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OA/ID Number: 13715
Folder ID Number: 13715-001

Folder Title:
Florida GOP Address 4/20/90 [OA 8311] [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	20	5	3

MEMORANDUM

TO: MARK LANGE

FROM: CAROLYN CAWLEY

RE: BACKGROUND ON FLORIDA GOP EVENT

EVENT:	Republican Party of Florida 1990 Statesman's Dinner	
DATE:	April 20, 1990	
LOCATION:	Orange County Convention Center, Orlando (site of the Farm Speech in January)	
ATTENDEES:	approximately 2500. Speech is TelePrompted	
TIME:	POTUS speaks at 7:00 p.m. and departs for Islamorada, FL	
LUMINARIES (more TBD):	National Statesman:	POTUS
	FL Statesman:	Alec P. Courtelis
	Honorary Chairman:	Bob Hope
	Dinner Chairman:	Jeb Bush
	Corporate Chairs:	H. Wayne Huizenga, Blockbuster Video Ricardo Vadia, Corepoint Corporation Fred Bullard, The Bullard Group
	Special Gifts Chair:	Phil Bakes, Eastern Airlines
	Dignitary Chairman:	Sen. Connie Mack
	Special Guest:	Lee Greenwood (Republican convention)

BILL GRANT
2D DISTRICT, FLORIDA

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE
SUBCOMMITTEES:
TOBACCO AND PEANUTS
LIVESTOCK, DAIRY, AND POULTRY

PUBLIC WORKS AND TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON NARCOTICS ABUSE AND CONTROL

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
ROOM 1330
LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
202-225-5235

DISTRICT OFFICES
830 THOMASVILLE ROAD, SUITE 101
TALLAHASSEE, FL 32303
904-681-7434

1990-A SOUTH FIRST STREET
LAKE CITY, FL 32055
904-755-5057

POST OFFICE BUILDING #109
MARIANNA, FL 32446
904-526-3525

T E L E C O P Y

TO: Christina Barton

FROM: Sharon Brooks

DATE: 4/5/90 TIME: 4:55 PM

NUMBER OF PAGES: 1

(✓) EXCLUDING COVER SHEET
( ) INCLUDING COVER SHEET

CONTACT: _____ PHONE: _____

INSTRUCTIONS OR COMMENTS:

Bio for
Congressman Grant

Republican Party of Florida

Van B. Poole, Chairman • P.O. Box 311 • Tallahassee, Florida • 32302 • (904) 222-7920 • fx: (904) 681-0184

Fax Cover Sheet:

To: Carolyn Cawley 202/456/6218

From: Stan Smith, Press Secretary

Date: 4-4-90

Of Sheets:

(including cover sheet)

NOTES:

Tampa Bay included? to protect aquatic riches of Tampa Bay.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

David:

One of the items we had been discussing for the President's Florida trip later this month was an announcement of new estuaries under EPA's national estuary program. Six sites are under consideration, with four to be named. Two of the six are in Florida, including Tampa Bay, Martinez's hometown, so we were trying to see if there would be interest in going there and having the President make the announcement if it was in fact chosen. Advance did not bite on the idea because of the logistical. EPA now wants to know if there would be a possibility of the President making the announcement wherever he happens to be. This could be a good environmental announcement, but to make it happen EPA needs to get the selection process in full gear by Monday or Tuesday. It should be noted that other of the possible sites are in Maine and Massachusetts, so the alternative would be proceeding with the process in due course and seeing if the President might later make the announcement at one of the other sites, passing on the Earth Day opportunity.

Barry

THE NATIONAL ESTUARY PROGRAM

THE PROBLEM

Estuaries and near coastal waters are among the richest, most productive, and most intensively used habitats on earth. These areas accommodate fishing, commercial shipping, tourism, recreation, boat traffic, flood control, waste disposal, industry, waterfront development, wildlife, and people -- all at the same time.

This intense concentration of uses in coastal areas is showing its effects, including contaminated fish, shellfish, and sediments; closed beaches; and aquatic dead zones where nothing survives. Various causes have been cited for these problems, including discharges from sewer pipes and treatment plants, runoff from farms and urban areas, and leachate from failing septic systems.

Too many demands are sending too many pollutants into estuaries and near coastal waters that are reaching the limits of their assimilative capacity. Unfortunately, these kinds of problems are not fully addressed by conventional pollution control programs, which are based on regulations and enforcement. Rather, the solution lies in understanding complex issues of habitat, multimedia and nonpoint source pollution, land-use planning, and resource management.

THE PROGRAM

Under section 320 of the Water Quality Act of 1987, Congress established the National Estuary Program (NEP) within EPA precisely to address these issues. Under the law, the NEP's mission is to show how estuaries can be protected and enhanced through comprehensive, action-oriented management programs.

This emphasis on action and comprehensive solutions is unique within EPA, growing from the Agency's experiences in the Great Lakes and Chesapeake Bay programs. No other program has the mandate to target entire geographic areas, or to look at whole ecosystems instead of isolated problems.

Three characteristics in particular distinguish the NEP approach. First, the NEP emphasizes partnerships. No single agency, citizen organization, or interest group can manage the problems of a particular estuary. The NEP brings together all parties with an interest in an estuary -- federal agencies, state and local governments, citizens, user groups, and others -- to collaborate in a unique forum called a Management Conference.

The role of the Management Conference is to develop a comprehensive conservation and management plan (CCMP) that characterizes major problems of the estuary and identifies how these problems will be addressed.

Second, the NEP focuses on management and regulatory tools to implement CCMPs. These tools range from traditional technical assistance in monitoring, sampling, and other research efforts to workshops on financing, public participation, and promoting successful management approaches. Another major tool is the NEP's mandate to coordinate and leverage other programs. By coordinating its efforts with key Federal agencies such as the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the U.S. Geological Survey, the Food and Drug Administration, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the NEP has successfully focused attention and funding on coastal and marine issues.

Third, and most important, the NEP emphasizes action, and by doing so, produces results. Development of a CCMP is not just a planning exercise. The process identifies major problems within an estuary and binds participants to specific financial, institutional, and political commitments to address those problems. CCMPs are management blueprints, translating goals into concrete schedules and activities.

The NEP reinforces this focus on action by offering additional financial help for estuary projects that choose to take action even before the CCMP is developed. For example, the NEP funds demonstration projects that test the effectiveness of selected pollution abatement and control strategies, show environmental improvements that can be achieved on a small scale, and help determine the time and resources needed to apply similar approaches throughout the waterbody. Examples of such demonstration projects include a stormwater diversion/filtration project in Puget Sound, a wetlands restoration project in San Francisco Bay, and a project in Long Island Sound to test the feasibility of new and innovative techniques for removing nutrients from POTW effluent.

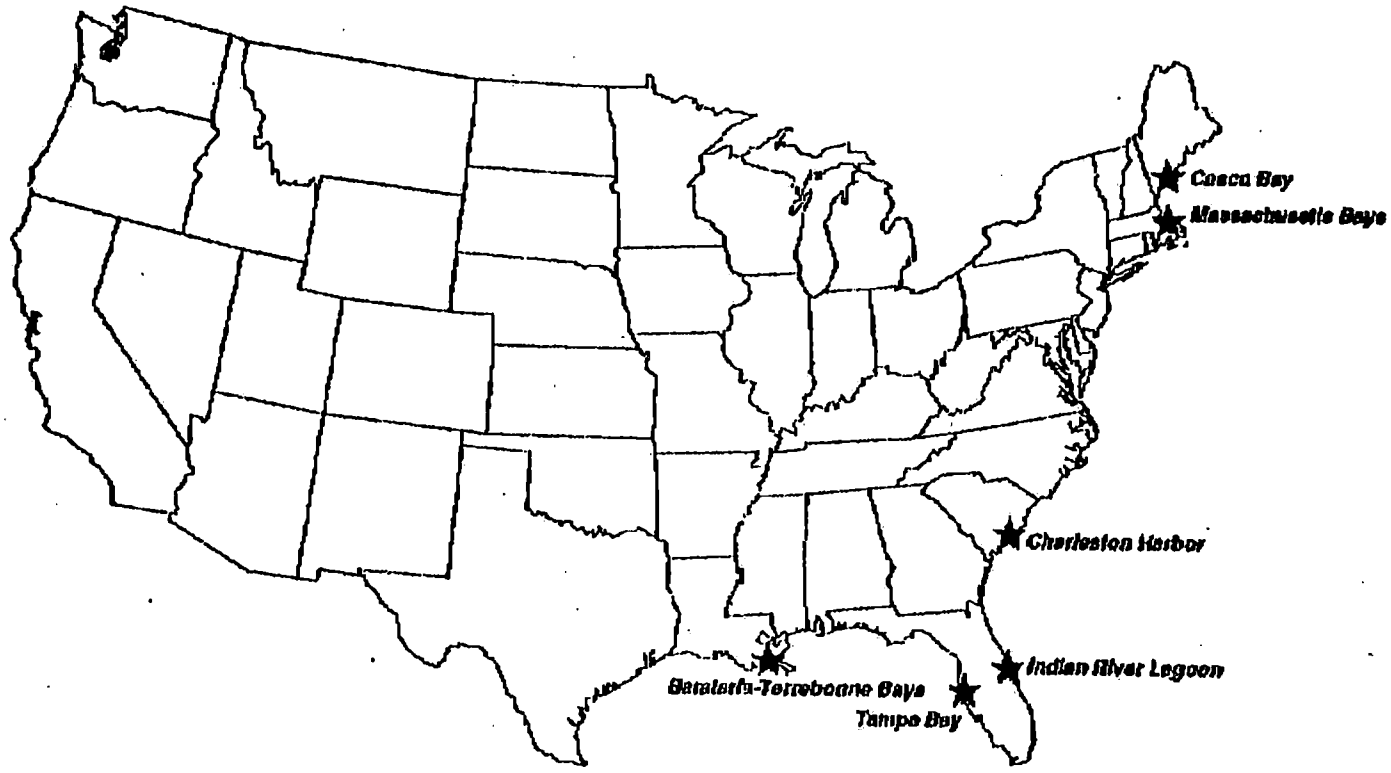
THE FUTURE

The NEP is currently entering Phase III, with 6 new estuaries nominated to the program in 1989. The new nominations include Casco Bay, Maine; Massachusetts Bays, Massachusetts; Charleston Harbor, South Carolina; Indian River Lagoon, Florida; Tampa Bay, Florida; and Barataria-Terrebonne Bays, Louisiana. The Administrator's decision on designation of these estuaries to the NEP is expected in April 1990.

The 12 estuaries currently in the NEP address specific regional problems, as well as problems common to all estuaries. The Management Conferences convened for these estuaries reflect various stages of the NEP process; some were established almost five years ago and are ready to produce CCMPs, others were convened only a short while ago and are in the process of characterizing the problems of their estuaries.

During its brief history, the NEP has demonstrated that many critical choices for our coasts are made by state and local governments. The Federal government can provide leadership and technical assistance, promote certain trends, encourage innovation, and focus resources. But the most important lesson from the NEP is that state governments and local communities can generate and sustain the political and institutional will to protect our coastal environment. By forming partnerships among all three levels, the NEP fosters a spirit of cooperation and commitment that results in action.

National Estuary Program: Nominations



★ Nominations

UNITED STATES ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY
REGION IV
345 COURTLAND STREET, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30365

March 23, 1990

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

From: Greer C. Tidwell
Regional Administrator

To: Gordon Binder
Chief of Staff

Subj: Potential Earth Day Activity

In connection with a possible visit to Tampa to announce inclusion of Tampa Bay and Indian River in the National Estuary Program, the following have particularly current environmental significance:

1. Sarasota Bay, previously identified as part of the National Estuary Program. The Sarasota Bay Project has been formulating a comprehensive conservation and management plan to combat problems caused by rapid urbanization, similar to those experienced in Tampa Bay, less than 50 miles to the north. There would be a number of ways in which the efforts in Sarasota Bay and Tampa Bay could be compared and linked.

2. Constructed wetlands, part of a federally-sponsored project at Orlando's Iron Bridge POTW, where a constructed wetlands system provides advanced treatment for municipal wastewater.

3. Lake Okeechobee, where a comprehensive Surface Water Improvement and Management (SWIM) plan of non-point source pollution control, particularly involving area agricultural activities, is being implemented under Florida law to improve water quality. Note, however, that some of the same controls protecting the lake may be intensifying the pollution problem southward to Everglades National Park, about which litigation is pending.

4. Kissimmee River Restoration Project in Florida, which is being designed to backfill 30-35 miles of the canal that destroyed much of the Kissimmee River. This unprecedented project would restore natural river environment while providing water quality benefits to areas downstream such as Lake Okeechobee. Note, however, that this announced project will be very expensive and has not yet been funded.

5. EPA's laboratory at Gulf Breeze, Florida (some 50 miles east of Mobile), which participated in innovative efforts to increase biological degradation of oil spilled in the Valdez incident. Within ten miles of this laboratory is located Perdido Bay, site of joint state and federal efforts to protect the area as part of the Near Coastal Waters Program.

Additional details can be readily provided on any of the above that interest you. I have designated Lawrence Neville (FTS 257-3004), my Director of Public Affairs, as Region IV contact on this matter.

UNITED STATES ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY
WASHINGTON DC 20460

MAR 22 1990

OFFICE OF COMMUNICATIONS
AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Bailey:

As requested —

(1) Materials on National Estuary Program. 5 estuaries will be nominated -- only Charleston, South Carolina, won't make it because of problems with their application. Note that there are two locations in Florida and one in Maine (there's a governor's race in Maine) near Kennebunkport.

(2) Materials on the opening of our radiation lab in Montgomery, Alabama.

I am leaving for vacation on Friday but Carol and Peggy will be working with Green Tichenell, our Regional Administrator in Atlanta. If you need to reach me, call (607) 753-1119.

Lew

Printed on Recycled Paper

THE NATIONAL ESTUARY PROGRAM

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The National Estuary Program

Background and History

- 1985 Direct budget appropriations to conduct four studies:

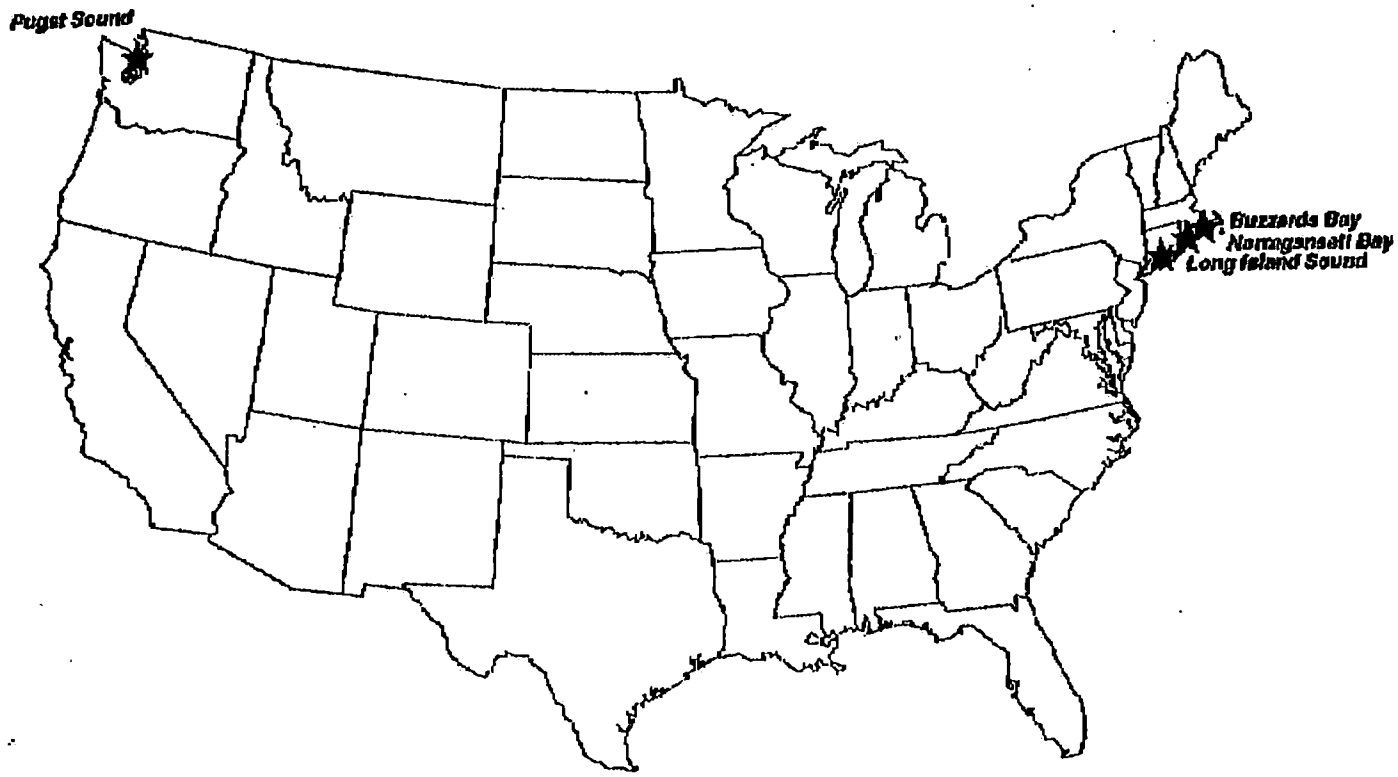
  Buzzards Bay, Massachusetts

  Long Island Sound, New York and New Jersey

  Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island

  Puget Sound, Washington

National Estuary Program: 1985



★ New Programs

The National Estuary Program

Background and History, (cont'd)

- 1986 Increase in funding; decision to add two studies:

  Albemarle/Pamlico Sounds, North Carolina

  San Francisco Bay, California

The National Estuary Program

Background and History, (cont'd)

- Decision based on the need to:
  - expand the types of environmental problems addressed
  - increase regional participation
  - increase state participation
  - increase coverage of the coasts

National Estuary Program: 1986

TTUM EPA DEPUTY ADMIN 202 382 4662 08:11 03/22/90

Water Quality Act - Section 320

- Establishes the National Estuary Program
- Authorizes the EPA Administrator to convene Management Conferences
- Defines activities and requirements for Management Conferences
- Authorizes up to $12,000,000 per year to 1991

EPA *National Estuary Program*

PURPOSES OF THE NATIONAL ESTUARY PROGRAM

1. Identify nationally significant estuaries threatened by pollution, development, or overuse

2. Promote comprehensive planning for, and conservation and management of, significant estuaries

3. Encourage preparation of management plans for significant estuaries

4. Enhance the coordination of estuarine research

NATIONAL ESTUARY PROGRAM

SEVEN PURPOSES OF A NATIONAL ESTUARY PROGRAM MANAGEMENT CONFERENCE

1. Assess trends in water quality, natural resources, and estuary uses

2. Collect, characterize, and assess data on toxics, nutrients, and natural resources within the estuarine zone to identify causes of environmental problems

3. Develop relationship between pollutant loadings and estuarine water quality, natural resources, and potential uses in the estuary

NATIONAL ESTUARY PROGRAM

SEVEN PURPOSES OF A NATIONAL ESTUARY PROGRAM MANAGEMENT CONFERENCE

4. Develop a comprehensive conservation and management plan that recommends priority actions and compliance schedules

5. Develop plans for coordinated implementation

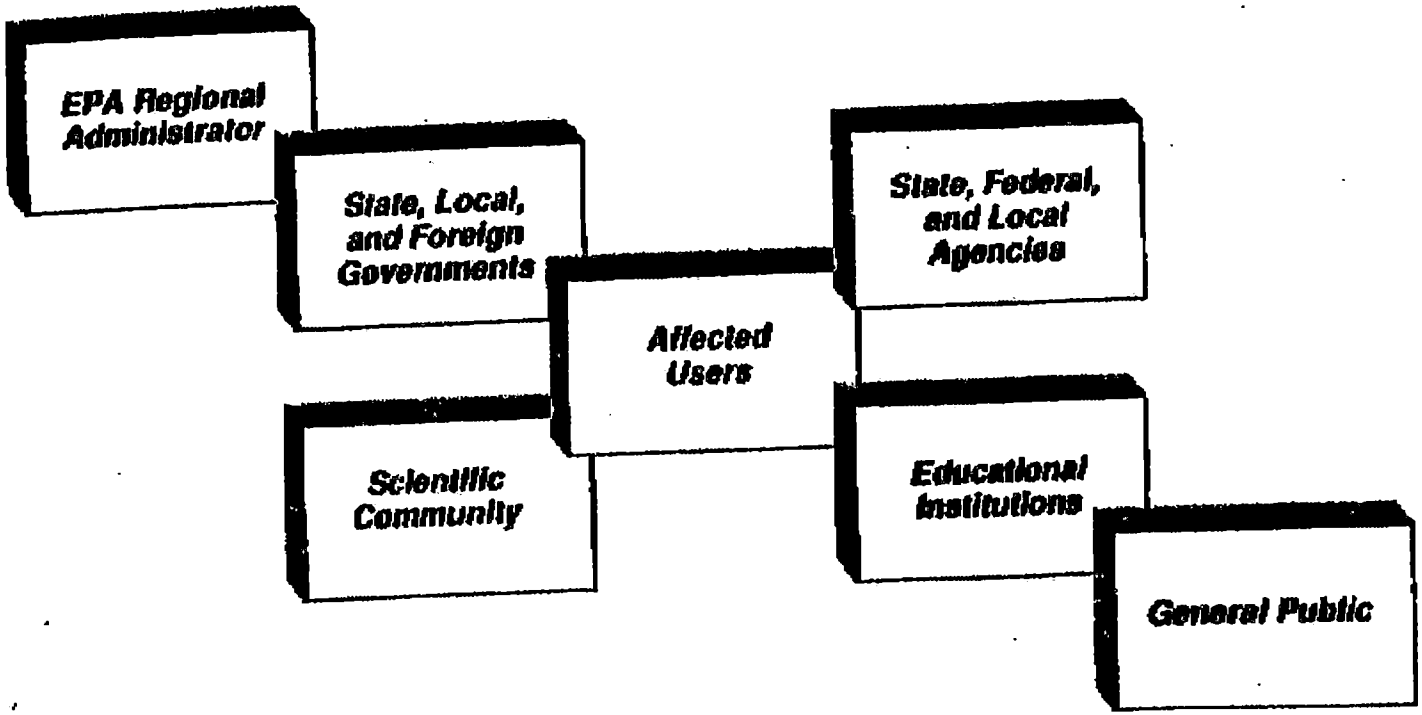
6. Monitor effectiveness of actions taken

7. Review all federal financial assistance programs and federal development projects for consistency with estuary management plans

NATIONAL ESTUARY PROGRAM

MCS-1-3

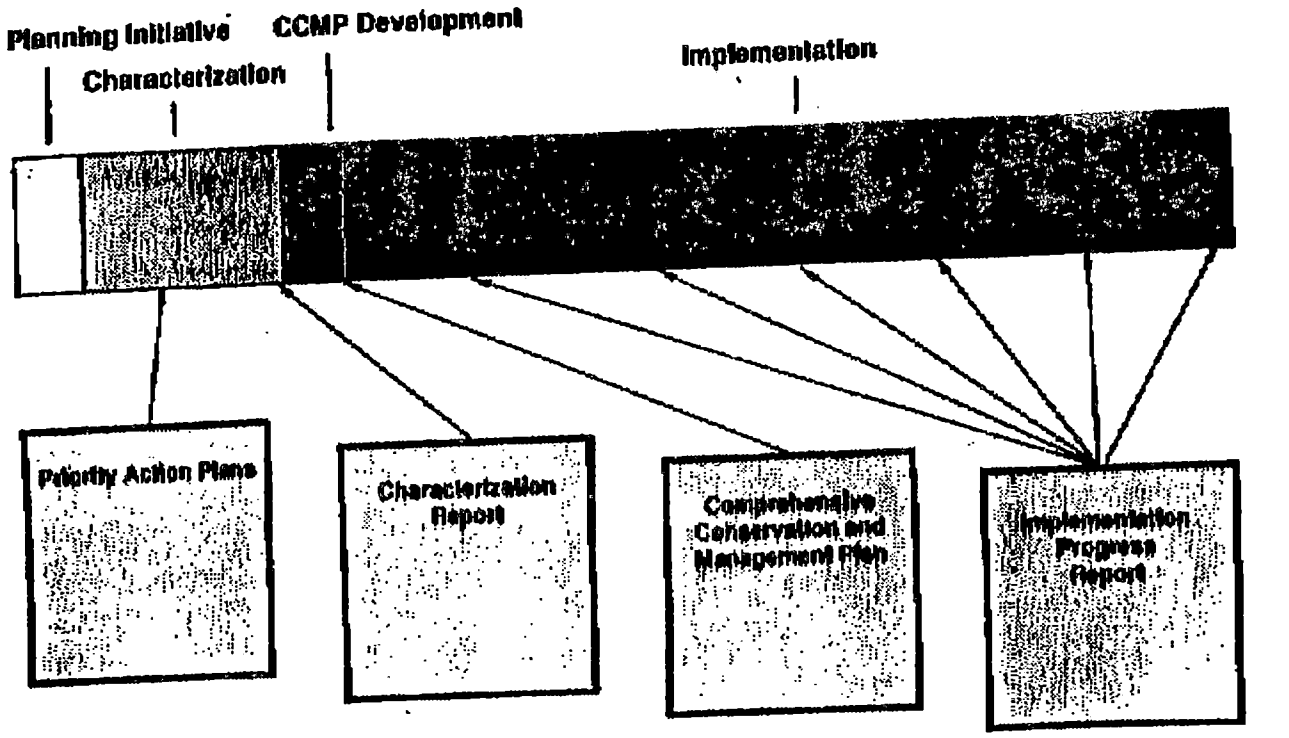
Management Conference Membership



EPA National Estuary Program

03/22/90 17:31 ☎202 382 4004 EPA Ocean Dumping

Major Estuary Program Milestones



EPA *National Estuary Program*

Implementation of National Estuary Program

Phase I: September 1987 - April 1988
Review, evaluate and convene Management Conferences in six existing programs

Phase II: February 1988 - June 1988
Provide opportunity for new estuaries to enter the program

Phase III: June 1988 - forward
Provide opportunity for other estuaries to enter the program

Phase I: Existing Program Estuaries

With EPA Regional and State program participants:

- Reviewed progress to date
- Evaluated new requirements
- Completed schedules for major program milestones in a designation package
- Signed EPA/State Conference Agreements
- Convened Management Conferences
- Conducted Ceremonies

Phase II: New Estuaries

Given Priority Consideration and declared to be of National Significance

- **Guidance on Contents of Governor's Nomination**
- **EPA review and comments on drafts or previous submissions**
- **Conference calls**
- **Direct on-site visits and/or workshops**
- **Action to convene when nomination is complete**

Governor's Nomination

- National significance
- Need for a conference
- Likelihood of success
- Need for additional controls of point and nonpoint sources of pollution

National Significance

- Why should EPA and the State promote comprehensive planning for the estuary being nominated?
- Why is the estuary important to the Nation?
- How can the lessons learned from this estuary be applied to other coastal areas within the State or to other States?

The Need for the Conference

- What are the major environmental problems facing the estuary?
- What are the institutional problems facing the estuary?
- What are the most likely causes of these problems?

The Likelihood of Success

- What are State and local governments, and public and private institutions already doing for the estuary?
- What goals and objectives do you propose to set for the estuary and how do you propose to meet them?
- Who will participate in the Management Conference and how will it be organized?
- Is there public and political will, as well as financial capabilities, to support implementation of the Comprehensive Conservation and Management Plan?

National Estuary Program: 1988

★ *New Programs Added*

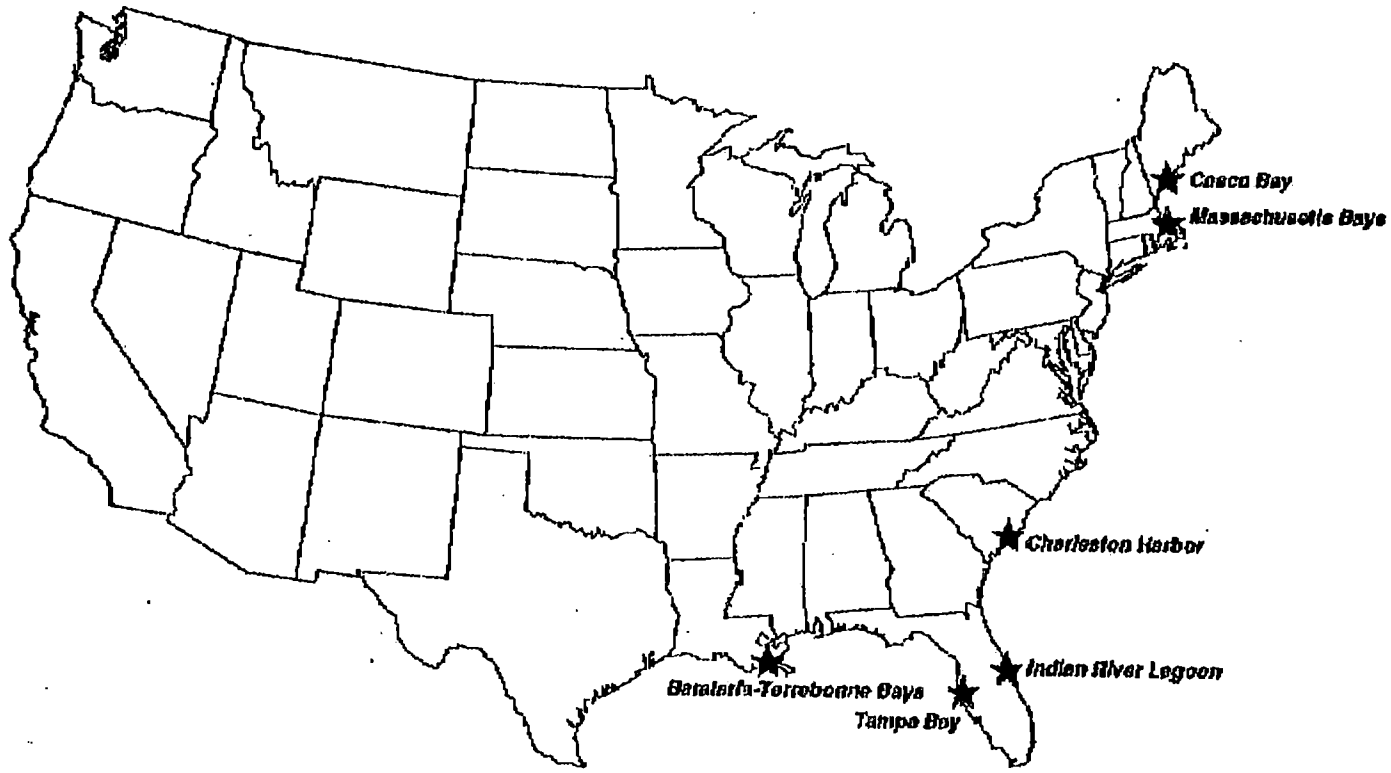
☆ Existing Programs

Phase III: Other Estuaries

After June 1988

- Evaluate nominations including "National Significance"
- Decide on convening when nominations are complete

National Estuary Program: Nominations



★ Nominations

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. List	Re: Florida GOP Contacts. (1 pp.)	04/20/90	P-6, (b)(6), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Florida GOP Address 4/20/90 [2]

Date Closed: 10/15/2004	**OA/ID Number:** 08311
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	
MR Case #:	**Appeal Case #:**
MR Disposition:	**Appeal Disposition:**
Disposition Date:	**Disposition Date:**

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Odell, Roper
& Associates, Inc.

Katheryn S. Phillips
Director, Special Events

7316 Wisconsin Avenue
Suite 507
Bethesda, MD 20814
(301) 657-9821

Orange County
Convention/Civic Center

Chuck Potter
Event Services Manager

#896

Tel: (407) 345-9800 • Fax: (407) 345-9866
9800 International Drive, Orlando, Florida 32819-8199

REPUBLICAN PARTY OF FLORIDA

1990 STATESMAN'S DINNER

APRIL 20, 1990

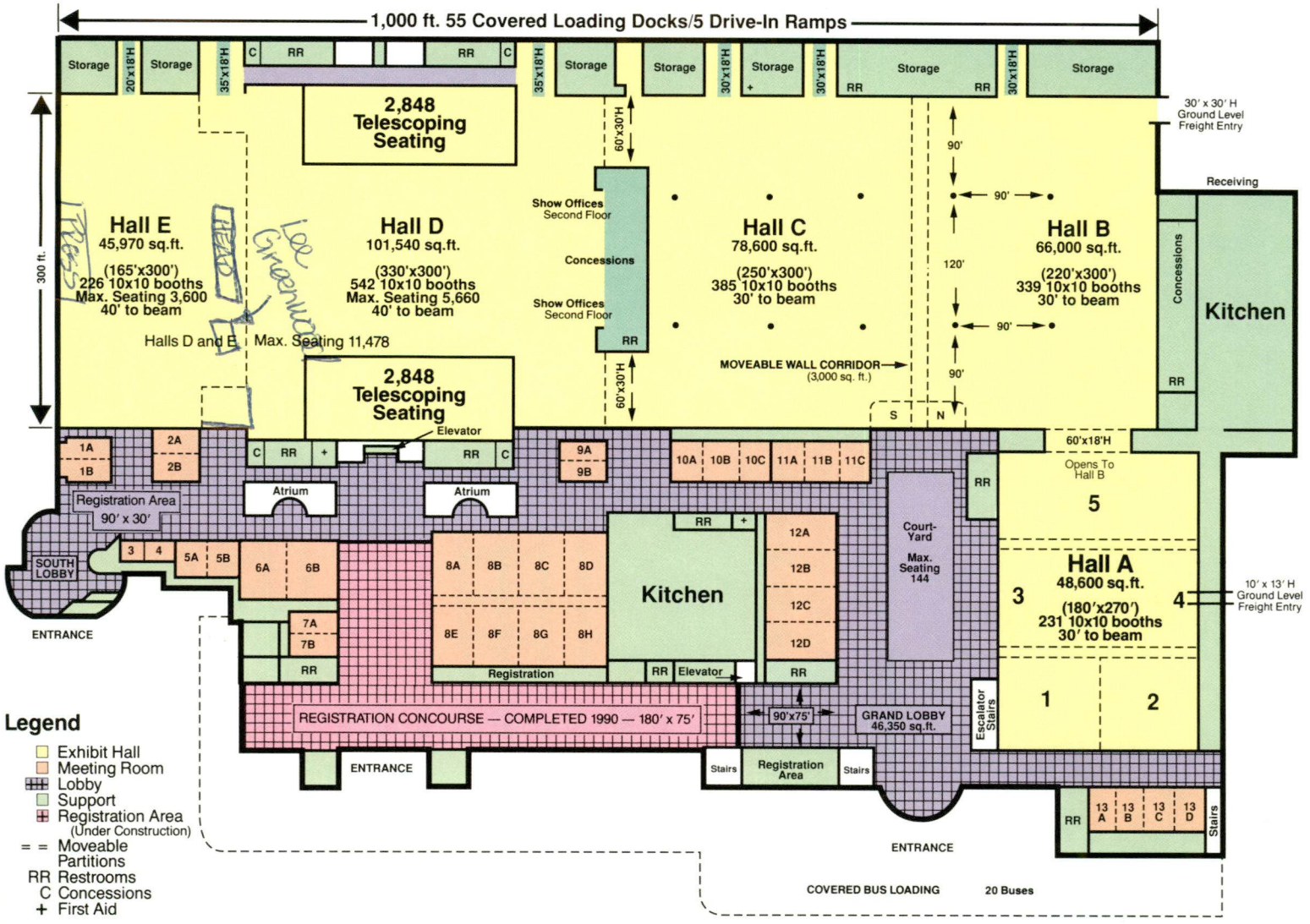
	NAME	ADDRESS	AFFILIATION	WORK PHONE	HOME PHONE	FAX NUMBER
1.	JOHN FABREGA	BOX 311 TALLAHASSEE	RPOF	904/222-7920		904/681-0184
2.	Bob Risney		White House Comm	(202)395-4040		
3.	TOM STARK	ORANGE COUNTY CONVENTION CTR 9800 International Dr. ORL FL		407 345-9832		407-345-9866
4.	GERRY CRAGAL	U.S. SECRET SERVICE ORLANDO, FL.		407/648-6333		
5.	RUSS MILLER	SECRET Service		202-395-4112	—	—
6.	SPENCER GEISSINGER	DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF ADVANCE FOR PRESS, THE WHITE HOUSE		202 456-7565		
7.	JUDD SWIFT	DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF ADVANCE THE WHITE HOUSE		202 456-7565		
8.	Sally Salmon	Assoc. Director WH Political Affairs		202-456-6573		202/456-2340
9.	Peggy Hazeltine	Asst. Dir. WH Presidential Advance		202/456-		202/456-2820
10.	[illegible]					

REPUBLICAN PARTY OF FLORIDA

1990 STATESMAN'S DINNER

APRIL 20, 1990

NAME	ADDRESS	AFFILIATION	WORK PHONE	HOME PHONE	FAX NUMBER
1. Kristen Geer		WH. Speechwriting	202-456-2930	—	202-456-6218
2. ANDY FOSTER		WH POLITICAL AFFAIRS	202 456 6510	—	" " 2380
3. DOUG ADAIR		WH Cabinet Affairs	" 456-2800		" " 2223
4. Lynn LAWSON		WH Intergovernmental Affairs	202-456 6597		202 456 2380
5. BEAU NEWMAN		MARINE ONE ADVANCE	703 640-2364		
6. Major Dave Bonwit		Marine Corps Aide to the President	202-395-1747		
7. Elizabeth Forsythe		Convention Center	407-345-9822		407-345-9866
8. Chuck Cotter		Convention Center	407-345-9896		407-345-9866
9. LeAnn Weiss		RPOF Volunteer Coordinator	407-898-4410	"	"
10. Kathy Phillips		Odell, Roper & Assoc. Inc	301-657-9821		301-656-3046



Meeting Rooms

Room	Dimensions	Sq Ft (H)
1	39′ x 36′	1,404 (11′)
1A	19′ x 36′	684
1B	20′ x 36′	756
2	49′ x 35′	1,715 (11′)
2A	24′ x 35′	875
2B	24′ x 35′	875
3	25′ x 19′	475 (12′)
4	24′ x 19′	456 (12′)
5	59′ x 32′	1,888 (16′)
5A	30′ x 32′	960
5B	29′ x 32′	928
6	88′ x 52′	4,576 (16′)
6A	44′ x 52′	2,288
6B	44′ x 52′	2,288
7	42′ x 38′	1,596 (16′)
7A	21′ x 38′	798
7B	21′ x 38′	798
8	161′ x 101′	16,261 (22′)
8A	45′ x 38′	1,710
8B	45′ x 39′	1,755
8C	45′ x 41′	1,845
8D	45′ x 41′	1,845
8E	45′ x 38′	1,710
8F	45′ x 39′	1,755
8G	45′ x 41′	1,845
8H	45′ x 41′	1,845

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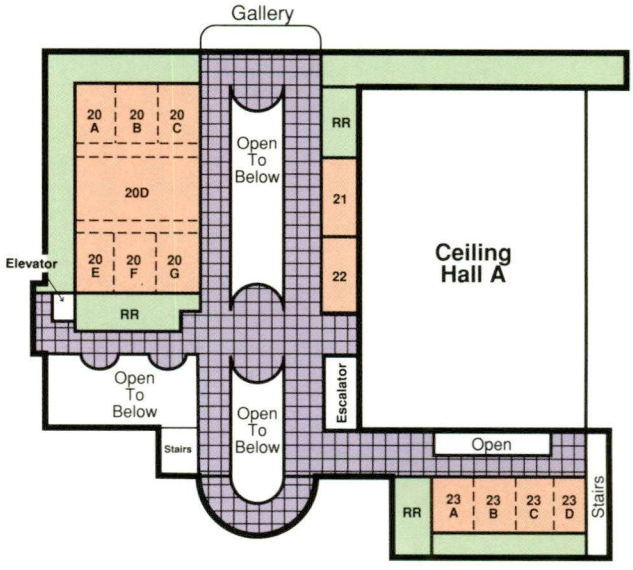
10B	30′ x 39′	1,170
10C	28′ x 39′	1,092
11	87′ x 39′	3,393 (16′)
11A	28′ x 39′	1,092
11B	30′ x 39′	1,170
11C	28′ x 39′	1,092
12	134′ x 60′	8,040 (16′)
12A	29′ x 60′	1,740
12B	30′ x 60′	1,800
12C	30′ x 60′	1,800
12D	45′ x 60′	2,700
13	117′ x 48′	5,616 (16′)
13A	28′ x 48′	1,344
13B	30′ x 48′	1,440
13C	30′ x 48′	1,440
13D	28′ x 48′	1,344

Room	Dimensions	Sq Ft (H)
20	147′ x 90′	13,230 (18′)
20A	38′ x 30′	1,140
20B	38′ x 30′	1,140
20C	38′ x 30′	1,140
20D	90′ x 50′	4,500
20E	38′ x 30′	1,140
20F	38′ x 30′	1,140
20G	38′ x 30′	1,140
21	24′ x 57′	1,368 (18′)
22	24′ x 55′	1,320 (18′)
23	117′ x 48′	5,616 (18′)
23A	28′ x 48′	1,344
23B	30′ x 48′	1,440
23C	30′ x 48′	1,440
23D	28′ x 48′	1,344
A	180′ x 270′	48,600 (30′)
A-1	90′ x 68′	6,120
A-2	90′ x 68′	6,120
A-3	90′ x 106′	9,540
A-4	90′ x 106′	9,540
A-5	180′ x 68′	12,240



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"The aim of art is to represent not the outward appearance of things, but their inward significance." *(Aristotle)*

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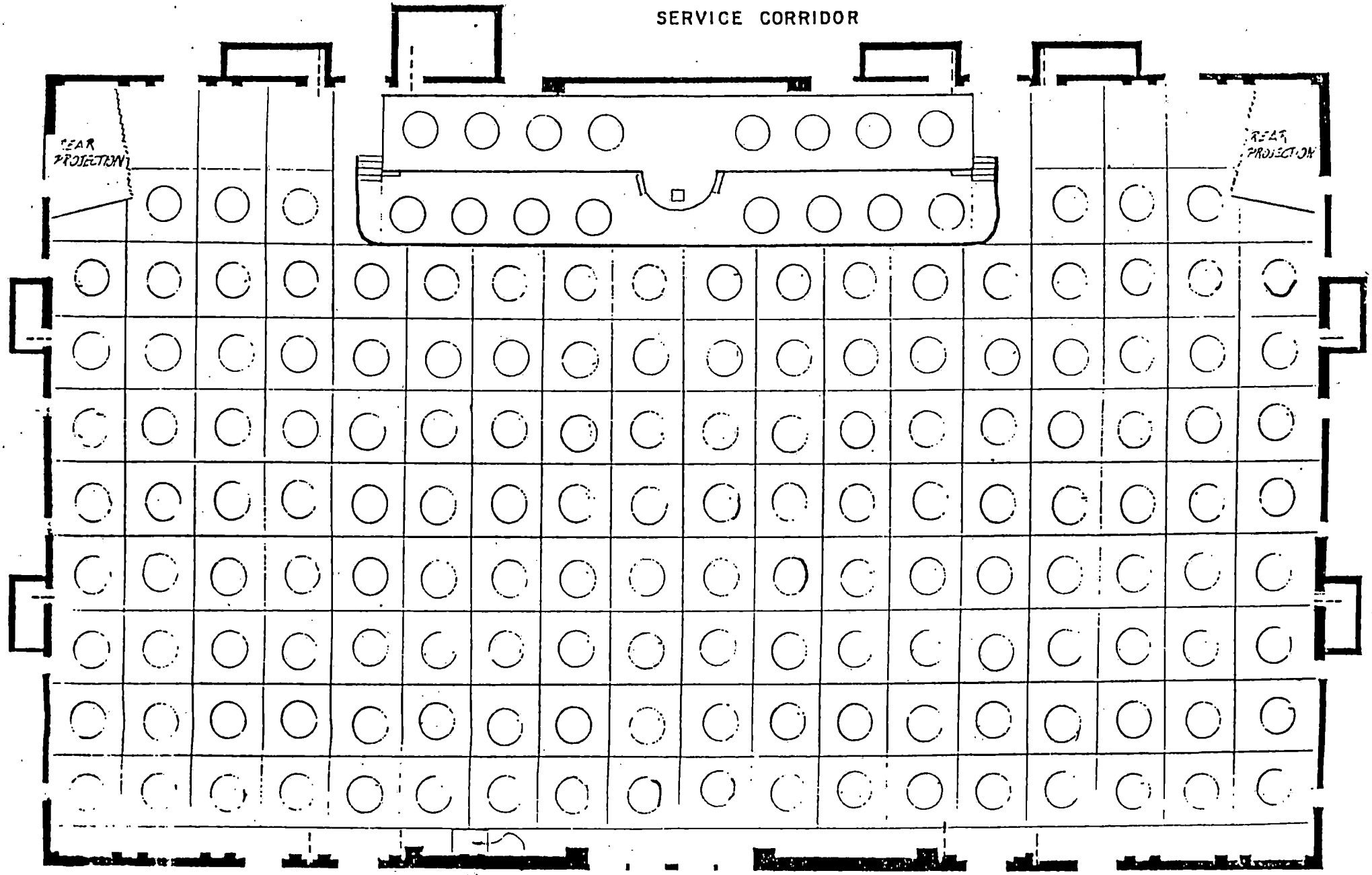

GRAND CYPRESS BALLROOM

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DRAFT

TENTATIVE TIMELINE
REPUBLICAN PARTY OF FLORIDA STATESMAN'S DINNER
ORANGE COUNTY CONVENTION CENTER
9800 INTERNATIONAL DRIVE
ORLANDO, FLORIDA
(As of April 11, 1990)

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18, 1990

8:00 a.m. — CLEAN - UP DAY -- ORANGE COUNTY CONVENTION CENTER

THURSDAY, APRIL 19, 1990

6:00 a.m. — DECORATORS ARRIVE AND BEGIN DECORATION PROCESS

6:00 p.m. — VOLUNTEERS MEETING

FRIDAY, APRIL 20, 1990

Time TBA — Speakers, Entertainers Walk Through
Sound Checks
Video Checks
Secret Service Walk Through

6:00 p.m. Guests arrive at the Convention Center. Met outside of the Convention Center by members of Dr. Phillips High School Band (playing upbeat & patriotic music) and are directed by volunteers inside Center to Will Call (if necessary), then through Magnatometers and to one of five receptions (each reception will have a separate ticket):

Patron: Patron table/ticket buyers and Florida Capital Council Members.

Legislative Legislative table/ticket buyers.

VIP Dignatary: Congressional, Florida Cabinet and Special Guest table/ticket buyers, Florida Victory Committee members. (Special Photo opportunity for Host Committee Members).

Statesman's: National Statesman, Florida Statesman, Governor, US Senate & US Cabinet table/ticket buyers and Co-Chairman.

Photo Reception Co-Chairmen, National Statesman and Florida Statesman table/ticket buyers. Governor, US Senate and US Cabinet table buyers.

6:30 p.m. President Bush drops by Statesman' Reception, makes brief remarks and departs to photo opportunity reception.

6:45 p.m. President departs Statesman's Reception. Guests begin to move to Hall D from Statesman's Reception to be seated.

*President Bush moves to Photo Reception. Photos are taken and guests are escorted to Hall D. At the conclusion of the photos, President and Mr. Courtelis to holding area.

All dinner guests proceed to enter Hall D to be seated for dinner. Volunteer/Greeter will assist with seating. Guests will have a ticket with their table number.

7:00 p.m. Majority of stage guests are seated.

President Bush, Alec Courtelis, special dignitaries and key stage participants/ leadership are holding.

All dinner guests are seated.

Dr. Phillips Marching Band leads Dignitaries and Head Table participants into Hall D and are introduced (via Voice Over) and are seated on the stage.

7:05 p.m. Alec Courtelis is announced and escorted to stage.

"Ruffles & Floruishes" by Dr. Phillips High School Band.

President Bush is announced.

*Special Gift Presentations will be made by:
Phil Bakes/Jan Nobles (Eastern Airlines)
Van Poole/Col. Dunlap (Republican Party of Fla.)

7:06 p.m. "Hail to the Chief" by Dr. Phillips High School Band.

President is escorted to stage amidst fanfare.

7:10 p.m. Van Poole approaches podium. Makes brief welcoming remarks, acknowledges guests, dignitaries (stage guest dignitaries, i.e, Federal Secretaries, Sen. Mack, Governor, Lt. Governor, etc.) and leadership and asks guests to stand for Posting of the Colors by the Dr. Phillips High School Jr. ROTC. "America the Beautiful" played in background by Dr. Phillips Band. Pledge of Allegiance led by State Sen. Jim Scott and "Star Spangled Banner" played by Dr. Phillips High School Band as Colors are posted by Dr. Phillips High School ROTC.

Dr. Phillips High School Band marches out of Hall D.

7:15 p.m. Invocation by The Hon. John Renke.

Dinner is served.

Band plays background music as dinner is served.

7:45 p.m. Dessert is served.

Van Poole introduces Jeb Bush, Dinner Chairman and Co-Master of Ceremonies.

7:47 p.m. Jeb Bush thanks Van Poole and recognizes leadership (introduces Florida Congressional Delegation individually and then introduces State Secretaries, the Florida State Senate and House of Representatives as house lights go up and the individuals stand as a group).

Jeb Bush makes announcement that Eastern Airlines drawing will be held later on in the program.

7:50 p.m. Jeb Bush kicks-off Florida Statesman's Award and introduces Dr. Armand Hammer, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Occidental Petroleum Corporation. (Dr. Hammer is escorted to and from podium).

7:52 p.m. Dr. Armand Hammer's remarks.

7:55 p.m. Van Poole approaches podium and introduces the former of King of Greece, His Majesty King Constantine.

7:57 p.m. His Majesty King Constantine's remarks.

8:00 p.m. Van Poole introduces Ron Kaufman, Deputy Assistant to the President for Presidential Personnel.

8:02 p.m. Ron Kaufman remarks.

8:05 p.m. Jeb Bush introduces Florida Statesman's video.

8:10 p.m. Video concludes.

Jeb Bush introduces Dignitary Chairman the Honorable Connie Mack III.

8:12 p.m. Brief remarks and presentation of Florida Statesman's Award to Alec Courtelis by Senator Connie Mack III.

8:15 p.m. Brief remarks by Alec P. Courtelis.

8:17 p.m. Jeb Bush introduces first speaker on behalf of the President, Barber Conable (tentative) (Chairman of World Bank and former US Representative from New York).

8:18 p.m. Barber Conable (tent.) brief remarks.

8:21 p.m. Jeb Bush introduces Betsy Hemmingway.

8:22 p.m. Betsy Hemmingway makes brief remarks on behalf of President.

8:25 p.m. Van Poole introduces George Bush III.

8:26 p.m. George Bush III makes brief remarks.

8:29 p.m. Van Poole introduces National Statesman's video.

8:34 p.m. National Statesman's video concludes.

Van Poole introduces Governor Bob Martinez.

8:35 p.m. Governor Martinez presents the National Statesman's Award to President Bush. Brief remarks.

8:37 p.m. President Bush accepts National Statesman's Award and makes brief remarks.

8:45 p.m. Van Poole introduces Lee Greenwood.

8:47 p.m. Lee Greenwood sings "God Bless the USA".

8:50 p.m. President Bush departs Convention Center.

8:55 p.m. Jeb Bush asks Lee Greenwood to sing two more songs.

8:57 p.m. Lee Greenwood sings.

9:15 p.m. Announcement by Jeb Bush of 5 free Eastern trip winners. Jeb Bush introduces Special Gifts Chairman Phil Bakes of Eastern Airlines. Winners are asked to stand at their seats. Letters are hand-delivered by flight attendants to winners.

9:30 p.m. Jeb Bush/Van Poole thank the guests.

Event concludes.

Coffee is served in foyer.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Tammy
Marjorie Stillman - Douglas
birth: 4-7-1890

Everglades. Nat'l. Park

GOVERNOR BOB MARTINEZ
1989 SUMMARY

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Corrections

- Continued expansion of Florida's prison system, adding more than 9,000 beds in 1989.

- Established Florida's first Master Plan for Corrections, to guide the state's prison expansion program.

- Won passage of the Control Release Authority, a system to keep the worst offenders behind bars for longer and prevent early release due to overcrowding.

- Continued to expand the Corrections work program. In July, expanded the program to use work crews to demolish crack houses in Florida's cities.

Law Enforcement

- Authorized the reorganization of the Florida Department of Law Enforcement to greatly improve administrative and investigative capabilities.

- Signed the Law Enforcement Protection Act to impose stricter penalties on those who harm a law officer, and to prevent early release as a result of overcrowding for those convicted under this law.

Victims

- Established the Governor's Coordinating Council on Victims Rights and Services to implement the constitutional amendment on victims rights and to award Victims of Crime Act (VOCA) grants.

- In December, he created the Governor's partnership for Victims Compensation between the state and the Florida insurance industry to handle a backlog of compensation claims filed by victims.

Capital Punishment

THE TED BUNDYS OF AMERICA FIND THEIR LAST APPEAL IN FLA. (OR FOR THE TED BUNDYS OF THIS WORLD, FIND [redacted] THAT THEIR DIABOLICAL TRAIL ENDS IN FLA.

- Has signed 40 death warrants in 1989 (subject to change), including the final warrant for the execution of serial killer Theodore Bundy, who was executed January 24.

- Initiated reforms to speed up the death penalty appeals process, to prevent needless delays and abuse of the court system.

Other

- Initiated process that resulted in the release of James Richardson, following a clemency hearing and decision that no retrial was necessary for this man who spent 21 years wrongfully convicted of the poisoning murder of his seven children.

- Signed gun safety law to require gun owners to keep firearms locked away from children, to prevent needless and avoidable accidents.

DRUG FIGHTING

Governor Martinez has made Florida a leader in the nation's war on drugs.

National and International

- Serves as Lead Governor for Substance Abuse and Drug Trafficking for the National Governors' Association.

- Traveled to Panama, Bolivia and Colombia in March to see firsthand the source of America's drug supply.

- Developed 10-point plan for domestic and international drug-fighting efforts, which received unanimous support at the National Governor's Association in August.

- Presented President Bush with 10-point plan for anti-drug activities, which were used by the President as he developed the nation's first Drug Control Strategy. In addition, he testified during U.S. Senate committee hearings in support of the President's anti-drug plan.

Demand

- Established Florida's Drug-Free School Zone program, to impose a minimum three-year jail term for anyone convicted of drug activity within 1,000 feet of a school. To date, the Governor has helped establish Drug-Free School Zones in Miami, Orlando, Tampa, West Palm Beach, Jacksonville, Tallahassee, Panama City, Ft. Myers, Pensacola, Cocoa and Ocala.

- Initiated Florida's Drug-Free Workplace policy for state government. The Governor intends for the Executive Office of the Governor to be the first state agency to participate in drug-testing in 1990.

- Created Inner City Action Team in August as part of the Governor's Drug Policy Task Force, to respond to the problem of crack and cocaine in Florida's inner cities.

- Expanded Florida's Red Ribbon campaign from once a year to every day of the year. Established Florida's first Drug-Free Weekend, held October 28-29.

Supply

- Advocated the use of special military forces in South America to seek out and bring to justice drug lords responsible for drug activity in Florida and has urged President Bush to offer American support to Colombian President Virgilio Barco in his efforts to bring the drug lords to justice.

- One of the first Governors to use the National Guard in drug-fighting efforts.
  -- Florida National Guard received $3.4 million to assist in anti-drug efforts. Programs included reinforcing U.S. Customs efforts at Florida ports to inspect for contraband. The effort served as a deterrent.

- Signed Memorandum of Agreement with both the State of New York and the Southern states to establish intelligence links to combat drug trafficking.

ENVIRONMENT

• Continued to oppose oil drilling and exploration off the southwest coast of Florida, including the Florida Keys. He has successfully lobbied for extensions on federal moratoriums to ban drilling and exploration and seeks a permanent ban.

-- In January, he wrote to President Bush urging the delay of offshore drilling activity and requesting that a representative of Florida be added to the Presidential Task Force on Outer Continental Shelf.

-- In June, he testified before the Presidential Outer Continental Shelf Leasing and Development Task Force to urge the banning of offshore drilling in the Florida Keys and wrote to Florida's Congressional delegation urging them to support extension of the moratorium on drilling. The moratorium was extended.

-- In September, he met with U.S. Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, urging him to tour the Florida Keys. Later that month, he testified before the NOAA hearing on Oil and Gas Exploration to reinforce his objections to Unocal and Mobil drilling in the Gulf.

-- In October, he took Secretary Lujan on a tour of the Florida Keys.

• Sent a team of Florida environmental officials to Alaska to evaluate the oil spill of the Exxon Valdez and has ordered the Florida Department of Community Affairs to work with the Florida Department of Environmental regulation to review and reinforce the state's emergency response plans in the event of a similar tragedy occurring off the Florida coast.

• His call for moving shipping lanes at least 10 miles off Florida's fragile coastline proved prophetic in November when three freighters ran aground off the Keys, severely damaging the only living coral reefs in the continental United States.

-- Continues to work with U.S. Coast Guard Commandant Admiral Paul Yost to move the shipping lanes at least 10 nautical miles beyond Florida's fragile coast, taking Yost on an aerial tour of the area and writing to U.S. Transportation Secretary Samuel Skinner, urging him to support the tanker-free zones. Following his tour of the area, Admiral Yost wrote to the Governor endorsing legislation to require a study of the tanker-free zones.

• Worked in cooperation with Florida's Congressional delegation to expand the Everglades. In November, he released the Everglades Status Report and urged the U.S. Senate to enact the Everglades Expansion and Protection Act. The following day, after the bill was approved by Congress, he wrote to President Bush urging him to sign the measure into law.

• Established extensive coastal protection program that prohibits offshore oil and gas drilling and exploration in Florida waters, creates a Spill Response Team in the event of an oil spill, and authorizes Florida to enter into a compact with other Southern Atlantic and Gulf states to coordinate marine and environmental protection programs.

• Created the Commission on the Future of Florida's Environment to develop a blueprint for protecting Florida's environmental resources and directing our environmental needs into the next century.

• Created the Water Resource Commission to evaluate how Florida can protect the quality and quantity of its finite water supply.

• Led establishment of Florida's first Environmental Education program to teach Floridians the value of their state's environmental resources in the belief that if more Floridians understand the value of their surroundings, they are more likely to appreciate and take care of them.

• Has initiated efforts to restore and protect waterbodies throughout Florida:

-- Built on his 1988 initiatives that established the Wekiva River Task Force and Suwannee River Task Force, which has resulted in measures to save the rivers from destructive development.

-- Nominated Sarasota Bay, Tampa Bay and Indian River Lagoon for the National Estuary Program.

-- Directed $750,000 to protect and restore Lake Jackson in Leon County.

• Established program to protect Florida's endangered mammal, the manatee.

GROWTH MANAGEMENT

• Established the Task Force on Urban Growth Patterns to prevent urban sprawl and the problems it creates.

• Has focused much-needed attention on Florida's urban environment -- through a comprehensive program to address stormwater runoff program and protecting the quality and quantity of Florida's water supply.

• Worked to improve Florida's Growth Management Act:

-- Supports legislation that will provide easier access to revenue sources for local government to fund infrastructure needs.

• Worked to implement a bonding program approved in 1988 by the Florida voters that would have provided millions for right-of-way acquisition and bridge construction.

EDUCATION

• Called for and presided over Florida's first Governor's Education Summit. Will restructure state's education system to incorporate concept of choice in school selection and move toward smaller "schools within schools" and magnet programs.

• Called for the establishment of an Office of Athletic Standards and Practices and an overview of the state university System's academic/athletic balance.

• Established Florida's first residential math and science school. In December, the Governor appointed the board to oversee development of the program.

• Expanded Florida's Pre-paid College Tuition Program to provide full scholarships to 670 economically disadvantaged Florida youngsters each year.

SOCIAL SERVICES

• In its second full year, Project Independence has placed 31,000 former welfare recipients in jobs, provided training, education and other pre-employment assistance to 36,000 people, resulting in a savings of $47 million to the state.

• Called for tougher regulation of abortion clinics to protect women who seek their services.

Children

• Expanded the program he initiated in 1987 to provide pre-school opportunities for 3- and 4-year-olds who face the greatest economic and academic risks.

• Approved use of $9 million to expand services for abused and neglected children.

• One Church, One Child has placed 388 black children in adoptive homes. (Public-private partnership established in 1987 gets churches involved in finding adoptive parents for black foster children.

• Expanded Medicaid eligibility to 150 percent of poverty level for pregnant women and infants.

Elderly

• Appointed General Earl Peck as executive director of the state's new Department of Veterans Affairs.

• Created the Pepper Commission on Aging to serve as advisory body to Governor and Legislature on issues concerning Florida's growing population of older residents.

GOVERNMENT REFORM/ECONOMY

Government Reform

Governor has applied a conservative approach to governing by improving the efficiency and effectiveness of state government.

- Implemented reforms to enhance ethical requirements for Public Serivce Commissioners and proposed merit retention of PSC members.

- Initiated sunset review of all state agencies to improve efficiency and justify spending.

- Proposed sweeping ethics in government legislation that included provisions to extend the Sunshine Law to the Legislature, to prohibit top administrators from lobbying their former agencies for two years, and to abolish "leadership funds."

Economy

- Established Spaceport Florida Authority to develop the state's and the nation's first commercial launch facility. With Lt. Governor Bobby Brantley as chairman of the Authority, Florida is well on its way to achieving its goal of developing a sub-orbital launch facility at Cape San Blas by 1991.

- Implemented cost-saving measures that have saved taxpayers more than $770 million to date.

- Enabled Florida's economy to continue its rapid expansion:
  -- More than 27.7 million visitors in first eight months of 1989 -- up 5.2 percent over the same period last year and well on its way to a record 40 million visitors.
  -- $1.2 billion in tourism-related sales taxes, up 13 percent over last year.
  -- Leading the nation in the number of new incorporations -- 60,000 in the first nine months of 1989, up 2 percent , while the nation as a whole is down .6 percent.
  -- Experiencing highest job growth rate of the 11 most populous states.
  -- Creation of 460,500 jobs during the Governor's administration.

- Florida's economic mainstays -- agriculture and tourism -- remain strong, while the economy is expanding into newer areas like motion pictures and television, international trade and space technology.

- Met with NFL Commissioner Paul Tagliabue the week after he was chosen in October to encourage the league to look to Florida when expanding franchises.

OTHER

- Traveled to El Salvador in March as part of a U.S. contingent deployed by President Bush to monitor the country's presidential elections. Personally reported to President Bush of the group's findings.

# # #

COMMERCE STATISTICS

EMPLOYMENT

Unemployment fell to 5.6 percent in November, compared with the previous rate of 5.8. This drop compares to the national rate of 5.4, which is up from the previous month. The decline reflects the overall strength of the Florida economy. During November, 50,000 more Floridians went to work.

Unemployment rates for December will be released on Friday, January 5.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Florida has been a national leader in business growth during the Governor's administration.

-- Between January 1987 -November 1989, created 668,200 new jobs.

-- Florida still ranks No. 1 in the nation in birthrate of new business

-- Florida has highest job growth rate among the 11 most populous states.

-- Second only to California in actual number of new jobs created.

-- New incorporations -- first nine months of 1989: 60,000. This leads the nation. Florida's new incorporations were up nearly 2 percent while the U.S. figures have dropped by .6 percent.

-- More than 5.9 million people are at work in Florida.

TOURISM

Project a record 39-40 million visitors for 1989

-- Counted 27.7 million visitors for the first eight months of 1989 -- a 5.2 percent increase over the same period last year.

-- Collected $1.2 BILLION in tourism-related sales tax for 1989 to date -- a 13 percent increase over last year (includes increase in sales tax from 5 cents to 6 cents).

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

1988 was a record year for Florida

-- $27.6 BILLION -- a 21.7 percent increase during the Governor's administration

MOTION PICTURE AND TV

Florida's new industry is progressing rapidly:

-- 121 motion picture and TV feature films made in Florida.

-- $416.5 million in budgets.

-- 49,346 commercials and recordings -- $193.1 million in budgets

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(San Francisco, California)

For Immediate Release February 28, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
FOR PETE WILSON FUNDRAISER

Grand Ballroom
St. Francis Hotel
San Francisco, California

7:48 P.M. PST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you so much for that welcome. And, Pete, oh, how strongly I feel about this gubernatorial race. And I came out here to wish you the very best and to state with confidence, especially after talking to some of your most enthusiastic supporters before dinner, that you will indeed be the next governor of the State of California. And I am delighted to predict that right here. (Applause.) Just don't use the same pollster Ortega did. (Laughter and applause.)

To you and Gail, Barbara and I send our very best. The Wilsons were just upstairs and talked to Barbara at home -- and sorry she is not here tonight. She is going to meet me in a day or so in -- as we receive the Prime Minister of Japan in California.

I want to salute Lee Atwater, who is doing an outstanding job as the Chairman of the Republican National Committee. (Applause.) And, Frank, I'm not upstaging you, but I'm saying nice things about you it seems just yesterday and the day before, but I'm glad you're here, sir, and I appreciate the work you're doing for the party. I'm delighted to once again be with Bill Walsh, who's been such an example not just in the field of athletics, but in his commitment to helping others. And I also think we would be remiss if we didn't thank the Lowell High School Band for their participation here tonight. (Applause.)

And as some of you know, I was just in San Francisco three weeks ago. But, as Kipling said, San Francisco, like all of California, has one drawback -- it's hard to leave.

So much has happened, even since my last trip right here to San Francisco. And Bishop Swing, my old, dear friend, our pastor, now a Bishop out here -- it's not that we find that hard to believe, sir, but I'm so glad to see you again. But he was our pastor in Washington. Would it seem presumptuous of me to say that many of our prayers seem to be answered? From Moscow to Managua, change is in the air. And the Revolution of '89 has continued into a new decade, a decade of democracy. (Applause.)

Time and again in this century the political map of the world was transformed. And in each instance, a new world order came about through the advent of a new tyrant or the outbreak of a bloody global war, or its end.

Now the world has undergone another upheaval. But this time, there's no war. We've seen a bold Soviet leader initiate daring reforms. We've seen a playwright, humble man that I received in the White House the other day, Vaclav Havel move from prison to the presidential palace in Czechoslovakia. We've seen both the Berlin Wall and the Romanian dictatorship tumble into ruins. And I think it's fair to say that the day of the dictator is over. (Applause.)

MORE

Victor Hugo said that no army can match the might of an idea whose time has come. In the Revolution of '89, an idea overcame armies and tanks -- and that idea is democracy. This has been true in the East. Now it is becoming true throughout the Western Hemisphere -- first in Panama after Operation Just Cause, and now, at long last, for the brave people of Nicaragua.

And how could we ask for more? (Applause.)

Another symbol of change, this morning I called President Gorbachev. And we had a long talk on matters affecting Nicaragua and Eastern Europe. And after the call and this highly rational and, I would say, cordial discussion with this dynamic new Soviet leader, my mind went back to those days not so many years ago when a talk of this nature would not have been possible. The mood of the day back then -- confrontation, rhetorical over-kill, tension bordering on hostility.

Yes, we've got some problems with the Soviet Union. But today's talk was so different -- no polemics. Where we differed, we vowed to discuss the differences further. And the point is reason and calmness have replaced rhetoric. And as your President, I am determined to consult often with President Gorbachev to keep open the door to negotiation and peace. These indeed are exciting times, and I'm proud to be your President in these times of change. (Applause.)

But we're gathered here tonight to celebrate events closer to home. As I said, California is hard to leave -- and for me, it's been hard to leave even when I'm back at the White House. You see, it was just yesterday -- Bill -- that for the second time in my presidency, Barbara and I had the pleasure of entertaining the winners of the Super Bowl -- and once again, our guests were the San Francisco Forty-Niners. (Applause.)

And just a few months earlier, Barbara and I hosted the Oakland A's after their great World Series victory. (Applause.) Something about monopoly; there's something in the books about cornering the market here -- a little antitrust action. (Laughter.) But when it comes to champions, I'm beginning to think you have cornered the market.

Yet I'm here on behalf of another champion. A champion for the victims of crime and drug-related violence. A champion for the environment. A champion for California. A champion for a sound and growing economy. And I'm talking about the next governor of your state -- Pete Wilson. (Applause.) And in this critical -- critical for the nation -- election, with Pete at the top of the ticket, come November, California will go Republican in a big way. (Applause.)

California is prized for more than its political importance or the size of its GNP that Pete in a slightly braggart fashion there was talking about. We must win the state because California really does represent the future.

California is at the forefront, not just regionally and nationally, but as he rightfully pointed out, internationally, and needs a special kind of leadership -- and Pete Wilson's kind of

needs a special kind of leadership -- and Pete Wilson's kind of leadership it is. Twenty-three-year career in public life. It began under the Dome in Sacramento. And today, he is a lawmaker still; this time in Washington, D.C. But it was as Mayor of San Diego that Pete first showed a flair, a talent, for executive leadership. And it is exactly this kind of executive leadership that the whole state of California needs to take it to the threshold of a new millennium. You've got a good governor. In my view, we have a great governor, and I want to see that tradition continue with Pete Wilson. (Applause.)

And, sadly, California needs something else. It needs to continue a crime-fighting tradition. It needs a governor who will continue the war against violent crime. California needs a governor who shares our philosophy about crime. And our philosophy --

MORE

Davis/Martin
April 7, 1990
Title: Florida
Draft: One

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: REPUBLICAN GOP, ORLANDO
7 p.m., Friday, April 20, 1990

((Acknowledgements -- Alec Courtelis, Bob Hope, Jeanie Austin, Governor Martinez, Senator Connie Mack, Congressman Bill Grant, Lee Greenwood and, of course, Jeb and Colomba.))

((A.C. jokes to come))

((Will you forgive a grandad one editorial comment? -- Didn't George P. give a great little speech?\\ Well, at least it's good to know that there's at least one orator in the family.))\\\

Jeanie, it's great to be back in your hometown. You know, Barbara and I have found it awfully hard to stay away from Florida in recent years. And it's not just the beaches -- it's the company -- the infectious optimism of Florida Republicans. And you have every reason to be cheerful. After all, here in the land of the sun and the gateway to the stars, Floridians are rejecting the politics of the past. **You are creating the future of America in Florida\\ -- and it is a Republican future.**

Florida is no longer where America just vacations. More and more, it is where America **lives**. From 1985 to 1990, you went from fourth to third largest state in America. This rapid growth has brought jobs and greater opportunties. But it has also meant crime, congestion and an even greater need to protect Florida's special environment.

So what you need is a governor who will always seek the best for Florida, who will carefully weigh the needs of nature and man, who will make the most of economic opportunity while protecting your special way of life. That's the kind of governor you **want.**\\ That's the governor you've **got.**\\ And that's the governor you're going to **re-elect -- Governor Bob Martinez.**\\\

Floridians want opportunity -- and Republicans are providing it. Among all the states, Florida ranks as Number One in the creation of new business -- especially in high-tech manufacturing. And over the last decade, while the Florida workforce has grown by half: so have the number of Florida jobs.

But Floridians also want to preserve this state's special environment. From Apalachicola Bay to the Keys, Florida is a tropical jewel glistening with rivers, marshes, freshwater swamps, beautiful beaches and mangrove forests. **And we intend to keep it that way.**

Two weeks ago, the famous South Florida conservationist Marjory Stoneman Douglas celebrated her 100th birthday. And in her century, she has seen the vast swamp prairie of the Everglades wither to half its size. She has watched as crocodiles, turtles and Florida Panther almost disappeared. She has seen rookeries of wading birds -- once counted in the millions -- dwindle to mere thousands. **She was the first to sound the alarm. She made us realize that the Everglades is the heart of Florida -- we must not let it die.**\\\

So Floridians want action on the Everglades, and they are getting it -- from Republicans. It started when Bob joined with my Administration to extend the Everglades eastward. He took the initiative, and created the East Everglades Land Acquisition Task Force. And because the State of Florida was willing to set aside part of the land, and because of the leadership of your Republican Congressional delegation in Washington, I was able to sign into law a bill increasing the size of the park by more than 100,000 acres. Of course, more needs to be done. But we must keep the Everglades as Florida's everlasting treasure.

Still, it isn't enough to preserve nature, if our beaches are fouled, our cities filthy, the air we breath, dirty. Floridians want action on a cleaner environment -- and under Republicans, they are getting it. Florida Republicans are working for cleaner beaches and toxic cleanups. And at the federal level, I proposed the first major revision of the Clean Air Act since 1977 -- one that uses market solutions to cut acid rain, smog and other poisons in our air. **((It is our proposal that Congress has passed. And it is our proposal that I will sign into law.))**\\\

Floridians also want to be safe from crime -- and that is why they turn again and again to Republican leadership. Here in Florida, Republican leaders have toughened prison sentences and added the prison space to enforce it. In Washington, I worked with Connie Mack and your House Republican delegation to pass part of my anti-crime package. More money has been provided for

additional prison space and more federal law enforcement officers. But the Democrats have yet to act on the rest of my violent crime package -- to toughen federal sentences for those using a firearm in the commission of a felony -- to reform the rules of evidence -- and to enact the death penalty proposal. So I am here to ask you to join me in calling on Congress **to take the shackles off the cops, the courts and law.\\\ And the best way to do this is to vote Republican in November.**

And finally, Floridians want one thing more -- to know that their children will get the kind of education they deserve. It was here in Florida that the great community college tradition was born out of a unique partnership. Now your business and education leaders are again working together, this time to make Florida a world leader in math, science and computer education by 1999. What you want to do for Florida, I want to do for all of America. And that is why I was delighted to have the support and advice of Governor Martinez and his colleagues at the Charlottesville Education Summit. **Education is the future of America. We must make the grade.**

When it comes to social progress, from jobs to a cleaner environment, to fighting crime or educating yet another generation -- Floridians are more and more turning to the party of achievement.

Just look at what Republican leadership has meant to the world. Throughout the '80s, one party said that unilateral disarmament was the way to peace -- and that is why so many

Democratic voters and leaders like Bill Grant made the switch. ((Joke))

The other party -- **our party** -- advocated a more balanced approach. It was the Republicans who stayed true to the maxim of a great Democratic President: We never feared to negotiate -- but we never negotiated out of fear. Look at the results of our approach.

In the Revolution of '89, we saw freedom come to Poland and Hungary, a playwright-president in Czechoslovakia and Germans -- East and West -- raise hammers to that Wall of shame in Berlin.

And now we are close -- so very close -- to living in a democratic Hemisphere, a compass of freedom that extends from Alaska to Argentina. Look at the map.

There was once a dictatorship in Panama. **But then came the uprising -- and now the people rule in Panama.** There was once militant regime in Managua -- but then came the election, **and now the people rule in Nicaragua.**\\ And, of course, there is one last hardline holdout in the West. But with TV Marti, we are bringing the truth to the people of Cuba. And you know the old saying -- **the truth will set you free.**\\\

These are historic achievements. And it is Republican leadership that has brought us to this moment. For me to continue to do the job, I will need a Congress I can work with -- partners in leadership like Bill Grant and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen ((Ill-ee-ahna Ross Lay-ten-en.)) And Governor Martinez will need

a legislature in Tallahassie that can. We are just four seats away from controlling the Florida seat.

Just four seats divides the party of big promises from the party of big achievements.

We can make that difference -- and by working together, we will make Florida for once and for all a Republican state. Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

# # #

The environment always has been a contentious issue, and these days are no exception. Environmentalists have taken to criticizing the administration reflexively if their demands are not met in full. Industrial trade groups are making well know their displeasure over the stringency of the Administration's clean air bill, which passed the Senate this week after herculean negotiations and protracted debate. The President -- who is trying to advance a broad, environmental agenda in novel, cost-effective ways -- seems to be catching it from both sides for his efforts.

I don't pretend to be disinterested. And I hope I have not, in the space of little more than a year, become a thin-skinned insider. But it seems to me indisputable that the Bush Administration has engaged the environmental issue in a very aggressive, ambitious way, a way that is designed to secure maximum environmental gains at reasonable economic costs. In fact, no President has ever given more time and attention to environmental policies than has George Bush. And his Chief of Staff John Sununu deserves great credit for having constructively moved these environmental initiatives forward. The result has been the most environmentally active presidency since Theodore Roosevelt.

relatively simple: Prison sentences should be at least as tough as the criminals we convict.

At the federal level, I relied on Pete's help to pass a major part of our anticrime package. More money has been provided for prison space and more federal law enforcement officers. But Congress has left too much work undone.

We need action on the rest of our proposals to fight violent crime -- by toughening federal sentences for those who use a firearm in the commission of a felony. And if the kingpins who deal drugs are dealing death, then let's judge them for what they are -- murderers. It's time we took the shackles off the policemen, the courts and the law. I am convinced we must be tougher on these drug criminals. (Applause.)

And a governor has to be as tough as the times. But the challenges of the future will also require vision and compassion, if we're to protect a fragile coastal ecology, or educate a new generation of children.

From the urban canyons of Los Angeles to the Yosemite beloved by Ansel Adams, Californians were among the first to stand up for the environment. And Pete Wilson was among the first environmentalists to hold office. He's added thousands of acres to the California wilderness system, saved canyons, protected urban recreation sites. And he supports our America the Beautiful initiative to plant a billion trees, to expand our national parks and wildlife preserves, -- (applause) -- and to make this more like the unspoiled green continent our forebears knew.

Right now, Pete is working with me on our administration's proposal to enact our Clean Air bill, the first significant change since 1977. One that will clean up the smog and curb acid rain and cut back on the air toxics that plague California's air. Cleaner cars. Cleaner fuels. Cleaner factories. That's what we're striving for. And with Pete Wilson at the helm, you'll have a governor who works for a cleaner California, just as he has in the United States Senate.

Education is also critical to the future -- and it's a critical responsibility. I'd say an increasingly critical responsibility of every governor. Governors across the country are disturbed that there are still many American children -- often in the inner city, often immigrants -- who are denied the American dream because of a lack of literacy, a lack of job skills. This is unfair, this is unjust, and this is unacceptable. And that's why Pete Wilson backs our proposal for a half-billion-dollar increase for Head Start to give these children a hopeful start in life. I need that through the United States Congress. (Applause.)

Almost a year has passed since I sent the Educational Excellence Act to Congress. It's based on a few basic concepts: To make our schools work, we must give parents, teachers and children the power to choose. To make our system work, states, schools and individuals will need greater flexibility in the way in which they can pursue these goals. And then we must all be accountable for the results.

results.

Last April, I asked Congress to pass these measures to reform our educational system. And, look, thanks to Pete's help and that of others, education reform has already passed the United States Senate. Now it's time for the House to finish its homework and pass our education reform now.

The political future of California and all of America rests on yet another issue -- an issue that affects the voting rights of every Republican, every Independent, every Democratic voter -- an issue of fundamental fairness -- and I am talking about reapportionment. (Applause.)

Some say reapportionment has been a political gold mine

MORE

for both parties. They may be right. The Democrats get the gold and we get the shaft. (Laughter.)

Remember, after the 1990 Census, almost one out of eight members of Congress will represent the State of California. Remember that. This is bigger than party politics. Gerrymandering violates the spirit of one man, one vote. On a summer night in 1981, a group of California Democrats sat in a restaurant in Sacramento with pencil and paper and redesigned your political future.

Lines were drawn -- crazy, twisted lines -- that cut across communities, towns and even streets -- without the slightest regard for the will of the people. Since those district lines went into effect, there have been 135 general elections for California's congressional seats, and only once has a seat changed party control. And remember, this same brand of political manipulation that hurts Republicans also hurts every minority voter in the State of California. (Applause.)

So isn't it ironic, if a little sad, that in the very decade democracy dawned around the world, a small group sitting around a table in a restaurant who called themselves Democrats infringed on voting rights in America?

Still, Republicans do not seek revenge, don't seek a gerrymander of our own. No. With fair lines, we can can win on the issues. And we can also win on the strength of our candidates.

You know, in the early days of our great nation, some Americans stayed in the cities of the East and built great industries -- and they have every right to be proud. And some Americans came halfway across the continent and farmed our rich and fertile plains. And they, too, have every right to be proud. But then there were those who pressed ever forward until they reached the sea -- gumption, gold, and glory took them all the way to the shore of the shining Pacific. We call these people Californians.

Some found gold. Most didn't. But all Californians found something precious -- the future. So today's State of California is tomorrow's State of the Union. And there's no one better to lead California into that exciting future than Pete Wilson. (Applause.)

It's been said that "if you would test a man, first give him power." For 23 years, Pete Wilson has been tested. He's used power not to glorify self, to glorify one man, but to make a better life for millions. He's a great Senator today -- a sterling example of California's passion for excellence. Tomorrow, the Golden State will be proud to call him governor.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you for having me here once again. (Applause.) Thank you very much.

END 8:08 P.M. PST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(San Francisco, California)

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 7:45 P.M. PST
10:45 P.M. EST
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1990

CORRECTION

INSERT TO TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT WILSON FUNDRAISING DINNER

Grand Ballroom
St. Francis Hotel
San Francisco, California

February 28, 1990

This morning I called Mr. Gorbachev. We had a long talk on matters affecting Nicaragua and Eastern Europe.

After the call and the rational, cordial discussion with this dynamic new Soviet leader, my mind went back to those days not so many years ago when a talk of this nature would not have been possible.

The mood of the day back then -- confrontation, rhetorical overkill, tension bordering on hostility.

Today's talk was so different -- no polemics. Where we differed, we vowed to discuss the differences further. The point is, reason and calmness have replaced rhetoric.

As your President, I am determined to consult often with President Gorbachev to keep open the door to negotiation and peace. These indeed are exciting times.

# # #

Davis/Martin
April 7, 1990
Title: Florida
Draft: One

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: REPUBLICAN GOP, ORLANDO
7 p.m., Friday, April 20, 1990

((Acknowledgements -- ~~Alec Courtelis, Bob Hope,~~ Governor Martinez, Senator Connie Mack, Congressman Bill Grant, Lee Greenwood and, of course, Jeb and Colomba.))

((Islamorada/Bob Hope/Alec Courtelis jokes to come))

((Will you forgive a grandad one editorial comment? -- Didn't George P. give a great little speech?\\ Well, at least it's good to know that there's at least one orator in the family.))\\\

((And Jeanie Austin, you're doing an outstanding job -- along with our great Republican National Committee Chairman, Lee Atwater.\\ And while I'm at it, let me say that Lee's fighting spirit is an inspiration to us all. **Everyone who knows Lee knows that this is one campaign he's going to win.**\\\ ))

And Jeanie, it's also great to be back in your hometown. Barbara and I have found it awfully hard to stay away from Florida in recent years. And it's not just the beaches -- it's the company -- the infectious optimism of Florida Republicans. You certainly have every reason to be cheerful. After all, it's here in the land of the sun and the gateway to the stars, that voters are rejecting the politics of the past. **It's here that you are pioneering the future of America\\ -- and it is a <u>Republican</u> future.**\\\

It is this future that I am working for in Washington. And...

DOUG GAMBLE

424 - 36th Place
Manhattan Beach, CA 90266
(213) 546-6409

April 9/90

TO: KRISTEN GEAR
2 Pages

GOP EVENT - ORLANDO, FLA (Mark Davis)

IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE HERE IN ORLANDO, HOME OF THE MAGIC KINGDOM, BECAUSE IT LETS ME GET AWAY FOR AWHILE FROM WASHINGTON, HOME OF THE WILD KINGDOM.

I WAS HOPING TO VISIT FANTASYLAND, BUT IT'S TOO FULL OF DEMOCRATS DREAMING UP NEW POLICIES.

I THINK IT'S TIME FOR PEOPLE TO STOP WAGING NEGATIVE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST EACH OTHER, TO DO AWAY WITH BICKERING AND ANIMOSITY AND ACCUSATIONS AND SNIPING. BUT I'M SURE YOU'D RATHER HEAR ME TALK ABOUT POLITICS THAN ABOUT MGM-DISNEY VS. UNIVERSAL.

I'M GOING BONE-FISHING A LITTLE LATER. I HOPE THOSE FISH ARE READY TO MEET THEIR MATCH, BECAUSE THIS IS GOING TO BE THE MOST TRIUMPHANT RETURN TO THE BEACH SINCE MACARTHUR.

IT'S GREAT TO HAVE BOB HOPE HERE -- ONE OF OUR GREATEST AMERICANS EVEN THOUGH HE WAS BORN IN ENGLAND. AND HE WAS FUNNY FROM THE TIME HE WAS A YOUNG BOY. CROSSING THE ATLANTIC, HE HAD EVERYONE IN STITCHES ABOARD THE MAYFLOWER.

MORE...

TO: KRISTEN GEAR - FLORIDA (CONT'D)

BOB HOPE IS GOING TO BE 87 NEXT MONTH, AND I CAN'T GET OVER HOW GREAT HE LOOKS. PONCE DE LEON MAY NOT HAVE FOUND THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH, BUT IT'S OBVIOUS BOB DID.

I'VE ALWAYS ADMIRED BOB HOPE FOR THE WAY HE PUT HIS LIFE ON THE LINE SO MANY TIMES TO ENTERTAIN OUR TROOPS. I ONCE ASKED HIM WHAT WAS THE TOUGHEST COMBAT SITUATION HE WAS EVER [redacted] IN, AND HE SAID "PLAYING GOLF WITH JERRY FORD."

FLORIDA MAY NOT HAVE A PROFESSIONAL BASEBALL TEAM YET, BUT I KNOW GOVERNOR BOB MARTINEZ IS GOING TO COME THROUGH THIS YEAR WITH A BIG R.B.I. -- REPUBLICANS BACK IN.

IF YOU THINK THE DEVELOPMENTS BUILT BY ALEX COURTELIS ARE BIG, WAIT'LL YOU SEE THE VICTORIES THE REPUBLICANS ARE BUILDING HERE IN FLORIDA.

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1ST DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner in Los Angeles, California

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 187

February 6, 1990

LENGTH: 1940 words

Thank you, Frank, and Governor Deukmejian. Duke, always a pleasure to see you. To the California State delegation, many of whom are here, thank you for coming. And it's great to see our party Chairman Lee Atwater with us tonight. He's doing anoutstanding job. He plays that rhythm and blues -- I'd rather hear Vicky Carr sing, but nevertheless. [Laughter] And thank you for the beautiful rendition of the Star-Spangled Banner. Johnny, the honorary mayor of Hollywood. And all of you who are supporting this marvelous effort for our party, headed by Frank Visco -- and, Frank, thank you for the introduction. I see that we have a lot of celebrities here tonight. Bob Hope, thank you, sir, for your remarks. When I first saw this star-studded audience, I thought I'd wandered into a Lakers' game. [Laughter] I don't think there have been so many celebrities in one place since they used to be there at Dodgers Stadium -- at Tommy Lasorda's office before they allowed the visitors -- kicked the visitors out of there.

And, of course, Arnold Schwarzenegger is here. He was up visiting Barbara and me the other day at Camp David. I call him, "Conan the Republican." And he has taken on big job for us as Chairman of this Fitness Council, and it's very, very important -- he's taking it seriously. We saw his beautiful new daughter up there at Camp David -- I bent over to kiss her and she tried to bench-press me. [Laughter] Where is he? Oh, right. Sorry about that. [Laughter] That's when I realized that any kid who has her own set of free weights doesn't need a teddy bear. [Laughter]

Now, there's one more person I'd like to mention tonight, even though he's not here -- a friend of everybody in this room -- tonight he's celebrating his 79th birthday, and I would like to simply say, happy birthday, President Reagan, wherever you are, and best wishes from all of us. This is my first trip out here on behalf of the California State party. I want to thank all of you for the victory that you gave us here on election night. I'll never forget the close win heree. You have my gratitude -- Duke, certainly, Governor, you do -- and my appreciation for your hard work and commitment for a job well-done.

But tonight, I want to talk to you about another job: the job of preparing our great country for the future. Last Wednesday, I made my first State of the Union address to the nation. I covered a lot of ground because our country faces diverse challenges that will test every American as we enter this new decade. Around the world, there is, as we've heard here tonight, rapid and welcome change, as people from Panama to Prague strive for democracy. Self-determination is contagious. They even want it in Malibu, I understand. [Laughter] But millions of people are leaping over their volleyball nets to free them. [Laughter] No, but seriously -- [Laughter] -- millions of people are looking to America for the hope and encouragement they need as they seek the same freedom we have here. Freedom of expression, security, and opportunity we enjoy. And America will be there to help. But if America is to continue its

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traditional leadership role, we've got to be competitive enough to take on the job, and strong and smart enough to do it right. Today -- [At this point, the President was interrupted by a demonstrator] -- she's pretty tough. [Laughter and applause] You know, economic times are reasonably good and we're enjoying the greatest economic expansion in peacetime history. But to maintain the growth that has provided better lives for millions of Americans, we've got to make sure that America becomes even stronger. We've got to invest in our future.

And first, a sound education for our kids must be the first and foremost, and it is. And we have proposed the largest education budget in history. But real improvement in our schools is not simply a matter of spending more. It's a matter of asking more of our students, our teachers, our parents, our schools. And while the Federal Government is going to help meet its national challenge, the States -- the "laboratories" of democracy, as Justice Brandeis put it -- will do a much better job than we ever can. And that's why we've announced new education goals for our country, developed working with Governor Deukmejian and the other 49 governors. By the year 2000, every child must start school ready to learn and we've got to increase our high school graduation rate to no less than 90 percent. And we're going to make sure that our schools' diplomas mean something. In critical subjects -- at the 4th, 8th and 12th grades -- we must assess our students' performance. By the year 2000, U.S. students must be first in the world in math and science skills. And every American adult must be a literate worker and citizen. Every school in America must offer the kind of disciplined environment needed for our kids to learn. And this other goal, every school in America must be drug-free.

Here in California, we've designated Los Angeles as a "high intensity drug trafficking area" to help this great city rid itself of the scourge of drugs. And we've got to get PCP and crack off the streets and out of the schools. And it's time we got more Federal resources into the hands of those on the front lines. If we are to compete internationally, America must be drug-free, well-educated and ready to do the job right.

And there's another investment we must make for the future of this country to keep competitive, and I'm talking about R&D, research and development. California can be proud of its great research institutions. Schools like these will dream the dreams and create the ideas that form the cornerstone of our economic power in the years to come. And that's why our 1991 budget includes a record-high $71 billion proposal for research and development. And with the best young minds of the next generation on our side, America will win the research and development race.

Education, a drug-free workplace, and research and development are part of the mix for economic competitiveness. But there's one more important ingredient -- and many here know this -- savings and investment. And together, they create jobs and promote opportunity for all Americans. And so we've proposed the Savings and Economic Growth Act, which includes our family savings account proposal and provisions to allow first-time home buyers to make an early withdrawal from those IRA's without penalty. And it does one more thing; it proposes a cut in the rate in the capital gains tax. Last year, a majority in both Houses of Congress showed their support for this capital gains tax cut. And this year, with your help, we'll pass that tax cut to give our competitors a run for the money and keep the American economy going strong.

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But to remain competitive, government must also reflect the new world emerging around us -- like the National Training Center base I've just visited in Barstow -- that Barbara and I were at today, and later going to the Strategic Air Command base near Omaha. As the nature of the threats to the American security change -- and they are changing -- so, too, must our response change. Our forces will remain robust, well-trained, highly professional but geared to the new challenges of the '90s. And I believe that we can do that. I'm in a big battle in Congress, and I'd like to have your support to keep reasonable levels of defense. I'm not going to miss an opportunity to cut, but I want to do it prudently, and I want to get something from the other side when we do it.

Finally, one more thought here -- kind of competitiveness I'd like to talk to you about. Let me tell you a story about a summer night, 1981, when a group of California Democrats sat in a restaurant in Sacramento with a pencil and a paper, redesigning California's political landscape. They drew what one of them called at the time their "contribution to modern art" -- it was their words. Well, we've got a name for it, and we call it gerrymandering. Lines were drawn across communities, towns, even streets into twisted, contorted crazy shapes -- without the slightest regard for either the will of the people or the rules of elementary fairness. Since those lines went into effect, there have been 165 general elections for California's congressional seats, and only once has a seat changed party control.

In 1984, in fact, Republican congressional candidates together received more total votes than the Democratic candidates and yet won nine fewer seats. The 1990 Census may, and probably will, give California up to seven new congressional seats -- meaning that nearly one out of every eight Congressmen in Washington will represent California. And all existing California congressional district lines will have to be redrawn -- this time not with pencils in a restaurant, but by state-of-the-art advanced computers. The time has come for redistricting reform. And we've got to end the charade of that Phil Burton Democratic gerrymandering that has deprived this State of fair representation.

Look, unlike the Democrats, we don't need gerrymandering because Republicans can win on the issues. You heard Duke say it. In fact, we can put the Democrats out of business -- on the issues. Look at what this Governor's Reepublican administration has accomplished since 1983: the unemployment rate was 11, cut to 5.2 percent; 2.7 million new jobs created in this great State. The list keeps growing: 14 new and expanded prisons open in 1991, education funding more than doubled, drug education now included in every school from grades four to eight. California now has some of the toughest environmental laws in the nation, with thousands of acres of sensitive lands acquired and preserved. And thanks to common-sense policies and strong leadership, California is better off than it ever has been. Let's keep it that way. Let's keep it Reepublican, and let's elect Pete Wilson next November to be Governor of this great State.

Unfortunately, Pete couldn't join us tonight. He's in Washington -- a crucial vote in the Senate on education. I appreciate his work, for he's a proven winner -- and the voters know it. And he's a strong environmentalist, a leader of the war on drugs, key member of our team in the United States Senate. And believe me, we'll miss Senator Wilson, but come to think of it, I really like the sound of Governor Pete Wilson. You know Pete will be leading a solid team of candidates for State office to victory, and with him they'll be the ones to keep the taxes low, the environment clean and the economy strong. People

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say I'm a cautious guy, and I can understand that -- well, I really can't understand it. I'm going to go out on a limb tonight and make a prediction: 1990 will be a great year for the Golden State because Pete Wilson will be your next Governor. So my plea, in the tradition of Ronald Reagan and George Deukmejian, let's keep California great and keep it Republican.

Barbara and I are delighted to be with you. Thank you for what you're doing for this party, thank you for what you're doing for the campaign for Governor and the other statewide races. Thank you all, God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 8:26 p.m. in the L.A. Ballroom at the CenturyPlaza Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Frank Visco, chairman of the California Republican Party, and Tommy Lasorda, manager of the Los Angeles Dodgers.

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What I Believe About the Environment

by President George Bush

Last summer, I took my 13-year-old grandson on a fishing trip to Jackson Lake, Wyoming. The memory of that day lingers—the two of us casting our lines, sinking long, flashy spinners deep into the crystalline water. After some effort, we caught a few Mackinaw trout and let them go. But the real catch was for our eyes.

From our small boat, we watched elk warily emerge from the forest at dusk to drink at the lake. And rising out of the forest in the distance were the Tetons—jagged, immense, snow-capped, invincible. No words, no photo, no painter could do them justice.

Of course, there was a time when all of North America was as primitive and pristine as Jackson Hole. But aside from protected areas like the Grand Tetons, the buffalo hunters and the settlers changed the face of the land, forever.

We no longer enjoy the luxury of leisurely action. Environmental protection must become a higher priority for us all.

National Park Service photo.

The exploitation of natural resources was a natural way of life for the pioneers. In fact, it was the only way of life. So our ancestors did what they had to do to build a great nation, simply assuming that the land offered a limitless bounty.

Today, of course, we know better. And knowing better, we must act better.

President Teddy Roosevelt declared 80 years ago that nothing short of defending this country in wartime "compares in importance with the great central task of leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us." He was one of the first to perceive that nature is not an infinite resource. Environmental destruction in one place on Earth can have serious consequences for other, sometimes remote, parts of our planet. In fact, some scientists compare the Earth to a single organism, a living system whose ability to survive depends on its overall well-being.

It is not possible to restore our environment to a perfectly natural state. Yet we've also learned that a growing economy can only be sustained with a healthy environment. This requires a balance—trade-offs, tough decisions, careful planning, exact studies, and creative proposals.

Seeking that balance, environmental leaders like Senators Ed Muskie, Howard Baker, the late Henry Jackson, and others put aside party differences in the late 1960s to craft landmark comprehensive environmental legislation. On January 1, 1970, President Nixon began the new decade by signing the National Environmental Policy Act into law. All the historic environmental laws of the 70s follo this bold step: the Clean Air Act, th Clean Water Act, and the laws regulating pesticides, toxic substanc and hazardous wastes.

It was also roughly 20 years ago t EPA began its historic mission und the strong leadership of Bill Ruckelshaus. And in this same trad Bill Reilly brings to EPA his own distinctive brand of leadership—leadership based on bo environmental expertise and real commitment.

In the first year of this Administration, we've taken on ma tough environmental problems. On 12, I announced ways we can use t market to reduce emissions of acid urban smog, and toxic air pollution included in the first major overhau

Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming.

Sierra Club photo.

President Theodore Roosevelt, an early environmentalist, loved hiking and camping. In this 1903 photo, he is shown with John Muir, who founded the Sierra Club.

the Clean Air Act to be proposed in more than a decade.

Later in the year, we called for $710 million for Clean Coal Technology; a ban on nearly all uses of asbestos by 1997; and a ban on the export of hazardous waste. In addition, we've accelerated our leadership on global change, proposing a 28-percent increase in global environmental research and offering to host an international conference next fall to negotiate a framework treaty on global change.

But the federal government is only part of the story. Twenty years ago, the environmental movement was gaining strength in the city halls and state capitols of our nation, as well as in Washington. And the new commitment to a cleaner, safer environment wasn't just confined to government. It grew from the bottom up—not just from school boards, city councils, and state legislatures—but from millions of homes.

Americans came together as environmental volunteers—spontaneously, almost instinctively—to save the Earth. And it was this movement that created the first Earth Day on April 22, 1970. Earth Day began as a spectacular movement of citizen leadership. It has become an American tradition, worthy of future generations.

A president quickly learns to see policy in the broadest terms possible. Urban and housing policy must be related to transportation, transportation policy to energy, energy policy to agriculture, and so on. Applying this same perspective, one cannot fail to see that deforestation, ozone depletion, ocean pollution, and the threat of global warming interconnect to challenge our future. We no longer enjoy the luxury of leisurely action. Environmental protection must become a higher priority for us all.

If our response is to be effective, then all the nations of the world must make common cause in defense of our environment. This is a message I took to the peoples of Europe in May. In Mainz, West Germany, I said that my generation remembers a world ravaged by war. And, of course, Europeans have rebuilt their proud cities and restored their majestic cathedrals. But I told them: "What a tragedy it would be if your continent were again spoiled, this time by a more subtle and insidious danger—that of poisoned rivers and acid rain." I told them of America's environmental tragedy in Alaska. I noted that countries from France to Finland suffered after Chernobyl, and that West Germany is struggling to save the Black Forest. The bottom line is this: Environmental destruction respects no borders.

If our response is to be effective, then all the nations of the world must make common cause in defense of our environment.

When I suggested that the United States and Western Europe extend a hand to the East, the people of Europe on both sides of the Iron Curtain responded with enthusiasm. Since then, working with my counterparts in Western Europe, we have reached agreements to share our environmental technical and regulatory knowledge with Eastern Europe.

I hope these agreements become a model not just for Europe, but for the world. And I am determined that in the 1990s, the United States of America will continue to assume responsibility by providing world environmental leadership.

At home, we've brought to my Administration outstanding environmental professionals, like Michael Deland, who chairs the important Council on Environmental Quality. We've broken new ground by declaring that pollution prevention is our ultimate goal. For too long, we've focused on clean-up campaigns and penalties after the damage is done. It's time to reorient our policies to technologies and processes that reduce or prevent pollution—to stop it before it starts. In the 1990s, pollution prevention must go to the source.

To save the Earth will require our bes efforts. Everyone must volunteer to help. Business, labor, and consumers must cooperate. Environmentalists and industrialists must be partners, not adversaries. Local communities, large and small, must enlist. And so must families—we all can learn to generate less waste and to recycle the waste that we do produce. In fact, those families that do recycle have found it makes economic, as well as ecological, sense.

Finally, there is one simple thing that you can do on Earth Day, regardless of your age or ability. I ask you to join me in sowing a legacy of cleaner air and more beautiful horizons. I ask you to perform a simple act. I ask you to plant a tree.

You don't have to be a poet or a painter to appreciate a tree. Trees cool the Earth on a summer's day. They quie the noise of a freeway. They provide a natural wind break in winter. And every tree makes America a little greener, a little more like the verdant nation the Pilgrims knew.

I hope that Earth Day will once again demonstrate that solutions to environmental problems are emerging from the good will, generosity, and vision of the American people. We have already given the world so much. Let's give the world an example of volunteerism and environmental leadership on April 22, 1990, and in the years to come. ☐

REPUBLICAN PARTY OF FLORIDA
1990 STATESMAN'S DINNER

TELEPROMPTER

As of March 20, 1990

DATE:	Friday, April 20, 1990
LOCATION:	Orange County Convention Center 9800 International Drive, Orlando, FL
* NATIONAL STATESMAN:	The President of the United States, George Bush
* FLORIDA STATESMAN:	Alec P. Courtelis
HONORARY CHAIRMAN:	Bob Hope (last year's honoree
DINNER CHAIRMAN:	Jeb Bush
CORPORATE CHAIRMEN:	H. Wayne Huizenga, Blockbuster Video Ricardo Vadia, Corepoint Corporation Fred B. Bullard, Jr., The Bullard Group
SPECIAL GIFTS CHAIRMAN:	Phil Bakes, Eastern Airlines
DIGNITARY CHAIRMAN:	The Honorable Connie Mack, III United States Senate
SPECIAL GUEST:	Lee Greenwood
TENTATIVE AGENDA:	6:00 p.m. Cocktails 7:00 p.m. Dinner 8:00 p.m. Program
ATTENDANCE:	Approximately 2,500
TICKETS:	Patron -- $300 Per Person Legislative Sponsor -- $500 Per Person Congressional Sponsor -- $1,000 Per Person
ATTIRE:	Dark Suits and Cocktail Dresses
INFORMATION:	(Finance) Allison McArthur, Republican Party of Florida (904) 222-7920

& Stan Smith (press)

"Republican Majority '90"

are the contacts

were education, public health, conservation, and advertising the state's qualities. Under his leadership, the cigarette tax was increased from three to four cents. The tax on alcoholic beverages was also raised. The taxes financed multi-million dollar improvements for state institutions and provided more money for schools. Florida celebrated its state centennial.

MAY 7, 1945 • Germany surrendered, ending the war in Europe. Three months later, Japan surrendered. World War II was over.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1945 • Hurricane winds caused a fire that destroyed Richmond Naval Air Station south of Miami. Twenty-five blimps, 366 airplanes, and 150 automobiles were destroyed. The center of the hurricane passed over the base. Winds were estimated at 125 miles per hour. Three 16 story hangars began to blow away. Parts of their roofs fell and smashed into the parked vehicles below, starting a fire that completely destroyed the hangars and their contents.

1946 • The conclusion of the war sparked a building boom in Florida. Many veterans took advantage of government financial assistance and started college. In the last year of the war, enrollment at the University of Florida fell below 1,000. In the summer of 1946, more than 8,000 sought admission—at least a third more than the University of Florida had room for. Many of these new students were ex-servicemen. The legislature made the University of Florida and Florida State College for Women coeducational, the latter becoming Florida State University in the process.

1947 • The legislature adopted a statewide junior college program. The colleges were to be maintained jointly by the counties and the state. The purpose of these so-called "community colleges" was unclear. Some thought they were to be extensions of high school to the thirteenth and fourteenth grades. Others thought they should be the beginning of a four-year degree—the final two years of study to be completed at a university. Still others viewed the purpose of junior colleges to be vocational in nature. They became "multipurpose," covering a broad spectrum of objectives. The program got off to a slow start. Only four areas were participating after a 10 year period. After that, growth was rapid.

DECEMBER 6, 1947 • The Everglades National Park, the nation's third largest, was dedicated. It is located in Dade, Monroe, and Collier Counties and is administered by the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior.

1949 • The Air Force Missile Test Center was established on Cape Canaveral.

JANUARY 4, 1949 • Fuller Warren (1905-1973), yet another Democrat, was inaugurated as governor of Florida. He was born in Blountstown in Calhoun County, Florida, and was elected to the state legislature while he was still a student at the University of Florida. He served as a naval gunner in World War I. Warren was a lawyer and a writer. Under his leadership the legislature banned livestock from grazing along the side of highways, strengthened the citrus code so that unripe fruit could not be shipped, and established a reforestation program and modern highway construction which included the Florida Turnpike, Jacksonville Expressway, and the Sunshine Skyway at St. Petersburg. He actively promoted Florida's tourism.

JANUARY 27, 1949 • The Federal Communications Commission authorized WTV in Miami as Florida's first broadcast television station.

1950 • The Kefauver Crime Investigating Committee of the United States Senate held hearings in Miami. Frozen concentrates of citrus juices became a major industry in Florida. Florida's population was 2,771,305, twentieth highest among the states. Miami, Jacksonville, St. Petersburg-Tampa, Orlando, and the Palm Beaches were the five major metropolitan centers of the state.

JULY 24, 1950 • The first missile was tested at Cape Canaveral by the United States Army. It was over 50 feet tall and was comprised of two "stages." The first stage was a modified German V-2 rocket that had been captured during World War II, and the second stage was a U.S. Army developed WAC corporal rocket.

1951 • Terrorist bombings across the state destroyed synagogues and homes of politically active Blacks. The Ku Klux Klan was the group thought to be responsible for the bombings. The legislature passed laws forbidding the wearing of masks, and Governor Warren came out strongly against these atrocities. However, his sincerity was questioned by many after he admitted that he had once been a member of the Klan.

1952 • Florida's voters amended the state constitution to allow motor vehicle tax revenue to be used for the construction of schools.

JANUARY 6, 1953 • Daniel T. McCarty (1912-1953) was inaugurated as governor of Florida. McCarty was a Democrat. He was born in Ft. Pierce and was a cattleman and citrus grower. Before becoming governor, he had served in World War II, and the state legislature. He advocated vetoing any new proposal for new taxes and the dismissal of any law officer who failed to do his duty. McCarty also wanted to build a four-lane highway down the east coast and to create a state department of labor with cabinet rank. He urged against the exploration of oil on state and private lands in the Everglades National Park. During his administration, teachers' salaries were raised $350, the Communist Party was outlawed in Florida, and a turnpike commission was created to build and maintain the lower 110 miles of a tollway from Ft. Pierce to Miami.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1953 • Governor McCarty died of a massive heart attack. Charley E. Johns (b. 1905), president of the state senate, succeeded him. Johns was also a Democrat.

1954 • William C. Cramer of St. Petersburg was the first Republican since 1885 to be elected by Floridians to the United States Congress. He won reelection until 1970.

MAY 17, 1954 • The United States Supreme Court ruled unanimously that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional. Florida's legislature appointed a committee to study the effects of desegregation of the schools. Their report was presented to the Federal Court as a protest, and the state attorney general requested a stay of execution of the Supreme Court's ruling that public schools should be desegregated.

1955 • The legislature created the Constitutional Advisory Commission to look at the state constitution and suggest changes. One obstacle to change was the threat of legislative control by rural majorities in north Florida. These rural political leaders were called "pork choppers;" thus, people from north Florida became known by the same name. People from south Florida—a more urban area in comparison—became known as "lamb choppers." Legislative districts were marked by geographical boundaries, not by population.

(407) –

POLITICAL - Sally Salmon
CABINET - Doug Adair

ORLANDO, FLORDIA - 20 APRIL 1990

EVENT: Florida GOP Event / Orange Co. Convention / Civic Center

CONTACTS: #(407) 222-7920

I know from campaign → 1. Stan Smith - press secretary 3. Kathy Phillips Odell, Roper & Assoc.
2. John Fabrega

LOCAL COLOR:
Richard Atwood Orange Co. chair. Emmy Kirkwood vice chair.

INTRODUCING THE PRESIDENT:
Not decided yet - maybe Governor, Alec, Jeb - George P. may speak

WHERE HE IS BEFORE SPEECH:
From Airport, will come from Alabama fundraiser

WHERE HE GOES AFTER SPEECH:
Islamorada, Florida

TELEPROMPTER:
He arrives & speaks ~ 7pm

(YES) expecting 2,500 people
NO

HUMOR:
No time for local humor, but there must be some stories about Tots and Alec Courtelis and since Disneyland is only 20 min. away might want to do a take off on one of the characters.

- George P. the President's grandson may speak at the event. TBD.
- Remember Jeannie Austin is from Orange Co. She will most likely attend the event as well. And Chairman VanPoole
- They are only 4 seats away from winning the FLA. Senate
- There will probably be a fair number of Cabinet Secretaries attending this event. Possibles so far are: Mosbacher, Skinner Lujan & Senator Mack too. Check w Doug Adair.

* The President and Alec Courtelis are both receiving awards as the National & Florida Statesmen - they are planning on two speakers for each winner as well as a 4 min. video of all their past wonderful achievements. Both are being honored.

--This is the second Rep. Party of Florida Statesman's Dinner. POTUS did not attend last year, but he did send a letter.

Bob Hope was the National Statesman honored at last year's dinner. His remarks were very funny. (humor for our speech: can't hope to follow in his footsteps?)

--POTUS will probably be introduced by Jeb Bush. (TBD)

--There will be 20 tables on the stage, each filled with leaders of government and business. There is no head table per se; POTUS will be seated at one of the 20.

--The theme of the evening is : "REPUBLICAN MAJORITY, '90".
This is a crucial for Governor Martinez, who is up for re election, and will be at the event.
Also, the RP of FL is only 4 seats away from the majority in the State Senate.

--Jeb Bush and Van B. Poole, RP of FL Chairman, are co-emcees

--Alec P. Courtelis and POTUS will be receiving "The Statesman's Award" for the Florida Statesman and the National Statesman, respectively. The award is to honor their contributions as statesman. There will be a 4 minute video of their achievements.

I will be receiving more info on Courtelis. He and POTUS are very good friends; Courtelis has raised MUCHO DINERO for the President. He is currently the chair of Team 100 and the Finance Chair of the RP of FL.

MEMORANDUM

TO: MARK LANGE

FROM: CAROLYN CAWLEY

RE: BACKGROUND ON FLORIDA GOP EVENT

EVENT: Republican Party of Florida
1990 Statesman's Dinner

DATE: April 20, 1990

LOCATION: Orange County Convention Center, Orlando
(site of the Farm Speech in January)

ATTENDEES: approximately 2500. Speech is TelePrompted

TIME: POTUS speaks at 7:00 p.m. and departs for Islamorada, FL

LUMINARIES (more TBD):

National Statesman:	POTUS
FL Statesman:	Alec P. Courtelis
Honorary Chairman:	Bob Hope
Dinner Chairman:	Jeb Bush
Corporate Chairs:	H. Wayne Huizenga, Blockbuster Video
	Ricardo Vadia, Corepoint Corporation
	Fred Bullard, The Bullard Group
Special Gifts Chair:	Phil Bakes, Eastern Airlines
Dignitary Chairman:	Sen. Connie Mack
Special Guest:	Lee Greenwood (Republican convention)

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REPUBLICAN PARTY OF FLORIDA
1990 STATESMAN'S DINNER

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TICKETS:	Patron -- $300 Per Person Legislative Sponsor -- $500 Per Person Congressional Sponsor -- $1,000 Per Person
ATTIRE:	Dark Suits and Cocktail Dresses
INFORMATION:	(Finance) Allison McArthur, Republican Party of Florida (904) 222-7920

& Stan Smith (press) are the contacts

"Republican Majority '90"

Lisa Bell

In his State of the Union message, President Bush named education as a national priority.

Florida's business community shares his concerns, and this report details what we're doing about it!

Lisa Bell

Lisa Bell
Vice-President – Communications

FLORIDA CHAMBER of Commerce

136 S. Bronough St. • P.O. Box 11309 • Tallahassee, FL 32302-3309
(904) 222-2831 • FAX (904) 222-5520

Sally Salmon

Alex Courtelis: Croatian horses/ huge farm in South Florida.

Nath Finance Chairman – Bush
– Flo. GOP
– Martinez

Unselfish/ Charities

Connie Mack
George Arizurtiza – (305) 530-7000
Close friend of A.E.

Kimberly Fritz – Sen. Machó pol. pers.
224-5274

[or Van Poke (904) 222-7920]

Born in Greece?

Florida

you're 2nd in nation in producing fresh vegetables ((broccoli))

almost 5 centuries ago, in the Easter season, explorers landed here seeking gold. They found something better.

This flowering land of the sun everglades and is more than white sands, blue skies, orange groves ...

(more than savings banks, orthopedic supply companies and geezer farms)

This magical place,
this land of the sun, this gateway to the states

In 1985, 6th largest state.
By 1990 - 4th largest
while workforce grew by half in last decade,
new employment kept pace
13% incr. in manuf. jobs
greatest growth: electronics, high tech.

5.5% cap. income tax among lowest in the nation
— one of only half a dozen states that
levy no personal income tax.

Dade City schools — innovative
beware wetlands deal?

FLORIDA GOP CONTACTS

D.C. Sally Salmon - Political
Doug Adair - Cabinet

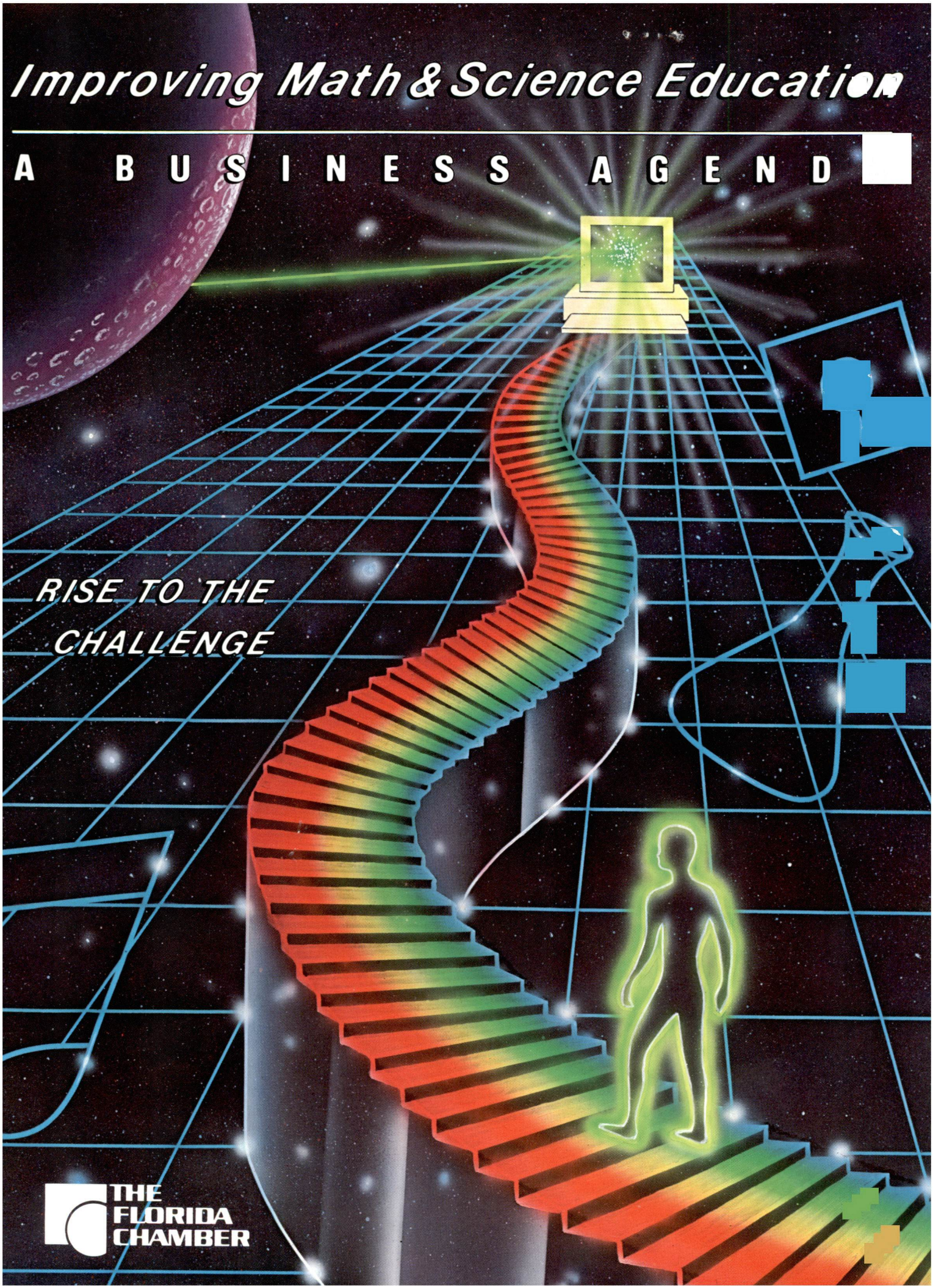
FL RPFL
Stan Smith 904 / 222-7920
John Sabrega
Allison Macarthur 904- 222-7920

FL Chamber - Lisa Bell - (904) 222-2831
FL Tourism Bureau - (904) 487-1462
Orlando Chamber

MAIN REP. CONTACTS

Improving Math & Science Education

A BUSINESS AGENDA



THE FLORIDA CHAMBER

RISE TO THE CHALLENGE

The Challenge ■ Page Three

The Response ■ Page Seven

Action Agenda ■ Page Nine

Appendix ■ Page Seventeen

"HELP WANTED"

BUSINESS

Florida companies in highly-competitive world markets seek millions of new employees. Must have basic skills, advanced training and good work habits. Rewarding careers in all aspects of services and manufacturing. Equal opportunity employers. Apply in person.

SCHOOLS

Florida public schools overwhelmed by growth seek 120,000 teachers by year 2000. Also seek public officials, business leaders, parents, concerned citizens for innovative involvement in long-term relationship Apply immediately.

STUDENTS

Florida youth seek additional help to avoid future of inadequate skills, low productivity, and dead-end careers. Excellent benefits with growth potential. Call for details.

Classified advertisements such as these have not appeared in Florida newspapers . . . yet.

Unless we take action, though, these fictitious ads could become a reality.

The unfortunate truth is that too few of our students and workers are mathematically and scientifically literate enough to help Florida compete in the increasingly competitive global marketplace.

The Florida Chamber has joined with the State Department of Education to propose goals and actions to improve our current performance in math, science and computer education. We have produced a comprehensive plan, released in April, 1989.

This publication is designed to alert Florida business people about the alarming extent of the problem, and more important, to outline the practical steps we can take—and are taking—in our own businesses and communities to *Rise To The Challenge.*

At stake is nothing less than the future prosperity of all Floridians.

Fred Donovan

President, The Florida Chamber
President, Baskerville-Donovan Engineers

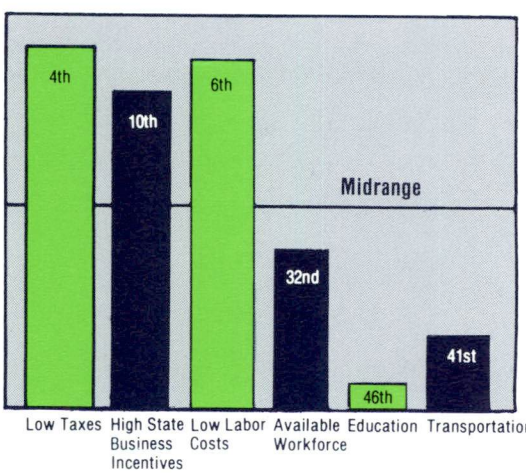
THE CHALLENGE

The supply-and-demand statistics tell the story:

Demand: Higher Skills Needed

- Among the qualities of future Florida workers, none will be more important than flexibility, adaptability and the willingness to continue learning. Countless jobs that once required physical strength, manual dexterity and repetitive calculations already require problem-solving abilities and teamwork. These trends are accelerating.
- Nowhere is the need for skilled workers more apparent than in the fast-growing high-technology sector. Florida now has 1,900 high-tech companies employing 150,000 workers—an increase of 224 percent in the past 10 years. If the trend continues, within five years, Florida will rank fourth in high-tech jobs behind California, Texas and Massachusetts.

National Rankings of Key Florida Business Climate Indicators



From *Cornerstone: Foundations for Economic Leadership*, Florida Chamber of Commerce, 1989

Source: Grant Thornton, 1988.

Today Florida's cost advantages on taxes and wages are increasingly being offset by disadvantages on "quality" indicators.

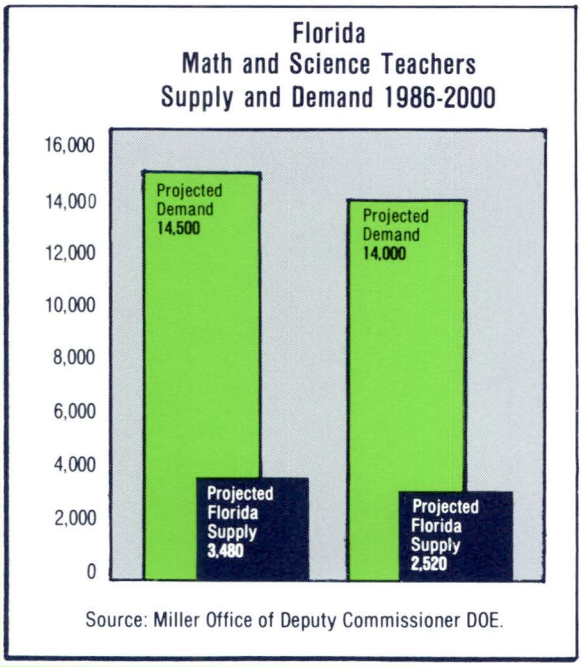
- Future job growth is expected to be particularly strong for medical assistants, computer systems analysts, computer programmers, health professionals and data processing repair persons—all requiring technical skills. The need for technically skilled employees will be especially acute in the health-care field.
- Overall, Florida must shift its economic focus to high-value-added manufacturing and services industries. Such a shift will require significant investments in human-resource development, investments that are essential to a rising standard of living for all Floridians over the long term.

Test after test, measurement after measurement, anecdote after anecdote all underscore one central truth: there are disturbing gaps between what Florida's workers must know tomorrow and what Florida's students are learning today.

Bob Alligood
President, Delay, Thompson, Alligood & Beck and
Chairman, Task Force to Improve Mathematics, Science & Computer Education

Supply: Inadequately Prepared Students

- In a recent survey, 41 percent of Florida corporations said they had trouble finding qualified professional-technical employees, and one major high-tech firm hires 80 percent of its professional staff from out of state. Without significant changes in the educational system, these shortages will increase.
- American students consistently rank near the bottom on international mathematics and science tests. To the extent state data is available, Florida students tend to perform at about the national average—or worse.
- On statewide tests, only half or fewer of Florida's eleventh graders could correctly calculate interest on a loan, change a decimal to a percent or convert square yards into square feet.
- Performance worsens over time. In mathematics, two out of five Florida first graders did as well or better than their counterparts in Japan and Taiwan. But by the fifth grade, only one out of six of our children did as well or better. The older they get, the more Florida children fall behind.
- Achievement levels for minorities and females (who along with immigrants, will make up 85 percent of Florida's new workers by the year 2000) tend to be lower than for white male students.
- The poor student performance is not surprising. Consider that:
    - The average U.S. elementary student spends only 20 minutes a day on science and 44 minutes on mathematics.
    - Despite studies showing that hands-on, experimental learning is more effective, 84 percent of instruction in U.S. secondary school mathematics and science classes and 74 percent in elementary classes is by lecture.
    - Too much mathematics and science education amounts to rote memorization of discrete facts and formulas, with too little attention to the integration of mathematical and scientific principles and processes, and not enough emphasis on learning for understanding.
    - Despite recent improvements, not enough Florida students and teachers have adequate access to computers and other instructional technology.
- Compounding the problem, Florida faces increasing shortages of qualified mathematics and science teachers.



—Between 1986 and 2000, Florida is expected to produce only 18 percent of the mathematics teachers and 9.5 percent of the science teachers it needs.

—Too many teachers are unprepared. For instance, elementary education majors averaged less than a single semester hour in mathematics or science during their junior or senior year in college and none took an upper-division science course.

—Despite recent improvements, Florida teachers remain inadequately compensated, ranking 27th overall nationwide.

The Consequences

The consequences of these academic deficiencies and teacher shortages extend directly to Florida businesses.

A student who doesn't understand the function of a decimal point today can mistakenly write an insurance claim check tomorrow for $3,000 instead of $30.00.

A student who can't convert fractions to percentages today can measure incorrectly tomorrow and produce a whole trashbin of faulty parts.

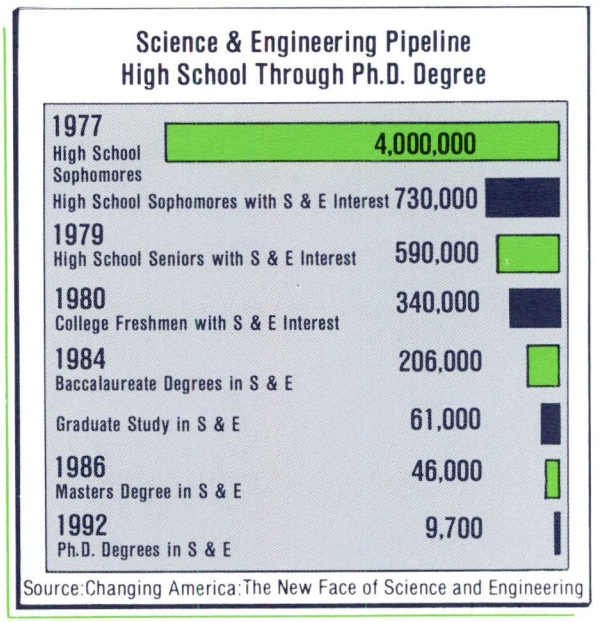
As Xerox Chairman David Kearns has pointed out, "If current demographic and economic trends continue, American business will have to hire a million new workers a year who cannot read, write or count. Teaching them how and absorbing the lost productivity while they're learning will cost industry $25 billion a year."

We cannot afford that kind of lost productivity—not if we want to maintain, or improve, our standard of living.

In a competitive global economy, the job that moved from Detroit to Tampa in the 1970s could just as easily move to Juarez and Bangkok in the 1990s. Or to Atlanta and Raleigh.

In a world economy, Florida's competitive edge rests on its ability to work smarter—to apply technological advances to marketable products and services. In such an economy, there will be an expanding premium placed on technical skills.

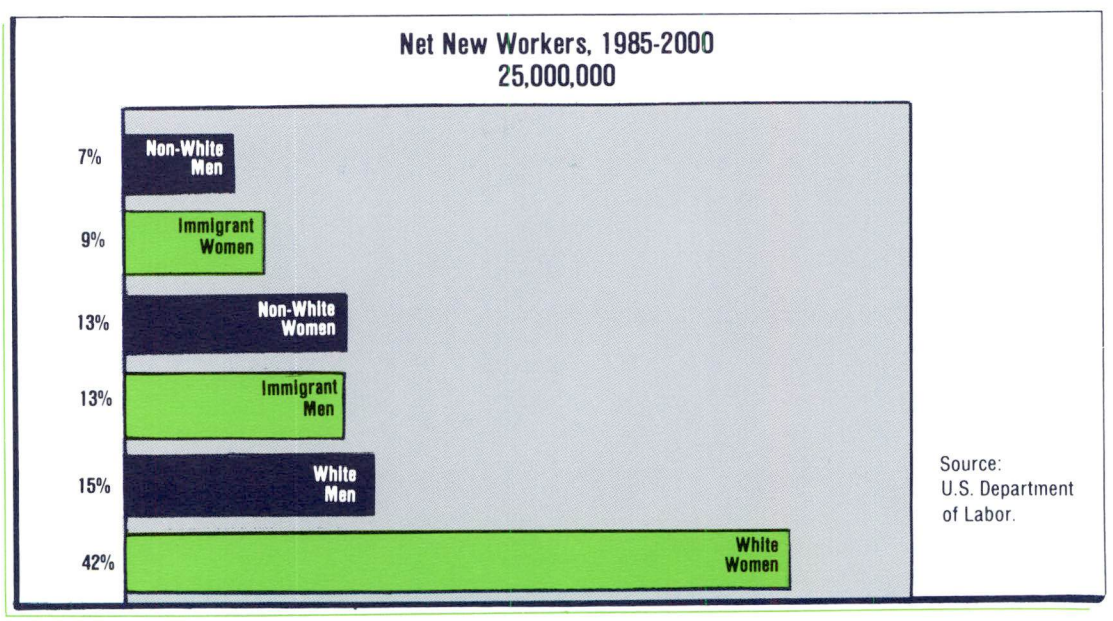
It's not that our students all need to be trained as Ph.D. engineers or Nobel-prize-winning chemists—though we certainly need more of them. Our primary challenge is to educate people who can operate our automated factories, use new agricultural technologies, repair our VCRs and use new technology to handle a sales call—or save a life. The bottom line is that it's hard to imagine a Florida business that *will not* require technically literate employees in the future.



But the mathematics and science challenge goes beyond the bottom line. With the emergence of the "greenhouse effect" of global warming and with a biotechnology revolution that is creating new life forms, *all* citizens must have some understanding of the forces shaping our lives.

Thus, Florida is faced with twin challenges. A world-class economy needs world-class workers. And a representative democracy needs literate, informed citizens.

Changing demographics will markedly affect the composition of the future workforce.



THE RESPONSE

This is no time for finger-pointing.

To be sure, schools are on the front line in the race to upgrade our children's skills. To that end, The Florida Chamber was pleased to have joined with the Florida Department of Education to prepare a *Comprehensive Plan for Improving Mathematics, Science and Computer Education*—a blueprint for statewide educational reform that was released in April 1989. The 28-member task force of leading business executives and educators from around the state had a clear-cut mission:

To make Florida a world leader in math, science and computer education by the year 1999.

To accomplish that fundamental objective, we focused on five broad goals:

- Strengthen the K-12 curriculum to ensure that students have a chance to explore a subject in depth, learn to reason scientifically and see the connections among various mathematical and scientific principles.
- Restructure learning to make mathematics, science and computer education more exciting through increased "hands-on" learning that exposes students early and often to the thrill of discovery, to the adventures of observation and to the broader insights into the scientific principles that govern their world.
- Mount an aggressive campaign to recruit, prepare and retain qualified teachers in the state.
- Reach out to students with special needs, such as minorities and females who have been under-represented in scientific and technical fields.
- And finally, ensure accountability for results by establishing a 10-year implementation schedule, through which reforms will be phased in district by district, school by school, grade by grade. The implementation will be overseen by a research advisory commission of educators, business executives, scientists, state government officials and others. (For details on the *Comprehensive Plan* see Appendix).

Legislation implementing the *Comprehensive Plan* was passed by the 1989 Florida Legislature. The legislation addresses many of the individual components of the *Plan* by creating such innovative and needed programs as the Teacher Quest Scholarship

Program and the Mentor Teacher Program. A crucial element is a mandate that the 10 year implementation schedule contained in the *Plan* begin during the 1989-90 school year. In addition, to ensure that critical employer needs of the future are fully considered during implementation, the legislation creates an advisory council composed of educators and business people, some of whom will be appointed by the President of The Florida Chamber.

The Chamber is encouraged by the positive response to the *Plan*—not only in Tallahassee but across the state. The media, as well as the legislature, has responded with coverage in virtually every major newspaper in the state.

Responsibility for improving the mathematical and scientific performance of Florida students extends far beyond the schoolhouse and statehouse. Florida businesses must become more involved. The *Sarasota Herald Tribune* (April 26, 1989) editorialized about the *Plan*," . . . The Chamber(s) members are promoting their own self interests because improvement in education can make for a more prosperous business climate, but that's fine because unless influential business men and business women start constantly rattling the legislature's and local school districts' cages demanding a better 'product,' conditions are unlikely to improve."

The following pages describe what we must do—and are doing—to help our students and teachers implement the ambitious goals of the *Comprehensive Plan.*

ACTION AGENDA

Your commitment is needed.

What Florida Businesses Need to Do

There are ample opportunities for businesses, large *and* small, to help boost the mathematical and scientific literacy of Florida's students.

And there are many compelling reasons for us to become involved. Start with self-interest. After all, at stake is the future of our businesses . . . and our children and grandchildren.

But a broader question is at stake—the future well-being of our state and all our citizens is on the line. Our ability to build better schools, bigger parks and expanded libraries . . . to finance fire, police and other public services . . . and to afford quality health care depends directly on an expanding economy. Such economic growth, in turn, requires highly skilled employees.

Since everyone knows the problem, business needs to adopt that famous Noah principle: No more prizes for predicting rain. Prizes only for building arks.

Louis V. Gerstner
(former President,
American Express)

To help ensure that our businesses have a ready supply of quality employees well into the 21st century. The Florida Chamber has identified a 10-step agenda of action for its members.

The diversity of ideas share one common element: the individual commitment of business executives to act. We have no excuse to wait for "someone else" to solve the problem. There will be no miraculous solutions from Tallahassee or Washington. *Improving the mathematical and scientific literacy of Floridians will depend on what we do . . . in our own institutions and in our own communities.*

Furthermore, the magnitude of the education challenge is so great—and the cost of failure so unacceptably high—that business involvement with the schools must move into a new, more activist phase.

As the Institute for Educational Leadership has observed:

> *Most business-education partnerships, although worthwhile, have existed at the margin of educational reform—adopting schools; furnishing teachers with support, training or equipment; and providing jobs or scholarships to students. Or they occur at the front end of the reforms, with creation of blue-ribbon task forces to propose and/or lobby in support of new education initiatives.*

Bridge-building of that sort was essential in the past decade as business and educators established common cause and staked out common ground.

Today, however, we need to go beyond feel-good partnerships and roll up our sleeves—whether it's mentoring an underprivileged child or lobbying policymakers for increased investments in education. A top-down report doesn't touch children *unless* someone does something. That someone must be you.

The following ideas include many of the traditional recommendations for business involvement with the schools. But they also call for an extra level of commitment, a new willingness to become involved in a very personal way. In thinking about how exactly you might help, consider that senior executives at Procter & Gamble spend up to *10 hours a week* on school reform.

Each member of The Florida Chamber cannot necessarily duplicate that extraordinary example of dedication, yet each of us can at least aspire to it.

1. Face the Facts

Time and again, Americans and Floridians have risen to challenges, but they first had to realize that a problem existed. They had to face the facts, unpleasant as that task can be sometimes. Because awareness precedes action, we first need to raise the alarm in our own companies . . . and communities. Florida citizens must be made aware of the gaps in mathematical and scientific literacy and understand how those shortfalls *affect all of us*. Start with your employees. Use your company newsletter to spread the word. Encourage your employees to help their children with their homework . . . or release them to volunteer at a local science museum or school.

2. Lobby for Excellence

We need to be vocal in our insistence that Florida schools adopt high standards of educational quality and that our educators be held accountable for results. That means being much more actively involved in the political process. There are many ways that businesses can put education on their political agendas. Let legislators and school board members know of your concerns about the state's educational system. Back candidates who support first-rate education. Speak out on such controversial issues as merit pay and the election of school superintendents. Sponsor community forums on key educational

issues. Encourage your local superintendent to form a business advisory committee. Support the statewide Chamber's efforts to promote school reform. Furthermore, we need to be willing to stand up for new taxes, *if* that is what's required to get the quality we need. Although it's not just a question of throwing money at the problem, it is difficult to see how we can revise our curricula, upgrade our textbooks, provide more "hands-on" learning, and recruit and retain high-quality teachers without spending more money.

3. Speak Out

As leaders in the community, business executives must continuously convey to teachers, students, parents and other civic leaders that reforming mathematics and science instruction is a top priority for Florda businesses. Beyond more active political involvement, there are plentiful opportunities to let your views be known. Speak out on the importance of technical literacy. Make sure your local Chamber is doing something to improve the quality of instruction. Encourage your local newspaper editor to become as much of an educational booster as a sports booster. Become a cheerleader for reform in your own company. Organize public reward-and-recognition programs for outstanding students. Sponsor fairs and contests. These need not involve major expenditures: any business that can afford to sponsor a Little League team can afford to underwrite a science fair or a math competition.

4. Become Mentors

We know that nothing is more effective in increasing motivation, boosting performance and reducing drop-outs than a one-to-one relationship between a child and a respected adult. Quality mentoring programs are especially valuable for students who do not have supportive parents at home. Volunteer as a tutor. Spend an afternoon taking a child to a zoo, an aquarium or a science museum. Or offer career-shadowing programs that give students the opportunity to join your employees for a day "on the job."

5. Encourage Employee Participation

Create incentives to promote more voluntary action by your employees. Give workers one, two or even three hours a week off with pay to tutor local students in mathematics

and science. Give three afternoons a year off to employees who want to participate in parent-teacher conferences at their schools. Establish in-house recognition programs that honor your employees who volunteer at science museums, schools and other community organizations. For senior managers, make such community service work one criterion for promotion. Or have your finest technical employees visit classrooms to help students explore career choices.

6. Open Your Doors

To foster the kind of "hands-on" learning required, expand your summer internship programs for promising K-12 students and teachers alike. Among specific possibilities, businesses should play a key role in establishing a new "Teacher/Quest" program which lets teachers explore job-related science, mathematics and computer skills while working for participating firms. Alternatively, invite the local high school science teachers to sit in on your in-house training sessions. You also can roll out the welcome mat by giving public tours and demonstrations of your science-related facilities, displaying student science fair projects in your lobbies, or creating displays that show how dramatically technology is transforming your companies and industries. Or open your meeting facilities for use by teachers, parents and students.

7. Build Bridges to the Community

Both to reinforce the importance of educational reform and to help build local awareness and participation, take the lead in organizing such activities as community-wide ecology projects, "math bees" or science competitions. For more direct intervention, have your company adopt a school or a classroom.

8. Share Experiences

In order to respond to economic competitiveness pressures, Florida businesses have engaged in a painful restructuring, similar to that now confronted by our school system. We've learned—sometimes the hard way—how to boost efficiency and improve quality. A growing number of educators are now looking to us for pragmatic advice on how to cut costs and boost performance. We should be willing to respond in a positive way—not by

dictating solutions, but by sharing the lessons we have learned in a spirit of constructive cooperation.

9. Donate Money, Equipment and Facilities

Because the Chamber believes that the kinds of *direct* participation and partnerships discussed above promise greater success in the long term, we have purposefully left the issue of money until the end. Nonetheless, it should not be ignored altogether. Investment opportunities which can leverage excellence are plentiful. Provide financial aid and scholarships to students. Offer mini-grants to outstanding mathematics and science teachers.Help fund the "Doing Science/Doing Mathematics" program that will bring more "hands-on" learning activities to the state's 1,667 elementary and middle schools. Donate used computer and laboratory equipment to schools.

10. Back the Chamber's Efforts

Help The Florida Chamber in its efforts to promote education reform. Make sure you have a copy of the *Comprehensive Plan*. Read it. And use it as the basis of your own initiatives.

This 10-step action agenda barely touches the surface of what can—and must—be done.

Thankfully, dozens of Florida companies and thousands of individual employers and employees already are transforming their commitment into action. The following pages profile some of the more exciting and promising initiatives under way around the state.

What Florida Businesses Are Doing

Florida companies already are sponsoring innovative programs to build the technical skills of the state's future workforce. These pioneering efforts provide models for other businesses to join or adapt. Corporate commitments range from providing funds and personnel to opening facilities to student field trips.

The aim may be to stimulate students' interest in math and science studies or to provide practical career guidance, to help teachers improve their classroom skills or to complement the teachers' efforts with guest speakers or volunteer tutors. But all of these programs have one thing in common: a bridge between the business community and the schools that link today's students with tomorrow's job skills.

- Companies such as **Tropicana Products, FPL, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich** and **Paradyne Corp.** are sponsoring Florida MATHCOUNTS, an annual math coaching and competition program for seventh and eighth graders. The **Florida Engineering Society** and the **National Society of Professional Engineers** provide coaching materials at no cost to the schools to prepare "mathletes" for competitions before audiences at the regional, state and national levels. The corporate sponsors provide prizes and funding.

- The **National Society of Professional Engineers** and the **Florida Engineering Society** are also sponsoring Project CREATE (Creative Responses from Elementary Age ThinkErs), a pilot program for fourth, fifth and sixth graders in four Central Florida Schools. The program is designed to boost student's creative thinking in a non-threatening problem-solving atmosphere with some emphasis on math and science.

- **Motorola** and **United Technologies Pratt & Whitney** send engineers into Palm Beach county schools as part of the **R**eaching **E**ducation **E**xcellence Through **L**inkages (REEL) program, which tries to make classroom teaching more practical by using specialists from the business community to demonstrate how concepts in the students' textbooks are used in manufacturing.

- **Burger King** provides Bay County students with food awards for earning stars in the county-wide Math Superstars Program. Students who excel in the program get T-shirts at the end of the year.

- **Southern Bell** engineers work with minority high math achievers at Dillard High School in Broward County. The program is designed to keep those students on a college-bound track and to expose them to job opportunities in engineering, science or math fields with practical advice on how to build careers. Volunteers also assist students with projects for competitions at the school and state level.

- **AT&T** helps students with science projects and gives teachers an opportunity to become acquainted with new computer software through the Partners in Excellence program at Broward County's Northeast High School.

- Several organizations, including **Cordis Corp., Jackson Memorial Hospital,** the **University of Miami School of Medicine,** the **Miami Seaquarium, South Miami Hospital, Pearlson Engineering, Gables Engineering** and **Eastern Airlines,** bring gifted students in as interns to work with

professional scientists through the Community Lab Research Program in Dade County schools.

- The **Tampa Electric Company** sponsors summer science and math camps and a workshop for teachers of environmental education for Hillsborough County teachers. It also provides science fair trophies and ribbons.

- **FPL's** education office funds materials and equipment for summer science teacher training and publishes a free newsletter with math, science and technology ideas that it sends to more than 1,000 teachers.

- **IBM** has devoted a staff member to the development of the High Technology Magnet Program complete with its own curriculum in math, science, engineering and technology at the Sun Coast High School in Riviera Beach, Palm Beach County. IBM also hosts 40 minority students at Florida Atlantic University in a College Outreach Program which encourages students to pursue enrollment, scholarships and loans in the areas of math, science and engineering. And, IBM is providing $25 million dollars in grant funds to colleges of education and high schools to develop the use of technology in the classroom.

- **United Technologies Pratt & Whitney** is also participating in the Project to Increase Mastery in Mathematics and Science (PIMMS) in collaboration with Palm Beach county schools and Florida Atlantic University's Center for Excellence. The project introduced a 60-hour program for 30 middle- and high-school math and science teachers to help them improve their teaching strategies and preparation, develop math and science activities to meet the needs of the new technological era, and to employ lab activities that use easily obtained, inexpensive materials and limited amounts of space.

- **Harris Corp.** sponsors the Harris Initiative for Quality Education program with Brevard County public schools, putting on science seminars and fairs and conducting in-service teacher and administrator training featuring nationally known speakers.

- The **Science and Math Advocacy Council of Citrus County**, organized in 1985, works with the school board, offering elementary-school teacher incentives and student Math Field Days each spring. For the middle- and high-school levels, the council offers mini-grants of up to $30 to help fund student science projects and awards a renewable $500 scholarship to a senior from each high school who wants to pursue college studies in math, science or technology.

- **The Northwest Florida Water Management District** provides a one-week science unit, Waterways, for middle-school students in the 16 school systems in the area. Science teachers attend training sessions and are provided with slides and instructional materials.

- Organizations including **Florida Power Corp.**, the **Central Florida Mineral & Gem Society, Martin Marietta** and **Walt Disney World** provide varied kinds of science-oriented assistance, including field trips, fossil and mineral specimens, science fair prizes and judges, lectures, video tapes, scholarships and teacher training under the Partners in Education program, in the Orange County public schools.

- The **U.S. Navy** provides volunteers for math and science projects. For instance, Navy officers, senior enlisted personnel and Navy retirees with high-tech skills assist school personnel in math, science and compute areas. Begun in Pensacola in 1983, the program has been extended to Orlando, Jacksonville and Mayport. Another project sends Navy personnel into inner-city Jacksonville elementary schools to work one-on-one on reading and math skills with students on Saturday mornings.

- The **McDonald's** McHappy Awards program in Columbia County issues cards for free sundaes, which teachers can give to third, fourth and fifth graders who learn their multiplication tables.

- **NASA Kennedy Space Center** provides students with an opportunity to work on science and engineering projects with a mentor through the Summer High School Apprenticeship Research Program (SHARP). Students from Volusia, Brevard, Orange and Seminole Counties apply through their school system and interview at NASA for a limited number of positions.

Step by step, school by school these firms are helping to build the foundation of Florida's economic future.

APPENDIX

Details on the Comprehensive Plan

The *Comprehensive Plan for Improving Mathematics, Science and Computer Education,* a joint initiative by The Florida Chamber and the Florida Department of Education, advances five basic goals, accompanied by a series of specific recommendations, to improve mathematics, science and computer education in Florida. The major proposals are summarized below.

Strengthen the Curriculum

At all grade levels, more conceptual understanding should be encouraged. A curriculum that is an inch deep and a mile wide is inadequate. So is rote memorization of unconnected facts and formulas. Students must understand the relationships between and among mathematical and scientific principles and processes. And they must have a chance to explore a subject in depth, learn to reason scientifically, experiment and test for alternative solutions and reject hypotheses that cannot be supported by the evidence. Specific recommendations include:

- Teach all elementary school students math and science on a daily basis, using computer technology where appropriate.
- Reform the middle-school curricula to ensure that students take subjects such as algebra, geometry and estimation; and that science courses cover concepts in physical sciences, life and earth/space sciences, and science, technology and society.
- Require all high school graduates to have at least three credits in both math and science. Ensure that the high school curriculum, in addition to continuing courses first offered in middle school, includes such new topics as probability, trigonometry, calculus, biology and the history of scientific thought.
- Review and revise, as necessary, all textbooks, software and instructional material to support the goals of the *Comprehensive Plan.*

Restructure Learning

The most effective way to improve academic performance is to make mathematics, science and computer instruction more stimulating. Specific recommendations include:

- Expand the real-world application of mathematical and science concepts.

- Emphasize active experimentation, teamwork, cooperative learning and critical thinking through "spirit of science" approaches.
- Establish a business/education matching-grant partnership program to provide funds to elementary and middle schools for improving mathematics, science and computer education.
- Increase the availability and use of state-of-the-art instructional technology.

Prepare More Qualified Teachers

The success of the *Comprehensive Plan* depends fundamentally on the quality of our teachers. If we want our students to benefit from a more stimulating, demanding and integrated approach to mathematics, science and computer education, we must begin by preparing, recruiting and retaining the best instructors possible. Specific recommendations include:

- Identify and recruit high-quality students to teaching careers through such programs as Future Educators of America.
- Expand existing recruitment, loan and grant programs to recruit and retain qualified teacher candidates.
- Expand efforts to recruit and educate teachers with non-traditional teaching backgrounds, such as retired civilian and military scientists, engineers and technicians.
- Expand the capacity of Florida universities and community colleges to produce one-third of the state's needed mathematics, science and computer education teachers within five years.
- Improve pre- and in-service programs to ensure that elementary teachers are properly prepared to teach mathematics, science and computer classes.
- Continue efforts to improve the compensation (salaries and benefits) of all teachers. And consider special incentives (such as 11-or 12-month contracts) to recruit good teachers into subject areas with critical shortages such as mathematics, science and computer education.
- Create a more professional work environment for teachers, giving teachers more decision-making authority in the schools; more rewards for innovations; and more opportunities to exchange ideas and successful practices.
- Expand professional-development opportunities, such as greater use of summer in-service institutes.

Reach Out to Students With Special Needs

Given that 85 percent of Florida's new workers by the year 2000 are projected to be minorities, immigrants and women, and that these groups traditionally have been under-represented in scientific and technical fields, special steps must be taken to encourage their development. The keys appear to be early and sustained interventions to stimulate student interest and boost performance. Specific recommendations include:

- Support exemplary efforts such as magnet programs and centers for academically talented students; develop alternatives to the tracking system; and provide greater access to positive role models.
- Help teachers and parents overcome stereotypes; provide early intervention and counseling; and stress technical-related career opportunities.
- Encourage colleges and universities to use dual enrollments, advanced placements and financial-aid awards to target under-represented groups for mathematics, science and technical studies.

Get Results

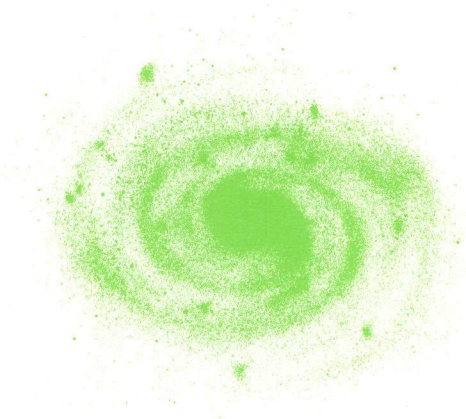
The *Plan* must be implemented and refined, as necessary, to make substantial, measurable improvements in mathematics, science and computer education by 1999. Also, statewide and classroom tests must be revised, as needed, to support the goals of the *Plan*. Specific recommendations include:

- Implement the *Plan* in three "lighthouse districts" to learn what it will take to succeed statewide.
- Establish a research advisory commission of educators, business executives, scientists, state government officials and others to oversee the *Plan's* evolution and implementation. Top priorities should be to:
  - — Conduct a thorough re-examination of curriculum assessment goals in all mathematics, science and computer education.
  - — Monitor and refine measures of success, and report annually.
- Supplement paper-and pencil tests by developing practical assessment to evaluate such skills as problem-solving, critical thinking, reasoning, cooperative learning, teamwork and the application of knowledge. Among other recommendations, the report urges greater use of calculators during tests to ensure that students do not spend a disproportionate amount of time on computational operations.

A Final Word

To perform to the high standards established by the *Plan*, Florida students need the enthusiastic support of the entire community. We have seen time and again how the encouragement of a parent, the enthusiasm of a science museum volunteer, and the personal involvement of a business executive can make a tangible difference in a student's performance. Such mutually reinforcing partnerships should become the rule, not the exception. In this regard, the Task Force makes two recommendations:

- Increase expectations and reward achievement. Having demanded excellence, we must also be sure to reward outstanding achievement. Among the more promising approaches, we encourage communities to reward achievement in mathematics, science and computer education as energetically as they now honor athletes, performers and artists.
- Expand the productive collaboration of educators with parents, community resources, business and industry. Programs such as the Education and Industry Coalition of the Florida Chamber of Commerce have played a leadership role in developing new partnerships with industry. Many more such alliances are needed.



For further information, The Florida Department of Education publishes a resource guide of innovative programs, *Sharing Success in Mathematics, Science and Computer Education.* To receive a copy call (904) 487-1078.

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BUSINESS REPRESENTATIVES

Bob Alligood
Task Force Chairman
DeLay, Thompson, Alligood, & Beck
Jacksonville

Harry J. Baum
Electronics & Missiles Group
Martin Marietta Corporation
Orlando

John T. Carroll
United Technologies
Optical Systems
West Palm Beach

James T. Glass
Post, Buckley, Schuh & Jernigan
Miami

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Tampa Electric Company
Tampa

Tom Hopkins
FPL
Miami

William B. Howden
Government Products Division
United Technologies
Pratt & Whitney
West Palm Beach

Ron Hutt
Harris Corporation
Melbourne

Patrick Kelly
IBM Corporation
Boca Raton

Kim L. Maher
The Discovery Center
Fort Lauderdale

Bill Maloy
Instructional Development & Educational Programs
Support Department, U.S. Navy
Pensacola

Nancy McDonald
Computer Technology Planning
Tampa

George Mosakowski
John F. Kennedy Space Center, NASA
Kennedy Space Center

George Rickus
Florida Power Corporation
St. Petersburg

EDUCATORS

Judy Ambler
Florida Association for Computers in Education
Belcher Elementary School
Palm Harbor

John D. Bernreuter, III
Manatee County Schools
Florida Association of Science Teachers
Bradenton

Cheryl Cliett
Sealey Elementary School
Tallahassee

Tom Denmark
Legislative liaison for mathematics and science organizations
Tallahassee

Roderick S. Dickens, Jr.
Nathan B. Forrest Senior High
Presidential Award Winner in Math/Science Teaching
Jacksonville

Mary Ann DuPont
Palm Beach County Schools
West Palm Beach

Susan A. Englert
Largo Senior High
Presidential Award Winner in Math/Science Teaching
Largo

John J. Geil
Vocational Education
Brevard County Schools
Rockledge

Sherrie Glass
High School Student
Miami Killian Senior High
Dade County Schools
Miami

Preston Jones
Manatee County Schools
Bradenton

Katie W. Knight
Escambia County Schools
Pensacola

Roger O'Brien
Polk County Public Schools
President Florida Association of Math Supervisors
Bartow

Mary Budd Rowe
University of Florida
President National Association of Science Teachers
Gainesville

Kenneth Tobin
Science Education
Florida State University
Tallahassee

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Florida Education & Industry Coalition

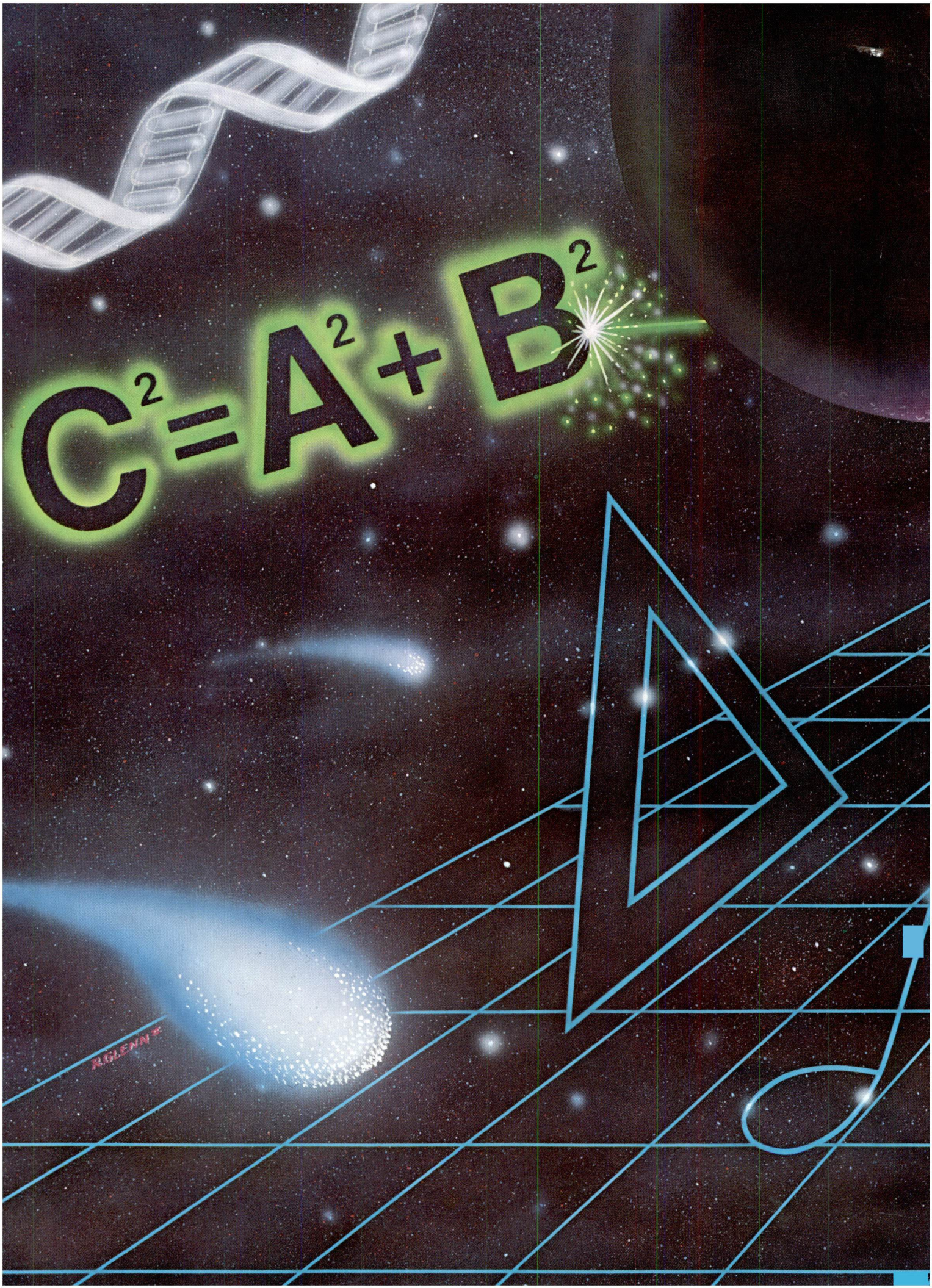
The Florida Education & Industry Coalition is an innovative partnership administered by the Florida Chamber of Commerce through which business and education leaders jointly develop policies and programs to strengthen Florida education at all levels.

Florida's economic competitiveness depends on strong links between business and education. The Coalition provides leadership for addressing such critical issues as:

- The need for a competitive work force;
- The problem of at risk youth who are not succeeding at school or work;
- The quantity and quality of public school teachers;
- The availability of highly skilled technical and scientific personnel.

For more information or to obtain copies of the report please contact

The Florida Chamber of Commerce
Florida Education & Industry Coalition
P.O. Box 11309 ■ Tallahassee, FL 32302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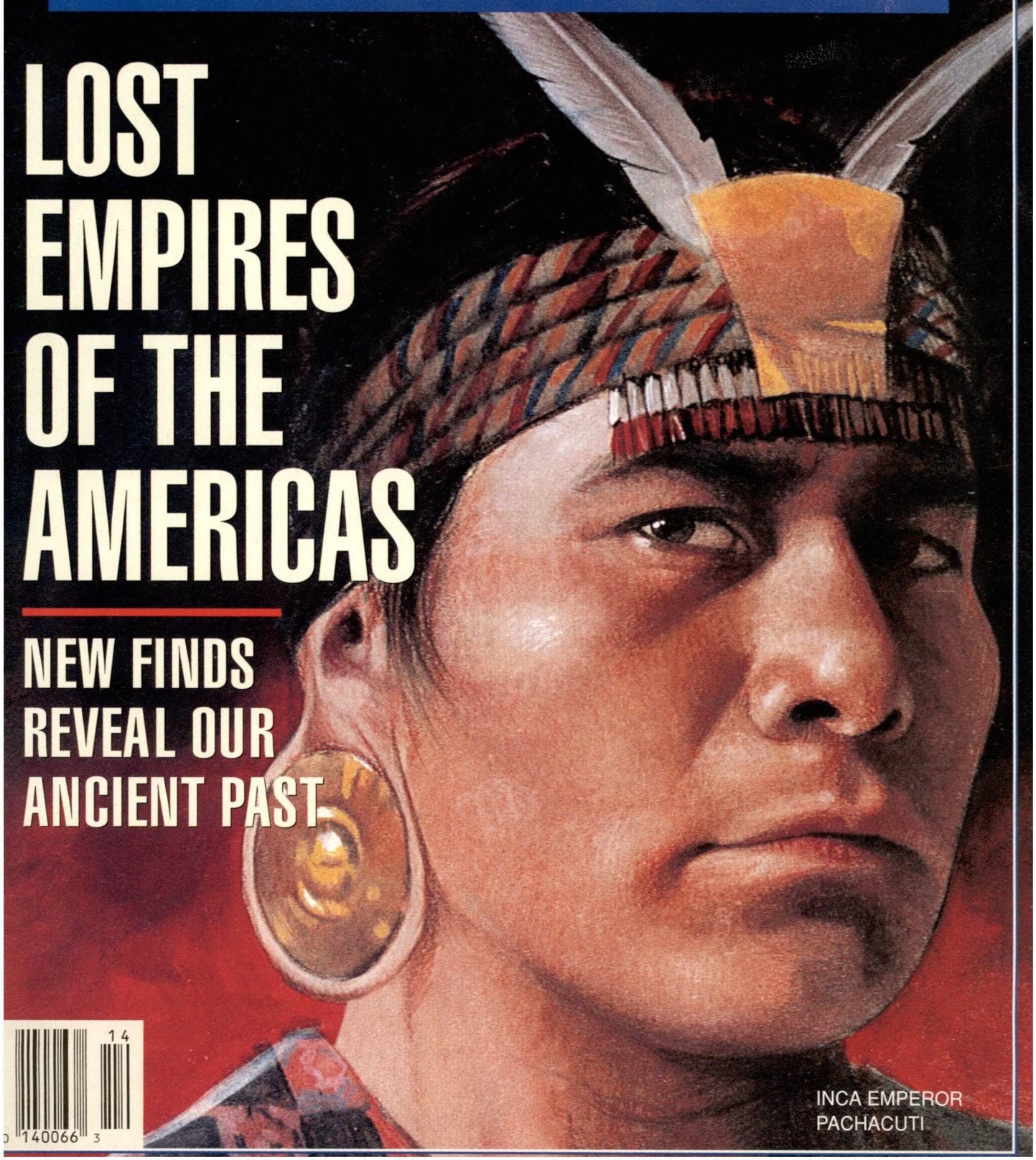

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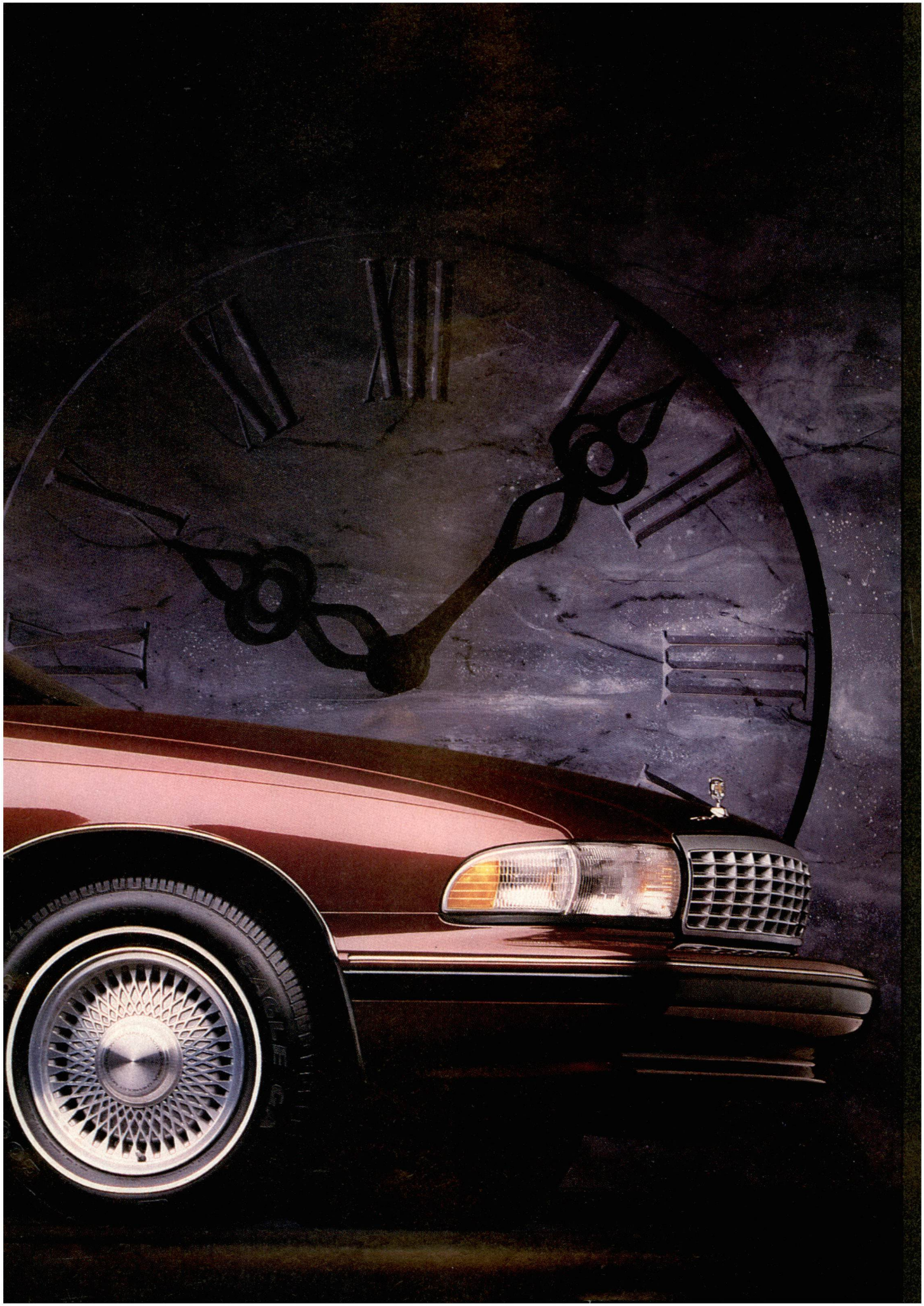

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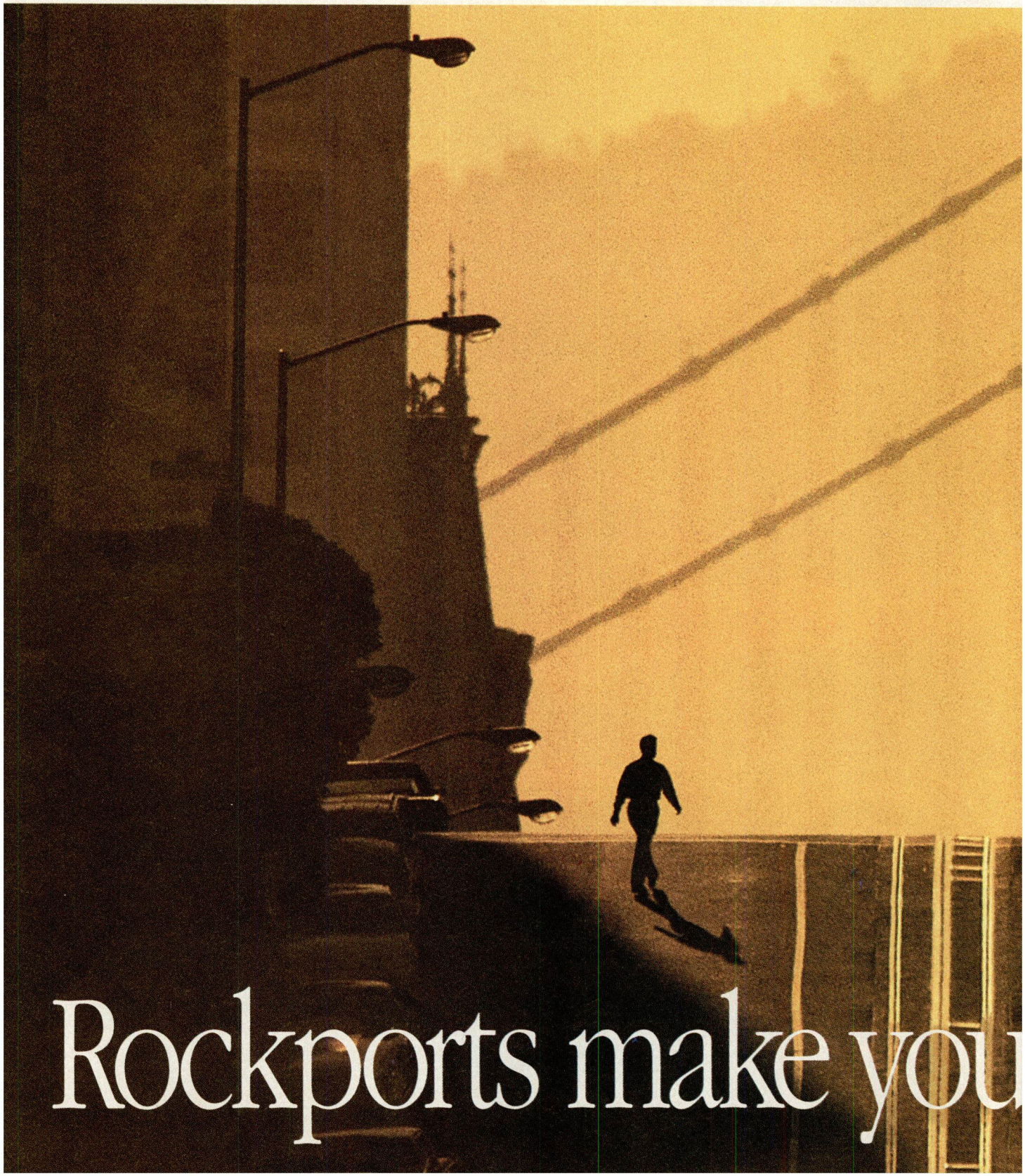

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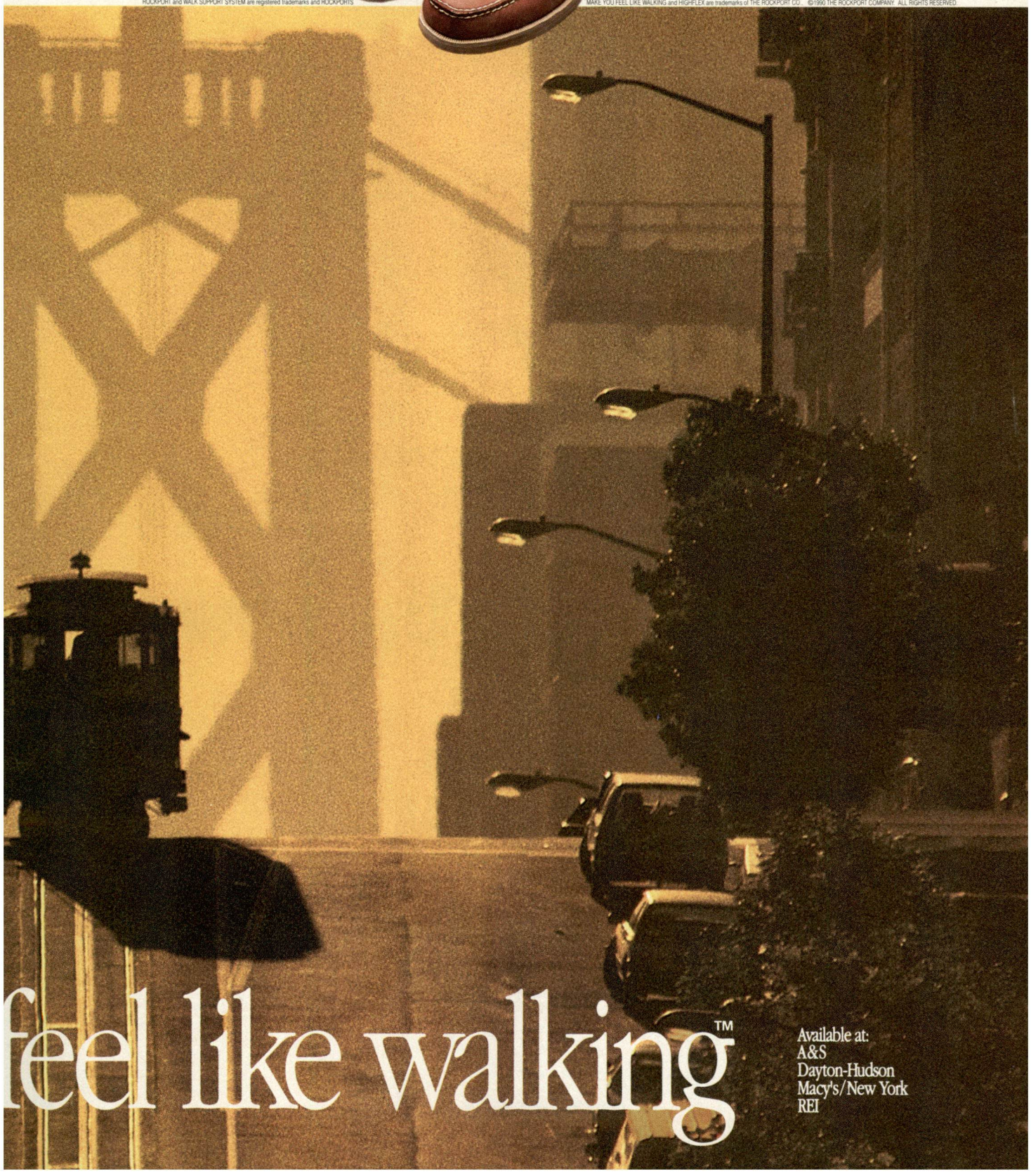

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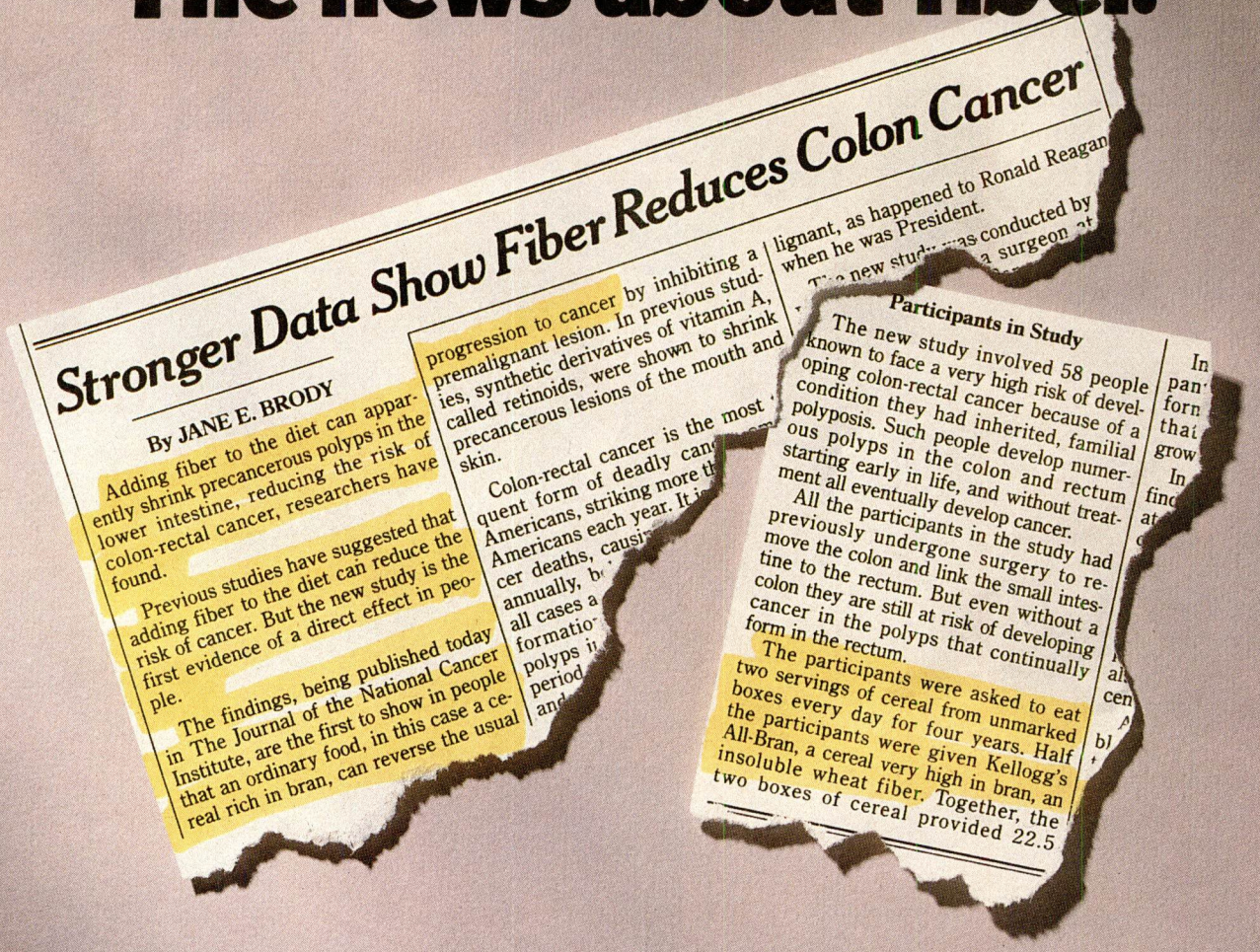
The news about fiber.



Stronger Data Show Fiber Reduces Colon Cancer

By JANE E. BRODY

Adding fiber to the diet can apparently shrink precancerous polyps in the lower intestine, reducing the risk of colon-rectal cancer, researchers have found.

Previous studies have suggested that adding fiber to the diet can reduce the risk of cancer. But the new study is the first evidence of a direct effect in people.

The findings, being published today in The Journal of the National Cancer Institute, are the first to show in people that an ordinary food, in this case a cereal rich in bran, can reverse the usual progression to cancer by inhibiting a premalignant lesion. In previous studies, synthetic derivatives of vitamin A, called retinoids, were shown to shrink precancerous lesions of the mouth and skin.

Colon-rectal cancer is the most frequent form of deadly cancer in Americans, striking more than 150,000 Americans each year. It is the second leading cancer deaths, causing about 60,000 deaths annually, both in men and women. In all cases a precancerous polyp or formation of polyps in the colon or rectum is the first step in the development of cancer.

lignant, as happened to Ronald Reagan when he was President.

The new study was conducted by a surgeon at

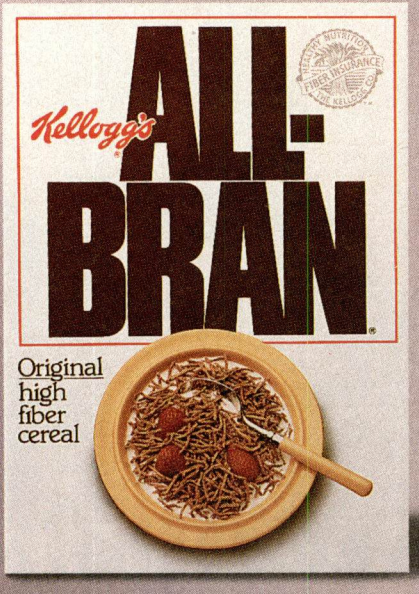
Participants in Study

The new study involved 58 people known to face a very high risk of developing colon-rectal cancer because of a condition they had inherited, familial polyposis. Such people develop numerous polyps in the colon and rectum starting early in life, and without treatment all eventually develop cancer.

All the participants in the study had previously undergone surgery to remove the colon and link the small intestine to the rectum. But even without a colon they are still at risk of developing cancer in the polyps that continually form in the rectum.

The participants were asked to eat two servings of cereal from unmarked boxes every day for four years. Half the participants were given Kellogg's All-Bran, a cereal very high in bran, an insoluble wheat fiber. Together, the two boxes of cereal provided 22.5

The fiber in the news.



A recent study adds even more support to the National Cancer Institute recommendation that a low-fat, high-fiber diet may reduce the risk of colon cancer. The cereal medical experts chose for the study was *Kellogg's® All-Bran®*

For more information on fiber and a pamphlet from the National Cancer Institute, write: Kellogg's All-Bran, P.O. Box 5014, Battle Creek, MI 49016-5014.

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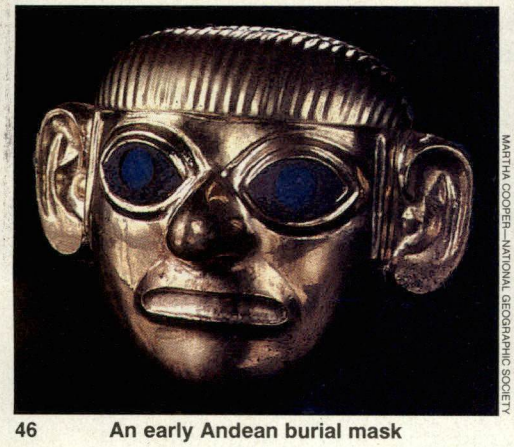

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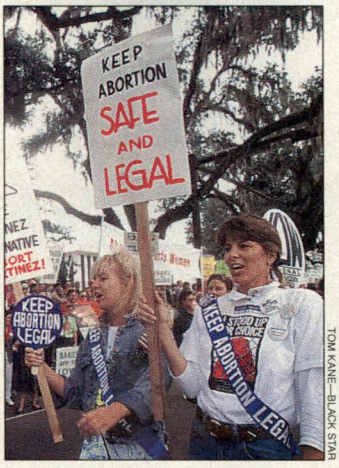

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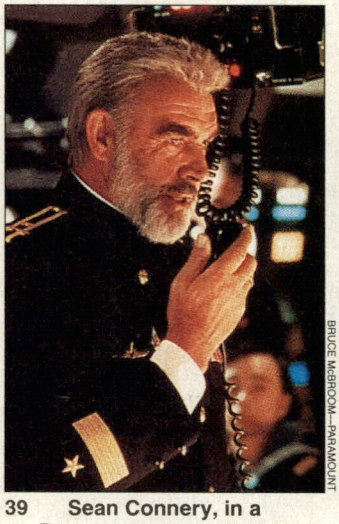

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COVER: Illustration by Alan Reingold

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LETTERS

TO THE EDITOR

American medicine: The main causes of escalating health-care costs are more political and social than medical ["America's Scandalous Health Care," March 12]. They include: The liability crisis; the increase in expensive, high-risk pregnancies; the rapidly growing elderly population with their expensive illnesses; increasing numbers of people suffering from substance abuse, psychiatric disease, vehicular trauma, and AIDS; the oversupply of hospital beds and physicians; the cost of new drugs and high technology; the high expectations of patients, and the new emphasis on preventive medicine. Health-care resources are limited. Who shall live and who shall die, based on cost considerations, must be society's decision, not the decision of physicians.

Marshall F. Goldberg, M.D.
Fairbanks, Alaska

■ Your article admirably indicates the problems facing America's health-care system. However, the article focuses on the one fifth who are uninsured or underinsured and only hints at efforts to reduce astronomical costs such as the $450,000 bill a relative of mine had after a six-month stay in the hospital. As a member of the board of the Rhode Island/Maine medical peer-review organization, I am convinced of the necessity of a national health-care program if the problems outlined in the article are ever to be resolved.

Francis H. Horn, President Emeritus
University of Rhode Island, Kingston

■ You seem to be calling for government to take over health care. But if government continues to reimburse at the present level, there will be no physicians to provide the care. Medicare allows me $12 per office visit. If I were to see only medicare patients, at the rate of four per hour, 8 hours per day, five days per week for 50 weeks per year, I would have a gross income of $96,000 per year. As a private businessman, my expenses last year were: Salaries, $42,527; supplies, $17,113; telephone, $1,396; utilities, $1,918; rent, $7,200; malpractice insurance, $14,034; office insurance, $1,608; and health insurance for my family, $4,200. This is a grand total of $89,996 or a net profit of $6,004, hardly an exorbitant income.

Alan E. Abel, M.D.
Dumas, Tex.

■ Just as public and private education exist side by side in our country, perhaps a two-tier system for medical and long-term care

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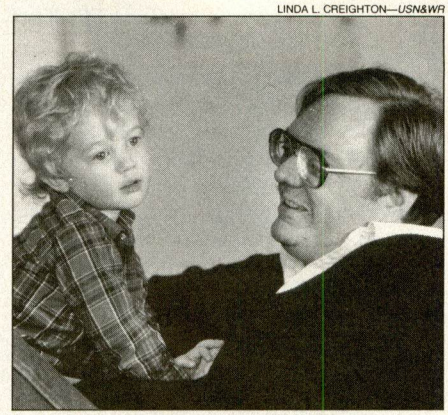
could provide the solution to our health-care problems. For a good, basic health-care delivery system that is simple, economical and fair, and supported by everyone, adopt the Canadian system of national health insurance. On the private side, let those who are able and willing to pay finance their own private medical care and care facilities.

Dorothy Bradley
Colorado Springs

■ It is a sad indictment of our country and of the medical establishment that we have failed so many people in delivery of quality care, when we have consumed so much of these people's resources. History should have taught us that throwing money and regulation at these problems only confounds them, aggravates the citizenry and eventually brings about collapse. I would encourage members of the Pepper Commission and public-health-policy planners to carefully look at the 21 countries where the outcome measures of health indicate greater success than the United States. I am certain they will discover an inverted ratio of specialists to primary-care physicians in the United States. That is, in the U.S. there are far and away more specialists than physicians who care for patients in a comprehensive disease-preventive model. History by now should have taught all of us that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

John H. Surry, M.D.
Harrisburg, Pa.

LINDA L. CREIGHTON—*USN&WR*

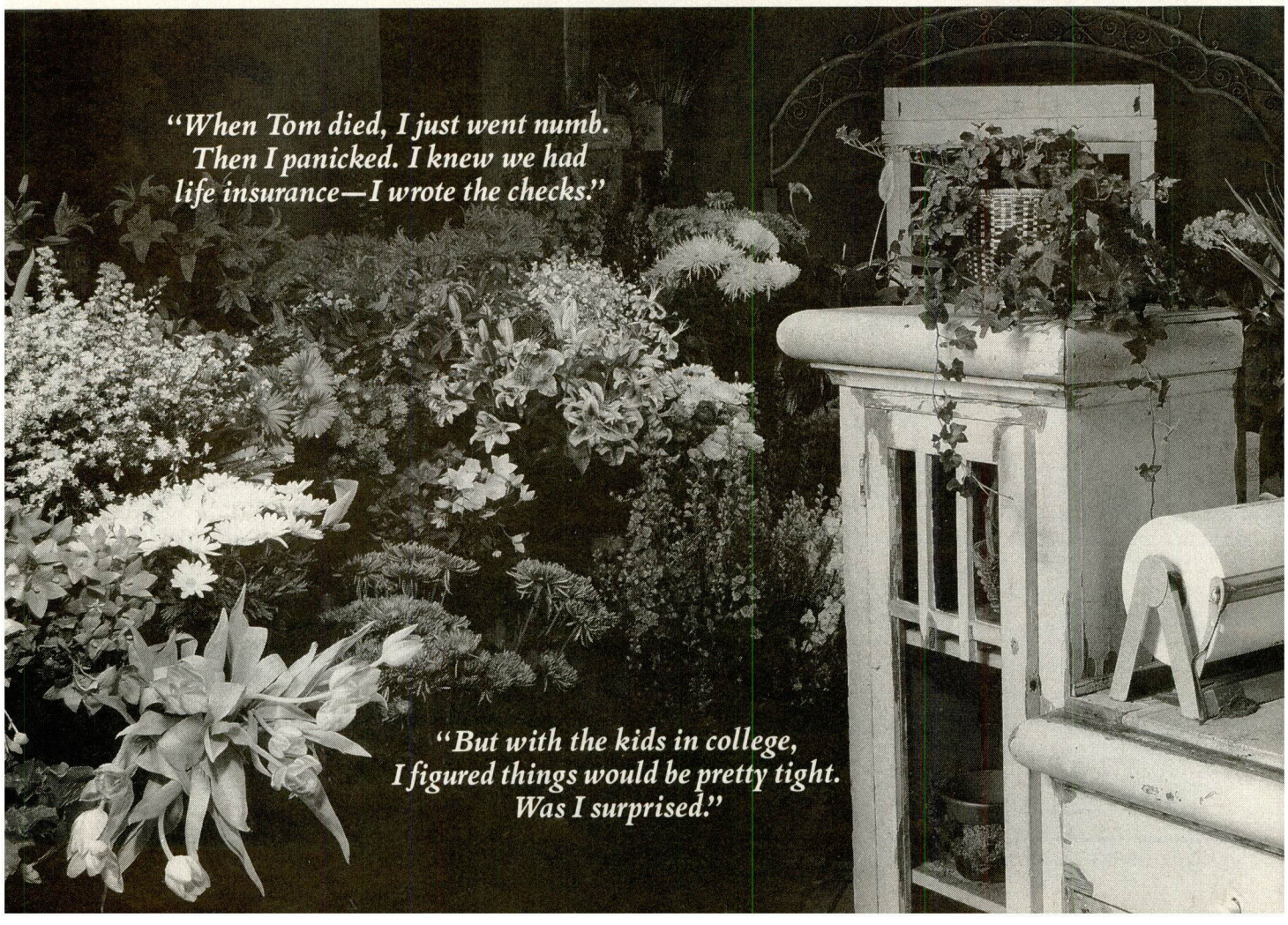


Underinsured. *Families live with* Angst

Cold-war victory: David Gergen scored a bull's-eye with "Why Soviet Dominoes Fell" [Editorial Page, March 19]. It amazes me that most liberals give absolutely no credit to Ronald Reagan for his role in facing down the Soviet Union and its cronies. Without Reagan there would be no Gorbachev! SDI terrifies the Soviets because, unlike some members of Congress, they have a deep respect for our ability to "pull a rabbit out of a hat." Staging Pershing and land-based cruise missiles in Western Europe demonstrated, more than any other single event in the 1980s, that NATO would not be intimidated. Finally, every Russian pilot in Afghanistan found that strafing villages was a lot less fun when looking over his shoulder for a Stinger missile. Stymied abroad, the Soviet Union had no choice but to turn inward and confront its crumbling system. The Democratic leadership in Congress should read your fine editorial, swallow its pride and give Ronald Reagan a well-deserved pat on the back.

Frank A. Mueller
Charlottesville, Va.

Old radicals: The inability of leftists to accept the failure of the socialist ideal is sad ["Leftists in the Wilderness," March 19]. They now blame the excesses of the Communists and ignore the fact that all attempts at socialism outside of Communism have similarly failed or are failing. Ring Lardner comes closest to recognizing this with his statement, "Given human nature, I'm not sure that [socialism] can be [put into practice]." Exactly! Human nature en-



compasses a broad spectrum of needs, capabilities, desires and morals. Expecting all humans to behave in a prescribed way will never work. No society can ever be perfect, something all idealists refuse to accept. The best we can do is allow a maximum of freedom of action and belief, and therefore accomplishment, while attempting to identify and control any excesses. The accomplishments of our imperfect Founding Fathers in defining our society look better all the time.

Peter F. Wells
Rindge, N.H.

Education survey: Your ratings of business, law, engineering and medical schools were right on target ["America's Best Professional Schools," March 19]. Your precision can only be underscored by these schools' campaigns to discredit your survey and its excellent reporting. For all too long, academia has been a world unto itself, setting its own rules and playing its own game. May your annual ratings of all universities and colleges continue to enjoy a well-deserved wide audience.

Stanley R. Jaffin
Silver Spring, Md.

■ Your coverage of graduate-school education was disappointing in its selection of areas of specialization. All four categories produce graduates who are eligible for jobs with great financial rewards. You might have chosen to present a more balanced picture by covering programs for more of the helping professions such as education and social work. Individuals in those fields are also paying expensive tuition, but with no opportunity to begin employment in the $50,000-$100,000 range. It would be much more enjoyable and enriching to read about their motivation than some of the anecdotes you chose to include. But keep on reporting that with two years of graduate school, students can choose between teaching in a classroom or beginning corporate life at $50,000. Maybe we need to have pointed out to us how distorted our priorities are.

Sharon Roush
West Redding, Conn.

■ You state the sad fact that only 1 in 5 Ph.D. engineering candidates is a native-born American but do not address the cause. The typical engineering graduate has spent 4.7 undergraduate years to obtain the degree and leaves with $15,000 of debt. The prospect of additional economic sacrifice is underwhelming. The typical foreign graduate student arrives in this country essentially debt-free with his education provided by a tuitionless state university system. His government fully subsidizes the education here. The only cost is the time consumed. If we want the U.S. to carry what's left of our technological leadership into the 21st century, we'd better level the playing field and do it soon!

Henry J. Dumas
Derry, N.H.

■ You have trotted out the same tired, albeit updated, stats to back up the best-graduate-schools rundown. But the numbers don't mean much. It's all very simple. When I need brain surgery, I won't pick my doctor because he went to Harvard. Far more important is how many brains he has operated on successfully. In short, excellence in training is reflected in how successful those who have been trained are in the line of work they choose. Ten years out of school, the student-faculty ratio or whether they went full or part time won't matter.

A. L. Johnson
Alexandria, Va.

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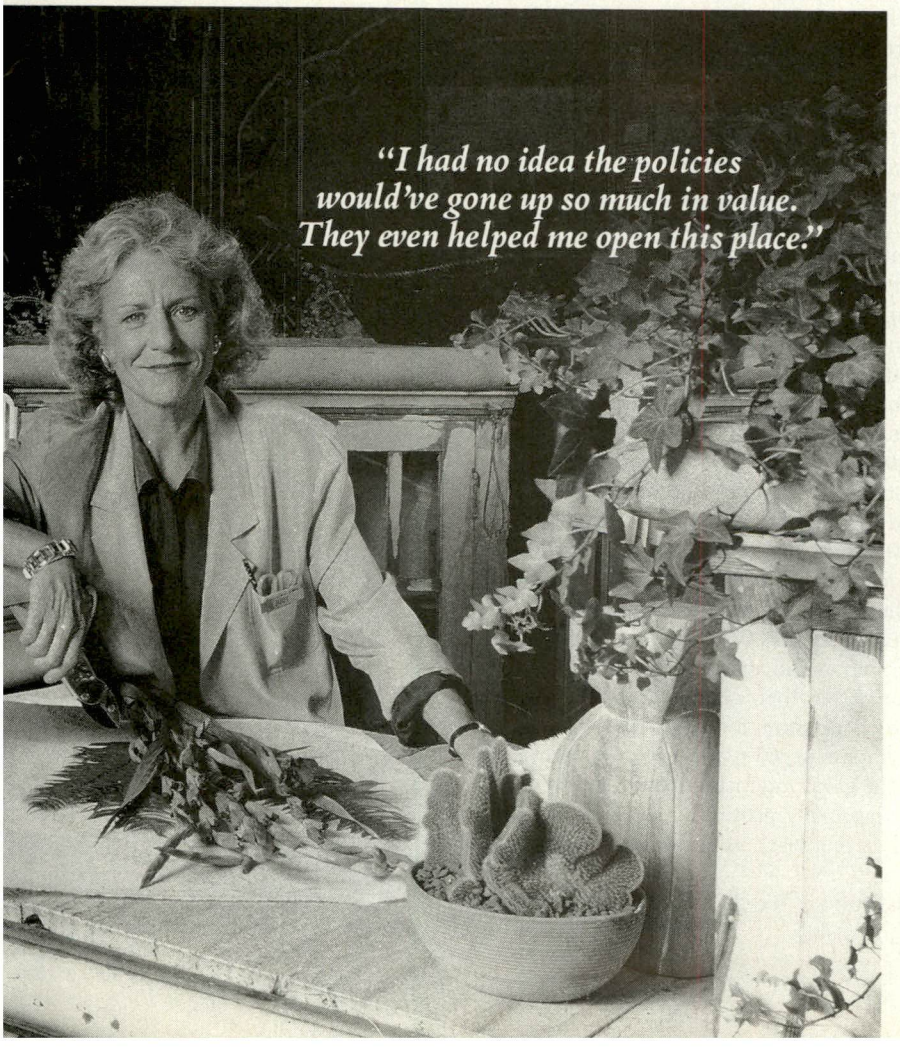

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An All-American snapshot: How we count and why

Nations have always had the impulse to define themselves, to look into a mirror and say: This is who we are. Parts of China conducted a census for tax purposes as early as 3000 B.C., and after the Israelites escaped from Egypt, they assessed their military strength by listing all males age 20 and above. The American Constitution has required a census every 10 years since 1790, and the process is both enlightening and unnerving. We learn much, but the information often conflicts with our national self-image. Accordingly, the census has been a battleground between the dominant culture and its challengers, a place where ethnic, racial and social minorities assert their identity and importance. Count us, they insist; we count, too.

This year featured the first comprehensive attempt to estimate the nation's homeless population. Some advocates for the homeless objected, saying the census could never yield a true picture, and they have a point. Americans like to be counted, but they also protect their privacy, and shame sometimes aggravates their suspicion. One man at a shelter in New Hampshire said, "I don't want nobody to know I'm here." So the homeless movement is playing a slick political game, trying to discredit the count at a time when some politicians would like to downgrade the issue. But the critics miss a larger point. Just by turning the mirror on the homeless, by including them in our national snapshot, the Census Bureau acknowledges their consequence. As Chester Broadwell, a resident of the Waystation shelter in Burlington, Vt., said: "It shows that they're starting to recognize us as humans and not the scum of the earth."

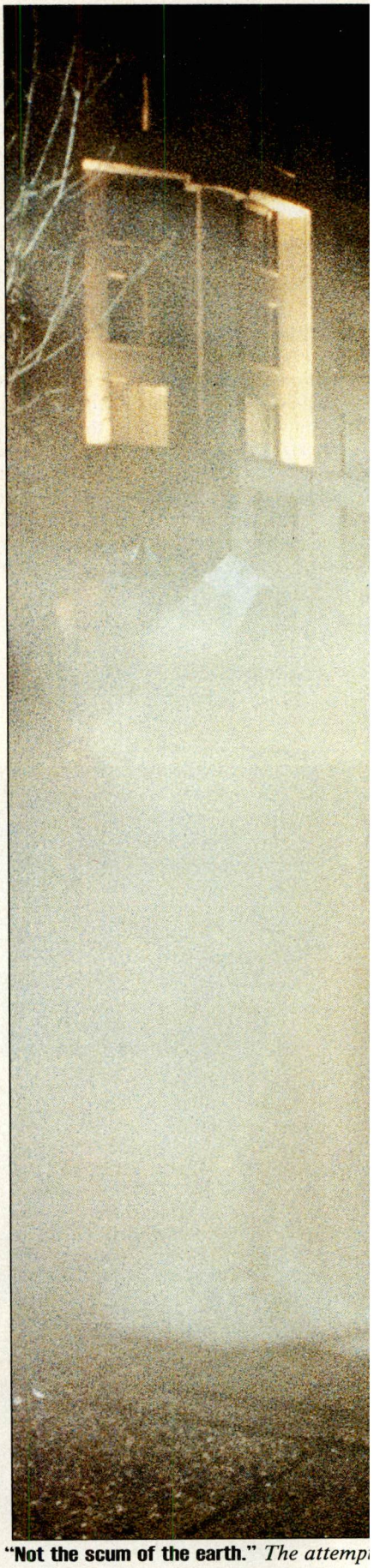
'The 1990 census is already reflecting new tensions between our national myths and the undercurrents of cultural change'

The 1990 census is already reflecting new tensions between our national myths and the undercurrents of cultural change. For the first time, unrelated adults living together will be asked if they are "unmarried partners," a way of identifying established homosexual and heterosexual couples. Projections show the white proportion of the population slipping as Hispanic and Asian populations surge. The number of married couples with minor children has actually fallen since 1980, and one quarter of all households are now made up of single people living alone. Families headed by women have jumped by a third, and in the 35-to-44 age bracket 78 percent of women now work. Bye-bye, Ozzie and Harriet.

Numbers translate into political strength and public aid, and black leaders already are accusing the Census Bureau of undercounting minorities this year. But it might be comforting to know that George Washington complained of an undercount in 1790, attributing the problem to the "indolence of the people" and to their fear that the survey could lead to a tax. Slaves counted for only three fifths of a person, and most Indians were not tallied at all. The 1820 survey made the first distinction between citizens and foreigners, and the 1840 census counted mines and quarries along with people. In 1890, families were asked if there were any idiots around and whether their heads were larger or smaller than average. By 1900, Indians were included, but they were hard to locate. In 1910, immigrants in Chicago hid from the counters, fearful of being deported. Women that year protested their classification as "idlers" and asked that "housewife" be included as an occupation, a change that was not made for 20 years. During 1930, Jewish newspapers urged readers to cooperate with the census and boost their numbers. In 1940, the great migration from rural to urban areas first appeared, and by 1960 cities were vigorously protesting the lack of a fair count. In 1980, the Census Bureau employed "streetwise" interviewers to remedy the problem.

At heart, the census is a very American institution. We care about being counted because we think we matter. Each one of us.

by Steven V. Roberts ■

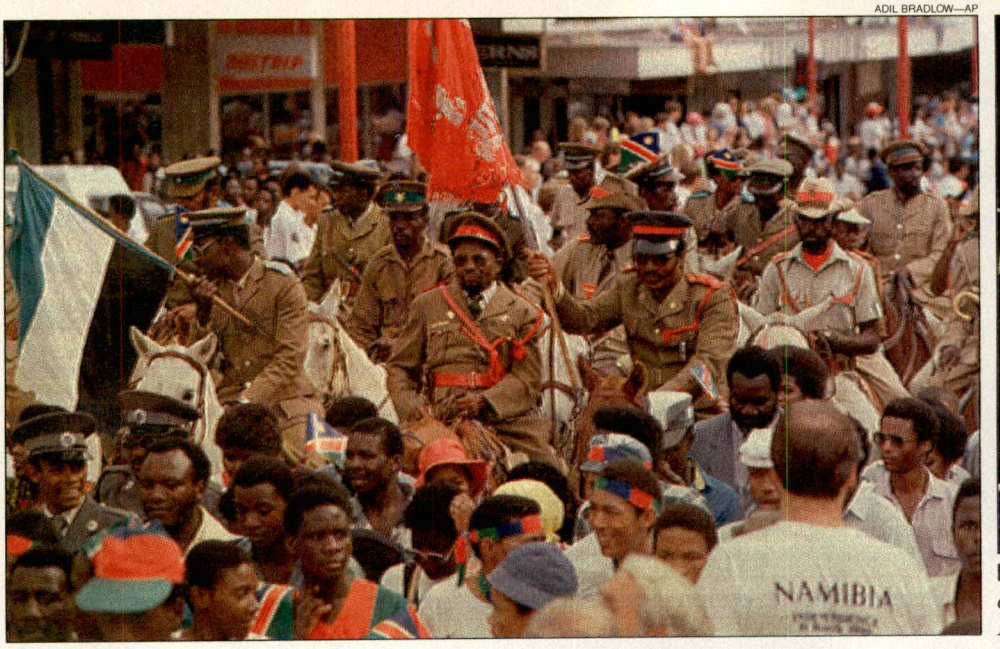


"Not the scum of the earth." *The attempt*

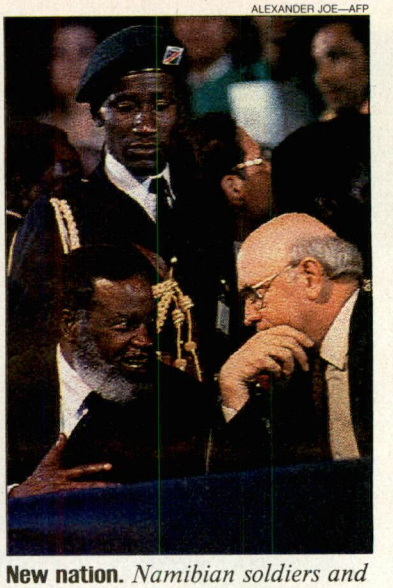
AP

to count those on the streets and in shelters is a way to acknowledge their place in the national picture—that they are of consequence

ADIL BRADLOW—AP



ALEXANDER JOE—AFP



New nation. *Namibian soldiers and civilians celebrate independence; De Klerk confers with Nujoma*

SOUTH AFRICA

Will Namibia's freedom rub off?

During 75 years of colonial rule and 23 years of guerrilla warfare, Namibia formed the front line of Pretoria's battle to preserve white rule. Last week, it became the front line of South Africa's hope for a multiracial, democratic state. Namibia emerged as a potential model for a new South Africa as Pretoria's flag descended over Windhoek and 1.4 million Namibians celebrated the birth of their new nation—the last of more than 40 black African colonies to achieve independence since Britain freed Ghana in 1957.

Namibia's negotiated Constitution is one of Africa's most democratic, second only to that of Botswana, perhaps. It protects minorities, guarantees human rights and a free press, and provides an independent judiciary. Because SWAPO, the independence movement turned political party, earned only a slim majority in last year's elections, a strong opposition stands ready to prevent Namibia from slipping into the mass of one-party states that dominate most of the continent.

The Namibian example could silence some of the arguments of conservative white South Africans. Under the sardonic refrain of "one man, one vote, once," they have habitually pointed to the undemocratic African regimes as justification for stifling democratic aspirations of black South Africans. The Namibian right wing has already faded as other whites have come to embrace independence. Almost all of the 75,000 whites—5 percent of the population—have stayed on. Namibia's main opposition party, made up of a mixture of blacks and whites, has shown the way for the South African National Party, author of apartheid, to consider opening its membership to all races.

The new nation's economic performance could prove equally important in the eyes of South Africans. Namibia currently depends on mining and ranching on its arid terrain, with economic power concentrated in the hands of whites and foreigners. President Sam Nujoma has eased their concerns by dropping the Marxist rhetoric of his years as SWAPO guerrilla leader. The Constitution forbids nationalization without fair compensation. With African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela continuing to call for the nationalization of mines and other industries, South African business people hope he will change his mind and follow Nujoma's example. For his part, Mandela hopes that Pretoria will look at the results of its decision to hand Namibia over to its black majority and follow its own example. □

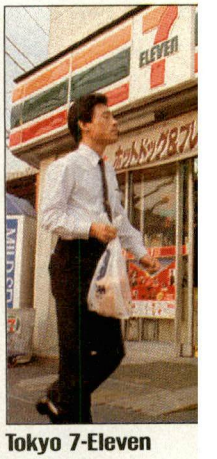
BUSINESS

The sun sets in the East for 7-Eleven

Joe Thompson was a pioneer of the convenience store in the late 1920s, selling bread, milk and other goods at his Texas ice stations. In 1987, his three sons used a junk-bond leveraged buyout to ward off a takeover. Last week, their Southland Corporation, operator of the 7-Eleven stores, became the latest victim of the financial excesses of the '80s—and was forced to sell the store to Japan, Inc.

Ito-Yokado Group, which agreed to buy a 75 percent stake in the teetering retailer for $400 million, is Japan's second-largest supermarket owner and 7-Eleven's local licensee. Since opening its first store in downtown Tokyo 17 years ago, Ito-Yokado's 7-Eleven Japan has mushroomed into 4,000 outlets serving everything from Slurpees to sushi. In addition to 7-Elevens, the retailer owns superstores that last year generated $12 billion in sales. The company said it purchased Southland partly out of worry that bankruptcy would harm the image of *sebun-irebun,* which means 7-Eleven in Japanese.

KATSUMI KASAHARA—AP



Tokyo 7-Eleven

For Dallas-based Southland, staggering under its $3 billion debt, the deal came not a moment too soon. But for Japan, Inc., the timing was bad. A steep rise in Japanese investment has become a flashpoint in fraying U.S.-Japan relations. In 1989, Japan overtook the Netherlands to become America's No. 2 foreign investor. High-profile trophy acquisitions, such as Sony's $3.4 billion buyout of Columbia Pictures and Mitsubishi Corporation's purchase of a controlling interest in Rockefeller Center, have played poorly on Capitol Hill. As for Southland creditors, they are not jumping with joy either. By some estimates, bondholders would be offered about 25 cents on the dollar, less than what they would get if 7-Eleven filed for Chapter 11. □

BOTANY

Bamboo blooms herald a boom

Even before the news of last week, it was nearly the perfect plant. So strong it forms scaffolding on Hong Kong skyscrapers. So supple it makes prized fly rods. So vigorous it can grow 4 feet in a day. Food for both finicky gourmets and fat cattle, the venerable bamboo has just one big fault: It takes decades to bloom and bear seeds. That handicap to modern cultivation may now fade. The latest issue of *Nature* reports that Indian scientists have forced bamboo to blossom in the lab, and if their work can be replicated, a new Bamboo Age will begin.

Since the Stone Age, humans have depended on the giant grass called bamboo, but the plant missed out on both the agricultural revolution and the green revolution. With seeds scarce, little bamboo is cultivated. India, which has lost most of its original tree forests, relies on wild bamboo stands for most of its paper pulp. An abundant supply of seeds would allow the subcontinent, other deforested lands and perhaps the U.S. to plant great forests that would mature in only four years.

JIM BRANDENBURG © NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY

Bamboo curtain. *Asia's home-grown scaffolding*

Selected strains and hybrids made possible by forced flowering could make bamboo grow faster, stronger and less vulnerable to disease. Standing to benefit are the millions of Asians, Africans and Latin Americans who live and work in buildings made of bamboo and even bamboo-reinforced concrete. New strains of the plant, already higher in protein than other grasses, could supply an increasingly valuable cattle fodder. Also set to gain are the world's 1,000 or so wild giant pandas in China, who eat as much as 90 pounds of bamboo a day. Man has steadily taken away the pandas' bamboo habitat. Now he may have the seeds to restore it. □

MEDICINE

What twins tell us about schizophrenia

Schizophrenia afflicts more than 2.5 million Americans and costs society up to $20 billion each year. Yet the hallucinations, delusions and apathy that are typical of the disease have so far eluded scientific explanation. Last week, a piece of the puzzle was firmly glued into place. A report by National Institute of Mental Health researchers yielded the clearest evidence to date that schizophrenia is a brain disorder, not a purely psychological condition, as was once argued.

The scientists used a sophisticated scanning device to examine the brain structure of 15 pairs of identical twins—one schizophrenic, the other normal—and discovered subtle anatomical differences. In the mentally ill twins, the fluid-filled brain cavities called ventricles were found to be enlarged, indicating the tissue had either shrunk or developed abnormally. Similarly, brain regions involved in memory, emotion, decision making and other higher-order abilities were smaller in the afflicted twins.

Schizophrenia runs in families, and experts believe it likely that genetic vulnerability plays a role. Since the twins in the

CRIME

The hidden art of theft

The two men who masqueraded as cops and pulled off the biggest art heist in history last week no doubt won the grudging admiration of master thieves from Rancho Mirage to the Riviera. But in the end, such kudos, diluted by the trade's pragmatic devotion to anonymity, may be the only payoff the robbers will get. The 11 masterpieces they pinched from Boston's Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, estimated to be worth more than $200 million, are too famously hot for the legitimate art market.

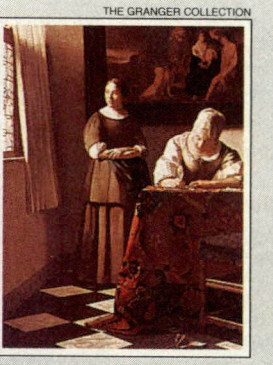
The paintings may simply disappear, like 32,000 other stolen works, among them paintings by Bruegel, van Eyck and Goya. Art theft is now the second-biggest international crime after narcotics smuggling, with only 10 percent of the works ever recovered. Many of those missing have likely been destroyed, by desperate thieves covering their tracks.

Or is the Boston haul actually bound for some underground art market where amoral connoisseurs like James Bond's old foe, Dr. No, buy paintings for their mansions in Medellín or Riyadh? Most experts are skeptical of such scenarios, but they concede that laws in some countries verge on sanctioning illicit art buys. In Japan, for instance, stolen art cannot be recovered from an unwitting purchaser if it has been two years since the theft. Some art lovers may even be willing to commission a crime. The 1969 theft of Caravaggio's "Adoration of the Shepherds" in Palermo was allegedly ordered by a Mafia don.

As a last resort, every looted museum hopes for a demand for ransom. The Gardner Museum's offer of a $1 million reward might look to the crooks like a kind of invitation to a veiled payoff. If it does, says one detective, an accomplice could contrive to be "walking down an alley and spot one of the paintings in a trash can."□

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

THE GRANGER COLLECTION



Oil pinches. *The Boston thieves got Rembrandt's "The Storm on the Sea of Galilee." The Vermeer above has been stolen twice in Ireland and is still missing.*

study are genetically identical, however, something other than heredity clearly is at work as well. Researchers are investigating a long list of possible culprits, some of them striking before birth, some after. Among the suspects are viral infections, oxygen deprivation and traumatic events that alter the development of neural tissue. The symptoms of the disease usually appear in adolescence or early adulthood and may be triggered by stress. □

HEALTH

The little pill that fills the bill

In 1899, when Felix Hoffmann synthesized aspirin to ease his father's crippling arthritis, he could scarcely have known he was minting a drug whose benefits would still be unfolding almost a century later. The superdrug's latest coup came last week: A study found that people who have irregular heartbeats and thus a high risk of stroke can nearly wipe out that risk by taking aspirin. The experiment was the first to show that aspirin can prevent strokes in people who have never had one. While taking an aspirin a day or a clot-retarding drug called warfarin for a little more than a year, 716 stroke-prone men and women had 81 percent fewer strokes than the 528 who took a placebo.

TERRY E. SMITH FOR *USN&WR*

Aspirin's benefits:

- **Stroke, heart attack.** It lowers the risk of having another one by 25 to 50 percent and saves lives when given within 24 hours of a first heart attack; it reduces the odds, almost by half, of an attack in healthy, middle-aged men.
- **Pain.** It fights menstrual cramps, toothaches, muscle aches and headaches.
- **Inflammation.** It relieves sunburn and combats the stiffness of arthritis.
- **Fever.** It brings down body temperature within hours.

The benefits roll could lengthen. Researchers in this decade will test whether aspirin can retard cataracts, boost the ability of AIDS and cancer patients to fight their diseases and improve poor leg circulation in diabetics.

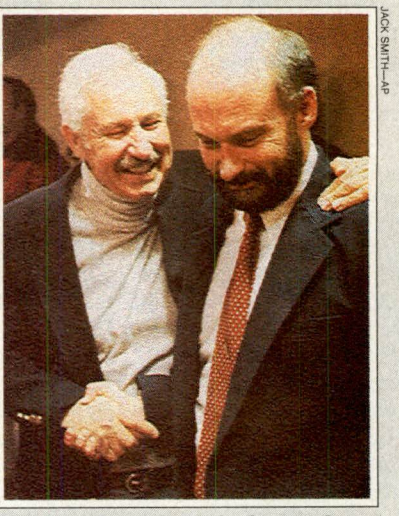
But doctors warn that aspirin, for all its benefits, causes stomach problems for some and should not be taken regularly without consulting a physician. ■

Currents contributors: Don L. Boroughs, Jim Jones, Jim Impoco, Erica E. Goode, Miriam Horn, Marjory Roberts, Lewis J. Lord

PEOPLE MAKING NEWS

On and off the rocks in Alaska

Among skippers of the sea, Captain Bligh was more scorned and Captain Queeg more ridiculed. But that was fiction. **Joseph Hazelwood** read the editorials and heard the late-night-TV jokes that castigated him. Last week, two days before the anniversary of America's worst oil spill, an Anchorage jury convicted the *Exxon Valdez* captain of misdemeanor negligence after his tanker ran aground —but acquitted him of a felony charge of being drunk. The judge sentenced him to pay $50,000 in restitution and spend 1,000 hours cleaning up oily beaches. Said Hazelwood: "I've had better years."



JACK SMITH—AP

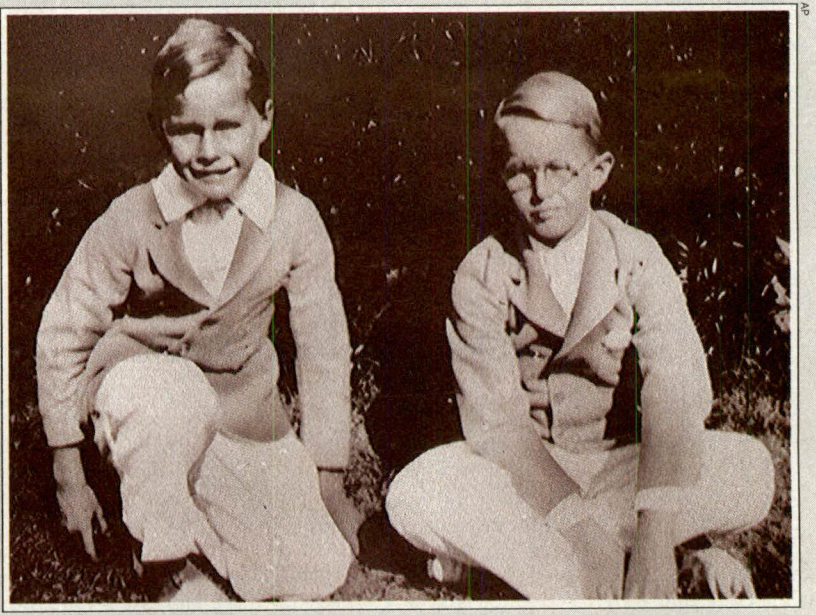
Hazelwood. *With Dad after verdict*

■ Socialist-road warrior

It was Beijing's version of the state-of-the-union address—Premier **Li Peng**'s first speech to China's Congress since Tiananmen Square—and it saw only one path for the future: "The socialist road." Doors are open to Western trade and technology, Li stressed, but not to the political ideas sweeping Eastern Europe. Instead, he said, "we must intensify dictatorship by the socialist-state apparatus." That day, the Congress accepted **Deng Xiaoping**'s resignation from his last government post, but the octogenarian's influence continues. The views Li expressed matched Deng's thoughts to a Tiananmen T.

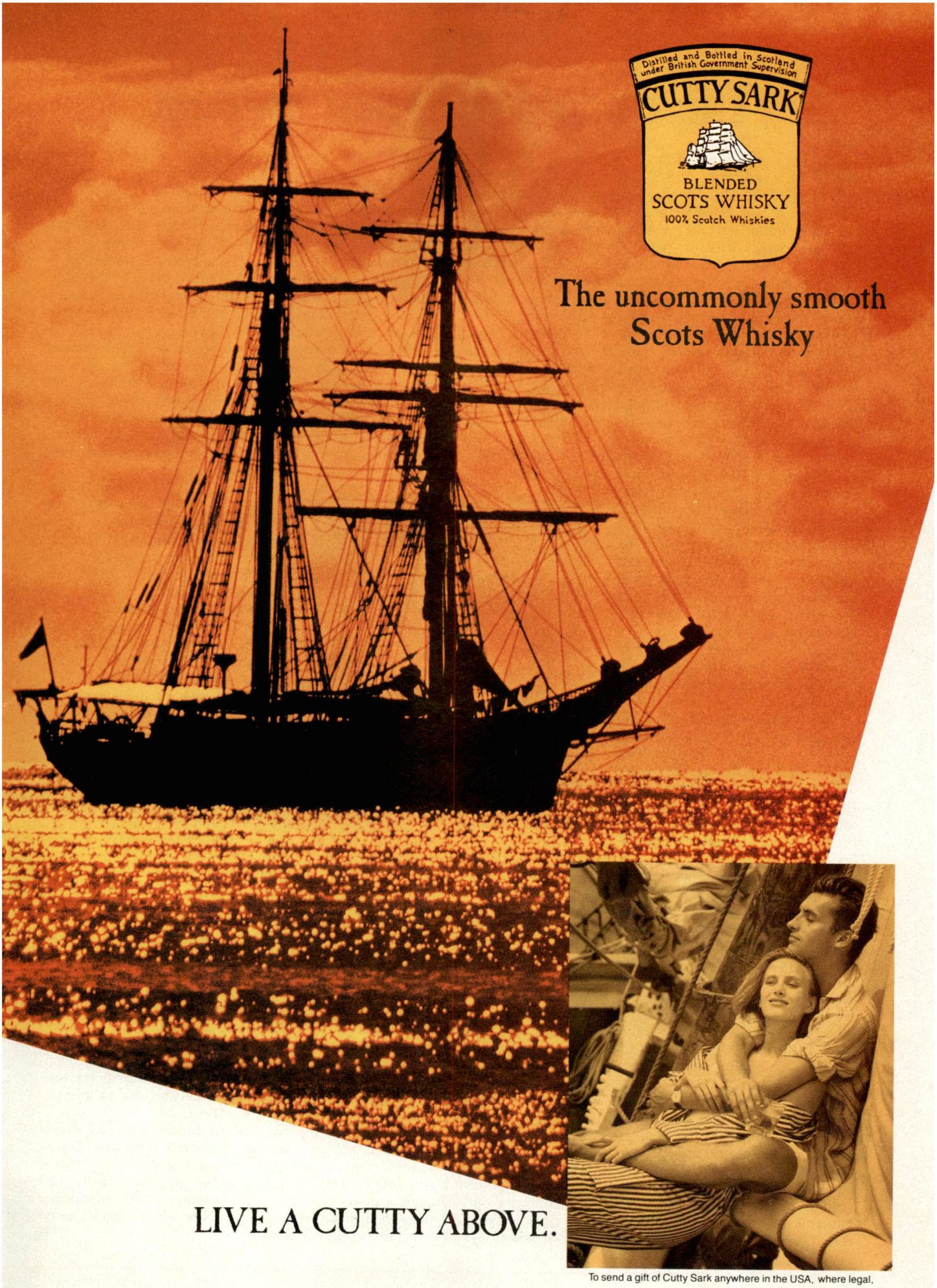
■ Power eater

Decades from now, some scholar will stumble across this entry from last week's **George Bush** press conference: "I do not like broccoli. And I haven't liked it since I was a little kid and my mother made me eat it. I'm President of the United States, and I'm not going to eat any more broccoli." How should history judge such a leader, the first President to ban a vegetable from "Air Force One"? Broccoli-lover **Barbara Bush** offered her answer: "Anyone who eats pork rinds can't be all good."



AP

Bush. *The President in his salad days (age 10) with brother Prescott*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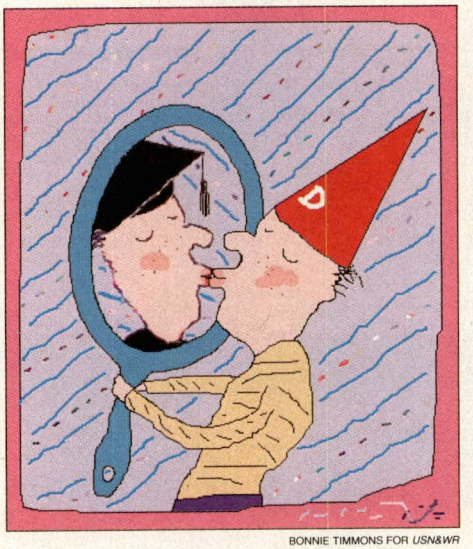
The trouble with self-esteem

BY JOHN LEO

Most people think of the California state task force on self-esteem as yet another California joke, one more zany feel-good perpetration by lotus land's blissed-out mental surfers. This notion has been encouraged by Garry Trudeau, the *Doonesbury* cartoonist, who poked savage fun at the task force when it was announced and again when it issued its final report three years and $735,000 later.

Any report devoted to the idea that the state should go around promoting and monitoring good feelings is obviously open to ridicule. (The task force deflected some gibes and criticism by adding "personal and social responsibility" to its title and by issuing a few conservative findings.) But the conception of self-esteem as a public-policy issue is not a lotus-land joke, nor a California-only phenomenon. It is an idea that has quietly taken hold all around the country. The self-esteem movement, in fact, is a social force of some strength, particularly in the schools. Rita Kramer, a New York journalist and author, conducted interviews at 20 education schools around the country and was startled to find that self-esteem is the dominant educational theory almost everywhere she went. She thinks the rising emphasis on feelings comes at the expense of subject matter and therefore is a very ominous development. Her book in progress has the nonsubtle working title *The Dumbing Down of American Education.*



BONNIE TIMMONS FOR *USN&WR*

Those who push self-esteem in the schools point out that the public-school system is in disastrous shape, particularly in the cities. Teachers are expected to cope with the devastating results of poverty, racial discrimination, crime, drugs, broken homes and child abuse. Under these wartime conditions, the schools are de facto social agencies, presumably with nothing to lose and much to gain by building up the egos of their children.

Self-esteem programs use simple exercises frankly borrowed from the "You're much too hard on yourself" California therapies. In the curriculum at St. Clement Catholic School in Somerville, Mass., children take part in "affirmation exercises," saying nice things about themselves, such as "I am a good person; I am special." Sometimes they do this silently while imagining themselves atop a windswept mountain; sometimes aloud in front of the class while looking into a mirror. They keep journals of their accomplishments, are encouraged to support the good feelings of classmates (the proper response is "Thanks—I affirm you for being a good friend") and glance up many times a day at the symbol of the program, a "potential bottle," a foot-high jar filled with blue water that represents the untapped possibilities in all children.

Cheap points of light. The Bush era turns out to be a perfect time for self-esteem programs. They cost almost nothing. They offer the light of sunny California optimism at a time of great pessimism. They are simple—easily grasped, easily spread. And in public-school systems torn by competing pressure groups, they have no natural enemies. They have only one flaw: They are a terrible idea.

First of all, despite the firsthand reports of many teachers, there is almost no research evidence that these programs work. The book *The Social Importance of Self-Esteem,* which is basically all the research turned up by the California task force, says frankly, "One of the disappointing aspects of every chapter in this volume . . . is how low the associations between self-esteem and its consequences are in research to date." In fact, those correlations are as close to zero as you can get in the social sciences. This confirms the common-sense judgment that behavior is rarely changed by injections of positive thinking and psychic boosterism. Confidence boosting has a long and important tradition in the schools, but what evidence we have indicates that fear of failure and parental hovering have much more to do with academic success than good feelings about the self.

Second, the self-esteem movement is on a collision course with the growing movement to revive the schools academically. The self-esteem movement is rooted in the California therapies, which are sunny, feel-good and generally hostile to learning and intellect. Fritz Perls, the founder of Gestalt psychology, set the tone for California therapies by denouncing intellect as "a drag" and "a whore." The California task-force report is dedicated to the late Virginia Satir, a charismatic therapist with not much use for the human mind. ("She can fill any hall in the country, but she has great difficulty conceptualizing," one of her colleagues told me after a Satir lecture.)

The self-esteem literature is clotted with dismissive references to achievement. The self-esteem research book, mentioned above, contains many darts aimed at competition, achievement and success. After all, if people are perfect and lovable just the way they are, why should anyone need to change or strive?

This is why the obsession with self-esteem ultimately undermines real education. When the self-esteem movement takes over a school, teachers are under pressure to accept every child as is. To keep children feeling good about themselves, you must avoid all criticism and almost any challenge that could conceivably end in failure. In practice, this means each child is treated like a fragile therapy consumer in constant need of an ego boost. Difficult work is out of the question, and standards get lowered in school after school. Even tests become problematic because someone might fail them.

This becomes a parody of self-esteem. Real self-esteem is released when a child learns something and develops a sense of mastery. It is a byproduct of, and not a substitute for, real education. And until we grapple with the real agenda of the self-esteem movement—ersatz therapeutic massage instead of learning—there will probably be no educational reform at all. ■

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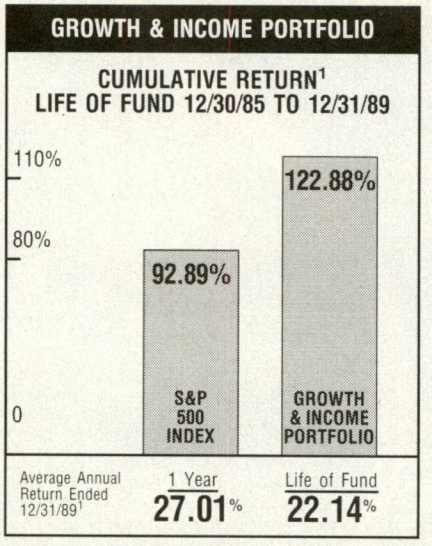

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Investigating the spies. The next target of congressional investigators will be U.S. spy catchers. Sources on Capitol Hill point to several counterintelligence failures, including the loss of secrets revealed in the espionage trials of the Walker family and the inept handling of a lengthening list of U.S. personnel accused of trading information for money and sex. The result will be a major probe later this year of capability and methodology at the FBI and in the Pentagon. Lawmakers are irked by the explanation that the counterintelligence services are swamped by the new surveillance required by the vast increase of visitors to the West from what used to be the Communist bloc.

Reaching out, Sununu style. *Despite mounting criticism, White House Chief of Staff John Sununu remains a bulldog on the issue of global warming and accompanying news leaks. Early in March, Sununu reached outside his immediate jurisdiction and demanded the resignation of William Nitze, deputy assistant secretary of state for environment, health and natural resources. Sununu accused Nitze of straying from the administration's position of doubting that global warming is a scientific certainty—a position that Sununu had crafted—and favoring instead an aggressive U.S. effort to counter global warming. Sununu also claimed that Nitze had leaked information on Sununu's role in overruling William Reilly, the Environmental Protection Agency administrator, on global warming. "Misperceptions" on both counts, claims Nitze, now a visiting scholar at the Environmental Law Institute and the son of veteran arms-control negotiator Paul Nitze.*

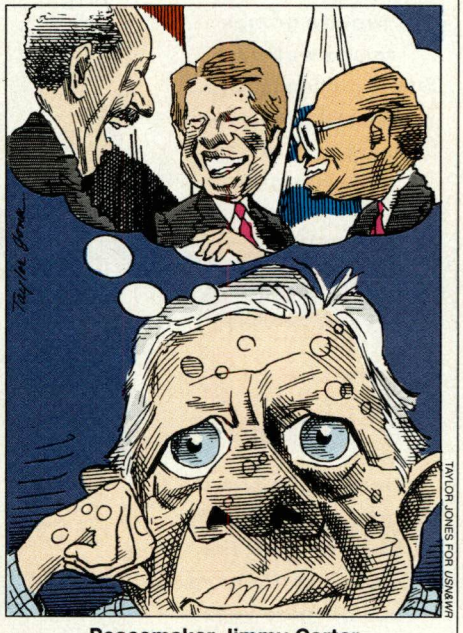
Ghost no more. Lech Walesa's ghostwriter is coming out from behind his typewriter to serve as Poland's new envoy in Washington. Journalist Kazimierz Dziewanowski, 59, is slated to become the first major ambassador appointed by Solidarity. He will replace Jan Kinast, a veteran hard-line Communist. A commentator on foreign affairs for three decades, Dziewanowski scored his biggest hit as the author of Walesa's much acclaimed speech to a joint session of the U.S. Congress last fall.

Carter's revival? *Is former President Jimmy Carter thinking of reliving his glory days when he negotiated peace between Israel and Egypt? On the 11th anniversary of his triumph, Carter has been touring the Mideast, huddling for hours in tête-à-têtes with leaders and offering the Carter Presidential Center in Atlanta as an ideal spot where he could mediate between Israel and its Syrian and Palestinian foes. But his praise for Syria's willingness to take part in a peace conference and his harsh words for Israel's treatment of Palestinians have upset Israelis, whose government was unseated by a parliamentary no-confidence vote during Carter's visit. Also marring the mood: Former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who signed the peace treaty with Egypt's late President Anwar Sadat, turned down Carter's request for a meeting, as did Begin confidant Yehiel Kadishai, who usually stands in for his boss now living in seclusion in Jerusalem. Carter's current trip gives the White House pause because, unlike his recent diplomatic work in Central America, he is "soloing" in the Mideast, not coordinating with U.S. policy.*

Sununu's long hand strikes critic at State

Walesa's speechwriter to be new envoy to U.S.

The NRA plan to profit from Gorby's gun ban



Peacemaker Jimmy Carter
Dreaming of a new Mideast treaty

Edited by Charles Fenyvesi

Making house calls. Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia still lobbies in a way others think is passé. To promote an amendment to the pending clean-air bill that would provide benefits for coal miners adversely affected by the plan, Byrd has been visiting fellow senators' offices, often unannounced, and sometimes he phones late at night. If the colleague is not in, Byrd, chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee, leaves information and a handwritten note.

Gorby and the NRA. *When Mikhail Gorbachev ordered that citizens of the newly declared Republic of Lithuania turn over their firearms to the Soviet Army, the National Rifle Association saw a chance to score points. "A gun-registration requirement in Lithuania is what makes it possible for Gorbachev to enforce his order," says an NRA official involved in planning an advertisement on the subject. "We will be making that clear to Americans." The NRA hopes that Gorbachev's move in Lithuania will help derail proposals to curb semiautomatic weapons in the U.S., an issue likely to reach the Senate floor next month. Last week, a House subcommittee approved a bill to require registration of semiautomatic rifles. Last summer, NRA ran similar advertisements after the Chinese Army's quelling of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations.*

More Democratic dissension. Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown's endorsement of New York Senator Pat Moynihan's proposal to roll back the Social Security payroll tax signals a party split: Professionals of the campaign committees vs. Democrats of the Congress. While congressional leaders have been unable to find an alternative to the Moynihan plan, party leaders outside the Congress got tired of waiting and moved, calling their endorsement of Moynihan the position of the party.

Chip off the old platform. *The latest status symbol on a federal bureaucrat's desk is a wooden gavel, the size of a fountain pen. These are belated tokens of appreciation, sent by George Bush in the past few weeks to 100 of his loyalists. The gavels were carved out of the platform Bush stood on when he delivered his inaugural address in January, 1989. White House insiders say the gifts, each of them accompanied by a handwritten note from the President, are the latest example of Bush using his personal touch to maintain his network for the 1992 campaign.*

The Abortion Hype

Alarmists were wrong; not much has changed since *Webster*

Recipe: *Stir together dire predictions from anti-abortion and pro-choice advocates, adding a spoonful of true-life horror stories and a pinch of angry protesters. Carefully remove drab, equivocating observations by legal scholars and medical professionals. Then leaven with snappy quotes, stir well and bake in national news media.* **Yield:** *Unlimited servings of Abortion Hype.*

It may not be a new concoction, but ever since the Supreme Court broadened the rights of states to regulate abortion last July, Abortion Hype has been tumbling forth faster than the platters at a Dionysian feast. At the time the Court announced its decision in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services Inc.*, both pro-life and pro-choice advocates predicted the ruling would mark the denouement of abortion. John Willke, president of the National Right to Life Committee, proclaimed there would now "be a halt to this genocidal movement," and former Reagan White House domestic-policy aide Gary Bauer exulted that "*Roe* is on the way to the junk heap of history." Just last week, the pattern of apocalyptic rhetoric was repeated: When the governor of Guam signed a law prohibiting abortion (except when the life of the mother is endangered), Kate Michelman of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) called the new statute an "extreme, irresponsible, dangerous threat to all American women."

Notwithstanding the hyperbole, the fact is that the right to abortion is just as unencumbered today as it was before the *Webster* ruling. After the decision was handed down last summer, many news organizations, including *U.S. News*, projected that roughly half the states might restrict abortion; a NARAL study indicated that the legislatures and sitting governors of 15 states favored banning abortion outright. Yet in the nine-month interim, only one state, Pennsylvania, has put into law a truly new abortion statute that even modestly restricted access to abortion (and a federal court promptly enjoined its major provisions before they ever took effect). This year, two other states have passed anti-abortion statutes similar to those enacted elsewhere in the U.S., where such laws also have had little apparent impact on the right to abortion. (South Carolina recently enacted a law that requires minors to get consent either from their parents or a judge to get an abortion, while West Virginia passed an amendment forbidding state funding of abortions, another common pre-*Webster* restriction.) Laurie Anne Ramsey of Americans United for Life acknowledges that "few, if any, abortions have been limited or not performed because of *Webster*."

There are several explanations why advocates and pundits exaggerated *Webster's* impact—and are likely to continue to do so. The essential, enduring ingredients of Abortion Hype include:

■ **The odd couple: Media and advocates.** However much reporters and advocates may differ personally about abortion, they share a professional interest in spreading alarmist predictions and in ignoring the bulk of the American populace who support neither anti-abortion activists nor pro-choice advocates. Inevitably, reporters find that advocates make good copy. If a reporter calls up law professor X, and hears that the "*Webster* decision is a complex ruling, one which we may not know the full ramifications of for some time," that tepid quote, so to speak, will likely end up in the junk bin of history. Advocates, by contrast, churn out colorful quotes about enslaved women and baby killers, and they stage impassioned protest rallies (witness the photo below).

The three major pro-life groups raised well over $19.4 million last year, compared with a fund-raising tally of $15.3 million in 1988.

"Since the Supreme Court's decision in the *Webster* case, the enemies of life have become more vocal, more strident, more determined and better financed! . . . Unless you and I act now, our pro-life efforts will be buried by the well-heeled and media-backed pro-abortion minority."

RECENT FUND-RAISING LETTER FROM JUDIE BROWN OF THE AMERICAN LIFE LEAGUE

Good copy. *Advocates and reporters who rely on them skew*

A new analysis by the Washington-based Center for Media and Public Affairs gives some examples of how media coverage of abortion gets framed by the advocates. The center reviewed all 159 stories that appeared on the three network nightly news broadcasts or in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* during the two months following *Webster.* Their study found that nearly 40 percent of the sources cited in the news stories were either pro-choice or anti-abortion organizations. By way of comparison, if all the citations attributed in the same coverage to George Bush and other administration officials, professional associations (like the American College of Obstetrics) and Supreme Court Justices were *combined,* the advocacy groups would still have been cited almost twice as often as all the rest. Far and away, the two individuals cited most often in the coverage were Molly Yard, president of the National Organization for Women, and NARAL's Michelman. And as a *New York Times*/CBS poll taken last September suggests, the overdrawn coverage helped influence public perceptions: Two thirds of all Americans then anticipated new restrictions would likely be placed on abortion in their own states during the upcoming year.

Still, the hyperbolic news coverage of *Webster* did help advocates to rally the faithful. Virtually all of the major anti-abortion and pro-choice groups had record fund-raising years in 1989, in most instances doubling what they collected in 1988. Now, both sides cite *Webster* in scaremongering fund-raising letters, with each claiming that, as a consequence of the court ruling, the enemy is about to achieve a crushing victory.

One unfortunate consequence of the hype is that the majority of Americans, who do not agree with the advocates on either side, are largely absent from the public debate. Numerous polls show that few Americans wish to flatly outlaw abortion or trust the government to regulate the reproductive decisions of adult women. But at the same time, the surveys also find most Americans regard abortion as immoral and would like to see more restrictions imposed upon it. Such ambivalence, however, rarely shows up in news stories. "It is difficult to make news out of a centrist position," says Larry Sabato, a professor of government at the University of Virginia. "People don't hold rallies to stake out their pragmatism." In one typical news account last year, NBC correspondent Lisa Myers said the abortion fight is "like the Civil War, there's no suitable middle ground." In fact, there is a middle ground, even if those occupying it get little attention.

TOM KANE—BLACK STAR

ıte, leaving out the majority who have less extreme views

The three major pro-choice groups increased their fund-raising from $16.8 million in 1988 to $36.5 million last year.

"Right now, the situation could not be more alarming. Anti-abortion zealots, emboldened by powerful signals from both the highest court in the land and President Bush, have already targeted 19 states likely to restrict abortion this year.... We don't have a moment to lose."

RECENT FUND-RAISING LETTER FROM MOLLY YARD OF THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN

■ **The quest for pain-free consensus.** So far this year, more than 150 pieces of abortion legislation have been proposed in state legislatures around the country. Yet the fact that only three bills have been signed into law in 1990 underscores the difficulty of actually moving the states to reform abortion regulation. Among the many issues state legislatures tackle, abortion is particularly susceptible to deadlock—like the one that knotted the Maryland Senate last week, forcing lawmakers to approve referendums that allow voters to resolve the debate. Most analysts, though, exaggerated *Webster's* impact because they failed to emphasize the important differences between proposing and enacting legislation.

The latter requires representatives to reach a consensus, which is difficult on such a divisive, intimate issue—even in legislatures that overwhelmingly oppose abortion. In Missouri, the state that spawned the controversial regulations upheld in *Webster,* new abortion restrictions have been tied up in committees controlled by pro-choice lawmakers. In conservative, Mormon-dominated Utah, pro-life Governor Norman Bangerter declined to push an anti-abortion bill because he found it could cost the state up to $1 million in legal fees to defend it in court. In Michigan, both houses passed a parental-consent bill after nearly five months of debate—only to have the Democratic governor veto it.

Ironically, pro-life forces may have had it easier in some state legislatures *prior* to *Webster.* During the pre-*Webster* days, legislators could propose and occasionally enact narrow anti-abortion bills because they had a no-lose rhetorical value. Most pro-choice voters ignored such bills, comfortable that the fundamental right to abortion was already protected by the courts. After *Webster,* though, state legislators found pro-choice voters were concerned and organized. Last November, Republican gubernatorial candidates in Virginia and New Jersey lost close elections, with both defeats widely attributed to their anti-abortion positions. Ever since, most state legislators have done

little more than cling to the status quo. That reticence is likely to continue in 1990, since 36 governors and a third of the U.S. Senate will be elected this fall. As political analyst William Schneider of the American Enterprise Institute puts it: "Politicians do not, as a rule, seek to slit their throats. And that is what voting on abortion means these days—somebody is guaranteed to get very mad at you."

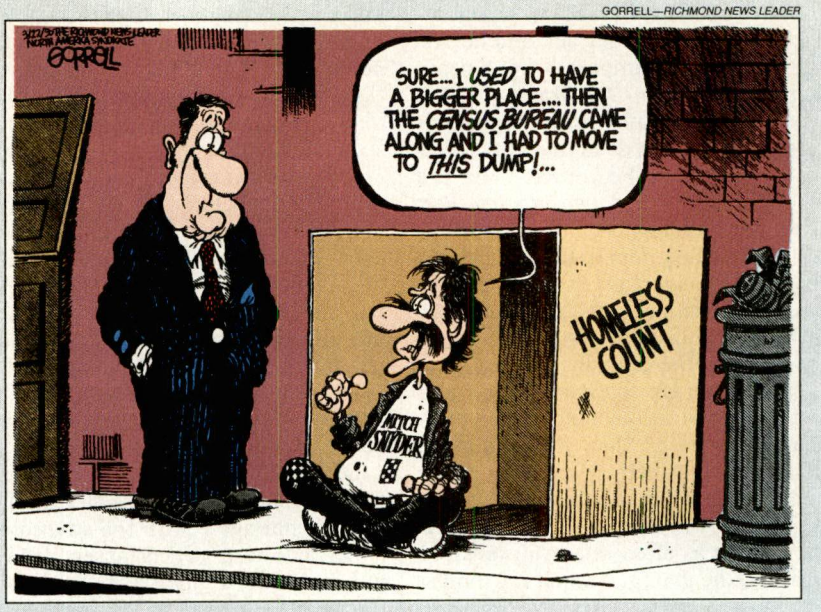
■ **The enduring persistence of *Roe*.** Most news reports underplayed one central finding in *Webster:* It did not overturn *Roe.* It was also ambiguous. The Court did, of course, grant the states greater leeway to restrict abortion, but just how much leeway is still unclear. To take one example, swing vote Sandra Day O'Connor has said only that abortion restrictions imposed thus far have not placed an "undue burden" on a woman's abortion decision. As a result of hedging by the Court, state officials hoping to supplant *Roe* have mostly been stymied. When Louisiana's attorney general recently sought to enforce a statute that predated *Roe* and criminalized abortion, a panel of three federal judges rejected his request. They concluded that since Louisiana had passed other laws after *Roe* that permitted abortion, the earlier statute was "repealed by implication."

Eventually, the Court may well overturn *Roe.* Last week, the Idaho Legislature passed a tough anti-abortion bill, which, along with the Guam legislation, could end up as a test case of *Roe.* The Idaho bill bans abortion except in cases of rape reported to authorities in seven days, incest if the victim is younger than 18, severe fetal deformity and a threat to the mother's life or physical health. If Idaho Governor Cecil Andrus signs the legislation, and if the voters do not elect to overturn it in a referendum, the law could reach the Supreme Court. However, its review may not take place for two to three years, and cases now pending before the Court on parental notification laws are not expected to undo *Roe.*

Even if *Roe* eventually is overturned, the recent paralysis in the states over abortion suggests that reversal might have surprisingly little impact on abortion. If, for instance, Idaho's law is upheld, many women there would likely travel to neighboring Washington, Oregon or Montana, where the majority of voters still support legalized abortion. Moreover, in a nation where millions of women—mothers, daughters, cousins, wives and friends—have had abortions since 1973, it seems unlikely most states will ever again widely ban abortion. If the last nine months are any guide, the future of abortion in the U.S. may amount to little more than a shrill stalemate. ■

by David Whitman with Ted Gest and Ann E. Andrews

GORRELL—*RICHMOND NEWS LEADER*



Beware the data twisters

COMMENTARY ■ BY BEN J. WATTENBERG

Americans are data junkies. The decennial census, which is being taken this week, is the keystone for America's statistical universe, as well as the political bedrock for our egalitarian Republic of numbers.

But there are problems in our data democracy. Soon, census figures will begin to pour out, and the media will again be concentrating on statistical stories. Beware. We are in an unprecedented era of data twisting. Of course, statistics are not set in stone. Definitional problems alone can lead honorable people to come to different conclusions. But some of what we hear is distortion in the service of crisismongering. Some examples:

■ **Infant mortality.** Despite the assertion that a crisis exists, the infant-mortality rate has been roughly halved, for whites and blacks, just since 1970.

■ **School dropouts.** Critics claim the rate is "catastrophic." But it's at the lowest level in history for blacks and whites.

■ **Jobs.** It's said America is "losing jobs" due to the "trade deficit"—a favorite claim of businessmen who want protection for inefficient operations. But unemployment went down as the trade deficit went up. We're near full employment now (and it's not because of more hamburger flippers).

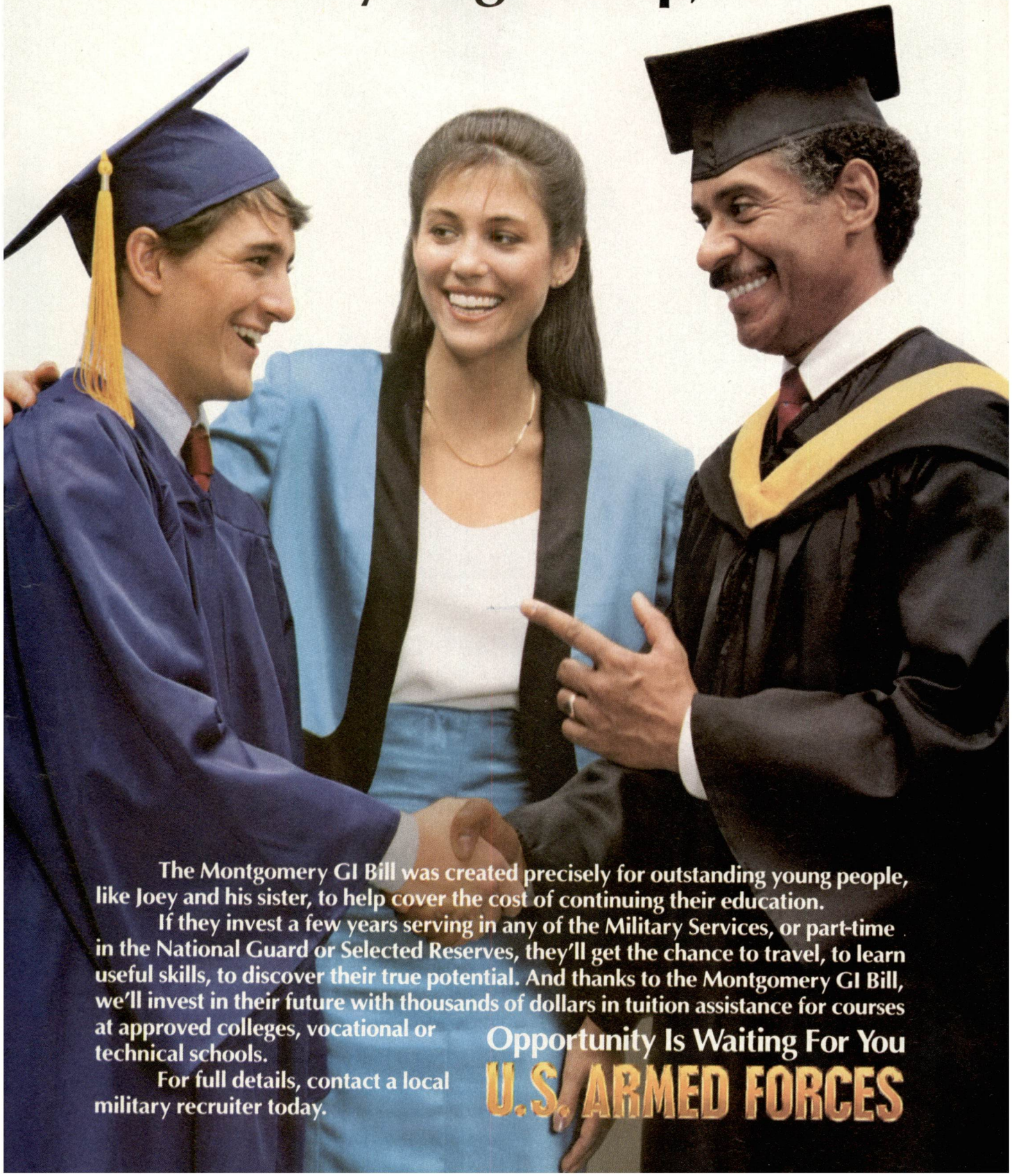
■ **Functional illiteracy.** No one knows how to define it, and there are no good data over time. One definition made Abraham Lincoln illiterate (too few years of schooling). Another counts people who can't understand an insurance policy, probably including this author. Yet illiteracy is almost surely falling. Many of the elderly never completed elementary school. As they die out, total illiteracy goes down.

What's going on? The sequence often goes like this: An advocacy group, usually well-meaning, finds a problem. An academic is leased to do a foreordained study. The problem is presented in exaggerated form. Print journalists are informed of the new crisis. Television follows up. And advocates claim a grass-roots movement and demand legislation.

What's wrong with that? Who is against the further reduction of infant mortality? Or getting teenagers to stay in school? The problem is that crisismongering places priorities on the most exaggerated problems, not the most important. It causes a credibility backlash; citizens believe "they're lying to me again." It demeans the academy; who trusts the letters "Ph.D." any longer? We end up governed by social fictions, not by social facts. As the data soon start flying, the public should ask the lawyers' question: *Cui bono?* Who gains?

Ben J. Wattenberg is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute

Joey's big sister went to school on the GI Bill. Now Joey's signed up, too.



The Montgomery GI Bill was created precisely for outstanding young people, like Joey and his sister, to help cover the cost of continuing their education.

If they invest a few years serving in any of the Military Services, or part-time in the National Guard or Selected Reserves, they'll get the chance to travel, to learn useful skills, to discover their true potential. And thanks to the Montgomery GI Bill, we'll invest in their future with thousands of dollars in tuition assistance for courses at approved colleges, vocational or technical schools.

For full details, contact a local military recruiter today.

Opportunity Is Waiting For You

U.S. ARMED FORCES

Vanishing wildlife. *Everglades wading birds, like roseate spoonbills, once numbered more than a million, but drought and pollution h*

Can the Everglades still be saved?

Homestead 247-6211

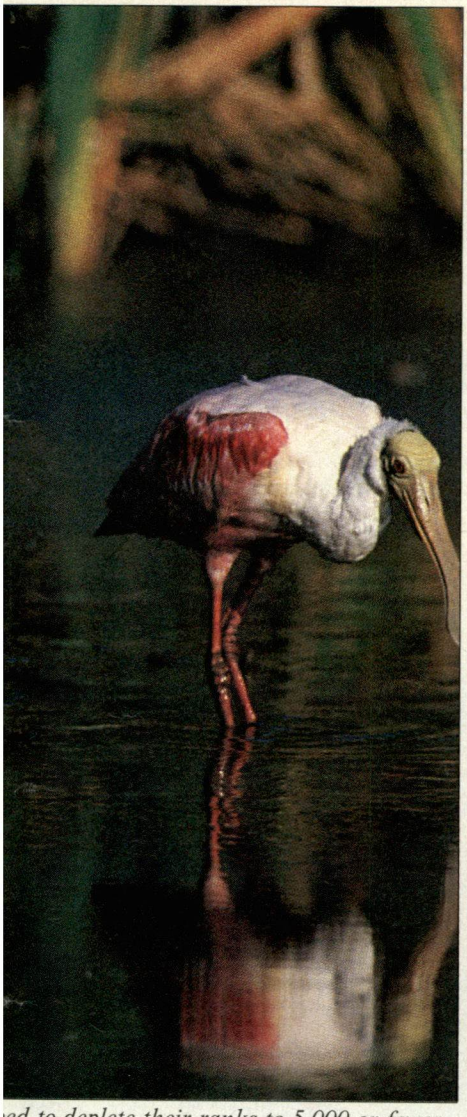
The nation's premier wetland is dying, but a massive restoration project may revive the park

From dawn to dusk, the tourists flock to Eco Pond like the birds that roost here deep in the heart of Everglades National Park. It's an avian paradise, color-splashed with roseate spoonbills, blue herons, purple gallinules, white ibises, reddish egrets, cormorants, cranes and anhingas. The spot evokes an image of nature's finest, unspoiled handiwork. But Eco Pond, the best place to view birds, is actually a man-made lagoon that is part of the sewage-treatment system for the Flamingo lodge and visitors' center.

Close to a million people visit Everglades Park each year, to marvel at the wildlife and gaze at the steamy landscape that is part African veld, part tropical swamp. Life plays out here as it has over the millennia: Primal, unchanging, indestructible. At least, that is how it seems. Everglades *looks* healthy, but parts of the finely tuned ecosystem are near total collapse. The park is dying.

Years of mismanaging the water supply, with agriculture and urban development increasingly diverting the flow that sustains the park, have desiccated much of its wetlands. An 18-month drought is exacerbating the situation. Wading birds, the park's signature feature, like Yellowstone's bison or Glacier's grizzlies, numbered more than a million a century ago. Today, the flocks have been reduced to a scant 5,000 birds, and none has nested in two years. Voracious alligators, whose population in the dried-out park is also drastically shrinking, are cannibalizing their young. Exotic plants, thriving on nutrients in agricultural runoff, are forcing out natural vegetation. Bass and catfish should not be eaten because they are laced with natural mercury leached into ponds from soil dried to dust. Panthers, snail kites and wood storks, three of the park's 13 endangered wildlife species, teeter on the brink of extinction. Says park wildlife biologist John Ogden: "This is our Silent Spring."

At this eleventh hour, an unlikely coalition has come together, in the nation's biggest environmental-restoration project ever, to try to revive the park. While



LARRY LIPSKY—SOUTHERN STOCK PHOTOS

ed to deplete their ranks to 5,000 or fewer

WENDELL METZEN—SOUTHERN STOCK PHOTOS

Progress? *Increasingly, Everglades wetlands are being drained for development*

CLAUDINE LAABS

Thirsty crops. *South Florida's farms have first call on the free, but precious, water*

the scale of the Everglades plan pales beside huge tasks such as restoring the poisoned landscapes of Eastern Europe or healing the world's ravaged rain forests, the effort in Florida will be the first crucial test for a fragile alliance of state and federal conservation agencies, government officials, environmental groups and their longtime ecology foe, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

But is it already too late to save the Everglades? Predicting the future health of the park is about as tricky as forecasting when the next substantial rains will drench it. Some observers fear it may already be past reclamation, but many officials, including environmentalists, believe that with swift and decisive action the park can be revived. "No one really knows when something this big and complex reaches the point of no return," says Joe Podgor, director of Friends of the Everglades, a national environmental-support group. "It may already have happened." Biologist Ogden acknowledges this gloomy possibility but is optimistic. "I have to be," he says. "The alternative is a biological desert, with a remnant of park containing a few alligators here, a few bird nests there and a nice museum with a stuffed panther as the centerpiece."

Water fight. The resurrection process has begun. It includes two restoration projects by the Corps of Engineers and a major park expansion that together will cost more than $360 million. Everyone agrees, however, that reviving the park will eventually require more millions, a decade or longer to complete massive public-works projects and a commitment by South Florida, especially its agricultural interests and urban citizens, to conserve water.

Even with all that, the Everglades can never be fully restored to its natural state. The entire ecology of the region has been drastically altered to allow man—not nature—to control the flow of water south from Lake Okeechobee. In the best-case scenario, the ecosystem will be in constant need of skilled attention from hydrologists and biologists and eternally dependent on an artificial supply of water.

The base line for success is cleaner water—and plenty of it—that can come only at the expense of agriculture or urban areas. South Florida's sugar plantations and vegetable farms are the likeliest targets. "Slicing the water pie will be tough, but we've given enough, and we can't give any more," insists Everglades Park Superintendent Robert Chandler. "There has to be serious conservation by others." As the region's farms, and cities like Miami and Palm Beach, have expanded, water has trickled into the park in ever decreasing, ever more polluted amounts. "It's like an intensive-care patient on an IV drip," grumbles Podgor. "The patient is still alive, but it's a pitiful sight."

When it comes to crown-jewel parks, Everglades has always been the tarnished gem. Americans have aggressively protected their beloved national parks from proposals that would cause serious

desecration: Building a dam across the Colorado River in the Grand Canyon or logging Yosemite's redwoods. But wetlands have long been regarded as wastelands good for little but draining for development or farms. As a result, the nation's wetlands have been reduced from 215 million acres in colonial times to 93 million acres today, a folly only recently recognized by the environmental community.

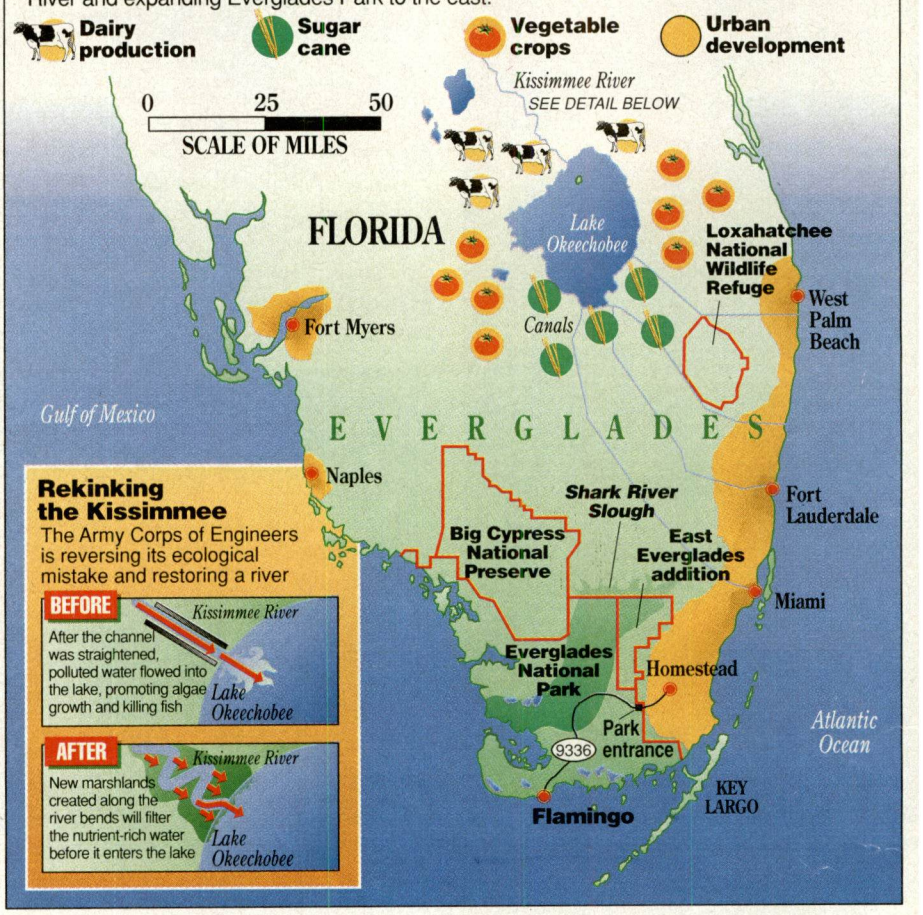
Clogged arteries. After Everglades Park was established in 1947, about 2 million acres of wetlands to the north were drained for farms and urban development. South Florida boomed. Some 4.5 million people now live in the horseshoe crescent around the Everglades region, and 600 new residents arrive each day. But the ecological costs, even beyond the park, have been high. The once crystalline waters of Lake Okeechobee are now polluted with dairy-farm runoff and choked with algae. Much of the rich Everglades muck on the vegetable farms and sugar plantations is drying to dust and blowing away. Before the current drought began, the Loxahatchee National Wildlife Refuge was home to more than 30,000 pairs of nesting wading birds. This year, it has none. Cattails that proliferate in the phosphorus-laden runoff from sugar plantations are choking waterways in much the same way cholesterol clogs human arteries. Offshore from the national park at Key Largo Marine Sanctuary, parts of the only living coral reef in the continental U.S. are being smothered by algae that thrive in the polluted waters that seep into the Atlantic Ocean.

Environmentalists think their best chances for improving the supply and quality of water in the Everglades will

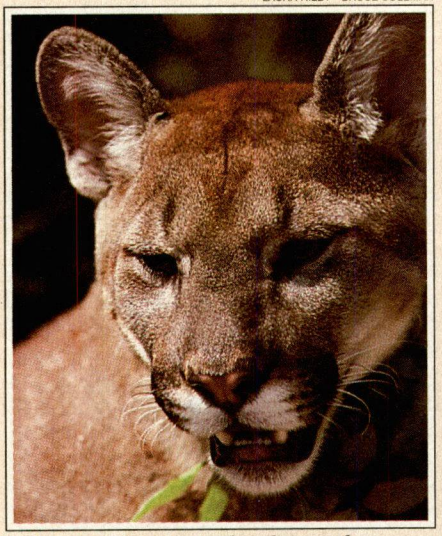
JEFF GLICK—USN&WR

The ever endangered Everglades

The original Everglades covered 4 million acres of southeast Florida from Lake Okeechobee to the present national park. Since 1948, 2 million acres have been drained between the lake and the park to establish farms and stimulate urban development. The resulting water shortage and agricultural pollutants have placed the park in environmental jeopardy and upset the ecology of natural preserves from Lake Okeechobee south to the Pennekamp coral reef off Key Largo. Restoration efforts include recurving the Kissimmee River and expanding Everglades Park to the east.



LAURA RILEY—BRUCE COLEMAN



Extinction looms. *A Florida panther*

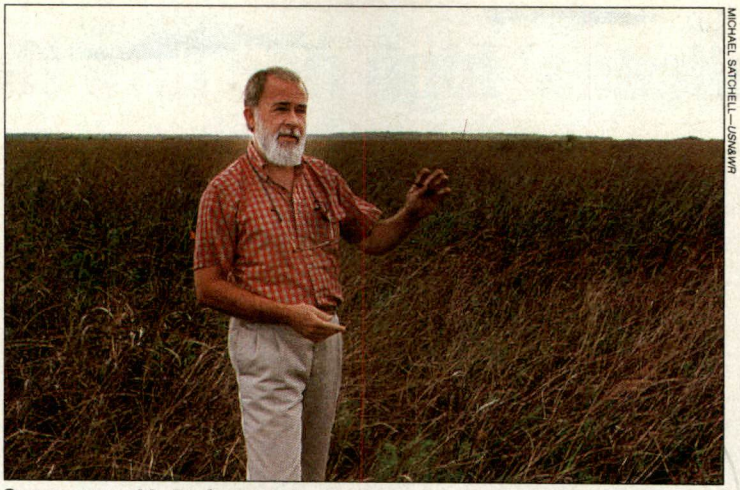
Threatened: 'One tough cat'

One of the world's most endangered animals clings to life a scant 40 miles from downtown Miami. The Florida panther, which once roamed the Southeast from Louisiana to South Carolina, is threatened by poachers' bullets and speeding cars and is being debilitated by parasites, mercury poisoning and inbreeding. Because South Florida's population is growing so rapidly, the loss of natural habitat to development is the greatest threat to the panther's survival. That the feline still prowls the Everglades—30 to 50 panthers are thought to survive there and in Big Cypress National Preserve—is a tribute to its own adaptability and to the determination of conservationists. Sa Oron "Sonny" Bass, a U.S. wildlife search biologist: "This is one tough ca

One of 13 subspecies of North Ame can mountain lion, the Florida cat is smaller, darker version of the Wes cougar, with a distinctive kink in its t and a cowlick on its back. The solita nocturnal carnivores roam up to 2 square miles to hunt deer, wild hogs a small mammals in the harsh Everglad environment.

To help the panther survive, und passes have been built along Interst 75, known as Alligator Alley, and spe limits are being more strictly enforc Also, habitat has been purchased fr landowners and game hunting restric to build up the cats' supply of pr Inbreeding has left most males suffer from genetic deficiencies that ham

come in a pending federal-court battle in Miami and in the state capital, where water officials will decide questions of future need and allocation. The conservationists have already made it clear that agriculture—particularly the sugar industry—is their main target. Some 430,000 acres of the drained Everglades are in sugar production. Since the water is free, South Florida's farmers take as much as they need and have little incentive to conserve. Phosphorus pollution in runoff provided ammunition for the lawsuit filed by the U.S. Attorney in October, 1988, as the first salvo in what has been dubbed "the war against sugar."



MICHAEL SATCHELL—USN&WR

Saw-grass veld. *Biologist John Ogden says the park can be saved*

Ecological allies. The suit charges the state with pumping polluted sugar-plantation runoff onto federal lands, and the case looms as the nation's second-biggest environmental litigation after the Alaskan oil spill. To deal with the phosphorus, a state plan would create a 40,000-acre marsh on Florida-owned lands to filter the effluent. Environmentalists are furious that the state is offering public land instead of requiring the sugar industry to convert its own fields. But Dalton Yancey, executive vice president of the Florida Sugar Cane League, notes that growing vegetables that require pesticides instead of growing sugar, or allowing urban development, would be far more damaging.

The battle has also been joined in the sweltering pastures north of Lake Okeechobee, where conservationists have found an unusual ally: The Army Corps of Engineers. For decades the nemesis of environmentalists for its dam building and other projects that radically altered the landscape, the Corps is now seen as a strong ecological partner in South Florida. In the late 1960s, over the protests of environmentalists, the Army engineers turned a 52-mile stretch of the meandering Kissimmee River above Lake Okeechobee into an arrow-straight waterway. The engineering was intended to control floods and improve navigation, but it also destroyed water-cleansing marshes. This allowed millions of gallons of nutrient-rich dairy-farm runoff to pollute the lake, which in turn sends its waters flowing south as far as the park. Now the Corps is spending $275 million to restore the Kissimmee to its natural state, with twisting oxbow curves and extensive wetlands. Scientists are confident it will improve water quality in the lake and downstream.

There are other reasons for optimism. Army engineers are embarking on a separate, $20 million modification of canals, spillways and pumping stations to assure a steadier supply of cleaner water for the park. In addition, last fall Congress authorized the purchase of 107,000 acres to be added to the east section of the park. The $67 million project will help restore natural flow in the Shark River Slough, a 50-mile-wide, inches-deep sheet of water that in normal times trickles southwest through the park to the Gulf of Mexico and is a critical part of the wildlife food chain. Today, the slough is as dry and barren as a Kansas farm pond in a midsummer drought. Restored, its shallow waters will bring fish and other organisms to feed the park's decimated wading birds.

As the nation's most ambitious attempt to put a little wild back in the wilderness is launched, the Everglades project has an excellent chance to succeed—if it is not too late. Therein lies the irony. Were the Everglades a purple-mountains'-majesty expanse of towering peaks, game-filled forests and rushing rivers, the park would never have been allowed to deteriorate this far. It will be a measure of America's ecological commitment and maturity in this so-called decade of the environment if the inhospitable, table-flat, trackless swamp can one day relinquish its status as America's most endangered national park. ■

by Michael Satchell

ccessful reproduction, and attempts at vitro fertilization have failed.

A captive-breeding program will soon nsfer five pairs of panthers from the ld to zoos, but the plan poses a dilem-. It is intended to provide 200 healthy nthers by the year 2000, and wildlife earchers like Sonny Bass are eager to ntroduce the animals into their origi- habitat. But even if tracts of public d like wildlife refuges can serve as nther preserves, there is likely to be position. Recent attempts to return endangered red wolf to the Carolinas d the gray wolf to the Yellowstone tional Park region of Montana and yoming have met with fierce resis- ce from farmers and ranchers. If the nther-breeding program is successful, ding a place for the big cats will be as llenging as assuring their survival.

ERWIN AND PEGGY BAUER—BRUCE COLEMAN

Rare sight. *No more than 50 panthers survive in the shrinking Everglades habitat*

Republicans' high ride into the '90s

BY MICHAEL BARONE

Texas's gubernatorial primary, the year's first big-state political race, spotlights the advantages of the Republicans—and the handicaps of the Democrats—in the politics of the 1990s. The stunning 61 percent Republican-primary victory of Midland oilman Clayton Williams shows how a Republican had the maneuvering room to come up with a positive platform on drugs and education at a time when voters want activist government—at least at the state and local levels. At the same time, the 39-37 Democratic-primary standoff between state Treasurer Ann Richards and Atty. Gen. Jim Mattox, which will be settled in an April 10 runoff, was a nasty-tempered brawl that left the candidates on the defensive, unable or unwilling to make proposals with much appeal to voters.

Williams's big victory was the triumph of a Republican who combined tough and soft approaches to major issues of the day. His mostly self-financed $6 million ad campaign is known best for showing him in cowboy hat and boots calling for military-style boot camps for drug offenders where "I'll introduce 'em to the joys of bustin' rocks." But his program also has a softer side, promising drug counseling for the rock busters, two years of free college tuition for honors students at Texas high schools and more vocational education.

Williams's unusual program has personal roots: He says he decided to run after dealing with his oldest son's drug problem in 1986. But his program also highlights the strategic advantages Republicans have in post-Reagan state politics. Williams clearly benefits from the voters' assumption that a Republican will resist raising taxes. It gives him credibility when he argues that his management skills would enable him to hold down state spending, which rose 23 percent in two years, and that he can find money to pay for new programs by selling some of the 21,000 state cars—even if that proposal doesn't truly yield much.

WILLIAMS CAMPAIGN

"I am Bubba." *A Williams TV ad connects*

Exceedingly vague. The Democrats, meanwhile, are on the defensive because voters fear they will raise taxes, show too much sympathy for criminals and cater to special interests. To allay these fears, "Texas tough" Mattox boasts of his support for the death penalty and promises a state lottery while accusing opponents of wanting to raise taxes. As for Richards, the Democrats' 1988 national keynoter, she seems afraid to say what she believes. In ads and debates, she is exceedingly vague, and on the stump she uses code language to signal her agreement with liberal interest groups. On education, she is for higher teacher salaries and wants to get rid of competency tests—a teachers' union stand that would undo major reforms enacted in 1984. On crime, she signals her distaste for tough stands by ridiculing opponents for "bragging how many men they've killed" and arguing, 1960s style, that crime will not be stopped unless its "root causes" are addressed.

Against this backdrop, Williams, despite his standing as an oil millionaire, has struck a chord with "the Bubba vote"—the mostly rural-origin Texans who take pride in the state's history and traditional values. "I am Bubba," he likes to say. And Williams, like many Bubbas, is more sophisticated than he appears: He is not just a rancher and wildcatter but also a telecommunications entrepreneur and an instructor at Texas A&M, the sometimes joked-about but increasingly respected state university. Texas's Bubbas aren't necessarily antigovernment, but they do look askance at liberal cultural values, even while they increasingly make their living in high tech.

Meanwhile, the Democrats compete sotto voce for interest-group support and out loud mostly flail at each other. That it seems is their strategy for the fall, when one of them will face Williams. A Richards adviser says, "I know this guy's bubble is going to burst." And Mattox's pollster says, "He's a Texas businessman; there's got to be something in there" to attack. But with his pro-active program, Williams is far ahead, with a good chance of helping his party win other statewide offices and enough legislative seats to set the electoral boundaries of the 30 U.S. representatives Texas will field in 1992. □

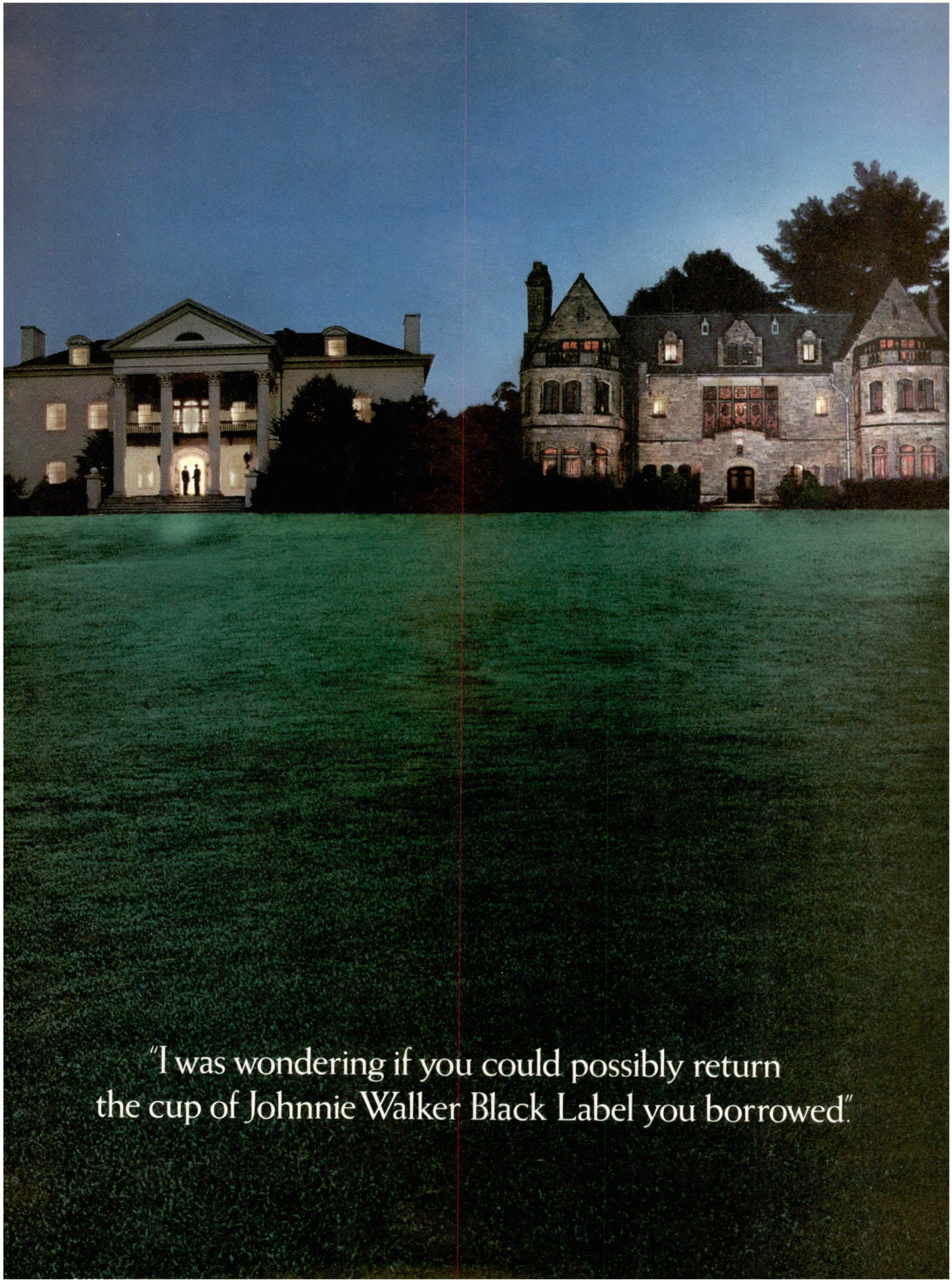
Right turn at the polls

The election results in Nicaragua and East Germany, a surprise to many reporters, show a striking pattern predicted in this magazine in several recent stories. Most voters most places prefer the parties of the right, if those parties support some government help for those who help themselves—the platform of Nicaragua's UNO, Germany's Christian Democrats and Texas's Clayton Williams.

But the voters are saying, in the slogan of the East German winners, "No more socialist experiments." They are looking for economic growth, not economic redistribution, and while they want a safety net, they have little confidence in government's ability to direct the whole economy. They prefer politicians who affirm cultural values to bureaucratic busybodies who want to reform them. History is not, it seems, an endless move to the left. □

Insulting Rosty

Why has there been such a resounding lack of response among politicians to Dan Rostenkowski's deficit-cutting proposal? Maybe because Rosty, who with his father held the post of 32nd-ward Democratic committeeman in Chicago for more than 50 years, isn't thinking like a pol any more. Just renominated without opposition, with no opponent in November, widely expected to retire in 1992 (probably the last year he can pocket his $1 million-plus campaign treasury), he doesn't have to face voters angry about tax increases and benefit cuts. Back home, one observer says, "he's viewed as a statesman, which in Chicago is almost an insult." ■


"I was wondering if you could possibly return
the cup of Johnnie Walker Black Label you borrowed."

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Defying Moscow rules

Stubborn Lithuania bets that Mikhail Gorbachev is bluffing

It is an unlikely setting for Mikhail Gorbachev's toughest test in five years as Soviet leader: The modern, Spartan chamber of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, stripped of all Soviet trappings and now adorned only by a huge green, red and yellow banner of independent Lithuania hanging above the speaker's podium. The nimble Gorbachev has navigated his way through political intrigues, ethnic feuds and natural disasters, beating off some challenges and sidestepping others. But there is no getting around Lithuania, a tiny, stubborn corner of the Soviet empire that shows no interest in watering down its defiant declaration of independence from Moscow.

The resulting war of nerves between Moscow and Vilnius could bring economic chaos and physical violence to both the Lithuanian David and the Soviet Goliath. Gorbachev, recently vested with sweeping new presidential powers, has issued a steady stream of directives aimed at bringing the Lithuanians to heel, and the Soviet military, the Interior Ministry, and the KGB all have flexed their muscles to unnerve the republic's new leadership. But Lithuania's new parliament has largely ignored the attempts at intimidation and publicly concentrated on assembling the legal foundations of a new republic. Lawmakers discussed the formation of the republic's new broadcasting authority as occasional Soviet military transports rumbled overhead.

Risky business. The stakes are enormous. Lithuania's leaders are betting their futures and those of their people on a return to self-rule after 50 years of Soviet control. For Gorbachev, giving in would be an admission of weakness that likely would mean the beginning of the end of an already unstable and impoverished Soviet federation. "Perhaps we have very little time," said Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis. "Let's remember Hungary, Czechoslovakia, China."

The showdown is casting a shadow over superpower relations as well, leaving the Bush administration torn between its hopes for a profitable summer summit and new arms-control agreements and its commitment to the Lithuanians' right to determine their own destiny (see page 30). Last Friday, Moscow expelled two U.S. diplomats from Lithuania, and by appealing for diplomatic recognition to keep their fledgling republic afloat, Lithuania's leaders are putting the U.S. and other nations on the spot. "Everything we are doing now resembles a farce, a theater, unless we can gain recognition," says Virgilijus Cepaitis, a leading member of Lithuania's new parliament.

Gorbachev is holding the high cards. Lithuania has virtually no energy resources of its own, and it gets cut-rate oil and other raw materials from the U.S.S.R. Its finished goods are mostly uncompetitive by Western standards. Lithuanian businesses would face tough competition for outside investment from Eastern Europe. Communications and transportation are still controlled by Moscow, as Lithuanians were reminded when their international phone lines were sporadical-

ROGOV—ZOJA PICTURES FOR *USN&WR*

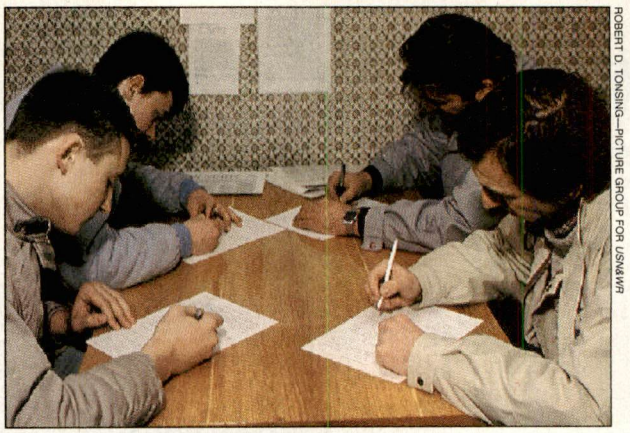
Steady on. *Despite Moscow's threats, Lithuanian President Landsbergis is unbowed*

ly interrupted soon after their independence declaration.

The republic has no military force of its own, and Moscow could try to disarm even the local police. The Lithuanians estimate there are at least 30,000 Soviet troops based in the republic, and that number was bolstered by an estimated 2,000 paratroopers flown in to a base near Kaunas earlier this month.

But the Lithuanians can exert some economic pressure on Moscow as well. The republic produces twice as much meat and milk as it consumes and exports those badly needed products to the rest of the U.S.S.R. "What we produce for the Soviet Union is no less important than what we buy," insists Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene, noting that Lithuania turns Soviet raw materials into electronic equipment and a range of consumer goods, from shoes to refrigerators, prized by hard-pressed Soviet consumers.

The Lithuanians are counting on pressure from liberal Soviet reformers and other restive republics to help their cause. Other ethnic groups, including Ukrainians and Moldavians, are keeping a close watch on Lithuania, even sending observers to take notes on the formation of the new government. Pro-independence candidates did well in recent elections in Lithuania's neighboring Baltic states, Latvia and Estonia. But so far, the two have held back, leading to speculation in Vilnius that the Estonians in particular may be negotiating with Moscow to pursue independence more slowly in exchange for better treatment from Gorbachev. Nor have Moscow liberals rallied to the Lithuanian cause. An interview with President Landsbergis in the *Moscow News* was accompanied by a statement criticizing "an impatient Lithuanian leadership." In the Congress of People's Deputies, only 93 of some 350 opposition members voted against a resolution annulling Lithuania's declaration of independence.



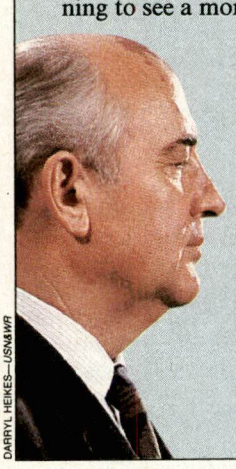
ROBERT D. TONSING—PICTURE GROUP FOR USN&WR

Switching sides. *Soviet deserters in Lithuania*

Meanwhile, individuals and enterprises are unsure whether to obey Moscow or Vilnius. Factories are scrambling to assure suppliers and customers around the U.S.S.R. that they intend to continue doing business. Some 1,000 of the 40,000 Lithuanians doing their mandatory service in the Soviet military have deserted and made their way home, where many have registered for protec-

The Bush White House fiddles while Gorbachev's Kremlin fumes

President Bush says it would be "arrogant" of the United States to try to get in the middle of the row between Moscow and Lithuania. But with Soviet helicopters buzzing over the Lithuanian capital, some American officials have begun rethinking the administration's cheerleading for Gorbachev and its laissez-faire attitude toward his policies. Although Washington continues to believe that Gorbachev is only bluffing, one official says the Soviet leader's demand that Lithuanians surrender their hunting rifles "raises questions about how he is playing the game, how he is using his power. People are beginning to see a more complex Gorbachev." Adds another: "Even in the era of *glasnost,* we don't fully understand the political pressures he may be under."



DARRYL HEIKES—USN&WR

Although the administration is struggling to avoid choosing sides between Gorbachev and the Lithuanians, its hands-off policy already is helping shape events. "If the West is worried about offending Gorbachev or hurting him," says Valdas Katkus, a member of the new Lithuanian Supreme Council, "then we are little more than hostages to Moscow."

A crackdown by Gorbachev would disrupt U.S.-Soviet negotiations ranging from economic and arms-control treaties to a settlement in Afghanistan. But the U.S. attempt to head off such a crisis by soft-pedaling the Kremlin's intimidation of Lithuania shows just how much maneuvering room Bush and his aides have surrendered in the name of good relations with Gorbachev and support for his political and economic reforms. After Soviet troops moved into Azerbaijan's capital to crush ethnic unrest, the administration's response was notably low-key. Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel met with the widow of dissident hero Andrei Sakharov in Moscow, but Secretary of State James Baker did not even visit Sakharov's grave when he was in Moscow last month.

Subtle distinctions. This diplomatic minuet has sometimes left the U.S. in an awkward position. Baker has tried to strike a balance between offending Gorbachev and giving him carte blanche to crack down on his opponents by condemning the use of force to suppress dissent while giving Moscow leeway to use force to restore public order. But such fine distinctions may contain loophol big enough to drive a tank through. Th administration's concession that force acceptable under some conditions, fo example, may encourage Gorbachev t believe he can get tough with Lithuani under the guise of restoring order—pe haps by confiscating weapons or roundin up deserters from the Soviet Army- especially given Bush's tepid reaction t the Chinese crackdown in Tiananme Square. Worse, by tying U.S. recognitio of Lithuania to the new government ability to demonstrate control of its ow territory, Bush inadvertently could hav invited Gorbachev to show just who rea ly controls the beleaguered republic.

The Bush administration seems so an ious to minimize Gorbachev's strong-ar tactics that it sometimes is hard to te where Soviet explanations end and th public U.S. response begins. "I'd say l them sort it out," Bush told reporters Washington last week, as the Sovie turned up the heat on Lithuania. "They' on the right track." Meanwhile, as Mo cow was preparing to disarm the Lithu nian police, the two superpowers a nounced a tentative five-year agreeme on Soviet purchases of U.S. grain.

Some U.S. officials recognize that th administration's timidity could become political embarrassment. "The crit cism," says a Bush adviser, "is that v invade Panama for democracy and v support free elections in Nicaragua, y we speak with a crooked tongue on Lit

tion by the new government. Others are stopping by the Supreme Council building, some in uniform, wondering whether to desert or return to their units, where reports of incidents of hazing and other mistreatment of Lithuanians are increasing.

Both sides are seeking to play down the confrontation. Lithuanian President Landsbergis has welcomed most of Moscow's missives as steps toward formal negotiations. "If we had wanted confrontation, we would have switched off the lights two weeks ago," replies a senior official at Moscow's Communist Party Central Committee headquarters.

But if Vilnius continues to ignore Gorbachev, the Soviet leader's backers say, he might exercise another of his new powers by taking direct presidential control of Lithuania. If there is one certainty in the crisis, it is that Mikhail Gorbachev did not become his country's most powerful leader since Stalin in order to preside over the dissolution of the Soviet Union. ■

by Jeff Trimble in Vilnius
with Dianne Rinehart in Moscow

ania." Representative Richard Durbin
D-Ill.), the co-author of a House letter
alling for a tougher policy on Lithua-
a, says the U.S. should take the lead in
rmally recognizing Lithuania: "This is
real test of U.S. values and principles."
Administration officials emphasize
at the U.S. has never recognized Mos-
w's forced annexation of the Baltic
publics in 1940, but they say Washing-
n should not insist publicly now on
eir independence and appear to be
rcing Gorbachev's hand. Bush's cau-
n will come as no surprise to the Sovi-
leader. At their summit in Malta last
ecember, Bush told Gorbachev he sup-
rted "self-determination" and the
peaceful exercise of political rights" in
e Baltics and added mildly that the use
force to crush dissent would be "coun-
rproductive." That could have given
orbachev the impression that Bush's
lerance in the Baltics
as great as it was in
eijing. Bush may be
unting on private,
rsonal diplomacy to
fluence Moscow, but
s own aides have ad-
itted that similar en-
eaties to China's lead-
s have not produced
e expected results.

DARRYL HEIKES—USN&WR

Douglas Stanglin with
nneth T. Walsh in
shington

ALI PACZENSKY—ZENIT/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOC.

The challenger. *Lafontaine is betting that German unity will prove expensive*

West Germany's Scrooge waits in the wings

Oskar Lafontaine asks who will pay for unification

Better to act the big spender than Scrooge at the birth of the new Germany. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's large pocketbook and sense of occasion so impressed East German voters that they have effectively put him in charge of their country. Now comes the hard part. The conservative Chancellor is like a man with two wives, needing to keep both happy at the risk of satisfying neither. Should he falter, Scrooge is ready to carry off the more fetching one, West Germany.

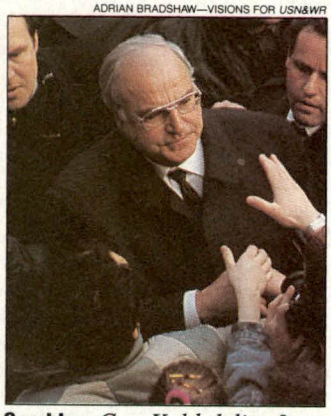
Scrooge is Oskar Lafontaine. That, at least, is the way East Germans saw Kohl's rival for reunifier in chief when they voted conservative in their first free election last week. Pre-election opinion polls had predicted victory for East German Social Democrats in league with Lafontaine, the new champion of West Germany's opposition Social Democratic Party (SPD). But East German voters opted for the reassuring Kohl—and through him for double-quick unity and the purchasing power of the deutschemarks that soon will be jingling in their pockets.

The East Germans were swept off their feet, observes a recent British ambassador to Bonn, Sir Julian Bullard, "by a man who stands 6-foot-4 in his socks, is a master of the simple slogan and does not mind the rain." Kohl barnstormed across gray, wintry East Germany, and the election posters of the conservative Alliance for Germany, led by the sister party of his West German Christian Democratic Union (CDU), said simply "*Ja*"—a clear invitation to immediate unity. Lafontaine's sister Social Democrats were mumbling about some slower road.

The youthful Lafontaine, 46, however, is not unnerved by the East German setback. Last week, on securing his party's nomination for Chancellor in West Germany's own, more significant legislative elections in December, he confronted all Germans with a big question: How can Kohl keep his promises to impoverished East Germany without imperiling West Germany's own precious prosperity?

The answer, insists Lafontaine, is that Kohl can't. West Germans already are beginning to resent the costly benefits and privileges extended to East German prosperity seekers still crossing the border (more than 1,500 registered the day after East Germany's vote). Two West German states, including

ADRIAN BRADSHAW—VISIONS FOR *USN&WR*



Gambler. *Can Kohl deliver?*

The last gasp for another wheezing relic of socialism

The only good thing I can say about the Trabant is that it always starts, freezing or not," says mechanic Tomas Kahl, 19. He should know. He works at the gray concrete auto plant at Zwickau that produces this choking symbol of East German industrial backwardness. "It was a wonderful car 30 years ago."

Like many of his 11,500 co-workers, Kahl voted conservative in East Germany's first free elections last week. Bumper stickers favoring immediate German unity decorate the poky "Trabis" in the workers' parking lot and signal enthusiasm for a $2.9 billion joint venture between the West German auto giant Volkswagen and East Germany's state-owned auto-making conglomerate.

A new Trabant. Yet Volkswagen's arrival will kill the smelly two-stroke Trabant. "It's the same as East Germany. The car is losing its identity," says Kahl. Last year, the Zwickau plant produced 146,000 Trabants in an array of bland pastels. VW plans to produce 400 of its Polos daily at Zwickau next year, and a totally new Trabant by the mid-1990s.

For now, the old factory will keep producing Trabants. The Trabi does have saving graces, says welder Joachim Anwand. "You can go right into a ditch and just pick it up and come out the other side. You can't do that with a Mercedes." But Jürgen Schiebert, Trabant's public-relations director, isn't optimistic. "We can't sell our cars any more," he says. "People are waiting for currency union and then they'll buy their cars in West Germany with deutschemarks." The Trabant's name means "satellite," in honor of the Soviet sputnik of the 1950s. The car has scarcely been modified since, which is why Schiebert does not drive one. He rides a bicycle.

The threat of as many as 2,000 layoffs does not seem to alarm Trabant workers. Those expecting to stay on hope to get paid as much as West German auto workers. Kahl says that even if he's laid off, he is sure he can find work elsewhere.

East Germany's chief cause for mourning the demise of the Trabi will be the loss of a rich source of jokes. "Have you heard," says Trabant metalworker Gerhard Kempe, "that the last Trabi we make will have two tailpipes? It'll be East Germany's perfect wheelbarrow."

RICKI ROSEN—PICTURE GROUP

Model T. *Trabants are made the old-fashioned way*

by David Lawday with June Carolyn Erlick in Zwickau

Lafontaine's own Saarland, have unilaterally canceled the refugee benefits as a signal to Easterners that they would serve themselves and a united Germany better by staying put. Indeed, no sooner had the East Germans voted than Kohl's government announced the abolition by July 1 of most of the controversial benefits. This postelection maneuver was, said Lafontaine, Kohl's "first betrayal" of the hopes East Germans were investing in him.

Being a killjoy is not the natural way of the Saarland political leader, who built his career in hot pursuit of left-wing causes, environmental and antinuclear. "Red Oskar" was a leader of the campaign in the early 1980s to prevent the installation of U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons in West Germany. He has the face of a choirboy but a reputation for being a little dangerous. And a little showy. A twice-divorced bachelor who wears modish suits, he installed an expensive chef at his home state's small office in Bonn.

Shooting through the Social Democratic ranks, Lafontaine captured the Saarland for his party from long entrenched conservatives in 1985. The Saarland's activist leader immediately became a provocative national figure: Napoleon of the Saar, they called him.

But now, with unity almost here, he is the hardheaded pragmatist and Kohl is the risk taker. While Kohl promises the East immediate gratification, Lafontaine has distressed German unions by telling them he could support their demands for shorter working hours—but only if they accepted less pay. The longtime scourge of NATO balks at those who cast him as the champion of a neutral Germany, calling neutrality an absurd and irrelevant concept. He sees Europe's nation-states integrated, Germany included, into a progressively federal Europe with a new security system replacing the present Eastern and Western blocs. The blocs are finished, he says, adding somewhat vaguely, "The new system must of course incorporate the United States, including the possibility of an American troop presence."

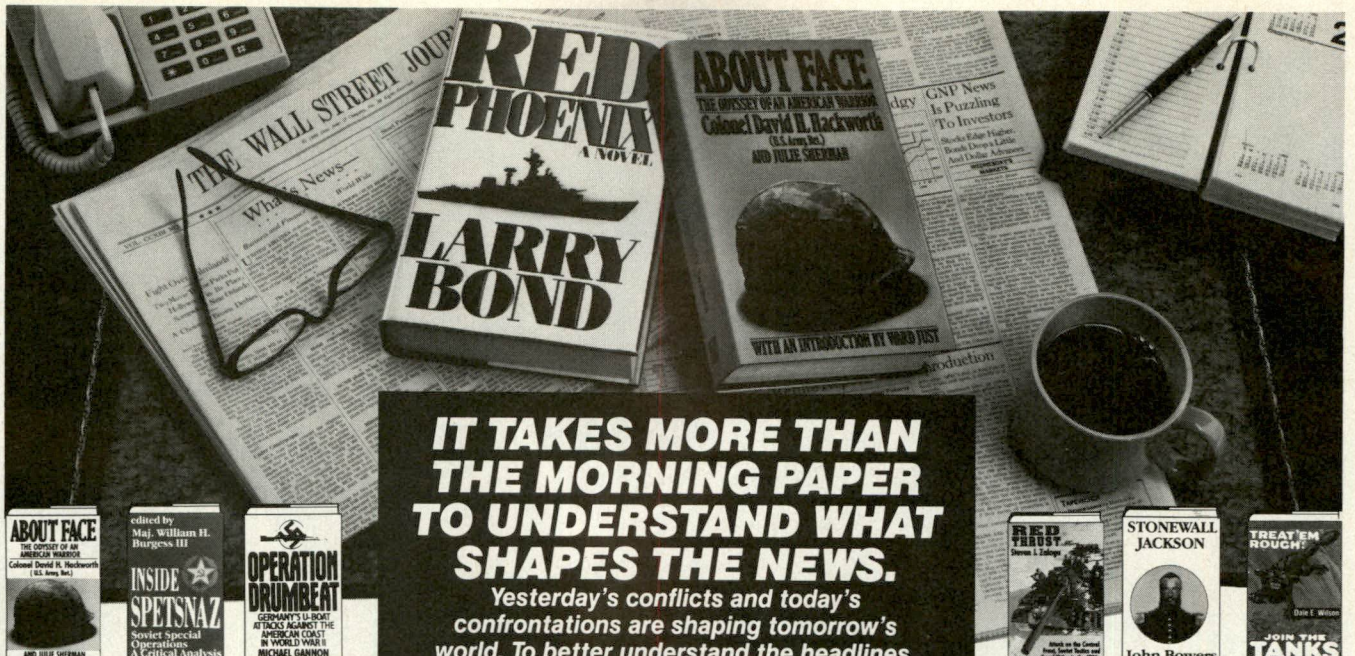
Reassuring Poland. Lafontaine's "new security system" remains imprecise, especially for someone educated by Jesuits. To the joint West German-French army brigade created last year to underscore Germany's commitment to European integration, he would now add a German-Polish brigade to help dispel lingering fears of German expansionism.

Lafontaine's go-slow approach to reunification is based partly on experience. His Saarland, placed under postwar French control, took four years to make its return to Germany—starting with a referendum in 1955 and ending with full economic integration in 1959.

Nor is it surprising that Lafontaine, a descendant of a French officer sent to the Saar 300 years ago by Louis XIV, is concerned about the price of reunification. The Saarland is one of the smallest and poorest states in Germany, a mini-Ruhr of played-out coal and steel that has yo-yoed between German and French control over the past century and is still struggling to modernize its own industry.

Kohl sees the pitfalls ahead. But he has to deliver on his promises, including the lopsided and expensive one-for-one common-currency plan under which East Germans will be able to start swapping their semiworthless ostmarks for solid deutschemarks on July 1. In West Germany, the Chancellor now is favored to win re-election in December. The Saarlander is waiting for things to go wrong. In a twist on the famous words of Louis XV, whose great-grandfather dispatched Lafontaine's French ancestor to the Saarland, the West German Scrooge says: "After the deluge, me." ■

by David Lawday in Berlin



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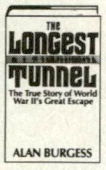

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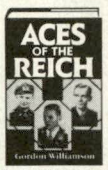

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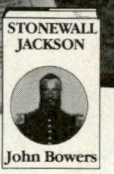

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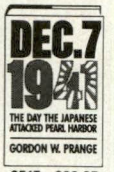

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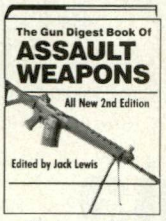

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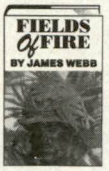

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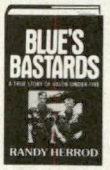

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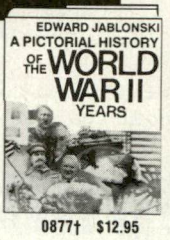

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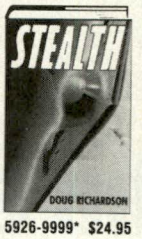

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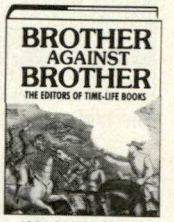

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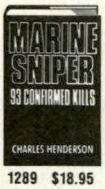

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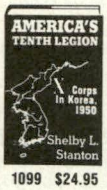

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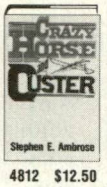

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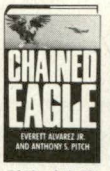

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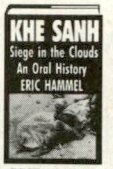

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PHOTOS BY ERIC RANSDELL FOR *US*

The cupboard is bare. *After Ethiopian air raids on Massawa, scavengers find only a few bags of unburned grain for famine victims*

The apocalypse in Ethiopia

Grain burns in a starving nation as another dictator's days dwindle

Gaunt nomads paw through smoldering piles of grain in the bombed-out Red Sea port of Massawa, scuttling to salvage a few sacks of food that are all that remain of 50,000 tons of aid once destined for Ethiopia's war-scarred Eritrea province. These ghosts of the ruins load what they find onto camels for a grim trek into the drought-stricken countryside, where as many as 1.9 million people are starving. Most days, the scavengers must dive for cover amid the charred hulks of Soviet-built T-55 tanks and United Nations relief trucks when Ethiopian jets scream back to drop more bombs and napalm on the port, which was captured by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) last month.

War, famine and superpower competition have tortured northern Ethiopia since the early 1960s. Now, however, a major rebel offensive is closing in on the Marxist regime that President Mengistu Haile Miriam has held together with brutal repression, ideological bombast and $11 billion in Soviet aid. After years of jockeying for influence in Ethiopia, Moscow and Washington now have decided the region is not much of a strategic prize after all. These changes may finally write an end to Africa's longest-running civil war: Eritrea's three-decade struggle for autonomy or independence. But they may come too late to save either those facing starvation in Eritrea or the millions facing famine in Tigré province and elsewhere in the Red Sea hinterland.

GARY VISGAITIS—*USN&WR*

Mengistu's position has become increasingly vulnerable since the EPLF overran Massawa in mid-February after one of the fiercest battles in Africa since World War II. Just a few days before the rebel attack, Soviet arms were still flowing through the port to the 120,000-strong Ethiopian Second Revolutionary Army. With that lifeline cut, Mengistu's biggest and best front-line force is cut off and running short of food, fuel and water in Asmara, the Eritrean provincial capital, and a nearby garrison town. EPLF forces are already within 30 miles of Asmara; they need to advance only about 12 more miles to bring the city's airport under artillery fire that would smash the Second Army's tenuous air-

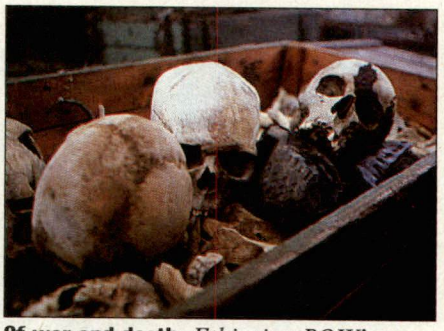
supply route from Addis Ababa, the national capital.

Mengistu has been in trouble before but survived because of the loyalty of his military, the guile of his East German-staffed intelligence service and the open checkbook of his Kremlin supporters. All three of those props are now missing or seriously weakened. Despite bloody purges of Army officers—including executions carried out personally by Mengistu—the military no longer shares its leader's enthusiasm for continuing the war at any cost. An attempted coup against Mengistu last May failed largely because the plot was discovered in advance by East German security advisers. But those advisers were called home even before East Germany voted out the Communists. Diplomats in Addis Ababa say another major military defeat, such as the fall of Asmara, could trigger a new coup attempt that would have much greater chances of success.

Public support for Mengistu was revived briefly last fall, when his forces stopped an offensive by another breakaway rebel group, the Tigréan People's Liberation Front (TPLF), within 200 miles of Addis Ababa. But steadily worsening food shortages, relentless poverty and widespread fears about a new round of press-gang conscription of teenagers have soured the mood in the capital. Few people put much stock in Mengistu's March 5 attempt to get in step with *perestroika* by publicly embracing capitalism—tabbed a "deathbed conversion" by one Western diplomat—or his proposal to replace the country's rigid Stalinist system with a mixed economy. "Mengistu has lived his whole life as a thug, a murderer and a Marxist," says a senior U.S. official. "Suddenly he turns capitalist. That's bull."

Where have all the Russians gone? Capitalist or Communist, the Ethiopian dictator now seems to hold little attraction for the Kremlin, which once backed him lavishly. When Eritrean rebels attacked Massawa in 1977 and 1978, Soviet warships shelled the port and saved Mengistu's forces from certain defeat. For years, Moscow automatically replaced tanks, artillery and rifles captured by the EPLF. As recently as last May, Western officials say, there were 5,000 Soviet advisers working with the Ethiopian Army.

All this began to change sometime in 1988 as Mikhail Gorbachev's reformers questioned the value of fighting proxy wars in the Third World and Mengistu's forces looked increasingly incapable of defeating the rebels, no matter how much help they received from Moscow. By early this year, the Soviets had moved from publicly warning Mengistu that his war was unwinnable—widely interpreted as backstage support for negotiated settlements with the rebels—to actually cutting back support for his regime. This time, no Soviet ships arrived to save Massawa. And Moscow reportedly rejected an appeal to use its giant Antonov cargo planes, which are still sitting on the tarmac at Addis Ababa, to supply the besieged Second Army in Asmara.



Of war and death. *Ethiopian POW's are marched to detention camps. Boxes filled with human skulls bear mute testimony to purges in Mengistu's Army*

Then last week the Soviet ambassador in Sudan, which also serves as a staging base for famine-relief operations, announced that all Soviet advisers had been pulled out of Ethiopia's battle zones. The envoy, Valeri Soukhine, told the Reuter news agency that hundreds of advisers had withdrawn to Addis Ababa, where some will continue working while others return home. Soukhine said that even though Moscow might renew an arms-supply agreement that expires this year, "we don't have any counselors or experts or technicians helping to fight or advising" in Ethiopia.

Mengistu is receiving new assistance from Israel, which re-established diplomatic relations with Ethiopia last December as a step toward getting exit visas for some 10,000 Falasha Jews who live there. Although Israeli officials flatly deny that any lethal aid is included in the aid package, Western diplomats in Addis Ababa report that Israeli advisers and military supplies, including cluster bombs, already are arriving. The EPLF makes similar claims of Israeli involvement. "We know that the Israelis have been supplying bombs for the Ethiopian Air Force and that there has been a resumption of cooperation in areas like intelligence and information," EPLF Secretary General Isais Aferwoki told *U.S. News* last week.

The full impact of the Massawa fighting on famine relief is uncertain but could be devastating. The port would be serviceable within a few days if Mengistu halted the daily bombing by accepting a U.S.-backed EPLF proposal to make it an "open city" for shipping grain to starving civilians on both sides. The chances of that happening appear just as slim as the prospect of concluding other agreements that would let relief convoys across battle lines before summer rains make roads impassable.

Meanwhile, Ethiopians who know little about politics but much about hunger are beginning to trek long distances across the parched countryside. When Hamid Nur, a 54-year-old peasant, heard a rumor that food salvaged from Massawa would be handed out, he walked 24 hours to get enough grain to keep his family alive for a month.

If hundreds of thousands of people starve, as in 1984-85, it would be a grimly fitting counterpart to a recent discovery on a former Ethiopian Army compound near Massawa: Fifty large ammunition crates stuffed full of human bones. The victims were probably soldiers killed in Mengistu's purges, not in combat. Their burial site—set up almost as a kind of shrine—likely will not be the last such find as Mengistu's bloodstained regime collapses on itself. ■

by Eric Ransdell in Massawa

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WORLDGRAM

ECONOMIC SHOCK TREATMENT IN BRAZIL

BRASILIA • LONDON • JERUSALEM

■ THE PRESIDENT TAKES ON THE ELITE

Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello's bold shock treatment for curing hyperinflation amounts to all-out war. To succeed, the new President must subdue an entrenched bureaucracy, crush the special interests and impose self-sacrifice on a powerful and extravagant elite. One defeat and the whole strategy could fail.

Confronted by runaway inflation, soaring debt and a widening gap between the rich and poor, Collor has launched an economic offensive that spares no one but the destitute. The key elements: A savage liquidity squeeze that removes 70 percent of the $150 billion now in circulation--hurting big businessmen and speculators most--huge cuts in federal spending, the sale of state-owned companies, slashes in the bureaucracy, higher taxes for business and the rich and a wage-price freeze. .

So far, most Brazilians accept the you-must-break-eggs-to-make-an-omelet tack. But pessimists warn of overkill. They say plans to deter recession by injecting cruzeiros into the economy through periodic auctions will fail. They see opposition parties diluting the plan with industrial subsidies and exceptions to the money crunch. Collor knows that would be fatal. He will accept minor compromises but is determined to be tough. When some firms began firing workers on the ground there were no new cruzeiros to pay them, Collor charged, "Sabotage" and threatened to decree a period of no layoffs at all if need be. The early rounds go to Collor.

■ A WARNING TO BRITAIN'S THATCHER

The British Tories' by-election defeat in a Conservative stronghold is more warning than death knell for Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's political fortunes. But she can't afford any more setbacks.

True, Thatcher appears boxed in. Labor's sweeping victory in mid-Staffordshire marked a backlash against her new local head tax, sky-high interest rates and her abrasive personality. Promised benefits of tax reform and lower interest rates will be a long time coming. Thatcher herself is not about to start eating humble pie. However, don't count her out yet.

By-elections encourage protest; turncoat Tories may return to the fold later. Labor's new "moderation" may not prove popular once its tax and spending plans are detailed. And Thatcher's a proven rebounder. But if Tories do badly in May's local elections--as seems likely--she'll face a leadership challenge for sure.

■ ISRAEL'S SOAP-OPERA POLITICS

Until Israel's tragicomic electoral system is amended, forming a government seems destined to remain a soap-opera blend of political seduction and matchmaking. Consider the latest episodes revolving around the small ultrareligious parties that long have held the balance of power in the 120-seat Knesset (parliament):

Shas, a Sephardic-based party whose six votes were instrumental in toppling Prime Minister Shamir in mid-March, undergoes a change of heart. At the urgings of the dovish leader of the two-member Torah Flag Party, Shas swings back behind Shamir's Likud Party. That creates a 60-60 split in the Knesset between pro-Likud factions and those backing Labor leader Shimon Peres. President Chaim Herzog, a former Labor VIP, gives Peres first crack at forming a cabinet, provoking charges of favoritism.

Peres turns first to Agudat Israel, the Hasidic group whose previous demands to narrow the definition of who is a Jew angered American Jews. Peres learns the price of Agudat support will be more funds for religious schools, added housing for young couples, a delay in electoral reform and new religious laws outlawing pork, curbing pornography and limiting abortion (but no who-is-a-Jew legislation). Then Peres calls Shamir to ask if he might consider joining a Labor-led government. No way. Shas is next. It declines even to talk to Peres. So Peres meets with left-wing parties; some seek more social spending, others more money for Israeli Arabs or changes in election laws. The wheeling and dealing seem endless.

If Peres fails, then Likud will try. More deadlock means new elections, likely to produce yet another standoff. Only ending the proportional-representation system that awards Knesset seats to the tiniest minority will produce majority rule. And when will that come? Israeli cynics say the Messiah will arrive first.

by Gerson Yalowitz with Geri Smith in Brasília, Robin Knight in London and David Makovsky in Jerusalem

Hollywood's numbers game

The movie industry's profits are rising–but so are its costs

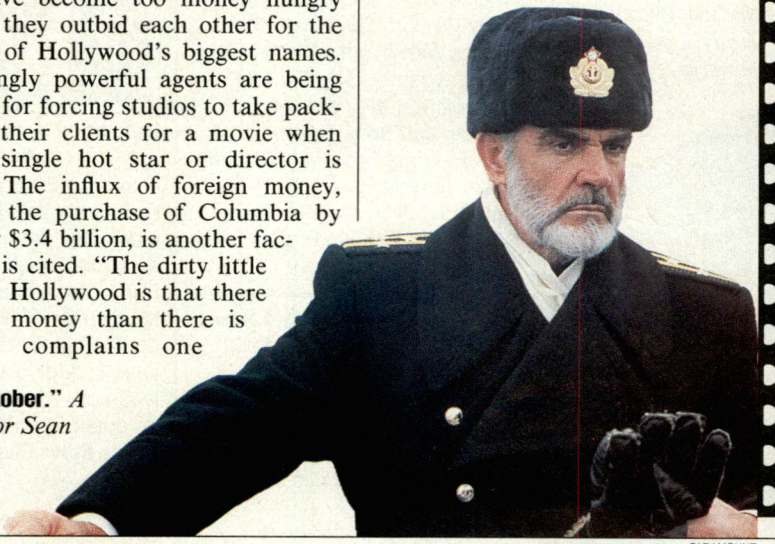
Oscar week is when the movie industry gets to toot its own horn. And there's plenty to cheer about: A record $5 billion in domestic ticket sales and an abundance of hits with wide appeal, from films of gut-wrenching realism like "Born on the Fourth of July," to escapist fantasies like Steven Spielberg's latest installment of the Indiana Jones saga, to bravura actors' pictures like the low-budget "Driving Miss Daisy," the sleeper of the year. "The business is in the best shape it's been in for years," crows Barry Levinson, who won an Academy Award last year for directing "Rain Man." But there is also, he adds, "a fear that big 'Batman'-type movies will increasingly dominate what the studios make."

Playing inflation leapfrog. The skyrocketing price of chasing ever bigger success—"Batman" cost $50 million—is downright scary to many veterans in the film industry. "Everything has become so elephantine, from the types of pictures to the size of budgets and salaries," laments movie and record mogul David Geffen, who is MCA, Inc.'s largest stockholder. "Unless you have a blockbuster, people don't think you are in the movie business." Soaring returns and ever bigger budgets keep leap-frogging each other, as a new inflationary spiral courses through the industry. Today, studios increasingly budget $50 million to produce a single film and an additional $20 million to market and distribute it worldwide.

In a curious kind of self-parody, Hollywood's money mania has produced a lot of bitter off-screen backbiting about who is to blame. Studio magnates claim stars have become too money hungry even as they outbid each other for the services of Hollywood's biggest names. Increasingly powerful agents are being fingered for forcing studios to take packages of their clients for a movie when only a single hot star or director is sought. The influx of foreign money, such as the purchase of Columbia by Sony for $3.4 billion, is another factor that is cited. "The dirty little secret in Hollywood is that there is more money than there is talent," complains one

PETER SOREL—WALT DISNEY

Cash act. *Warren Beatty as Dick Tracy in Disney's new $70 million extravaganza*



"Red October." *A big hit for Sean Connery*

PARAMOUNT

Fade to black

The payout for the average feature film is seven years. In 1989, U.S. movie studios, producers, exhibitors and distributors generated more than $45 billion in revenues. Here's where they made it—

Domestic box-office receipts	$22 bil.
Overseas box-office sales	$15.5 bil.
Domestic video	$3.4 bil.
Foreign video	$2 bil.
Foreign-TV release	$800 mil.
Cable-TV release	$750 mil.
Network-TV syndication	$450 mil.
Cable-TV syndication	$200 mil.
Network-TV release	$200 mil.
Pay-per-view-TV release	$120 mil.

Note: Numbers are estimates.
USN&WR—Basic data: Baseline

prominent studio chieftain. "I'm encountering greed that is beyond my worst nightmares," moans the head of another major studio, who himself earns tens of millions of dollars a year.

For independent filmmakers, who came up with offbeat hits like "My Left Foot," "Drugstore Cowboy" and "sex, lies, and videotape" over the past year, success also has its flip side. Stars and directors in such films soon become hot commodities in the hit-driven movie business. They catapult into the big leagues before the smaller companies have a chance to capitalize on their fame.

Hollywood is no stranger to high rollers, and it has always been driven by big hits. The colossal and the gigantic have been part of the scene ever since the days of D. W. Griffith and Cecil B. De Mille, as has the jackpot mentality. Soon after Herman Mankiewicz, who wrote the screenplay for "Citizen Kane," arrived in Hollywood in the mid-1920s, he urged fellow writer Ben Hecht to quickly join him: "Millions are to be grabbed out here, and your only competition is idiots. Don't let this get around."

Today, it's *tens* of millions that can be made. Jack Nicholson earned an estimated $60 million for his portrayal of the Joker in "Batman." But what contributes to a studio's bottom line has changed significantly in just the past few years. Pay-cable services like Home Box Office, videocassette rentals and other ancillary distribution channels now account for more than half of many films' earnings. So lucrative are the video rights that studios are able to borrow against them to finance new productions. Sequels are particularly useful in this regard, since they repeat a proven success and are easier to raise money against.

Distribution magic. Studios have evolved from centers of filmmaking creativity to film marketing and distribution companies. Says one prominent studio head: "More than anything, it's become a deal-driven business and not an idea-driven business." Movie studios have found it most profitable to have others make films for them, which are then released through their exclusive-distribution systems. Since the overhead is fixed, the more films they run through their distribution pipeline, the greater the profits. Alternatively, a single blockbuster can generate the revenues of a half-dozen ordinary films.

Last year's domestic box-office champ, "Batman," released by Warner, grossed over $250 million—the studio's take was $151 million—and the film is expected eventually to produce worldwide revenues approaching $1 billion from videocassette sales and rentals, pay television and the other burgeoning markets as well as from the sale of related items. In June, Disney will release another film based on a comic strip, "Dick Tracy," starring Warren Beatty and Madonna. The studio hopes that the movie will match, if not exceed, the box-office

Michael Ovitz. *Hollywood's powerful superagent*

WHO RUNS HOLLYWOOD

Many of the industry's most powerful player are off screen. Here are some of the bigges

AGENTS

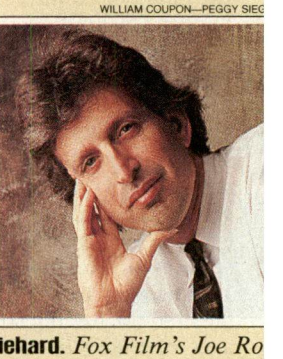
President and founder of Creative Artists Agency, **Michael Ovitz** runs Hollywood's most powerful talent bank. A stable of stars that includes Tom Cruise and Eddie Murphy allows Ovitz to "package" his actors with directors and screenwriters—an offer few studios feel they can afford to refuse. **Jeff Berg,** president of International Creative Management, is closing fast on CAA with box-office stars Richard Gere and Michelle Pfeiffer.

STUDIO HEADS

Disney Studios' **Jeffrey Katzenberg** whipped a stodgy, $250 million-a-year film company into one of the industry's biggest moneymakers. Last year, the studio grossed $2 billion from such offbeat hits as

CREATIVE ARTISTS AGENCY

WILLIAM COUPON—PEGGY SIEG



Diehard. *Fox Film's Joe Ro*

"Honey, I Shrunk the Kids." Fox Film's new kid on the block, **Joe Roth,** has been gi en a long leash by Fox chie Barry Diller. The founder of Morgan Creek Pictures plan double output to 23 films thi year, including a late-June r lease of "Die Hard II." Thou he doesn't run the studio di rectly, **Steve Ross,** cochairm of Time Warner, Inc., is a ke

and merchandising success of "Batman."

That's why the latest Hollywood buzzword is "tentpole picture." Like the central support that lifts up the entire big top, tentpole films have generated enough revenues to pay for a skein of releases. But today, some studios are concentrating their energies on a handful of such films, which now dominate their entire schedules. This is the case at Paramount, which has a half-dozen potential blockbusters set for release this year, accounting for an estimated $300 million of the studio's $500 million production budget.

Recycling, Hollywood style. Paramount is playing the tentpole strategy for all it's worth. "We're not afraid to spend money," says Sid Ganis, Paramount's coproduction chief. "It's a business about taking calculated risks." And the tactic seems to be paying off: "The Hunt for Red October," starring Sean Connery, is the biggest movie of the year so far, grossing $58 million after three weeks on the circuit. Next up is "Days of Thunder," in which Tom Cruise plays a stock-car racer. The film is the first of six for which Paramount has paid $300 million to "Top Gun" and "Beverly Hills Cop" producers Don Simpson and Jerry Bruckheimer to make over the next five years. Three other Paramount films are sequels to previous hits: "Another 48 Hours" reunites Eddie Murphy and Nick Nolte; Jack Nicholson stars in "The Two Jakes," a follow-up to "Chinatown," and "The Godfather, Part III," by Francis Ford Coppola, is set to première at Christmas.

Paramount's marketing brawn is no substitute for brains, at least the kind that Hollywood traditionally has relied on, says Joe Roth, the new head of Twentieth Century Fox's film division. "They're just making catalog pictures, spending $50 million each to make a few colossal pictures based on the ideas of people who have now gone elsewhere." Roth is referring to Paramount's former production power team, Barry Diller, now chairman of Fox, and Michael Eisner, chairman of Walt Disney.

Paramount is not the only studio swinging for the fences. When Sony bought Columbia Pictures for $3.4 billion, it hired "Batman" producers Peter Guber and Jon Peters away from Warner to run the studio. Sony paid the two men $200 million and an additional $500 million to Warner to free them from their production contract. "Now Guber and Peters are stuck with such a huge overhead that they will have to spend a billion in production and try to hit a home run every time at bat," observes a rival studio boss.

Until now, the rising cost of making a film has been more or less matched by higher revenues from the box office and videocassettes as well as rapidly increasing profits from foreign distribution. The one thing that could upset the delicate balance between costs and revenue, says Harold Vogel, Merrill Lynch's entertainment analyst, is a slowdown in the economy. "Movies are a discretionary item," he says. "People will cut back on them before they cut back on food."

Studios are also worried about the growing power of talent agencies, which have become the real movers and shakers in Hollywood. Agencies like Creative Artists Agency and International Creative Management have become adept at packaging deals that combine a star, director and writer for a single project. Studios are also concerned about the growing power of exhibitors, who have been consolidating into huge chains. Exhibitors have been demanding a larger share of the box office, and studios have been forced to give it to them.

Despite these problems, Hollywood remains a magnet for talent. Every year, thousands of young people flock to Los Angeles hoping to break into the business. Many of them will end up working in the industry's support services, such as catering, transportation and security. Others will find jobs in the studios' marketing and distribution departments. A few will become producers, directors or writers.

The industry is also facing a challenge from new technologies. Videocassettes have become a major source of revenue for studios, but they have also created a new problem: piracy. Illegal copies of movies are widely available, and studios are losing millions of dollars each year to this activity. They are also facing competition from cable television and pay-per-view services, which offer consumers a wide range of entertainment options.

Despite these challenges, Hollywood remains a powerful force in the global entertainment industry. Its films are seen by billions of people around the world, and its stars are among the most recognizable figures on the planet. The industry is also a major employer, providing jobs for hundreds of thousands of people in the United States and abroad.

Looking ahead, the future of Hollywood will depend on its ability to adapt to changing technologies and consumer preferences. Studios will need to find new ways to distribute their films, such as through streaming services and online platforms. They will also need to develop new business models that can generate revenue in a digital environment. The challenge is great, but so is the opportunity. Hollywood has a long history of reinventing itself, and it is likely to do so again.

player in its day-to-day operations. His track record includes "Batman," which has earned the studio $151 million in rentals. Since taking the helm at Universal Pictures in 1986, Chairman **Tom Pollock** has turned the once floundering studio around with such hits as "Back to the Future II" and "Twins." This year, the former lawyer plans to release 25 films, among them "Back to the Future III." A 27-year veteran of the marketing division, Paramount Pictures Chairman **Frank Mancuso** resuscitated the studio following the 1984 departure of chief Barry Diller. In the last three years, Paramount has scored either first or second-place status with eight films grossing $100 million or more. "The Hunt for Red October," which took in $17 million its first weekend, may uphold that record. Sony capped its purchase of Columbia Pictures last year by buying "Batman" producers **Peter Guber** and **Jon Peters** out of their Warner contracts for an estimated $500 million. One of Hollywood's few successful independent producers, **Larry Gordon** ("Field of Dreams," "48 Hours") recently started his own studio, Largo Pictures, with $100 million from Japanese electronics firm JVC.

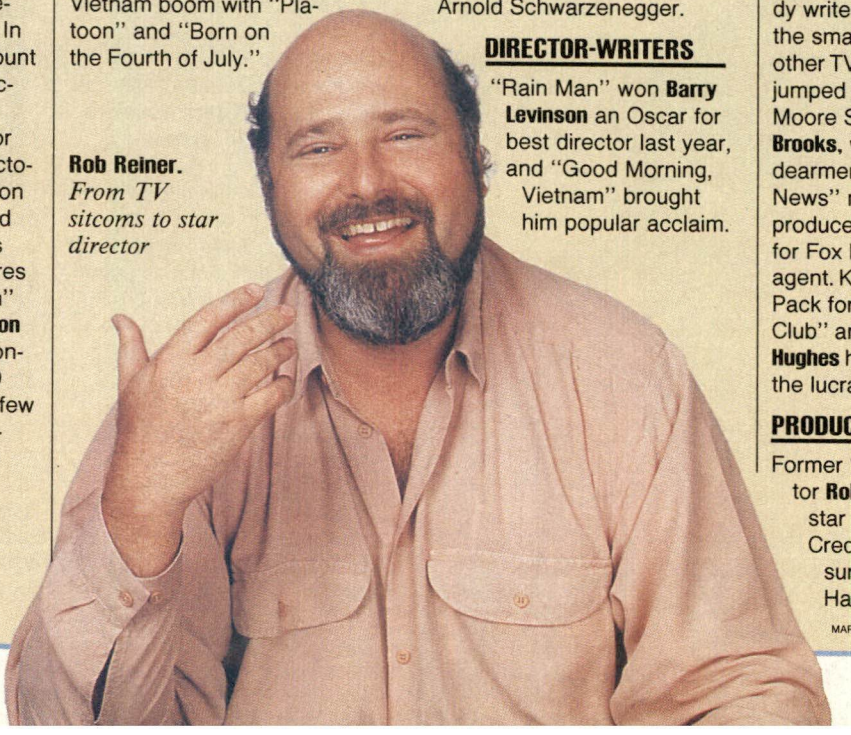
WARNER BROS.

"Batman" baby. *Tim Burton*

DIRECTORS

Oliver Stone cashed in on the Vietnam boom with "Platoon" and "Born on the Fourth of July."

Rob Reiner. *From TV sitcoms to star director*

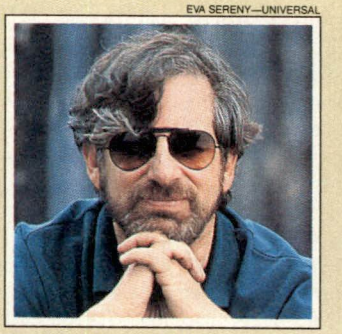


A risk taker, he is working on two movies about the rock group the Doors. Hollywood's hottest young director, **Tim Burton**, turned 30 on the set of "Batman." The former Disney animator's only other features, "Beetlejuice" and "Pee-wee's Big Adventure," were both smashes. Czechoslovak-born **Ivan Reitman**, who perfected high-concept comedy like "Animal House," also boasts one of Hollywood's longest winning streaks, with such hits as "Ghostbusters." His latest project: "Kindergarten Cop" with Arnold Schwarzenegger.

DIRECTOR-WRITERS

"Rain Man" won **Barry Levinson** an Oscar for best director last year, and "Good Morning, Vietnam" brought him popular acclaim.

EVA SERENY—UNIVERSAL



Champ. *Steven Spielberg*

But it was remembering his Baltimore roots in films like "Diner" that launched the former comedy writer for Carol Burnett from the small screen to the big. Another TV writer who successfully jumped to film is "Mary Tyler Moore Show" cocreator **James Brooks**, whose "Terms of Endearment" and "Broadcast News" made the Oscars. He produced "War of the Roses" for Fox but will soon be a free agent. Known as King of the Brat Pack for his hits "The Breakfast Club" and "Pretty in Pink," **John Hughes** has had great success in the lucrative teen market.

PRODUCERS

Former "All in the Family" actor **Rob Reiner** has become a star producer-director. Credits include last year's surprise hit "When Harry Met Sally . . ." Next

MARK HANAUER—ONYX

tainment analyst, is the increased power of agents who negotiate ever more lucrative deals for their actors, writers and directors. "Rising talent costs are consuming the golden egg," says Vogel, author of the book *Entertainment Industry Economics.*

A measure of the clout accorded agents these days is the fact that Michael Ovitz, head of Creative Artists Agency, is known as the single most powerful person in Hollywood. Because of the amazing roster of artists the agency represents, such as Tom Cruise, Barbra Streisand, Robert Redford and Dustin Hoffman, CAA has the power to package entire movies with its clients, thus significantly adding to a film's production cost even before one frame is shot. An example is "Ghostbusters" and its sequel, for which Bill Murray and other stars, as well as director Ivan Reitman, all came from CAA. In Ovitz's defense, one studio chief says the problem is not so much CAA's power to dictate who's on the marquee; rather, it rests with studios that seem to turn over management with astonishing frequency. "When a new management comes in, there's pressure to perform and get projects started, so they buy a package."

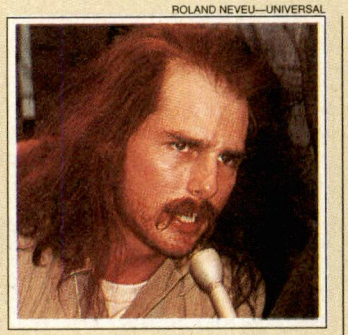
Overseas sales. While studios complain about the strain on their finances, they nonetheless fall over each other to tie up the most expensive talent as a kind of insurance policy. Proven draws like Mel Gibson and Arnold Schwarzenegger not only have domestic appeal but virtually guarantee a film's success internationally. Overseas ticket sales from "Tango and Cash," a cop-buddy film with Sylvester Stallone and Kurt Russell, could top $100 million. The returns from the Rambo movies helped build tiny Carolco into a Hollywood powerhouse; its next release, "Total Recall," stars muscleman Schwarzenegger, whose appeal is so great that the film has a guaranteed release in 100 countries. That is seen, somehow, as a conservative strategy. Notes one studio boss, "Even small movies these days cost $20 million if they're released by a major studio. So why not pop in a few names—that will raise the cost to $30 million or $40 million, but at least it gives you something to promote."

Big-budget films have been all the rage before in Hollywood. But it was the failure of splashy, expensive musicals like "Doctor Dolittle" and "Star!" in the late '60s that brought Twentieth Century Fox to the brink of insolvency. When low-budget "Easy Rider" scored big soon afterward, "little" movies became the new formula. But by 1977, Fox became the most profitable studio when "Star Wars," which cost $10 million, became a national sensation, spawning several sequels. If a few of the forthcoming supernovae collapse into a box-office black hole, Hollywood might discover once more that small is beautiful. But given the current trend, don't count on it. ■

by Jack Egan

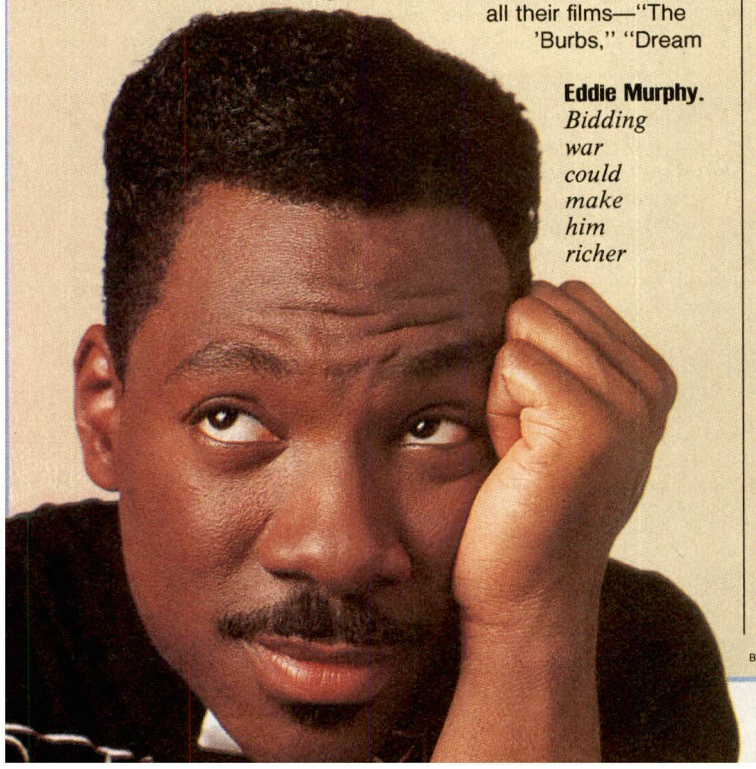
up is "Misery" with James Caan. **Steven Spielberg** is Hollywood's box-office champ, having directed four and produced two of the 10 most successful films of all time. His Amblin Entertainment is producing six original movies for Turner Network Television. "Top Gun" producers **Don Simpson** and **Jerry Bruckheimer** recently struck a six-picture deal with Paramount said to be worth $300 million. The first is a big-budget race-car epic called "Days of Thunder," with Tom Cruise. Imagine

ROLAND NEVEU—UNIVERSAL



Bankable. *Tom Cruise*

Film Entertainment's **Ron Howard** and **Brian Grazer** have seen all their films—"The 'Burbs," "Dream Team" and "Parenthood"—make money; the last grossed just under $100 million.



Eddie Murphy. *Bidding war could make him richer*

STARS

Even **Eddie Murphy**'s misses are hits. Critics panned his "Harlem Knights," yet it made about $60 million. He has three more films to make for Paramount, but other studios already are wooing. "Top Gun" propelled **Tom Cruise** to superstar status; more-challenging roles, like the paraplegic Vietnam vet in "Born on the Fourth of July," have kept him there. Paramount is wagering $60 million on the next Cruise opus, dubbed "Top Car" by wags. As the Joker in "Batman," veteran character actor **Jack Nicholson** laughed all the way to the bank, pocketing a percentage of the profits estimated to be worth up to $60 million. Bodybuilder **Arnold Schwarzenegger** has been pumping some of moviedom's beefiest profits. He shared 35 percent of the $150 million in gross profits generated by "Twins" with costar Danny DeVito and director Ivan Reitman and will make $11 million in his next film, "Total Recall." **Cher** is one of the few actresses who can command top audience—and top dollar.

BONNIE SCHIFFMAN—ONYX

ALL AROUND

Entertainment impresario **David Geffen** produced Broadway showstoppers "M. Butterfly" and "Cats." Movie credits include "Beetlejuice" and the current "Men Don't Leave." An 11 percent share makes Geffen, who just sold his record company, MCA, Inc.'s biggest stockholder.

RON GALELLA

Yo! *Cher and David Geffen*

GATEKEEPERS

Behind every hit is a hard-hitting publicist. New York-based **Peggy Siegal** controls media access to top talent like Barry Levinson. In 10 years, PMK founder **Pat Kingsley** has amassed a stable of some 60 superstars; downplaying the personal lives of clients like Woody Allen has won her the biggest, if not the most, names.

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SAAB

A businesslike approach to AIDS

Companies like General Motors are pioneering programs on the job

In the mid-'80s, panic swept a General Motors plant in Clinton, Miss., when word leaked that a worker had been diagnosed with AIDS. Other workers refused to use bathrooms or phones the AIDS sufferer had touched; some even threatened to stay home if the infected employe returned to work. That kind of scare is unlikely to happen again—at least at GM. Spurred by the incident, the auto giant and the United Auto Workers launched a $2 million program to allay concerns about the disease and to safeguard the rights of AIDS victims. "AIDS is not a threat to the workplace," says Patricia Houtteman, co-director of AIDS education at General Motors. "The *fear* of it is."

AP

No outcast. *GM covers AIDS care for Kokomo's Ryan White*

To combat that fear, the GM/UAW program concentrates on education. GM has mailed brochures and magazines on AIDS to all of its 500,000 employes and their families and provided classes for workers on the spread, prevention and treatment of the disease. Through teleconferences, seminars and written materials, the auto giant trains plant managers, union officials, health personnel and counselors to deal with everything from discrimination against AIDS victims to safety issues. GM allows AIDS-infected employes to stay on the job as long as they are physically able to do the work. What's more, GM guarantees AIDS victims—including dependents of employes—confidentiality and continued access to the company's benefit plan. For example, GM still pays medical bills for AIDS victim Ryan White, the Kokomo, Ind., youth whose case received national attention in 1986 when neighbors tried to bar him from school; his mother works for a GM subsidiary.

USN&WR

Fear fighters. *Education is considered a key weapon in limiting the toll that AIDS exacts in the workplace*

A frank assessment. For GM, the stakes are high. As the nation's largest employer after the federal government, it insures 2.3 million workers and dependents, 1 percent of the U.S. population. If GM has a proportional share of the nation's AIDS cases at an average medical cost of $75,000 per case, it will face hundreds of millions, perhaps billions, in medical claims in the 1990s. And the rest of corporate America will share in the epidemic's costs. Last year alone, the 44,000 people diagnosed with AIDS incurred direct medical expenses of $3.3 billion, 40 percent of which was picked up by business and private insurers, according to an estimate by Fred Hellinger, an economist with the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Faced with the spread of AIDS, more and more firms are following GM's lead. "There's a long list of companies that are comprehensive and compassionate in their response to AIDS," says B. J. Stiles, president of the National Leadership Coalition on AIDS, a business group. In the vanguard are companies in hard-hit regions like San Francisco, where BankAmerica, Levi Strauss Associates, Inc., and Pacific Telesis have ambitious corporate programs dealing with AIDS and are actively involved in AIDS-related causes. This week, President Bush will address 400 business and labor leaders on the epidemic, and he is expected to signal his support for a business-led offensive against the disease.

Even so, says Stiles, only one quarter of major U.S. companies have formulated AIDS policies. And many small firms can't afford extensive employe benefits and educational programs. At best, corporations treat AIDS like other serious illnesses, while still addressing the unique fears surrounding the disease. Digital Equipment Corporation has taken a particularly humane approach. "We don't feel that mailing out brochures is enough," says Paul Ross, manager of Digital's AIDS Program Office. "This is an illness that needs to be discussed." Digital organizes dialogues between individuals with the disease and groups of healthy employes. When an employe died of AIDS not long ago, the company brought in trauma-intervention teams to counsel fellow workers. "Work is the one constant in a world where everything changed overnight," says one Digital employe who has the disease. "The company's supportive position on AIDS has made a major difference in my life."

Another pioneer, Levi Strauss, offers terminally ill AIDS patients home and hospice health care as a compassionate and cost-efficient alternative to long-term hospitalization. But the company also encourages sick employes to keep working through flexible schedules and part-time jobs, and counsels them and their families on such topics as handling rumors and returning to work. With AIDS victims surviving longer today than in the past, the emphasis at firms like Levi is on helping employes live with the disease. ■

by Eva Pomice

A Single Telephone Line Is Fine.

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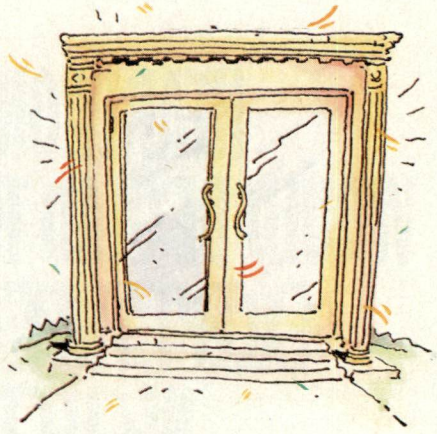

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THE CHILDREN'S CAMPAIGN

THE CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA

WOMEN'S GAINS WILL KEEP COMING

by Sylvia Nasar

170 YEARS OF PAID WORK

When WWII ended, the boys came home but the women went to work. No trend has been more dramatic than the huge postwar influx of wives into the paid labor force. But after nearly five decades, women still earn far less than men, do most of the home chores and risk greater poverty. That paradox has convinced many Americans that more work hasn't led to more equality.

Don't believe it. Women's progress is greater than it appears. The wage gap is shrinking for the first time since WWII (see chart). Women are streaming into high-paying jobs. Most important, women are poised for further gains in the 1990s.

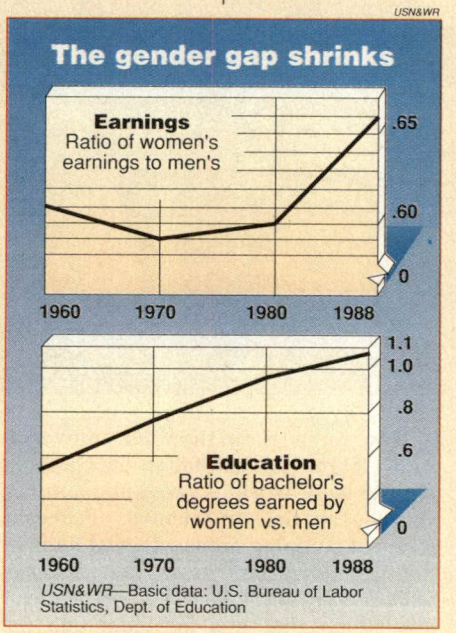
These advances have precedents long before World War II. In "Understanding The Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women," economist Claudia Goldin traces the rise of women's paid work from 1790. Her key finding: The "gender gap" in pay and occupations has narrowed in only three periods. The first, 1820 to 1850, was during the Industrial Revolution. The second, 1900 to 1930, occurred during an explosion of white-collar office work. The third is today.

HIGHER EXPECTATIONS

Why is the gender gap shrinking now? Among other things, women have gotten more serious about working. More women work full time and most take less time off to raise children. Women also have wised up. As late as the '60s, young women tended to severely underestimate how much of their adult lives would be spent on the job. So they invested less in schooling and career training than they might have, had they foreseen the future more clearly. Women now join the work force with more impressive credentials. Women win more B.A.'s than men these days (see chart). A business major is now their first choice, just as for males. Women earn a third of all professional degrees vs. fewer than 5 percent in 1960. Smarter educational choices are leading women into careers with greater lifetime earnings. The supersegregated pattern of female and male occupations barely changed from 1900 to 1970, says Goldin. Now, 30 percent of working women are professionals or managers, the same proportion as men. The number of women in pink-collar clerical and service jobs is falling. Half of accountants and one sixth of doctors are women.

What took so long? The jobs available, women's expectations and discrimination slowed progress. When 10-hour days were the norm in manufacturing and part-time work was nonexistent, women with families couldn't take paid jobs. From 1920 to 1950, when 80 percent of working girls quit at marriage, most big companies forbade hiring married women in fast-growing clerical positions.

The future looks bright. In the '90s, labor will be in short supply and women will account for half of that scarce commodity. In contrast to the uneducated, young and transient female workers of 100 years ago, today's majority consists of well-educated mothers who expect to stick around. "Companies seem to respond to the really large and dominant group of women in the labor market," says Goldin.

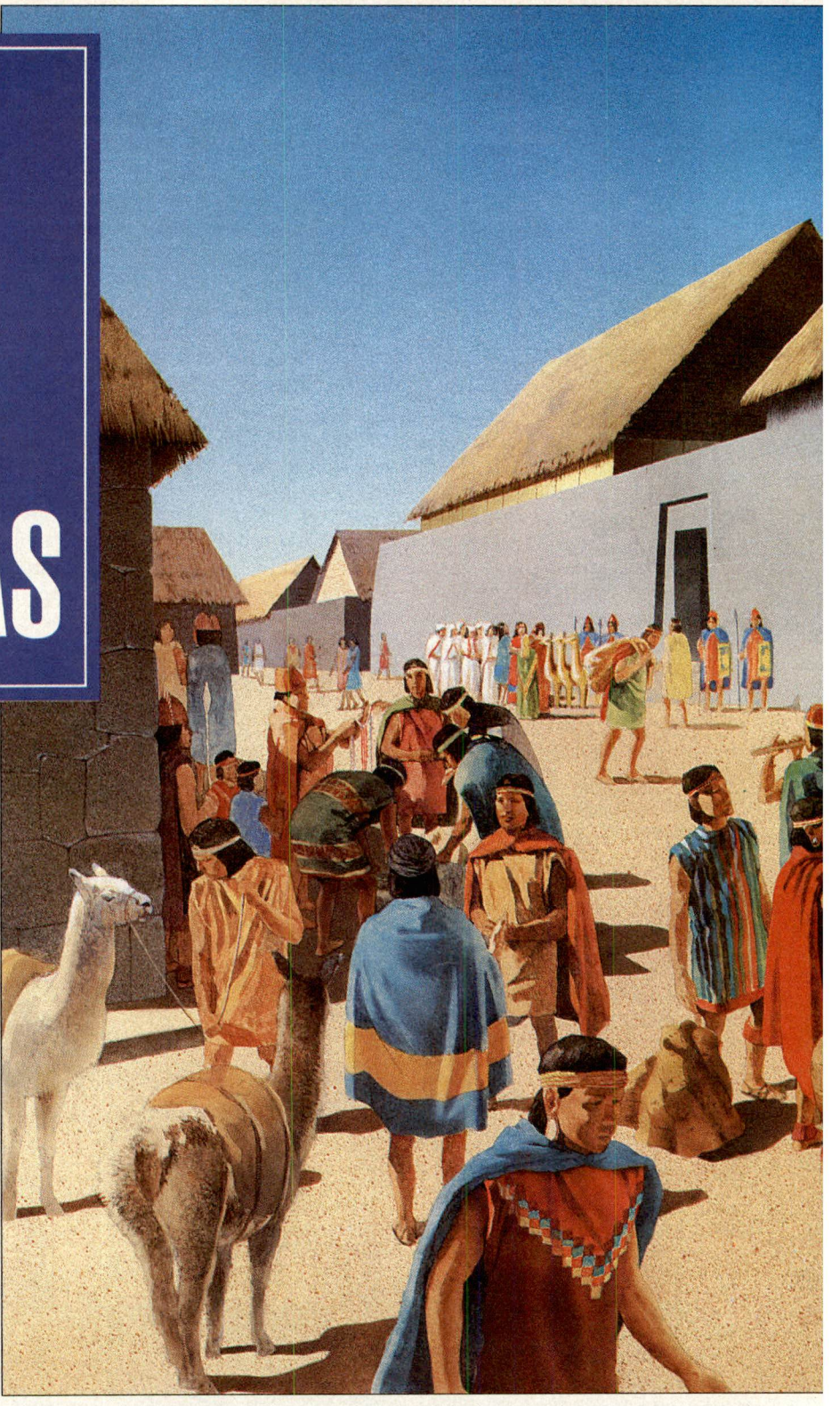


USN&WR—Basic data: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Dept. of Education

TURNAROUND

When things finally do change, history shows, they change remarkably fast. Take the '50s, when young women left offices and stores en masse to begin the baby boom. Almost overnight, companies dropped the "marriage bars" and created the part-time jobs that older married women wanted. The best female employe, declared a '50s Sears executive, is "a married woman with a mortgage on her house and her children partially raised." Now that women expect to work most of their lives, history suggests that the labor market will find ways to accommodate them.

LOST EMPIRES OF THE AMERICAS



The ancient Andean empires shed new light on how civilizations arise

The Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro and his invading force of 167 soldiers must have felt a faint, eerie shock of recognition when they first encountered the Inca Empire nearly five centuries ago. Though the civilization cradled between South America's Pacific coast and the towering Andes lacked the wheel, iron and a written language, in many other ways it was as sophisticated as the societies Pizarro had left behind in Europe.

In the Andes ruled a powerful monarch who commanded an empire of aristocrats, bureaucrats, accountants, artisans, priests, peasant farmers and skilled warriors. The mountain terrain was sculpted with terraced farmland and scored by vast networks of irrigation canals. An 18,000-mile system of paved roads, dotted with thousands of state-owned storehouses stocked with freeze-dried food, linked together 12 million people over an area that stretched farther than the Roman Empire in its heyday. The Inca capital city, Cuzco, was "so beautiful and has such fine buildings," wrote one chronicler to the Spanish monarch, King Charles, "it would be remarkable even in Spain."

Now, on the eve of the 500th anniversary of Columbus's landfall in the Caribbean, the New World is providing another shock—this time to scientists. A recent series of stunning archaeological finds in South America has revealed that the Incas were merely the final act in an Andean civilization that was far older and far more sophisticated than ever imagined. New excavations have turned up huge stone pyramids and other monuments that date back nearly 5,000 years, to about the time when the Great Pyramids were being constructed in Egypt. Another dig has uncovered a Peruvian "King Tut," an elaborate tomb containing the 1,500-year-old remains of a ruler buried with hundreds of priceless gold and silver artifacts.

ILLUSTRATION BY GREG HARLIN—STANSBURY, RONSAVILLE, WOOD, INC.

STREET LIFE IN ANCIENT CUZCO

Aloft on a litter and surrounded by servants, a nobleman is carried toward the Temple of the Sun, the ritual center of Cuzco, the Inca capital city. Planned in the shape of a puma, the ceremonial city boasted exquisite stonework in its temples and walls, some of which are still standing.

Archaeologists working near Bolivia's Lake Titicaca have resurrected an ancient irrigation system and discovered that it produces more food than the modern farming methods used in the area today. Even the Incas, whose vivid description by 16th-century Spanish travelers made them the best-known of the ancient South American societies, have been revealed in a new light by archaeologists who find that the Incas' domination of their empire relied as much on their skills in management and public relations as on their abilities as soldiers.

Not only are the recent findings giving a new picture of Andean civilization; they are also providing new clues to the fundamental nature of civilization itself. Ar-

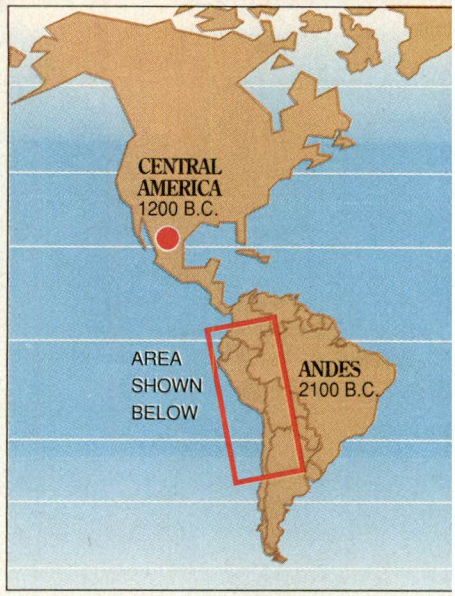
chaeologists have long puzzled over why, after nearly 90,000 years of living as small, egalitarian bands of hunter-gatherers and in tiny villages, humans around the world began forming complex societies about 8,000 years ago, undertaking huge construction projects, building cities, becoming specialists in various crafts and stratifying into a hierarchy of social, economic and religious classes.

Six civilizations. The Andes region is one of only six sites in the world where civilization arose out of simpler human existence—the others being Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley, Egypt, China and Central America, home of the famed Maya and Aztec societies. The archaeological evidence overwhelmingly indicates that while there was some contact among the Old World societies, these six centers of civilization arose independently as an expanding human population responded to environmental and social pressures. (The theory that civilization began only once and then was spread around the globe by explorers or fishermen is still argued by some scholars: See profile of Thor Heyerdahl, page 55.)

South America's Andean region presents a unique laboratory for studying the origins of complex societies. The Andes can be regarded almost as a parallel world where the "experiment" of human habitation in the Old World has been carried out in an exotic climate and rugged terrain, yet has yielded surprisingly analogous results. "The similarities between these independent civilizations give us the challenge of explanation," says Timothy Earle, an archaeologist at the University of California at Los Angeles who has long studied the fundamental mechanisms by which complex societies arise—and fall.

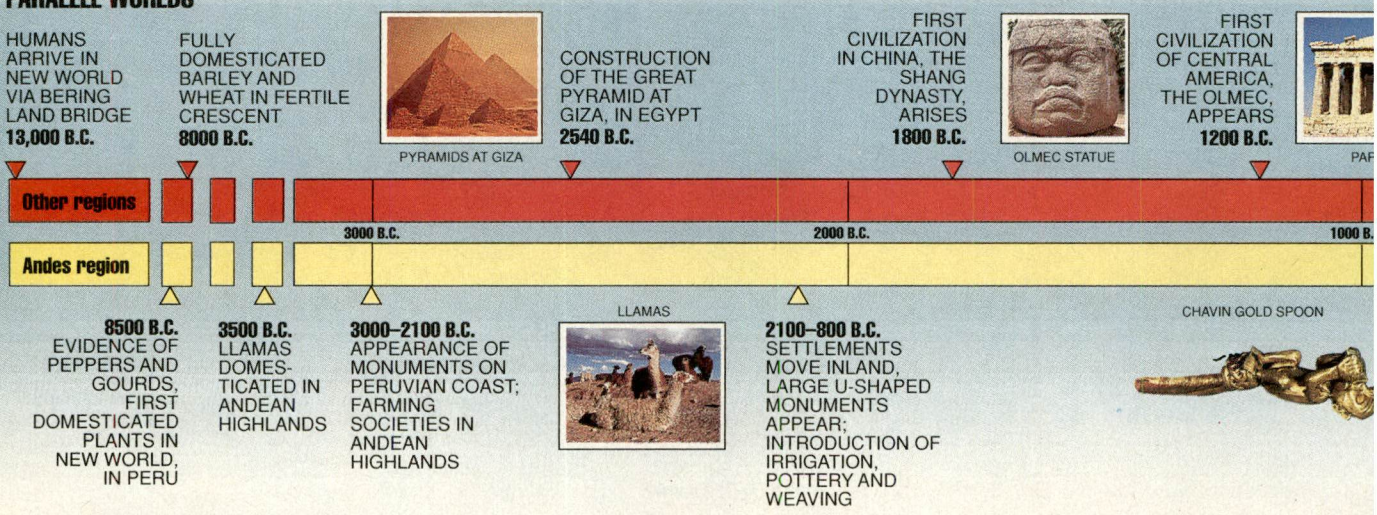
The extremely arid climate of Peru's coast has preserved the distant past perhaps better than anywhere else on earth. Researchers, for instance, have found intact seeds, potatoes and bits of fabric that are 5,000 years old. Yet only a tiny fraction of the remains of the ancient civilization that flourished in the Andes has been excavated. Archaeologists have been hampered by harsh weather, grave robbers fueling the lucrative trade in pre-Columbian art, guerrilla warfare and lack of funds in countries that often lack money for basic needs. The result is that new excavations are upsetting the theories of past archaeologists, who were forced to base their ideas on far scantier evidence.

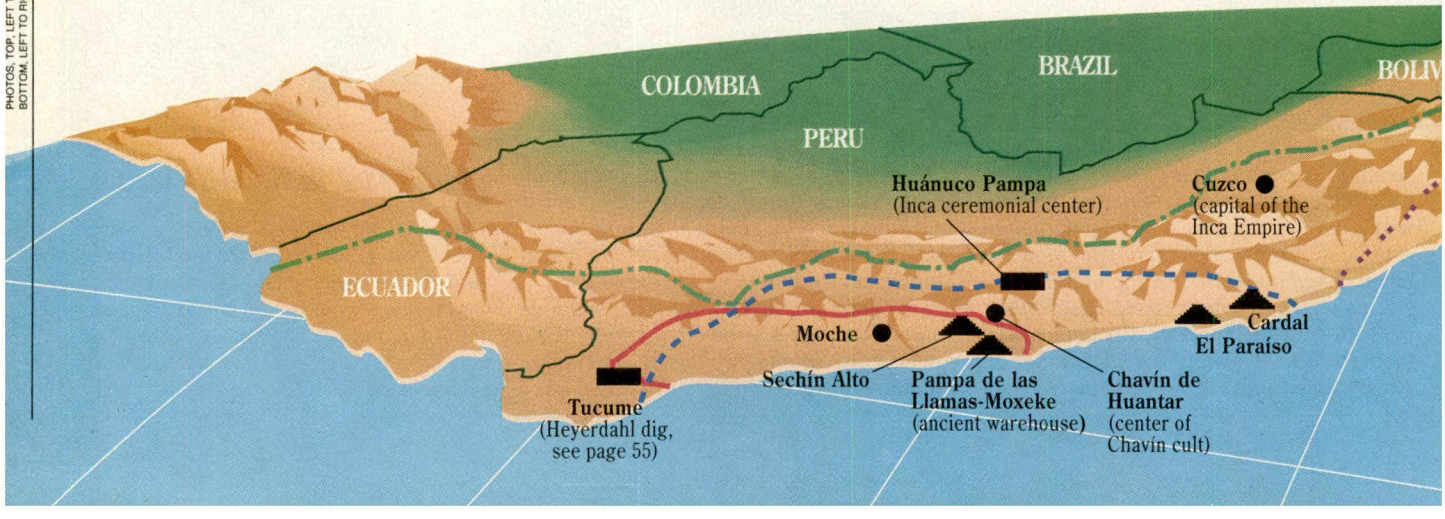
The most dramatic upheaval in understanding the New World's ancient past has been the revelation that the beginnings of Andean civilization go back nearly 2,000 years further than scientists previously believed—1,000 years before complex societies arose in Central America, which has long been consid-



Cradles of civilization. *Complex societies arc*

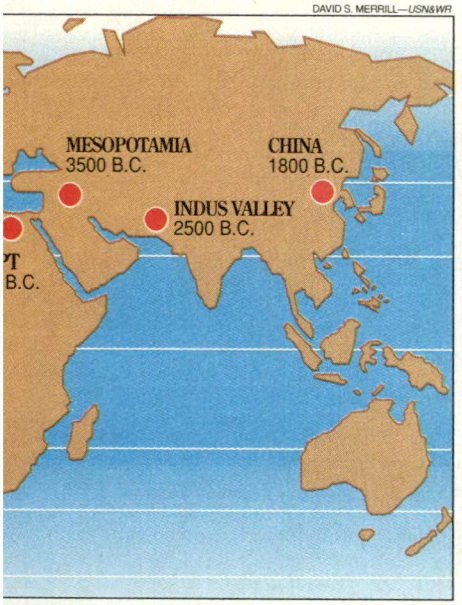
PARALLEL WORLDS





PHOTOS, TOP, LEFT TO RIGHT: JAKE RAJS—THE IMAGE BANK; ROBERT FRERCK—ODYSSEY PRODUCTIONS; ROBERT FRERCK—WOODFIN CAMP; BOTTOM, LEFT TO RIGHT: PATTI MURRAY—ANIMALS ANIMALS; DUMBARTON OAKS RESEARCH LIBRARY AND COLLECTIONS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

DAVID S. MERRILL—USN&WR



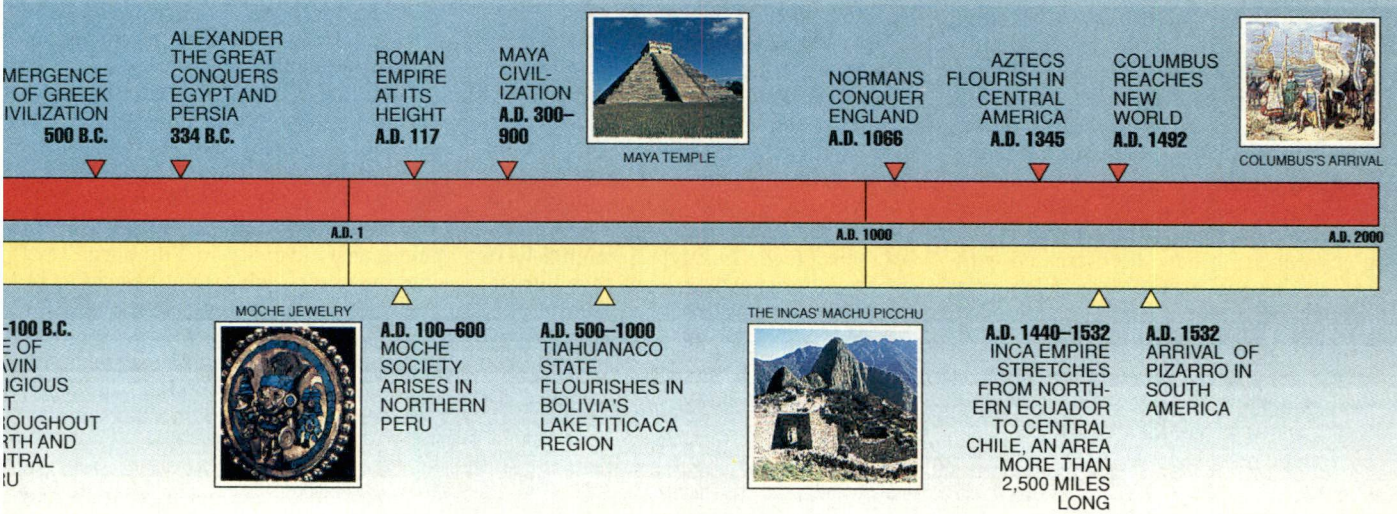
pendently in only six areas of the world

ered the cradle of civilization in the New World. Until recently, the remains of dozens of ancient stone monuments that dot Peru's coast and highlands were thought to have been built several centuries before the time of Christ, when Andean civilization was dominated by a religious cult, called the Chavín, that archaeologists traditionally regarded as the wellspring of Andean civilization. When artifacts from these monuments were dated for the first time, however, researchers were stunned to find that the structures preceded the Chavín period by as much as two millennia. "We've suddenly discovered 2,000 years of missing civilization," says Richard Burger, a professor at Yale University.

Civil engineering. These first societies to emerge in the Western Hemisphere were not as advanced as contemporary Old World societies such as those in Mesopotamia and Egypt; they lacked pottery, weaving and large-scale agriculture, but the structures they built nevertheless reveal sophisticated labor organization and engineering skills. One ancient monumental center called El Paraíso, for instance, has more than a dozen monuments containing 100,000 tons of quarried stones and is estimated to have taken more than a million person-days of labor to build.

The rise of complex societies has long been thought to have been triggered by agriculture because the high productivity of the land enabled a large population to live more closely together, leading to the creation of specialized laborers such as food producers, craftsmen and bureaucrats. But the ancient peoples who constructed these Andean monuments appear to have depended mostly on fishing for their sustenance. The remains of finely meshed nets and fish bones found at many sites along the coast indicate that these ancient societies caught anchovies, from which they presumably made fish meal, as part of a diet complemented by mussels, clams, larger fish and vegetables like sweet potatoes and beans, which they grew in small plots. Lacking the lush land that nurtured Mesopotamia, it seems, the ancient Americans turned to the Pacific Ocean off Peru's coast, one of the richest fisheries in the world, for their garden. "People normally associate anchovies with the tops of pizzas, not the rise of civilization," says Michael Moseley, an archaeologist and Andean expert with the University of Florida.

These coastal peoples did not rely entirely on the sea for their sustenance, however. A key to the emergence of civilization in the Andes is that these societies began trading with farming societies in the highlands that had arisen at the same time—a practice that laid the foun-

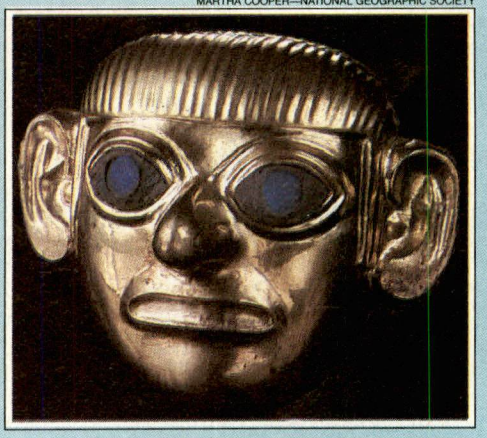


DAVID S. MERRILL—USN&WR

PHOTOS, TOP, LEFT TO RIGHT: DAVID ALAN HARVEY—WOODFIN CAMP; THE GRANGER COLLECTION; BOTTOM, LEFT TO RIGHT: MARTHA COOPER—NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY; ROBERT FRERCK—THE STOCK MARKET

dation for trade routes connecting the far corners of South American cultures up through the time of the Incas some 40 centuries later. Archaeologists have recovered obsidian, which is available only in the mountains, among the refuse at coastal sites. And the remains of the highland settlements, though miles from the ocean, are littered with seashells and fish bones. This ancient trade network appears to have stretched even farther: At one highland center, researchers found the jawbone of a piranha, apparently brought from the Amazon rain forest to use in woodworking.

MARTHA COOPER—NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY



KIRY O'DONNEL—SIPA PRESS

A TREASURE OF GOLD AND TURQUOISE: UNEARTHING A PERUVIAN "KING TUT"

The enormous power wielded by rulers is evident in the recently discovered tomb of a nobleman in an early Andean society known as the Moche. Buried with a coterie of family, servants and pets, the leader was bedecked with precious artifacts similar to this gold mask, found at another tomb nearby.

When the coastal peoples suddenly, and mysteriously, moved farther inland along Peru's many river valleys some 4,000 years ago, they developed the new technologies of irrigation, pottery and weaving—but maintained the old traditions with a boom in monument construction. Built in a characteristic U-shape that is found throughout the valleys, the stone monuments are larger and more sophisticated than their predecessors. The main pyramid at a valley site called Sechín Alto, for instance, is one of the largest prehistoric monuments in the New World, nearly 1,000 feet wide at its base and standing 12 stories high.

More remarkable than the size of these huge U-shaped structures is that many appear to have been created without the presence of a Draconian ruler who forced others to work, as was the case in ancient societies such as Egypt. Anthropologists have long assumed that such enormous construction projects were an indication that the society that built them had become stratified into haves and have-nots, with the ruling elite forcing other members of the society to work on projects that were largely for the benefit of the rulers.

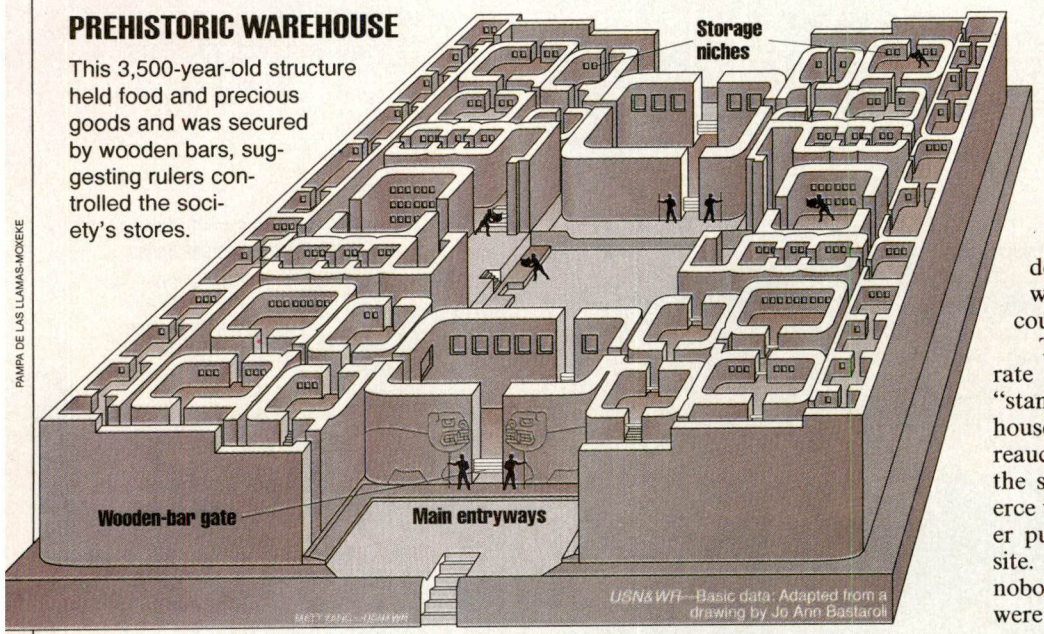
Religious motives. In many of the early monument-building societies, however, there is little sign of this economic social stratification, says Yale's Burger, who is excavating a 3,000-year-old monument center called Cardal. There are no elaborate burials of rulers, for example, nor signs of the accumulation of luxury items by a select few. "In Egypt, pyramids were expressions of royal power," says Burger. "But it may be that here we are seeing a type of society where religion was a more important motivator." At Cardal, for example, Burger and his colleagues recently uncovered evidence that the building of the monument may have been undertaken by a populace that feared its gods, not its rulers: A huge frieze of menacing, interlocking fangs painted red and yellow flanks both sides of the doorway at the top of the pyramid, creating a terrifying supernatural display.

At another early monument site, however, there are hints of the coercive bureaucracy that eventually was to become a powerful force in daily life. Shelia and Thomas Pozorski, a husband-and-wife team of archaeologists from the Pan American University in Edinburg, Tex., have uncovered what they believe to be the oldest warehouse in the New World. A 450-by-450-foot building with walls nearly 20 feet high and dating back to 1500 B.C., the structure contains numerous smaller rooms containing niches that the Pozorskis believe were used to store potatoes, beans, peanuts and perhaps luxury goods such as cloth and beads. All of the nearly 100 doorways to the building's rooms were blocked by a wooden bar that could be slid back to allow entrance.

The Pozorskis interpret these elaborate gateways, as well as the tiny clay "stamps" that were found near the warehouse, as evidence that a powerful bureaucracy controlled access to food in the society and used that power to coerce the populace to build the many other public and religious buildings at the site. "The Pozorskis' work shows that nobody gave up their simpler life, they were forced to give it up," says Jonathan

PREHISTORIC WAREHOUSE

This 3,500-year-old structure held food and precious goods and was secured by wooden bars, suggesting rulers controlled the society's stores.



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Haas, an anthropologist at the Field Museum in Chicago. "Leaders gained control over food production and then exploited that power, which led to the thing we call civilization."

This growing concentration of religious, military and economic power in the hands of an elite is strikingly evident in the recent discovery of the spectacular tomb of a "warrior-priest," a nobleman in a society known as the Moche that flourished on the North Coast of Peru from roughly A.D. 100 to 600. Excavated by Walter Alva of the Brüning Archaeological Museum in Lambayeque, Peru, the tomb is one of the richest ever found in the Americas. It contains the remains of the gold-bedecked ruler, who died in his mid-30s, as well as several women and men thought to have been servants and family members, and his pet dog. Also buried with the ruler was a treasure-trove of feathered headdresses, gold, silver and copper ornaments, earrings, bracelets and face masks, a gold rattle, a gold armor plate, dozens of exotic seashells, fine cloth and various weapons.

Ritual sacrifice. Like the Incas, the Moche left no written records of their society, but the extravagance of the nobleman's burial suggests that he was one of the ruling elite who figure prominently in the depictions of Moche life drawn on pottery vessels and hammered into metal implements. Almost godlike in status, the warrior-priest oversaw the ritual sacrifice of prisoners of war and is often portrayed drinking their blood from a tall goblet.

The grisly blood rituals that often characterized ancient American societies have led many in the modern world to regard these ancient peoples as less than civilized. This attitude obscures the amazing achievements in other quintessentially civilized activities such as astronomy, art, engineering and agriculture. New archaeological finds reveal, for example, that the people of the ancient Andean empire of Tiahuanaco, which flourished from about A.D. 500 to 1000, combined their knowledge of hydrology and farming to produce irrigated fields that far outproduced modern farming methods despite harsh environmental conditions such as drought, flooding, frost and extremely high altitude.

In a remarkable example of "experimental archaeology," Alan Kolata and his colleagues at the University of Chicago reproduced the irrigation technology practiced 1,500 years ago by the Tiahuanaco people in test plots near modern-day Bolivia's Lake Titicaca. The resulting bumper crops—in some cases seven times the average yield of land farmed using modern techniques—suggest that this long-lost method of constructing raised fields among irrigation channels could have allowed more than 100,000 people to thrive more than a millennium ago in a region that now supports approximately 7,000.

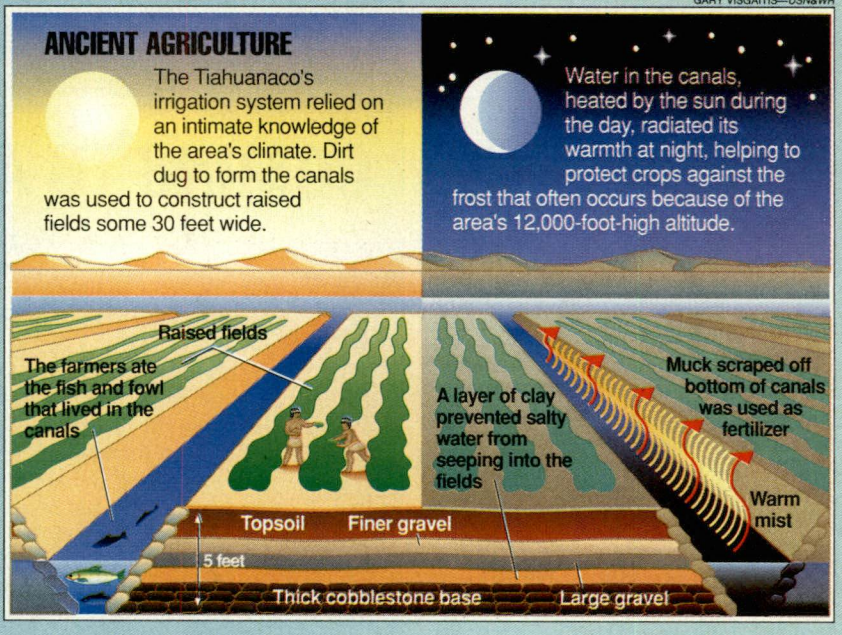
The widespread benefits of these ancient irrigation canals and other large-scale projects illustrate the complex relationship between the rulers of a society and the ruled. Political scientists point out that while societies often arise as a result of elites seizing power solely for their own benefit, leaders must continue to reaffirm their legitimacy through a mix of force, ideology and, most important, responsiveness to their subjects' needs. "People will participate in a social system only to a point where it benefits them," says Earle. "The state, in trying to do good for itself, must also do good for the underlying population."

One key to understanding this complicated relationship between a ruler and the ruled has come from the Incas. New studies demonstrate that while the "Pharaohs of the Andes" were never reluctant to use force to control their enormous empire, their real genius lay in their ability to cajole rather than coerce. The Incas recognized that maintaining an army in hostile territory can be very expensive, says Terence D'Altroy, an archaeologist at Columbia University who has recently written a book on Inca governing methods, and so they preferred to use economic, political and religious strategies to persuade conquered tribes to coexist peacefully within the Empire.

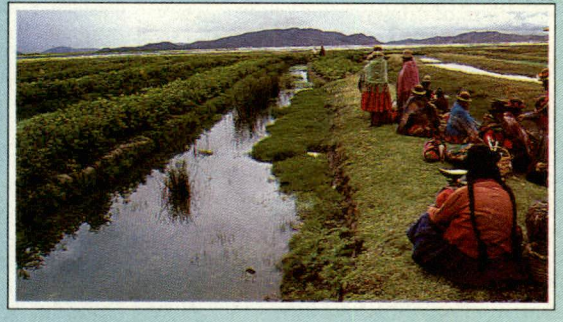
While the Incas committed bloody massacres of tribes who resisted their conquest and forcibly relocated entire communities they regarded as dangerous, in many other cases they left the existing social structure of a conquered people relatively intact. The local leaders often remained as governing officials, although answering to the Inca hierarchy. Peasants had to pay a labor tax by working part time in state-owned fields, serving in the military or producing goods like pottery and cloth; otherwise, life for a typical farmer could remain largely unchanged.

Like modern U.S. politicians, Inca rulers also were well aware that style is often more persuasive than substance

GARY VISGAITIS—*USN&WR*



ALAN KOLATA—UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



USING ANCESTRAL FARMING WISDOM

Reproducing the ancient irrigation methods practiced by their ancestors more than a thousand years ago, farmers living near Bolivia's Lake Titicaca raised crop yields seven times higher than average.

when trying to win their subjects' hearts and minds. Excavating a major Inca administrative center that had been set up in a province far from the Inca capital of Cuzco, for instance, archaeologist Craig Morris of the American Museum of Natural History found to his surprise that the prime function of the site appears to have been hosting lavish ceremonial feasts for the locals, rather than administering political or economic control. The purpose of these feasts was a sophisticated public-relations strategy, Morris suggests: The Incas relied on such ceremonies to create an ideological bond between faraway rulers and the people of the province, subtly suggesting that participation in the Inca Empire "was something more than working the state's fields or fighting a distant war."

Imperial entanglements. One of the paradoxes of structured societies is that despite the onerous burdens rulers may place on their subjects, the lives of common people often improve, at least materially. Studying the daily life of a tribe known as the Wankas before and after their conquest by the Incas, D'Altroy and his colleagues found that in many respects people in the tribe had a better standard of living as part of the empire, including less warfare with neighboring tribes and greater access to food and other goods. Yet such material gains are not always sufficient to maintain the status quo: The Wankas, for example, readily helped Pizarro's invading forces against the Incas, as did many other tribes.

As archaeologists learn more about the governing strategies used by the Incas and other rulers of ancient civilizations, they are beginning to see complex societies as fragile, often ungainly, entities that are always compromises between the rulers and the ruled, no matter what the ideology behind them. As such, advanced societies appear to represent neither the near perfection of the human condition, as some would have it, nor an ugly manifestation of human nature at its worst.

Relative latecomers in the span of human history, civilizations have taken on a dazzling variety of forms—from theocracies and monarchies to military dictatorships and republics—since the first simple tribes began building massive stone monuments thousands of years ago. Yet an enduring equation remains: "Human societies have a limited set of fundamental problems that they face and a limited number of successful strategies to solve them," says D'Altroy. But if the events of the past year in Eastern Europe and other areas of the world are any indication, the human race surely has not exhausted its potential for surprise. □

by William F. Allman with Joannie M. Schrof

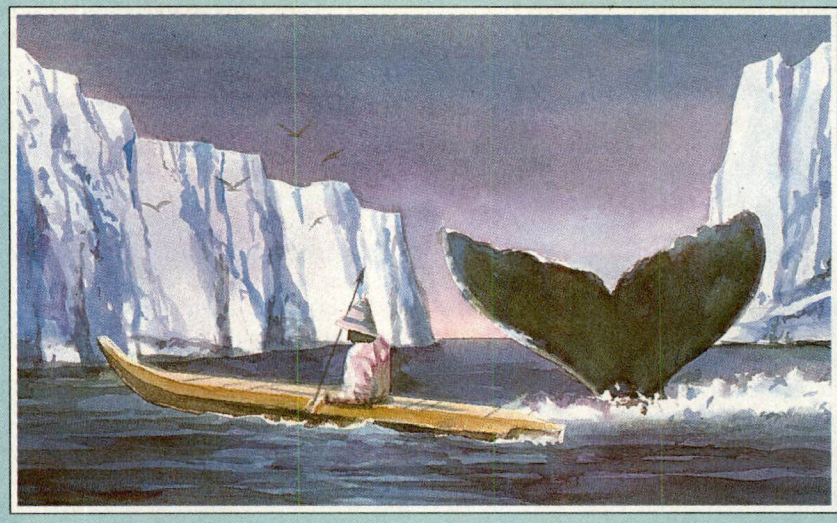


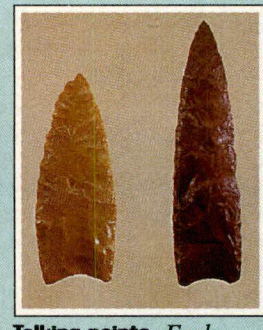
ILLUSTRATION BY ROB WOOD—STANSBURY, RONSAVILLE, WOOD, INC.

COMING TO AMERICA

Were the first New World settlers fishermen?

As archaeologists dig into the complexities of ancient South American imperialism, scientists in North America are revising a long-accepted notion of just how humans reached the New World in the first place. The first Americans traditionally have been depicted as hunters trudging across a frozen tundra in search of woolly mammoths. But an emerging theory holds that the first humans to cross the Bering land bridge that connected Asia to America about 15,000 years ago may have been coastal people who fished and whaled their way along the southern shore of the bridge to the New World, then followed rivers into the heart of the Americas.

Proponents of this "coastal theory" argue that the climate in the interior of the Bering land bridge was simply too harsh for man and had too little plant life to support big game in the numbers needed for human survival. The more likely source of food at that time was the sea, according to William S. Laughlin, professor of biobehavioral sciences at the University of Connecticut and father of the coastal theory. "The southern shore of the land bridge would have had a bounty of sea mammals, fish and birds to support human life," says Laughlin, who describes the first Americans as skilled whalers who used driftwood for boats and skins of large sea birds for clothing.



DENNIS STANFORD—SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

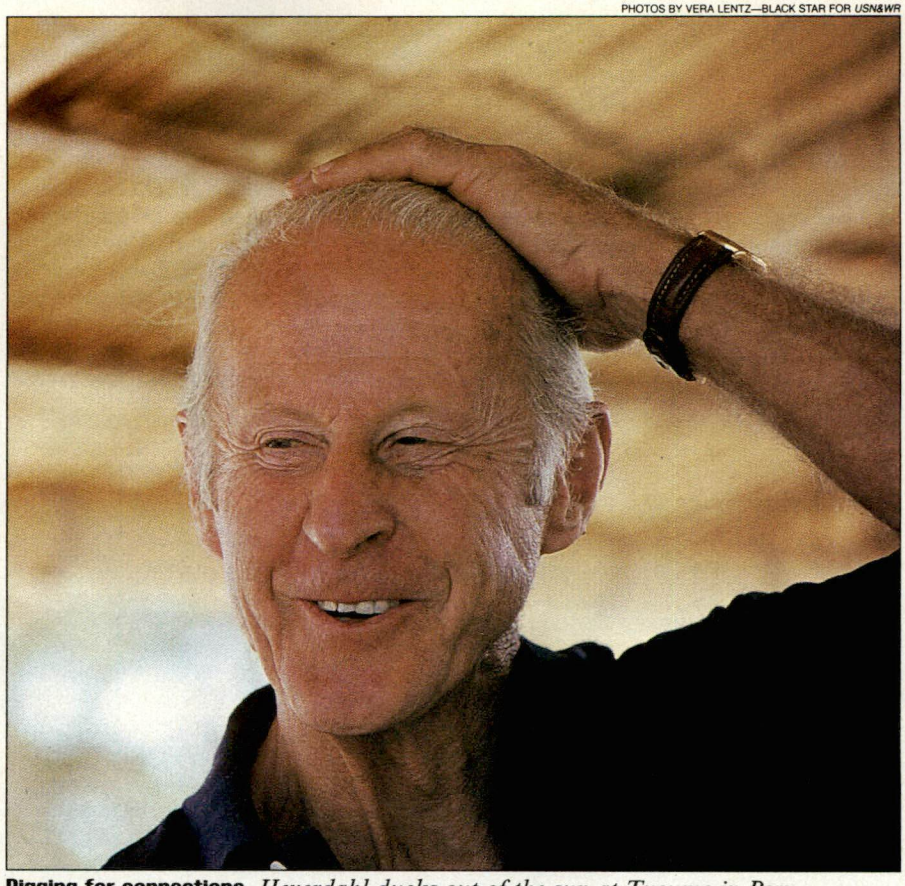
Talking points. *Early American spearheads*

Evidence of marine cultures on Asia's east coast around the time of the alleged crossing lends even more plausibility to the theory, says William Fitzhugh, director for arctic research at the Smithsonian Institution. The problem with proving either of the two competing theories, however, is that the physical evidence of any human activity in and around the land bridge now lies buried beneath the frigid Bering Sea. "Anything below 100 feet of ocean is more or less lost to us, because even if you find an artifact, you can't study it in the context of its natural surroundings," Fitzhugh points out. Still, harpoons and other artifacts from Alaskan sites hint that early Americans did belong to a maritime culture. Scientists are confident that forthcoming digs near river shores, where coastal people may have camped as they headed inland, will yield proof that the first Americans had an intimate knowledge of the sea.

Even if such evidence is found, however, the controversy over America's first immigrants will likely continue. A half-dozen archaeologists in South America believe they have found signs of life some 30,000 to 40,000 years ago, long before coastal Asians could have crossed the land bridge.

THOR HEYERDAHL
SAILING AGAINST THE CURRENT

PHOTOS BY VERA LENTZ—BLACK STAR FOR *USN&WR*



Digging for connections. *Heyerdahl ducks out of the sun at Tucume in Peru*

The Norwegian explorer has spent his life seeking ancient mariners. Now he is tackling the ruins of Peru

Thor Heyerdahl won't quit. At 75, he is deep in another adventure, organizing an archaeological dig of the biggest complex of pyramids in the Americas. Sifting sand on the coastal plains of Peru may not sound as exciting as crossing oceans on rafts or reed boats, but this dig could provide important clues to a mystery the author of *Kon-Tiki* has been investigating all his life: Was there a common cultural heritage that gave rise to all the world's ancient civilizations? The Norwegian explorer speculates that the ancient pre-Inca culture that created the pyramid complex in Peru may be a missing link in a chain of civilizations connecting Meso-America to Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley and possibly the lost continent of Atlantis.

This kind of wild speculation has always had Heyerdahl in trouble with established archaeologists, anthropologists and other scholars of prehistory, who claim he has scant scientific evidence to back up his theories. But over his lifetime, he has turned up a surprising amount of convincing evidence suggesting sea contacts among remote ancient cultures, for which he gets little credit. At the same time, the university-trained zoologist has learned to separate his scientific work from his grander speculative theories, hiring bona fide archaeologists to do spadework on digs and leaving them free to arrive at their own conclusions.

The pattern of pearls. Still, what interests Heyerdahl most is the big picture. And his ruling thesis of a primordial culture of bearded, long-eared, sun-worshiping pyramid builders is a lollapalooza. One way or another, just about all his expeditions, from *Kon-Tiki* and the *Ra's I* and *II* to his excavations in the Maldives, Easter Island and now Peru, have sought to put together pieces of this elaborate puzzle. "People think I am just an adventurer," he says. "They don't realize that all the things I have done are like pearls on a string: They are part of one single pattern."

Think of Heyerdahl as a time detective, a gumshoe of prehistory with an uncanny ability to ask obvious questions that lead to new thinking about old dogma. As a young university graduate in the Pacific just before World War II, he stumbled on what he concluded may have been the final resting place of an ancient and widely traveled seafaring civilization. He has since spent his life tracing back its roots, searching for what he calls the zero hour of civilized man.

Heyerdahl first roiled the quiet waters of academia by sailing the balsa-log raft *Kon-Tiki* across the Pacific in 1947. Most scientists at the time dismissed, as they do now, the idea that such craft were capable

PAST IN PIECES

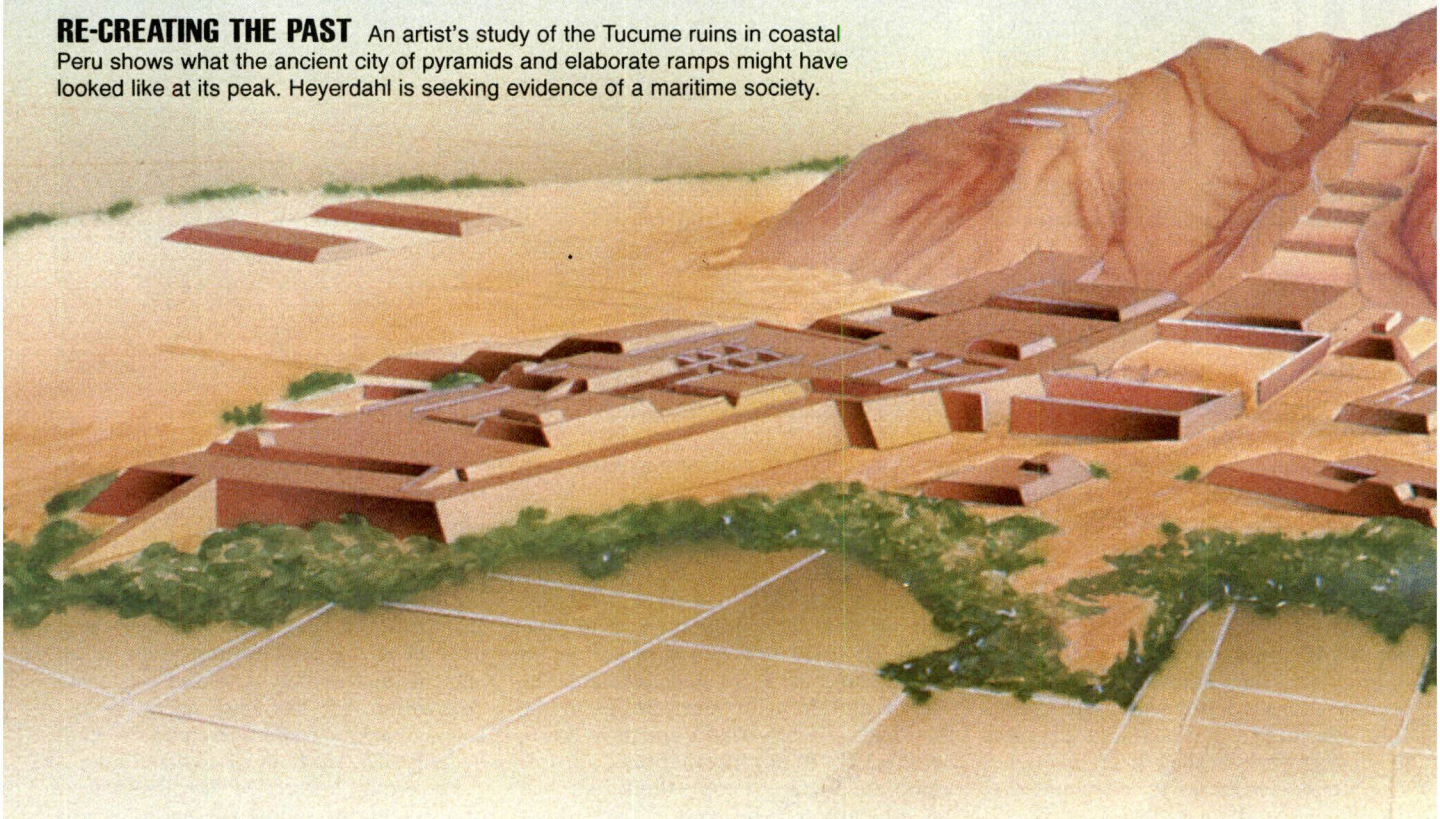
The modern-day descendants of pre-Inca tribes in Peru sift through the sand at Heyerdahl's Tucume site for potsherds that may help explain their ancestry.

of ocean-going trips and assumed the Pacific Islands were settled from Asia. "The only thing that Heyerdahl proved," remarked one noted archaeologist of the *Kon-Tiki* expedition, "was that Norwegians are good sailors." But Heyerdahl, then and now, remains convinced his raft trip and other evidence he has turned up establish a more obvious sailing route, one that follows the prevailing winds and currents from South America.

Heyerdahl includes himself among a camp of prehistorians called "diffusionists," those who tend to believe that ancient civilization spread from a common source by land and by sea to other places around the world. The opposing camp of "isolationists" thinks ancient civilizations cropped up independent of one another and, because of man's natural propensities, developed similar characteristics, such as sun worship and pyramid building. Today, according to University of Texas Prof. Richard P. Schaedel, a noted expert on Andean civilization, most prehistorians regard as outdated the notion of one original civilization diffusing to all others. "Enough evidence has been found to show that many ancient civilizations invented all that fancy stuff like pyramids on their own," he argues.

Schaedel is nevertheless impressed by some of Heyerdahl's specific findings. Among them: The dressed stonework he uncovered in the foundations of monoliths on Easter Island, which suggests that ancient South Americans must have reached the island, even if they did not predominate. He is now collaborating with Heyerdahl on a study of ancient Peruvian navigation. "Many orthodox members of our profession have pooh-

RE-CREATING THE PAST An artist's study of the Tucume ruins in coastal Peru shows what the ancient city of pyramids and elaborate ramps might have looked like at its peak. Heyerdahl is seeking evidence of a maritime society.



WHY I AM DIGGING AT TUCUME

A couple of miles from the old Pan-American Highway lies the largest complex of monumental adobe structures in the New World: 26 large pyramids, and many more smaller ones, clustered together within a single temple site covering some 500 acres. When I first came through the forest of scattered algarroba trees that hide the view to the ruins, I felt as if I were dreaming. I had never seen anything like this before. Eroded by the centuries, these pyramids have never been damaged by looters nor excavated by archaeologists. What tempted me more than anything else to organize a major excavation in Tucume was the booty that looters had recently taken out of the tombs at Sipán, a politically related site. There were mummy masks and royal paraphernalia of gold inlaid with lapis lazuli, green turquoise and tropical spondylus shell. None of these materials exists in Peru. The nearest source of lapis lazuli is below the borders of present

MATT ZANG—*USN&WR*

ACCESS RAMPS

Above: The rooms at the tops of the Tucume pyramids were reachable only by ascending long, zigzagging ramps. The narrow passageways were probably constructed to limit access to the rooms to a privileged elite. Left: Some of the rooms at Tucume were decorated with elegant and colorful wall paintings of birds and geometric designs. The adobe walls were first prepared with a layer of fine clay plaster.

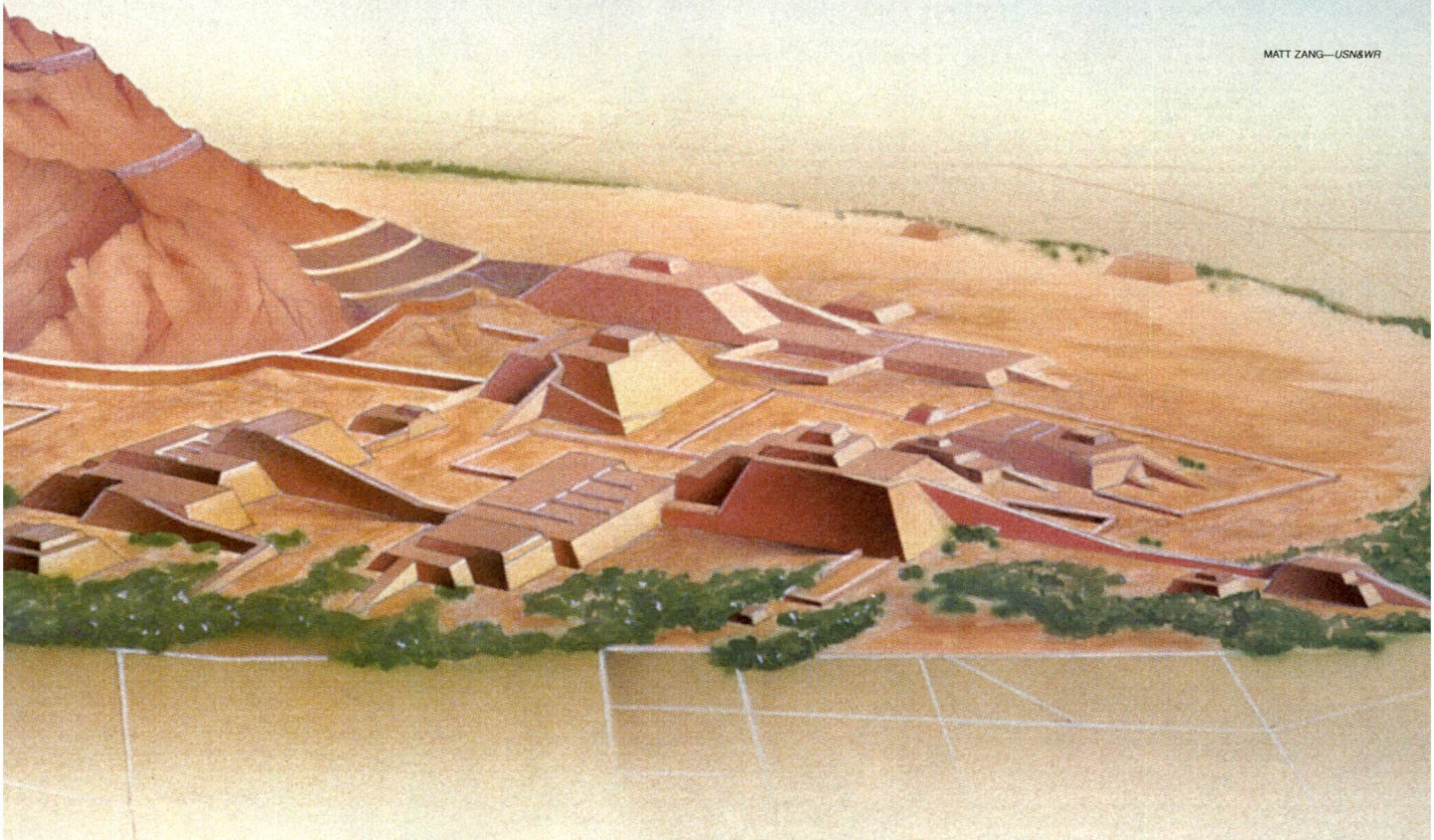
pooh Heyerdahl without adequate justification," says Schaedel. "But others, including myself, think that his procedures have been scientifically satisfactory and his contributions substantial."

Gun-shy from the flak he has taken from the scientific community, Heyerdahl has laid out the grand theory behind his work only in tentative bits and pieces that are scattered amid his writings and interviews like potsherds at an archaeological dig. He often comes back to the extraordinary coincidence that sophisticated civilizations in Mesopotamia, Egypt and the Indus Valley all emerged about the same time: 3000 B.C. "Why this impressive, seemingly overnight blossoming in three places simultaneously unless there was some link between them?" he asks in *The Tigris Expedition.*

Heyerdahl suggests that the explanation may lie in the myth that the lost civilization of Atlantis perished in a flood. Should such a flood have occurred, swallowing up a continent in a day and a night as the legend says, it is plausible that some people managed hasty escapes by boat, landing after long voyages in such disparate places as the Nile, the Indus Valley, the Tigris and Euphrates and, on the other side of the Atlantic, in the Gulf of Mexico. There, they may well have proceeded to rebuild civilization as they knew it in Atlantis.

As yet, little scientific research supports this thesis—or refutes it. But in Heyerdahl's view, lots of intriguing circumstantial evidence justifies looking into it further. For instance, he cites evidence of a major geological catastrophe in the Atlantic around 3000 B.C.; he notes that the ancestral myths of almost

MATT ZANG—*USN&WR*



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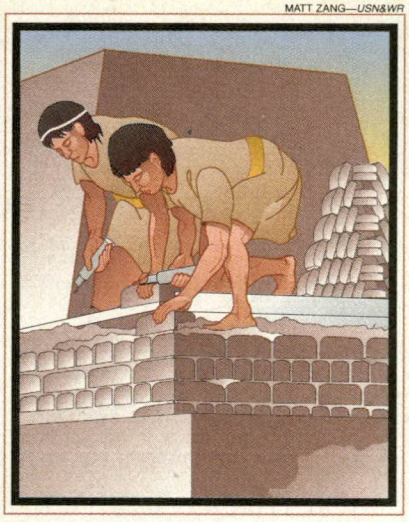

QUALITY CONTROL

Most of the pyramids and other structures at Tucume were built with adobe bricks, with thick layers of mud mortar between the courses. Often, adobe bricks of different colors were incorporated into a single wall, perhaps to keep track of the productivity of different workshops. Finger marks identified on other adobe bricks may have served a similar purpose.

CAPTIONS BY
DR. DANIEL SANDWEISS

Chile, and the turquoise could have come only from Argentina. Spondylus shell could only have come from Panama or Ecuador. It seemed impossible that the people of Sipán, which dates to A.D. 290, could have walked more than a thousand miles down the desert coast and across valleys occupied by hostile nations. The early art of these pyramid builders shows that they built large ships of reed bundles, such as I had personally used to cross the Atlantic and the Indian oceans. They also used balsa-log rafts. With such vessels, they must have sailed all the way down the South American coast.

The ground in Tucume is strewn with spondylus and other seashells, proving contact with the nearby sea. The people who built these pyramids were "Long-ears," who wore huge plugs in their extended ear lobes. Perhaps our excavations in Tucume can help throw more light on the origins of the navigating Long-ears who built the giant statues on Easter Island and brought Peruvian sweet potatoes, yucca and cotton to Polynesia.

Thor Heyerdahl

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Everything Needs To

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*D.O.T. cumulative percentages of nonstop domestic flights arriving within 15 minutes of schedule for all reported airports, for the seven largest airlines (domestic revenue passenger miles) since September 1987.

aggage handling more precise. Whether it's something as advanced s electronic scanning for accurate orting, or as simple as double-gging bags on connecting flights.

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all the ancient cultures speak of origins in the aftermath of disastrous floods, and he dwells on the remarkable number of similarities between these ancient cultures discovered by archaeologists over the years. In one essay, Heyerdahl lists 53, ranging from pyramid building and script to mummification and circumcision. The most significant in his view was the reed boat, which he has since proved could have transported settlers across the Atlantic and Pacific.

Today, Heyerdahl has come full circle in his lifelong investigation. He has launched his latest—and most likely his last—expedition in Peru, whence he set off as a 33-year-old on *Kon-Tiki.* He remains captivated by the pre-Inca legend of Kon-Tiki Viracocha: A white, bearded sun king who came out of the sea from the north to teach the native Indians an advanced culture, only later to be attacked by rebelling vassals and driven off on a raft into the Pacific.

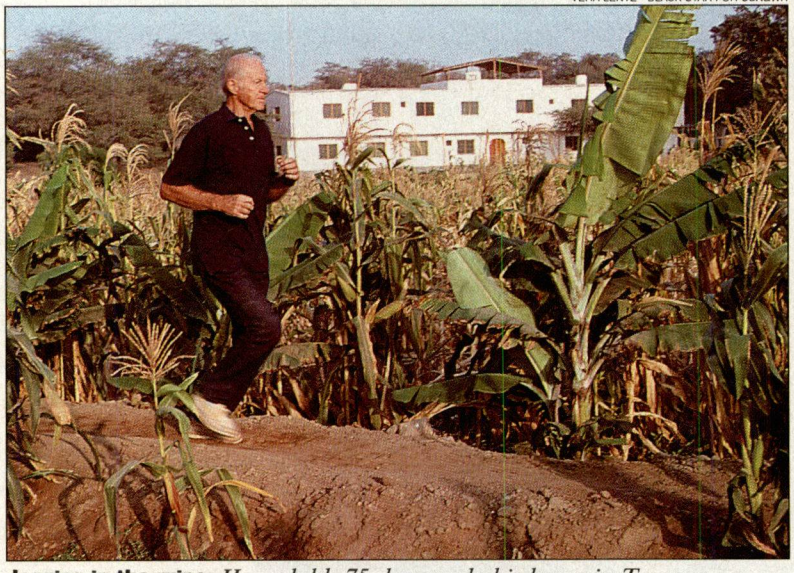
Satisfied that a South American culture such as that evoked in the legends of Kon-Tiki ended up on Easter Island and elsewhere in Polynesia, Heyerdahl now wants to dig up more evidence of the civilizing culture's passage in ancient Peru. Among other things, he will be looking for fair-haired mummies, some of which have been found in other pre-Inca ruins, and wood tablets such as those he found on Easter Island that are inscribed with an undecipherable picture language found nowhere else. "Common to all accounts of how culture reached Peru," writes Heyerdahl in an essay entitled "The Bearded Gods Before Columbus," "is the admission that the Incas lived more or less as savages until a light-skinned, bearded foreigner and his entourage came into their country, taught them the ways of civilization and departed."

The implication that American Indians were not capable of civilizing themselves raises another set of objections to Heyerdahl's theory. But Heyerdahl, who sailed under the flag of the United Nations and always made a point of including members of different nationalities and races on his expeditions, dismisses racial insinuations. In his view, the forebears of European civilization, the Egyptians and Greeks, picked up their early wisdom from the same source.

Heyerdahl was introduced to the Peru site, called Tucume, two years ago by Peruvian archaeologist Walter Alva, who had just opened a rich tomb at Sipán on the northern coastal plains of Peru. It was filled with remarkable gold jewelry and clothing and suggested that the Moche culture of chieftain-priests in power from 100 B.C. to A.D. 600 was more sophisticated than previously thought. Alva then took Heyerdahl to another place he had planned to excavate before he became involved with the Moche tomb.

About 2 hours' drive north on the potholed Pan-American highway, Alva turned off at the small, impoverished village of Tucume. Behind the village are what first look like mud hills, crevassed by the torrential El Niño rains that come once every nine years or so. But as Heyerdahl moved closer, it became clear that the hills were man-made, part of a massive complex of ancient adobe pyramids. Grand entrance ramps, common to the Inca and Aztec stone pyramids in subsequent epochs, rose to the tops. Huge courtyards and possible water reservoirs had been constructed inside the baked-mud-brick walls.

VERA LENTZ—BLACK STAR FOR *USN&WR*



Jogging in the ruins. *Heyerdahl, 75, has made his home in Tucume*

The site was surrounded by smaller pyramids and a network of irrigation canals more than 1,000 years old that were fed from distant mountains and are still used by Peruvian peasants. Clearly, Tucume had been a major governing or religious center of an industrious people. Only a few archaeologists had ever done any digging at the site, barely scratching the surface. Grave robbers avoided it because local superstition held that the temples were inhabited by devils.

Significant seashells. Alva speculates that Tucume could have 20 times the gold and other treasures found in Sipán. But Heyerdahl was intrigued by the sheer size of the place. It was the center of a bustling pre-Inca civilization near the time and place he figures seafarers set off from Peru across the Pacific. While the irrigation canals showed that Tucume was a major agrarian civilization, Heyerdahl is convinced it conducted oceangoing trade. The coast is only 12 miles away, seashells litter the site to this day, and he has already dug up a wooden steering oar.

He agreed to organize the archaeological dig at the site under the auspices of the Peruvian government's National Institute of Culture, overseen by Alva, and persuaded the Kon-Tiki Museum in Oslo to come up with $180,000 in initial financing. Heyerdahl has made a personal commitment to the place that is unusual in someone his age. He moved to Peru from his home in Italy and bought a farm on the outskirts of town, where he plans to settle. He designed and built a scenic two-story lodge he dubbed Casa Kon-Tiki. The White House, as it is called locally, overlooks a large vegetable garden he has planted and faces the majestic pyramids to the east.

It didn't take Heyerdahl long to establish himself as a local chieftain in his own right. He has attracted a steady stream of important visitors and tourists, boosting the town's economy, and he hopes to persuade Peru's President to finance a sanitation system for the village. He has also befriended suspicious witch doctors. When night watchmen fled a guard post on the site, claiming it was inhabited by spirits, Heyerdahl brought in a top witch doctor to protect the place. Since then, the devils have kept their distance.

At a time when modern man looks to outer space for new frontiers to explore, Heyerdahl believes contemporary civilization has evolved surprisingly little from its ancient roots, largely because it ignores the wisdom of those who have gone before. "We fumble ahead blindly with no idea where we have come from," he says. Faced with the stark contrast between Tucume's green, flourishing past and its dusty, impoverished present, it is not difficult to understand why Heyerdahl wonders whether civilization did indeed peak long, long ago. ■

by Thomas Moore

DOING YOUR BIT TO SAVE THE EARTH

ENVIRONMENT ■ Small efforts do count–some much more than others

Pre-Earth Day Syndrome is in full voice. Anticipating the nationwide rally on April 22, every new book and magazine seems to serve up lists of steps *you* can take to clean up the planet, halt global warming and keep the dolphins safe.

Unfortunately, an environmentally correct life cannot be reduced to a simple, do-it-yourself checklist. "I'm an expert in this business, and when I walk through a supermarket, I get frustrated," says Jan Beyea, a scientist at the National Audubon Society in New York. Trash bags or diapers that are labeled "biodegradable," for instance, will in all likelihood remain hale when buried in a tightly packed landfill, never exposed to the sunlight or air that would break them down. And it's not just a matter of sorting out truth from hype: Consumers also must ponder the relative merits of countless plastic and paper containers. Sometimes it's easy. A box made of recycled paper is clearly preferable to plastic. But the choices are not always so straightforward, as the sections that follow make clear.

THE GREAT DIAPER DEBATE

The media hoopla might lead an interplanetary visitor to conclude that the fate of the earth depends on switching from disposable to cloth diapers.

Obviously, disposable diapers do Mother Nature no favors. Manufacturing them gobbles up 510,000 tons of wood pulp a year. After covering a baby's bottom for a few hours, the diapers are dumped into trash bags and carted off to landfills. Each year, 16 billion are tossed, making up 1.7 percent, by weight, of municipal solid waste. That may not seem like much, but it is a significant amount for any single product, particularly one contaminated with human waste.

Cloth diapers are hardly friendly to the environment, however. Harvesting cotton leaves little residue behind, making the soil susceptible to erosion. The energy consumed in making and laundering cloth diapers exceeds that expended in producing disposable diapers. And when parents subscribe to a diaper service, the truck that picks up the dirty diapers burns gasoline or diesel fuel and pumps out carbon dioxide, carbon monoxide and other pollutants.

Environmentalists concede that perhaps too much attention is being focused on diapers. But they firmly believe that cloth is better, citing the risk of disease from disposables and the sheer wastefulness of the product. Yet fair-minded researchers also admit that parents may have no choice. Some day-care centers accept only toddlers in disposable diapers, and some studies show that disposables may discourage diaper rash.

Parents who simply prefer the convenience of disposables *should* feel a bit guilty, says Allen Hershkowitz, a senior scientist at the Natural Resources Defense Council in New York. But they need not bear the guilt alone, since the makers of disposable diapers have gone to great effort to market that convenience—and since there could be an alternative. "Call the company's 800 number, and pressure them to recycle disposable diapers," suggests Hershkowitz. The research is already in progress at Procter & Gamble, which in April will begin collecting used diapers in Seattle. The goal is to break them down to plastic and wood pulp and reuse the materials. "The problem isn't disposable diapers, it's how we manage our garbage," says a spokesman. Meanwhile, a push from parents couldn't hurt. □

BOOKS THAT MAKE YOU SEE GREEN

Whatever the literary virtues of today's "how to save the earth" books, at least no trees fell; all are printed on recycled paper. Here is a sampling:

■ *50 Simple Things You Can Do To Save the Earth,* by The Earthworks Group (Earthworks Press, $4.95). The best. Lively facts ("to produce one pat of butter, 100 gallons of water is required") and homely advice (save a gallon per flush by putting a water-filled plastic jug in the toilet tank).

■ *The Green Lifestyle Handbook,* edited by Jeremy Rifkin (Henry Holt, $10.95). An activist will welcome the 1,001 tips and the thoughtful chapters on the environment; a newcomer to the movement might be overwhelmed.

■ *The Green Consumer,* by John Elkington, Julia Hailes and Joel Makower (Penguin, $8.95). A wealth of mostly helpful information about what to buy, from baby products to rain-forest nuts.

■ *Heloise: Hints for a Healthy Planet,* by Heloise (Perigee, $7.95). Put dryer lint out for nest-building birds, says the columnist; use plastic tabs as guitar picks. Thus will the planet be saved.

■ *Shopping for a Better World,* by the Council on Economic Priorities (Ballantine, $4.95). Think keeping track of coupons is hard? Try shopping with this list of 1,400 products and the political and environmental stands of their manufacturers.

TUNA SANDWICHES AND DOLPHINS

Each year, an estimated 100,000 dolphins die because of tuna fishing. In parts of the Pacific, the big fish swim beneath the marine mammals, so one way that fishermen trap the tuna is to spread nets around dolphins. It's easier than waiting to spot a school of tuna. But the dolphins can drown while entangled in the net. Others are wounded in the process and become prey for sharks.

That doesn't mean your tuna sandwich cost a dolphin its life. Less than 10 percent of the world's tuna is caught this way. But the major U.S. companies that sell canned tuna buy from boats that are responsible for dolphin kills, says David Phillips, director of Earth Island Institute, a San Francisco-based conservation group.

That led to a call by environmental groups in 1988 for a lasting boycott of canned tuna. Tuna sales have not slumped, but publicity about the boycott has led restaurants and schools to ban tuna from the menu. Phillips and other activists are hopeful. "The H. J. Heinz Company, which owns StarKist, does not want its reputation damaged," he says. A spokesman for StarKist says that the U.S. tuna fleet reduced its dolphin kill from 20,500 in 1986 to 12,600 in 1989. That may be true, Phillips says, but StarKist and other companies buy from foreign vessels as well.

Consumers would have an easier time if the Dolphin Protection Consumer Information Act, a bill pending in Congress, passes. It would require cans of tuna to be marked "dolphin safe" or "dangerous to dolphins." Then people could have their tuna and still send a message.

Dolphin devotees need not completely swear off tuna. Health-food stores sell Deep Sea and Miramonte tongol tuna, a species that does not swim near dolphins. And fresh tuna steak is O.K. It was caught with a hook or a harpoon, not a net. □

SOME TIPS WORK . . .

1. Just Say No to bags. *Bring your own bag on errands or stuff the goods in your pockets, purse or briefcase.*

2. Replace a few light bulbs with screw-in fluorescents. *"Compact fluorescents" cost $10 to $20 each but slash electricity consumption by 75 percent and last 10,000 hours. The savings over the life of the fluorescent: About $30.*

3. Avoid hazardous cleaners. *Vinegar, ammonia, baking soda and detergent are cheaper anyway.*

4. Keep your tires properly inflated. *It will give you up to 5 percent more miles per gallon. The tires last longer, too.*

5. Install a low-flow shower head. *Water use is cut by about half. Taking a daily 7-minute shower requires 5,000 fewer gallons a year.*

6. Snub throwaways. *Do you really need a disposable camera or razor? Neither do landfills.*

A GOOD BAG IS HARD TO FIND

"Paper or plastic?" asks the supermarket cashier. It's a question capable of tripping up the most dedicated do-gooder. The production of both plastic and paper bags pollutes the air and water. Making paper bags exacts a toll on trees as well. And a plastic bag takes up less space in a landfill than a paper bag. So which is better for the environment? "I've been studying the issue for two years and I still don't know," says Howard Levenson, senior analyst at the Office of Technology Assessment, the research arm of Congress.

The far-from-ideal solution is to bring your own canvas or string bag. That is feasible for a few items, but hardly practical for a family's weekly $157 shopping excursion.

So you move to a more exotic level of relevant information. Coastal residents, for example, should know that plastic bags could blow off a garbage truck or barge and land in the water. Wildlife, particularly turtles, could ingest the bags and die. The winner near the ocean, then, is paper. Elsewhere, plastic has the edge. It weighs less than paper, and as a rule, the lighter a product, the less pollution it causes when it is manufactured, says Jan Beyea, a scientist at the National Audubon Society. Unless, that is, the plastic bag is dyed yellow or red. The dyes might contain lead or cadmium, says Beyea. These toxic elements enter the atmosphere if the bags are incinerated, and could leach out in a landfill.

Whether your choice is paper or plastic, experts recommend that you try to use bags more than once. Keep them handy and tote them back to the store the next time you shop. The cashier may give you a funny stare, but you could be blazing a trail for shoppers of the future. If stores start charging per bag, as some discount chains and environmentally minded supermarkets now do, most folks will bring their own. □

A STEP FORWARD, A STEP BACK

Battered by information, some of it conflicting, many people aren't quite sure what to do. Consider the following day in the life of a well-intentioned, hypothetical American.

7:05 a.m. Shave, turn off faucet between razor rinsings. A 3-minute shower saves energy and water. Feel virtuous.

7:30 a.m. Toss breakfast litter into supposedly biodegradable garbage bag. Recall that bag breaks down in sunlight. Sun doesn't shine inside landfills.

8:05 a.m. Bus to work. No second car; saves about 5,500 pounds a year of globe-warming carbon-dioxide emissions.

9:37 a.m. Drink coffee from mug, not foam cup made from ozone-gobbling chlorofluorocarbons. Mistake: Many cups are now made with CFC substitutes. Real CFC problem is car's leaky air conditioner, unfixed since last summer. Feel guilty.

12:32 p.m. Ask fast-food place to hold the pickles—and the plastic tray. Forget it. Pleading for understanding, manager says he does each night's inventory by counting the unused containers.

4:15 p.m. Sort office trash for recycling. Even bring in junk

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ROB KEMP FOR USN&WR

GARBAGE AND MORE GARBAGE

In theory, Americans can continue throwing away as much as they want and there will be room for it somewhere. Urban cynics might propose that Wyoming, the least populous state, be turned into a national landfill.

But garbologists believe people can and should throw away less than the current 160 million tons per year they discard, an amount equal to 3.6 pounds per person per day. "The public doesn't want more landfills, and we are depositing materials that are easily recycled," says Daryl Ditz, a senior extension associate at Cornell University's Center for Environmental Research.

Creating less garbage means disposing of your "disposable" mind-set. "When you go shopping, think of all the products as 'pre-garbage,' " says Ditz. Buying the largest container of a product, for instance, saves money and reduces the number of cans and boxes you'll be tossing out. And pointless trash comes from tiny products like deodorant and makeup often surrounded by layers of packaging.

One way to sharpen your trash consciousness is to move to Seattle. The city efficiently recycles paper, glass, aluminum, plastic and yard waste. You store the refuse in special cans that you then put out for curbside pickup. In 1989, 34 percent of Seattle's solid waste was recycled, up from 24 percent in 1987. That compares with a national average of 10 percent.

You can start your own Seattle-type program—with yard waste. Grass clippings, leaves and other yard debris make up 20 out of every 100 pounds in a typical landfill. These lawn leftovers can be dumped into a plastic bin about 3 feet high, or into a corner of the yard fenced with chicken wire. Rained on or watered regularly, says Carl Woestendiek, a waste-reduction planner for the Seattle Solid Waste Utility, they will decompose into rich, crumbly compost, an excellent fertilizer. □

. . . AND SOME DON'T

1. Forget biodegradable plastics. *They don't break down in tightly compacted landfills any better than banana peels and newspapers do.*

2. Don't bother with "recyclable" plastic containers. *In the U.S., only 1 percent of plastic refuse is recycled. You'll do more good buying eggs in cardboard cartons, which are made from recycled newspaper.*

3. Paper coffee cups are no panacea. *Unless they are recycled, paper cups end up in landfills just like their polystyrene cousins. Bring a mug from home for your coffee.*

4. "Friendly" aerosol sprays often aren't. *Most aerosol sprays are free of ozone-damaging chlorofluorocarbons. That's been the law in the U.S. since 1978. But spray propellants like propane and butane are polluters. Look for pumps or alternative forms like roll-ons.*

COOLING OFF A WARMING GLOBE

Planting trees, especially faster growing types like sycamores and pines, would help take care of global warming. As trees grow, they absorb carbon dioxide, a major player in the greenhouse effect because it traps heat in the atmosphere that ordinarily would escape into outer space.

Realistically, of course, global warming can't be stopped with sycamores. "The U.S. is the leading contributor of carbon dioxide, but it's not the sole source of the problem," says Richard Somerville, chief of the climate research division at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography at the University of California at San Diego. "It's been estimated that you'd have to plant 1,000 trees for each person on the planet to halt the worldwide increase in carbon dioxide emissions."

Far more significant are the energy-conserving steps supposedly drilled into every U.S. citizen during the energy crunch of 1974. If they sound as obvious now as they did then, the fact is that they work. Heat your home more efficiently (and turn down the thermostat at night). Wear sweaters and long underwear to keep warm. Cut back on hot showers. Turn off lights when you're going to be out of a room for 15 minutes or more. Look for an energy-efficient replacement after your old washer shudders through its final spin cycle. Drive less.

This time around, it may be harder to motivate yourself to take the bus instead of driving. You don't get a quick payoff as you did in the '70s, when a gallon of gas saved meant you could put off by a day having to wait in the line of cars snaking around the gas station. But conserving energy is the one strategy virtually everyone can follow, and one that could truly help to save the earth. ■

by Marc Silver

l from home. Can't remem-
whether Post-it stickers,
vn envelopes and candy
ppers go into "recycle" or
waway basket. Office recy-
g person out. Make random
ce. Feel silly.
p.m. Buy "biodegradable"
osable diapers. Critical fel-
shopper announces they're
ponsible because they real-
n't break down. Also,
diapers are cheaper. Valid
rrelevant; kid's day-care center accepts only disposables.
6:15 p.m. Make quick run to the grocery store. Choose paper over plastic bag for groceries. Discover later that polyethylene plastic bags cause less pollution per pound to make than virgin paper and take up less space in landfills. Oh, well.
6:47 p.m. Can't find sponge. Wipe up spilled milk with paper towel.
7:25 p.m. Load dishwasher, scraping but not rinsing dishes. Most people also rinse, wind up using more hot water.
8:02 p.m. Wash laundry with phosphate-free detergent in cold water. Set dryer on low. Feel close to nature.
8:15 p.m. Read daughter story about saving dolphins. Replace burned-out light with "energy saving" bulb. Notice fine print on package: Only save 5 watts. Call cousin, an accountant. She says annual savings comes to 40 cents a bulb. Big deal.
9:35 p.m. A beer to go with TV. Snip plastic six-pack rings before tossing away. Uncut rings can strangle seals and sea birds.
11:01 p.m. TV news says fuel bills will jump.
11:30 p.m. Turn down thermostat, get out $450 handmade Amish quilt.
11:45 p.m. Dream of pursuit by ferocious dolphins. Wake up sweaty. Swear off tuna.

by Michael Kiernan

We're concerned about the abuse of our products.

And we're doing something about it.

Know When To Say When

This nationwide consumer education and awareness campaign began in 1983 and is designed to encourage responsible consumption of beer. A series of prime time television commercials and other promotional materials reminds consumers not to overindulge, and provides suggestions to bartenders and hosts on responsible serving. "Know When To Say When" has allowed us to apply our marketing expertise and deliver a message of personal responsibility to a broad cross section of the American public.

Pit Stop

This program was developed to encourage responsible behavior by college students during Spring Break and other school vacation periods. In cooperation with local and state governments, "Pit Stop" personnel provide coffee, doughnuts and, to those of legal drinking age, a message of personal responsibility and caution at state-owned rest areas along major highways. "Pit Stop" has been so successful that it has been expanded to other travel occasions.

Family Talk About Drinking

This program features a series of informative guides written in conjunction with prominent authorities on children, family counseling, and alcohol research.

The guides cover everything from the effects of peer pressure and recognizing teenage drinking problems to drinking and driving and the community resources available to you and your kids. For copies, just call 1-800-359-TALK.

Alert Cab

This program offers a free or reduced-priced taxi ride home to customers in taverns or restaurants who have chosen not to drive after drinking. Alert Cab is no substitute for safe and responsible drinking, but it can add a greater margin of safety for these customers and others in the community.

I'm Driving

We support the designated driver concept through sponsorship of the "I'm Driving" program. "I'm Driving" is promoted with counter cards, table tents, buttons and other educational materials. This program is not a substitute for responsible drinking, but it offers a sensible option in potential drunk driving situations.

Your Alcohol I.Q.

This program is designed to educate consumers about alcohol use in an easy-to-understand, entertaining format. A video starring "LA Law's" Michael Tucker and Jill Eikenberry takes the viewer through the truths and myths surrounding alcohol. Anheuser-Busch has developed this program in the belief that education is the best tool available to encourage responsible consumption and reduce abuse. "Your Alcohol I.Q." is available as a free rental at 25,000 video outlets around the country.

At Anheuser-Busch we, like any responsible manufacturer, are concerned by the abuse of our products.

The vast majority of the 80 million Americans who enjoy beer do so responsibly. But those few who abuse it can have an impact far beyond their numbers. An impact that reflects on us as a company, on our products and employees, and on the much larger population of responsible beer drinkers.

On this page you'll find a brief introduction to a few of the programs we've created, or help sponsor, to lessen that impact.

The absolute solution to the abuse of alcohol isn't on this page. That's a challenge our society as a whole has before it. We must all continue to take the problem seriously, as parents, hosts, friends and citizens.

As a brewer we feel an added responsibility. The ancient craft we practice is designed to produce a beverage of friendship, refreshment and moderation. We brew beer to be enjoyed responsibly.

If you have comments or suggestions, please let us hear from you. And please take a few moments to see if you can play a role in any of the programs mentioned here. We'd welcome your help.

We brew our beers to be enjoyed... responsibly.

Anheuser-Busch, Inc.

For more information write: Anheuser-Busch, Inc. Consumer Awareness and Education, One Busch Place, St. Louis, MO 63118.

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A new worry for microwave cooks

HEALTH ■ Chemicals in plastic packaging may be leaking into your dinner

When microwave ovens first invaded America's kitchens in the 1960s, many people worried that anyone within cooking distance might be zapped by leaking radiation. Experience has put those fears to rest. But cooks have new cause for caution: The containers and the plastic wrapping used in the microwave.

Prompted by several preliminary studies by the Food and Drug Administration and independent researchers, the consumer-advocate group Center for Science in the Public Interest is urging people to avoid certain packaging when microwaving. The potential villains are chemicals that may leak into food from two sources: The clingy plastic wrap often used when leftovers are reheated and "heat susceptors," plastic-encased metal elements included in packages of foods like popcorn and pizza to concentrate microwave energy for full cooking and crisping.

Faulty standards? No one claims that plastic wrap and susceptors have made anyone sick. But at the same time, there have been no rigorous tests to prove that harmful chemicals from the packaging *don't* leach into food during the intense, rapid heating that takes place in a microwave oven. Testing is necessary, argue the CSPI and the FDA, since there is potential for harm. Manufacturers of microwavable food and plastic wrap insist that their packaging products are safe and that they meet FDA standards designed to keep elements of packaging out of the food. But the standards derived from tests in ordinary ovens, not microwaves. Some of the materials in the susceptors have been shown to be safe when heated in conventional ovens to temperatures of 300 to 350 degrees Fahrenheit. In a microwave, the metal-and-plastic elements can hit 500 degrees.

In the recent FDA tests, in fact, chemists who tested heat susceptors by microwaving cooking oil in susceptor-lined containers found that chemicals from the susceptors and their paper backing did leak into the oil. The levels weren't so high as to prompt a recall, but the agency was worried enough to ask food companies to submit data proving their products' safety. The data are due by next week, but a ruling isn't likely for months. The FDA has not yet studied closely how plastic wraps behave in microwave ovens. But a 1987 British study of one type of wrap showed that DEHA, a chemical used to make some plastic more pliable, leached into microwaved foods. More DEHA got into fatty foods than vegetables, because fat gets especially hot in microwaves. At high concentrations, DEHA can cause cancer in mice.

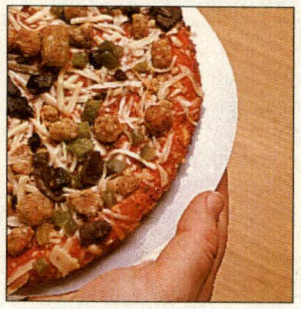
Playing it safe is relatively easy. You can simply toss out any packaging with susceptors, like the pizza-size disks that come with microwavable pizzas and the grey lining of some fish-stick and French-fry containers. Cook instead on microwave-safe plates, plain paper towels or paper plates. Taste will be unaffected, and while the food will be less crisp than otherwise, you can try putting it on a cookie sheet in a preheated conventional oven for a few minutes to compensate. Susceptors embedded in popcorn bags are tougher to spot. Look for a dark area, or call the manufacturer. The only way to avoid any potential risk from a susceptor in a popcorn bag is to search for one of the handful of susceptor-free brands, such as PopExpress.

You won't be able to avoid DEHA or other plastic-wrap additives by comparison shopping. Virtually all manufacturers add some chemical to microwavable wraps, and they don't list the components on the boxes. A spokeswoman for Reynolds, maker of Reynolds Plastic Wrap, says the company has heated its microwavable wrap to destruction and no harmful chemicals were produced. But Reynolds hasn't checked specifically whether any substances migrate into food. Acetyl tributyl citrate, a chemical in Dow Chemical's Saran Wrap that works the same way as DEHA, is approved by the FDA. But the approval dates from the pre-microwave 1950s. The chemical is now under study by the same British group that studied DEHA.

Still, any cling wrap can be used safely as long as it doesn't touch the food. Barbara Kafka, author of two microwave cookbooks, advises stretching the wrap tightly across the container to seal it. That way, heat will be retained and the dish will heat evenly. Before removing the dish from the microwave, she says, you should poke a hole or two in the wrap; that way, the vacuum created when the trapped air cools and shrinks will not suck the plastic down onto the food. Reynolds's spokeswoman suggests cooking the food with a corner of the dish uncovered by the wrap to prevent the sudden escape of potentially scalding steam when you take off the plastic. While the FDA and the food industry look for answers, a few changes in cooking methods are a small price to pay for the microwave's convenience minus the risk. ■

by Joanne Silberner

PHOTOS BY TAL McBRIDE FOR *USN&WR*, COURTESY OF RELIABLE HOME APPLIANCES



Forget the directions. *The way to microwave a Pizza For One, says its maker Celeste, is to put the pizza on its "heat susceptor" disk, left, and place both on the empty carton so microwaves travel under them. But chemicals from the disk may leach into the crust. Since plastic wrap may give off chemicals, too, it's best to keep the wrap from touching the food.*

Sneaking into a country-club fund

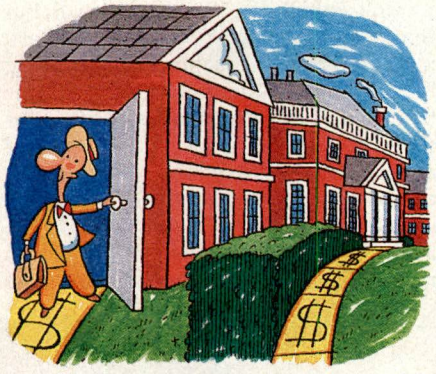
INVESTING ■ A shareholder in a closed mutual fund can get you in the door

Call them the country-club mutual funds. Investors who have managed to gain admission enjoy some of the fanciest long-term-performance records in the business. But membership is exclusive. In fact, the doors have slammed shut.

At least that's what the managers of superstar funds like FPA Paramount, Sequoia and Windsor would have you believe. These funds operate like any fund except that they have decided, at least temporarily, to refuse new accounts, an action any fund can take to avoid growing too bulky. But closed funds admit reluctantly to a side entrance through which newcomers can sneak—and escape the minimum-investment requirements to boot: A shareholder transfers a share to you and, presto, you're in.

The country-club funds aren't thrilled by the prospect of investors' circumventing their locks. "I have a better chance to perform well managing smaller amounts of money," says FPA Paramount manager William Sams, whose growth-and-income fund specializes in stocks of small companies. FPA Paramount's 10-year return of 428 percent handily outpaces the 336 percent returned on average by similar funds. Small companies tend to have fewer shares outstanding, Sams says; he couldn't find enough shares to soak up more massive amounts of money and still be so successful.

A reason to bother. With more than 1,000 stock funds to choose from, why bother with those that don't want you? Check their records. Or ask any of the investors who scrambled into Windsor Fund or FPA Paramount when they briefly reopened in January, 1989. Windsor, a growth-and-income fund with a total return of 525 percent over the last 10 years, spotted an abundance



TERRY SMITH FOR USN&WR

of stock bargains last year and reopened briefly to take in new capital. It was swamped by $1.1 billion in five months. FPA Paramount, which closed in 1983, decided to raise $40 million over the first three months of 1989. Demand was so strong that the fund locked up again after just six weeks.

People whose friends or relatives are shareholders should find entree easy. One Sequoia Fund investor told *U.S. News* that by transferring stock, he has opened accounts for his wife, children and siblings. Otherwise, your broker, accountant or even your doctor may know someone who invests with one of these funds and would negotiate to transfer you a share. Fund companies frown on cash transactions, though they would have trouble policing them. An investor in an individual retirement account won't help you; funds do not allow IRA shares to be transferred.

Suppose your choice is Mutual: Shares, a growth-and-income stock fund whose 2,129 percent, 15-year return dwarfs the paltry 888 percent average return of similar funds. Your Mutual: Shares investor sends a letter to the fund's transfer agent—the company that handles the trading of shares—specifying that you are to be given one or more shares. The letter must include your name, address and Social Security number. The shares will be automatically transferred to your name, and at that point, the account is open and you are free to add to it.

Since most funds have rules about how much an investor must maintain in an account, most likely you will have to boost the account's value to at least $500 to keep it open. But the minimum account size may be far smaller than the deposit required of an investor coming in through normal channels. In fact, this technique can be used to open accounts at almost any mutual fund with a high account-opening requirement. Gabelli Asset Fund, which welcomes new investors, will not open a new account with less than $25,000. But a fund official says Gabelli will keep open any account that contains at least $500.

A sudden influx of new accounts could conceivably do damage, since managers might be forced to invest larger sums than they comfortably can. But managers generally agree that the impact of side-door investments is likely to be minimal. "Practically speaking, if a few hundred thousand dollars come into the fund, that's not going to affect us," says G. Kenneth Heebner, manager of CGM Capital Development, the newly renamed Loomis-Sayles Capital Development Fund. Sneaking in the back way will be too much trouble for many people. But as Groucho Marx might have observed, there's something to be said for belonging to a club that would refuse you as a member. ■

by Daniel P. Wiener in New York

PERKS OF MEMBERSHIP *Each of these mutual funds, now closed to new investors, has trounced the averages over the long term, though not necessarily year to year. You'll need the help of a current shareholder to gain admission to these exclusive country-club funds, but a call to the fund should at least yield a prospectus.*

Fund (load status)	Fund category	Phone	Minimum to open account	15-year return	10-year return	1989 return
CGM Capital Development (NL)	(growth)	(800) 345-4048	$1,000	1,571%	624%	17.9%
FPA Paramount (L)	(growth & income)	(800) 421-4374	$1,500	1,456%	428%	22.6%
Mutual: Qualified (NL)	(growth & income)	(800) 448-3863	$1,000	NA	464%	14.5%
Mutual: Shares (NL)	(growth & income)	(800) 448-3863	$5,000	2,129%	447%	14.9%
Sequoia (NL)	(growth)	(212) 245-4500	None	2,663%	499%	27.9%
Vanguard High Yield Stock(NL)	(equity income)	(800) 662-7447	$3,000	1,105%	515%	2.9%
Windsor (NL)	(growth & income)	(800) 662-7447	$10,000	1,802%	525%	15.0%
Standard & Poor's 500 Index				**905%**	**404%**	**31.6%**

Note: NL=No load, L=Load, NA=Not available. CGM Capital Development was formerly Loomis-Sayles Capital Development. Some funds allow accounts below minimums.
Mutual: Qualified's 10-year return is since 9/80; Vanguard High Yield Stock's 15-year return is since 12/75.
USN&WR—Basic data: Lipper Analytical Services

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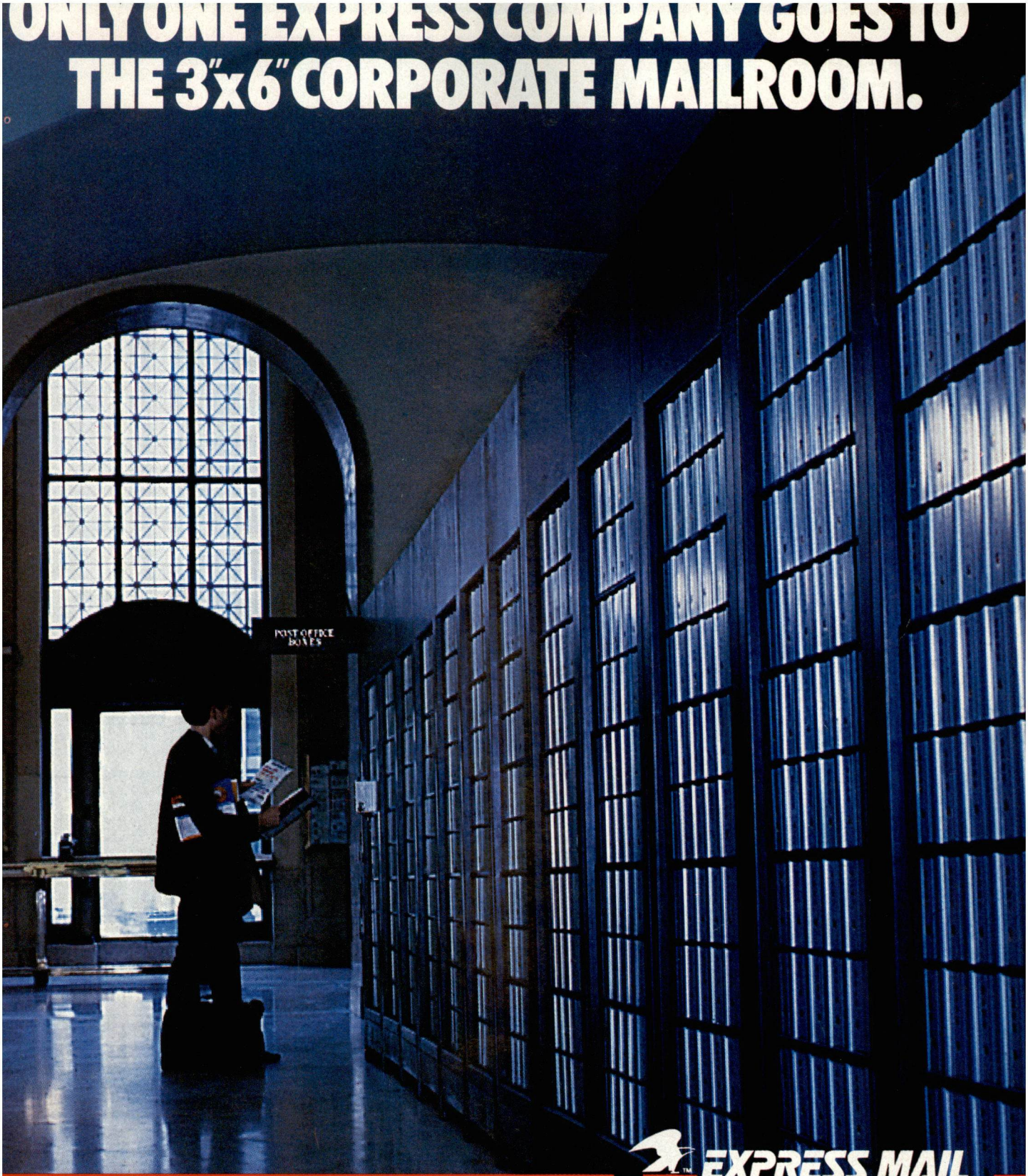

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Oscar faces the music

A memorable movie tune doesn't always win an Oscar. "As Time Goes By," written 11 years before "Casablanca" came out in 1942, was ineligible because it was not composed for the movie. On the other hand, the song Bogie couldn't bear to hear would have faced tough competition. The winner that year was "White Christmas."

Here are the most recent Oscar-winning tunes and the movies in which they were performed—

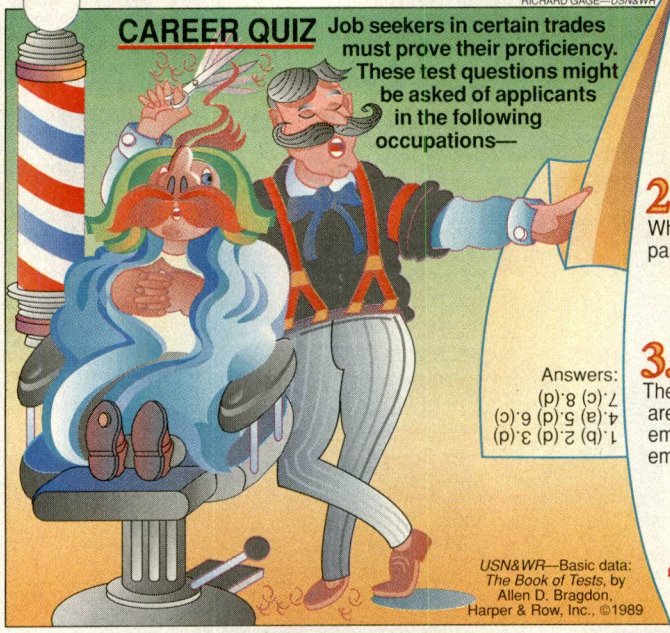
1988	**Let the River Run,** "Working Girl"
1987	**The Time of My Life,** "Dirty Dancing"
1986	**Take My Breath Away,** "Top Gun"
1985	**Say You, Say Me,** "White Nights"
1984	**I Just Called to Say I Love You,** "The Woman in Red"
1983	**Flashdance . . . What a Feeling,** "Flashdance"
1982	**Up Where We Belong,** "An Officer and a Gentleman"
1981	**Arthur's Theme,** "Arthur"
1980	**Fame,** "Fame"
1979	**It Goes Like It Goes,** "Norma Rae"
1978	**Last Dance,** "Thank God It's Friday"
1977	**You Light Up My Life,** "You Light Up My Life"
1976	**Evergreen,** "A Star is Born"
1975	**I'm Easy,** "Nashville"
1974	**We May Never Love Like This Again,** "The Towering Inferno"
1973	**The Way We Were,** "The Way We Were"
1972	**The Morning After,** "Poseidon Adventure"
1971	**Theme From Shaft,** "Shaft"
1970	**For All We Know,** "Lovers and Other Strangers"
1969	**Raindrops Keep Fallin' on My Head,** "Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid"
1968	**The Windmills of Your Mind,** "The Thomas Crown Affair"
1967	**Talk to the Animals,** "Doctor Dolittle"
1966	**Born Free,** "Born Free"
1965	**The Shadow of Your Smile,** "The Sandpiper"
1964	**Chim Chim Cher-ee,** "Mary Poppins"
1963	**Call Me Irresponsible,** "Papa's Delicate Condition"
1962	**Days of Wine and Roses,** "Days of Wine and Roses"
1961	**Moon River,** "Breakfast at Tiffany's"
1960	**Never on Sunday,** "Never on Sunday"
1959	**High Hopes,** "A Hole in the Head"

USN&WR—Basic data: Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences

RICHARD GAGE—*USN&WR*

CAREER QUIZ

Job seekers in certain trades must prove their proficiency. These test questions might be asked of applicants in the following occupations—



Answers:
1.(b) 2.(d) 3.(d)
4.(a) 5.(d) 6.(c)
7.(c) 8.(d)

USN&WR—Basic data: *The Book of Tests*, by Allen D. Bragdon, Harper & Row, Inc., ©1989

LICENSE

1. Barber
A person with a prominent nose should have a—
(a) pyramid moustache
(b) large moustache
(c) narrow moustache
(d) small moustache

2. Building contractor
What should be painted first when painting a room?
(a) walls
(b) windowsills
(c) trim and moldings
(d) ceiling

3. Restaurateur, hotelier
The employes of which department are often in a better position to embezzle assets than most other employes?
(a) the accounting department
(b) the housekeeping department
(c) the marketing department
(d) the food and beverage department

4. Cosmetologist
A proficient manicurist has the necessary skills to give a manicure within—
(a) 30 minutes (c) 5 minutes
(b) 60 minutes (d) 10 minutes

5. Fashion designer
100 percent silk was first made in—
(a) China (c) Korea
(b) Italy (d) Japan

6. Travel agent
Which of the following flights is the longest?
(a) London to Istanbul
(b) Beijing to Shanghai
(c) Los Angeles to Honolulu

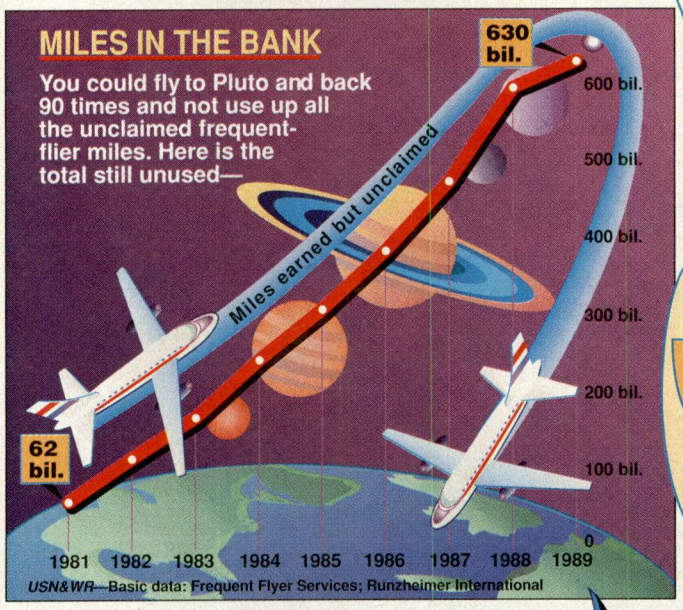
7. Florist
The most popular flower in Ameri
(a) violet (c) rose
(b) carnation (d) lily

8. Interior designer
What one element helps to give balance to a room?
(a) a window on every wall
(b) a fireplace
(c) matching wallpaper and draper
(d) furniture of varied height

Compiled by Jo Ann Tooley with Joannie M. Schrof

MILES IN THE BANK

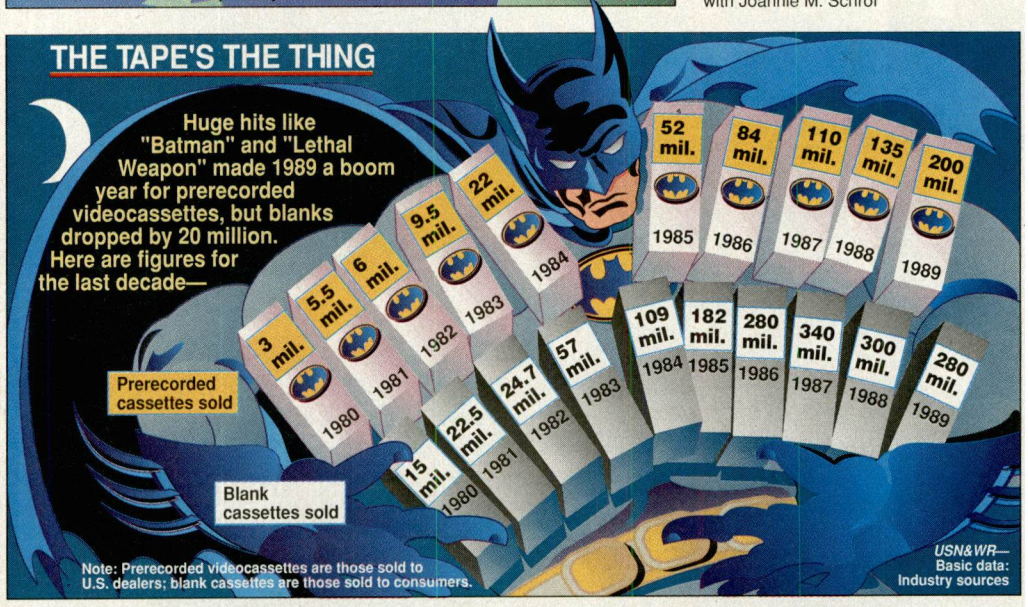
You could fly to Pluto and back 90 times and not use up all the unclaimed frequent-flier miles. Here is the total still unused—



USN&WR—Basic data: Frequent Flyer Services; Runzheimer International

THE TAPE'S THE THING

Huge hits like "Batman" and "Lethal Weapon" made 1989 a boom year for prerecorded videocassettes, but blanks dropped by 20 million. Here are figures for the last decade—



Note: Prerecorded videocassettes are those sold to U.S. dealers; blank cassettes are those sold to consumers.

USN&WR—Basic data: Industry sources

CNBC, the only cable network dedicated to consumers, and *U.S.News & World Report* present a special one-hour program, "The 1990 Homeowner's Guide." This program will offer practical information on buying, selling, financing, home technology and much more.

Don't miss this first in a series of CNBC-*U.S.News* specials. And be sure to read all about the latest trends in real estate in the April 9 issue of *U.S.News*. At last, news you can watch, read and use.

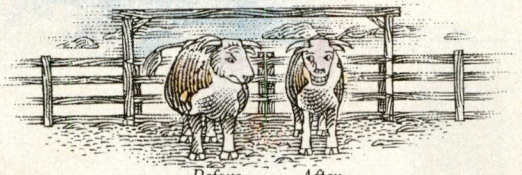
U.S.News & WORLD REPORT

cnbc
Consumer News & Business Channel

To order a videocassette of "The 1990 Homeowner's Guide," call 1-800-228-2210.
Please have your credit card ready when you call. The cost is only $14.95 (plus $1.95 for postage and handling). Allow 4-6 weeks for shipping. © 1990 CNBC

What's The Skinny On Beef?

Well, that's just it. The latest word on fat is less. Less at the ranch and less in the meat market. Which is remarkably good news for everyone who thought all they had to look forward to was poached blowfish. So start the charcoal or light the broiler. Because now, eating skinny doesn't mean you have to starve.



Before *After*

MEANWHILE BACK AT THE RANCH.

We haven't exactly been staring at the sagebrush while the rest of the world ran to aerobics class. Leaner breeding, skinnier feeding and closer trimming are making things definitely okay at the corral.

OF CALORIES AND CRAVINGS.

A lean, trimmed 3-ounce serving of beef averages just 200 calories. Some cuts have even fewer. Just check out the "Skinniest Six" below.

MODERATION IN ALL THINGS.

Beef, chicken or fish, the suggested serving size is 3-ounces, cooked. Raw, just think of a quarter pound of lean beef per person. Then think teriyaki, fajitas, kabobs, satays....

SKINNY BEEF SALAD.

For a salad you won't wish was something else, toss in a few strips of tender sirloin along with the green stuff. P.S. It also works with leftovers.

BEEF

*Figures are for 3-ounce servings, cooked and trimmed.**

© 1988 Beef Industry Council and Beef Board

ROUND TIP
*6.4 gms total fat**
(2.3 gms sat. fat)
162 calories

TOP LOIN
*7.6 gms total fat**
(3.0 gms sat. fat)
172 calories

TOP ROUND
*5.3 gms total fat**
(1.8 gms sat. fat)
162 calories

Beef.

Real Food For Real People.

Source: U.S.D.A. Handbook No. 8-13

EYE OF ROUND
*5.5 gms total fat**
(2.1 gms sat. fat)
155 calories

TENDERLOIN
*7.9 gms total fat**
(3.1 gms sat. fat)
174 calories

SIRLOIN
*7.4 gms total fat**
(3.0 gms sat. fat)
177 calories

FREEWHEELING RENTAL-CAR DEALS

To compete for vacationers, Hertz Rent-A-Car now offers unlimited free mileage. Before, drivers got the first 100 miles a day free; additional miles cost 30 to 32 cents. But check other companies before rushing to Hertz. Virtually all agencies offer free mileage in Florida and Hawaii. Alamo drivers get free mileage everywhere. Many Dollar, Thrifty and Avis branches offer free mileage at times, often for weekly rentals. The Hertz offer doesn't apply to business travelers and others with already discounted rates, and cars must be booked at least a day ahead and returned to the same rental office.

Since rental firms grant at least 75 free daily miles anyway, drivers who won't exceed that should seek the best rate. A compact car for a week in Boston this June, for example, would cost $118 at Avis, $145 at Hertz and $160 at Alamo; none charges for mileage. The same car in Los Angeles would run $159 at Avis, $149 at Hertz and $140 at Alamo. Advance reservations make a difference, too. This July in Orlando, National is charging $119 for a compact car reserved two weeks ahead, or $129 for a reservation made one week in advance.

■ FIXING HOLES IN KIDS' HEARTS

About 2,500 U.S. children a year are born with a hole between the upper chambers of the heart that lets oxygen-rich blood from the lungs leak back into the heart instead of flowing to the body. Because the heart must work harder, the child feels fatigued, and increased blood flow back to the lungs can damage them. Until recently, closing the hole meant surgery before age 5 and a week's hospital stay. Now, doctors have begun using a simpler procedure. By snaking a small tube up through an artery or vein in the leg and into the heart, they can move a tiny Dacron-and-steel device to the site and open it, umbrellalike, to cover the hole. Tension springs hold the plug in place while tissue grows around it in about six weeks.

The technique has been effective in nearly all the 120 or so procedures performed to date. A potential risk is that the device will move and block or rupture a blood vessel or heart valve. In four cases so far, the umbrella couldn't cover the hole, which was then closed surgically. For now, the procedure is being done only at Boston's Children's Hospital, Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children, the University of Nebraska Medical Center in Omaha, Yale-New Haven Hospital and Texas Children's Hospital in Houston. Kids are typically out of the hospital in one or two days.

■ *COQ AU VIN* TO GO

Fans of take-out fare tired of Chinese food and pizza can now dial out for more-varied treats. Delivery services have joined with restaurants in major cities to offer stay-at-home customers many of the restaurants' entrees for an extra $3 to $6 per delivery. Look for these firms under "caterers" in the Yellow Pages.

Companies like Waiters on Wheels in San Francisco, (415) 252-1470, Restaurant Express in Newport Beach, Calif., (714) 833-1872, and Entree Express in Boise, Idaho, (208) 336-4545, generally handle dinner orders only. Customers select from collections of restaurant menus; orders are then faxed to the restaurants. A minimum order is usually $10 to $15, and you pay by cash or credit card. Some companies provide complimentary extras: Room Service in Chicago, (312) 707-9300, offers disposable utensils, plates and napkins, and the soon-to-open VaRoom Service in Washington, D.C., (202) 337-3463, adds a carnation and newspaper.

■ ENDNOTES

■ "A Chorus Line," Broadway's longest-running show, is nearing its final curtain after 15 years. The last performance at the Shubert Theatre will be Saturday, April 28. Tele-charge, (212) 239-6200, still has $40 to $50 orchestra, mezzanine and balcony seats available. Some half-price tickets may also be found on performance day at TKTS, a discount-ticket booth at Broadway and 47th Street.

■ The U.S. Department of Education is giving a break to scofflaws in an effort to recoup some of the $7 billion due on defaulted student loans. Anyone in default as of Dec. 19, 1989, who pays the full amount owed by Aug. 31, 1990, can ignore all penalty, collection or finance charges assessed on the loan through the end of August. Call (800) 333-INFO.

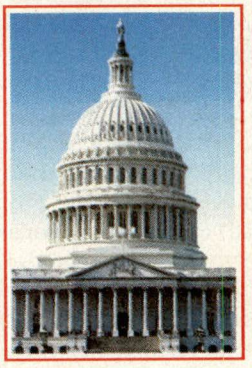
by Francesca Lunzer Kritz
with Lisa J. Moore and Sharon F. Golden

by MORTIMER B. ZUCKERMAN
Editor-in-Chief

PAST FEARS, FUTURE CONCERNS

German unity, unthinkable such a short time ago, is now inevitable. And quickly so. The West, remembering Germany's bloody history in this century, finds itself ambivalent. As François Mauriac put it, "I love Germany so much, I am happy there are two of them."

Fear of One Germany seems to me a bit overdone. West Germany, after all, is a strong democracy; East Germans, with a kind of justifiable arson, have set the torch to the totalitarian state. It follows that a united Germany, in theory, should share our Western values and alliances. Moreover, unification carries the special benefit of removing the most dangerous flash points in East-West tension, the border between East and West Germany and the Communist control of access to West Berlin.



So why does concern hover in the background? The lingering fear is that an economically powerful Germany, even if democratic, might succumb to arrogant nationalism, turning away from its Western neighbors, the European Community and the Atlantic Alliance. Possible indifference to the EC draws upon the substantial resentment of the burdens involved in supporting the new Europe from a new generation in Germany that has come to see freedom and prosperity as part of the natural order. Its members have no memory of World War II, the Marshall Plan, the Berlin Airlift. Nor do they place as high a value as their parents on the long-term Western commitments that have kept the Soviets at bay and provided the foundation for economic growth.

It is crucial, then, that we underline for them the major benefits of an association with the West. The great bulk, approximately 70 percent, of the export-dominated German economy goes to the European Community and the European Free Trade Association. Another chunk goes to America. These markets will remain Germany's largest even if the percentages narrow as a result of the economic revival of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The economic future is West, not East.

The bigger challenges to the West and to the new Germany may be geopolitical: How to guarantee the current borders of Europe, how to keep the nuclear club closed—how, in short, to keep the peace? German neutralism isn't the answer. No American, European or Soviet leader can disregard the lessons of history—that in this century, two world wars grew out of Germany's attempt to pursue a purely national policy in the center of the Continent. A neutral, self-absorbed Germany would become once again the focus of Western suspicions and Soviet fear and would enhance the risks of conflict. A German decision for neutrality would not be a decision to stay out of the declining conflict between East and West, but a decision to operate as rival to both.

The safest solution for everyone is a united Germany whose foreign policy is tied to Western Europe, whose economic future is integrated in the European Community and whose military power and security derive from a NATO that seeks stability at the lowest levels of military force. In this context, East Germany must remain demilitarized. New arms agreements between Moscow and Washington must be negotiated with the objective of dissolving the long-held concern of a short-warning, conventional-arms attack on Western Europe by Soviet forces. We must not forget that the Soviet Union remains the strongest power in Europe, with the largest army and with nuclear weapons, and for the foreseeable future will remain a potentially hostile power that can be balanced only by the U.S.

A U.S. presence in Europe—indeed, in Germany—is still vital to reassure Europeans that American muscle would be there to sustain the new system, whether threatened by a resurgent Berlin or a bellicose Moscow. Whatever the ultimate balance of conventional forces, some American nuclear presence must be retained in Europe, for history has taught us that conventional weapons cannot be relied upon to deter war, even though opposing forces may appear roughly equal. To pull back U.S. nuclear weapons to American soil or to the sea is no answer, for distant deterrence would lack the credibility necessary to ensure peace. Out of duty and self-interest, America must remain in Europe until neither a unified Germany nor a disunited Soviet Union could conceivably be a menace to anyone. ■

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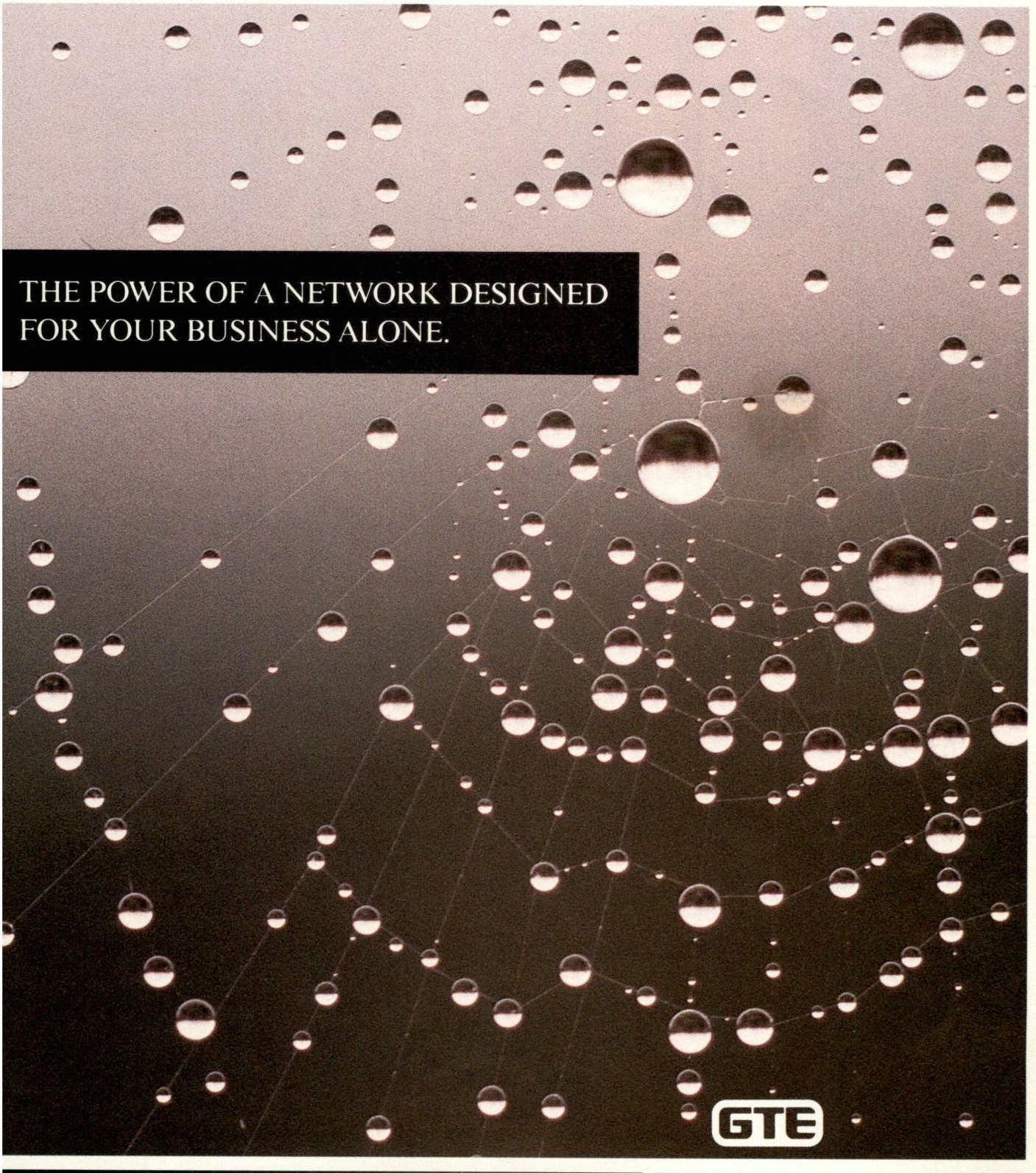

THE POWER IS ON

Over-achiever.

111 RESEARCH
U.S. News

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Kings: 5 mg "tar," 0.5 mg nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.