

The Outrageous
Joan Rivers



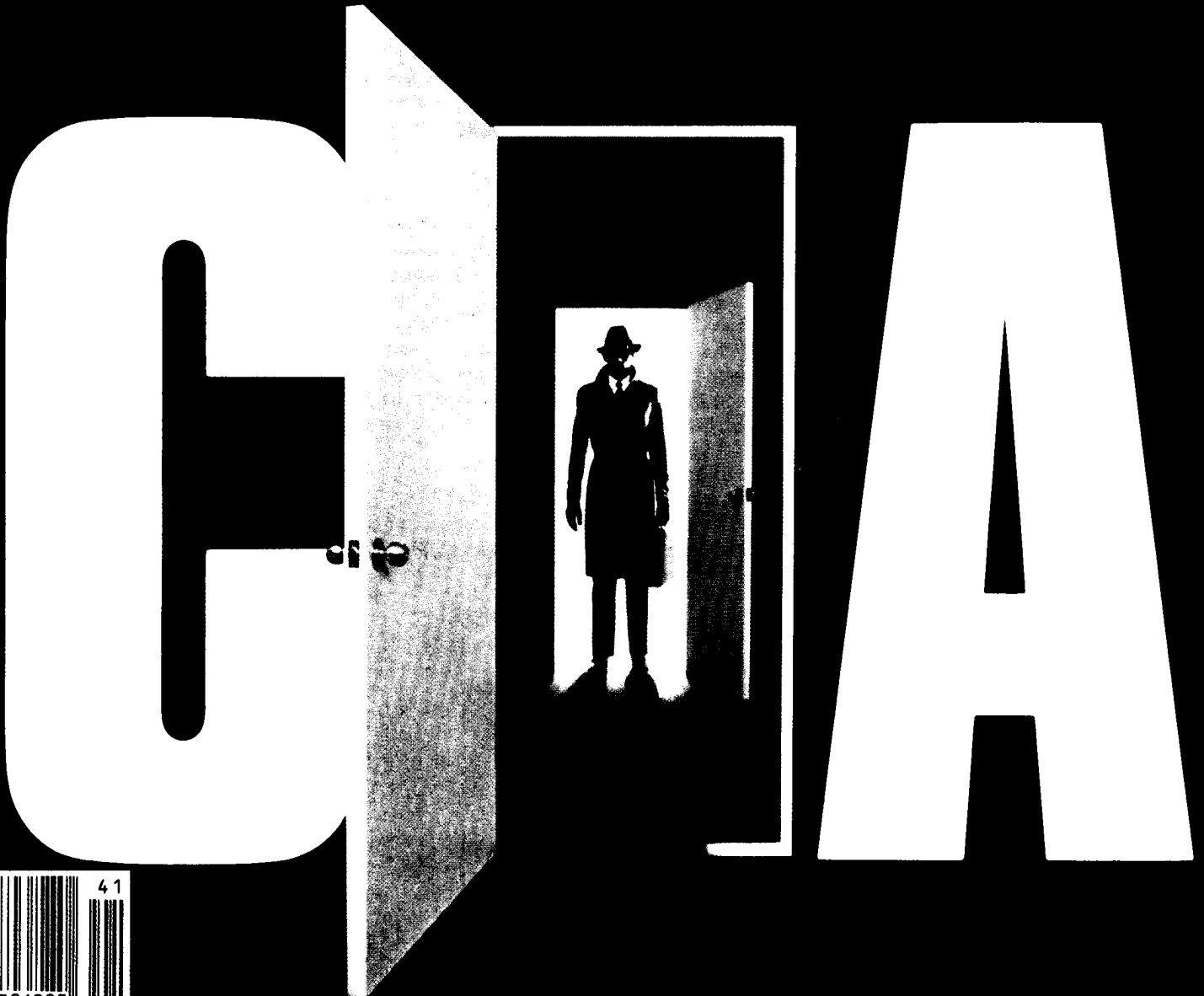
Airlines: A Fight
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The Secret Warriors

The CIA Is Back in Business





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TOP OF THE WEEK

Newsweek

OCTOBER 10, 1983



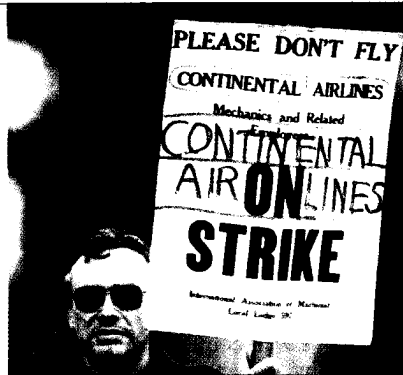
America's Secret Warriors: The CIA Reborn

The cloaks and daggers have been brought out of cold storage at Ronald Reagan's Central Intelligence Agency. After a sharp decline in clandestine work during the 1970s, there are now more than 1,000 CIA undercover specialists—and more CIA-backed covert operations under way than at any time since the 1960s. With gruff, controversial William J. Casey (left) at the helm, the agency has sponsored large-scale "special activities" in Iran, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Thailand and Nicaragua (right). But Congress is disturbed. As Casey goes about the task of strengthening the CIA and plugging its leaks, serious doubts remain about the propriety and effectiveness of clandestine operations. *Page 38*



The Airlines Hit a Downdraft

The nation's airlines seem to be fastening their seat belts for a one-way flight to oblivion. Strike-plagued Continental Airlines has resorted to bankruptcy court to escape high-cost labor contracts. Eastern says mounting debts may force it into bankruptcy unless it can cut wages. And deregulation has pushed other major carriers to the brink as well. Labor-management relations have become so strained that the pilot's union has even threatened to call a nationwide strike. *Page 66*



Pride and Joy Down Under

All-night parties spilled into the streets, flags were unfurled—and much of Australia went bonkers. After 132 years, Australia II had become the first challenger to beat the United States and win the America's Cup. The victory provided a welcome distraction from the country's economic troubles. Together with recent successes in the arts and sciences, the triumph helped fuel a new sense of pride Down Under. *Page 56*



The Outrageous Comedy Queen of TV

Frantic, frank and utterly shameless, Joan Rivers has turned herself into television's hottest female comic. Her jokes expose the warts and double chins of celebrities—perhaps making others feel a bit better about their own wrinkles. But Rivers remains obsessed with her past failures, which may be the key to her scorching humor and success. *Page 58*



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LETTERS

U.S. Peacekeeping in Lebanon

The Reagan administration and Congress must think that the American people are fools who've forgotten the lessons of Vietnam if they expect us to believe that a few Marines and warships can magically quell centuries-old religious hatred in the Middle East (SPECIAL REPORT, Sept. 26). This kind of bankrupt thinking from our so-called leaders is what makes the American citizen feel utterly hopeless and cynical about the government.

DON SHAW
East Aurora, N.Y.

If we let the rebel forces in Lebanon think that they can make America pull out of the peacekeeping force by inflicting enough casualties on our Marines, then our presence there *is* futile. But if Congress and the administration can work together to strengthen our commitment, we *can* help to bring about a lasting peace. To abandon our commitment now would be a cruel betrayal of all those who have placed their hope in us.

GERARD B. KOPCZYNSKI
Whitewater, Wis.

George Will couldn't have said it better: "Listening to Lebanese extremists calls to mind the inmates who rioted because the prison food was inedible and they were denied seconds." I, too, think Reagan's on the right track. What the president needs to do now is get all the force he can and quickly step in and establish a true state of peace. This would give what there is of Gemayel's government a chance to get off the ground.

BRIAN KIMBALL
Richfield, Utah

Poison From the Sky?

In his review of Grant Evans's "The Yellow Rainmakers" (BOOKS, Sept. 26), Gene Lyons states that "if Evans's case [against the existence of yellow rain] stands up to the rigorous going-over that yellow-rain believers must now attempt, it will serve as a classic study in the way rumor can metamorphose into fact." But the facts are there for all to see. Analyses of a wide variety of samples, e.g., soil, vegetation, agent residue, human blood and tissue, are considered, as are other relevant data. All fully support the same conclusion: that chemical and toxin weapons are being used by the Soviets, the Vietnamese and the Lao against innocent

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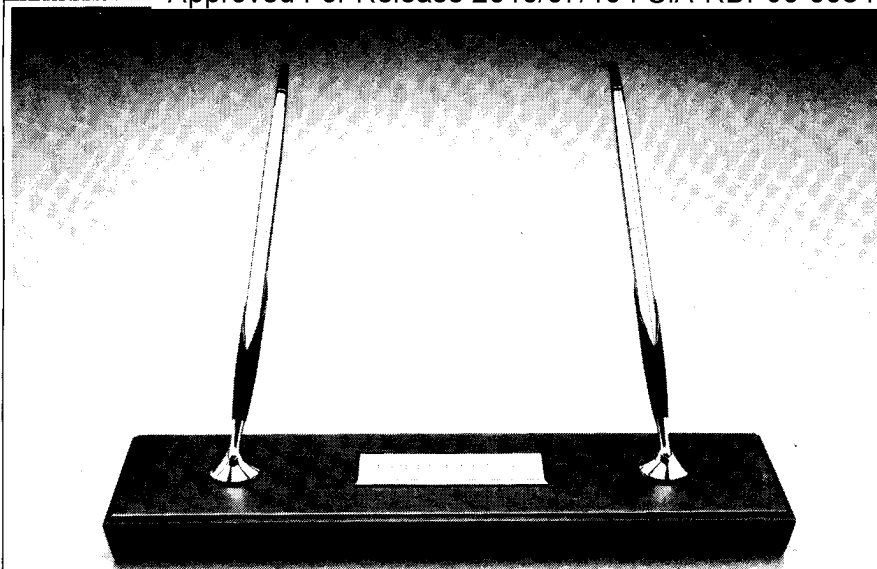
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LETTERS

men, women and children of Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Laos. Yellow rain cannot be explained away by questionable sociological assumptions and pseudoscientific conjecture. The deaths of defenseless people in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan are simply not the result of flukes of nature.

LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER
Under Secretary of State
for Political Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Sakharov's Letter to the West

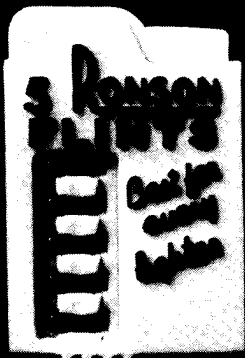
Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov's letter in the summer 1983 issue of the U.S. journal *Foreign Affairs*, which you described as "urging the West to increase its military strength" (*PERISCOPE*, Sept. 19), mainly concerned the horror of nuclear war, which he termed "collective suicide." The scientist stressed that the West should achieve parity in conventional weapons only as a necessary part of the nuclear disarmament process.

CHRIS RAND
Kingsville, Texas

As McGovern Sees It

George McGovern (*NATIONAL AFFAIRS*, Sept. 26) has long provided hope for those in despair. If the world were as McGovern sees it, he would be the best president. Unfortu-

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LETTERS

nately few world leaders share McGovern's moral sense and so his policies of peace might be more apt to lead us into war.

JOHN A. OPAR
Wayne, N.J.

A Case of Misidentity

In the NEWSMAKERS section of the July 4 issue, you said that Adelina, the magazine which misidentified British novelist Jackie Collins as the subject of nude photos it published three years ago, was owned by Hustler publisher Larry Flynt. Mr. Flynt has never been the owner of Adelina. While Ms. Collins did sue the publisher of Adelina, the verdict was against Flynt Distributing Co., Inc., solely on the basis of FDC's distribution of the magazine.

NEIL I. ADELMAN
Assistant General Counsel
Larry Flynt Publications, Inc.
Los Angeles, Calif.

✓ NEWSWEEK regrets the error.

Presidential Hearing

We are very encouraged to see that President Reagan is sporting a new intracanal hearing aid (MEDICINE, Sept. 19). It's high time hearing aids came out of the dresser drawer and we hope that Mr. Reagan will

serve as a role model for the thousands of hearing-impaired individuals who need, but are not using, amplification. Perhaps an attractive hearing aid such as his will motivate greater numbers of people to go for help. Thus, more and more people will be using hearing aids and hearing loss might not be viewed so negatively. However, as your article states, the intracanal aid is not for everyone. Medical clearance followed by a complete evaluation by a certified audiologist is strongly recommended to determine which kind of hearing aid is best for a particular person.

CYNTHIA C. FERNANDES
MARY BARRY
Washington, D.C.

Contemporary Coupling

I was appalled at the findings reported by sociologists Blumstein and Schwartz in their just published "American Couples" (LIFE/STYLE, Sept. 19). That many husbands still believe their wives shouldn't work, and that wives who asked their husbands to help out with the housework could sometimes sour the marriage only proves how far the sexes still are from equality. I just hope we can teach our children a fairer approach to human relationships and that they can learn from our mistakes.

ROSE SAMMARITANO
New York, N.Y.

So sex for men can be as casual as a handshake and a couple's success is measured by his achievements. It sounds as though only half of the "me" generation has grown up.

JACKIE COOPER-GLENN
Bakersfield, Calif.

Hoover Did It

Former presidential speechwriter Aram Bakshian's statement (MY TURN, Sept. 26) that "the last president to write all of his own speeches was Woodrow Wilson" might have been more accurate had he qualified it "with the probable exception of Herbert Hoover." If Hoover had a ghostwriter, it was a well-kept secret. He was a reluctant public speaker, but it seems that the speeches he did give were his own. The evidence includes Mr. Hoover's own memoirs, in which he noted that "inasmuch as I have refused all my life to use a ghostwriter, I required intervals of two or three weeks to prepare each address."

NICHOLAS M. CRIPE
Indianapolis, Ind.

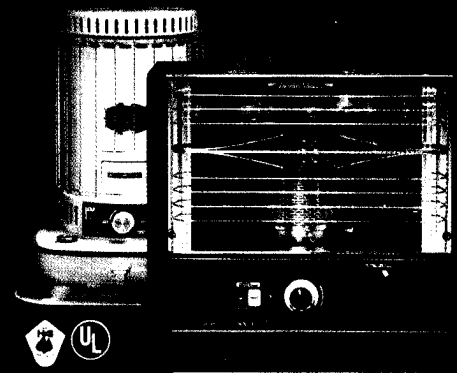
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I Hear America Polling

MY TURN/RALPH SCHOENSTEIN

A few weeks ago, my wife and I saw a movie called "Private School," and we found it one of the worst things put before an audience since John the Baptist's head. The world is full of awful movies, but what chilled our souls was the discovery that the producer of the film had done extensive market research among younger teen-agers to see precisely what kind of titillation they craved. With a technique previously reserved for the selling of hair dyes and stomach pills, he had asked several hundred people between the ages of 12 and 16 to tell him what turned them on, presuming they were old enough to have switches.

The discovery of such cinematic market research profoundly depressed me. And my spirits sank even lower when I realized that it was part of a growing American trend: market research is polluting all kinds of communications these days. It was, for example, a Dallas market researcher who told Kansas City's KMBC-TV to replace a capable 38-year-old anchorwoman.

H. L. Mencken said that no one ever went broke underestimating the intelligence of the American public. However, Mencken's underestimators never made the public their *collaborators* in the creation of junk. They may have taken the low road, but they didn't ask directions from the parade.

The market researchers are making us go not only lower but backwards, too: from audience to creator instead of the other way. After writing three books for Simon and Schuster, I did an outline suggesting a fourth, a satire of the Moral Majority.

"I like it," a Simon and Schuster vice president told me, "but let's see what the booksellers say."

"About what?" I asked him.

"If they like it. We need their input."

Here was a major American publisher, the house of S. J. Perelman and Joan Didion, about to take a survey of bookstores to get a guarantee that an unwritten book would sell. Even the Johnny Mop wasn't made that way: Dorothy Rodgers thought it up all by herself.

No Dice: We *want* the risk to be removed from flying, from surgery and from eating on the New Jersey Turnpike; but when art is no longer a gamble, when you are unrolling the demographics instead of rolling the dice, then the calendar is telling

us more than just the date by saying 1984.

Although there has been junk in art since the first cave drawing of a pig with horns, never in human history has junk been so researched, so elevated and so triumphant as it is today. After suggesting a poll for my book idea, the Simon and Schuster man proudly said that the company's biggest profit now comes from the selling of romance novels, a literary Valium to which an incredible number of Americans have grown addicted. Kathryn Falk, the publisher of a romance-novel newsletter, recently told me that market research has revealed the absolute rules of literary structure that the readers of these books demand, right down to the cherished place in the text

The dreary business of market research is now polluting the arts—movies, books and plays.

where the heroine must come into heat.

In the part of the country where I live, I can almost see America polling, for these risk-removers seem to be rising up at every turn: Opinion Research and Professional Research and Research 100 and Reeder Frank Marketing Research and NVK Qualitative Research and Multivariate Data Analysis. I'll bet that Multivariate could enable a producer to go even beyond "Private School" to plumb the erotic fantasies of a projectable second grade.

I didn't mind such organizations when they confined themselves to predicting the election of President Dewey or telling us what kind of mouthwash the average unmarried claims adjuster in Schenectady liked. In the world of politics and consumer products, market research has always struck me as harmless and even laughable. But then market research moved into entertainment, starting with TV. In 1970 Robert Wood, then the president of CBS, told a producer that research had shown there were three things that Americans would not tolerate on TV: people with mustaches, peo-

ple who were Jewish and people who were divorced. In other words, the story of Albert Einstein was out.

Since that memorable pronouncement, the dreary business of market research has moved far beyond TV and has even reached the theater.

"We've found that audiences like to see what they know," a theatrical producer told me. "They don't like surprises."

Recycling: And so people now *enter* the theater humming the score, as old shows from the '20s to the '60s are revived and movies like "Singing in the Rain" are disassembled for the stage. Yes, of course fine new work in all the arts is still being done, but the marketing men keep reducing the amount of quality because Gresham's law applies here too. You remember Gresham: he's the producer who said, "What I'd really love to do is a revival of 'Hello Dolly' with Shirley Temple and G. Gordon Liddy."

The cry in the arts today seems to be, *There's safety in numbers, if they have a sound base.* Every year more publishers and producers are playing it safe, and every year there is more cinematic, theatrical and literary recycling so that we now have books and films called "Rocky III," "Jaws III" and "Superman III." Only World War III will be a surprise.

Playing it safe, needless to say, never produces art and often no profit either. The Walt Disney studio has been playing it safe since Disney died, moving from Dumbo to demographics, and most of its movies have been anesthetics because they *look* like market research. Ironically, Disney made his first masterpiece, "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs," by going *against* the advice of the shrewdest marketing men, who told him that no audience would ever be able to take more than 10 minutes of animation.

As originality sinks into the swamp of surveys, I wonder what lies ahead. Will there soon come a day when someone stops people outside the American Ballet Theater to ask, "Would you rather see lifts or leaps? Would you favor reducing the tights for more flesh? Would you like to see an occasional hamstring pulled? And would you rather see ducks than swans?"

A resident of Princeton, N.J., Schoenstein polled us first before he wrote this essay.

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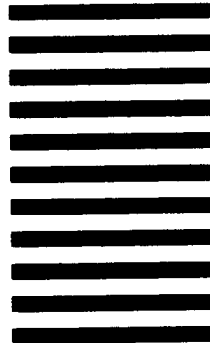
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The "Fairness Doctrine," which embodies several regulations, is a good case in point. It looks good in theory since it proposes "equal opportunity" for and "reasonable access" to opposing viewpoints.

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According to a recent Roper Poll, 82% of Americans now get their news primarily from the broadcast media. For this majority, the press is radio and TV. But these media are not protected by the First Amendment. Could this have been the

intent of our founding fathers? We don't think so.

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UPDATE



Claudio Edinger

Landmark: Ghosts behind an artful façade

Celebrating the Chelsea's Centennial

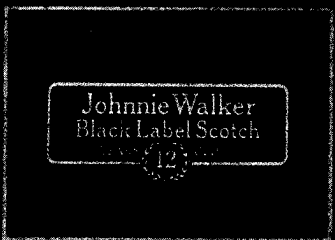
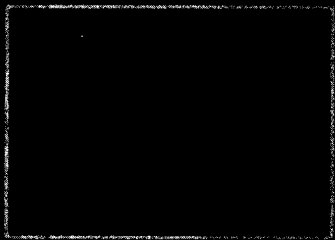
Ghosts, say guests, are living in the **Chelsea Hotel**. Legend has it that Sid Vicious, the late punk rocker who killed his girlfriend on the second floor of the 350-room Manhattan landmark, runs the crotchety lobby elevator. And Dylan Thomas, who was carried out of the hotel dying after drinking 18 shots of whisky, is still spoken to by visiting poets looking for inspiration. Even the anonymous spirits of failed artists, beatniks and psychedelic wanderers who have passed through the Chelsea are sometimes heard calling to the generation of would-be's now in residence. "There's mystery in this place," concedes hotel manager Stanley Bard, "the mystery of creative people."

This week 100 years of that mystery will be celebrated in New York. Mayor Ed Koch will present a commemorative plaque to the Chelsea at a ceremony kicking off a year-long series of art and dance shows in the hotel. "Chelsea Hotel," a highly acclaimed centennial album, has just been published, featuring photographs of current Chelsea tenants by Claudio Edinger and the remembrances of such ex-residents as William Burroughs and Arthur C. Clarke. A documentary film is in the making, too. The mystique still lingers in the hotel where, claims Bard, "more working artists and writers have lived than any other building in the world."

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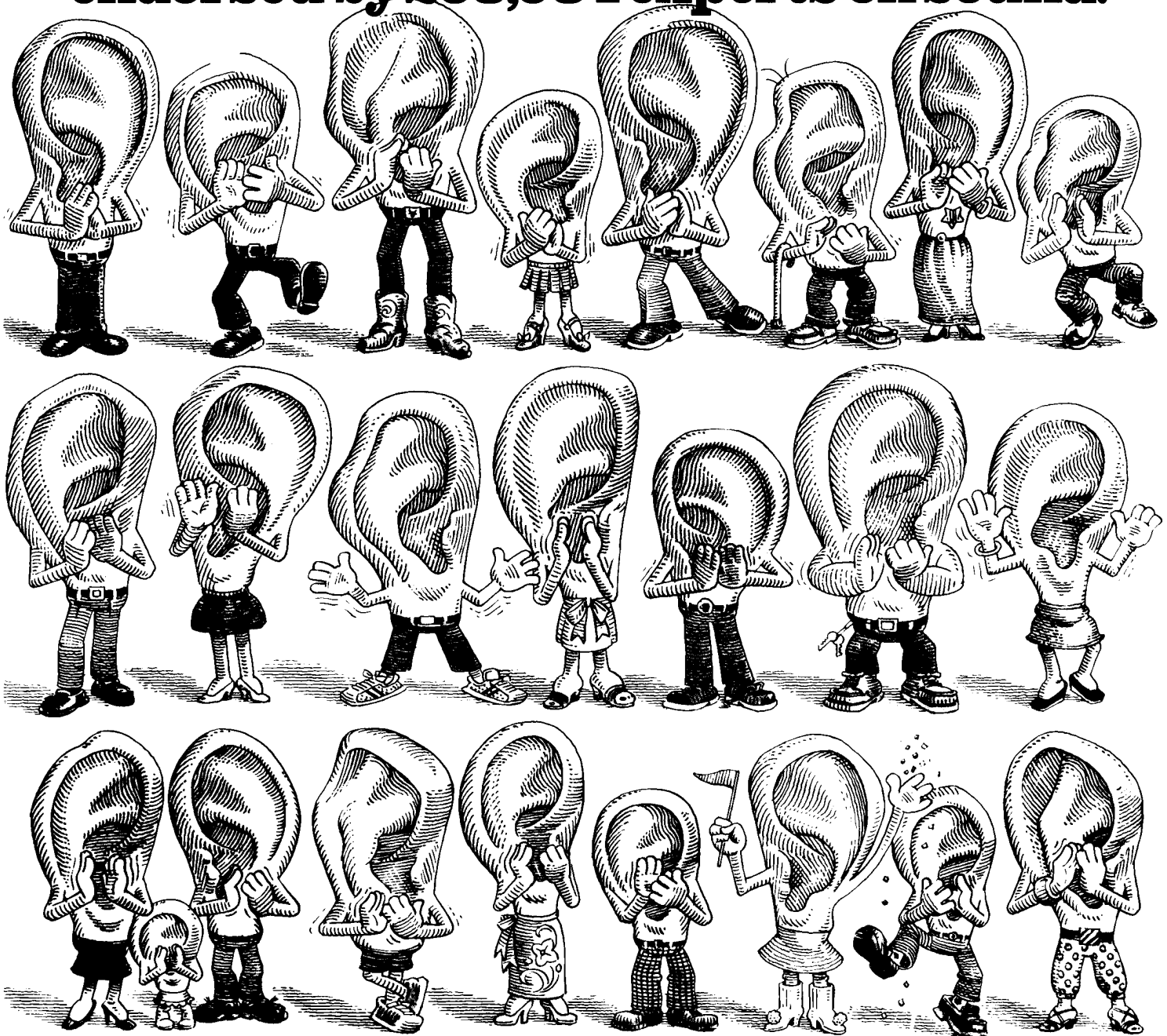
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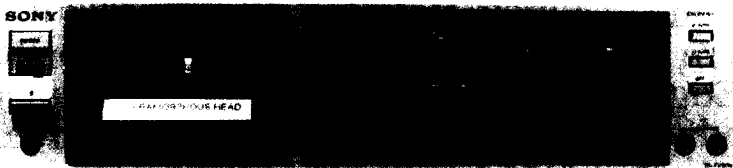
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But the gilded-age Chelsea was overdressed for the new century. Deserted by its tenants, it reopened in 1905 as a hotel. O. Henry moved in, starting an immigration of good writers with bad livers that continued through the residencies of Eugene O'Neill and Dylan Thomas. Today its jowlish balconies and faded grande dame elegance remain intact. A Margaret Dumont of a building, it still plays hostess to a kind of Marx Brothers anarchy: when Metropolitan Opera choreographer Katherine Dunham received Bard's permission several years ago to rehearse "Aida" in the Chelsea ballroom, no one complained, not even when stagehands pulled up in limousines and began unloading lions into the lobby.

A room can be had for as little as \$45 a night, practically a third of what the uptown hotels charge. Comfortable studios can be rented for \$475 a month—cheap by Manhattan standards—and young writers still move in hoping to bang out their first novel before their bank account runs dry. Porn stars, college students, ex-mental patients and middle-class families all find homes now in the Chelsea, moving Bard to boast, "We've got something for everybody. We've got rooms that are like what you'd get at the YMCA and suites that compete with the best the Plaza has to offer."

Longtime guests offer their own reasons for staying. Arthur Miller, who lived there for seven years after Marilyn Monroe died, liked the fact that "here, you don't have to wear a tie to pick up your keys." Pulitzer Prize-winning poet James Schuyler moved in four years ago "for the quiet, just for the quiet." Forty-year resident Virgil Thomson, who composed the opera "Lord Byron" in his Chelsea suite, says simply, "I came here originally because it was cheap. If you like a place, you stay. It wasn't because of the creative atmosphere you're always hearing about. You don't have to create to live at the Chelsea—thank God."

Protection: Because the Chelsea attracts all types, its presence is sometimes grumbled about in the upwardly mobile neighborhood for which it is named. But Bard is quick to say he's not interested in keeping up with the neighborhood Joneses. "I run this hotel for the protection of the artists. These people need a certain amount of protection from modernization. This place has existed just as it is for 100 years, and hopefully it will be around for another hundred. Every room here has a history."

Somewhere inside the Chelsea's red-brick walls, Mark Twain and Sarah Bernhardt slept, Jimi Hendrix and Edie Sedgwick partied and Brendan Behan and

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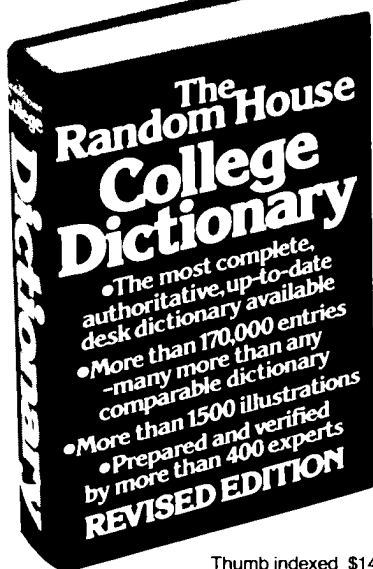
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UPDATE

Thomas Wolfe wrung out the last work from their spent lives. On this count, however, Stanley Bard isn't talking. "I'd prefer not to mention their room numbers," says the keeper of the secrets. "I don't want people making pilgrimages here. This isn't a museum—it's a home."
 NEAL KARLEN in New York

High Marks for D.C.'s Model School

"A student here will never get out of class to march in a band or play football," vowed the acting principal of Banneker Senior High when Washington, D.C.'s, "model academic high school" opened in 1981. School officials hoped that by putting highly motivated students from all over the city into a no-frills program they could restore credibility to a beleaguered school system—and in the process help some inner-city kids get into college. Two years later the evidence suggests that the 98 percent black school is well on the way to meeting its goals.

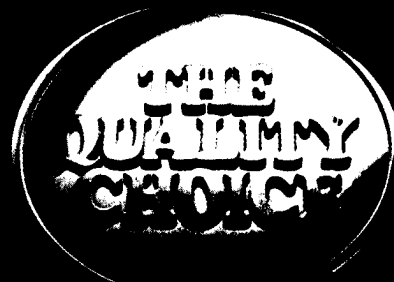
Banneker has remained true to its initial spartan conception. There are a few new electives such as creative writing and computer programming, but the athletic program is limited to tennis and swimming, and there is still no school band or student newspaper. After a second-year slump in enrollment all Banneker's desks are now occupied, there is a waiting list for admission and students have racked up the highest math and reading scores in the District of Columbia's 12 high schools. Such considerations have led bright youngsters like Allan Simon, 16, whose athletic abilities were coveted by other D.C. schools, to choose the rigorous atmosphere of Banneker. "I've adjusted and I'm having fun," he says. "I think the school is geared the way it should be."

At Banneker High: A spartan program

Larry Downing—NEWSWEEK



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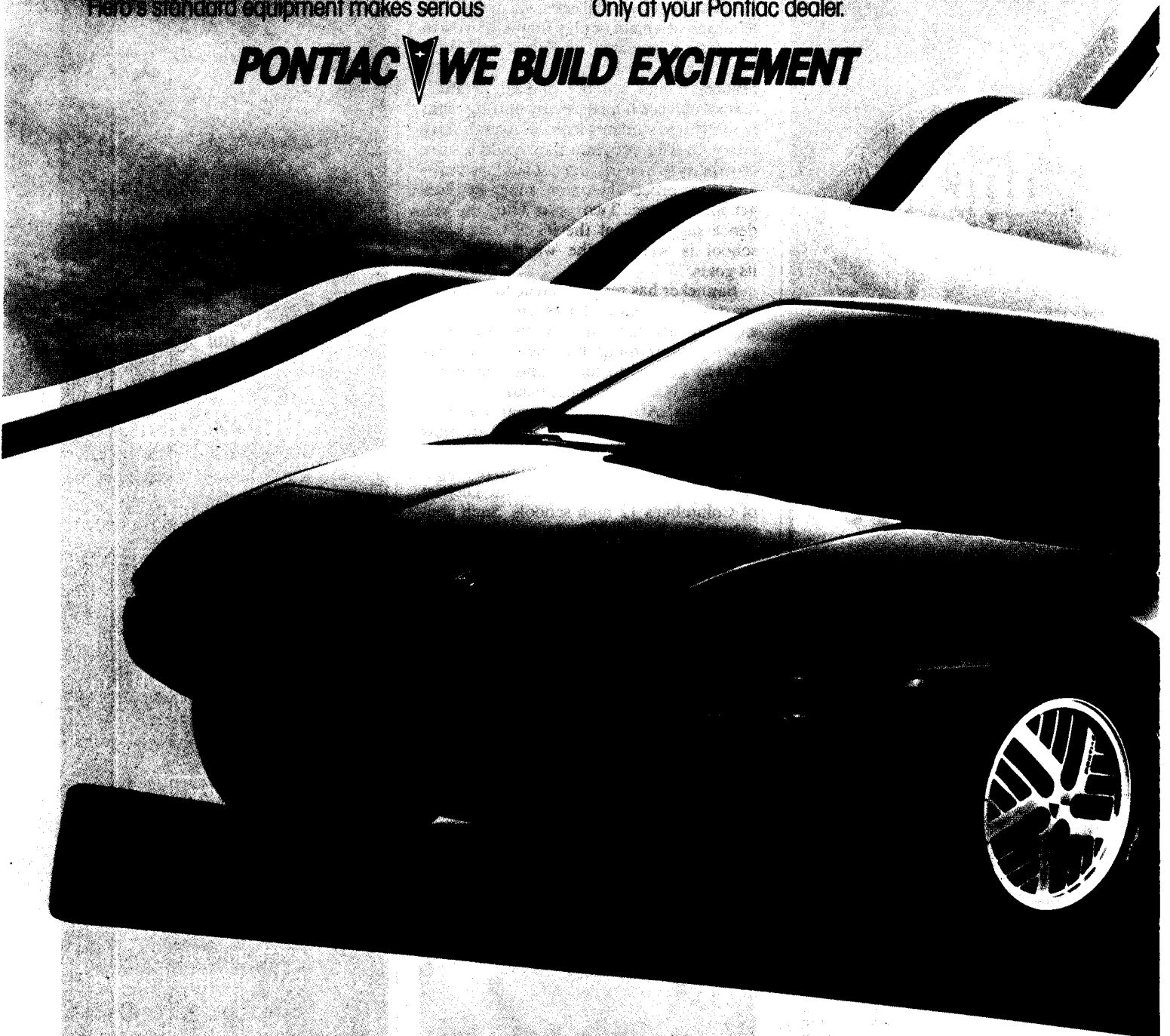
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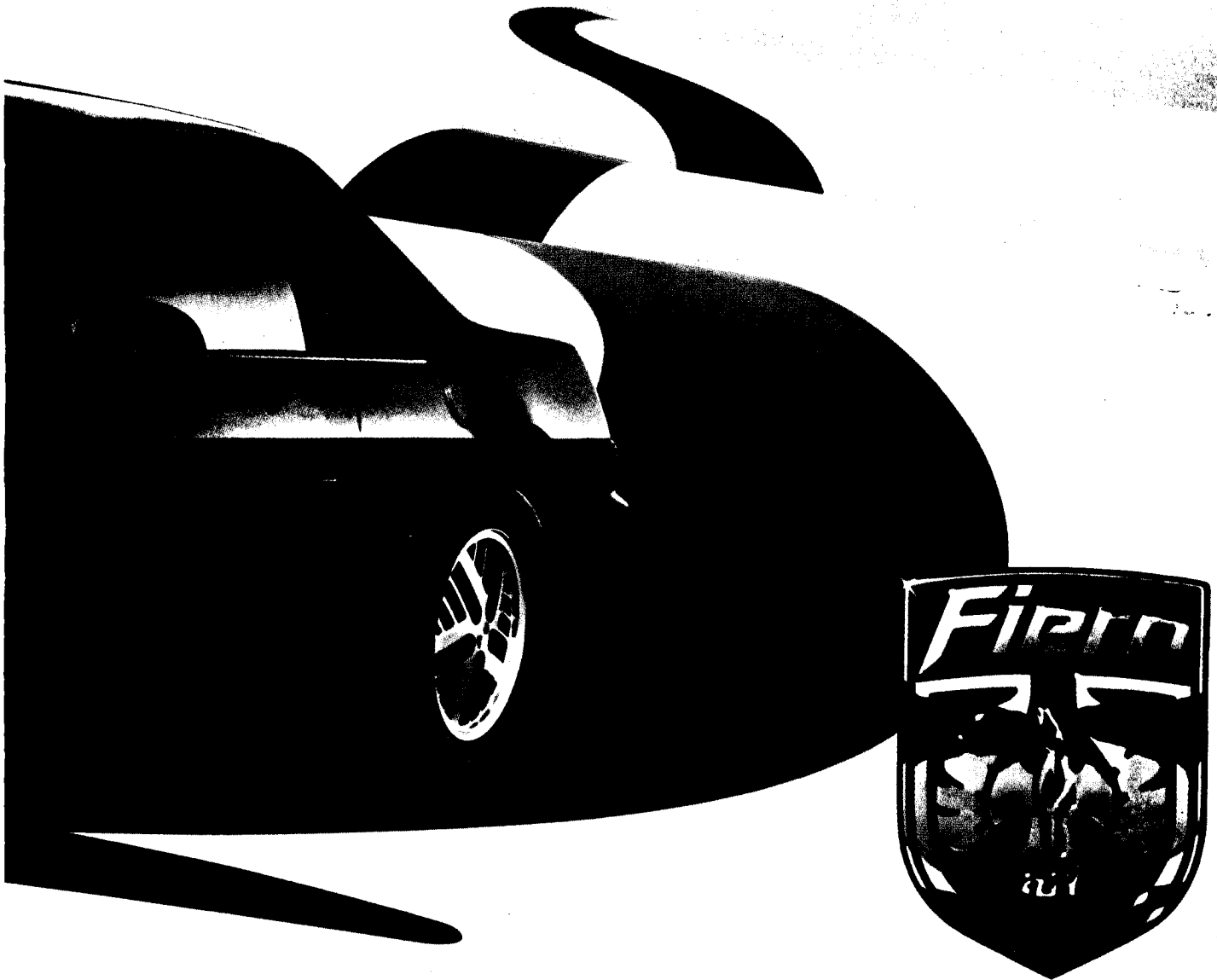
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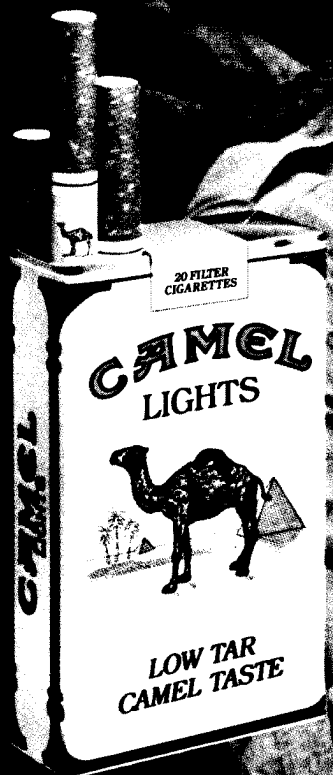


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PERISCOPE

A Quieter Voice in Central America

The Pentagon's new commander in Central America, Lt. Gen. Paul Gorman, has put his own stamp on U.S. military policy in the troubled region. According to administration officials who work with him, Gorman is far less gung-ho about American covert action in Nicaragua and increasing U.S. military aid to the government of El Salvador than was his predecessor, Lt. Gen. Wallace Nutting. Though Gorman, according to administration sources, agrees that the Salvadoran Army has made progress in recent months, he believes it is far from winning the battle against leftist guerrillas. "Nutting was a cheerleader, always encouraging Washington to do more to help out," says one informed U.S. official. "With Gorman, the military is much more distant."

Namibia Plan: 'Doomed to Failure'?

Western intelligence sources believe that Cuba has moved an additional 5,000 troops into Angola, further jeopardizing the U.N.-sponsored plan for Namibia's independence. The major stumbling block to a settlement has been South Africa's refusal to pull its 16,000 soldiers out of Namibia without a similar Cuban withdrawal from neighboring Angola. But Cuba's deputy foreign minister, Ricardo Alarcón de Quesada, called any such scheme "doomed to failure," particularly in light of recent gains by Western-backed anti-Cuban guerrillas in Angola. Alarcón de Quesada termed claims by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker that the U.N. plan was making progress "inaccurate to the point of dishonesty."

A New Two-China Policy?

The People's Republic of China may be ready to accept de facto recognition of Taiwan by at least one international agency. A senior PRC official has hinted to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger that China would not insist that Taiwan be removed from the Asian Development Bank before it would consider joining. The ADB, established in Manila in 1966 with Taiwan as a founding member, makes loans to developing countries. The change in PRC attitude, if confirmed by actions, could herald a broader accommodation between the two Chinas.

Keeping Cohn at Arm's Length

Some White House aides winced when they spotted New York attorney Roy Cohn among the guests at the Rose Garden reception for the crew of Australia II after it captured the America's Cup. Although Cohn is revered by right-wing groups for his zealous investigatory work during the McCarthy era, Reagan's political advisers don't want the president linked too closely to the controversial lawyer. But top aides explained that they could hardly turn Cohn away since he is a major Reagan backer.

Notes From the Iranian Front

High turnover is hampering the work of the Iranian-United States claims tribunal established in the wake of the hostage crisis to mediate \$4 billion in financial disputes between the two countries. A delay in finding a replacement for an Iranian judge who resigned during the summer has set the nine-member panel's schedule back by several months. With Judge Nils Mangard of Sweden scheduled for medical treatment early next year, further delays are inevitable. In addition, U.S. sources close to the tribunal complain that the

indecisiveness of Judge Gunnar Lagergren of Sweden has slowed the process of adjudication. Since January 1981 the claims tribunal has rendered 76 judgments with a total value of \$82.5 million—leaving more than 3,500 claims unresolved.

■ Although it won't help settle any claims, the State Department, which seized the former embassies of Iran, Cambodia and Vietnam in recent years, plans to renovate them and rent them out to new tenants. The Iranian Embassy, located on Massachusetts Avenue's Embassy Row, should be the most profitable of the three. The owners of a comparable building nearby, the former Saudi Arabian chancery, are asking \$400,000 a year.

■ New graffiti and posters covering many of Washington's newspaper boxes and lampposts proclaim "Long live Shah" and "Constitutional monarchy for Iran." Some picture the late shah's son, Reza Pahlavi, while others carry a four-color image of the prerevolution flag (green, red and white, emblazoned with a yellow royal lion). The messages are thought to be the work of a small but vocal band of anti-Khomeini exiles attending American universities. Though Reza Pahlavi, who is said to divide his time between Morocco, the United States and Europe, proclaimed himself shah in 1980, Iranian experts doubt he will ever rule in his homeland.

Lebanon Looks Skyward

Lebanon's tiny Air Force plans a bigger role for itself in any future fighting. At the start of the current cease-fire, Lebanon put out a rush call for more second-hand Hawker Hunter fighters to bolster its aging, four-plane fleet. But after discovering that the 1950s-vintage British-built jet would be hard to come by—only Qatar, Chile and Zimbabwe were potential suppliers—the Lebanese decided instead to go after Huey helicopter gunships, which are manufactured in Italy under U.S. license. "The Lebanese don't seem to have any problems paying," says a U.S. official, who added that Washington is encouraging the purchases.

A Puzzling 'Nyet' From Moscow

Observers in Warsaw are pondering the meaning of a new and confusing signal from Moscow. Soviet officials recently refused to accredit a correspondent from the Polish weekly newspaper *Here and Now*, which began publishing after martial law was declared in 1981 and is closely identified with the regime of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski. Polish press sources think that the Kremlin's latest "nyet" may somehow reflect political maneuvering or perhaps even divided opinion among Soviet leaders toward Jaruzelski.

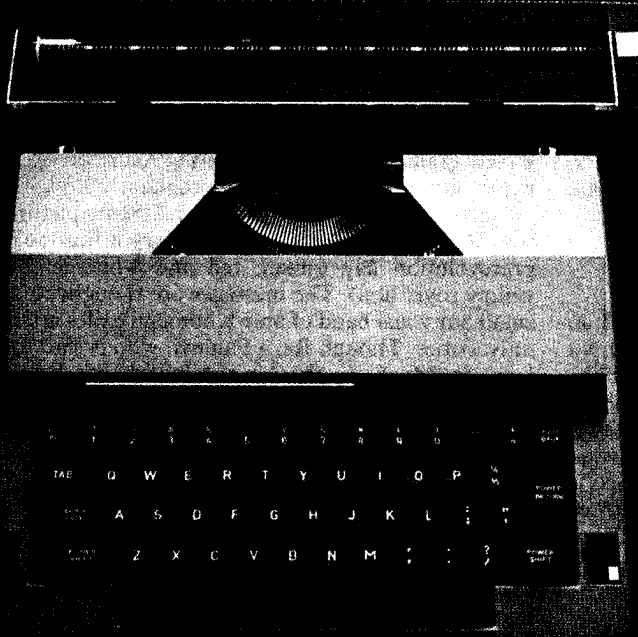
Feldstein, Go Home

Administration displeasure with the naysaying of chief economic adviser Martin Feldstein has reached the bitter-joke stage. Feldstein, a Harvard professor, has long insisted that staggering budget deficits should not be treated cavalierly and that taxes should be raised quickly to avert economic disaster. White House and Treasury officials have come to call Feldstein "Dr. Gloom" and hope he will take his unpolitic act back to school this winter. Says one: "He can take a silk purse and turn it into a sow's ear." "He continually manages to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory," adds another. Feldstein, however, says he has no intention of retreating to academia until September 1984, when his leave from Harvard expires.

GEORGE HACKETT with bureau reports

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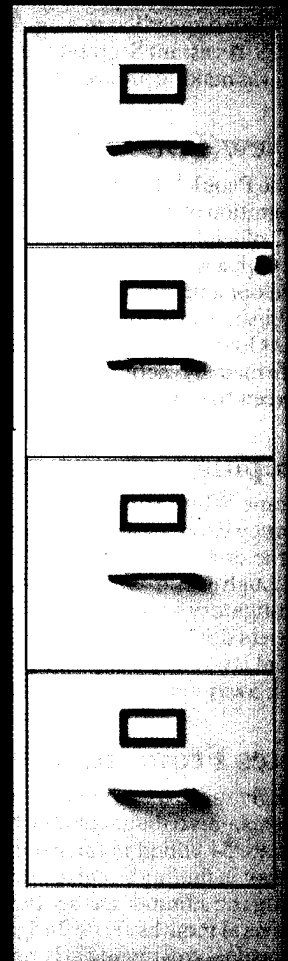
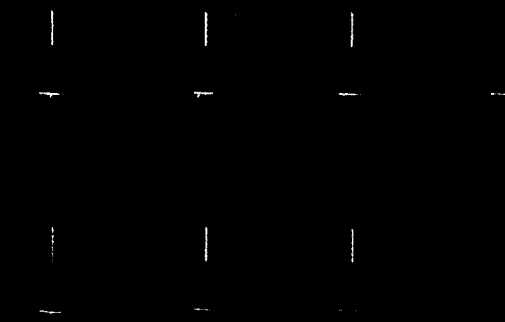
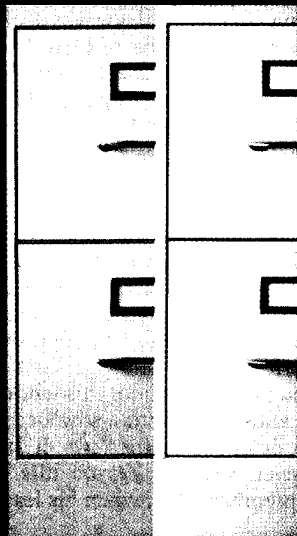
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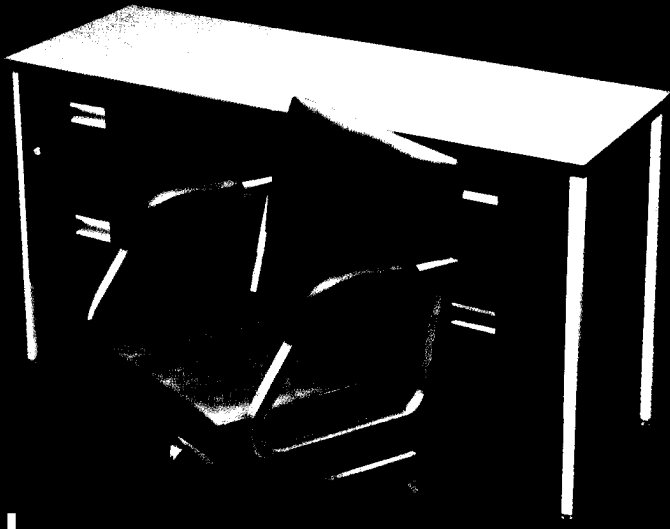


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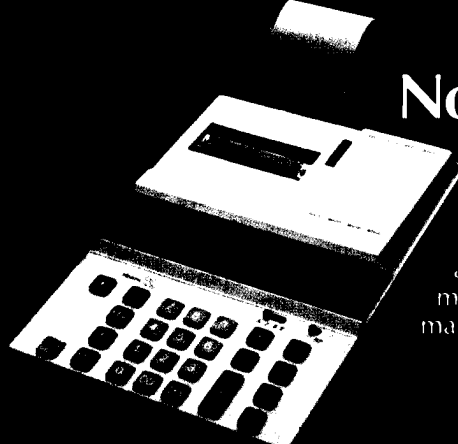


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Bernard Gotfryd—NEWSWEEK

“The door to an agreement is open. It is time for the Soviet Union to walk through it.”

—Ronald Reagan



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Pershing II test: Changing the balance?



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Reagan’s “grandiloquent speech” is full of “mere declarations that can convince no one.”

—Yuri Andropov

A Slap in Reagan’s Face

He offers some concessions on arms control, but Andropov replies with a tirade.

Ronald Reagan found himself boxing with a shadow last week. The president went to the United Nations to deliver a speech that was designed to patch things up a bit with the Soviet Union. Reagan toned down his rhetoric on the Korean airliner atrocity, and he took a conciliatory line on arms control, offering Moscow a few modest concessions. He and his advisers hoped for a modestly positive response from Yuri Andropov. The Soviet president had stayed out of the dispute over the airliner; in fact, he hadn’t appeared in public at all for more than a month. Andropov didn’t show himself last week, either. But a statement issued in his name took Reagan bitterly to task. Andropov dismissed Washington’s “so-called new move” on arms control as so much “prattle.” And he accused Reagan of “smearing the Soviet people” with “obscenities” and “hypocritical preaching about morals and humanism.”

Normally, the men in the Kremlin don’t get so personal; they use a loftier tone when discussing foreign leaders. Andropov dispensed with courtesy when he replied to

Reagan, which seemed to indicate that the relationship between Washington and Moscow was in even worse shape than many Americans realized. Henry Kissinger, for one, had expected some improvement before the airliner was shot down. But now, “I am beginning to wonder if we may not get into a prolonged period of cooling relations,” the former secretary of state said last week. “It may be harder to break out of than I originally thought.” After the verbal pummeling that Andropov gave Reagan, the Soviet Union was in no position to make any quick concessions on arms control. The Soviet leader’s belligerent remarks also may suggest to Reagan and his conservative backers that offering Moscow a fresh start just doesn’t pay.

‘Outrage’: Reagan’s U.N. speech had been calibrated carefully—tough enough, it was hoped, to mollify American hard-liners, but sufficiently forthcoming on arms control to coax Andropov out of his bunker. The president didn’t avoid all mention of the airliner. He said the destruction of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was “a timely

reminder of just how different the Soviets’ concept of truth and international cooperation is from that of the rest of the world.” He said “the moral outrage of the world” had been aroused by the slaughter of 269 people. But Reagan referred to the incident as a “tragedy,” not a “crime” or a “massacre,” terms he had employed in the recent past.

The president said the door was open to an agreement limiting the number of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Actually, the door was barely ajar. But Reagan wanted to assure his European allies, and world opinion generally, that his administration was “prepared to be flexible on the content of the current talks” in Geneva. To that end, he offered three long-expected concessions. First, the president said that if Moscow agreed to reduce its arsenal of medium-range missiles “on a global basis,” the United States would promise not to concentrate all of its own medium-range missiles in Europe. The Soviet Union had deployed such weapons on both of its major fronts: 243 modern SS-20 missiles aimed at Western Europe and an-

other 108 targeted on Asia. Moscow feared that if each superpower were limited to a certain number of missiles, the United States might try to obtain an advantage by placing all of its quota in Europe. Reagan's proposal meant that some American medium-range missiles would be kept in the United States or could be deployed somewhere other than in Europe.

Reagan also agreed that the Geneva talks should cover aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons, a longstanding Soviet demand. And the president said that if the Soviets accepted equal global limits on intermediate-range weapons, the United States would reduce the number of Pershing II missiles it will deploy in Europe. Currently, NATO plans to install 108 Pershings and 464 cruise missiles, beginning late this year if an arms-limitation agreement is not reached before then. Moscow is considerably more alarmed by the Pershings than by the slower-flying cruise missiles. Hinting at even more flexibility to come, Reagan said he would accept "any equitable, verifiable agreement that stabilizes forces at lower levels than currently exist."

Andropov threw it all back in his face. In a statement that was read for him on television and published in the Soviet press, he disdained to even comment on the specifics of Reagan's proposal. He said two years of discussion in Geneva had made it clear that the Americans did not want an agreement. "Their task is different—to play for time and then start the deployment in Western Europe of Pershing II ballistic missiles and cruise missiles," he said. Andropov warned that Moscow would "make an appropriate response to any attempt to disrupt the military-strategic balance." Three days later, the Kremlin underscored his point by staging massive "antiwar" rallies in Moscow. Demonstrators rounded up for the occasion trooped past the U.S. Embassy shouting slogans like "Shame on Reagan!"

No Brakes: Andropov's statement was even more passionate on the subject of the Korean airliner. He stuck doggedly to the excuse that Flight 007 had been conducting an espionage mission. Andropov claimed the incident proved that Reagan's policies would never change "for the better." He said "one begins to doubt whether [the Reagan administration] has any brakes preventing it from crossing the mark before which any sober-minded person would stop."

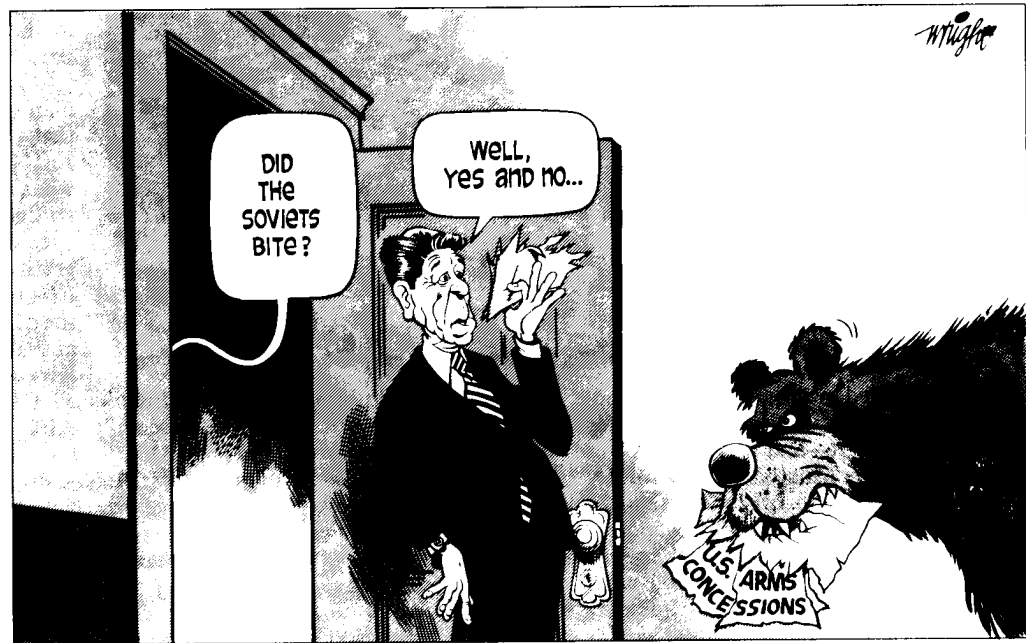
Why the rhetorical broadside? The Kremlin's motives were even harder to read than they usually are. But it was obvious that the Soviets still smarted from the gigantic political setback they suffered as a result

of the KAL incident. Moscow had intended to focus its fall diplomatic offensive on thwarting NATO's deployment of the new missiles; instead, it was thrown on the defensive by the airliner affair. Lashing back in defiance, Andropov became less conciliatory toward the West, not more so.

The Soviets have not given up their hopes for a political victory on the Euromissiles issue, but they know they will have to be even tougher now if they are to win. Their prime objective—to prevent the deployment of all new American missiles—has not changed. Andropov is not going to buy a Geneva agreement that permits even a

in Lebanon, by hitting Afghan rebel camps in Pakistan, or by providing substantial aid to antigovernment guerrillas in the Philippines. So far, however, NATO is sticking together on the deployment issue. West Germany applauded Reagan's arms proposal, and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher told the Canadian Parliament: "Our nerve is being tested. To falter now would be fatal."

Damage: One odd feature of Andropov's tirade at Reagan was that it occurred when the furor over Flight 007 was beginning to die down. A 14-nation boycott of flights to Moscow ended last week, and the interna-



Wright—Scripps-Howard Newspapers

Unfriendly reception: The relationship was in even worse shape than many Americans thought

small U.S. deployment if he thinks there is still a chance that public opinion in Western Europe can be mobilized to stop deployment completely. And, if necessary, he may gamble on continuing the fight in 1984 rather than sign any accord in 1983. Reagan's new concessions may look attractive to the Kremlin in the long run. But there is no incentive for the Soviets to accept them right away. Moscow is more likely to nail down the offer at the bargaining table in Geneva—and then continue to press for further concessions.

If NATO proceeds with its deployment, Andropov's tough rhetoric may force him into tough actions. The Soviets may feel compelled to walk out of the Geneva talks when the first Pershings arrive in West Germany. They may deploy new short-range missiles, probably in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Some U.S. officials predict that the Soviets will station missile-launching submarines off the American coast. The Kremlin could even turn up the heat elsewhere in the world—by supplying fighter planes to Nicaragua, by stirring up trouble

tional airline pilots' union called for an early end to its own boycott. But the damage to U.S.-Soviet relations already had been done. Elder statesman George Kennan writes in *The New Yorker* magazine that the animosities between Washington and Moscow "are the familiar characteristics, the unending characteristics, of a march toward war." That view may be overly pessimistic, but it was difficult to see how the two superpowers could take a significant step away from war in the near future. Both presidents were in a bind with their own constituencies. Andropov may have had no choice but to endorse the hard line taken by his own military chiefs on the arms talks and the Korean disaster. Reagan's response to the tragedy—a mixture of hard rhetoric and soft action—has hurt him on the right. Neither man was in any position to head off a nerve-racking confrontation over European missiles in the remaining months of 1983.

RUSSELL WATSON with JOHN WALCOTT in Washington, JOYCE BARNATHAN in Moscow and bureau reports

NATIONAL AFFAIRS



Ira Wyman

Hobnobbing with delegates to the Maine event: 'I'm a real Democrat'

Fritz Mondale's Triple Play

The long-idled machinery of the Democratic Party is clanking into gear for the 1984 campaign—and last week, it was the hand of Walter Mondale that was firmly on the controls. In slightly more than 24 hours, Mondale swept the two most potent endorsements of the Democrats' preprimary campaign, and he completed what could only be called a political triple play by embarrassing his six opponents, including Sens. John Glenn and Alan Cranston, in a big-spending straw-ballot competition in Maine. The Maine results were only symbolic, but the two endorsements were not: the AFL-CIO general board and the National Education Association, which chose Mondale by similarly heavy margins, promised to back his candidacy with legions of experienced and dedicated activists throughout the coming campaign. Celebrating the day's good news with his staff in Augusta, Maine, Mondale was startled when someone inadvertently plunged the room into darkness—but he was ready with a quip. "I think," he said with a grin, "the lights went out on John Glenn today."

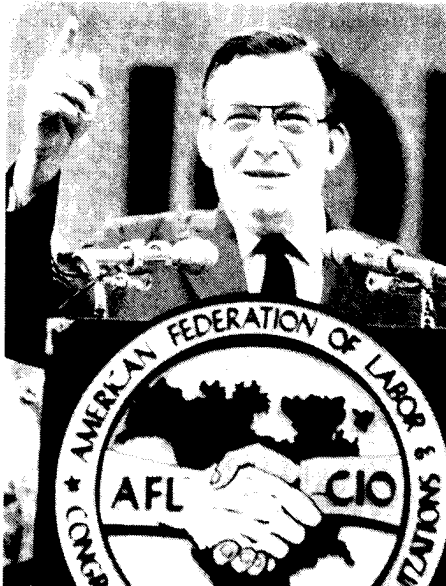
Escalation: The joke was almost certainly premature—but Mondale's triple victory seemed to confirm the prevailing wisdom that, sooner or later, his superbly organized campaign would outclass the competition. And in what seemed to be a significant rhetorical escalation of his rivalry with Glenn, Cranston and the others, Mondale added a tougher, can-do theme to his usual campaign line. At a party forum in Rochester, N.Y., and again at the state Democratic conclave in Maine, he took aim at Glenn and the widely shared perception

that Glenn would be a stronger candidate against Ronald Reagan. "I'm a *real Democrat*," he told his audience in Maine. "I have *never* supported Reaganomics. . . . I have *always* supported social justice. I have *always* supported arms control. And because I'm a people's Democrat, and . . . because I stand for something different [than] the Reagan administration, I can bring that case to the American people. I can debate it with Mr. Reagan."

His speech was well received by the 1,845 delegates crowding the Augusta Civic Center—and later in the day, they gave Mon-

Kirkland: A 91 percent display of unity

UPI



dale their nod with a 51 percent majority. The victory was impressive, even though Mondale spent up to \$200,000 to get it: Cranston came in second, with 29 percent, and South Carolina Sen. Ernest Hollings, who had staked his campaign on doing well in Maine, finished a respectable third after only six weeks and only \$40,000 worth of campaigning. Significantly, Glenn finished fourth with only 6 percent of the votes, a dismal showing that put him back with the also-rans—Sen. Gary Hart, George McGovern, Jesse Jackson and former Florida Gov. Reubin Askew. Glenn harrumphed to interviewers about the dubious worth of such straw-poll "shenanigans" and left Augusta before the votes were tallied. His staff maintained that he spent only about \$5,000 in the losing effort—but Mondale's supporters pointed out that he visited the state four times since April and sent out two mailings to the delegates. They estimated that Glenn had actually spent about \$30,000 in Maine, and Hollings derided what he termed Glenn's "Rose Garden strategy."

Unity: Mondale's handlers were equally gratified by the results of a special AFL-CIO meeting in Hollywood, Fla., earlier in the day. The dukes of Big Labor, assembled at the request of federation president Lane Kirkland, voted overwhelmingly to back Mondale for the nomination—a first for the AFL-CIO, which has never before entered the Democratic nominating process so formally and so early. Mondale won handily with 90.7 percent of the weighted vote—a result which Kirkland said reflected the views of all 14 million members of the AFL-CIO's 80 affiliated unions, based on "the most exhaustive opinion-surveying process ever engaged in." Whether or not blue-collar voters would keep the faith through the primaries remained to be seen—but a disappointed Glenn aide conceded that "there was a clear unity resolution here." He may have understated the importance of the victory for Mondale, since the AFL-CIO is working up a computerized get-out-the-vote campaign to send the Mondale message to millions of union households next year.

Mondale's endorsement by the National Education Association the day before was only slightly less momentous—for the teachers have a well-proven track record as effective political organizers. The NEA board supported Mondale by a 9-to-1 margin both as a sentimental favorite and, as one NEA official put it, on "pragmatic grounds"—his past support of public education and his present status as leader of the Democratic pack. Barring a wholly unexpected rebellion in the ranks—the board's endorsement must still be ratified by the NEA's state affiliates—the victory will place up to a million NEA volunteers at Mondale's disposal for the primaries.

TOM MORGANTHAU with HOWARD FINEMAN
and MARGARET WARNER in Augusta and
DIANE WEATHERS in Hollywood, Fla.

Shoring Up the Right

Lately, almost everything Ronald Reagan does seems to irritate conservatives. They blasted his failure to impose harsher sanctions on the Soviet Union for shooting down the Korean Air Lines jet. They resent his support for the United Nations and oppose his expected endorsement of a federal holiday honoring the birthday of the late Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., whose views they consider too radical. Last week right-wing Republicans turned two more issues into litmus tests of Reagan's loyalty. "The administration hasn't done a lot for us," said conservative direct-mail king Richard Vi-guerie. "We're watching very carefully."

The dispute over the International Monetary Fund would be little more than a silly-season standoff if the fate of the world's leaky financial boat were not in the balance. Once a staunch IMF critic himself, Reagan now supports a proposed \$8.4 billion increase in U.S. funding for the troubled organization (page 71). Diehard conservatives still oppose U.S. contributions to the IMF, however, and the White House had to find Democratic support to win House passage of the IMF bill last August. Conservatives successfully sought an amendment barring IMF loans to "communist dictatorships."

Zeal: The matter might have ended there if an overzealous staffer at the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee hadn't sent out a volley of press releases accusing 20 Democrats who backed the bill of supporting communism. Furious, House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill threatened to withdraw Democratic support for final passage of the bill unless Reagan personally apologized to each injured Democrat. But White House political operatives fear giving House Democrats campaign ammunition or offending conservatives over the issue. "I don't know how we're going to get out of this one," sighed House Minority Leader Robert Michel. At the weekend, administration aides were trying to draft what one called "a very, very modest and mild form of communication" that would somehow placate Democrats while not infuriating the president's right flank.

Reagan faced a similar dilemma last week

as the uproar continued over Interior Secretary James Watt's tasteless description of a federal coal-lease commission. Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker managed to keep a no-confidence vote on Watt off the Senate floor for another week. But a similar, bipartisan resolution gained momentum in the House. Sen. Robert Dole of Kansas and former President Gerald Ford joined the calls for Watt's ouster, and one poll showed that four out of five Americans favored his resignation. Meanwhile, thousands of conservatives phoned the White House to register support for Watt. "We've had telephone calls out the kazoo," said one weary aide. "They're saying, 'Keep him. He's a great American'."

Message: At midweek, Reagan decided to do just that. Press spokesman Larry Speakes announced, "The White House considers this matter closed," and Reagan canceled a scheduled press conference rather than face the inevitable questions. It was hardly a ringing vote of confidence for Watt—but it was enough to keep conservatives at bay. "We need our base to be a little less restless," confessed one aide. Some still hoped that Watt would see a "clear signal" in the maneuvering, however, and eventually make his own exit, allowing Reagan to escape right-wing blame for his ouster while still entering 1984 minus a political problem.

If the White House was sending a message, however, Watt didn't appear to be receiving it. "Jim has ridden this out," said his spokesman and friend, Douglas Baldwin, who denied a departure was planned. Nevertheless, some insiders couldn't shake the feeling that Watt's days were numbered—particularly if a majority of GOP senators join in a no-confidence vote. "I'd



© 1983 Herblock in The Washington Post

Case 'closed': But the political problems linger

bet 30 days," said one administration official. "I think the fix is in for his departure—but on his choice." Some aides were already dreading the prospect of a bloody confirmation battle over Watt's replacement, with a host of controversial Interior policies on the line. But some White House war gamers had a sly solution to that problem in the person of Joseph (Jake) Simmons III. Simmons, now under secretary of Interior, could be appointed acting secretary without confirmation, and his *curriculum vitae* reads like another James Watt joke: Simmons is a former oil-company executive, a conservative on resource issues, a Democrat, a black and a one-sixteenth Creek Indian.

MELINDA BECK with WILLIAM J. COOK, GLORIA BORGER and ELEANOR CLIFT in Washington

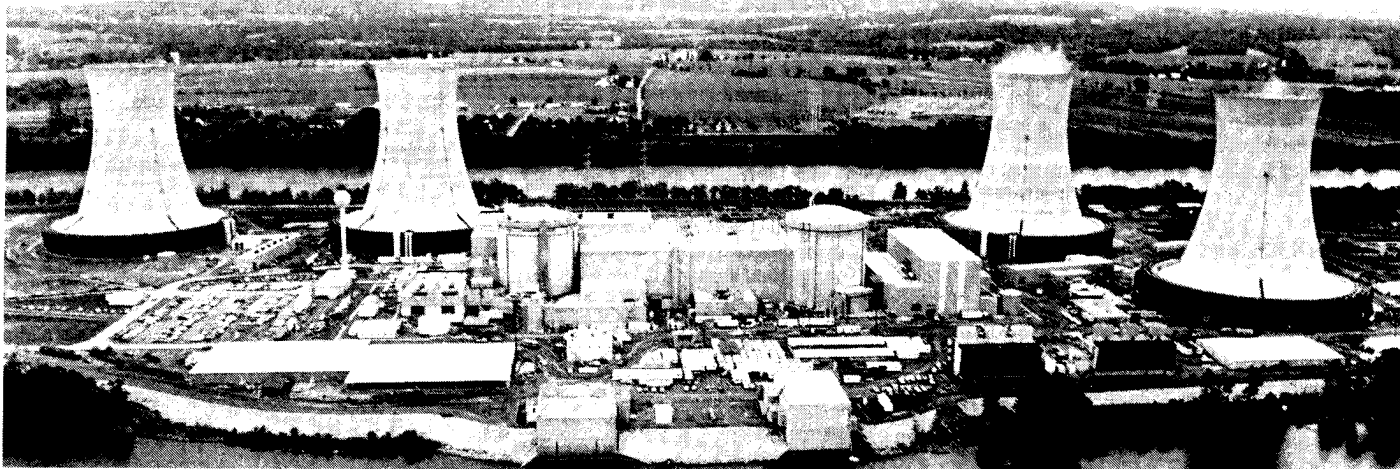
Who Rules the Land?

As if he didn't have enough trouble, James Watt is caught in the middle of a separation-of-powers battle with Congress. The fracas stems from Watt's effort to lease federal land for coal mining. In August the House Interior Committee, spurred by environmentalists, ordered Watt to cancel his plans. He declined, explaining that he could ignore the resolution because it was an unconstitutional legislative veto. In June the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that such vetoes are illegal: if Congress wants to bridle the executive branch, then both houses must pass a bill and present it to the president for approval.

The House committee refused to fold. Scouring the Constitu-

tion, its lawyers found a seldom publicized clause in Article IV that appears to give Congress complete power to "make all needful rules and regulations" governing federal lands. That musty proviso was enough for U.S. district judge Louis Oberdorfer. Already miffed at Watt's efforts to lease coal lands even while he was considering the case, Judge Oberdorfer last week enjoined the Interior Department from completing the coal deal. That effectively killed the lease plans, since Congress has declared a moratorium on leasing beginning this month. But the case will live on. The Reagan administration plans to appeal Oberdorfer's ruling, looking ultimately to the Supreme Court itself for the final word on which branch of the federal government is the lord of public lands.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS



Three Mile Island: Still crippled—and radiating controversy amid charges of mismanagement and improper procedures

\$380 Million and Counting

Four and a half years after the nation's worst commercial nuclear power accident, Three Mile Island continues to radiate controversy. The cleanup of the crippled Unit II reactor has already cost \$380 million, and is expected to reach \$1 billion by the time it is completed possibly in 1988. Unit I, though undamaged in the accident, sits idle, threatening its operator, General Public Utilities Corp., with financial ruin. Meanwhile, charges of mismanagement and improper procedures at the plant have set off a series of investigations and delayed cleanup operations even further.

The latest trouble began last spring, when three TMI engineers charged that GPU and Bechtel Corp., the major cleanup contractor, were cutting corners. In separate affidavits, Richard Parks, a senior start-up engineer with Bechtel, Edwin Gischel, TMI's engineering director, and Lawrence King, site operations manager, alleged that the companies had overlooked safety checks and balances to meet cleanup schedules and were wasting millions of dollars—at times with the complicity of Nuclear Regulatory Commission staffers. Much of their concern centered on a huge "polar" crane needed to remove the reactor's 175-ton cap in the next phase of cleanup. Part of the crane was damaged in the 1979 accident and repaired at a cost of several million dollars, but the whistle blowers feared it would not be adequately tested. If it failed, they warned, it could cause another serious accident.

Fired: The dissidents also complained that they were harassed and intimidated for bringing the problems to light. Parks was suspended from his job, and claimed his apartment was broken into and his private papers examined. Gischel, who has suffered two strokes, claimed he was pressured to undergo psychoneurological testing. King was fired (allegedly for conflict of interest involving a nuclear-consulting firm he owns

part of), as was his secretary, Joyce Wenger.

The charges led to investigations by a House Interior Subcommittee, the Department of Labor, the NRC and the companies themselves. In May the Labor Department ordered Parks and Wenger reinstated but upheld King's dismissal (he is appealing). Last month the NRC's Office of Investigations released an interim finding that GPU and Bechtel had violated NRC procedures and charged NRC overseers with taking a "passive role [that] may have contributed to the licensees' procedural noncompliance." A second report, issued by the NRC's Office of Inspector and Auditor, exonerated NRC staffers, however. Congressional critics called the second report characteristic of the OIA, which has rarely punished anyone within the agency. Last week NRC officials "reassigned" the OIA's director, James J. Cummings, without explanation.

For its part, GPU dismissed the findings as "misleading." Officials of GPU and Bechtel concede that there have been administrative problems—in part because the unprecedented cleanup does not fit existing NRC regulations—but they insist that they are not skimping on safety. Members of GPU's own safety advisory board suggest that the investigations themselves are causing safety hazards by further delaying the cleanup. So far, workers have removed 600,000 gallons of contaminated water from Unit II buildings, but they have yet to tackle the more difficult job of removing damaged fuel and radioactive debris, which requires use of the controversial crane. Bernard Snyder, head of the NRC's TMI program office, maintains that the crane is safe and that testing it further than planned would only increase costs and expose workers to more radiation. Still, the NRC has yet to approve the crane's testing and use, and the investigations may have delayed that approval for months.

Meanwhile, GPU is seeking NRC ap-

proval to restart Unit I. Public utilities in Pennsylvania and New Jersey have limited increases in GPU's rate base until the plant is operational, but relicensing is in limbo while the NRC assesses the competence of TMI's management. To assess GPU's role in the 1979 accident, NRC officials have pored through trial documents from a \$4 billion lawsuit GPU filed against Babcock and Wilcox, manufacturer of the facility. (The suit was settled for \$37 million last January with neither side admitting negligence. But cynics suspect the deal was struck to stem the flow of embarrassing disclosures about the plant, such as allegations that GPU's chief training official cheated on his own exam.) Last week the NRC released a report on the trial records, finding "potential integrity issues" in such areas as the reputed cheating incident, alleged falsification of data on leaks at the plant and GPU's overall performance before and during the accident. The report recommended further study that could push a decision on the Unit I reactor into 1985. A federal grand jury has also been looking into TMI for so long that outsiders suspect a number of criminal violations may be involved. GPU officials could not be reached for comment.

Memos: GPU has hired retired Adm. Hyman Rickover, the "father of the nuclear navy," to conduct a separate assessment of Unit I. But a growing body of critics and TMI-area residents want both TMI reactors permanently closed and decontaminated. In a referendum in nearby Dauphin County, residents voted overwhelmingly to shut down the facility, as did officials in neighboring Cumberland County two weeks ago. In an unusual memo last June, NRC commissioner Victor Gilinsky charged that Unit I should not be allowed to return to operations as long as GPU is "run by the same few individuals" who were in charge before the accident, and last week he reiterated his charges, predicting that GPU would not be given a clean bill of health "for the foreseeable future." Both times, NRC chairman



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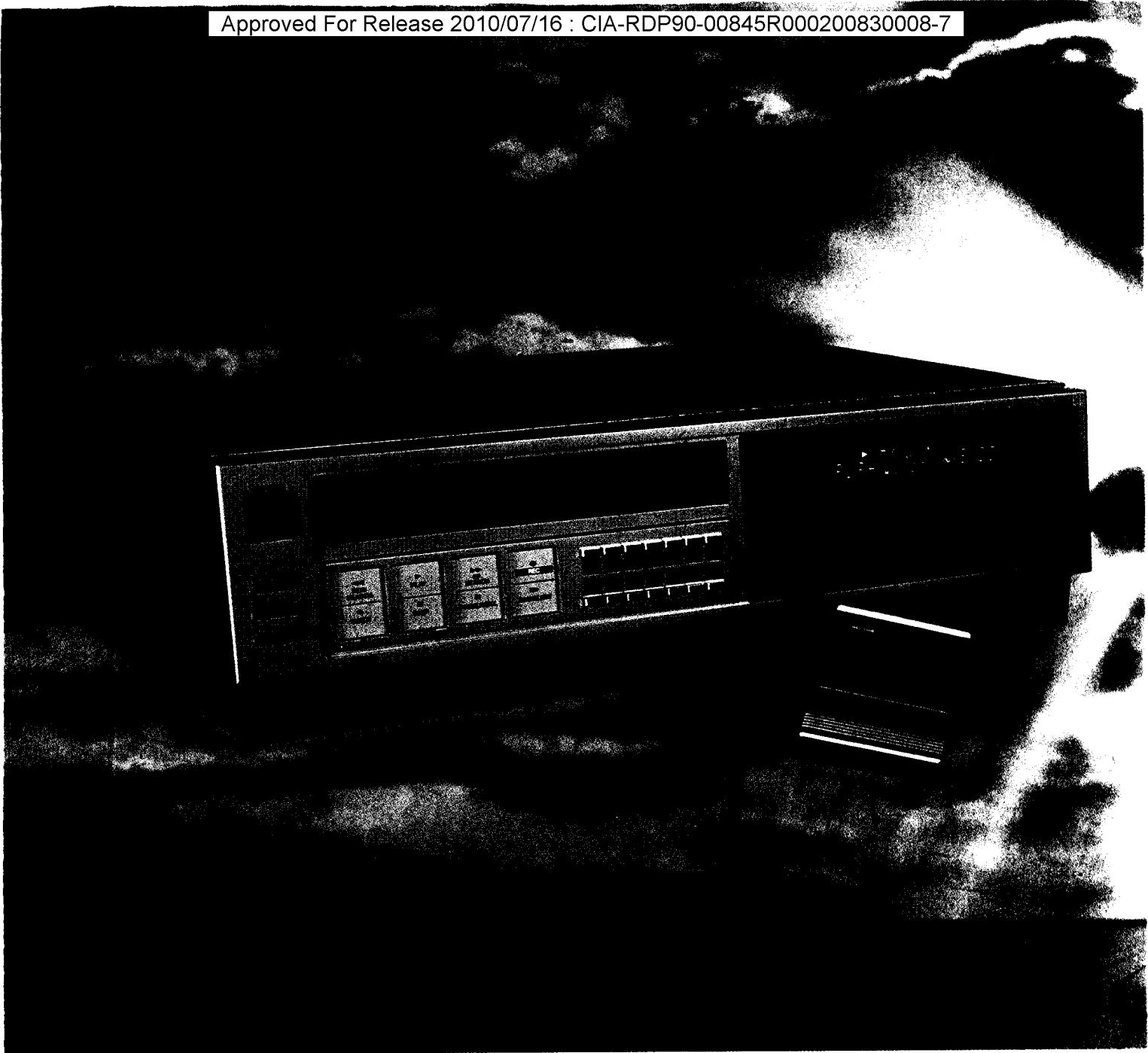
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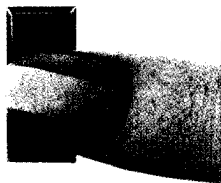
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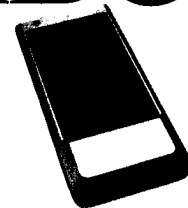


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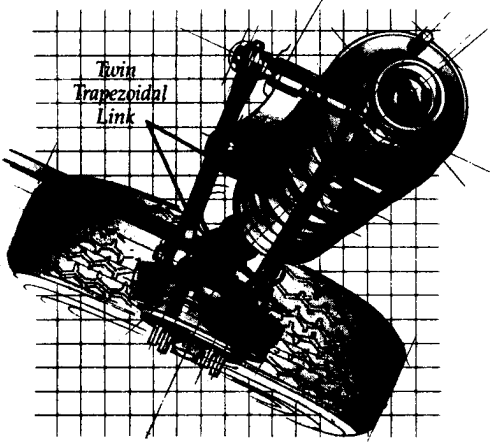


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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Nunzio Palladino stressed that Gilinsky did not speak for the full commission.

Many critics also fault the NRC for failing to investigate TMI problems earlier or follow up on reforms ordered for all nuclear power plants in the wake of the TMI accident. (As of January, 155 of 347 steps to improve safety at nuclear facilities had not been completed at all plants, including TMI Unit I.) "I am amazed by how little effect the Unit II accident has had on the NRC or the utility," says Robert Pollard of the Union of Concerned Scientists, a nuclear watchdog group. "All their efforts seem to be to prevent the discussion of safety issues." Meanwhile, the hobbled TMI plant is making a minor comeback as a tourist attraction: 330,000 curiosity seekers have visited since 1979. GPU executives say they encourage the visits to promote better understanding of nuclear power.

MELINDA BECK with MARY HAGER in Washington and bureau reports

Half Our Pregnancies Are Unintentional

There was once a cheerful and widespread belief that when the doctor uttered the familiar words "You're pregnant" most American women wept for joy. No more. According to a study released last week, more than half of the approximately 6 million pregnancies that take place each year in the United States are unintended. The New York-based Alan Guttmacher Institute also found that of the 3.3 million unintended pregnancies, nearly half were terminated by abortion.

The report pulls together years of contraception studies undertaken by different groups. Some of the figures are surprising: as expected, for example, teen-agers have a higher incidence of unwanted pregnancy than adults—but only 2.4 percent higher. And blacks are fully twice as likely as whites to get pregnant without wanting to do so.

The bulk of the report is devoted to var-

ious forms of contraception—all of which the institute found to be statistically safer than complications associated with unwanted pregnancy itself. Only .1 percent of all pill users develop major medical problems each year, compared with 2 percent of all unintentionally pregnant women who do not use contraceptives. "It is disturbing to me that young people have stopped taking the pill for fear of side effects," says Dr. Howard W. Ory, deputy director of epidemiology programs at the Centers for Disease Control and the study's principal author. He adds that the pill helps prevent ovarian cancer in young women, and that the only pill users who face any significant risk of heart attack or stroke are women over 40 and over 35 who smoke: "For women under 25, the benefits considerably outweigh the risks." As for the diaphragm, the study found that 18.6 percent of the women who relied on it during the first year of marriage got pregnant. The report concluded that it is an entirely safe form of contraception, but effective only if properly used.



Ben Weaver Camera 5

Daddy-O and his dancin' frogs: Yet another battle between the true Texas sensibility and the cult of good taste

Are They Signs or Art?

Bob (Daddy-O) Wade's in trouble again—and him an *artiste* of international repute, the transatlantic big time. Daddy-O, who thinks his sculptural "varmints and critters" reflect a "fairly typical Texas sensibility," was the toast of Patee with a smash-hit exhibition at the Beaubourg. His works have appeared at the Whitney Museum in New York, and Joan Mondale, wife of the former vice president, particularly admired his pair of cowboy boots 42 feet tall, now on display at a San Antonio shopping center. And Daddy-O's big iguana was upheld in court in New York City as a sure-fire example of Art, the judge tut-tutting those Manhattan Philistines who saw it as some kind of advertising gimmick. Forty feet long, that iguana was the biggest urethane reptile on lower Fifth Avenue.

Daddy-O's frogs are only 10 feet tall, but they're Art too. A curator of the Dallas Museum of Arts said so, and she should know. So what if four of them are playing musical instruments and two of them are dancing? So what if they're motorized, and the girl frogs have long eyelashes? So what if they're standing on the top of a nightclub, Tango, and they go through their jive only

during business hours? Only in Dallas—the Town That Once Banned Pinko Artists Like Picasso—would any bunch of rubes in three-piece suits fail to see the frogs as Art. Daddy-O got more than \$25,000 for his frogs, which *must* mean they're Art: would a *sign painter* get 25 G's?

Dance 'til You Croak: But Dallas is divided, pro-frog and anti-frog, between the true Texas sensibility and the cult of Good Taste. The city sign board is anti-frog, influenced by some fellow who predicted dire consequences if the frogs were allowed to stand—the threat of creeping animationism, a precedent for Gawd knows what, maybe a giant gorilla holding two heads of lettuce on the Safeway roof. The jitterbugs are all pro-frog, of course: some of them held a party called Dance 'til You Croak, and everybody under 90 was there. The dude who owns the nightclub, Shannon Wynne, is suing the city to uphold his right to have frogs on the roof, eyelashes or not; he wants to call Arthur Murray's wife to testify that the frogs aren't dancing the tango, as some allege.

Daddy-O himself is philosophical. "I expected a little trouble," he says. "But I hope Dallas isn't too small a pond for the my frogs." Meanwhile, some fool is probably working on the giant gorilla with the two heads of lettuce for the Safeway roof.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

America's Secret Warriors

Under William Casey, the CIA is back in business with a new set of missions.



In a string of Turkish cities and towns, agents of the Central Intelligence Agency have arranged covert support for Iranian exile groups seeking the overthrow of Ayatollah Khomeini.

Two thousand miles away, in the Pakistani cities of Peshawar and Islamabad, other undercover operatives are coordinating the flow of money and matériel vital to rebel tribesmen battling Soviet invasion troops across the border in Afghanistan. The agency also supplies secret aid to friendly forces in Chad, Ethiopia, Angola and the Sudan—and has launched the massive campaign of espionage, air strikes, propaganda and other support for a now notorious “secret war” against the leftist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. Clearly, the cloaks and daggers have come out of cold storage at CIA headquarters in Langley, Va. For better or worse, the Company is back in the business of covert action—with a global scope and an intensity of resources unmatched since its heyday 20 years ago.

Under the most unlikely director of central intelligence in the agency's history—a mumbling, often maddening tax lawyer and businessman named William J. Casey (page 40)—the CIA has found its ranks expanded, redirected and re-energized for covert confrontation with hostile forces around the world. Casey also has streamlined basic analysis and reporting functions, helped swaddle the agency in a cocoon of controversial new secrecy orders and moved it forcefully into two areas of stepped-up national concern: the fight to keep tons of deadly drugs from coming into the United States each year and the battle to keep scores of critical high-tech advances from being pirated out. Casey's ability to get things done stems in large part from his close and frequent contact with the president (at least two meetings each week, plus frequent phone conversations) and with fellow members of the cabinet (Casey is the first DCI with cabinet rank).

'Mushrooms': Still, the increase in covert action has raised old questions about the wisdom, propriety and effectiveness of American intelligence activities. Critics on and off Capitol Hill say Casey shows an old cold warrior's insensitivity to the potential embarrassment and diplomatic danger that secret missions always pose—and a high-handed disregard for the role of congressional oversight in this most sensitive area. “We are like mushrooms,” says California's Democratic Rep. Norman Mineta of the

Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. “They keep us in the dark and feed us a lot of manure.”

The most dramatic showdown so far came this past summer when the House Intelligence Committee voted to cut off all funds for further covert support of the anti-Sandinist contra rebels in Nicaragua—a largely symbolic act, since the Senate never



Wally McNamee—NEWSWEEK

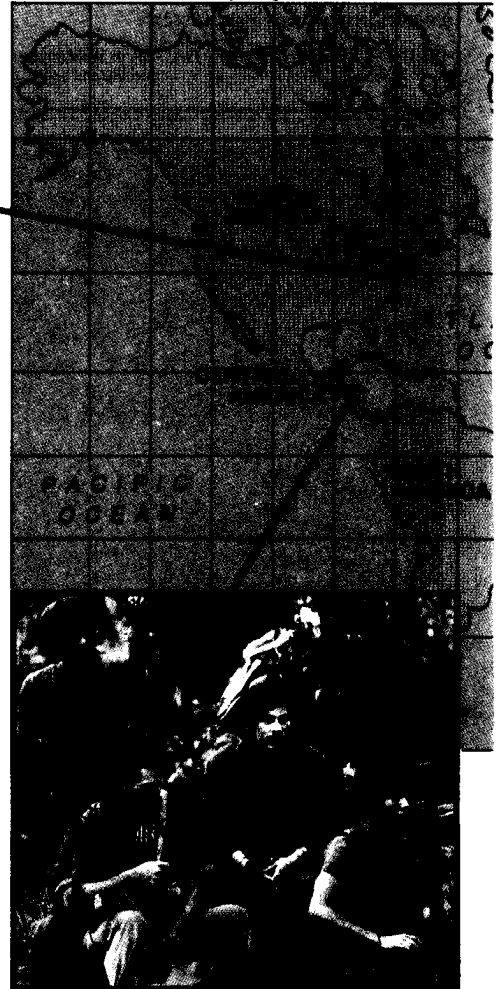
THE DCI AT LANGLEY: A covert clientele

concluded. The national debate will flare again in the next few weeks as Congress begins to consider the nation's 1984 intelligence budget, which is reported to have grown at a rate of 17 percent annually for the past three years, faster even than Pentagon spending, to regain the level it held before big cutbacks began back in 1973. The prospects for making any substantial cuts in the face of new Soviet aggressiveness—both the shootdown of a Korean Air Lines jetliner and Moscow's hostile rejection of the latest U.S. arms-control proposals (page 26)—“are not promising,” concedes committee chairman Edward Boland of Massachusetts. Dubious, too, are prospects for a

proposal by Georgia's Democratic Rep. Wyche Fowler Jr. to require advance congressional approval of all major covert operations. “Many in Congress don't want to have that authority,” says Arizona Rep. Bob Stump, a Republican member of Boland's committee, which might have to share the blame for a mission gone awry.

A return to covert action was forecast in the 1980 platform of the Republican Party. “We will provide our government with the capability to help influence international

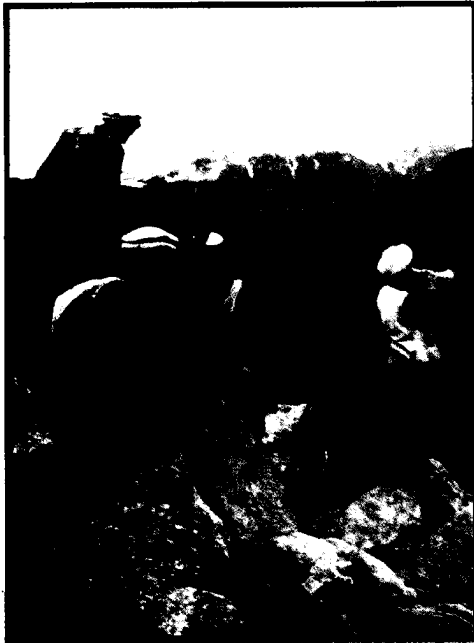
Nancy Eising, Marta Norman—NEWSWEEK



John Hoagland—Gamma-Liaison

NICARAGUA: Anti-Sandinista contras

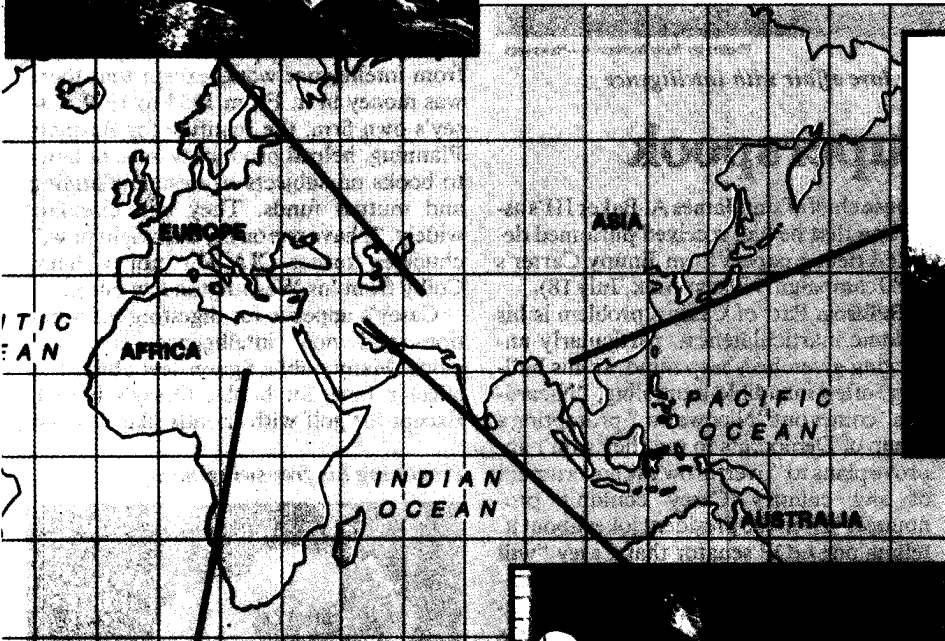
events vital to our national security interests, a capability which only the United States among major powers has denied itself,” it proclaimed, in pointed reference to the decimation of CIA undercover ranks under President Jimmy Carter and CIA Director Stansfield Turner (operatives were pared down to perhaps 300 from a high point of thousands in the early 1960s).



The contrast with the Carter years could not be more clear. In that period, the House Intelligence Committee was informed of two or three major covert operations, or "findings," each year (congressional watchdogs classify as "major" any covert operation costing between \$5 million and \$7 million—or one that is designed to undermine a foreign government). The total under Casey is already 12 to 14, seven or eight of them considered major, although administration policy now encourages use of the term "special activities" instead of "covert action." The number of covert operatives has risen to more than 1,000, many of them retired or cashiered agency veterans who have been hired back on a contract basis because so few experienced operators remain at the agency.

So eager was Casey to get the covert build-

AFGHANISTAN: Arms for rebel tribesmen
Pascal Pugin—Outline



Nik Wheeler—Black Star

THAILAND: Trying to stop the opium crop

guy to hustle." The CIA, State Department and Pentagon all agree the guerrillas have no more than six months—perhaps only three—to prove their "rebellion" can spread successfully throughout Nicaragua. "The Sandinistas can wait forever, but Congress won't," says one U.S. official.

"Our position is that we don't even acknowledge that the CIA is in El Salvador," says the U.S. Embassy's deputy chief of mission there, Kenneth Bleakley. But several lower-ranking State Department officers with experience in the country say that CIA operations go beyond the Nicaraguan effort to operations involving El Salvador itself—covert support for the country's weak political parties and electoral process and a "propaganda and disinformation campaign" in the Salvadoran press aimed at "convincing the civilian population that the guerrillas, not the Army, are the real bad guys," according to one source.

■ **Afghanistan.** Supplying about \$100 million in arms and ammunition to the Afghan rebel groups, agency undercover operatives work through contacts in Pakistan and conduits in the Middle East. Intelligence watchers say the CIA has also stepped up operations within Pakistan to keep tabs



Aral—Sipa-Black Star

CHAD: A fight against Libyan incursion



David Burnett—Contact

IRAN: Support for anti-Khomeini exiles

up under way, well-placed sources report, that within weeks of taking office the administration had approved plans developed under Carter for assisting anti-Khomeini forces. Less than a month later there was an OK for early planning of operations in Libya and Nicaragua (although insiders say the secret war was instigated largely by the then Secretary of State Alexander Haig and As-



Photos by Wally McNamee—NEWSWEEK

With wife, Sophia, at Long Island home: A long love affair with intelligence

A Most Unlikely Superspook

Except for the pistols tucked beneath their jackets, the two fresh-faced young men sitting in the front seat of the black Chrysler might have been mistaken for trainees at a good brokerage house. Behind them, his jowls quivering with the car's vibration, his head cocked in a characteristic expression of quizzical attention, sat William J. Casey, 70, multimillionaire, lawyer, investor, politician, tax expert, amateur historian—and director of central intelligence (DCI). "Mr. Casey," one of the agents said, "they've got a call on the secure phone. Do you want to go back?" Casey grunted yes and the car turned toward the antebellum mansion on Long Island that he has owned for 35 years. Lunch would have to wait. This call from his deputy wasn't about Thailand or Chad or any of the thousands of men at his command around the world. It was about how to handle congressional testimony—an overt operation of extremesensitivity.

While Casey and Ronald Reagan are close—perhaps closer than any DCI and president since the agency's founding—the CIA director's relations with Congress need constant patching. Many members of the intelligence committees remain disturbed by what they view as his cavalier approach to keeping Congress informed. In August 1981, after his poorly qualified chief of clandestine operations, Max Hugel, was forced to resign, Casey found his own job threatened. After a brief investigation, the most enthusiastic endorsement Senate Intelligence Committee chairman Barry Goldwater could muster was that Casey was not "unfit to serve." Last June came "Debategate." Casey denied White

House chief of staff James A. Baker III's assertion that he had received purloined debate-briefing papers from Jimmy Carter's 1980 campaign (NEWSWEEK, July 18).

Bullfrog: Part of Casey's problem is his chronic inarticulateness, particularly unnerving given his sharp mind. In his bullfrog, often inaudible mumbling, "Nicaragua" comes out "Nicowawa," prompting a group of Democrats to say they won't approve plans to "overthrow the government of any country Casey couldn't pronounce." Even the president jokes about it, telling one GOP senator that Casey "will be the first DCI who didn't need a scrambler phone." But deeper unease about Casey grows out of his heedless nature. His affinity for action and risk, healthy for money-making, can be worrisome in other realms. As DCI he is always in motion, traveling at least 50 percent of the time, occasionally on commercial flights under an assumed name, a practice one agency source calls "extremely risky." With Casey, the question is what happens when the to-hell-with-the-niceties approach that has served him so well in business is applied to the CIA.

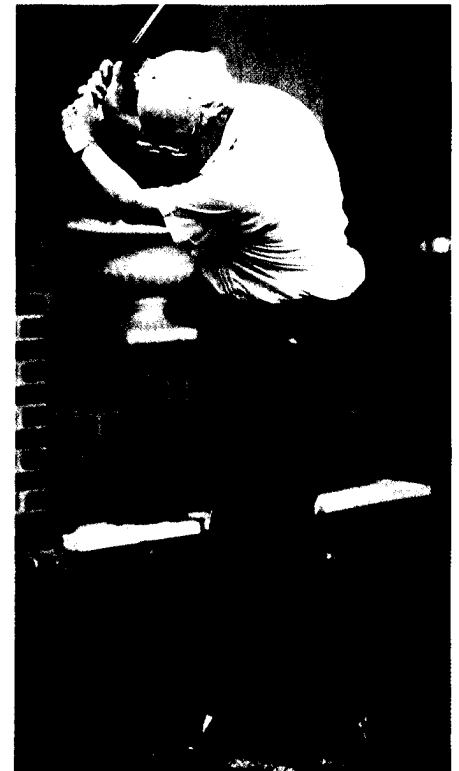
Casey won the CIA job after managing Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign, but his interest in the post had its origin in a longtime love affair with the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the World War II precursor to the CIA. While Casey's bad eyesight kept him out of direct espionage, a contact in OSS chief William Donovan's New York law firm landed him a job in the OSS Washington office. In the last months of the war, as London station chief, he organized a large-scale operation that

dropped some 150 agents behind German lines to disrupt Nazi forces and assist the Allied advance. Some recent scholarship suggests that the mission produced few concrete results. But over the years there has been a tendency on the part of the fraternity of OSS veterans, including Casey, to transfer their glowing wartime memories to current operations.

Preparation: When Casey first took over the CIA he was widely criticized for his lack of relevant experience in the 35 years since the end of the war. But for the bulk of the agency's activity—the collection and analysis of intelligence—Casey's business career was solid preparation. In 1937, after waiting on tables to help pay his way through Fordham and St. John's Law School, Casey went to work for a newsletter that advised companies on the tangled new legislation coming out of Washington. The exercise—presenting complex information in a clear way—was not so different from intelligence work, except that there was money in it. From 1954 to 1971, Casey's own firm, the Institute for Business Planning, helped produce dozens of how-to books on subjects like estate planning and mutual funds. They still circulate widely. "I have one on my desk right now," chuckles former CIA Director William Colby from his Washington law office.

Casey's appetite for digesting information—and now intelligence—is prodigious. Many public figures feel obliged to affect a taste for books; Casey's is real. Except for golf with friends like William

Practicing his free-swinging style



Simon and George Shultz, he does little in his spare time but read. Author of one nontechnical book, a guide to the American Revolution, he has completed a second on the OSS, which he won't publish until he leaves his present job.

This scholarly inclination stands in sharp contrast to Casey's freewheeling financial style. Instead of coasting with a cushy corporate life, Casey relished risks. He helped found many high-technology firms—often receiving stock in exchange for his legal work. The gambles paid off, helping Casey amass a fortune of \$8 million to \$12 million. Several shareholder suits charging him with misrepresentation have hardly nicked him.

From the start, Casey favored the bare-knuckled approach. Court transcripts show that during a plagiarism suit against his publishing firm in the early 1960s, later settled out of court, he told the opposing attorney, "If you're not a gentleman I'm going to kick your ass." When he moved to Washington in 1971 to head the Securities and Exchange Commission, he outbid the Japanese government for a house on Embassy Row—then responded to the seller's worries over how to break the news with a simple, "Tell them to remember Pearl Harbor." Like Joseph P. Kennedy, another hard-boiled millionaire investor turned securities regulator, Casey won solid marks at the SEC—and later as head of the Export-Import Bank and under secretary of state for economic affairs.

Bedeveled: It was during his SEC tenure that Casey became enmeshed in the Robert Vesco case, a Watergate sidelight featuring charges that financier Vesco offered \$200,000 to the Nixon re-election campaign in an effort to stop a major SEC investigation of him. Casey has long been involved in GOP politics—in 1966 he even ran unsuccessfully for Congress. After Nixon campaign manager John Mitchell asked him to chat with Vesco's emissary, Harry Sears, in the midst of the SEC investigation, Casey and Sears met three times. The case has bedeviled him ever since.

One reason Casey's past tends to linger is his habit of neglecting to reveal it fully. The problem arose in 1971 during his SEC confirmation hearings, when Sen. William Proxmire rebuked him for misleading Congress on the details of the plagiarism suit. Ten years later he made the same mistake. Six months after being unanimously confirmed as CIA chief, Casey, under pressure from the Senate Intelligence Committee, amended his financial statements to add 70 former clients he said he simply forgot to list, among them the governments of South Korea and Indone-

sia. The overall context suggests skillful sophistry: asked on the personnel form, "Have you ever been an attorney for a foreign government?", Casey answered, "Neither I nor my firm currently represent any foreign government."

Trust: Casey's failure to establish a blind trust for his financial holdings also stirred resentment in Congress—and jokes at the White House that CIA really stood for "Casey Investing Again." Nonetheless, the CIA director was determined to resist what he viewed as media pressure—and to avoid a repeat of the hundreds of thousands of dollars in losses incurred by the blundering blind trust he set up while at the SEC. So he



A rare defeat, 1966: Politics in the blood

established an elaborate screening committee to advise him of any special action he should take to avoid conflicts of interest with his investments. This simply opened Casey to charges that he was bowing out of important parts of his job because they might complicate his personal finances. Casey insists that "I haven't called a broker in 20 years," but in July he finally relented and agreed to set up a blind trust.

This behavior bore all the marks of Casey, the risk-taking businessman. He took his chances—and lost. What gives his critics pause is that they will likely never know what other risks this restless, defiant man is taking now that he holds the most sensitive job in the United States government.

JONATHAN ALTER with NICHOLAS HORROCK in Washington and SHAWN DOHERTY in New York

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

on—and props under—the pro-American military regime of President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq (page 45).

■ **Iran.** The CIA is providing support for Iranian exiles in Turkey who continue to work for the ayatollah's overthrow. Presumably they bring intelligence from Iran back across the largely unguarded border, and they may be useful as agents or sources should they ultimately succeed and return to their homeland. Iranian exiles in France are receiving similar CIA support.

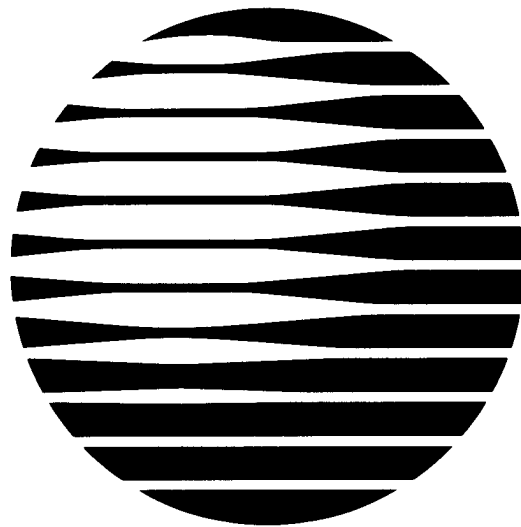
■ **Africa.** The agency provides intelligence as well as overt aid and training to the forces fighting Libyan incursions into Chad. Training, arms and financial assistance are also given to military forces in Ethiopia, Angola and the Sudan. Two covert operations were aborted because of strong congressional opposition, NEWSWEEK has learned: a plan to provide arms for anti-Libyan forces in Mauritius and for opponents of strongman Muammar Kaddafi inside Libya itself.

■ **Asia.** The CIA, NEWSWEEK has confirmed, helped with communications training and intelligence gathering for raids by Thailand's military forces against heroin production and processing centers in their own country and across the border in Burma. The agency also is working with the Chinese to supply arms to the forces of former Cambodian ruler Pol Pot, now waging hit-and-run attacks on the current Saigon-supported regime.

Despite all the administration rhetoric about the damage done by leaks of secret information, the operations aimed at Nicaragua, Libya and Afghanistan have been relatively thinly disguised. And in the cases of Libya and Nicaragua, some intelligence veterans have been surprised by the coordination of covert activities with highly visible naval maneuvers. All of which leads some to suspect supposedly secret missions are valued in part for their contribution to the hard-nosed image President Reagan wants for U.S. foreign policy.

Whatever the motives behind Casey's covert operations, mounting them has seriously strained the CIA's depleted resources. "The single biggest constraint to Casey's plans was the lack of competent, trained manpower," says one knowledgeable source. Since the preparation and positioning of undercover operators is a process that takes years, the director of clandestine services—a 51-year-old professional named John Stein—was virtually detached to reorganize a recruitment and training operation. Casey, meanwhile, was forced to seek short-term contracts with some of the 800 veterans of covert operations who had been let go between 1977 and 1980—few of them, unfortunately, expert in the supply and training of clandestine military operations. The CIA also applied strong pressure for an increase of the Army's Special Forces—often, in the past, a prime source of paramil-

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itary expertise for the Company (page 46).

Also difficult to obtain were the wide range of secret support services and "proprietary" companies that the Company once could call on in an instant: two full-fledged commercial airlines, several banks in the United States and abroad, at least one major international arms company and a variety of cover operations in such useful fields as import-export. This shortfall explains the embarrassing details about U.S. equipment that turned up in so many early stories about the contra forces in Nicaragua. Well-placed sources told NEWSWEEK that the CIA simply could not obtain and ship to Central America the kind of untraceable matériel—Belgian, Czech, West German or captured Soviet stocks—that normally provide cover in such situations. According to these sources, the United States has now arranged for Israel to feed the CIA-supported guerrillas with equipment captured in Lebanon. Foreign intelligence services have a generally positive view of Casey's rebuilding efforts, but they are still wary of the weakened and jury-rigged state of CIA intelligence networks where they still exist.

Independent: In part to compensate for the Company's reduced resources in covert operations, the Reagan administration also has encouraged the development of a top-secret and totally independent Army Intelligence Support Activity (AISA), about which even many intelligence watchdogs in Congress were unaware until an accidental mention of it during hearings earlier this year. AISA was reportedly formed for commando-style missions and support in the wake of the disastrous joint military attempt to rescue the U.S. hostages in Iran—an effort made more difficult because the CIA did not have a single agent left on the ground in that country. Although Casey himself has refused to answer questions on

the subject, some administration officials say the CIA director has assigned the group a number of covert missions.

If the rebuilding of the CIA's own cloak-and-dagger capabilities is a long-term process, however, Casey has pressed quickly to improve the Company's ability to analyze and interpret the overwhelming flood of intelligence that pours into it from spy satellites, radio intercepts and an impressive array of other electronic and human intelligence collectors (ELINT and HUMINT in CIA parlance). "Casey has good instincts on the process of producing National Intelligence Estimates," says one administration "consumer" of these vital agency reports. "He has tried to make them shorter, blunter and more timely."

Up to Date: CIA analysts now pound out 50 NIE's a year instead of the dozen that were done before. And there is less bickering among the various agencies of the intelligence community, insiders say, because Casey has found ways to give more prominence to dissenting views. Aware of competing sources of intelligence, including the news media, Casey has also created a Weekly Watch Report and an even more up-to-the-minute "typescript memorandum" that reports unexpected developments immediately to the president and other top officials.

In general, the agency's predictions have been early and accurate on important matters: the elevation of Soviet leader Yuri Andropov and his subsequent health problems, the Libyan invasion of Chad, the resignation of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and the imposition of martial law in Poland. But one Washington official complains that the CIA predicted far greater resistance by the Polish people than actually occurred, and there was even more embarrassment when Israeli forces pressed far deeper into Lebanon than they had promised. "The analysts did write that they [the Israelis] would go further than anyone

expected," one intelligence expert recalls, but they were fairly low key.

Similarly, says one administration intelligence official, the CIA produced a fair amount of warning about the building threat to Egyptian leader Anwar Sadat, "but it never penetrated—it wasn't done forcefully enough to overcome the bosses' love affair with Sadat." Some critics fear that U.S. ties to regimes in Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the Philippines could also blind the CIA or its masters to major upheavals in those countries in the near future.

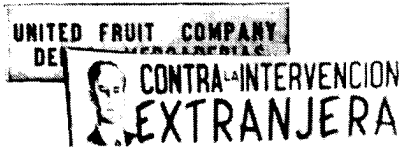
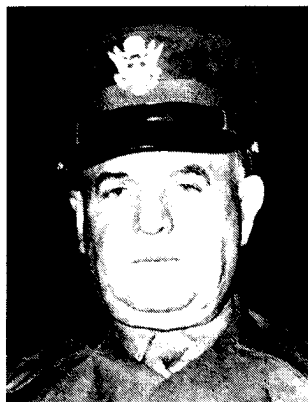
To further upgrade its analysis and reporting, the CIA has stepped up recruiting for specialists in high technology and area studies, especially the Third World—and the nation's college campuses are responding with more enthusiasm, or at least tolerance, than they have for decades. "I still don't agree with what they do, but for those people who are inclined to work for them, they should be allowed to interview," says University of Wisconsin senior Jay Todd Pinkert. Today's tight job market helps the CIA, but it often must compete for bright students with well-paying international banking firms, multinational corporations and high-tech industries.

Status Assignment: Robert Gates, 39, the agency's fast-rising deputy director for intelligence, is trying to make up with status what he cannot provide in pay envelopes. Increasingly he has let the experts who write the analyses brief the administration's top policymakers personally. "I know analysts who can walk out of here and double their salaries," says Gates. "But when one of our people goes alone to brief the secretary of state or an assistant secretary, that can last a long time."

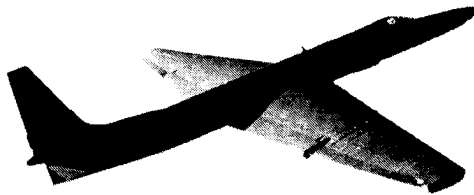
The demand for people with technical backgrounds is prompted both by the agency's own increasingly sophisticated collection capabilities and by Casey's decision to make the prevention of high-tech espionage a top priority. The CIA has developed a

WIN SOME, LOSE SOME: A SCRAPBOOK

The new CIA, set up after World War II, drew on the men and experience of William Donovan's Office of Strategic Services.



Warnings against intervention did not stop the CIA from engineering the ouster of Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbenz in 1954. Covert action also helped depose Iran's Mohammad Mossadegh (below) in 1953.



The agency was flying high with spying missions over the Soviet Union by U-2 jets (below) until one of them—flown by Francis Gary Powers—was shot down in 1960. It was embarrassed again by the abortive 1961 Bay of Pigs assault on Fidel Castro and several futile murder plots against him.



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

massive data base on the methods by which Iron Curtain operatives obtain critical plans and equipment from U.S. firms and has used this information to raise consciousness on the issue among domestic research-and-development firms and allied intelligence services. "They responded, naturally, to their own security interests," says Casey, chortling over the expulsion from Europe and Japan of more than 100 enemy intelligence agents, most of whom were caught stealing high technology. "The biggest setback the KGB ever had," the CIA boss claims. Intelligence officials say that their increasing involvement with high-tech America—the better to entrap Soviet spies and safeguard U.S. scientific secrets—will not result in improper domestic surveillance or infiltration of American business. But some outside critics of the agency fear that excesses in this area are inevitable.

Conflicts: Casey also has volunteered the CIA and other U.S. intelligence agencies for more active duty than ever in the nation's war on narcotics, and this too may lead to conflicts. The Drug Enforcement Administration, for example, refuses to provide cover for CIA agents. Beyond that, the people best able to get sensitive military and political information out of closed countries like Iran or Afghanistan are sometimes those adept at taking narcotics out as well. On several occasions in recent years, the Justice Department and Drug Enforcement Administration have pursued major drug-traffic suspects—only to learn, late in the game, that as valuable paid assets of the CIA they were virtually untouchable.

Still, Casey has concluded that the nation's drug problem is fully as serious as its national-security concerns. He even suspects that international communism vies with Mafia capitalism in mobilizing much of the world's drug trade. "We think we've identified that," says the DCI. "We can't

prove it in court." The danger in focusing the intelligence agencies on these activities is that they may be carried willy-nilly into the province of domestic operations and law enforcement.

The same danger shadows the CIA's stepped-up counterintelligence campaign. Under Casey, the agency is free of the non-productive, self-destructive mole hunting of years past—when entire careers were made or broken in the choice between which of several Soviet defectors to believe about the existence or nonexistence of a high-level Soviet agent within the CIA. Any such sleeper agent high in the Company 20 years ago would presumably be long gone today. Instead, insiders say, the CIA is now plagued by a security consciousness that some think is counterproductive and potentially unconstitutional.

Flak: NIE reports are so highly classified that almost no officials can retain them in office safes for leisurely reading; they must be perused immediately and returned to a waiting messenger. The result: quick skimming of the basic document and increasing reliance on shorter, less sophisticated digests. And after months of agonizing work—and considerable flak from Congress—Casey's CIA finally got an executive order to tighten security. It makes the use of lie detectors more widespread among intelligence employees and requires government clearance for almost any publication by employees who work with national-security information, even years after they leave their posts.

On Capitol Hill, Casey got a far more limited statute than he had wanted to bar disclosure of CIA agents' names, and nothing approaching his notion of exempting the CIA from requirements of the Freedom of Information Act. Casey also ran into opposition on his requests for more vigorous investigation of leaks by the FBI and Justice Department. "Some CIA people think that if you say something nasty about the direc-

tor, that's a leak and it has to be investigated and people have to be punished," says one lawyer who has handled many national-security cases. In the end, the number of leak investigations conducted by Justice and the FBI under Reagan has not risen markedly from the number pursued at any time during the Carter years: 15 to 20 open cases, 10 of them active.

In addition, FBI Director William Webster has fended off Casey's appeal for a special squad of FBI agents to be assigned to the CIA for in-house investigations—a questionable domestic arm for an agency otherwise barred from such activity. Still, FBI officials insist that relations between Langley and their Hoover Building headquarters have rarely been smoother. Webster, indeed, went out of his way to deny a published report that he had called Casey a "buffoon."

Relations between Casey and Congress, by contrast, are hostile enough to warrant the War Powers Act. Many Democrats were furious from the first at Reagan's nomination of a political aide to the sensitive post of DCI and at Casey's early (and short-lived) appointment of businessman Max Hugel—another campaign crony with no major intelligence background—as director of clandestine operations. The CIA chief did little to win them over with his consistent mangling of facts during congressional appearances. "You are treating this committee like it is something you would like to see go away," he was told at one point by a GOP member of the House intelligence panel, Rep. Bill Young of Florida. Most inflammatory was Casey's original description of the contra campaign as an effort to interdict arms shipments from Nicaragua to El Salvador. "He's just loose with the facts," says one disgruntled Democrat. "Truth isn't part of his vocabulary."

The CIA's more recent rationale for covert action in Nicaragua—to force an end to alleged Sandinista subversion throughout



During the war in Vietnam, CIA analysts provided a fairly accurate—if not always appreciated—assessment of enemy strength. The agency's counterinsurgency experts, meanwhile, organized the bloody Phoenix program—notorious for its murders of suspected members of the Viet Cong—and ran a secret war in neighboring Laos.

Bay of Pigs veteran Howard Hunt (below) helped to drag the agency into the Watergate scandal. Another former CIA officer, James McCord, exposed the cover-up of the White House burglary.



In 1975, a Senate panel investigated a futile CIA plot to block Salvador Allende (above) from becoming Chile's president. No CIA tie to Allende's overthrow has ever been confirmed.

Despite a long history in Iran, the CIA was largely blind-sided by Khomeini's rebellion, the takeover of the U.S. Embassy and the seizing of the hostages.





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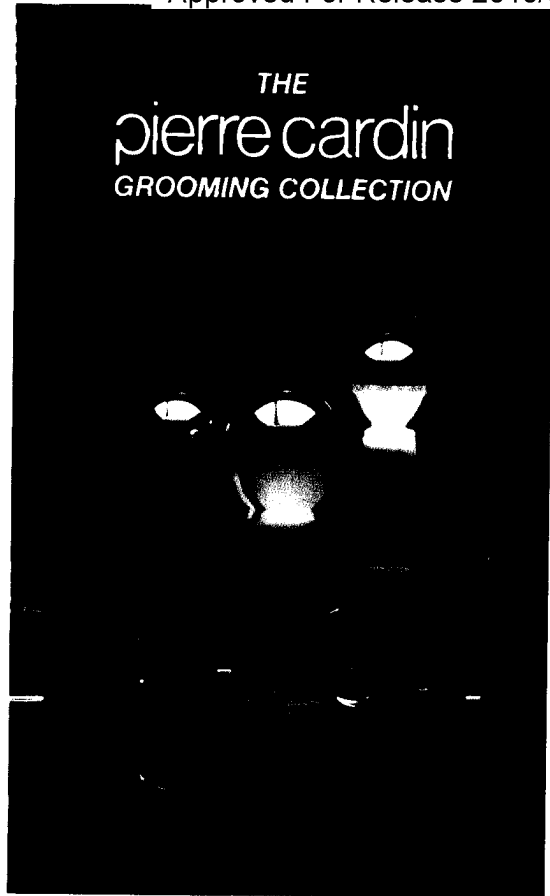
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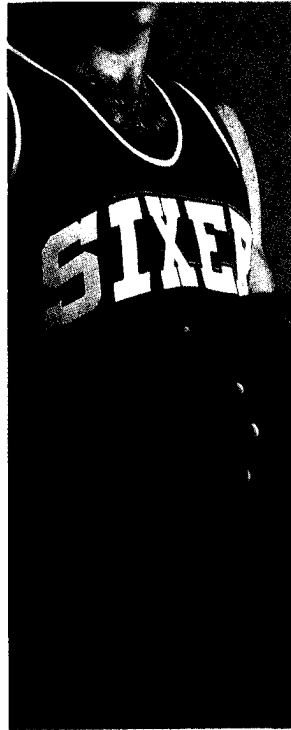
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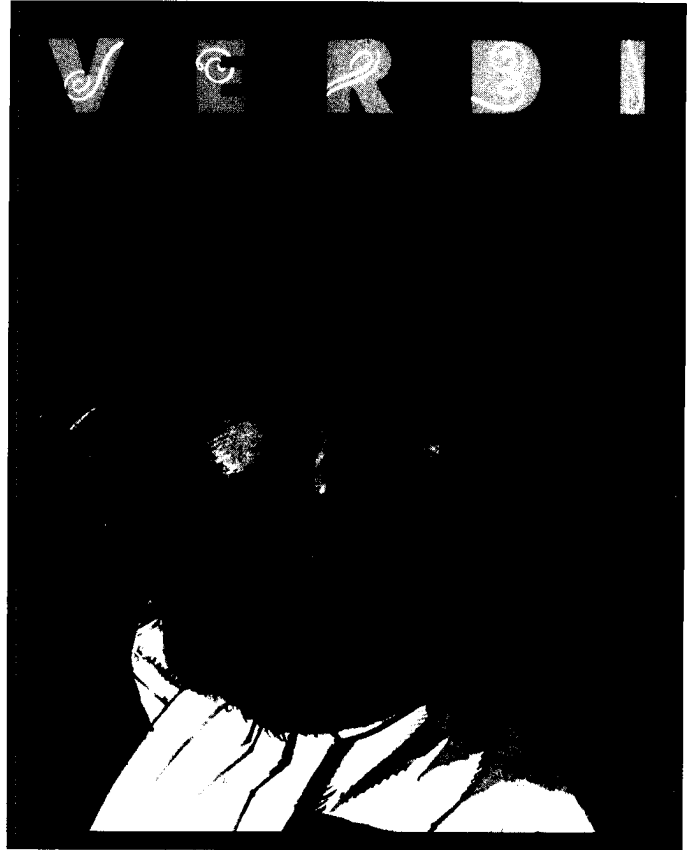
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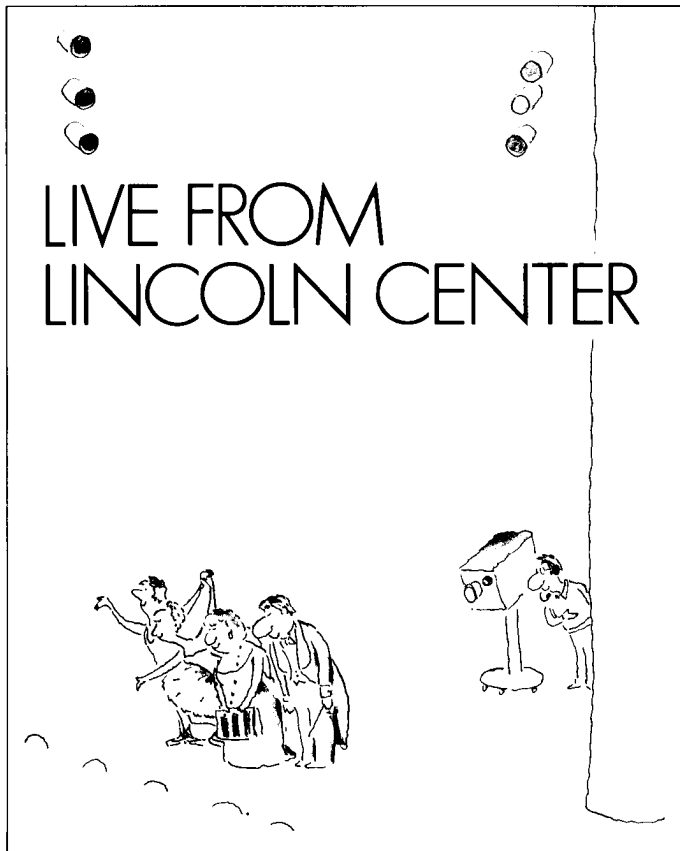




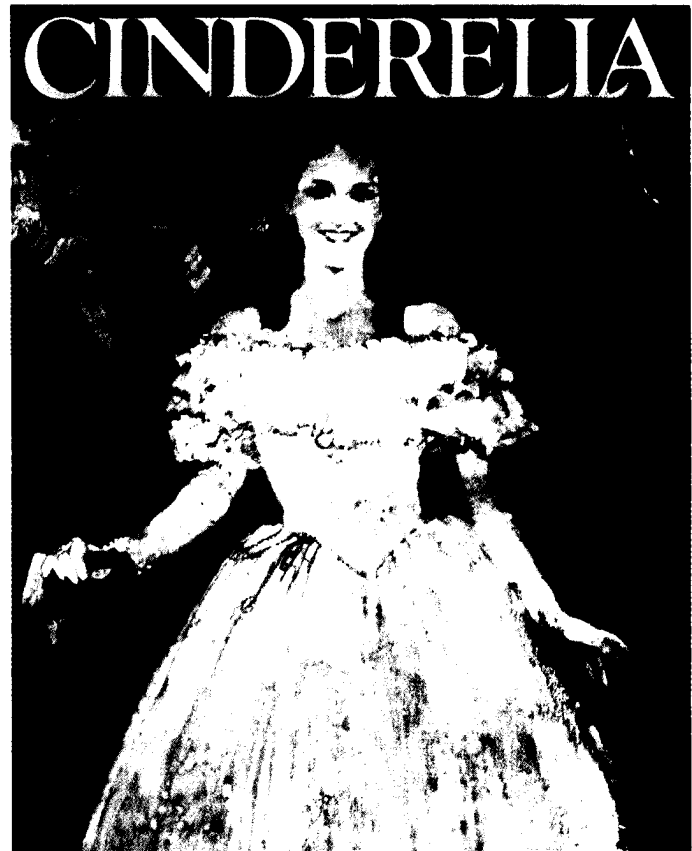
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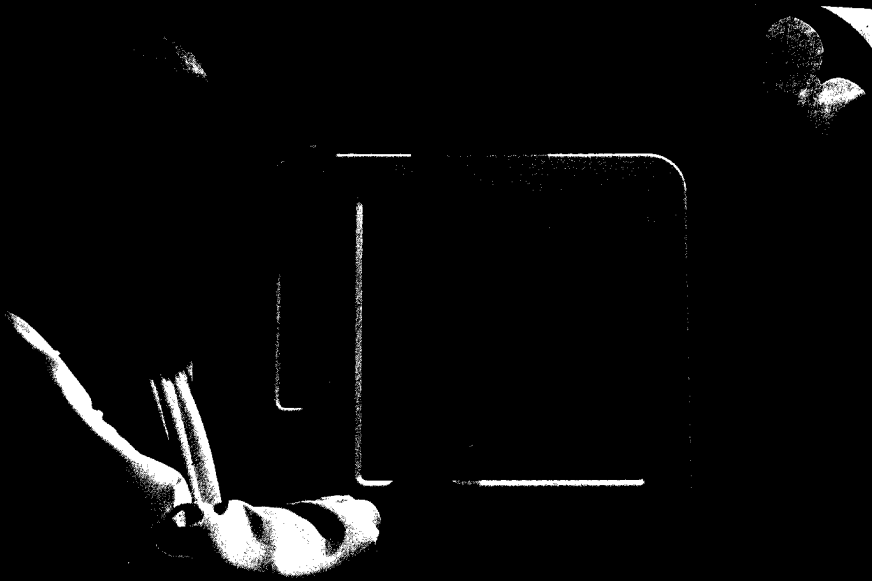


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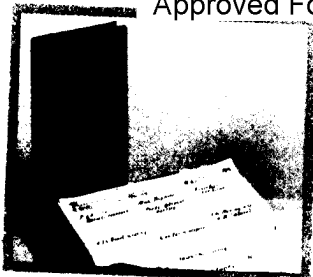
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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Central America—seemed only slightly less misleading and more vague to many congressmen. Moreover, it pointed up basic questions about covert action itself. Such clandestine operations *can* be useful if employed with restraint on a political level or—in the case of paramilitary operations—as a last resort, but only if brought off with extreme finesse. And even then the risk of subsequent disclosure remains.

As the investigation headed by Sen. Frank Church in 1975 disclosed, covert capabilities may lure presidents into a false sense of omnipotence—the misguided belief that they can change hostile governments and eliminate their leaders with impunity. That investigation paved the way for congressional restraints on a president's use of covert action, and subsequent developments in Iran may well have done more than any theoretical debate to prove their wisdom: although the CIA could and did rein-

state a friendly shah on the throne in 1953, it could not blot out that connection or prevent the fierce anti-American bitterness that developed over time and ultimately undermined both the shah and the entire U.S. presence in Iran. It is not a scenario that many Americans would care to see play out again in El Salvador, Nicaragua or anywhere else.

DAVID M. ALPERN with NICHOLAS M. HORROCK, ELAINE SHANNON, JOHN WALCOTT, GLORIA BORGER and JOHN J. LINDSAY in Washington. ROBERT RIVARD in San Salvador and bureau reports



Pascal Pugin—Outline

Rebels in the Afghan hills: Arms and ammunition courtesy of the CIA?

The Afghan Connection

Eugene Ray Clegg, 35, an American schoolteacher in Islamabad, was sentenced last February to 10 years of hard labor by a Pakistani military court. The charge: smuggling arms. The government story was that Clegg had imported a consignment of rifles for use in his science classes. Islamabad's diplomatic community assumed that Clegg had been selling arms to the Afghan mujahedin (guerrillas) for their war of resistance against the Soviet Union. At first, most thought his methods too clumsy to have any CIA connection. But they began to wonder when, less than a week after his sentencing, Clegg was very efficiently sprung from jail and spirited out of Pakistan.

The official U.S. position on the war in Afghanistan is that it is an indigenous insurgency with no direct U.S. involvement. The official position of the Afghan rebels is that they arm themselves with weapons captured from the Afghan Army. But the truth is far more complex: a CIA covert operation is bankrolling, training and supplying intelligence for the rebel forces. The slippery clues to how the operation works are the stuff of spy fiction.

Bills: The CIA's Afghan operation has to be extraordinarily discreet: neither the United States nor Pakistan wants to give the Soviet Union any excuse to step up activities in the area, and the rebels don't want to be tarnished by U.S. ties. The agency's role is largely limited to arranging shipments of matériel and paying the bills. Washington sources estimate that the United States now supplies the mujahedin with \$100 million annually—mostly through middlemen who can supply Russian- or Chinese-made

weapons to cloak the U.S. involvement.

Recently, a Pakistani businessman who had long lived in the United States started building a tire factory in Peshawar. But Pakistani police discovered that some of the crates of "equipment" delivered to the factory contained arms. The businessman was arrested, released and has faded from view. Many Pakistani industrialists do not think he would have embarked on such a major investment as a free-lance arms merchant: the CIA, they point out, was probably a silent partner.

In the early days of the war, most of the arms for the mujahedin came to Pakistan from Egypt. Today, China seems to be a primary supplier, and many observers suspect that the smugglers operate with cover from the Pakistani Defense Ministry. According to one knowledgeable Pakistani source, for example, Russian-made arms captured by Israel from Syria and the PLO were sold to a Canadian

middleman, then shipped through a U.S. middleman to "somewhere in the [Persian] Gulf"—possibly Saudi Arabia—and finally on to Pakistan to be passed across the Afghan border.

'Big Mouth': Although there are doubtless many private arms deals that do not involve the CIA at all, the sheer complexity of such an arrangement suggests the agency's presence in the background. "It's almost inconceivable," says a Pakistani, "that such a complicated connection occurred on its own." But whatever the United States is doing for the rebels, many of their leaders feel it is not enough. Abdulhaq, the guerrilla leader who commands 4,500 fighters around the Afghan capital of Kabul, says the mujahedin badly need U.S. surface-to-air missiles (their few Soviet- or Chinese-made SAM's have proved ineffective), but laments, "The U.S. has a big mouth but doesn't do much."

Still, there are clear signs that the stepped-up CIA involvement is having its effect. Early this year the Soviet Union increased bombing runs against the Afghan rebels, and the KGB backed up the military activity by courting informers with big rewards. Some mujahedin leaders feared their freedom fight in Afghanistan might be short lived. It didn't turn out that way.

Suddenly, the rebel forces seem stronger than ever. Food in the rebel camps is better, some of the mujahedin are sporting canvas boots and they are stocked with ample small arms, mortars and 12.7-mm machine guns. "There was a time when the military commanders would gratefully accept almost any type of small arms," says Bahajudin Majrooh, who runs the Afghan Information Center in Peshawar near the border. "Now they are much more selective and know precisely where they are short."

MARK STARR with EDWARD BEHR in Peshawar

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Green Grow the Green Berets



In a packed training room just a grenade's toss from Fort Bragg's Smoke Bomb Hill, 100 young men watch intently as their instructor explains the workings of the West German MP-5 submachine gun. Nearby, 43 others sit in silence, straining to decipher an endless stream of coded radio messages. And 70 miles away in the wilds of the Uwharrie Forest, hundreds practice hand-to-hand combat, land navigation and other survival skills. In all, some 1,500 soldiers are now training to be able to do "anything, anytime, anyplace, anyhow"—the credo of the United States Army Special Forces.

The Special Forces are not direct employees of the CIA. But historically, as CIA clandestine operations expand so do the Green Berets—and today, after a decade in disarray and disrepute, they are back in strength. The ranks of Green Berets, depleted to just 3,600 from a peak of 13,000 in the late 1960s, are being boosted to 5,000. Their command has been reorganized under a new special operations unit at Fort Bragg in Fayetteville, N.C. Most important, their leaders insist that the unholy alliance with the CIA—in Vietnam the Berets often worked under the agency's control—is gone forever: they are protected by a redefined and inviolable chain of command. "The days of doing it on a handshake are over," says Col. Joseph Cincotti, director of the Special Forces School at Fort Bragg. "Things are now controlled at the highest levels . . . and nothing is done without approval with a memo attached."

Dirty Work: It has been a long road back. The exalted status bestowed on the Special Forces by John F. Kennedy was squandered during a decade of misadventure in Southeast Asia, where they frequently served as point men for assassinations and other CIA-assigned dirty work. "We were committed to work with people who were not as professional as we were," says one Green Beret veteran with typical bitterness. That officer recalls being sent to destroy a North Vietnamese radio station the CIA allegedly had pinpointed in Laos. The Green Beret team found nothing—and was ambushed on the way back. When the survivors reached Saigon, the CIA man interrupted the debriefing session, pointing at the map: "Oh, if it wasn't there, it must be here. Go on back out."

But the CIA was only one of the Green Berets' problems. Although formed to train and fight alongside indigenous troops, in Vietnam the Green Berets were plunged increasingly into direct action. "There was less patience," says a retired Special Forces colonel. "If the Vietnamese can't shoot his rifle, I'll do it," was the attitude." The Green Berets also alienated regular Army brass with their freewheeling arrogance. "Lieutenant colonels would butt heads with Special Forces captains and lose," says a Green Beret major. "Those colonels are now generals making Army policy."

After the Special Forces returned from Vietnam in 1971, the Green Beret units were fragmented among five different Army commands. Now Ronald Reagan's official policy on unconventional warfare has restored them to a central role assisting U.S. allies in brush fires from Nicaragua to the Persian Gulf.

Modern recruitment efforts—while retaining a touch of the old macho appeal—stress a quieter brand of professionalism. "The days of the size 32 boot and the size 2 head are gone," says Cincotti. "Our soldiers know they don't have to go clean out a bar to prove themselves." In fact, Special Forces recruits now come from the top 3 percent of Army volunteers and average higher on Army aptitude tests than required to qualify for Officers Candidate School. Some veterans fear the demands on this new generation of recruits are near impossible. "This job demands a guy with political sensitivity, an awareness of what's going on in the world, a guy who is responsible for his actions," says a

retired Green Beret colonel. "And he has to be a brave son of a bitch as well."

The training is aimed at making that parlay possible. Those who survive the initial phase are funneled into an intensive program in one of five skill areas—demolition, weapons, communications, medicine or intelligence. The course, the leaders say, reflects all the lessons of the last two decades. "We understand the importance of civil affairs and political activity," says Maj. Robert Kinzer Jr., who heads the intensive phase. "The business about winning hearts and minds is, in fact, true." The advanced intelligence and operations course is so demanding that local colleges give nine credits for it, and expertise in foreign languages is a requisite as well. "We can't go in there as the ugly American and say, 'We are here to save you'," says Warrant Officer Ben Peets, who has a master's degree in international relations and teaches the course.

Patience: But Green Beret leaders are not so sure that the nation at large understands the folly of being stampeded into the type of quick fix that helped to undermine the Special Forces in Vietnam—or that Americans have the patience for long-term solutions. "The communists don't have any time frame for their goals; their patience is astounding," says Special Forces Capt. Patrick Snyder. "Americans want everything right now." Ultimately, of course, it is politicians influenced by those impatient Americans who will dictate how the Special Forces are used. Meanwhile, Green Beret leaders recognize the urgent need to restore a once proud image. "We're a hell of a lot better than the record shows," says Cincotti, "but we'll never be able to come from under that till we have a victory. We desperately need a victory somewhere."

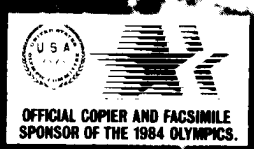
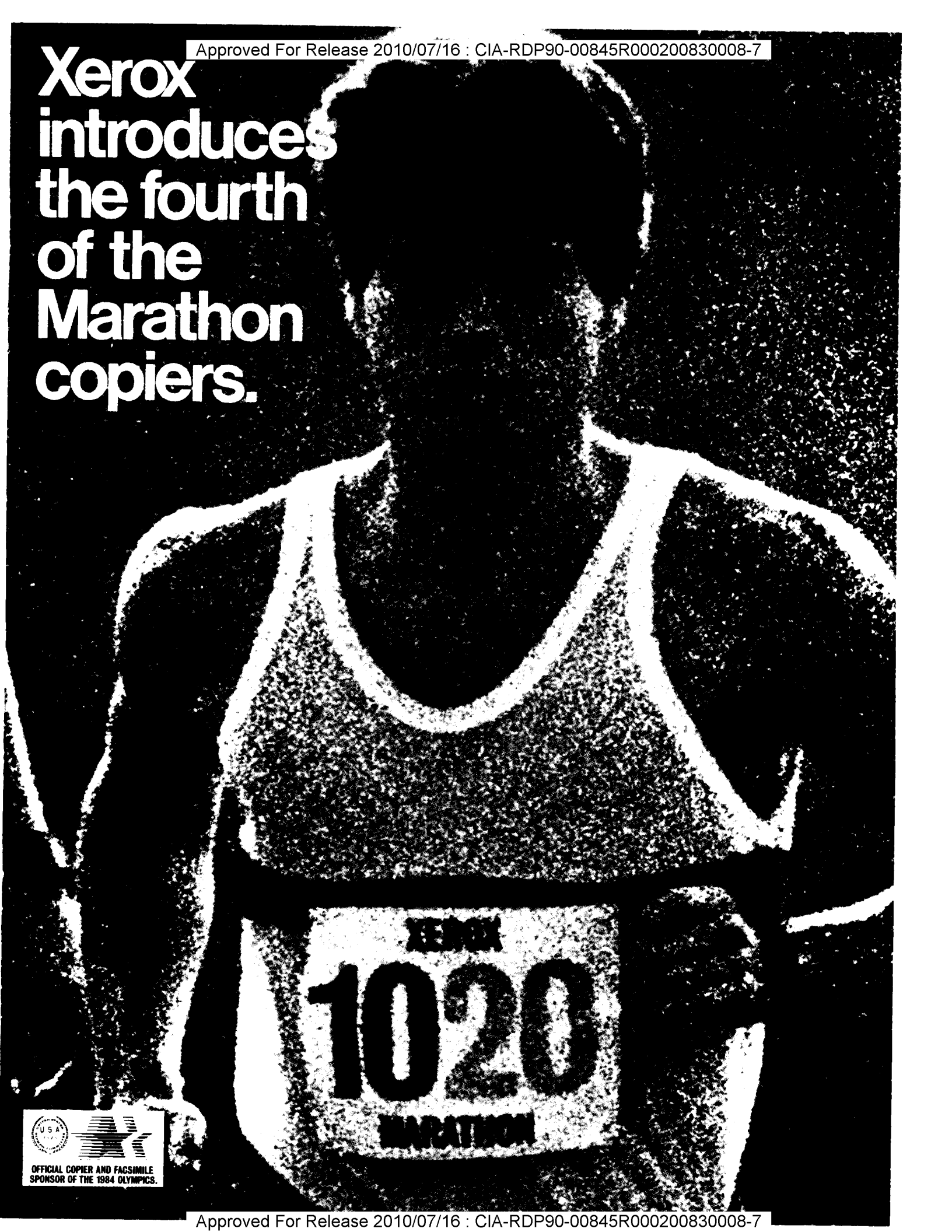
MARK STARR with VINCENT COPPOLA
at Fort Bragg

Special Forces training at Fort Bragg: 'The days of doing it on a handshake are over'

Ken Cooke—Picture Group

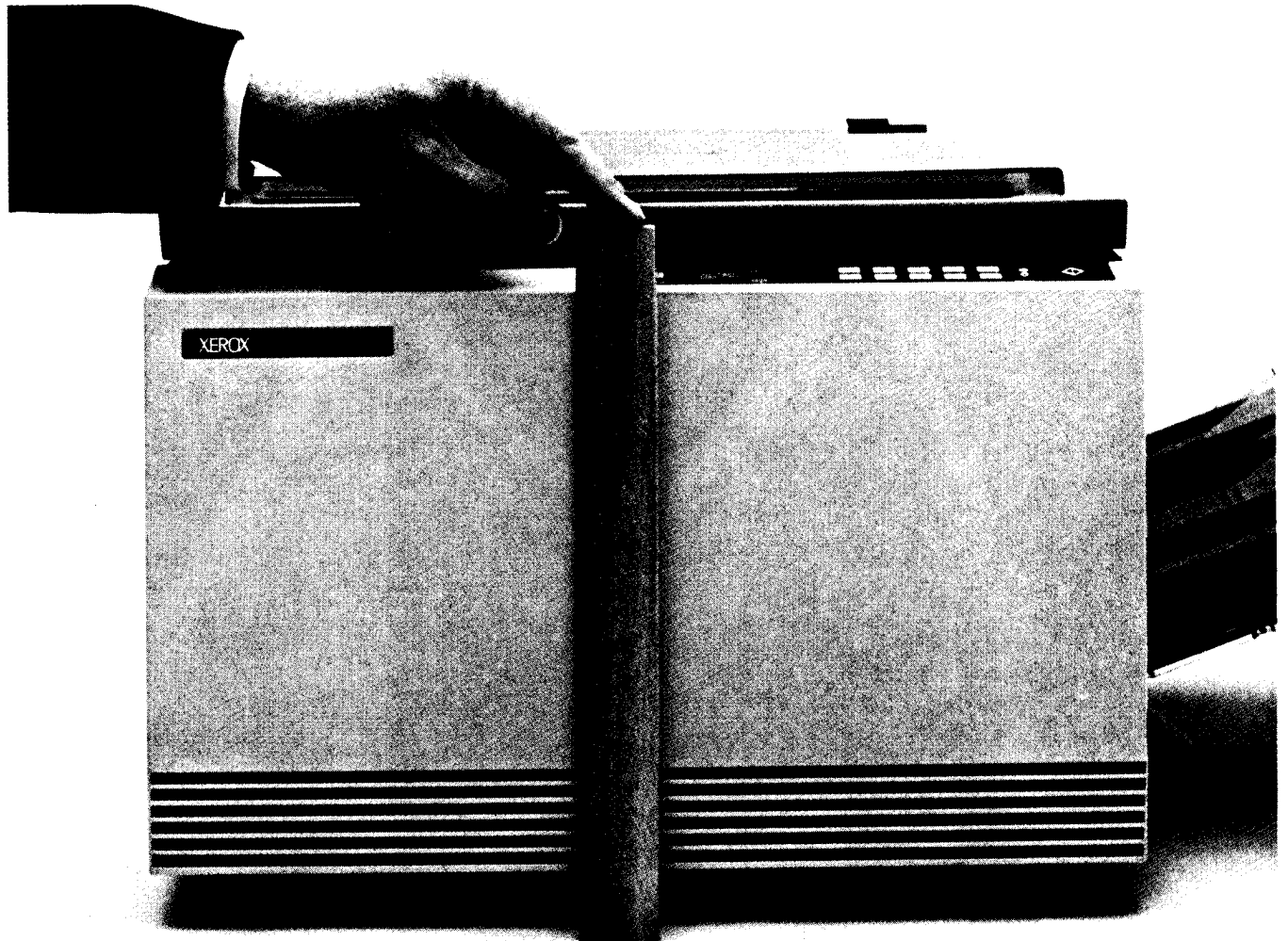


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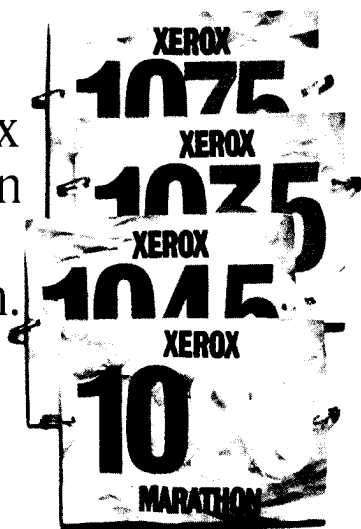
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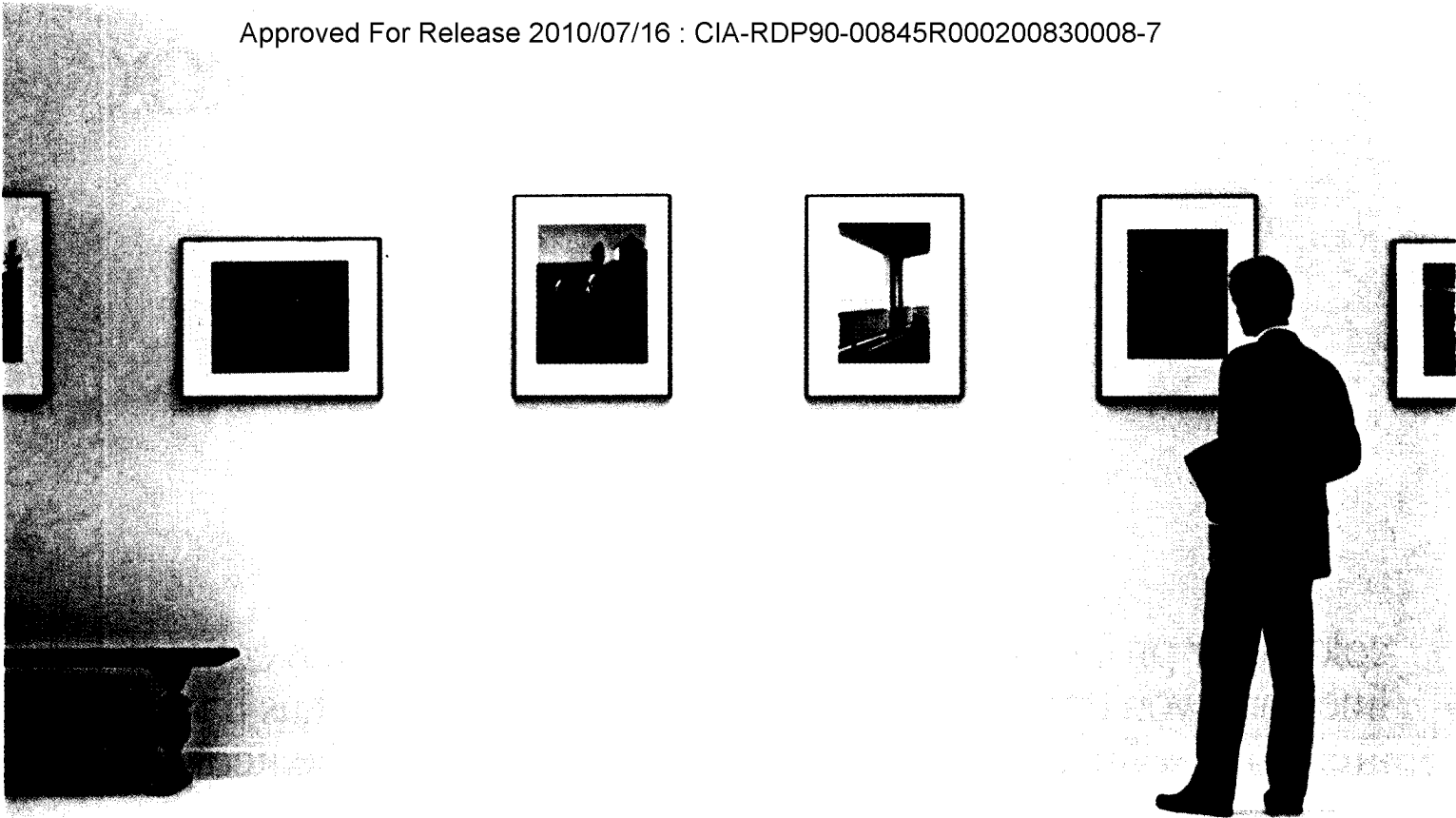
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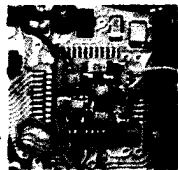
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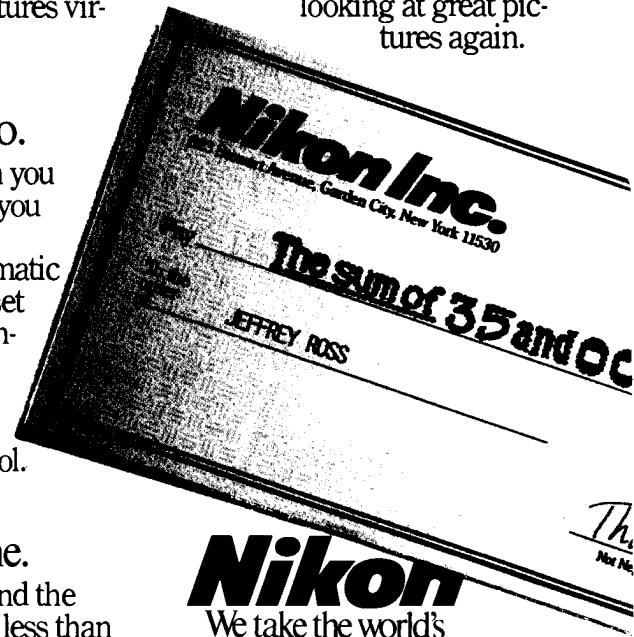
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INTERNATIONAL



Photos by Philippot—Sygma

U.S. peacekeepers in Beirut take a welcome break: 'We are not letting our guard down. We are digging and waiting'

Lebanon: Can the Truce Hold?

All sides praise the peace—and pass the ammunition in case it doesn't last.

Lebanon finally enjoyed a respite from war last week. In Suk al Gharb, Lebanese Army troops, weary from 32 days of combat against Syrian-backed Druse militiamen, decorated their helmets with slips of paper bearing the date—Sept. 26—when Lebanon's latest cease-fire went into effect. A Lebanese lieutenant picked out melodies on an abandoned piano. His men played paddle ball in the streets, rode bicycles and maneuvered around shell holes on roller skates. Below the Shouf mountains, at Beirut International Airport, U.S. Marine peacekeepers eased into "Condition Three"—their lowest state of alert—and for the first time since August ventured out without flak jackets and steel helmets. The Marines, however, were taking no chances. "The only thing that has changed is that nobody's shooting at us at this particular moment," said Warrant Officer Charles

Rowe. "But we are not letting our guard down. We are digging and waiting."

No one could predict how long the fragile truce in Lebanon would last. The agreement was stitched together during three weeks of mediation conducted by U.S. special envoy Robert McFarlane and Saudi Arabia's new ambassador to Washington, Prince Bandar bin Sultan (box, page 52). For the moment, it offered hope that the adversaries in Lebanon might finally be ready to settle their grievances through negotiations rather than endless warfare. Still, Lebanon remained a political mine field. There was no immediate agreement on who should police the cease-fire. And the ultimate objective of the accord—a "national reconciliation" among Lebanon's Christian and Muslim factions—appeared as elusive as ever. Given the country's dreary track record—the latest truce was the 179th cease-fire record-

ed in Lebanon since the beginning of the 1975-76 civil war—it was not surprising that all sides took advantage of the lull to replenish their ammunition.

In Washington, the Reagan administration reached another truce—in its battle with Congress over the War Powers Resolution. Strong pressure had been building in Congress to invoke the 1973 act, which could have required the president to bring home the 1,600 U.S. troops in Lebanon within 90 days. In a compromise, the Senate (by a vote of 54 to 46) and the House (by a final vote of 253 to 156) agreed to allow the president to keep U.S. forces in Lebanon for as long as 18 months. But the debate in both houses was emotional, often evoking Vietnam and reflecting uncertainty about just what the Marines were doing in Lebanon. "If we are there to keep the peace," said House Democrat Sam Gibbons of Florida,

The New Jersey on station in the Mediterranean: A show of gunboat diplomacy—and a tenuous bid for 'national reconciliation'

Roland Neveu—Gamma Liaison



INTERNATIONAL

"we are far too few. If we are there to fight, then we are too few. If we are there to die, then we are far too many."

As the cease-fire took hold in Lebanon, the Beirut airport reopened for the first time since Aug. 28. A security committee representing the Lebanese Army, as well as the Druse, Christian and Shiite Muslim militias, also met several times. Among other things, the committee thrashed out allegations of cease-fire violations and discussed exchanges of sectarian kidnap victims.

Levers of Power: Achieving the cease-fire's longer-range goal—a more equitable distribution of political power in Lebanon—was another matter. A National Reconciliation Council composed of leaders of Lebanon's religious and ethnic groups was supposed to revise Lebanon's 1943 political covenant. What that presumably meant was that the Maronite Christians would have to relinquish some of the levers of power they've controlled for the past 40 years and share them with the Druse and Shiite Muslims. Lebanese Prime Minister Shafik al Wazzan, a Sunni Muslim, tendered his resignation as a gesture of national unity. But there were no signs of preparations to convene the council. President Amin Gemayel and his fellow Christians weren't expected to give up any of their power readily. And



Jack Dabbaghian—UPI

Jumblatt (left) with Druse fighters: Stockpiling arms

Druse leader Walid Jumblatt was hardly in a conciliatory mood. "It will be difficult to reach an agreement," Jumblatt said. "In case the dialogue fails, arms will be the arbitrator—no more, no less."

For the Reagan administration, the cease-fire in Lebanon presented both problems and opportunities. Some Washington officials saw the cease-fire as a vindication of U.S. gunboat diplomacy—exemplified by the battleship *New Jersey* cruising off the Lebanese coast. "The Syrians saw a con-

crete symbol of U.S. resolve in the arrival of the *New Jersey*," says one official. "There was a huge difference in their attitudes within a few hours of its arrival." In fact, the administration showed signs of a new attentiveness to Syria, a country that Reagan himself had repeatedly characterized as a Soviet proxy. A senior State Department official rejected suggestions that the administration had begun to pull the rug from under President Gemayel by granting concessions to the Syrians. But the change in tone was unmistakable: U.S. officials had begun to speak of Syria's legitimate interests in Lebanon and, apparently, had decided that President Hafez Assad is too tough to be stiff-armed any longer.

In Washington last week, Prince Bandar told NEWSWEEK that in order to sell the Syrians on a cease-fire, Washington would deliver new concessions from Israel—perhaps including a further pullback. But an Israeli official summed up Jerusalem's probable response to any such American pressure by saying, simply, "That's insane." Washington was walking a diplomatic tightrope over a very fragile cease-fire. And no matter what U.S. diplomats did, there were still no guarantees that Lebanon would not blow up all over again.

ANGUS DEMING with THEODORE STANGER in Beirut, KIM WILLENSON and JOHN J. LINDSAY in Washington, JOHN WALCOTT at the United Nations and bureau reports

The Princely Peacemaker

He was trained as a fighter pilot, not as a diplomat. And while he knows his way around the corridors of power in Washington, he had never before mediated in an armed conflict. For all his relative inexperience, youth and easygoing manner, however, Saudi Arabia's Prince Bandar bin Sultan bin Abdel Aziz, 34, dominated the Lebanese cease-fire talks. Last week officials in the Middle East hailed his accomplishment as "Bandar's cease-fire," but with characteristic candor, the prince himself acknowledged that the truce could fall apart at any time. "I'd be the first one to tell you," he said, "[that] it's a very fragile situation."

During three weeks of negotiations, Bandar shuttled between talks with the Syrian and Druse leaders in Damascus and meetings with Lebanese government officials in Larnaca, Cyprus. With a combination of tenacity and suppleness he persuaded the Syrians, the Druse and the Lebanese officials to sidestep two stumbling blocks—Syria's objections to the Israeli-Lebanese troop-withdrawal agreement and the future status of Lebanese troops in the Shouf mountains—and to concentrate on stopping the shooting. Bandar held a strong card: his close relationship with his uncle, Saudi Arabia's King Fahd, whose oil-rich regime has subsidized both Syria and Lebanon.

Bandar first became a favorite of Fahd's while

serving as Riyadh's point man in the United States. After graduating from Britain's Royal Air Force College in 1968, the prince went to Texas for advanced flight training and studied international relations at Johns Hopkins. As Saudi Arabia's military attaché and liaison with Congress during the Carter administration, he helped to expedite the sale of 60 U.S. F-15 fighters to Saudi Arabia. In 1981 he helped clinch the Reagan administration's sale of five AWACS radar planes to Saudi Arabia—despite strenuous opposition by the Israeli lobby. Fluent in English and comfortable with Western ways, Bandar is witty and outgoing—and good at cutting a deal. "He's got an informality that goes over well in this town," says Frederick Dutton, Riyadh's top American lobbyist in Washington. "He'll

deny it if you ask him, but he's been known to smoke a cigar and take a brandy—and he knows how to tell people, 'I can help you solve your problem if you'll help me solve mine.'"

After the cease-fire was announced, Bandar flew to Washington to take up his next assignment—as Saudi ambassador to the United States. Bandar has said that he would someday like to help bring about a lasting Middle East settlement, based on a resolution of the Palestinian problem. That is a tall order, but judging by his performance in the cease-fire talks, the princely peacemaker may well play a useful role.

ANGUS DEMING with THEODORE STANGER in Beirut and KIM WILLENSON in Washington

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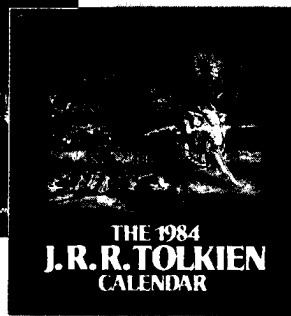
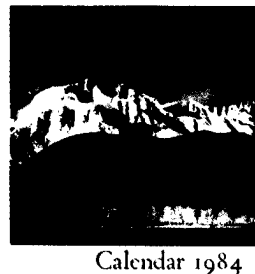
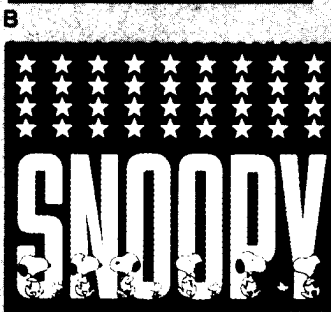
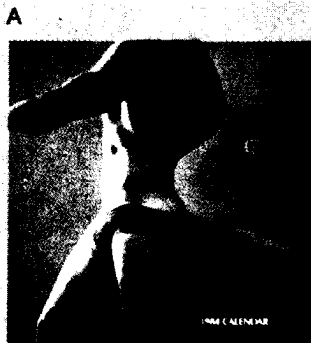
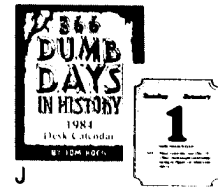
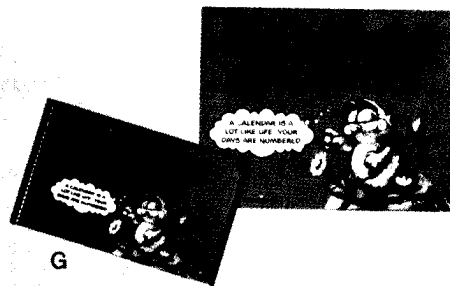
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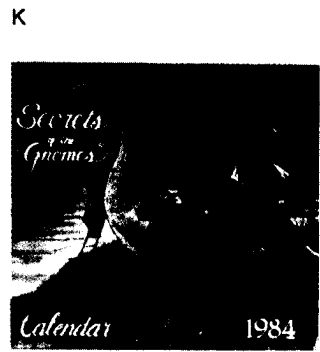
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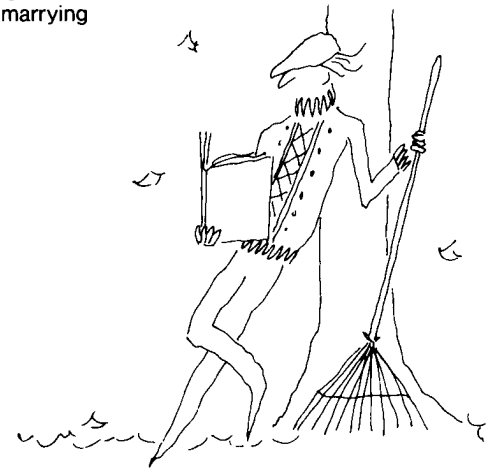
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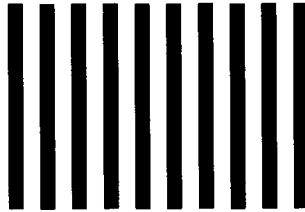
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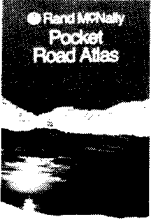
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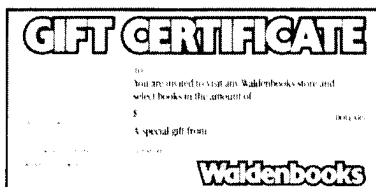
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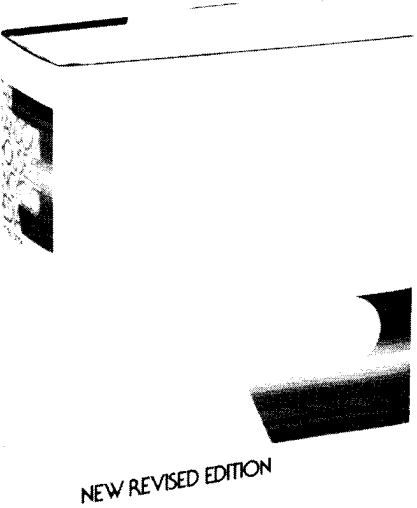
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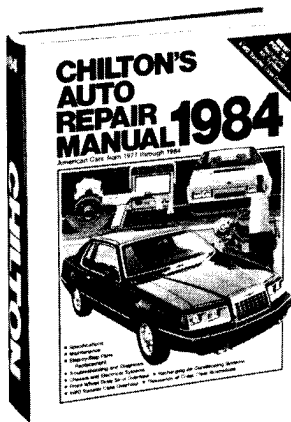
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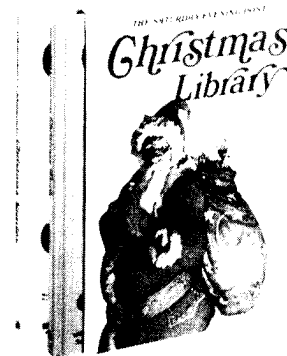
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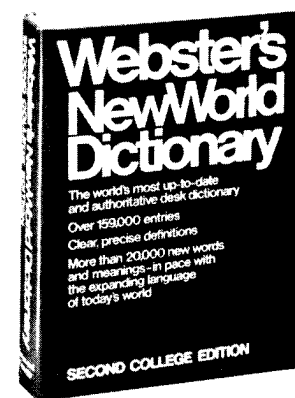
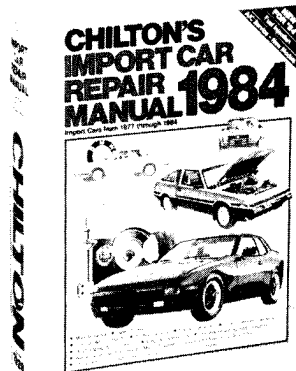
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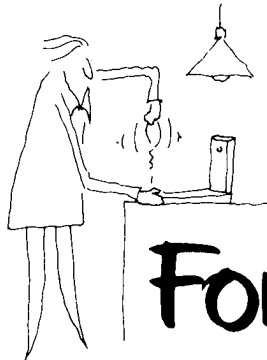
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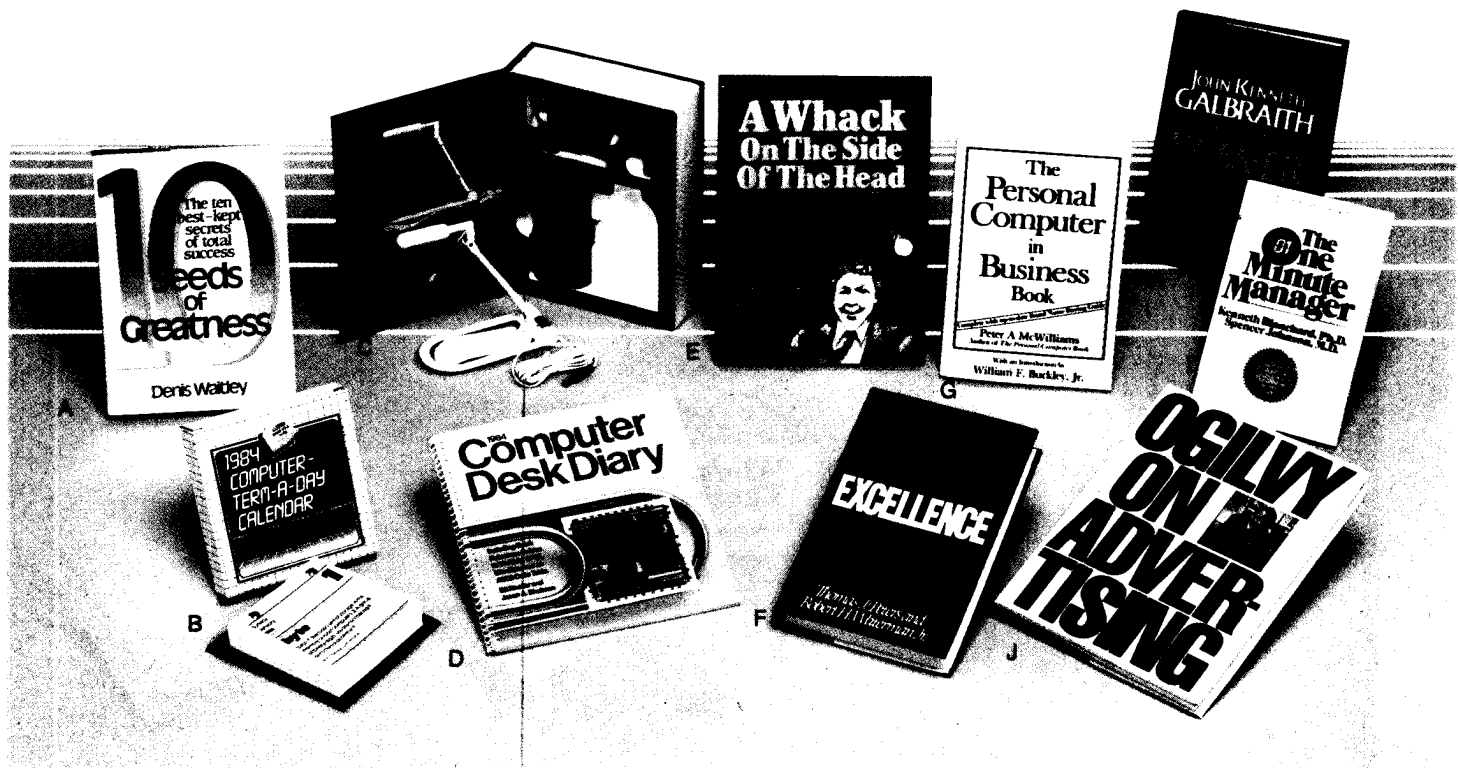
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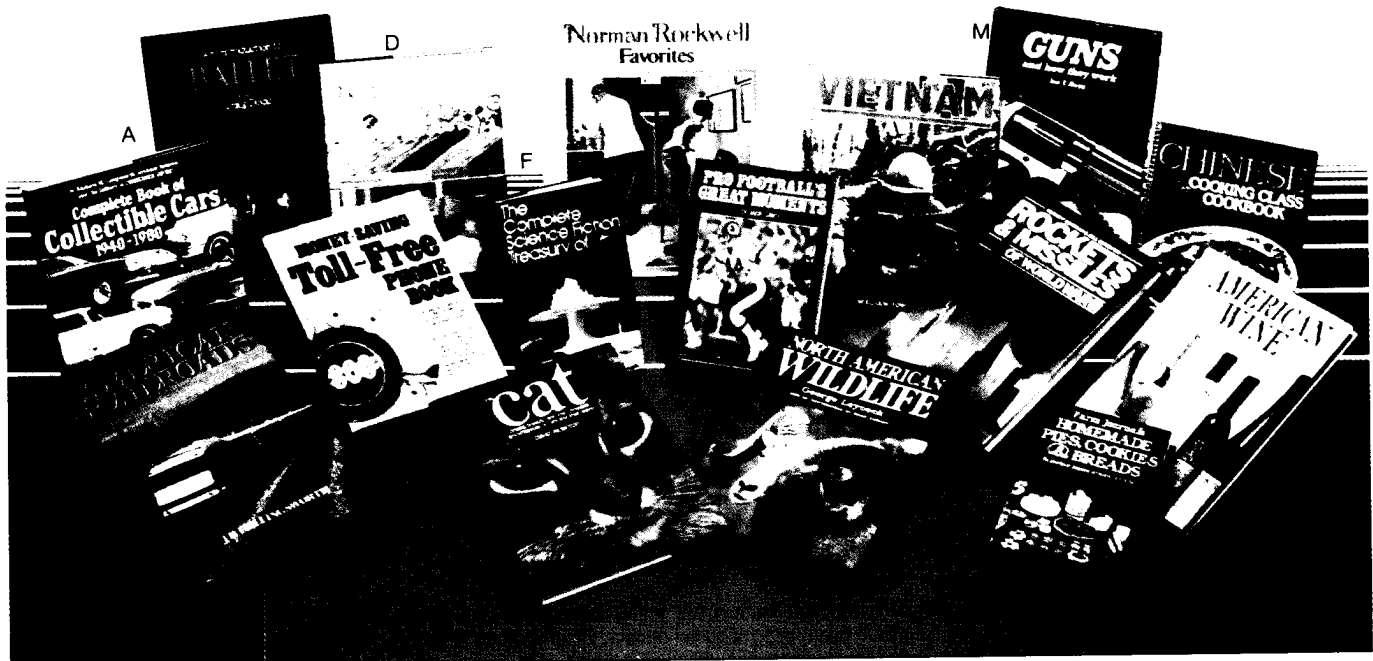


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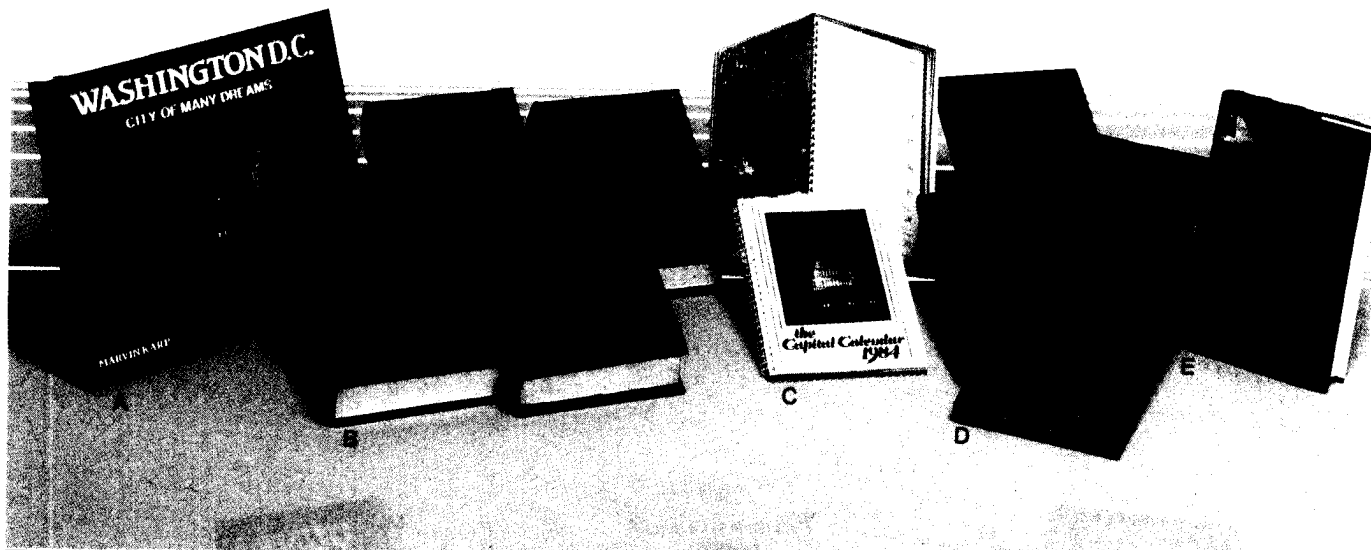
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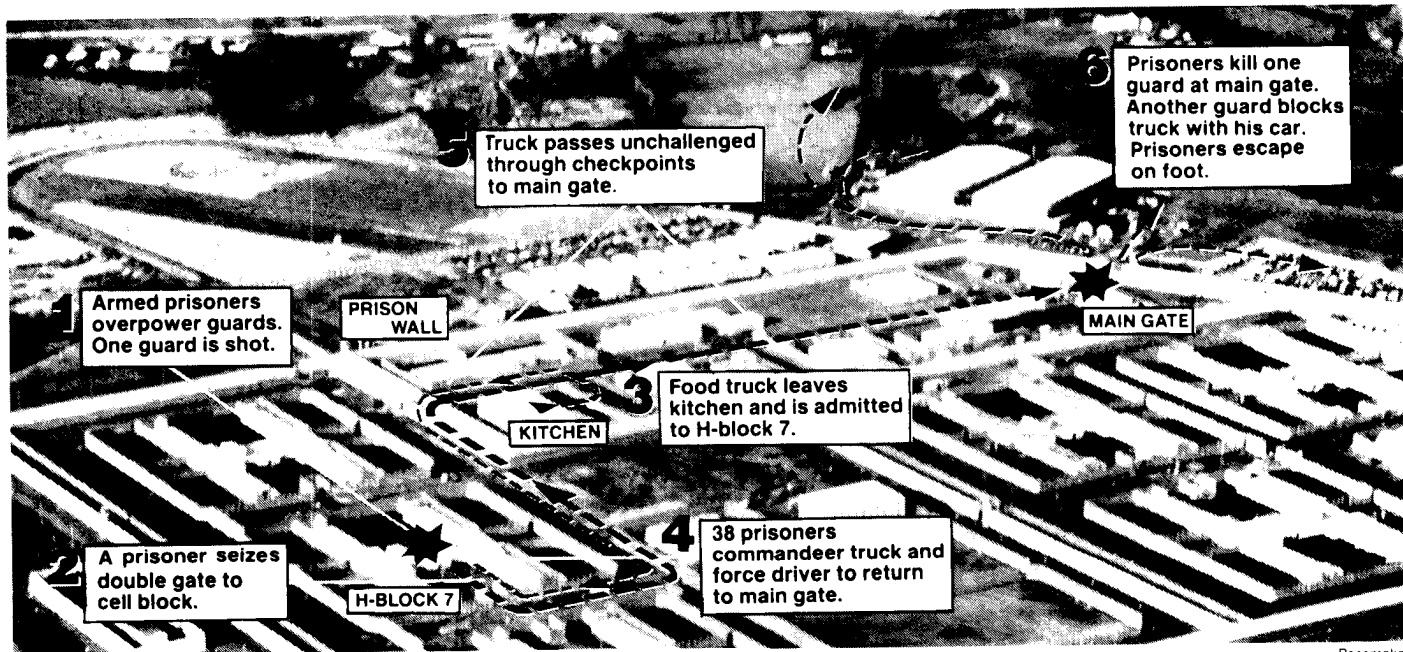
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Pacemaker

The escape route from the H-block: A dramatic boost to a terrorist movement weakened by Britain's supergrasses

NORTHERN IRELAND

The IRA Breaks the Maze

It was a peaceful Sunday afternoon at the Maze prison near Belfast—and in H-block 7, 127 IRA prisoners and 24 guards were quietly enjoying the weekend. Shortly before 3 p.m. two prisoners strolled nonchalantly into the administrative section of the block—and pulled out guns. Within minutes they overpowered two guards, then shot another before he could sound the alarm. In the prison yard outside, an IRA man disarmed the only guard on duty. When a food-delivery truck arrived at 3:30 p.m., 38 convicted IRA terrorists commandeered the vehicle, pushed a gun against the driver's stomach and forced him to bluff his way through two checkpoints. Rushing the main gate, the prisoners killed one guard, but another guard rammed his car into their truck. Abandoning the getaway vehicle, the prisoners quickly fled on foot into the surrounding hills—the first men ever to escape from the Maze.

The breakout gave a dramatic boost to the beleaguered IRA movement. In the hours after the escape hundreds of British Army troops and local police scrambled to set up roadblocks and to scour the rugged countryside for the fleeing gunmen. They recaptured 15 terrorists, but then a gentle evening mist shrouded the hills. When British soldiers swept Belfast in the next few days looking for hiding convicts, they were greeted with defiance in the city's Roman Catholic ghettos. "Thirty-Eight Went Out the Gate," read freshly painted graffiti on the walls of West Belfast, and Catholic women rattled garbage-can lids to warn of approaching search parties. By the end of the week the soldiers and police had managed to apprehend only four more escaped

prisoners—or 19 in all. In London, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher called the escape the worst in British penal history and ordered a full investigation.

The escape came just as the British seemed to have the IRA on the ropes. Recently British authorities have devastated the terrorists by persuading a number of IRA men to blow the whistle on their comrades. They have won the cooperation of the informers—known in British slang as supergrasses—with promises of immunity, new identities and subsidized new lives far away from Northern Ireland. In the last 18 months more than 30 informers have given evidence. Their testimony has allowed police to arrest 342 suspected terrorists, including the alleged IRA chief for all Northern Ireland and the leader of the Belfast brigade. Civil libertarians have challenged the use of supergrasses, on the ground that suspected terrorists are jailed without jury trials and often convicted on the uncorroborated evidence of only one informer. But the practice has continued—and it has produced results. IRA bombings are down, arms seizures are up and terrorist murders have dropped from 97 in 1982 to 44 this year.

Relaxed Rules: In theory, at least, the Maze was considered escapeproof. British authorities built the prison in 1971 on the site of a small World War II airport called Long Kesh. In 1976 they erected eight cell-blocks, each in the shape of a giant H, to hold more than 850 Irish nationalist and Protestant convicts. The 150-acre complex was dotted with watchtowers and surrounded by two 20-foot-high concrete walls, each topped with barbed wire.

Guards and helicopters were posted to patrol the compound round the clock, and the British Army even set up a small outpost inside the prison walls.

The IRA prisoners took advantage of some recently relaxed prison rules to organize their escape. After 10 IRA prisoners died in a widely publicized hunger strike at the Maze two years ago, more packages and visitors were allowed in from the outside, offering new opportunities to smuggle in knives and guns—the weapons used in the escape. And last December, in H-block 7, prison authorities separated Catholic and Protestant prisoners, reducing the risk of inside informers against the IRA. In the wake of the getaway, a new security crackdown was inevitable. "If it's possible to produce five handguns inside a prison," said one official in Britain's Northern Ireland office, "something is drastically wrong."

Options: The IRA breakout also came just as the prospects for diplomacy in Northern Ireland had begun to pick up a bit. Bilateral talks between London and Dublin, broken off during last year's Falklands crisis, were scheduled to begin again this winter. And in Eire a multiparty group of politicians had formed an organization called the New Ireland Forum to explore options for peaceful reunification of the north and the south. Last week's escape showed that the IRA is not about to abandon its armed struggle. "The IRA has received many setbacks," noted Gerry O'Hare, a former IRA man. "But every time a mountain appears, they have found a way to get around it." Recently Gerry Adams, a leader of Sinn Fein, the IRA's political arm, predicted that the terrorist struggle would continue into the next century. To many veterans of the Northern Ireland conflict, that seemed like a conservative estimate.

JAMES LeMOYNE with DONNA FOOTE in Belfast

INTERNATIONAL

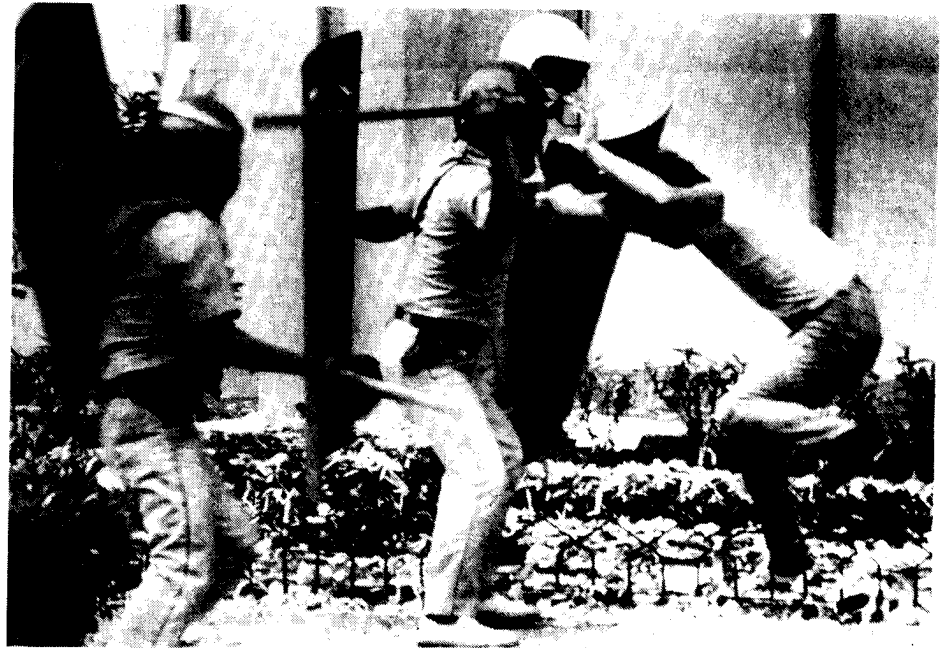
THE PHILIPPINES

**Planning a Return
To Martial Law?**

All week, Ferdinand Marcos tried to put the lid back on Manila. First he appeared on Philippine television to warn priests, nuns and teachers to quit preaching what he called "hatred against Marcos" in Roman Catholic schools. Next he moved two new combat battalions to the city—and ordered soldiers to shut down the Philippines Times tabloid for printing stories suggesting military involvement in the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino. The opposition, still defiant, battled police in spontaneous riots that rippled through the Makati financial district—and left prosperous Filipinos angrier than ever. "I can't see how Marcos can win back most of the middle and upper class," said one Filipino entrepreneur, "except by scaring us to death."

The president aimed to prove he could stay in charge. NEWSWEEK has learned that Marcos, under heavy pressure from the military, is almost certain to reimpose martial law—probably after Ronald Reagan's tentative stop in Manila next month. Marcos already seems to have given his top officers unusual powers. Gen. Fabian Ver, armed forces chief of staff, has issued several nationally broadcast pronouncements on security policy. "Some civilians in the government are wondering," said one palace source, "why the president seems to be giving post facto approval to decisions by a military officer."

Lost Cause? Any credible investigation into the Aquino killing looked increasingly like a lost cause. Marcos nudged his inert investigative committee last week by re-



Rikio Image—UPI

Riot police at work in Manila: Marcos aimed to prove he was still in charge

placing its chairman, Chief Justice Enrique Fernando, who had resigned in the face of charges that he was too pro-Marcos. Fernando's replacement: former Sen. Arturo Tolentino, another Marcos loyalist. But government sources said the president intends to try to convince the commission that a lone assassin in the pay of communists murdered Aquino. Whatever the case, at the weekend the government said it had a witness who would testify that the communists had chosen Rolando Galman, the alleged assassin, to kill Aquino. But Aquino's widow, Corazon, disputed the account.

The White House, meanwhile, continued to debate the pros and cons of Reagan's visit. Administration officials, haunted by memories of Jimmy Carter toasting the shah of

Iran shortly before the Iranian revolution, feared that Reagan might also be caught in the embarrassing embrace of a faltering dictator. But others believed that the president should not back away from Marcos in his time of trouble. One possibility was to delay the visit and add it on to Reagan's planned China trip next spring. White House aides also entertained the notion that Marcos himself might "do the right thing" and suggest that Reagan cancel the trip for his own safety. That seemed unlikely. More than ever, Marcos was worried not about saving face for Ronald Reagan but about ensuring his own political survival.

KIM ROGAL with RICHARD VOKEY in Manila and ELEANOR CLIFT and JANE WHITMORE in Washington



Mike Thejler—UPI

A Welcome—And a Warning

When Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger arrived in Peking last week, the Chinese turned on an unusually warm welcome for an envoy from the Reagan administration. During the five-day visit, they took Weinberger to the Great Wall, laid on a spit-and-polish Army review at the Peking Military Museum—and slipped the defense secretary into a submarine at the Shanghai naval base. Weinberger disclosed that Washington was ready to sell Peking 32 military or "dual use" technology items, plus 11 more if China pledges not to pass them on to others. Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang said he would go to Washington in January. And Weinberger announced that Ronald Reagan was plan-

Weinberger at the sub base: No deals

ning his first trip to China next April.

Weinberger's visit marked an uptick in Sino-American relations, but Peking was still playing things cautiously. Chinese officials refused to say exactly what U.S. military equipment they might buy. They ignored Weinberger's plea for "strategic cooperation" against the Soviet Union. Chinese strongman Deng Xiaoping stressed he was still unhappy with Reagan's arms sales to Taiwan. "It is important to enhance contacts, but it is more important to remove fundamental obstacles," Deng said. "The crux of the matter is the Taiwan issue." Unless Peking and Washington reach a better understanding on Taiwan before Reagan's trip, a U.S. official said, "there could be some sparks next year."

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Adam Stoltman—Duomo

*Australia II pulls ahead of Liberty, a victory celebration in Perth, Bond hoists the cup: Ready*

Australia's Cup Runneth Over

After winning the 'race of the century' a proud nation goes absolutely bonkers.

Never mind that it was nearly dawn, Australia time. The country had won "the race of the century," breaking the 132-year U.S. lock on the America's Cup, and Australia—to be quite mild about it—was going absolutely bonkers. All-night parties spilled into the streets, motorists tooted their horns and flashed their lights, children sported patriotic T shirts, people hugged and kissed each other. Rivers of beer flowed, and at a party at the Royal Perth Yacht Club, which sponsored the victorious yacht Australia II, more than 2,000 guests broke into a champagne-dousing spree, even drenching Prime Minister Bob Hawke. He didn't seem to mind. "Any boss who sacks anyone for not turning up today is a bum," he told a nationwide television audience. "It's Australia's cup now."

And so it is. Australia had taken on one of the world's superpowers at its own game, on its own watery turf and by its own rules—and won gloriously. At first scorned and patronized, then feared and pettifogged by the bluebloods of yacht racing, Australia II with her upstart crew became the first successful challenger in the history of the cup, turning a 3-1 deficit first into a tie and then a decisive triumph over the U.S. defender Liberty in the exciting final race.

The cup victory gave Australians a welcome psychic boost. Australian filmmakers have won international acclaim for such efforts as "My Brilliant Career," "Breaker Morant" and "The Road Warrior." And

Australian rock groups—from the Bee Gees a few years ago to Men at Work today—have influenced popular music. But for the most part, Australians have always felt like bit players on the world stage. Their political leadership has been uninspiring. Their economy has long been mired in a painful recession. And despite their land's rich resources, the Pacific economic miracle that has stretched from Singapore to South Korea has largely passed them by. The result has been a deepening of Australia's so-called "cringe mentality"—an inferiority complex that dates to its days as a faraway dumping ground for prisoners from Britain's overcrowded jails. With as much hope as conviction, many Australians believed that their win at Newport would help change all that. "We've come a long way," said actor Jack Thompson last week. "The America's Cup is like a graduation ceremony."

Bitter Defeat: Australia's success was a personal triumph for Alan Bond, the millionaire entrepreneur from Perth who spent \$16 million in four successive bids for the cup and sponsored the controversial winged keel, built by designer Ben Lexcen, that gave Australia II its margin of victory. It was also a bitter defeat for Dennis Conner, the American skipper of Liberty who conceded that the Aussies had the faster boat. "There was nothing we could do," he said. On the day after the race the Americans handed over the cup to Commodore Peter Dalzeil of the Royal Perth Yacht Club. "We turn this

over to you," said Commodore Robert Stone of the New York Yacht Club (NYYC). "But we'll be back to get it. Take good care of it." The Australians plan to do just that. The cup will fly to Perth in its own airplane seat in between Dalzeil and a security guard. The real homecoming festivities will come later this month when the crew of Australia II returns. At that time there will be a massive parade through Perth, a gala reception for 400,000 people—about half the city's population—and a celebratory fireworks display.

America's Cup fever spread across Australia in dozens of ways. Men at Work—whose hit "Down Under" was Australia II's theme song—shot back to the top of the charts. Several books are already in the works—including a limited edition titled "The Challenge, 1983" that will sell for \$1,000 each. At least two documentaries are in production. Two wineries are bottling commemorative champagne, government officials are planning a huge publicity campaign to attract tourists and America's Cup memorabilia are selling like cold beer on a hot summer day. The most popular item is a T shirt depicting Australia II's winged keel as a kangaroo with flippers.

'Roaring 40s': It could be some time before anyone gets the cup back from Australia. The next America's Cup race—scheduled for the Australian summer of 1986-1987—will take place in sunny Perth, or more accurately, the suburb of Fremantle at the mouth of the Swan River. Instead of the



Barry Baker

and eager for a rematch in 1986



Kevin Galvin—Picture Group

INTERNATIONAL

ance elsewhere—among the big boys," said Melbourne Age columnist Geoffrey Barker. "To me it is a sign of national immaturity." But Australia's leading historian, Manning Clark, argues that the America's Cup win proves just the opposite. "A victory like the America's Cup," he said, "is further evidence of the Australians' growing maturity and self-confidence."

Australians are counting on continued success in other fields to further fuel their sense of pride. The country is about to disgorge another red-hot rock group called Midnight Oil. Known for songs that carry strong political and social messages, the group has been at the top of the Australian charts for the last two years—and is set to make its first American tour. Top Australian directors Peter Weir ("Gallipoli"), Bruce Beresford ("Breaker Morant"), and Gillian Armstrong are now—either at home or in Hollywood—turning out a string of hit films like "The Year of Living Dangerously," "Tender Mercies" and "Starstruck." At home, several other promising projects are under way: "Phar Lap," a film about a top Australian race horse who died under mysterious circumstances in the United States; and yet another sequel to the highly popular "Mad Max" series, starring Australian actor Mel Gibson.

State of the Art: In the world of books, Australia's top-selling author, Colleen McCullough ("The Thorn Birds," "An Indecent Obsession") is scheduled to come out with a new novel next year. So is Thomas Keneally, whose next novel, "The Great South Sea Circus," should put him even more prominently in contention for a Nobel Prize in Literature. In sports, Australian runner Robert de Castella won the marathon at the recent Helsinki Games and is a leading contender for a gold medal at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics. And in technology, Australians have become state-of-the-art pioneers in more than international yachting. They are also at the forefront in radio astronomy, solar energy and microsurgery.

It is hard to see how a few scattered artistic and scientific successes can translate into solutions for Australia's fundamental economic problems—or how one world-class yacht could turn a whole nation into a world-class contender. But in the wake of Australia II's dramatic triumph, the spirit was certainly willing. "If more of our managers and entrepreneurs could convey this feeling of pride in their effort," said one Australian financial review, "there will be real hope for Australia's future." For the moment, however, most Australians weren't thinking about the future. Only the present—and a silver mug that some of them have already begun to call "the Australia's Cup."

JOSEPH TREEN with CARL ROBINSON in Sydney,
JOHN CAREY in Newport and bureau reports

light summer breezes of Newport, boats will have to contend with Australia's "Roaring 40s"—fickle southerly winds that can reach speeds strong enough to wreck ships. The present generation of 12-meter yachts may prove too fragile for Australia's coast—and may have to be replaced.

There is also some question about which countries will actually show up to race in Perth. Britain, Canada, Italy, France and Sweden—all veterans of the America's Cup—are leaning toward going to Australia. So are newcomers West Germany, Japan and New Zealand. But as yet no yachting club has filed a formal challenge. Most are waiting to see whether Australia

changes the rules and how an international jury decides in November on the acceptability of the winged keel. When the challenges do start, the first and most formidable will almost certainly come from the United States. "We Americans have lost something," said Charles Kirsch of the Defender Courageous Syndicate. "We ought to turn out the best challenge to get it back."

For the moment, Australia sounded ready to take on all comers—especially the United States. "I don't know a bow from a stern on a yacht," said chemical engineer Felix Lim. "But for a lot of people like myself, we just wanted to see the Yanks get beat." In Perth civic boosters made heady plans for the challenge races. Local developers also voiced hopes that the cup would do for them what it did for Newport: bring in a rich crop of tourists. "It could make Western Australia another Costa del Sol," exulted West Australia Real Estate Institute president Frank Woodmore, with perhaps a slightly unrealistic burst of enthusiasm. Perth entrepreneurs predicted that at least nine new hotels and scores of luxury flats would be needed to accommodate the crowds. And existing hotels were already being flooded with reservations.

Character Flaw? Inevitably, there were some demurrers amid the boasts and cheers. Civic leader Keith Suter worried about the effect of the race on Australia's 10 percent inflation and unemployment rate. "What's actually happening is an exploitation of the escapism that is so latent in Australia," he complained. Some people also saw the emotional outpouring that followed the race as a symptom of an Australian character flaw—a sense of always being second best. "There seems to be a desperate desire for accept-

Lexcen and his keel: A whole new race

Adam Stoltman—Duomo



ENTERTAINMENT

Joan Rivers Gets Even With Laughs

A 'big-mouth gossip' emerges as television's most outrageous funny woman.

At the age of 50 . . .

(Oh, yes! Oh, absolutely! Joan Rivers is 50! This woman is ancient! She played George Burns's bar mitzvah! You know why she always asks, "Can we talk?" Because she got her start under D. W. Griffith! She played the mother in "Birth of a Nation." Oh, please! She used to go up to Bess Truman and yell, "Oh, grow up!")

At the age of 50, Brooklyn-bred Joan . . .

(Oh, come on! This woman is from Brooklyn! The first thing she did in show business was to have her name straightened. You believe she came from Larchmont, the town that was so small they had to put a mirror at one end of Main Street? Oh, please! Wouldn't you rather have people think you grew up down the block from the Winged Foot Golf Club than Ebbets Field?)

At the age of 50, Brooklyn-bred Joan Rivers still hurls herself into each monologue with the energy of a cheerleader tempered by the desperation that comes from a life spent leading cheers for herself. In a gown that weighs nearly a fifth of what she does (110 pounds, she says, slightly less than she weighed at birth), she hurtles across the stage as if fleeing the Cossacks, wagging a finger at the audience: "Marry rich! Buy him a pacemaker, then stand behind him and say boo!" Suddenly she stops, whirls, with an expression that suggests she has just caught sight of an old boyfriend leering at her from the wings—but no, she has merely been struck, as if for the first time, by how unspeakably fat Elizabeth Taylor is. "Is this woman fat?" she howls, inserting a fingernail as pointed as an aspidistra leaf into her throat to emphasize her distaste. "Ugh, ugh, ugh! This woman has more chins than a Chinese phone book."

Few people in show business work as hard as Joan Rivers, onstage or off. Her act is a wild ramble among the 40,000 jokes she has told in her lifetime, returning again and again to the same touchstones of human frailty and greed, in an erratic spiral that pushes the boundaries of taste farther each time. Her work puts her on the road a grueling 40 weeks a year, including 10 this year in Las Vegas, where she makes some \$200,000 for five nights—hard dollars, each one rep-

resenting a laugh wrung from the pursed mouths of the package-tour audiences grimly nursing their complimentary cocktails. She writes, moreover, 90 percent of her own material, an arduous task involving hours spent in the bathroom studying the lurid pages of the National Enquirer, which she regards as The Wall Street Journal of gossip.

last week with Eddie Murphy. The show's producer, Gary Smith, called her "decidedly the most important, as well as the funniest, woman on television today"—a judgment he had no reason to retract after a three-day contretemps over one unscripted profanity she let slip on the air and one wholly intended insult to James Watt.

Her real importance in the television world, though, stems from the contract she signed in July to serve as acting host of the "Tonight" show for all nine weeks of Johnny Carson's vacation—making her the first guest host ever to achieve that distinction. It is a remarkable achievement for a self-styled "big-mouth gossip"—the town scold suddenly elevated to the top pulpit in the global village, where she can scourge the aristocracy over their fat thighs and messy divorces. She asks the questions everyone really wants answered, cutting through the blather about a guest's terrific relationship with his or her new spouse to demand to know what went wrong with the first marriage. It is a style very different from Carson's masterful technique of giving the guests enough conversational rope to hang themselves; Rivers ties it around something vital and gives a yank. Her finest moment, many believe, came when Victoria Principal denied that she had ever been engaged to Andy Gibb. "Victoria," Rivers bawled, "I saw the ring!" Months later, relaxing between shows in Las Vegas, she confided that it wasn't such a hot ring in the first place.

Catharsis: If Lenny Bruce used humor as an X-ray, in Joan Rivers's hands it is like a flashbulb. Engagement rings, clothes, hair, bodies—these are what Rivers

finds to laugh at in the world. ("Queen Elizabeth—" gagging, retching, a one-second study in revulsion—"a dog! I mean, if you're queen of England, Scotland and Ireland, the least you can do is *shave your legs!*") Even when she jokes about herself, which is often, she doesn't seem to want to get inside her subject. The jokes are graphic, grotesque, totally nonerotic: one of her breasts, she says, has sunk so low that she uses it as a bathtub stopper. She eschews the self-pitying psychiatrist jokes—she has never been in analysis—in favor of a routine



Douglas Kirkland—Sygma

Crossing the invisible line that separates an act from a star

She has, if anything, stepped up her pace in the last remarkable year, in which she has finally crossed the line that separates an act from a star.

It is a transformation that she only half accepts: the title of her comedy album, which has sold more than 500,000 copies since its release last spring, is "What Becomes a Semi-Legend Most?" But her sold-out one-woman show at Carnegie Hall last February left little doubt of her star status, and surely the issue was settled when she served as cohost of the Emmy Awards show

about the humiliations of a visit to the gynecologist: "My body is falling so fast, my gynecologist wears a hard hat! And there's always some guy in the waiting room you went to high school with [what's he doing there, one wonders] . . . 'Hi! Still looking good!'" It is humor in a varicose vein—funny, cruel, and, Rivers says, ultimately cathartic: "I take all the hang-ups that people are afraid to talk about and let them know they're not unique in their pain. People come up to me and say, 'I can go to the gynecologist now and it makes me laugh instead of cringe.' When I say my [breasts] are sagging, it's not so bad for them that night."

Her obsession with appearances is not just for comic effect; it is a central theme of her life. "Don't tell me beauty doesn't count," she says. "Beauty is power. If you don't want the diamond, then send it to me." She is fanatical about her weight.

soft-spoken former television producer who met, wooed and married her in four days some 17 years ago, and has seldom left her side since. (A much earlier marriage, to a wealthy department-store scion, lasted less than a year.) Edgar and Joan view themselves as partners in a family business whose product happens to be Joan. He doesn't object to his role as the wholly improbable protagonist of innumerable jokes about his wife's body and sexual habits ("On my wedding night, Edgar said, 'Let me undo your buttons.' I was naked at the time."), and he gets to participate in many of her projects. They have one daughter, 14-year-old Melissa, to whom Joan is enormously devoted. When Rivers is home, in her splendid antique-filled Beverly Hills mansion, she insists on an old-fashioned family dinner, served by servants, complete in every detail except

of being cast as the leading lady's dwarf sister. Stand-up comedy—for \$6 a night in Mafia strip joints so tough she was afraid to say, "Stop me if you've heard this one"—was at first just a substitute for office-temporary work. She was regularly fired after her first show. But gradually she began to find an audience. The first group to appreciate her were gays. Later she caught on with a group Rivers calls "the smarties," defined by a sensibility that found a certain lack of edge in the comedy of Bob Hope or Joe E. Brown.

'Moses': She had some success as a comedy writer for clients as diverse as Bob Newhart, the "Candid Camera" show and Topo Gigio, the puppet mouse on "The Ed Sullivan Show." Her big chance came with an appearance on "The Jack Paar Show"—and she blew it; Paar hated her. In 1965, seven years after she first started knocking on nightclub doors, her agent told her she was



Nick Ut—AP



Gene Arias—NBC

*Emceeding the Emmys (with Eddie Murphy),
subbing for Carson: A semi-legend, at least*

Friends—an eclectic, loyal group that includes Vincent Price, Roddy McDowall and Cher—are accustomed to holding dinner parties at which Rivers consumes only a Life Saver and a glass of wine. (This has the added advantage, for a comedian, that she is never caught with her mouth full when a good line occurs to her.) Rivers spent the morning of her mother's funeral having her hair done at Bergdorf Goodman, honoring her mother's fervent request: "Don't you look terrible at my funeral. All the relatives will be there." During the Emmy show she wore nine different costumes. She even joked about all the changes: "Three stagehands saw me naked. One threw up and the other two turned gay."

Yet, as outrageous as she can be onstage, her personal life is a model of restraint and rectitude. The rock of her existence is her husband, Edgar Rosenberg, an owlish,

food; she sits at an empty plate while Edgar and Melissa eat. When she is on the road, she spends almost all her time in her hotel suite, reading, writing or talking to Melissa on the phone. "It gets lonely here in Vegas," she admits. "But what do you expect me to do—go bounce around with Sammy Davis Jr.?"

It has been a long, arduous climb for Joan Rivers, beginning in the dark years after she graduated from Barnard College (as Joan Sandra Molinsky) in 1954. After her divorce and several nondescript jobs, she announced to her parents that she wanted to become an actress. To her father, a conservative physician, this was tantamount to proclaiming an ambition to work as a prostitute. A series of bitter, tearful battles ended with her leaving her comfortable home to live in seedy motels, cars and friends' living rooms—a would-be actress with a comedienne's sensibility, afraid to show up for readings for fear

through: "You're too old, too many people have seen you. If you were going to make it, you'd have made it by now." A week after that speech, on her eighth attempt, she made it onto the Carson show. Of Carson, she says simply, "He was Moses. He parted the seas and took me home. Carson was the one who stood up and said, 'She's funny'."

Since then, she has worked at a pace ranging from steady to frenzied, although always moving in careful, incremental steps, never allowing herself to grow cocky. She did club dates—Upstairs at the Downstairs in New York, the hungry i in San Francisco—game shows, a modest morning talk show that ran one season on NBC, opening acts in Las Vegas. It was only last year, in fact, that she became a Vegas headliner. Those 18 years of steady success have made far less of an impression on her than the seven years of failure that went before. To this day, Rosenberg says,

ENTERTAINMENT



Courtesy Mrs. Eugene Trager

High-school prom: A liking for 'Lindying'



USO tour (1960): Energy of a cheerleader



Tony Rollo—NEWSWEEK

Talk show (1969): Careful steps to success

"We can be driving around New York in a limo, and she'll point out all the clubs she bombed at. That was real to her. This is not." Until recently, she would clear out her dressing room after every show, so she wouldn't have much packing to do in case she was fired. She is haunted by a memory she has of seeing Danny Kaye, in his decline, singing "Thumbelina" to an audience of 60 people. Joan will not leave her hotel room until she has denuded it of every packet of soap it contains. If she never works again, at least her family will be clean.

Czar: The source of Rivers's fruitful insecurities can be traced to her childhood in the Depression. Dr. Meyer Molinsky always made a decent living, but it was never enough for her mother, whose tastes were formed by her own youth in a wealthy Jewish family in prerevolutionary Russia. Friends from Rivers's childhood recall Beatrice Molinsky as a formidable woman of slightly absurd Old World pretensions who would dress up her two daughters in pinafores and promenade on Eastern Parkway, the "Champs-Elysées of Brooklyn." "We used to call them the czar and czarina," says high-school classmate Audrée Marks Menken.

The other source of Joan's ambition, as well as much of her humor, is her grudges. The oral history of her youth is one long recitation of insults and slights suffered at the hands of an uncaring world. Off the top of her head, she knows which boy inscribed her Adelphi Academy yearbook "So round, so firm, so fully packed." Her humiliations she now regards as the result of having been inexcusably fat as a girl—"so fat, I was my own buddy at camp"—and her subsequent success as the reward for her discipline and hard work. Also, she gives the impression that she hopes all her old enemies are eating their hearts out. It was out of such fantasies that she created a successful television movie, "The Girl Most Likely to . . ." Rivers

describes it as the story of "a girl who's rejected and hurt by everybody . . . and has a car accident, her face gets smashed, the plastic surgeon redoes her, and she goes back and kills every one of them."

She has always made it hard to discover the truth about her childhood. Offstage as well as on, she has created the impression that she grew up in tony Larchmont, N.Y., where her father now lives; the truth, according to many old friends, is that the Molinsky family lived in Brooklyn at least until Joan entered college. She claims to be in her "mid-40s," but school records give her birth date as June 8, 1933. Rivers's sister, Barbara, a Philadelphia attorney, declined to be interviewed. Joan's alma mater refused to let NEWSWEEK see a 1954 yearbook; "Barnard has instructions from Joan Rivers not to release her yearbook to anyone," said Sally Slate, director of public affairs.

It is hard to know what Rivers is trying to hide, except a truth that is nowhere near as dramatic as the fiction she has created. Her high-school yearbook shows a slender, attractive, slightly pixieish girl whose "principal interests," the text indicates, "are acting

With Edgar: The rock of her existence

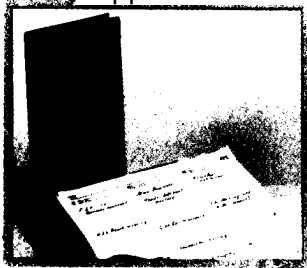
Sonia Moskowitz



and Lindying." She is remembered, mostly fondly, as a funny, high-spirited girl. Her close friend Joan Reiser Marks remembers going to dances at the local temple with Joan: "If no one asked us to dance, we would start limping and Joan would joke, 'Aw, come on, Joanie, it doesn't matter.' It sounds kind of sick now, but it was funny then." What Joan wanted most, several classmates recalled, was to be accepted as a friend by the prettiest and most popular girl in the class, Marilyn Abrams, now Marilyn Katz, an executive at Bloomingdale's. Abrams herself believes that she was the inspiration—although certainly not the model—for the spoiled, lubricious "Heidi Abramowitz" who figures in many of Rivers's routines. Heidi's monumental sexual appetites are entirely Joan's invention. It is no more true that Heidi Abramowitz put mirrors on her own shoes than that Elizabeth Taylor got stuck between the golden arches on her way out of McDonald's.

Ears: But is there, perhaps, a kind of higher truth here, just as there is in the remark that Prince Charles's ears are so big that he could hang glide over the Falkland Islands, or that Bo Derek is so dumb that she studies for her Pap test? Isn't Joan Rivers really saying that celebrities have in effect surrendered their existence as individuals, that their media-endowed attributes have taken on lives of their own? After all, she didn't stop doing Elizabeth Taylor fat jokes after the lady lost weight; she didn't stop doing Karen Carpenter thin jokes after Carpenter died of anorexia. "I think," Rivers rasps, "America's saying, 'You know, she's right.' Now they finally understand I'm not mean, I'm just honest, and I'm on their side." Joan Rivers, in short, is the little girl who points out to everyone that the empress is wearing no clothes—and, while she's on the subject, tells you what she thinks of her thighs.

JERRY ADLER with PAMELA ABRAMSON in Las Vegas and SUSAN AGREST in New York



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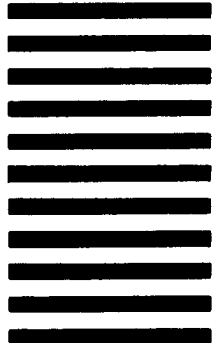


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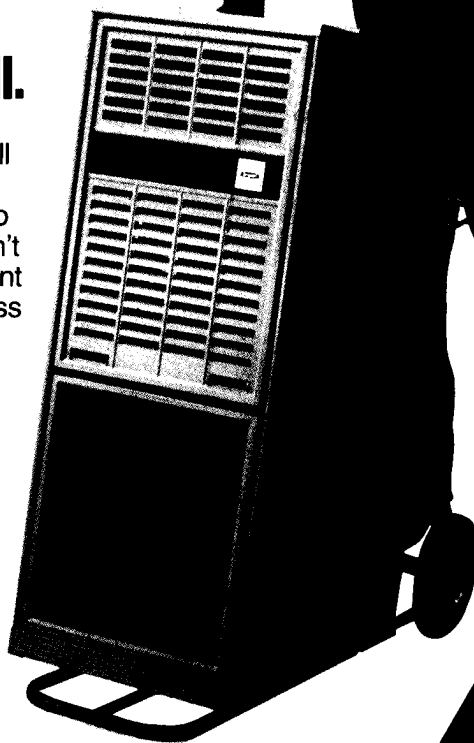
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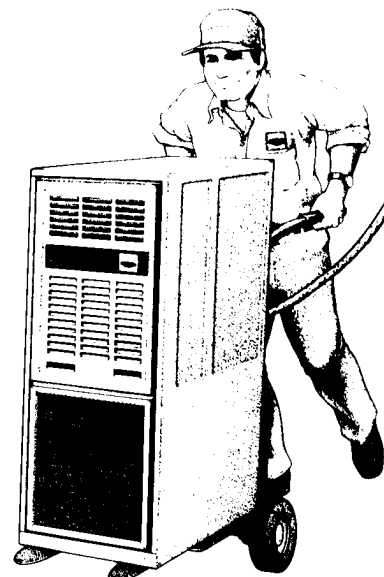
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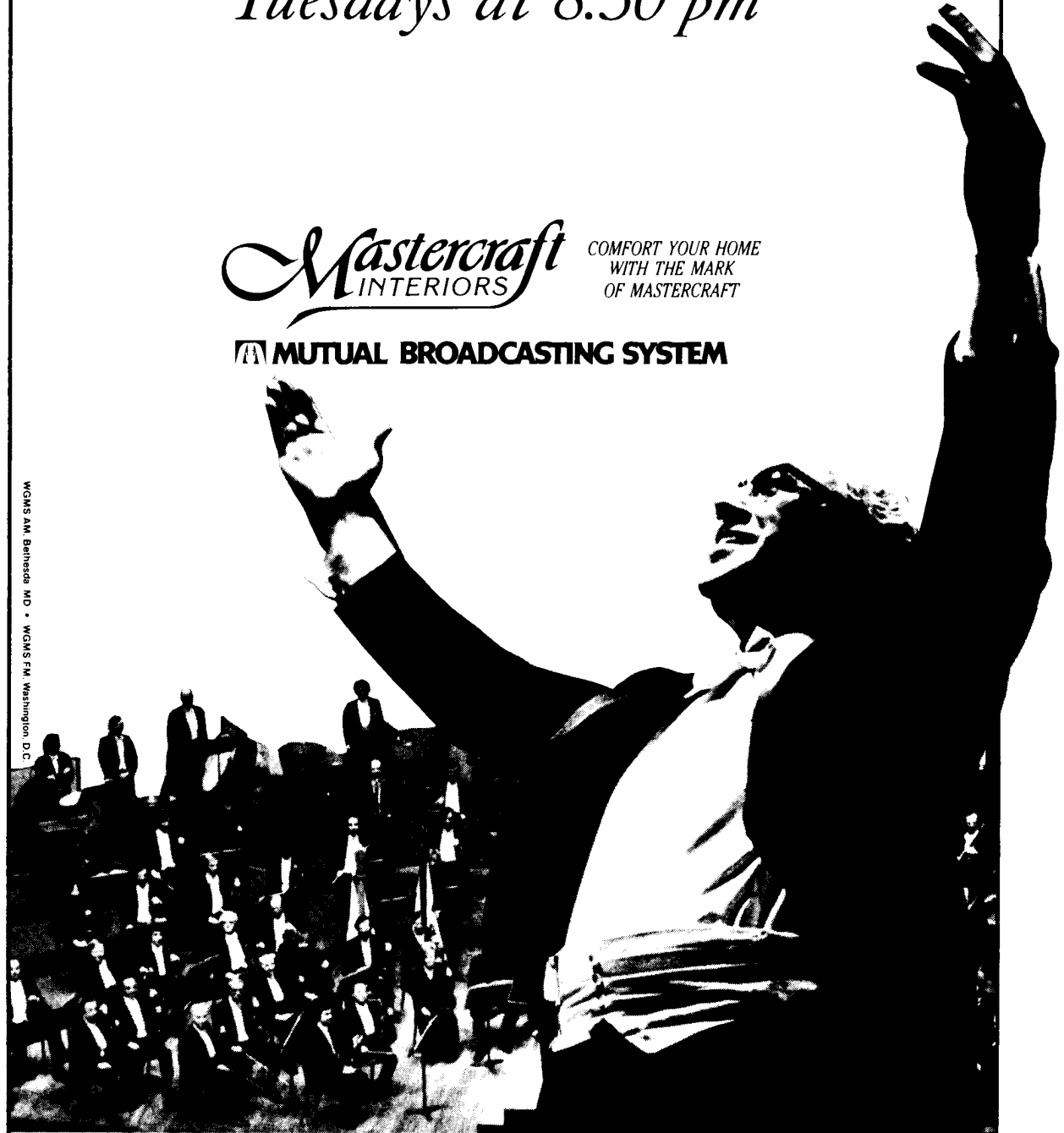
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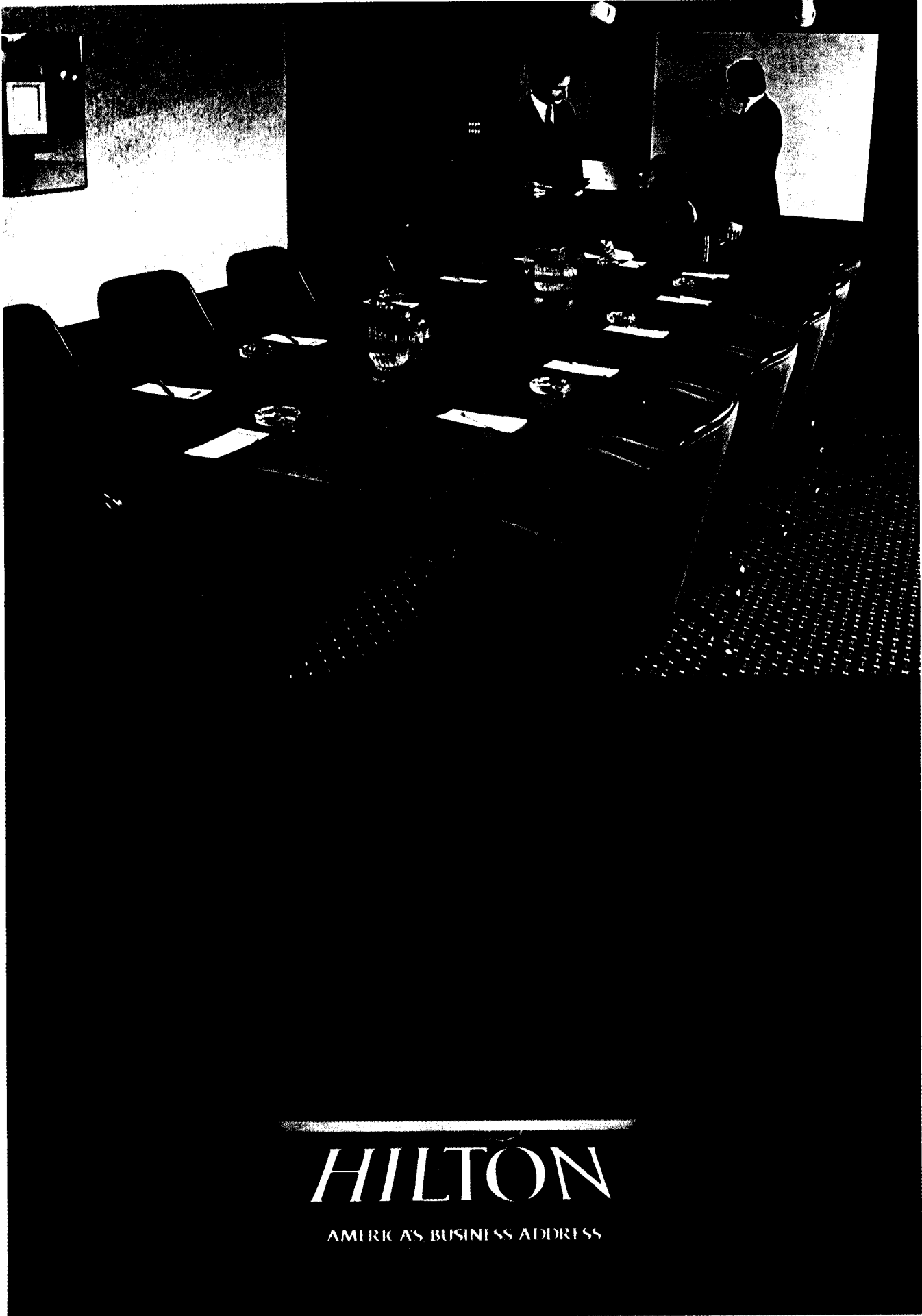
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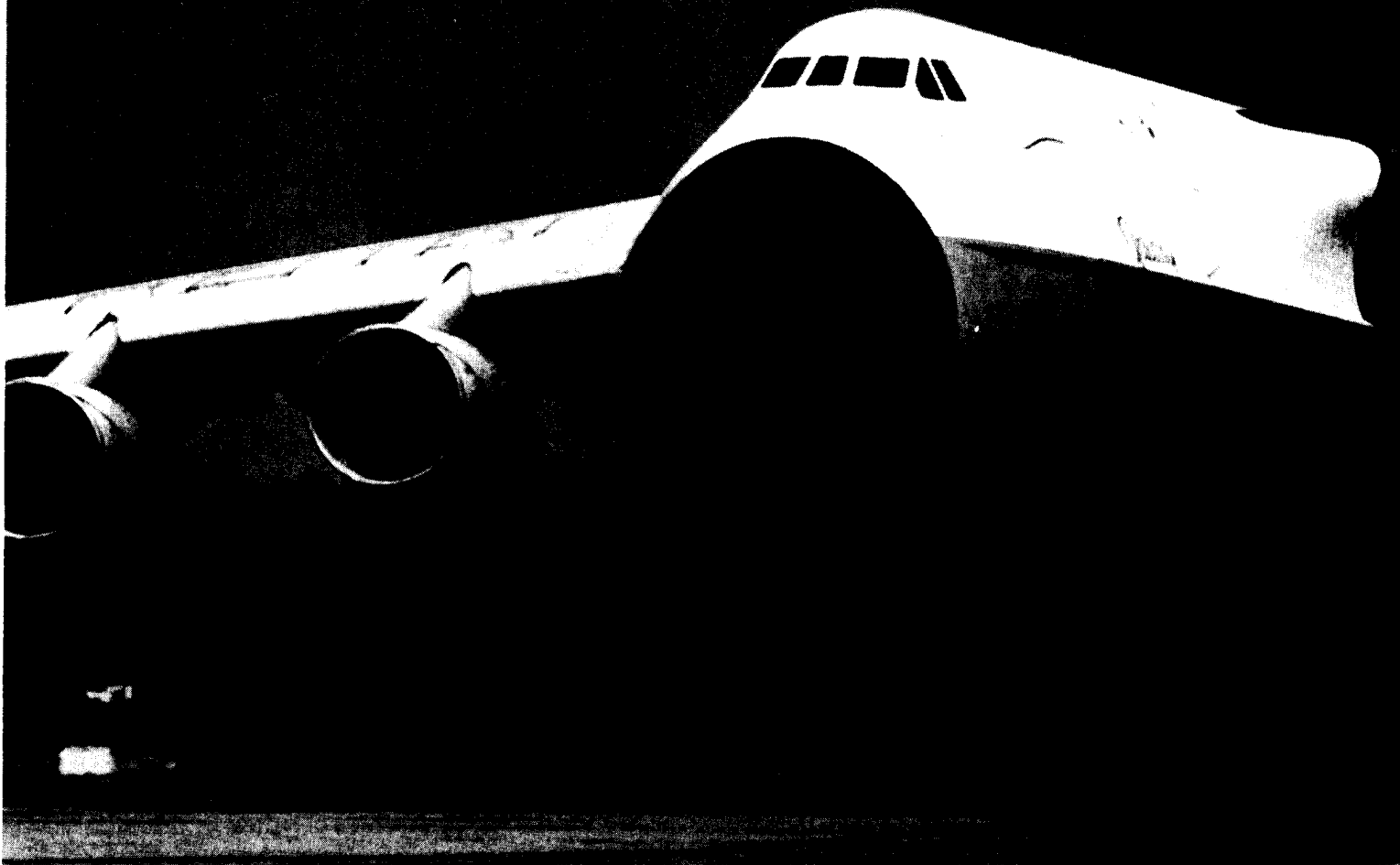
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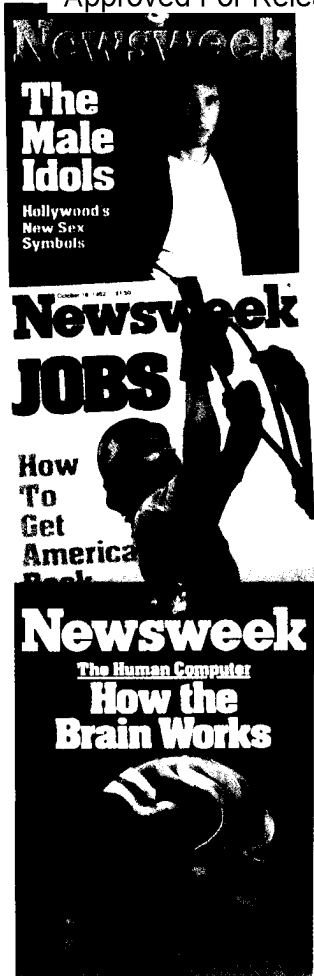
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**NEWSWEEK:
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On the wintry day when Newsweek's Volume 1, Number 1 appeared on America's newsstands it was hardly, in Dickens' words, "the best of times."

Overseas, a new German Chancellor—a failed postcard painter named Adolf Hitler—was feverishly proclaiming his nightmare vision of a "Thousand Year Reich." A fiercely militant Japan was pursuing its aggressive course in the Far East. Everywhere, it seemed, democracy was in retreat.

At home, it was not an auspicious moment to launch a new journalistic enterprise. Businesses by the thousands were closing their doors. An army of homeless men roamed the country seeking work—any work. And in Washington a new president-elect pledged to end the Great Depression by balancing the budget and reducing the size of the Federal Government.

FDR, of course, went on to surprise millions of people.

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When the decade of the Sixties exploded—and

America seemed to turn upside down—Newsweek, more than any other newsweekly, caught the tempo and meaning of the times.

The Civil Rights movement opened up a new era for minority Americans. The War in Vietnam rocked the foreign policy of the post-war era. The Watergate scandal shook the very foundations of Americans' faith in their own leaders.

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More than ever before, Newsweek is committed to bringing you the story *behind* the story. Others may disagree, but we believe there's much to be learned about our world from a frank look at the enduring sexual magnetism of a 40-year-old rock star, or the new drugs and microsurgery which provide fresh hope for American couples who can't have children, or the booming Marijuana market, or the ghetto school that's succeeding by stressing discipline and high standards, or the Soviet Union's network of underground millionaires.

Certainly, we cover the big headline stories in Newsweek. But we'll always give you the hard-to-find, sometimes off-beat stories that often shed more light than dozens of spectacular headlines and hundreds of White House press releases.

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*ACCORDING TO MRI, FALL 1982 STUDY

JUSTICE

No Hiding Place This Term

Nothing succeeds like caution when evaluating the Burger Supreme Court. What single label could fit a panel that creates a fundamental right to choose an abortion and then later upholds a law denying public funds to poor women seeking to exercise that choice? Shuttling from one rule to another, the court has left its academic observers regularly remarking about "ad hoc" and "open-minded" jurisprudence—as, for example, in a useful new collection of essays with a title that underlines the point: "The Burger Court: The Counter-Revolution That Wasn't."* The book's reminder could not be more timely, for the justices return to public business this week facing a docket of controversial cases that just might tempt analysts back into the labeling game.

The cases already on this term's docket—arguments are currently booked through mid-February—indicate that the justices know they can duck, but they can't hide. Several important issues left hanging in the last term will reappear. Among them: whether cities may override seniority systems when making layoffs, to save the jobs of minority workers; whether the exclusionary rule, which bars illegally seized evidence from use at trial, should be modified, and whether home videotaping is an infringement of copyright rules. "A lot of things we thought were going to happen last term didn't," says University of Chicago law Prof. Dennis Hutchinson. "There is no way the court can dodge them all this time."

More Arguments: The Reagan administration certainly isn't dodging. Last term the court spurned several Justice Department pleas to change the rules, most notably when Chief Justice Warren Burger held that private schools that discriminate by race are not entitled to tax-exempt status. This year Solicitor General Rex Lee is back again, urging—among other things—that the court narrow the scope of some civil-rights laws and ratify the Justice Department's permissive view of antitrust rules.

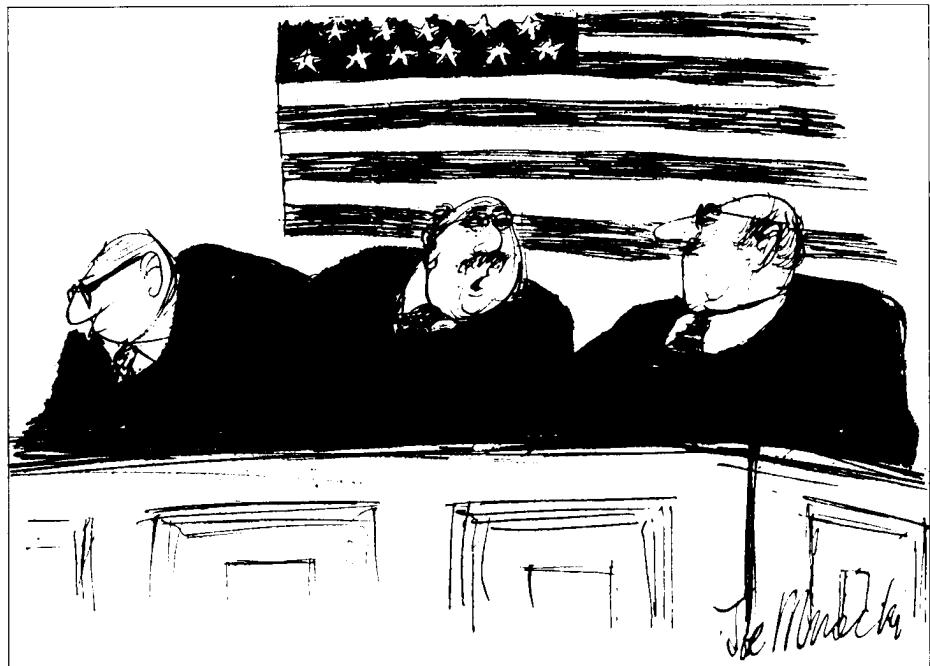
The videotaping case has been hanging over the court for more than a year. First argued last January, the court announced in July, without explanation, that it wanted to hear more arguments before deciding. The problem is that the copyright laws were written without the video-cassette recorder in mind. The question: does home taping fall within the traditional "fair use" exception to copyright protection? The justices' guess is as good as anyone's, and whatever they decide, the losing party will likely ask Congress to change the rules.

More rightfully in the court's domain is exclusionary rule, a judge-made directive that is a perennial thorn in law-enforcement

officials' sides. The issue this term is whether police should be granted a good-faith exception in situations where, as the administration puts it, even a "reasonably well-trained police officer" could not have known he was violating the Constitution. Defendants in two of the appeals will not win any sympathy contests. In one, the Massachusetts Supreme Court threw out a murder conviction because a judge used the wrong warrant form when the police asked permission to search for the murder weapon. In the other, the Colorado Supreme Court held that Denver police should not

ened by seniority rules"—or vice versa?

Equally important is a case involving a small liberal-arts school in western Pennsylvania called Grove City College. The school refuses to sign federal forms certifying its compliance with Title IX of the Civil Rights Act, which bars sex discrimination in federally funded education programs. Grove City contends it does not have to meet federal rules because it rejects all direct federal aid. In 1976 the Ford administration said that because students at the college receive federal aid in the form of scholarships and loans, Grove City had to file the Title IX forms. Last year a federal appeals court agreed. The Reagan administration, however, argues that since federal money helped only Grove City's financial-aid program, the college's obligation extends only to financial-aid activities



Drawing by Joe Mirachi. © 1974 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

"Do you ever have one of those days when everything seems un-Constitutional?"

have arrested a man who was walking around without identification—but with a stolen television set under his shirt. Even defenders of the rule expect it to be modified this term.

Battleground: Civil-rights issues will again be a battleground. Last term the court side-stepped a Boston case that pitted union seniority rights against an affirmative-action plan. The issue is back, this time involving Memphis firefighters. Under a federal-court consent decree, the city had agreed to hire more blacks. But then Memphis fell into a fiscal crisis and, abrogating the last-hired, first-fired union seniority rule, it laid off 72 whites and 8 blacks. The Reagan administration sides with the blameless white firefighters, civil-rights groups with the blameless blacks. "In an era of shrinking employment," asks Brooklyn law school Prof. Joel Gora, "will all affirmative-action plans be threat-

and not its sports, housing and hiring practices. Among other things, the case tests how much control Washington buys with a little aid.

The court also has an excellent opportunity to settle an issue that frequently turns up around the country—whether municipalities can sponsor Nativity displays during the Christmas season. The case comes from Pawtucket, R.I., where the city annually puts up elaborate Christmas decorations—including a crèche—in the heart of downtown. The American Civil Liberties Union argues that this puts the "imprimatur of the state" on Christian belief, which the First Amendment forbids, and lower courts have agreed. The Justice Department, joining Pawtucket, supports the display. If the nation is good for goodness' sake this year, maybe the court will wrap up a decision before Christmas.

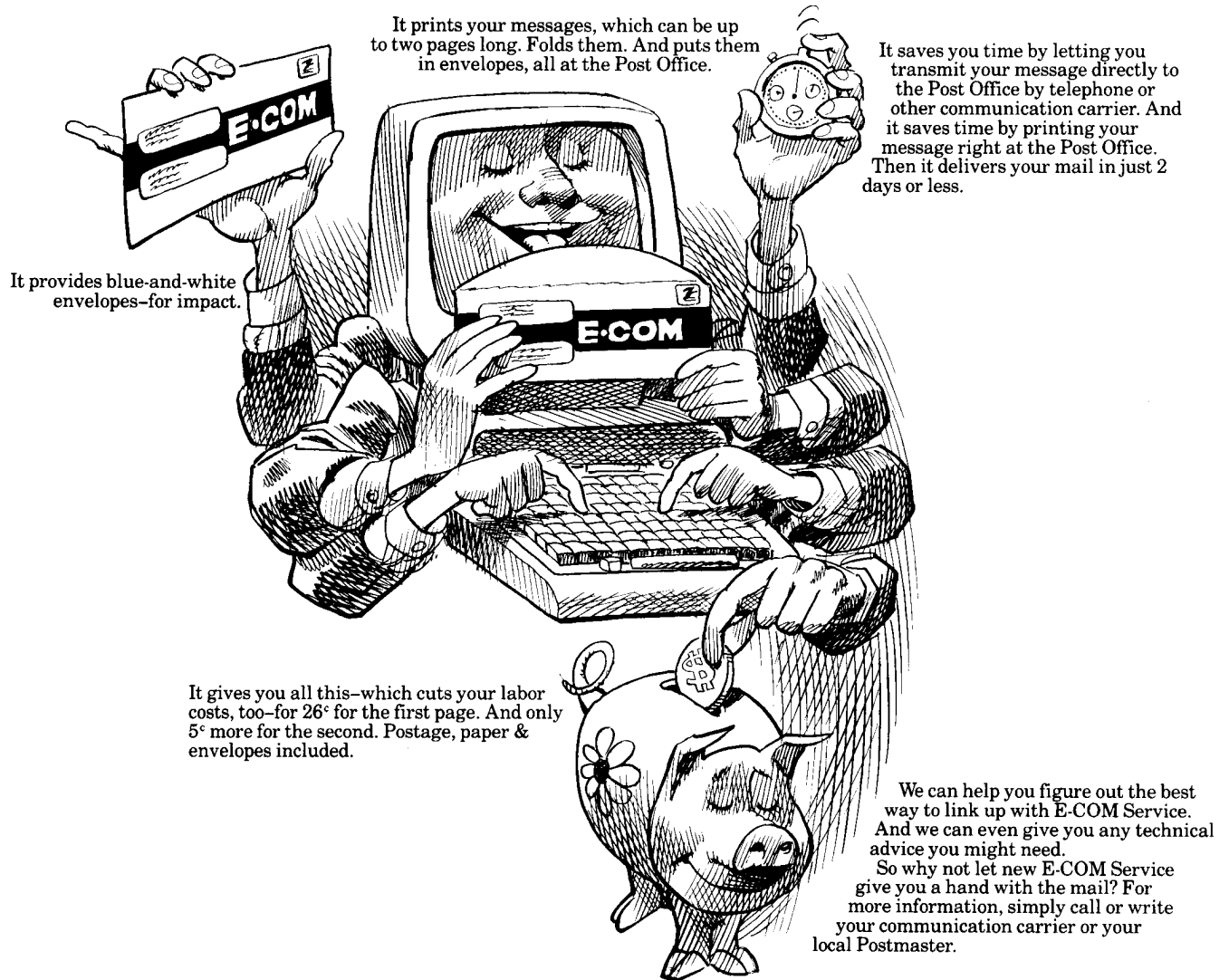
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The Olympics: Boycotts Can Work

PETE AXTHELM

I understood that the public was very emotionally involved in the Olympics," former President Jimmy Carter said last week. "I knew how central the experience was to the lives of the athletes. The boycott of the Moscow Olympics was certain to be unpopular and require sacrifices. But there are very few actions or policies that can be effective without some sacrifice."

I spoke with Carter because I believe that history, or at least the small corner of it that covers sports, owes him something. As athletes and the media gear up for the 1984 Olympics, there is frequent reference to the "waste" or "failure" of the boycott of 1980. In the easy revisionism that often graces the fleeting perceptions of the sports pages, the boycott has been dismissed as an empty and painful exercise that demanded too much sacrifice for too little gain.

But a very unfunny thing has intruded upon the path to next year's Los Angeles entertainments. The Soviets have blown a Korean civilian airplane out of their skies. In response, seven American colleges have canceled scheduled basketball games against the Russian national squad. California legislators have unanimously passed a resolution urging President Reagan to bar the Russians from the 1984 Games. Such responses will have no effect, of course, on future Soviet airspace policy. But for their symbolism and for whatever mild annoyance they cause the sports-minded Russians, they seem just as appropriate as any ineffectual bombast generated by our government through conventional channels.

Effective: Two interesting lessons emerge. First, it is gratifying to know that some sports leaders are abandoning the musty and mistaken notion that we can forever isolate our fun and games from the barbarities of the real world. Second, in light of the West's recent failure to dent the bloody and arrogant armor of the Soviets, the much-maligned boycott of the Moscow Games appears in retrospect as perhaps the most effective measure a modern president has taken against the Russian aggressors.

It was suggested to Carter that events are already beginning to vindicate the boycott. "I think that's so," he said. It was further suggested that in the coming year more voices will be raised in favor of keeping the Russians out of Los Angeles. "I think that

would be a serious mistake," Carter said. "I don't see the parallel. The fact that the Soviets will destroy any plane that enters its airspace is a widely understood, if thoroughly deplorable, policy. I don't see such an incident as a direct threat to the security of the Western world. I believe that the 1980 Soviet decision to subjugate Afghanistan, and possibly to launch a further incursion into the Persian Gulf, was a blatant threat. That's why it called for the sacrifice of the boycott."

The distinction makes sense. It also indicates the depth of thought that went into the original boycott proposal. Carter understood the price he was asking elite athletes to pay for their country. But he placed that

A talk with Jimmy Carter, who proved his point in Moscow but would not ban the Soviets in 1984.

price in perspective against what a president asks of the nonelite when he sends them into war. He also placed his undertaking in a broad historical context.

"What if 30 or 40 nations had refused to compete in the Berlin Olympics in 1936?" he asked. "At that time, it took rare courage for a Western leader to condemn Hitler. The tendency was to say, 'One more step and he'd better be careful.' He kept taking the steps, and the next thing we knew he had taken Czechoslovakia and Poland and was getting ready for France. Perhaps if the world hadn't supported his special Olympic showcase, condemnation of him would have been unified sooner. That's largely a surmise today, but it's worth considering."

Those who ridicule the Moscow boycott often claim that beyond any moral justification, it simply didn't work. In Afghanistan and elsewhere, the Soviets continue their murderous policies. "It did work," replied Carter. "The fact that the troops are still in Afghanistan indicates that we generated enough international reaction to make their takeover more difficult. The boycott, joined

by 55 other nations, damaged their international standing. It could be argued that without it, they would have also sent troops into Poland."

I don't presume to judge that global argument. But I can throw in a view from the press box. I was in Moscow. The boycott worked. The Soviets ran a grand Olympics, the kind that can only be handled in a nation where there is no individual freedom. Winning a gold medal for rigid crowd control, the Soviets avoided all traffic jams, controversies and untoward incidents. It would have been a glorious international propaganda exercise—if American television had been there to show it to the world. Deprived of our cameras and our athletes, the Soviets were reduced to cheating to boost their own winners and spicing every postevent press conference with a silly propaganda ritual. It didn't matter whether an individual winner gushed with emotion, hugged a lover or told a witty anecdote. Whatever was said was instantly translated by the locals into a phrase: "Despite the boycott, the quality of the competition is exceedingly high." All who listened were reminded each time just how much the boycott hurt the hosts.

I wish that every athlete who gave up his or her Olympic chance in 1980 could have seen that charade and thereby come to know how much he or she had done to discomfort the Soviets. I suspect that most would have won a sense of pride and purpose worth more than any lost medals.

Premature: That brings us to the question of Russian participation in Los Angeles. Some who would bar the visitors may be speaking from political expedience; all are surely premature. Thanks in part to Carter, many people seem to be coming to the conclusion that a sacrifice of ego by an athlete—or a politician or farmer or journalist—is far more noble and logical than a sacrifice of a life. But our athletes should not be convenient tools of foreign policy until we've tried many other tactics with the Soviets.

"The Soviets should be welcomed in Los Angeles," said Carter. "Let the world know that we can keep the welcome mat out and practice fair play." For the time being, let's go along with that thinking. Let's also look back at last and recognize that the president who called for the boycott last time taught us a lot about moral fair play.

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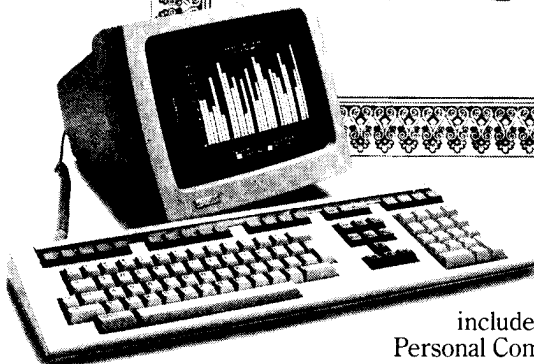
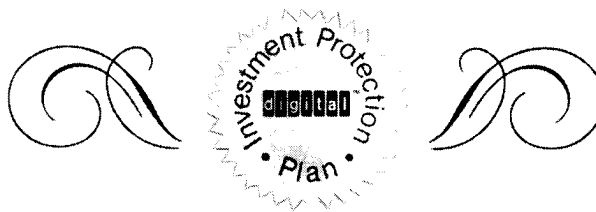
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SPORTS

Pushing Toward the Pennant

When the Philadelphia Phillies clinched the National League eastern division title last Wednesday, it seemed like the best news for middle-aged men since the invention of light beer. Led by their 40-year-old Hall of Fame candidate Joe Morgan, the Phils—who began the season with an average age of 33, making them the oldest team in either league—suddenly ceased their internal squabbling in mid-September and put together an 11-game winning streak that secured them a berth in this week's pennant playoffs. The Wheeze Kids' only problem is that they must now face the Los Angeles Dodgers, a team so exuberantly youthful that pitcher Jerry Reuss says, "Sometimes I half expect our training room to have a sandbox and swings." In 12 meetings with the Phils this season, the Baby Blues (average age: 28) lost only once.

The Chicago White Sox face a different problem as they battle the favored Baltimore Orioles for the American League flag. Like the Orioles, the Sox feature extraordinary pitching, solid defense and a mixed bag of hitters known for coming through in a clutch. In their season series, the Birds hold a 7-5 edge, but even that score would be balanced if Chicago hitter Carlton Fisk hadn't lost a homer to a controversial fan-interference call during one of their typically tooth-and-nail encounters. But the clubs are separated by postseason experience: the Sox, pennantless since 1959, have none.

Eager to boost his underdogs' confidence, Chicago manager Tony LaRussa lately has been shoehorning the word "champion" into nearly every clubhouse conversation. "It's taken a long time to hear that," he says dreamily. "Just imagine . . . it's not New York, not Los Angeles. It's Chicago."

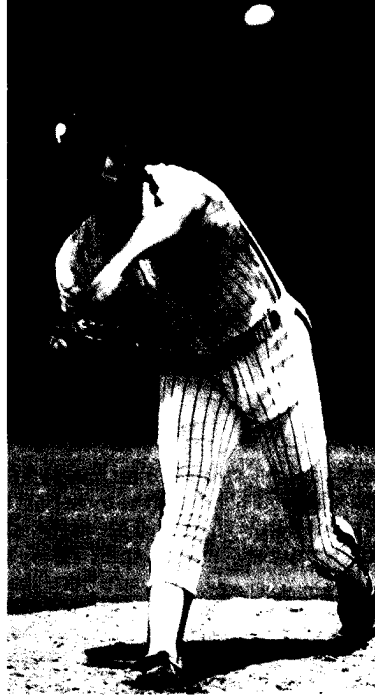
Eruptions: Before the rest of the world says "champion," though, the Sox must overcome a Baltimore staff of breaking-ball artists led by left-hander Scott McGregor, an 18-game winner who frequently throws just six or seven pitches per inning, and rookie Mike Boddicker, another fine product of the Orioles' fertile farm system. Since being called up by manager Joe Altobelli in May, the 26-year-old Boddicker has compiled a record of 15-8 and an earned-run average of 2.84, thanks to his patented "fosh"—a fork ball delivered at off-speed.

"He throws more garbage than I take out in a week," once grouched California Angel Rod Carew. If so, the Sox have an eager cleanup man in Greg Luzinski, who along with Fisk and rookie slugger Ron Kittle, specializes in multirun eruptions.

The Orioles' attack, in contrast, seems as methodical and colorless as the public personalities of the team's two superstars, first baseman Eddie Murray and shortstop Cal Ripken Jr. Murray wears a gold chain with the words "Just Regular" around his neck; when someone asks how it feels to earn \$1 million a year, he simply points to his jewelry. Ripken, the son of Baltimore's third-



Richard Pilling



Mitchell B. Reibel—Sports Photo File

Ripken (left) and Carlton: A boy of summer, a seasoned veteran

base coach, also speaks in the terse clichés of summer. "I just want to contribute," says last season's AL Rookie of the Year and a leading candidate for this season's Most Valuable Player award. The Chicago pitchers, on the other hand, can boast equally impressive credentials. The overweight and underrated LaMarr Hoyt led the league in wins this season with 24, closely followed by teammate Richard Dotson's 21.

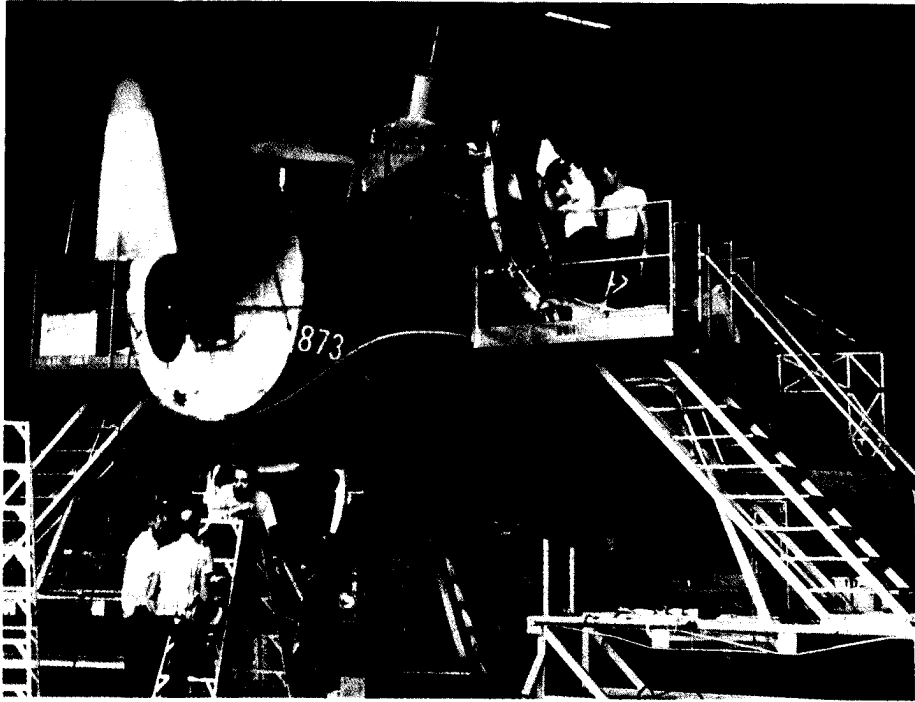
Compared with the well-made clubs in the AL playoffs, the motley Phillies resemble a pickup softball team. What hurt them early was that the plan to surround Pete Rose, 42, with his old Cincinnati pals Morgan and Tony Perez, 41, simply didn't pan out. "We were holding our own," says general manager and field skipper Paul Owens, "but everyone was struggling at the plate and there was a lousy esprit de corps." The

team's single biggest problem, however, may have been the shaky pitching of Steve Carlton, 38, who had a losing record until the stretch drive. With the Phillies tied for first place at midseason, Owens took over for manager Pat Corrales and began juggling the lineup, much to the chagrin of third baseman Mike Schmidt, who went public with his complaints about the team's "lack of direction." But Morgan, batting .201 on Sept. 1, finally got the Phillies moving by stroking 13 hits in four games. "I never gave up on us," Morgan says, "because I can't ever remember having a bad September."

Champagne: That kind of positive attitude could erase any advantage the Dodgers had during the regular season. So, too, could a revitalized Carlton, who, according to Owens, "seems to have recovered the lost concentration that resulted in so many hanging sliders." L.A., meanwhile, has muddled through September with a 14-14 record. Their best left-handed relief pitcher Steve Howe has been suspended for the third and final time this season because of alleged drug problems; Fernando Valenzuela suddenly seems to have lost the smoke on his fast ball, and the highly touted Rick Honeycutt, acquired in mid-season from the Texas Rangers, has been shelled heavily in each of his last five starts—though in two appearances against the Phils he gave up only one run in 16 innings, winning both times. Theoretically able to clinch the western division title last Wednesday, the Dodgers nevertheless lost two games in a row to the San Diego Padres before finally uncorking the champagne last Friday night.

But then, it's been that kind of roller-coaster season and so far the Baby Blues always have come through, even if none of the current crop is a candidate for Rookie of the Year, an honor that Dodgers have won in each of the last four seasons. Mike Marshall, 23, is currently better known for dating Go-Gos' lead singer Belinda Carlisle than for his role as the Dodger right fielder. But Al Campanis, the team's vice president for player personnel, stands proudly by his decision to replace established superstars such as Steve Garvey and Ron Cey with young prospects. Says Campanis, "A very famous person once said, 'I prefer the errors of enthusiasm to the wisdom of complacency.'" In a pair of such closely matched playoffs, a little late-season enthusiasm could make all the difference.

CHARLES LEERHSEN with JOSEPH CONTRERAS in San Diego and JOHN McCORMICK in Chicago



Linda C. Olsen—James L. Long Associates



Greg Anderson—Photoreporters

Eastern maintenance crew at work, chairman Frank Borman: A once coddled industry faces up to a wide-open marketplace

BUSINESS

The Airlines Hit a Downturn

Eastern warns a ravaged industry that it, too, could sink into bankruptcy.

America's airline industry seemed ticketed on a one-way flight to oblivion last week. Continental Airlines, struggling to remain flying while it goes through Chapter 11 bankruptcy proceedings, was hit with a strike. Eastern Airlines warned that it might be next on the bankruptcy docket if it didn't get some wage relief. Trans World Airlines' well-heeled parent, Trans World Corp., was threatening to spin off the carrier and let it face an uncertain future on its own. And the nation's pilots said they might call a general strike to focus attention on the industry's plight and the airlines' tough new stance against the unions. "It's like the old Chinese curse," mused Blaine Cooke, a former TWA vice president. "May you live in interesting times."

Life in the air has been interesting indeed since government deregulation turned the industry's once complacent executives into cutthroat competitors. Continental's ploy to use the courts to cancel labor contracts led to the strike last weekend by disgruntled pilots and flight attendants. The pilots seemed particularly determined. Their union offered to pay them more (\$3,800 a month for captains) to go out on strike than Continental is now paying, and it asked each of its 34,000 other members to chip in \$140 a month to raise the money. Many angry pi-

lots did hit the picket lines early Saturday, but for the most part Continental's jets were flying. The flight attendants' union also seemed split. Those who fly the company's DC-9s earn less than those flying bigger birds, and most of them wanted to accept the airline's last offer. The strike did draw support from an unexpected source. "What Continental is doing makes a mockery of the collective-bargaining system," said Andre Dimitriadis, an executive at Western Airlines. "If the unions let them get away with this, they're crazy."

Bind: Frank Lorenzo, Continental's tough-talking boss, was determined to keep the airline flying—strike or no strike. The airline has reduced the number of U.S. cities it serves from 78 to 25, and to win customers it is offering \$75 tickets to any destination until Oct. 15. The cut-rate fares drew long lines of passengers to Continental counters, but many others won't risk flying with an airline caught in bankruptcy proceedings. Melissa Noskeau of H.K. International Travel, a Houston agency, said that in just one morning customers holding \$5,000 worth of tickets from Continental asked her to switch them to other airlines.

Eastern Airlines may soon find itself in a similar bind. In a videotaped message to Eastern's 37,500 employees last week, chairman Frank Borman said that unless

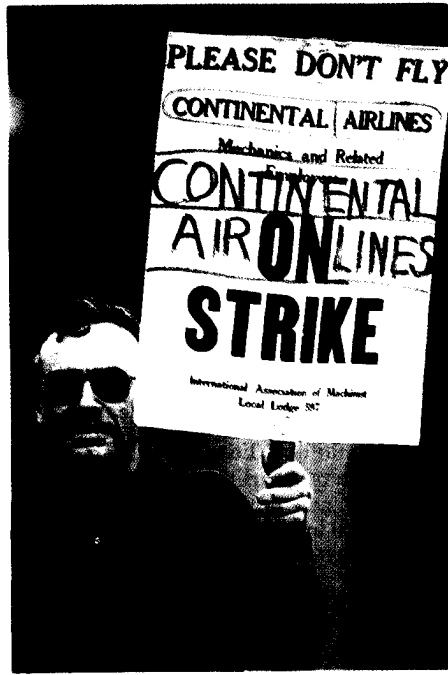
they accepted 20 percent pay cuts, the airline may have to shut down or go into Chapter 11. The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, which won a lucrative contract for Eastern mechanics last spring, quickly rejected the plea, and the notion went down just as hard with other employees. Bernice Dolan, an Eastern flight attendant for 28 years, said she, in the company of several colleagues, watched Borman make his pitch. "At the end of the tape, he said, 'God bless you all,' and people made gestures as they got up," she said. "I won't tell you what kind of gestures." But Eastern's flight attendants may be splintering, too. A group of about 50 demonstrated in favor of concessions at their union headquarters last week—and there was hope for a compromise. Eastern has hired as a mediator W. J. Usery, a former labor secretary and once a member of the machinists' union himself.

Pressure: The turmoil at Continental and Eastern had experts guessing which airlines might be the next to hit a downturn. TWA is a likely candidate—especially if its parent company follows through and deals off the airline to Trans World Corp. shareholders. "Unless Big Daddy supports them, they're not in good financial condition," says analyst Tony Low-Ber of Rooney, Pace, Inc.

Republic Airlines, formed by the 1979-80 mergers of three regional carriers, is \$800 million in debt and teetering, as is Western, which lost \$24 million in the second quarter (chart). Pan American World Airways looks healthy at the moment, but the ill-starred carrier may just be in between crises.

Even if they survive, the old-line carriers will continue under pressure. Investors are still looking to duplicate such successful discount airlines as People Express, and there are plenty of cheap secondhand airplanes to pick from. "Every fly-by-night, fast-buck operator who wants to start an airline can," says a resentful Daniel May, president of Republic. Others worry that heavy cost-cutting throughout the industry could lead some airlines to cut corners on safety. But Dan McKinnon, chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, says that's not likely to happen. He points out that even if the airlines force their employees into longer hours, the maximum workload is still set by the Federal Aviation Administration.

Bruising: But the government no longer rules the skies, and that is the reason airlines are now fighting for their survival. Before Congress deregulated the industry in 1978, airline managers had been a spoiled crew: government regulators protected them from excessive competition and almost automatically approved fare increases when their costs went up. Given the freedom to manage on their own and knock heads with competitors, the carriers immediately flooded the skies with more planes than their passengers could fill and tried to create demand with a bruising series of fare wars. At the same time, the airlines were saddled with interest rates that peaked at 20 percent, the 1979 surge in fuel prices and the



Bill Nation—Sygma

California striker: 'Mockery' of system

worst recession since the 1930s. "Nobody in his wildest imagination could dream of such negative factors all coming together," says CAB chairman McKinnon. It could have been worse, says Julius Maldutis, an analyst at Salomon Brothers: soaring fuel costs may have discouraged even deeper fare-cutting and the controllers' strike slowed down expansion-minded airline executives.

The situation has been bad enough to send airline costs soaring and industry profits into a tailspin. By necessity, most airlines bear heavy debts; a single wide-bodied 767 jet costs about \$50 million—and debt service must be paid in bad times as well as good. Worse yet, the carriers' labor costs escalated as though the industry were caught up in a boom. Between 1975 and 1982, the average airline employee's wages nearly doubled

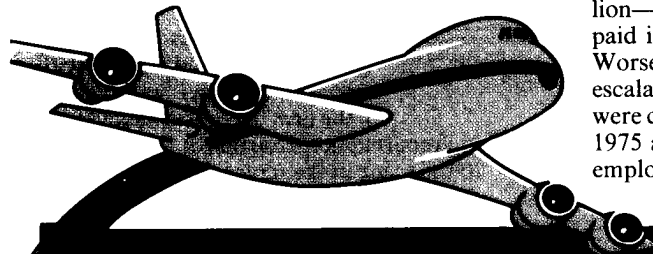
to \$39,373, and some captains now make \$100,000 or more a year. By contrast, new airlines like People Express and Midway Airlines have been able to pick up low-priced aircraft sold by the struggling old-line carriers, hire nonunion employees and undercut the fares charged by the older airlines. Longtime airline employees concede that pay scales will have to come down, but the wringing-out process is far from pleasant.

Floor? For that reason, the hard-pressed airline unions are beginning to talk up a return to tighter regulation as a means to higher profits and greater job security. One popular idea: a legal floor under fares. But Congress shows little interest in unscrambling the egg. Despite the pain it has caused, deregulation still gets a majority vote. "The tragedy of deregulation is that it was done too late," says McKinnon. "The time to deregulate was 25 years ago when jet aircraft were introduced." As it happened, McKinnon says, the enormous productivity gains achieved through the new technology were eaten away by wage increases and other costs. Proponents also point out that airlines like United, American and Delta are surviving and that, against the odds, Northwest has made a profit in each of the last three years. USAir and Piedmont have built strong regional systems, as has Southwest, a pioneer low-cost airline.

Experts say the shakeout may continue for another five to ten years, with only three big carriers ultimately serving domestic routes and just one U.S. line carrying international travelers. Alfred Kahn, who presided over deregulation in 1978 as the CAB's chairman, says once proud names may disappear in favor of some upstarts. But, he says, that's as it should be: "The purpose [of deregulation] was not to make life easy for the airlines. Survival is part of the discipline of the competitive process."

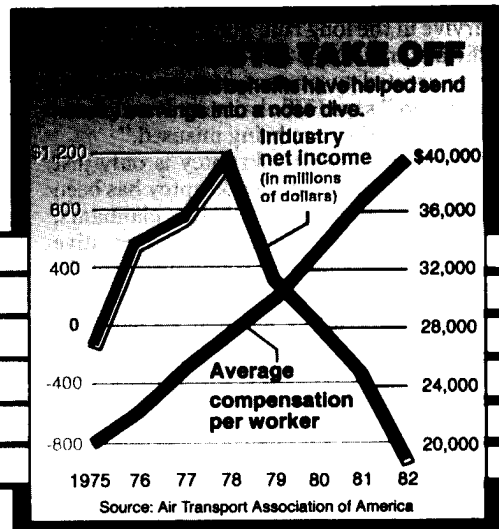
DAVID PAULY with MARILYN ACHIRON in New York, WILLIAM J. COOK in Washington, BARBARA BERGOWER in Houston, PATRICIA KING in Chicago and bureau reports

Christoph Blumrich—Newsweek



	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Continental	-\$26.5	-\$12.6	57.7%	58.9%	\$3¼	\$8
Eastern	-33.7	-3.0	58.5	57.1	5½	11¼
Pan Am	10.4	-56.2	59.5	59.6	7¼	8%
Republic	-43.9	15.8	55.4	54.7	4½	10½
Trans World	-16.2	25.6	64.1	63.9	8¾	18%
Western	23.7	3.1	56.7	59.5	4½	7¼

*Percent of seats filled with paying passengers. Sources: Salomon Brothers, Inc., Civil Aeronautics Board



BUSINESS

Is Bankruptcy Misused?

Great debts are like cannon, of loud noise but little danger," wrote Samuel Johnson. Two centuries later, some wonder whether many big bankruptcies are little more than noisy bluffs. While last week's bankruptcy of long-troubled Baldwin-United Corp. seemed inevitable, more and more companies are going bankrupt not because they are insolvent, but to get out from under burdensome obligations. Firms like Continental Airlines and Wilson Foods Corp. have declared bankruptcy chiefly to break labor contracts (NEWSWEEK, Oct. 3). Last year, Manville Corp., the nation's largest asbestos supplier, filed for reorganiza-



Jim Argo



© Pat Goudvis 1981

Picketing Wilson Foods, moving asbestos products at Manville: Going broke—or bluffing?

tion on the ground that it could not pay an anticipated \$2 billion in claims from asbestos-related lawsuits. The companies contend that only by going bankrupt can they survive in the long run, but some corporate officials aren't so sure. "Bankruptcy laws were created to protect corporations that need help," says ITT chairman Rand Araskog. "Now they are being misused."

The battle over bankruptcy is only just beginning. Manville's bankruptcy has been challenged in court by asbestos claimants, and even George Stigler, the conservative Nobel Prize-winning economist, thinks that bankruptcy has become "a standard method of breaking a union." Fueled by Continental's bold move and Eastern Airlines' threat to follow suit, the controversy has revived a thorny legal issue: when can a firm go bankrupt—and what obligations can it escape once it has done so?

The current rush to the courthouse stems in part from changes in bankruptcy law and the economy. In 1978 Congress revised

bankruptcy statutes to encourage troubled firms to reorganize before failure was at hand. Legislators also made it easier for top managers to file for bankruptcy and retain their posts rather than be replaced by a court-appointed trustee. The changes came just in time: during the deep three-year recession that followed, a record number of companies filed for bankruptcy—including a wave of companies with liabilities of more than \$150 million. Edward Altman, a New York University business-school professor, thinks the bankruptcies of large companies like Braniff and Wickes Cos., the West Coast-based retailer, encouraged other fil-

Parker, the firm will file a reorganization plan creating two new companies: one a paper entity to absorb legal liabilities; the other to take over operations and cycle profits back to asbestos claimants.

Even more problematic is the issue of when a company can break existing labor contracts. Although failing companies that have filed for bankruptcy have the right to void collective-bargaining agreements, several not-yet-insolvent firms have used bankruptcy to pressure unions into accepting wage cuts. When Wilson Foods, a Midwestern meatpacker, filed for bankruptcy last April, it repudiated its union contracts, arguing that losses from uncompetitive labor costs would soon wipe out its \$58 million in net worth. While employees at first responded with strikes and work slowdowns, many plants have since negotiated new contracts that will save the firm \$45 million a year. Says Wilson chairman Kenneth Griggy: "I think the company"—and workers' jobs—"has been saved."

Test: Continental clearly has similar hopes. The airline's attorneys insist they can meet a stringent test set down by a federal appeals court in 1975 that allows for breaching a union contract only if a bankrupt company's survival is at stake. But if they cannot, Continental's filing may be influenced by a case to be argued next week before the Supreme Court. In that case, lower courts gave Bildisco, a bankrupt New Jersey building-supply company, the green light to tear up labor contracts with the Teamsters on the ground that uncompetitive wages would conflict with creditor claims and inhibit the firm's recovery. Should the

high court uphold the rulings, "You're back to the scene in the movie 'Reds' when they came in and beat up on trade unionists," says Hyman Minsky, professor of economics at Washington University.

Labor leaders at last week's AFL-CIO national convention in Hollywood, Fla., vowed to ask Congress to hold hearings on the bankruptcy maneuvers. "These companies are attempting to evade the law," says AFL-CIO legislative director Ray Dennison. ITT's Araskog, whose company runs a finance subsidiary that has been troubled by bankruptcies, hopes Congress will take up the issue in connection with its ongoing attempt to rewrite bankruptcy law. "The bankruptcy laws shouldn't be used to address . . . problems which they were not designed to solve," says Araskog. Unless judges and legislators agree, the line down at the courthouse will grow longer.

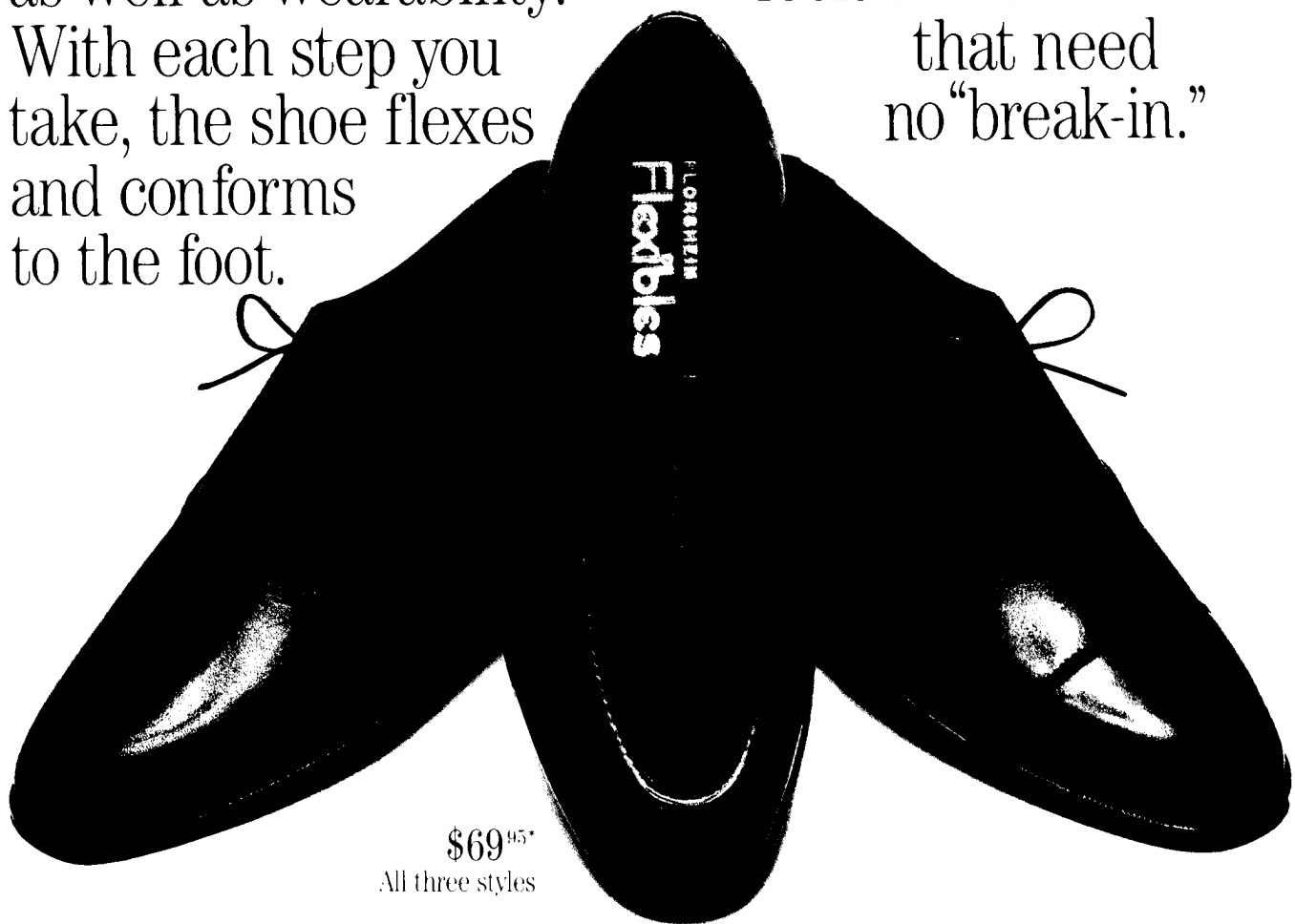
SUSAN DENTZER with PETER McALEVEY in New York, DANIEL SHAPIRO in Houston, DIANE WEATHERS in Hollywood and bureau reports

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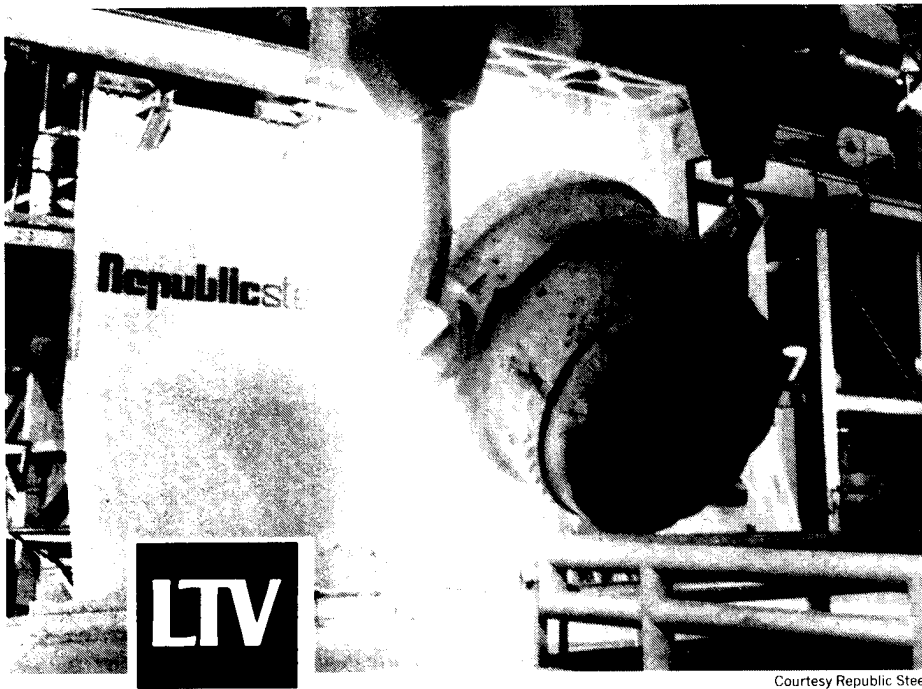
Box King—lowest of all brands—less than 0.01 mg. tar, 0.002 mg. nic.

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Box: Less than 0.5 mg. "tar", 0.05 mg. nicotine; 100's Box: 1 mg. "tar",
0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Mar. '83.



Courtesy Republic Steel

Making steel at a Republic plant in Chicago: A hasty marriage of necessity

An Urgent Need to Merge

Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. and Republic Steel Corp. are two of the sickest companies in the most troubled of America's smokestack industries. Burdened with old plants, high wages and stiff foreign competition, the two firms lost a total of \$538 million in 1982—and are expected to lose more this year. Santa Fe Industries and the Southern Pacific Co. are far healthier, but they are locked in a no-win battle for a limited amount of railroad business. In each case, the way out seemed the same: give in to the urge to merge. Last week the companies made their moves. J&L, a subsidiary of LTV Corp., and Republic announced plans to combine as the nation's No. 2 steelmaker, while Santa Fe and Southern Pacific proposed a merger that would create the third largest U.S. railroad.

LTV's planned takeover of Republic—valued at \$770 million—was part of a shakeout that promises to be both painful and prolonged. Just last week, U.S. Steel Corp., the industry leader, announced plans for major plant closings that could result in write-offs of \$1 billion and cost hundreds of jobs by the end of this year. And Armco Inc., No. 5 in the industry, said that it would sell off its oil and gas exploration subsidiary and some of its coal properties to raise \$316 million in much-needed cash.

J&L and Republic know each other's business—and problems—all too well. The two companies are just part of an industry operating at a dismal 56 percent of capacity. Of 64,500 employees at the two firms, more than a quarter are on layoff. While business has picked up lately, it has not recovered nearly enough to ensure long-term survival at either firm. LTV Inc. had

begun thinking last year about trying to find a partner for its ailing steelmaking subsidiary and got down to talking merger with Republic only a month ago. According to Sheldon Lambert, an LTV senior vice president, the new entity—LTV Steel—plans to “combine the facilities and product lines of both companies,” yielding “a much stronger company able to compete against Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Europe and South America.”

Closings? The steelmakers' operations clearly overlap. J&L and Republic operate more than a dozen plants that make similar products, including flat-rolled steel, pipes and bars. Some obviously will be closed or cut back; both firms, for example, have sheet-steel mills just a railroad bridge apart in Cleveland, and the older J&L mill is considered a good candidate for closing. And even if no plants are closed for the present, analysts point out that the new firm, which will move ahead of Bethlehem Steel Corp. in size, can quickly eliminate hundreds of redundant jobs in areas ranging from accounting and engineering to sales and shipping. All of this must wait for approval of the merger by the Justice Department's antitrust division. But most analysts were betting that given the sorry state of the steel industry and the two companies in particular, that approval will be forthcoming.

By contrast, the Santa Fe-Southern Pacific combination was a happier affair. The two may join to create a holding company with \$9 billion in assets and a combined track network of 25,600 miles—making the new road third in size behind the Burlington Northern and CSX Systems. While the companies are best known for their rail-

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roads, both also have holdings in petroleum, timberland and construction; if the deal gets the expected approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission, it could be a perfect fit. Santa Fe chairman John J. Schmidt, who will become chairman of the new Santa Fe Southern Pacific Corp., isn't expected to stop there. He may soon make a bid for the Conrail system—a move that could create the nation's first single-owner transcontinental railroad, with more than 40,000 miles of track.

TOM NICHOLSON with ERIK IPSEN in New York and bureau reports

The 'Nightmare' That Grips the IMF

Ronald Reagan took pains to portray himself as “the spokesman for a compassionate, caring people.” But in view of recent American actions, his words at last week's meeting of the World Bank and International Money Fund had a distinctly hollow ring. Congress was still withholding a vitally needed increase in its IMF contribution. Treasury Secretary Donald Regan was trying to limit new development aid to the world's poorest countries—and to conserve the IMF's dwindling resources, he was also pushing for new restrictions on the money that the fund can lend.

Regan did express his “unbreakable commitment to increased funding for the IMF.” But with the \$8.4 billion appropriation measure hopelessly embroiled in congressional politics (page 29), it remained uncertain whether he would soon be able to make good on his pledge. Meanwhile the fund, which is supposed to lend to nations facing temporary payments difficulties, was rapidly running out of cash (NEWSWEEK, Oct. 3). Even if it receives the American contribution—together with \$34.6 billion in increased funding from other nations—the IMF will still be strained to cope with the needs of dozens of troubled international debtors. For that reason, Regan proposed his scheme to limit the amounts that individual nations might borrow.

Bailout: The meeting's most tangible accomplishment was an agreement between the IMF, Western governments and major commercial banks to ease Brazil's \$92 billion debt burden. Last May, after Brazil failed to enact austerity measures called for in its original IMF bailout program, the fund suspended lending, cutting off most private bank credits as well. As a result, Brazil is now approximately \$2.5 billion behind on interest payments to lenders. Under the new \$11 billion arrangement, Brazil is to receive \$2.5 billion in export credits, half of which are to come from the United States. In addition, the country will be able to roll over \$2 billion owed to Western governments. But the most significant contribution is to come from the commercial banks,

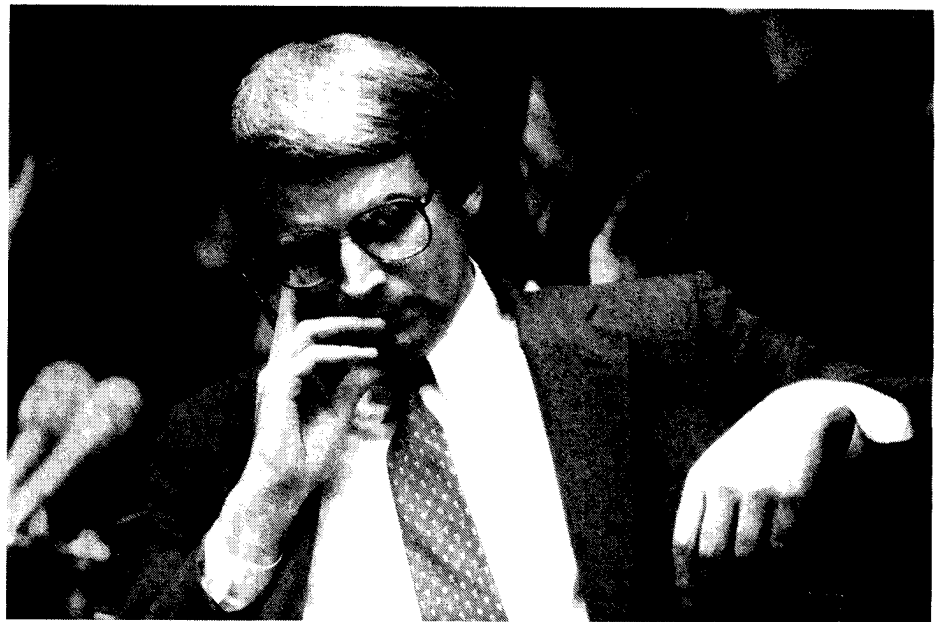
BUSINESS

which are expected to contribute \$6.5 billion in new Brazilian loans.

The commercial banks clearly hold the key to staving off default. As a practical matter, the IMF's resources are totally inadequate to cope with the debt crisis. What the IMF can do, however, is impose tough restrictions on international debtors and thus allow the banks to argue that their borrowers are finally pursuing policies that will eventually pull them out of the hole. It doesn't matter whether the banks really believe that argument. For if they fail to provide the money that will allow the borrowers to at least maintain their interest payments, they will be forced to admit the reality of default with disastrous consequences to their balance sheets and the world financial system.

Commitment: In the end, it's something of a ploy—and for that reason it was vital last week that the IMF be seen to have the support of the world's most important economic power. The money that the United States could provide was important, but even more so was a sense of commitment. If the IMF funding bill could fall prey to an exotic coalition of left- and right-wingers, it would not augur well for continued bank lending. And the fact is that the situation can probably be muddled through if the money continues to flow. It will be slow and painful, but global economic recovery should eventually relieve pressure on the debtors. But that was still very much an article of faith last week as Ronald Reagan outlined what might happen should the IMF's role be weakened: "At the end of this road," he declared, "could be a major disruption of the entire world trading and financial systems—an economic nightmare that could plague generations to come."

HARRY ANDERSON with CHRISTOPHER MA
in Washington



Bruce Hoertel

Stockman at recent hearing in Congress: A rare public appearance outside 7-Eleven

A Star Turns 'Bean Counter'

White House budget director David Stockman must constantly be on guard. At a recent cabinet council meeting, William Ruckelshaus, director of the Environmental Protection Agency, outlined a plan for cleaning up acid rain. While it would be expensive, he said, the project would demonstrate the administration's "leadership and priorities" on the hotly debated issue. But Stockman had come prepared. Not only would the Ruckelshaus proposal carry a \$20 billion price tag, he argued, but it would cost \$16,000 for every fish that might be saved. Stockman "is so incredibly tenacious," marvels a participant at the meeting. "He knew every mudhole in America and how many fish it contained."

It was the kind of performance that

made the 36-year-old budget director the earliest star of the Reagan administration, dazzling the public with his prodigious command of detail and his frequently mordant wit. But gone are the glamour days of Stockman's 1981 legislative victories in securing budget cuts. As Republicans and Democrats duel among themselves in the congressional trenches, Stockman has consciously moved himself from the public fray. His most frequent appearances nowadays are at the 7-Eleven where he occasionally stops for a carton of milk. On Capitol Hill Stockman is now described derisively as a "bean counter." Yet the task of holding the federal budget together remains as difficult as it is unrewarding. "It's just dirty, messy, endless

Alex and the Beer Bottles

Beer has become a dog-eat-dog industry, so it's no wonder that the hottest ad in the business today stars a mutt named Alex. The commercial for Stroh's beer shows four men playing poker.

Alex's owner asks the dog to get four Stroh's. The dog disappears into the kitchen, and the shocked men hear a refrigerator door open, four bottles popping—and then a lapping sound. "Alex," yells the owner, "you better be drinking your water." For whatever reason, the ad is such a boffo hit that it is already the third most popular on TV—right behind the long-running campaigns for Miller Lite beer and Pepsi, according to Dave Vadehra, president of Video Storyboard Tests, an independent testing agency.



Even Stroh's didn't expect that: the company has tried to be funny in its commercials for eight years and never had much of a knee-slapper before Alex's ad, which has been shown in the 33 states where Stroh's is sold. "Humorous advertising is like writing a Broadway show," shrugs John Bissell of Stroh's. "Some of them turn out to be hits; some of them don't."

ib Ohlsson—NEWSWEEK

Stroh's, the nation's third biggest brewer with 13 percent of the market, isn't sure how much more it has sold because of the ads, but the company has been deluged with fan mail for Alex (off-camera name: Pepper) who, in the best tradition of Hollywood, was found wandering the streets of Los Angeles. Also in that tradition, the hit will be followed by a sequel. The young men, out camping, tell Alex to get some Stroh's. When Alex's owner hears a car start, he shouts, "Alex, you better be taking your own car."

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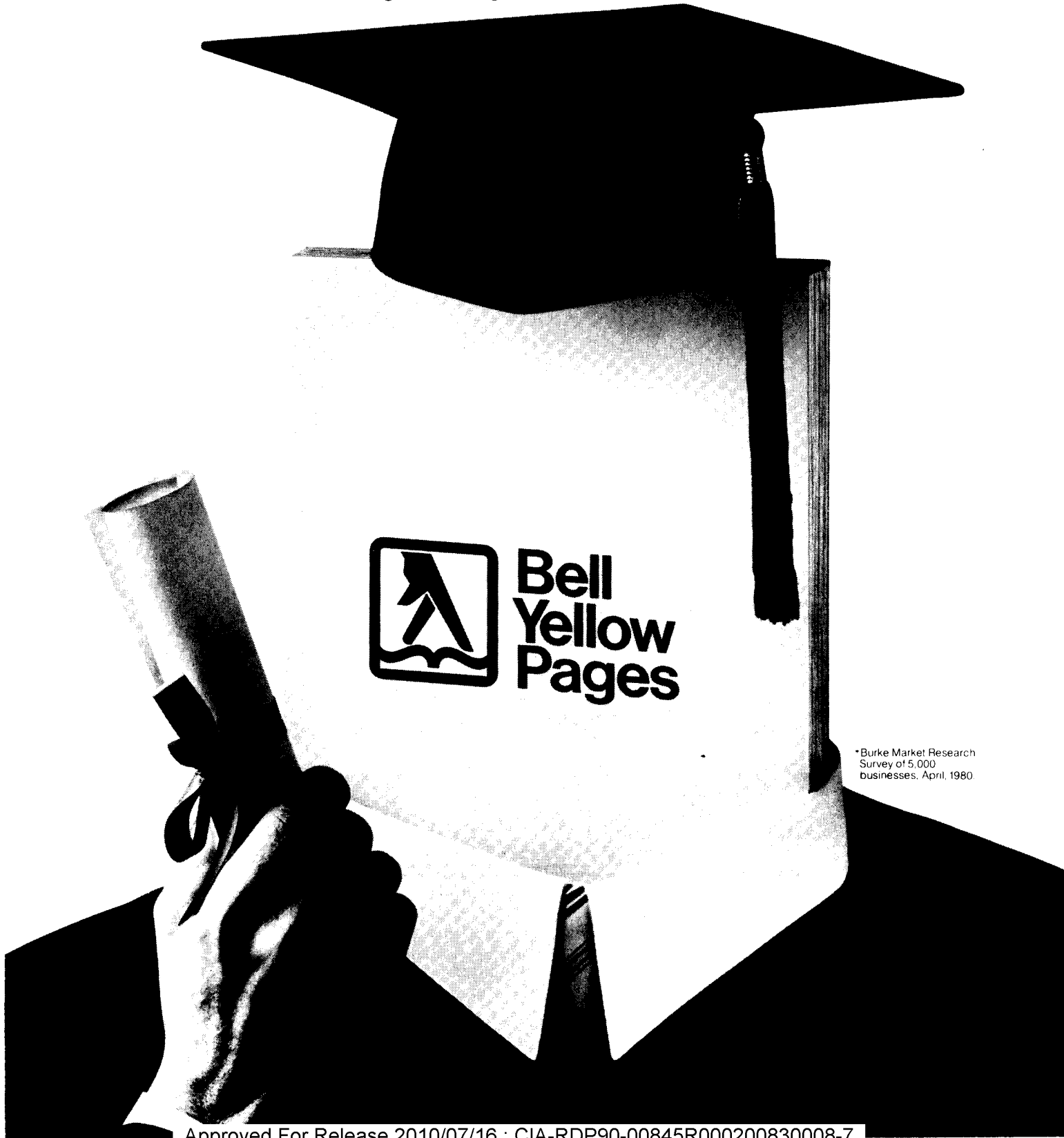
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*Burke Market Research
Survey of 5,000
businesses, April, 1980.

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detail," Stockman recently told a friend. Stockman could report some progress last week, but even that was marred by dissent from his own party. At a meeting with Reagan and top Republican congressional leaders, he proudly reported that four spending bills recently signed by the president came within "one-half of 1 percent" of the administration's initial request. But, Stockman continued, the Senate was dangerously close to adding too much to a Health and Human Services spending bill, a move that would only inspire a similar spending spree in the Democratic House. Nodding in agreement, the president noted, "I still have the veto stamp in my desk." That remark was more than Mark Hatfield, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, could stomach. "One of the basic problems we have is that David Stockman doesn't realize we're on the same team," he told Reagan angrily. "Furthermore, Mr. President, I would hope you will keep that veto stamp in your desk drawer. We're sending you bills we would expect you to sign."

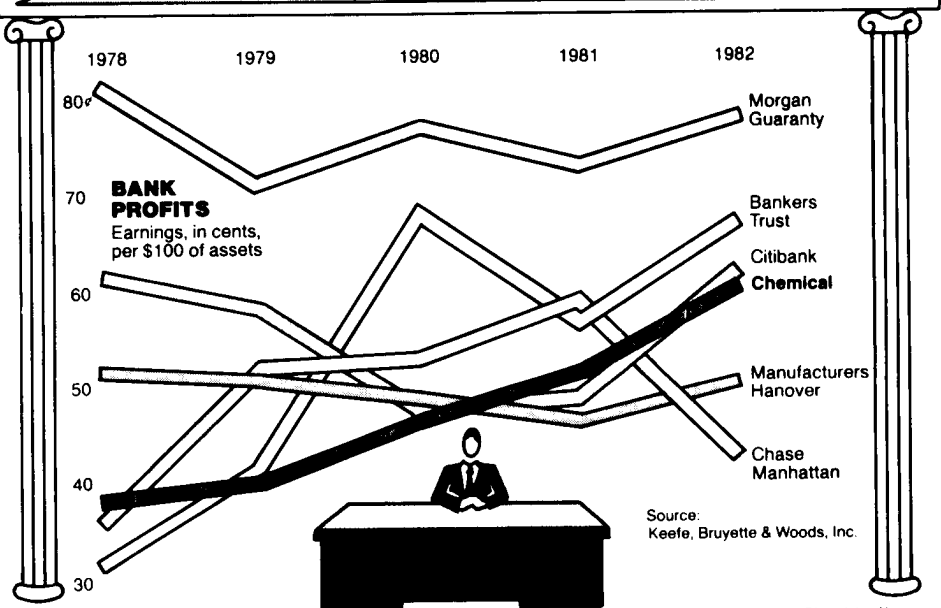
Lost Zeal: The problem, says one budget official, is that "the fiscal machinery of the government is on vacation." The Democrats gained 26 House seats in the last election, destroying the coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats that allowed Stockman to ram his budget through the House in 1981. And now, with the 1984 elections approaching, the Republicans have lost their budget-cutting zeal as well. In one particularly galling instance, the House passed a bill requiring that 220,000 barrels a day be added to the strategic petroleum reserve. The administration's budget had called for adding only 145,000 barrels a day, so Stockman approached the Senate Republican leadership and asked them to accept the lower limit. They didn't. Within days, 15 Republican senators joined the Democrats in approving the 220,000-barrel level. "It was 1 billion additional bucks, just like that," complains the budget official. "Nobody understands how really weak we are, how little discipline is left among Republicans."

In a sense, all of Stockman's efforts are dwarfed by a federal deficit that is approaching \$200 billion a year as the nation enters fiscal 1984. "The issues of taxes and changes in the social entitlements programs, which account for three-quarters of the budget variables, have been put off-limits by Congress or the president," says Stockman aide Ed Dale. "All the haggling isn't going to bite into the deficits a lot." Still, Stockman puts in 12-hour days, lunching on McDonald's hamburgers at his desk. It's "a niggling, grueling business," says Dale, and one that's marked by only marginal success. Stockman will not produce any startling budgetary breakthroughs. The best he can hope for is to hold the line.

HARRY ANDERSON with RICH THOMAS, GLORIA BORGER and ELEANOR CLIFT in Washington

THE BIG BANKS' RACE TO THE VAULTS

Loan losses from the Baldwin-United bankruptcy could cut into Chemical's earnings at a time when it's gaining against its New York competitors.



Seeking a Chemical Formula

The chemistry's just right at Chemical," goes the advertising slogan for Chemical Bank. For years analysts have wished someone would tamper with the formula. The nation's sixth largest bank has long had a second-rate reputation; routinely one of the least profitable of New York's big banks, it is "probably the largest unknown bank in the country," says a former executive. Now its profile has been raised—but for all the wrong reasons. As trustee for more than \$2 billion of defaulted bonds of the Washington Public Power Supply System, Chemical faces years of litigation on behalf of bondholders. And as the largest lender to the bankrupt Baldwin-United Corp., it faces millions of dollars in potential losses. The Baldwin fiasco has been "a bloody mess," says Alan Fishman, a Chemical senior executive vice president, "and I think it will continue to be for some time."

The timing couldn't be much worse. The \$50 billion bank has been trying to reform its ways, slashing overhead, moving into new businesses and slowly improving its profitability (chart). It's also in the midst of a management transition: last week Donald Platten, 65, stepped down as chairman, handing the reins over to the bank's president, 47-year-old Walter Shipley, and three former executive vice presidents who have been elevated to "presidents."

Now Chemical needs all the staying power it can muster. Launched as part of a chemical-manufacturing company in 1824, Chemical has lagged behind rivals like Citibank and Chase Manhattan in most modern-day banking businesses. One

reason is that the bank has long been headed by alumni of Southern regional banks who have tended to be conservative; even the current team consists of officers whom "I would not call wild men," says Stephen Berman, an analyst at L.F. Rothschild. The lack of aggressiveness may have been costly: in the mid-1970s Chemical was among the first of the major banks to announce it would test the limits of banking law and trade stocks for individual customers. Chemical soon pulled out, claiming there was no money in it at the time. But analysts say the bank backed off when brokerage firms threatened to withdraw business in retaliation—only to unearth the plan last year after other banks initiated discount brokerage services.

'Rain and Snow': Even when it has seized the initiative, Chemical has frequently missed the mark. Second only to Citibank in its hold on the New York retail-banking market, Chemical was one of the first major banks to install automated teller machines. But whereas Citibank, Chase and Manufacturers Hanover installed their machines indoors with 24-hour access, Chemical's are outside, leaving disgruntled customers to "wait in the rain and snow," says one analyst. While Chemical is New York's biggest lender to the "middle market" of small-to mid-size companies—where margins are wider than on loans to larger firms—the bank has failed to produce the profits expected, mainly because it has been slow to cut costs through automation.

In some respects the bank's cautiousness has paid off; only one of its major competitors, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., has con-

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sistently made loans of higher quality. But that, too, may be changing: Chemical now has \$2.5 billion in loans to Latin America's five biggest debtor nations, and it has already classified \$94 million as nonperforming assets, on which interest is being paid late or not at all. Chemical's risk as trustee for the WPPSS bonds seems limited; by law, it must "defend and support" the holders of the WPPSS bonds, but its legal bills will be paid by WPPSS as long as the power system can afford them. On the other hand, the bank's exposure to Baldwin-United is substantial. Chemical has \$170 million in loans to the company, half of which are secured by shares of Baldwin's MGIC Investment

Co. subsidiary, which went on the auction block three weeks ago (NEWSWEEK, Sept. 26). State insurance commissioners may yet demand part of the proceeds of the sale to satisfy claims of customers who purchased Baldwin annuities. As a result, many analysts think Chemical has already written off \$20 million in loans to Baldwin—and they predict the bank's earnings this year could be shaved by as much as 5 percent.

Hard-Nosed Attitude: Still, if it can emerge from those problems relatively unscathed, the bank's potential could be enormous. Shipley declined to be interviewed, but analyst Berman thinks "the new managers may take a more hard-nosed attitude toward the bottom line." Analysts say the bank has recently laid off

hundreds of employees—a charge Fishman denies—and is jettisoning businesses that are not producing.

Chemical has also led a charge into new markets. Last year it purchased a stake in Jacksonville-based Florida National Banks, hanging on through a protracted struggle against four other suitors. Bank officials now hope the purchase will pave the way for Chemical's entry into the burgeoning Florida market once legal barriers to interstate banking fall. "This is a much more vital company than it has been," says analyst James McDermott of Keefe, Bruyette & Woods. It may take some time, however, to see whether Chemical has found the formula for beating the competition.

SUSAN DENTZER with ERIK IPSEN in New York

JANE BRYANT QUINN



Exactly 50 years ago, the federal government slapped interest-rate ceilings on bank time deposits. On Oct. 1, those ceilings came crashing down. Washington has quit regulating almost all certificates of deposit, leaving it to the banks and savings and loan associations to set their own terms.

Most of them are making new offers to the smaller saver. Minimum deposits on deregulated CD's cluster around \$500, although some institutions set higher thresholds. The shorter the time period, the more money you may have to deposit. You'll see offers for fixed periods like six months and one year; you'll also find more banks willing to write CD's for any time you want. For example, if you have a tuition payment due in one year, two months and 11 days, you might get a CD that matures on that day precisely. This lets you earn high interest on your savings right up until the time the money is needed for something else.

So far, interest rates are half a point to a full point higher than they were before deregulation. Bob Heady of the Bank Rate Monitor, a trade publication, thinks that banks may be holding down the rates they pay on money-market accounts in order to beef up their introductory offers on the new CD's. But after October, small savers may find themselves left in the dust. Banks and S&L's are moving toward two-tier CD's, which pay higher interest rates on large

The Brave New World of CD's

deposits and lower rates on small ones.

Federal early-withdrawal penalties have been reduced for most certificates of deposit. You now lose only one month's interest on money withdrawn from a 32- to 365-day CD, compared with a loss of up to three months' interest before deregulation. On deposits of more than one year, the early-withdrawal penalty drops to three months' interest, from six months' formerly. Those penalties are federal minimums; some banks and S&L's are charging more.

Still Controlled: The very smallest savers still get the short end of the stick. Passbook savings accounts continue to pay only 5.5 percent at S&L's and savings banks and 5.25 percent at commercial banks (the latter rate

works at some banks—discount fees on stock transactions. That package of services makes an interesting alternative to brokerage-house cash-management accounts.

On Dec. 1, the government will eliminate minimum deposits in savings accounts held as Individual Retirement Accounts and Keogh plans. If you have an IRA or Keogh, you'll be able to invest \$2,000 or less in the popular money-market accounts or in 7- to 31-day CD's, whose minimums are \$2,500. These limits, too, are on the way out. In 1985, the minimum deposit for both accounts, as well as for Super NOW's, will drop to \$1,000. In 1986, institutions can set any minimums they want.

Flying Blind: When you comparison shop for the highest interest rate, you'll probably be flying blind. Consider, for example, two Chicago S&L's—one offering 10-year CD's at 13 percent compounded annually, the other at 12.22 percent compounded daily. In dollars and cents, they both pay exactly the same amount. Yet you might think that 13 percent was the better buy.

Richard Morse of Kansas State University has been struggling for years to drum up interest in a truth-in-savings law. It would require institutions to advertise their savings rates in a uniform way, so that customers could make an honest comparison. But he glumly reports no progress. In Washington's view, the many deceptions in the marketplace are all too small to matter.

Truth-in-savings laws in New York and California require the disclosure of an annual percentage yield, which shows clearly who pays the highest rate. In other states, look for a high-interest CD that compounds interest daily, right from the first day of deposit. But never forget: any interest-rate ad could still be a little white lie.

Associate: VIRGINIA WILSON

When you try to comparison shop for the highest rate, you are probably flying blind.

rises to 5.5 percent in January). Around \$322 billion rests—some would say sleeps—in passbook accounts. The new rates on CD's should wake some of that money up. On interest-paying checking, known as NOW accounts, the ceiling holds at 5.25 percent for accounts under \$2,500.

On larger NOW's, called Super NOW's, banks can pay whatever they want. Heavy competition in Buffalo, N.Y., has driven the Super NOW rate to 12 percent, compared with 7.5 percent nationwide. In Buffalo, Chicago and Detroit, institutions have combined their NOW accounts with a debit card, an automatic line of credit and—in the

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RELIGION



Arturo Mari—The Vatican

John Paul II greets American bishops: A troubling demand for discipline

The Pope Vs. the U.S. Church

What has Pope John Paul II got against American Catholics and their church? A number of U.S. bishops, just back from a month of meetings with the pope, are troubled by that question. So are thousands of American priests, nuns and seminary educators—and for good reasons.

John Paul II has directed the bishops to make detailed "studies" of all religious orders and seminaries in the United States with a view toward tightening spiritual discipline and obedience to the hierarchy. He has charged American prelates to proclaim anew "the unpopular truth that artificial birth control is against God's law," even though the bulk of American Catholic adults reject the papal stand. The pope has also made clear his displeasure with rising American pressure for the ordination of women as priests; as far as he is concerned, even the use of altar girls—a widespread practice in U.S. congregations—is a forbidden foot inside the sanctuary. "There is . . . tension between Rome and the United States right now," acknowledges Archbishop Rembert Weakland of Milwaukee, one of the more than 100 U.S. bishops who visited the Vatican last month. "I'm sure the pope sees the American church as extremely vital, but also like a plant that hasn't sunk its roots very deep. He believes it needs a lot of pruning."

Distorted View: Many of the bishops are perplexed by the pope's qualms about the American church. Some think that John Paul II has been unduly influenced by right-wing American groups that pepper the Roman Curia with wild tales of doctrinal

deviation. Others suspect that the tradition-bound Curia distrusts the American style of Catholicism, which encourages consultation with the faithful, tolerates public dissent and revels in theological pluralism. These bishops worry that the pope's roots in Poland, where a disciplined Catholic church is historically an antidote to communism, has distorted his perception of Catholicism's problems—and opportunities—in democratic societies.

In his major addresses to the visiting U.S. prelates, the pope laid the burden of the new discipline squarely on them, much as a commanding general issues battle orders to his brigadiers. All bishops, he declared, are to withdraw support from "any individuals or groups who . . . promise the ordination of women." He urged them to exert greater direction over the men and women in religious orders in their dioceses, even though most orders are canonically independent of episcopal control. And he insisted repeatedly, without offering them any fresh arguments, that bishops must be bolder in condemning contraception—leading Bishop Francis Gossman of Raleigh to wonder rhetorically, "What does that do for me in eastern North Carolina?" But in private conversations with the bishops, the pope did show a willingness to listen. And after a more conciliatory address, he wryly acknowledged his own rhetorical toughness: "Today I was not so . . ." he said to a group of bishops, pounding his right fist into his left hand to finish the sentence.

For all his personal charm and powers of persuasion, the pope failed to convince

many bishops that his hard line will work with American Catholics—especially the nation's increasingly assertive nuns. The bishops have chosen to interpret the pope's stand against female ordination as not prohibiting a mid-November meeting with Catholic women leaders, including groups that promote women as priests. "I told the pope how proud I am of our religious women," says Bishop Michael McAuliffe of Jefferson City, Mo., who helped arrange next month's meeting. "The Holy Father has had no experience with women religious who are theologians or who go out into the community," he believes. Instead, the bishop feels, the pope's view of nuns is informed only by his East European background where their roles are limited to menial jobs "or maybe cooks." In any event, few U.S. bishops welcome the prospect of having to exert greater control over religious orders. "I do not want to become the superior of all the women religious in my diocese," says Weakland, who served four years as archabbot of the world's Benedictine monks and nuns. "Or the men either."

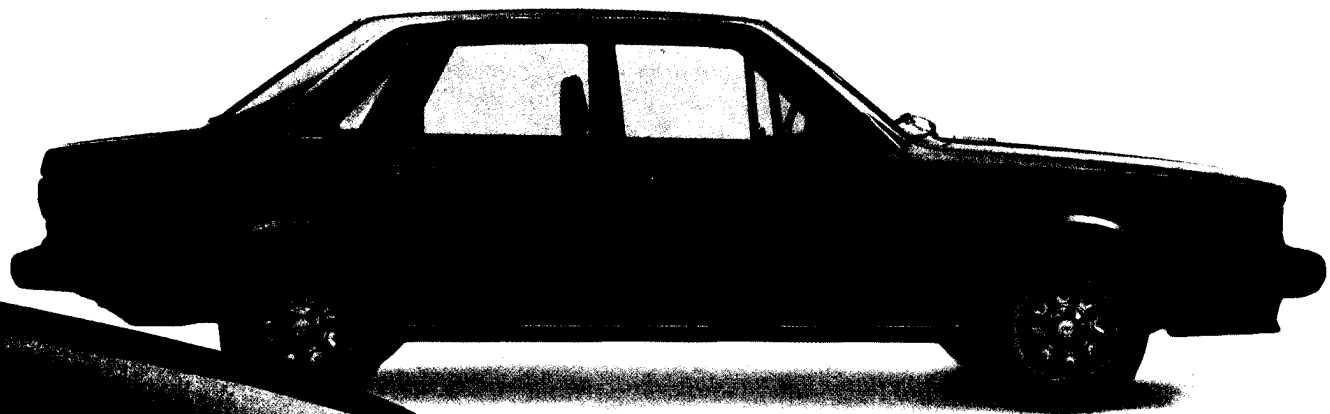
Privately, many American bishops are angry that the pope has singled out their church for special criticism and scrutiny. By almost any standard, they argue, Americans are more zealous in their faith than Western European Catholics—even Poland has more abortions than live births. "The Holy Father's idea of secularism and materialism in the United States is stronger than we perceive it," says Gossman.

Hidden Aims? The pope is concerned by the dwindling numbers in American religious orders, and the studies he has ordered are designed to correct the problem. But many of the priests, nuns and educators under scrutiny suspect the Vatican of hidden aims. For instance, officials at Mundelein Seminary in Chicago earlier this year discovered that the Vatican would like to eliminate the American practice of allowing lay men and women as well as nuns to study and teach at Catholic seminaries.

The Vatican's guidelines for the study of religious orders are especially worrisome to activist American nuns. They not only invite bishops to determine how religious women are to conduct their ministries but also what they may wear and where they may live. "If the pope wants nuns to be obedient, good little sisters the way they used to be, well, there's just no way," declares Sister Maureen Fiedler, a member of the core committee of the Women's Ordination Conference. More moderate nuns and priests believe the pope's examination of the U.S. church may actually prove to be a blessing. At least it offers the U.S. bishops a rare opportunity to demonstrate that there is more virtue in Catholicism, American style, than the pope has been led to believe.

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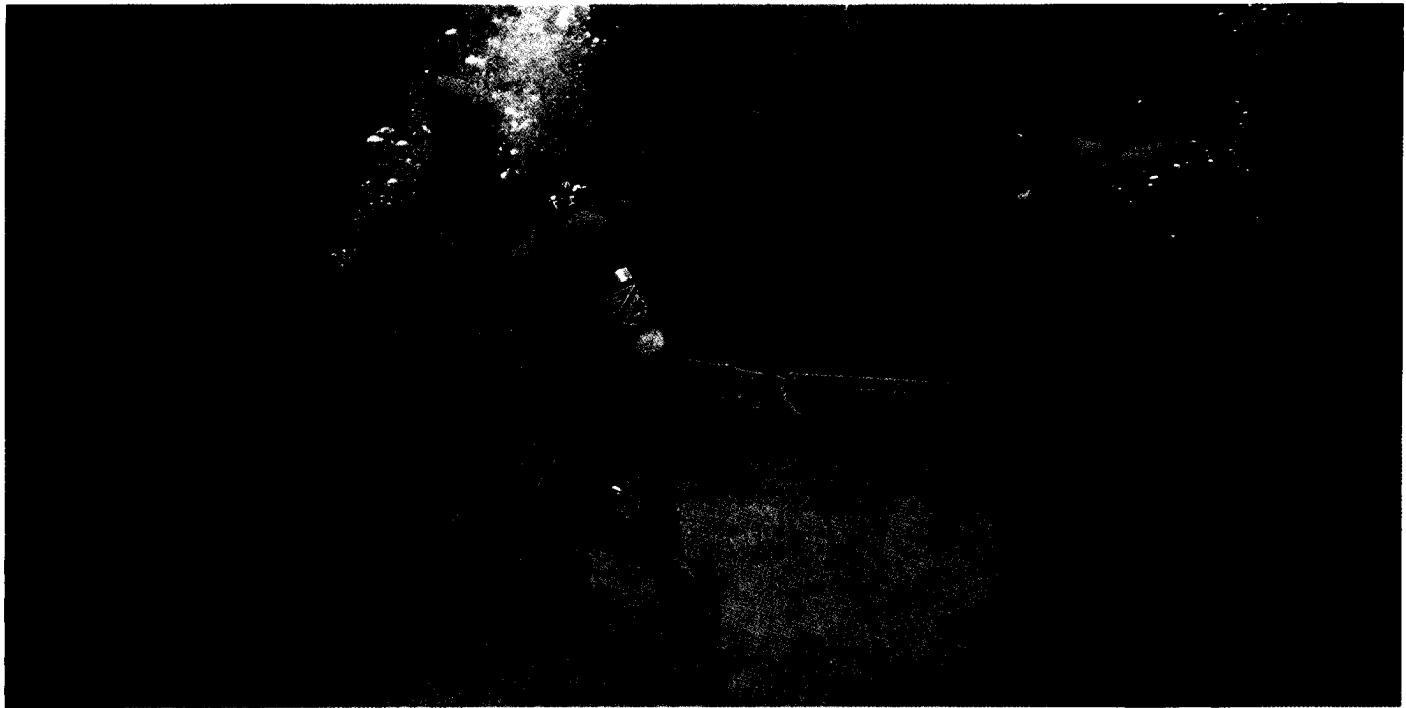
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D. Denton—Institute of Nautical Archaeology

Preparing to raise cannon found in 16th-century ship sunk in the Caribbean: Museumsful of treasures in watery graves

SCIENCE

Down to the Past in Ships

The flashes of lightning were incessant, and nearly blinded me . . . the schooner was filled with the shrieks and cries of the men to leeward . . . The water was pouring down the cabin companion-way like a sluice . . .

This account details the last moments of the Navy ship *Scourge*, a 60-foot schooner that patrolled Lake Ontario during the War of 1812. All but eight crewmen were carried to the bottom of the lake when a violent squall sank both the *Scourge* and its sister ship, *Hamilton*, and for more than a century the ships had no memorial except this dramatic narrative by one survivor. Then, a few years ago, archeologists looking for the wrecks peered through a remote underwater television camera and saw a dreamlike image appear through a blizzard of lake sediment. It was the goddess *Diana*, the figurehead on the *Hamilton*. The ships were perfectly preserved, with their guns and cutlasses stowed and cannonballs stacked beside cannons at the ready. "Hamilton and *Scourge* are three-dimensional blueprints of their time," says Daniel Nelson, who spearheaded the project.

No one knows how many other nautical blueprints, of different periods and different countries, lie in watery graves, because archeologists have been slow to recognize their value. That attitude is now changing. New technologies deserve much of the cred-

it: magnetometers and sonar beams pinpoint wrecks and stereophotography makes precise maps of the sites. As a result, the sea has yielded museumsful of treasures: the greatest trove of classical Greek bronze statues, the most Byzantine pottery and the largest collection of Byzantine tools ever discovered have all come from shipwrecks. As marine archeologist George Fischer puts it, "Wrecks can provide scientific and historic information that can tell us who we are and why."

The vessels speak volumes about the sailing nation's economy and technology,

Diana, Hamilton's figurehead: Ghost of 1812

National Geographic Photo



information unavailable elsewhere. Researchers from the Institute of Nautical Archaeology (INA) at Texas A&M University have been diving to an 11th-century, flat-bottomed vessel off Turkey. Known as the 'Glass Wreck,' it has become the single greatest source of medieval glass in the world, yielding amphorae, pitchers and tumblers engraved with Picassoesque lions. But the ship is also giving scientists a look at one of the first vessels designed using modern building techniques. The Greeks and Romans built ships shell first, constructing the hull one plank at a time and only later inserting ribs. That produced weak ships unsuitable for long ocean voyages, and eventually builders adopted today's rib-first design. Although no one knows when the transition occurred, the Glass Wreck shows that 11th-century merchants, at least, were using the modern ships—and therefore making long trips carrying heavy cargo. Since the modern design requires less wood and labor, it might have been initiated by some cost-conscious Byzantine entrepreneurs, suggests George Bass of the INA.

'*Odyssey*': A Bronze Age wreck being explored by INA divers, also off Turkey, could help settle the question of when Homer wrote his epics. Its copper ingots and jars date the vessel to about 1200 B.C. and identify it as Phoenician. "But the Phoenicians weren't supposed to be playing a major role in seafaring then," says Bass, which is why the "Odyssey," with its many references to Phoenician sailors, is believed to have been written around 750 B.C. If the Phoenician ship does indeed date to the Bronze Age, then the "Odyssey"

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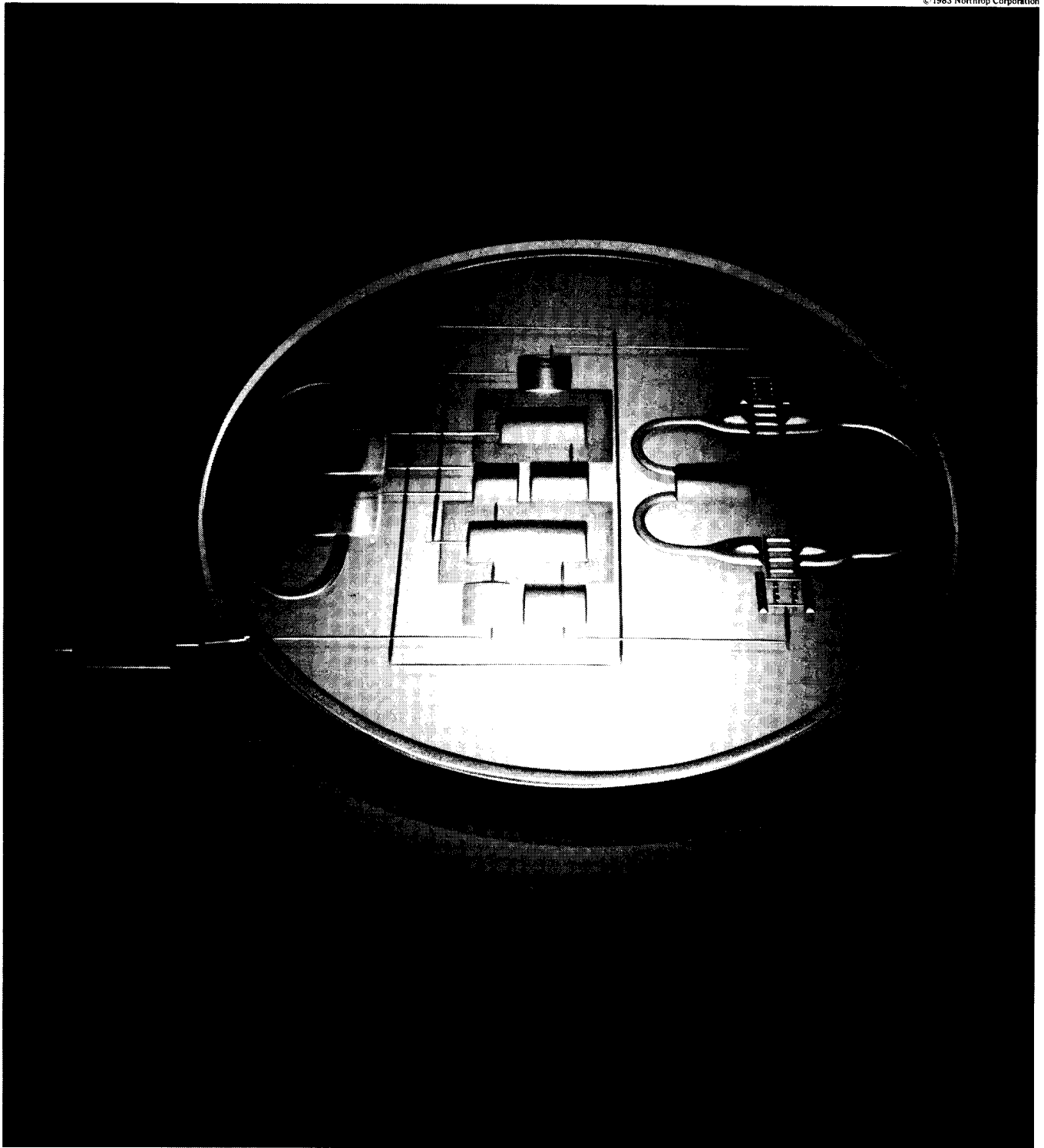
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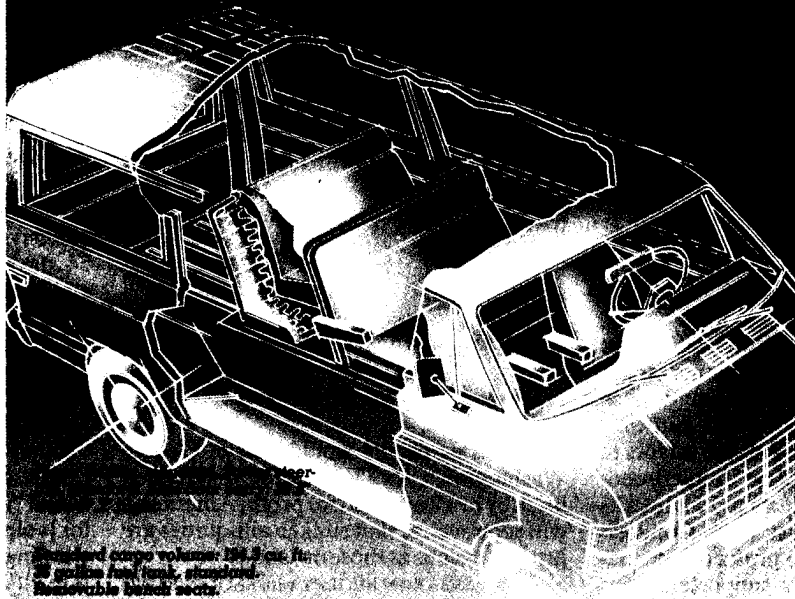
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SCIENCE

might be older than scholars thought.

Sometimes young ships are hardly better documented than ancient vessels. Such is the case with the Civil War craft Monitor. One of the earliest ironclads and the first gunboat with a revolving turret, the Monitor bested the Confederate ironclad Merrimack in 1862—but it proved no match for the Atlantic's gales and sank in a storm later that year. Its anchor was brought to the surface this summer, raising hopes that the revolving turret could be recovered, too, and help solve the mystery of at least part of the Monitor's design. "The Monitor blueprints aren't 100 percent accurate," explains William Still, chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Archaeology in North Carolina. "[Designer John] Ericsson would change things on the spot and never record [them]."

Unfortunately, wrecks are favorite prey for commercial salvors who strip sunken ships clean and sell the relics for profit. Most archeologists have no complaints about sports divers visiting wrecks and even scooping up a stray coin or two, but they liken the activities of professional salvors to "piranhas on a carcass," as John Broadwater of the Virginia Historical Landmarks Commission puts it. Last week Congress held hearings on a bill to protect these marine treasures. The bill's supporters hope



Donald A. Frey—Institute of Nautical Archaeology

Fragments from the 'Glass Wreck'

that, just as people would not let George Washington's Mt. Vernon be dismantled brick by brick and sold for profit, Americans will soon realize that sunken antiquities are just as precious as those on land.

SHARON BEGLEY with MARY BRUNO

Rodents Offer a Clue To Love Canal Safety

In the seven years since poisonous chemicals were discovered beneath Love Canal, that New York community has become synonymous with toxic dumps. Yet because studies of everything from the residents' chromosomes to their mental health have failed to settle the question of what threat the substances pose, scientists are turning to animals to provide some of the answers. Researchers led by John Christian of the State University of New York at Binghamton have investigated Love Canal's voles, rodents that look like stocky rats. Writing in *Natural History* magazine, Christian reports that voles a mile from the canal lived 100 days into adulthood compared to only 54 days for those nearest the dump. In addition, voles nearest the contaminated area showed signs of liver damage, hinting that toxic chemicals interfered with that organ's ability to function.

As Christian notes, "To summarize our findings is easy; to interpret them is more difficult." He is cautious about applying the results to humans, saying only that Love Canal "does not seem to be a healthful place for [voles]." If nothing else, the voles act as a warning against resettling Love Canal before all of the evidence is in.

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BOOKS



Armstrong (center, rear) with King Oliver's band in the '20s: Sublime swing and corny jive

Genius Blended With Ham

Louis Armstrong. By James Lincoln Collier. 383 pages. Oxford. \$19.95.

He was born in a cabin near the brothels of Storyville, in New Orleans's famous tenderloin district. He became an American landmark—the Mount Rushmore of jazz, gawked at by throngs eager to see a monument to the mythic past. The art of Louis Armstrong lives on, in hundreds of recordings made between 1923 and his death in 1971. Relatively few Americans, however, are familiar with the giddy stop-time trumpet chorus on his 1927 "Potato Head Blues" or the breathtaking cadenza that opens his 1928 masterpiece "West End Blues." They know him instead as the happy-go-lucky, gravel-voiced minstrel who shucked and jived his way through cornball hits like "Hello Dolly!"

Who was this innovator and entertainer, this peculiar blend of creative genius and hammy clown? Given the scarcity of sources for Armstrong's early life and the intense privacy of the man himself, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to answer that question. But James Lincoln Collier, the author of "The Making of Jazz," makes a laudable try, in part by tapping such fresh sources as the jazz oral-history archives at Rutgers and Tulane.

'Dippermouth': Armstrong was almost certainly not born on July 4, 1900, as he claimed—Collier guesses a birth date some time in 1898. But he did grow up in a rundown area of "shotgun houses—so-called because you could fire a shotgun in the front door and the shot could go out the back without hitting anything." Nicknamed "Dippermouth" for his wide grin,

Armstrong learned singing in a street-corner quartet, cornet in the brass band of New Orleans's Colored Waifs' Home and "jazz" with King Oliver, one of the reigning monarchs of the new music.

Armstrong became internationally renowned as the first jazz virtuoso. Starting from the peg-leg polyphony of the classic New Orleans style, he forged new standards of weightless rhythm and bravura solo improvisation. Yet he never saw himself as the keeper of any flame. Throughout the '20s, while he was making jazz history with his path-breaking "Hot Five" recordings, he cheerfully labored in New York and Chica-

'Satchmo' in 1956: Jazz with a smile

Bettmann Archive



go cabarets, theaters and ballrooms, playing show music and peppy dance tunes. One virtue of Collier's book is its evocation of this gin-soaked, dance-crazed, utterly commercial world. In the '30s and after, when Armstrong dismayed jazz purists by recording dozens of saccharine ballads and Step'n Fetchit "coon songs," he was simply doing what he had always done: entertaining a crowd. Applause, he believed, was the best barometer of success.

Pothead: Collier's book is stuffed with fascinating lore. Impresarios with gangland connections briefly controlled Armstrong's career. The nickname "Satchmo" came from a 1932 tour of Britain: "As part of his act Armstrong frequently exhorted himself as 'Satchelmouth.' A Melody Maker editor, unfamiliar with the Southern accent, heard this as 'Satchmo,' and thus the famous name was born." Armstrong, we learn, detested having his first name pronounced as "Louie." He was also a lifelong pothead and once wrote a letter to President Eisenhower urging him to legalize marijuana.

Collier never really succeeds in penetrating either Armstrong's personality or the essence of his art. To speculate that Armstrong suffered an "emotional disability" that led him to thirst for adoring audiences seems both presumptuous and patronizing. Collier's truculence toward other jazz critics also leads him to quibble over the virtues of a sublime performance like Armstrong's 1928 duet with Earl Hines, "Weather Bird," with remarks like "there is less interplay than meets the ear." As if to compensate, Collier at other points pompously inflates Armstrong's importance, calling him—roll over, Stravinsky—"the preeminent musical genius of his era."

Despite such irritating flaws, "Louis Armstrong" is the most comprehensive account yet of the man who all but invented swing. As Collier says, even the slightest of Armstrong's popular works evince a special spark: "You could warm your hands in front of Louis Armstrong," he concludes. "You could not be unhappy when he was singing."

JIM MILLER

Of Human Bondage

The Mind-Body Problem. By Rebecca Goldstein. 275 pages. Random House. \$13.95.

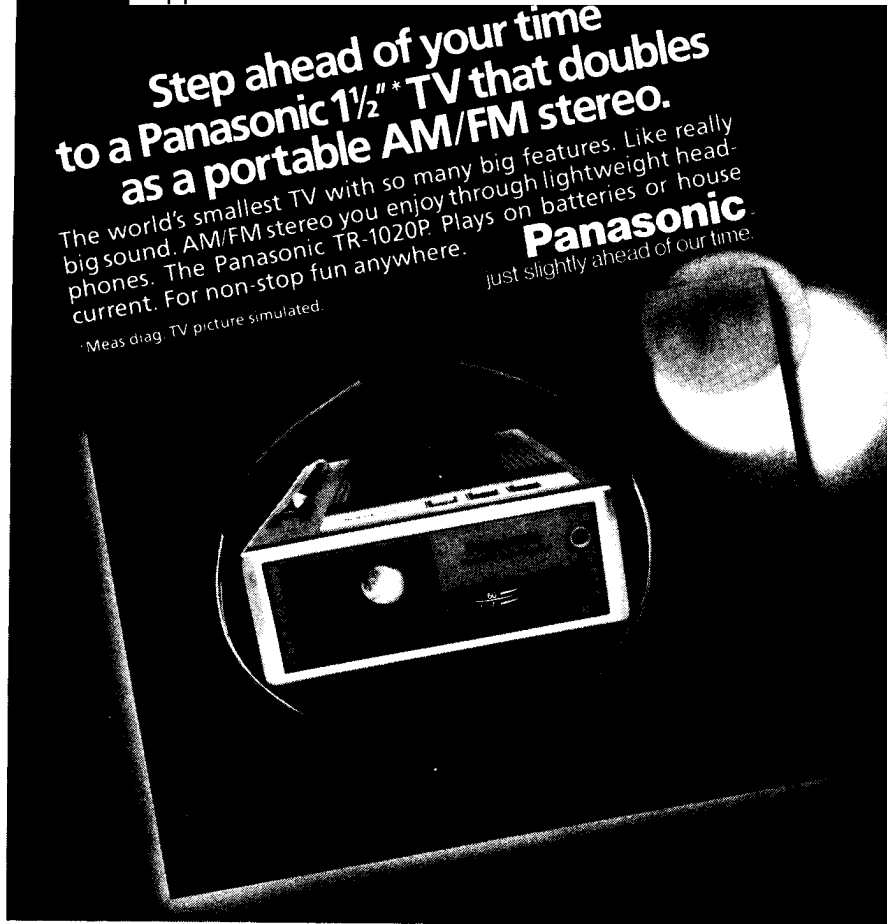
"I am concerned to distinguish my voice from that great chorus of sexual lamentation being sung by women throughout the land, in first novel (the autobiographical one, right?) after first novel," declares Renee Feuer Himmel, in Rebecca Goldstein's clever and very funny first novel. "Orgasms," Renee goes on, "—weak, few or nonexistent—are not the stuff of tragedy." Renee does distinguish herself from that chorus (or rather, Goldstein) by turning everything, from orgasms and Jewish mothers to unified field theory and logical

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positivism, into the stuff of comedy. Renee begins her story by announcing, "I'm often asked what it's like to be married to a genius." The genius in question is Noam Himmel, world-renowned mathematician who at 12 discovered and proved the existence of supernatural numbers. At 20, Noam was teaching at Harvard. At 38, he comes ("like Albert Einstein before him") to Princeton where Renee is a grad student in philosophy. She hates Princeton because (a) it's not familiar, gloomy, *Jewish* New York; (b) the philosophy department has gone linguistic and scoffs at her "metaphysical tendencies" ("a phrase like 'the meaning of life' is guaranteed to crack them up, producing the hilarity of preschoolers at bathroom words"), and (c) she feels the lack of what Noam has in spades—"objective proof of one's own intellectual merit."

Royalty: Instead of working on her thesis on the mind-body problem, Renee has been seducing her way across campus and thinking about what she calls "the mattering map," which locates a person by what matters most to him (or her)—food, music, fitness, beauty ("contempt for the unfit is stronger, I think, than disdain for the plain"). What matters to Renee, naturally, is intelligence. "The problem with you," says her best friend, "is that you think the male sexual organ is the brain." Another thing that matters to Renee is to matter to somebody who matters—i.e., a genius . . . intellectual royalty . . . Noam Himmel.

They marry—a marriage not made in heaven—and soon the old mind-body problem is not a thesis topic but a painful reality. Beneath the elegant (and at times abstruse) intellectual play on the surface of her novel, Goldstein is up to something serious here, about men and women, sex and illusions, a Messianic yearning for something to sanctify daily life and in-eradicable human separateness. Halfway through the novel, the answer to the question about what it's like to be married to a genius is: "hellishly lonely." By the end the answer, and the marriage, have changed—and Renee has given up trying to find a unified theory to account for the desires of both sexes. She doesn't solve the mind-body problem that Schopenhauer called the "world-knot," but she holds it up entertainingly to the light.

JEAN STROUSE

The Great Impostor

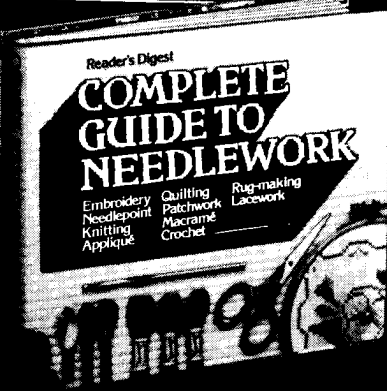
The Return of Martin Guerre. By Natalie Zemon Davis. 162 pages. Harvard. \$15.

The story of Martin Guerre, as Jean de Coras, one of the first to tell it, wrote in 1561, contains "an argument so beautiful, so delectable, and so monstrously strange" that it should entertain its reader and distract him from private cares. That the tale also raised profound questions about law, truth, marriage, sex, religion and identity was well known to Coras, for he had just presided over the trial of the man who false-

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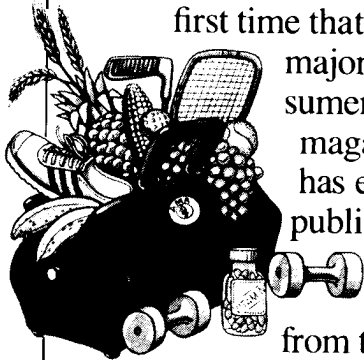
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Martin Guerre's dramatic return: A 1568 depiction of the famous trial

ly claimed to be Martin Guerre, and had sentenced him to death. The facts will be familiar to all who've seen the recent film "The Return of Martin Guerre." In the 1540s, a rich peasant in Languedoc left his wife, son and property and disappeared for years. Then he came back—apparently—and lived happily with his wife for three or four years, until she claimed she had been tricked by an impostor and brought him to trial. The man had almost convinced the court that he *was* Martin Guerre, when the real Martin Guerre turned up (with a wooden leg), and the "impostor" was hanged.

Princeton historian Natalie Zemon Davis, who was a consultant on the film, now gives the fullest account to date of this extraordinary tale. She has constructed a fine piece of social history, a look into the lives of 16th-century peasants who left no records because they could neither read nor write.

Martin Guerre's father was a Basque who moved his whole family east to the village of Artigat (a three-week walk) in 1527. By 1538 the Guerres were so well established that they had contracted for Martin, 13, to marry Bertrande de Rols, daughter of a wealthy local family. (Bertrande later claimed to have been 9 or 10 at the time, but Davis finds that she, too, was about 14 and had started her "flowers," as menstruation was called.) A fertility potion was brought to the wedding bed, but the young couple did not consummate their marriage either that night or for the next eight years. Martin was impotent—"cast under a spell," said the villagers. An old woman finally appeared "as if from heaven" to break the spell, and Bertrande bore a son.

Martin still liked swordplay and all-male acrobatics more than he liked family life, however, and soon he committed an unpar-

donable sin: he stole grain from his father, disgracing himself, and left town. Bertrande lived on "virtuously and honorably" with her son for several years, neither wife nor widow, not free (according to a 12th-century edict) to remarry without sure proof of her husband's death.

Then one day a man appeared claiming to be Martin Guerre. He was, in fact, Arnaud du Tilh, a virile young man with a fluent tongue, a prodigious memory and hearty appetites that earned him the nickname "Pansette," "the belly." He looked a good deal like Martin Guerre and knew all about the Artigatois. Bertrande hesitated, then accepted him as her husband. Davis speculates that the strong-willed Bertrande would not have been easily fooled, that once she took him to her bed she must have known the truth ("as any wife of Artigat would have agreed, there is no mistaking 'the touch of the man on the woman'"). That she conspired to help him become her husband, either tacitly or explicitly, seems very likely: they lived together happily, and she bore him two daughters. Only years later, when others seemed likely to unmask him and tarnish her honor, did she take action—and even then reluctantly—against the "new" Martin Guerre.

Actor: Davis gives much more dimension and background to the story than the film was able to do—demonstrating, for instance, how Pansette could have "learned" the role of Martin Guerre; the likelihood that he and Bertrande were Protestants in a Roman Catholic land; the sympathies felt by the uxorious, Protestant Judge Coras for this dazzling actor. Bertrande remains essentially mysterious, but it seems clear that she and Pansette loved each other, while she and Martin did not. In Coras's version, the



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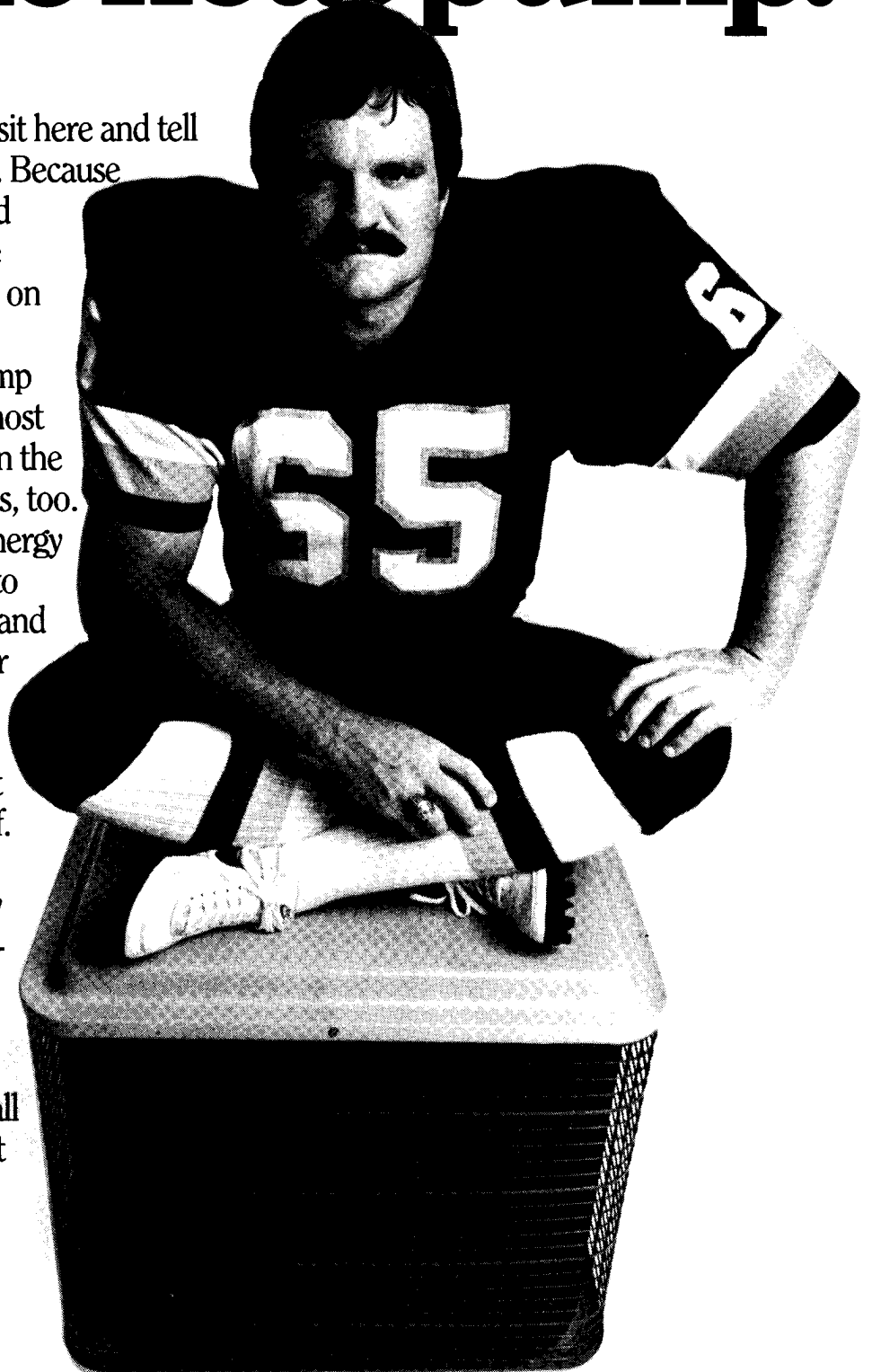
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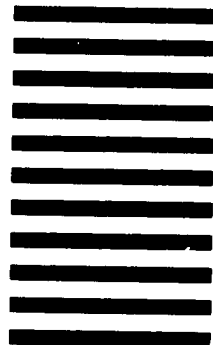


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tragedy lies less in the imposture than in the unmasking. Davis observes that the story poses the problem of *invention* to the historian "as surely as it was posed to the wife of Martin Guerre"—and she concludes: "I think I have uncovered the true face of the past—or has Pansette done it again?"

J. S.

The Hound of History

Fools of Fortune. By William Trevor. 239 pages. Viking. \$13.95. **The Stories of William Trevor.** 799 pages. Penguin. \$8.95.

The past weighs heavily on William Trevor's recent stories. It weighs on the stories themselves, which are distinctively traditional in style and in their concern for narrative, character and the texture of a particular place. More important, it weighs on the characters as well. Trevor's great theme is that of the hound of history running alongside his protagonists, leaping and clawing at their throats. Time and again, his



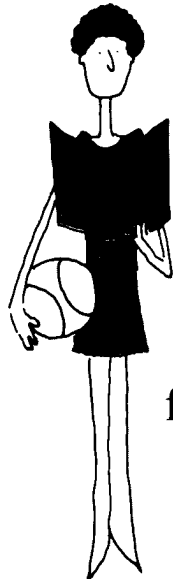
Mark Gerson

Trevor: Tales of self-inflicted suffering

stories involve a disaster, remote in time or place, that continues its destructive work. Trevor can be light and wryly funny, particularly in his early work, but his later tales have become darkened with psychological pain, with people becoming unhinged in one way or another. Lonely, fixed in their responses, using others' lives for their own needs, they prove adept at self-inflicted suffering. Like the great Victorians, Trevor suggests that it is necessary, even moral, for his characters to change their lives in ways that will bring them to grief.

The "fools of fortune" in Trevor's fine novel are just such people: men and women beaten by life, maimed by their need to repeat the violence of the past. The story involves a Protestant Irish family, prosperous mill owners and proprietors of a substantial estate outside Cork. Willie Quin-ton, who tells most of the story, is eight in 1918. With the end of the war, a benevolent bourgeois placidity informs the young boy's

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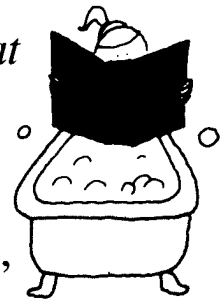


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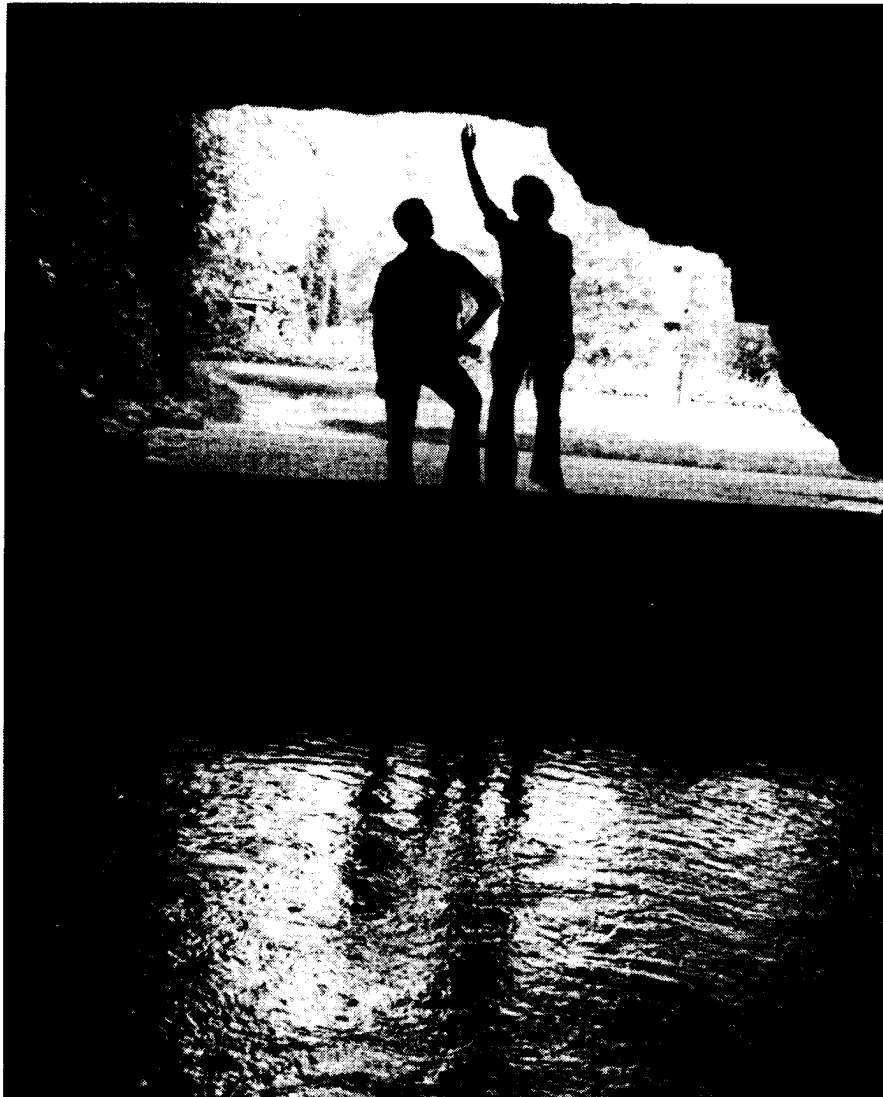
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days. History intrudes, however, when England's military terrorists, the Black and Tans, appear in the neighborhood and Michael Collins, the revolutionary leader, pays a call to solicit support from Willie's father. Soon after, the mutilated body of a Quinton employee is found hanging from a tree on Quinton land. The man had been an informer for the English and his death must be avenged. Consequently, the Black and Tans take it upon themselves one night to burn the Quinton estate. Willie's father, two sisters and the cook are killed in the flames; two gardeners are shot on the grounds. Only Willie, his mother and two retainers escape.

Trevor brings us adroitly to this point: a long, lazy overture punctured by drumbeats and then the atrocity, rung in so abruptly that the reader, like Willie, must wait a while to understand what happened. The story's second movement is an adagio: Willie in retreat at two of those squalid schools that owe their immortality to Anglo-Irish authors; Willie's mother withdrawing from life, a bottle the only company she wants. Then the andante: Willie's cousin, one of England's impoverished gentry, arrives. It's Marianne's conceit that on the map "Ireland and England seemed like lovers." Willie's experience, needless to say, is different, but nonetheless the two fall in love. From their only union springs a child. You must take it on faith that Trevor's story is not deteriorating by now. I won't say more about the plot, except that in the long fourth movement, elegiac in tone, the lovers are separated and, in the briefest of codas, reunited.

Revelation: Does all this sound impossibly romantic? It isn't, really. Trevor, I suspect, could scrape the romanticism from the libretto of a Puccini opera. Like Hardy, Trevor is a determinist. His characters don't choose their own fate in a romantic way; it's laid on them by the past. "Because of the distant past they would die friendless. It was worse than being murdered in their beds." Such is the cheerless end of one of Trevor's short stories. Many of them end with a similar shudder, in a moment of awful revelation. The Penguin collection, containing all five volumes of Trevor's stories, instantly becomes the literary bargain of the year. It's interesting to read, or re-read, them in conjunction with his new novel. Three of the best, collected under the title "Matilda's England," bear an interesting resemblance—no more—to "Fools of Fortune." The stories have to do with the decline of English country life after World War I. Matilda grows up determined to rebuild a moldering manor house that once dominated a grand estate. When she is able to realize her dream, she becomes alienated and cruel. As a child, she had been told that "there are casualties in wars, thousands of miles from where the fighting is." Willie would have recognized her instantly.

PETER S. PRESCOTT

NEWSMAKERS



Stephen R. Brown

Nixon with Kissinger: An old team

Time seemed to warp last week when former President **Richard Nixon** and ex-Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger** stood before a battery of microphones in Washington to brief reporters on a sensitive foreign-policy issue. Nixon had just finished testifying before Kissinger's National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, which will tour the troubled region next week. As Nixon sees it, Latin America can achieve democratic stability only through a combination of U.S. military aid and an economic-recovery program he compared to the Marshall plan. Nixon expounds these and other thoughts in a book titled "Real Peace: A Strategy for the West" that he recently had privately printed and distributed to more than 100 government officials, journalists and friends. The book will be pub-

lished by Little, Brown & Co. in January, but according to Nixon's personal aide, Nicholas Ruwe, the former president couldn't wait that long to air his views.

"I'm not sure people will want to see this movie," says Academy Award-winning actress **Meryl Streep**, 34, of her latest film, "Silkwood," opening in major cities on Dec. 14. In it she plays Karen Silkwood, the Oklahoma plutonium-plant worker who died at 28 in a still mysterious car accident in 1974, en route to meet a reporter to whom, she had said, she would give evidence of the allegedly negligent practices of her employer, Kerr-McGee. The film, which costars **Cher** and **Kurt Russell**, will be seen as a brief against nuclear power, says Streep, "and people may stay away from something that smells like a message." Those who do go to the movie will see a different Streep, who is giving her first screen portrayal of a historical figure. She made herself over, to the point of adopting an entirely new posture and regional dialect, to match those of her subject.

Pro basketball may be tightening its purse strings, but not when it comes to **Larry Bird**. Even as the NBA prepares for new salary guidelines—which will put a cap on the total amount that a team can spend for its players—the 6-foot-9 Boston Celtics star has signed a new seven-year, \$14 million contract that will make him the highest paid player in the sport. Bird, who called the deal "satisfying," seems unaffected by the fuss. "I just go out and try to do my best," he said. "Just because I have a few more dollars in my pocket doesn't mean I'm better than somebody else."



Ira Wyman

Bird: A new contract

It was, as the lyrics to the show's final song go, "one singular sensation." Last week "**A Chorus Line**," the backstage musical that has won nine Tony awards and a Pulitzer



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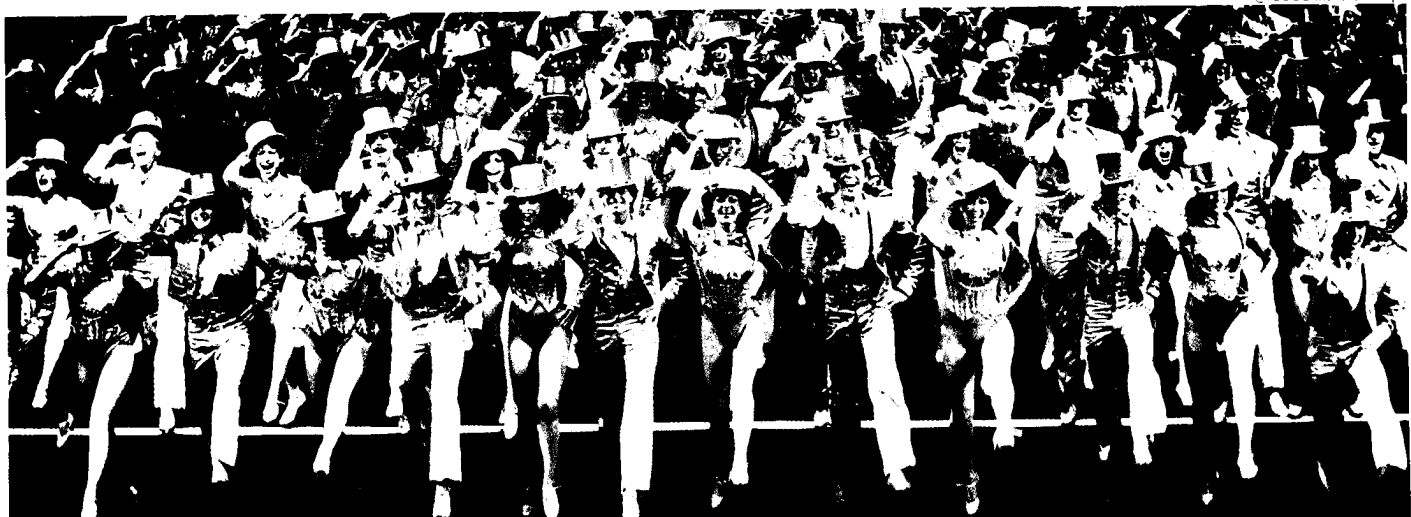
Streep as Silkwood: A new posture

Prize, high-stepped its way into the record books as the longest-running show in Broadway history. For the 3,389th performance, which surpassed the mark set by "Grease," director **Michael Bennett** rounded up 332 dancers from the original and current Broadway casts, as well as national and foreign touring companies, and wedged them onstage for a finale that had the celebrity-studded audience cheering wildly. **Marvin Hamlisch**, who composed the music, said that Bennett has already launched plans for the inevitable day—"20 or 30 years" down the road—when "A Chorus Line" kicks its last. For that final performance, he teased, "Michael's going to invite everyone that's ever seen the show."

EILEEN KEERDOJA and MARY MURPHY

Glittery finale of 'A Chorus Line': 3,389 performances and 332 dancers add up to 'one singular sensation'

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TELEVISION

America's First Television War

Buddhist monks burn themselves to death in the streets, the first American combat troops wade ashore at Da Nang, Marines ignite huts with Zippo lighters, jets drop napalm, and helicopters swoop in to evacuate wounded soldiers amid the chaos of combat. Back home the antiwar demonstrations grow larger, two American presidents are driven from office, and America seems to be at war with itself. Then peace is at hand, the POW's rush into their families' arms, and at the end one last helicopter escapes from the crowded roof of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon.

The drama unfolds on the extraordinary 13-part PBS series, "Vietnam: A Television History," which begins this week. The series, a joint production of PBS affiliate WGBH in Boston, Britain's Central Independent Television and France's Antenne 2, cost \$4.6 million and took a team led by executive producer Richard Ellison and principal reporter Stanley Karnow (whose new book, "Vietnam: A History," is a valuable companion to the series) six years to complete.

Vietnam was the first television war, and seen again its images are as powerful as when they first appeared on the screen. It is like watching a familiar Shakespearean play, where the audience wishes Macbeth would not pick up the fateful dagger but knows with foreboding that he will. The series begins by tracing the roots of the war back into the Vietnamese's long struggle for independence from the Chinese, Japanese and French. Then it follows the decisions of every American president since Franklin Roosevelt that led to the commitment of half a million American troops.

Riveting: The story is told by weaving remarkable historical footage with a dispassionate narrative and the recollections of policymakers and ordinary soldiers on both sides. As an account of the steps that led America into Vietnam, the series is worthy and important. But it does more: it brings the war to life in the experience of the men who fought it, and when it does that it is television at its most riveting and powerful.

In one extraordinary sequence, several Americans remember an assault on a heavily defended village. They were pinned down, in rain and 100-degree heat, for 36 hours without food, water or sleep. "I'd watch guys lay there and cry for their mothers all night long," one Marine recalled. "Dyin', slowly dyin' . . . askin' to be shot because they can't take it no more. . . . You're a bundle of nerves and all you can do is wait, wait, wait. . . ." Of 30 Marines, 11 were left when they finally assaulted the

village. As was so typical after such an encounter, the enemy fighters had fled, and only old women and children remained.

And there the incident ended—a cataclysmic experience in the lives of a handful of Marines, the sort that defined the frustrations of the war. But it is the genius of this series that it returns to Vietnam and finds villagers who were there during that battle and remember it—and the Marines—quite differently. Time and again, we witness what we could not know during the war—the experience of the other side.



Donald McCullin—Magnum

Huế, 1968: TV's reality was immediate and powerful

The North Vietnamese soldiers interviewed did not have a particularly high opinion of the American fighting man, despite the hundreds of thousands of casualties they suffered at the Americans' hands. The Americans "did not fight very well," one recalled. "They moved very slowly and really were not that mobile." The NVA strategy was simple. Avoid the Americans until their own troops were ready to fight, and then fight at close range ("cling to their belts"). In one compelling scene, an NVA veteran looks calmly into the camera and recounts how "I killed three Americans. . . . We engaged them in close combat and I killed them with my bayonet."

At a certain point television became more important than the war itself. That point was the Tet offensive of 1968. In reality the

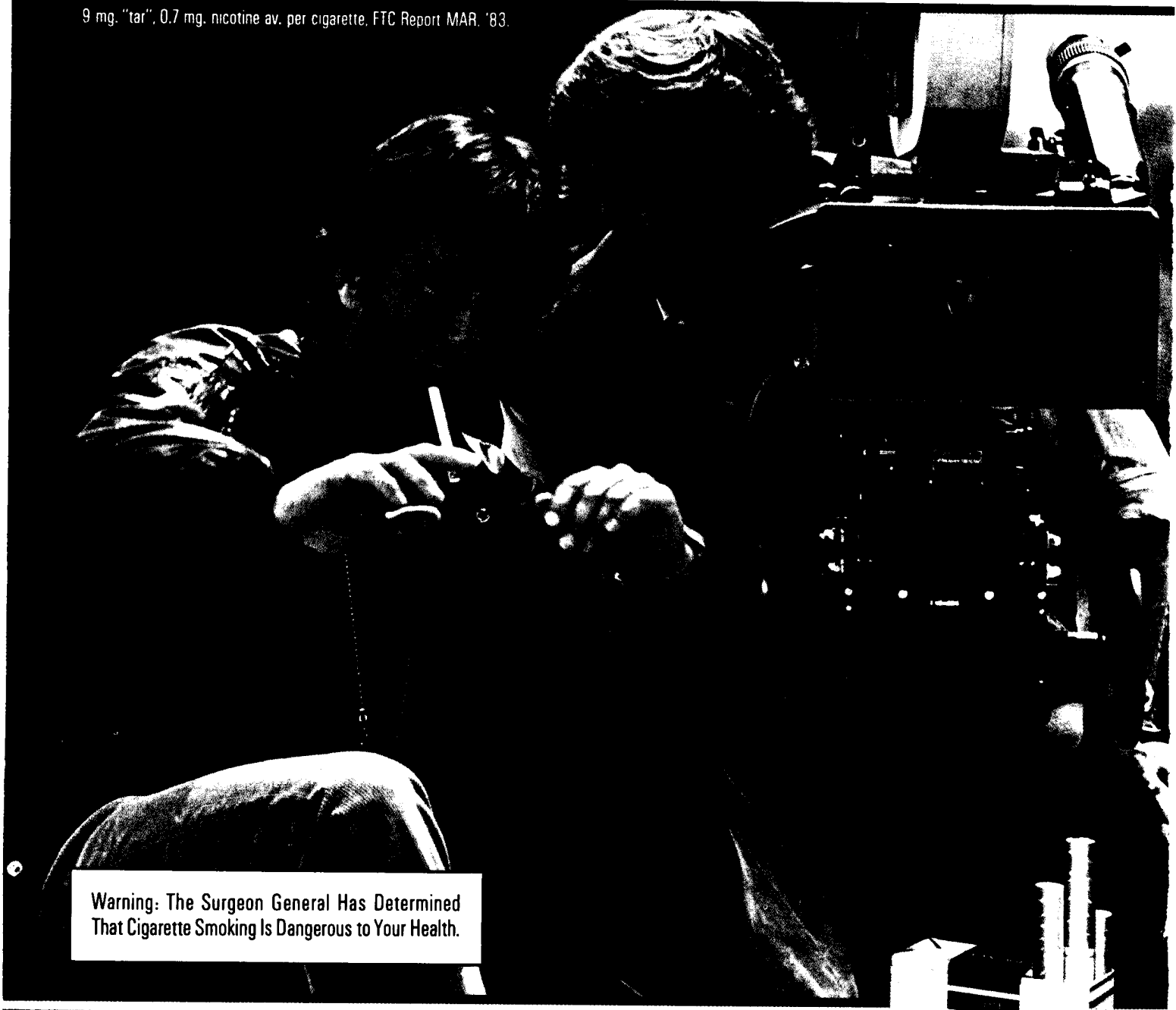
Tet offensive was such a crushing defeat for the Viet Cong that they were never again an effective fighting force. It took the North Vietnamese, who had expected the South Vietnamese to rise up in their support, years to recover the military initiative. The reality television conveyed, however, was the dramatic contrast between the official optimism about the war and the shocking scenes of battle in Huế and at the U.S. Embassy in Saigon. The Viet Cong may have been destroyed, but so was our belief that the war was almost over; instead, it suddenly seemed that it could go on forever.

The men in Lyndon Johnson's administration watched television just like the rest of America. In one of the series' most telling episodes, Johnson aide Harry McPherson (who, with press secretary George Christian and the new Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, became a nest of self-styled "secret doves" within the administration) recounts how Washington had been receiving a stream of optimistic cables from the American command, but that at the same time "American television was showing a different sight. That sense of awfulness, the endlessness of war . . . and the terrible sight of [Col. Nguyen Ngoc] Loan raising his revolver to the head of a captured Viet Cong and killing him. They were awful contradictions—the cables on the one side, the television on the other. It was very disturbing."

Hawk: Ironically, this television series helps correct some of that disparity between reality and television that permeated the war. Lyndon Johnson, who then appeared to be a defiant hawk, emerges as a more sympathetic character, haunted by the war and trying in vain to save his Great Society from conservatives who were against his pulling out of Vietnam and liberals who opposed his widening the war. Of all the participants, the leaders of the antiwar movement best understood how to use the power of television. And because they made good television, they dominate the home-front sections of the series. But they seem less important now, and their status as part of a privileged student class appears smug and hypocritical. In contrast, Americans who supported the war come across as inarticulate and uncomfortable on the screen. They did not understand how to make good television, so we see very little of them.

For the men who fought in Vietnam, the series demonstrates, being for or against the war was irrelevant; the point was to do one's duty and get home in one piece. One Marine remembers that "I knew when I went to Vietnam that I had to be there for 395 days, and if I was still alive when I got to the end of those 395 days, I could go home and forget the whole thing." In the middle of the terrible battle for Huế in 1968, a Marine, crouching behind a wall under heavy fire, pauses while reloading his rifle, turns to the camera, and says, "[You] just hope you can stay alive, day to day, everybody just

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wants to go back home and go to school."

Those were not the sentiments of the North Vietnamese and their Viet Cong allies in the South. The camera records the reunion of a woman with her mother after the North Vietnamese took Da Nang in 1975. The woman had left Da Nang to fight with the North Vietnamese and had not seen her mother for 20 years, since before most of the Americans who fought in Vietnam were born. An American POW tells, with moving embarrassment, how he cracked under torture; his only defense had been his pride as "an American military man." And then a Viet Cong woman recounts how, under similar circumstances, she refused to talk because she was so outraged for her country.

Tenacity: The North Vietnamese had one simple goal: the unification of Vietnam under their control. To that end they would endure decades of war, immense suffering, terrible destruction, and would finally betray their Viet Cong allies—would do anything, in fact, that was necessary. We underestimated their fanatic tenacity, and that failure of understanding lay at the root of all our strategic mistakes, from the belief that a limited war combined with massive bombing would force the North Vietnamese to their knees, to the ill-fated efforts to rely on negotiations or aid. For example, Bill Moyers recalls that early in the American troop buildup Johnson decided to tempt the North Vietnamese with the offer of a TVA-style reclamation project for the Mekong River. According to Moyers, Johnson said: "Old Ho can't turn that down." "You see," Moyers then explains, "if Ho Chi Minh had been George Meany, Lyndon Johnson would have had a deal."

He wasn't anything like George Meany. As Ho Chi Minh put it himself, "Our people are determined to fight on. We will endure all sacrifice for 10 years, 20 years or longer, until complete victory." In the words of Ho's military commander, Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, "The destruction is not important. The deaths—1 million Vietnamese deaths—not important." The North Vietnamese knew us far better than we knew them. They knew that an open society would never tolerate such losses for ill-perceived ends, and they most likely came to know that television was one of the reasons why. One wonders if any free country could sustain a war, much less a controversial one, with the terrible costs being brought home so palpably every night of the week.

But the fact that we have this series, that we have the opportunity to see it, decide for ourselves, and act on that decision as a democracy, is still of greater importance than the conquest of South Vietnam by the North Vietnamese, whose leaders were never troubled that their regimented population might have opposed the war had they been able to watch it on television. Vietnam was our first defeat, but we lost, like the British in India, less because of our weaknesses than because of our strengths.

WILLIAM BROYLES JR.

MOVIES

Back in the Bond Business

Sean Connery is back and James Bond has got him. Or is it the other way around? No matter who's got whom, the return of the original 007 in *Never Say Never Again* promised a bracing dose of reality for the longest and most successful major movie series of all time. The word was that Connery, sans toupee, was going to play Ian Fleming's secret agent as a middle-aged superstud in need of restudding. And the movie does start breezily like that, as Bond (with toupee) goes through a one-man



David Steen—Sygma

Connery and Carrera: Happy homicide

war game in which he betrays his slowing reflexes when he allows a girl to get her shiv into him. "Too much white bread and martinis," scold the brass, and off goes Bond to camp to be rejuvenated with herbal enemas, meditation and pumping iron.

Good. We look forward to Bond as the Carl Yastrzemski of the Secret Service, triumphing over time by sheer force of will. But the movie veers off into a standard Bond escapade in which he's as smoothly invincible as his successor, Roger Moore. Director Irvin Kershner handles the early part with wit and style, but he's hamstrung by Lorenzo Semple's script, which is based too much on "Thunderball." Still, there are fun passages—a crunching fistfight between Bond and a cement-skinned colossus, a

chase on a snarling, leaping motorcycle. Klaus Maria Brandauer, the brilliant Austrian star of "Mephisto," creates a diverting Bond villain who blackmails the free world with two stolen nuclear-armed cruise missiles. Newcomer Kim Basinger shows signs of being more than a Bond bimbo with her flashdance physicality and golden-eagle elegance. As the evil Fatima Blush, Barbara Carrera is delicious. Swathed in leather and furs, unwashed in bikinis, the imperiously beautiful Carrera beats up chaps, tosses venomous snakes around like Givenchy scarfs, and kills people with the joyous exuberance of Mother Nature on an angel-dust high.

Unlike Moore's posh, upper-crust Bond, Connery's has a whiff of his own working-class background. "I play the reality of the situation with as much humor as possible," says Connery. "Roger plays the humor at whatever cost to the reality." Connery and Moore have been friends for 20 years, and Connery respects Moore's more cynical approach as a "personal choice."

Secret: Looking trim and toned, the 53-year-old Connery is no mere Senior Hunk but a thinking craftsman. "In the movie Alec McCowen greets me, saying, 'I hope now we'll have some gratuitous sex and violence,' but sex isn't a matter of big bosoms and bums. The secret is good movement; how you turn with a girl is the trick. Years ago I studied with a Swedish teacher who broke acting down into weight, space, time and flow. I still use that with Bond. Everything's got to be attractive, even the villains. The whole Bond thing's got to be a pleasure trip."

Connery thinks he's taken his last such trip. He looks at his tattooed forearm and muses, "It says 'Scotland Forever' but you can't read it now. It's just a blur. Sometimes I put on my glasses, look at my hand and I say, 'Christ, look at those wrinkles.' Wearing glasses keeps shattering you with reality." Connery, so effective in non-Bond films like "The Hill," "The Man Who Would Be King" and "Robin and Marian," fiddles with the idea of appearing with his buddy Moore in a double-Bond 007 adventure. "It could be something like a 'Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Bond,'" he smiles. That, he says, would be the only thing that might lure him back into Bondage. But . . . "I was walking down Piccadilly with Kim Basinger," he says, "and we pass this guy and I suddenly turn around and it's Roger Moore, and he points at me and says, 'Sean, never say never again'."

JACK KROLL

MOVIES

Brothers in Blood

No moviemaker knows more about betrayed revolution than Andrzej Wajda, Poland's foremost director, who was forced out as head of the Polish filmmakers' association after the Jaruzelski government crushed Solidarity. Inevitably, Wajda's *Danton*, his relentlessly powerful film about the French Revolution, must be taken as a reference to the tragic situation in Poland today, with Danton, the people's hero, as Lech Walesa and Robespierre, the leader of the Reign of Terror, as General Jaruzelski. The driving, grinding rhythm of Wajda's movie is the rhythm of history itself as it perverts the aspirations of an entire people. "Danton" is a timeless film about human spoilage; Wajda grips us in a fierce, sorrowful embrace as he warns us to be vigilant about those who first embody our hopes and then betray them.

Power corrupts, and "Danton" lays bare this corruption in its central, dramatic confrontation between Danton and Robespierre. Danton is played by Gérard Depardieu as a hulking bear of a man whose love for freedom is as voluptuous as his taste for food and women. Robespierre is played by the Polish actor Wojciech Pszoniak as a creature sweating with perverse fanaticism, his clenched face like a padlock upon his soul. In a brilliant scene the two former allies confront each other over an epicurean feast that Danton has prepared. Danton sniffs and coos gluttonously over the lavish dishes, as if trying to seduce the puritanic Robespierre into the sensual joy of liberty. Robespierre sits like an icy statue; the one swift sip of wine he takes shows the terrifying suppression of his own humanity.

Robespierre, in the script by Jean-Claude Carrière based on a 1931 Polish play, represents all those leaders whose flesh becomes



Jacky Coolen—Gamma-Liaison

Depardieu: Death of a revolution

iron, who turn popular movements into bureaucracies and blood baths. Wajda dramatizes the battle between Danton and Robespierre with gripping force; he even dares to show the comic undercurrent in these two men, whose fervor has made them grotesque extremists for whom no compromise is possible. The superb cast brings to life the passions of this volcanic moment; it's notable that key roles are played by major directors like Patrice Chéreau as the journalist Desmoulin, whose paper is suppressed by Robespierre, and Roger Planchon as Fouquier, who runs the rigged trial that sends Danton to the guillotine. One of the most vivid characters is the guillotine, its angled blade glinting like a crooked smile as it plunges and plunges, drooling blood like the vampire of the revolution.

J. K.

Mental Telepathy

Imagine that someone has invented the ultimate Walkman. You put this gizmo on your head, flip on your chosen tape, and you're telepathically transported into the mind of another person: a jet pilot speeding through space, a surfer shooting the curl, someone experiencing ecstatic sex. The screenwriters of *Brainstorm* (Robert Stitzel and Philip Frank Messina, working from a story by Bruce Joel Rubin) know they're onto a good gimmick, and they've thought out all the good and ill ramifications. What if the telepathic program were a psychotic episode? What if some heinous Defense Department guys took over this invention and used it as a torture instrument? And what if one of the inventors (Louise Fletcher) were to record her own fatal heart attack so mankind could discover what—if anything—lies beyond the moment of extinction. If you are her fellow inventor (Christopher Walken), you will risk anything (including your life) to play back that ultimate journey, even when the nasty Feds are doing everything to stop you.

Under the direction of special-effects whiz Douglas Trumbull, "Brainstorm" provides lots of good cheap thrills and a juicy performance by Fletcher as a passionate scientist. But Trumbull is consistently more at home with technology than with the human drama (can Walken rescue his relationship with his wife, played by the late Natalie Wood?), and the spectacularly cosmic ending leaves too many key questions unanswered. Still, Natalie Wood fans will be glad M-G-M decided to complete "Brainstorm" after it was shut down following her death. This is hardly her finest role, but there are special moments when her distinctive poignance and spunky passion shine through. Her presence gives the film's speculations on afterlife an eerie and moving resonance.

DAVID ANSEN

TRANSITION

DIED: Leopold III, 81, former king of Belgium; after coronary-bypass surgery, in Brussels, Sept. 25. Leopold, who became king in 1934, was criticized for what many of his subjects considered an over-hasty surrender to Hitler in 1940. He returned from exile in 1950, but quickly abdicated in favor of his son, Baudouin, the present monarch.

Roscoe Drummond, 81, newspaperman; in Princeton, N.J., Sept. 30. Drummond started at The Christian Science Monitor in 1924; at its peak, his "State of the Nation" column appeared three times a week in 150 papers.

Alan Moorehead, 73, intrepid World War II correspondent and author; of a stroke in London, Sept. 29. Moorehead, who covered the war for the London Daily Express, also wrote more than a dozen biographies and histories, including two highly acclaimed

works—"The White Nile" and "The Blue Nile"—on the exploration of the river during the 19th century.

Ruth Carter Stapleton, 54, evangelist and faith healer; of pancreatic cancer, in Fayetteville, N.C., Sept. 26. A preacher since her own conversion in the 1950s, Stapleton became perhaps the best-known woman in American religion when her brother Jimmy Carter became president in 1976. Among those who claimed to have been "born again" in her presence were Carter himself and skin-magazine publisher Larry Flynt. Stapleton was the author of two books on "inner healing" and an affectionate biography of her brother Billy.

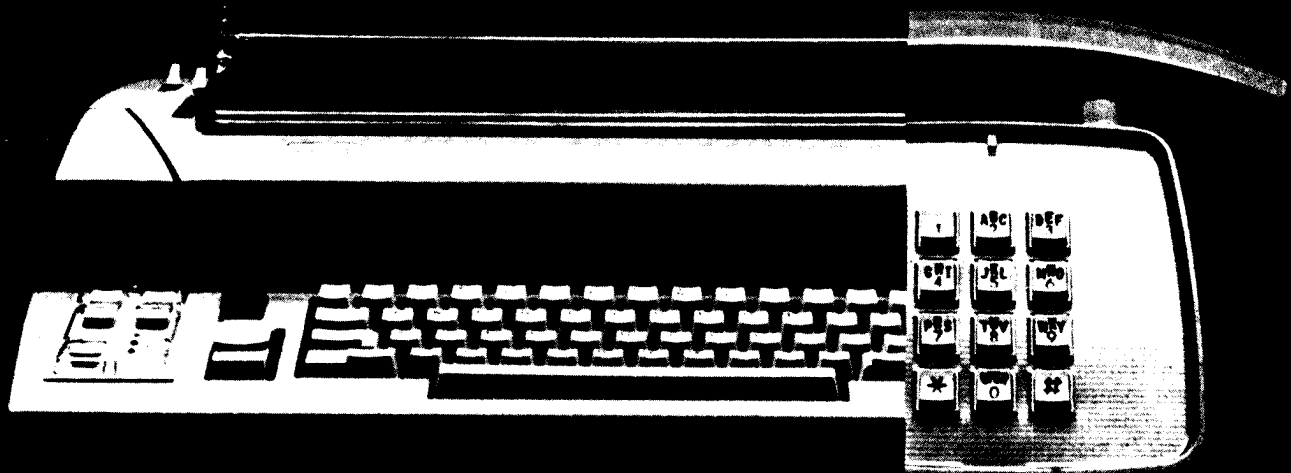
Alan David Saxon, 39, bullion dealer and financier; a suicide, in Los Angeles, Sept. 28. Saxon was the owner of Bullion Reserve of North America, a California-based precious-metals trading company that is currently under investigation by the State of New York. The death sent gold and silver prices tumbling last week on the New York precious-metals market.

Tino Rossi, 76, Corsican-born singer; of cancer, in Neuilly, France, Sept. 27. Rossi, the Bing Crosby of his country, sold more than 200 million records during a 50-year career; he had an American hit with "Vieni, Vieni," which topped U.S. charts for 28 weeks in 1938.

Ruth Stapleton

Ron Galella





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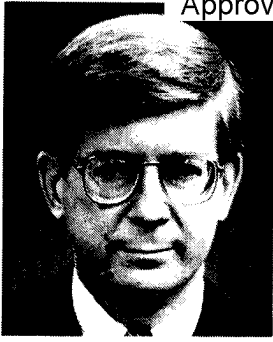
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In Defense of Nonvoting

GEORGE F. WILL

Here comes another campaign to encourage voting, alas. Last weekend ABC News and Harvard's Kennedy School of Government sponsored a symposium on "the problem of declining voter participation." Problem? As more people are nagged to the polls, the caliber of the electorate declines. The reasonable assumption about electorates is: smaller is smarter.

Voting has been declining since 1960, when almost 64 percent of those eligible voted. In 1980, when 53.9 percent voted, almost twice as many citizens stayed home as voted for Reagan. In 1982, 38 percent voted for House members. Voting has declined as impediments to voting (poll taxes, literacy tests, burdensome registration and residency requirements) have declined, as the populace has become more affluent and better educated, and as government has become more central to American life. Voting has declined as politics has become a television enterprise, delivered to even the most passive people in their living rooms.

Twenty-four-hour voting might increase turnout a bit, as might Sunday voting, if only because voting would be distributed round-the-clock, and there would be fewer discouraging lines at polls. Registration could be even easier than it is, but it is not a serious burden anywhere. In some democracies (Australia, New Zealand, Belgium) nonvoting is penalized; in others, registration is automatic; in others, registration is done by government canvass. The United States is the only major democracy where satisfying eligibility requirements is entirely up to the voter. In 1980, 29 percent of the electorate (47 million people) were not registered. In 1982 it was 36 percent (60 million). As Gary Orren of the Kennedy School notes, in this country voting has been linked to individual initiative, and even mild registration requirements are effective "filters" screening citizens on the basis of motivation.

Policy Preferences: It is assumed that higher turnouts would be bonanzas for Democrats because certain groups, such as blacks and Hispanics, are "underrepresented" in election turnouts. But Austin Ranney of the American Enterprise Institute says that the level of cynicism and the distribution of policy preferences seem to be almost the same among voters and non-

voters. A study of the groups with the lowest voting rates in 1980 (blacks, Hispanics, whites earning less than \$5,000, whites with less than high-school education, working-class white Roman Catholics) concluded that if they had voted as much as the whole electorate did, the Carter share would have increased just 1.5 percentage points.

The symposium was told that in measuring a government's legitimacy, "the criterion"—note the definite article: "the" criterion—"is how many people vote." Not how many are eligible, but how many choose to vote. That odd theory of legitimacy is related to the even odder theory that high turnouts are an index of social health. In two presidential balloting in Germany in 1932,

**In democracy,
legitimacy derives
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86.2 and 83.5 percent of the electorate voted. In 1933, 88.8 percent voted in the Assembly election swept by the Nazis. Did the high 1933 turnout make the Nazi regime especially legitimate? Were the 1932 turnouts a sign of the health of the Weimar Republic? The turnouts reflected the unhealthy stakes of politics then: elections determined which mobs ruled the streets and who went to concentration camps.

The fundamental human right is to good government. The fundamental problem of democracy is to get people to consent to that, not just to swell the flood of ballots. In democracy, legitimacy derives from consent, but nonvoting often is a form of passive consent. It often is an expression not of alienation but contentment, or at least the belief that things will be tolerable no matter who wins. People may not feel that way in Venezuela, where there are 94 percent turnouts. But the glory of our politics, as conducted by two parties with low ideological flames, is that the stakes of our elections, as they affect the day-to-day life of the average American, are agreeably low.

Besides, under the U.S. Electoral College, not voting in a presidential election often is understandable as an economy of effort. If polls make clear that the outcome in a particular state is not in doubt, the value of voting is the emotional reward. If voting is not cathartic or otherwise satisfying, people will stay at home. Might as well curl up with a good book. Casting a vote is not inherently virtuous. The quality of the infrequent act of voting depends on the constant thoughtfulness of the citizen's life.

Issues: In Morgantown, N.C., a wise 87-year-old says: "I'd be happy if nobody in the United States votes except for the people who thought about the issues and made up their minds and wanted to vote. No one else who votes is going to contribute anything but statistics, and I don't care that much for statistics." Sam Ervin, we miss you.

I favor one reform: abolition of secret ballots, preferably for everybody, but certainly for journalists. There have been times when private voting was necessary to prevent intimidation. But America is not such a place. It would be an even better place if when we went to the polls we called out our votes in clear voices, and our votes were publicly on record. That would encourage robust character and steadfast indifference to opinion. If fear of the opinions of spouses, children or neighbors would keep some people from voting, so much the better. Democracy is not for the plastic or timid.

Voting behind drawn curtains is unseemly, and voting publicly would, I assume, be a treat for journalists. They love "freedom of information," public disclosure, "openness," candor, "sunshine" laws and all that. Journalists who will bleed and die—or at least litigate—in defense of "the public's right to know" should welcome the chance to expand that right. It can include the public's right to know the political preferences of the persons who serve up the news.

A recent survey of media elites showed that 81 percent voted for McGovern in 1972 and Carter in 1976. What fun it would be reporting such voting patterns. Think of the suspense as he stepped forward at the polling place, with cameras on him, and said in that familiar voice: "I, Sam Donaldson, cast my vote for . . ." Such disclosure is a small price to pay for membership in a constitutionally protected profession.



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