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Folder Title:
Deadbeat Dads--Fond Du Lac, Wisconsin 9/30/92 [OA 7581] [4]

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Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: Sept. 26, 1992 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ASAP

SUBJECT: FACT SHEET: CRIME

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCBRIDE	☐	☑
BAKER	☐	☑	MOORE	☑	☐
SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	MULLINS	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
BATES	☐	☑	PORTER	☑	☐
BRADY	☐	☑	PROVOST	☑	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	ROSS	☑	☐
CALIO	☑	☐	SMITH	☑	☐
DEMAREST	☑	☐	TUTWILER	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	ZOELLICK	☑	☐
GRAY	☑	☐	KAUFMAN	☐	☑
HOLIDAY	☑	☐	GROOMES	☐	☑
HORNER	☐	☐	MCGROARTY	☐	☑

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Roger Porter, 2nd Fl./WW, x2705 NO LATER THAN COB, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26 with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1992

92 SEP 26 P12:47

MEMORANDUM FOR PHILLIP D. BRADY

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER RBP

SUBJECT: Crime Fact Sheet

A fact sheet that will be released in conjunction with the President's speech on crime in St. Louis on Monday, September 28, 1992 is attached.

I would appreciate very much your staffing this fact sheet with comments returned to my office as soon as possible.

Thank you very much.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release September 28, 1992

The President's Agenda for American Renewal:
Combatting Violent Crime

FACT SHEET

The President today announced that he is sending to the Congress comprehensive crime legislation that includes new provisions to:

- Combat carjackings;
- Strengthen child support enforcement;
- Provide additional protection for victims of sexual and domestic violence, and for the elderly;
- Reduce violent gang activity; and
- Increase penalties for criminal use of firearms.

The President's legislative proposal, which includes provisions concerning the death penalty and the appeals process in criminal cases, is designed to end the impasse in Congress and to forge a consensus on crime legislation that can pass this year.

Fundamental Principles

Four principles underlie the President's proposals for comprehensive crime control:

- A primary purpose of government is to protect citizens and their property. Americans deserve to live in a society in which they are safe and feel secure.
- Those who commit violent criminal offenses should, and must, be held accountable for their actions.
- Our criminal justice system should seek the swift and certain apprehension, prosecution, and incarceration of those who break the law.
- Success in accomplishing our criminal justice system goals requires a sustained, cooperative effort by a coalition of Federal, State, and local law enforcement officials.

THE COMPREHENSIVE CRIME CONTROL ACT OF 1992

The President's proposed Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1992 includes provisions:

I. Combatting Carjacking

The President proposes making "carjacking" -- the forcible theft of a motor vehicle -- a Federal crime. Carjackers would face sentences of up to 20 years. If the offense involves kidnapping, attempted murder or attempted kidnapping, or resulted in serious bodily injury, the carjacker could face life imprisonment. Those convicted of a carjacking in which a death results could be sentenced to death.

The President directed the Attorney General to convene a task force to study the effectiveness of anti-theft devices or other methods of deterring or preventing carjacking. He also proposed to permit States to use Byrne grant funding for anti-carjacking programs.

II. Strengthening Child Support Enforcement

The President proposed measures to improve enforcement of child support orders, provide legal assistance to custodial parents seeking to collect child support payments, and deny certain Federal benefits to individuals delinquent in making child support payments. The proposed legislation:

- Makes failure to meet child support obligations, in certain circumstances, a Federal crime. Under the President's proposal, non-custodial parents who have been delinquent for more than one year or who owe more than $5,000 on their child support payments for a child living in another State could be imprisoned for up to six months. Second and subsequent offenses would carry penalties of up to two years in prison;

- Requires States to honor child support orders entered in other States and to enforce them as if such orders were issued in that State;

- Requires full payment of child support obligations as a condition for parole or supervised release from Federal prison;

- Prohibits Federal education and mortgage loans to fathers who are more than three months delinquent in their child support payments; and

FYI
CURT + CAROL
I don't know whether this is final

- Provides legal assistance to mothers who need help collecting child support payments. Legal organizations receiving funding from the Legal Services Corporation must devote not less than ten percent of their services to assisting mothers who need legal help to collect past due child support payments.

III. Reducing Sexual and Domestic Violence

The President proposed measures to reduce sexual and domestic violence, including:

A. Increasing Penalties for Sexual Abuse

The President proposed to increase penalties for sex crimes, by:

- Authorizing the death penalty for murders committed in the course of a sex offense;
- Doubling the maximum penalty for repeat Federal sex offenders;
- Increasing penalties for many sex crimes committed against victims under the age of 16 by broadening the definition of "sexual act" with respect to such crimes; and
- Directing the United States Sentencing Commission to increase penalties for the most serious sexual assault cases and for sexual offenders with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) who knowingly risk infecting their victims.

B. Protecting Victims

The President proposed to strengthen protections for crime victims by:

- Making it a Federal crime to travel across state lines to commit spousal abuse, violate a protective order or stalk a victim;
- Authorizing pretrial detention for serious sex offense cases where prosecutors prove that no other measures can reasonably assure that the defendant will not flee or pose a threat to the safety of others;

- Requiring HIV testing of those accused of sex crimes and disclosure of the results to the victim of the crime, and authorizing HIV testing of victims at government expense; and

- Directing the Attorney General to establish a National Task Force on Violence Against Women to recommend measures for combatting violence against women.

The President proposed to create new rights for sexual assault victims, including:

- The right to bring a civil suit against the person who committed the sexual offense;

- Mandatory restitution by the defendant of the victim's losses and expenses as a result of the crime, expanded to include reimbursement for lost income, child care, transportation and other expenses due to participating in the investigation and prosecution of the offense; and

- The right for victims of sexual assaults and other violent crimes to speak at sentencing.

The President also proposed to reform the Federal Rules of Evidence to permit courts to admit evidence that the defendant had committed similar acts in the past, and to exclude evidence intended to show that the victim invited the attack.

C. Assisting State and Local Authorities

The President's proposed legislation includes $ _____ in funding for grants to States and localities to combat sexual and domestic violence. Law enforcement grants of up to $1 million would be available to each State that adopts laws concerning sexual violence that are reasonably comparable to or exceed Federal law.

IV. Combatting Gang Activity

A. Creating an "Anti-Gang RICO" Law

The President's proposal creates a new Federal offense providing severe penalties for crimes committed by street gangs. This "Anti-Gang" RICO law will enable Federal prosecutors, for the first time, to prosecute entire criminal gangs, just as the existing criminal RICO law has allowed the

prosecution of entire organized crime families. Anti-gang RICO will carry tough mandatory minimum sentences, including:

- For a leadership role in any gang crime, 15 years; and
- For a murder or attempted murder, 20 years, with the possibility of life imprisonment or the death sentence.

B. **Increasing Penalties for Serious Juvenile Offenders**

These include:

- Prosecuting serious juvenile offenders as adults;
- Significantly raising the penalties for drug-related crimes near schools, near public housing projects or involving minors, as well as for any traditional RICO crime involving a minor;
- Retaining for law enforcement use the records of serious juvenile offenders; and
- Sentencing adult armed career criminals to a mandatory minimum 15 years in prison for a third violent or serious offense, by fully taking into account serious drug offenses committed by them as juveniles.

V. Providing Additional Protection for the Elderly

Under the President's legislation, the Sentencing Commission is directed to ensure that the sentencing guidelines for Federal crimes adequately take into account an elderly victim's vulnerability and result in sentences sufficiently severe to deter violent crimes against the elderly.

VI. Combatting Criminal Use of Firearms

The President proposed to deter criminal use of firearms by creating new Federal crimes involving firearms and steeply increasing penalties for existing firearms offenses.

A. **Creating New Criminal Offenses**

The President's legislation:

- Creates a new Federal crime for smuggling firearms into the United States for criminal purposes, punishable by up to ten years in prison;
- Creates a new Federal crime for stealing firearms or explosives, punishable by up to ten years in prison;
- Introduces new penalties for conspiracy to commit any Federal firearms crime; and
- Broadens the offense of possessing or dealing in stolen firearms.

B. **Stiffening Prison Sentences**

The President proposed to sharply increase penalties for criminal use of firearms, including:

- Doubling the mandatory minimum penalty for using a semi-automatic gun in any violent Federal crime from five years to ten years, and for a second offense of using explosives to commit a felony from ten years to twenty years;
- Requiring a five year prison term for possession of firearms or explosives by those previously convicted of violent felonies or serious drug crimes;
- Increasing penalties for interstate gun trafficking, causing it to be punishable by up to ten years in prison;
- Doubling the penalties for knowingly making a false and material statement to a licensed firearm dealer while purchasing a firearm, from five years to ten years;
- Imposing a mandatory five year penalty for use of firearms in counterfeiting or forgery; and
- Imposing a prison term of up to ten years for stealing firearms or explosives from a licensed firearm dealer.

In addition, any Federal criminal possessing a firearm in violation of the terms of his supervised release would be sent back to prison.

In an attempt to break the impasse in the Congress concerning comprehensive crime legislation and find common ground to forge an agreement, the President's legislation incorporates provisions that have previously been approved by both Houses of Congress.

VII. Reforming the Appeals Process in Capital Cases

The President announced that he will accept the Powell Commission's proposal for reforming the habeas corpus process for appealing convictions in capital cases, which has previously been approved by both Houses of Congress. The Powell Commission, a bipartisan commission headed by former Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr., issued its recommendations for habeas reform in 1989.

VIII. Creating an Effective Federal Death Penalty

The President's proposal authorizes the Federal death penalty for "drug kingpins," for murders committed in drive-by shootings or in connection with drug trafficking, murders of Federal law enforcement officers or State and local officers assisting Federal officers, murders of witnesses, and murders by terrorists and assassins. The bill also establishes procedures and standards for imposing the death penalty.

Call Lynn Knelly in Fond du Lac, WI
re: Wednesday scenario

Jean Rogers, w/ Health & Social Services

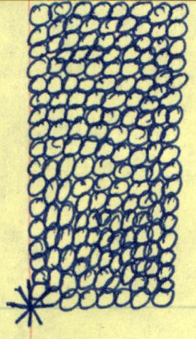
→ 608-266-3035
608-267-3240 (fax)
for info

POTUS arrives

Gov. Thompson there w/ POTUS in meeting
& State & county administrators

→ Some Giddings & Lewis people in audience
POTUS ~~was~~ went
↓
Fond du Lac is HQ

→ 2 local Fond du Lac missing kids.



Children First – to ensure both parents meet financial responsibility to children

→ provides job training unpaid
→ case mgmt- & monitoring

– if they don't comply they go to jail

Court orders delinquent parent
judge must sentence parent

Has lightened welfare caseload

% ↑ in total child support collectn
↑ 145% in Racine County
↑ 28% in Fond du Lac County



when did this begin ~~[illegible]~~

Gov. will announce new counties on Wed.

→ must pay for 3 cons. months
or → complete 16 wks of job training

1987 – idea began
initial 2 counties were Racine County
Fond du Lac County

→ Who is in charge of this in Fond du Lac?
Sue Pfeiffer (414) 929-3059 (o)
(414) 923-1868 (h)

examples From: Fond du Lac

→ mother + 1 2nd gr. child

on AFCD
as a result of Children First they are no longer on
father was paying sporadically
now has been paying regularly
$56/week
now can buy clothes for kids
mother has since remarried

→ mother + 1 child (1 yr-old)

dad just finished 3 mo. requirement for paying (on AFDC)
↓
formerly

now mom can pay bills
mother can now work full time

→ mom + 4 children (7 yr. old) + 17 yrs old
+ 1 child from another dad (2 yrs. old) – pays regularly since 5/91
– on AFDC since 2/91 – gone thru program
– dad is paying 31% of income as child support
– mom just got a job – wants to get off AFDC
– dad is employed by city
– dad is now closer to kids

good example

→ mom + 1 kid (age 6)

on AFDC since '89
payments are $81.60 bi-weekly
just sees $50 DEFRA payments
dad found job in CF program
longest pd. he has ever held a job
better relationship w/ dad

→ mom + 1 child (age 11)

off AFDC 5/92
dad, community reg.
also pd. 3 mos.

Most dads go thru program by paying 3 mos.
not comm. service job training

State of Wisconsin OFFICE OF JUSTICE ASSISTANCE

Tommy G. Thompson
Governor

Jerome D. Lacke
Executive Director

OFFICE OF JUSTICE ASSISTANCE

222 State Street, Second Floor
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53702

PHONE # 608/266-3323 FAX # 608/266-6676

FROM:

Name: Tom Evensen - OJA

Date: 9/25/92

Time: 1:30 pm

TO:

Organization: White House

Name: Carol Aarhus

FAX #: 202 456-6218

Number of pages attached, including this cover page: 3

Please call to confirm receipt: Yes____ No ✓

Supervisor's Approval Yes TJS No____

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

State of Wisconsin OFFICE OF JUSTICE ASSISTANCE

Tommy G. Thompson
Governor

Jerome D. Lacke
Executive Director

September 25, 1992

Carol Aarhus
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Aarhus:

In response to your request, I have put together three tables showing reported violent crime for the City of Milwaukee, the City of Fond du lac, and the entire State of Wisconsin. The figures are compiled from reports filed by law enforcement agencies as part of their participation in the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program.

Table 1: Violent Crime - State of Wisconsin

Time Period	Murder	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Agg. Assault	Total Violent
7/1/89 - 12/31/89	96	509	2,024	3,291	5,920
1990	228	1,017	5,514	6,206	12,965
1991	239	1,261	5,902	6,440	13,842
1/1/92 - 6/30/92 (est.)	92 655	682 3,469	2,561 16,001	3,085 19,022	6,420

I should point out that total violent crime in Wisconsin has increased by an estimated 2.8% from the first six months of 1991 to the first half of 1992. Also, it should be noted that about 46% of violent crime is reported in the first half of most years with about 54% reported in the last six months of a typical year.

Table 2: Violent Crime - City of Milwaukee

Time Period	Murder	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Agg. Assault	Total Violent
7/1/89 - 12/31/89	62	230	1,342	605	2,239
1990	155	495	4,146	1,486	6,282
1991	163	503	4,252	1,311	6,229
1/1/92 - 6/30/92	58 438	264 1492	1,766 11,506	593 3,995	2,681

Total violent crime in Milwaukee has decreased by 1.6% from the first half of 1991 to the first half of 1992. Also, there have been 92 murders reported in the first eight months of 1992; this is less than the 116 reported in the first eight months of 1991.

Table 3: Violent Crime - City of Fond du Lac

Time Period	Murder	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Agg. Assault	Total Violent
7/1/89 - 12/31/89	0	5	1	+30	36
1990	0	6	6	+119	131
1991	0	13	11	83	107
1/1/92 - 6/30/92	1 / 1	8 / 32	6 / 24	61 / 293	76

I should note that total violent crime in Fond du Lac has doubled from the first half of 1991(total of 38) to the first half of 1992 (total of 76). Most of the increase has resulted from an increase in aggravated assault from 30 to 61.

If you have questions concerning these figures or need additional information, please call me at your convenience.

Sincerely,

JERRY LACKE
Executive Director

Tom Eversen

Tom Eversen, Manager
Wisconsin UCR Program
608 266-7644

Curt, Here are the Wisconsin crime stats you wanted:**

VIOLENT CRIME IN THE STATE OF WISCONSIN
Murder: 655
Forcible Rape: 3,469
Robbery: 16,001
Aggravated Assault: 19,022

35023
1124

NOTE: Total violent crime in Wisconsin has increased by nearly 3% from the first six months of 1991 to the first six months of 1992.

VIOLENT CRIME IN THE CITY OF FOND DU LAC
Murder: one
Forcible Rape: 32
Robbery: 24
Aggravated Assault: 293

NOTE: Total violent crime in Fond du Lac has doubled from the first half of 1991 to the first half of 1992. Most of the increase has resulted from an increase in aggravated assault.

** All numbers are calculated from July 1, 1989 - June 30, 1992.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1:20pm

- NICK CALIO - GET COPY OF
BILL PASSED THIS WEEK
ON DEAD BILL - PLEASE PUT
BILL ON HIS CHAIR

JB

OK
Copy Record

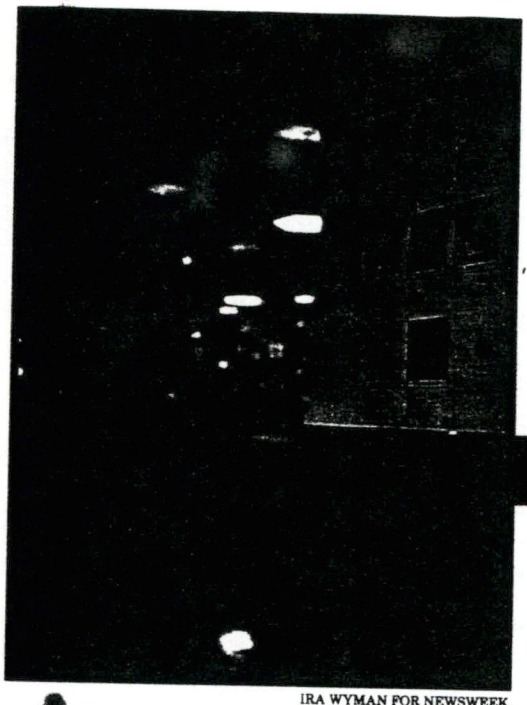
Deadbeat Dads

BY STEVEN WALDMAN

John Lock goes to court in Chicago next week to explain why he owes back child support, but his ex-wife Esther isn't expecting much. They have, after all, been through more than 100 court hearings about child support and their divorce over the past 19 years. And, according to the state of Illinois, he still owes more than $160,000 for his four children. She's feeling needy now because she lost her job as a social worker 17 months ago, but she remembers more desperate times, like February 1977. "Our electricity was being turned off," she recalls. "We were lighting the house with candles. We were on what we called the 'white diet'—a lot of rice and cereal. No medical coverage, no dental." Her ex-husband, then a dentist, was living in the affluent suburb of Highland Park with his new family. "I knew he didn't want the kids so I figured I'd use it as a scare tactic," says Esther. She gave them two teenage sons overnight packs and dropped them off in front of their father's house in subzero weather. He called the police. "He told the Highland Park police that there were two boys outside trespassing," she says. "I'm not proud of it, but I was desperate."

John Lock admits he called the police but says he had to because one of his sons was on the verge of "kicking the door down." He concedes he didn't pay the $1,100 monthly child support for nine years, and admits he fled to Costa Rica for three years because he was "physically, emotionally, financially devastated." But he says he had paid regularly prior to 1977, owes "significantly less" than the state claims and thinks that his ex-wife and the state of Illinois are obsessed with trying to put him in jail. He no longer practices dentistry and works part time delivering flowers in Ida, Mich. "The kids were my world," he wrote in a recent letter to NEWSWEEK. "I did my best to give them a nice life." In an interview, he added, "This has gone on to a point where there's no hope." His oldest son, Byron, now 32, agrees. He says he still can't comprehend his father's behavior. "We were his *children*," he says. "Why would he want to hurt us? That's what was so confusing about the whole deal—why would a father turn his back on a child?"

In battles like these, nobody ever comes out a winner. Fierce struggles over child support pit parent against parent and inevitably spray the children with emotional shrapnel. Increasingly, the private family traumas are spilling into public view. Posters of most-wanted deadbeat dads began peppering subways and bulletin boards in Massachusetts this month, and police quickly arrested five of the fathers. They also hauled in Frederick Grimaldi, who owes $22,144 and was working in Florida as, of all things, a deputy sheriff, according to Massachusetts officials. Grimaldi has pleaded not guilty to charges of criminal nonpayment, and his lawyer says he owes just $19,000, some of which accumulated while Grimaldi was unemployed. Next month an association of state child-support enforcement agencies will release its second annual national Wanted list, which will include a Louisiana attorney who owes $123,000 and a Tennessee man who owes his quadriplegic daughter $21,500. These small steps reflect a growing awareness on the part of public officials of just how potent an issue this has become. Consultants for former Louisiana governor Buddy Roemer were surprised to discover that in focus groups during the 1991 campaign, middle-class voters spontaneously mentioned child support as one of their most important concerns. Bill Clinton, in campaign speeches, regularly urges tougher enforcement.



IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

Checking out delinquent dads in Saugus, Mass. (above), Rose Brown and son Tony in Louisville, Ky. (right), and a Baltimore city sheriff arrests a man for nonpayment of support

It's easy to understand why: of the 5 million women who are supposed to receive child support, only half reported receiving full payment, according to a 1990 U.S. Census Bureau study. One quarter of the women got partial payment, and one quarter got nothing. An additional 2.7 million women said they wanted support but were never able to obtain an award. Deadbeatedness cuts across income groups: college graduates are about as likely to have a negligent ex-spouse or ex-boyfriend as high-school grads. It even spans gender lines. Fifteen percent of custodial parents are now men, and mothers in those cases have an equally dismal record of supporting their children. The consequences of nonpayment are staggering. On average, the family income of the mother retaining custody drops 23 percent after divorce or separation—a disparity that could be wiped out for many families if full child-support payments were made. Families headed by a mother alone are six times as likely to be poor as those with two parents.

These dreary statistics have recently led social-policy thinkers of many ideological stripes to the same conclusion: child support is key both to fighting poverty and to sustaining middle-class fam-

PAM SPAULDING (TOP), MARTY KATZ (BOTTOM)



ALICE Q. HARGRAVE

Esther Lock of Wheeling, Ill., once dropped off her sons at her ex-husband's house. He called the police.

situation where you don't see them and th slam the door in your face, it becomes a thing," he says. "I know that [withholdin was not quite the thing to do, but . . . I re emotional way." He says that he's paid $17,000 over the years, mostly fell behind d cial hardship and now has child support ded his paycheck regularly. But finally, he add comment about his ex-wife that cuts to th many child-support battles. Withholding says, "was the only way I could hurt her."

How does a father come to see withhold

ilies. The government's role in child support has already undergone a little-noticed revolution. In 1984, Congress passed one of the most sweeping pieces of social legislation in decades, requiring local governments to help any custodial parent—not just the poor—to collect child support. Since then, nonwelfare mothers have flooded government offices asking for help in collecting money. These agencies have garnished paychecks, seized tax returns and devised innovative solutions to enforcement problems (page 49). Despite the increased vigor, though, the government seems to be running in place. In 1990, state agencies reported they were collecting money in only 17.9 percent of the 12 million cases they were then handling.

But while society moves to confront the child-support problem, one question has received relatively little attention: who are these deadbeat dads, and why would they refuse to support the human beings they helped create? It's hard to look at such behavior as anything but simple irresponsibility. But a closer look reveals a group of men with a wide range of emotionally complex motives.

For a father, child support often becomes not a helping hand to a child, but a lethal weapon in the battle against his ex-wife. Kenneth Marcelles of Schiller Park, Ill., fell about $6,000 behind on paying support to the two children he had with Donna Caliendo. Partly because of that, she says, the family went on welfare and their daughter had to get eyeglasses donated by the Lions Club. She wasn't shy about telling the kids the source of the deprivation. "In the summer," she says, "I'd say, 'If your father would send money maybe we could go to Kiddieland or buy a new bathing suit'." Marcelles offers several explanations for not paying. "I don't know what she does with the money," he says. "I had a chance meeting with her in the grocery store and my daughter was wearing some raggedy-looking Levi jacket and [Donna's] got a brand new coat on." Caliendo denies that claim, and in any event, such complaints have a logical flaw: if the kids suffer from poverty, cutting off child support will only make it worse. It's when Marcelles talks about his fractured relationship with his children that his explanations strike a deeper chord. "When you get into a

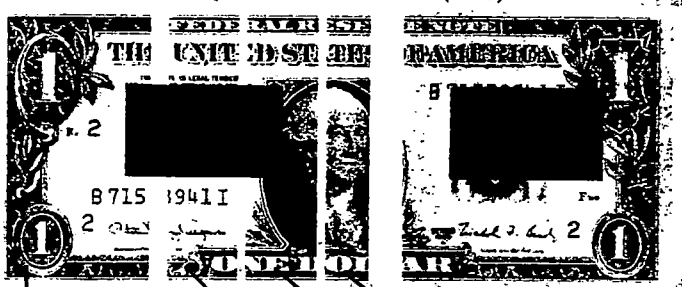
support in terms of what it does to the former instead of what it does to the children? Several have shown that fathers who retain close contact wit children are more likely to pay child support. Some fathers groups cite these data in arguing that most child-support pr stem from mothers cutting off access to the children. That d ly does happen. But fathers are quite capable of becoming ed from children without help from mothers. "Fathers ten their relationships with their children as being mediated wife," says Frank Furstenberg, a sociologist at the Unive Pennsylvania and author of "Divided Families." "[It's] a p deal. When the relationship is damaged, it severs the dire nection between fathers and their children." In a survey co ed in central Pennsylvania, close to half the children from families had not even seen their fathers in the previous year. nonpaying dads ask, in essence, "What's in it for me?"— ment that is strikingly crass on one level but quite poign another. If they have grown distant from their children, come to view child support like making payments on a car t longer own. Child support becomes a debt competing wi others. "My bills, my car payments were taking all that up," said Walter Forde, an unemployed father in Riverdal explaining in court in January why he had fallen $8,500 be Joel Worshtil, the hearing officer at the Prince Georges C circuit court, responded: "If the child had been living with yo would have found a way to find the $500 to clothe the child." if your wife and kids just leave you?" Forde asked. "I can't spe the equity of the relationship," Worshtil replied, with symp "But we certainly know child wasn't at fault."

Clearly, the failure to often sprouts from the in rupture in the relationship thers who felt humiliated the breakup may be par larly eager to cut ties with family. Deanna Willis m her family to Eugene, O in 1979 while her husb Drew Itschner, was in the rines in Okinawa, because believed he was neglect them. Itschner paid hardly child support over the nex years and didn't visit his c dren at all. He says that t state of Oregon treated him fairly and that the mo wouldn't have gone to the k anyway because she was "goi out partying." But Willis h another explanation. "I thi

Where the Money Doesn't Go

Only a small percentage of children in broken homes actually receive support from fathers following divorce or separation.

Of women with children under age 21, with no father present in household (1989):



25.5% received full amount

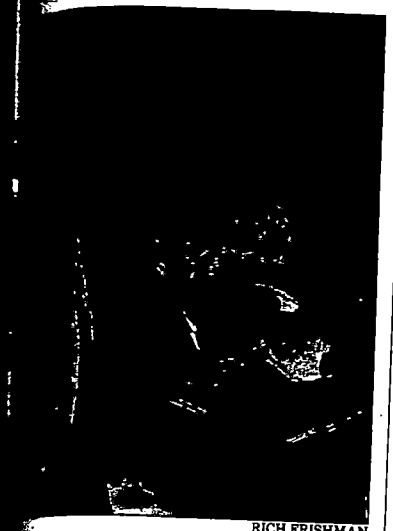
11.8% received part

12.3% received nothing

8% awarded but not due in 1989

SOURCE: CENSUS BUREAU

SEEKING NEW SOLUTIONS



RICH FRISHMAN

As Leslie Fernen and Jeffrey Smith took turns holding their newborn baby boy last week at Swedish Hospital Medical Center in Seattle, staffer Dorothy Mitchell handed them a brochure. Because they are not married, Mitchell explained, Smith would have to sign a paternity statement if he wanted his name on the birth certificate. This enables the state to "go after you if you were to break up," she added—"but we don't even want to think about that now."

The proud parents may not want to think about it, but the state of Washington sure does. About one in every four children is born outside a marriage, and enforcing child support is most difficult in cases where paternity has not been established. So Washington decided to get men on the hook while they're most proud of fatherhood. In about 40 percent of out-of-wedlock births the father is now acknowledging paternity at the hospital. Smith was one who gladly signed.

Washington's program is one of many innovative approaches states have devised to beef up collections. Taken as a whole, the record of the government's network of locally run, federally financed agencies is pathetic. But prodded by major laws passed by Congress in 1984 and 1988, the agencies have pursued several avenues of reform:

Hit 'Em Where They Work. Government officials thought they had the magic bullet in the mid-1980s: take the child support directly out of the father's paycheck. But this approach loses track of people like Kent Patterson of Seattle, who switched construction jobs 24 times in 11 months. In 1990, Washington state began requiring many employers to give the names and social-security numbers of all hires to the child-support agency so it could track them. By 1994 all states are also supposed to garnish paychecks automatically, without waiting for the father to become delinquent.

Putting Blood in the Stone. You can lead a deadbeat to court, but you can't make him pay if he doesn't have any money. So several states have begun requiring fathers to join job-search programs. A Grand Rapids, Mich., program found jobs for 432 of 1,077 employees during an eight-month period—and their child-support payments jumped by more than 300 percent.

Private Eyes. Agency workers juggling 1,000 cases can often spend only a few minutes on each case. So some states, and increasing numbers of desperate mothers, are turning to private collection services for help. They are often quite effective, but firms can take a big cut of whatever they collect, while the government collects it all (in theory) for free. Parents can increase their odds by consulting groups like the Association for Children for Enforcement of Support (1-800-537-7072) and the National Child Support Advocacy Coalition (P.O. Box 420, Hendersonville, Tenn. 37077). Noncustodial parents can try the National Council for Children's Rights (202-547-NCCR).

The Big Fix. Some child-support experts believe the state-by-state enforcement system is too bureaucratic to ever work well. One proposed solution: turn it over to the IRS. Some advocates go further with a proposal called child-support assurance. The government steps up enforcement, but if the father doesn't pay fully, the state fills the gap. States could then eliminate one of the counterproductive parts of the current law: when poor men do pay support, the state keeps most of it to help finance its welfare operation. Like many of these reforms, the goal here is somewhat unusual for the government: forcing parents, instead of the state, to take care of kids.

S.W. *with* LORRAINE IANNELLO

in the beginning he was just hurt because I left him," Willis says. "He didn't want to go back into it and bring back up that hurt." Despite his long absence, Itschner carried his kids' pictures in his wallet for more than a decade and on a few occasions drove by their house or to a nearby park and watched them from a distance. His daughter Jewel, who has for several years kept Itschner's service medals in a box by her night stand, recently started a correspondence with him. During a recent interview he pulled out photographs of the girls at the ages of 4 and 2. "You look at those pictures," Itschner says. His eyes well up. "And you look at these," he points to pictures of them at 13 and 15. "How much have they gone through? How much have I missed? How much have they missed from not being with me? All three of us have lost out on the deal, and now we're trying to get it back."

In truth, some men never really develop any relationship with their children, so not paying child support doesn't arouse guilty feelings. Roger Hollenbeck of Des Plaines, Ill., met Rose Brown at a pig roast in Louisville, Ky., in 1980. He describes the relationship as a brief fling (she says they lived together seven months) and was furious to learn she was pregnant because she had told him that a medical condition made that impossible. He left town a few months later and over the next 10 years missed $21,000 in payments. Hollenbeck's explanation for why he didn't pay: he didn't realize he owed any child support. (This seems unlikely, since the IRS in 1985 intercepted his tax refund for nonpayment of child support.) Under threat of a jail sentence, Hollenbeck recently paid $10,000 of back support and spoke with his son. "'Do you hate my mother?'" the boy asked, according to Hollenbeck. "I said, 'No. We were friends, and I moved away'."



DAVID WALBERG

The father of Eric and Alisa Marcelles of Melrose Park, Ill., fell thousands of dollars behind in support. He says his wife kept him away from the kids.

But asked later what kind of relationship he expects he will have with his son, Hollenbeck says, "absolutely nothing. I know that sounds cold to say, but facts are facts."

Some fathers make so little money that their child-support payments feel like an enormous burden. Since payments are usually based on a percentage of parental income, however, even wealthy fathers can feel the pinch. Washington, D.C., lawyer Grier Raclin currently pays $4,150 per month to his ex-wife Victoria Reggie, a well-paid Washington lawyer who is about to marry Sen. Edward M. Kennedy. Despite their lucrative jobs, the parents regularly bickered over child support, according to correspondence filed in court. Raclin tried to get reimbursed for camping gear he had bought for a trip with his son. "I absolutely refuse," Reggie replied in October 1990. "I have already paid $100 for Cub Scouts—an activity for which you said you would be responsible—and I will not pay for the gear you decided you need to take Curran camping . . . If you try to deduct anything from the

support payments you are contractually obligated to pay, I will not hesitate to take you to court for contempt." Last Friday, Raclin asked the court to eliminate his child-support payments because both of their financial situations have changed and he says he's spending, roughly, equal time with his son.

The growing number of cases in which the father gains custody has focused attention on a special group of absent parents: deadbeat moms. The fact that their record is no better than absent fathers' suggests that nonpayment doesn't stem from a uniquely male sense of irresponsibility. Dolores Podhorn of Springfield, Mo., owes her ex-husband Gordon Long of Delavan, Wis., $72,395 in payments for their four children. "She could never understand that I was paying the light and gas and the rent and child care," says Long, an assistant professor of English at the University of Wisconsin. Podhorn says that at first she didn't pay because she was so devastated over losing custody. The court had decided that because Long was home with the kids so much, giving him custody would be less disruptive. "I really fell apart," she says. Later she couldn't p adds, because she was a full-time student, but now tha earning good money conducting health exams for insuranc panies, she gives thousands of dollars in gifts to the children. what, in retrospect, she would have done differently, Po pauses and says, "I'll tell you what I would have done. I'd she s.o.b. It would have relieved the emotional-abuse situation."

Knowing why absent parents don't want to pay child su does not, of course, excuse their behavior. It also lea essential question unanswered: how do they get awa not paying? Ultimately, many parents do not pay be no one makes them. A parent who is having trouble collecting support has two main choices. She can hire a private lawye will try to bring the husband into court. But any real conflic quickly push the legal fees into the thousands of dollars, out ping the amount of support the custodial parent is seeking. O

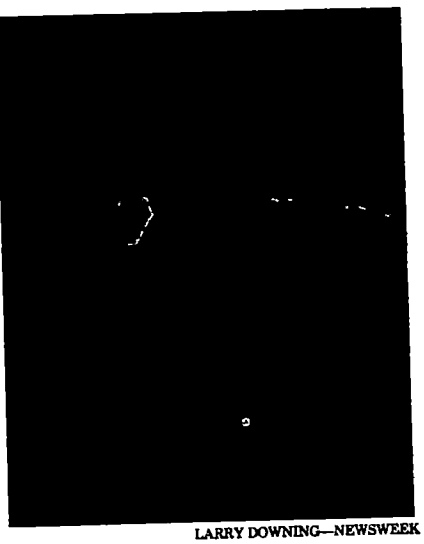
NO FATHER, AND NO ANSWERS

BY MARCUS MABRY

My father was not the sort of guy who comes to mind when most people think of a deadbeat dad. He was an attorney, a judge and a respected civic leader. He was president of the local NAACP and a church deacon. Above all, he was a good father to his three daughters. As he once told me, he was not "some little boy in the ghetto who makes babies and doesn't take responsibility for his actions."

Yet for 20 years I didn't see my father or know what he looked like. And my mother never received a penny in child support. My mother and my father met in high school. After an intense relationship, she moved away with her family. A few months after she left, she told my father she was pregnant. When I was 10, my mother wanted to send me to Florida to meet my father. He demanded a blood test. Insulted and hurt, she hung up and never spoke to him again. The state of New Jersey required her to sue for child support when she applied for welfare. My mother says she got an order for a token amount, but my father was a penniless college student at the time, and the state never pursued him. My mother often thought about "going after him," but never did. She couldn't afford a lawyer, didn't think she could win and, she says, she didn't want to hurt me.

Even though he was absent I grew up in my father's shadow. My mother told me his name, his occupation, his alma mater and how every time she looked at me, she saw him. But we were very different. While we were on welfare, he was climbing the corporate ladder to become a successful attorney. While we lived in a run-down house with relatives, he lived in a big house with his wife and three daughters. While I had no male role models until I went to an all-boys school on scholarship, he was president of a local NAACP chapter, a role model to boys he hardly knew. I never knew how affluent he was. And I never thought I cared. I never connected poverty and my absentee father.



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

NEWSWEEK writer Mabry at home

I never thought I would meet him. Then my mother called one day while she was vacationing in Florida. In a joyous tone, she told me she had visited my father's mother. My grandmother had given her a picture of my father in his judge's robes. I was angry. All the feelings I had repressed for 20 years came flooding back. I decided that confronting the unknown was the best therapy. I called my grandmother. She gave me his number. In a cold, scientific voice I told him I wanted to resolve the issue of his paternity. He asked for a test. I agreed.

Weeks later a handsome professional couple walked into the lobby of the Center for Blood Research. After a cordial greeting, pained small talk and a tortured silence, my father asked me to step outside. On the sidewalk in front of the building, in a tone of admirable dignity, he told me that he and my mother had been very much in love as teenagers and that whatever the results of this test today, I should feel free to call on him when I needed a man's advice. I felt like one of the Bowery Boys being counseled by Father Flanagan. Several months later we received the results. These things don't come out 100 percent positive, because they test genes and two men—say, twins—could have identical genes. But it was 99.78 percent probable that this man was my father. And he didn't have a twin.

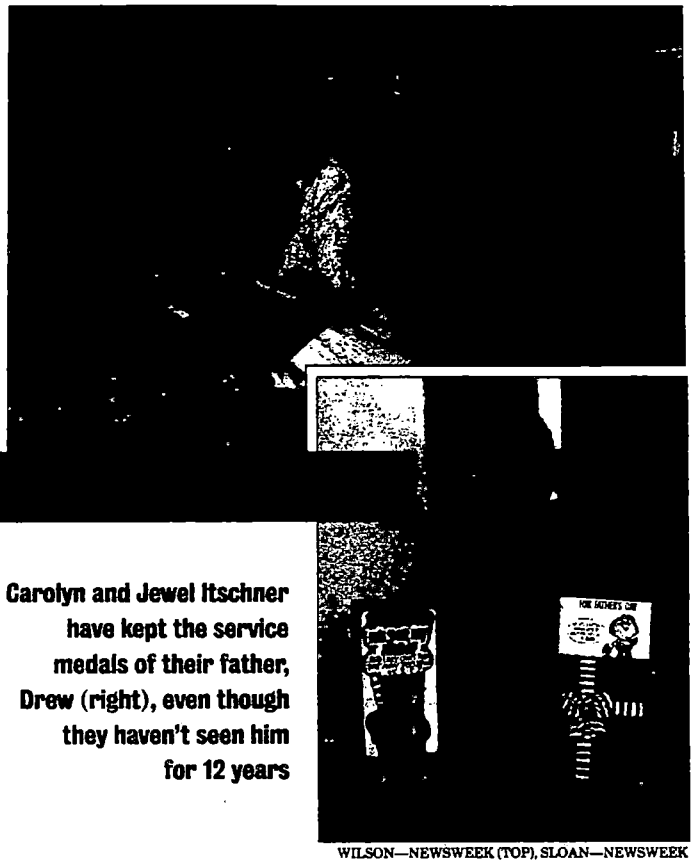
Over the next two years, my father and I tried to establish a relationship. After the first year, it was clear that I was making most of the telephone calls. I even visited his hometown several times. When I did, I stayed with my grandmother. He never got around to visiting me.

When I first called him that su mer night, I thought I had noth lose. But I was wrong. Once I fou him I wanted to know who he wa where I came from. Most of all I wanted to know how he could st child of his wandering around s where in the world and not kno was sick or well or starving. I re that the gravity of the void he h in my life had influenced my re tionships and my perspectives an uncharted planet affects th bodies around it. Knowing he k where I was and didn't care ha me to trust friends more than ily, to praise the strength and of women more than men and promise myself that I would be better father. After we met, de my anger, I still wanted his appr and his admiration. But I never like I had it. Our relationship is more developed today than it w the day we met.

The nagging question for th us abandoned by our fathers —however good their reason "How could you?" My father k never given me a satisfactory swer. When I compared him to brother, who will have to take fi cial responsibility for his ille mate daughter or face jail un New Jersey law, he said I co compare him to some little k the ghetto who rejects respon ty. The truth is I don't compar father to my brother, or oth deadbeat dads. I want to thin reasons for not supporting m better than theirs. He called m weeks in a row this month. I fe lucky, even grateful. Really. I k have every reason to be angry bitter for what he has not give But even now, and maybe fore what I really want is a father.

mother can turn to the local government for free—and enter a surreal world where social workers juggle 1,000 cases at a time, a prosecutor might handle 100 cases a week and fathers evade pursuit for years by merely moving a few miles away across state lines. "There's a fiction that we're working everybody's cases," says Darryll Grubbs, until recently a top official of the Texas child-support-enforcement division. "Good Lord. We're not coming close." Jim Harrelston, until last November an investigator in Ft. Worth, Texas, was supposed to look through his 2,800 cases and chase the most delinquent parents. In fact, he usually ended up responding to whichever irate mother called the most, and he got 30 to 40 calls a day. The squeaky-wheel system pays little attention to which mother is neediest, and the caseload can push overwhelmed employees to the edge. "There's nothing I can do!" one fuming caseworker yelled at a parent on the phone in Prince Georges County, Md. "I can't make him a good person!"

Among the many difficulties caseworkers face, one is frighteningly basic: figuring out who the father is. A startling 27 percent of all American children are born out of wedlock; two thirds of all black kids are. Identifying the father is much easier now than 10 years ago because blood tests show, with 98 or 99 percent certainty, whether a man fathered a child. Yet the system solves fewer than half its paternity cases. Many welfare mothers don't cooperate, fearing they'll lose benefits if the father is found, but even when they do identify the man, states must find him and get him into court, a process that can take years. Sometimes the results are ghoulish: a Maryland judge decided that a man who had fathered a child through a sexual assault should legally be considered the father, paying child support—and getting visitation rights.



Carolyn and Jewel Itschner have kept the service medals of their father, Drew (right), even though they haven't seen him for 12 years

WILSON—NEWSWEEK (TOP), SLOAN—NEWSWEEK

Knowing who the father is doesn't mean knowing where he is, how much he earns or how to collect from him. Roughly one third of all child-support cases involve parents living in different states —and women in such cases were twice as likely to get nothing as those with the father nearby, according to a 1990 General Accounting Office study.

The system is routinely maddening for women, but can sometimes be merciless to men, too. Fathers who want to have visitation orders enforced or who've hit hard times and want to have their support payments reduced will have to hire their own lawyers, even if they have no money; most states represent mothers for free in collection cases, fathers not at all. One Las Vegas man ended up paying for a judicial mistake for a decade. He had been dating a woman in Derry, N.H., for just about two months when she announced she was pregnant. He married her, but a year later, he says, he came home to discover she had cleaned out the house and left. Bitter and suspicious about the experience, he asked the court for a blood test to see if he was actually the father of the baby girl, but the court denied the request out of fear that doing so would child with the "implication of illegitimacy." He paid $100 a child support sporadically, falling about $5,500 behind at o He saw the girl a total of four or five weeks over the next 10 y shifted between feeling defiant and guilty. "I never treated a real father treats a real daughter," he says. "You see bright and aglow; I never had that. I kept thinking I was a ba Finally, at the prompting of his new wife, he tricked his da into taking a blood test while she was visiting him in Las V and the test showed he was not her father.

Despite the many examples of governmental foul-ups, the works much better than it did 10 years ago. Although the support award is just $57.59 per week, most courts have in payment levels because Congress in 1984 required states t specific child-support guidelines. As the issue has become poli hot, it has even seeped in toral politics, in sometime bling ways. A fathers' group in Las Vegas is run slate of candidates in the tions for family-court ju backing only those who group thinks, will lean mo ward fathers in custody an port cases.

Reforming child-suppor cy may prevent a few fa from entering into the wa inhabited by people like Chappell of Port St. Lucie and his ex-wife Linda Pl Springfield, Va. She sa owes his three children than $20,000 in child su and reimbursement of m expenses. Eleven-year-old thew spends weeks at a tim hospital with a serious im disorder; Place has so far unable to afford speci treatment at Duke Unive Chappell used to earn $26 year as a medical-bill coll but he was, until last Frida employed. Place believes h intentionally not workin avoid paying the $540 a m and medical expenses. "Th nothing *wrong* with him that he could not maintain a job," Place, who works 32 hours a week as a nurse and often sleeps in by Matthew's bed. "He's removed himself from the situation s not real anymore. He doesn't go to the hospital every day an Matthew with IVs and needles."

Chappell complains bitterly that his ex-wife is pursuing him o "raw hate" and turning the children against him. He says his job in a convenience store will enable him to pay more. "To me, t a battle between her and me—not the kids," he says. He's right the parents are the combatants, but he shouldn't delude hi about the names of the casualties. Matthew is growing up thin that his debilitating illness might be better treated if only his f would pay more in child support. Chappell's oldest son, Chris, sp in more emotional terms. "Not getting stuff hurts," says 14-yea Chris, "but thinking that Dad doesn't care enough to support y that really hurts. I don't think I'm ever going to forgive him. It' too hard." Chris visited his father in Florida just last summer, Chappell brought him on a special afternoon outing—to co There, Chris got to watch the judge chastise his father for failu pay child support, put him in handcuffs and lead him off to jail.

SLAVERY: A SPECIAL REPORT
How an Ancient Evil Survives

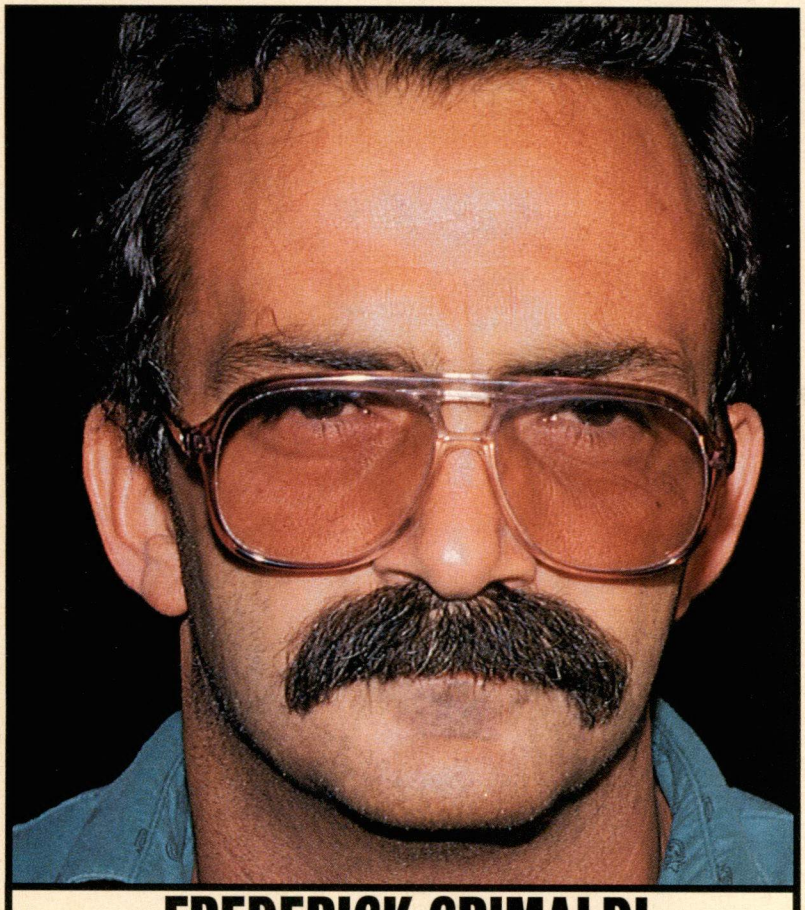
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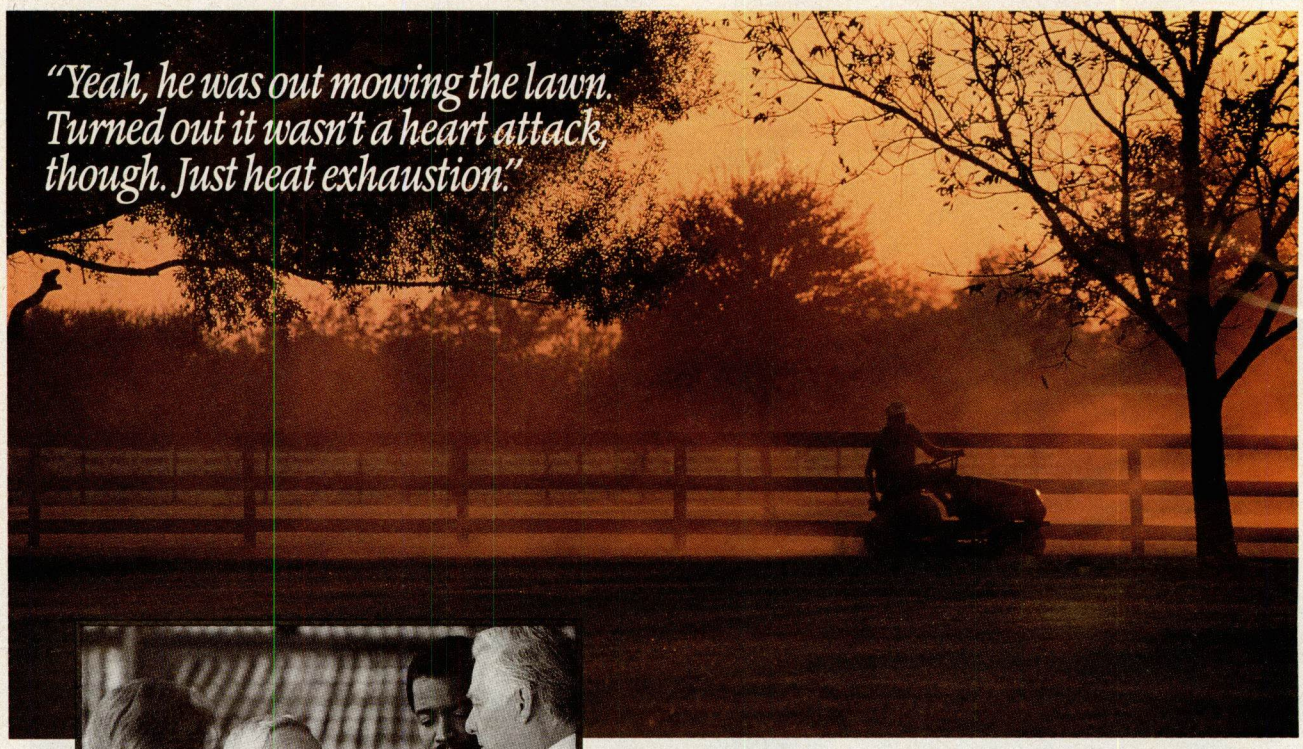
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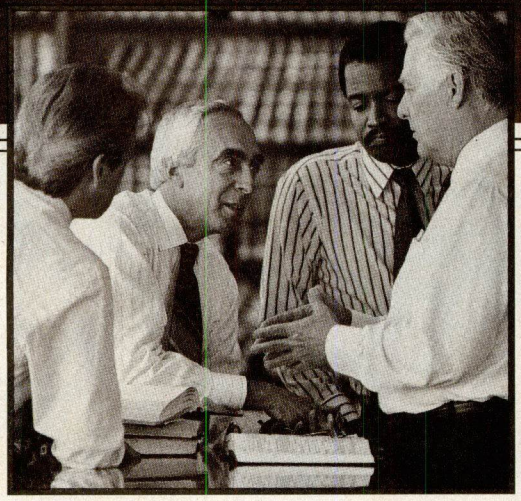
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Newsweek



Men who renege on child support may turn up on a Wanted poster

Fathers on the Lam—From Their Own Kids

Only half the women who are supposed to be getting child support receive full payment; a quarter get nothing. Delinquent dads include the affluent as well as the unemployed, and many turn their backs on their kids entirely. New enforcement strategies now help some families get what they're owed, but garnishing a paycheck won't heal the children's pain. **Lifestyle: Page 46**



Young bonded laborers in a Pakistani brickyard

Of Human Bondage

Slavery is immoral, illegal—and holds millions in its grip around the world, as a yearlong NEWSWEEK investigation found. Whether it is outright chattel slavery or debt bondage that traps generations of families, everywhere slavery is practiced, victims tell of beatings, rape and hunger. **International: Page 30**

Everything's Coming Up Rosie

Rosie Perez never asked to be an actress, not even in a school play. Still, she won raves in "Do the Right Thing." And now she's taken "White Men Can't Jump," a movie supposedly about male bonding, and made it her own. What's her secret? Being all business about show business. This is the kind of starlet who takes a computer on location. **The Arts: Page 64**



The entrepreneurial Perez

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National Affairs

Women on the run 24
Abortion arguments 26
Clinton's Rhodes brain trust 27
His brother's keeper 28
Tsongas and his spin doctors 28
Exclusive clubs: a liability? 29

International

Slavery: an ancient evil survives 30
Arafat talks 40
The strong hand of Massoud 41
The battle for Reagan's mind 42
Dispatches 42

Lifestyle

Family: Deadbeat dads (the cover) 46
Seeking new solutions 49
No father, and no answers 50
Sports: Cheval of a different color 57
A weighty charge of racism 57

Business

U.S. firms' open barn door 58
Public service as an investment 60
Tough times at Digital 61
The fat and happy '80s 63
Bottom Line 63

The Arts

Entertainment: Rosie the riveting 64
Theater: A folk hero's hot odyssey 66
Books: Shutterbug in the shadows 67
Beware of false eco-prophets 68
Noises Off 68
Music: New "life" for a jazz great 69
Movies: Thelma & Louise—not 69

Society

Education: California schools: another lost generation 70
A day on the concrete battlefield 70
Technology: Smart Cadillacs 73
Aging: Attention, Willard Scott 75
Science: Ripples of the big bang 76
Environment: War among the Greens 78

Departments

Periscope 6
Letters 13
My Turn 17
Perspectives 21
Newsmakers 80
Transition 80
George F. Will 82

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Breaking the ban? Chinese firepower, Kaddafi

EXCLUSIVE

Is China Arming Libya?

In what appears to be a slap at George Bush's go-easy policy toward Beijing, China has evaded the U.N. embargo against Libya with a huge shipment of small arms to Tripoli, NEWSWEEK has learned. U.S. satellites spotted a Chinese cargo ship, the San Jiang Kou, offloading "tens of thousands" of rifles, machine guns and antiaircraft weapons at a Libyan port on April 17, intelligence sources say. On March 31 the U.N. ordered a ban, effective April 15, on travel and arms sales to Libya after it refused to turn over agents charged in the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103.

When confronted by State Department officials, U.S. sources say, Beijing claimed the ship was in Libyan waters—and technically under Libyan control—before April 15. "At best, they sneaked in at the deadline," says a U.S. official. "At worst it's an egregious violation of the embargo." The White House has resisted calls to tighten sanctions against China since the Tiananmen Square massacre. ■

ECOLOGY

Is Foley a Defoliator?

Environmentalists are outraged that the public woodlands of eastern Washington and Oregon are not included in a new House bill to protect the remaining ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest. The omission, the environmentalists say, is purely political. Two of the unprotected pine forests are in the Washington district of House Speaker Tom Foley, a major backer of the timber industry. House Democrats, the tree advocates say, fear Foley will block the bill if it curtails logging in his district. An environmental coalition plans to sue the Forest Service next week to force protection of the eastern forests. ■

EXCLUSIVE

Pork for Perot

When George Bush signed the transportation bill last December, possible presidential candidate Ross Perot attacked it as "all show business." Now, it turns out that Perot and his family are major beneficiaries of the legislation. More than $30 million of the $151 billion appropriation is earmarked for two highway projects that will connect Perot family land near Ft. Worth's Alliance Airport (itself a Perot family project) with an interstate highway. One $17.8 million project is a new highway interchange connecting the Perot family's Basswood development with Interstate 35. The second project, worth $12.7 million, is a boundary road and overpass that will open the Perots' Hillwood development to I-35, too. Perot's office declined to comment. ■



Road work: The Texan

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

Talk Show Host Edition

Everyone has a talk show now; even Ivana Trump is negotiating for one (no kidding). When they're not hyping kinky sex, they're the new political kingmakers.

GABBERS		Conventional Wisdom
L. King	↑	Would anchor town meetings as Secretary of Teledemocracy in Perot admin.
P. Donahue	↔	Own audience sided against him on Gennifer jabs. Is the caller still there?
R. Limbaugh	↑	Sure he's a blowhard, but he brought down the House of Representatives.
J. Jackson	↓	What if they gave a talk show and nobody came? You skipped the race for this?
J. Carson	↑	Jay Leno's bark won't have as much bite. Johnny, we really knew ye.
J. Sununu	↔	Playing pussycat on CNN's "Crossfire." Where's the old s.o.b. we loved to hate?

WASHINGTON FAX

No Accident?

Peru's President Alberto Fujimori apologized for the strafing of an unarmed U.S. drug-surveillance plane by Peruvian military jets last week, but Pentagon sources suspect the attack was not an accident. Peruvian Air Force officials claim the C-130 had strayed 300 miles off course and was fired on when it didn't respond to repeated warnings. Pentagon officials, however, say the plane was flying in an approved area. Washington has been highly critical of Fujimori for assuming dictatorial powers earlier this month, and the sources say the attack was meant as a message: "This is our country. These accidents will continue if you keep complaining."

THE SENATE

Less Than Hero?

When North Dakota Sen. Kent Conrad announced last month he wouldn't run for re-election this fall, he said it was because he hadn't kept his 1986 pledge to bring the deficit under control. But it may not have been just a matter of conscience. Though polls showed him ahead, informal soundings around the state indicated that the broken pledge could be trouble in the fall. Friends say Conrad isn't quitting for good. They say he has his eye on the seat of fellow Democrat Quentin Burdick, 83, who's likely to retire when his term's up in '94. "He's not opening any doors; he's not closing any doors," says a Conrad spokesperson. In Washington, that's usually code for "we're running." ■

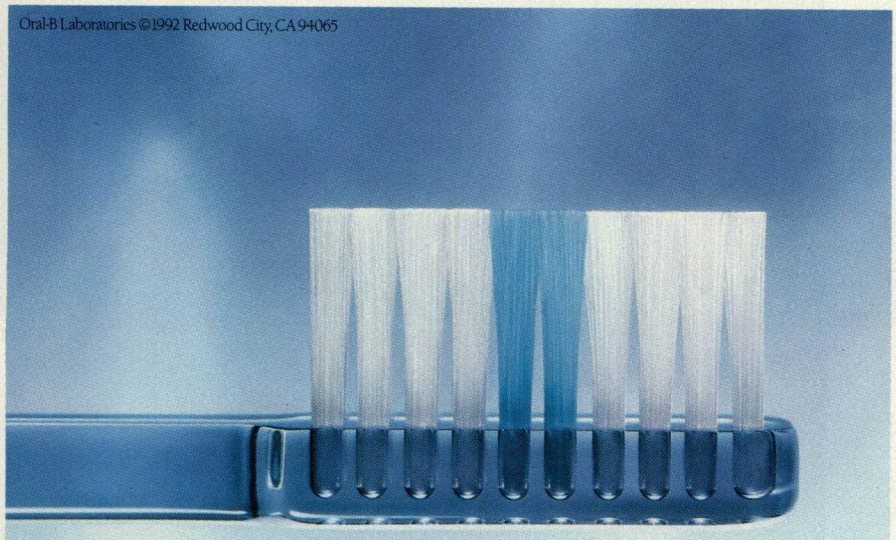


Conrad

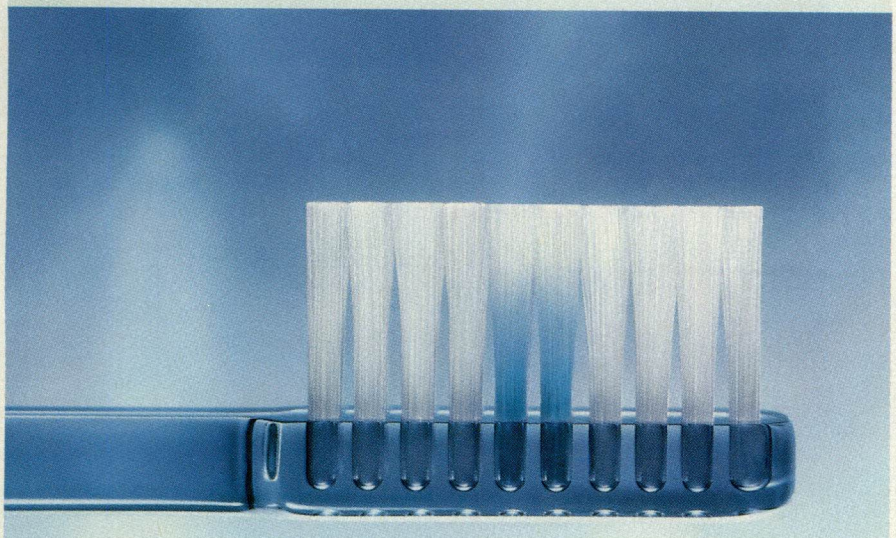
FROM TOP LEFT: AVENTURIER—GAMMA-LIAISON, RABBO—SIPA, VILLARD—SYGMA, NC

Your dentist can't remind you when to replace your toothbrush. That's our job.

Oral-B Laboratories ©1992 Redwood City, CA 94065



Oral-B INDICATOR® Toothbrush



About 3 months later
(when dentists recommend replacing your toothbrush)

Although dentists advise you to replace your brush, they really can't be there to tell you when. But the Oral-B Indicator can.

You see, the American Dental Association recommends you replace your toothbrush every three months. They believe strongly that a worn toothbrush is less effective at removing plaque. That's why most dentists tell you to change your toothbrush. And the very reason Oral-B developed the INDICATOR® Toothbrush. The blue band fades with brushing, so you can see when it's time for a new Indicator. It's that simple.

But developing the Indicator was anything but. It's been thoroughly researched over an extensive period with more than 1,500 patients and 300 dentists and hygienists.

Also, like all Oral-B brushes, the Indicator was clinically shown to be unsurpassed at removing plaque versus the other leading brands. Without any sign of gingival irritation or abrasion. No wonder Oral-B is the toothbrush more dentists use.

All in all, the Indicator is another fine example of Oral-B's ongoing commitment to serious dental care.

So listen to your dentist. Replace your brush with the Indicator from Oral-B. It's the ultimate gentle reminder.

Oral-B®

The Brand More Dentists Use.

Ford introduces what A living room

1992 Aerostar. News that's worth looking into.

The interior certainly could be in a luxury sedan. *If* luxury sedans were this spacious.

But, all the comfort of a living room is indeed in a minivan.



All-New Instrument Panel With Column-Mounted Shift

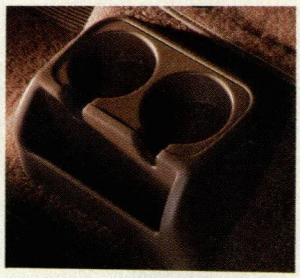
Aerostar is the "king of capability." Now, the one that can tow a 2-ton boat is capable of spoiling you with roominess and style.

You'll find uncommonly comfortable seats with available leather seating surfaces. The newly designed instrument panel makes everything easier to use.

you've always wanted: with an air bag.



Thoughtful ideas like the available mini-console make any trip more enjoyable. So do the smooth ride and available 4WD system.



New Mini-Console

But the comfort and capability are only part of the good news.

There's also a new driver air bag—standard—to supplement your safety belt. And, every outer seat has a 3-point safety belt.



New Driver Air Bag†

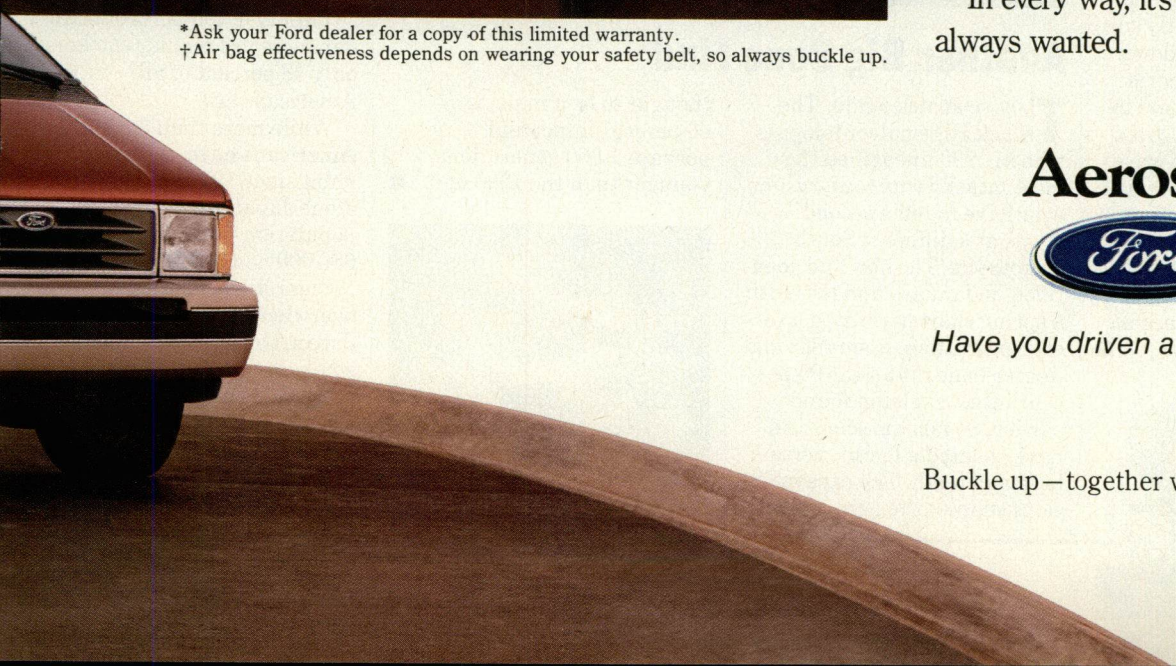
Rear anti-lock brakes are also standard.

And now, Aerostar comes with a new 36-month/36,000-mile Bumper-to-Bumper warranty with no deductible.*

The 1992 Aerostar from Ford.

In every way, it's just what you've always wanted.

*Ask your Ford dealer for a copy of this limited warranty.
†Air bag effectiveness depends on wearing your safety belt, so always buckle up.



Aerostar

Ford

Have you driven a Ford... lately?

Buckle up—together we can save lives.

DRUGS

Pot-Sniffing Pig

The name: Tootsie. The job: drug detection. The vital statistics: pot-bellied, Vietnamese, pig. The New Orleans Police Department is training her to snort for cocaine and other drugs—like a dog (but oh, so much more trendy). The department got the idea after a lieutenant learned that in Europe, pigs are used to sniff around for truffles buried deep in the ground. Tootsie's flat nose, the cops say, is perfect for detecting hidden drugs. Soon the police pig will head off to canine training camp, where she may or may not have problems finding a bunkmate. ■

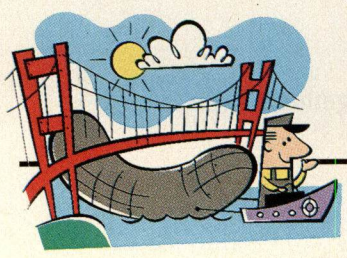


Tootsie

WATER

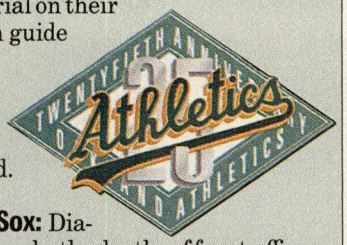
Pass the Perrier

When your state needs water, you tend to hear suggestions like this one: Canada's Medusa Corp. wants to solve California's water crisis with floating, vinyl water balloons each the size of 20 football fields. Every $6 million storage bag—up to 2,400 feet long, 600 feet wide and 80 feet deep—would hold a million tons of water from Alaska. Tugs would drag the balloons—mostly submerged, like icebergs—down the coast to California ports. The big bags would be held together with nylon and coated with a chemical to keep waves from destroying them, Medusa claims. Alas, Duane Georgeson of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California thinks this is "not viable." He says his region would need at least five balloons a day. ■



SCORECARD

Remember those black armbands the Yankees wore after Thurman Munson died during the 1979 season? Every year it seems more and more teams feel compelled to wear some sort of tribute or memorial on their sleeves. Here's an arm-patch guide for this young season:



Athletics: A gaudy patch commemorating the team's 25th anniversary in Oakland.



White Sox: Diamond marks the deaths of front-office assistant Sheri Berto and Maureen Schueler, wife of team vice president Ron Schueler.

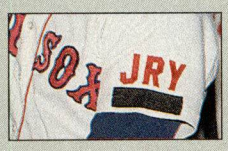
Mets: An initial for the late Bill Shea, an attorney who headed the group that brought the Mets to New York in 1962.





Cardinals: A commemorative patch marking the team's 100th anniversary.

Red Sox: The initials of late majority owner Jean R. Yawkey, widow of longtime owner Tom. She died following a stroke earlier this year.





Dodgers: A blue patch marking that momentous event: the opening of Dodger Stadium 30 years ago.

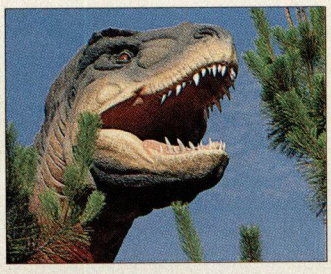
Padres: An All-Star Game insignia reminding us that San Diego is hosting the midseason classic this year.



DINOSAURS

Another Big Bone Find

They've struck again. The Black Hills paleontologists who in 1990 unearthed the most intact *Tyrannosaurus rex* ever have found a second T. rex at a different South Dakota site. The new find, identified in January and left until a spring thaw permitted a secret excavation, is smaller and lighter-boned than the 95 percent-intact skeleton found earlier. So far, the scientists have isolated a femur, vertebrae and teeth. The excavations suggest the new rex, thought to be a male, is 60 percent intact and perhaps 1,000 generations younger than the 1990 find. ■



Black Hills discovery: T. rex

DISNEY

Mickey Matters

Nobody ever heard much from the French Association of Little People until Euro Disneyland asked if it would help recruit dwarfs "to parade around in Mickey costumes." Group leader Patrick Petit-Jean called the request "an affront to our dignity" and asked, "Why only think of us for that sort of job when there are also jobs for gardeners or secretaries?" Euro Disney spokesman Nicholas de Schonen explained that the park was just looking for "qualified" people. "Mickey is not played by a dwarf," de Schonen said, "but by a person [who is] five-three. That's not a dwarf. Donald Duck is a dwarf." ■



The players

VITAL STATISTICS

Lighting Up

Unlike Americans, Japanese are still smoking cigarettes with abandon. In fact, contrary to the trend in many major U.S. cities, smoking is actually becoming *more* popular around Tokyo these days. Here's a comparative look at cigarette smoking in the two countries:

Twenty-seven percent of all Japanese are regular smokers; only 18 percent of all Americans are.

While more than 3.6 million Americans have kicked the habit since 1988, last year alone Japan—with half the population—added about 680,000 new smokers.

Cigarette smoking is an overwhelmingly male habit in Japan. Only 20 percent of smokers there are female, compared with 47 percent in the United States.

NED ZEMAN *and* LUCY HOWARD
with bureau reports

TOP TO BOTTOM (LEFT TO RIGHT): ROSE—TIMES-PICAYUNE; CHIP WASS; TONY IN
JAY BERNSTEIN; NC; LEVINE—NY METS; NC; NC; GOHIER—PHOTO RESEARCHERS; VILL



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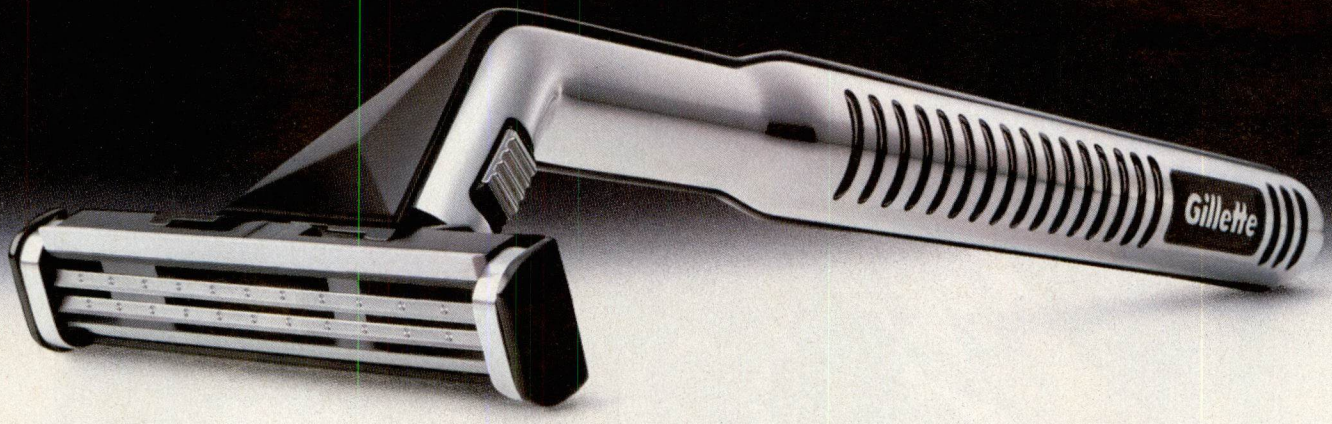
In fact, America's 110 operating nuclear electric plants displace other power sources and so reduce certain airborne pollutants in the U.S. by more than 19,000 tons every day. Just as important, nuclear plants produce no greenhouse gases.

To help our economy grow, this country needs a secure, growing supply of electricity. More nuclear plants will give us just that—without sacrificing the quality of our environment. For a free booklet on nuclear energy, write to the U.S. Council for Energy Awareness, P.O. Box 66080, Dept. AI02, Washington, D.C. 20035.

Nuclear Energy Means Cleaner Air.

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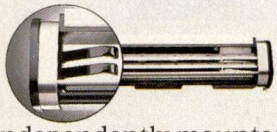
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Sensor®



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It starts with twin blades, individually and



independently mounted on highly responsive springs. So they continuously sense and automatically adjust to the individual curves and unique needs of your face.



Innovation is everywhere. You can feel it in the textured ridges and the balance of the Sensor razor. You appreciate it in the easy loading system and the convenient shaving organizer.

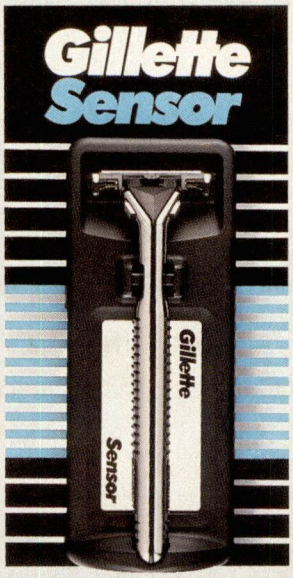
Even rinsing is innovative. The new blades are 50% narrower than any others—allowing water to flow freely around and through them, for effortless cleaning and rinsing.



All these Sensor technologies combine to give your individual face a personalized shave—the closest, smoothest, safest, most comfortable.

The best shave a man can get.

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Gillette

The Best a Man Can Get™

The Therapist's Touch

☎ I was glad to see the matter of sexual abuse of patients by therapists explored in your cover story ("Sex and Psychotherapy," MIND, April 13). A real need exists to educate not only psychiatrists but other professionals and the public about the national disgrace of such abuse. Therapy abuse is no more about sex than rape is. Rather, it is about the control and power that therapists wield and sometimes misuse. Professional organizations of all kinds must start cleaning house and policing their own.

DIANE BRACUTO
Bound Brook, N.J.

• • •

My 1987 doctoral research on female therapists revealed that erotic transference, attraction to patients and sexual advances by patients are nearly universal. Yet these therapists had received no formal education on how to deal with erotic issues in treatment, and little help from their supervisors. Younger therapists are uncomfortable reporting the sexual content of sessions to supervisors, fearing they will be accused of seductiveness. The silence on this topic, as your report shows, has been costly.

SHANNON WOOLLEY
Brookline, Mass.

• • •

My quarter century of practicing medicine suggests to me that the incidence of sexual abuse by physicians is being exaggerated. An enormous part of compassionate therapy depends on the primordial comfort doctors achieve by touching the patient, a process all too easily misinterpreted by the emotionally troubled. It has always been part of my clinical agenda to end some examinations by putting my arm around the patient, male or female, to fortify my verbal reassurance with physical support. Regrettably, I must now think twice before I offer a patient the comfort of a hug. It is indeed too bad that I may be forced to abandon one of my most powerful therapeutic tools.

ARTHUR D. SILK, M.D.
Garden Grove, Calif.

• • •

Sex between doctor and patient is only the most spectacular form of abuse of power in psychotherapy. Its one-to-one nature and the mystique of the therapist make therapy ripe for abuses, both subtle and blatant. We need more open discussion of what is appropriate in therapy: what techniques are legitimate and under what circumstances. All too often, therapists dismiss patients' legitimate criticism as instances of "transference" or "distorted thinking."

ADA WHITE
Austin, Texas

• • •

Psychiatrists shoot themselves in the foot when they compare patient-therapist sex to rape or incest, as two sources you quoted did. It's a metaphor, but it's often taken literally. The result can be large awards from the courts without proof of actual damages or criminality.

RALPH SLOVENKO
Professor of Law and Psychiatry
Wayne State University
Detroit, Mich.

• • •

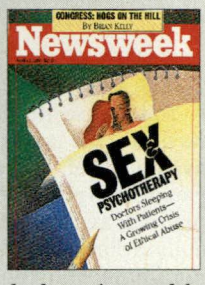
You report that "sex between therapists and patients is specifically forbidden . . . in the ethics codes of . . . the American Psychiatric Association." What you fail to note is how much the APA has done to investigate and punish the small percentage of its members who sexually exploit patients, and to encourage abused patients to file ethical complaints. Let's remember, though, that those who are accused of such horrendous offenses deserve due process.

MELVIN SABSHIN, M.D., *Medical Director*
American Psychiatric Association
Washington, D.C.

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

MAIL CALL

A Couch Too Far



Several readers of our April 13 cover on sex and psychotherapy questioned our choice of photographs: while most therapist-patient sexual liaisons involve male therapists and female patients, the photos of therapists accused of sexual misconduct that accompanied our report were of females. Indeed, of the readers who wrote about their own experiences of abuse during therapy, most were female former patients of male therapists. But all these accounts identified the imbalance of power along doctor-patient lines, not male-female ones. "Such behavior," said one reader, "is both unethical on the part of the therapist and dangerous to the client—woman or man." Added another, "It is not a male crime against women. It is a betrayal of trust."

Habeas Corpus Delicti?

Your story concerning the plight of convicted murderer Roger Keith Coleman ("Hung on a Technicality," JUSTICE, April 6) conjured up a judicial system in which hapless convicts languish in prison, their appeals botched by mediocre lawyers and denied because of legal technicalities. In fact, the American system's concern for the rights of the accused is unparalleled and does not end with conviction. Prisoners are routinely granted access to law libraries and assistance from persons trained in the law. Once state appeals are exhausted, prisoners may turn to the federal system. Indeed, habeas corpus has not been, as you suggest, "largely obliterated" by "a string of high-court decisions" but has instead lost its once revered status due to abuse by jailhouse lawyers. If Coleman is executed, it will be because of decisions made by a jury of his peers, numerous appellate justices and Coleman himself—not because of any legal technicality.

MICHAEL P. RYAN
Oklahoma City, Okla.

• • •

You quote Associate Justice Anthony Kennedy as saying, "Perpetual disrespect for the finality of convictions disparages the entire criminal-justice system." We disagree. We feel that the criminal-justice system is belittled every time a person spends time in prison or dies for a crime he or she didn't commit.

MARGARET DOLAN
ELIZABETH CONWAY
JORGE FERNANDEZ
Boston College School of Social Work
Chestnut Hill, Mass.

Beef or Bull?

Your review of Jeremy Rifkin's book "Beyond Beef" ("The Bad News About Beef," FOOD, April 6) lends credence to his assertions that our beef-eating habit necessitates using land for pasturage that could otherwise furnish the world's hungry with healthful grain. In fact, most pastureland is not well suited to growing grains that are digestible and nutritious for humans. Most of the earth's surface, by contrast, produces grass, brush and mosses that are digestible and nutritious for ruminants like cattle, sheep and goats.

JOHN J. METTLER JR., D.V.M.
Copake Falls, N.Y.

• • •

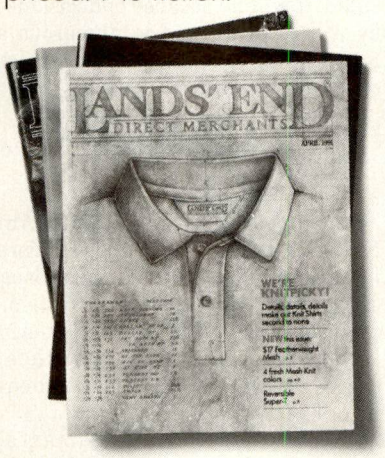
Rifkin's book notwithstanding, U.S. meat is, as Dr. Lester Crawford, former administrator of the United States Dairy Association's Food Safety and Inspection Service, notes, "one of the most thoroughly inspected foods in the world. Inspections

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are made pre- and post-slaughter at packing plants. Beef is also subject to inspection in processing plants and in retail [outlets]."

MARTY MCELHANEY
McElhaney Cattle Co.
Hereford, Texas

• • •

You accuse Rifkin of silliness when he mentions the moral and spiritual merits of avoiding beef. Yet serious principles motivated me to refrain from eating meat, dairy products and eggs. I am happy that my food dollars don't support the confinement and mutilation of living creatures.

JUDITH GRABSKI MINER
Monkton, Vt.

Myth Math

NEWSWEEK's shoddy number-crunching in "Rethinking Homeless Myths" (NATIONAL AFFAIRS, April 6) does a disservice to both sides of the debate surrounding this modern scandal. You use a chart of the average daily attendance at New York shelters as evidence that the number of homeless is declining. Such a survey doesn't take into account the growing number of people who refuse to brave the filth and danger of those shelters and bed down on the streets instead. Neither does it show the record number of people flooding the city's family-shelter system (more than 5,300 families in 1992, the mayor's January financial plan projects). Why kid America into thinking the problem is abating?

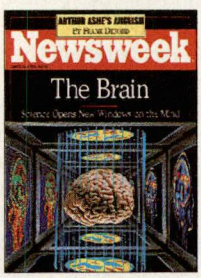
MARY E. BROSNAHAN, *Executive Director*
Coalition for the Homeless
New York, N.Y.

• • •

The experts you quote predict that future increases in the homeless population will be small. But many states plan legislation that would eliminate workfare general assistance, emergency-assistance programs that enable indigent adults to keep a roof over their heads. General-assistance programs have already been eliminated for able-bodied adults in Michigan, limited to six months for most recipients in Illinois and halved in Ohio. California has a ballot initiative pending that would allow cash-strapped counties to eliminate general assistance. In Los Angeles alone, more than 83,000 adults depend upon general assistance for survival. Without it, most of them would become homeless.

NANCY MINTIE, *Director*
Inner City Law Center
Los Angeles, Calif.

The Illustrated Brain



Our April 20 issue neglected to credit Barry Blackman, who created the cover illustration. Blackman used a computer to combine original photography with actual PET scans, digitally manipulating them into the finished composition.

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

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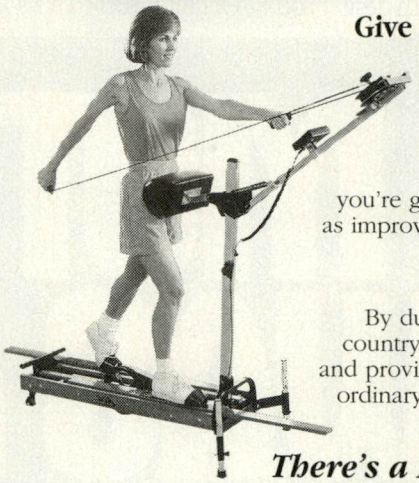
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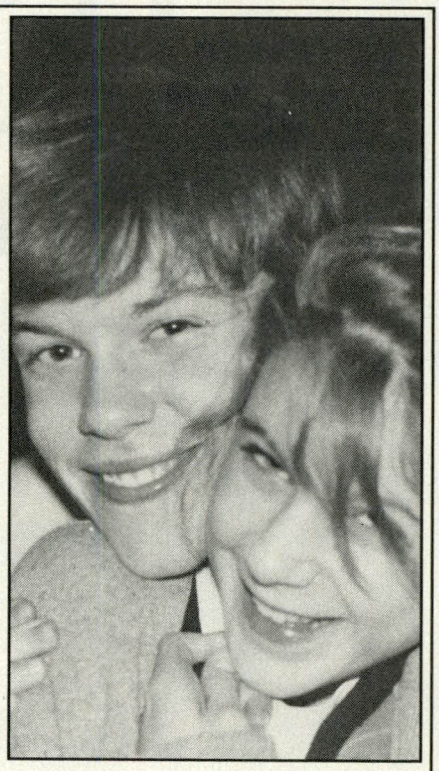
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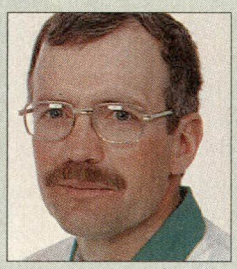
USA

This Land Is Your Land

BY RONALD L. ROSMANN

Four dollars for a bowl of cereal! Moscow, right? No, it's what I paid for oatmeal at a hotel in Washington, D.C., recently. I have to grow nearly four bushels of oats to get paid $4. I'm an Iowa farmer, and I had been invited by the United States Department of Agriculture to participate in a Grain-Users Advisory Workshop recommending how agricultural-research money should be spent. I was so angry, I practically choked on my oatmeal. Angry not at the price of the cereal but by what's happened to agriculture, farms and rural America, and society's ignorance and indifference. As Mary Lease, a fiery 19th-century populist, said: "You farmers need to raise less corn—and more hell."

There are fewer farmers every year. Our average age keeps going up, and so does the average size of our farms. For the past 20 years, I've kept a "Family Farms" file of newspaper clips—many full of politicians' rhetoric, espousing the values of, and the need to save, family farms. In 1940 there were 6 million farms; now there are 2 million, and the prediction is that there will be fewer than 1 million by the year 2000. The 400 largest farms in the country represent only about .02 percent of the nation's farms, but they account for about 15 percent of total farm income. Ours, a medium-size farm of 480 acres, which I work with the help of my wife and one employee, is doing well—for the moment. But we are concerned for our three sons, ages 6, 8 and 10, should they choose to farm.



An Iowa farmer says: 'We need to raise less corn—and more hell'

This country has lost the capability even to recognize the needs of rural America. Many "enlightened and educated" people haven't the foggiest idea of what is happening, nor do they care. Even farmers have been brainwashed into thinking little can be done: technology and big business's control of agriculture are just too powerful to counter, they figure. And as long as food is relatively cheap and abundant, the consumer doesn't seem to care how it's produced.

Small family farms are worth saving, and not for nostalgia's sake. We can never go back to the romantic scenes of Currier and Ives. But it appears the path we're following continues to dry up small- and medium-size family farms and the small towns and community values that go along with them. It's happening in the name of free enterprise and efficiency. Farm programs, initiated in the 1930s to help small farmers, have, over time, resulted in a major portion of the program going to large-scale agribusinesses. This encourages environmentally damaging practices on fragile lands. The more corn planted, the greater the subsidy. Some program modification is needed. We have a "cheap food policy," but is it cheap in its implications? What are the environmental and health costs of modern agriculture with its heavy dependence on pesticides?

Some small farmers are fighting for something called "sustainable agriculture," which simply means a system of agriculture that will last. In Iowa we call it "practical farming." With it, farmers are seeking environmentally sound and profitable farming techniques that rely more on management and labor skills than on pesticides, expensive technology, high capital outlay and big debts. We are not organic purists; we are trying to find a happy medium where pesticides are used sparingly. It means making a decent living on the small- and medium-size farms, not looking longingly over the neighbor's fence hoping his or her place will come up for sale.

Vibrant rural communities: My father's attitude from years ago about social responsibility and proper care of the land continues to offer me hope. My dad could have farmed twice the number of acres. Instead, my folks rented out two 160-acre farms to a neighbor for more than 35 years. Dad said it meant having another family in our community. Several farmers I know got a foothold in farming this way and are still successful.

Which brings to mind some agricultural myths:

■ Bigger is better. A recent study showed that production cost doesn't vary much from 300 to 3,000 acres. (The medium-size farm is disappearing the fastest.)

■ One third of the world would starve if pesticides were eliminated. I'm not advocating that pesticides be banned. On our farm we have reduced their use by more than 75 percent in the last 10 years, and our crop yields have actually increased. We have relied on crop rotations and improved cultivation with ridge tillage, a version of "raised bed" gardening.

■ Food prices would rise significantly if producer prices increase. You only have to examine a box of cereal to figure out that the farmer gets about 2 percent of what the product costs the consumer. A fairer way of pricing could be decided by the actual cost of growing products. As the system works now, huge producers who use large amounts of pesticides and drain the land of its nutrients through overplanting get the same price support as smaller farmers using more ecologically sound—and expensive—methods.

Politicians and government officials need to recognize that although very few people could produce all the food we consume, that is not in our best social and environmental interests. We must emphasize working with natural biological systems of growth to ensure long-term food safety and availability. We need a farming system that sustains a large number of farms and farmers and supports strong, vibrant rural communities. How many members of Congress who determine farm policy have a true handle on how a farm operates, how the needs and concerns differ in various parts of the country?

Growing food, living in communion with the land and nature, raising livestock, guiding our children, having something to call our own—all these things give life meaning. I believe there is still a bit of farmer in all of us and that, given the choice, many would try this way of life. If we fail to see this and continue to move toward the corporate form of agriculture, the loss will be everyone's.

Rosmann is a grain and livestock farmer in Harlan, Iowa.

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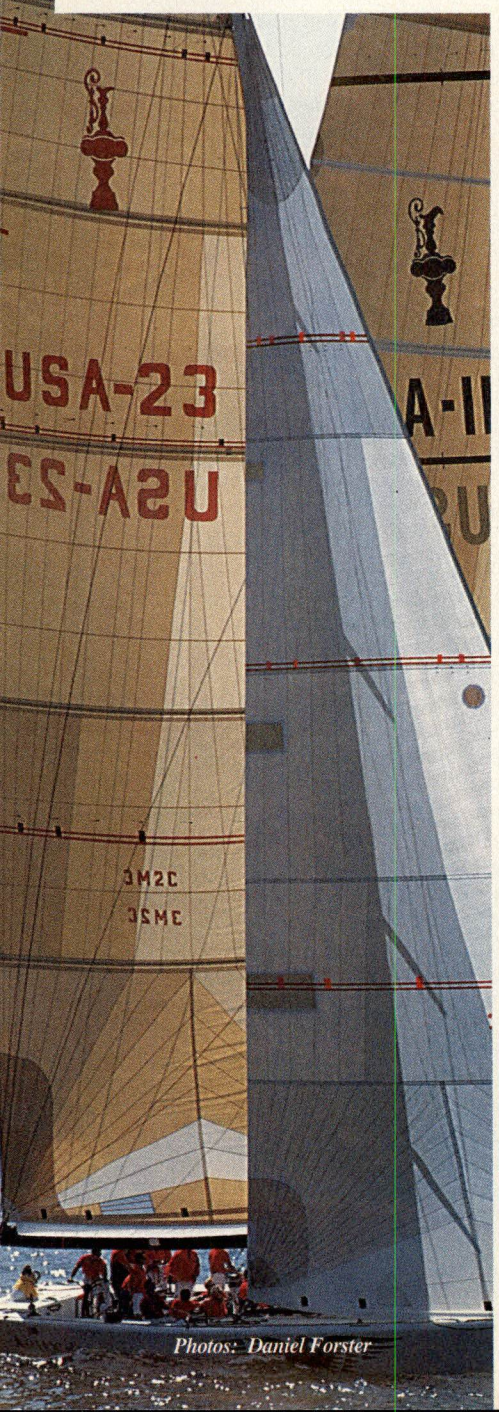


AMERICA³: The Team to Beat

SAILING WITH A TECHNOLOGICAL EDGE

Far more than a race between men, boats and the wind, the America's Cup has become one of the highest-stakes games in sporting history and a race between nations to develop the best equipment.

"We're going to assemble the best America has to offer in technology," vowed Bill Koch two years ago when he announced he would challenge Dennis Conner for the right to defend the America's Cup in San Diego in May, 1992. At the time, some laughed: William I. Koch, 51, born in Kansas and educated at MIT, had only been sailing for eight years. Dennis Conner, a lifelong sailor, has won the America's Cup more than any man in the silver trophy's 141-year history.



Photos: Daniel Forster

Going into the final match of the trials to select the defender, Koch's America³ team is now the favorite. Should he beat Dennis Conner this week, Bill Koch will then face the best of eight foreign teams that challenged for the Cup from as far as New Zealand, Japan and Italy. The team that takes home the trophy is likely to be the one to come up with the fastest version of the new class of 75-foot carbon fiber yachts.

Equipped with a doctorate degree in chemical engineering and a $55 million budget ($40 million of which comes from Koch's own oil fortune), Bill Koch has approached the America's Cup not as a boat race but as a scientific challenge.

"By challenging experts outside of the marine field to come up with new solutions, Bill Koch has brought a whole new approach to yacht racing," says Vincent Moeyersoms, America³'s executive vice-president in charge of technology.

At MIT, hydrodynamics experts have been feeding data on keel shapes into a Digital VAX 9000 super-computer. At Stanford University, aeronautics specialists who worked on the Space Shuttle are developing the first carbon fiber sails for the team. In San Diego, three experimental yachts—including one built by Hercules Aerospace in Utah—have been testing their theories.

Now, as America³ prepares for the finals, 16 sailors and one computer are pushing to get an extra 0.1 mph of speed out of the fourth and final yacht. In this game where speeds rarely exceed 17.2 mph, every second gained on the 20.3-mile course counts.



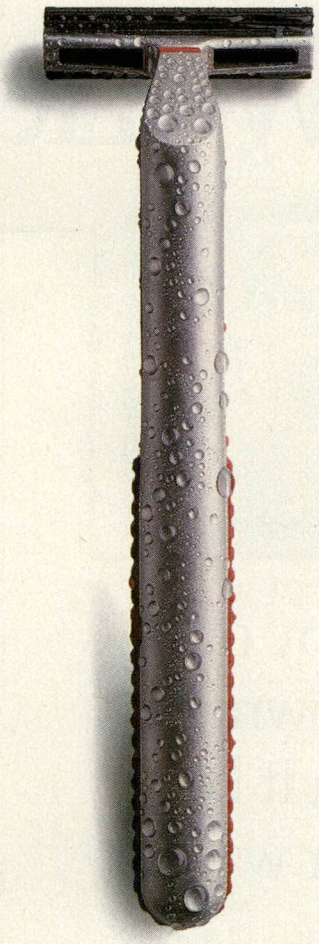
Aboard the boat, a voice-recognition command system relays the navigator's words to the Digital workstation belowdecks. A laser gun gauges a competitor's speed and distance. Aloft, cameras monitor the flow of wind across the sail and sensors gauge the strains. Data is transferred via scrambled radio signals (in case competitors are listening) to a mothership. If a modern James Bond 007 chose to enter the America's Cup, Agent Q couldn't have produced much better.

The America³ technology has caught the eyes of people outside the sport of yachting. "The Navy has come to us for information on the carbon fiber sail cloth," admits Moeyersoms, and the team plans to market it to other industries once the Cup is over. However, until the America's Cup is in hand, secrets remain carefully guarded.

After all, if America hopes to keep the Cup, America³ can't risk losing the technological edge.

■ *By Lisa Gosselin, senior editor at Yachting Magazine.*

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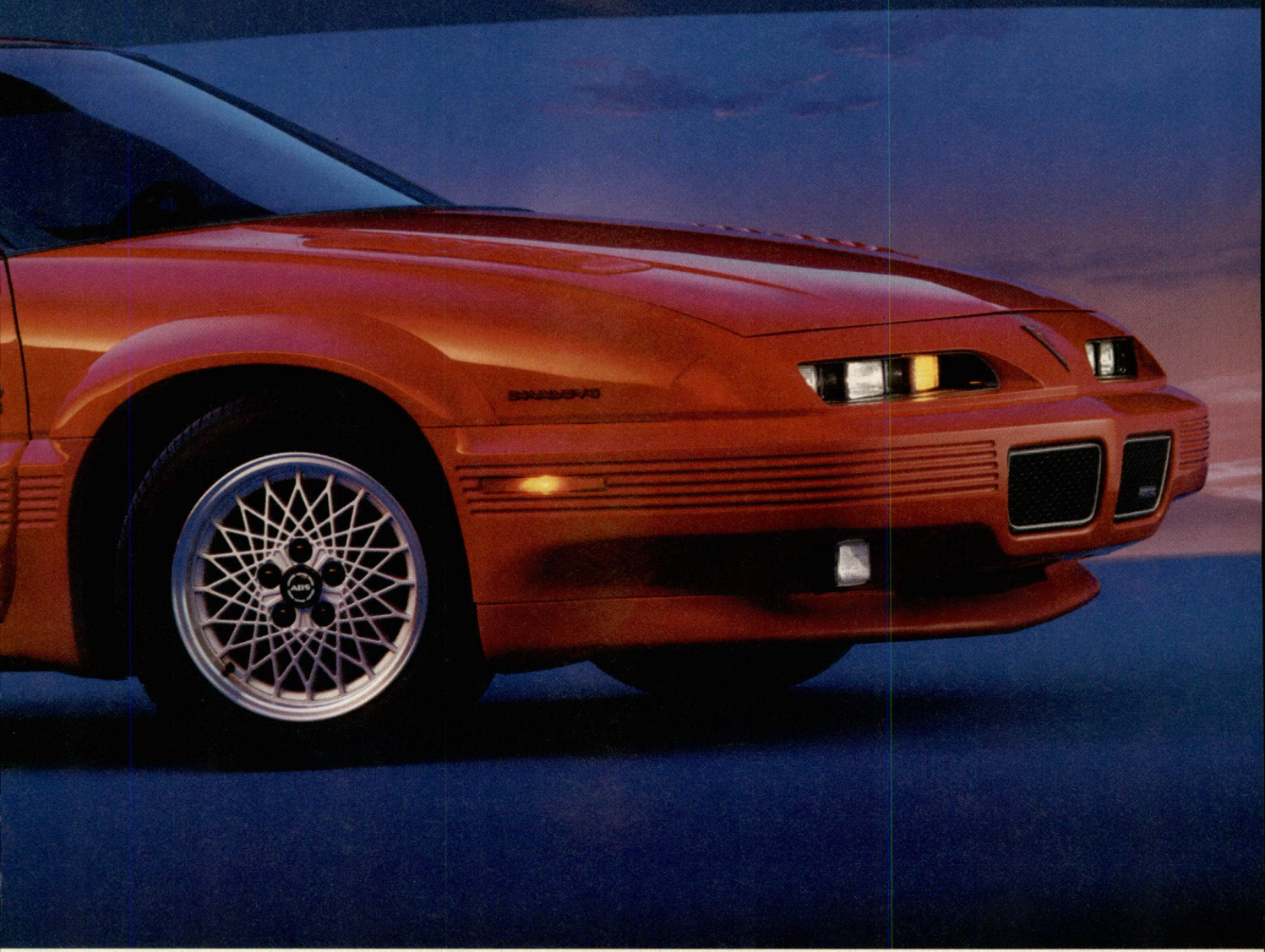
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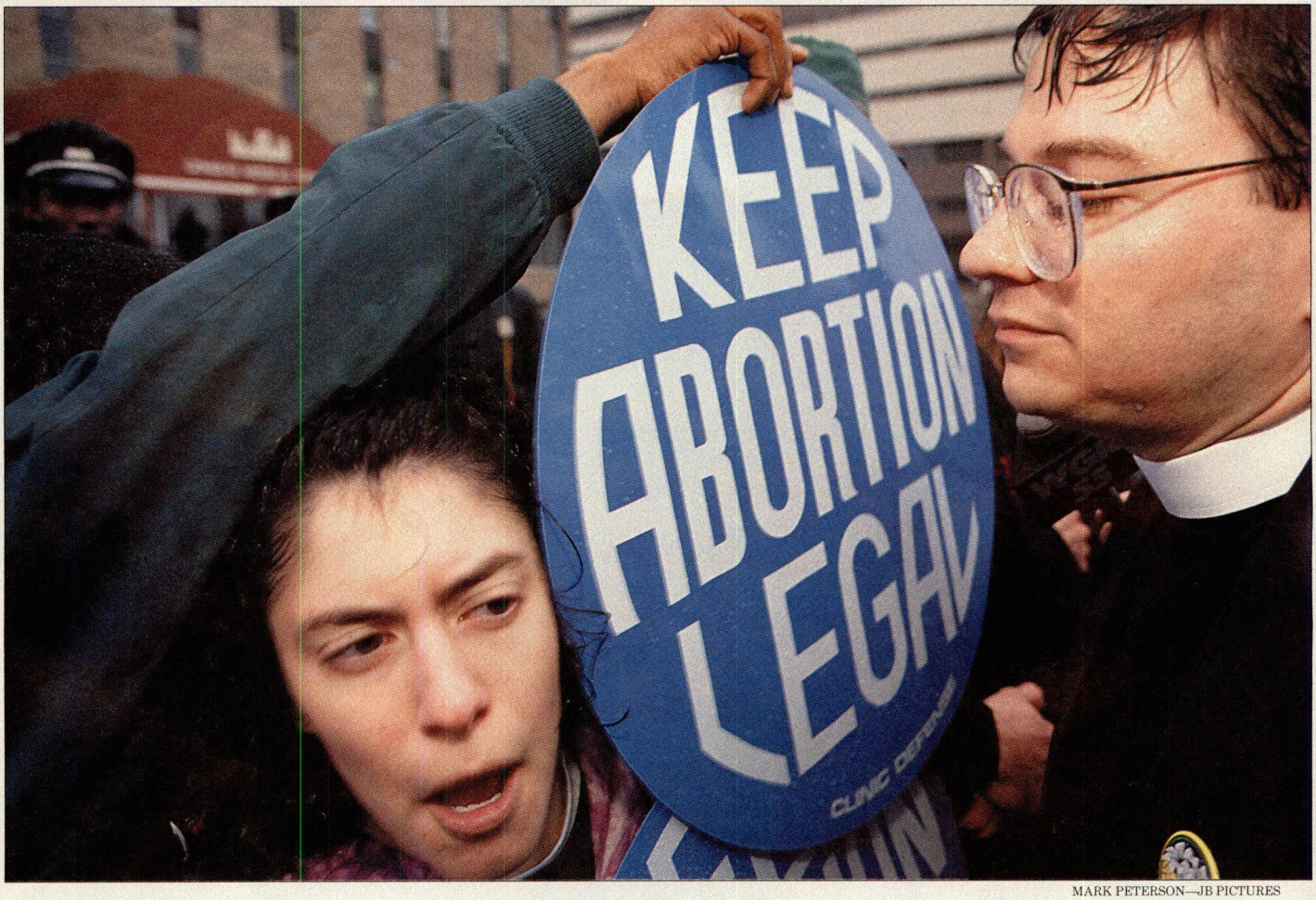
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MARK PETERSON—JB PICTURES

Women on the Run

With record numbers seeking public office, 1992 could be a banner year

The GOP high command carefully chose Salt Lake City, a right-to-life bastion, as a friendly setting for its preliminary platform debate on abortion. But the atmosphere promises to be far from collegial when the committee convenes in Utah later this month. Ann Stone, founder of Republicans for Choice, vows to "shock the bejesus" out of party officials with a campaign of "pro-choice terrorism." Everybody knows that George Bush, who flip-flopped once before, cannot abandon his anti-abortion stance now. But GOP women are not standing by their man: of the 46 Republican women now running for Congress, Stone knows of only one—Texan Donna Peterson—who is campaigning on a right-to-life platform.

Many of them might just win. With record numbers of Republicans and Democrats seeking office, 1992 is shaping up as a banner year for women. Skeptics might note that women candidates have been on the verge of a breakthrough before, most recently in 1990. But that was before Anita Hill and the check-bouncing scandal. Before anti-incumbent fever reached the boiling point. Before George Bush added two more conservatives to the Supreme Court, which last week heard arguments in an abortion case that could finally undo *Roe v. Wade* (page 26). Long excluded from national power, women now stand to benefit from voter outrage over politics as usual. "By definition, a woman can't be part of the establishment," says Doug Bailey, a GOP consultant. "A man is automatically suspicious."

Precisely because of their outsider status, women from both main parties have had trouble bankrolling their campaigns. Seven years ago, Ellen Malcolm started EMILY's List (Early Money Is Like Yeast), to give pro-choice Democratic women enough dough to run. At odds with their own party's right-to-life stance and neglected by Democratic-dominated women's groups, GOP pro-choicers couldn't count on a similar financial boost. That has begun to change with the creation of WISH (Women in the Senate and House) List, which has raised $150,000 in its first two months.

In its maiden season, WISH hopes to support as many as 10 candidates. There will be many to choose from. A pro-choice Republican woman, Liz Hager, is rated a good bet for the New Hampshire Statehouse. Others are seeking congressional seats in 27 states, including California, Kentucky and New Jersey. In Texas, Dolly Madison McKenna defeated a right-to-life opponent in the GOP primary. Susan Molinari, a New York City incumbent, has made



ROBERT MAASS—SIPA



TERRY ARTHUR

A new challenge from GOP women: *Buffalo protest (upper left), Republicans for Choice in Washington, Molinari*

abortion rights her signature issue.

The very existence of WISH reveals deep divisions in the GOP. "There is a tremendous group of people within the Republican Party whose voice hasn't been acknowledged," says WISH founder Glenda Greenwald. The late Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater proposed making the party a "big tent" with room for different views on abortion. Beholden to the party's powerful conservative wing, which feels betrayed by his shift on taxes, Bush has been ambivalent about the "big tent." Pro-choicers want a floor vote on the right-to-life plank at the Republican convention, but few expect the hierarchy to go along. Instead, they're obtaining rally permits, virtually ensuring the improbable spectacle of GOP women taking to the streets in Houston this August.

Some GOP strategists believe abortion could be a cutting issue in November. The Republicans have drawn much of their numerical strength in the last decade from young, suburban women—precisely the constituency that supports abortion rights. Bush's ability to keep their vote will depend greatly on the Supreme Court's decision in the Pennsylvania case due this summer. Although the court is unlikely to strike down *Roe* once and for all, it will almost certainly increase the states' power to restrict abortion. The unseemly demonstrations and counter-demonstrations outside Buffalo abortion clinics last week, as well as the massive pro-choice rally in Washington last month, proved once again how very divisive the issue remains. While anti-abortion forces bring passion to their cause, the pro-choice movement may actually claim greater numbers: polls show most Americans support legal abortion. In conservative Orange County, Calif., a private GOP poll of Republican primary voters found 78 percent in favor of abortion rights. If GOP women prove to be more pro-choice than pro-Bush, he could be in trouble. "Pro-choice voters are willing to vote, even for president, on a single issue if they are sufficiently scared and angry," says pollster Bailey. "In an otherwise close election, 1 or 2 or 3 percentage points on this issue can decide the election in state after state."

Anita Hill class: Whether women are scared remains to be seen, but they clearly are angry. The candidates who have declared in record numbers could be called the Anita Hill class—women galvanized into action by the Senate Judiciary Committee's treatment of Thomas's accuser last fall. "The hearings are already part of the national psyche," says Dorothy Cantor, coauthor with Toni Bernay of a new book called "Women in Power." For one thing, the camera unflinchingly showed how very few women actually serve in Congress (2 out of 100 in the Senate, 28 out of 435 in the House). Carol Moseley Braun joined the Illinois Senate race in protest and won the Democratic primary with help from Republican women crossover voters. The hearings also helped persuade Patty Murray to run for the U.S. Senate from Washington state. "I kept thinking, Why aren't these guys talking about something that's real?" she says.

Voters of both sexes seem all too ready to believe that the men in charge have lost touch with what's "real." According to Democratic consultant Mike McKeon, tracking polls show that male voters believe women run a tighter ship than male politicians. "Most people think women are more honest, hardworking and trustworthy, and that they represent their constituents better," says political analyst Ethel Klein. Ann Stone sums up the situation with a "housekeeping theory of government: men make the mess, and we clean it up." It's a job women candidates are eager to take on; though disappointed before when the ballots were in, this year they may finally get their chance.

ELOISE SALHOLZ *with* ELEANOR CLIFT *in Washington,* JEANNE GORDON *in Los Angeles,* SUSAN MILLER *in New York and bureau reports*

The Court's Case of Nerves

Deciphering the politics of the challenge to *Roe*

It's been a bad term for people who cling to the myth that the Supreme Court is above the political pressures that rule the rest of Washington. First there were the confirmation hearings of Clarence Thomas. And last week, before a packed courtroom, were oral arguments in a case that could signal the end of *Roe v. Wade*. On the docket was a Pennsylvania law ordering a 24-hour waiting period, parental consent, husband notification and doctor efforts to discourage abortion. From their questions, some justices seem to want to uphold most of the regulations without overruling *Roe*. But charting such a politically safe course may be impossible. Arguing before the court were abortion-rights advocate Kathryn Kolbert, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, and Pennsylvania Attorney General Ernest Preate and U.S. Solicitor General Kenneth Starr for the Pennsylvania law. NEWSWEEK's Bob Cohn looks at what's behind *Planned Parenthood v. Casey:*

Kolbert: Government may not chip away at fundamental rights, nor make them selectively available only to the most privileged women . . . Never before has this court bestowed and taken back a fundamental right that has been part of the settled rights and expectations of literally millions of Americans for nearly two decades.

Justice Sandra Day O'Connor: Ms. Kolbert, you're arguing the case as though all we have before us is whether to . . . preserve Roe v. Wade in all its aspects. Nevertheless, [there are] some specific questions in this case. Do you plan to address any of those?

While Justices O'Connor and Anthony Kennedy prodded Kolbert to talk about the details of the Pennsylvania law, Kolbert adhered to her strategy of portraying the statute as a direct challenge to Roe. The go-for-broke tactic is a political gamble: expecting to lose, pro-choice groups want to lose big, so they can exploit abortion as a campaign issue against George Bush. But if O'Connor, the decisive swing vote in a 1989 case that upheld Missouri regulations, has her way again, the court is unlikely to provide abortion-rights advocates with clear political ammunition.

Preate: . . . Roe v. Wade need not be revisited by this court except to reaffirm that Roe did not establish an absolute right to abortion on demand . . .

Justice Harry Blackmun: Have you read Roe?

Preate: Yes, I have.

Blackmun's question was mean-spirited, but the justice is mad. Roe's author lamented in 1989 that signs of change "are evident and very ominous," and warned last year that "the votes are there" to overturn Roe.

Preate: I will . . . start with the requirement of spousal notice . . .

O'Connor: Now, the provision does not require notification to a father who is not the husband, I take it . . . Or notice if the woman is unmarried.

Preate: It only applies to married women.

O'Connor: So what's the [state's] interest, to try to preserve the marriage?

Preate: There are several interests. The interest, of course, in protecting the life of the unborn child.

O'Connor: Well, then, why not require notice to all fathers?

Husband notification troubles even some abortion opponents. How can they saddle only married women with this extra burden? The most controversial part of the Pennsylvania law, this is the least likely to survive court scrutiny. The justices may not want to interfere with so-called marital privacy. Or, as O'Connor later suggested, the law might violate the First Amendment by requiring certain dialogue between wife and husband—which could allow the justices to avoid the abortion issue entirely.

Justice John Paul Stevens: What is the position of the Department of Justice on the question of whether a fetus is a person within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment?

Starr: We do not have a position . . .

O'Connor: Well, the court decided that in Roe, did it not?

Starr: The court did, in fact, decide that there is a very keen interest on the part of the state in what the Roe Court called potential life . . .

O'Connor: Yes, but said the fetus is not a person under the Fourteenth Amendment.

Starr: Well, I think that that is the necessary consequence of Roe v. Wade.

Stevens put Starr in a political bind. Starr couldn't legally defend the notion that a fetus is a person, but he didn't want to contradict the GOP platform plank that life begins at conception. For Stevens, who supports abortion rights, the issue is critical: if a fetus is a person, it is entitled to constitutional protection. The court would then have to treat abortion as harshly as murder and could require states to pass laws banning abortion. That's not the issue now, but with challenges expected in Guam, Louisiana and Utah, the justices could face that question as early as next year.



MARK PETERSON—JB PICTURES

Charting a safe course may be impossible: *An Operation Rescue vigil in Amherst, N.Y.*



RICK FRIEDMAN—BLACK STAR

A decades-long 'Conversation' about how to save the world: *In Philadelphia last week*

Clinton's Rhodes Brain Trust

The candidate turns to his Oxford brotherhood

When Bill Clinton wants economic advice, he usually turns to a pair of Rhodes scholars, Harvard professor Robert Reich and international business consultant Ira Magaziner. When he wants to learn about foreign policy, he often seeks out another Rhodes scholar, Time magazine editor at large Strobe Talbott. Clinton's deputy campaign manager, George Stephanopoulos, is a Rhodes scholar. So is campaign-issues director Bruce Reed. If the conventional wisdom proves right, even Clinton's running mate in November will be a Rhodes scholar—Sen. Bill Bradley of New Jersey.

Why does Bill Clinton surround himself with so many Rhodes scholars? Probably because he is one himself. The Rhodes scholarship is a true brotherhood of the upwardly mobile. Old Rhodeses exchange no secret handshakes, or even knowing winks, but they do share a sense of high purpose and, some would say, self-importance. The 32 American college grads packed off to study at Oxford every year since early in this century are chosen, in the grandiose phrase of the scholarship's founder, Cecil Rhodes, to be "the best men in the world's fight." (Since 1977 they have also been women.) Not all fulfill that promise, but quite a few have won public prominence. When John F. Kennedy became president, he brought a dozen Rhodes scholars to Washington to serve in his administration. Today four Rhodes scholars serve in the U.S. Senate (David Boren of Oklahoma, Paul Sarbanes of Maryland, Richard Lugar of Indiana and Bradley).

Candidates for a Rhodes scholarship are no longer required to be good at "manly outdoor sports," but they do have to show "moral force of character to lead" and "literary and scholastic attainments." Mostly they have to be able to talk—glibly and knowingly—through two grueling days of interviews that winnow the field down from some 1,200 eager college seniors.

Clinton (Georgetown '68) helped nurse Bob Reich (Dartmouth '68) through a bout of seasickness on the boat to England in 1968. They began what Clinton and his clique somewhat pretentiously call "the Conversation." The topics vary, but the Conversation boils down to a discussion of how to save the world. Talbott and Magaziner were also at Oxford with Clinton, agonizing over Vietnam and civil rights. The Conversation has continued, off and on for 25 years, and if Clinton is elected, America is likely to hear excerpts in the State of the Union Message.

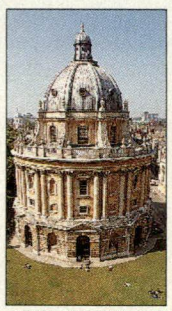
Rhodes scholars are protective of their own. When Clinton was accused last winter of having been a draft dodger, Reich, Talbott and another Rhodes, Richard Stearns, a Massachusetts state judge, all used their own high public profiles to leap to Clinton's defense. Clinton was clearly planning a political career when he wrote his draft board in October 1969, while at Oxford. "For years I have worked to prepare myself for a political life characterized by both practical political ability and concern for rapid social progress. It is a life I still feel compelled to try to lead," Clinton wrote, thanking Col. Eugene Holmes for allowing him to drop out of ROTC. The letter reflects "the difficult combination of slick ambition and earnest, almost naive idealism" typical of Rhodes scholars, wrote New Republic columnist Michael Kinsley, another Rhodes.

Having been told of their grand promise at an early age, Rhodes scholars are sometimes cursed with the need to live up to expectations. A Rhodes scholar, in the familiar saying, is a young man "with a great future behind him." The fear of peaking too early makes some Rhodeses wary of taking chances. Clinton stands apart from his fellow scholars at least in this respect: just by running for president, Clinton is willing to risk the one thing that is unforgivable to many Rhodes scholars—failure.

CLARA BINGHAM *in Washington*

Who's Who Among the Scholarly Clique

	FIRST YEAR AT OXFORD
Robert Reich A senior policy adviser; political economy professor at Harvard.	1968
Tom Williamson A fund raiser; high-powered Washington, D.C., attorney.	1968
Ira Magaziner A senior policy adviser; international business-strategy consultant.	1969
Bruce Reed Campaign-issues director; former policy director for the Democratic Leadership Council.	1982



BALL—STOCK MARKET

All Rhodes lead to Oxford

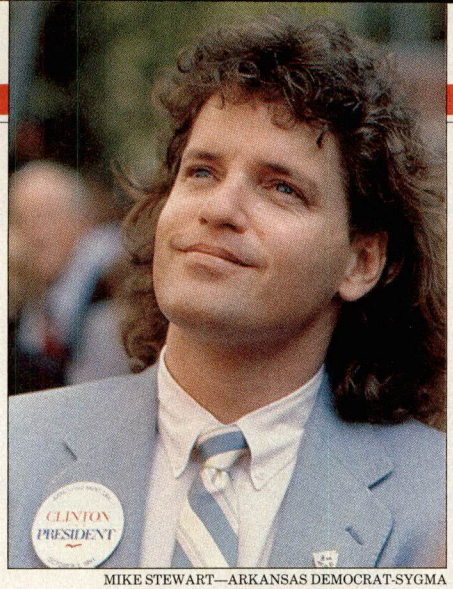
	FIRST YEAR AT OXFORD
Geoffrey Gibbs California state campaign director; an attorney at a Los Angeles law firm.	1983
George Stephanopoulos Deputy campaign manager; former executive floor assistant to House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt.	1984
Kevin Thurm New York and New Jersey state campaign director; an attorney at a New York law firm.	1984

His Brother's Keeper

Roger Clinton credits Bill for saving him

Roger Clinton was furious. He felt betrayed. And no wonder: he had just been picked up in a sting operation for cocaine trafficking that was OK'd by his brother, the governor. Bill Clinton knew Roger was involved, and didn't tip him off. The younger Clinton, now 35, served a year in federal prison after the 1984 bust. At one point after his arrest, he contemplated suicide. "But Bill helped me discover that was no answer," he told NEWSWEEK. In family therapy sessions, the brothers made their peace. "Bill cried when I told him how angry and betrayed I felt," recalls Roger Clinton. "He, too, was devastated, torn up inside." Except for a brief relapse in '87, Roger Clinton has been free of drugs. He credits his brother's tough-love solution with setting him on the path to recovery.

Like other brothers of powerful politicians who became magnets for negative publicity—Billy Carter and Donald Nixon come to mind—the political klieg lights have not been kind to Roger Clinton. In New York, celebrating his brother's primary victory, Clinton reportedly shoved a nightclub guitarist for telling Gennifer Flowers jokes. Clinton denies the brawl, but says he told the guy: "Listen, you fat s.o.b., you're talking about my brother.



MIKE STEWART—ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-SYGMA

'I've always wanted to be like him': *Roger*

Keep your mouth shut or I'll shut it for you." Clinton is the latest in a long line of siblings who seem to relish their black-sheep status. Where Bill mapped out a political future, taking one golden step after another, Roger dropped out of college, did drugs and odd jobs and dreamed of being a rhythm-and-blues star.

Yet different as they are, Roger offers a window into Bill Clinton's early life in Arkansas. Ten years older, Bill Clinton was always Roger's protector. The most vivid scenes from their childhood involve the abuse they suffered at the hands of Roger Clinton Sr. "Our father would come in and be so drunk he would lose total control . . . He'd take his belt off—that was the signal—hit my mother, jerk me around," Roger Clinton recalled in a recent radio interview. Several times, the boys and their mother—literally kicked out of the house—would walk to a motel a mile away to spend the night. When Bill was in high school and big enough to make good on his threats, he told Roger Sr.: "If you want to hit them, you'll have to go through me." Several years later, when the senior Clinton was dying of cancer, Bill Clinton drove hundreds of miles home from college to make peace with the man who had made his childhood so hellish. But Roger Clinton, only 11 at the time, says he felt "neither sorrow nor pity. He had caused us such pain. I have no pleasant memories . . . just memories of pain, violence, confusion."

After his father's death, Roger Clinton says he "spun out." He missed the protective influence of his brother, who was off at college and later became absorbed in politics. At the same time Roger thinks that "perhaps unconsciously" he was trying to escape Bill's shadow. His drug use became serious. "I was very sick," he says. "I did a large amount over the previous two years" before he was arrested.

'I'm single': Roger Clinton has worked to get his life back on track. He is now a production assistant in Hollywood on two popular sitcoms, "Evening Shade" and "Designing Women," produced by Harry Thomason and Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, former Arkansans and supporters of his brother. His band, called "Politics," plays warm-up for both shows. He sings a soulful "America the Beautiful" and his music is getting serious attention. Otherwise, he's a "gofer," fetching coffee and driving around the bigwigs. "He treats this humble job as if he were guarding gold at Fort Knox," says Bloodworth-Thomason. "He wants to prove himself." Never married, Roger Clinton guards the identity of his latest woman friend. Asked about a recent newspaper account that he had entertained women at the Little Rock governor's mansion when his brother was away, Clinton says his liaisons were restricted to the guest house. "Of course I would have friends over," he says. "I'm a guy. I'm human. I'm a heterosexual. And I'm single."

After all the bashing Bill Clinton has taken in the press, the tables may now be turning a bit in the Clinton family. Roger finds himself taking on the role of his brother's defender. "I've always wanted to be like him. I've always revered him," he says with obvious emotion. "Heck, I don't know whether my brother will be a good president, but he's a great brother." For Bill Clinton, struggling to prove himself with the voters, his oft-troubled younger brother may turn out to be a surprise character witness.

ELEANOR CLIFT *and* MICHAEL MEYER *in Los Angeles*

Paul Tsongas and His Spin Doctors

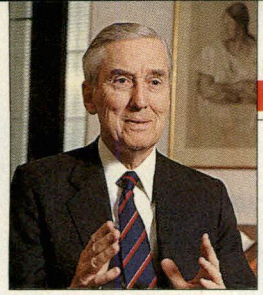
Paul Tsongas's victory over cancer added an inspirational tone to his underdog presidential candidacy. His Boston doctors assured that he had been free of lymphoma since undergoing a 1986 bone-marrow transplant. One of them, Dr. Tak Takvorian, was an ardent supporter and campaigner for his patient. Now it appears that Tsongas's doctors were spin doctors as well. Last week they acknowledged to The New York Times that he was treated for an additional cancerous lymph node in 1987.

If Tsongas were still in the race, the new questions about his prognosis might well have ended his chances. Now they all but eliminate him as a vice-presidential choice. Just as dismaying is the behavior of his medical team. Takvorian says the 1987 follow-up was part of Tsongas's original treatment. Another says he forgot. Such fact-trimming "does a major disservice to the medical profession," says Philip Boyle, medical ethicist at New York's Hastings Institute. Still, it's Tsongas who is accountable. He urged voters to face painful economic truths. But when it came to talking about a painful part of his own past, he flinched.

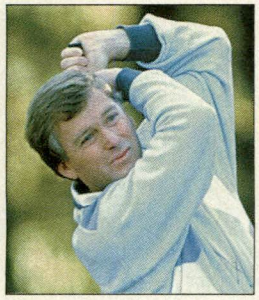


JACQUES CHENET—NEWSWEEK

Half-truths? *With his wife*



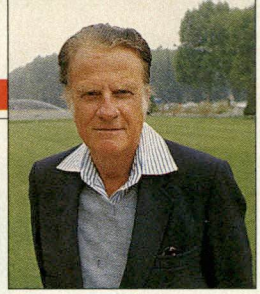
Lloyd Bentsen
He quit an all-white club in '88 but rejoined after the election



Dan Quayle
He golfs at Burning Tree Country Club, a men-only enclave



Clinton was criticized for golfing at The Country Club of Little Rock



Billy Graham
The religious leader belongs to an all-white club in North Carolina



Ross Perot
The billionaire quit his exclusive clubs after 'the people' objected

Playing a Losing Game?

Exclusive clubs o^er more perils than pleasures

Ross Perot said farewell to towel snapping and steam rooms last week—and learned the truth of the axiom "The personal is political." On April 16, a caller to the "Larry King Live" show asked the presumptive presidential candidate if he belonged to a club that excludes Jews or blacks. Perot replied with typical candor: "Yes, I do. All my Jewish friends in Dallas, they've had a great deal of fun with me over this. If it bothers the people, I'll quit immediately." It did. A few days later, after complaints from blacks on his political staff, Perot resigned from Brook Hollow Country Club and the Dallas Country Club.

To the House bank, lavish perks and CEO pay, add membership in restrictive clubs—another log on the fire of current public resentment over the plums of incumbency and executive status. Like Perot, other business and political leaders are now learning that while rank has its privileges, it also carries penalties. Earlier this year Bill Clinton apologized for golfing at The Country Club of Little Rock, Ark., which has no minority members. In 1990, Vice President Dan Quayle angered black leaders by playing once at the all-white Cypress Point golf club in Pebble Beach, Calif. He cut that visit short, but still regularly golfs at Washington's men-only Burning Tree Country Club. Even those with peerless civil-rights credentials find themselves facing charges of hypocrisy: the Rev. Billy Graham, a longtime foe of racism, recently came under attack for his decades-old membership in the all-white Biltmore Forest club near his hometown of Montreat, N.C.

Fig leaf: Technically, most of these clubs aren't guilty of illegal discrimination. In 1988, the Supreme Court upheld laws that forbid exclusive-membership policies at private clubs where business is conducted. But the decision left questions about admissions at social and sports clubs unresolved. Many old-line clubs have since opened their membership rolls to a few women and minorities. Others, arguing that members have a right to choose their own companions, elected to circumvent the ruling by placing an official ban on business discussions. Some clubs, such as Biltmore Forest and Little Rock, offer careful disclaimers about their membership rules. "There is nothing in our bylaws or constitution that discriminates on the basis of race, creed, national origin or gender," says Little Rock chairman Jack Williams.

Civil-rights activists and women's groups complain that official "open" admission policies, like stated club moratoriums on business deals, are a fig leaf. Memberships hinge on chummy recommendations, they say, and the tacit understanding is that minorities and women will be blackballed.

Establishment Washington remains a bastion of clubby exclusivity. George Bush, congressional leaders, cabinet members, Supreme Court justices—a Who's Who of D.C. power brokers—play and dine at such local male-only enclaves as Burning Tree and the Alibi Club. The wheezy frat-boy antics of politicos at the annual Alfalfa Club dinner always draw wink-and-grin press coverage, to the annoyance of many female officials. "I find it so offensive," says Dr. Bernadine Healy, director of the National Institutes of Health. "If they were excluding blacks, it would be front-page news, not a joke."

And if some in public life sense that voters don't approve of exclusive clubs, they aren't beyond trying to have it both ways. Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen withdrew in 1988 from Houston's River Oaks Country Club—which only recently accepted its first black member—when he was tapped as Michael Dukakis's running mate. In 1989, the election over and lost, Bentsen rejoined the club. To critics, leaving a club under pressure hardly exempts public figures from blame. "[Anyone] who has been willing to join a restrictive club in the first place implicitly supports its objectives," says Norma Blumenfeld, an official with New York state's Women's Bar Association. "The stigma isn't erased by resignation." Amid this year's reformist fervor, many public leaders may find that playing par for the course can be a losing game.

GREGORY CERIO *with* ELEANOR CLIFT *in Washington,* ELIZABETH ANN LEONARD *in New York and bureau reports*

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP RIGHT: FRANCOIS LOCHON—GAMMA-LIAISON, ROB NELSON—BLACK STAR, PETER BLAKELY—SABA, KOLCZYNSKI—GAMMA-LIAISON, LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

Slavery

Human bondage is immoral and illegal—and holds millions in its grip around the world. A NEWSWEEK investigation shows how this ancient evil survives.

Suleika mint Barka, 10, missed her mother. She was removed to Nouakchott, the capital, in her master's custody, leaving the rest of her family at a Bedouin camp deep in the Mauritanian desert. From there the master drove the girl to a remote oasis—and sold her to another *Bedan* (white) named Muhammad for the price of four camels. There was nothing anyone could do about it.

Suleika found that out the hard way. She feigned illness and was brought back to the capital for treatment. She fled the hospital and begged her old master to take her back so she could return to her family. He refused. Frantic, she found refuge with freed slaves. Muhammad tracked her down and had her arrested. At a court hearing, one of the freed slaves argued that she should be released. "I demanded to know whether there wasn't a law here that forbids slavery," he recalls. The judge jailed him and returned Suleika to the buyer, who promptly took her away to one of his own desert camps.

It could be a tale from the last century, when Great Britain led a campaign to force an unwilling world to relinquish timeless practices of human bondage once condoned by all the major religions. But Suleika was sold just last year. And hers is no isolated case. Britain's Anti-Slavery International, the world's oldest human-rights organization, claims that more than 100 million people around the world still suffer as slaves—a figure that includes an estimate for child labor. Even under narrower definitions embracing such forms as chattel slavery and debt bondage, a yearlong, four-continent NEWSWEEK investigation suggests that cases of involuntary servitude reach well into the millions.

Religion, tradition and economic necessity are still cornerstones of slavery, even though most Westerners think the issue was settled in the 19th century. In Mauritania alone, tens of thousands of Africans are held as property. The master decides when and whom they can marry and owns any children; when a slave dies, the master inherits any belongings. More common, though, is the slavery of debt bondage, which forces whole families to work, sometimes for generations, in vain efforts to pay off loans. Arranged marriages and fraudulent labor contracts can provide the veneer for forced servitude. And some of slavery's victims are simply abducted. Everywhere slavery is practiced, victims tell of beatings, rape, hunger and torture. But whatever form of coercion binds them, these workers can't quit. They don't have the most basic of human rights: the right not to be another's property.

On paper, slavery *is* dead. Governments have signed a series of abolitionist pledges dating from the League of Nations' Slavery Convention of 1926. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, binding on all members, holds: "No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their



TONY OLMOS—BLACK STAR

Dominican Republic

Haitian cane cutters are routinely flogged, cheated, driven into debt and confined to state-owned plantations

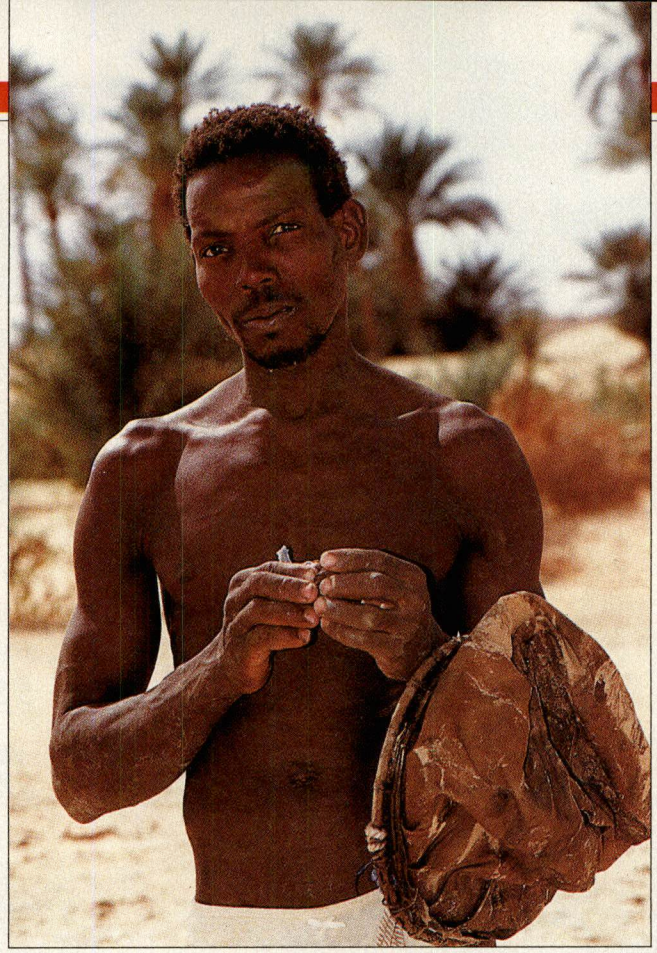


MARK PETERS FOR NEWSWEEK

Pakistan

In hellish fields of mud, whole families work making bricks, often imprisoned by indebtedness that passes from generation to generation. They have a legal right to leave, but few are able to.

forms." But for 17 years, United Nations human-rights specialists have documented widespread and growing violations of the agreements. The reports of the Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery fill filing cabinets in Geneva, but seldom go further. And if the world doesn't pay attention, why should the accused governments be expected to change? For them, campaigning against slavery is a political waste. The exploited are always someone *else,* set apart by race, caste, religion, nationality or family. Those who profit from slave labor, on the other hand, usually have money and political clout. So instead of freeing slaves, governments simply pass laws they don't enforce.



MARK PETERS FOR NEWSWEEK

Mauritania

'I am a slave,' said Mbarek. 'Sometimes they treat us well, sometimes they treat us badly, but only the children get beaten.'

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania finds it easier to lie about slavery than to abolish it. Successive regimes outlawed slavery in 1905, at independence in 1960 and most recently in 1980. But they never passed any laws providing for punishment and never bothered to tell many of the slaves. The only thing that has ever freed slaves in Mauritania is drought; the masters could no longer feed them. Most of these so-called *haratin* now inhabit vast shantytowns outside the capital, where a freedom movement has taken root. And some are freed because they can no longer work. "They used me up and threw me out, like the trash," said Oum el Barka mint Mbeyarik, 76, who lives by scrounging in trash piles and from scraps that her two sons—still slaves—get from her old master's table.

More than 100,000 descendants of Africans conquered by Arabs during the 12th century are still thought to be living as old-fashioned chattel slaves. Aside from the shantytowns and a strip of land along the Senegal River, virtually all blacks are slaves, and they are more than half the population. Many have never even heard about the 1980 law. In Tidjikja, 15 hours by sandy track from the capital, two 10-year-old boys tending camels said they belong to Fahl Ould Saed Ahmed, who was standing not far away dickering with a potential camel purchaser. But Ahmed claimed: "There is no racism, there is no slavery."

In a nearby date plantation Dada Ould Mbarek also readily acknowledged being a slave, and named his master. "I am a slave, my whole family are slaves," said Mbarek, 25, a muscular man dressed only in underwear. "Sometimes they treat us well, sometimes they treat us badly, but only the children get beaten." He was asked: weren't Mauritania's slaves emancipated? "I never heard of it," he said. "And what's more, I don't believe it. Slaves free? Never here." Isn't he the same as his master? "No, I'm different. A master is a master and a slave is a slave. Masters are white, slaves are black." Is this just? "Naturally, we blacks should be the slaves of the whites."

Apologists for Mauritania say abolishing traditional practices takes time, and that at least slave sales have been outlawed. But Mbarek said he had been sold twice. His job: drawing water from a well all day and carrying it into small paddies to grow vegetables. His master lives in the capital and comes during the harvest to take the produce, leaving the slaves enough for their personal consumption. "He has many cars, and 15 slaves in all," Mbarek said.

Chattel slavery never ended in Mauritania, but in the eastern Sahara it's actually making a comeback. In Sudan, once virtually rid of slavery, time has spun backward since rebel leader John Garang rallied the African tribes of the country's fertile south against the country's Muslim elite. The government counterinsurgency strategy has included arming the Arab tribespeople who live on the fault line between the Muslim north and the animist south. The result has been a resurgence of traditional raiding—including slave taking, human-rights groups charge.

In some other parts of the Arab world, "guest workers" now fill the role slaves used to—and often aren't treated much differently. For centuries the gulf sheikdoms bought slaves from Europe and Africa. Saudi Arabia banned slavery only in 1962. Now employment contracts and fake marriages hide practices that differ from slavery only in name. The slaves are Filipinos, Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and West Africans. Often they are not paid for their labor and kept locked up in the homes they serve. If they are not physically restrained, their passports are kept from them; they work whatever hours the masters decree. Many are routinely beaten to enforce obedience. "Hundreds of times they called me 'slave,' hundreds of times," says Laxmi Swami, an Indian housemaid who went to the police after escaping from her captors in London. Two sisters of the Emir of Kuwait kept her half-starved and behind bars for four years, flogging her daily with electrical cable, she says; they pleaded guilty to assault and paid civil damages of $540,000. More than a thousand such cases have been documented in England, most since the gulf war; embassies in Kuwait are crowded with escapees from among the country's half-million menial "guest workers." "The whole country [Kuwait] was a jail," says one Filipino.

Traditional marriage practices can mask slavery just as effectively as job contracts. In South Africa, Mozambican women fleeing their country's civil war have found themselves easy prey for township men seeking concubines. There, unscrupulous "guides" sell refugee women for the traditional bride's price, justifying it as repayment for bringing them across the electrified fence separating the two countries.

Anna Timba, 26, says she was sold twice. The first time, a guide dropped her and her two children off in the black township of Tembisa, outside Johannesburg. The buyer demanded sex and when she refused he locked her out of the house. She found her way back to the guide, who then sold her to another man for the equivalent of $165, she says. She says this buyer raped her on the first two nights, then began beating her almost daily because she continued to resist. After a beating that left her covered

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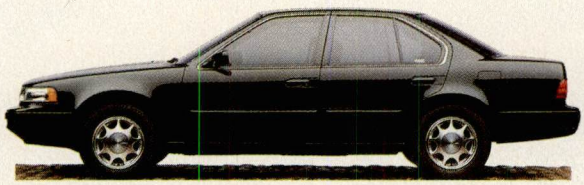


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HEWLETT PACKARD

with bruises, she escaped to a nearby refugee camp—and complained to police. They arrested the guide and her second owner, but more than a year later neither has gone on trial.

In much of the world, those who trade in women don't even bother with the pretense of marriage. On the Indian-Bangladeshi border, the going rate for a Bangladeshi girl is six cows; promised jobs, the girls surface in the fetid red-light districts of Calcutta and Bombay. In Thailand, prostitution often disguises outright slavery. The nation's booming sex industry has traditionally preyed on women from Thailand's northern provinces, Myanmar and even Indochina. In some cases, families are proud of the women's earning power. But demand has outstripped supply. The result has been an escalating number of abductions from neighboring countries. Shocked Chinese diplomats in Bangkok acknowledged for the first time last year that mainland women were being sold as virtual slaves; Thai authorities reported that hundreds, some as young as 12, had been lured into the sex trade. "I was frightened and cried endlessly," said Xiao Hua, who escaped from a Bangkok brothel and returned to China last year. "I kept thinking how good my parents had been to me."

Since abduction is a crime in every country, creating some risk for would-be slavers, it is far easier to drive workers into debt, then detain them until they pay it off. India and Pakistan have paid lip service to reform, but have hardly begun to fight the problems of debt bondage, a system in which a parent's debt can be passed on to the children. Some Latin American countries, accustomed to slave labor, have developed their own variations. In each case, the basic formula is simple: give an illiterate, desperate worker a job, then pay less than it takes to survive.

For centuries, Indian labor agents called *jamadars* have scoured remote provinces, promising good jobs to landless peasants, usually "untouchables" or tribals. They hand out bonuses to the families of those who agree to leave. Once on the job, the workers must borrow money for tools and food, and they fall into debt. Many owners falsify loan documents that the workers, often illiterate, can't understand. The Bonded Labor Liberation Front, which seeks to enforce a 1976 law abolishing the practice, has found workers slaving to pay off debts eight generations old; it estimates that 5 million adults and 10 million children are still trapped. The debt slaves do the most grueling forms of labor, such as rock breaking. "Evidence of beating and torture is common," says Kailash Satyarthi, general secretary of the liberation front. "Some kids were even branded with red-hot irons."

Sadram and his wife, Devkumari, have worked in a stone quarry outside New Delhi for eight years, ever since they took out a loan for $46. Now the loan has grown to $88, and last year the couple made the mistake of complaining that they wanted to go home without paying it off. Four drunken accomplices of the jamadar broke into their mud-walled home after midnight, they say. The thugs beat the couple with iron bars, cracking Sadram's skull and breaking his nose. "After the beating my heart was broken," said Devkumari. When they recovered from their wounds, they returned to work. As untouchables, a pariah category under the caste system, they had no choice. They break big rocks into smaller ones, then load them into trucks. Devkumari carries soil in a woven basket. For this they earn $25 a month. Almost all the money goes for food, they say, and much of the rest goes back into buying explosives needed for the job. They have no way out.

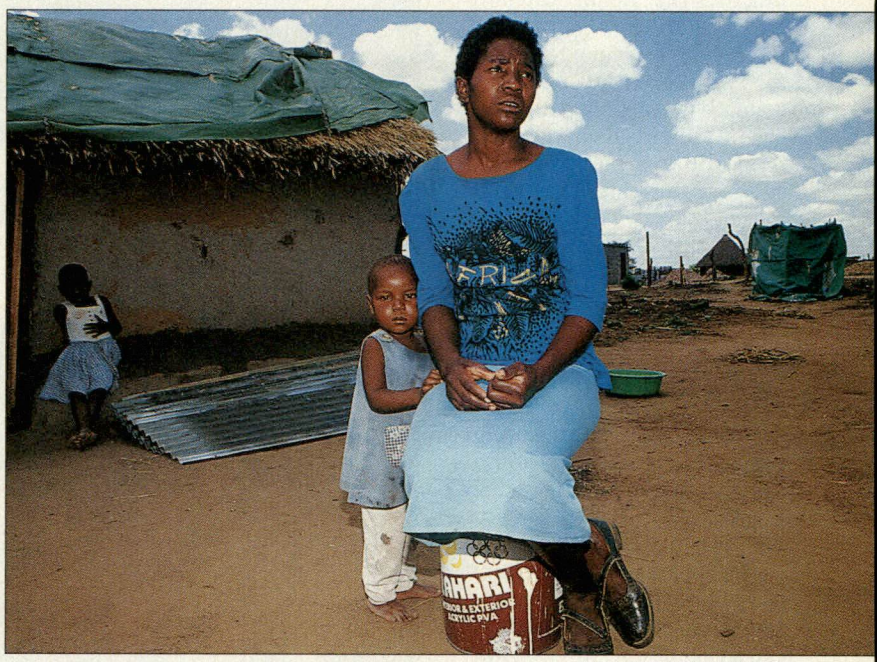
Pakistanis call their debt-bondage system *peshgi*, and it's much the same. Again, most of the victims are members of a despised minority: Christians or "sheik Muslims," recent converts to Islam who are still treated as social outcasts. The abuse of children in the carpetmaking industry is legendary; last September one factory owner kidnapped two brothers, 8 and 10 years old, chained them to their looms and made them work 12 hours a day.

Some 5 million bonded workers labor in another notorious industry: brick kilns. In 1988, the Pakistani Supreme Court acknowledged the existence of bonded labor in the industry and declared that brickmakers could get a civil-court ruling in order to leave their workplaces. But since 1988 only about a dozen such "certificates of freedom" have been granted, say lawyers and labor activists in Lahore. "Meanwhile, 20 million Pakistanis are in bondage, dying by inches," says activist Ehsanullah Khan.

At one brickyard near Lahore, owner Muhammad Aktar claimed his workers usually repay their loans "within a year." "It's not a bonded system; if they want to go, they go," he said. But two months a year are fallow months, when monsoon rains make it impossible to dry bricks under the sun. "You need to borrow an 'advance' from the owner to get through those months, and [then] you can't leave," says worker Robin Masih, who took out a $635 loan in 1972 to open a dry-goods shop. Technically his family earns $3.70 for making 1,000 bricks—normally about a day's work. But half that goes toward paying off the loan, and the end of each year finds him even deeper in debt. "We're still living in the time of the pharaohs," he said. Another brickworker, a barefoot, mud-spattered 14-year-old named Yusuf Masi, traveled to Lahore from a village near the Indian border because he had badly gashed his foot while mixing clay with a hoe. He became a brickmaker at 6 when he assumed his father's 5,000-rupee [$200] debt—a violation of Pakistani child-labor laws. "Now the debt has grown to 9,000 rupees [$360]," said Masi. He said that construction men at his kiln beat and raped him. Does he ever dream of

South Africa

Anna Timba says she escaped 'marriage' after being sold twice by the guide who led her out of Mozambique



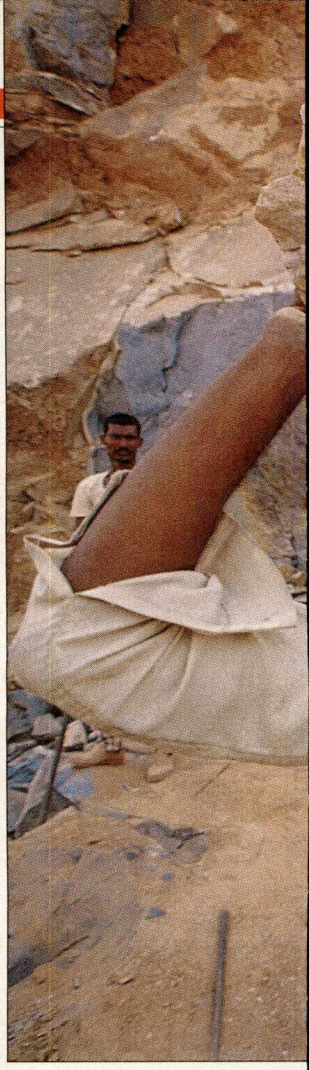
MARK PETERS FOR NEWSWEEK

The Gulf

Filipino maids who escaped their Kuwaiti masters in London during the gulf war told harrowing tales of beatings and rapes



MARK PETERS FOR NEWSWEEK



India

Bonded laborers in a rock quarry near New Delhi; in spite of model laws, debt bondage endures

running away? He said softly: "I think about it all the time."

No formal tradition like peshgi remains in the Western Hemisphere, where every slaveholding nation abolished the practice before the turn of the century. Yet some labor practices that remain can only be called slavery in modern dress. In and around the Amazon Basin, forced labor and debt bondage is common, Anti-Slavery International charges. But ironically, some of the worst systemic abuse afflicts descendants of the only African slaves to overthrow a government: Haitians in the Dominican Republic. Columbus set up there 500 years ago and promptly put slaves to work building Europe's first New World colony. Says Casper Geistefer, an American relief worker who has spent a decade on the Dominican Republic's sugar-cane plantations: "It is a corrupt plantation system."

The cheap labor of as many as a million Haitian workers remains critical to the Dominican Republic's sugar-cane, construction and manufacturing sectors. But nowhere is abuse as rampant as in the cane fields. The abuse is all the more glaring because, in many cases, the government is directly involved; most of the plantations are state-owned. Last year the New York-based Lawyers Committee on Human Rights detailed a wide range of abuses; a U.S. congressional committee later took testimony. In retaliation for that scandal and criticism by newly elected Haitian President Jean-Baptiste Aristide, the Dominican government, which vehemently denies using forced labor, last summer expelled thousands of Haitians. But now the cutting season has started again, and the old abuses are back.

Labor agents in Haiti lure workers—including children—to the Dominican border on false promises of good jobs. At the border, Dominican soldiers pay a few dollars a head and then truck workers to the sugar plantations, known as *bateyes*. In theory, the workers can earn about $3 a day. But the cost of rent, food and tools—workers are even required to rent their machetes—puts them immediately in debt. They are routinely beaten by shotgun-wielding guards, but food is an even more effective whip: if they don't cut enough cane, they don't eat at night. And they're not allowed to leave.

Even though the pay is a pittance, the overseers cheat. "I wasted my life here," says André Luis, 75, the unofficial mayor of a cane-cutter community called Bateye Caballona, just outside the Dominican capital. "They pay us 20 pesos a day [about $1.60] and then they take 21 away. You never get what you're supposed to." Often, he said, gunmen appear in workers' villages on payday; the occasional shootings usually occur when workers protest cheating. Only once in 55 years on the cane plantations has Luis broken even for the season. His best year was when he had the plum job of driving a cane truck. He netted $133.

Now he's a pauper. Two years ago his wife fell ill and died. Because Luis took time off from work to nurse and bury her, he was fired from a job checking stacked cane. His five sons, all of whom work on the plantation, keep him alive. Late one winter afternoon, he said he had not eaten since that morning. Would he eat that night? "It depends on how the boys do," he said.

Dominicans offer a variety of rationalizations for the way Haitians are treated. It's not slavery, they say; the Haitians come willingly. Many recall that Haiti once held all of the island of Hispaniola as a colony: the dark-skinned Haitians must be controlled, they say, or they will swamp the fairer, Spanish-speaking Dominicans. But perhaps the most telling argument is that

Haiti

Woodcaby Dieujuste sweeps outside his master's house in the Port-au-Prince slum of Solino. He receives no pay and may never see his family again.



PABLO BARTHOLOMEW—GAMMA-LIAISON

the Dominicans are doing nothing worse to their black workers than what Haitians do to each other.

One need look no further than the slums of Port-au-Prince, capital of the poorest country in the hemisphere. There, the poor exploit the children of the peasants, informally adopting the children and setting them up to work as unpaid domestics. The *restaveks*—"stay-withs"—wear rags, sleep on the bare ground and eat only enough table scraps to maintain them for their dawn-to-dusk duties.

Jésus Guiton gets good value from her restavek, 4-year-old Woodcaby Dieujuste. The child does virtually all the housework for the 34-year-old seamstress, her own older boy and girl and a female cousin, who live in a two-room cinder-block house a few miles from downtown Port-au-Prince. Woodcaby's workday begins at 6 a.m., when he empties the chamber pot, builds a fire, brings water from a well and cooks breakfast. It ends at 9:30 p.m., when he goes to sleep—sometimes on an empty stomach. He usually wears only a filthy pair of trousers. He's given no pay, and got no Christmas present. The boss says she can't afford to send him to school, even though she sends her own children. And he is unlikely to ever see his own parents again; their house in the provincial city of Artibonite has burned down, and they've moved on. He misses his parents, he says, but he's happy, "because I want to be." Still, he describes terrible nightmares.



TONY OLMOS—BLACK STAR

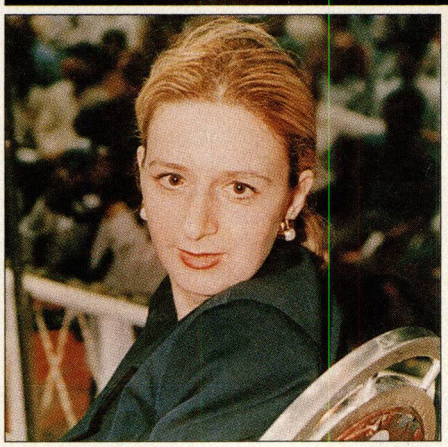
Asked about his country's practice of slavery, Aristide said that the cure will be economic development. But must the world's slaves wait for the eradication of poverty to be free? It is a bleak thought. And meantime "nothing ever gets done," says Anti-Slavery International's David Ould. The U.N. Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery is understaffed and short-funded. Even its most shocking reports are hardly ever discussed in public by the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, let alone the General Assembly, where governments might be embarrassed into action. If exposure doesn't work, economic sanctions might. Since the cold war ended, the United Nations finally has grown some muscle in its dealings with the world's tyrants. Why not apply it to the slavemasters?

TOM MASLAND *in Santo Domingo and Port-au-Prince,* ROD NORDLAND *in Tidjikja, Geneva and London,* MELINDA LIU *in Lahore, New Delhi and Bangkok and* JOSEPH CONTRERAS *in Mangweni*



THIERRY CHESNOT—SIPA

'At last I found someone who wanted me': *Surrounded by his followers; his bride, Suha*



GFH—SIPA

Arafat Talks: Marriage, Peace and the Plane Crash

An exclusive interview with the PLO leader

It is 3 o'clock in the morning, and Yasir Arafat is still working at his office in a suburb of Tunis. He wears his familiar checkered kaffiyeh and green fatigues, with a pistol on his hip—a bit unnecessarily, given that the outer rooms of his villa are swarming with armed guards. It is obvious that he still feels the ill effects of his plane crash three weeks ago. As he rises to greet a visitor, he bumps his thigh on a desk and winces in ill-concealed pain. Did he expect to die, he is asked, when his plane went down in the Libyan desert? "I didn't know what was going to happen," he replies. "I have been fortunate over the years. [Israel's Ariel] Sharon once said he had tried to have me killed 13 times. But when it comes, it will come."

The crash is the best thing that has happened to Arafat so far this year. Before the accident, he was beginning to seem irrelevant. The Mideast peace talks were going on without his direct participation. Compared with the polished, media-wise Palestinian delegates at the talks, Arafat looked like a man from another age—"a talkative, old-style freedom fighter from sometime in the '60s," says a diplomat in Tunis, where the Palestine Liberation Organization is based. In addition, Arafat was still scarred from his overly close association with Iraq's Saddam Hussein. Then came the crash and his dramatic survival. The stunned disbelief and gloom that enveloped the Arab world after his plane went missing was suddenly dispelled by frenzied celebration when the grizzled, seemingly indestructible PLO leader was found sitting beside a wreck that had killed his three-man crew. Contemplating his apparent demise, and the lack of a credible successor, the world had discovered that Arafat matters after all.

At 62, Arafat seems at peace with himself. Last November, he married his 28-year-old aide, Suha Tawil. Gossips speculated that Arafat had finally married in order to cover up other love affairs. But it wasn't a politically convenient marriage. Tawil is a Christian, which offended some of the Muslim majority in the PLO, and comes from a conspicuously prominent West Bank family. It used to be said that Arafat never married because he was wedded to the revolution. Now he explains the match in the simplest terms. "I have been looking for a long time," he says, "and at last I found someone who wanted me."

Acting like a man who is firmly in command, Arafat bridles at any suggestion that the Palestinian delegates, who do not officially represent the PLO, are not under his control. "If they are not," he asks, "then why have they needed my approval from the very beginning of the talks? Everyone in that delegation represents me. The Americans know that indirectly they are dealing with me; even the Israelis know they're dealing with me."

Land for peace: Arafat does not expect flexibility from Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. "What he's doing," says the PLO leader, "is refusing to recognize what the talks are about, which is the Bush initiative proposing the exchange of land for peace. Shamir has no interest in the peace process." Does that mean Arafat wants the opposition Labor Party to win Israel's election on June 23? "For me, it makes no difference," he answers. "In fact, I think I'd prefer Shamir, because he is the truest reflection of Israeli intransigence."

He maintains that the balance of power in the Mideast has shifted in his favor and that there can be no stability in the region unless he gets what he wants. "If there is going to be peace, it will not be because

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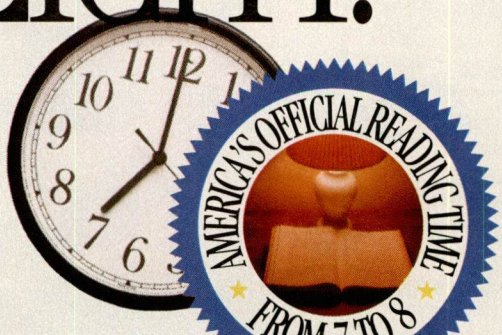
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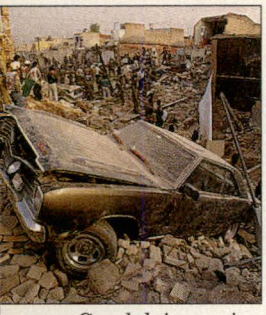
SYLVANIA

LIGHT. MADE RIGHT.

DISPATCHES

A DISASTER IN MEXICO

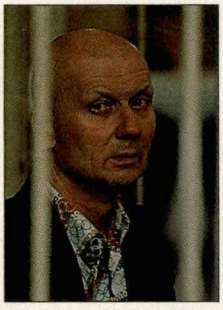
One after another, a string of midmorning explosions demolished a working-class neighborhood in Guadalajara, Mexico's second largest city. More than 200 people died—half of them children—and at least 1,500 were injured. The search for the cause of the blasts soon became embroiled in politics. At first, officials blamed volatile wastes from a cooking-oil plant. Then the head of the city's sewer system said leaking gasoline caused the explosions. Pemex, the powerful government-owned oil company, denied that its nearby refinery was responsible. President Carlos Salinas de Gortari ordered a quick investigation to determine whether "there was criminal negligence by public servants." But with Pemex in the picture, the government was forced to investigate itself, never an easy task in Mexico.



Guadalajara ruins

'I AM A MAD BEAST'

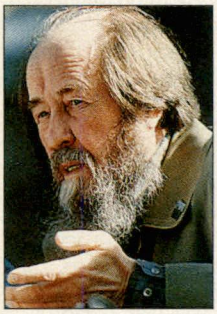
Testifying from inside a steel cage, former schoolteacher Andrei Chikatilo confessed in a Russian court to killing at least 55 people between 1978 and 1990—and eating parts of them. Chikatilo, 56, attributed his murderous rages to sexual inadequacy and the repressive Soviet system. He said his older brother had been eaten by starving peasants during a famine in the 1930s. "I am a mistake of nature, a mad beast," said Chikatilo. If found guilty, he could be shot.



Chikatilo behind bars

AN ATTEMPT ON SOLZHENITSYN?

The Moscow weekly Top Secret claimed the KGB tried to murder dissident writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in 1971. The paper said poison was administered to him at a Russian candy store. Russia's Ministry of Security called the story "absurd." But Solzhenitsyn, who was exiled in 1974 and moved to Vermont, told Top Secret that he suffered mysterious and debilitating skin problems at the time of the alleged attack.



Poisoned pen?

The Battle for Reagan's Mind

A fictional account of the bureaucratic wars

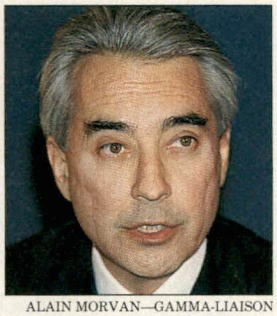
It's an inside-the-Beltway spy thriller, a novel for the rare reader who thinks of the cold war as little more than a backdrop to the power games Washingtonians play. Its pages are populated with thinly disguised portraits of officials you barely remember from bureaucracies you'd like to forget. It rehashes disputes over U.S. policy toward Moscow that most Americans were unaware of in the heyday of the Evil Empire and care even less about today. But for connoisseurs of Washington gossip, Richard Perle's forthcoming novel **Hard Line** *(304 pages. Random House. $21)* is a mother lode of raw ore. Implausible and flatly written, it nonetheless dishes up gobs of dirt on the incessant bickering among the pin-striped freedom fighters of the Reagan administration.

An excerpt from "Hard Line" appeared on the oped page of The New York Times last week, taking us back to the early '80s, when Perle, then an assistant secretary of defense, jousted with another ambitious young operator, Richard Burt, an assistant secretary of state. They were known in Washington as "the two Richards." Ideologically and tactically, they served as point men for their respective bosses, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of State George Shultz, who disagreed frequently on how to handle the Soviet Union. Perle came across as a hard-liner, reflexively suspicious of arms control or any other deals with Moscow. Burt was cast as a pragmatic diplomat, seeking accommodation with the Kremlin. They fought a legendary bureaucratic war, with position papers and news leaks as their principal ammunition. Each man's objective was to win the inattentive mind of Ronald Reagan.

Perle's version of the Reagan family feud conjures up a turning-point summit conference in Helsinki in 1986. It's the spit and image of a real summit held in Reykjavik that year, when Reagan nearly stumbled into sweeping concessions on nuclear arms. Characters representing Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev are onstage, along with a Kremlin mole who feeds secrets to the Americans. But the real protagonists are fictionalized versions of Perle and Burt. Michael Waterman (Perle) is a compulsive worker; he is chronically late and neglectful of his family, but a gifted cook and a hero to his staff—not unlike the author. Dan Bennet (Burt) is snide and WASPish, snobbishly rude to his underlings and better dressed than the man upon whom he is modeled. He is determined to reach agreements with Moscow at any cost. As the fictional summit nears its conclusion, Bennet tries to conceal vital information from the president, while Waterman struggles to save the West from the threat of total nuclear disarmament.

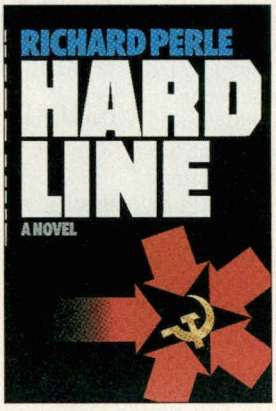
The subtext of the novel is an argument over who won the cold war. According to Perle, it was the free-spending hard-liners in the Pentagon, not the accommodating Bennets, who brought Moscow to its knees. Burt, now a consultant in Washington, has the sense not to argue with fiction. He says the novel shows that "it's not as easy to write one of these books as people think." In real life, Burt became ambassador to West Germany in 1985, bringing the war of the two Richards to an end a year before the Reykjavik summit. He remembers Perle as "an unsurpassed political operator" and says that when he himself came to Washington, he was "naive," a characterization sure to evoke chuckles from his friends. Burt says that if the book is made into a movie, his part should be played by Kevin Costner. But "Hard Line" is not likely to reach the screen. This version of Washington will never play in Hollywood.

RUSSELL WATSON

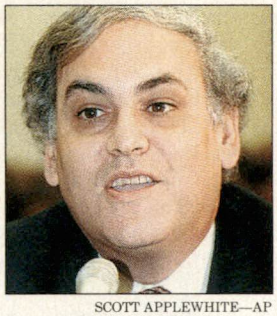


ALAIN MORVAN—GAMMA-LIAISON

The heavy: *Richard Burt*



The book: *Inside story*



SCOTT APPLEWHITE—AP

The white hat: *Perle*

TOP TO BOTTOM: STRONG—SIPA, EAST NEWS—SIPA, STARINSKAS—SYGMA

Israel decides to give up land but because America and the West push the Israelis to make concessions," he says. "There are no Soviets to cause instability in the area anymore, and the industrialized nations like America must have stability in a region where most of the world's energy is stored. Israel used to be of vital strategic importance to America, but not now. It [still] has some value, but we have reached a historic point where the interests of today's Israel and America do not coincide."

He has been saying that for years; this time, there may finally be some truth in it. But is the leadership of the PLO ready for peace? The years have been hard on Arafat's inner circle. One of the most talented men who came up with him in the organization, Khalil al-Wazir, known as Abu Jihad, was killed in Tunis by an Israeli hit team in 1988. The man everyone believed would succeed Arafat in case of an accident, Salah Khalaf, a brilliant political strategist also called Abu Iyad, was murdered last year by an assassin infiltrated into his security team by the rogue Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal. The surviving members of the inner circle include some PLO old-timers who oppose the peace process espoused so fervently by Arafat. "I don't see why we have to have people in our government who do not even agree with its policies," says Bassam Abu Sharif, one of Arafat's top aides. "They don't have to be young—that's not the major factor—but they should at least be committed to our program, which is to support the peace talks."

Status quo: Arafat insists there is "no problem" with the PLO succession. "If I were gone, the general secretary of Fatah [the PLO's most powerful component] is there," he says, referring to Farouk Kaddoumi, the PLO's foreign minister. "The Central Council of the Palestine National Council is there. There are enough people to furnish a leader." The answer is not likely to please younger, democratic elements in the PLO. Kaddoumi is a self-important old-style bureaucrat, the sort of man reformers see as capable only of preserving the slow-moving status quo.

His critics say Arafat has not yet demonstrated that he can still make the PLO respond to his will. "Now is the time for him to show whether he's a real leader or just a survivor," says a diplomatic Mideast specialist in London. Arafat has shown leadership qualities in the past. He recognized Israel and gave his blessing to the peace talks despite the fact that both decisions angered some of his militant allies, Palestinian and non-Palestinian. He still has enough political clout to pull the Palestinian delegates out of the peace talks—or to order them to press on. In that sense, when the Israelis talk to the West Bankers, they really are talking to Yasir Arafat.

TONY CLIFTON *in Tunis*



LES STONE—SYGMA

The strong hand of Massoud: *A strategy session with followers*

A Showdown in the Capital

Kabul falls—but which rebel leader will stand?

The battle for Kabul began early Saturday. Troops loyal to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the hard-line Islamic Party leader, infiltrated the capital and seized the Interior Ministry, military headquarters and the five gates of the presidential palace. Suddenly, forces aligned with Ahmed Shah Massoud of the relatively moderate Islamic Society popped out from inside the palace, bearing grenade launchers and rockets. A stunned group of Hekmatyar's soldiers pulled up in Jeeps. "Who are you?" one of them demanded of a Massoud loyalist behind the wall. "Who are *you?*" the other shot back. Once identified, the rival rebels glared at one another in a tense standoff. "OK, don't panic," said Hekmatyar's man, before ordering a retreat. "We don't want to fight you."

Following the collapse of the Kabul government, a fight seemed inevitable—crushing hopes for a peaceful transfer of power to a rebel coalition. Only hours earlier, rival mujahedin groups in Peshawar, Pakistan, agreed to a 50-man transitional council that would guide the country toward elections within two years. In an effort to blunt years of animosity between the two leading commanders, guerrilla leaders named Massoud as defense minister and Hekmatyar as prime minister. But Hekmatyar, who had no intention of sharing power, rejected the accord, setting up a confrontation with Massoud. By Sunday, open fighting between the two groups had broken out at the presidential compound and elsewhere around Kabul.

The accord meant little to Hekmatyar. The interim council's real power rested with 30 field commanders, who respect Massoud. For a dozen years, the 39-year-old rebel leader epitomized the struggle against the Soviet-backed communist regime. Instead of joining the mujahedin government-in-exile in Peshawar, Massoud remained in the Panjshir Valley, in northeast Afghanistan, organizing rebels into small groups that harassed better-equipped Soviet and government troops. He proved a deft politician, too. When Moscow's scorched-earth policy destroyed most of the valley's crops and livestock, Massoud led an effort to rebuild food stocks—and the local government. He set up a court system and a method of tax collection from the local trade in lapis lazuli, which supported schools, mosques, hospitals, a fund for widows and a rebel training camp. His skill as a coalition builder helped turn the tide of the Afghan war before the Soviets quit: 10 northern provinces came under his influence, giving him the leverage to cut deals with government commanders—and chase President Najibullah from power in mid-April.

No place: Last week Massoud was acting like a national leader. He contemplated the new government, which will introduce Islamic law but not, he suggests, the radical version of his old nemesis. He sees no place for Hekmatyar: "The leaders would not accept him." What of his own political ambitions? Massoud demurs. But when a follower asks where he can reach him in the coming weeks, Massoud replies, "Do you know the former telephone number of Najibullah? It will be my number." To take over as leader, however, he must first survive the showdown with his Islamic firebrand challenger.

TOM POST *with* STEVE LEVINE *in Kabul*



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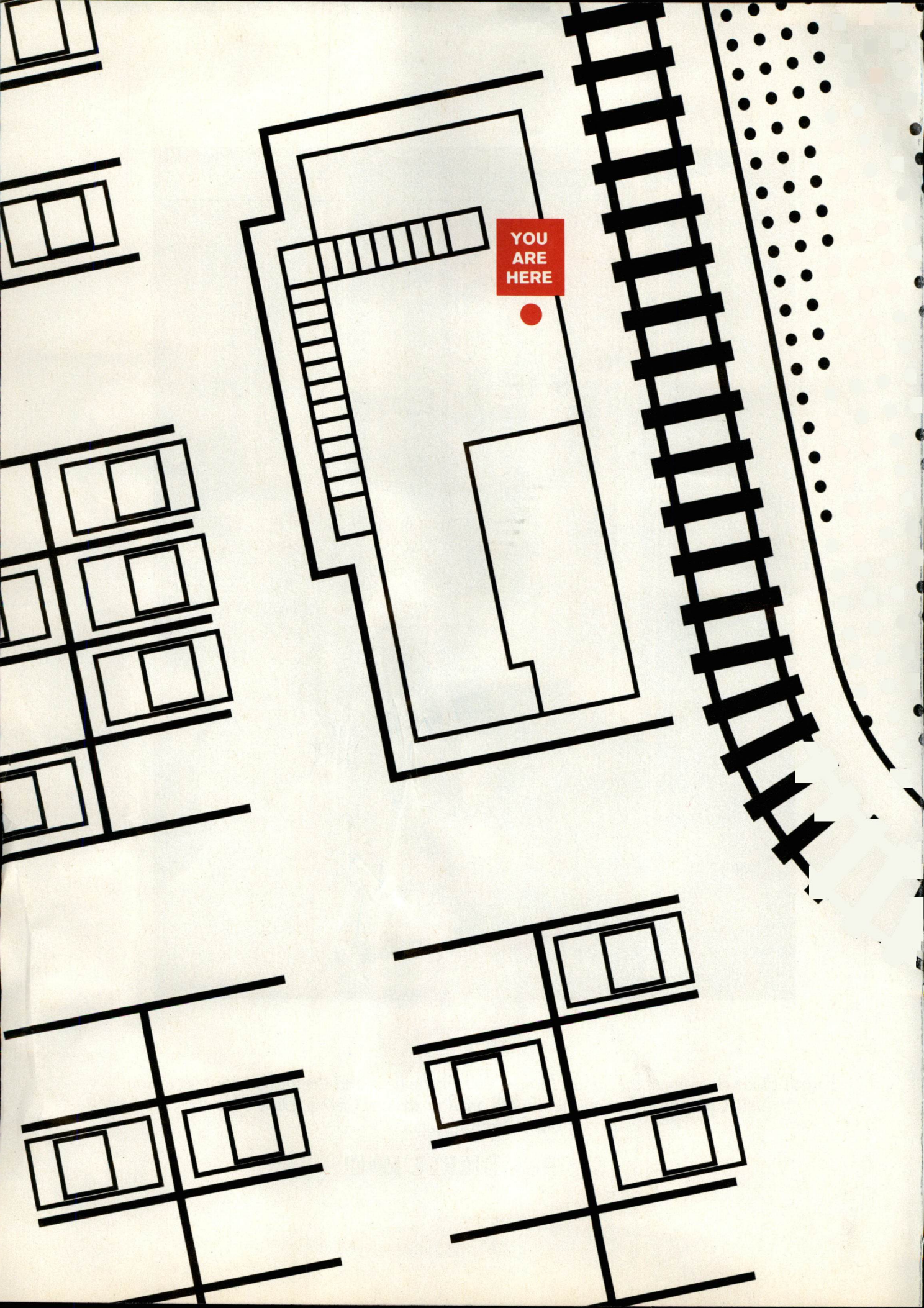
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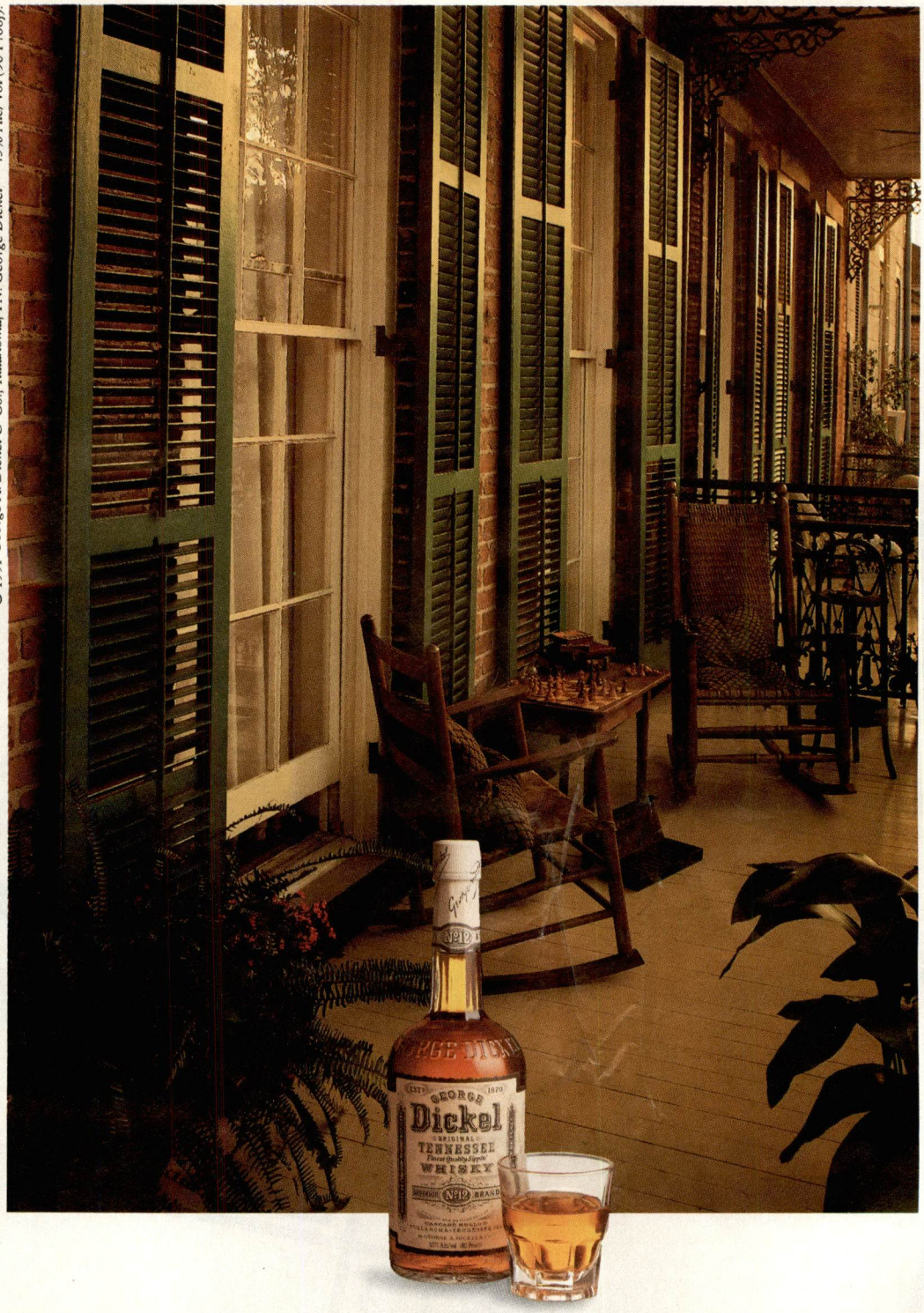
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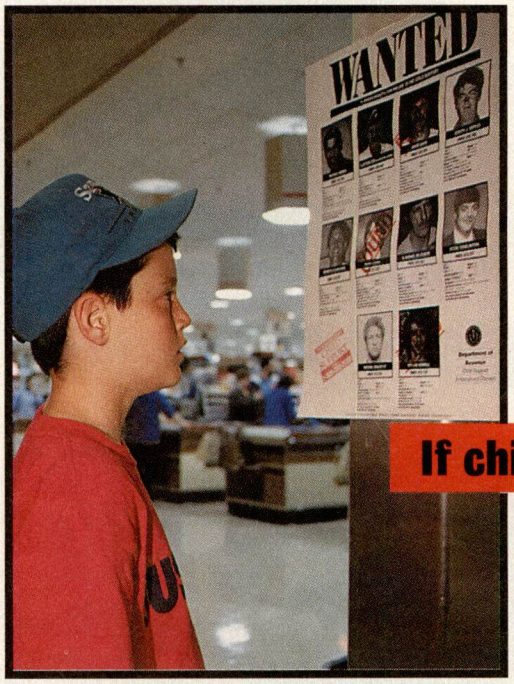
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Deadbeat Dads

BY STEVEN WALDMAN

John Lock goes to court in Chicago next week to explain why he owes back child support, but his ex-wife Esther isn't expecting much. They have, after all, been through more than 100 court hearings about child support and their divorce over the past 19 years. And, according to the state of Illinois, he still owes more than $160,000 for his four children. She's feeling needy now because she lost her job as a social worker 17 months ago, but she remembers more desperate times, like February 1977. "Our electricity was being turned off," she recalls. "We were lighting the house with candles. We were on what we called the 'white diet'—a lot of rice and cereal. No medical coverage, no dental." Her ex-husband, then a dentist, was living in the affluent suburb of Highland Park with his new family. "I knew he didn't want the kids so I figured I'd use it as a scare tactic," says Esther. She gave their two teenage sons overnight packs and dropped them off in front of their father's house in subzero weather. He called the police. "He told the Highland Park police that there were two boys outside trespassing," she says. "I'm not proud of it, but I was desperate."



IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

Checking out delinquent dads in Saugus, Mass. (above), Rose Brown and son Tony in Louisville, Ky. (right), and a Baltimore city sheriff arrests a man for nonpayment of support

John Lock admits he called the police but says he had to because one of his sons was on the verge of "kicking the door down." He concedes he didn't pay the $1,100 monthly child support for nine years, and admits he fled to Costa Rica for three years because he was "physically, emotionally, financially devastated." But he says he had paid regularly prior to 1977, owes "significantly less" than the state claims and thinks that his ex-wife and the state of Illinois are obsessed with trying to put him in jail. He no longer practices dentistry and works part time delivering flowers in Ida, Mich. "The kids were my world," he wrote in a recent letter to NEWSWEEK. "I did my best to give them a nice life." In an interview, he added, "This has gone on to a point where there's no hope." His oldest son, Byron, now 32, agrees. He says he still can't comprehend his father's behavior. "We were his *children,*" he says. "Why would he want to hurt us? That's what was so confusing about the whole deal—why would a father turn his back on a child?"

In battles like these, nobody ever comes out a winner. Fierce struggles over child support pit parent against parent and inevitably spray the children with emotional shrapnel. Increasingly, the private family traumas are spilling into public view. Posters of most-wanted deadbeat dads began peppering subways and bulletin boards in Massachusetts this month, and police quickly arrested five of the fathers. They also hauled in Frederick Grimaldi, who owes $22,144 and was working in Florida as, of all things, a deputy sheriff, according to Massachusetts officials. Grimaldi has pleaded not guilty to charges of criminal nonpayment, and his lawyer says he owes just $19,000, some of which accumulated while Grimaldi was unemployed. Next month an association of state child-support enforcement agencies will release its second annual national Wanted list, which will include a Louisiana attorney who owes $123,000 and a Tennessee man who owes his quadriplegic daughter $21,500. These small steps reflect a growing awareness on the part of public officials of just how potent an issue this has become. Consultants for former Louisiana governor Buddy Roemer were surprised to discover that in focus groups during the 1991 campaign, middle-class voters spontaneously mentioned child support as one of their most important concerns. Bill Clinton, in campaign speeches, regularly urges tougher enforcement.

If child support is the key to

It's easy to understand why: of the 5 million women who are supposed to receive child support, only half reported receiving full payment, according to a 1990 U.S. Census Bureau study. One quarter of the women got partial payment, and one quarter got nothing. An additional 2.7 million women said they wanted support but were never able to obtain an award. Deadbeatedness cuts across income groups: college graduates are about as likely to have a negligent ex-spouse or ex-boyfriend as high-school grads. It even spans gender lines. Fifteen percent of custodial parents are now men, and mothers in those cases have an equally dismal record of supporting their children. The consequences of nonpayment are staggering. On average, the family income of the mother retaining custody drops 23 percent after divorce or separation—a disparity that could be wiped out for many families if full child-support payments were made. Families headed by a mother alone are six times as likely to be poor as those with two parents.

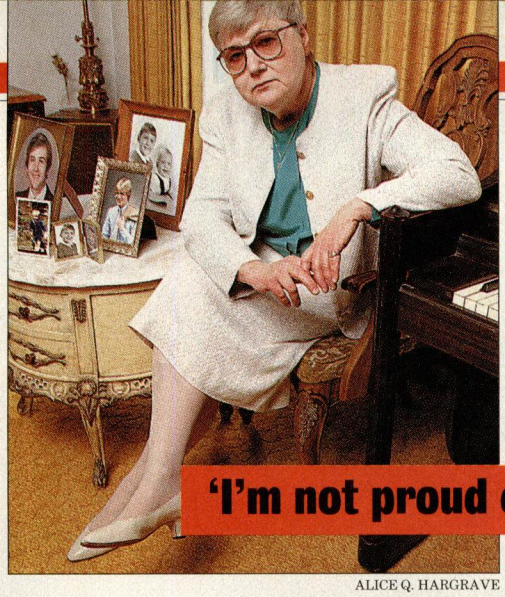
These dreary statistics have recently led social-policy thinkers of many ideological stripes to the same conclusion: child support is key both to fighting poverty and to sustaining middle-class fam-

PAM SPAULDING (TOP), MARTY KATZ (BOTTOM)



keeping kids out of poverty, why do so many fathers refuse to pay?





ALICE Q. HARGRAVE

Esther Lock of Wheeling, Ill., once dropped off her sons at her ex-husband's house. He called the police.

'I'm not proud of it, but I was desperate'

ilies. The government's role in child support has already undergone a little-noticed revolution. In 1984, Congress passed one of the most sweeping pieces of social legislation in decades, requiring local governments to help any custodial parent—not just the poor—to collect child support. Since then, nonwelfare mothers have flooded government offices asking for help in collecting money. These agencies have garnished paychecks, seized tax returns and devised innovative solutions to enforcement problems (page 49). Despite the increased vigor, though, the government seems to be running in place. In 1990, state agencies reported they were collecting money in only 17.9 percent of the 12 million cases they were then handling.

But while society moves to confront the child-support problem, one question has received relatively little attention: who are these deadbeat dads, and why would they refuse to support the human beings they helped create? It's hard to look at such behavior as anything but simple irresponsibility. But a closer look reveals a group of men with a wide range of emotionally complex motives.

For a father, child support often becomes not a helping hand to a child, but a lethal weapon in the battle against his ex-wife. Kenneth Marcelles of Schiller Park, Ill., fell about $6,000 behind on paying support to the two children he had with Donna Caliendo. Partly because of that, she says, the family went on welfare and their daughter had to get eyeglasses donated by the Lions Club. She wasn't shy about telling the kids the source of the deprivation. "In the summer," she says, "I'd say, 'If your father would send money maybe we could go to Kiddieland or buy a new bathing suit'." Marcelles offers several explanations for not paying. "I don't know what she does with the money," he says. "I had a chance meeting with her in the grocery store and my daughter was wearing some raggedy-looking Levi jacket and [Donna's] got a brand new coat on." Caliendo denies that claim, and in any event, such complaints have a logical flaw: if the kids suffer from poverty, cutting off child support will only make it worse. It's when Marcelles talks about his fractured relationship with his children that his explanations strike a deeper chord. "When you get into a situation where you don't see them and they blatantly slam the door in your face, it becomes an emotional thing," he says. "I know that [withholding payment] was not quite the thing to do, but . . . I reacted in an emotional way." He says that he's paid more than $17,000 over the years, mostly fell behind due to financial hardship and now has child support deducted from his paycheck regularly. But finally, he adds a simple comment about his ex-wife that cuts to the heart of many child-support battles. Withholding money, he says, "was the only way I could hurt her."

How does a father come to see withholding child support in terms of what it does to the former spouse instead of what it does to the children? Several studies have shown that fathers who retain close contact with their children are more likely to pay child support. Some fathers' rights groups cite these data in arguing that most child-support problems stem from mothers cutting off access to the children. That definitely does happen. But fathers are quite capable of becoming alienated from children without help from mothers. "Fathers tend to see their relationships with their children as being mediated by the wife," says Frank Furstenberg, a sociologist at the University of Pennsylvania and author of "Divided Families." "[It's] a package deal. When the relationship is damaged, it severs the direct connection between fathers and their children." In a survey conducted in central Pennsylvania, close to half the children from broken families had not even seen their fathers in the previous year. Many nonpaying dads ask, in essence, "What's in it for me?"—a statement that is strikingly crass on one level but quite poignant on another. If they have grown distant from their children, fathers come to view child support like making payments on a car they no longer own. Child support becomes a debt competing with all others. "My bills, my car payments were taking all that money up," said Walter Forde, an unemployed father in Riverdale, Md., explaining in court in January why he had fallen $8,500 behind. Joel Worshtil, the hearing officer at the Prince Georges County circuit court, responded: "If the child had been living with you, you would have found a way to find the $500 to clothe the child." "What if your wife and kids just leave you?" Forde asked. "I can't speak to the equity of the relationship," Worshtil replied, with sympathy. "But we certainly know the child wasn't at fault."

Clearly, the failure to pay often sprouts from the initial rupture in the relationship. Fathers who felt humiliated by the breakup may be particularly eager to cut ties with the family. Deanna Willis moved her family to Eugene, Ore., in 1979 while her husband, Drew Itschner, was in the Marines in Okinawa, because she believed he was neglecting them. Itschner paid hardly any child support over the next 12 years and didn't visit his children at all. He says that the state of Oregon treated him unfairly and that the money wouldn't have gone to the kids anyway because she was "going out partying." But Willis has another explanation. "I think

Where the Money Doesn't Go

Only a small percentage of children in broken homes actually receive support from fathers following divorce or separation.

Of women with children under age 21, with no father present in household (1989):



25.5% received full amount

11.8% received part

12.3% received nothing

8% awarded but not due in 1989

SOURCE: CENSUS BUREAU



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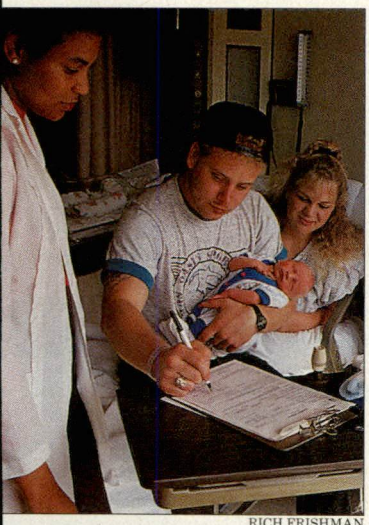
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SEEKING NEW SOLUTIONS



RICH FRISHMAN

As Leslie Fernen and Jeffrey Smith took turns holding their newborn baby boy last week at Swedish Hospital Medical Center in Seattle, staffer Dorothy Mitchell handed them a brochure. Because they are not married, Mitchell explained, Smith would have to sign a paternity statement if he wanted his name on the birth certificate. This enables the state to "go after you if you were to break up," she added—"but we don't even want to think about that now."

The proud parents may not want to think about it, but the state of Washington sure does. About one in every four children is born outside a marriage, and enforcing child support is most difficult in cases where paternity has not been established. So Washington decided to get men on the hook while they're most proud of fatherhood. In about 40 percent of out-of-wedlock births the father is now acknowledging paternity at the hospital. Smith was one who gladly signed.

Washington's program is one of many innovative approaches states have devised to beef up collections. Taken as a whole, the record of the government's network of locally run, federally financed agencies is pathetic. But prodded by major laws passed by Congress in 1984 and 1988, the agencies have pursued several avenues of reform:

Hit 'Em Where They Work. Government officials thought they had the magic bullet in the mid-1980s: take the child support directly out of the father's paycheck. But this approach loses track of people like Kent Patterson of Seattle, who switched construction jobs 24 times in 11 months. In 1990, Washington state began requiring many employers to give the names and social-security numbers of all hires to the child-support agency so it could track them. By 1994 all states are also supposed to garnish paychecks automatically, without waiting for the father to become delinquent.

Putting Blood in the Stone. You can lead a deadbeat to court, but you can't make him pay if he doesn't have any money. So several states have begun requiring fathers to join job-search programs. A Grand Rapids, Mich., program found jobs for 432 of 1,077 employees during an eight-month period—and their child-support payments jumped by more than 300 percent.

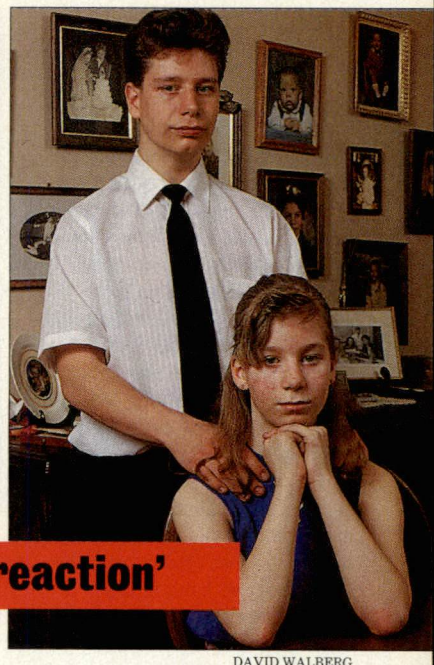
Private Eyes. Agency workers juggling 1,000 cases can often spend only a few minutes on each case. So some states, and increasing numbers of desperate mothers, are turning to private collection services for help. They are often quite effective, but firms can take a big cut of whatever they collect, while the government collects it all (in theory) for free. Parents can increase their odds by consulting groups like the Association for Children for Enforcement of Support (1-800-537-7072) and the National Child Support Advocacy Coalition (P.O. Box 420, Hendersonville, Tenn. 37077). Noncustodial parents can try the National Council for Children's Rights (202-547-NCCR).

The Big Fix. Some child-support experts believe the state-by-state enforcement system is too bureaucratic to ever work well. One proposed solution: turn it over to the IRS. Some advocates go further with a proposal called child-support assurance. The government steps up enforcement, but if the father doesn't pay fully, the state fills the gap. States could then eliminate one of the counterproductive parts of the current law: when poor men do pay support, the state keeps most of it to help finance its welfare operation. Like many of these reforms, the goal here is somewhat unusual for the government: forcing parents, instead of the state, to take care of kids.

S.W. *with* LORRAINE IANNELLO

in the beginning he was just hurt because I left him," Willis says. "He didn't want to go back into it and bring back up that hurt." Despite his long absence, Itschner carried his kids' pictures in his wallet for more than a decade and on a few occasions drove by their house or to a nearby park and watched them from a distance. His daughter Jewel, who has for several years kept Itschner's service medals in a box by her night stand, recently started a correspondence with him. During a recent interview he pulled out photographs of the girls at the ages of 4 and 2. "You look at those pictures," Itschner says. His eyes well up. "And you look at these," he points to pictures of them at 13 and 15. "How much have they gone through? How much have I missed? How much have they missed from not being with me? All three of us have lost out on the deal, and now we're trying to get it back."

In truth, some men never really develop any relationship with their children, so not paying child support doesn't arouse guilty feelings. Roger Hollenbeck of Des Plaines, Ill., met Rose Brown at a pig roast in Louisville, Ky., in 1980. He describes the relationship as a brief fling (she says they lived together seven months) and was furious to learn she was pregnant because she had told him that a medical condition made that impossible. He left town a few months later and over the next 10 years missed $21,000 in payments. Hollenbeck's explanation for why he didn't pay: he didn't realize he owed any child support. (This seems unlikely, since the IRS in 1985 intercepted his tax refund for nonpayment of child support.) Under threat of a jail sentence, Hollenbeck recently paid $10,000 of back support and spoke with his son. "'Do you hate my mother?'" the boy asked, according to Hollenbeck. "I said, 'No. We were friends, and I moved away'."



DAVID WALBERG

The father of Eric and Alisa Marcelles of Melrose Park, Ill., fell thousands of dollars behind in support. He says his wife kept him away from the kids.

'An emotional reaction'

But asked later what kind of relationship he expects he will have with his son, Hollenbeck says, "absolutely nothing. I know that sounds cold to say, but facts are facts."

Some fathers make so little money that their child-support payments feel like an enormous burden. Since payments are usually based on a percentage of parental income, however, even wealthy fathers can feel the pinch. Washington, D.C., lawyer Grier Raclin currently pays $4,150 per month to his ex-wife Victoria Reggie, a well-paid Washington lawyer who is about to marry Sen. Edward M. Kennedy. Despite their lucrative jobs, the parents regularly bickered over child support, according to correspondence filed in court. Raclin tried to get reimbursed for camping gear he had bought for a trip with his son. "I absolutely refuse," Reggie replied in October 1990. "I have already paid $100 for Cub Scouts—an activity for which you said you would be responsible—and I will not pay for the gear you decided you need to take Curran camping . . . If you try to deduct anything from the

support payments you are contractually obligated to pay, I will not hesitate to take you to court for contempt." Last Friday, Raclin asked the court to eliminate his child-support payments because both of their financial situations have changed and he says he's spending, roughly, equal time with his son.

The growing number of cases in which the father gains custody has focused attention on a special group of absent parents: deadbeat moms. The fact that their record is no better than absent fathers' suggests that nonpayment doesn't stem from a uniquely male sense of irresponsibility. Dolores Podhorn of Springfield, Mo., owes her ex-husband Gordon Long of Delavan, Wis., $72,395 in payments for their four children. "She could never understand that I was paying the light and gas and the rent and child care," says Long, an assistant professor of English at the University of Wisconsin. Podhorn says that at first she didn't pay because she was so devastated over losing custody. The court had decided that because Long was home with the kids so much, giving him custody would be less disruptive. "I really fell apart," she says. Later she couldn't pay, she adds, because she was a full-time student, but now that she's earning good money conducting health exams for insurance companies, she gives thousands of dollars in gifts to the children. Asked what, in retrospect, she would have done differently, Podhorn pauses and says, "I'll tell you what I would have done. I'd shoot the s.o.b. It would have relieved the emotional-abuse situation."

Knowing why absent parents don't want to pay child support does not, of course, excuse their behavior. It also leaves an essential question unanswered: how do they get away with not paying? Ultimately, many parents do not pay because no one makes them. A parent who is having trouble collecting child support has two main choices. She can hire a private lawyer who will try to bring the husband into court. But any real conflict will quickly push the legal fees into the thousands of dollars, outstripping the amount of support the custodial parent is seeking. Or, the

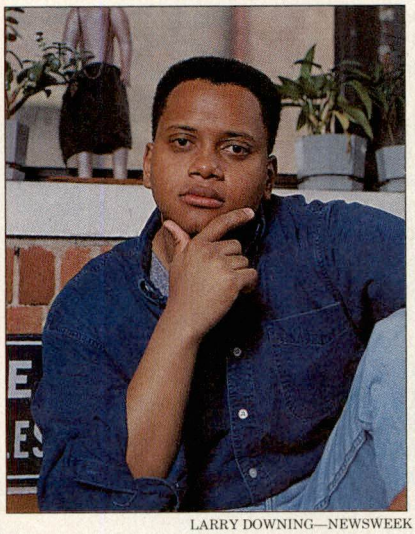
NO FATHER, AND NO ANSWERS

BY MARCUS MABRY

My father was not the sort of guy who comes to mind when most people think of a deadbeat dad. He was an attorney, a judge and a respected civic leader. He was president of the local NAACP and a church deacon. Above all, he was a good father to his three daughters. As he once told me, he was not "some little boy in the ghetto who makes babies and doesn't take responsibility for his actions."

Yet for 20 years I didn't see my father or know what he looked like. And my mother never received a penny in child support. My mother and my father met in high school. After an intense relationship, she moved away with her family. A few months after she left, she told my father she was pregnant. When I was 10, my mother wanted to send me to Florida to meet my father. He demanded a blood test. Insulted and hurt, she hung up and never spoke to him again. The state of New Jersey required her to sue for child support when she applied for welfare. My mother says she got an order for a token amount, but my father was a penniless college student at the time, and the state never pursued him. My mother often thought about "going after him," but never did. She couldn't afford a lawyer, didn't think she could win and, she says, she didn't want to hurt me.

Even though he was absent I grew up in my father's shadow. My mother told me his name, his occupation, his alma mater and how every time she looked at me, she saw him. But we were very different. While we were on welfare, he was climbing the corporate ladder to become a successful attorney. While we lived in a run-down house with relatives, he lived in a big house with his wife and three daughters. While I had no male role models until I went to an all-boys school on scholarship, he was president of a local NAACP chapter, a role model to boys he hardly knew. I never knew how affluent he was. And I never thought I cared. I never connected poverty and my absentee father.



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

NEWSWEEK writer Mabry at home

I never thought I would meet him. Then my mother called one day while she was vacationing in Florida. In a joyous tone, she told me she had visited my father's mother. My grandmother had given her a picture of my father in his judge's robes. I was angry. All the feelings I had repressed for 20 years came flooding back. I decided that confronting the unknown was the best therapy. I called my grandmother. She gave me his number. In a cold, scientific voice I told him I wanted to resolve the issue of his paternity. He asked for a test. I agreed.

Weeks later a handsome professional couple walked into the lobby of the Center for Blood Research. After a cordial greeting, pained small talk and a tortured silence, my father asked me to step outside. On the sidewalk in front of the building, in a tone of admirable dignity, he told me that he and my mother had been very much in love as teenagers and that whatever the results of this test today, I should feel free to call on him when I needed a man's advice. I felt like one of the Bowery Boys being counseled by Father Flanagan. Several months later we received the results. These things don't come out 100 percent positive, because they test genes and two men—say, twins—could have identical genes. But it was 99.78 percent probable that this man was my father. And he didn't have a twin.

Over the next two years, my father and I tried to establish a relationship. After the first year, it was clear that I was making most of the telephone calls. I even visited his hometown several times. When I did, I stayed with my grandmother. He never got around to visiting me.

When I first called him that summer night, I thought I had nothing to lose. But I was wrong. Once I found him I wanted to know who he was and where I came from. Most of all I wanted to know how he could stand a child of his wandering around somewhere in the world and not know if it was sick or well or starving. I realized that the gravity of the void he had left in my life had influenced my relationships and my perspectives, like an uncharted planet affects the bodies around it. Knowing he knew where I was and didn't care had led me to trust friends more than family, to praise the strength and loyalty of women more than men and to promise myself that I would be a better father. After we met, despite my anger, I still wanted his approval and his admiration. But I never felt like I had it. Our relationship is hardly more developed today than it was the day we met.

The nagging question for those of us abandoned by our fathers —however good their reasons—is "How could you?" My father has never given me a satisfactory answer. When I compared him to my brother, who will have to take financial responsibility for his illegitimate daughter or face jail under New Jersey law, he said I could not compare him to some little boy in the ghetto who rejects responsibility. The truth is I don't compare my father to my brother, or other deadbeat dads. I want to think his reasons for not supporting me are better than theirs. He called me two weeks in a row this month. I felt lucky, even grateful. Really. I know I have every reason to be angry and bitter for what he has not given me. But even now, and maybe forever, what I really want is a father.

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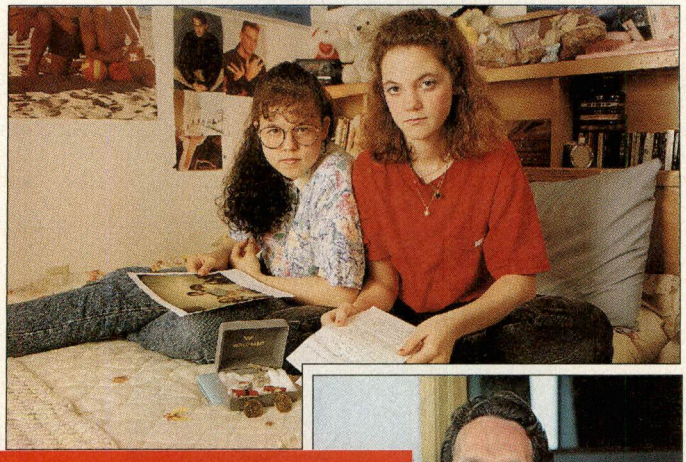
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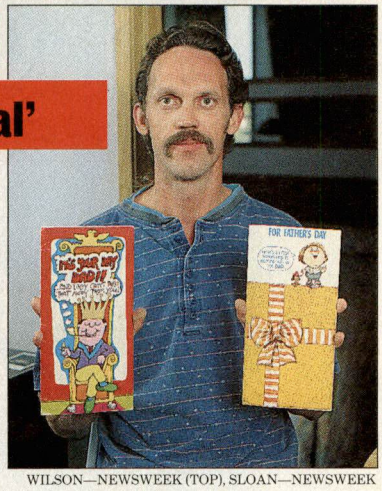
THE SMART MONEY IS ON BUDGET.℠

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mother can turn to the local government for free—and enter a surreal world where social workers juggle 1,000 cases at a time, a prosecutor might handle 100 cases a week and fathers evade pursuit for years by merely moving a few miles away across state lines. "There's a fiction that we're working everybody's cases," says Darryll Grubbs, until recently a top official of the Texas child-support-enforcement division. "Good Lord. We're not coming close." Jim Harrelston, until last November an investigator in Ft. Worth, Texas, was supposed to look through his 2,800 cases and chase the most delinquent parents. In fact, he usually ended up responding to whichever irate mother called the most, and he got 30 to 40 calls a day. The squeaky-wheel system pays little attention to which mother is neediest, and the caseload can push overwhelmed employees to the edge. "There's nothing I can do!" one fuming caseworker yelled at a parent on the phone in Prince Georges County, Md. "I can't make him a good person!"

Among the many difficulties caseworkers face, one is frighteningly basic: figuring out who the father is. A startling 27 percent of all American children are born out of wedlock; two thirds of all black kids are. Identifying the father is much easier now than 10 years ago because blood tests show, with 98 or 99 percent certainty, whether a man fathered a child. Yet the system solves fewer than half its paternity cases. Many welfare mothers don't cooperate, fearing they'll lose benefits if the father is found, but even when they do identify the man, states must find him and get him into court, a process that can take years. Sometimes the results are ghoulish: a Maryland judge decided that a man who had fathered a child through a sexual assault should legally be considered the father, paying child support—and getting visitation rights.





Carolyn and Jewel Itschner have kept the service medals of their father, Drew (right), even though they haven't seen him for 12 years

WILSON—NEWSWEEK (TOP), SLOAN—NEWSWEEK

'All three of us lost out on the deal'

Knowing who the father is doesn't mean knowing where he is, how much he earns or how to collect from him. Roughly one third of all child-support cases involve parents living in different states —and women in such cases were twice as likely to get nothing as those with the father nearby, according to a 1990 General Accounting Office study.

The system is routinely maddening for women, but can sometimes be merciless to men, too. Fathers who want to have visitation orders enforced or who've hit hard times and want to have their support payments reduced will have to hire their own lawyers, even if they have no money; most states represent mothers for free in collection cases, fathers not at all. One Las Vegas man ended up paying for a judicial mistake for a decade. He had been dating a woman in Derry, N.H., for just about two months when she announced she was pregnant. He married her, but a year later, he says, he came home to discover she had cleaned out the house and left. Bitter and suspicious about the experience, he asked the court for a blood test to see if he was actually the father of the baby girl, but the court denied the request out of fear that doing so would taint the child with the "implication of illegitimacy." He paid $100 a month in child support sporadically, falling about $5,500 behind at one point. He saw the girl a total of four or five weeks over the next 10 years and shifted between feeling defiant and guilty. "I never treated her like a real father treats a real daughter," he says. "You see dads all bright and aglow; I never had that. I kept thinking I was a bad dad." Finally, at the prompting of his new wife, he tricked his daughter into taking a blood test while she was visiting him in Las Vegas—and the test showed he was not her father.

Despite the many examples of governmental foul-ups, the system works much better than it did 10 years ago. Although the average support award is just $57.59 per week, most courts have increased payment levels because Congress in 1984 required states to write specific child-support guidelines. As the issue has become politically hot, it has even seeped into electoral politics, in sometimes troubling ways. A fathers'-rights group in Las Vegas is running a slate of candidates in the elections for family-court judges, backing only those who, the group thinks, will lean more toward fathers in custody and support cases.

Reforming child-support policy may prevent a few families from entering into the war zone inhabited by people like John Chappell of Port St. Lucie, Fla., and his ex-wife Linda Place of Springfield, Va. She says he owes his three children more than $20,000 in child support and reimbursement of medical expenses. Eleven-year-old Matthew spends weeks at a time in a hospital with a serious immune disorder; Place has so far been unable to afford specialized treatment at Duke University. Chappell used to earn $26,000 a year as a medical-bill collector, but he was, until last Friday, unemployed. Place believes he was intentionally not working to avoid paying the $540 a month and medical expenses. "There's nothing *wrong* with him that he could not maintain a job," says Place, who works 32 hours a week as a nurse and often sleeps in a cot by Matthew's bed. "He's removed himself from the situation so it's not real anymore. He doesn't go to the hospital every day and see Matthew with IVs and needles."

Chappell complains bitterly that his ex-wife is pursuing him out of "raw hate" and turning the children against him. He says his new job in a convenience store will enable him to pay more. "To me, this is a battle between her and me—not the kids," he says. He's right that the parents are the combatants, but he shouldn't delude himself about the names of the casualties. Matthew is growing up thinking that his debilitating illness might be better treated if only his father would pay more in child support. Chappell's oldest son, Chris, speaks in more emotional terms. "Not getting stuff hurts," says 14-year-old Chris, "but thinking that Dad doesn't care enough to support you—that really hurts. I don't think I'm ever going to forgive him. It's just too hard." Chris visited his father in Florida just last summer, and Chappell brought him on a special afternoon outing—to court. There, Chris got to watch the judge chastise his father for failure to pay child support, put him in handcuffs and lead him off to jail. ■

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Volvo station wagons offer cupholders only as an option.

Volvos do, however, offer as standard equipment, reinforced steel passenger cages, energy-absorbing structures, driver's side air bags and anti-lock brakes.

You can't fit an entire soccer team in a Volvo wagon.

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The Insurance Institute for Highway Safety studies the fatality rates in accidents for most cars sold in the U.S. Since they began publishing reports, Volvos have been at or near the top in each of their respective model categories.

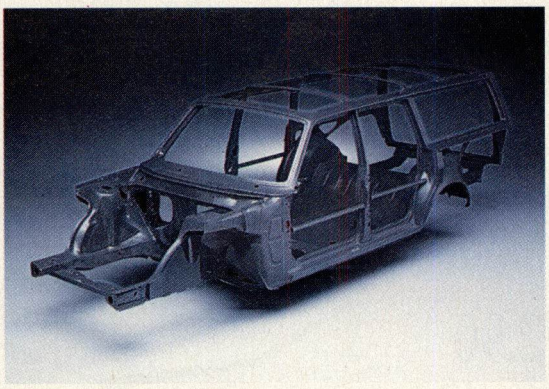
Which may be a good reason for Jill Wieder, mother of two, owning a Volvo. Wieder is a member of a Los Angeles car pool where she says four out of five families drive Volvo wagons.

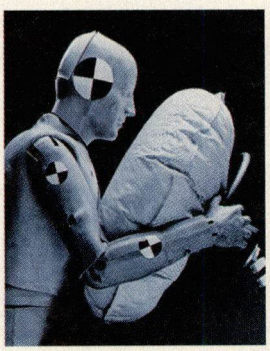
Cecily Heavenridge is another person with a compelling argument for driving a Volvo. Two years ago, her husband Keith was in a serious accident in a Volvo and walked away. Since then, they've bought a new Volvo sedan and a wagon, which Cecily affectionately calls, "the tank."

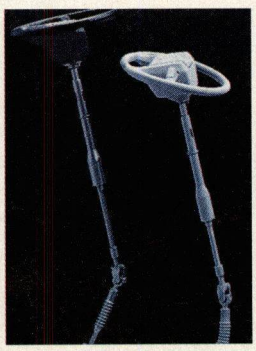
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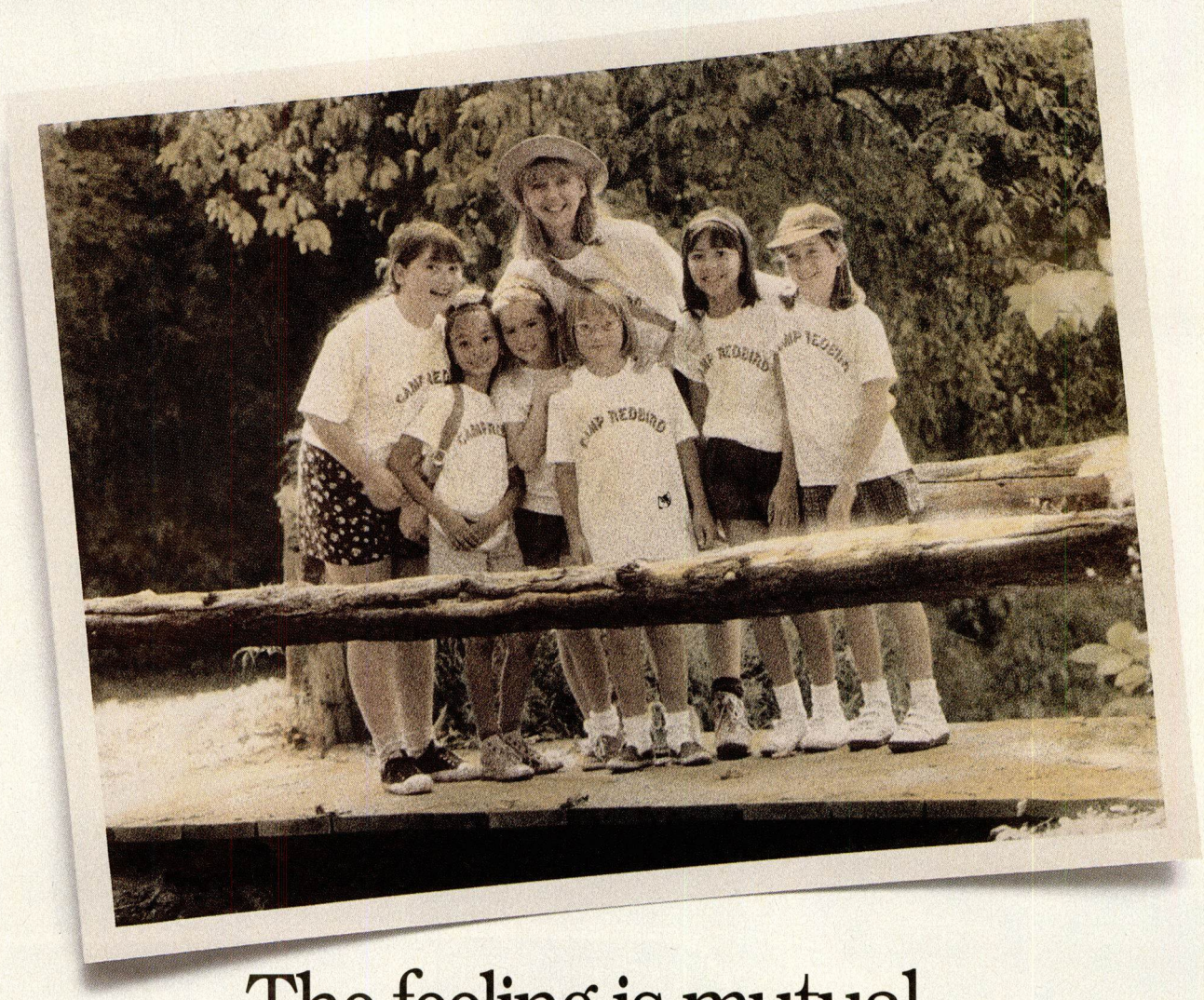


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BERNARD COURIER

A horse that dreams are made of: *Cauthen riding Arazi to victory at a track near Paris*

SPORTS

A Cheval of a Different Color

The French connection to an all-American Derby

Arazi is a little horse with a lot of dreams riding on him. Born in the United States but trained along the elegant forest lanes of France, the nimble 3-year-old's seven effortless victories in eight races last year have drawn comparisons with the legendary Secretariat. Already this delicate stallion with a rakish stripe twisting across his face and three flashing white socks is being described as the thoroughbred of the decade, if not the century.

Indeed, in the Kentucky Derby this Saturday, Arazi could begin a run into racing history. He could be the first horse since Affirmed in 1978 to win the American Triple Crown, or the first horse in history to win both the Kentucky Derby and the English classic Epsom Derby. He may be the star that reinvigorates America's moribund racing scene. But Arazi cannot be all these things, and he might even lose.

As racing writers conjure grand allusions, Arazi's bemused French trainer, François Boutin, counsels caution: "He hasn't won anything yet" in the big races he's been groomed for. Not that Boutin doubts Arazi, favored at 7-5 odds, will triumph. But no decision has to be made about his future until Saturday, when a victory in Kentucky would make the other magic combinations plausible. Boutin then may assume the unenviable task of acting as referee between Arazi's two owners if they cannot agree on the horse's future career.

Allen Paulson, the American chairman and CEO of Gulfstream Aerospace, favors running the horse in the Preakness and the Belmont Stakes to clinch the all-American title. But Sheik Muhammad bin Rashid Maktoum, the Arab prince who has come to dominate the British racing scene in the last 15 years, has never won the Epsom Derby. "We are all working for the good of the horse," says Boutin. If the decision is left to him, however, there's little question he'd bring the horse back to England for the Epsom Derby rather than run him in New York the same week at the Belmont. An unrepentant Europhile, Boutin doesn't even approve of jockey Steve Cauthen saying Arazi's smooth acceleration is like "a Cadillac." "I prefer a Ferrari," says Boutin. The French trainer frets about the hot weather in the United States. He deplores American training methods that rely on electric walking machines. Arazi is used to a ramble through 540 acres of woods around Chantilly and an hour of well-planned trotting and galloping along shaded tracks.

The French regime has kept the wonder-horse fit, certainly. And it's been good for his manners. When Arazi arrived in France at the age of 18 months, his favorite trick was to spin his riders off his back. Since then, he's gone straight. Where other horses board planes under sedation, Arazi flies the Atlantic in a 707 with nothing special to keep him quiet but the company of his grooms and an equine sidekick named Akiko. When Boutin talks about what makes Arazi special, he mentions his savvy ("He never makes the same mistake twice") and, in every sense, his heart. In the stable, on the track, even surrounded by a mob of fumbling photographers and jostling reporters, he remains uncannily calm. "That's his strength," says Boutin. When not running or eating, Arazi likes to sleep up to 20 hours a day: a fitting pastime for a horse that dreams are made of.

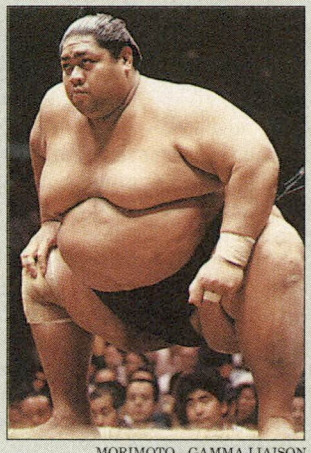
CHRISTOPHER DICKEY *and*
FIONA GLEIZES *in Paris*

In Japan, a Weighty Charge of Racism

Even many Japanese regard their society as one of the world's most intolerant—though the subject of racism is virtually taboo. But last week a 576-pound, Hawaiian-born sumo wrestler slammed the race issue onto the nation's front pages.

Salevaa Atisanoe, who took the name Konishiki when he came to Japan in 1982, had grappled his way toward the pinnacle of the most Japanese of sports. Since February, when he won his last tournament, his fans have waited anxiously to see if he would be promoted to its highest level: Yokozuna (grand champion). Finally, as it became apparent the fiercely conservative Sumo Association would balk, Konishiki went public. "Strictly speaking," he told a Tokyo newspaper, "this is racism."

Three days later the wrestler retracted his own story. "It doesn't matter what color you are," he announced. "My job is to go out there and try really hard." It was the Japanese thing to say—however divorced from a far more complicated reality.



MORIMOTO—GAMMA-LIAISON

Breaking a taboo: *Konishiki*



The Open Barn Door

U.S. firms face a wave of foreign espionage

BY DOUGLAS WALLER

It's tough enough these days for American companies to compete with their Pacific Rim rivals, even when the playing field is level. It's a lot tougher when your trade secrets are peddled by competitors. One Dallas computer maker, for example, recently spotted its sensitive pricing information in the bids of a South Korean rival. The firm hired a detective agency, Phoenix Investigations, which found an innocent-looking plastic box in a closet at its headquarters. Inside was a radio transmitter wired to a cable connected to a company fax machine. The bug had been secretly installed by a new worker—a mole planted by the Korean company. "American companies don't believe this kind of stuff can happen," says Phoenix president Richard Aznaran. "By the time they come to us the barn door is wide open."

Welcome to a world order where profits have replaced missiles as the currency of power. Industrial espionage isn't new, and it isn't always illegal, but as firms develop global reach, they are acquiring new vulnerability to economic espionage. In a survey by the American Society for Industrial Security last year, 37 percent of the 165 U.S. firms responding said they had been targets of spying. The increase has been so alarming that both the CIA and the FBI have beefed up their economic counterintelligence programs. The companies are mounting more aggressive safeguards, too. Kellogg Co. has halted public tours at its Battle Creek, Mich., facility because spies were slipping in to photograph equipment. Eastman Kodak Co. classifies documents, just like the government. Lotus Development Corp. screens cleaning crews that work at night. "As our computers become smaller, it's easier for someone to walk off with one," says Lotus spokesperson Rebecca Seel.

To be sure, some U.S. firms have been guilty of espionage themselves—though they tend not to practice it overseas, because foreign companies have a tighter hold on their secrets. And American companies now face an additional hazard: the professional spy services of foreign nations. "We're finding intelligence organizations from countries we've never looked at before who are active in the U.S.," says the FBI's R. Patrick Watson. Foreign intelligence agencies traditionally thought friendly to the United States "are trying to plant moles in American high-tech companies [and] search the briefcases of American businessmen traveling overseas," warns CIA Director Robert Gates. Adds Noell Matchett, a former National Security Agency official: "What we've got is this big black hole of espionage going on all over the world and a naive set of American business people being raped."

No one knows quite how much money U.S. businesses lose to this black hole. Foreign governments refuse to comment on business intelligence they collect. The victims rarely publicize the espionage or report it to authorities for fear of exposing vulnerabilities to stockholders. But more than 30 companies and security experts NEWSWEEK contacted claimed billions of dollars are lost annually from stolen trade secrets and technology. This week a House Judiciary subcommittee is holding hearings to assess the damage. IBM, which has been targeted by French and Japanese intelligence operations, estimates $1 billion lost from economic espionage and software piracy. IBM won't offer specifics but says that the espionage "runs the gamut from items missing off loading docks to people looking over other people's shoulders in airplanes."

Most brazen: France's intelligence service, the Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure (DGSE), has been the most brazen about economic espionage, bugging seats of businessmen flying on airliners and ransacking their hotel rooms for documents, say intelligence sources. Three years ago the FBI delivered private protests to Paris after it discovered DGSE agents trying to infiltrate European branch offices of IBM and Texas Instruments to pass secrets to a French competitor. The complaint fell on deaf ears. The French intelligence budget was increased 9 percent this year, to enable the hiring of 1,000 new employees. A secret CIA report recently warned of French agents roaming the United States looking for business secrets. Intelligence sources say the French

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ROSS MacDONALD

How the Spies Do It



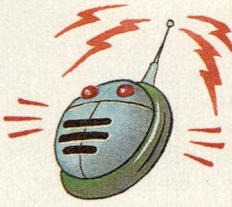
MONEY TALKS

Corporate predators haven't exactly been shy about greasing a few palms. In some cases they glean information simply by bribing American employees. In others, they lure workers on the pretense of hiring them for an important job, only to spend the interview pumping them for information. If all else fails, the spies simply hire the employees away to get at their secrets, and chalk it all up to the cost of doing business.



STOP, LOOK, LISTEN

A wealth of intelligence is hidden in plain sight—right inside public records such as stockholder reports, newsletters, zoning applications and regulatory filings. Eavesdropping helps, too. Agents can listen to execs' airplane conversations from six seats away. Some sponsor conferences and invite engineers to present papers. Japanese businessmen are famous for vacuuming up handouts at conventions and snapping photos on plant tours.



BUGS

Electronic transmitters concealed inside ballpoint pens, pocket calculators and even wall paneling can broadcast conversations in sensitive meetings. Spies can have American firms' phone calls rerouted from the switching stations to agents listening in. Sometimes, they tap cables attached to fax machines.



HEARTBREAK HOTEL

Planning to leave your briefcase back at the hotel? The spooks will love you. One of their ploys is to sneak into an exec's room, copy documents and pilfer computer disks. Left your password sitting around? Now they have entree to your company's entire computer system.

Embassy in Washington has helped French engineers spy on the stealth technology used by American warplane manufacturers. "American businessmen who stay in Paris hotels should still assume that the contents of their briefcases will be photocopied," says security consultant Paul Joyal. DGSE officials won't comment.

The French are hardly alone in business spying. NSA officials suspect British intelligence of monitoring the overseas phone calls of American firms. Investigators who just broke up a kidnap ring run by former Argentine intelligence and police officials suspect the ring planted some 500 wiretaps on foreign businesses in Buenos Aires and fed the information to local firms. The Ackerman Group Inc., a Miami consulting firm that tracks espionage, recently warned clients about Egyptian intelligence agents who break into the hotel rooms of visiting execs with "distressing frequency."

How do the spies do it? Bugs and bribes are popular tools. During a security review of a U.S. manufacturer in Hong Kong, consultant Richard Heffernan discovered that someone had tampered with the firm's phone-switching equipment in a closet. He suspects that agents posing as maintenance men sneaked into the closet and reprogrammed the computer routing phone calls so someone outside the building—Heffernan never determined who—could listen in simply by punching access codes into his phone. Another example: after being outbid at the last minute by a Japanese competitor, a Midwestern heavy manufacturer hired Parvus Co., a Maryland security firm made up mostly of former CIA and NSA operatives. Parvus investigators found that the Japanese firm had recruited one of the manufacturer's midlevel managers with a drug habit to pass along confidential bidding information.

Actually, many foreign intelligence operations are legal. "The science and technology in this country is theirs for the taking so they don't even have to steal it," says Michael Sekora of Technology Strategic Planning, Inc. Take company newsletters, which are a good source of quota data. With such information in hand, a top agent can piece together production rates. American universities are wide open, too: Japanese engineers posing as students feed back to their home offices information on school research projects. "Watch a Japanese tour team coming through a plant or convention," says Robert Burke with Monsanto Co. "They video everything and pick up every sheet of paper."

Computer power: In the old days a business spy visited a bar near a plant to find loose-lipped employees. Now all he needs is a computer, modem and phone. There are some 10,000 computer bulletin boards in the United States—informal electronic networks that hackers, engineers, scien-



tists and government bureaucrats set up with their PCs to share business gossip, the latest research on aircraft engines, even private White House phone numbers.

An agent compiles a list of key words for the technology he wants, which trigger responses from bulletin boards. Then, posing as a student wanting information, he dials from his computer the bulletin boards in a city where the business is located and "finds a Ph.D. who wants to show off," says Thomas Sobczak of Application Configured Computers, Inc. Sobczak once discovered a European agent using a fake name who posed questions about submarine engines to a bulletin board near Groton, Conn. The same questions, asked under a different hacker's name, appeared on bulletin boards in Charleston, S.C., and Bremerton, Wash. Navy submarines are built or based at all three cities.

Using information from phone intercepts, the NSA occasionally tips off U.S. firms hit by foreign spying. In fact, Director Gates has promised he'll do more to protect firms from agents abroad by warning them of hostile penetrations. The FBI has expanded its economic counterintelligence program. The State Department also has begun a pilot program with 50 Fortune 500 companies to allow their execs traveling abroad to carry the same portable secure phones that U.S. officials use.

But U.S. agencies are still groping for a way to join the business spy war. The FBI doesn't want companies to have top-of-the-line encryption devices for fear the bureau won't be able to break their codes to tap phone calls in criminal investigations. And the CIA is moving cautiously because many of the foreign intelligence services "against whom you're going to need the most protection tend to be its closest friends," says former CIA official George Carver. Even American firms are leery of becoming too cozy with their government's agents. But with more foreign spies coming in for the cash, American companies must do more to protect their secrets. ■

Seeing Public Service as an Investment

Arnold Hiatt believes Ivan Boesky had it half right. "He said greed is good, but he should have continued, 'Enlightened self-interest is better'." While many corporate chieftains slash costs and cut staffs, the 64-year-old chairman of Stride Rite Corp. is spreading a little enlightenment of his own. The Cambridge, Mass., footwear marketer earmarks 5 percent of pretax earnings for the Stride Rite Foundation, its philanthropic arm. In 1991, the group funded projects ranging from intergenerational day care to inner-city education. Last week, after stepping down as chairman to devote full time to the foundation, he talked with NEWSWEEK's Annetta Miller.

How can you pay for social programs when other companies say times are too tough?

There is nothing unique about Stride Rite. We have shareholders looking for the same return on their investment as any other public company. We're different only to the extent that we've gone beyond the traditional limits of how we define our social responsibility. We look at public service as an investment. We believe the well-being of a company cannot be separated from the well-being of the community. If we're not providing the community with access to day care and elder care, if we're not providing proper funding for education, then we're not investing properly in our business.

Aren't your programs costly?

It costs infinitely less to spend money on initiatives such as the ones we sponsor than to, say, pay the costs associated with a young child who hasn't had a good head start and ends up in a prison or detention center. Take our family-leave policy. It costs us next to nothing. And yet the statement it makes to employees is powerful. It says to them that we care. And when employees know you care about them, they tend to be more productive. It's the same with our day-care center. To me, it's a no-brainer. But it's the kind of thinking that seems to elude the Oval Office.

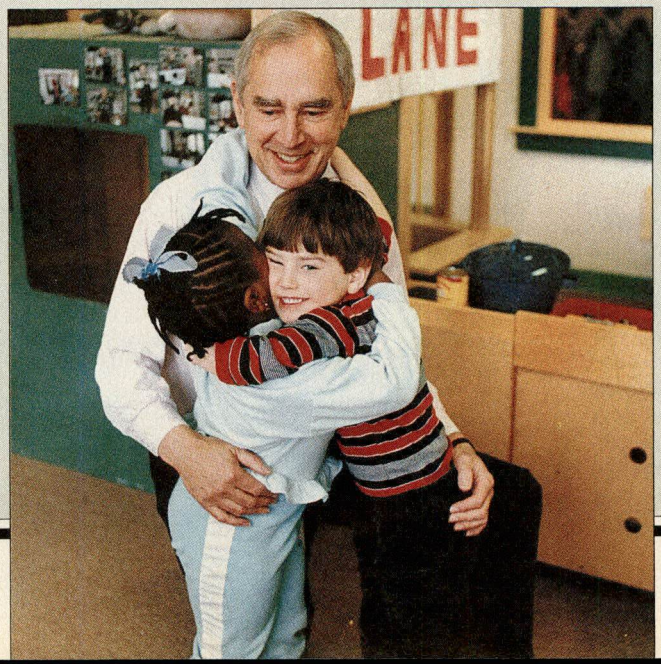
Is there a link between corporate responsibility and profits?

A recent study by the Covenant Investment Management in Chicago found that responsible companies tend to produce a higher return to stockholders. They explained this in terms of "stronger employee and community relations, customer loyalty and less regulatory interference." My additional explanation has to do with the greater sensitivity of management. If you develop a certain acuity in listening to consumers, you also learn to listen well to your employees and to the community. Have our stockholders suffered? Well, those that invested $10,000 in 1984 would now have $155,000. Not bad.

What are your plans for the foundation?

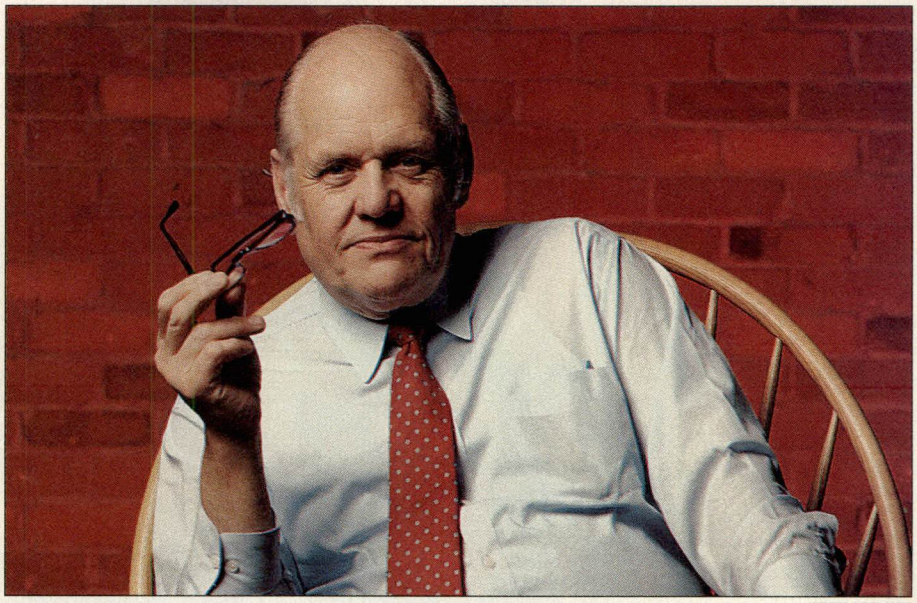
One of the things I'm intrigued with is volunteerism. That is to me the noblest calling of all. And yet, while we in the corporate world are given far too much in compensation, people in public service are often not recognized financially. One of the things we do at Stride Rite is to pay our employees to do mentoring in inner-city schools for two hours a week. It creates energy, good will and a hope of making a difference. But maybe the biggest contribution we can make as a foundation is using our voice to reach our partners in government. We must help our political leaders to understand the difference between a "free market" that allows the Keatings of the world to loot S&Ls and "competitive market forces" that are thoughtfully controlled so that greed and enlightened self-interest are distinguished. If the politicians want to be pro-business, we must educate them on the business of business.

Little feet: *Hiatt and friends at a company-funded day-care center*
DAVID RYAN—BOSTON GLOBE



Tough Times in Maynard

Can founder Ken Olsen fix the bugs at Digital?



SETH RESNICK

A desire 'to make the company over one more time before he bows out': *DEC's chief*

It's time for the faithful to converge again. This week some 25,000 customers of Digital Equipment Corp. will flock to Boston to check out the latest computer systems at the company's giant three-week trade show, DECworld. Attendees will scarf down 25 tons of cold salads, eat nearly 200,000 cookies and drink nearly 300,000 cups of coffee before the last screen is switched off. Charles Burke won't be there, though. He manages computers for Hamilton Fixture Co., an Ohio manufacturer, and he's about to pull the plug on Digital. After an exhaustive review, Hamilton is switching to $1.5 million worth of minicomputers from IBM, which "has really focused its efforts on its customers."

Before the personal-computer revolution came the minicomputer revolution. The Maynard, Mass.-based DEC broke the stranglehold of IBM and the "seven dwarf" mainframe makers and IBM by selling cheaper machines that didn't require an army of specialists. That led Digital to $14 billion in sales for the 1991 fiscal year and explains why Fortune magazine in 1986 called Olsen "the most successful entrepreneur in the history of American business."

Lately, most news out of Maynard has been bad. Digital's stock plummeted 17 percent after DEC suffered a staggering $294 million quarterly loss. Worse, John Smith, a Digital senior vice president, said, "We can't forecast at this point in time when we are going to turn profitable." The company has lost several key executives, including its respected chief financial officer, James Osterhoff; two architects of Digital's successful desktop-computer line are starting their own PC firm. Even the good news has a downside: earlier this year Digital announced a powerful new chip, dubbed Alpha—but with no Alpha computers likely to appear this year, many loyal DEC customers are staying on the sidelines. "They shot themselves in the foot," says consultant John Logan of the Boston-based Aberdeen Group.

What worries critics and shareholders alike is that the company has seemed to drift under Olsen, who tends to keep a loose hand on the reins until a crisis hits. Some say that Olsen, 66, has resisted efforts to groom an heir to his throne. But they also worry that DEC's corporate culture has neglected customers like Burke. Historically, the engineers have reigned supreme. "It's been the 'Field of Dreams' marketing approach," says David Smith, research director at International Data Group. "If we build it, they will come." That attitude doesn't work these days, says Barry James Folsom, formerly with DEC and now president of computer-component maker Radius in San Jose, Calif. "Customers are setting the rules." Earlier this month Olsen announced a reorganization that puts product development under the marketing department—though "they're basically engineers," Olsen quickly says.

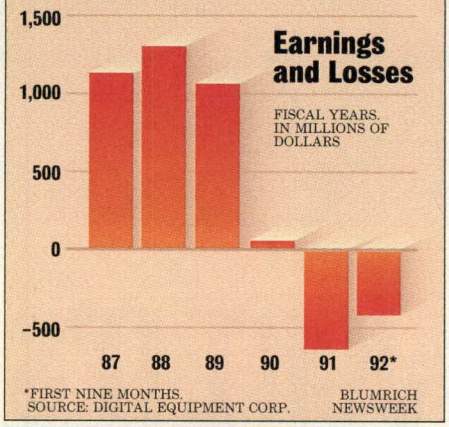
Don't count Digital out. Olsen has surprised skeptics before. His company has $1.5 billion on the balance sheet and little debt. The company could have a winner in the superfast Alpha chip. Many new microprocessors require new hardware and software—something like needing a separate fuel for every new car. Meanwhile, however, the Alpha chip is compatible with both the VMS software in Digital's current line of computers and UNIX, the industry standard. And this week the company will announce that the next-generation operating system from Microsoft, Windows NT, can also run on Alpha.

Before Alpha starts crunching numbers, heads could roll. George Colony of Forrester Research points out that Hewlett-Packard racks up as much in sales as DEC, but employs 85,000 people to DEC's 116,000. One DEC worker is likely to keep his job: Olsen. Last year board members were rumored to be pressuring Olsen to commit himself to a succession plan. Olsen says there has always been one—but that it's unwise to name an heir. "The press often wants to see someone crowned because that makes great news. Then when that person is dethroned it makes great news," he says. Founders rarely loosen their hold easily, says Jeffrey Sonnenfeld, who heads Emory University's Center for Leadership and Career Studies. He calls the reluctant ones "monarchs" who don't leave until the board—or some higher authority—tells them to. One departed DEC exec says, "The man's going to be there until he's carried way." Sonnenfeld says "Olsen has shown a great deal more humility" than monarchs—and expects to see a firm, though quiet, succession. Analyst Colony says Olsen wants to finish on a high note: "to make the company over one more time before he bows out." If he pulls it off, it could be the neatest trick of his career. If not . . . well, computers mark time in nanoseconds. And the clock is ticking.

JOHN SCHWARTZ *with* CAROLYN FRIDAY *in Boston*

Losing Ground

Digital's fiscal year isn't over, but the firm has already bled millions.



*FIRST NINE MONTHS. SOURCE: DIGITAL EQUIPMENT CORP. BLUMRICH NEWSWEEK



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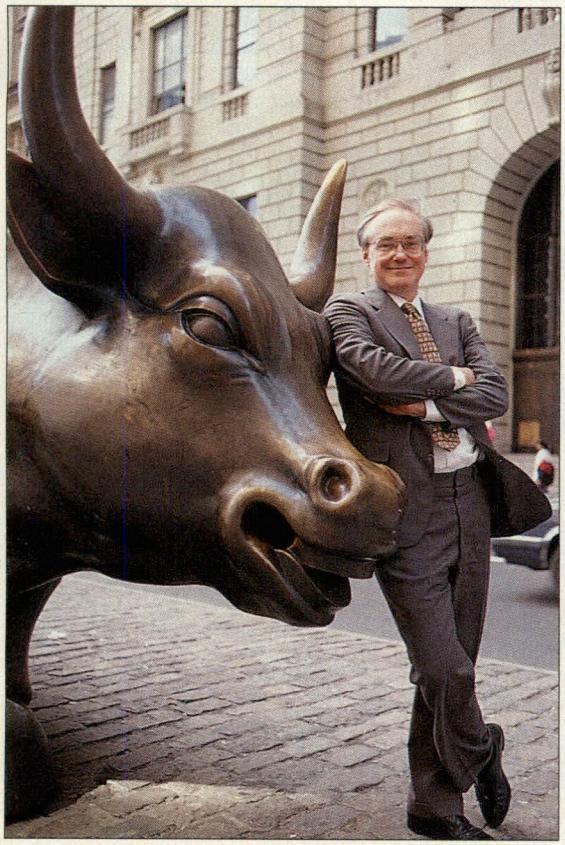
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The Fat and Happy '80s

A supply-sider's tip of the hat to the Reagan era

Remember the 1980s? The decade of Ronald Reagan's presidency is already receding into history as the second Gilded Age—a time when, amid prosperity, many Americans became worse off. There were, to be sure, some notable achievements: inflation subsided, for one thing. But there was plenty of downside, too; the federal debt tripled, and the growth rate of disposable income fell sharply. Which aspect of the '80s you most remember will determine what you think of Robert L. Bartley's "The Seven Fat Years—And How to Do It Again" *(347 pages. Free Press. $22.95),* an entertaining, if self-congratulatory, survey of what supply-side economics wrought. It all began in the late 1970s at Michael 1, a Wall Street restaurant where Bartley, journalist Jude Wanniski, economist Arthur Laffer and the group's guru, a long-haired Columbia University professor named Robert Mundell, began dissecting the failures of the ruling Keynesian economic orthodoxy. Academics, like the University of Chicago's Milton Friedman, had already exposed shortcomings in the Keynesian idea that government can steer the economy by adjusting taxes and spending. But Bartley and friends crafted a new critique. The main way the government could promote economic growth, they argued, was by creating "incentives." These will be familiar to habitués of the editorial page Bartley edits at The Wall Street Journal: lower taxes on capital gains and on the wage earner's marginal dollar of income.



DAVID N. BERKWITZ—NEWSWEEK

A 'full pot'? *Bartley and bull in New York*

To believe Bartley, it was exactly such tax-law changes, enacted in 1981, that led to the Seven Fat Years between the end of the last recession, in November 1982, and the most recent downturn, in 1990. Time, however, has not been kind to the supply-siders. The drop in corporate income and capital-gains-tax rates, for example, was supposed to unleash an investment boom. But that boom can't be found in government statistics on investment in plant and equipment; the supply-siders have been reduced to arguing that the statistics must be missing something.

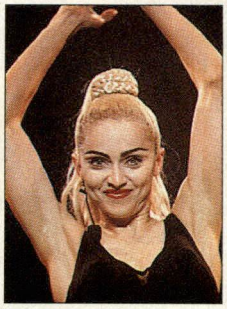
In fact, the Seven Fat Years weren't all that fat; on average, the economy grew as fast under Jimmy Carter as under Ronald Reagan. The Reagan years brought an unprecedented trade deficit, too, as a high dollar rendered entire industries uncompetitive overnight. From Bartley's seat on Wall Street, that massive dislocation was just one of those necessary events. But the millions of workers who were dislocated might not agree with Bartley's recollection that "during those years, the pot was fuller for all."

Bartley devotes ample space to attacking such critics as Reagan economic adviser Martin Feldstein and Sen. George Mitchell (who, as Bartley's Journal readers know, singlehandedly brought on the 1990-91 recession by blocking a capital-gains-tax cut). Unfortunately, Bartley makes no similar critique of the theory he's peddled for 15 years. Supply-side economics might yet have something to offer, if its proponents could learn from their own mistakes.

MARC LEVINSON

BOTTOM LINE

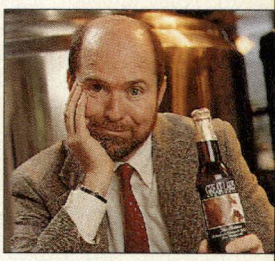
A GOOF-PROOF DEAL?



Material Girl

Did Time Warner goof when it paid Madonna a reported $60 million for a seven-year pact? A 1990 concert was the highest-rated entertainment event in HBO history, and her albums have sold more than 70 million copies. But the Material Girl, 33, has a mixed film record (remember "Shanghai Surprise"?), and she'll be 40 when the deal expires. She'll have to show remarkable longevity to justify their love.

AN AMATEUR SPORT?



Conway

For three years, Pat Conway's Cleveland tavern has served its home-brewed Heisman beer—named after footballer John Heisman, who grew up just down the block. But Conway's plan to distribute it regionally was derailed when the Downtown Athletic Club, the Heisman trophy sponsor, said "cease and desist." Conway, who's out $4,000, calls the DAC a bully. He can't afford to fight, so he'll change the name.

ROLLS IN PLAY



Luxury Rolls-Royce

It's been a bad decade for British automakers. First Jaguar sold out to Ford. Now Rolls-Royce, a perennial emblem of British prestige, may be on the block. Sir David Plastow, chairman of Vickers, Rolls's current owner, has told shareholders that the luxury auto's dwindling sales and 1991 losses of at least $53 million could force the company to unload the unit. Among rumored suitors: BMW, Mazda and Mitsubishi.

SHORT TAKE

The shake-ups continue at General Motors. In the latest sign that the board may be forcing chairman Robert Stempel's hand, GM announced it was reorganizing its money-losing North American operations. And executives hinted that GM might drop several models. But the automaker, which had a 1991 record loss of $4.5 billion, won't comment on reports that the Chevrolet Caprice, Buick Regal or Pontiac Grand Prix might get axed.

TOP TO BOTTOM: ROCA—LGI; ROGER MASTROIANNI; NC

Rosie the Riveting

White men can't jump, but one Puerto Rican woman can sure carry a movie. Until the big money comes, though, she'll take her computer on location.

In the middle of Minneapolis, the crew of a feature film called "The Baboon Heart" is working frantically to resuscitate the recent past. They've slathered the sidewalk with foamy, fake slush; they've decked the street lights with Christmas junk, and they've made up Rosie Perez to look aggressively ordinary—like just another pretty face in the line for Prince tickets. Ah, movie magic.

With each passing day, though, the artifice grows more absurd. Spring has in fact sprung on the set. And Rosie—thanks to her outright theft of the hit male-bonding movie "White Men Can't Jump"—is now a celebrity somewhere between bud and full blossom. When she went to church in Minneapolis on Easter, she was so besieged by autograph seekers (some of whom remembered her as Spike Lee's girlfriend in "Do the Right Thing") that the pastor had to help her escape. When she got a few days off recently, she zipped back to New York to do the "Today" and David Letterman shows. And when she visited a dance club on that trip, something even heavier happened: the other dancers formed a circle around her, a rite of hip-hop culture that sent her scurrying to a back room. "People make the circle when they think you have the flavor and you're gonna do something fly," she says. "But my life's not *about* bein' large, ya know?"

Even if you don't know, just wait: Sally Field may someday accept an Oscar by saying, "You really *do* think I'm *dope*!" Perez is the kind of personality who can't help but have an impact. "She has such a naturalness and a genuineness about her," says "Baboon Heart" director Tony Bill, "that her way of doing something becomes the right way, the only way." Indeed, grown men sigh and slump in their velour seats when she roller-blades, wobbling, into the sunset near the end of "White Men." And the hearts of both genders melt when, at a critical moment earlier in the movie, she mispronounces "Mount Vesuvius"—"Suvius," she says. Is this great *acting* that's moving us so? An interesting question, but here's a better one: when does the videocassette come out?

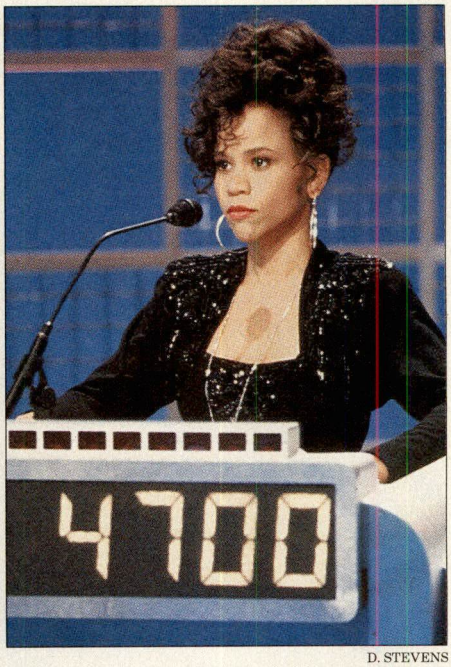
Whatever the source of her power, Perez, who will say only that she is in her 20s, knows how to use it. "Show business is mostly about marketing," she says, the funky accent suddenly fading. "I learned that when I was a college student in L.A., dancing at the clubs. Four different record companies offered me contracts—*and I sing like shit.* All they knew was, she's got the packaging, she's got the look, and that was enough for them. I saw that, and I said to myself, 'Approach this like a business'."

In terms of lucrative sidelines, Perez is trying to close a deal now for a recording contract [for 5 A.M.], so I've got lawyers and record-company guys calling day and night," she says. She's got a computer with her in Minneapolis and a fax machine back at her home in Brooklyn. "If I were making Meryl Streep money, I probably wouldn't be doing this," she says. "But I'm a behind-the-scenes person at heart."

Perez never asked to be an actress, not even in a school play. She grew up in Brooklyn, among 10 siblings, and, while always a good student, especially in science, she attended remedial speech classes because, she says, "I couldn't say my own name." She called herself Wosie until she was in the sixth grade. She was studying marine biology at a college in Los Angeles—and doing the Roger Rabbit and assorted other steps at the Funky Reggae club—when Spike Lee saw her and had someone slip her his business card. She thought at first that he was hitting on her, and didn't call for a month. The part he eventually offered Perez in "Do the Right Thing" was that of Tina, an unwed mother given to emotional



COURTESY UNIVERSAL



D. STEVENS

Daily double: *As Tina in 'Right Thing,' 'Jeopardy!' contestant Gloria in 'White Men'*

the hip-hop version of Jane Fonda or Shirley MacLaine. "I've never seen a more entrepreneurial actress," says a colleague who has watched in amazement as Perez drifts off between shots to make business calls. Although she can take leaves from the show when movie offers come along, Perez is the official choreographer and director for the Fly Girls on Fox's "In Living Color," and she manages a female R & B group called 5 A.M. In the past, she's been a choreographer for Bobby Brown, Diana Ross and Al B. Sure; the tour manager for LL Cool J; and the stage manager and the wardrobe director for several others. "I'm



THEO WESTENBERGER—GAMMA-LIAISON

Working woman: *An 'entrepreneurial actress' who makes business calls between takes*

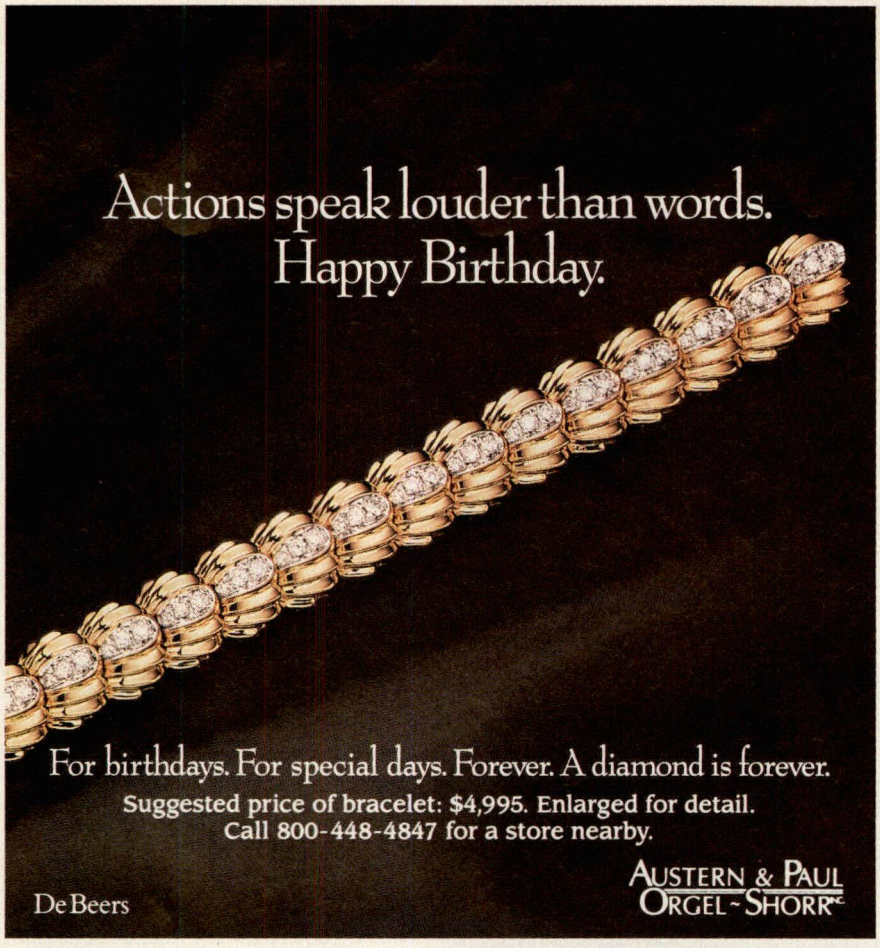
eruptions. The experience, she says, was probably the best and the worst thing that ever happened to her. It was bad because "people thought I got the part by sleeping with Spike, and I found that degrading." Beyond that, there was a nude scene involving an ice cube that, she has said, made her feel like she was "raped" by the camera. When Hispanic groups criticized her for promoting a stereotype, Perez, who's Puerto Rican, defended the film—"I was not portraying something that's not really out there"—but told her agent she didn't want to play any Tinas in the future. That was the good part of the experience: she seemed to have a future.

Some folks attend the Yale School of Drama; Perez got her acting education doing an episode of "21 Jump Street," an HBO movie and the CBS series "WIOU." "I'd do a scene with, like, Johnny Depp," she says, "and he'd say, 'Hey, that was pretty good.' So I'd go back in my trailer and scream, 'Johnny Depp said I was good!' But I had no idea why or how I'd been good, so the whole thing was pretty useless." Perez is finding, she says, that "the less I think about acting, the more progress I make."

No victim: Her role in "White Men" was a giant step. The part of Gloria was originally written for a Caucasian woman who'd gone to an Ivy League school. Still, when Ron Shelton, the writer-director, heard Perez read, he says, "I couldn't get her out of my head." The "combustion" she had with costar Woody Harrelson helped clinch the deal, Shelton says—and no doubt encouraged him to layer lots of sexy stuff between the stretches where Harrelson and Wesley Snipes talk trash and shoot hoops. But what Perez seems proudest of is that the script changed minimally when Gloria went from being a Barnard grad to a former Brooklyn disco queen. "I finally played someone," she says, "who had it together, who wasn't a victim or messed up by the ghetto."

In "Baboon Heart," a romantic drama in which she plays a supporting role behind Marisa Tomei and Christian Slater, there is more progress, of a sort, still. "For once I don't have to stick my naked butt up in the air," she says. "God bless America." Before that film comes out in early 1993, though—momentarily, in fact—she'll appear, briefly, in a typically small and strange Jim Jarmusch film, "Night on Earth," doing the kind of mambo-mouth bit that she thought she'd put behind her. It's supposed to be a joke, she says, although she expects some people will misunderstand. They often do. "It's like dating right now is a disaster for me," she says, "because men get confused and they relate to me like I'm the person they see on the screen." Oh yes: the classic movie star's lament. Like it or not, Rosie, you're livin' large.

CHARLES LEERHSEN *in Minneapolis*





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THEATER

A Folk Hero's Hot Odyssey

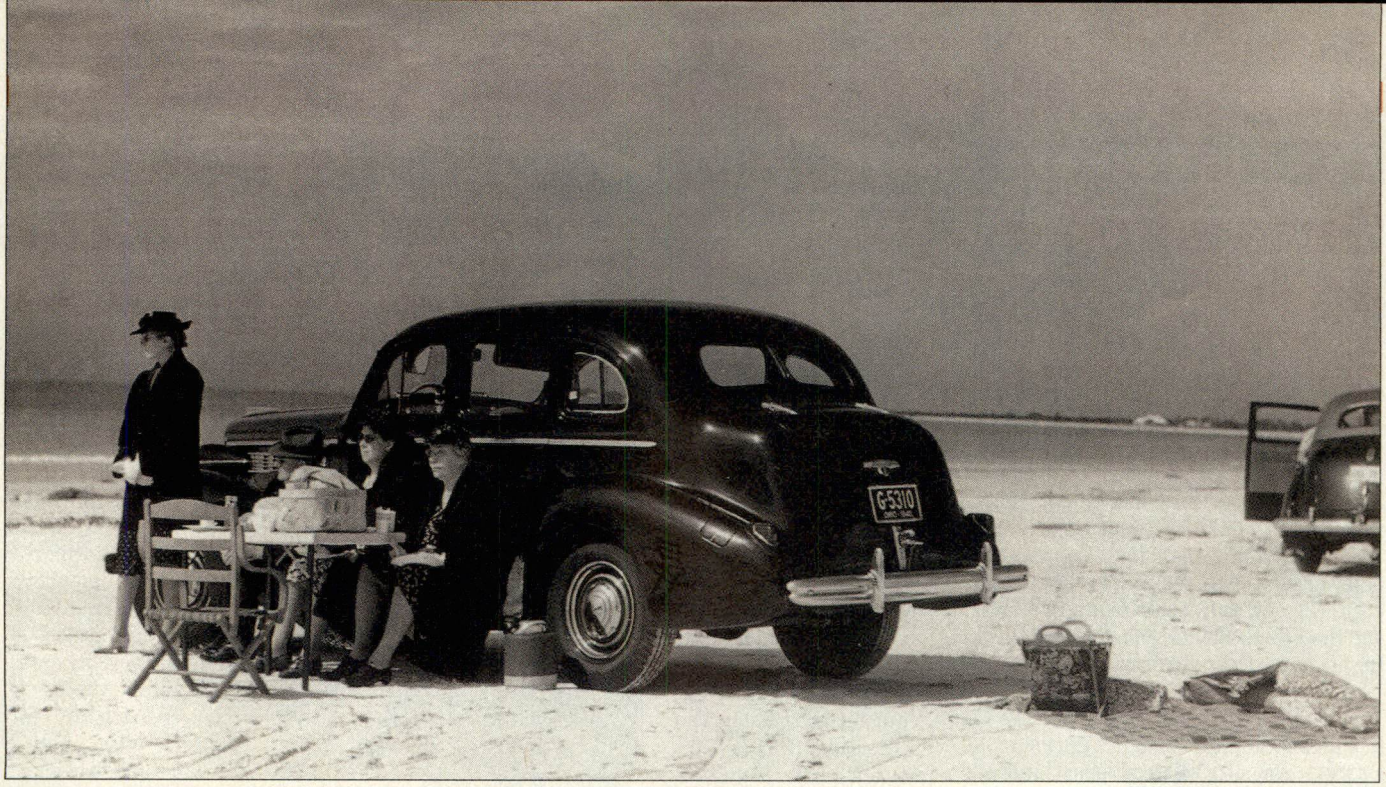
Hines puts Jelly on tap

Like Spike Lee in film, playwright-director George C. Wolfe has broken new stylistic ground in treating African-American experience. Shows like "The Colored Museum" and "Spunk" saw that experience through a prism of spiky angles and irreverent attitude. **Jelly's Last Jam** holds that prism up to the life story of Ferdinand (Jelly Roll) Morton (1890-1941), one of the giant figures in Afro-American music, the crucial link between ragtime and classic jazz. Wolfe treats Jelly (Gregory Hines) as a man of folk-hero dimensions, starting with his death, which sends him into a honky-tonk purgatory presided over by Chimney Man (Keith David), an engaging hybrid of Satan and saint who ushers Jelly back through his fantastic life.

That life becomes a hot odyssey of jazz in scenes vibrating with music, dance, humor and sensuality. The New Orleans-born Jelly is cast out by his Creole family, high-toned mixed-bloods who scorn Jelly's low-down music. A Paul Bunyanish braggart who boasts, "I invented jazz," Jelly is a dandy, a pool hustler, a womanizer who bounces around the country sowing the seeds of the new music. He flares into stardom as composer and pianist, a stardom that flames out in the 1930s as the country is "swingin' to a whole new sound"—the big-band sound of Ellington and Basie.

As a kind of Brechtian, expressionist docu-musical, "Jelly's Last Jam" has brilliance in Wolfe's kaleidoscopic staging, Hope Clarke's vibrant choreography and a vital cast. But Wolfe's treatment of race adds a dubious note. He depicts a Jelly who despises blacks, tossing "nigger" insults around and insisting, "There's no coon stock in this Creole." Such sledgehammer flattening of the complexities of race in Morton's life suggests that Wolfe may be exorcising his own racial demons. But his stage mastery triumphs over his didacticism, generating exultant energy in the music, which adapts Morton numbers like "The Chicago Stomp," "Lovin' Is a Lowdown Blues" and "Dr. Jazz," and in the dancing, especially that of Hines and Savion Glover as Young Jelly. Not just a great dancer, Hines *acts* through his dancing—his dazzling tapping becomes a polyrhythmic telegraph transmitting jazz to the world.

JACK KROLL



PHOTOS BY MARION POST WOLCOTT

A documentarian with a zany streak: *Winter visitors in Sarasota, Fla., 1941*

BOOKS

Shutterbug in the Shadows

Unriddling Marion Post Wolcott's camera-shy life



Coal miners: *Bertha Hill, W. Va., 1938*

There are few stories in the annals of American art as strange or beguiling or troubling as that of Marion Post Wolcott, one of the Depression-era photographers who worked for the Farm Security Administration. Along with such better-known contemporaries as Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange and Carl Mydans, she was hired, to be blunt about it, as a propagandist for Roosevelt's New Deal programs. Working nonstop for three years, between 1938 and 1941, she produced an astonishing number of first-rate photographs (her total output was somewhere in the neighborhood of 100,000 prints). Then, at the age of 31, she quit, not just government service but professional photography altogether. Three years of exemplary, wondrous pictures, and then 50 years of silence. Wow.

When he began his research for **Looking for the Light** *(297 pages. Knopf. $35),* Washington Post reporter Paul Hendrickson bought the conventional wisdom about Wolcott: that in 1941 she married a strong-willed, egocentric man who forced her to abandon photography in favor of motherhood and homemaking. As Hendrickson pursued his investigation, however, he changed his mind. Yes, this was still the story of an artist "who let go of that gifted, magical thing inside her until it was too late and the gift was lost." But, while Wolcott did fear that pursuing photography might imperil her marriage, it was not that simple. "The letting go was due to many things, not the least of which was the burden of being human, of being fearful."

One of her greatest fears was that she might not measure up any longer, and the longer she put off resuming her photography, the more fearful she became that her knack was gone. In a 1965 interview, she said, "Now when I see these ads for photo competitions and it always says, 'Only amateurs can participate,' I wonder if I couldn't be an amateur and maybe win a prize, and I don't know what my status is."

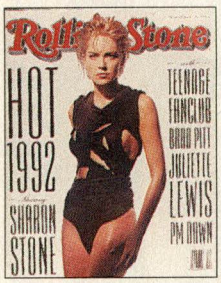
Hendrickson uses every technique he can think of to decipher Wolcott's life. He recounts the facts, then speculates, meditates, turns them inside out. He interviews her and her husband repeatedly, as well as her children and her friends, then weaves their words into a Rashomon-like tapestry of testimony. Borrowing a by-now familiar technique, he visits landscapes where she did her shooting, looking up survivors, walking the acreage. He makes us see what it must have felt like for a young woman in the '30s, alone and unsure of herself, to intrude on the lives of countless strangers, to sleep in a hundred sorry hotels, to struggle with unruly weather and cumbersome equipment, and for what? A measly paycheck and the dubious benefit of her own company and no other for months on end. Staring at the dozens of Wolcott photographs that accompany the text, one marvels at the relaxed, easy grace that characterizes her work. (It is a shame the reproductions are not better.)

By the time he's done, Hendrickson has given us an astonishingly good idea of how uncertain life looked from inside the mind of Marion Wolcott. As for her decision to abandon her art, "it's a complex story in which blame, if blame is the word, is on every side," Hendrickson writes. Before her death in 1990, Wolcott had seen her work rediscovered and her reputation as one of the century's best photographers secured. But the life remained in shadow. Now, in a biography as unorthodox and strangely shaped as the life it describes, Hendrickson has brought this fascinating woman to life in a portrait as vivid as one of her own photographs. Beyond that it is one of the most lucid and humane books ever written about the artistic sensibility and the cost of the art to the artist.

MALCOLM JONES JR.

NOISES OFF

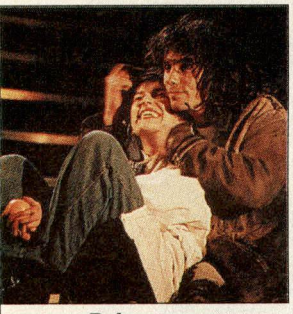
HOT BANDS, COLD PROSPECTS



The 'Cold' Issue

Rolling Stone's annual "Hot" issue has anointed the Scottish guitar act Teenage Fanclub this year's "hot band" of the planet. While benighted mall kids rush for the group's new album, "Bandwagonesque," savvy touts can kiss another promising future goodbye. Past winners—Enuff Z'Nuff, Sonic Youth, Fire Town and the Replacements—all parlayed the notoriety into career stasis or obscurity.

TIMING IS, UH, EVERYTHING

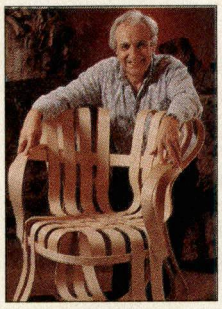


Pole stars

Bad timing continues to haunt the Polish musical extravaganza "Metro," which hit Broadway this month like a cross between "Hair" and a Blue Oyster Cult concert. Being too anachronistic even for B'way was bad enough. But after New York Times critic Frank Rich suggested giving the actors "a steak dinner and maybe even tickets to a Broadway show," for enduring "a fiasco," the angered 50-member cast sent Rich 50 steaks and 50 tickets at the Times. Late again: they got there Saturday, when Rich was away.

MR. GEHRY, PLEASE BE SEATED

Few have actually sat in one yet, but architect Frank Gehry's new bentwood, basket-weave chairs are already the most-hyped furniture in history. The chairs ($330 and up), debuted at the Museum of Modern Art, have graced the covers of two magazines and appeared in dozens more. A show on the design opens this week at the American Craft Museum in New York. Is this the Michael Graves tea kettle of the '90s?



Sitting bull?

GET THE HOOK

For Hindenburg fans: the upcoming soundtrack to "Nick & Nora," which died after just nine shows . . . For the egocentrist who has everything: "Trapped in the Mirror: Adult Children of Narcissists in Their Struggle for Self" by Elan Golomb, Ph.D. She is, the jacket copy reads, "herself the child of a narcissist."

Just Too Good to Be True

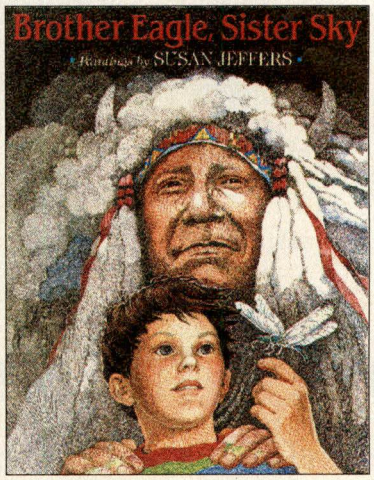
Another reason to beware of false eco-prophets

Michael Her Many Horses remembers the first time he doubted Chief Seattle's famous speech about caring for the planet. It was a TV program about the Northwest rain forest. The narrator quoted the 19th-century Suquamish Indian's plea for living in harmony with nature. "My reaction was that here's a guy that understood what the environment could provide for his people," recalls Her Many Horses, executive director of the Oglala Sioux tribe on the Pine Ridge (S.D.) Reservation. But somehow the chief's words didn't ring true. "It made me feel good, but it seemed too perfect."

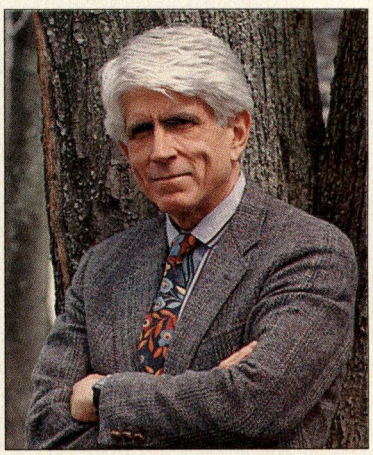
It is too perfect. Chief Seattle did give a speech in 1854, but he never said "The earth is our mother." He never said "I have seen a thousand rotting buffaloes on the prairie, left by the white man who shot them from a passing train." The chief lived in the Pacific Northwest. He never saw a buffalo.

Those oh-so-quotable quotes were written by a screenwriter named Ted Perry for "Home," a 1972 film about ecology. Perry wanted Native American testimony on environmental problems, so he made up some eco-homilies and stuck them in Chief Seattle's mouth. Since then, the so-called Fifth Gospel speech has been widely quoted in books, on TV, from the pulpit. Last week the organizers of Earth Day asked religious leaders from around the world to read the speech. And a kid's book, "Brother Eagle, Sister Sky: A Message From Chief Seattle," has sold 280,000 copies since its release last September.

The book is one of 10 nominees for the American Booksellers Association's Abby award for the book booksellers most enjoyed selling in the past year. Last year, ironically, the Abby was given to "The Education of Little Tree," the purported autobiography of the late Forrest Carter, who claimed he was raised by two wise Cherokee grandparents. Even when it came out that Forrest Carter was in fact Asa Carter, a notorious white supremacist, the book continued to sell well—it's now sold almost 700,000 copies.



Best-selling baloney: *For kids*



GEORGE A. ROBINSON

The chief's scriptwriter: *Perry*

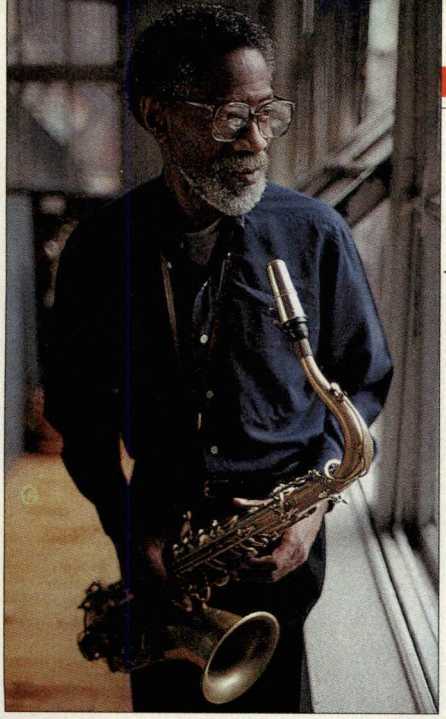
The public's appetite for environmentally correct Native Americans is apparently bottomless. Even the novel that inspired the movie "Dances With Wolves" has sold more than 2 million copies (the movie grossed $184 million). The Smithsonian Institution's Herman Viola, an expert on American Indian history, sees little harm in the trend. Chief Seattle's mythical speech "conveys the feeling a lot of Indians had. There *was* some Indian out there who would have said that kind of thing."

Open eyes: Ted Perry takes a darker view. Now a professor at Middlebury College in Vermont, Perry has tried repeatedly to set the record straight. Moreover, he thinks that the myth is pernicious. "Why are we so willing to accept a text like this if it's attributed to a Native American?" he asks. "It's another case of placing Native Americans up on a pedestal and not taking responsibility for our own actions."

In any case, it's probably too late to do anything for poor Chief Seattle, who is by now more legend than anything else. Even the one known photograph of him has been doctored repeatedly. In the original, his eyes were closed. Subsequent versions were retouched so that his eyes look open. In some versions, he carries a cane, but not always. And in the most revisionist makeover, his head has been grafted onto the body of another man.

MALCOLM JONES Jr. *with* RAY SAWHILL

TOP TO BOTTOM: NC, WOJCIECH GLINKA, MARSHALL SAFRON



WILLIAM CLAXTON

'Maybe the gods were smiling': *The leader*

MUSIC

A New 'Life' for a Jazz Great

Henderson hits the top

Nearly 30 years ago, tenor saxophonist Joe Henderson arrived on the jazz scene with a voice remarkably free from echoes of contemporary superstars John Coltrane and Sonny Rollins. A leading member of the Blue Note Records stable, he appeared on such classic '60s albums as McCoy Tyner's "The Real McCoy," Horace Silver's "Song for My Father" and his own "Mode for Joe." Although his off-center improvisational genius never faltered during the '70s and '80s, his records almost always sold poorly. Now he's suddenly getting his due; last week, his 27th recording as a leader rose to No. 1 on Billboard's jazz chart. "It's great, highly unusual for me and I'm trying to convince myself that I deserve all of this," he says. Other musicians don't need convincing. But what happened?

"Lush Life: The Music of Billy Strayhorn" (Verve) was promoted as a comeback, but that alone doesn't explain its success. Although he's made only one studio album in 11 years, Henderson never stopped touring and recording. "He's always been as great as he is now," says pianist Renee Rosnes, who often works with him. Nor is the retro approach to the latest release obviously the key: this is the fourth recent celebration of the quirky, haunting compositions of Strayhorn, Duke Ellington's main co-writer between 1939 and 1967. The choice of the band obviously didn't hurt: it includes three of the hottest younger players and the most celebrated jazz star of all, Wynton Marsalis. Still, "none of us know what makes jazz albums sell," said veteran producer Orrin Keepnews, whose own recordings of Henderson sold poorly. Says Henderson: "Maybe the gods were smiling down on us, and timing factors into any occasion from a game of golf to a coup d'état. There are some unknowns. If I can be allowed an opinion, I think it is a nice record."

Indeed, success couldn't have happened to a better jazz record. A sense of calm pervades "Lush Life." Henderson meticulously planned the recording in collaboration with Don Sickler, a trumpet player and arranger who has known him since the 1970s. "He was really into it," said Sickler. And although Henderson's disregard for schedules has earned him the nickname "The Phantom," he also is legendary for the intelligence and concentration he brings to bear when he gets down to work.

'Left-footed': The format was guaranteed to showcase the 55-year-old leader: he performs with the young sidemen in a quintet, quartet, trio, duet and finally alone. His playing is by turns explosive and delicate, and as usual he ranges over the entire instrument without making a show of his technical command. His solos are characteristically witty and unpredictable, "a little left-footed" as the bassist Rufus Reid, another frequent sideman, put it. On the final, title tune, Henderson's solo floats so delicately that the thumping and clicking of the saxophone's keys and pads can be heard; it comes as no surprise to learn that engineer Rudy Van Gelder turned out the studio lights and recorded him in pitch darkness.

The success of the tribute album now guarantees that more of Henderson's own work will see the light. Like most jazz hits, "Lush Life" probably won't sell 100,000 copies, but Verve has already begun recording a big-band album using unique arrangements Henderson developed for a rehearsal band he co-led with trumpeter Kenny Dorham in the late 1960s. Such elaborate projects have become a rarity in jazz. Those arrangements were the basis for a sold-out concert at Lincoln Center last month. Henderson says a collaboration with superstar guitarist John McLaughlin also is in the works. And the success of "Lush Life" may eventually give him a chance to record dozens of new tunes that have evolved from the melody lines he uses to teach his students improvisation. "It's an incredible feeling," he says. "I've found the same energy I had when I first came to New York." With his commitments proliferating, he has finally been forced to hire a manager. Catch him if you can.

TOM MASLAND

MOVIES

Wherever the Road May Lead

Thelma and Louise—*not*

Having made nothing but bad choices all their lives, the two heroines of **Leaving Normal** figure they may have better luck leaving their fate to chance. Darly (Christine Lahti) and Marianne (Meg Tilly), the deracinated protagonists of Edward Zwick's picaresque road movie, will inevitably be compared to Thelma and Louise, but the resemblance is only superficial. These women aren't fugitives, they're just lost; if anything's pursuing them it's their own demons. Dim, vulnerable Marianne has been moving from place to place since she was a kid. She's just fled a brutal husband in Normal, Wyo., when she hooks up with the embittered, worldly-wise cocktail waitress Darly, who's heading to the house in Alaska left to her by a boyfriend she ditched 18 years earlier, along with a baby. The hapless but optimistic Marianne thinks she'll stay with her sister's family in Portland, but one night in their oppressive household persuades her to stick with Darly and see where the road takes her.

"Leaving Normal" is about two rootless women who come to realize that leaving always ends them up in the same damn place. A quirky buddy movie, it sounds grittier than it plays, for Zwick and writer Edward Solomon have shaped it as a kind of fairy tale, stocked with strange, pixilated characters who help Darly and Marianne find their way home. Like the fat waitress (Patrika Darbo) who gives herself pep talks on self-esteem as she searches for Mr. Right. Or the overly sensitive truck driver Harry (Lenny Von Dohlen), who captures Marianne's heart by bursting into tears when he reads "The Grapes of Wrath."

Solomon's screenplay treads a delicate line between wit and preciousness; at its weakest, Zwick's direction goes for the canned poignance of TV. But there's a lot to relish in this funny, bittersweet, sharply written comedy. It's great to watch Lahti sink her teeth into this sardonic character: Darly is her best role in years. Though Marianne's ditsiness is sometimes overdone, Tilly fills this waif with ever-changing emotional colors. Like all fairy tales, "Leaving Normal" finds its way to a happy ending, but it's not a conventional one. Home may be where the heart is, but it's a far cry from the traditional notion of family these women have long since fled.

DAVID ANSEN

EDUCATION

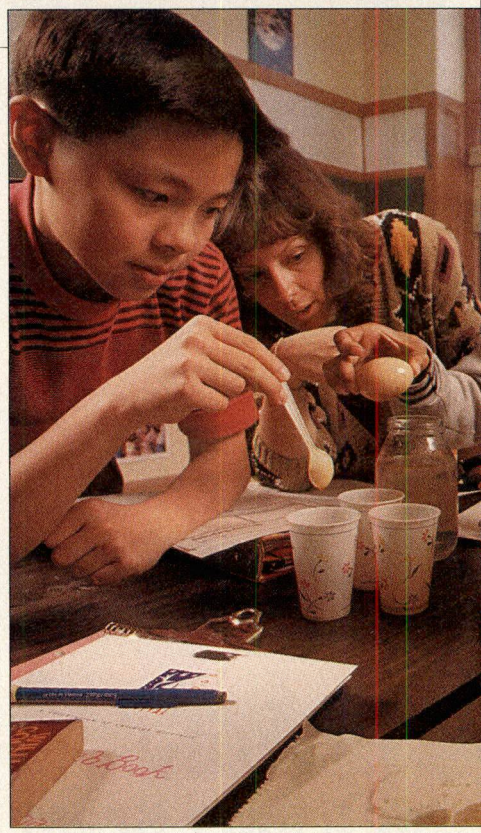
Another Lost Generation

California schools are overflowing—and broke

BY MICHAEL MEYER

Jose Monterosa, a school psychologist in Los Angeles, couldn't believe little Sonya's composure. The 11-year-old was walking home from class when a man killed her companion with a machete. The girl showed no signs of shock, and very little surprise. The reason: Sonya comes from El Salvador, says Monterosa, where she had grown accustomed to violence. For her, school in L.A. was just another Third World combat zone.

Take any of the problems that beset American education: underfunding, violence, high dropout rates, illiteracy, teen pregnancy. California shares them all, and more. And consider this: though California spends less on education per student than any industrial state in the nation, its student population is exploding—fueled by a wave of mostly poor, mostly non-English-speaking immigrants—many of them illegal. The situation has grown so desperate, says state schools Superintendent Bill Honig, that California would have to build a new 600-student school *every day for five years* just to maintain its sorry status quo. What is that status quo? Schools so crowded that teachers call them holding pens. Educators quitting in droves. Parents opting out of the system. A "lost generation" of



An educational melting pot bubbles over: *Sixth Francisco, a bilingual counting poster in*

A Day on the Concrete Battlefield

It began with a routine press release, followed up with a phone call. Before I knew it, I found myself in a program that anoints California businessmen and community leaders "Principals for a Day." My assignment: Miles Elementary in east L.A. With nearly 3,000 students, it is the nation's biggest—a sprawl of yellow concrete buildings. That most of the kids speak Spanish makes it an educator's ultimate challenge. After a brief swearing-in where I promised to "eagerly do the most important job in the world with no resources, inadequate staff and rundown facilities," I swigged a cup of coffee and reported for duty.

A journal:

7:20: A quick tour of the playground, a concrete strip of landing-field proportions. Kids running, doing calisthenics, playing volleyball. Typical American scene—except hardly anyone speaks English.

7:30: The bell rings. Kids scatter to class. First item of business: Fabian Serrano, 9, returns after a three-day suspension for scrawling graffiti on a wall. Mother, sister and aunt come into my office, concerned and apologetic. "You must respect your school as much as your home," intones vice principal Peter Riddal. Somebody translates. The relatives nod. Fabian smirks.

7:50: Beatriz S., fresh from Guatemala, registers her three girls, 6, 7 and 9. None has ever attended school. (Miles has kids from every country in Central America, more than half of them here illegally.)

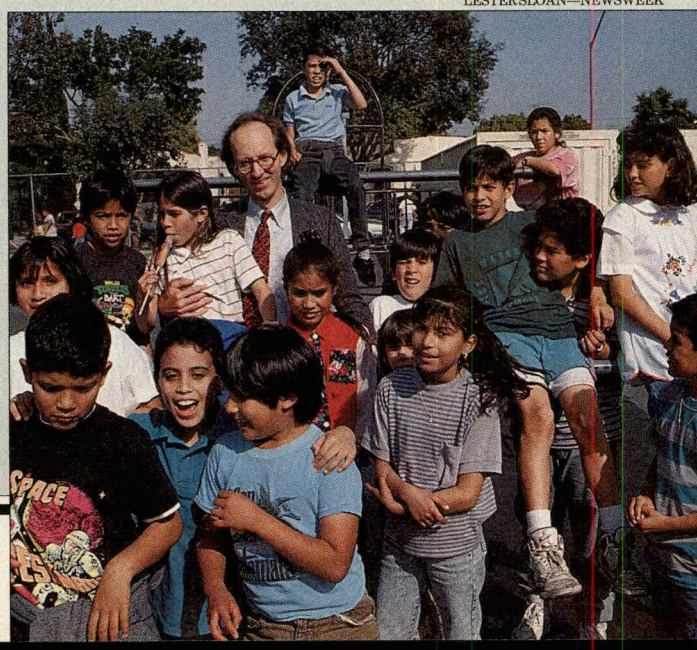
8:00: The cafeteria. Myrna Foster and her staff of 13 will serve 2,400 meals today, nearly all paid for with federal free-lunch vouchers. What's for breakfast? "Hot dog." Lunch? "Hot dog."

8:30: Lucille Niki's second grade. Kids' drawings and teaching aids taped on the walls: WHAT TIME IS IT? ¿QUE HORA ES? Half her 36 kids are quietly playing or drawing; the others sit at her feet for their daily reading lesson. There's no time for catch-up, no individual attention. "Kids who need special help get left behind," says Niki. Her frustration pours out. "I'm a good teacher, yet many of my kids will end up illiterate."

9:30: Police detective Ray Martin takes charge of a par-

'The most important job in the world': *One-day principal and pupils*

LESTER SLOAN—NEWSWEEK





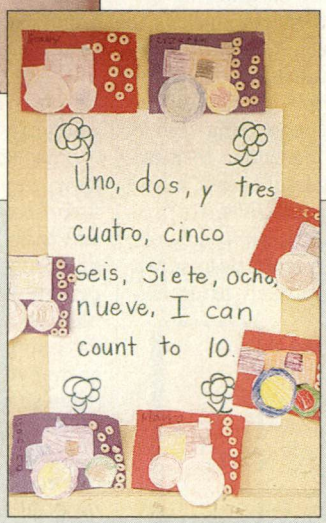
GERRY GROPP—SIPA

rade science students in San os Angeles kindergarten

children who are as much victims of their schools as beneficiaries.

How did things get so bad? After all, not so long ago California's schools were among the nation's finest. The answer is partly demographics. High birthrates and a flood tide of immigrants have boosted California's population by 26 percent over the last decade; by the year 2000, the number of children in school will rise 46 percent, to nearly 7 million. Two thirds of these newcomers will be foreigners. Asians living in California have doubled since 1980; Latinos have grown by 70 percent. By some estimates, as many as a third of California's inner-city students are in the country illegally.

Chronic overcrowding is the most visible result. California classes average 28 students, largest in the nation, after Utah's. But it's not unusual for a single teacher to have 35 or more children. To cope with the crush, many schools are switching to a staggered, "multitrack" calendar that allows them to operate year-round. Ethnicity is a challenge in itself. Nearly 100 languages are spoken in state schools. In San Francisco, classes may well be taught in Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, Tagalog, Korean, Polish, Russian and Armenian.



MICHAEL JUSTICE—PICTURE GROUP

Ethnic diversity has reached an extreme in southern California. "Los Angeles is the new Ellis Island," says Helen Bernstein, head of L.A.'s teachers union. She offers a graphic snapshot of the city's students. "The majority of children we teach live in poverty. One of every four babies in L.A. is born to a young or unwed mother. More than 20 percent of the city's adults are illiterate. Three quarters of our children enter kindergarten speaking only Spanish. Many graduate from high school without being able to read or write, add or subtract, fill out job applications or understand simple instructions. The Los Angeles public-education system is in intensive care."

Leaky roofs: California created many of its difficulties. The state spends only $4,500 per student each year (compared to $8,300 in, say, New Jersey). Reason: California's population explosion, coupled with Proposition 13 and other tax-limitation measures that ban local school financing. The recession hasn't helped, either; real expenditures per student are expected to fall by at least $350 next year. Schools across the state are letting teachers go, cutting programs for gifted or handicapped children and eliminating "extracurriculars" like art and music and phys. ed. San Francisco's Richmond school district brushed with bankruptcy last year; so did Montebello, the 12th largest of the state's 1,012 school

ent-teachers' meeting on violence in the schools. "Gangs begin recruiting as early as age 8." Miles is pretty safe; but next door, at the junior high, kids pack guns. "By the time they're 12," Martin tells me, "some of these children will be terrorists."

10:30: At district headquarters, the annual "Enrollment Road Show." Principals and administrators meet to divvy up students and teachers. Two thirds of L.A.'s schools are "maxed out," says administrator Grant Lansan. "In two or three years, there won't be any more space." Then you'll get 40 or even 50 kids to a class.

12:50: Meeting with Terri Rogers, Los Angeles Department of Childrens Services. A fifth grader, 14, is allegedly molesting his two sisters, 6 and 10. The parents deny everything, partly because they are illegal aliens and fear deportation. "I'm afraid of my brother," the 6-year-old had told Rogers. "It hurts."

1:00: An abstract discussion with staff over lunch. Is America a "melting pot" or a "salad bowl"? Says one teacher: "We must cherish ethnic uniqueness, not 'melt' everyone together." It occurs to me that either way, L.A. isn't coping very well.

1:45: Nurse Angelina Nicolas has seen more than 50 kids today, mostly for lice, eye and ear infections and other hygiene problems. "This is often the only medical attention these kids ever get," she says. Miles is lucky: many L.A. schools have no nurse.

2:00: At last, something more heartening. Kids enthusiastically working in a dazzling computer lab, donated by Apple and IBM. A talk with "CrossAge Tutors," older kids who take younger children in hand, helping them with sports or classwork and instilling a new sense of self-esteem.

2:30: School's out. Thousands of kids return to the playground, where many stay until evening without supervision. Elizabeth Lamori, a second-grade teacher, prepares crayon and paint boxes for the morning. Not standard school issue; she bought them herself. "This is a battlefield," she says. "But we're surviving, and the children are happy." Are they also learning? A pause. "Most are," she finally answers.

3:00: A conversation with Betty Morin, the *real* principal. She hasn't given me genuine responsibility; the job is too important to fool around. Miles is not just a school, nor are its teachers merely teachers. "We are social workers, family counselors, day-care providers and stand-in parents," Morin tells me. It's demanding work, and increasingly thankless. "Everyone says the schools are a mess. That teachers have to do better. But we're on overload. Our budget was chopped 15 percent last year, and 20 percent the year before. Where is public support for education?"

Miles works wonders with what it has, I've discovered. Betty Morin runs the place with military efficiency. But the real problem is money—not enough money for schools and teachers, not enough for the children. Miles spends about $4,000 per student each year, well below the national average and about half the amount spent by New York. I think about that, driving home to West Los Angeles, where palm trees blow in ocean breezes and every house seems to cost a million dollars.

M. M.



BRUCE DE LIS—PICTURE GROUP

Makeshift solutions for overflowing rooms: *A Yuba City school tent seats 250 kids*

districts. San Diego has cut routine maintenance: plugged toilets get fixed, but forget leaky roofs or broken drinking fountains. L.A. schools are so strapped that teachers shell out, on average, $1,200 yearly to buy their own classroom supplies.

Small wonder that teachers are quitting in droves. Gretchen Dockweiler counts among the disillusioned. For 20 years she taught in California's public schools—before quitting in frustration to become a real-estate agent. "Often I would go home in tears," she says. "I had 43 children in my last fifth-grade class, only 10 of whom spoke English." Almost everywhere, it seems, you meet *former* teachers, all with tales of burnout and fear of school violence.

Urban pioneers: Parents are also giving up. In Los Angeles, one in eight children goes to private or parochial school. Michele and Robert Zapple never considered themselves urban pioneers. They lived a comfortably suburban life on the fringes of the San Fernando Valley, a tranquil world of swimming pools and, they thought, good neighborhood schools. But when their son entered first grade—a very different world of gangs and overcrowded classrooms—the Zapples opted out. Withdrawing their son from school, they joined a home-education co-op where parents do the teaching. Says Michele, "Welcome to the new frontier."

But California educators don't have the choice that the Zapples have, and they're scrambling for solutions. As in other states, they are pushing parents to take more responsibility for childrens' education, pulling local businesses into "adopt a school" programs, improving efficiency by delegating more budget and curriculum decisions to local authorities (so-called school-based management). Schools czar Honig recently proposed to "radically change the way schools do business." His recommendation: scrap the "shopping mall" approach to education—where kids drift through a traditional liberal-arts curriculum—and instead force students into a specialized "major," either in an academic discipline (such as mathematics or literature) that prepares a student for college, or a vocation (such as health care, auto mechanics or graphic arts) that leads directly to a job. Says Honig: "Kids have to see a payoff between education and life."

Some would say that the problem is less the curriculum than the administration. Talk to virtually any California teacher, and you hear angry reports of corruption and mismanagement: administrators who skim funds, demand kickbacks from suppliers, place relatives and friends in high-paying jobs. Among recent scandals, just in Los Angeles: an education-consulting firm that billed the city for services to students who did not exist, a schools superintendent who (in the midst of a budget crisis) paid $250,000 to speechwriters and public-opinion pollsters. In March, Honig himself was indicted for having allegedly steered more than $222,000 of federal funds to an educational-consulting company headed by his wife. He denies the charge. But a fact remains: L.A.'s unified school district alone covers 708 square miles, employs 34,000 teachers at 850 schools and educates (if that's the word) some 825,000 students. Can such a cumbersome, overburdened bureaucracy be changed?

Body blow: Skeptics have come up with a slew of tear-it-down-and-start-over "reform" initiatives. None is more controversial than "parental choice," offering state financing to parents who send their kids to private school. Other states have experimented with similar plans, but none so sweeping as California's. If its sponsors gather 616,000 signatures by June 25 (they're nearly there) the initiative will be placed on California's November ballot. If approved by a majority of voters, it will become law—and, opponents say, deal a body blow to public education. Parents choosing private or parochial schools (or no school) would receive a $2,500 voucher for each child; spending at public schools losing students would be correspondingly reduced. The question will spark a fiery debate, for it pits choice and taxpayer rights against the future of the state's schools.

Meanwhile, another important test is coming up—a June referendum on a $1.9 billion bond issue for school construction. The vote goes to the heart of California's crisis: too many kids, too few schools. If voters turn it down, there will be no new money. Overcrowding will get worse. Fewer teachers will be hired. Those most hurt will be those whom teachers call "kids at risk"—children who don't speak English, who can't keep up, who need special help to stay in school, adapt to a new country or simply join society. Given the state's failures to date, the choice might seem obvious. Alas, in California it isn't. ■

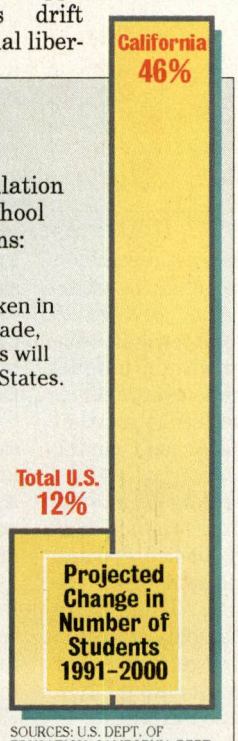
Kids at Risk

California's booming population is straining a besieged school system. The biggest problems:

Ethnic challenge:
Nearly 100 languages are spoken in California schools. In this decade, two thirds of the new students will come from outside the United States.

Proposition 13:
California spends less per student than any industrialized state. Proposition 13 and other tax-limitation measures ban local school financing.

Less funding:
Cuts in federal funds hurt, but not as much as those made by the state. In three years, it has slashed more than $1 billion from the education budget.



SOURCES: U.S. DEPT. OF EDUCATION, CALIFORNIA DEPT. OF FINANCE

A Cadillac With Smarts

GM boasts a 'budget' high-tech sports car that reads the road with a computer mind of its own

How small can a pothole be? An inch deep, let us say, and a foot in diameter. Now imagine a tire hitting the lip of that hole at 60 miles an hour. The tire is on a 1993 Cadillac Allanté, which, since the base price is just under $60,000, chances are you'll never own—but if you did, here's what would happen. Instantaneously, the Road Sensing Suspension would detect a drop in the road surface and communicate it to the Electronic Control Module, which in turn would signal a small electric motor to firm the shock absorber for that particular wheel, and that wheel only—a process that can be completed in as little as 10 milliseconds, which means that by the time the tire hit the opposite lip of the hole, the car would have been braced and ready for it. And the lucky personal-injury lawyer or commodities trader at the wheel would never feel a thing.

The new Allanté, which went on sale last week even as it was winning admiring glances from teenage future orthodontists at the New York Auto Show, is probably the most advanced production car built in the United States. This is a boast that until a few years ago would have sounded a trifle hollow, like "the best-designed car in the Soviet bloc"—but no longer, or so General Motors devoutly hopes. In fact, GM's claims for the car are largely borne out by a test drive. The Allanté held its course over the roughest patches, then instantly returned to a luxurious ride that can best be described as "gliding." "We consider it worthy of consideration," says Mercedes-Benz spokesman A. B. Shuman loftily, "an interesting vehicle made even more interesting." GM's goal is to sell 3,000 Allantés next year in competition with the Mercedes 300 and 500 SL lines ($83,500 and $97,500, respectively) and the Jaguar XJS convertible ($67,500), making it just the thing for the budget-minded corporate raider or major-league outfielder who needs to drive 150 miles an hour. True, the Allanté gets only 21 miles to the gallon on the open road and 14 in traffic, but you can afford not to care.

The Allanté was introduced in 1987 as a two-seat sports coupe, compact by Cadillac standards: at 178.7 inches (almost 15 feet), the new model is exactly as long as the Chevrolet Corvette and nearly 4 feet shorter than the mastodonic Cadillac Brougham. In terms of styling, it is classic or, depending on how you view these things, a little stodgy; the only visible innovation for 1993 is the front-end spoiler below the grille.

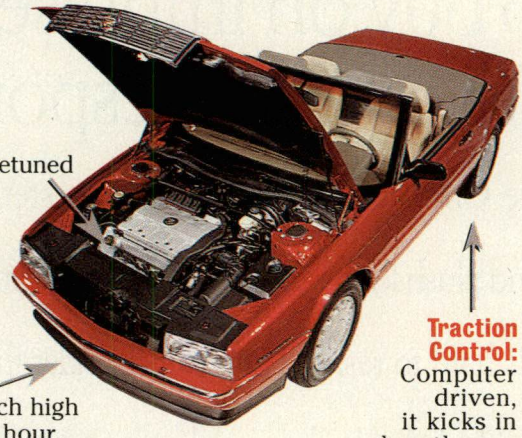
What's new is an array of electronic technology, all of it invisible to the driver, of almost biological complexity. Here are some of the things the Allanté can do: it can sense the onset of traction loss and apply pulsed braking even while the driver keeps a foot on the accelerator. It can electronically cut out up to five of the eight cylinders to provide additional slowing power, and bring them back on line when traction has been restored. It shifts its four-speed transmission electronically, guided by a computer that actually anticipates each shift based on the driver's demands. Whether you're a stockbroker, savings-and-loan executive or real-estate syndicator, you will want to drive differently trying to impress Monique van Vooren on a date than you will on your way to your sentencing hearing with your mother. In the first case, you go whipping through the esses in the Hollywood hills, and, sensing your devil-may-care mood, the Powertrain Control Module holds the car in each gear a little longer for better acceleration. But when you want to drive sedately, the computer recognizes that, too, and shifts earlier, saving gas and engine wear, which will be a great comfort to your family while you're away. Should there be an electrical failure or fault with the shift actuators, the computer will give a "limp home" order, making the car shift down to a gear appropriate to the speed at which you're driving. Eventually, whether you like it or not, the car will move down to second gear. The Allanté, in an emergency, can drive for miles with an empty radiator, cutting cylinders out in rotation just before they overheat and then switching them back in as they cool. You wouldn't want to make a practice of this, of course—but you know how absent-minded the truly wealthy can be.

But what the Allanté mostly is, is really, really fast, the fastest front-wheel-drive car in the world. The 32-valve, 4.6-liter V-8 engine, which Cadillac calls Northstar, is just a detuned racing engine, with aluminum pistons (to save weight) and a fuel-injection system built of nylon, magnesium and space-age plastics intended to insulate the incoming fuel from the heat of the cylinder head. "The beauty of this system," in the estimation of J. David Powell, an engineering professor at Stanford, "is that the fuel is much cooler, allowing a more dense air/fuel charge into the combustion chamber for additional horsepower." In practical terms this means that the 1993 Allanté will go from 0 to 60 in 6.9 seconds, compared to 8 seconds for the previous year's model. That is pretty fast, although not as fast as a specially modified Jaguar XJR-15, which will do it in 4.5 seconds. But that costs $1 million, which is a lot even for most cosmetic surgeons, game-show hosts . . . and lottery winners.

JERRY ADLER *with* MYRON STOKES *in Detroit*

Driving at the Competition

1993 Cadillac Allanté



Engine: The 4.6-liter, 32-valve V-8 is essentially a detuned racing engine that produces a hefty 290 horsepower.

Suspension: Responds to bumps as small as an inch high at 60 miles an hour, and adjusts each shock absorber individually to compensate in as little as 10 to 15 milliseconds.

Traction Control: Computer driven, it kicks in when the car senses a loss of traction—even if the driver still has a foot on the gas.

Vital Stats:

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AGING

Attention, Willard Scott

More and more people are living to see 100

At 100 years and 5 months old, Claire Willi takes a dance class every day and is as elegant as she is energetic. Accidentally nudged into a deep pothole recently, she climbed out on her own and proceeded to her hairdresser, who obligingly cleaned her white suit. At 101, Harry Schneider is so sharp he can recall the weekly salaries of his youth. "You want me to start with when I came to America? My story takes a long time," says the Russian émigré. Ask Lizzie Norman how it feels to be 100 and a slow smile spreads over her wrinkled black face. Does she regret not getting a card from the president on her birthday? Norman deadpans: "Put a 50 in it and I'll take it."

Of all the measures of America's aging population, none is more intriguing than the rising number of centenarians. The U.S. Census Bureau counted 35,808 people 100 years and older in 1990—double the number 10 years ago—and there could be 1 million by 2080, given the expanding population and longer life expectancy. But that's just the Census's best guess: arriving at an exact count is surprisingly difficult. More than 106,000 people listed themselves as over 100 on the 1970 Census; then researchers noticed how easy it was to confuse the box on the form for a birth date in the 1860s with that for the quarter between January and March, and discounted more than 100,000 of them (chart).

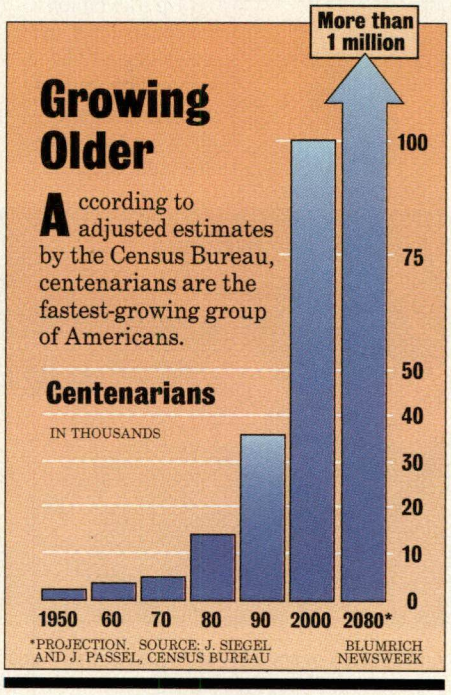
The Social Security Administration lists roughly 32,000 centenarians on its rolls, including some with impossibly high ages. "We know dang gosh well these people aren't 150 years old, but as long as they could prove they were at least 65 when social security started 40 years ago, we don't make them prove exactly how old they are," says press officer Phil Gambino. SSA conducted a "roundup" of centenarians in 1990—contacting each one personally—and found only 84 unrecorded deaths, netting savings of $1.9 million. Even the White House can be duped in its effort to send birthday greetings to very old Americans. White House volunteers rely on friends and families to request greetings, and don't try to verify them. Recently someone obtained a card for a "best friend"—a dog, allegedly 100 in dog years.



LAWRENCE IVY

Surviving—and thriving: *Willi dancing at 100*

Whatever their exact numbers, human centenarians are the focus of increasing research. Women over 100 outnumber men about 2 to 1, according to a 1987 National Institute of Aging report. Roughly 80 percent are white, though proportionately more blacks live to be older than 105. About half reside alone or with family members; more than half didn't go to high school and some 90 percent have incomes under $5,000 a year. The odds against living to be 100, the NIA noted, have dropped from 400 to 1 for people born in 1879 to a mere 87 to 1 for those born in 1980.



What's the secret of living so long? David Wekstein at the University of Kentucky's Sanders-Brown Center on Aging studied 546 centenarians and found that most had a close relationship with a spouse, a child or a nursing-home staffer. Most had upbeat outlooks on life—and many had avoided caffeine, alcohol and tobacco. "It's as if they read the books by the American Heart Association and the American Cancer Society and lived their lives accordingly," Wekstein says. Others, however, defy the conventional wisdom. "I never took any medicine. I took Scotch, 95 years, every day of the week—and I never was drunk," declares Harry Schneider. In his 1990 book "One Hundred Over 100," author Jim Heynen profiled some centenarians who had recovered repeatedly from cancer; some were chronic worriers, some weighed 245 pounds and many had spent their lives helping others. Ruth Inez Austin, for example, became a career social worker after being arrested in a 1920s garment-workers strike for hitting a policeman with her muff. Even those less physically able were still creating good will around them, Heynen writes, "with their simple, unadorned presence that says 'Behold, I have endured'."

Another unscientific measure of the century club's growth comes from NBC's "Today" show, which has been airing birthday wishes to Americans 100 and older since the mid-1980s. Willard Scott now gets about 50 requests for greetings every day—double the number five years ago. "We've had people who crossed the country in covered wagons, and some were older than the state they were born in," says assistant Kay Mannello, who verifies each birthday close to air time to guard against untimely deaths. Not infrequently, viewers write to say they recognized a distant relative they had assumed was dead.

Centenarians offer explanations of their longevity as varied as their life stories. Claire Willi credits her exercise regime: "Stand straight—it's very important." Henry Neligan, a British sailor who survived two shipwrecks, told Heynen: "Keep your feet warm, your head cool, your bowels open and trust in the Lord." Robert Coulter, 106, who came from Ireland on the Lusitania and spent 30 years on Ford assembly lines, credits his parents. "If you plant a strong plant," he says, "it grows."

MELINDA BECK *with* FARAI CHIDEYA *in New York and* BRYNN CRAFFEY *in San Francisco*

SCIENCE

'The Handwriting of God'

A satellite spies the ripples of the big bang

There's no dearth of creation myths, from Easter Island's bird god that laid a world egg to the Old Testament's six days of genesis. But for the truly weird, imagine the big bang. An explosion *of* space, not *in* space. A kernel of cosmos inflating so wildly that, faster than an eye blink, a blob smaller than a proton grew as big as today's entire visible universe. This infant world developing ripples of energy in the fabric of its space. The ripples stretching as the universe expanded and creating the sparkling necklaces of stars and the pinwheels of galaxies that bedeck the night sky.

The astounding part is that this creation myth might be right. Last week researchers led by astrophysicist George Smoot of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory announced that they had discovered primordial wrinkles, floating at the very beginning of time. No more than wispy tendrils, they are up to 59 billion trillion miles across, the most gigantic and the most ancient structures ever seen. But that's not why scientists are calling the find "one of the major discoveries of the century" and "the Holy Grail of cosmology." E-mail is flying and hastily called symposia are overflowing because the ripples, says physicist Joel Primack of the University of California, Santa Cruz, are no less than "the handwriting of God."

If so, then the Creator has been writing in almost-invisible ink. On Nov. 18, 1989, NASA launched a $160 million satellite to seek the memoirs of genesis. COBE (Cosmic Background Explorer) measures the nearly uniform sea of microwaves that bathes all of space like a whisper of creation. The discovery of the microwave whisper, by Arno Penzias and Robert Wilson of AT&T's Bell Labs in 1964, just about proved that the universe began in a big bang. Trouble was, the microwave sea seemed incredibly smooth—as smooth as the Atlantic with waves no higher than a golf ball. If energy and matter are spread across the heavens so evenly, how could particles ever have clumped together into galaxies? To say that theorists were eager to discover such primeval clumps is an understatement. They were desperate. When COBE didn't spy any wrinkles at first, "we were close to catastrophe," says Harvard University astrophysicist William Press.

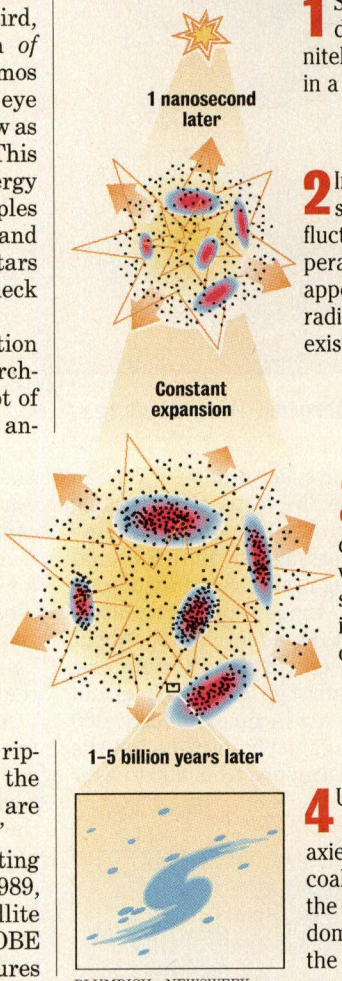
COBE kept looking. Last summer, as Smoot's team (and its computers) pored over some 420 million measurements radioed back from the satellite, 560 miles up, they glimpsed the discovery of a lifetime. They saw variations of .00003 degree from one swatch of sky to another. The temperature fluctuations were so tiny as to be almost undetectable. And yet, they "are the imprints of tiny ripples in the fabric of spacetime put there by the primeval explosion," says Smoot. The wrinkles, dating from just 300,000 years after the big bang, are "as close as we are ever going to get to creation itself," says UC's Primack.

Expanding fireball: The ripples are too huge to have grown into the individual galaxies seen today. Smoot calls them "the big brothers of the galactic seeds." The seeds of the Milky Way, Andromeda and the rest of the twinkling firmament are too small for COBE to see. (Instruments at the South Pole can pick out fluctuations that begat today's galaxies, and are on the verge of doing so.) But the ripples are just the size to support one of the boldest new offerings from cosmology. It's a theory called inflation. Devised independently by Alan Guth of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and by Russian physicist Andrei Linde, it holds that the universe began in the expanding fireball of the big bang and then inflated madly, doubling in size every tenth of a quadrillionth of a quintillionth (10^{-34}) of a second. Quantum fluctuations—hot spots—arose. Unlike the original big-bang theory, inflation predicts the scale of these ripples of energy. The COBE measurements "are exactly what inflationary models predict," Guth says. "It's wonderful."

COBE also supports theories holding that as much as 90 percent of the universe consists of bizarre invisible stuff called dark matter. It might be little black holes, never-seen particles dubbed axions and WIMPs (weakly interacting massive particles), or something not even a theorist has dreamed of. The wrinkles, says Smoot, must be "composed of . . . something we've never seen." But there is something even curiouser, says Smoot: "that human beings have the audacity to conceive a theory of creation." Even more astounding is that, if the COBE results hold up, puny *Homo sapiens* may just have gotten this myth right.

SHARON BEGLEY *with* DANIEL GLICK *in Washington*

In the Beginning . . .



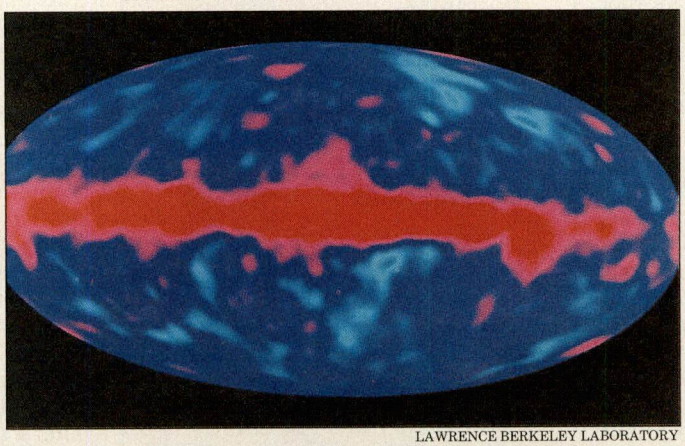
1 Space—infinitely dense and infinitely hot—explodes in a big bang.

2 Inside an inflating speck of space, fluctuations of temperature and density appear. Matter and radiation pop into existence.

3 Gravity draws matter to denser regions, which act like seeds for galaxies and clusters of galaxies.

4 Up to 5 billion years later, galaxies begin to form, coalescing around the original, random fluctuations—the galactic seeds.

BLUMRICH—NEWSWEEK



LAWRENCE BERKELEY LABORATORY

Hot spots: *In this map of the sky, turquoise and pink mark huge wrinkles in 'spacetime' that corralled matter into galaxies*

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ENVIRONMENT

The War Among the Greens

Grass-roots environmentalists charge 'sellout'

A sparkling cascade of water, jagged peaks and pink primroses: that's the gorgeous picture on the Sierra Club's desk calendar for last week, which included Earth Day. It's enough to inspire a donation. But it's what you don't see that might make you wonder what compromises Sierra is willing to make to keep the money ($20.8 million in 1990) rolling in: there's no symbol for "recycled paper."

The Green movement will not stand or fall on whether Sierra prints its calendars on recycled paper, which is as much a badge of political correctness as it is of environmental responsibility. (Sierra's paper, in fact, comes from trees grown on timber farms.) But it is emblematic of what Betty Ball, an ex-official of a local Sierra chapter, calls "a great schism between grass-roots activists and the leadership of the mainstream environmental groups."



JAMES D. WILSON—NEWSWEEK

A clear-cut dispute: *Hermach at Oregon timber site*

On one level, it's a schism over style. Lobbyists for the large national organizations—the Group of 10*—roam Gucci Gulch with the rest of the Capitol Hill special-interest crowd. The National Wildlife Federation (NWF) and the Audubon Society have welcomed onto their boards officials from Waste Management Inc., which has racked up millions of dollars in fines for violating environmental laws at its incinerators. NWF, Audubon, Sierra and others in the Big 10 pay their presidents six-figure salaries and run fund-raising operations that would do a presidential campaign committee proud. According to a new report by the National Charities Information Bureau, upwards of one fifth of the funds raised by at least six of the 10 biggest groups is plowed right back into more fund raising; in some cases less than two thirds of the budget goes for "programs"—the lawsuits, research and other activities that members believe they're supporting. In contrast, Rest the West, a smaller group that fights cattle grazing on battered public lands, puts 90 cents of every dollar into the struggle, not the trappings.

The deeper conflict involves substance. Grass-roots groups accuse the nationals of being too quick to bend their principles in order to get a bill passed. "It's the 'Compromise First!' mentality," says David Orr, who in 1991 founded the dissident Association of Sierra Club Members for Environmental Ethics. While not denying the occasional need for compromise, the grass-roots groups are livid that the compromises originate with the environmentalists. Some of the perceived sellouts:

■ **Logging.** Last year Sierra negotiated with timber companies to produce a forestry bill regulating private lands in California. But the accord would have allowed half the ancient forests to be cut every 25 years. "They gave away the candy store," says Stephanie Tebbutt of the Redwood Coast Watersheds Alliance. (Gov. Pete Wilson vetoed it, and Sierra has subsequently come out against an even weaker bill.) But Sierra has yet to take a stand against clear-cutting in national forests, which threatens endangered as well as commercial species such as salmon, and isn't even profitable: timber sales have required $550 million in taxpayer subsidies over the last two years. The Native Forest Council, founded by Tim Hermach in 1988, stepped into the gap. It is pushing legislation that would ban logging in federal forests but would also assist timber towns hurt by the ban. Bigger groups (with the notable exception of Greenpeace) aren't interested in a bill they say would never pass Congress.

■ **Hunting.** Last fall Montana-based Swan View Coalition won an injunction against grizzly-bear hunting in the state. The Group of 10 didn't get involved.

■ **Cattle grazing on public lands.** Rest the West cites research suggesting that 80 percent of cattle on public lands should be removed until the overgrazed areas recover. The big national groups are just pushing for higher grazing fees.

■ **Endangered species.** Last month Jasper Carlton of the Biodiversity Legal Foundation in Boulder, Colo., with other grass-roots activists, filed a lawsuit challenging the federal moratorium on listing endangered species. The Big 10 worry that Congress is about to gut the Endangered Species Act, and so "are not willing to take the political heat" from such a bold suit, says Carlton. And although the best way to protect species is by preserving habitat—which doesn't stop at state boundaries—the Goliaths settle for the state-by-state approach that Congress prefers. The Davids want to protect whole ecosystems, which most of the Big 10 insist Congress will never buy.

The established environmental groups deny that they sell out. "Our principles haven't changed," says Michael Fischer, executive director of the Sierra Club. They argue that good salaries attract environmental lawyers smart enough to go head to head with industry, and that fund raising is crucial to strengthening the movement through ecological research and public education. The small groups "have taken a good-faith difference of opinion and transformed it into some kind of holy war against the national groups that is unjustified," says David Edelson of the Natural Resources Defense Council. It's too early to tell whether the battle over who is greener-than-thou will leave the environmental movement stronger or limping, but James Watt must love it.

SHARON BEGLEY *with* PATRICIA KING *in San Francisco*

*Sierra Club, National Wildlife Federation, National Audubon Society, Environmental Defense Fund, Natural Resources Defense Council, Wilderness Society, Nature Conservancy, Greenpeace, Ducks Unlimited, World Wildlife Fund.

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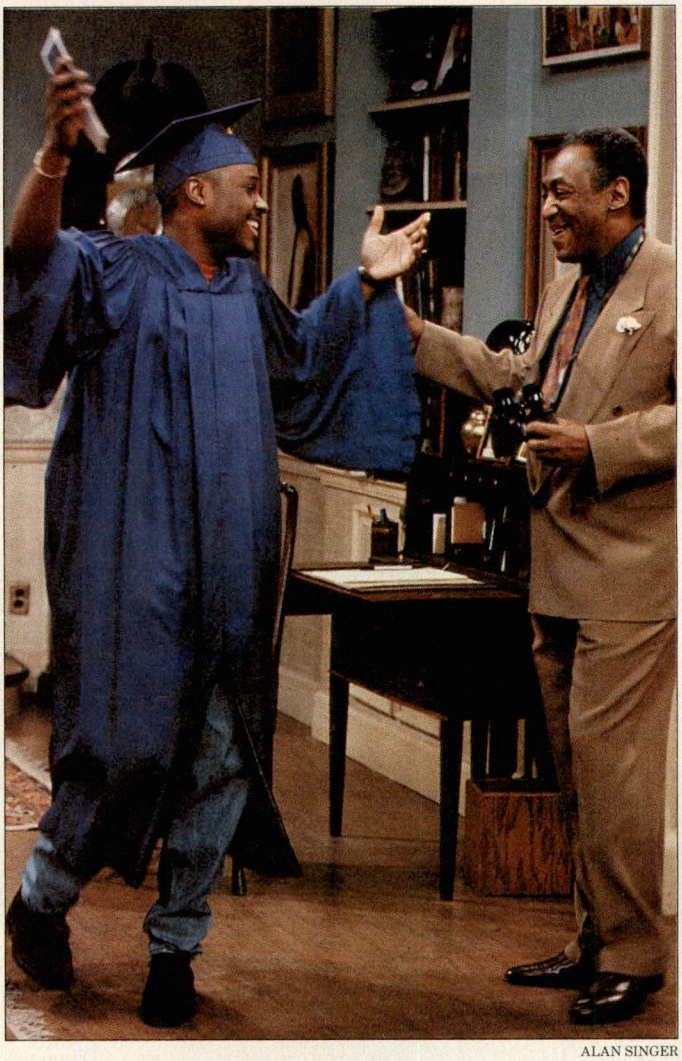
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Signing Off With Pomp and Circumstance

Bill Cosby wanted the final episode to be "just another night" at the Huxtables. Aw, come *on,* Dad! This is, after all, the series that rescued NBC, revived the sitcom genre and was watched by more people than any comedy in television history. So when "The Cosby Show" bows out on April 30, it exits with a nostalgic, one-hour special that ties things up like the bow on a graduation gift.

The graduate is Theo (Malcolm-Jamal Warner), who gets his NYU diploma as all four generations of Huxtables hug, kiss and choke up. Conspicuously absent: married daughter Denise (Lisa Bonet), who vanished from the show after Bonet had a falling out with Cosby. But Denise does phone home—to announce she's pregnant.

Dr. Cosby is headed into a quiz-show remake of "You Bet Your Life." He's also producing a sitcom pilot starring Warner as a psychology student working in the inner city. Sounds heavy, but Cosby insists: "It is funny and it is going to be good." *Awriiiight,* Dad!



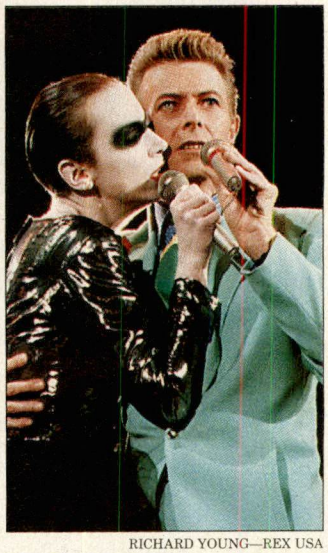
ALAN SINGER

Commencement Day for TV's most-watched family: *Warner, Cosby*

TRANSITION

EXECUTED: Convicted murderer **Robert Alton Harris,** 39, in San Quentin's gas chamber; April 21. After four stays of execution, the last coming as Harris was already strapped into the death seat, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered a California appeals court not to issue any more reprieves. The execution of the double murderer was the state's first in 25 years.

DIED: Indian filmmmaker **Satyajit Ray,** 70; of heart and lung ailments, in Calcutta, April 23. Ray won international acclaim with evocative films about life in impoverished Bengal, notably his "Apu" trilogy. Last month he accepted an honorary Oscar for lifetime achievement from a hospital bed.



RICHARD YOUNG—REX USA

For Freddie: *Lennox, Bowie*

Mercurial Acts

David Bowie, Elton John and George Michael—they're Freddie Mercury's kind of royalty. Last week they and nearly 100 other rockers saluted Queen's lead singer, who died of AIDS in November, at a London benefit concert. Weirdest sight: Annie Lennox, eyes so blackened with makeup one critic christened her "Queen of the Raccoons." Call it Mercury Theater.



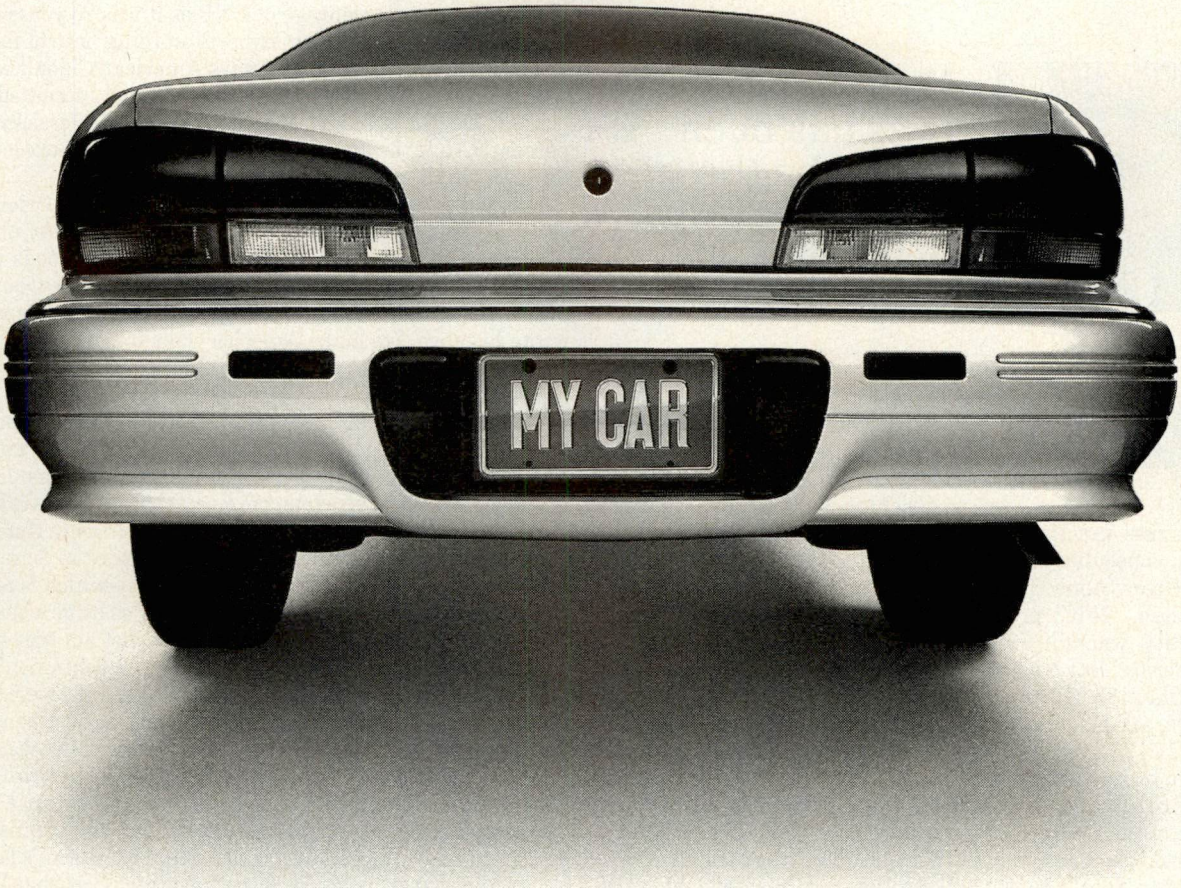
JANE BOVINGDON

The new Tuesday Weld plays another teen in trouble: *Lewis, Howell*

Smart Woman, Foolish Choices

As the teenage target of Robert De Niro's seduction in "Cape Fear," Juliette Lewis won a thumbs-up from critics. Now, instead of a sicko ex-con, she's making it with a bowling-alley hood. That's the premise of "One Hot Summer," in which Lewis, 19, plays a good girl who meets the wrong boy (C. Thomas Howell) and ends up pregnant and unwed. Isn't Lewis tired of playing, um, impressionable teens? "They're people, too," she sniffs. Her next costar: Woody Allen, who's all thumbs at bowling.

HARRY F. WATERS



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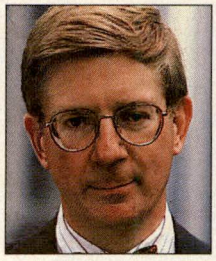
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'Shadow World'?



No society ever has been or will be the efficient marvel that Crichton says Japan is

Popular fiction can popularize ideas, so Michael Crichton's best-selling "Rising Sun" is dismaying as a symptom and reprehensible as an act. It is a crime novel well stocked with murder and other mayhem—or, as Crichton says, other Japanese business practices. It overflows with anti-Japanese passion, a peculiar blend of fear and loathing and admiration.

Oliver Stone should make the movie of "Rising Sun." Stone's "JFK" preached that if you pierce the veil of reality, you will unmask a mighty conspiracy controlling America. But Stone sees a made-in-America conspiracy. Crichton is selling an import. Listen to Crichton's fictional hero, an American initiated into the mysteries of Japanness: "You must understand, there is a shadow world—here in Los Angeles, in Honolulu, in New York. We live in our regular American world, walking through our American streets, and we never notice that right alongside our world is a second world. Very discreet, very private. Perhaps in New York you will see Japanese businessmen walk through an unmarked door, and catch a glimpse of a club behind. Perhaps you will hear of a small sushi bar in Los Angeles that charges twelve hundred dollars a person, Tokyo prices . . . They are part of the shadow world, available only to the Japanese."

All that is missing from Crichton's nightmare is a Japanese version of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." The dark heart of the matter is that "Rising Sun" is not a harmless cartoon. We have seen such stuff before, with Jews treated as the Japanese now are. In The New York Review of Books Ian Buruma demonstrates striking similarities between "Rising Sun" and the Nazis' infamous film "Jew Süss." The film's attitude toward Jews is an ugly alloy of awe and rage: Jews—all of them; there is no individuality—are an inscrutable, clever, devious, dominating, inhumanly patient and implacably secretive people. They wield power behind impenetrable mists of subterfuge, manipulating the media and financial institutions and controlling, like marionettes on strings of money, corrupted politicians and pliable intellectuals.

This description fits Crichton's maniacally disciplined Japanese who exercise a Merlin-like mastery of the minutest details of their blueprint for domination. Crichton, speaking through his fictional wise man, drains his description of disapproval by adopting the languid relativism of sophomore sophisticates who say cultures can not be good or bad, they just are. But Crichton is not bashful about one judgment: he despises contemporary America. "Rising Sun" fits the Zeitgeist because it is part of the literature of victimhood. But it portrays an America that deserves to be victimized, a nation sliding into Third World decrepitude because Americans are lazy incompetents.

Crichton's hero says Americans "don't make things anymore." Tell that to Boeing, Microsoft, Hewlett-Packard, Intel and thousands of other manufacturers (manufacturing is as large a percentage of GNP as it was 20 years ago) responsible for American exports surging much faster than Japan's. Crichton's hero says Americans "don't work very hard." Oh? In the 1980s population increased 10 percent but the number of people employed increased 20 percent, to a labor force participation rate never exceeded, not even during World War II.

To 'wake up' America? In his cavalier assertions Crichton resembles Stone, the high priest of painfully earnest, oh-so-public-spirited paranoia. "JFK" is full of falsehoods that Stone's apologists deem justified for the Higher Good of awakening America from fatal slumber. Crichton says he wrote his novel "to make America wake up." It may work. No one can slumber while laughing at statements like these in the novel:

"I guess by now they have seventy, seventy-five percent of downtown Los Angeles." "Hell, they *own* Hawaii, ninety percent of Honolulu . . ." (Wrong numbers and nouns. Japanese own 45 percent of prime commercial space in central Los Angeles and 90 percent of luxury-hotel properties in Honolulu. The British—perfidious Albion—own more in America than Japanese do, and foreign investment—which is not a bad thing—may have been proportionally as large a part of the nation's economy 80 years ago.) It is just not true that "the Japanese spend half a billion a year in Washington"; or that "nobody in Japan will buy American beef. If Americans send beef it will rot on the docks"; or that "most expensive American stores" would "go out of business without visitors from Tokyo"; or that "if a Japanese bought an American car, he got audited by the government"; or that "America has done nothing" in 20 years to lower the energy cost of finished goods; or that Japanese own "100 percent of Hawaii's Kona Coast"; or that America is "a poor country"; or that "the American economy is collapsing"; and so on and on and on. Didactic fiction is usually tiresome; this is insufferable.

Crichton's hero says he has been over into the future and it works: "Everything *works* in Japan." Crichton's problem is less that he is silly about Japan than that he is wrong about human arrangements generally. He should write less fiction until he has read more history. No society ever has been or will be the marvel that Crichton says Japan is. As for his wholesale extrapolation into the future of Japan's recent successes: Someone—Orwell, I think—said that intellectuals tend to assume that trends will go on forever, but that is like saying Rommel got to El Alamein so he will get to Cairo. He never got to Cairo.

"Rising Sun," an intended thriller, is intensely boring because its RoboVillain—an entire race, caricatured—lacks humanity and hence lacks human interest. Today, as Japan's economy sags and its stock market crashes, the strongest American feeling about Japan is not fear but *Schadenfreude.* What Crichton and other swooners about Japan admire so inordinately is orderliness, but it is the tidiness of life lived within an old and homogenous tribe. The Japanese are an old people but a novice nation. They have an ancient culture but are new to, and not at ease with, the essentials of modernity—individualism, pluralism, heterogeneity. Much of the messiness of American life is not mere inefficiency, it is yeastiness. It is creative fermentation, part of the fecundity of freedom. For 216 years that has made America what it remains—the rising sun.

Signs You Should Own The Best Mid-Size Van.



Buckle up, America! *See your Chevrolet dealer for terms of this limited warranty. †Excludes other GM products. **When properly equipped. Includes weight of passengers, trailer, cargo and equipment. Chevrolet, the Chevrolet emblem and Astro are registered trademarks and Chevy is a trademark of the GM Corp. ©1992 GM Corp. All Rights Reserved.

•All-wheel drive with standard four-wheel anti-lock brakes. •Available seating for eight. Available Dutch doors. •3-year/36,000-mile Bumper to Bumper Plus Warranty. No deductible. •Winner of 1992 Consumers Digest "Best Buy" award.*

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1 mg. tar, 0.1 mg. nic.



10 packs of Carlton have less tar than 1 pack of these brands.



16 mg. tar	14 mg. tar	16	17 mg. tar
1.1 mg. nic.	1.0 mg. nic.	1.	1.3 mg. nic.

U.S. Gov't. Test Method c[illegible] packs:

Carlton [illegible]

in tar an[illegible] nicotine.



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1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine.
Lowest of all brands: Ultra Carlton: less than 0.5 mg. "tar", less than 0.05 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

Lead → Lyn Kennelly

→ Melanie Ohnstad, Deadbeat Dads
person for Gov. Thompson's office
(608) ~~[illegible]~~ 267-3839 (o)
(608) 233-0759 (h)

→ Copy of Appleton, Misc. Speech

→ Talk to some of the mothers that POTUS will be speaking to before speech

→ Call Gary Foster for trip details

→ HHS thing re: regulations

→ Deadbeat dad stuff

→ Clinton's record on deadbeat dads

X2226
for bills passed &
on way to POTUS

336-
7755

with harsh penalties. I want thugs who take cars at gunpoint to stay in a cell so long that when they get out -- they've forgotten how to drive.//

Two, call deadbeat dads onto the carpet. Right now, a single mother here in Missouri can be struggling to keep the kids fed and clothed on her small salary... while their father's up in Chicago, picking out a new Chevy truck with terrycloth pom-poms and a gun rack. He could be six months behind in child-support, but no one can touch him because he's over state lines. Well, I think that's a disgrace, and it's about time the long arm of the law reaches out over that state line... taps that deadbeat dad on the shoulder... and says loud and clear -- time to pay up, buddy. Cough up the cash or go to jail.

Three, strengthen laws dealing with sexual and domestic violence. To start with, we need to protect the victim's privacy. It's cruel to put her in the spotlight. And I want repeat sex and domestic-violence offenders behind bars until trial. Today, even a repeat offender can get arrested and be out on bond hours later... stalking his next victim... or beating his wife and kids for turning him in. I want him detained until trial, and I want the prosecution to be able to use past convictions against him. Right now, so-called little details -- like the fact he's a three-time loser -- can't even be mentioned in court. And that's wrong. Let him pay for what he's done.//

Four, crack down on gang violence. I want gangs to be reclassified under the law as criminal enterprises, just like any

Gary Foster - HHS Study on our success

Curt - get together on speech w/ Dennis Ross

Get deadbeat dads info from crime speech

6 pages. - max

Arkansas crime record → 2 pts.
maybe Arkansas child support info from Ken's speech

RETURN A RECORD CARD

89 YEAR | WIS STATE | MILWAUKEE AGENCY | 538 SMSA | WIMPD00 1 3 ORI GR DIV | 600,898 POPULATION | 08/04/90 DATE

MONTH		1 MURDER	2 FORCIBLE RAPE	3 ROBBERY	4A-D AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	4E SIMPLE ASSAULT	5 BURGLARY	6 LARCENY-THEFT	7 MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	TOTAL 1-7	8 ARSON	EXPANDED INDEX TOTAL	POLICE OFFICERS KILLED FEL	KILLED NEG	ASSAULTED	
JANUARY	A	11	44	201	193	826	838	2228	727	4242	27	4269	NO REPORT			
FEBRUARY	A	11	27	165	77	776	721	1811	629	3441	17	3458	NO REPORT			
MARCH	A	8	30	194	79	1043	753	2068	636	3768	44	3812	NO REPORT			
3MO. TOT		30	101	560	349	2647	2312	6107	1992	11451	88	11539				
APRIL	A	8	35	158	97	722	701	2156	783	3938	40	3978	NO REPORT			
MAY	A	4	41	191	110	1361	640	2519	811	4316	29	4345	NO REPORT			
JUNE	A	9	49	163	121	1584	674	2813	715	4544	35	4579	NO REPORT			
6MO. TOT		51	226	1072	677	6569	4327	13595	4301	24249	192	24441				
JULY	A	13	43	203	132	1462	852	2926	416	4585	42	4627			13	A
AUGUST	A	11	48	240	111	1641	921	2904	404	4639	60	4699		1	7	A
SEPTEMBER	A	7	33	225	92	1307	752	2556	781	4446	52	4498			17	A
9MO. TOT		82	350	1740	1012	11148	6852	21981	5902	37919	346	38265		1	37	
OCTOBER	A	16	48	239	107	1579	893	3107	1062	5472	45	5517			12	A
NOVEMBER	A	8	28	203	75	1344	684	2802	1138	4938	42	4980			11	A
DECEMBER	A	6	35	233	88	1164	746	2173	1035	4316	29	4345			2	A
12MO. TOT		112	461	2415	1282	15235	9175	30063	9137	52645	462	53107		1	62	
TOT CLEARED		90	299	758	777	10744	1528	2672	1551	7679	81	7756				
JUV CLEARED		11	13	98	105	449	278	457	435	1397	28	1425				

MONTH		RAPE		ROBBERY				AGGRAVATED ASSAULT				BURGLARY			MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT		
		FORCIBLE	ATTEMPT	GUN	KNIFE	OTHER WEAPON	STRONG-ARM	GUN	KNIFE	OTHER WEAPON	PERSONAL WEAPON	FORCIBLE ENTRY	UNLAWFUL ENTRY	ATTEMPTED ENTRY	AUTOS	TRUCKS BUSES	OTHER
JANUARY	A	39	5	86	26	6	83	152	34	4	3	791	23	24	692	28	7
FEBRUARY	A	25	2	86	23	5	51	55	11	6	5	671	28	22	600	25	4
MARCH	A	26	4	99	31	9	55	53	17	8	1	704	26	23	606	20	10
3MO. TOT		90	11	271	80	20	189	260	62	18	9	2166	77	69	1898	73	21
APRIL	A	30	5	60	26	12	60	60	17	5	15	660	11	30	745	22	16
MAY	A	37	4	75	28	14	74	71	22	9	8	601	8	31	765	26	20
JUNE	A	43	6	68	21	13	61	83	22	14	2	640	10	24	665	15	35
6MO. TOT		200	26	474	155	59	384	474	123	46	34	4067	106	154	4073	136	92
JULY	A	39	4	103	23	8	69	96	10	13	13	820		32	370	19	27
AUGUST	A	41	7	117	24	13	86	72	24	10	5	877	2	42	351	22	31
SEPTEMBERA		30	3	113	16	12	84	53	22	10	7	689	29	34	725	33	23
9MO. TOT		310	40	807	218	92	623	695	179	79	59	6453	137	262	5519	210	173
OCTOBER	A	43	5	117	22	19	81	70	18	7	12	783	67	43	1006	24	32
NOVEMBER	A	23	5	98	28	10	67	50	11	8	6	604	50	30	1115	15	8
DECEMBER	A	30	5	131	24	7	71	60	15	6	7	676	51	19	997	28	10
12MO. TOT		406	55	1153	292	128	842	875	223	100	84	8516	305	354	8637	277	223
T CLEARED		267	32	396	60	33	269	500	154	63	60	1452	25	51	1467	51	33
J CLEARED		10	3	37	4	6	51	60	23	14	8	255	5	18	413	13	9

FORM X320 (11/80)

SEP-24-1992 16:07 FROM FBI UCR TO 9456218 P.10/11

RETURN A RECORD CARD

90	WIS	MILWAUKEE	538	WIMPDOO 1 3	628,100	02/21/92
YEAR	STATE	AGENCY	SMSA	ORI GR DIV	POPULATION	DATE

MONTH	1 MURDER	2 FORCIBLE RAPE	3 ROBBERY	4A-D AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	4E SIMPLE ASSAULT	5 BURGLARY	6 LARCENY-THEFT	7 MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	TOTAL 1-7	8 ARSON	EXPANDED INDEX TOTAL	POLICE OFFICERS KILLED FEL	KILLED NEG	ASSAULTED	
JANUARY A	6	37	273	94	1461	731	2431	867	4439	22	4461	NO	REPORT		
FEBRUARY A	12	54	231	79	1151	655	2100	766	3897	27	3924	NO	REPORT		
MARCH A	10	34	204	127	1405	668	2663	905	4611	30	4641	NO	REPORT		
3MO. TOT	28	125	708	300	4020	2054	7194	2538	12947	79	13026				
APRIL A	9	47	230	124	1336	758	2302	866	4336	38	4374	NO	REPORT		
MAY A	9	43	263	117	1435	605	2460	954	4453	37	4490	NO	REPORT		
JUNE A	16	54	271	170	1102	568	2212	1124	4415	40	4455	NO	REPORT		
6MO. TOT	62	269	1474	711	7963	3985	14168	5482	26151	194	26345				
JULY A	16	36	455	175	1264	813	2809	1320	5624	49	5673				A
AUGUST A	17	55	434	170	1311	939	2748	1151	5514	37	5551				A
SEPTEMBER A	18	44	442	144	1180	841	2504	1155	5148	39	5187				A
9MO. TOT	113	404	2805	1200	11718	6578	22229	9108	42437	319	42756				
OCTOBER A	20	39	438	91	983	965	2425	1502	5480	27	5507	NO	REPORT		
NOVEMBER A	12	33	413	108	1002	856	2564	1395	5381	30	5411	NO	REPORT		
DECEMBER A	10	19	490	87	963	912	2357	1233	5108	20	5128	NO	REPORT		
12MO. TOT	155	495	4146	1486	14670	9311	29575	13238	58406	396	58802				
TOT CLEARED	121	369	1057	783	11509	1392	2351	1316	7389	56	7445				
JUV CLEARED	11	42	226	117	386	237	375	516	1524	18	1542				

MONTH	RAPE FORCIBLE	RAPE ATTEMPT	ROBBERY GUN	ROBBERY KNIFE	ROBBERY OTHER WEAPON	ROBBERY STRONG-ARM	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT GUN	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT KNIFE	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT OTHER WEAPON	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT PERSONAL WEAPON	BURGLARY FORCIBLE ENTRY	BURGLARY UNLAWFUL ENTRY	BURGLARY ATTEMPTED ENTRY	MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT AUTOS	MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT TRUCKS BUSES	MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT OTHER
JANUARY A	29	8	127	34	24	88	49	20	12	13	648	50	33	846	16	5
FEBRUARY A	45	9	126	23	9	73	42	16	14	7	571	39	45	754	9	3
MARCH A	28	6	100	24	11	69	80	18	17	12	573	57	38	866	33	6
3MO. TOT	102	23	353	81	44	230	171	54	43	32	1792	146	116	2466	58	14
APRIL A	34	13	111	18	11	90	72	29	16	7	662	56	40	811	43	12
MAY A	37	6	177	15	10	63	84	12	17	4	534	47	24	852	67	35
JUNE A	41	13	148	20	30	73	121	21	11	17	490	43	35	1051	43	30
6MO. TOT	214	55	789	134	95	456	448	116	87	60	3478	292	215	5180	211	91
JULY A	28	8	267	37	23	128	125	25	11	14	732	53	28	1199	118	3
AUGUST A	44	11	247	30	22	135	127	23	13	7	795	113	31	1056	55	40
SEPTEMBERA	38	6	254	47	19	122	110	11	15	8	749	57	35	1078	48	29
9MO. TOT	324	80	1557	248	159	841	810	175	126	89	5754	515	309	8513	432	163
OCTOBER A	34	5	257	27	18	136	70	9	8	4	872	44	49	1428	59	15
NOVEMBER A	31	2	249	35	12	117	74	12	11	11	779	40	37	1332	60	3
DECEMBER A	17	2	324	33	7	126	53	11	16	7	823	48	41	1176	52	5
12MO. TOT	406	89	2387	343	196	1220	1007	207	161	111	8228	647	436	12449	603	186
T CLEARED	303	66	774	54	32	197	573	78	60	72	1273	89	30	1241	49	26
J CLEARED	30	12	178	2	5	41	97	6	9	5	217	15	5	487	17	12

SEP-24-1992 16:04 FROM FBI UCR TO 94566218 P.06/11

RETURN A RECORD CARD

91	WIS	MILWAUKEE	538	WIMPDOO 1 3	636,342	07/30/92
YEAR	STATE	AGENCY	SMSA	ORI GR DIV	POPULATION	DATE

MONTH		1 MURDER	2 FORCIBLE RAPE	3 ROBBERY	4A-O AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	4B SIMPLE ASSAULT	5 BURGLARY	6 LARCENY-THEFT	7 MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	TOTAL 1-7	8 ARSON	EXPANDED INDEX TOTAL	POLICE OFFICERS KILLED FEL	POLICE OFFICERS KILLED NEG	POLICE OFFICERS ASSAULTED	
JANUARY	A	18	26	389	51	895	701	1906	908	3999	27	4026			25	A
FEBRUARY	A	7	27	313	79	836	608	1958	871	3863	23	3886			32	A
MARCH	A	13	48	349	80	915	722	2274	1086	4572	38	4610			26	A
3MO. TOT		38	101	1051	210	2726	2031	6138	2865	12434	88	12522			83	
APRIL	A	9	34	234	90	1004	479	2194	652	3692	23	3715			34	A
MAY	A	18	33	338	105	1186	812	2544	1041	4891	41	4932			35	A
JUNE	A	8	33	296	125	1019	781	2342	1022	4607	44	4651			18	A
6MO. TOT		73	201	1919	530	5083	4103	13218	5580	25624	196	25820			170	
JULY	A	30	56	264	152	1166	690	2542	1019	4753	47	4800			14	A
AUGUST	A	13	67	413	156	1436	942	2607	1328	5526	60	5586			21	A
SEPTEMBER	A	8	47	342	140	1441	826	2566	1161	5090	28	5118			40	A
9MO. TOT		124	371	2938	978	10028	6561	20933	9088	40993	331	41324			245	
OCTOBER	A	19	42	444	131	1213	1001	2624	1462	5723	44	5767			30	A
NOVEMBER	A	9	52	424	112	1019	846	2382	1512	5337	28	5365			30	A
DECEMBER	A	11	37	446	90	1114	1023	2383	1508	5498	16	5514			18	A
12MO. TOT		163	502	4252	1311	13374	9431	28322	13570	57551	419	57970			323	
TOT CLEARED		138	287	1318	741	10597	1274	2708	1227	7693	46	7739				
JUV CLEARED		10	24	307	133	493	265	503	507	1749	14	1763				

MONTH		RAPE FORCIBLE	RAPE ATTEMPT	ROBBERY GUN	ROBBERY KNIFE	ROBBERY OTHER WEAPON	ROBBERY STRONG-ARM	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT GUN	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT KNIFE	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT OTHER WEAPON	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT PERSONAL WEAPON	BURGLARY FORCIBLE ENTRY	BURGLARY UNLAWFUL ENTRY	BURGLARY ATTEMPTED ENTRY	MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT AUTOS	MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT TRUCKS BUSES	MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT OTHER
JANUARY	A	22	4	295	27	4	63	37	7	4	3	629	36	36	858	43	7
FEBRUARY	A	25	2	205	25	9	74	57	13	6	3	528	35	45	831	40	
MARCH	A	45	3	226	38	14	71	64	10	3	1	624	72	26	1026	53	7
3MO. TOT		92	9	726	90	27	208	158	30	15	7	1781	143	107	2715	136	14
APRIL	A	30	4	144	19	7	64	59	18	12	1	431	29	19	605	33	14
MAY	A	31	2	215	23	14	86	67	21	12	5	704	76	32	949	62	30
JUNE	A	27	6	153	16	7	120	86	18	15	6	694	58	29	918	61	43
6MO. TOT		180	21	1238	148	55	478	370	87	54	19	3610	306	187	5187	292	101
JULY	A	51	5	152	11	16	85	107	20	18	7	597	62	31	926	56	37
AUGUST	A	58	9	214	26	25	148	119	20	11	6	800	100	42	1233	59	36
SEPTEMBERA		41	6	199	17	17	109	107	10	17	6	728	69	29	1103	37	21
9MO. TOT		330	41	1803	202	113	820	703	137	100	38	5735	537	289	8449	444	195
OCTOBER	A	37	5	271	24	18	131	88	20	17	6	897	65	39	1396	36	30
NOVEMBER	A	46	6	284	30	5	105	81	17	7	7	767	47	32	1469	38	5
DECEMBER	A	32	5	319	20	9	98	60	14	13	3	908	69	46	1454	46	8
12MO. TOT		445	57	2677	276	145	1154	932	188	137	54	8307	718	406	12768	564	238
T CLEARED		256	31	879	67	31	341	491	129	82	39	1207	32	35	1134	38	55
J CLEARED		22	2	183	9	11	104	107	13	11	2	254	4	7	466	22	19

FORM X320 (11/82)

SEP-24-1992 16:02 FROM FBI UCR TO 94566218 P.04/11

Crime Statistics: 9/25/92

SOURCE: St. Louis Metropolitan Police Dept. figures violent crime in Fox Park [mid 89-8/31/92]

DATE	MURDER	FORCIBLE RAPE	ROBBERY	AGGRIVATED ASSAULT	
1992	1	5	19	67	
1991	2	9	85	94	
1990	1	2	46	72	
1989	0	1	35	67	7-12
TOTALS	4	17	185	300	

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SOURCE: David Nemecek, Dir. National Crime Info Center [324-2606] referred me to Vicky Major [324-5015]
*1992 numbers from St. Louis Metropolitan Police

St. Louis / Violent Crimes [1989-91]:

DATE	MURDER	FORCIBLE RAPE	ROBBERY	AGGRIVATED ASSAULT	OFFICERS ASSAULTED	
1992*	111	252	3,189	5,264	--	
1991	260	342	5,294	8,180	715	
1990	177	331	4,708	8,466	778	
1989	83	188	2,308	4,253	360	7-12
TOTALS	631	1,113	15,499	26,163	1,853	

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SOURCE: FBI //Uniform Crime Report // Carlos Davis [estimates] 324-3827
Vicky Major [324-5015]

*Estimated Violent Crime Offenses in the UNITED STATES [89-91]:

DATE	MURDER	FORCIBLE RAPE	ROBBERY	AGGRIVATED ASSAULT	
1991	24,700	106,590	687,730	1,092,740	
1990	23,440	102,560	639,270	1,054,860	
1989	11,395	49,896	307,093	495,841	[July-Dec]*
TOTALS	59,535	259,046	1,634,093	2,643,441	