Parliament approved the Munich agreement, Churchill called it "a total and unmitigated defeat." He said of Neville Chamberlain, "In the depths of that dusty soul, there is nothing but abject surrender."

Churchill was no hero to the House of Commons, though. Conservative regulars mistrusted him for his 20-year defection to the Liberals, while liberals blamed him for the ill-fated British intervention in Russia in 1918-19. He had a large ego and a sharp tongue, and he drank too much brandy, but he also had qualities that were to prove indispensable—courage, eloquence, energy and a passionate determination to save British democracy. No sooner had the Germans invaded Poland than Chamberlain reluctantly invited his chief critic to No. 10 Downing Street and asked him to join the Cabinet; Churchill thereupon became First Lord of the Admiralty. "Churchill in the Cabinet," Göring said when he heard the news. "That means war is really on."

Unlike Chamberlain, Churchill was determined to go on the attack and persuaded his Cabinet colleagues to stage a spectacular landing in northern Norway. His original scheme was to intervene in the Russo-Finnish war, which Stalin had launched on Nov. 30, 1939. Finland's well-trained and determined army of 300,000 had fought the Red Army to a standstill. Churchill's plan was to land a British expeditionary force at the northern Norwegian port of Narvik, cut across to the Swedish iron mines at Gällivare (which provided Hitler with almost 50% of the iron he needed for his war machine), then join the Finnish resistance. Before Churchill could get his force under way, however, the Soviets overwhelmed the Finns in March 1940.

Still determined to intercept those shipments of Swedish iron ore flowing south from Narvik to Hitler, Churchill then worked out a plan to lay mines along the Norwegian coast and even to seize the main Norwegian ports. That was supposed to begin April 8, 1940, but Hitler learned of the plan. British troops were already embarked in Scotland when the news came that the Germans were moving to land in both Denmark and Norway.

The virtually unopposed conquest of Denmark took only a few hours. Casualties on both sides totaled 56. Norway offered



UPI

Years

After conquering Poland, Hitler menaces the rest of Europe. Churchill's reply: "We shall never surrender"



WHEN ENGLAND STOOD AT BAY

The great dome of St. Paul's Cathedral rises above the flames of burning London during the blitz of 1940



COUNTERATTACK British commandos strike at beach in Vagsoy, Norway, but cannot dislodge German invaders

somewhat more resistance. As a German naval task force steamed up the fjord leading to Oslo, the Oscarsborg Fort outside the capital opened fire with its turn-of-the-century German cannons and sank the heavy cruiser *Blücher*, killing more than 1,000 Germans. Among them were Gestapo agents under orders to seize King Haakon VII. Reprived, the 67-year-old King fled northward on a railroad train, along with the national gold supply, 23 tons of it.

Churchill thought Britain's naval superiority would soon drive the Germans out of Norway. But though Britain commanded the high seas, the Luftwaffe controlled the air. And though Britain did land nearly 25,000 Allied troops in Norway, they were poorly equipped and had to be evacuated within weeks, as were King Haakon, his family and his gold. Said Churchill: "We have been completely outwitted."

Hitler had hoped to attack the Low Countries in the fall of 1939, as soon as possible after the conquest of Poland, but the plan was delayed first by objections from the German generals, then by bad weather, then by a bizarre twist of fortune. A Luftwaffe major who carried a set of the invasion plans in his briefcase was sitting in an officers club in Münster and bemoaning the long train trip to a planning conference in Cologne the next day; another major, who was getting too old for active duty, offered to fly him there so that he could log some more cockpit time for himself. The two set off in a new Messerschmitt scout plane, got lost in the clouds and crash-landed in Belgium. The Belgian authorities thus found themselves in possession of the entire German invasion plan—but could not be certain that this was not all a German trick. Conversely, Hitler soon learned that the Allies knew of his plans—but the furious dictator could not be certain whether they knew what they had.

Hitler decided to rethink the whole strategy. The French defense was based on the "Maginot Line," a chain of fortifications that stretched 200 miles along the frontier from Switzerland north as far as Luxembourg. Built at a cost of \$200 million (a substantial sum at a time when a workman earned about \$3 a day), the Maginot Line was considered invulnerable; its strongest outposts bristled with antitank guns, machine guns and

barbed wire, and boasted concrete walls 10 ft. thick as well as supply depots 100 ft. underground. To the north of the Ardennes Forest, which was only lightly fortified because the French considered it "*impénétrable*," a "Little Maginot Line" guarded the Franco-Belgian border, but the French planned to march into neutral Belgium themselves at the first sign of a German invasion.

The original German plan was to launch a frontal assault by Army Group B on the Low Countries, just as in 1914, with a secondary attack in the Ardennes by Army Group A. But General Erich von Manstein, chief of staff for Army Group A, passionately argued that this would only lead to stalemate in northern France, again just as in 1914. By contrast, a strong armored offensive right through the supposedly impenetrable Ardennes could lead to a breakthrough all the way to the English Channel. The Allied armies would be encircled and cut off; all France

REMEMBRANCE

BRENDA SCOTT

Living with the Blitz

The wife of a London physician, Scott was 17 and living with her family on the city's outskirts during the blitz.

My father had an air-raid shelter built in the garden. It was very claustrophobic, like a small ship's cabin with four bunks. We had some books, some torches, emergency rations and some sort of electrical supply. We slept in siren suits, which were like jump suits; mine was air-force blue, and my mother's was burgundy.

You could always hear the Germans coming because their planes had such a distinctive engine noise. It wasn't so bad if I could be outside and see, but it was this feeling of being almost in a tomb. The awful thing was not to be doing anything. But we all knitted things for the armed forces, and so we would take our knitting out to the shelter.

would lie open. Manstein's memorandums never reached Hitler, but the two men met at a dinner, and the Führer was so impressed by the general's bold plan that he ordered it adopted.

And so when 30 divisions smashed into the Low Countries at dawn on May 10, 1940, an even larger force of 45 divisions more or less vanished into the depths of the Ardennes Forest. The Dutch fought bravely, but they were no match for Hitler's blitzkrieg with its tanks, dive bombers, paratroops and mobile infantry. When the Dutch defenders managed to hold the bridgeheads leading to Rotterdam, the second city of the Netherlands, Hitler ordered that "this resistance be broken *speedily*." A wave of bombers swept over the city and showered it with 2,200-lb. bombs, killing more than 800 people and destroying some 25,000 houses in less than 15 minutes.

The French and British had no intention of defending doomed Holland, but as they poured into neighboring Belgium, Hitler was delighted. The Manstein plan was working perfectly. "When the news came through that the enemy was moving forward along the whole front, I could have wept for joy," he said later. "They had fallen into the trap. It was vital that they believe we were sticking to the . . . old plan, and they *had* believed it."

The day of the German invasion was also the day the British government decided on a new leader. Chamberlain had been too cautious, and he was already afflicted by the cancer that would kill him in six months. Conservative backbencher Leopold Amery threw down a challenge. Invoking the terrible words that Oliver Cromwell had used in dissolving Parliament in 1653, he declared, "You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go!" So many Conservatives then joined in an Opposition vote of censure that Chamberlain felt he could not go on, and the Conservatives turned to Churchill. He began with a stirring pledge: "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat. You ask, what is our policy? I will say: It is to wage war . . . with all the strength that God can give us. That is our policy."

In the Ardennes Forest the main German force encountered only token opposition until it reached the French defenses just west of Sedan on the swift-flowing Meuse River. Dive bombers soon pounded those defenses into silence, and General Heinz Guderian's forces quickly crossed the river. As they pushed westward, there was little to stop them. General Erwin Rommel, commander of the 7th Panzer Division, saw anarchy all around: "Civilians and French troops, their faces distorted with terror, lay huddled in the ditches, alongside hedges and in every hollow beside the road . . . Always the same picture, troops and civilians in wild flight down both sides of the road . . . a chaos of guns, tanks and military vehicles of all kinds inextricably entangled with horse-drawn refugee carts."

By May 16, in the first week of combat, Guderian's spearhead of seven panzer divisions had knocked a hole 60 miles wide in the French defenses; by May 20 the Germans had reached the cathedral city of Amiens, farther forward than they had gone in all World War I; that same day they reached the English Channel near Abbeville. The main Anglo-French army in Belgium had been cut off. Even before that final encirclement, the new French Premier, Paul Reynaud, who was supposed to represent a more warlike spirit than the ousted Edouard Daladier, telephoned Churchill and said, "We have been defeated. We are beaten. We have lost the battle."

Guderian's tanks raced up the coast, seized Boulogne, seized Calais, neared Dunkirk, then were ordered to halt. Guderian protested but was told that it was Hitler's personal order, an important miscalculation that has never been fully explained. "The Führer is terribly nervous," Chief of Staff Franz

CHURCHILL JOINS BATTLE

**The new First Lord
heads for the
Admiralty. Says
Germany's Göring:
"That means war is
really on"**

GRAPHIC PHOTO UNION



ULLSTEIN BILDERDIENST



ROTTERDAM'S FATE German bombers take less than 15 minutes to level the city

Eagle, but a dive bomber set it afire, and most of the men aboard perished. A hospital ship marked with large red crosses rode at anchor off the beach all one day until a bomb went down its funnel and scattered bodies all over the harbor.

For nine days, often under heavy fire, the ships steamed to and fro as the great evacuation continued. By June 4, when it ended, some 200,000 British troops had been rescued, along with about 140,000 Allied forces, mostly French. British losses: 40,000 left behind, dead or taken prisoner. To many of the French, the evacuation was a British betrayal, a flight, the abandonment of an ally. To the British, it was a miracle and the only route to national survival.

With 60 remaining divisions, the French tried to form a new defensive line along the Somme, but after having lost about 40 divisions plus almost all British forces, they were seriously out-

numbered, as well as outgunned and outgeneraled. The Germans had not only their panzer units but also 130 infantry divisions. On June 7 the French commander Maxime Weygand told the government, "The battle of the Somme is lost," and advised it to ask for an armistice. Premier Reynaud declared, "We shall fight in front of Paris," but the government itself fled to Tours and then Bordeaux.

Halder wrote in his diary. "Frightened by his own success, he is afraid to take any chance and so would rather pull the reins on us."

The British were already thinking about evacuating France, and Dunkirk, about 50 miles away, was the only port that remained open to them. They hoped to rescue perhaps 45,000 men in the two days they estimated they might have left. But Guderian's tanks did not move, and more British troops kept pouring into Dunkirk. While the Royal Navy sent 165 ships, many of which could not enter the shallow harbor, London issued an emergency call for everything that could float—yachts, fishing boats, excursion steamers, fire-fighting boats, some 850 vessels in all. The first 25,000 men reached England by May 28, and then the bizarre rescue fleet hurried back for more.

By that time the Luftwaffe was bombing and strafing the beach, and Dunkirk was in flames. R.A.F. fighter planes raced across the Channel to defend the departing soldiers, who often had to stand in water up to their necks while machine-gun bullets spattered around them. A paddle-wheel steamer, *Fenella*, took aboard 600 soldiers, then was hit by a bomb. Most of the survivors were evacuated onto another paddle steamer, *Crested*

Left behind was an undefended Paris facing the almost unthinkable prospect of Nazi occupation. The Parisians responded with wild flight. With cars, bicycles, baby carriages, nearly 2 million of them (some 65% of the city's population) choked the roads to the south. "I fly over the black road of interminable treacle that never stops running," author-aviator Antoine de Saint-Exupéry wrote of watching refugees from his plane. "Where are they going? They don't know. They are marching toward a ghost terminus which already is no longer an oasis."

The Germans marched into deserted Paris on June 14. Reynaud fled to England, leaving the government in the hands of Marshal Henri Pétain, 84, who was still revered as the man who

ON THE BEACH AT DUNKIRK Under heavy fire, the British manage to evacuate nearly 350,000 men



had defended Verdun during World War I under the watchword, "They shall not pass." But on June 17 he asked Hitler for an armistice. Hardly noticed in the debacle was an appeal from London one day later by an obscure French general named Charles de Gaulle, who, in a speech that was to become the rallying cry for the Resistance, asked all Frenchmen to fight on under his leadership: "France has lost a battle! But France has not lost the war!"

Hitler's terms seemed mild: Germany would occupy and rule the northern half of France and its Atlantic coast; the southern half could remain an autonomous state under Pétain, with its capital in the sleepy resort town of Vichy. But he insisted that the armistice be signed in Compiègne, just outside Paris, in the same railroad car where Marshal Foch had made the Germans sign the armistice in 1918, the site marked by a stone tablet placing blame for the war on "the criminal pride of the German empire." CBS correspondent William Shirer, who was standing nearby, reported that Hitler's face was "afire with scorn, anger, hate, revenge, triumph." Once the armistice was signed, Hitler had the stone blown up and the train shipped to Germany. (After World War II the French replaced the stone and restored the train, which stands there in the gloomy forest to this day.)

In the last days before the fall of France, Churchill had summoned up his most heroic eloquence to rally his beleaguered people. "We shall go on to the end," he told Parliament on June 4. "We shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans . . . we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender." And again on June 18: "Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and

its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will say, 'This was their finest hour.'"

Hitler could not believe it. The French had been defeated, the war won, and the British must see reason. In a speech to the Reichstag, he jeered at the idea of Churchill's fighting on in Canada, but he offered to make peace. "I can see no reason why this war must go on," he said. Churchill decided not even to answer, leaving it to Lord Halifax to declare, "We shall not stop fighting until freedom is secure." Hitler was again lying. Just three days before his "peace speech" on July 19, he had officially told his commanders, "I have decided to prepare a landing operation against England."

Operation Sea Lion, it was called, a military feat that nobody had accomplished since William the Conqueror in 1066. The army's plan called for 90,000 men to storm ashore on a front extending 200 miles from Ramsgate to Lyme Bay, to be followed by 170,000 more troops within two days. But the navy balked. It did not have enough ships for such a broad front, and those it did have would be overwhelmed by the stronger British fleet. And who had control of the skies? If there was any doubt, said Göring, his Luftwaffe could smash the Royal Air Force within a few weeks. Hitler thereupon ordered the Luftwaffe "to overcome the British air force with all means at its disposal," so that the invasion could begin Sept. 15.

Adlertag (Eagle Day) was Göring's name for the first massive bombing raids on Aug. 13. Some 1,500 Luftwaffe warplanes swept across R.A.F. airfields in southeast England, badly damaging five of them and knocking out one. R.A.F. fighters downed 47 of the attackers. The next day the Luftwaffe was back, then the day after, and so began the Battle of Britain, the first ever to be fought entirely in the skies, anxiously watched by ordinary citizens below. Göring had roughly

REMEMBRANCE

ROBERT MERLE

"... It Was Awful"

Merle, 81, was a French army interpreter for the British forces when captured at Dunkirk. He is the author of the novel Weekend at Dunkirk.

The British sent all kinds of boats. Big ones, little ones, paddle steamers, yachts, everything. It was gorgeous weather, hot and beautiful. Guys were lying on the dunes, shirts off, watching the combat between the British and German fighters. When they'd see a German fighter go down, they'd applaud.

The most extraordinary thing was that the Germans did not machine-gun the thousands of men on the beach. The Stukas did attack the boats, and I remember one in particular, a paddleboat that had been bombed and caught fire. There were maybe 100 to 200 men grouped in the back of the boat because the front was in flames. But the wind kept whipping the fire back on them, and the men were crying. It was a kind of moan, but a collective moan, an inhuman moan. I tried to drag a man out of the water and up onto the beach, but there was an obstacle. It was half a human body. The head and shoulders were gone, the torso cut right away . . . Ah, it was awful.

WIDE WORLD





1,400 bombers and nearly 1,000 fighters, the R.A.F. defenders fewer than 900 fighters. The opposing planes were roughly equal, the German Messerschmitts with a slightly faster rate of climb, the British Spitfires and Hurricanes more maneuverable. (The British also had some secret weapons: a radar warning system that the Germans greatly underestimated, and the Operation Ultra computer that broke most German military codes, particularly those of the Luftwaffe.) The outnumbered British fought with a kind of desperation that inspired Churchill to say of them, "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few."

Here is one of them, Richard Hillary, remembering his first kill: "We ran into them at 18,000 ft., 20 yellow-nosed Messerschmitt 109s, about 500 ft. above us . . . Brian Carbury, who was leading the section . . . let go a burst of fire at the leading plane. [I] saw the pilot put his machine into a half roll and knew that he was mine. Automatically, I kicked the rudder to the left to get him at right angles, turned the gun-button to FIRE and let go in a 4-sec. burst . . . He seemed to hang motionless; then a jet of

red flame shot upward, and he spun out of sight . . . My first emotion was one of satisfaction . . . He was dead, and I was alive; it could so easily have been the other way around."

The essential German goal was to knock out the R.A.F., and though the Luftwaffe was taking heavy losses, so were the defenders and their bases. Then there occurred another one of those almost accidental twists. Two German bombers on their way to attack aircraft factories at Rochester strayed over central London and dropped their bombs on the hitherto unattacked

capital. Churchill promptly ordered several retaliatory raids on Berlin. Hitler, unaware of his increasing success against the R.A.F. installations, made the mistake of ordering further retaliations against London. And so, while the R.A.F. won a vital reprieve, the citizens of London had to undergo the blitz, the greatest bombardment any city until then had ever suffered.

Göring himself watched from the heights of France's Cape Gris-Nez as the first armada of 300 bombers and 650 escorting fighters set out for London on Sept. 7. They concentrated on the densely populated East End and the

REMEMBRANCE

ELISABETH DE MIRIBEL

"Treated Like Pariahs"

Now 74, De Miribel was an aide to General Charles de Gaulle in London when he led the Free French forces.

When I first arrived in London, there were 800 Frenchmen. After France capitulated to Germany six months later, there were 20. Most returned to join the Vichy government since they knew the English were going to fight. Those who were about to return to France treated us like pariahs. They would cross the street to avoid running into us. They thought we were fools. I received a letter from my father prohibiting me from using my name in the service of the "Judeo-Communist-Gaullist conspiracy." He was very Petainist until the Germans marched into Paris; then he joined the Resistance.



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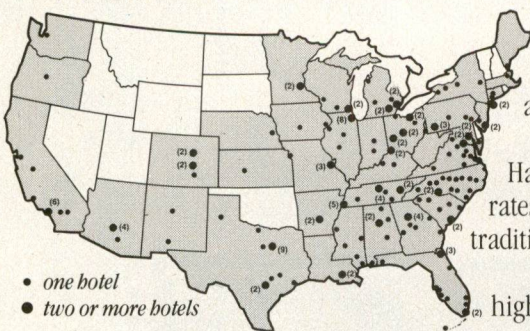
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Thames docks—killing some 300 civilians and seriously injuring 1,300—and when it ended Göring telephoned his wife to say “London is in flames.” Nor was London the only target. The Luftwaffe subsequently pounded Liverpool, Birmingham, Coventry, Bristol.

Just as Hitler had thought that Britain would give up after the fall of France, he now thought that nightly bombing would make the English rise in revolt against Churchill’s pursuit of the war. (It was a miscalculation that the Allies were to repeat in their subsequent bombing of German cities.) Londoners instead took pride in their ability to endure the blitz, to spend long hours in the subway bomb shelters, to put out the fires and go on with their lives. “I saw many flags flying from staffs,” Edward R. Murrow reported to America one night over CBS radio. “No one told these people to put out the flag. They simply feel like flying the Union Jack . . . No flag up there was white.”

The R.A.F. not only shot down many of the German bombers but also kept smashing the German invasion fleet being assembled in France. On one September night 84 barges were hit. Hitler was finally convinced. On Sept. 17 he formally decided “to postpone Sea Lion indefinitely.” But the Battle of Britain went on. Between July and November, the Germans lost 1,733 aircraft, the British 915. Though the blitz continued until the following spring, costing about 30,000 lives in London alone, the essential result was that for the first time, Hitler’s military power had been beaten back.

If the German navy was unable to achieve an invasion of England, though, it seriously threatened to starve the embattled



CARL AVONNS—LIFE

FRENCH IN FLIGHT Thousands jam the roads leading south from Paris

island by cutting its lifelines to the west. Britain needed to import by sea nearly a million tons of supplies every week—food and fuel as well as weapons. For this it required the services of some 3,000 merchant ships, and in this summer of 1940, Admiral Karl Dönitz’s submarine fleet not only acquired access to the Atlantic at the captured French naval base in Lorient but also started a lethal new tactic known as wolf packs. Instead of one lone U-boat sniping at an Allied convoy, three or more subs would attack simultaneously from different directions. On the night of Sept. 21, for example, a wolf pack attacked a convoy of 41 ships and sank twelve; the following month, in two successive nights, wolf packs torpedoed 32 out of 84 ships—without any German losses. “The only thing that ever really frightened me during the war,” Churchill wrote later, “was the U-boat peril.”

There had never been any period of “phony war” during what came to be known as the Battle of the Atlantic. Though Dönitz’s undersea fleet was small—his 56 U-boats in 1939 included only 22 large oceangoing craft—the submarines not only torpedoed without warning but also seeded Britain’s sea-lanes with thousands of magnetic mines. In the first four months of the war, the Germans sank 215 ships (748,000 tons); by the following spring the toll was 460. One sub even slipped into the supposedly impregnable Scottish base at Scapa Flow and torpedoed the battleship *Royal Oak*, with a loss of 833 lives.

Only in surface combat could the Royal Navy claim that Britain still ruled the waves. One of Germany’s pocket battleships, the *Graf Spee*, sank nine British vessels (with no loss of lives), but three cruisers finally trapped it off the coast of Uruguay. Though the four ships’ gun duel was a draw, the damaged *Graf Spee* finally took refuge in Montevideo. To avoid capture, the captain scuttled his ship; then he committed suicide. Germany’s last hope for a warship that could fight off British attackers was the 42,000-ton, 30-knot battleship *Bismarck*, which put to sea in March 1941 with eight 15-in. guns and six aircraft. In its first encounter with British pursuers, it blew up the battleship *Hood*, killing 1,416 crewmen. But a British seaplane managed to torpedo the *Bismarck* and cripple its steering gear; that enabled other warships to close in and sink it.

Hitler had yet other resources, or so he thought. Italy, still

REMEMBRANCE

JEAN LACOUTURE

The Unsated Ogre

The French historian and De Gaulle biographer, now 68, thought that after swallowing Czechoslovakia and Poland, the Nazis would stop.

People thought the ogre had eaten and would be sated. Sooner or later there would be some sort of American mediation, Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles would come to Europe and say, Be reasonable, stop. “The white Marne,” they called it [an allusion to the World War I battle]—a battle that would shed no blood.

When I got to Bordeaux [after the Germans had attacked and were nearing Paris], my parents had heard De Gaulle’s June 18 broadcast and were already Gaullists. I had just been through this cataclysm—a debacle, the country slipping away—and I thought, This guy is crazy. I was for an armistice. What else could we do?

My greatest shock during the Occupation was the day I encountered an old lady I knew in Bordeaux. I didn’t know she was Jewish, and I saw her walking down the street, feigning not to recognize me and trying to hide the yellow star sewn to her coat. I was filled with absolute shame. And I knew we were living in a terrible world.

considered one of the great powers, had finally joined the war in the last days of the fall of France. Mussolini had achieved almost no success in his effort to grab a piece of southeastern France, failing to get more than a couple of miles into the playgrounds of the Riviera. But he had nearly half a million Italian and colonial troops in northern and eastern Africa, which he hoped to make part of a new Roman empire.

Assuming that the British would be fully occupied at home, Mussolini sent some 80,000 men from Libya across the border into Egypt to threaten British control of the Suez Canal. The British, outnumbered nearly 3 to 1, counterattacked, and most of the ill-equipped Italians promptly surrendered. The British could probably have captured all of eastern North Africa, but Churchill instead withdrew much of his force to help defend Greece, which Mussolini had vainly tried to conquer the previous fall. Hitler sent one of his ablest tank commanders, General Rommel, to rescue the Italians in North Africa, and "the Desert Fox" soon pushed the weakened British back into Egypt.

In the Balkans, meanwhile, a British-backed coup overthrew the pro-German government of Yugoslavia in March 1941. Hitler was so angered that he decided almost overnight to invade, and he conquered his prey in about a week. While he was at it, he took over the bungled Italian invasion of Greece and subdued that country in less than a month. Of the 62,000 men Churchill had rashly sent to Greece, fewer than 20,000 were ultimately evacuated; the rest were killed or captured.

And so, in May 1941, Hitler stood master of Europe. It was an incredible achievement. Less than ten years before, he had



ULLSTEIN BILDAGENTUR

PARIS CAPTURED Hitler leads entourage on victory tour

tricked and blustered his way into the leadership of a penniless and disarmed nation. Now, from the Pyrenees to the Arctic Circle, from Brittany to Warsaw to Crete, this ex-corporal ruled virtually unchallenged over more of Europe than any man had governed since the days of the Roman Empire. And his friends and allies ruled in Moscow, Tokyo, Rome, Madrid. His only remaining enemy, Britain, was badly mauled and begging the U.S. for supplies.

But the U.S. remained stoutly neutral, isolationist. Though most Americans favored the British, polls consistently showed that 75% to 80% strongly opposed U.S. involvement in the war. The U.S. did appropriate \$13 billion in Lend-Lease aid to Britain in 1941, but when Churchill asked for 50 obsolete World War I destroyers to replace those lost in the Battle of Britain, he had to sign over Western Hemisphere bases in exchange. Besides, the U.S. was embarrassingly weak, boasting an Army of barely three divisions and an Air Force with just over 300 fighters.

In Hitler's moment of supreme triumph, in the spring of 1941, he boldly made his supreme error, the error that was to destroy him. He decided to invade Soviet Russia. Exactly why he made this catastrophic miscalculation will never be known for sure. In part it was ideology. He had begun his political career by attacking the Bolsheviks, and he dreamed of Germany's finding Lebensraum by colonizing the vast lands to the east. He had written in *Mein Kampf*: "When we speak of new territory in Europe today, we must think principally of Russia and her border vassal states. Destiny itself seems to wish to point out the way to us here . . ."

In part, too, it was a matter of paranoia. Hitler suspected that Churchill fought on largely because he hoped to inveigle

REMEMBRANCE

OTTO VON HABSBURG

"It Was Incredibly Macabre"

The son of Karl, Austria's last Emperor (1916-19), Habsburg is now 76.

The evening the government fled Paris, former U.S. Ambassador to Belgium Hugh Gibson invited us to a dinner at the Ritz with Clare Boothe Luce and a collaborator of Polish General Vladislav Sikorski. It was incredibly macabre: the city was two-thirds surrounded by German troops, the sky was lit up with artillery fire, and there, at the Ritz, everything was as it had always

been: waiters in tails, the food, the wine. The proprietor asked us to sign his guest book. Years later, I learned from Field Marshal Rommel's chief of staff that he and Rommel were the next ones to sign, a few days later.

We left Paris the next day for Bordeaux, where we arranged for Portuguese visas for as many Austrians as we could. By that time I was on a list of 49 persons the Nazis had asked the French to hand over. When we arrived

at the Spanish frontier, it was closed on order of the Germans. I thought this was the end. But a customs official gave me a sign to follow him, led me behind the customs shed and said, "I know exactly who you are. Have you heard that resistance will continue? A certain General de Gaulle has called on us to continue. I shall leave for England tonight, and I could not care less how many of you I let pass." And so we reached Spain.

Stalin into joining him. And Hitler was himself so treacherous that he could not believe Stalin was not planning to betray him. Stalin intensified those suspicions by his own aggressiveness. On virtually the day the Germans occupied Paris, the Soviets seized the Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. A few weeks after that, they demanded and got Rumania to give up its provinces of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. Hitler saw this as a threat to his access to Rumania's rich oil fields, but for the time being he was too preoccupied to counterattack. And then Hitler finally became a victim of his own successes. He could not believe that backward Russia, which had had trouble subduing Finland, could resist the invincible Wehrmacht.

Even before the Battle of Britain, Hitler wanted his generals to start planning an invasion of Russia in the fall of 1940. They managed to talk him into delaying until the following May. Germany signed a trade agreement with the U.S.S.R. as late as January 1941, but a month earlier Hitler had told his commanders, "The German armed forces must be prepared to crush Soviet Russia in a quick campaign." The battle plan called for some 148 divisions—more than 3 million men—to attack in three main drives along a 1,000-mile front. One army group would strike northward, toward Leningrad; another army group from the Warsaw area would move north of the Pripet Marshes toward Moscow, which Hitler planned to level and leave forever uninhabitable; the southernmost group, from Rumania, would storm across the Ukraine toward Kiev and Stalingrad. "Operation Barbarossa" would smash Russia within six months.

In contrast to France, where the Germans had surprised everyone by being relatively "correct," the conquest of Russia was to be even more ruthless than that of Poland. "This struggle is one of ideologies and racial differences," Hitler told his generals, "and will have to be conducted with unprecedented, unmerciful and unrelenting harshness. All officers will have to rid themselves of obsolete ideologies." More specifically, Hitler announced that he was assigning Heinrich Himmler, head of the dreaded SS, to carry out "special tasks" in the "liquidation" of all "commissars," meaning anyone in a leadership position. Beyond that, Hitler planned to plunder the conquered land of its resources and food. "This year, between 20 and 30 million persons will die of hunger in Russia," Göring casually observed. "Perhaps it is well that it should be so, for certain nations must be decimated."

Hitler's impulsive attack on Yugoslavia had delayed his invasion of Russia by a month—which was to become critically important when the first snows began to fall. But



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JUNE 22, 1941 German troops await orders to cross Soviet frontier

the Germans expected little trouble when they rescheduled Operation Barbarossa for June 22.

Despite all the German troop movements, despite sharp words between the two regimes, the supposedly crafty and suspicious Stalin foresaw nothing. The very night before the attack, Foreign Minister V.M. Molotov called in the German ambassador, Count Friedrich von der Schulenberg, and said the Soviets were "unable to understand the reasons for Germany's dissatisfaction." Schulenberg said he would try to find out. A few hours later, at dawn, he returned to the Kremlin with a message from Berlin. It accused the Soviets of violating the Nazi-Soviet pact, massing their troops and planning a surprise attack on Germany. "The Führer," it concluded, "has therefore ordered the German armed forces to oppose this threat with all the means at their disposal." When Schulenberg finished reading, the amazed Molotov said, "It is war. Do you believe that we deserved that?"

Even as he spoke, German artillery had already started firing, and tanks were rolling eastward. For a time, everything went as Hitler planned. The Red Army was caught by surprise, and hundreds of thousands of soldiers fell prisoner. Within three weeks the German line had moved forward some 400 miles, to Smolensk and almost to Leningrad. But with the central army group in striking distance of Moscow, Hitler delayed its advance to concentrate on capturing the industrial and agricultural resources of the Ukraine, and it was not until October that he began a new drive on the capital. And the Soviets proved tougher than expected. The Germans originally estimated Soviet strength at about 200 di-

REMEMBRANCE

JACQUES CHABAN-DELMAS

Life in the Resistance

Premier of France from 1969 to 1972, Chaban-Delmas, now 74, headed a spy network in Paris for the Resistance, filching economic secrets. He was the only leader to stay in France throughout the war.

Most men in the field worked an average of 40 days before they were arrested, but I managed to keep going for 3½ years. I must have changed addresses at least 20 times, and I changed my name so often I would momentarily forget which alias I was using. I would drop my information in "mailboxes" around Paris manned by the Resistance. It could be a restaurant, even a rock near a tree—the places kept changing from week to week to keep ahead of the Germans.

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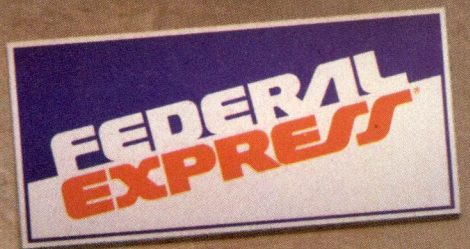


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DMITRI BALTERNANTS

FINAL OFFENSIVE In December 1941 Red Army troops halt Hitler's all-out bid to capture Moscow

visions; Moscow eventually fielded nearly 400 on the Western front—roughly 6 million men.

And cold rain began falling. "The infantryman slithers in the mud, while many teams of horses are needed to drag each gun forward," one German general recounted. "All wheeled vehicles sink up to their axles in slime." The first snow fell on Oct. 6. A month later, the temperatures fell below zero. Tank engines began to freeze. The troops, who had been issued no winter clothing, suffered frostbite.

On Dec. 1 Hitler ordered the start of an all-out drive on Moscow, which the Wehrmacht now surrounded on three sides, only 20 to 30 miles outside the city. One infantry unit got as far as the suburb of Khimki, from which the Germans could actually see the towers of the Kremlin, but that was as far as they could go before Soviet tanks drove them out again. And all along the front, the Soviet defenders held fast. Then, on Dec. 6, the Soviets somehow produced 100 new divisions and launched a counteroffensive that sent the Germans reeling back 50 miles by the end of the month. Moscow was saved.

Back in Berlin, the Nazi authorities were fretting over an-

other problem. In the early years of Nazism, one of Hitler's goals had been to harass Germany's half a million Jews into leaving. Now he was planning a more extreme policy: rounding up and killing every Jew in all of German-occupied Europe. Himmler's special commandos had shot tens of thousands of Jews in Poland, but the Nazis sought more efficient methods. Himmler's deputy, Reinhard Heydrich, summoned representatives of all major government departments to the Berlin suburb of Wannsee to inform

them of what he called "the final solution." This required the creation of six giant extermination camps in Poland: Auschwitz, Treblinka, Maidanek, Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor. The Wannsee conference was called for Dec. 9 but had to be put off for six weeks because of the extraordinary news from the Pacific. On Dec. 7 the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor.

One of the few men overjoyed by that news was Churchill. "So we had won after all," he thought on hearing it. "How long the war would last or in what fashion it would end no man could tell, nor did I at this moment care. Once again in our long island history, we should emerge, however mauled or mutilated, safe and victorious." ■

REMEMBRANCE

EDDA MUSSOLINI CIANO

A "Very Polite" Hitler

Ciano, 78, is the eldest daughter of Mussolini, who had her husband Count Galeazzo Ciano, Italy's wartime Foreign Minister, executed for treason in January 1944. Her Rome flat is decorated with plaques bearing the likeness of her father, who was shot dead by partisans in 1945.

I was at a hotel in Turin when it was first bombed [by the British] in June 1940. We all went downstairs to take shelter in the cellars. Beniamino Gigli [a famous operatic tenor] was there with his family, and so was Gianni Agnelli [now Fiat's chairman]. Gigli was terrified of the bombs and exclaimed, "Oh, my God, I'm going to lose my voice!"

I didn't see the Führer as the caricature he has since been made out to be. He was very polite and had a soft spot for me. I maintain that it was not the Führer who wanted things to happen the way they did.



PART

4

What If . . . ?

Some sharp but unanswerable questions about the outcome

*Defenseless under the night
Our world in stupor lies;
Yet, dotted everywhere,
Ironic points of light
Flash out . . .*

—SEPTEMBER 1, 1939, by W.H. AUDEN

We know, of course, how this great story finally ended. That is told in a series of place names that have become part of the language: Bataan, Midway, Guadalcanal, Stalingrad, El Alamein, Anzio, Omaha Beach, Bastogne, Iwo Jima, Okinawa, Hiroshima. In retrospect, it all seems to have a kind of inevitability, and yet there lingers over each battlefield a faint question. What if rains in Poland had mired the German tanks in mud? What if the French army had then attacked? What if . . . ?

The most obvious speculations about Hitler focus on what would have happened if he had met more resistance, from the beginning. While Hitler's will to power seemed almost demonic in its ferocity, that was partly because he encountered such feeble opposition. Starting in Germany, if the democratic forces had united against him, he would never have come to power. If even just the conservatives had opposed him, he could not have become Chancellor. And if the French had resisted his reoccupation of the Rhineland, his regime would have collapsed.

Chief of Staff Halder testified after the war that the German

generals were ready to overthrow the dictator if the Czechoslovak crisis of 1938 led to actual fighting. But when the British and French caved in at Munich, so did the German generals. Assassins, too, narrowly failed on several occasions. In November 1939, for instance, Hitler made a speech in Munich, then left ahead of schedule—just 13 minutes before a time bomb went off and killed several bystanders.

After the war started, even Hitler was surprised at the suddenness of his success. Yet many of his seemingly invincible tanks were very lightly armored and carried no offensive weapons heavier than machine guns. More important, the German war machine depended heavily on imported supplies: Swedish steel, Rumanian oil, South African chromium. The blitzkrieg was in part a response to the fact that a Germany blockaded by Britain did not then have the resources to wage war for more than six months. In addition to his natural gall and guile, though, Hitler had one attribute indispensable to a commander: luck.

At least as important and interesting as the question of what might have stopped Hitler early on is the question of whether he might have emerged victorious. First, by not going to war at all. If, instead of invading Poland, he had limited himself to threats and bullying, he might have achieved his main demands, control of Danzig and freedom of movement through the Polish Corridor. It is possible, of course, that the whole dynamic of Nazism required war, but if Hitler had



SOVIETOS

Modern History at Oxford and author of *The Causes of Wars*. "He would have overrun the country."

The major dissenters were the German commanders who feared British naval and aerial supremacy, and that was why Hitler called off the invasion. But the Germans thought Britain was virtually defeated whether Hitler invaded or not, and a number of historians agree. "Even if he didn't invade us, he could have put resources into the war at sea . . . and starved us out," says Howard. "There's very little chance that we would have been able to survive." The strategist B.H. Liddell Hart, in *History of the Second World War*, applied the term "slow suicide" to Churchill's policy of fighting on. "By refusing to consider any peace offer," he wrote, "the British government had committed the country to a course that . . . was bound, logically, to lead through growing exhaustion to eventual collapse—even if Hitler abstained from attempting its quick conquest by invasion."

But suppose Hitler, who often expressed admiration for the English, had not tried to conquer Britain? What if he had simply kept offering some kind of peace terms that would have preserved the independence of Britain and its empire while leaving Germany in control of

RETREAT FROM MOSCOW But what if Hitler had attacked a month earlier?

been able to stop short of that, he would probably have been widely regarded as the man who undid the defeat of 1918, rebuilt and restored the nation.

Once he had started the war and quickly conquered Poland, most of Scandinavia, the Low Countries and France, Hitler confronted his next great choice: whether to invade England, his last belligerent enemy. It is now known that he seriously planned an invasion in the summer of 1940. And in outlining the future, the German army issued orders that all able-bodied British males between the ages of 17 and 45 were to be interned and shipped to the Continent. The list of people to be arrested by the Gestapo ranged from Bertrand Russell to Chaim Weizmann to Virginia Woolf.

But could the Germans really have conquered Britain? "The massacre would have been on both sides grim and great," Churchill later said. "They would have used terror, and we were prepared to go to all lengths." There is some evidence that Churchill would have even resorted to using poison gas. A number of military historians nonetheless believe that an invasion would have succeeded. "There is an excellent chance that the Germans would have prevailed," says Russell Weigley, Distinguished University Professor at Temple and author of *Eisenhower's Lieutenants*. "If Hitler had invaded, there is no doubt he would have wiped the floor with us," says Sir Michael Howard, Regius Professor of

Europe? It is hard to see how Britain could have gone on waging war indefinitely without any allies. And though Churchill had vowed to fight on the beaches, there were always others who might have been more "reasonable." One such figure was the self-exiled Duke of Windsor, who had taken refuge in Spain after the fall of France. He made it clear that he opposed the war, and the Germans tried through intermediaries to recruit him as a mediator in peace talks, even suggesting that he might thus be restored to his throne. Both he and the British government later declared that these discussions were without significance.

Hitler's greatest mistake of all, historians generally agree, was his decision to turn away from Britain and invade Soviet Russia. That ultimately disastrous error was based on a gross

underestimation of the Soviet Union's strength and its people's willingness to fight stubbornly for their homeland. But here too Hitler came very close to winning. Once he had decided to invade, he made two major blunders. The first was to delay the attack by one crucial summer month for the unnecessary foray into Yugoslavia and Greece. The second was to postpone and weaken the drive on Moscow for the sake of capturing the mines and industries of the Ukraine. General Guderian, who was leading the tank spearhead toward Moscow, pleaded for an all-out offensive, but Hitler jeered, "My generals know nothing about the economic aspects of war."

Yet even then, when the So-

REMEMBRANCE

ARLETTY

"The Soldiers Behaved Well"

Born in 1898, Arletty was France's most famous actress when war broke out. With such other French artists as Maurice Chevalier, Jean Marais and Sacha Guitry, she performed through the Nazi Occupation. After Paris was liberated, she was imprisoned for consorting with a German officer.

The Occupation was really very peaceful. The soldiers behaved well. After a while, we ceased to notice them. The poor people suffered terribly, but we artists always found ways to buy coal or wood. As for food, we didn't eat a lot because we were all looking after our figures. Makeup was hard to come by, as were silk stockings. We used to wear Pancake makeup on our legs, so it would seem as if we were wearing stockings. As an artist, I was committed only to my art, so it made sense for me to work. But people were jealous of my success and were only too glad to arrest me for a love affair that was none of their business.

viets stopped the Wehrmacht just outside Moscow, Hitler still controlled vast territories in the western U.S.S.R. What if he had negotiated a settlement that let him keep his gains? He had predicted such a possibility in the fall: "The recognition that neither force is capable of annihilating the other will lead to a compromise peace." Stalin actually began sending out peace feelers as early as October 1941, and, according to Liddell Hart, Foreign Ministers Molotov and Ribbentrop finally met secretly in 1943 to seek a settlement. But the Germans wanted a new boundary on the Dnieper River, which would have given them more than 130,000 sq. mi. of Mother Russia, while the Soviets, having withstood the Nazis' deepest penetration and inflicted some 300,000 casualties at Stalingrad, insisted on the prewar frontiers.

The key question in any such speculation about a partial or complete Hitler victory is whether peace would have brought any kind of stability. Could Hitler have established a continental network of satellite states under German domination, like that in Vichy France? And could such a network of satellites have lasted as long as the one created by Stalin after the war? It was partly wartime hysteria that led to the savagery of Nazi rule in the occupied lands, not only against the Jews but also against the Slavs, some of whom had originally welcomed the Wehrmacht for liberating them from Stalin. Once some kind of peace was re-established, in other words, could the Nazis have moderated their rule enough to make it tolerable, or did Hitler's psychotic drives constantly impel him toward new battles, toward the Holocaust, toward his death in the ruins of his nation?

That suicidal impulse may have been what inspired his last major political error, declaring war on the U.S. after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. There was no treaty with the Japanese that required him to do so, and Hitler never saw a treaty he couldn't break. It is quite likely that the U.S. would have eventually joined the European war anyway, but it is also possible that if Hitler had professed neutrality, the U.S. war effort would have been turned against Japan. And if Hitler had succeeded in establishing some kind of peace with Britain and the Soviets, that peace might have survived Pearl Harbor.

One other great lapse in judgment occurred in the field of technology. The man who had mesmerized Europe with his panzers and dive bombers talked increasingly, in the later days of the war, about the secret weapons that would save his lost cause. Those weapons turned out to be the missiles that subjected London to a second blitz. But he passed up the chance to develop the jet plane, which German aircraft makers had already

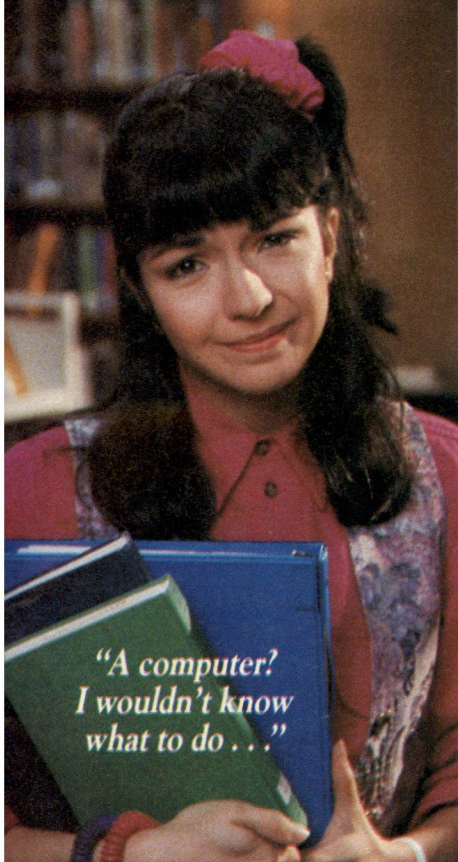


CHURCHILL IN BOMBED PARLIAMENT But what if Hitler had actually invaded Britain?

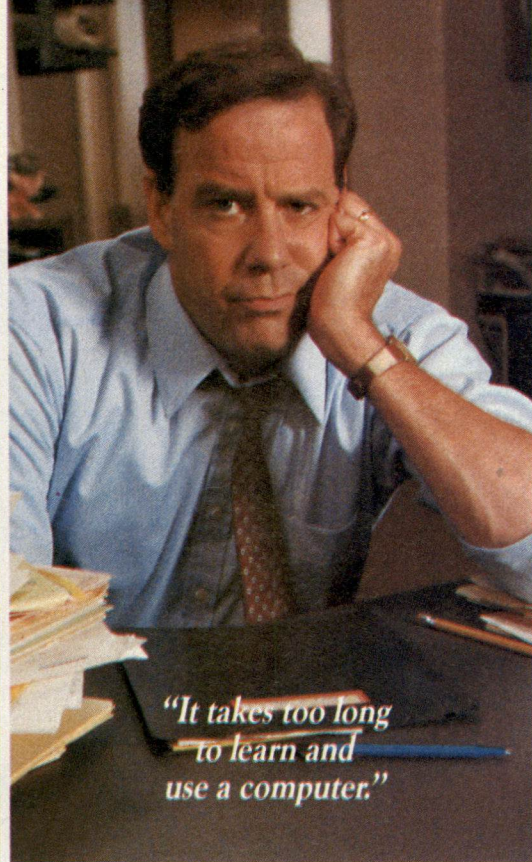
test-flown in 1939. And while U.S. scientists feverishly began work on the atom bomb out of fear that their German counterparts were doing the same, Hitler apparently ignored that possibility as well.

Armaments Minister Albert Speer had explored creating a nuclear weapon with the eminent physicist Werner Heisenberg. Speer later told American correspondent James P. O'Donnell that he had asked Heisenberg in 1942, "If I make available to you the entire resources of the Reich, how long would it take to build an atom bomb?" Heisenberg said it could not be done before 1946. Figuring that "if we don't win the war by 1943, forget it," as Speer told O'Donnell, he gave Hitler a bleak assessment, and that was that. But what if some German scientist had alerted Hitler—as the refugee Albert Einstein alerted an equally indifferent President Roosevelt in 1939—to the destructive powers inside the atom? As with so many other possibilities that never happened, this is one about which the world can count its blessings.

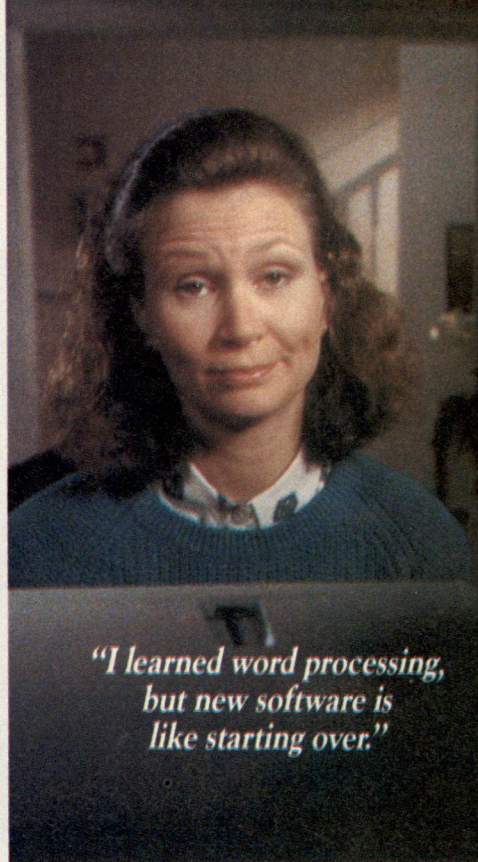
— *Research by Peggy T. Berman and Katherine L. Mihok/*
New York



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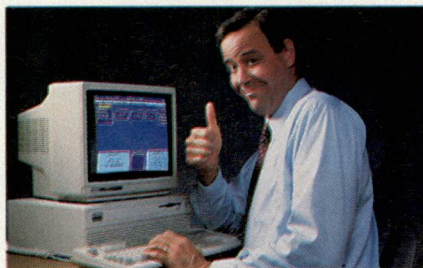
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A Distant Mirror

As Berlin goes to war, Tokyo continues to march through Asia

BY HOWARD G. CHUA-EOAN

Decit. Terror. The compulsion to perfect an impossible master plan. Nazi Germany's plunge into madness may have convulsed Europe, but Imperial Japan had set out on the same course eight years earlier in East Asia. The war there was already raging in September 1939, and no end was in sight.

On Sept. 18, 1931, a Japanese army lieutenant meticulously wired 42 cubes of yellow blasting powder and buried the load in the earth 5 ft. from railroad tracks north of the Manchurian city of Mukden (now Shenyang). The explosives would throw a lot of dirt but cause little damage to the rail line. After all, the South Manchurian Railroad was Japanese-owned and linked the empire's economic outposts in predominantly Chinese Manchuria. All the army wanted was an "incident."

At approximately 10:20 p.m., a plunger was depressed and the cache detonated. Soon after, a Japanese patrol checking the site reported that it had been fired upon by Chinese troops, even though the local warlord, an ally of China's Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, had kept his soldiers in their barracks to avoid clashes. At 11:30 p.m., Japan's Manchuria-based Kwantung army began attacking Chinese positions. By dawn they were joined by planes from the imperial colony of Korea. Quickly, Mukden was effectively under the empire's control. In the following months, the resource-rich region, more than thrice the size of prewar Poland, would be annexed. As for the railway, a train passing over the tracks 20 min. after the blast reported only a slight bump.

Actually, the Mukden Incident of 1931 was not the first time Japan's Kwantung army had tried to seize Manchuria. In 1928

the army assassinated the Chinese warlord who ruled the region in hopes of grabbing the territory outright. But the Japanese government squashed any further moves and hushed up the army's involvement in the killing. In 1931, Tokyo again tried to stop the army. But renegade officers arranged for a geisha to distract and delay the envoy sent by the central government. Overtaken by events and well aware that the Manchurian offensive had won acclaim for the militarist factions in Tokyo, the Japanese government caved in to the army's visions of manifest destiny—and to its foolhardy insistence on heeding the lessons of World War I at any cost.

Though the empire found itself on the winning side in 1918, its military planners were deeply worried about the consequences of total war. They had witnessed the collapse of the Kaiser's formidable forces and knew that large navies and armies were no longer enough. A country had to be able to involve all its economic forces in a protracted war—especially one against the Soviet Union, the foe Japan believed it was destined to battle for domination of northeast Asia. The military men knew that while the Japanese archipelago was woefully short of natural resources, neighboring territories were not. First Manchuria, then the rest of the old imperial Chinese realm became the focus of Japan's rush toward autarky. And that quest for security would lead deeper and deeper into war.

The fall of Manchuria was followed by the Fake War, an extended period of posturing by the Chinese and Japanese. But in January 1932, as the League of Nations debated Tokyo's aggression, a Japanese cruiser, four destroyers and two aircraft carriers anchored in the Yangtze River off the international city of Shanghai. They had come on the pretext of protecting Japanese

RUNNING WILD WITH VICTORY

Generals of the Imperial army toast each other after the fall of the Chinese city of Hsuechow in 1938; a Chinese child is carried toward a stack of coffins and a hasty burial during the fighting; a grim warning to Nationalist sympathizers resisting Japan's siege of the Chinese capital of Nanking in late 1937



TSUGUICHI KOYAN

citizens from attacks by Chinese mobs. In response, Nationalist forces moved into the Chinese suburb of Chapei and skirmished with patrolling Japanese marines. With his men giving way to the larger Chinese forces, Admiral Koichi Shiozawa ordered planes from his carriers to drop 30-lb. bombs over densely populated Chapei. It was the first wholesale air attack on civilian targets in history. Thousands of people, many of them women and children, were maimed and killed.

Condemned by the League, Japan quit the organization and found itself increasingly isolated. In its quest to prepare for a Soviet war, the empire continued to nibble at China and estranged itself from the U.S., Chiang's chief supporter and, embarrassingly for Tokyo, the source of most of Japan's strategic materials. National self-strengthening took on fanatical proportions. The state religion built around animist Shinto beliefs was transformed into full-fledged emperor worship. And despite shortages in food and electricity due to the military allocations, the Empire of the Rising Sun believed it was destined to shine over all of East Asia. "Manchuria alone is not enough," wrote navy Lieut. Commander Tota Ishimaru in 1936. "With it alone Japan cannot go on."

To buttress its military strategy, Japan forged ties with another international outcast—Germany. In 1936 they signed a pact to oppose Communism that included secret protocols to come to the other's aid during a war with the Soviet Union. With Berlin balancing out Moscow, Tokyo accelerated its conquest of China with another "incident." On July 7, 1937, a Japanese soldier stationed near Beijing's Marco Polo Bridge left his post to urinate. His superiors announced that he had been abducted by a nearby Chinese garrison and began shelling the unit. Japanese forces soon overran eastern China.

Plans were then drawn to carry the battle up the Yangtze from Shanghai, take the Nationalist capital of Nanking (now Nanjing) and force Chiang to surrender. In one month the Imperial forces had shattered Chinese defenses, trapping 300,000 Nationalist troops and forcing hundreds of thousands of the city's 1 million people to flee. On Dec. 12, 1937, Nanking fell. For the



Tojo: "Sacrifice everything"

next six weeks, the area's remaining population would be subjected to the worst atrocities yet seen in modern warfare. More than 200,000 men, a fourth of them civilians, were immolated, bayoneted or tortured to death, and 20,000 women were raped.

But the terror did not bring victory. Though forced to flee his capital, Chiang, in an uneasy alliance with Mao Zedong's Communist guerrillas, continued to resist from the southwestern hill city of Chungking (now Chongqing). The China Incident would drag on for years, sucking up much needed funds and prompting Japan to begin looking to Southeast Asia and the Pacific as alternative sources of material, which set it on a collision course with the U.S. The Imperial Navy's reckless attacks on neutral ships moored near Nanking during the siege (including the U.S. gunboat *Panay*, which sank with the loss of two American sailors), further isolated Japan from the West. Summing up his feelings about the Japanese, Colonel Joseph W. Stilwell, the U.S. military attaché in Beijing, wrote in his diary in 1937, "The bastards."

In May 1939 the Kwantung army began another adventure, clashing with troops of the People's Republic of Mongolia, a client of Moscow's. Quickly, the Soviet Union sent assistance, and in the next four months the Japanese army lost 17,450 men to the vastly superior mechanized units of Soviet General Georgi Zhukov. But just when Japan could have used Berlin's help, Hitler announced a nonaggression pact between Berlin and Moscow.

Japan's leaders were furious, and for months the country's foreign policy wavered between an independent course and adherence to the alliance. When Berlin and Moscow swiftly began to carve up Poland on Sept. 1, Japan reacted coldly, simply stating, "The empire will not intervene in the war in Europe." Tokyo recalled its pro-German Ambassador to Berlin. A German-Japanese trade agreement scheduled to be signed in October 1939 was canceled, and Emperor Hirohito even announced that his country would "follow a conciliatory line with regard to Britain and America."

But Tokyo's Asian and Pacific ambitions prevented any détente with Washington. And soon, Germany's crushing victories in Europe were earning Berlin great prestige in Japan.



PICTURES, INC.



AP



THE DAY OF INFAMY The burning hulk of the U.S.S. *Arizona* sinks into Pearl Harbor

By the time Paris fell in June 1940, slogans like "Don't miss the bus" were popular. In fact, immediately after signing the Soviet pact, German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop was playing on Japanese anxieties, telling Tokyo's emissaries that turning away from Berlin and toward London and Washington would only hem in the empire. "The Western democracies," warned Ribbentrop, "would quickly form an extensive world coalition which would oppose any expansion by Japan and, in particular, would again wrest her from her position in China."

Won over by emotion and ambition, the country formed an ultra-nationalist Cabinet, and on Sept. 27, 1940, the fiery Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka forged the Tripartite Agreement with Berlin and Rome, thus creating the Axis. "Japan," said Matsuoka, "should push boldly forward, hand in hand with Germany," not hesitating even to commit "double suicide" with Berlin if necessary. Warned that Japan's economy would collapse without severe cutbacks in the military budget, Army Minister Hideki Tojo, a former Kwantung commander who would become the empire's wartime Premier, was livid. Said he: "We simply have to

sacrifice everything in the interest of strengthening our armed forces."

Almost alone among the upper military echelon, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto counseled against being dragged further into war, especially against the U.S. In the first months of such a conflict, he said, "I will run wild and win victory upon victory. But then, if the war continues, I have no expectation of success." But by September 1941 a decision had been made to prepare to

fight America, and as commander of the Imperial Navy, Yamamoto dutifully drew up the plans. "I expect to die on the deck of my flagship," he said. "In those evil days you will see Tokyo burnt to the ground three times."

By Nov. 26, 1941, Yamamoto's strike force of six aircraft carriers, two battleships and a host of cruisers, destroyers and submarines would set sail from Japan for the Kuriles, then deep into the Pacific toward Hawaii. Shortly after 6 a.m. on Dec. 7, dozens of Japanese Zeros would take off from the carriers, head south and within 90 minutes sight the coast of Oahu—and Pearl Harbor. Japan, its fortunes yoked with Germany's, was launched on the road to double suicide. ■

REMEMBRANCE

GENEVRA WILLEY

"I Heard the Sound of Planes"

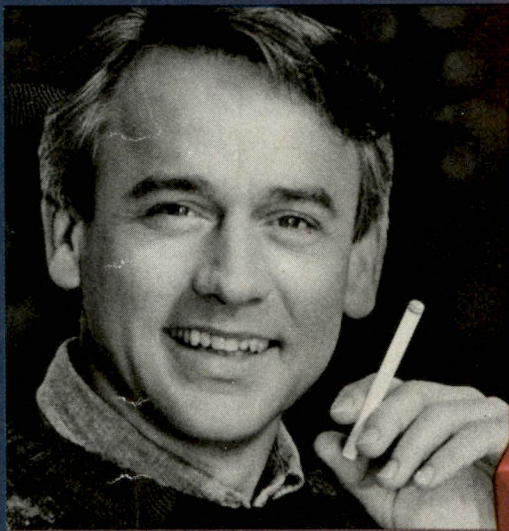
Now 83, Willey was living with her husband Jim, an Army captain, ten miles from Pearl Harbor.

It was a quiet morning, and we were lying in bed, talking about what the day would bring. Suddenly I heard the sound of planes, and I said, "Those aren't our planes." Jim called his base and asked if he should come down. They said no.

The sound got louder, and he called back. "Get the hell down here," they told him. By then there was no doubt we were being attacked. They were machine-gunning the road—dirt splashing all over. A bomb dropped about 600 yds. from our house. I went out on the back porch, and the planes were swooping so low I could see the pilots inside.

The next day friends moved in with us. Their house had been riddled with machine-gun fire. We blacked out the house and had seven kids sleeping on cots in the living room.

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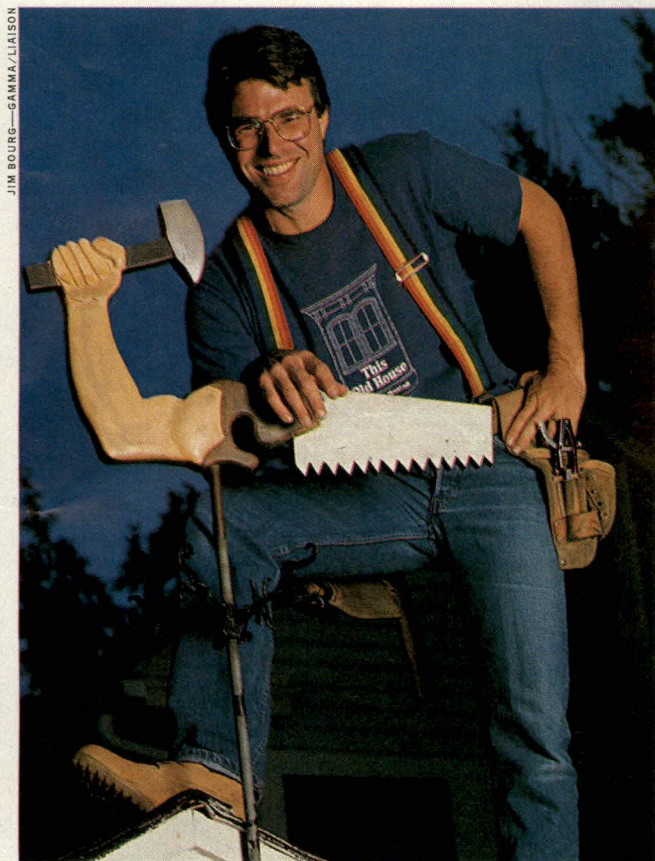


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People

BY J.D. REED/Reported by Wendy Cole



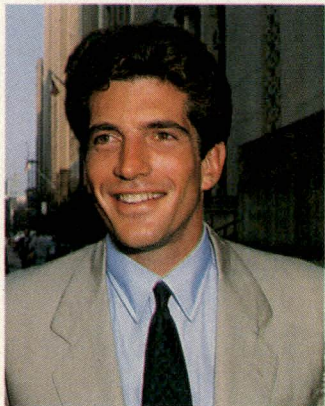
JIM BOURG—GAMMA-LIAISON

Raising High the Roof Beams

Outdoorsman **STEPHEN THOMAS** has dealt with Alaskan ice floes and has raced a sailboat across the Pacific, but he faces a greater challenge in October, when 12 million viewers get a look at him as the new host of PBS's *This Old House*, the network's hottest show. Thomas, who renovated his own old place north of Boston, replaces **BOB VILA**, the series' popular anchor. Vila was fired after he failed to drop endorsement deals. Says Thomas of his role: "It's all about telling stories. Norm Abrams [veteran carpenter and regular on the show] is the nuts-and-bolts guy. Together we have a really nice balance."

On the Case

Starting a new job is nerve-racking enough, but if you're **John F. Kennedy Jr.**, it can be a circus. The son of the late President was mobbed by the press last week on his first day at the Manhattan District Attorney's office. "This is embarrassing," said the novice assistant D.A., who was sworn in with 68 others. "I have to work with these people." He will earn \$30,000 a year handling consumer-fraud and corruption cases. Before he settles into the job, he has had to clean up his

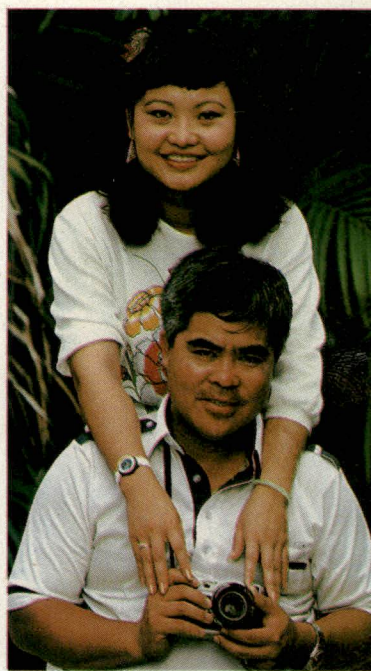


MARY ALLEN

own record. For one thing, he shelled out \$2,357 for 62 unpaid city parking tickets.

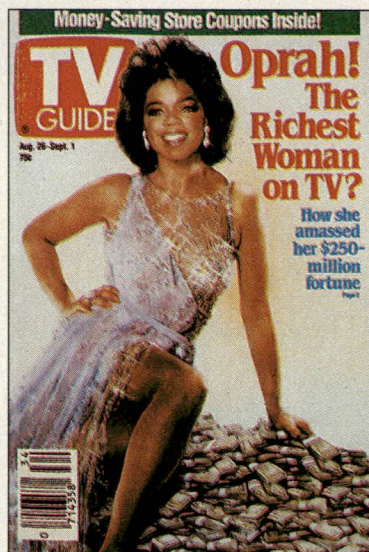
Napalm Girl

In 1972 **PHAN THI KIM PHUC** won the hearts of Americans at a terrible cost to herself. In a Pulitzer-prizewinning photograph, the Vietnamese child was shown running naked and screaming as napalm burned her body. Although she still suffers considerably from her injuries, Kim Phuc, now 26, bears no grudges. She told a reporter, "The past is the past." Kim Phuc and Los Angeles-based photographer **NICK UT**, who helped her after snapping the famous picture, were recently reunited in Havana, where she is a pharmacology student.



JIM CACCIO—PICTURE GROUP

Return of the Body Snatcher



JOHN ENGSTAD—NEAL PETERS COLLECTION

Look very carefully. Now look again. Check out the curves and even the shadows. The swanky shimmer. The come-hither slither of a pose. In this week's cover story, *TV Guide* may have wanted to puff up the incredible shrinking **Oprah Winfrey** as the richest woman on television, but she didn't have a thing to wear. Not to worry. Just borrow a **Bob Mackie**

original (1978) from actress-dancer **Ann-Margret**. Better yet, borrow Ann-Margret. "I'm not sure what to think," says the bemused, besequined bombshell. "I've been on the cover of *TV Guide* four times, but never without my head." As for Oprah, maybe it's time to give up that liquid diet: she seems to have lost more than she bargained for.

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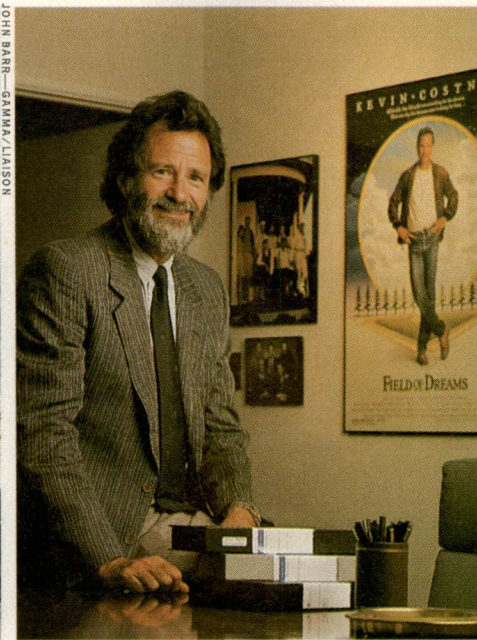
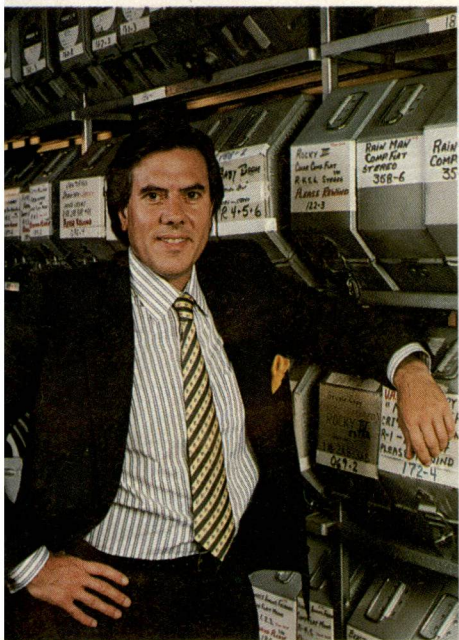
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AUSTRALIA

Christopher Skase, head of the Quintex Group, spent an estimated \$600 million to buy United Artists



JAPAN

JVC will give U.S. producer Lawrence Gordon more than \$100 million to make up to eight films a year



ITALY

Financier Giancarlo Parretti paid \$200 million for control of the founding Cannon Group

Business

Hollywood or Bust

California, here they come: foreign investors want to be in pictures

BY BARBARA RUDOLPH

For tourists who sneak a glimpse of the moguls holding court in the Polo Lounge at the Beverly Hills Hotel, Hollywood's main products seem to be glamour and glitz. But the motion-picture business is a vital U.S. industry, one of America's strongest competitors against foreign economic rivals. Hollywood, despite its native excess and extravagance, will reap an estimated \$8 billion from U.S. box-office and homevideocassette revenues this year. All told, the entertainment business ranks as the second largest net U.S. exporter, after the aerospace industry.

Now well-financed foreign investors want a piece of America's profits. They are acquiring U.S. studios, bankrolling American film producers and investing in TV-production companies. "The expertise is here, and foreign companies want to buy into it," says Sharon Armbrust, who follows the industry for Paul Kagan Associates, a consulting firm. For the Old Guard back at the Polo Lounge, the new

competition is likely to make business a lot more rough-and-tumble.

Last week a new high roller appeared on the scene when JVC, the Japanese consumer-electronics company that developed the VHS format for videocassettes, said it will spend more than \$100 million to launch Largo Entertainment, a film-making company to be run by veteran producer Lawrence Gordon (*Die Hard*, *Field of Dreams*). JVC will give Gordon, 53, a former president of 20th Century Fox Films, a free hand in managing the new company while splitting the profits evenly with him. Gordon plans to make three movies in 1990 and five to eight pictures a year thereafter.

Besides any direct earnings from the films, JVC hopes to get new programming that it can sell on videocassettes. Company officials also want to learn more about the movie business, possibly as a prelude to buying a major film studio. Says Gordon: "They have no experience in the business and regard this as their tuition fee."

The primary reason that most foreign firms are so interested in a Hollywood

presence is that they want popular American programming for their booming TV stations, cable companies, movie theaters and videocassette ventures. "American entertainment is still viewed as the pre-eminent source of programming in terms of production values and creativity," says Jeffrey Logsdon, director of institutional research for the investment firm Crowell, Weedon & Co. The U.S. posted net exports last year of \$2.5 billion in movies, home videos and pay-per-view cable TV, an increase of 32% from the year before.

The wave of foreign money comes at a time when U.S. investors have soured on film deals because of several flops among movie start-up ventures. Among them: the studio launched by producer Dino De Laurentiis, which filed for bankruptcy in 1988 after losing almost \$200 million in two years, and a similar venture launched by veteran music promoter Jerry Weintraub, which lost \$40 million last year after a string of duds that included *My Stepmother Is an Alien*.

The first major arrival of foreign money came in 1985, when Australian

press lord Rupert Murdoch bought 20th Century Fox for \$575 million. Murdoch, who has since become a U.S. citizen, has successfully used the studio as a source of programming for his Fox network of TV stations as well as his other broadcasting outlets overseas. While Murdoch has left studio management decisions largely to Hollywood veterans on his payroll, his tabloid tendencies are reflected in the TV programming and have paid off with several successful, if controversial, shows. Among them: *America's Most Wanted* and *Married . . . With Children*.

So far, the most aggressive buyers have been English-speaking tycoons. Christopher Skase, 40, head of Australia's Qintex Group, laid claim to an old U.S. institution in March when he agreed to pay an estimated \$600 million to buy from MGM/UA Communications the United Artists studio, founded 70 years ago by Hollywood legends Charlie Chaplin, D.W. Griffith, Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks. (Qintex said last week it had lined up financing for the deal, which must be completed by the end of September.) Qintex, which owns one of Australia's largest TV networks, will probably exploit UA's film library as a steady source of programming for its stations.

The British are coming too. Last year Television South, based in Southampton, England, bought MTM Enterprises, producer of *The Bob Newhart Show* and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, for \$320 million. The Rank Organization, which owns England's Pinewood Studios, spent \$150 million in March to buy a half interest in MCA's Universal Studios Florida, a combination theme park and working production sound stage.

The Japanese, cautious about the political impact of their investments, have so far moved more slowly. Apricot Entertainment, the first Japanese production company to come ashore, has invested \$50 million to start a movie-production company that plans to make four films a year. The Japanese firm most closely watched in the industry is Sony, which for the past year has been rumored to be shopping for a major U.S. studio, possibly Columbia or Universal. A

film studio might fit neatly with Sony's CBS Records Group, which it bought two years ago for \$2 billion.

Italian financier Giancarlo Parretti aims to join the ranks of foreign Hollywood moguls, but his reach may exceed his grasp. Parretti, 47, a former waiter, began buying stock in 1987 in Cannon Group, a faltering Hollywood mini-studio, and became the majority shareholder this March at a total cost of \$200 million. But Parretti failed in his bid for another independent, New World Entertainment. He is running into other obstacles in his plan to build a global enter-

tainment empire. The French Finance Ministry is challenging his acquisition of Pathé Films, which owns 1,500 European movie theaters and an impressive film library, and in Spain Parretti has been charged with foreign-exchange violations.

For Hollywood's independent filmmakers, who must battle well-heeled studios for everything from scripts to stars, foreign investment is a welcome source of cash. Says analyst Logsdon: "The community is rejoicing. Every producer is wondering how he or she can make their own \$100 million deal," like the JVC venture. But the big studios perceive their foreign rivals as potentially serious competitors. Says Joe Roth, chairman of the Fox Film Corp.: "Large corporations view foreign investment as threatening to the American studio system."

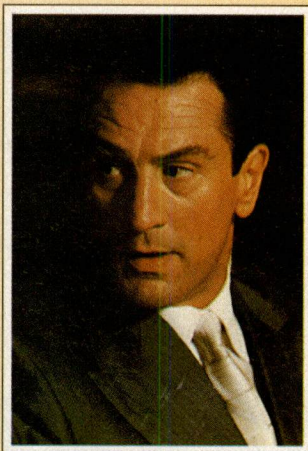
Yet Roth, like many of his colleagues, believes that shrewd foreign owners will allow Hollywood insiders to manage the studios. Says Peter Dekam, an entertainment lawyer: "Outsiders can come to Hollywood, but they will never run it." Major investors, whether foreign or domestic, have generally succeeded by following that strategy: Murdoch installed veteran Paramount mogul Barry Diller at the helm of Fox, while the Bass brothers helped put Paramount's Michael Eisner at the helm of Walt Disney.

For U.S. studios, the most challenging aspect of the foreign invasion may be the arrival of new management ideas in a town where indulgent spending and short-term thinking is legendary. Says Dekam: "Foreign companies, especially the Japanese, are long-term driven. They look at the world in 15-year blocks. No one in the U.S. has a 15-year view of anything." To stay competitive, U.S. studios are likely to bulk up and grow more diverse. Says analyst Armbrust: "There's pressure now to sew up as many areas as possible, to compete on all fronts. Size has great appeal." But wasteful spending may not, if Japanese efficiency has any influence. The studio executive who has an allowance for his leased BMW should enjoy it while it lasts.

—Reported by
Elaine Dutka/Los Angeles, with
other bureaus

If He Can Make It Here . . .

Will the film business be ruled only by foreign moguls and domestic megastudios? Not if Robert De Niro can help it. The reclusive, renegade actor is betting his money and his reputation that he can deliver a convincing performance as a real-life film producer. De Niro's previous experience as a boss has been confined to playing characters ranging from Don Corleone in *The Godfather, Part II* to a film mogul in *The Last Tycoon*. But this year the 46-year-old Manhattan native became president of his



BARRY WETCHER

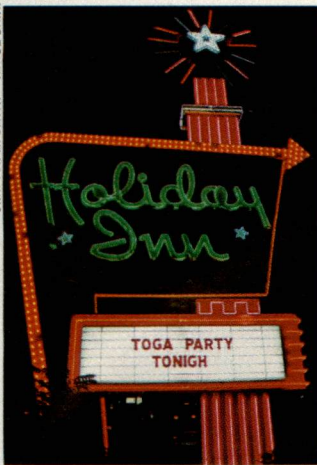
De Niro: meet the new boss

own movie company, New York City's TriBeCa Productions, which already has ten film projects in early stages of development. In September, De Niro will open the TriBeCa Film Center, an eight-story converted coffee factory near the Hudson River that will house his production company and offer space to other independent filmmakers.

De Niro decided to go into business so that he could try his hand at directing and producing. "I never had the full responsibility for a film before and never wanted it. But now I do," he told a reporter. "Ultimately, it's to have control."

For his headquarters, De Niro chose an 83-year-old red brick building situated in TriBeCa, a trendy downtown neighborhood where he lives. De Niro, who will have 50% ownership in the building, is supervising a renovation that will leave in place industrial details like the giant coffee scales in his office. But the building's advanced features will include a 70-seat screening room designed by director George Lucas' production company.

The atmosphere at TriBeCa will be a far cry from that of the big studios. "We're more relaxed," says Jane Rosenthal, a CBS and Walt Disney veteran hired by De Niro as his executive vice president. "My two dogs come to work with me." There will also be some indulgences at the film center. One will be the TriBeCa Bar and Grill, a restaurant that De Niro is opening with financial investments from such pals as Sean Penn, Bill Murray and Mikhail Baryshnikov. De Niro's new Hollywood-on-the-Hudson may be an upstart, but it will not suffer for lack of connections. ■



Sold: another slice of America

HOTELS

Holiday Inn Checks Out

The venerable U.S. hotel chain known as "the nation's inn-keeper," whose green-and-yellow signs are familiar landmarks on American highways, will soon take on a British accent. Last week Memphis-based Holiday Corp. said that it will sell its North American chain of more than 1,400 Holiday Inns for \$2.2 billion to British pub-and-brewery giant Bass PLC. The sale completes a global acquisition for the London-based company, which last year bought the rights to Holiday Inn franchises outside North America.

Holiday decided to sell its 37-year-old namesake so that the company can focus on its newer ventures, which include three hotel chains (Embassy Suites, Hampton Inns, Homewood Suites) and Harrah's casinos. The sale will also allow Holiday to reduce more than \$2 billion of debt, most of it incurred during a 1987 battle to fend off a takeover bid by Donald Trump.

AUTO INSURANCE

Hey, Where's My Refund?

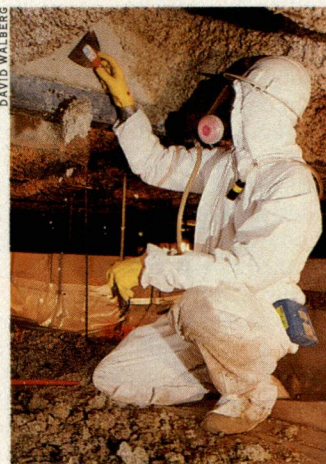
California motorists have been looking forward to auto-insurance refunds since November, when voters passed an initiative calling for a 20% cut in

HAZARDOUS MATERIALS

No Sloppy Work, Please

The cost of ridding buildings of asbestos insulation runs about \$20 per sq. ft., or 100 times as much as the cost of installing the fireproofing mineral in the days before it was known to be a potent carcinogen. One result: in as many as half of all demolition or renovation jobs involving asbestos removal, the contractors or building owners ignore the costly safety procedures that the Environmental Protection Agency has had in effect since 1975.

Now the EPA is cracking down on sloppy work. Last week the agency filed suit against 34 organizations and individuals in eleven states, charging them with failure to notify the government of their work or handling the asbestos in a dangerous manner. Among the accused: the New York City Board of Education. If found guilty, the defendants could be forced to pay \$25,000 in fines for each day of each violation.



Removing asbestos in Wisconsin



Elizabeth Taylor and Forbes in Morocco: living it up, not writing it off

TAXES

One Gloat Over the Line

His excesses have become so routine that few people were shocked when publishing tycoon Malcolm Forbes flew 600 guests to Morocco for a \$2 million "party of the century" to celebrate his 70th birthday. But many taxpayers were outraged to hear Forbes suggest in a comment to reporters that he

might try to claim a deduction for some of the party's expenses. His rationale: the guests included advertisers in his business magazine.

In the end, the publisher, perhaps smelling a gust of bad publicity, declared that "not a penny" would be deducted. But he straight-facedly maintained that a "case could be made" for writing off part of the fête, which included 600 belly dancers. Said Forbes: "I would say, 95% of it's business-related."

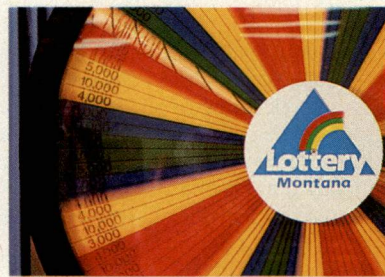
LOTTERIES

Wheel of Misfortune

For players of Montana's Big Spin lottery game, lady luck went on vacation and never came back. In Big Spin, the state chooses three people each week from among thousands of losing lottery ticket holders and gives them a chance to win a \$1 million jackpot by whirling the Big Spin wheel. But in 222 tries over the past 18 months, no one has hit the jackpot. Officials added a second \$1 million slot to the 100-slot wheel, but to no

avail. Without a big winner to hype, ticket sales have dropped from \$23 million in fiscal 1988 to \$11.2 million in 1989.

Is the big wheel fixed? Evidently not: the jackpot has turned up several times in practice runs. Perhaps lottery officials should talk to Vanna White for a few tips.



No jackpots from the balky Big Spin

premiums for property and casualty coverage. But their anticipation turned to anger last week, when State Insurance Commissioner Roxani Gillespie declared that most Californians are "not going to get lower auto-insurance rates" as a result of the initiative.

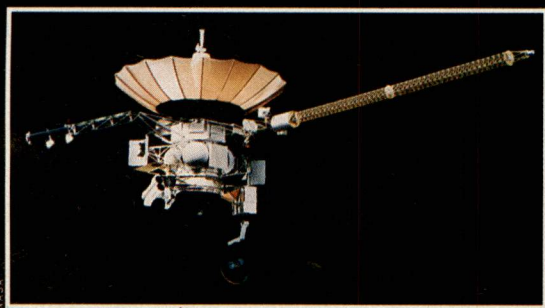
The hitch is a May deci-

sion by the state supreme court, which upheld the initiative but ruled that insurance companies are entitled to "a fair and reasonable" profit. Most of the state's insurance firms maintained that they should be exempted on those grounds. After reviewing their profit statements, Gillespie

said she found only 13 companies profitable enough to warrant rate rollbacks. She announced hearings to examine the exemption claims of 34 more firms, but further outraged critics by declaring that evaluations of more than 200 other companies could take as long as ten years to complete.

The Last Picture Show

Voyager 2 flies past Neptune to complete its grand tour of four planets and then heads for the stars



BY LEON JAROFF

Nearly 2.8 billion miles away, an artifact of man, a mere speck in the vast expanse of space, closed in on a giant, blue-hued planet. The spacecraft Voyager 2, alive and well after twelve years in space, having had dramatic rendezvous with Jupiter in 1979, Saturn in 1981 and Uranus in 1986, was approaching Neptune, the solar system's most distant planet.*

Accelerating to 60,980 m.p.h. relative to Neptune, the one-ton probe swooped just 3,048 miles above the frozen methane clouds that shroud the planet's north polar region. Turning sharply, it plunged toward the mysterious moon Triton, passing within 24,000 miles of its rocky surface. Then, after its spectacular—and last—planetary encounter, it headed for the distant fringes of the solar system for what its creators hope will be a quarter-century more of exploration.

All the while, across the void, Voyager was sending back to earth images never before seen by man and volumes of information that will keep scientists busy for years. Signals from its TV cameras and scientific

*Pluto, usually the outermost planet, has a highly eccentric orbit and is currently closer to the sun than is Neptune.

instruments, carried by radio waves traveling at the speed of light, arrived at earth four hours and six minutes later. Decoded at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif., the transmissions appeared minutes later in the form of pictures and data on television screens and computer consoles.

At J.P.L. the scientists and technicians who designed Voyager and have nursed it through its long space odyssey could not contain their excitement and pride. Champagne flowed, and each new picture on the TV screens was greeted with cheers and applause. Americans watching the proceedings live on television shared their sense of accomplishment. The little unmanned spacecraft had given them an unexpectedly large bang for the buck.

On the night of the encounter Triton actually upstaged Neptune, which had yielded many of its secrets to Voyager in the preceding weeks. The moon, frosty white with pink and blue blotches, was covered with cliffs, faults and glacier-like terrain with a sprinkling of craters. Scientists also spotted a smooth, roughly circular area several hundred miles across that may be the crater of an ancient "ice volcano" that once spewed frozen gases.

Voyager had already revealed more about Neptune than had been learned in

all the years since 1846, when German astronomer Johann Galle first spotted the planet. While still millions of miles away, the spacecraft discovered the Great Dark Spot, a violent earth-size storm in Neptune's midsection, and later it photographed six previously unknown moonlets. One of the new moons, temporarily named 1989 N1, turned out to be larger than Neptune's other long-known moon, Nereid. And Triton, thought to be about 2,500 miles in diameter, was downsized to 1,740 miles. Voyager's sensing instruments confirmed expectations that Neptune has a magnetic field and, on the day before the encounter, reported that the spacecraft had crossed the supersonic shock wave, a front created where the solar wind meets the magnetic field. By clocking the rotation of that field, J.P.L. scientists determined that a Neptunian day is only 16 hours long, rather than the previously estimated 17 or 18 hours.

As Voyager sped on toward its rendezvous, its cameras picked out wispy, white, cirrus-like clouds of frozen methane gas racing across the equatorial regions. Photographs also revealed shadows of these clouds cast on a deeper layer of atmosphere some 30 miles below. Said Bradford Smith, head of the J.P.L. imag-

ing team, "This is the first time Voyager has ever been able to see cloud shadows on any of the planets we've looked at."

Scientists also discerned what seemed to be two partial rings, or ring arcs, that mysteriously seemed to disappear on subsequent pictures. But a few days later, Smith borrowed from Hollywood to announce, "The lost arc our imaging-team raiders have been looking for is not an arc; it is Neptune's first complete ring." Late last week Smith announced that five rings in all had been found.

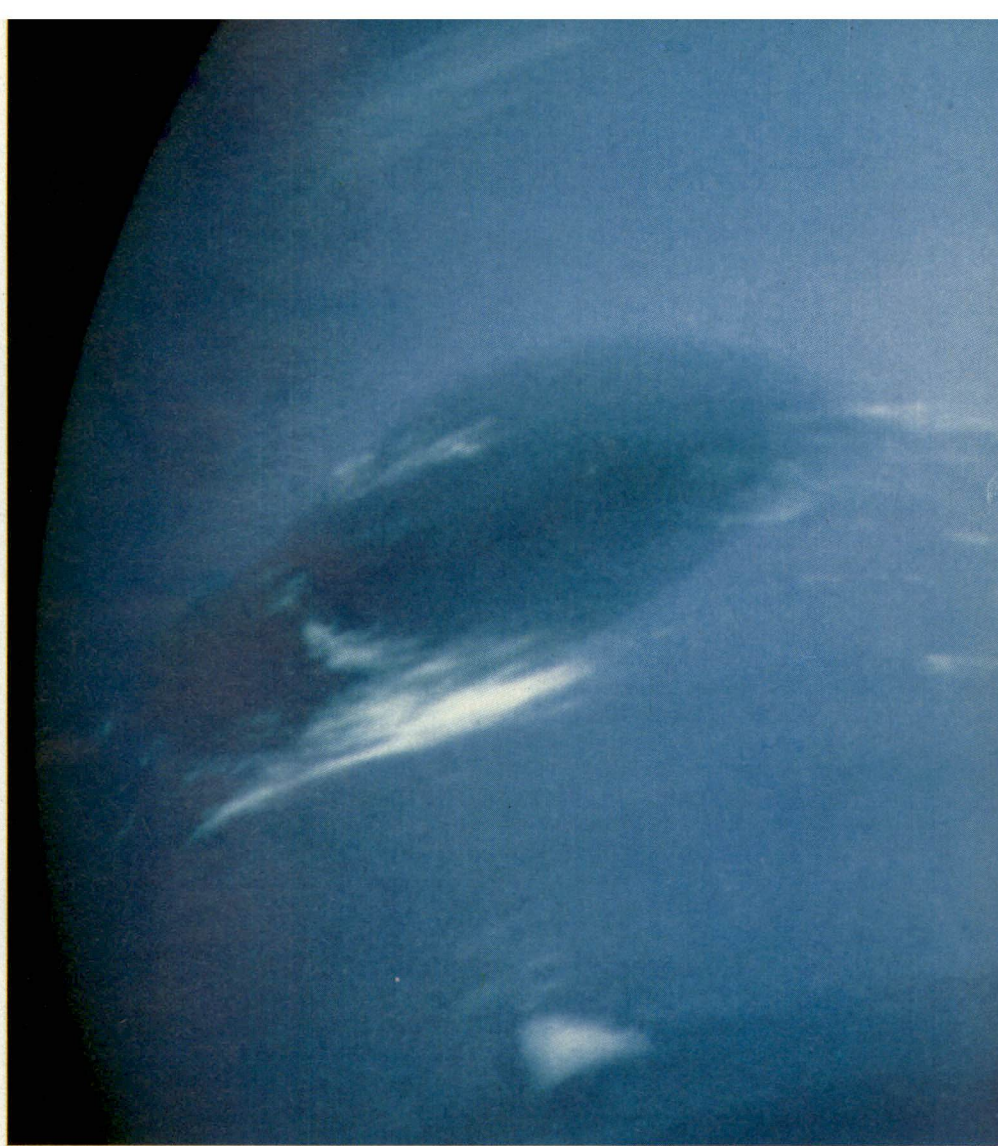
The high quality of Voyager's pictures and data belied the difficulties of operating a spacecraft so far from the sun, which at Neptune's distance looks like an intensely bright point of light. Because the planet receives only one-thousandth of the sunlight that falls on earth, Neptunian photography calls for time exposures of as long as 15 seconds. That required panning the TV cameras to avoid blurring, which Voyager accomplished by gingerly swiveling its camera platform and sometimes even yawing itself in space.

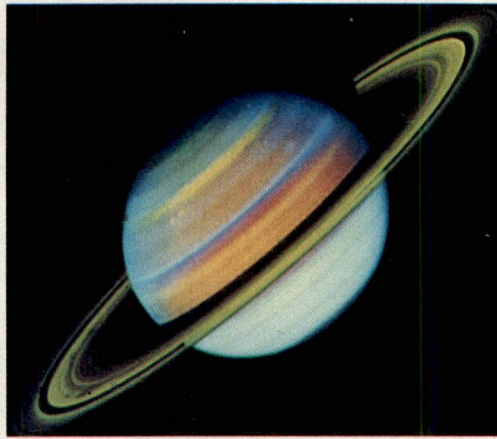
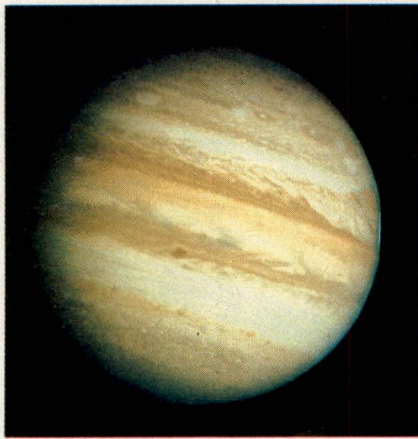
Transmitting pictures and data back to earth was no less a task. By the time the 22-watt (equivalent to a small light bulb) radio signal from Voyager reached the earth, its power was only about one twenty-billionth of that needed to run an electronic digital watch. To catch as much of that faint whisper as possible, NASA had enlarged some of the already huge radio telescopes of its Deep Space Network in Australia, Spain and California. Even then, Voyager's voice was practically lost in the electromagnetic noise of space.

In order to discern the messages from Neptune above that noise, J.P.L. controllers instructed Voyager to speak more slowly. The data transmission rate, which was as high as 115,200 bits a second at Jupiter, was reduced to a sluggish 21,600 bits as the craft approached Neptune. As a result, during last week's encounter, there was time for live broadcasts of only the most important pictures and data. The rest were stored on onboard tape recorders to be transmitted later.

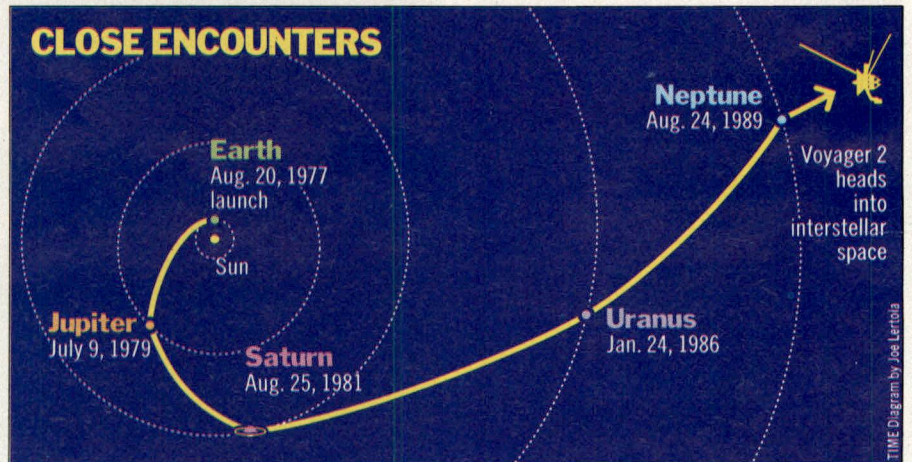
That Voyager is still performing well, let alone functioning at all, is a tribute to the genius of its designers. By 1989 standards, the spacecraft's technology is hopelessly outdated. Its command control computers have random access memories

Three days before its encounter with Neptune, Voyager used its narrow-angle TV camera to shoot the Great Dark Spot, an earth-size storm. Below the spot is a fast-moving cloud nicknamed "Scooter" and another feature called Dark Spot 2. During the rendezvous, the spacecraft photographed the large moon Triton, revealing a mottled, multicolored surface.





Taking advantage of a planetary alignment that occurs only once every 176 years, Voyager 2 completed a twelve-year grand tour of four planets for little more than the price of visiting one. After spending most of its fuel leaving earth fast enough to glide to Jupiter, the spacecraft was accelerated and hurled on toward Saturn by the Jovian gravitational field. Saturn and Uranus, in turn, provided "gravity assists" that sent Voyager to Neptune and the stars beyond.



of only 8,000 bits of information, compared with today's personal computers, which have as many as 1.4 million-bit RAMs. The two TV cameras operate with obsolete vidicon tubes rather than the more reliable and efficient charge-coupled devices in modern TV cameras. Says Torrence Johnson, of the imaging team: "You couldn't find anyone to build one of those vidicon tubes today."

When the Voyager team first assembled at J.P.L. in 1972, it had high hopes that NASA in the late 1970s would take advantage of a once-every-176-years alignment of the outer planets to stage a planetary grand tour. That plan would have sent two sophisticated spacecraft (one as a backup) flying by Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and Neptune, using the gravity assist of each planet to change their course and accelerate them onward to the next one. Another pair of ships would similarly fly past Jupiter, Saturn and Pluto. Without gravity assists, the J.P.L. team argued, a direct flight to Neptune was beyond current rocket technology. In addition, the opportunity for another grand tour would not exist until the middle of the 22nd century.

For political and budgetary reasons, however, NASA limited the program to two no-frills spacecraft that would explore only Jupiter and Saturn. As a result, Voyagers 1 and 2, both launched in 1977, were designed by J.P.L. engineers to oper-

ate efficiently for only about five years, more than enough time to reach Saturn.

"Of course," says chief project scientist Edward Stone, "that didn't prevent us from launching Voyager 2 on exactly the same trajectory that the grand tour would have been on, hoping it would survive for twelve years." Indeed, when Voyager 1 successfully fulfilled its Saturn mission and headed out of the solar system, NASA gave the green light for Voyager 2 to proceed to Uranus and then Neptune. Now, says Stone triumphantly, "in effect, we have our grand tour."

And what a tour it has been. Between them, Voyagers 1 and 2 discovered and shot spectacular photographs of new moons orbiting Jupiter and Saturn, rings around Jupiter, active volcanoes on the Jovian moon Io, and spokes and braids in Saturn's complex and brilliant rings. At Uranus, Voyager 2 found two new rings, ten new moons and a set of dust bands. It also discovered a magnetic field with an axis tilted a remarkable 59° from the planet's axis of rotation.

Now the spacecraft has seen its last planet and J.P.L. staffers, many of whom have spent their entire careers on the Voyager missions, are calling the Neptune encounter "the last picture show." "Between Uranus and Neptune, I went to graduate school," says Candy Hansen, who has designed many of Voyager's pic-

ture-taking programs. "I bought my house between Jupiter and Saturn. That's how I measure my life."

While Hansen and most of the other members of the Voyager team will soon turn their attention to other space projects, some will stay on, as Voyager 2's mission is not yet completed. Like Voyager 1, the spacecraft is heading out of the solar system. Its cameras will soon have little to record, but its other instruments, powered by heat from radioactive plutonium in its thermal generators, will continue such tasks as ultraviolet astronomy of the stars and seeking out the edge of the solar system, the boundary marking the farthest reaches of the solar wind and the beginning of interstellar space.

Finally, in 25 years or so, declining power levels and increasing distance will end any communication between Voyager and earth, and the little spacecraft will speed silently toward the stars. With it will go a recording on a twelve-inch copper disk installed aboard Voyager on the remote chance that an alien traveler will someday come upon it. The record, called *Sounds of Earth*, carries greetings in 60 languages and a message from then President Jimmy Carter that ends, "This record represents our hope and our determination, and our goodwill in a vast and lonely universe." —Reported by Edwin M. Reingold/Pasadena

Has History Come to an End?

A provocative case: democracy has outlived Communism

BY JOHN ELSON

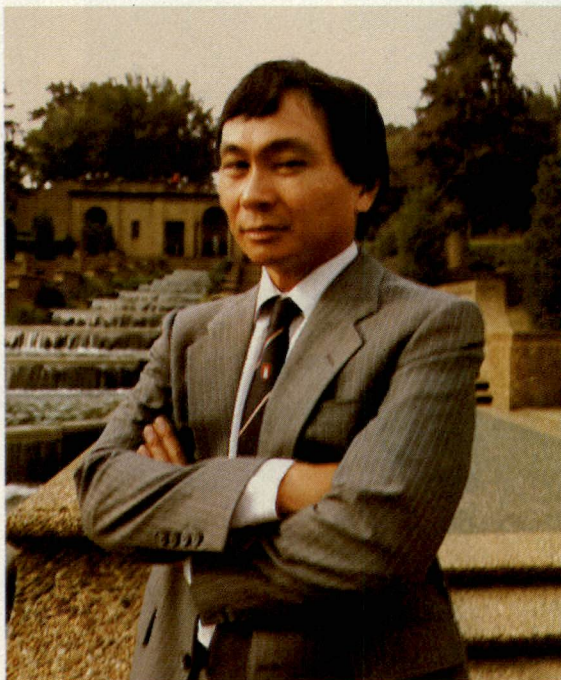
The final days of the '80s, to many commentators, represent a kind of farewell to arms. The cold war appears all but over; peace seems to be breaking out in many parts of the world. Even Moscow, the international capital of Marxism, has openly succumbed to the lures of creeping capitalism. To Francis Fukuyama, 36, deputy director of the State Department's policy-planning staff, all these events point to something of far broader significance than the reform policies of Mikhail Gorbachev. "What we may be witnessing," he writes, "is not just the end of the cold war, or the passing of a particular period of postwar history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government."

Fukuyama's provocative thesis, spelled out in the summer issue of the *National Interest*, has stirred up a heated debate in neoconservative circles both in the U.S. and abroad. Around Harvard Square in Cambridge, reports Owen Harries, co-editor of the quarterly, the issue is sold out and copies have even been filched from subscribers' desks. Anthony Hartley, editor of Britain's prestigious monthly *Encounter*, adds his voice to the debate in the September issue. Translations of Fukuyama's article, titled "The End of History?," will soon appear in Japanese, Italian and Dutch journals. The French quarterly *Commentaire* will also publish a translation, along with critiques by leading intellectuals such as Jean-François Revel. The *National Interest*, which accompanied Fukuyama's article with responses by such pundits as Allan Bloom (*The Closing of the American Mind*) and New York's Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, will print two more lengthy reactions in its autumn issue.

The best-known propagator of the theory that history has an "end," meaning its fulfillment in an ideal political system, was Karl Marx. He believed the contradictions of all previous societies would be resolved by the emergence of a Communist utopia. Marx borrowed his concept from Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, who argued that history would culminate, as Fukuyama puts it, at a moment "in which a final, rational form

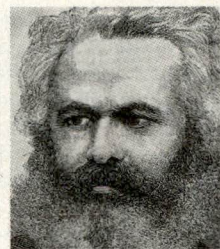
of society and state became victorious."

For Hegel, history "ended," in this sense, with Napoleon's triumph over the Prussian forces at Jena in 1806. That battle, to Hegel, marked the vindication by arms of the libertarian and egalitarian ideals of the French Revolution. True, Napoleon was eventually defeated and authoritarian monarchy restored. But Fukuyama approvingly cites the argument of a little-known French-Russian philosopher, Alexandre Kojève, that Hegel was essentially correct. The reason: it was at

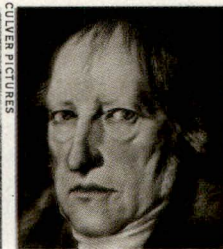


Policy planner Fukuyama in Washington

Napoleon's 1806 victory had a message for mankind.



Karl Marx



Georg W.F. Hegel

Jena that the "vanguard" of humanity implemented the French Revolution's goals.

Fukuyama, who considers Hegel an unjustly neglected thinker, argues that those ideals, as embodied in liberal democracy, have outlasted two principal 20th century competitors for the hearts and minds of Western men. "Fascism was destroyed as a living ideology by World

War II," Fukuyama writes. As for Marxism-Leninism, he notes that "while there may be some isolated true believers left in places like Managua, Pyongyang or Cambridge," no large state that espouses it as an ideology even pretends to be in the vanguard of history. Witness, as evidence, the *glasnost*-inspired admissions of economic failure and bureaucratic bungling that emanate almost daily from Gorbachev's Moscow.

Fukuyama has no illusions that the end of history represents the beginning of secular paradise. In fact, he sees it as a "sad time," when ideological struggles that called for "daring, courage, imagination" will be replaced by the "endless solving of technical problems." He worries about the cultural banality that pervades liberal societies obsessed with consumerism, and notes that nationalism and religious fundamentalism continue to appeal to many Third World peoples. While it is impossible to rule out the emergence of new ideologies, or indeed of entirely new political systems, Fukuyama argues that for the foreseeable future it will become ever more widely perceived that liberal democracy is the most equitable form of government that man has ever devised. Thus the ideal state should be "liberal insofar as it recognizes and protects through a system of law man's universal right to freedom, and democratic insofar as it exists only with the consent of the governed."

Irving Kristol, founding publisher of the *National Interest*, says Fukuyama's article serves to "welcome G.W.F. Hegel to Washington." To Harries, the piece "deparochializes the debate over Gorbachev's policy and removes it from a cold war context." But Fukuyama also has plenty of critics. In general, conservatives, like historian Gertrude Himmelfarb, argue that he is excessively optimistic in predicting that Marxism's demise as an ideology means that the era of superpower conflict is over. Liberals like Leon Wieseltier of the *New Republic* charge that he is too complacent in proclaiming the triumph of democracies that have done too little to resolve such social contradictions as poverty and racism.

Fukuyama, a Sovietologist with a Harvard Ph.D. who previously worked for the Rand Corp., is pondering the criticism and will respond in the winter issue of the *National Interest*. And if he can take time from readying position papers for his new bosses at State, he hopes to explore his thesis at greater length. Unlike history as he sees it, the debate sparked by Fukuyama may be just beginning. ■



The geezers crank it up at an impromptu New Haven, Conn., club appearance.

● COVER STORIES

Roll Them Bones

It's middle-aged and still crazy. It's only rock 'n' roll. And it's still the Stones

BY JAY COCKS

There was so much history this summer, and so little change.

The anniversary of Woodstock arrived and waned, much like the first time around. It was mostly a convenience for the media, a way to get a handle on an upstart pop phenomenon. For music, a fan remembered, all the festival symbolized was a washout. Lysergic mud and bad amplification. The rest was a fairy tale.

And, as the fairy tales say, it seemed that it might be time again for legends. Twenty years later there were suddenly on every side the familiar sounds of the '60s: Bob Dylan, the Who, Van Morrison, the Bee Gees and the Jefferson Airplane. But the flashiest news was that the Roll-

ing Stones, well aged and embattled, would be lumbering out of the woods and into the lights again. "The world's greatest rock 'n' roll band" (an unofficial title the band never originated but did little to discourage) had not only cut a new record but was embarking on a tour that would take it to nearly 40 U.S. cities.

Just look at these guys. Giants. Golems. Geezers with a quarter-century of history together, "a long shadow," as Keith Richards says, "that we drag around." Their tour starts Aug. 31 in Philadelphia; when the New York City shows were announced, some 300,000 tickets (at an average price of \$28.50) were sold in a record six hours. The band, which fussed over choosing photos and picking among twelve different covers for their new record, knows it's no longer got the look

knocked. Image is vital, and taking the stage will be a severe test.

Steel Wheels is the name of the record; *Nothing Ventured* would have suited too. It boasts five reprobates cranking themselves up for yet another crack at the distance, showing their years—flaunting the things, in point of plain fact—while they swan around some of the nation's largest concert stages, soaking up the applause and the revenues, blowing off their greatest hits, taking the new material out for an audience airing.

Of course, the audience has had a summer of softening up. The Who, who had played at Woodstock, had already come back, getting a jump on things when they were meant to be gone for good. Keith Moon, their great drummer, had taken some of the band's careening keen-





KEN REGAN—CAMERA 5

THE STONES

Even early on, "their satanic majesties" were supposed to be nasty sorts. The music was intense, all right, but the band looked like lifetime members of Howdy Doody's peanut gallery.

No more. Not on the calendar, and not in the heart. Now rock has some 30 years of history behind it. That's time enough, and weight enough, to make it hidebound.

Grim prospect. All summer, the fan looked about for reassurance. There were familiar sounds all around. Van Morrison, a favorite since the early '60s, released yet another album, *Avalon Sunset*, a lyrical, ruminative shard of spirituality that he refused to push or publicize. The Grateful Dead persisted, a whole band of Peter Pans camping out in a hippie never-never land. The Bee Gees returned; so did the Jefferson Airplane and the Doobie Brothers. These weren't revivals; they were exhumations.

Paul McCartney issued a sprightly new album, *Flowers in the Dirt*, on which he collaborated with Elvis Costello, and announced a world tour to begin Sept. 26 in Oslo. And Ringo Starr, fresh from an alcohol rehab, hit the road backed by a peerless band of studio all-stars. Strawberry Fields forever.

The fan felt often, now, as if he were out in the middle of a foggy sound, in a weathered boat, with an old radio that kept drifting from station to station. To be sure, there was a lot of new stuff on. Madonna: slick and smart. Rap: angry, slangy and assaultive, good and righteous, but restrictive in its heat.

Honest, now: Can you be a veteran fan and still respond as rock 'n' roll demands you respond—by belief, by passion, by always raising the stakes—to performers who may be a quarter-century younger than you are? You could do it with Springsteen; you both were younger then. You did it with U2. But for some-

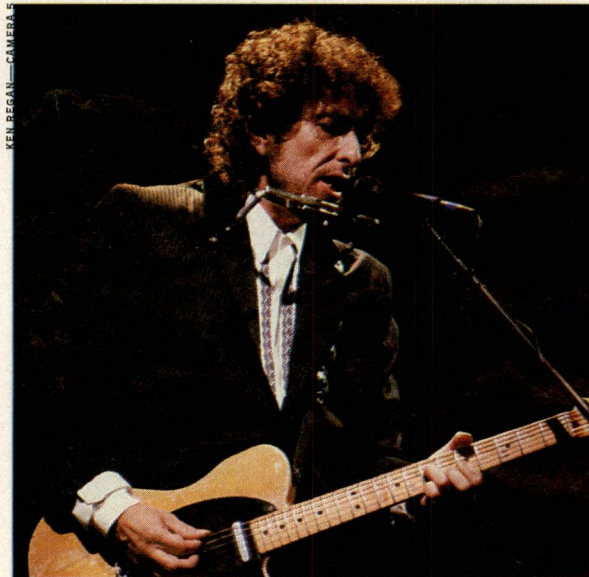
ness with him when he died in 1978. Pete Townshend, their great songwriter and guitar player, his hearing shredded by more than two decades of high decibels, could not even re-create all his lead parts. Still they soldiered on, three bowed veterans suffering the onset of shell shock from a barrage that hasn't even landed yet.

With a splendid new album, *Oh Mercy*, due out in September, and on the strength of permanent regard, Bob Dylan hit the road again, doing the vintage songs in new ways, singing the newer songs as if they'd just been minted. Dylan perpetually remakes himself, reshapes his work. He has made history, but even the most dedicated fan knows that Dylan's history is peculiar, part of the past with a claim on the future, but existing in a kind of new space, a new tense: the present imperfect.

What did this have to do with now? The fan grew up with rock 'n' roll. He gawped at Elvis on the Ed Sullivan show. He thought Jerry Lee Lewis on Steve Allen's TV program was the wildest and altogether greatest thing he had ever set eyes on. When Chuck Berry showed up on *American Bandstand*, one young world got jolted into a different orbit. The music was that strong. All velocity and no drag.

And it had no past, either. Not at first. Rock 'n' roll put down roots like some jungle creeper, overnight, and was suddenly there one new morning, loud and outside, full of lurid colors and maybe even a little poison. It was new, and it could be owned, wholly and instantly, by a new generation. It was what everyone was who heard it first and would love it forever. It was young.

HOFFMANN—REX FEATURES



DYLAN

The times they are a-changin': he should know. He changed them forever, and he's changing them still, as his September album, *Oh Mercy*, will prove.



ARETHA

Respect. She earned it. The foremost custodian of soul and a loving tender of gospel roots, she turned concert halls into R. and B. tabernacles on her recent tour.



Music

body new? Was rock 'n' roll, forever young, finally middle-aged?

The questions went deeper than chronology. Rock wasn't just the sound track for the '60s. It spurred on and helped shape a whole culture. It was central to change in a way that nothing—certainly no music—has been since. Rock was always a music of turbulence, and history, for a while there, caught the beat. Woodstock was a dodge, a growth industry that tie-dyed much that was fierce and righteous in the music into something stuporous and evasive. The seeds of nostalgia were planted in those sodden, trodden New York State fields before the festival was over. Memories were rolled like joints. Smoke 'em if you got 'em.

Nostalgia was the only dirty word in the rock vocabulary. This music had never looked back before. But history could walk away from rock once it had been put snugly into that Woodstock pasture. Rock reacted by turning inward, to the softer personal speculations of the '70s singer-songwriters, then reacted again, first by exploding (punk), then by chilling out into the celebrations of the New Wave bands like the Talking Heads and the slick, slightly spooky amusement-park soul of Michael Jackson.

But is it nostalgia that is keeping the sound of the '60s alive in 1989? It has to be something more. Something like . . . that sound on the radio now. Some kind of homing signal. Coming in strong now, and now you know the sound. It's only rock 'n' roll, but no mistake: it's *their* rock 'n' roll. It was even once the title of a Stones song, a hit . . . forget the exact date. Not so long ago, after all.

Mick Jagger, the Stones' co-leader, co-writer, singer, front man and flakmaster, is supposed to have said he didn't want to be a full-time rocker past 40. He denies saying it now, maybe because here he is, 46 and still doing it fine. That makes him older than the fan by a few years. The fan feels better already. Smiles, settles back, listens close.

The boat starts to move. That's encouraging. After all the band's public bickering and rheumatic concertizing, after all this time and all these damn years, the Rolling Stones can still rock the boat. They are back all right.

The Stones know their audience, though. It's pretty much the same as it's always been, and it will be happy to see them. It will also be happy to know that the material on *Steel Wheels* is a lot like them—up to date but fundamentally un-

changed. The record kicks off with *Sad Sad Sad*, a creditable attempt to capture again the dynamics of the group's early sound, when the rhythm came in solid sheets and the lyrics sounded as if they were being spit out of a semiautomatic weapon. After that, it bustles through a very commercial, danceable tune or two, a couple of extravagant experiments (including *Terrifying*, with some heavy jazz underpinnings) and a few desultory rockers, performed with practiced agility.

The fan heard it right away. The Stones still have the stamina, but there's always at least a hint of strain in the music too, a self-consciousness about the energy, as if they were the oldest guys at the gym and trying to look good on the Nautilus. Rock 'n' roll may be their life—and their business. It may come naturally to them still, but it sure doesn't come easy. That's what's different. That old winning smugness—their magisterial self-assurance—is gone. There's a lot of sweat in these songs.

The band must know it too, because finally, on the last song, they face it. *Slipping Away* is a song about—indeed, almost consumed by—a sense of impermanence, of loss, of lives eliding into compromise. It's about ending. It's about dying, and it's a great Stones song. Jagger and Richards



NEAL PRESTON—OUTLINE



LONDON FEATURES

THE WHO

Won't get fooled again. No group had a more incendiary relationship with its loyalists. No one expected the Who to come back. They did. No one expected them to keep the faith. They did. That promise still holds.

have some supernal ballads to their credit (*As Tears Go By*, *Wild Horses*, *Moonlight Mile*), but busy being naughty, they did not cultivate their more sensitive side. *Slipping Away* is an autobiography that could be anyone's life story.

Jagger and Richards have spent a fair part of the '80s separately pursuing extra-Stones interests, playing the Bickersons in the rock press whenever they were queried about the plentiful tensions within the band. It was tough to pin down, even when the sniping drew a little blood, precisely what the boys were bitching about. Keith wanted to tour, Mick wanted to cruise the night life; individual ambitions ran contrary to the good of the band. Whatever it was, it seemed likely that they had been together too long—27 years, to be exact. So when *Slipping Away* begins and the husky fragility of Richards' vocal takes instant hold, it is clear that this is more than just a good closer for a record. Richards takes the lead for once, and Jagger glides in on harmony. It's a political gesture, a way of dealing with all that friction, even as it's being moved out front. And it's something more, an envoi, the start of a long goodbye.

The Stones always encouraged a dynamic of dissipation—"their satanic maj-

esties"—and loved flirting with the flame. That shadow Keith Richards talks about was always there, deeper and darker than with most bands. Mick was a dandy about his decadence; Keith was devout. One book about the Stones even insisted (over Richards' later bemused denials) that Richards had his blood washed, changed and purified.

No surprise, then, that the last time the Stones took an American stage, in 1981, they looked like the supporting cast from a George Romero epic, specters from the boneyard of the pop psyche thirsting for a transfusion of celebrity. Now the boys have regrouped and regroomed; better care is being taken all around, and light is being made of age, of gossip, of old reputation. Charlie Watts, the Stones bedrock drummer, who was never one of the group's wilder revelers, looked momentarily startled the other day when a visiting writer extended a hand in greeting. "Sorry," he said, recovering. "I thought you were going to take my pulse."

"There's a lot of energy in the band right now," says Keith. "This new record's been miraculously fast for us. Mick and I are still holding our breath, saying, 'This can't last.' We pretty much wrote it in a month and laid down the basic tracks in about five weeks." To get the steel wheels on track so quickly, Jagger and

Richards set aside those publicized vexations to find a common footing.

Richards made a solid solo album last year, which was helpful. It got him a piece of the cynosure that has always been Jagger's property. Mick turned out two solo albums himself—the second enterprising and entertaining—but neither enjoyed superstar success. Jagger, when interviewed, had put the Stones in a coffin, but never lowered them into the ground. When rapprochements were reached and offers tendered, he was ready to listen.

"It's the easiest thing in the world to work with the Stones, and for me to work with Mick," Keith says. "Mick and I work together perfectly. It's when we're not working that we have problems." If *Steel Wheels* does not have the full surprise and thermal energy of a Stones classic like *Let It Bleed* or *Exile on Main Street*, at least it holds on to a sense of continuity. No advances maybe, but as another great songwriter put it, no retreat either.

The Stones are aware of the risks. What looked cool, dodgy, outrageous a while back could look antique and stupid now, more like a Monty Python skit. "The parody aspects of it are overwhelming," Keith admits. "It'll kill the music, you know?" Watching the Stones take their chances with all this—for revenue, for glory and for something more—has be-

come a new part of the show. They could become what they used to mock.

What will save them is that in a positive way, in a way that rock was never expected to tolerate, they are acting their age. The fan keeps coming back to *Slipping Away* and thinks about the deaths in the band family. There was, famously, the passing of Brian Jones, one of the formative members and chief sybarites, overdosed in 1969, found dead floating in his swimming pool. And more recently and just as crucially, there was Ian Stewart, the keyboard player, who died of a heart attack in 1985.

"That was probably the final nail," says Keith. "That really took the glue and the heart out of us all. It has taken us this long to reconcile being able to put the Stones together without him. Nobody knows much about Stu out there, but to the boys in the band, the Stones was his band. He was a real taskmaster, strictly rhythm and blues, jazz. You could see his face when you were writing, and if it sounded like a pop song, you knew he was cursing under his breath. In a way, we're all still working for Stu."

Easy to imagine Stewart smiling over *Slipping Away*. Easy, too, to hear such a stalwart pro lose patience with all this fretting about age and nostalgia. That may be the better way. Play the music, keep it up front and don't sweat the future. "Talent will survive," says Aretha Franklin, who mounted a successful tour herself this summer. "People with true talents and gifts will stand the test of longevity, with good business management." Right. Leave the fretting to everyone else. There is, indeed, a good measure of concern to go around.

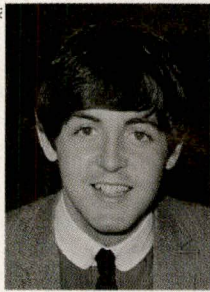
Even Jagger, when pressed, can come out with an observation, characteristically jaded and spoken like rock's foremost mandarin. "There's not a lot in rock that is new," he says. "It's the same kind of chord sequences and the same kind of rhythm references and the same recycling of subject matter. But I don't think it's a problem. I mean, traditional musical forms like folk music in three chords or blues are endearing to Americans. They find some comfort in them."

Neil Young, who has a new album coming out in October, isn't bothered about restrictions of form, or of age. "Rock 'n' roll is about life, and age is a state of mind," he says. "The music's still wide open. All you need is the nerve, the nerve to do what you want to do." It takes more than nerve, though, to get played on the radio. Ken Barnes, editor of the industry trade magazine *Radio & Records*, figures that at least 40% of what is available to the whole American radio audience is

"classic" or "oldies" rock. Demographics restrict station playlists and tie up formats; besides, as Barnes puts it, "the sheer cultural weight of what we're now calling classic rock is somewhat stifling."

Rock's been a megabusiness for much of its adult life. In 1973 there was \$2 billion worth of record and tape sales in the U.S.; in 1988 total sales (including CDs) were \$6.2 billion. Bucks like that encourage uncivil marriages of commerce and creativity such as tour sponsorship (the Stones are going out under the aegis of MTV and Budweiser—careful driving home from the show, now) while discouraging the innovation, the sheer recklessness, that rock music needs in abundance.

Legends are tough to fight; legends with fat wallets become moving targets. "I grew up on most of these people. But I don't really like what a lot of them are do-



MCCARTNEY

Will you still need me when I'm 64? No doubt. The smoothest of the Beatles, he also had the greatest gift for melody and the most determined eye on the future. He keeps the pace because he makes his own.



ing anymore," says Perry Farrell of the cutting-edge Los Angeles band Jane's Addiction. "A lot of bands are willing to be commercial or a commodity. It's kind of like a drug problem. I think rock 'n' roll has money in its veins."

Peter Case, a wondrous songwriter and singer whose recent album *The Man with the Blue Postmodern Fragmented Neo-Traditionalist Guitar* is good enough to carry like a talisman into the uncertainties of the '90s, sees the difficulty in broader terms. "Rock 'n' roll has just become a new form of Disneyland," he says. "The whole thing has got mythologized to the point where it's just a bunch of rubbish." Greil Marcus, who writes formidably on popular and radical culture (the recent *Lipstick Traces*), talks about the "suicidal nostalgia" surrounding a lot of contemporary music: "People have been sold a bill of goods about the '60s, as if it were some kind of social Golden Age, when there was no

Viet Nam, no social conflict. There weren't any Negroes, nothing bad happened. You have Woodstock, but you don't have the war. You have Jim Morrison as some image of sexual nirvana, but you don't have Janis Joplin for the miserable junkie she was. But Dylan, the Beatles, Aretha, the Stones, all the good music cannot be separated from the fear and the terror that people were feeling."

What matters is that the best of the music—and the Stones made a fair portion of it—blowtorches nostalgia away, enlarging the memory, terror and all. The music reasserts history, not sentiment, and makes the same tough demands on head and heart as more traditional literature. Says the writer and essayist Steve Erickson: "Rock displaced the impact of American fiction because it wasn't afraid to believe in itself."

As some of the greatest American novels of the past quarter-century, Erickson would put up *Blonde on Blonde*, Frank Sinatra's *Where Are You*, Little Richard's *Grooviest Seventeen Original Hits*, Springsteen's *The River* and Marvin Gaye's *What's Going On*. And anyone who's scandalized by such an idea . . . well, they just haven't been listening. Try this simple test at home. Ask what made more sense to your life: any novel by V.S. Naipaul or any record by Bob Dylan. Any voters for Naipaul probably wouldn't have read this far.

Now maybe rap is shaking and shaping different lives the same way. It has some of that same risky, visionary power. "Rap today is what lyrical rock 'n' roll was in the '60s," Neil Young says. "The message is really important, and it's a rebirth of language," says Peter Case. All right. History will see to that.

What's happened already, and a fair, far time ago, is still happening too. There was never any cardinal rule about rock—that was its only cardinal rule—and it can't be written off or knocked off because, from its sheer quality and audacity, it has persisted. No rules, no predictable half-life. Rock may have become Big Business, but it still has no set agenda and no fixed address. Lots of names, lots of labels, lots of styles, and by now lots of history, some of it even proud.

But despite everything, it still can't be tightly classified or tied down. It's still a cultural orphan, hiding out on the far end of respectability: it has age, but it has no home. Or, as the greatest rock writer of all put it, splitting the distinction like an atom, no direction home. Like a complete unknown. Like a rolling stone.

Caps on those last two words at any fan's discretion. —Reported by Elizabeth L. Bland/New York and Denise Worrell/Los Angeles



TED THAI

ZIGGY MARLEY An easy gift and a light way with a torch

New Directions for The Next Decade

Check out some tried-and-true recipes. Stir in new voices and taproots. Add heat. Stand back

As it closes out the old decade and faces the new one, rock may be too catholic for its newer, younger core audience. Kids, of course, need a music to call their own; they need music that speaks to them while it cruises over the heads of their elders, or, even better, turns them right off. "The sales today are going with hard rock," says Kal Rudman, publisher of *Friday Morning Quarterback*, an industry newsletter. "Heavy metal is doing well with sales and at concerts in the 14-to-18 age range. Rap is extremely big but is quite racial. That's doesn't mean white kids aren't into it, but it's pretty well segregated."

To open for them on their new tour, the Stones have chosen hard-rocking Living Colour for a slot that has, over the years, taken on a fair amount of significance. Opening for the Stones has come to be not just another lucrative gig but a way for musicians (black) to break through to a larger audience (white).

Stevie Wonder toured with the Stones; so did Peter Tosh; last time out, Prince kicked off some concerts for them. It is the Stones' way of reminding audiences of the incalculable debt the band owes to the traditions of rhythm and blues, and soul. It is also good business. Black audiences may turn out to catch the opener and stick around for the headliners. Certainly put-

ting a quarter-century-old rock outfit beside a new band that's hot and soulful gives the Stones a little proximity to the future. Keeps them fresh, you might say. Keeps them young.

For its part, Living Colour could use a little of the Stones' legendary entrée. Theirs has not been an easy road. They were a hot club band on the East Coast, "really quite well known," as Mick Jagger says. "But they couldn't get a record deal because they were black and they weren't playing funk. They didn't fit into a category." A black band romping in the white world of hard rock is an anomaly (or, as the promo men would say, a hard sell) even today. Musicians may cross over a lot, but radio stations seldom do. Vernon Reid, 31, who plays guitar with an ear on Hendrix and an eye on the Top Ten, recognized the problem early on. "Being black makes it tougher," he says. "It helped that we are a good band. But we had to be real good—better than a white band has to be—to convince radio and record companies to take the risk." There was a significant, and surprising, payoff. Living Colour's first album is still on the pop charts after a year, and after selling 1.5 million copies.

Rap also has a problem with the deejays. "The Top 40 stations won't play it," says Rudman, even though some rap (by

Tone Loc, Run-D.M.C., L.L. Cool J and the all-white Beastie Boys, among others) has busted through onto the upper regions of the pop charts. Not all the young action is rap, though. Ziggy Marley, one of Bob's band of children, has got the gift and, to go with it, a light way with carrying a heavy torch. On *One Bright Day*, the new album he made with the Melody Makers (his younger brother Stephen and two of his sisters, Sharon and Cedella), there is a lot of tradition and a little trailblazing. "This album to me sound a little stronger," says Ziggy, 20, with deft Rasta inflections. "A little stronger in the beat. It feel harder, with more aggression. I sing it more aggressive. I'm getting older. Music is a weapon. You can use a gun for murder, or you can use it to defend yourself." That's the choice: clap hands or put them up.

Marley likes rap ("Yeah, mon. It's cool") but swears allegiance to reggae. Rap has proved to be a fertile source of inspiration for the ravishing Neneh Cherry, whose hit single *Buffalo Stance* dressed street sound up in supper-club clothes without sacrificing funk. Bobby Brown, the soul flash of the moment, made an album that sold more than 4 million copies and spawned three hit singles, marrying the sensuality of Marvin Gaye to the unearthly musical surprises of Prince.

If there is one more route into the '90s, it leads inward. That's the Call's unwavering direction. After a single play of their new album *Let the Day Begin*, you understand immediately and intimately why Peter Gabriel called them "the future of American music." The Call's music is not retrograde or nostalgic, but it does hearken heavily to the indwelling mysteries that Dylan and the Band and Van Morrison also heard. "The Call is a band for people who feel things extremely," says Michael Been, the group's songwriter. "We're not for people who are extremely cool, for whom cool is the ultimate expression." From available auguries, it seems that the '90s may not be too cool either, so the Call should fit right in, finally. They have been cult favorites for about ten years now, but the title track of the new album is getting some wide play on the radio. "We shouldn't waste rock 'n' roll," Been says. "Rock should be looking at some of the big questions."

And he has wise words for anyone fretting over the graying of rock, for whoever freaks out on musical fashion and obsesses over obsolescence. "To be a rock 'n' roller isn't like being a football player," he says. "There are brilliant jazz and country players and classical guys in their 60s. If you're a musician, you're a musician for life." Remember that this New Year's Eve. And turn the radio up a little. The Call should still be on.

—By Jay Cocks.

Reported by Elizabeth L. Bland/New York and Denise Worrell/Los Angeles

Charlie Hustle's Final Play

An unrepentant Pete Rose is banned from his beloved game

BY MARGARET CARLSON

When the dust settles on the deal struck between baseball and Pete Rose, it will still be nearly impossible to explain his banishment to the kids who love the game. Rose's bargain was the work of lawyers; its contorted logic was utterly devoid of the simplicity and finality that make the game so refreshing. It was a fine-print compromise that at once allowed Baseball Commissioner A. Bartlett Giamatti to announce that Rose was banned from baseball for life for betting on his own team—and Rose, an hour later in Cincinnati, to say Hey, it ain't so. Worse, although the 14 others expelled from baseball over the years never again set foot on a major league diamond, Rose insisted he would be back, perhaps as early as next year. A blue-collar guy from western Cincinnati who played baseball with the enthusiasm of a seven-year-old on the field—and exhibited the same level of maturity off—Rose may actually believe it.

Exiting with his chin stuck out was probably the only way Rose could go. He was blessed by the gods not so much with talent as with the insatiable drive to win. A competitor stubborn enough to play long beyond his prime—and until he could break Ty Cobb's batting record—a rookie who ran to first base when he was given a walk, a bruiser who plowed so hard into an opposing catcher during an All-Star game that he separated the man's shoulder, Rose was too vain and too arrogant to beg for mercy from a former Ivy League classics scholar like Giamatti.

Revelations that Rose would gamble on any game, in any sport, at any time—and seven volumes of evidence, including a stack of betting slips in his handwriting—did not seem to shame him. Little ever has. Not a 1979 paternity suit that he did not contest, the messy unraveling of his marriage in 1978 (which did not interfere with his 44-game hitting streak), or striking an umpire in the chest, for which he received a 30-day suspension in 1988. Criticism in the press about the friends in thick gold chains and diamond pinky rings who placed wagers for a living did not faze him. Even now, Rose gives little outward sign that what happened has engendered self-doubt. The night before Giamatti's announcement, he was hawked autographed baseballs on Cable Value Network at \$39.94 a throw and selling uniforms with his



The champion of denial faces the press

"I never bet on baseball."

old No. 14 on them, the same number he used with his bookie.

Star athletes whose crassness is tolerated when they are winning—Rose once made a scene in the Stage Deli in Manhattan because there was no sandwich named after him (there is now)—are often stunned when the indulgence ends. When a reporter at the press conference asked Rose why he was accepting the most severe punishment possible if he had not bet on baseball, Rose was speechless. He turned to his lawyer, Reuven Katz, shiny with sweat beside him, who could only natter on about the fine print of clause F.



In New York, Giamatti delivered the final word: banishment

Katz had fought for several days for language that would allow Rose to stand before the microphones and speak about his banishment as if it were a slump he would soon pull out of.

Rose will almost surely never earn a living in baseball again, but he is likely to continue to make a living off baseball by merchandising his relics. In 1985, the year he broke Cobb's record, he arranged to collect royalties on T shirts, beer mugs, pennants and plastic figurines of himself. On the lucrative baseball-card show circuit, where one show promoter has clocked him signing his short name 600 times an hour, Rose earns as much as \$20,000 an appearance. He was broke or unsentimental enough to sell the bat from his record 4,192nd hit. One prominent dealer says the memorabilia market is flooded with Rose keepsakes of dubious authenticity; several collectors, he says, claim to own the hat, spikes and shirt worn during his record-breaking hit.

So far, Rose has resisted the refuge of the Betty Ford defense, so popular among addicted celebrities, that his compulsion to gamble made him do it. But he could not resist dragging his family into his mess. He said he had never looked forward to a birthday as much as his new daughter's first (Aug. 22, 1990), since it would signal his first opportunity to apply for reinstatement to baseball, thus sadly and inadvertently revealing her place in his life relative to the game.

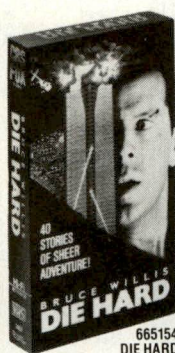
Whether or not Rose is voted into the Hall of Fame when he becomes eligible in 1992, he may have achieved the kind of immortality that goes beyond fading type in the record books. America may celebrate winning, but what really fascinates the country is a fall from greatness. Bill Buckner's fielding career is overshadowed by the memory of an easily hit ball rolling inexplicably, eternally through his legs in the tenth inning of the sixth game of the 1986 World Series. Rose in his 24 seasons set records for hits (4,256), games played (3,562) and 200-plus-hit seasons (10). He was the National League's Most Valuable Player in 1973, the World Series MVP in 1975. He won the National League batting title three times.

But it is Rose's unfathomable squandering of his own ability, his willingness to surrender his history for the rush of the bet that will make his memory endure beyond any portrait hanging in a gallery in Coopers-town. In the end, it wasn't the courts, or a pointy-headed commissioner out to get him, or his bookie friends squealing on him, but just himself that took baseball from him. ■

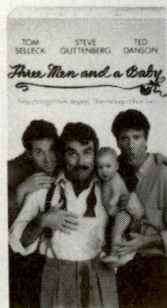
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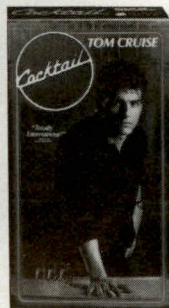
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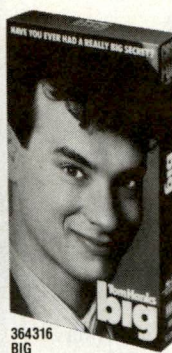
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A87

Telling It Like Thackeray

A NATURAL CURIOSITY

by Margaret Drabble
 Viking; 309 pages; \$19.95

BY PAUL GRAY

Literary critics and academicians have been insisting for a long time now that characters who appear in novels and plays do not exist outside the words and works that create them. Foolish to wonder whether Rhett ever came back to Scarlett or how many children had Lady Macbeth, lecture the professors. Such kill-joys are technically right, of course, but imaginatively out to lunch. One of the principal pleasures of reading stems from the illusion of eavesdropping on unguarded lives, of getting to know people better than they may know themselves. Small wonder that vivid characters seem to go on living after their stories end.

Victorian novelists understood this principle, and so does Margaret Drabble, who has increasingly tackled 20th century subjects with the methods of the 19th. Her novels have grown steadily more panoramic, filled with people trying to make their way through the dense, complicated civilization of contemporary Britain. And now she has drawn on another conceit that was more popular in serious literature a hundred years ago than it is today: the notion that one book is not big enough for her characters' busy adventures.

A Natural Curiosity, Drabble's eleventh novel, picks up roughly where *The Radiant Way* (1987) left off. Back in view are two of the three heroines of the previous work: Liz Headleand, a divorced psychotherapist who lives in London, and Alix Bowen, a teacher who has moved to a rusting industrial city in the north with her husband Brian. (Esther Breuer, an art historian and the third party in this "triumvirate" of friends, has settled in Italy and makes only brief appearances.) In addition to Liz and Alix, Drabble provides a considerable party of supporting players, some new, some carried over from *The Radiant Way*. They include children, stepchildren, relatives, in-laws and an ex-spouse of the central characters, plus a number of strangers who simply become enmeshed in the ensuing activities.

These seem, at first, bewildering. No central plot propels the novel. Liz and Alix, both in their early 50s, continue to fret over the shape and responsibilities their lives have assumed, the fate of Britain and humankind. When these two get together to talk, the topics can wheel rath-



Drabble in London: 19th century methods

"What do you think will happen to her?"

er freely: "Prison visiting, insanity, Foucault, Lacan, the oddity of French intellectuals, the grandeur of Freud, the audacity of Bernard Shaw, the death penalty and social attitudes towards."

Alix has, in fact, been visiting a prisoner, Paul Whitmore, a serial killer convicted of decapitating five victims. She does so in part because coincidence has linked them; Whitmore rented a room in the same London building as Esther, and Alix and Liz had been visiting there the night the police arrested him. But Alix also wants to understand the origins of Whitmore's carnage, if only to explain away the horrifying prospect of inherent evil: "She would like to acquit Mankind, and if she can acquit P. Whitmore, then she can acquit absolutely anybody."

Alix's determination to solve this ancient problem renders her both admirable and a little foolish. Most of the other characters can be summed up in the same way. In order to keep her many stories moving briskly, Drabble adopts a tone of high omniscience, sometimes revealing what her people do not know, regularly making asides on examples of good or reprehensible conduct. Sometimes, she natters away like a Thackeray about the difficulties of getting a story told. She finds some behavior inexplicable, including that of a woman suddenly overwhelmed by a passionate affair: "It astonished me, it astonished her, and maybe it astonished you. What do you think will happen to her?"

Such a question, never mind how out of fashion, is the essence of storytelling. Drabble is talented enough to tap its archaic power while creating a fascinating cross section of convincing imaginary lives. She credits her readers with natural curiosity and then amply rewards them. ■

Fugitive

AFFLICTION

by Russell Banks

Harper & Row; 355 pages; \$18.95

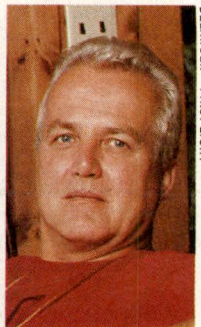
Russell Banks' 1985 novel, *Continental Drift*, linked the fate of a blue-collar New Englander with the tragedy of Haitian boat people. In case the reader missed the serious point, Banks began his story with an "Invocation" and ended with a war cry, "Go, my book, and help destroy the world as it is."

Minimalists trying to imitate the pin-drop prose of the late Raymond Carver would consider Banks' style uncool. But judging from the author's output, cool seems like a social disease. His structures lack grace but carry the weight of his passion and concern.

Affliction is about a dismal town in New Hampshire and its effects on one of the inhabitants, Wade Whitehouse, part-time well digger, snow-plow operator, police officer and school-crossing guard. He has lived in a trailer ever since his wife left him for a man with better prospects. Smoldering with resentments, he lets routine things slip his mind. "Sometimes you just forget who you are. Especially when you're sick of who you are," he tells his brother Rolfe.

At least that is what Rolfe tells us. He is the narrator of the novel, which includes a fatal deer-hunting accident and Wade's role in two murders, one the bludgeoning death of his father. Rolfe is a teacher who is up on modern literary devices. Ambiguity and a tendency to make the teller as important as the tale are conspicuous elements of his account. Rolfe's self-consciousness can be intrusive, though not nearly so much as his need to be the village explainer. Seemingly unsatisfied with his powers of observation and ability to convey male emotions, he reaches for generalizations from sociology and psychology.

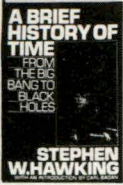
Wade is also abstracted. He becomes a fugitive whom Rolfe imagines to be "the gray-faced man who shoves circles of frozen dough into an oven at the Mr. Pizza at the mall and lives in a town-house apartment at the edge of town until his mailman recognizes him from the picture at the post office." Rolfe's message that despair breeds violence is forcefully delivered. Too bad that he keeps getting in the way of an even stronger story.



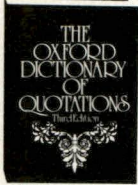
Novelist Banks

—By R.Z. Sheppard

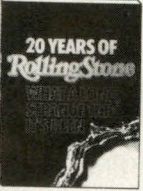
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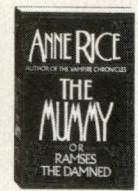
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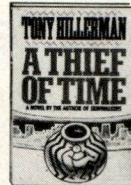


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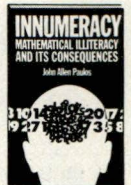
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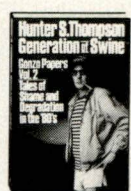
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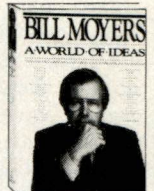
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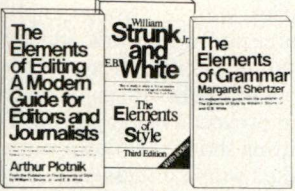
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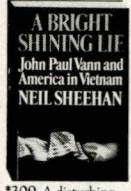
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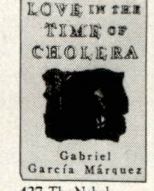
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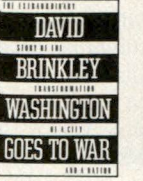
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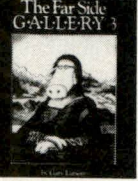
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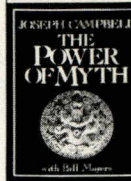
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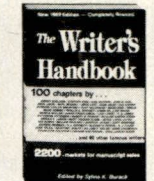
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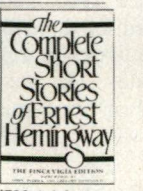
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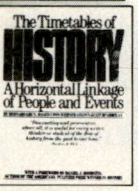
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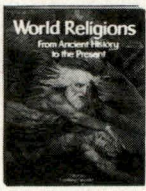
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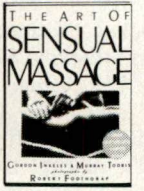
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Ruckus over *Days of Rage*

A controversial look at Palestinians will air on PBS—finally

BY RICHARD ZOGLIN

Of all the minefields TV journalists face today, none is more treacherous than the Arab-Israeli conflict. The issue is so emotional, so polarizing that any report that strays from a careful fence straddle is virtually certain to raise a ruckus. The title of PBS's latest foray into the subject, *Days of Rage*, refers to the *intifadeh*, the Palestinian uprising against Israel's occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. But the name might just as well describe the outcry that has greeted the documentary itself.

The 90-minute film, a frankly sympathetic look at the Palestinian revolt, first sparked protest last spring, when PBS scheduled it for a June airing. The station that was originally picked to sponsor it, New York City's WNYC, backed out; a top executive denounced the film as a "pure propaganda piece." Another New York station, WNET, agreed to take it on, but only if the telecast was delayed so that "wrap-around" material could be produced; added were two taped segments presenting the Israeli viewpoint and a panel discussion with Hodding Carter as host.

Since then 4,000 letters have poured into WNET, mostly criticizing plans to telecast the show. One expert whose appearance in the film seems to bolster Palestinian charges of human rights abuses, Michael Posner of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, has lambasted the



Voices of the aggrieved: a forceful but one-sided report

Providing "context" or watering down the message?

finished product for being biased. Meanwhile, the film's producer, Jo Franklin-Trout, has angrily charged WNET and PBS with caving in to pressure from Israel's supporters, who make up a significant proportion of public TV's contributors.

Days of Rage (now subsumed in a 2½-hour package titled *Intifada: The Palestinians and Israel*, to air on Sept. 6) is a forceful, if one-sided, report that gives voice to people rarely heard talking in such calm and coherent tones. The Palestinians interviewed come across as reasonable and sympathetic: a man whose home was bulldozed without warning, a university head arrested and sent to prison, a seven-year-old girl who saw her father shot to death by Israeli soldiers.

While Franklin-Trout is not overtly partisan, her on-camera questions are indulgent and unchallenging ("They blew up your house? . . . What was the charge?").

What is missing is any discussion of the reasons behind Israel's crack-down. Palestinian terrorism is glossed over, and the only Israelis heard at length are left-wingers critical of the government's policy. The wrap-around material tries to fill these gaps. "We want to provide some clear indication that this is not your normal documentary, that it is more in the nature of an editorial or a commentary column," says PBS programming chief Barry Chase. Franklin-Trout, a former producer for the *MacNeil/Lehrer Report*, objects that the added segments water down her message. "To hang all sorts of baggage on the front and the end," she says, "simply destroys the integrity of the film."

For PBS watchers, the chain of events is painfully familiar. Documentaries with a strong point of view are scarce on the network, which receives substantial funding from corporations more comfortable with genial nature specials than provocative journalism. The few hard-hitting shows that do appear are usually saddled with a discussion segment to put the issue "in context," i.e., appease the protesters. Still, PBS occasionally muddles through to a victory of sorts. *Days of Rage*, for all its flaws, deserves to be seen, and it will be seen—uncut and uncensored. And one cannot have much sympathy with the argument that adding discussion on a controversial topic is wrong. For viewers still confused by a complex and troubling issue, the more voices the better. — *With reporting by William Tynan/* **New York**

Milestones

ACHIEVED. By **Nolan Ryan**, 42, enduring flamethrower for the Texas Rangers; his 5,000th strikeout, 864 more than any other major-league pitcher has ever recorded; in Arlington, Texas. Ryan, who fanned Oakland's Rickey Henderson to reach his mark, has struck out 17 Hall of Famers and 42 MVPs over the years. As Rangers coach Davey Lopes put it, "If he ain't struck you out, you ain't nobody."

DIED. **Toby Halicki**, 48, slashing, crashing producer of low-budget action films; from internal injuries suffered on the set of a new feature; in Tonawanda, N.Y. For *Gone in 60 Seconds II*, a film about car theft, Halicki was setting up an action sequence when a water tower collapsed, setting off a chain reaction in which a telephone pole fell on him.

DIED. **R.D. Laing**, 61, British psychiatrist whose radical views rocked the medical establishment; of a heart attack; in Saint-Tropez. In his 1960 book *The Divided Self: An Existential Study in Sanity and Madness*, Laing argued that schizophrenia might be an individual's attempt to opt out of an intolerable world. He championed patients' rights, condemned the use of electroshock and lobotomies, experimented with the therapeutic use of LSD and mescaline. Although he later modified his romanticized view of insanity, Laing's break with conventional psychiatry made him a counterculture hero.

DIED. **Joseph Pechman**, 71, voluble economist who helped shape the landmark Tax Reform Act of 1986; of a heart attack; in Potomac, Md. A senior fellow at the

Brookings Institution since 1960, Pechman forcefully campaigned for the elimination of loopholes in the tax code in return for fairer, lower rates. He was a member of TIME's Board of Economists from 1970 to 1981.

DIED. **Diana Vreeland**, 80ish, doyenne of the fashion world who chronicled haute couture for *Harper's Bazaar* and *Vogue*; in New York City. Widely quoted and respected, Vreeland promoted new designers and styles until her retirement as editor in chief at *Vogue* in 1971. As a consultant to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, she organized exhibitions on the history of fashion. Despite close identification with the industry, she once observed, "Elegance is innate . . . it has nothing to do with being well dressed."

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CAREER OBJECTIVE An entry level position in an Electrical Engineering research or design firm.

EDUCATION Bachelor of Science in Electrical Engineering, May 1987, Williamstown University; Justin, Oklahoma

EXPERIENCE **Summer Internship** Summer 1986
Central Power and Light, Justin, Oklahoma
Interned in the Power Transmission Department

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ACTIVITIES Varsity Soccer
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EDUCATION Bachelor of Science in Electrical Engineering, May 1987, Williamstown University; Justin, Oklahoma
U.S. Army Signal Corps
Officer Basic Course, September 1987

EXPERIENCE **Training and Operations Officer**, U.S. Army Reserve Officers' Training Corps, Williamstown University
Planned, organized, and executed training for battalion of 110 cadets.
Communications Platoon Leader, Headquarters Troop, 1-17 Cavalry, 82nd Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, NC
Responsible for the training, discipline and welfare of a forty-man platoon.

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Distinguished Military Graduate
Commandant's List, Officer Basic Course

ACTIVITIES **Army ROTC basic and advanced camps**
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Essay

Walter Shapiro

America's Dubious Export

The historical counterpoint is perfect: 50 years almost to the day after Nazi tanks roared across the border into Poland, that long-suffering nation has given birth to a freely elected, non-Communist government. No metaphor better symbolizes the triumph of democracy over totalitarianism. Even the horrific memory of the bloodstains in Tiananmen Square cannot eradicate the impression that most of the world is emulating the Western form of government—or wants to desperately, even to the point of death. Not only the Communist bloc is awash in democratic ferment; nine Latin American nations have held or are scheduled to hold free elections in 1989. For the first time in memory, there is reason to hope that the doddering Communist Party boss in his shapeless dark suit may be as much an anachronism as the strutting military strongman with his chestful of ersatz ribbons.

Amid such a global transformation, it is only natural for Americans to feel proud and perhaps even a trifle smug. After all, hotly contested democratic elections are as American as, well, campaign consultants, TV sound bites and 30-second spots. That, alas, is precisely the problem. For lost in the euphoria over this upsurge of freedom are some impolitic questions about America's own role in fostering free elections abroad. Democracy is indisputably good for the world, but are U.S.-style campaign techniques necessarily good for democracy? Should Americans feel elated if election campaigns from Manila to Moscow become as vacuous as the contest between George Bush and Michael Dukakis?

These unfortunately are not abstract questions. For just as it was in 1940 when Franklin Roosevelt coined the phrase, the U.S. remains the world's "arsenal of democracy." But these days, rather than sending bundles and battleships to Britain, America is aggressively exporting political technology and campaign expertise. Whether it is bringing exit polls to the Soviet Union or the first negative spots to Argentine TV, Americans are there—on the ramparts of freedom—trying to turn the world into one vast Super Tuesday primary.

This is one high-tech arena where the Japanese and the West Europeans still cannot compete: America leads the world in the sophisticated techniques of manipulating voters in free elections. The "booming market abroad for U.S. campaign operatives" was the subject of a recent cover story in the political-industry trade journal *Campaigns & Elections*. As the magazine enthused, "State-of-the-art television commercials and computerized voter files are spreading rapidly to other countries. American research firms are conducting focus groups for politicians worldwide." Like old-time vaudeville acts playing the Orpheum circuit, most of the top consultants have popped up somewhere in Latin America (primarily Venezuela, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Argentina and Bolivia) since the U.S. elections last November.

In this world of the endless campaign, pretty soon no candidate anywhere will ever again risk uttering an im-

promptu thought in public. For a hefty fee, U.S. advisers will market-test every word and gesture to achieve the proper level of dynamic blandness. And since media consultants tend to recycle endlessly any technique that works, it is easy to envision future political spots that begin, "It's morning again in Poland." But equally disturbing is the way that during the 1980s, the political handlers have wrung the last droplets of spontaneity out of U.S. politics, as passion and ideology have become increasingly suspect. Perhaps the U.S. can survive irrelevant politics and low-turnout elections. But fledgling democracies cannot afford such decadent luxuries.

In their off-year forays abroad, American consultants are largely motivated by avarice, arrogance and adventure.

Perhaps their most high-minded justification is the contention that teaching the effective use of TV allows democratic leaders to communicate with the voters and mobilize political support. But this brings to mind the old joke about the small-town attorney who was going broke until another lawyer showed up, and they both got rich suing each other. Similarly, one media adviser in a foreign country may be a boon for democracy, but bring in a rival and you create that lucrative state known as consultant gridlock. Before long the airwaves will be dominated by dueling commercials, each more shrill and negative than the last, until foreign elections pivot on the local equivalents of Willie Horton and the Pledge of Allegiance.

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY MARC ROSENTHAL



Such private political meddling abroad is not without foreign policy implications. There is the real risk

that consultants will naively misjudge a foreign leader's commitment to democracy. Joseph Napolitan, one of the pioneering global political operatives, helped mastermind Ferdinand Marcos' 1969 re-election campaign in the Philippines. As Napolitan gushed in his 1972 memoir, "[Marcos] is bright, knowledgeable, handsome, charismatic—the kind of candidate you like to work with." At least Napolitan had the belated good taste to turn down the Marcos account in 1986. Instead, the aging dictator's last hurrah was handled by Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly, a firm established in the afterglow of helping elect Ronald Reagan in 1980. This created a bizarre situation in which the Reagan Administration was overtly backing Cory Aquino (managed by Sawyer Miller, a Democratic firm) while some of the President's own political handlers were trying to prop up Marcos.

Over the years, American popular opinion has recoiled at revelations that the CIA, beginning with Italy in the late 1940s, has manipulated foreign elections. But in the laissez-faire 1980s, no one seems to notice or care that almost all of the U.S.'s leading political consultants are now doing roughly the same thing for fun and profit. Either way, U.S. intervention may undermine the very democratic values the nation so loudly proclaims. Maybe that old American truism should be amended to read "Politics—and political consultants—should stop at the water's edge." ■



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