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AP Daybook

1:15 a.m. The President is briefed by the U.S. military command at the U.S. NATO mission in Brussels.

1:00 a.m. The NATO session begins with a group portrait. Brussels.

5:00 a.m. NATO leaders lunch with King Albert II. Brussels.

7:30 a.m. NATO working session continues. Brussels.


10:00 a.m. The Supreme Court meets to hear arguments and release orders.

11:00 a.m. The Vice President attends the funeral of Thomas "Tip" O'Neil in Boston.

11:00 a.m. The American Civil Liberties Unions and the National Rifle Association hold a press conference calling on the President to appoint a commission to investigate allegations of abuse by federal law enforcement agencies. ACLU Office, 122 Maryland Ave., NE.

12:00 noon NATO working dinner. Brussels.

12:00 noon Four organizations will be honored for their work on behalf of the Martin Luther King Jr. federal holiday. Coretta Scott King and Attorney General Reno will speak. 345 CHOB.

2:00 p.m. Auction of 3-month and 6-month Treasury bills.

5:30 p.m. The National Economists Club sponsors a seminar on the economic justifications for instituting a cigarette consumption tax to help finance health care reform. Brookings Institute, 1775 Mass. Ave., NW.

WIRE REPORTS

HEALTH CARE REFORM TODAY

New York Times........................................1
Washington Post......................................21
USA Today...........................................44
Wall Street Journal................................59
Washington Times....................................84
Los Angeles Times..................................107
Boston Globe........................................117
Seattle Post-Intelligencer........................121
New York Daily News...............................123
Long Island Newsday...............................124
Atlanta Journal and Constitution..............129
A UPI News Update!

President Clinton is in Brussels for another day of talks on how NATO will handle the new eastern Europe. President Clinton favors a stronger role in NATO for former eastern bloc nations, but not outright membership just yet.

UPI's Helen Thomas, traveling with the President, says there are calls being heard again for military intervention in Bosnia.

The President was asked about this yesterday, but his reply didn't shed much light on what the United States might or might not do in Bosnia. Opinion polls have not indicated a great groundswell in the United States for a military role in stopping the blood-bath in Bosnia.

Two earthquakes in southern California rattled windows in Santa Monica yesterday. They came in at 3.7 and 3.1 on the Richter and no serious damage or injuries have been reported.

Funeral services are scheduled in Massachusetts this morning for former House Speaker Tip O'Neill. He died last week at the age of 81. Vice president Gore and former President Jimmy Carter are expected to attend.

A child fired a flare gun inside the cabin of a pleasure boat off San Diego... sparking a fire that forced six people into the ocean yesterday and gutted the 70-thousand-dollar ship. Boaters rushed to the scene about 5 miles off shore and fished the passengers from the chilly Pacific.

The price of gas continues to fall. An industry analyst (Trilby Lundberg) says prices across the U-S dipped more than a penny a gallon during the past three weeks. And since last January... are down 13 cents.

But, since the federal tax went up a nickel a gallon in October, drivers are only pocketing eight cents a gallon. The composite price of a gallon of gas nationwide... including tax... was a-dollar-nine.

But you better enjoy it while you can. Wholesale prices seem to have bottomed out... and prices may be on the way up soon.

It's been seven weeks since ''Mrs. Doubtfire'' opened... but the Robin Williams comedy is still packing them in... 11 million dollars over the weekend... 138 million since it opened.

By Tom Gauger (UPI)
Let's set the record straight. There is no conflict between health care reform and welfare reform. They are intrinsically linked. Here's how: Without reform, health care costs will continue to explode and eat up our investment dollars. Without reform, people will continue to be locked in current jobs or on welfare. The bottom line: we cannot end welfare unless we also have comprehensive health care reform. Work has already begun on both. Here's the track record and what's to come:

* The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC). We ought to reward work over welfare. Enacted in last year's budget, the expanded EITC will ensure that any family that has a full-time worker will no longer live in poverty. Expanding the EITC represents a giant step forward in reducing the incentive to stay on welfare.

* Comprehensive health care reform. Today, millions of welfare recipients stay on Medicaid -- the Federal government's health care program for the poor -- because taking a job means they will lose health benefits for themselves and their children. Comprehensive health reform will eliminate so-called "Medicaid lock" and enable people to seek jobs, secure in the knowledge that they and their children will be covered. By ensuring universal coverage, the Health Security Act provides the necessary foundation for welfare reform.

* Personal responsibility. The President's welfare reform plan will include initiatives to prevent teen pregnancy, ensure that parents fulfill their child support obligations, dramatically increase paternity establishment, and try to keep people from going on welfare in the first place. The message is clear: Governments don't raise children, parents do.

* Work, not welfare. The final part of the President's welfare plan will build on the Family Support Act by requiring people who can work to do so within two years, either in the private sector or community service. This includes expanding child care for working families; providing education, training, and job search and placement for those who need it; and restoring the basic social contract of providing opportunity and demanding responsibility in return. Without health care reform, a welfare reform argument carries nothing more than the weight of political rhetoric.

* For those who would say there is no health care crisis in America today, we would simply disagree. Nearly 40 million Americans -- including more than 10 million children -- have no health insurance at all. Health care eats up more of our federal budget, more of our state budgets, and more of our family income every year. We are paying more and getting less as we pour money into a system that is leaking and badly broken. The President's Health Security Act solves the crisis -- guaranteeing health care that can never be taken away.
New Access to Bank's Records
Could Help Uncover Extent
of Its Political Influence

By STEPHEN LABATON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9 — Reviving a stalemate investigation of one of the largest global frauds in history, Federal prosecutors announced today that one of the top executives of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International would be extradited to the United States to stand trial on criminal fraud charges.

As part of an agreement with the ruler of Abu Dhabi, who had been the largest shareholder of B.C.C.I., American investigators will also be given, for the first time, access to the bank's secret records and to 10 other former bank executives who had been inaccessible.

Prosecutors described the settlement between the United States and Abu Dhabi as a worldwide swoop by banking regulators, who had long had evidence that an understanding of the bank's activities would be taken by the Federal Reserve.

The agreement was reached on Saturday in Geneva after secret talks between representatives of Abu Dhabi and the Justice Department, the Federal Reserve Board, the Manhattan District Attorney's office and lawyers for First American. Portions of the

Continued on Page D3, Column 1

Continued From Page A1

deal were first reported today in The Washington Post.

Since the bank's collapse, there have been a growing number of reports about the bank's close ties to a wide range of officials, including former President Jimmy Carter; former Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young; Senator Orrin G. Hatch, a Utah Republican; and Mr. M. Clifford, an associate of four Democratic presidents who was Secretary of Defense under Lyndon B. Johnson.

None of the officials has been accused of wrongdoing except for Mr. Clifford, who had headed First American. But the 86-year-old Washington lawyer was never told because of his poor health. Two months ago, after Mr. Clifford's protector, Robert A. Altman, was acquitted of fraud charges, a New York state judge dismissed the charges against Mr. Clifford.

The Central Intelligence Agency has acknowledged that it used the bank for routine activities that it has never spelled out. The bank has also long been identified as the leading drug-smuggling activities of Panama's former leader, Gen. Manuel Noriega, and as a vehicle for concealing and moving illegal cocaine profits for the Medellin drug cartel.

But law-enforcement officials around the country have long said that an understanding of the bank's full range of activities has been elusive because top executives and records were abroad and untraceable. Some investigators, however, have said that B.C.C.I.'s influence may have been overstated.

Foreign Policy Problem

While it remains to be seen how much new light will be shed on one of the most intriguing and complex scandals of modern times, the settlement with Abu Dhabi at least resolves an awkward foreign policy problem for the United States.

B.C.C.I. was run by Pakistani man­agers, which led the enforcement ac­tions and other matters.

Another $220 million loan that Abu Dhabi had made to First American will be forgiven. The loan, which with interest is now worth $250 million, was made to avert a potential failure of First American.

The Abu Dhabi Government's 37 percent interest in First American, which is valued at about $170 million, will be taken by the Federal Reserve. It is from this money that the $50 million will be provided to the American in settlement of its lawsuit against Abu Dhabi.

The Abu Dhabi parties and the U.S. authorities have entered into an agreement to bring the true B.C.C.I. wrongdoers to justice and expedite compensation to innocent depositors of B.C.C.I.," said Middleton A. Martin, a Washington lawyer for the Sheikh and other Abu Dhabi interests. "The agreement shows my clients' confidence that the cooperation which will result will assist in identifying and bringing the wrongdoers to justice and will demonstrate, once and for all, that they were indeed the last vestiges of the fraud perpetrated by the wrongdoers."

For more than 20 years, Mr. Naqvi, had been the deputy to Aja Hasan Abedi, the top bank executive and founder of B.C.C.I. Mr. Abedi is said to be in ill health in Pakistan.
### On Trail of Global Fraud: How Bank Case Unfolded


May 23, 1991 Fed officials tell Congress that they were deceived about the ownership of First American for more than a decade.

June 1991 Price Waterhouse reports to the Bank of England about widespread fraud at B.C.C.I.

July 5, 1991 Regulators around the world shut down B.C.C.I.

July 8, 1991 A Luxembourg court discloses that B.C.C.I. lost in 1990 more than its entire net worth.

July 12, 1991 The Fed announces disciplinary measures against Mr. Abedi, Swaleh Naqvi and other bank executives.

July 29, 1991 A New York grand jury indicts the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, Mr. Abedi and Mr. Naqvi.


Sept. 5, 1991 A Federal grand jury indicts Mr. Abedi, Mr. Naqvi and four other B.C.C.I. officials on bank fraud charges.

Sept. 9, 1991 Mr. Naqvi is arrested in Abu Dhabi.

Sept. 13, 1991 J. Virgil Mattingly Jr., the general counsel to the Federal Reserve Board, tells Congress that investigators are examining loans from First American to former public officials. None are identified.

Nov. 15, 1991 New round of Federal indictments against B.C.C.I., Mr. Abedi and Mr. Naqvi.

July 22, 1992 A grand jury in Manhattan indicts Messrs. Abedi, Naqvi, Clifford and Altman on charges of participating in a scheme to defraud.

July 29, 1992 A Federal grand jury in Washington indicts Mr. Clifford and Mr. Altman, accusing them of taking bribes from B.C.C.I. to help hide its illegal ownership of First American. They plead not guilty.

April 1993 Acting on a recommendation of the Justice Department, a Federal judge in Washington dismisses the charges against Mr. Clifford and Mr. Altman. But the Government says that it has reserved the right to bring a new round of charges.

Aug. 15, 1993 A New York State jury acquits Mr. Altman of criminal charges.

Nov. 30, 1993 A New York State judge dismisses fraud, conspiracy and bribery charges against Mr. Clifford, ruling that he will never be well enough to stand trial.

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On Eve of NATO Talks, President Seeks to Ease Fear That His Focus Is on Asia

By R. W. APPLE Jr. Special to The New York Times

BRUSSELS, Jan. 9 — In the first week of his first visit to Europe as President, Bill Clinton sought tonight to reassure a continent full of skeptics that the United States remains committed to the Atlantic partnership and determined to resist the siren song of isolationism.

Surrounded by rich carvings and sumptuous tapestries in Brussels' 15th-century City Hall, Mr. Clinton told an audience of about 250 mostly young people, drawn from 30 countries, that Europe "is our most valued partner" in the economic and political spheres as well as in military affairs.

The best hope for world peace, he said, lies in a rebuilt North Atlantic Treaty Organization — "not only in the camaraderie of our warriors" — at the heart of a new security system in Europe.

But he said nothing specific about when and under what conditions the United States might agree to extend the Treaty Organization — "not only in the compatibility of our weapons but the Treaty as well," he said.

"I am here to demonstrate that Europe remains central to the interests of the United States," Mr. Clinton said.

But the President offered a vigorous rebuttal to those here and in the United States who have argued that Poland, Hungary and other Eastern European nations should be admitted to NATO as soon as possible. Siding with Moscow, Washington found a partial security partnership with the West instead of full membership in NATO.

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Morton Halperin Is Casualty of a Change Atop Defense

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9 - Morton H. Halperin, President Clinton's embattled choice to head a new Pentagon position for peacekeeping policy, has withdrawn his name for the job, Administration officials said today.

The nomination of Mr. Halperin, a 55-year-old former director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union, stirred a level of passions unusual for a mid-level position, as conservatives attacked the liberal position he had staked out over the last several days. Mr. Halperin reversed his initial support of the Vietnam War, fought with the Nixon Administration, and criticized many American spying operations abroad.

But Mr. Halperin's chances to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for Democracy and Peacekeeping fell victim not only to resistance on the Senate Armed Services Committee last November but also to the reshaping of the President's much-criticized foreign policy team. The nomination also promised to complicate the Senate confirmation hearings of Bobby Ray Inman, Mr. Clinton's choice to succeed Defense Secretary Les Aspin, who is resigning.

Mr. Halperin's nomination formally expired in November, when the Senate did not act on it before adjourning. At the time, the White House expressed confidence in his qualifications and said it would resubmit his nomination when Congress reconvened later this month. Administration officials said they had anticipated a tough fight but believed they would prevail.

Then in December, Mr. Aspin, Mr. Halperin's patron and biggest supporter in the Administration, announced he would resign effective Jan. 20. Mr. Aspin had hoped to use unconventional new positions like the peacekeeping one to reshape the United States' international relations in the post-cold-war world.

Mr. Aspin's designated successor, Mr. Inman, has praised Mr. Halperin personally but has also raised serious doubts about whether the job he was to hold was necessary, and it now appears likely that the position will be dropped with Mr. Halperin's bowing out.

"Mort wanted to serve with Secretary Aspin," a senior Defense Department official said, "but with the changes coming, he has decided to not move forward."

Morton Halperin is Casualty of a Change Atop Defense

PENTAGON NOMINEE WITHDRAWS NAME

Another senior Pentagon official said that Mr. Halperin bore "a special relationship" with Mr. Aspin and that he had decided not to have the new job with Mr. Inman.

Associates said Mr. Halperin, who has been working as a Pentagon consultant pending his Senate hearings, had discussed his decision with Frank G. Wisner, the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, and with White House officials over the last several days. They said he was expected to give the President a formal letter outlining his intentions as early as Monday.

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Small Miracle Amid Siege:
Safe Water for Sarajevo

By CHUCK SUDETIC

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Jan. 9 — For more than a year, the simple act of drawing a glass of potable water here has meant risking life itself.

But now, after months of secret design, construction and transport of boxcar-size purification and pumping systems, an American aid agency is ready to turn on the taps in the homes of thousands who have been parched since Serbs began cutting power to pumps that deliver water from a spring behind the Serb lines in the summer of 1992.

"Last winter I came here and saw thousands of people carrying water cansisters down to the river through the snow, and I said to myself, 'This is stupid.,'" said Fred Cuny, a disaster-relief worker from Texas who heads the water project directed by the New York-based International Rescue Committee. "Ninety percent of the people killed in Sarajevo get killed in the zone right along the river which is most exposed to shelling and sniper fire."

Furious Serbian bombardments by gunners enrenched on the mountaintops aim at crowds waiting to fill plastic canisters at public water distribution points that are sometimes miles from their homes. Thousands of civilians have been wounded and hundreds killed. On Saturday, a relatively light day of shelling, jagged iron shrapnel flying out of an exploding Serbian shell tore into a water line and wounded seven people.

The biggest hitch so far has come from Croatia's Institute for Water, referring to the American-built Hercules to be driven along a front-line road and through a Serbian checkpoint.

"The Serbs blocked the stuff at the airport," Mr. Cuny said, "because we didn't have it delivered into the city."

NATO's Low Bosnia Flights

Feed Talk About Air Strikes

By CHUCK SUDETIC

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Jan. 9 — NATO warplanes enforcing the no-fly zone over Bosnia and Herzegovina flew at unusually low altitudes over Sarajevo today, dropping flares used to thwart heat-seeking anti-aircraft missiles.

The flights coincided with growing discussion among NATO officials of air strikes against Serbian positions.

In the city, an artillery shell exploded in an open-air market, killing one person and wounding four.

The frequent shelling and sniper fire at Sarajevo's airport, which have kept it closed since Wednesday, also required that the modules be unloaded quickly from the Canadian Air Force planes that flew them into Sarajevo from Croatia's capital, Zagreb.

"We had to be able to offload the modules in 10 minutes," Mr. Cuny said, explaining that the equipment was fitted with wheel assemblies that allowed mechanics to bolt on wheel assemblies. "Our quickest unloading time was seven minutes."

Once on the ground, the modules had to be driven along a front-line road and through a Serbian checkpoint.

"The Serbs blocked the stuff at the airport," Mr. Cuny said, "because we weren't doing anything on their side."

"We got the modules in last August when the Western nations were talking about bombing," he said. "The Serbs let everything through then."

Flown Into Zagreb

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Financing came from a $50-million grant from the Soros Foundation, a New York-based philanthropic group that channeled millions into post-Communist Eastern Europe. An additional $7 million in Soros funds have enabled some 20,000 Sarajevans to connect to a natural gas line so they can heat their homes and cook.

Mr. Cuny said the second of the five water modules would be ready to come online this week. When all five are hooked up, the system will be able to provide a third of the city with 24-hour water service, and far more if the 450,000 liters of water the system produces each hour is passed from one neighborhood to another, he said.

Because the module system runs off its own generator, it is not subject to the vagaries of Sarajevo's power grid, and because it is mobile, it may be transported to other needy cities, especially Srebrenica and Zepa.

The biggest hitch so far has come from local water-safety inspectors, who have demanded additional testing, although local engineers who took part in the project say the water is potable.

"This is surface water exposed to pollutants and intentional tampering," said Muhamed Zlatar, deputy head of Sarajevo's Institute for Water, referring to water from the Miljacka.

"The consequences of letting in polluted water could be catastrophic," Mr. Zlatar said. "They could be worse than the shelling. We could have 30,000 people come down with stomach diseases, and some of them could die."

"We ask that at least 20 different tests be made before we let the water in," he said. He added that the local authorities have demanded 48 hours of testing each time a 1,100-cubic-meter reservoir is filled, a move that will cut the capacity of the system by at least 10 percent of its full load.

Irritated specialists from the International Rescue Committee say the water has passed five key purity tests. "The water has been drinkable since Tuesday," Mr. Cuny said. He added that the equipment in the carbon-steel modules removes the particulates from the water using chemicals that bond with them and then attach themselves to plates. A few down the line, the said, the water is filtered under pressure through anthracite, a gravelly garnet sand and then it is chlorinated. With the exception of a spring in the old quarter of town near an Austro-Hungarian-era brewery, the American water project will provide Sarajevo the only reliable water source that the Serbs cannot cut off, Mr. Cuny said.
By GRENIFILL
Reporting for THE NEW YORK TIMES
WASHINGTON, Jan. 9 — Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York today became the first Democrat to publicly urge Attorney General Janet Reno to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate President Clinton's involvement in an Arkansas real estate venture linked to a failed savings and loan.

Mr. Moynihan suggested that the only way to clear the air of questions that have been building about the President's involvement in the venture, the Whitewater Development Company, was for Mr. Clinton to "get some good lawyer working on that issue while we go about other things."

"Just turn it over to the prosecutor and let him find out," Mr. Moynihan said on the NBC News program "Meet the Press." He also suggested that Mr. Clinton and his wife, Hillary, release all of the pertinent documents to the public to prove that they have "nothing to hide."

"Presidents can't be seen to have any hesitation about any matter that concerns their propriety," Mr. Moynihan said. "And this is an honorable man. We have a fine President. He has nothing to hide."

Previous Calls Rejected

The Administration has rejected a growing chorus of Republican demands that an outside investigator be appointed to examine the case, which centers on the business practices of James B. McDougal, an Arkansas businessman and Clinton supporter who owned a savings and loan, Madison Guaranty. He was also a partner with the Clintons on Whitewater, a failed effort to create a retirement community in the Ozarks. The Justice Department is now investigating whether Madison Guaranty improperly funneled money into Whitewater or into Mr. Clinton's 1984 re-election campaign for Governor of Arkansas.

Ms. Reno has said that any investigation she would be seen as biased. But her aides said on Friday that if Congress renews a law that would allow her to ask a court to appoint a special prosecutor she would do so.

The Clintons have said they lost $69,000 on the investment and that there is little more to say. Appearing on the White House 'damage control' event last week, their lawyer, David Kendall, turned over five boxes of Whitewater-related documents to the Justice Department, but only after negotiating a subpoena that would protect all of the files from public scrutiny.

Asked today whether the Administration was stonewalling, Mr. Moynihan said his initial reaction was: "What's going on here? Why isn't this all out in the open?"

White House officials have said the questions raised about the matter have been politically motivated and that there is little more to say. Appearing on the CBS News program "Face the Nation," Vice President Al Gore continued that line of defense today.

"There has been no specific allegation of criminal wrongdoing," Mr. Gore said. "What there has been is a series of political attacks."

Politics as Defense

Referring to a recent spate of encouraging economic news, he said, "I think there have been a little bit of political panic about the fact that everything's going so well, and so they're unleashing these attacks on him."

White House officials have been debating the merits of cutting their political losses by allowing the appointment of a special counsel, but Mr. and Mrs. Clinton have remained adamant in their opposition to such an approach.

As a result, Mr. Clinton's advisers have looked to other lines of defense. Last week, David R. Gergen, the counselor to the President, suggested that the Whitewater dispute was grounded in nothing more than political attack that was symbolic of a descent of fair play in the nation's capital.

"We continue to believe that the special prosecutor standard has not been met," George Stephanopoulos, a senior advisor to the President, said today.

"There has not been a specific allegation from a credible source. The White House, he said, was "fully cooperating" with the Justice Department's inquiry of Madison Guaranty.

Mr. Stephanopoulos would not say whether Mr. Moynihan's comments would influence White House thinking about full disclosure or the appointment of a special prosecutor.

But the New York Democrat's statements today could undermine the White House's assertion that the calls for independent investigation have been purely partisan, and make it increasingly difficult for officials to continue to hold the line for lawyers who are traveling in Europe this week.

In an interview after his appearance, Mr. Moynihan said: "I was just stating my view that a situation such as this will stay there and stay there and stay there until you do the thing which eventually you will do — turn the papers over, name a special counsel and get on with governing. We have a President with nothing to hide."

No one was quicker to leap on Mr. Moynihan's statement than Senator Bob Dole of Kansas.

"I knew it's been a tough week for the White House 'damage control' experts," Mr. Dole said in a statement he released after Mr. Moynihan's appearance. "But no matter how hard they try, they can't obscure this fact: much of the Whitewater controversy to date has been caused by their own blunders.

Ms. Reno has repeatedly emphasized that the career prosecutor at the Justice Department who has been assigned the Madison Guaranty investigation, Donald Mackay, is a Republican who served in the Reagan and Bush Administrations.

Moynihan Urges Prosecutor To Study Clinton Land Deal

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"We continue to believe that the special prosecutor standard has not been met," George Stephanopoulos, a senior advisor to the President, said today.

"There has not been a specific allegation from a credible source. The White House, he said, was "fully cooperating" with the Justice Department's inquiry of Madison Guaranty.

Mr. Stephanopoulos would not say whether Mr. Moynihan's comments would influence White House thinking about full disclosure or the appointment of a special prosecutor.

But the New York Democrat's statements today could undermine the White House's assertion that the calls for independent investigation have been purely partisan, and make it increasingly difficult for officials to continue to hold the line for lawyers who are traveling in Europe this week.

In an interview after his appearance, Mr. Moynihan said: "I was just stating my view that a situation such as this will stay there and stay there and stay there until you do the thing which eventually you will do — turn the papers over, name a special counsel and get on with governing. We have a President with nothing to hide."

No one was quicker to leap on Mr. Moynihan's statement than Senator Bob Dole of Kansas.

"I know it's been a tough week for the White House 'damage control' experts," Mr. Dole said in a statement he released after Mr. Moynihan's appearance. "But no matter how hard they try, they can't obscure this fact: much of the Whitewater controversy to date has been caused by their own blunders.

Ms. Reno has repeatedly emphasized that the career prosecutor at the Justice Department who has been assigned the Madison Guaranty investigation, Donald Mackay, is a Republican who served in the Reagan and Bush Administrations.
Order on Medicaid Abortions Surprised President

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9 — The Administration’s plan to require Medicaid coverage of abortions in cases of rape or incest was disclosed before anyone had told President Clinton of the order, and he was furious at its premature disclosure, Administration officials said today.

After he was briefed on the policy, Mr. Clinton raised no objections, the officials said.

On Dec. 28, three days after disclosure of the plan, the Department of Health and Human Services sent letters to officials in all states saying that their Medicaid programs must finance abortions for low-income women in cases of rape or incest.

Time magazine reported this week that Mr. Clinton said he was shocked to learn of the directive. In an interview last week, Time said, Mr. Clinton declared: “There was no decision by me. It never came to the Oval Office. I’m going to find out what happened, why it happened, and then we’ll see.”

Officials at the Department of Health and Human Services insisted that they had sent a draft of their directive to the White House before it was disclosed. But White House officials evidently did not take notice of it. Under an appropriations bill passed by Congress and signed by Mr. Clinton in October, they said, Federal money is available for abortions in cases of rape or incest, and states must contribute to the cost of the procedure in such cases.

At various times last year, Administration officials said they wanted to give states flexibility and discretion to cover abortion or not cover it, as the states saw fit. Government lawyers said the new law did not allow such flexibility.

State Medicaid officials, echoing the President’s complaint, said they were not consulted on the directive. And some state officials asserted that the Administration had misinterpreted the appropriations law, an assertion rejected by Government lawyers.

The letter telling states they must cover abortions in cases of rape or incest was signed by Sally K. Rides, director of the Medicaid bureau in the Department of Health and Human Services. It was approved by her supervisor, Bruce C. Vladeck, the head of the Federal Health Care Financing Administration, which runs the Medicaid program.

Distressed at Disclosure

Federal health officials said the President was not angry about the content of the directive, but was distressed over the way it had been disclosed. Donna E. Shalala, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, said: “I was as angry as the President. We all hate leaks. The problem was the leak.”

No Room for Flexibility

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The dispute foreshadowed a bigger battle over whether to require insurance coverage of abortion as part of any national health plan.

No Willingness to Compromise

The President and his wife, Hillary, who supervised the drafting of his proposal for national health insurance, say abortion must be part of the standard package of health benefits. Many members of Congress, including some who favor abortion rights, maintain that the Government should not pay for it.

An Administration official working on the President’s health care bill said: “A lot of people in the White House are worried about abortion in health care reform. It makes the politics very complicated.”
Brussels Is Introduced To the Clinton Crowd

By DOUGLAS LEHL

Out and About In Brussels

Endowing are the highlights of President Clinton's trip to Brussels.

TODAY 9:45 A.M. local time (3:45 A.M. Eastern standard time) Opening session of the summit meeting by leaders of the 16 nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization at NATO headquarters outside Brussels.

1 P.M. Leaders have lunch at the palace with King Albert II.

3:30 P.M. Resumption of talks.

8 P.M. Dinner with leaders at Claridge Val Duchesse.

TOMORROW 8 A.M. President Clinton meets United States business executives.

9 A.M. Second day of NATO talks.

10:30 A.M. Summit talks end. Press conferences by the NATO Secretary General, Manfred Wörner, and Mr. Clinton.

11:45 A.M. The President travels to the European Union to meet with the chief executive, Jacques Delors, and Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou of Greece, which currently holds the group's presidency.

3 P.M. President Clinton leaves for Prague, the Czech Republic.

At Liévin Airport here this morning, it was not just Air Force One but its identical twin, another specially outfitted 747, that touched down to disgorge the American entourage. The passengers, well over 300 of them along with scores of Secret Service agents, brought such a reduction of expertise that if Mr. Clinton's is his national security adviser and Secretary of State, he need only turn in the town to the deputies. Even the official delegation, which includes 79 staff members from the White House alone, was preceded to Brussels by three separate advance groups, including one that that arrived two weeks ago and never left. Its daily efforts to orchestrate every last detail of Mr. Clinton's stop have been a source of not a little strain in a capital that is host to the European Union and NATO, and in which the United States maintains three ambassadors.

"I've been on a lot of Presidential trips in my day," said Stuart E. Eizenstat, the former Carter Administration official who is now the United States Ambassador to the European Union, "and there's never been a more complicated stop from a logistical point of view."

Among the arcane with which the advance groups and embassies have wrestled is exactly which young European leaders should be invited to hear Mr. Clinton's speech tonight and how to find room at a NATO news conference for the President's distinctive blue lectern — a privilege normally offered only to heads of state. As part of the airline's first-class service, reporters who boarded the Northwest Airline planes 747 to each of the five stops on the trip. And even that total is so small that the White House Correspondents Association began the trip by trying the kind of damage control more often practiced by the groups as members covered.

If an attempt at humor by Mr. Clinton tonight fell flat, it might have been because, like most bad jokes, it had a long history. For weeks, White House aides have been trying to persuade the saxophone-playing President to take time out during his Brussels trip to visit a nearby village that was the home of Adolphe Sax, who invented the instrument. This year marks the 100th anniversary of Mr. Sax's death. Some even suggested that Mr. Clinton be presented with an honorary saxophone.

Apparently, that idea has been ruled out. But Mr. Clinton couldn't resist opening his speech to young European leaders with a wink "for those of you know me personally." "I have a great personal debt of nearly 40 years' standing to this country," Mr. Clinton declared, "because it was a Belgian, Adolphe Sax, who invented the saxophone." It may have been the language barrier, but the audience let the jest pass without notice.

The New York Times Magazine illuminates the news.
Study Sought on All Testing on Humans

By JOHN H. CUSHMAN Jr. Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9 - The Clinton Administration is being pressed to delve yet deeper into the record of Federal research using human subjects, and to open a comprehensive review of the nation's research ethics during the past half century.

On Thursday, Senator John Glenn, the Ohio Democrat who heads the Governmental Affairs Committee, said he would schedule hearings into the Administration's plan to investigate whether the experiments in- volving human subjects that is required to be followed by all Federal agencies.

Expansion to All Tests

Now, politicians and public interest groups are beginning to suggest that fully understanding that research may have not received much attention.

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In a letter to the White House, Mr. Miller asked for the release of informal research data.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies, for example, has urged the Justice Department to investi- gate whether the experiments involved anything that might be consid- ered "crimes against humanity." Officials indicated that research for development of defenses against biological weapons to the front lines of the war on cancer, from the testing of mustard gas on young recruits during World War II.

The Department of Veterans Affairs promised at the time to compensate those who were injured - just as the Clinton Administration is now promis- ing to compensate the unwitting sub- jects in radiation experiments - but no money has been provided. A compensa- tion proposal is being examined by the Office of Management and Budget, said Representative Porter J. Goss, a Florida Republican.

Representative George Miller, the California Democrat who is chairman of the House Committee on Natural Resources, called for the Administra- tion not to forget another group of "guinea pigs" to further U.S. understand- ing about the radioactive fallout in the Pacific during the 1950's.

The Natural Resources Defense Council on Tuesday called on President Clinton to form an independent commit- tee that investigated the nuclear power accident at Three Mile Island.

"Let me make myself clear that I am talking about more than radiation testing," Senator Glenn said. "I am calling for a comprehensive review of all testing programs, from drug tests at the Food and Drug Administration to missile tests at the Defense Depart- ment, to determine if any improper experiments on humans persist to this day."

Worried by the Past

Any such sweeping inquiry might encompass everything from the train- ing of agents to the testing of pesti- cides, from development of defenses against biological weapons to the front lines of the war on cancer, from the health hazards of nuclear bomb fallout in the Pacific islands to the testing of mustard gas on young recruits during World War II.

In the past week, demands for such an inquiry have come from several quarters, motivated by a variety of impulses: an urge to confront ques- tions that were put deep in some bu- reaucratic closet even when informa- tion was made public in the past, an interest in speeding compensation to people who may have been injured, and, not just by the radiation experiments that sparked the most recent outcry; a new awareness, so far unacknowledged, about whether any improper research is being conducted even today, and a moral imperative to prevent future abuses as federally sponsored re- search enters ever more exciting, and frightening, arenas.

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Soviet days, an American-Soviet sum-
overdrive with a torrent of shows,
lin's propaganda machine to go irtter
insight of glittering stores, dream
or American "militarism" — nobody
Slates.
mit meeting was a time for the Krem­
handshake a testament to a desperate
grand, every event televised, every
his first pair of Levi jeans.

America is no
longer the enemy,
but hasn't proved
much of a friend.

advance excitement over Mr. Clinton's
arrival also reflects the fact that Rus-
sians have far more immediate con-
cerns, including the first meeting of the
new Federal Assembly on Tuesday,
and the expectation of a Government
shuffle by President Boris N. Yeltsin
that will determine the country's eco-
monic course.

More important, America no longer
packs the magic it once did.

Who Can Afford a Big Mac?

In the first years of reforms initiated
by Mikhail S. Gorbachev, and in the
first years of the "new Russia" of Mr.
Yeltsin, there was the faith that once
Russia lifted its barbed wire, elected a
dreamland across the seas.

But that was way back then. This
time, newspapers have carried only
reports on President Clinton's
visit this week, usually focusing on the
debate over which country should join
NATO and in what capacity.

The only emotional event somehow
linked to the visit was a demonstration
by a clutch of unperturbed reactionar-
ies who placed a wreath in memory of
two killed in the assault on the Parlia-
ment building in October. The group
then moved on to United States Embas-
sy across the street to chant, "Yankees
Go Home!" and speakers asserted
that the assault on Parliament had
been coordinated from Washington and
that uniformed Americans had fired on
the building from the Embassy.

The Old 'America' Is Gone

That position was not one that many
Russians would take seriously. Despite
such derisory, and the xenophobia of the
ultranationalist Vladimir V. Zhirinov-
dy, there have been no serious signs
that anti-American sentiment is grow-
ing. What has happened, rather, is that
familiarity and hard experience have
accompanied where the Communists
failed, in dispersing the American myth.

"America, the hope we realized and
lost, left us as irretrievably as youth,"
wrote Evgeny Kulakov, in a reflection
in the magazine Obozrevatel. "Even if
we once again put on our faded jeans,
we've grown up, and our America has
never existed."

In part, of course, the relative lack of
America

The fruits did flow in: kiwis. Mars
bars, Cadillacs, Cokes and Big Macs
have flooded Moscow. But for most
Russians, who cannot afford such good-
ies, they only underscore their pov-
erty.

Western advisers also flowed in, but
the neatly bound reports they produced
after a few days in a luxury hotel did
not do much good. Little of the prom-
ised billions in aid ever materialized,
and Russians watched in growing dis-
enchantment as first Mr. Gorbachev,
then Mr. Yeltsin, returned from the
West with empty hands.

At home, hasty economic reforms
have undermined the West, created
a brash underworld and a newly rich
nomenklatura, but served largely to
impovertise most Russians. Freely
elected deputies proved as greedy and
power-hungry as they had been when
they were Communist apparatchiks.

Couped with the economic and poli-
tical disillusionment was the humili-
ation as Washington and the West
seemed no longer to reckon with Rus-
sia in their global pursuits. Interven-
tions in Iraq and Yugoslavia struck
into regions that Russians considered
their spheres of interest. And applica-
tions for Nato membership by ex-
satellites seemed to confirm the worst
fears of Western encirclement.

Still, the dominant reaction was not
indignation or resentment, but accept-
ance of realities once hidden.

For one thing, once it became acces-
sible, America lost the allure of forbid-
den fruit. In recent weeks, for example,
Russians have been intrigued by the
television serial "Twin Peaks." But if a
few years ago the Russians would have
snowed at such sordid goings-on in
America, most now seem to watch
with the same familiarity as any
Americans.

For another, most Russians realize
that the United States, like Russia,
acts first out of self-interest.

"There is no longer a sense that
Great America will save us, but there's
no hatred, either," said Grigory A. Ya-
vinsky, a reform economist and mem-
ber of the new Parliament. "What
there is, finally, is a normal attitude."

That will not prevent most Russians
from tuning in for the drama inherent
in any summit meeting. But this time
they will not be looking for instant
remedies or relief, or for a whiff of a
distant dreamland.
HOUSTON, Jan. 9 — Ten and a half months after the apocalyptic siege of Mount Carmel, the Branch Davidians' response to the defendants are expected to argue that many of those present who showed up that day.

Arguments that the group had a clear and consistent motivation for their actions during the siege, including the incursion of sending more than 100 armed Federal agents into the Branch Davidians long before the raid was a classic case of self-defense under the conspiracy theory, the authorities say, are under extra pressure to demonstrate that the Branch Davidians violated Federal weapons laws and ammunition controls.

But while the trial in San Antonio may officially center, on the defendants, all of whom indicated continued membership in the cult, the trial itself is expected to last two months.

Under the conspiracy theory, the authorities say, there is much confusion about who actually fired the fatal shots.

Although even prosecutors have suggested that there is much confusion about who actually fired the fatal shots, including a request that some defense lawyers have suggested that such reasoning is absurd. The issue at hand, they say, is simply whether the Branch Davidians violated Federal weapons laws and ammunition controls.

Federal authorities have outlined a strategy of preparing for a confrontation with the Government. "I regard this case as a real tragedy, killing the 80 sect members and more than 100 armed Federal agents involved, said Robert Dawson, a professor of criminal law at the University of Texas. "If the agents had wanted to kill the Branch Davidians, it would not make any difference.""
U.S. Grand Jury Is Urged
By Giuliani on Crown Hts.

Delay in Action on Slaying Draws Criticism

By JONATHAN P. HICKS

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, bitterly complaining about the Justice Department's handling of the killing of a Hasidic scholar in Crown Heights, urged Attorney General Janet Reno yesterday to impanel a Federal grand jury to investigate the 1991 killing.

Appearing on the WNBC-TV program "News Forum," Mr. Giuliani, who was once the third-highest ranking official in the Justice Department, said it was "incomprehensible" that the Attorney General had not yet decided whether to impanel a grand jury in the stabbing death of Mr. Rosenbaum.

During his campaign for mayor, Mr. Giuliani frequently appealed for the Justice Department to intervene in the case, particularly in light of a Brooklyn jury's 1992 acquittal of Lemrick Nelson Jr. in the killing. But his call yesterday for Ms. Reno to call a Federal grand jury to look into the case was especially strongly worded.

"No Answer"

"This is a decision that should have been made in a month or two," Mr. Giuliani said. "It's a year and three months later and they've yet to make a decision to investigate. I have no answer for it. I do not understand that the Justice Department is doing."

Mr. Giuliani's comments came a day before Charles J. Hynes, the Brooklyn District Attorney, is scheduled to meet with Ms. Reno in Washington. A state grand jury in Brooklyn is currently hearing evidence in a renewed investigation of the killing of Mr. Rosenbaum after investigators developed information that another Brooklyn man participated in the fatal attack.

But Federal officials have contended that Ms. Reno is not likely to undertake a Federal civil-rights prosecution in the death of Mr. Rosenbaum until all efforts by the Brooklyn District Attorney are exhausted.

Two Letters

Cristyne Latécano, the Mayor's press secretary, said yesterday that Mr. Giuliani had written two letters to Ms. Reno urging a Federal investigation, including one on Friday. She also said the Mayor had discussed the matter with Mr. Hynes last week by telephone, but did not disclose the substance of the conversation.

In the television interview yesterday, Mr. Giuliani discussed his efforts since taking office to persuade the Attorney General to impanel a grand jury. "I have urged over and over again," he said. "I don't think there's any point to urging any longer. Now she's got to make a decision."

Following another mayoral tradition, Mr. Giuliani yesterday broadcast his first weekly radio message, picking up the practice of his two predecessors, David N. Dinkins and Edward I. Koch. Mr. Dinkins broadcast his weekly radio message on Saturday mornings, but it was discontinued during the campaign. Mr. Giuliani's weekly message will be broadcast every Sunday morning at 10 minutes after 10 on WINS-AM.

In yesterday's three-and-a-half-minute broadcast, the Mayor offered a laundry list recounting his activities during the week, presumably for people who might have missed the daily news coverage.

In the television broadcast yesterday, Mr. Giuliani strongly defended his record in making racially diverse appointments to senior positions. Fewer than a third of his appointments to top posts have gone to minority officials so far, and more than half of his more than 30 appointments have gone to white male officials. He was asked specifically why he had named no blacks as deputy mayor.

"The fact is that I don't think you should have an African-American, or Italian-American, or a Latino deputy mayor," Mr. Giuliani said, adding that aides should not be chosen solely because of their ethnic or racial background. "You select people."

Assessing Andrew

He also spoke about media attention and criticism accorded his 7-year-old son, Andrew, for his antics during the Mayor's inaugural, which became the subject of newspaper articles and an array of television programs, from "Hard Copy" to a comedy sketch on "Saturday Night Live."

"I don't think you should try to control a child when a child is doing nothing wrong," Mr. Giuliani said. "Andrew is a very good boy and we're proud of him."

When asked if he minded that attention may have been focused on Andrew rather than his speech, the Mayor said, laughing, "Maybe that's better."
Kenya, Jan. 9 — Less than three months before the American troop withdrawal from Somalia is scheduled to be completed, increasing bounty, attacks on relief workers and the rearming of clan-based factions around the country are putting into question the future role of the United Nations and relief agencies. American and United Nations officials say.

A senior United Nations official said last week that the organization planned to reduce its troop strength from 28,000 to about 13,000 after the American pullout by March 31. By that time, all the other Western contingents as well as the large Turkish force will have pulled out, leaving the Pakistani and Indian contingents as the main guarantors of security for United Nations and relief-agency operations. The commander will be Lieut. Gen. Aboo Samah Aboo Bakar of Malaysia, who is to replace a Turkish general, Cevik Bir, this month.

The United Nations hopes that a Somali police force, in the process of being trained, will help in maintaining order. But senior United Nations and American officials are concerned that a sharp decrease in United Nations military power will only open the way to greater violence.

"There are distressing signs of a deterioration in security throughout southern Somalia," a senior United Nations official in Mogadishu said. "Any further reduction of U.N. forces is going to endanger and jeopardize the activities of all U.N. agencies and non-governmental organizations in Somalia, especially after the so-called magical date of March 31."

Security is deteriorating in Mogadishu and other Somali cities.

relief agency resources before they're gone.

Jockeying in Negotiations

Rival Somali factions have been jockeying, both militarily and politically, for the upper hand in negotiations intended to produce a transitional national council that could be selected by the end of January, becoming the first Somali Government since the civil war began in 1991. But the Somali factions remain deeply divided. In November, a conference sponsored by the Ethiopian Government ended in a stalemate as Gen. Mohammed Farah Aidid's Somali National Alliance and a rival group of 12 other factions were unable to agree on a agenda for political reconstruction.

Although the Aidid faction and its opponents are maintaining some form of contact at senior levels, they are rapidly rearranging. American officials say. These officials are particularly worried about the repeated visits to the capital by General Aidid's main ally, Col. Omar Jess. The fundamentalist Islamic Government in Khartoum has been trying to shift its efforts toward regions that are relatively secure and stable criteria that would exclude Mogadishu, where United Nations and relief vehicles are regularly shot at and hijacked.

Attacks in Once-Stable Towns

In the last month, however, attacks against relief agencies and the United Nations have grown, even in the once-stable towns of Baidoa and Bardera. It is unclear whether these attacks are random banditry or backed by a growing Islamic fundamentalist movement. American officials in Mogadishu say. In the southern port city of Kismayu, the clan militias are testing the resolve of the Indian forces by wandering armed around the town at night. There is interclan fighting around the town of Brava, southwest of the capital.

Relief officials say they are increasingly threatened in their work. To dismiss a Somali worker, or even to argue over a rent increase or the price of fuel, is to invoke a death threat, relief officials say. Several times, Turkish soldiers guarding the United Nations compound in Mogadishu have used tear gas to fight back crowds unhappy at not getting jobs.

But for relief agencies as well as the United Nations, the most disturbing violence is in Baidoa, once touted as a symbol of international success far from the violence of the capital. United Nations officials are concerned that recent bombings at relief agency compounds and harassment and hijackings of relief agency vehicles there meant as a warning to the United Nations that an attempt to marginalize Mogadishu, General Aidid's stronghold, will not succeed and will only prompt retaliation.

"Baidoa used to be a place where you could walk the streets," said Stefan de Misteura, the Unicef representative in Somalia. "We intend to stay, but the signs in Mogadishu and Baidoa are not reassuring. The current disengagement of U.N. troops is producing a feeling of insecurity and that could endanger and jeopardize the activities of all U.N. agencies and non-governmental organizations in Somalia, especially after the so-called magical date of March 31."

By DONATELLA LORCH

The New York Times
By CLYDE HABERMAN

Jerusalem, Jan. 9 — In a rare criticism of Palestinians, an Israeli human rights group said today that Palestinian political leaders bore responsibility for the killing of hundreds of Arabs in the occupied territories who were accused, falsely in most cases, of collaborating with Israel.

The rights group, B'Tselem, said that a coordinated Israeli operation had carried out most of the killings, and that the Palestine Liberation Organization's Israeli partner, in peace talks, had done almost nothing to stop them.

"The responsibility of Hamas and the P.L.O. for killing and otherwise harming suspected collaborators is clear," B'Tselem said as it issued a report detailing a pattern of killings going back to the early days of the Palestinian uprising against Israel, now in its seventh year.

Little Change Since September

It said the situation had not changed much since the P.L.O. and Israeli negotiators signed an agreement in September on introducing a Palestinian self-rule to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Local squads allied with the P.L.O.'s mainstream faction, Al Fatah, have continued to attack people accused of being collaborators, the study said.

Through 1993, it said, roughly 750 to 950 Palestinians were killed by fellow Palestinians. What makes this report unusual is its focus — in B'Tselem's case for the first time — on Palestinian misconduct, in killings characterized as "gross violations of the fundamental principles of international human rights law." More than half of the victims did not even work with the authorities, the report said. Many were accused of being drug dealers, prostitutes, homosexuals or "moral offenders," while others were killed in personal and family vendettas and then branded as collaborators.

"Many suspected collaborators were tortured, sometimes to death, by activists who would have reason to fear the vengeance of fellow Palestinians," said Saleh Abdel Jawad, a Palestinian political scientist who helped prepare the report, said that while P.L.O. leaders in Tunisia did not approve of the killing, "they didn't try seriously to make all efforts to stop it." In general, he said, conflicts have turned the blind eye, "as if you have a cancer, and you refuse to go to the doctor to discover that you have it.

P.L.O. Delegate Sees Accord

With Israelis on Troops Soon

By YOUSSEF M. IBRAHIM

CAIRO, Jan. 9 — A senior Palestinian official said here today that an agreement could be reached with Israelis within three weeks on a limited withdrawal of its troops from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho.

"We could really draft in half an hour the Israeli scheduled withdrawal," Mr. Saleh Abdelshafr said after several meetings with the P.L.O.

The organization's turmoil has been highlighted not only by a series of recent resignations by senior officials and middle-ranking cadres, but also by a growing and open resistance to the leadership of Yasser Arafat, the P.L.O. chairman.

Mr. Arafat continues to "insist on holding all strings in his hands," Haidar Abdelshafi said after several meetings in the last week in Tunis, the headquarters of the P.L.O. Mr. Abdelshafi had led a delegation of prominent Palestinians to Tunis to protest what he called Mr. Arafat's "dictatorial and chaotic" methods of handling the peace talks.

Outside the organization, 10 Palestinian groups opposed to peace with Israel announced in Damascus in the last week that they had agreed on how to coordinate continued resistance to Israeli occupation and the West Bank. The most important of the groups are the militant Hamas movement and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

It is against this backdrop that P.L.O. officials appear anxious to make some progress in the talks to recapture some of the momentum that has been lost since the self-rule agreement was signed in September in Washington.

"At this point, the peace process needs a little oxygen to be pumped into it by Israel," a senior P.L.O. official said, speaking on the condition of anonymity. "They must understand that this is to their advantage too and that if we fail to agree again, there will be even less good will to go on among Palestinian masses."
Journalist Slain in Township Attack on Black Leaders

By BILL KELLER
Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 9 — Gunmen sprayed automatic rifle fire at a delegation that included two top leaders of the African National Congress in a volatile black township this afternoon, killing a photographer and wounding two other journalists and several bystanders.

Bodyguards safely whisked away the officials, who included Cyril Ramaphosa, the Secretary General of the African National Congress, and Joe Slovo, chairman of the South African Communist Party, as armed supporters of the congress returned the assault with a blaze of rifle and pistol fire.

The attack in Katlehong, a battle-torn township 12 miles southeast of Johannesburg, was an unnerving reminder of the perils that await the country's aspiring rulers as they take to the campaign trail for the country's first free elections in April.

The journalist killed was Abdul Shariff, 31, a South African freelance photographer working for The Associated Press. Colleagues said he was shot once through the back as he scrambled for shelter during a lull in the sporadic shooting. He was pronounced dead on arrival at Natalspruit Hospital in Katlehong.

A television reporter for the South African Broadcasting Corporation and an SABC radio reporter were wounded by bullets.

A History of Violence

Katlehong is at the heart of a cluster of black townships that erupted early last year, accounting for about half of the year's 3,000 political deaths in South Africa.

The carnage in the townships east of Johannesburg originated as factional war between the Inkatha Freedom Party, which dominates the mainly Zulu migrant worker hostels, and the African National Congress neighborhoods surrounding them.

Since then the fighting has been complicated by criminal gangs, rival taxi operators and vigilante groups. In recent weeks the African National Congress has admitted that some of the violence was internecine warfare among "self-defense" units in the group that had spun out of control.

Mr. Ramaphosa and Mr. Slovo were touring the area to gather information for a proposal to contain the violence. They left their cars a few hundred yards from the sprawling Masibuko Hostel complex, an Inkatha stronghold, and were leading their entourage along a street when gunfire erupted.

Jeremy Thompson, a reporter for the British Sky Television network who was alongside Mr. Shariff when the photographer was shot, said the first volleys "seemed pretty clearly to come from the hostel area."

The African National Congress leaders "hit the deck and then were hustled away by the bodyguards," he said.

Police Are Criticized

Carl Niehaus, the spokesman for the African National Congress, blamed police for being nowhere in sight when the attack began.

"The hostel-dwellers were well armed and knew we were coming," he told reporters afterward. "It was the duty of the police to provide protection."

But Brig. Zirk Gous, a police spokesman, said the police had not been asked to provide protection, and in the past the African National Congress had urged them to stay away.

"It is A.N.C. policy not to involve the police with their security arrangements," Brigadier Gous said. "There was no communication, no coordination."

The police said they killed one gun-toting township resident and arrested three others during running battles that followed the attack, but they said there was no evidence so far that implicated any of the four residents in the attack on the African National Congress delegation.
POLITICAL MEMO

For Democrats, a Void After Cuomo?

By JAMES DAO

ALBANY, Jan. 9 — For the Democrats, Gov. Mario M. Cuomo's decision to seek a fourth term has forestalled a messy succession battle this year but raised a thorny long-term question: can the party groom new candidates to carry their mantle when he finally does leave office?

If Mr. Cuomo wins in November, completes his term and then steps down, as many of his aides expect, he will have been Governor for 16 years — the second longest tenure for a governor in state history.

That's 16 years when younger Democrats sat on the back bench awaiting their shot at the state's top office; 16 years when only a handful of Democrats will have been tested and 16 years in which Mr. Cuomo will have been the soul, heart and embodiment of the New York State Democratic Party.

As a result of the lack of movement, the careers of several prominent Democrats who might have run for governor have instead stalled, among them former Attorney General Robert Abrams; Carol Bellamy, the former New York City Council President, and Geraldine A. Ferraro, the ex-Congresswoman and the first woman to run for Vice President.

All three now are not actively involved in state politics.

Filling the Void

Most Democrats assume that there will be party strife and hard-fought primaries to fill the power vacuum left by the man they say are more concerned about is that after 16 years of one man's dominance, no one will be able to fill the void, leaving the party leaderless and factionalized — not unlike the Republicans after Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller resigned during his fourth term in 1972 before becoming Vice President.

"In the long run, we're breaking down the party structure," said a Democratic Party leader. "After 16 years of Rockefeller, there was no Republican Party because he was the party. And now the Democratic Party is Cuomo."

State party leaders say they will begin preparing for Mr. Cuomo's departure by promoting younger leaders in this year's race for re-election. "A lot of people who have surfaced will be around: you'll see them in the campaign," Mr. Cuomo said. "We will do everything we can to give them viability."

Among those who said they might run this year if Mr. Cuomo did not were Lieut. Gov. Stan Lundine; Rep. Charles E. Schumer of Brooklyn; Peter F. Vallone, the New York City Council Speaker; District Attorney Charles J. Hynes of Brooklyn; former Lieut. Gov. Alfred B. DelBello and Ms. Ferraro.

Mr. Lundine said he fully anticipates a "bloody" primary then. Among those who run, he said, are both seeking full terms this year — along with Mr. Abrams, are also mentioned as possible candidates for 1998.

Increasingly Diverse

But even as they praise the reserve team, some Democratic Party leaders question whether any of them have the experience or force of character to hold together a big, brawling and increasingly diverse party.

"It's true there isn't much of a farm team," said Representative Thomas J. Manton, the Queens County Democratic chairman. "There aren't too many people who are known on a statewide basis. Whether the party can build that up remains to be seen."

Already, there are signs of rupture in some of the party's ideological fracture points. New York City's once dominant role in state Democratic politics is dwindling, opening the door to more regional conflicts between city Democrats and their upstate and suburban cousins. Labor unions have expressed displeasure with what they see as a rightward drift by Mr. Cuomo and the Democratic-controlled Assembly.

And some blacks, angry with what they consider Mr. Cuomo's lukewarm support of former Mayor David N. Dinkins, have threatened to form a third party, a move that would sap the Democrats' urban base. The formation of a black political party is considered highly likely if Mr. Cuomo accepts the endorsement of the state Liberal Party, which would give it a major role in electing Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

With the Governor running again, a long-term problem persists.

Brooklyn; Peter F. Vallone, the New York City Council Speaker; District Attorney Charles J. Hynes of Brooklyn; former Lieut. Gov. Alfred B. DelBello and Ms. Ferraro.

Mr. Cuomo, who has not ruled out running again for governor in 1998, is looking at another term with the kind of popularity that combined with Mr. Dinkins's decision not to run for President in 1992, left ambitious Democrats with only one other high-profile office to strive for: the Senate seat held by Alfonse M. D'Amato, a Republican.

That year, three top Democratic prospects — Ms. Ferraro, Mr. Abrams and Elizabeth Holtzman, who has been in office since 1977, has only compounded the gridlock atop the Democratic Party.

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President Clinton is to arrive on Wednesday in Russia, where anti-American attitudes are taking hold in significant sections of society for the first time in history. What the Administration thinks it must do is to build a future in the face of this reality. It must craft a new strategy for dealing with Russia, one that recognizes its changing political landscape and the challenges it poses for the United States. This is not a simple task, and it requires a measured, thoughtful approach. The administration is well aware of the complexity of the situation and the need for a flexible strategy. The goal is to promote democratic values and support the transition to a market economy, while also addressing the serious challenges that Russia faces. The administration is working closely with other countries to develop a comprehensive approach that addresses the needs of the Russian people and contributes to regional stability. The administration is committed to working with Congress and the American people to ensure that our efforts are effective and sustainable. The visit to Russia is an important step in this process, and the administration is determined to make the most of this opportunity to engage with the Russian government and people.
Absent
At the Creation

WASHINGTON

"A thing is more contemptible," Joseph Alsop told me when I looked up this line of work, "than a columnist without a Weltanschauung." A coherent worldview is tough to come by these days because the main threat to freedom has shifted from militant Communism to what John Lewis has named "ethnomania," more crass than nationalism. It is exploiting around Bosnia, the test NATO is failing, and is advancing in what used to be the Communist bloc.

Does Bill Clinton have a worldview? He may be taking one from the former Time magazine columnist, Sirote Talbott, translator of Krushchev's memoirs, a longtime friend of Bill and a proponent of pre-eminence in foreign affairs.

Judging from the President's interview with a help from a muddy speech in Milwaukee read last week by Vice President Gore) the Clinton-Talbott Weltanschauung includes a new view of Russia whose foreign policy can be shaped benignly by evidence of Western trust.

If we reassess Moscow, goes this view, that it has nothing to fear from the nearness of NATO, then Russia — as it regains its strength — will be less likely to seek to reassert control of its former empire. Contrariwise, if we were to seize this moment of Russian weakness to impose the newly freed Eastern European nations into the NATO defense, we would only encourage the old paranoia and play into the hands of resentful Russian revanchists.

This is the diplomatic set that produces the "Partnership for Peace," that is, the "Partnership for further optimism." It sketched his vision of tomorrow's Russia: "I believe if they continue as a democratic, market-oriented, reforming post-Communist bonanzas, they will become in a more traditional sense, then, a very great nation, not an empire... Their whole history and culture and texture of Russia argues for that."

I think Russia's whole history and culture and texture argue for the opposite. That's what makes Weltanschauung.

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

What Might Have Been

Madeleine K. Albright, the U.S. delegate to the United Nations, went last Thursday to a garbage dump outside Vukovar in Serbian-occupied Croatia. That site, Serbian forces are believed to have buried the bodies of 200 Croatian hospital patients they killed during the Vukovar assault.

The mass grave was "a symbol of the Yugoslavian war's inhumanity," Ms. Albright said. But Vukovar is something else, too: the American and European weakness that has encouraged the Serbs in their campaign of terror.

When Serbian forces attacked Vukovar in 1991, reducing the city to rubble, intervention by a small NATO force would have stopped the aggression that went on to genocidal killing in Bosnia. That is not my judgment. It is the judgment of Gen. John Galvin, the former NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe.

General Galvin told the House Armed Services Committee last May that there were two points when the United States and NATO could have prevented the Serbs from calling off their aggression. The first was when they bombarded Dubrovnik, Croatia's port on the Adriatic, in 1991. The second was the onslaught on Vukovar.

"In the destruction of Dubrovnik, General Galvin testified, we could have sent the U.S. Sixth Fleet, or we could have sent thestanding Naval Force Mediterranean into the Adriatic, and with little military action we could have shown the determmation of Western nations and indeed the United Nations, that this did not get out of hand."

At Vukovar, he said, we had put a relatively small amount of forces on the ground at that time, we could have prevented what has grown into an enormous tragedy.

But there was none of the "determination" that General Galvin said could have been shown. Then President George Bush, showed the weakness European leaders talk from time to time.

The predictable result was to encourage the "ethnomania" that leads to Mlaodovic's appeal to extreme Serbian nationalism. If history has any lesson, it is that such rhetoric feed on the outside world's weakness.

The American and European failures in 1991 were grave policy misjudgments at any in the 40 years of the North Atlantic Alliance. Yet none of the principals has had the courage or decency to acknowledge responsibility for actions that allowed genocide to flourish: not Prime Minister John Major, not President Bush, Secretary of State, James Baker, or his national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft.

Mr. Scowcroft had a piece on The New York Times Op-Ed page last week, written with Richard Haass, laying our whole American policy should be. In it he dismissed Bosnia as a place where U.S. interests and less vital.

Does Brent Scowcroft see the people of civilians slaughtered in Sarajevo? Does he know that Serbian gunners have intensified their shelling as if to thump their noses at this week's NATO summit meeting? Does he believe it is of little consequence that there will be several mornings when NATO, following this week's "determination" of Western nations..."
Compassion Is the Best Medicine

By David Spiegel

We don't have a health care system but rather a disease cure system. The public believes and many doctors believe as if most illnesses are curable. We think of the body as if it were a machine with replaceable parts: defects can be identified, removed and replaced through treatments such as organ transplants, drugs and gene therapy. With a few exceptions, this is not the case.

The expectation of cure has led to an explosion of invasive, expensive and often risky interventions that have at best marginal effects on survival. We have focused too much on diseases and too little on the people who have the diseases.

Most Americans die of chronic and progressive illnesses: heart disease, stroke and cancer. Cure is the exception, not the rule. What these patients need is health caring. Compassionate care should help people live with illness by relieving suffering, managing symptoms and coping with the uncertainty and fear of further illness.

Several recent studies — of metastatic breast cancer patients, lymphoma and malignant melanoma patients, and patients recovering from heart attacks — have shown that participating in support groups not only improves peoples' mood and coping skills but may help them live longer.

Unfortunately, many inexpensive group interventions are not part of standard treatment. They are offered as adjuncts to medical care. They are not reimbursed by insurance plans, although they cost a small fraction of fully covered invasive procedures.

Moreover, many of these procedures produce only marginally greater benefits than the risks they incur. Insurance companies regularly pay huge bills for in-patient and surgical procedures regardless of efficacy, whereas little or nothing is paid for time spent helping patients to cope with illness.

Mental health benefits, including psychotherapy, have been singled out for benefit caps in President Clinton's health plan. This ignores the complex interaction of mind and body that we are beginning to understand as a result of recent research on the effects of social support and stress on health.

Humane care costs less than high-tech care and is what patients want and need: Americans spent $12 billion last year out of pocket on alternative medical care.

Depression is three times as common among medical in-patients and twice as common among medical out-patients as in the general population. Depression and anxiety, in turn, make medically ill people heavier users of medical services. A study in Canada demonstrated that the least well-adjusted medically ill patients cost the health care system 75 percent more than do the best adjusted ones, largely through unnecessary primary care visits, hospital days and laboratory services.

Stress-related symptoms account for about 60 percent of all primary care visits. If we can provide comprehensive supportive health services, not only will costs be cut but patient care will improve dramatically.

Surgical and other medical procedures have made an enormous difference in people's lives. But our health care system overvalues procedures at the expense of the old-fashioned medical compassion and concern that used to be taken for granted by doctors and patients.

Medicine's oldest adage is "to cure rarely, to relieve suffering often and to comfort always." In this century, we have twisted that job description: many doctors think their task is to cure rather than care. We need more compassion and counseling and less cutting and testing. The myth of cure is costly in human and financial terms, the price of dashed hopes is high. With a focus on care, many individuals with serious diseases can lead longer, happier and more productive lives.
Condom Gains and Losses

More Candor in Commercial:

In 1987, a consortium of hospitals, health centers and six branches of New York City Planned Parenthood developed a commercial featuring a young man, a young woman, soft music and a soft voice saying: "Birth control — from saying 'no' to young man, a young woman, soft music and a soft voice saying: "Birth control — from saying 'no' to young man. You're too smart not to use it." The advert was innocuous, right? Not to local broadcasters. All of them turned the ad down. "This is ... the sort of subject matter some portion of our audience would consider intrusive into their moral or religious beliefs" was a typical response — and it was shown only in the Buffalo area.

Seven years later, viewers of four major TV networks and several cable networks can see a condom leap from a chest of drawers just as a couple — genders unspecified — are about to make love. They can see a woman and a man, rapidly undressing and half out of breath, and hear the woman's cool rejoinder when, in answer to her question, the man confesses to having forgotten protection. "Then forget it," she says. They can do this because the Clinton Administration has committed itself to persuading youngsters to use condoms or practice abstinence in this frightening age of AIDS — and because Americans are finally beginning to accept the fact that sexual activity, however ill advised or premature it may be, is for most young people close to inevitable.

To accept that fact is also to accept its corollary: that if young people are denied the information that will allow them to make reasoned choices, they are almost certain to be victims of their wholly natural impulses. AIDS, which has killed so many and will go on killing for years to come, is the impetus for the current campaign. But AIDS is not the only sexually transmitted illness; nor is disease the only consequence of unprotected sex. Pregnancy, a blessing for those who desire it, is, all too often, a blight for those who do not. America's welfare rolls are packed with young, single mothers; and of the more than a million teen-agers who get pregnant every year, 40 percent choose abortion. Surely it is better to prevent those pregnancies in the first place.

Already there are critics to say that the commercials are far from perfect, and they may very well be right. But the campaign brings something immensely valuable and too long missing to the continual American dialogue about sex. Honesty.
For Gore, It's All in the Translation

By Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writer

S

t. Albans must have dropped teaching Latin . . . There was Vice President Gore, pinch-hitting for President Clinton Thursday in Milwaukee and speaking to the Institute of World Affairs. Gore was extolling America's legacy of tolerance among ethnic groups—a tolerance in short supply these days around the globe.

Gore said Milwaukee's ethnic melting pot shows that America "can be e pluribus unum—out of one, many."

No Al, that's the Soviet Union. We're out of many, one.

A mind is a terrible thing to lose. Is there something about being vice president that does that?

Speaking of former vice president Dan Quayle, he "will headline a Hudson Institute conference on 'the greatest opportunity in farming history,' " the Indianapolis think tank announced last week.

The conference will focus on the role of American farm exports in expanding international trade.

Every Day, Haldeman Added to His Diary

• Heidi Fleiss, move over. The word now is that previously secret diaries kept by Nixon chief of staff H.R. "Bob" Haldeman are coming out in June. Publisher G.P. Putnam's Sons is declining all comment, but a recent announcement says Haldeman "wrote and dictated" the diaries every day he was Richard M. Nixon's hatchet man from 1968 to 1973.

Lots of Haldeman notes—and he was a great note taker at meetings—were subpoenaed during Watergate, and Haldeman wrote a book about his experiences in 1978. But apparently no one knew about these diaries until now.

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This is news?
Clinton Pledges Role in 'Broader Europe' as President Urges Close Bonds Between Rich West, Needy East

By Ann Devroy and Daniel Williams

BRUSSELS, Jan. 9—President Clinton, embarking on his maiden presidential tour of an anxious continent, today pledged American leadership to build "new security in Europe by binding the established democracies of the West to emerging ones of the East through a web of military, economic and democratic links."

"Just as we have worked in partnership with Europe of every major security challenge in this century," Clinton said, "it is now time for us to join in building a new security for the 21st century" that "must seek to bind a broader Europe together with a strong fabric woven of military cooperation, prosperous market economies and vital democracies."

As Clinton spoke about the future, the continuing bloodshed in Bosnia rose as a contentious issue within NATO, whose 16 members are gathered here for a summit. The administration is resisting growing pressure from some allies to bomb Bosnian Serb militia positions in retaliation for renewed artillery and mortar fire for six straight days. U.S. officials here are reportedly pushing for language in a final communique that would, in effect, repeat a NATO bombing threat made last August.

At the same time, U.S. diplomats were feverishly trying to sew up a deal with Russia and Ukraine to ensure the dismantling of Ukraine's nuclear weapons. The proposed agreement includes both material and security rewards for Ukraine but has yet to receive final approval from the Ukrainian and Russian leadership.

But Clinton's address, to an audience of aspiring political leaders from throughout Europe, was the centerpiece of the president's day and was meant to serve as the focal point of eight days of discussions that will take him from Brussels to Prague to Moscow to Belarus. Its goal was to reassert Western European unity that the United States has not abandoned a leading role on the continent and that Clinton's preoccupation with American domestic problems means no withdrawal from the international stage.

In the speech and in brief separate remarks, he defended the proposed Partnership for Peace, his centerpiece initiative to connect Eastern Europe to NATO through limited military cooperation. The plan stops short of offering security guarantees to countries formerly under Soviet domination and has provoked complaints that the Clinton team is moving too cautiously in taking Central European democracies into NATO as full members.

Clinton's language alternated between soaring evocations of the past and concern about ethnic strife in the former Soviet Bloc. "Now the immediate threat to our East is not of advancing armies, but of creeping instability," he said. "Countering that threat requires not only military security, but also the promotion of democratic and economic renewal."

He made several indirect stern references to Vladimir Zhirinovsky, whose faction is now the second-largest in the first freely elected Russian parliament. Aligned against those who seek to advance democracy, he warned, stand "the grim pretenders to tyranny's dark throne, the militant nationalists and demagogues who fan suspicions that are ancient."

Clinton described Europe as being at a crossroads. One route out—peaceful European "integration"—would lead to a democratic continent, while the other—ethnic strife and isolation from the emerging democracies—would lead to despair.

"We must build a new security," Clinton said, based not on the Cold War formulation of one bloc against the other, but on the new mandate for consolidating the gains of democracy and integrating the historic democracies with the emerging ones. "The purpose of my trip," he said, "is to help lead the movement to that integration and to assure you that America will be a strong partner in it."

The United States intends for its partnership proposal to be the main focus at this summit, but the Bosnia issue moved to center stage briefly with comments by Belgian Premier Jean-Luc Dehaene that NATO "must seriously consider whether to carry out airstrikes."

After a meeting with Clinton, Dehaene said there was a growing belief within the alliance "that we should do this; we must give a signal." But top Clinton aides said this is unlikely. Said one: "I don't expect anything in the next few days."

At a news conference, a senior official said the United States had delivered warnings to Serbia, President Slobodan Milosevic, to stop the shelling of Sarajevo, but he indicated he expects the shelling to come and go. "We're waiting to see," he said.

Draft language in the NATO communiqué supports a negotiated settlement among Bosnia's warring Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslim-led government, U.S. officials said. They said Secretary of State Warren Christopher will meet with his counterparts from Germany, France and Britain in their traditional summit gathering—a kind of NATO board of directors—and that final language on Bosnia would probably be decided there.
Clinton Vows Strong U.S. Role in Realigned Europe

AGENDA FOR NATO SUMMIT

PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

East European nations will be offered bilateral accords that are a stepping stone for some to NATO membership. The allies will state that NATO will be enlarged but will set no dates, name no candidates. The partnership program will involve cooperation in peacekeeping and crisis management, joint military exercises, extending Western know-how in drafting defense budgets, securing civilian control over the military and converting Eastern Europe's military industries. The extent to which the partnership will be involved in almost nonstop negotiations over Ukraine's 1,800 nuclear warheads, left there after the collapse of Soviet rule. Final negotiations are aimed at producing an agreement under which uranium from the missiles can be exchanged for financial and energy aid to Ukraine.

"We made a terrific amount of progress," Clinton said of talks on Ukraine, but he added that he was "not in a position to make an announcement." Officials said last night that an agreement is not yet sealed, but that "there remains time to get it done." The reference was to White House hopes that an agreement can be reached in time for Clinton to add a visit to Kiev to his itinerary and a signing ceremony in Moscow later this week.

Clinton took pains in his appearances here to dispel worries that the United States is becoming isolationist. "We must not now let the Iron Curtain be replaced with a veil of indifference," he said, adding that his purpose was to "declare and demonstrate that Europe remains central to the interests of the United States." He also addressed concerns in Europe that he has shown more interest in Asia since taking office. "Without question, Europe is not . . . the only focus of our engagement," he said. "We must reach out to Latin America and to Asia—areas that are increasingly important both to the United States and to Europe. . . .

"But make no mistake about it, the bonds that tie the United States and Europe are unique. We share a passionate faith that God has endowed us as individuals with inalienable rights and a belief that the state exists by our consent solely to advance freedom and security and prosperity for all of us as individuals. . . .

"Over three centuries, the ties of kinship between the United States and Europe have fostered bonds of commerce. And you remain our most valued partner, not just in the economics of trade and investment.

"But above all, the core of our security remains with Europe. That is why America's commitment to Europe's safety and stability remains as strong as ever. That is why I urged NATO to convene this week's summit. It is why I am committed to keeping roughly 100,000 American troops stationed in Europe consistent with the expressed desires of our allies here."

After the speech, Clinton moved quickly from the formal, diplomatic pronouncements of his 32-minute address to an outdoor rally in Grande Place, Brussels' medieval central square, where hundreds who had watched the speech on television cheered him. "You heard my speech. I have nothing more to say," he commented as he plunged into the hand-shaking, autograph-signing and one-on-one personal encounters that have become so familiar to his American audiences.

The raucous reception outside contrasted sharply with the muted response to the speech inside, where only his closing remarks drew applause. White House officials said the audience of young scholars and political scientists, combined with the formal setting, made such demonstration inappropriately. But Clinton, who comes to life when he talks of America's problems and his prescriptions for them, displayed little of that passion in discussing the Atlantic alliance.

The address contained a broad rationale for the NATO partnership program and a specific defense against critics who say it does not provide enough security for such countries as Hungary and the Czech Republic for fear of exacerbating Russian nationalist strains. While NATO's fundamental mission will not be changed, he said, the West cannot "afford to draw a new line in the sand."

"I have nothing more to say," he declared. He also touched on another theme of his visit—halting the proliferation of nuclear and chemical weapons. European companies have supplied equipment to develop such arms to Iran and in the past, Iraq, against U.S. wishes. "The danger is clear and present," he said.

The floundering over Bosnia contrasted with guarded optimism on Ukraine. The administration has been involved in almost nonstop negotiations over Ukraine's 1,800 nuclear warheads, left there after the collapse of Soviet rule. Final negotiations are aimed at producing an agreement under which uranium from the missiles can be exchanged for financial and energy aid to Ukraine.

"Without question, Europe is not . . . the only focus of our engagement," he said. "We must reach out to Latin America and to Asia—areas that are increasingly important both to the United States and to Europe. . . .

"But make no mistake about it, the bonds that tie the United States and Europe are unique. We share a passionate faith that God has endowed us as individuals with inalienable rights and a belief that the state exists by our consent solely to advance freedom and security and prosperity for all of us as individuals. . . .

"Over three centuries, the ties of kinship between the United States and Europe have fostered bonds of commerce. And you remain our most valued partner, not just in the economics of trade and investment.

"But above all, the core of our security remains with Europe. That is why America's commitment to
By Lee Hockstader
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW—Russia's fractured new parliament, in which Communists, nationalists and other enemies of reform will be a major force, begins its work this week looking nearly as hostile to President Boris Yeltsin as the last parliament turned out to be.

Even before Tuesday's opening gavel, the stage is set for legislative gridlock and more political confrontation of the kind that frustrated Yeltsin in past efforts to push the Russian economy beyond its communist-era roadblocks. President Clinton arrives in Moscow for talks with the Russian leader on Thursday.

The new legislature, known as the Federal Assembly, will meet against the bloody backdrop of last fall's crisis, in which Yeltsin's tanks rolled up to blow away Russia's last parliament. If October's events proved anything, it is that Russia is one place where politics is not just talk, but a blood sport.

"The president will grow more and more nostalgic for the ... Supreme Soviet [which he dissolved last fall] and feel stronger and stronger dislike for the Federal Assembly," Vyacheslav Nikanov, a political analyst, wrote in Vechernaya Moskva last week. "The traditional fights between the two branches [of power] over their legitimacy ... will resume."

Yeltsin's chief spokesman already has warned darkly of the consequences should the new parliament again confront Yeltsin.

"We know from the events of Oct. 3 and 4 [when the army crushed the last parliament] that the hand of the president can be tough and strong," spokesman Vyacheslav Roskovskiy said.

Unhappily for Yeltsin, he will not be able to label his new adversaries the product of Soviet-era electoral shenanigans: These lawmakers won their seats fairly and square; the Federal Assembly is the product of the first truly representative election in Russia in 76 years.

More worrisome for both the president and for the West's efforts to nurture Russian democratic reforms is the emergence of a long-feared alliance between Communists and nationalists, who together account for nearly a third of the seats in the lower house.

There have been signs in recent days that the two blocs are starting to work in tandem even though they agree on little other than their disgust for Yeltsin. Centrists are few and far between in the lower house.

If such an alliance does take shape, it probably will try to block economic reform, amend the newly approved constitution in ways unfriendly to Yeltsin and democracy, investigate the government's role in the October crisis and remove key pro-Western aides such as Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev and Economics Minister Yegor Gaidar.

It is conceivable that Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the extreme nationalist who advocates restoring the borders of the old Soviet Union, will chair the foreign affairs committee of the lower house of the assembly, known as the State Duma. The Communists will also have clout.

In the face of this threat to reform, the pro-reform parties, which squabbled their way to disaster in the Dec. 12 legislative elections, have remained unwilling to unite. With ego to consider and presidential elections scheduled for 1996, they seem determined to continue feuding and jostling for political position despite the looming challenge to reform and democracy.

"If the deputies go on pursuing the same behavior they did during the campaign, the process of legislating may simply be torpedoed," Gavril Popov, chairman of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, wrote in the weekly newspaper Vek.

None of this is to say that the Federal Assembly is about to stop reforms in their tracks or revive the Cold War anytime soon. Reformers of one stripe or another will control a good-sized chunk of seats in the 450-member Duma—perhaps a third or so. Yeltsin still has plenty of allies in the 178-seat upper house, a body modeled roughly after the U.S. Senate and known as the Federation Council.

Moreover, since parties were formed hastily to contest elections last fall, party discipline will be in short supply, especially among the anti-reform blocs in the assembly. The 65 members of Zhirinovsky's misleadingly named Liberal Democratic Party are not bound by any coherent ideology so much as by the quotably piquant slogans of Zhirinovsky himself. It may be difficult enough for them to agree among themselves, let alone with the Communists, on how to confront Yeltsin.

Zhirinovsky may prove far less scary as a parliamentary player than he has as an electoral phenomenon. Although long on rhetoric, Zhirinovsky's legislative platform is meager. On the subject of reforms, for instance, he has said only that "corrective measures" must be taken. And so far he has seemed reluctant to personally take on Yeltsin, whose popularity still exceeds his own.

Also to Yeltsin's advantage is the new constitution, passed by voters in a nationwide referendum last month. It gives the president sweeping powers, largely at the expense of the relatively hamstrung parliament. Yeltsin will be able to dissolve the lower house altogether if it votes no-confidence in the government twice in three months. For example, if general lawmakers will find it easier to make noise than policy.

But despite the parliament's intransigence, Yeltsin can ill afford another political free-for-all, let alone one that leaves 145 people dead, as the October crisis did.

If Yeltsin were to again dissolve a churlish parliament and then send in tanks, the already widespread image
RUSSIA'S NEW PARLIAMENT

The new parliament, called the Federative Assembly, is made up of two houses:

- **Federation Council**
  - The upper house, the Federation Council, will have 178 seats.
  - Little is known yet about party breakdown or political sympathies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Federation Assembly</th>
<th>State Duma</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federation Council</td>
<td>State Duma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178 seats</td>
<td>450 seats</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- **State Duma**
  - The lower house, the State Duma, will have 450 seats. Half were chosen from party slates, the other were elected in single-constituency districts (similar to the U.S. House of Representatives) and are thought to be mostly independent.

**Political breakdown of State Duma seats**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRO-REFORM</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia's Choice</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabloko bloc</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party of Unity and Accord</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total seats: 106</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANTI-REFORM</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democratic Party</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Party</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agrarian Party</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total seats: 146</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NON-ALIGNED</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party of Russia</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women of Russia</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents/representatives of small parties</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total seats: 160</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Reuters

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of him as Czar Boris will be cemented among many voters. And given his other troubles—maintaining Western support, keeping the Russian economy afloat and blunting the challenge of nationalists, to name a few—he needs to keep whatever democratic fig leaf he has left.

Mindful of this, Yeltsin has sent generally conciliatory signals to the new legislature, calling it more clever, more intellectual and more politically astute than the old parliament, and instructing his aides to work with the lawmakers.

“Working with this parliament is President Yeltsin's intention,” Dmitri Ryurikov, an assistant to Yeltsin, said in an interview. “The problem is whether the parliament is going to work with the president.”

There is ample reason to wonder. The new assembly will feature some of Russia's most notorious enemies of reform and democracy. They include Anatoly Lukyanov, 63, the speaker of the Soviet Union's old Supreme Soviet and a key plotter in the failed 1991 coup attempt against Mikhail Gorbachev; and Vasily Starodubtsev, 62, a hard-line collective farm leader who fought private property and also took part in the 1991 coup bid.

Lukyanov, who was elected to the lower house, and Starodubtsev, who was elected to the upper house, both tried to argue last week that they are immune from prosecution for their parts in the 1991 coup attempt. A court rejected their plea, ordering them to stand trial for treason even as they serve in parliament.

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Callers Flood Radiation-Test Hot Lines
Veterans, Others Recount Secret U.S. Experiments

By Peter Brush
Washington Post Staff Writer

When Clinton administration officials first solicited complaints from possible victims of federal radiation experiments, they installed three telephone hot lines, expecting each to field a few dozen cases daily. Two weeks later, expanded tenfold, the service is besieged with 500 calls an hour.

Often anxious and breathless, callers are reaching deep in the past to recount charges of how government scientists used them as human guinea pigs. Faced with Rep. Andrew Frosini, a World War II veteran, recalled a 1945 incident in which Army doctors flew him across Florida in a military plane to insert into his nostrils a needle tipped with radioactive capsules.

"For my personal satisfaction, I need to know whether my health and well-being were sacrificed for the sake of some experiment," Frosini, now bedridden with numerous health problems, told the hot line operator. "And if they were, I deserve to know why."

Others who reached the Energy Department's hotline (1-800-435-9980) ranged from a former federal prisoner in Oregon, who remembered researchers exposing his testicles to radiation, to a Boston factory worker who, as a teenager, was mentally retarded. Apparently, he was given breakfast cereal combined with radioactive material by government-backed scientists.

Initially an attempt to give a fair hearing to survivors of Cold War experiments, the administration's radiation project has grown quickly into a runaway board for a wider range of potential victims. Energy Department officials who initially estimated that there were 800 participants in federal radiation tests now acknowledge that the number could climb much higher.

Although some of the cases coming to the administration's attention are questionable, said Peter Brush, a department radiation specialist, "usually it feels like we're under siege."

"We never expected to get this kind of response," Brush said. "Sometimes it feels like we're under siege."

The biggest explanation for the overwhelming response is the possibility of compensation. On Dec. 29, the day after Energy Secretary Hazel R. O'Leary publicly recommended financial settlements for radiation experiment victims, several thousand callers jammed the agency's radiation hot line, according to a department spokesman. In earlier cases, federal agency officials have dispatched victims to more than $100,000 in damages.

Encouraged by O'Leary's proposition, some of participants in various scientific endeavors, including many not involving radiation, are waging their own campaigns for damages. From an advocate for children who were used in sexual experiments to a spokesman for victims of chemical warfare probes, all ask why their cases are any less urgent or serious than those of radiation test participants.

The nonprofit advocacy group, Radiation, From A to Z, which has helped staff the hot line, has received more than 100 calls a day.

"I was a healthy man before these experiments," said Andrew Frosini, a World War II veteran, recalled a 1945 incident in which Army doctors flew him across Florida in a military plane to insert into his nostrils a needle tipped with radioactive capsules.

"I was a healthy man before these experiments," said Andrew Frosini, a World War II veteran, "I was a healthy man before these experiments."
Flight Plan Change May Have Caused Loss of Mars Probe

By Kathy Sawyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Seven months before the launch of NASA's Mars Observer, managers made a change in the flight plan that might have caused the $500 million spacecraft to vanish on Aug. 21, according to sources familiar with the program.

Instead of pressurizing the craft's propellant tanks five days after the launch, as originally planned, NASA managers decided to delay the procedure for 11 months—until the Observer reached the red planet. They did so, ironically, to avert a potentially serious leak, officials said.

But the valves had not been designed to operate under the altered conditions, the sources said, and the result was probably an even worse leak that caused a catastrophic rupture in a fuel line and spun the craft out of control.

The change in plan was made did not come up during a news briefing Wednesday at NASA headquarters, where an independent investigating panel reported its conclusions about what happened to the spacecraft and its fate.

Sources familiar with the program expressed surprise that mention of this management decision was omitted from the briefing and also from the report's executive summary and overview that were released to the news media.

The change is described, however, in at least two places deep inside the report's eight-inch-thick, four-volume documentation, which was not released to the news media but was available for review at NASA headquarters.

Timothy Coffey, chairman of the investigating board, was traveling and not available for comment, his office said. Others on the panel said they were not sure why the management decision to delay pressurizing the tanks was not mentioned.

See MARS, A10, Col. 1

MARS, From AI

The disappearance of the Observer is one of several embarrassments for NASA in recent years. In 1989, it launched the Hubble Space Telescope with what was later found to be a flawed mirror; corrective optics were installed in a spectacular spacecraft mission last month. And at the same time that the Observer disappeared, the antenna on the Galileo probe to Jupiter malfunctioned. NASA also has been plagued by cost overruns on its space station project.

The decision to change the pressurization plan for the Mars probe was made in February 1992 because someone reminded the team that a similar propulsion system used on the Viking missions to Mars in the late 1970s had run into leakage problems when the fuel tanks were pressurized early in the flights, Glenn E. Cunningham, Mars Observer project manager at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL) in Pasadena, Calif., confirmed last week.

As to why this concern developed so late in the program—after it was too late to make what would have been needed for Earth and Mars—assuming the launch went well. (They had left a small amount of residual pressure stored in the tanks before launch for minor course corrections en route.)

Pressurizing the tanks involves opening previously closed valves and releasing high-pressure helium, whose function is to squeeze the propellant, fuel and nitrogen to provide oxidizer out of separate tanks to mix and ignite in a controlled way.

If the investigators' conclusions are correct, the failure's most likely cause was the escape of small quantities of the oxidizer through a system of check valves during the spacecraft's 11-month, 450-million-mile cruise through space. When JPL controllers tried to pressurize the tanks, minute amounts of condensed oxidizer may have been carried prematurely into contact with the hydrazine fuel. The combination would have ignited inside the plumbing and ruptured it, spewing jets of propellant into space and putting the spacecraft into a rapid, uncontrolled spin that rendered it useless.

"There was no problem with the check valves," said a planetary engineer who asked not to be identified. "The valves were never intended to be operated that way.

He was referring to the fact that when the Observer was designed and built, the assumption was that the valves would have to operate only for five days, not for 11 months, and not in such low temperatures.

The valves, made by two different subcontractors, were regarded as assembly line items that had been proven in other spacecraft. But they had operated only in the relative warmth of near-Earth orbit, investigators said, never in the deep cold of an interplanetary voyage.

In 1992, the Observer team debated the change in procedures extensively before it was approved, a member of the investigating panel, Peter G. Wilhelm, director of the Naval Center for Space Technology, said Thursday. He focused during the investigation on the propulsion system.

"Was the decision prudent? That's what the debate was all about," he said, adding that changes so late in the game are acceptable, "assuming you make the right change."

The team considered putting in additional valves—a relatively simple fix—but Cunningham said it was proposed too close to the launch date. "It was a time and cost hit that we couldn't handle.

Interplanetary launch dates are relatively rigid because they are timed to match the most advantageous alignment of Earth and the intended destination. Had the team missed the 1992 launch "window," the next launch could not have been made until at least two years later.

NASA is considering various spacecraft designs for a reflight of the Mars Observer mission, with launch no earlier than 1996.
Mexico Says Catholic Church Fomented Peasant Rebellion

By Tod Robberson
Washington Post Foreign Service

SAN CRISTOBAL DE LAS CASAS, Mexico, Jan 9 - A steadily progressing battle between peasant revolutionaries and the Mexican military has provoked a harsh backlash against the Catholic Church, which the government accuses of fomenting unrest and encouraging an armed uprising here in the southern state of Chiapas.

As in the civil war in El Salvador, in the 1980s, the church finds itself immersed in political controversy sparked by the local resurgence of "liberation theology," a controversial doctrine that encourages the poor and dispossessed to struggle for justice and end their passive acceptance of oppression and abuse.

In Chiapas, scene of a revolt by Mayan Indian peasants, Catholic Bishop Samuel Ruiz has become the target of government wrath because he allegedly advocated protest marches and other acts of civil disobedience before the New Year's Day uprising by the Zapatista National Liberation Army.

President Carlos Salinas de Gortari's government has said the Zapatistas have called on Ruiz and another leading priest, the Rev. Ignacio Martin Saenz, to mediate an end to the fighting. Ruiz has rejected the call.

On Saturday,drop from its stated belief that the church was an "enemy of the people," the government accused of working in the countryside—well beyond the four towns they seized and then abandoned on Jan. 1 and 2.

The controversy brought him into direct public confrontation with Vatican envoy Girolamo Prigione, who is trying to maintain friendly relations with a Mexican government deeply wary of the church. Mexico and the Vatican restored diplomatic relations only 15 months ago after a 100-year split.

The bishop's defenders say he is being made a scapegoat by a central government caught by surprise and embarrassed by an uprising that has shattered Mexico's international image of rising prosperity and development. Ruiz's supporters already are comparing him to Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, an architect of liberation theology who was assassinated by right-wing militants in 1980.

Today in his Sunday homily, Ruiz repeated his condemnation of violence and lamented the loss of life on all sides during the conflict. Despite his denial of involvement in the rebellion, Ruiz referred to the Zapatistas as "our rebel brethren" who, because of an "accumulation of aggression," had reached their limit of tolerance and decided to fight back. He also condemned the widely reported acts of discrimination and human rights abuses against the Indians, saying the violence "can be understood without looking for external causes."

More than 130 people are believed to have been killed since fighting erupted Jan. 1. The Mexican military has acknowledged in communiques that, although fighting is less intense, the rebels are spreading across the countryside—well beyond the four towns they seized and then abandoned on Jan. 1 and 2.

Refugees from San Antonio de los Banos, a mountain hamlet roughly five miles south of here, told reporters Saturday that nearly half their community, including two teenage girls, had left to join the Zapatistas last week. The military said 400 guerrillas stormed nearby San Felipe Elreezepe on Thursday, Dec. 8, and rain this weekend have prevented the military from conducting aerial surveillance of the rebels.

In news conferences and written statements, Ruiz has said the uprising is the result of chronic poverty, oppression and discrimination against Indian peasants.

In a statement issued Jan. 1 with two other bishops of the region, Ruiz said the church does not condone the use of arms to solve social problems, but the violence "should serve as a warning of the danger inherent in the abandonment of marginalized groups."

Businessmen and activists of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party here assert that Ruiz has had more than a passive role in the rebellion. "He is the comandante," said Ernesto Redwyll, a San Cristobal restaurateur.

"He did everything but tell them to take up arms. You could hear him on any Sunday telling them things like, 'The only way to end your misery is to take action. Rise up and take control.' What did he expect them to do?"

Last November, Ruiz was called before the Mexican Bishops' Conference in Mexico City to explain his teachings and defend himself against rising state government criticism of his theological practices.

The controversy brought him into direct public confrontation with Vatican envoy Girolamo Frigione, who is trying to maintain friendly relations with a Mexican government deeply wary of the church. Mexico and the Vatican restored diplomatic relations only 15 months ago after a 100-year split.

Vicar General Gonzalo Isarte, a top aide to Ruiz, said the bishop is being unfairly blamed for violent developments beyond his control.

He added that Ruiz's version of liberation theology is nothing new. "This has been his message for the past 34 years. He has been . . . denouncing the gigantic disequilibrium between rich and poor, condemning the extreme poverty of the indigenous people."
White House Warned Not to Defer Issue Because of Health Care Debate

**MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST**

**POLITICS**

**FEC Hearing on 'Personal Use' Of Campaign Funds Is Big Draw**

Most proceedings at the Federal Election Commission are cut-and-dried affairs that draw little attention from the political world. Not so with the commission's hearing Wednesday of two election law experts who were invited to advise the FEC on one of its key campaign finance issues: whether candidates and party committees violate campaign laws when they buy bags of Super Bowl tickets and other personal gifts.

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), who has been a key player in the debate over the so-called Super Bowl tickets, said at a hearing Wednesday that he would like to see the FEC take a more active role in enforcing the law. But, he added, "We have our hands full already because of all the other issues that arecoming down the pike." Moynihan was one of three experts invited to address the hearing, which was held to determine if the law regulating campaign spending applies to the purchase of Super Bowl tickets.

"We don't have a health crisis in this country. We do have a welfare crisis," Moynihan said. "And we can do both." He said that the two experts he invited to address the hearing, Jan W. Baran, formerly counsel to the three main Republican campaign finance committees, and John F. Sragow, a law professor at the University of California at Berkeley, would help the commission understand the complexities of the issue.

Baran, who is currently a partner at the law firm of Arnold & Porter, said that the Super Bowl tickets issue is "a good example of the complexity of campaign finance law." He said that the FEC should consider the law's "complexity and nuance" before making a decision on how to enforce it.

Sragow, who is currently a partner at the law firm of Greenberg Traurig, said that the Super Bowl tickets issue is "a good example of the complexity of campaign finance law." He said that the FEC should consider the law's "complexity and nuance" before making a decision on how to enforce it.

One measure of the sensitivity of the subject for members of Congress is the planned joint appearance Wednesday of two election law experts who usually take opposing sides before the commission. Jan W. Baran, formerly counsel to the three main Republican campaign committees and George Bush's presidential campaign, and Robert F. Bauer, who has had similar positions with Democratic campaign committees and the presidential bid of Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.), have linked arms on this issue.

"They have some common ground," Sragow said. "They both believe that the FEC should take a more active role in enforcing the law."
BRUSSELS, Jan. 9—As President Clinton today began a week’s performance on the European stage, senior aides in Washington were constructing a new offense to rebut charges relating to the president’s involvement in the Whitewater land development project.

The strategy could include selective public release of documents turned over to the Justice Department under subpoena last week.

According to a senior adviser in Washington, key officials have been laying the groundwork for more than a week for a more aggressive White House defense of the president and Hillary Rodham Clinton against charges of possible financial wrongdoing. The partnership with James McDougal in an Arkansas land development firm financed by a failed savings and loan, Madison Guaranty, which was controlled by McDougal. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) today urged Clinton to release all documents dealing with Whitewater and urged Attorney General Janet Reno to appoint a special prosecutor, echoing calls by key Republican legislators.

One element of the new White House strategy was reflected today when Vice President Gore used an appearance on CBS’s “Face the Nation” to argue that Republicans have “stooped” to suggesting criticisms “stooped” to suggesting criticisms.

“When they’re going into an election year,” said Gore. “They haven’t been able to sustain any attacks on Pres­ident Clinton’s policies; the country’s turning around, the president’s doing a fantastic job and so they’re going after him personally.”

Just as Hillary Clinton deplored accusations of sexual improprieties by her husband that were raised by Ark­ansas state troopers during the Christmas holidays, Gore noted three times that Republicans were “attack­ing ferociously” on “the day that President Clinton was burying his mother in Arkansas.”

“Now doesn’t it bother you a little bit to have the president attending the funeral service of his mother and to have members of the political op­position, as the service is going on, on the airwaves making these at­tacks?” Gore said.

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), who has called for a Whitewater special prosecutor, said he was “saddened” that Gore has “stooped” to suggesting criticisms are “inappropriate or unseemly” be­cause of the death of the president’s mother.

In a statement issued in Washington, Dole said that “no matter how hard ‘White House ‘damage control’ experts try, they can’t obscure this fact: Much of the Whitewater contro­versy to date has been caused by their own blunders.”

Gore’s appearance was one of a se­ries of television appearances in which senior officials—such as top advisers David R. Gergen and George Stephanopoulos—portrayed Whitewater as a partisan issue cre­ated and fed by Republicans.

The strategy being worked on at the White House would also use pub­lic release of selective campaign, sav­ings-and-loan and financial records to answer some of the questions sur­rounding the Clinton financial affairs that have increased in intensity the past two months.

The Clintons have staunchly re­sisted releasing additional private records, but some key members of the newly formed Whitewater de­fense team at the White House are expected to tell Hillary Clinton that the issue is unlikely to fade and that the White House ought to make what one official called selective “affirm­ative cases.”

But Moynihan, appearing on NBC’s “Meet the Press,” urged Clin­ton to release all documents pertain­ing to the Whitewater project to avoid the appearance of covering something up.

“Presidents can’t be seen to have any hesitation about any matter that concerns their propriety. And this is an honorable man. . . . He has noth­ing to hide. . . . Or nothing that should be hidden. And everything, I’m sure, will be understood, excepting if there is that old phrase . . . ‘stonewall,’” said Moynihan.

Asked whether Reno should ap­point a special prosecutor to deal with Whitewater, Moynihan re­sponded, “Yep. Yep. Nothing to hide. Do it. Come on. . . . Get some lawyer working on that issue while we go ahead on other things.”

Reno has told top aides that she would prefer to wait until the Senate, when Congress is expected to ap­prove an independent counsel law.

Unlike a special prosecutor, an inde­pendent counsel would have no links to the Justice Department.

For months the White House has turned aside most Whitewater ques­tions and declined to provide docu­ments. Officials said privately that providing more information would only keep the controversy in the news.

Clinton aides have maintained that many records were lost or unavail­able since questions about White­water first arose during the 1992 presidential campaign. But under in­creasing political pressure, the White­water House assembled several boxes of records and announced last month it would voluntarily turn over records to the Justice Department, which is investigating Madison and its rela­tionships with key Arkansans and political figures. The White House did not divulge until two weeks later that the Justice Department had subpoenaed the records under an agreement worked out with Clinton’s lawyer.

Federal investigators are exam­ining whether Madison funds helped pay off Clinton gubernatorial cam­paign debts. Federal thrust investiga­tors have also found that money from Madison was diverted to Whitewater and other McDougal companies and listed the Clintons among the possible beneficiaries.

Hillary Clinton’s law firm repre­sented Madison before Arkansas reg­ulators trying to convince them in 1986 that the troubled thrift was on its way to financial health at a time when it was near insolvency because of bad loans.

By agreeing to the subpoena, the White House guaranteed that the rec­ords would not be released publicly.

But administration officials said the Clintons are not prohibited from re­leasing their own records.

Sources said Saturday that officials have been cataloging the records at the White House and having them analyzed legally and politically in case the argument to release some of them prevails. It is unclear how many officials in the White House outside of the counsel’s office, including those devising the new defense strat­egy, have seen any of the Whitewater documents.

The new moves are essentially part of an expanded public relations strategy in which the White House selects the allegations it wishes to rebut and releases documents that go to that issue alone. The question about whether Madison funds helped pay off Clinton campaign debt might be answered with some never-re­leased campaign records, officials suggested.

But reporters here were cautioned that the Clintons have not approved, or even been fully briefed on, selec­tive release of the documents be­cause of the death of the president’s mother and the concentration on this European trip, which began here in Brussels and will include stops in Prague, Moscow, Minsk and Geneva. Clinton returns to Washington next Sunday.

The damage control team left in Washington, deputy chief of staff Harold Ickes, senior advisers Stephen­anopoulos and Bruce Lindsey and lawyers in the White House are ex­pected to discuss the issue with Hil­lary Clinton this week. She will stay in Washington until she joins the president in Moscow Friday.
Ex-Official at BCCI To Stand Trial in U.S.
Justice Dept. Seeks Answers in Bank Fraud

By Sharon Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

The scene following the signing of the agreement in Geneva between the United States and Abu Dhabi in the BCCI case Saturday morning was chaotic. After a dinner from a nearby Pizza Hut restaurant and an all-night negotiating session at the Hotel Richmond, U.S. officials were rushing to catch airplanes home and Abu Dhabi representatives were hurrying to morning prayers.

But after the dust had settled, one thing was clear: Within the next 90 days, the No. 2 official at the Bank of Credit and Commerce International and the one who may be able to untangle the truth about the now-defunct bank, will be brought to the United States from Abu Dhabi within 120 days to stand trial.

"This is a very, very, very big case," said Gerard M. Stern, the special assistant to the attorney general who led the negotiations for the U.S. side in Geneva.

"The major thing here is we actually get Naqvi in the United States. ... He will be tried by the Justice Department in Washington."

The deal, signed at 8:15 a.m. Saturday in Geneva after four days of negotiations between U.S. and Abu Dhabi officials, opens the BCCI case to U.S. officials for the first time. Abu Dhabi's ruling family entered into the pact "to bring the true BCCI story into the light," said Sultan al-Nayhan. The suit was dismissed the next day.

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San Juan Spill Tests Oil Pollution Act
Alaska Disaster Prompted Law; Puerto Rico Cleanup Is Progressing

By Tom Kenworthy
Washington Post Staff Writer

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico, Jan. 9—The large oil spill that has despoiled tourist beaches here has underscored both the strengths and weaknesses of oil pollution legislation enacted by Congress in 1990 following the environmentally disastrous Exxon Valdez spill in Alaska.

Hundreds of Coast Guard and private contractor personnel have made considerable progress in containing and cleaning up the spill of 750,000 gallons of heavy oil, a tribute to the legislation’s foresight in requiring that emergency spill supplies be pre-positioned around the United States. Although good weather conditions have helped, it appears that the initial success of the containment effort has been due mainly to an extraordinarily quick response.

The spill that occurred here Friday was precisely the kind of event that Congress anticipated in approving the Oil Pollution Prevention, Response, Liability and Compensation Act the year after the Exxon Valdez tanker grounded on a reef and spilled nearly 11 million gallons of crude oil into Prince William Sound. In addition to setting up rapid response teams within the Coast Guard and dramatically increasing the financial liability of polluters, the act required shipping firms to prepare “worst-case” spill response plans.

But the legislation also delayed until well into the 21st century a requirement that barges of the type that went aground here when a tow cable failed must have double hulls.

If the barge Morris J. Berman had been a new vessel, it would have been required to have a double hull, said Coast Guard Cmdr. Bob Ross, the federal on-scene coordinator—said today that firm had transferred the barge, seven of whose nine tanks were damaged when it went aground. Another 105,000 gallons have been removed from the water by offshore skimming ships and crews working on beaches.

“Our objective is to remove as much oil as quickly as possible from the stricken barge,” said Ross. Although there is some mild contamination along a six-mile stretch of oceanfront, much of the damage is concentrated in a one-mile area near several resort hotels.

Commonwealth officials said they were concerned that the spill could affect an electrical generating plant several miles away but said backup power supplies were available if the plant has to go off line to protect its cooling system.

By today, about 260 Coast Guard personnel had been mobilized for the cleanup, in addition to 350 employees of the National Response Corp., the spill-control company retained by the barge’s owner.

Don Toenshoff Jr., executive vice president of National Response, said the rapid mobilization would not have been possible before passage of the 1990 oil pollution act. Within just a couple of hours of the spill, said Toenshoff, three C-130 aircraft were on standby, and within 20 hours had delivered tons of equipment to fight the spill.

By today, the firm had enough equipment on hand to control 130,000 barrels—or more than 5 million gallons—of spilled oil per day. “The oil pollution act has had a major impact,” Toenshoff said.

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ON THE RESPONSE SIDE, WE ARE A LOT BETTER PREPARED,” SAID SARAH CHASIS, AN ATTORNEY SPECIALIZING IN OIL POLLUTION ISSUES WITH THE NATURAL RESOURCES DEFENSE COUNCIL. “BUT ON THE PREVENTION SIDE, WE HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO.”

The barge, the Morris J. Berman, has been linked to a network of family-owned companies in New Jersey that has a more than two-decade history of being fined, indicted and convicted of environmental crimes for operations in New York and New Jersey.

Marc Gerstman, counsel to the New York Department of Environmental Conservation, said the barge was owned by one of the companies controlled by Evelyn Berman Frank and her family in 1990, when New York barred the family businesses from operating in the state.

Two years later, the Berman-Frank barge empire was sued by New York for violating that order, and the family was denounced by state Attorney General Robert Abrams as an “arrogant shipping dynasty” that for two decades had “sullied the waters of New York for profit.”

In 1990, Evelyn Berman Frank, the family matriarch, pleaded guilty to illegal dumping of 500,000 gallons of sewage sludge and was sentenced to five years’ probation.

The Coast Guard has listed the Morris J. Berman’s owner as New England Marine Services, but Ross—the federal on-scene coordinator—said today that firm had corporate links to Standard Tank of Bayonne, N.J., a Berman-Frank company. An individual contacted at the Boston office of New England Marine Services today declined to comment.

Gerstman, the New York environmental counsel, said he recently warned Massachusetts officials that the Berman-Frank family might be trying to establish operations there.

The Coast Guard reported this afternoon that it had transferred about 350,000 gallons of oil from the crippled barge to a second vessel, about half of what was thought to be remaining aboard. About 750,000 gallons have spilled from the barge, seven of whose nine tanks were damaged when it went aground. Another 105,000 gallons have been removed from the water by offshore skimming ships and crews working on beaches.

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MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST
The Supreme Court this week will test how the values written into the First Amendment more than two centuries ago translate to cable television today.

Should cable, which provides news and information to the public, have the same protection against government regulation as newspapers? Or should it be treated differently because of its strong economic character and dominance in the market?

A ruling in Turner Broadcasting System v. Federal Communications Commission, to be argued Wednesday, could determine for the first time how the government regulates cable television overall and could set national standards for other high technologies such as electronic publishing and advanced telephone services.

"These are not pamphleteers of unpopular ideas, putting out ideas that the government is trying to suppress," said Jesse H. Choper, a constitutional law professor at the University of California at Berkeley. He reflected on the roots of the First Amendment, which was intended to protect printers and publishers who criticized the government.

At while sounding abstract, these matters of high constitutional law will have a real-world impact in the case pitting cable companies against the over-the-air broadcasters.

At stake immediately is the fate of local broadcast stations that Congress has ordered cable systems to carry, or those showing college basketball, or black-oriented news, or old movies and reruns of sitcoms such as "WKRP in Cincinnati." The result will test over time how the government regulates cable television overall and could set national standards for other high technologies such as electronic publishing and advanced telephone services.

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A Clinton administration task force is seriously considering a proposal to require most federal employees to either pay dues or a “fair share” fee to the union.

Approximately 1.27 million government employees—59 percent of the federal workforce—are employed in agencies or departments in which unions hold exclusive bargaining rights. Federal workers who would have to pay a “fair share” fee to the union would include most employees in the General Services Administration, which would require White House and congressional approval, and some members of unions that make up the federal government’s exclusive bargaining council.

The council, composed of union representatives, and administration officials, was also charged with setting up a new framework for labor-management relations that would address the federal worker's concerns about agency policies and laws that favor over union members and procedural matters.

A new General Accounting Office (GAO) survey has found serious deficiencies in the government’s “computer matching” programs designed to curb waste, fraud and abuse. Federal agencies conduct computer matching searches on data bases for individuals’ names as a way to detect fraud and errors in government programs, but employees are concerned that the programs are used as a tool to identify individuals who are delinquent in paying off federal loans.

Supporters of computer matching praise it as a means of detecting and preventing fraud and errors in government programs, while opponents often criticize it as an invasion of privacy.

In an attempt to regulate how federal agencies gather and use such data, Congress approved the Computer Matching and Privacy Protection Act of 1988. The act requires that a survey of federal agencies find that in 41 percent of the cases, no attempt was made to estimate the costs or benefits of computer matching.

GAO found that 90 percent of the cases where a cost-benefit analysis was undertaken, GAO found that “not only was the analysis inaccurate, but the analyses were considered, inadequate analyses were provided to support claims and no effort was made after the match to validate estimates.”

“Many agencies ignore the law or interpret it to suit their own bureaucratic conveniences. As a result, we don’t have any idea when a computer matching program is cost-effective for preventing fraud, waste and abuse,” Condit said in a statement.

In a decade before the law was passed, federal and state government costs increased their use of computer matching programs in hopes of saving billions of dollars each year in improper benefit payments. But there are no comprehensive studies of computer matching, an Office of Technology Assessment survey found that agencies had exchanged 7 billion records between 1980 and 1985. A 1986 GAO study showed that agencies had claimed savings of $2.5 billion in 1985. The cost is crossed off after the match to validate estimates.

In general, a cost-benefit analysis compares a program’s total costs against its benefits to determine a cost-benefit ratio. For example, the cost of a federal worker’s time spent in making a computer match can be compared against how many overpayments will be recovered. But placing a value on benefits attributed to law enforcement or increased deterrence can be difficult to measure, especially when the public is not regularly reminded that computer matching programs are used to identify dishonest or improper actions.

The government’s most extensive matching program involves the Internal Revenue Service’s system of the Social Security Administration and state programs that administer welfare, food stamps, Medicaid and unemployment compensation must request and use uncaptured income data from the Internal Revenue Service to determine the eligibility of applicants and recipients.

Another well-known computer matching program involves the Education Department’s program of the Social Security Administration, which provides information to the Office of Management and Budget that has not issued detailed guidelines on how to conduct cost-benefit analyses.

277 separate matching agreements. While the 1988 law requires matching programs to include an analysis of the costs and benefits of the matching, GAO found that most of the agreements provide no analysis or that when they do exist, their quality, “in general, is poor.”

Agencies also use substantially different methodologies to calculate costs and benefits of their programs, GAO said, in part because the Office of Management and Budget has not issued detailed guidelines on how to conduct cost-benefit analyses.OMB responded to GAO’s comments by saying it will soon start preparing guidelines.

The 1988 law also mandated the creation of the Senate and House Boards to oversee computer matching. “We found that, in general, the boards lack a comprehensive, full and earnest review of the matching agreements. This appears to be the case especially for evaluating the cost-benefit analyses that accompany matching agreements,” GAO said.

In addition, GAO said it did not find any instance in which a board permanently canceled an ongoing matching program or refused to approve a new program.
Workers in Focus (Group Fall of Layoff, Jobs, Disappointments in Looking for New Jobs)

Dealing With White-Collar Unemployment

As a group they share a single common experience: unemployment.

For Margaret, who lost her job a year ago as education director for a major trade association in the Washington area, there's still anger. "I feel rage," she said. "I have rage at the absence of power." Sandi, who took a buyout from a major computer firm five months ago, has suddenly come to the realization that it's going to be hard to find comparable work. "I thought somebody with my skills would be able to land on their feet immediately. It was a rude awakening," she said.

And after a year of looking for a job similar to the one she lost, Barbara, a former regional sales director for a textile design firm, said unemployment has left her scared. "I'm going to have to do anything I can to get by," she said. "It's scary."

The three women were part of group of eight unemployed white-collar workers from the Washington area gathered in the offices of a Bethesda research firm last week. They made up a focus group being used by the Clinton administration to help shape the president's proposal for overhaul of the government's unemployment assistance program. The meeting was one of several focus groups the Labor Department has held around the country in recent weeks among white- and blue-collar workers. The administration will introduce its proposal early this year.

Reporters were allowed to watch the group through a one-way mirror on the condition they used only the first names of the participants and did not name the companies they had worked for, in order to protect the participants' identities. Working with a moderator, the eight people told how they had become unemployed and what they had done since.

The four men and four women telling their stories last week had more in common than one might expect. Over two hours of discussion, they told of their anger, their fears and their humiliation at becoming part of an emerging class of salaried white-collar workers who once thought they were invulnerable to the layoffs that have plagued the work lives of millions of blue-collar, hourly workers for decades. Until now, the people assembled in the Bethesda conference room had the closest thing to lifetime employment that the American economy could offer. Not anymore.

Most were the victims of corporate downsizing. They have no jobs to go back to; they are surplus workers in an era of permanent retrenchment. Perhaps more important for the government policy makers watching the group than the Clinton administration to help shape the president's proposal for overhaul of the government's unemployment assistance program is the fact that the people in the Bethesda conference room had the closest thing to lifetime employment that the American economy could offer. Not anymore.

For everyone on the group, the search for work has proved to be something of a dehumanizing experience. And nowhere, they say, is that more evident than in their dealings with the unemployment office.

Going to the government unemployment office, Erika said, is a "humbling experience."

Sandi is more direct, calling the people she has dealt with at the unemployment office "impersonal, insensitive, uncaring and unfeeling." She called her experience with government humiliating. "We're still human beings, we just happen to be unemployed at the moment," she said.

Despite the government's flaws and the impersonal nature of the help it provides, Margaret still sees it as "the best shot we've got."

Labor Department policy makers nodded as they watched as each member of the group talked of the dehumanizing effect of going through the unemployment process— one they insist they want to change.

"For most people it's a very isolating experience," said one official. "It feels very lousy." He noted, however, that white-collar applicants, such as the group gathered in Bethesda that night, tend to be treated somewhat better by government employment offices than blue-collar workers.

Perhaps the biggest surprise of the night came at the end of the session. Most members of the group agreed that they would be willing to pay for better, less impersonal service that resulted in a job. How much? Somewhere between 5 percent and 10 percent of their first year's salary, they seemed to agree.
Belgians Greet Clinton
With Love and Sax

President Schmoozes, Christopher Snoozes

By Daniel Williams
Washington Post Staff Writer

BRUSSELS, Jan. 9—Oh, those playful Belgians. Or was it just the accent?

President Clinton's well-orchestrated first trip to Europe had its moments of unexpected lightness, especially after he finished his speech to aspiring political leaders and made a foray into town.

He was greeted at a hotel by an organized gathering of 300 American residents. The mayor of a small Belgian town presented him with a gift. Sounded like, "An instrument of sex."

No, no, it was a sax, a saxophone from the home town of the thing's inventor, Adolphe Sax. Clinton declined to play.

Clinton meandered through Brussels and made an expected unscheduled stop at a cafe, a standard destination for the president on almost any tour. He was greeted like a rock star by Claire Mulasi, from Zaire, who ran over shouting, "I love you."

The president waved from inside the cafe, where the rumbling herd of security, press and staff folks sent dishes of French fries scattering.

Clinton chatted with customers. One asked him how he liked the decaffeinated coffee. Another expressed love of the United States, and not just because Clinton was president.

The president's spokeswoman, Dee Dee Myers, described Clinton as tired from his transatlantic trip, and not just because Clinton was anything but full of energy. He declined to wear an overcoat outside. Belgian Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene apparently felt no need for a macho dressing.

If Clinton seemed rested, Secretary of State Warren Christopher apparently needed a siesta, and took it when he could—during the part of Clinton's speech where the president talked passionately about all the economic challenges facing Europe and the United States.

Maybe, as one radio commentator said, Christopher had heard it all before. The pool television camera providing the only television pictures of the event live caught him asleep on the platform. At least no one could say his eyes were glazed over.

The spinners in his entourage responded with quick explanations. "He was deep in thought," said one.

"Work. He was up all night," said another. "He should get a life."

Perhaps the best partisan explanation came from State Department spokesman Michael McCurry, who said, "He was doing an imitation of Brent Scowcroft," national security affairs adviser to President George Bush. Scowcroft was so infamous for doing off during meetings and Bush speeches that the former president used to tease him publicly about it.

Good save, Mike.

In any case, if he ever writes a book about Europe's security, he can call it, "While Christopher Slept."

‘Collaborator’
Deaths Blamed On Both Sides
Torture, Slayings Of Palestinians Cited

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, Jan. 9—The uprising against Israeli rule unleashed a wave of violence in Palestinian society in which hundreds of Palestinians were killed and tortured by their own "shock squads" on suspicion of collaborating with Israeli authorities, according to a report published today by an Israeli human rights group.

The two-year study of the "collaborator" killings charged half or more of the 750 to 950 Palestinians slain over six years were not informants for Israel but were killed for other reasons, including "social or criminal matters, such as drug abuse or trafficking, homosexuality, family feuds, and other causes."

The report lays blame for the bloodshed on Palestinians and Israeli authorities, saying both violated international human rights standards.

The study was published by B'tselem, the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories. It is the first time a human rights group has delved in such depth into the controversial topic of collaborator killings, which some Palestinians regard as a shameful outgrowth of the uprising. Right-wing Israelis have pointed to the toll as evidence that Palestinians are a violent society.

The report accuses Israeli authorities of trying to turn Palestinians into informants by using "pressure and extortion," exploiting their dependence on Israel for everyday permits. It charges that Israeli security police used Palestinians to help entrap Palestinian fugitives, and turned a "blind eye" when collaborators committed criminal acts.

It said the Israelis intensified their use of collaborators in recent years to hunt down militant Palestinian guerrillas, who responded by killing more suspected informants.

"Many suspected collaborators were tortured—sometimes to death—by activists of Palestinian political organizations; others were executed," according to B'tselem. The organizations included "shock squads" of the Fatah wing of the Palestine Liberation Organization; the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine; and Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement, whose squads have carried out most of the killings in the Gaza Strip since 1992.

According to the report, as the pace of killing accelerated in recent years, the "shock squads" often operated on their own. But, it said, "the fact that the PLO continued to maintain its organizational and financial ties with squads that tortured and killed Palestinians places the responsibility for those deeds on the PLO."

Saleh Abdal Jawad, a co-author of the study and assistant professor at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank, said the PLO never issued a clear, unequivocal policy against the killings.

From the outset of the revolt in December 1987 through 1993, Israeli security forces killed 1,100 Palestinians, according to B'tselem; it says estimates of the number of killings of Palestinians by Palestinians for suspected collaboration range from 750 to 950. The Israeli army's estimate is 964.
Ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia Are Demanding Self-Government

By David B. Ottaway

KOMARNO, Slovakia—Raising the specter of yet another ethnic separatist movement in Eastern Europe, Slovakia’s Hungarian minority this weekend held its first assembly to demand self-government and a special status for the Hungarian town of Komarno, and even personal, names and to promote Slovak-language schools instead of those using Hungarian.

Both Hungary and Slovakia have expressed a strong desire to become full members of NATO as soon as possible and to participate in the Partnership for Peace program the United States has proposed as a first step toward that goal. It is expected to be approved at the NATO summit in Brussels today.

Present-day Slovakia was under Nazi Germany during World War II. Slovak nervousness over Hungarian intentions worsened when the late prime minister of Hungary, Jozef Antall, declared in 1990 that he personally pleaded with its organizers to call it off. "This is not a step forward toward integration and getting closer together to each other but a step backward toward separation," he said in the interview.

The meeting itself was not illegal, he said. But it was "politically dangerous" because its goal was the creation of what he vastly described as "an independent province in southern Slovakia" and "a province with a special status and independent administration."

However, the organizers avoided using the word "independence," or even "autonomy." Rather, they called for recognition of the Hungarians as a "national community" with equal rights to the "Slovak nation," and for strong local government.

They objected strenuously to a government plan to redistrict Slovakia in such a way that the Hungarians would be a minority in all southern border regions where Hungarians constitute at least 10 percent of the population.

Most Slovaks understand this as a first step to declaring an independent region that will later be joined to the Hungarian republic," President Mikul Kovac said in an interview last week.

The Hungarians in Slovakia, who make up 11.5 percent of the population, want to be recognized as a "partner nation" with rights equal to those of the Slovak majority. The constitution defines the country as "a Slovak nation" and relegates the Hungarians to the status of a national minority.

The Hungarians fear they will be assimilated and they cite government attempts to limit use of Hungarian town, and even personal, names and to promote Slovak-language schools instead of those using Hungarian.

Hungary has so far refused, congressing or "independence," or even "autonomy." Rather, they called for recognition of the Hungarians as a "national community" with equal rights to the "Slovak nation," and for strong local government.

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The meeting went off without incident and with few policemen in evidence. But several speakers complained that local authorities had tried in two towns to block delegates from attending on the pretext that the papers of their state-owned buses were not in order.

Only one speaker, Lazlo Mihaly Molnar from Sepsiszentgyorgy, raised the specter of a future Greater Hungary incorporating Slovakia’s southern border where 98 percent of the ethnic Hungarian population lives.

The Slovak government has set up an office to ensure that all Hungarian babies are given Slovak names.

Asked whether they also seek the right to self-determination, Duray, president of the Hungarian Coexistence Movement and a member of parliament, replied: "Every people has the right to self-determination, but we want to exercise it within the borders of Slovakia."

The four-hour meeting was attended by local elected officials and parliament members from the 522 towns and villages along Slovakia’s southern border where 98 percent of the ethnic Hungarian population lives.

In a bid to quash the nascent Hungarian nationalist movement, the Slovak government declared the objectives of the meeting here "illega and unconstitutional" and Kovac personally pleaded with its organizers to call it off. "This is not a step forward toward integration and getting closer together to each other but a step backward toward separation," he said in the interview.

The meeting itself was not illegal, he said. But it was "politically dangerous" because its goal was the creation of what he vastly described as "an independent province in southern Slovakia" and "a province with a special status and independent administration."

However, the organizers avoided using the word "independence," or even "autonomy." Rather, they called for recognition of the Hungarians as a "national community" with equal rights to the "Slovak nation," and for strong local government.

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"I'm not for the change of borders by force but neither do I believe in eternal borders," he said.
Stonewall
On Whitewater

Abuse heaped by Clinton political operative Paul Begala on a universally respected senior Republican congressman last week reflects a technique that has served the president well in the past but now encounters its greatest test.

Appearing on CNN's "Inside Politics," Rep. James Leach commented in his quiet manner that while Bill Clinton apparently is "quite an ethical president" in his quiet manner that while Bill Clinton apparently is "quite an ethical president" some very serious questions have arisen involving the public trust during his tenure as governor of Arkansas.

Begala's response: "What this is, is a Republican witch hunt. . . . The president's policies . . . past, and the president's popular. So now, they're going to spend 1994 attacking the president personally. And I, frankly, I just think it stinks."

In fact, neither Begala nor presidential counselor David Gergen (accusing his former fellow Republicans of "carnivalism") nor the other spokesmen sent forward by the White House are conversant with the political and economic details involved in the Clintons' ill-fated investment in the Whitewater Development Corp. The president's agents are flying blind, relying on their chief's assurances.

Begala is a skilled and intelligent lieutenant of master Clinton strategist James Carville, and what he says he "frankly" thanks is actually the Clinton strategy for dealing with the Whitewater affair: stonewall—no questions answered, no specifics addressed, no special prosecutor named, motives of the accusers maligned.

That technique worked admirably during the 1992 campaign, but now, the Clinton team must cope with two new factors. The first is the persistence of Jan Leach. The second is that last summer's suicide of Vincent Foster, White House aide and friend of the Clintons, to many remains a mystery.

In their encounter, Begala treated Leach like the Republican shouters he regularly confronts on television. But Leach does not shout. The soft-spoken Iowa resident of Princeton and the London School of Economics) during 17 years in Congress has earned a reputation for nonpartisanship, liberalism and integrity.

As ranking Republican on the House Banking Committee, he regards the savings and loan fiasco, whose bailout is estimated to be as high as $1 trillion, as a major, Characteristically, he never flinched from assigning blame to Republican administrations.

That explains the intensity of Leach's interest in Whitewater. By claiming "Arkansas insiders and the political establishment" used the Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan as a "piggy bank" to prop up Whitewater, he wants to resign from the question the estimations that the defunct Little Rock thrift institution cost taxpayers. Why was Madison kept open after federal regulators said it should be closed?

The proximate cause of renewed interest in this affair is not, contrary to the White House, the president's year-end success (made possible by the creation of NAFTA, thanks to Republican support). It is confirmation that presidential aides removed a Whitewater file from Foster's office following his death and gave it to the Clinton attorney.

After The Post and The New York Times called for the file to be released, the White House turned off the press, saying it would not happen before Christmas. By saying it would not happen before Christmas. It appears that even the president's most loyal aides may have been in the dark on this.

Begala's statement that "we can never know what was behind Foster's death echoes the president's own comments the morning after his aide's body was found.

The White House message, as pronounced by Begala, is that the questions being asked about Whitewater are improper and should not be posed. When 20 years ago Richard Nixon's break-in into the Democratic national committee headquarters and his men took that stance in regard to Watergate, this column asked whether this was an ill-advised political tactic, or the president had something to hide. Now that may be asked of President Clinton. For both his and the nation's sake, it may be hoped that this will be neither case nor unlike the case of Nixon—the foror, not the latter answer, is correct.

William Raspberry

At a Loss for an Answer

I am, as I tell interviewers who want to know my political views, a "solutionist." I have little patience for those who supply simplistic answers to complex problems or spend their efforts searching for villains to blame for problems. The people I admire are those with ideas for fixing problems.

So this confession is especially painful for me:

There may be problems—serious, widespread, society-threatening problems— that can't be fixed. I particularly have in mind the thousands of young people, most of them young men, who may be irredeemable.

I'm not speaking here of mere street thugs or even gang-bangers and murderers. No matter how much some of these violent ones frighten me, I believe most can be helped. I've seen some of them reclaimed: by wise counselors, by religious conversion, by personal experiences that lead them to come to themselves and to go straight. We have a lot to learn about how to increase the number of such rescues, but at least we know rescue is a possibility.

But there are youngsters out there who, I deeply fear, have no inner self to come to, who maim, kill and even die without remorse. These are children (and not always children) who are missing something at the core of their being, who have no feeling for others and who seem to have no feelings at all except rage. It is pointless to speak of rehabilitative techniques, since they were never habituated in the first place. They are, or so it seems to me, without a conscience.

We know them from the newest of the signals we call "senseless" killings: accounts of robbers who kill their unresisting victims; accounts of killings for such trivial affronts as an old look or being cut off in traffic; accounts of wild-firing killers who pursue their targets through streets, playgrounds and schools, with utter disregard for innocent bystanders.

Probably some among us—teachers, recreation aides and police, for example—know these conscienceless ones even before they turn murderous. Surely, the inability to care about the feelings of others must manifest itself early on.

We may even have a pretty good idea of where it comes from. The social and mental health authorities tell us that youngsters who are not loved and cuddled and taught to trust as infants never learn to love and trust and empa thy. Maybe they can't.

Maybe they're like abused and abandoned puppies who, if they survive, become cunning, untamable and sometimes vicious dogs.

If so, what's the solution? The dog pound of more or less permanent incarceration? But to give up on our children is, quite literally, to give up on our future. I won't do it. I still will look for ways—as a social commentator and as an individual—to make a difference in the lives of as many youngsters as I can. I will continue to support those who are committed to rescuing our children, whether as an aspect of their work or as an element of their character. I will go on advocating the empowerment of the national leaders every community still possesses—the social workers who quietly do their healing work.

I still think it's a good idea—perhaps a necessary idea—to teach parents of young children to socialize those children, how to build their self-confidence, how to instill in them the basic values, how to get them ready for love and learning and life. It's no indictment to say too many parents don't know how to do these things. Who can blame people for not learning what they haven't been taught?

But it does seem that the lack of conscience I find so frightening has its roots in poor parent ing—and that at least some of that can be overcome by teaching parents what they ought to know. As for those who have no interest in learning—whether because they themselves are products of ruined childhoods or because they have surrendered their parental instincts to crack cocaine—why, unless their children be worse off in foster care or even in welfare orphanages?

There are, I say, ways to turn off the supply of consciencelessness at the source. Expensive ways, no doubt, and maybe more intrusive than some of us would like. But it can be done if we decide as a society to do it.

But what of the coreless, not fully human ones already plaguing us? What do we do with them as they progress from adolescence to adulthood to middle age? Is there any reason to suppose they can ever be made decent, nondangerous citizens? Are they to be punished endlessly for something that truly isn't their fault?

It pains this "solutionist" to say so, but I don't know. I just don't know.
The Radiation Experiments

The Cold War didn't justify what was done.

We have an unfolding scandal to occupy us in Washington this week as well as some pretty heavy-duty foreign-policy stuff. But my mind just keeps being hauled back to the radiation story. That is the developing account of how the federal government financed various radiation-tolerance experiments on people over the years after World War II, some of the subjects of these experiments having given their consent, others having been totally unaware of what was being done to them. Related disclosures concern the federal government's failure to be truthful about the terribly harmful effects of some of its nuclear enterprises around the country, such as that in Hanford, Wash.

The subject is now to be looked into by a White House task force. But well in advance of its findings a couple of truly dubious propositions seem to be settling in as conventional wisdom. One is that the events in question began to occur as many as 40 or more years ago when, it is soberly asserted, people just didn't have the capacity to understand such things, either morally or scientifically. The other is: "Hey, there was a cold war on!" This is meant to suggest that there was an eggs-and-omelets, ends-and-means problem in­volved here, one of those for-the-greater-good situations in which someone (else) had to be sacrificed for the sake of saving or at least helping a large number of others.

The premises underlying both propositions are rotten. I can accept that much less was known and understood about radioactivity in the early days of the atomic age than now. That is obvious, and it is important to distinguish between what was accidental or innocent and what was not. And I can accept too that we have as a society become more conscious of the potentially harmful consequences of any number of phenomena that used to be regarded with indifference, from smoking to polluting our rivers and streams; and so we are more keenly aware of our choices. But none of that implies total ignorance or ethical idiocy in our recent past. I hate to break this to the younger folks among us, but 40 years ago was not the moral dark ages. We could read and write and were even capable of reasoning back then. A society that was morally alert enough to notice the profound wrongs that were being inflicted on the helpless populations under totalitarian rule would have had to boast plenty of citizens who would not have had any trouble at all in concluding—at once—that slipping poisonous matter into the breakfast food of unknowing, institutionalized retarded kids was a disgrace. You wouldn't have needed to call on the services of one of those people we nowadays call an "ethicist" to figure that out.

The reason I find the retroactive justifications for what went on with many of the radiation experiments so troubling is that they go directly to the heart of our present political confusions. For as long as there has been politics there has been the question of when to go along and when to say no. Those who do not simply withdraw themselves from the compromised, daily human business of civic life in the manner of hermits or ascetics or nonplayers of some other sort have to face this. They have to decide how much to engage in and accept the morally imperfect system of trade-offs that enables a society to get its business done, and when to draw the line. They have to keep alive within themselves the belief that some things are just plain wrong and that we are individually responsible for recognizing them when they come along and acting on our conviction about them, even at a cost.

It is interesting to me that much of the apologists for what the government and nuclear experimenters did is coming from parts of the establishment that are generally notorious for their impatience with what we call "situational ethics"—at least when such ethics are promoted in grade-school textbooks or "bleeding-heart" social workers' testimony in juvenile court. In fact, the conclusion that nothing is anybody's fault and nobody could help it and it all depends, anyway, on how you were conditioned by your environment to think about it etc., has been wantonly extended from a few relevant cases into every reach of our communal life. The relativists and sophists among us can construe almost any moral monstrosity as a justifiable act of political revenge or psychological compulsion or intellectual dissent or national-security necessity or something else along those lines.

The insidious reasoning about the radiation experiments should catch us up on this. It is as good an illustration as we are likely to get of how far the process of rationalizing away our moral standards has gone. I do not say that everyone at every level involved in these nuclear affairs did wrong. I do not even say that everything that occurred was wrong. But I do say that in many parts of this activity terrible wrong was done and that some individuals had the clarity to say so at that time and that many more should have.

It is the case that from one age to another assumptions change, as do perceptions of moral right and wrong. We argue about this endlessly in relation, say, to slavery in America or the grotesque mistreatment of very young working children in the century that preceded ours. But from this I do not conclude that we are all helpless captives of our particular era. There were always at least some people in those earlier times who knew that wrongs were being committed, and the lesson we ought to draw from contemplating such history, in any case, is not that we might as well succumb to the prevailing assumptions of our own age, too. It is that we ought to be wondering what the moral blind spots of our own age are.

It used to be said, in the years when the incredible depredations of J. Edgar Hoover's latter life as head of the FBI were coming out, that the people making a big fuss about them and wishing some restitution and amends to be made were in some way or other people who liked tearing down America, who reveled in the idea that we were bad. This, of course, has it exactly backward. To protest such actions and seek remedies for them is to pronounce them aberrant, to insist by implication that this country is not like that. I feel the administration task force is unsparing in its report.

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NEW YORK—If New York's newly elected mayor, Rudy Giuliani, is occasionally daunted by the task of governing a city in which one person out of seven lives on welfare, he might do well to look across the Hudson for inspiration. There, in New Jersey's second-largest city, 34-year-old Bret Schundler—who has been mayor of Jersey City for only six months—is attacking the welfare state head-on.

Schundler, a Republican whose every election represented something of a political miracle in a town in which Republicans comprise only 6 percent of the electorate, first came to office in the context of a 1992 special election. He was reelected the following May after running a decidedly right-of-center campaign.

Schundler enjoys Ronald Reagan's essential gift: A handful of strongly held convictions define his larger world view. He is clear and articulate about what he thinks an urban center needs: safe and clean streets, as many cops on the beat as the crime rate demands, secure schools that emphasize the fundamentals, low taxes, school choice for parents and children and work instead of welfare.

Schundler's main aim is to see government "empower people to do well for themselves." By his lights, this requires taxpayers ensuring that government serves them. Schundler contends that as things stand, government has no incentive to do well: "Governmental interest groups want to protect themselves. They are not focused on service."

"We're not talking about creating heaven," says Schundler. "We're talking about [doing something for] children who don't have any opportunity for an education, kids who are having children before they are old enough to take care of them, young people who are losing their minds on drugs. These are problems that can be overcome, the GOP maverick asserts. But throwing money at America's cities isn't the answer, Schundler argues. "There has been enough spent [on urban America] in the last 30 years for 25 Marshall plans," Schundler notes. "We have to start asking: How can we spend the money and actually help instead of hurting?"

Bret Schundler wants to divide Jersey City into 133 "special improvement districts" and then turn tax dollars over to each so every district can provide such supplemental sanitation and security services as prove necessary. He also wants to give Jersey City's parents the opportunity to choose what schools their children will attend—to see "every American kid have a great education—public or private."

At present, as Schundler sees it, if a child is born in the inner city "and the local school is a place of chaos, we don't let that child go anywhere else." In his view, that's plain wrong. Schundler favors giving children vouchers and letting them pick a parochial, public or private school.

If Schundler appears ready with answers to combat the failure of the welfare state, it's not because he's always been a conservative Republican. Quite the reverse: Schundler started his political life as a registered Democrat.

The son of German immigrants, he grew up in a small New Jersey town. A star football player, he was recruited by Harvard. There, he immersed himself in a liberal arts curriculum. After graduating, he went to spend time in a church in Washington's inner city: "I was a Democrat at the time. I was a great believer in social justice, and still am."

Schundler got his first political job as a staffer for a Democratic congressman, Roy Dyson, on Capitol Hill. It was in Dyson's office that Schundler began the intellectual journey that ultimately led him to desert the Democratic Party. Dyson, according to Schundler, was an old-school politician who panicked to special interest groups: "He'd sit there and say, 'Whatever you guys want, I'll do.'"

Schundler went from Capitol Hill to work in Gary Hart's 1984 presidential campaign. He enjoyed the experience, believing he was working to create "a more just America." He retains one particularly strong memory from that campaign. Although Hart had been a strong supporter of organized labor, he refused to support one piece of legislation that the unions favored regarding automobiles: "So they made him into the antichrist," says Schundler. "Because on one issue he wasn't willing to sell his soul—though he'd sold his soul many times on other issues."

For Schundler it was on to Wall Street and trading bonds at Salomon Brothers. Then came a stint at another Wall Street firm. During this time, Schundler came to understand that "markets actually work."

Today Schundler's changed "in terms of what I think will promote justice." Whereas liberals believe that government can solve all America's social problems, Schundler says he learned that government doesn't work: "I think the solution is [to have] government help you do well for yourself."

The young mayor still considers himself a "liberal," but he now believes that word has been debased—perhaps to the point where it no longer has real meaning. His conception of "liberal" is Madisonian. He believes the vision of Madison and Jefferson was to let people have control over their own lives. Instead, Schundler says, "we've created a government which largely oppresses people."

Today Schundler is struggling against the New Jersey teachers' union in an effort to persuade the state legislature to let Jersey City provide parental "choice." More battles loom on the horizon. But Schundler is firm in his beliefs and confident of his ability to persuade others. And why not? After all, who would have predicted two years ago that a Republican could capture City Hall in New Jersey's most longstanding Democratic Party stronghold?
Senators Spar Over Radio Free Asia

F reshman Sen. Russell Feingold (D-Wis.) is creating static over the $30 million needed to create Radio Free Asia, but party elder Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) has sent a strong signal that this is one battle he's ready to fight. "It would be a very nice thing if we could just have it, if we had all the money in the world," Feingold told us. "But what this is all about for me is bringing the deficit under control and asking some hard questions. Washington, especially the old-time veterans, just aren't used to asking those kinds of questions."

Feingold and Biden will square off later this month when the Senate debates whether it should authorize money to launch RFA. The administration wants to fold these networks into the U.S. Information Agency, which manages Voice of America, under a new presidentially appointed board. Biden contends the broadcasters would lose their independence and credibility. The administration has already signed on with Biden in support of RFA.

Feingold, a member of the Foreign Relations European affairs subcommittee that sets pension policy, also faces RFE/RL's broadcasters who are fighting for self-preservation. He points out that the top 15 of RFE/RL's 1,600 employees collect an average of $240,000 in salary and benefits. The president of the Munich-based RFE/RL receives $316,824 in salary and benefits, including a $52,000 allowance for living expenses, German taxes and housing allowance.

Critics also cite redundancy: Why is Radio Free Asia needed when VOA has consistently broadcast into closed societies, particularly China, over the years? VOA's radio broadcasts have long been a factor in many parts of China, where listeners number in the tens of millions. What the Chinese hear on VOA is news from around the world, a focus on the United States and, most important, news of what's really happening in their own country that their government doesn't report.

VOA's broadcasts during the 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstration were a Disney movie about a talking fish, "The Incredible Mr. Limpet." At the same time, VOA was telling the Chinese of the massacre taking place in Tiananmen Square. Around China, students, peasants and workers gathered to listen to VOA. Each broadcast was transcribed and posted on walls. VOA was so effective that Chinese officials mounted a campaign to discredit VOA broadcasts as propaganda. They've also been trying to shut it down. The station was since May 21, 1989, the day after martial law was declared.

But VOA has been getting through. The agency learned a number of tricks from years of trying to get around jamming in the former Soviet Union. It uses alternate frequencies, anti-jamming gear and powerful transmitters, and broadcasts instructions to listeners on how to get the clearest signal.

Joseph Duffey, USIA director, is dubious about what Radio Free Asia could offer that wouldn't overlap with VOA's efforts. Duffey's views have been daylight between himself and the Clinton administration. Duffey told our associate Andrew Conte: "I think a significant number of people, and I include myself in that group, have become skeptical about Radio Free Asia, . . . VOA in China has increased its broadcasting . . . and it has a special evening program called Cities to provide local news information for people about what's going on in China."

But Biden's office doubts that the information that gets through in VOA's broadcasts is meaningful. "No one listens to VOA," Feingold said. "They are disinclined to believe what is said because they know it is a broadcast of the U.S."

VOA flies under the radar, going largely unnoticed by the world. "You have the largest country in Asia, which is China, that does not have democracy, does not have an independent news media. If we're going to help foreign countries break down barriers, we have to provide them with information," Feingold said.

Feingold's bottom line is a little less lofty. "It seems when it comes to the federal government, the ability of the people to remain in place when they are not needed is out of control," he said. "This is a great example of whether or not we are going to bring down our federal deficit."

The Labor Department says the unfunded liability of U.S. pension plans sharply increased in 1992. The private plans that the government insures had $53 billion less on hand than they would have needed to pay all the benefits they owed; the gap was $15 billion greater than the year before.

Not all the increase represented deterioration in the condition of the funds. The method of calculation the government uses depends heavily on interest rates. When rates decline, as happened in 1992, plans by definition look to be in better condition. The method of calculation the government uses depends heavily on interest rates. When rates decline, as happened in 1992, plans by definition look to be in better condition. The method of calculation the government uses depends heavily on interest rates. When rates decline, as happened in 1992, plans by definition look to be in better condition. The method of calculation the government uses depends heavily on interest rates. When rates decline, as happened in 1992, plans by definition look to be in better condition. The method of calculation the government uses depends heavily on interest rates. When rates decline, as happened in 1992, plans by definition look to be in better condition. The method of calculation the government uses depends heavily on interest rates. When rates decline, as happened in 1992, plans by definition look to be in better condition. The method of calculation the government uses depends heavily on interest rates. When rates decline, as happened in 1992, plans by definition look to be in better condition. The method of calculation the government uses depends heavily on interest rates. When rates decline, as happened in 1992, plans by definition look to be in better condition. The method of calculation the government uses depends heavily on interest rates. When rates decline, as happened in 1992, plans by definition look to be in better condition. The method of calculation the government uses depends heavily on interest rates. When rates decline, as happened in 1992, plans by definition look to be in better condition.

Still, the state of the pension funds is a serious problem. Ten years ago the insured plans had an unfunded liability only a fifth as large as appears today. The government wants to reduce its exposure by making the plans on a sounder footing. The administration has sent up a bill to hasten full funding and meanwhile raise the insurance premiums of underfunded plans. The companies and unions that the bill would mainly affect are less enthusiastic—which means that the prospects of the bill aren't clear. The more that the companies have to put into the pension funds, the less is left to be divided up for other purposes.

The hurting basic industries say they should be receiving government help, not government pressure. There was a time a few years ago when the steel industry particularly was looking at the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp., the federal insurance agency, as the font of a possible program by which the government would aid selected industries by relieving them of their pension obligations. The unions in such industries as auto and steel are already struggling at the bargaining table. A requirement that the companies pay more to finance pension promises already made leaves less available for new increases in pay or benefits of any kind.

In the Reagan and Bush years particularly, officials were horrified at the thought that the insurance fund might have to make any large pay-out. Labor people tend to ask, by contrast, what is a social insurance program for, if not to make payments in times of need? The go-slow school of thought also warns against putting too much pressure on defined-benefit pension plans, on the kind the government insures. These are the best kind, in that they guarantee workers certain levels of retirement income. But employers in recent years are said to have begun drifting away from them. Does the government want to hasten that process?

Our own sense is that the administration bill is neither alarmist nor heavy-handed. It would strengthen the funding of the system, as needs to be done, but do it slowly enough so as not to drive under the very institutions it is meant to save. There's time to solve this problem. It would be a huge disservice if Congress squandered the time by putting the problem off.
Old Chestnut Time

Y OU CAN TALK about change all you want and keep repeating the changers’ mantra (“this is the ’90s”), but the news of the moment strongly suggests that some things are forever. The gems we have in mind are not diamonds, however; they are sentiments reported held in high places on both sides of the Atlantic and, as always, expressed by their proprietors as if they were original thoughts and apt ones at that. There are two of these we have in mind. We’ll start with the one concerning foreign affairs.

As it is said there is a “chattering class” and a “political class,” so there seems also to be a “source class” in the world, and this has long been evident whenever the “whither NATO” subject of American relations with Europe has come into the news. Thus by yesterday the reigning gripe was back in the papers and on the networks: America’s European allies were experiencing (yet another) spell of nerves, owing, as usual, to their fears that this country was abandoning its “leadership” of the West.

This one is at least as old as the Western alliance itself. But interestingly, in all its permutations over the years, it has rarely been accompanied by some corollary concept of American “followership.” mainly because in reality none exists, and, anyway, when the complaint is not about lack of American leadership, it tends to be about American strong-arm tactics. What does exist in reality is a pretty consistently practical and, naturally, often quarrlesome working relationship between the United States and its European allies. Its rituals by now include not just regularly scheduled meetings of the ministers and leaders of these countries, but also great, patronizing sighs of despair expressed by the European source class whenever one of these meetings nears. In their vocabulary, all American presidents (off the record, bien sûr) are either fools or maniacs—until such time as they are superseded in office by another fool or maniac and are retroactively cited as a model of good alliance leadership.

We mention all this by way of suggesting that it would really be dumb for administration leaders to make decisions about European affairs on the basis of this ritualistic complaint. But if you want to talk about dumb, you have to consider the foolishness of following the implied direction of the other old chestnut in the news at the moment, the domestic one. It has arisen in the context of the Whitewater saga, is as old as scandal itself in the age of multimedia and deserves a place in one of those anthologies of famous last words, next to something like “I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.” It is: “This will be a two-day story.”

Evidently this prescription for disaster has been heard rolling around the inner councils of the administration in recent days, even though, as a political Rx it is probably responsible for more death and destruction in government than anything since the Seven Deadly Sins. As now, the tempting, insidious observation has generally been accompanied by the thought that a masterful showing (anywhere) in foreign or national security policy would blow the trouble away. It’s not just that this has never happened. (The Awful Thing, whatever it is, always comes back.) It’s that believing the two-day-story nostrum to be true, administrations regularly take actions to suppress curiosity and the flow of information that, inevitably, make the two-month or two-year problem they have incurred greatly, sometimes terminally, worse.

So much for change. These two tired old sayings have been around forever, and, so far as we can tell, have never done anyone any good. Real change would be a White House that had the wit to see what shaky guides both are to policy.

Upside Down Housing Policy

F EDERAL HOUSING policy is upside down. The richest Americans have just had their subsidy greatly increased while the programs for the poor are under tight constraint. The combination is not what you would call administration policy; it’s not the result of an explicit congressional decision, either. But it’s happening nonetheless.

The largest federal housing subsidy is not on the spending side of the budget, but in the tax code, in the form of the mortgage interest deduction. The deduction functions in such a way that the higher your tax rate—or larger your mortgage—the greater your savings. The main impact of the budget in the president pushed through Congress last year was a sharp increase in tax rates on high incomes. In the name of deficit reduction, the taxes of the rich went up; so, in the same stroke, did the value to the rich of the mortgage interest deduction. Last year the deduction cost the Treasury more than $41 billion; people with incomes of more than $100,000 got nearly $16 billion or 38 percent of that. Next year their share will be higher still.

You’re right that this is a benefit the beneficiaries would happily forgo. They’d be delighted to give up the increase in the housing subsidy in return for relief from the higher taxes that the subsidy doesn’t begin to offset. Still, when upper-income people next go to buy a house— when they’re figuring out the monthly payments—they’ll be taking into account the higher value of the mortgage interest deduction. The government will be reimbursing them at tax time for a larger share of those payments. That’s how they will think of it—and they will be right.

At the Department of Housing and Urban Development, meanwhile, also in the name of deficit reduction, the budget is tight as a drum. The budget director has warned that the budget authority next year in the $7.5 billion Development, meanwhile, also in the name of modernization funds. OMB was arguing that enough such funds are already in the pipeline to sustain the program for the year. There was talk as well of a cut in the value of what are known as Section 8 certificates that are supposed to make up the difference between rents and the ability of the poor to pay.

For traditional reasons having to do as much with turf as anything else, the tax and spending sides of federal housing policy are separately decided. The process is irrational—and the result is wrong. What they ought to do is trim the budget authority next year in the name of multimedia and make a speech in favor of the opposite arrangement. But that’s what they have produced.
Pampering the Press

White House reporters boarding the media plane to Brussels Saturday night for the first leg of President Clinton's nine-day foreign trip discovered that their reputation for being pampered preceded them: Northwest Airlines, provider of the charter, informed the group by memo that among the available amenities were "four specially trained masseuses to help soothe the aches and pains you've accumulated from the rigors of the trips."

Horrified that word of the special four would leak out, the White House correspondents officially requested that the service be dropped. Last year when troubles arose over the White House's firing of several travel agents, administration officials suggested that the media were overly sympathetic to those aids because they pampered traveling reporters.

Reporters on Clinton's plane did not, however, turn down other perks, including a special selection of movies, a "special amenity kit" that included a disposable camera and toiletries, "current newspapers from leading news organizations" on each leg of the trip and a "first-class menu that will please the most discerning palate."

Medavoy Leaves TriStar

Mike Medavoy resigned Friday as chairman of Sony Corp.'s TriStar Motion Picture Cos. Despite the title of chairman of the Columbia TriStar Motion Picture Entertainment, said Medavoy's departure was "amicable." But Medavoy was known to have feuded with senior executives in Sony's movie operations, and Hollywood insiders said he was unhappy in his job.

TriStar, under the tutelage of Medavoy since 1990, performed poorly in the 1993 rankings, the rose dropped from the Top 5.

End Notes

Jacqui Mofokeng, the first black Miss South Africa and a runner-up in the Miss World beauty pageant, has turned down an offer by the African National Congress to run for parliament. Mofokeng was one of the surprise candidates on a list that the ANC circulated to represent a new province to be centered at Johannesburg. South Africa is set to have its first all-race elections in April... Seems that British rose growers hope to improve their sales by renaming a rose once listed as Sunseeker. It is bred in Northern Ireland and was introduced in 1992, and was ranked the third most popular patio rose in its first season. Sales slumped after newspapers printed photographs of the topless duchess having her toes powdered while yawning and nodding off in the press包.
Zhirinovsky: We don't need USA's help

By Jack Kelley

USA TODAY

MOSCOW — Russian hardliner Vladimir Zhirinovsky has had several labels pinned on him since his electoral success, but there's one he doesn't get.

"Who is this Ross Perot? I don't know him," Zhirinovsky said in 20-minute interview Sunday. "I've had no contact with America for two years."

Zhirinovsky's political success in recent parliamentary elections is seen by some as parallel to Perot's in the 1992 U.S. presidential campaign.

Both appealed to dissatisfied voters and neither is known for mincing words.

But President Clinton is emphasizing that Zhirinovsky — who has also been called a fascist and racist — has little credibility by refusing to meet him during his Moscow visit.

Clinton will talk only with President Boris Yeltsin.

That angers Zhirinovsky, whose party won one-seventh of parliament's 450 seats.

"I am the leader of the new parliament. I am not someone off the street," Zhirinovsky said. "The majority of people voted for me, not Yeltsin."

Besides, Zhirinovsky said, Clinton has nothing to offer.

"We need none of your help, we don't need your help, we don't need your help and we don't need your help," he said.

"We need none of your help, without you, without America," he said.

Taking on Yeltsin, 5A

By Bill Nichols and Steve Kornarrow

USA TODAY

BRUSSELS — President Clinton launched an "eastward-looking" summit with NATO's leaders Sunday amid hints Ukraine is close to meeting Western demands and giving up its nuclear arsenal.

"We've made a terrific amount of progress," he said.

White House officials said Clinton is ready to stop in Kiev Wednesday if there is a formal agreement to move Ukraine's estimated 1,300 nuclear warheads to Russia.

The administration has frustratedly pursued the agreement.

"The question whether to carry out air strikes against Serb targets if, under a NATO plan approved in August, Sarajevo, which has come under growing attacks from Bosnian Serb gunners, cannot be answered," Clinton told NBC's Meet the Press that "it would not surprise me" if NATO approved some kind of action.

Clinton's trip comes as a poll shows 70% of the USA favors maintaining NATO, with broad support for adding former communist nations — including Russia.

"We've made a terrific amount of progress," he said.

Sega puts Night Trap on hold

By Mike Snider

USA TODAY

LAS VEGAS — Sega is halting production of Night Trap, the CD game hit hardest during a Senate hearing last month on violence and graphic themes in video games.

The company says it:

► Will re-edit the game, which now includes movie-like footage and scantily clad women being killed.
► Won't bring it back until a ratings system is in place.

Sega won't pull copies from shelves, although retailers can return them for credit.

Night Trap was "intended to be taken as a broad parody of a B-grade horror movie, but that's not how it's (been) received," says Sega's Richard Brudvik-Lindner at the Consumer Electronics Show here.

By Sega's own rating system, Night Trap was MA-17: For Adults only.

But 88% say U.S. forces should stay out of Bosnia.

Speaking to about 240 young European leaders, Clinton recalled how Europe was divided between capitalism and communism after World War II. Pushing a U.S. proposal to gradually expand NATO, he said allies must bring the former Soviet bloc into the fold.

"We must not let the Iron Curtain be replaced with a veil of indifference," Clinton said.

Approval of the U.S. expansion plan is expected Tuesday.

Clinton arrived here following the funeral of his mother, Virginia Kelley in Arkansas.

Clinton worried about his state of mind, given Kelley's unexpected death from complications of breast cancer.

But Clinton said he was eager to do his job.

"My family and my friends and my mother's friends, we had a wonderful day (Saturday) and I'm doing what I should be doing," Clinton said.
Clinton vows
to work with our partners

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

BRUSSELS — As his first presidential trip to Europe begins in earnest today, President Clinton will have to fitnesse devilish flash points while he fleshes out a global policy that his critics have called ephemeral and naive.

From working out future relationships with former communist foes to bolstering Boris Yeltsin's battered Russian presidency to giving a personal nudge to Middle East peace efforts, the trip gives Clinton the chance to put a personal stamp on U.S. foreign policy after a year in which his administration seemed to stumble from crisis to crisis.

Continued from IA

At virtually every stop on his five-country, eight-day tour, Clinton also must convince European allies, whom he took nearly a year to visit, that the United States not only wants to remain engaged in Europe, but wants to lead.

"You always have this sense of insecurity in Europe that the United States is going to turn domestic, that they're not going to care about us," says Brookings Institution analyst Lawrence Korb. "But part of this trip has got to be to assure them that because Asia is now important doesn't mean Europe is less important." Clinton began giving voice to his vision of post-Cold War Europe Sunday with a speech to young European leaders in this city's historic Grand Place.

"I have come here today to declare and to demonstrate that Europe remains central to the interests of the United States and that we will help to work with our partners to seize the opportunities before us all," Clinton said.

His intent: Convince Europeans they, too, play a major part in his administration's security and economic priorities despite an initial year in which the White House seemed pre-occupied with Asia.

But despite European skepticism of Clinton's commitment and interest in the continent's concerns, his participation in a NATO summit here — in which he will spell out his new plan to gradually draw eastern European countries into the alliance — is simple compared to what comes after.

In meetings here today and Tuesday, Clinton will largely preach to the converted. But in visits to Prague, Moscow, Belarus and Geneva, Clinton faces a daunting and delicate agenda in which he must show the lofty rhetoric of his policy of "enlarging" democracy and market economies worldwide can prove successful before the bewildering reality of a very new world.

Stumbles on Somalia, Bosnia and Haiti last year forced the administration to refocus its foreign policy on "big problems" — so there is added pressure for Clinton to clearly and successfully enunciate policy on NATO and Russia.

"This is the first time that we have to deal simultaneously with five, six power centers with which there's no particular ideological conflict," said former secretary of State Henry Kissinger on "John McLaughlin's One on One.

"We have just used our foreign policy on more general and more abstract principles than the national interest, and that is the big challenge for the Clinton administration.

To ensure a successful European debut, Clinton spent most of December prepping with his top foreign policy advisers, though his final cramming was cut short by the death of his mother, Virginia Kelley.

The first of three speeches laying out Clinton's European doctrine had to be given by Vice President Gore.

And Sunday Clinton was hoarse and not quite himself, his much ballyhooed speech given a decidedly polite and quiet reception.

But a meticulous schedule has been carefully scripted to contrast Clinton's youthful vigor with the leaders of much of Europe, the artful staging paired with "impromptu" stops like the one Clinton made Sunday to a Brussels cafe.

What aides want this trip to do, in its images, is spell out a new generation of American leadership, while in its substance show Clinton has thought a lot about foreign policy and is perfectly competent to lead an alliance which looks to him like a jilted suitor.

The itinerary and its implications?

• Tuesday, Clinton travels to Prague where he hopes to soften the disappointment of four Eastern European countries — Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia — particularly eager to join NATO and its security umbrella.

• In Moscow, from Wednesday night until Saturday, Clinton will demonstrate his unflagging support for Yeltsin and the cause of reform while taking care not to incite anti-Western followers of ultra-nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky.

• Allies' Bosnia options, 5A

• Support for NATO strong, 2A
President Clinton's first official trip to Europe will deal mainly with the future of NATO and reassuring Russia of the United States' continuing support. Here's how people in the USA look at NATO and at the president:

Poll: Keep NATO's doors open

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

President Clinton makes his NATO summit debut today with U.S. public support strong for retention and expansion of the 16-nation European defense alliance. A USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll finds seven of 10 say NATO should be maintained, tempered by Russian objections to membership for former Warsaw Pact nations.

Meanwhile, there is little public support for U.S. military action in war-torn Bosnia. "Someone has to stop it. I don't want to send in a lot of Americans, though, and turn it into Vietnam," says Carmen Price, 41, an Orlando, Fla., high school Spanish teacher.

NATO membership means an attack on one is an attack on all, but Americans have reservations about sending troops to eastern Europe if Russia resists control. Most prefer neutrality or sending money and military equipment. In the face of Russian instability, there is growing worry Clinton is cutting the military budget too much. Four of 10 say the cuts go too far.

"You'd have to go back and redo the defense budget," says Defense Secretary Les Aspin conceded Friday that reductions in U.S. armed forces would have to be rethought if Russia were to reverse its military posture of non-aggression. "You'd have to go back and redo the defense budget," Aspin said.

Clinton begins his first extensive foreign policy venture with Americans still unsure of his international leadership. Fewer than half approve of his handling of foreign affairs and most do not see him as an effective world leader.

"I just don't know if he's getting the vote of confidence from other countries that he's going to need to get them to cooperate," observes Price.

However, nearly two of three say Clinton offers a good image representing America to the world, and most say he's tough enough for the job.

"He really is trying to do his best," says Price.

Critics have charged that Clinton spends too little time on foreign affairs. Half of those polled say he spends the right amount of time. About one in four say too little time.

Also, Clinton's foreign policy chief, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, has yet to convince Americans he's up to the job. Little more than four of 10 have a favorable opinion of the low-key diplomat.

Contributing: Brian O'Connell

Source: USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll of 1,023 adults by telephone on Jan 6-8. Margin of error: ±3 percentage points

By Stephen Conley, USA TODAY
Urges new partnerships for NATO

By Steve Komarow
USA TODAY

BRUSSELS, Belgium — President Clinton's first NATO summit is expected to produce some symbolic actions, but few solutions, for the thorniest problems troubling the Western alliance.

Sunday, kicking off his eight-day European tour, Clinton touted his solution for former communist countries clamoring for entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Titled “Partnership for Peace,” the proposal would have Hungary, Poland and other former Warsaw Pact nations begin to cooperate militarily with the West.

The plan would not, however, extend mutual defense guarantees that would give them a firm schedule or criteria for acquiring them. The strength of the plan, he said, is the “camaraderie of our warriors” it would build. A reason NATO allies don’t make war among themselves is because “armed forces of our respective nations trained, studied and marched through their careers together.”

NATO's 16 member countries are expected to endorse the plan Tuesday. They're also expected to back U.S. initiatives to counter rogue nations using atomic, chemical and biological weapons — and procedures for European NATO members to launch missions independent of U.S. control.

Meanwhile, Poland's national security chief said he that while Clinton's plan is welcome, Warsaw needs to be a more full partner, not just a formal member.

"We don't need to be a NATO member tomorrow, but one of our main strategic goals is to join NATO ... within a couple of years," said Jerzy Milewski, a former Warsaw Pact general, in Warsaw.

"We cannot give them enough aid to make them full partners," he said. "They must grow and trade their way into full partnership with us."

Contributing: Marilyn Greene

PREVIOUS PAGE: President Clinton talks with diners in Brussels, Belgium, Sunday during a stop at a restaurant. Clinton stopped for about 30 minutes after his NATO summit speech.

STopping to chat: President Clinton talks with diners in Brussels, Belgium, Sunday during a stop at a restaurant. Clinton stopped for about 30 minutes after his NATO summit speech.
Zhirinovsky ready to roll back

By Jack Kelley
USA TODAY

MOSCOW — Hard-line ultranationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovsky plans a fast power showdown with President Boris Yeltsin at the opening of Russia's new parliament Tuesday.

Zhirinovsky said Sunday that he will introduce legislation to radically roll back Yeltsin's economic and political reforms, including

- Stopping conversion of military industries to civilian use, part of Yeltsin's reforms.
- Granting amnesty to all political and economic prisoners held since April 18, 1985, soon after Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev took power.
- Excluded: those held on criminal charges.
- Detaining a group of ANC officials — led by Secretary-General and chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa, Slovo and other pro-communist demonstrators shouted support for ultranationalists and communists in a march outside the parliament building on Tuesday.

“People would like to stop all activity of this government. They want a new leader," Zhirinovsky said. “And we want a new parliament hoping to break 21 months of election. The Liberal Democrats are ready to lead. We will regulate," Zhirinovsky said. "We have an economy of 300 million. The government is out of control. "The government is out of control. "We have an economy of 300 million. The government is out of control. 

ANC group ambushed in S. Africa

By Chris Eshleman
Special for USA TODAY

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — Gunfire killed two people, including a freelance photographer, and wounded scores of others at a service election in South Africa last year, most in Johannesburg's tiny black township. The ANC delegation was inspecting violence caused by ANC and Inkatha fighters when the shooting took place.

Automatic rifle fire rang out as a group of ANC officials — led by Secretary-General and chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa and South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo — approached a Zulu-controlled dormitory complex. Ramaphosa, Slovo and other ANC officials were arrested when they entered the building. Some ANC members returned fire. One group of accompanying journalists was pinned down for more than an hour. Snipers fired at anyone in sight. Some ANC members returned fire. One group of accompanying journalists was pinned down for more than an hour. Snipers fired at anyone in sight. Some ANC members returned fire. One group of accompanying journalists was pinned down for more than an hour. Snipers fired at anyone in sight.

“Some of our people died in political violence in South Africa last year, most in Johannesburg. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. 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The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majority. The ANC has lost much of its support in the black majori...
Moynihan calls for land-deal prosecutor

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

A powerful Democratic senator called Sunday for the appointment of a special prosecutor to probe President Clinton's tangled dealings with a failed Arkansas land deal — and suggested the White House was stonewalling the investigation.

The remarks by Senate Finance Committee Chairman Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., stunned White House officials, who had hoped the issue would temporarily recede with Clinton's trip to Europe.

Before Moynihan's remarks, the push for an independent special prosecutor was led by Republicans and editorialists.

Moynihan's decision to jump on what had been a GOP bandwagon — and on a day when the White House hoped news stories would focus on Clinton's arrival in Brussels — seemed sure to elevate pressure for an independent probe.

The Clintons' role in the failed Whitewater Development Corp. land deal, and its links to a failed Arkansas savings and loan run by a Clinton contributor, is being investigated by the Justice Department. Attorney General Janet Reno, who has resisted appointment of a special prosecutor, said the case has been turned over to a career Justice Department investigator who is a Republican.

At question is whether S&L funds were used to retire Clinton political debts, and whether Clinton used the governor's office to inhibit state regulation of the thrift, run by James McDougal, a Clinton friend.

McDougal told The Associated Press Friday the Clintons did nothing wrong in their dealings with him. He said he had long sought to purchase their share of Whitewater to take advantage of tax losses.

Moynihan is known for both his unpredictability and his often testy relations with Clinton. On NBC's Meet the Press Sunday, Moynihan never even let his questioner finish before endorsing with gusto a special prosecutor: "Yep. Yep. Nothing to hide. Do it. Come on."

And when a questioner suggested Moynihan seemed to be saying the White House was stonewalling, he responded: "I would have to say that, you know, not knowing any details, just reading, going by it in the newspapers — yeah what's going on here?"

But Clinton senior adviser George Stephanopoulos rejected the call and said the White House had been fully cooperative. Stephanopoulos, who has been trying to smooth strained relations between the president and the senator, was careful not to criticize Moynihan.

"The special prosecutor standard has not been met, in terms of there being a specific allegation from a credible source," Stephanopoulos said.

It was a measure of the White House's surprise at the attack that even as Moynihan was speaking, Vice President Gore was denouncing as politically motivated the clamor for an independent prosecutor.

"This is a political attack which is coming, in my opinion, in large part because the opposition is a little bit scared that everything is beginning to go right with the economy ... so they're going after (Clinton) personally," he said on CBS's Face the Nation.
Welfare reform easier said than done

By William M. Welch
USA TODAY

The welfare queen, driving a Cadillac to the store to spend her food stamps, was a campaign staple for Ronald Reagan, who capitalized on resentment of welfare as he swept to the White House nearly a decade and a half ago.

Before him, Jimmy Carter had a plan to overhaul the nation's welfare system by creating jobs. Richard Nixon had a plan, too — remember the "negative income tax"?

Every president since John F. Kennedy has wanted to remake the nation's system of aid to the poor, and even Franklin Roosevelt spoke of his hope to "substitute work for relief."

Now it is President Clinton's turn, but even before he really begins there are signs he is finding the task as difficult as his predecessors did — and may be sinks from his popular support as he plays to "end welfare as we know it."

"Part of the reason Bill Clinton is president is he played that issue just right," says Richard Nathan, a welfare-policy expert in Nixon's White House.

"He called for ending welfare as 'boob bait for the Bubbas' and 'two years and you're done,'" says Nathan, director of the Rockefeller Institute of Government in Albany, N.Y.

"There's ambivalence, I'm sure, among the president's soul, and it is immensely complicated. There's ambivalence, I'm sure, in the mind of the president."

Keep the promise, senator says

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., is pressing President Clinton to move on welfare reform and says he may hold health reform hostage if the White House continues to delay.

Moynihan, who as Finance Committee chairman has broad power over both welfare and health bills, made the threat in an interview with the New York Post. He said Clinton is using tough rhetoric on welfare as "boob bait for the Bubbas" but isn't backing it up with action. "It's been a year now and we still have no bill," he said Sunday on NBC's Meet the Press.

"There's a war going on for the president's soul, and it is keyed on these two phrases — 'ending welfare as we know it' and two years and you're out," says Nathan, director of the Rockefeller Institute of Government in Albany, N.Y.

"The truth is, these issues are immensely complicated. For reform by cutting off benefits to immigrants who are in the country legally but are not citizens. The Clinton administration is considering that too, although liberals oppose it."

Unions propose to pay $10 billion more annually, experts say. Republicans propose to pay federal and state assistance to nearly 3 million families.

Creating 1 million jobs would cost $10 billion more annually, experts say.

"There's ambivalence, I'm sure, among the president's soul, and it is immensely complicated. There's ambivalence, I'm sure, in the mind of the president."

James P. Gann, who capitalized on resentment to Cadillac to the store to spend USA TODAY

Families on AFDC

Welfare spending on the rise

The average family of three on Aid to Families with Dependent Children receives $367 monthly. Benefits vary by state, with Mississippi the lowest at $120 a month and Alaska the highest at $923. The rise in spending and number of recipients:

- 1987 $15.0 (in billions)
- 1989 $19.5
- 1991 $22.8
- 1993 $25.7

Length of stay on AFDC

- 1993
- 1-5 years 44%
- 5-10 years 15%
- 10 years or more 8%

Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

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Blacks launch an 'offensive' against crime

By Sam Vincent Meddis USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Some of the nation's top black politicians, entertainers and civil rights leaders launched a new crusade over the weekend: a "moral offensive" on violence and black-on-black crime.

"There is no quick fix — but there is a fix," Jesse Jackson declared amid rousing applause during a three-day anti-crime conference. Law enforcement officials, exasperated over the continuing carnage on U.S. streets, say the unprecedented summit could be just the right step.

It can have a significant impact," said Chuck Wester, director of the Police Executive Research Forum, an association of big-city police officials. "What could be more important than for the civil rights community to recognize the safety of people in poor areas is really at crisis proportions?"

Anti-crime summits are a watershed event in the battle against crime and violence. What could be more important than a fix within the black community to recognize the safety of people in poor areas is really at crisis proportions?"

"They tend to be institutions that become involved after the problem," he said. "This problem will always be bigger than these institutions."

Many at the summit called it a watershed event in the battle against crime and violence. Black is the first meaningful and measurable blow to deal with the problem," said Rep. Kweisi Mfume, D-Md., of the Congressional Black Caucus.

In addition to calling for more government attention to poverty and urban problems, conference participants also called for more personal responsibility within the black community — including a return to traditional values.

Under some proposals that emerged, church-based programs would mentor 100,000 black youngsters annually, black colleges would provide academic courses for prison inmates.

And parents were encouraged to become more involved in their children's schooling. "We have been doing too little, too late," said Rabbi Charles Diamond of the Reconstructionist movement that sponsored the conference.


Weaker hailed the conference as a way to change the perception that crime-fighting is primarily the responsibility of police, courts and prisons. "They tend to be institutions that become involved after the problem," he said. "This problem will always be bigger than these institutions."

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Under some proposals that emerged, church-based programs would mentor 100,000 black youngsters annually, black colleges would provide academic courses for prison inmates.

And parents were encouraged to become more involved in their children's schooling. "We have been doing too little, too late," said Rabbi Charles Diamond of the Reconstructionist movement that sponsored the conference.


ANC-CRIME: Washington Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, the Rainbow Coalition's Jesse Jackson, HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros and Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders launch the anti-crime conference. Said Jackson: 'We are in desperate need of a spiritual, moral and ethical revival.'

The combination of guns, violence and the entertainment media also come under fire at the summit for creating what was called an explosive situation in the inner cities.

Gangsta rap, for example, with its lyrics about rape and murder, perpetuates violence against black women and glorifies crime, said C. Delores Tucker of the National Political Congress of Black Women.

Tucker said she was at the summit "to put the nation on notice" that her group would conduct a major campaign against the rap music industry.

Whatever their key concerns, many at the summit said it was emotionally energizing. "Everybody knows what they have to do when they go back to their communities," a New York lawyer said. "They just can't sit down and read the paper — and complain."

Rashid Jahari of Peace in the Hood, a Cleveland group that fights gang violence, said the summit was a test is later.

Similar gatherings should take place in neighborhood centers, Jahari said. "Like the Washington Hilton, said Jahari: "Hold them on the street corners where young people are getting murdered."

Study estimates crime costs at $202 billion a year

Crime may not pay, but it can exact a high price.

A single crime can cost $41,000 in physical and psychological medical treatment, according to the Journal of Health Affairs in the first effort to calculate the economic effect of violent crime on a large scale.

The tab for all crimes in a single year: $202 billion. Gunshot wounds account for 10% of the total cost.

The economic toll should prod lawmakers to find some way to curb the epidemic of violence, authors of the studies say. Their recommendations: gun control, education. "These are preventable injuries," says Wendy Max of the University of California-San Francisco. "They represent a real potential savings of health dollars."

While blacks make up less than 13% of the population, they account for nearly 50% of homicide victims, and most of their assailants are black.

Gun control was another major theme, with civil rights activist Al Sharpton promoting criminal penalties for manufacturers whose guns end up on the underground market.

"A lot of the research suggests the increased killings (are) because of the lethality of weapons," said Barry Krueger of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. Guns were used in more than 68% of 1992 homicides, up from less than 61% in 1988.

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**Politics and pals pay respects to ‘Tip’**

By John Larabee

**BYO TODAY**

**BOSTON** — As a bagpiper piped Amazing Grace on the Start House steps Sunday, dozens of mourners — powerful politicians and local pals — filed to pay respect to Thomas "Tip" O'Neill.

"Tip, all the lives were ‘darlings’ and all the guys were ‘pals’," said Al Flynn, an O’Neill chum for 46 years. "He knew how to get along with everyone. He had something on the ball."

O'Neill, beloved as a local politician while rising to national prominence as a House speaker, died in the April 19 fire the siege of Waco.

Many remembered him most for his common touch than for his politics.

"Everyone could relate to him," said talk show host Mark O’Neill Thursday. "There aren't too many like him left," said photographer Mary Thawley, who waited three hours to be the first in line Sunday. "The young people going into politics today — I don't think they do it for the same reasons."

Both days, the line snaked through the Statehouse, down the outside steps and around the block. On Sunday, more than 5,000 paid their respects to Congress — are expected at today's funeral.

**Waco drama lands in court**

**By Mark Paun**

**USA TODAY**

**SAN ANTONIO** — A Texas prairie battle that began with a grenade hurling from a UPS truck and turned into a fiery fireball that consumed at least 81 people, today enters a federal courtroom in this city.

Almost 11 months after four federal agents were killed and 16 wounded as they tried to serve a warrant at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, survivors of a 51-day standoff are on trial for murder and murder. Each could face a mandatory life sentence.

Watching the case unfold will be representatives of more than 2,000 people, both from around the world, at least 23 relatives of deceased Branch Davidians, and a battery of seasoned lawyers — 14 for the defense and five prosecutors.

"Never before has this much focus been directed against such helpless people — women, children, andfolks," says lawyer Dick De Guerin, who represented cult leader David Koresh until Korresh died in the April 19 fire the siege of Waco.

De Guerin, who died in the April 19 fire the siege of Waco, says Koresh understood. "He didn't currently represent any Davidians.

In court filings, defense lawyers also have indicated they plan to bring up the Randy Weaver case in Idaho, in which a white supremacist, was acquitted last year of charges relating to the shooting of a federal marshals, federal agents were later ambushed and killing Weaver's wife and child.

These lawyers say defense lawyers are under an informal gag order imposed by Judge Walter Smith, who aren't dis- the case. But in filings they insist to hold all 11 defendants — even those who weren't at the command when the agents raised on Feb. 28 — responsible for the deaths under a broad concept of conspiracy.

Legal experts say any defense lawyers will focus on the government's bungled handling of the trial and try to evoke sympathy for the defendants because of the deadly fire. The Justice Department last fall issued a report critical of the trial's planning and execution.

A key defense: The claim Dav- idians were peaceful, religious people who fired in self-defense. The government will try to show the Davidians at least informally agreed to prepare for a raid, enough for a finding of conspiracy.

It appears the prosecution is going to have a strong case of conspiracy and the defendants aren't going to have that strong a case of self-defense," says Brian Serr of Baylor University Law School in Waco.

But, he says, the jury may well give the Davidian defendants — at least one of whom politicians who stood in line rather than slip through a back door. "I've tried to learn a lot about politics from him," said Silber, a unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1994. "I didn't learn enough about him."

A host of Washington dignitaries, including Vice President Gore, former presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford and scores of members of Congress are expected at today's funeral.

**Thousands mourn Clinton's mother**

**By Steve Marshall**

**USA TODAY**

President Clinton bid farewell to his mother Sunday in a funeral where thousands of mourners re- membered Virginia Kelley as "a celebration on the way to heaven."

Mourners included neighbors, friends, administra- tion officials and entertainers Barbra Streisand.

Kelly, 70, died in her home Wednesday, was the first hon- ored with such a wake since 1964. "The young people going into politics today — I don't think they do it for the same reasons.""
Employment in the USA

Businesses told the Labor Department they added 183,000 jobs last month, vs. 202,000 in November. The unemployment rate slipped to 6.4%. Manufacturers, after adding a total of 37,000 jobs in October and November, added only 2,000 jobs in December. But service firms added 173,000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Rate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December 92</td>
<td>116,155,000</td>
<td>9,314,000</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 93</td>
<td>120,332,000</td>
<td>8,330,000</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 93</td>
<td>120,861,000</td>
<td>8,237,000</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
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In 11 large states

The Labor Department reports latest-month employment figures only for these 11 large states:

- California
- Florida
- Illinois
- Massachusetts
- Michigan
- New Jersey
- New York
- North Carolina
- Ohio
- Pennsylvania
- Texas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States</th>
<th>December</th>
<th>Jobless</th>
<th>Jobless rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>13,969,000</td>
<td>1.325,000</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>6,357,000</td>
<td>478,000</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>5,846,000</td>
<td>346,000</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>2,939,000</td>
<td>197,000</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>4,350,000</td>
<td>351,000</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>3,698,000</td>
<td>281,000</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>7,814,000</td>
<td>646,000</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>5,868,000</td>
<td>144,000</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>5,216,000</td>
<td>347,000</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>5,642,000</td>
<td>378,000</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>6,414,000</td>
<td>580,000</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

U.S. employment by race

- White
- Black
- Hispanic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>December 92</th>
<th>November 93</th>
<th>December 93</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Part-time workers

- December 92: 6,085,000
- November 93: 5,904,000
- December 93: 5,934,000

Barbra on a somber note

Among the mourners at the Saturday funeral of President Clinton's mother, Virginia Kelley, Barbra Streisand. The star, snapped with the president (left), Molly Martin and Martin's beau, Roger Clinton, also was among 50 close friends who attended a private viewing at a Hot Springs, Ark., funeral home Friday. Just last week, the president's mother had flown to Las Vegas with her husband to enjoy two Streisand concerts. (More funeral news, 3A).

More grads in engineering are minorities

By Dennis Kelly
USA TODAY

The number of black, Hispanic and Native American students earning college engineering degrees has hit an all-time high, though colleges are still losing too many of these students once they get in the door, a new survey says.

"We've been successful in attracting the right kids. We have not been successful in improving retention," says George Campbell Jr., president, National Action Council for Minorities in Engineering.

Their 1993 survey found:

- Numbers of underrepresented minorities with engineering degrees rose 9.4%, to an all-time high of 5,122.
- Blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans now make up 7.9% of the graduating class.
- But two-thirds of such students leave without an engineering degree.

Small in number, they have a tougher time finding lab partners or others to form study groups — supports needed at notoriously tough engineering schools, Campbell says.

ON THE ROAD: All the networks are on the road for President Clinton's nine-day European trip, but Nightline's Ted Koppel — who did that memorable account of Clinton's hours leading up to his election victory — may have an edge. As he did in the previous piece on Clinton, which got widespread acclaim, Koppel and a team of ABC producers and cameramen will travel with Clinton to Brussels, Prague and Moscow to report on what is going on behind the scenes. Topping it off each night, starting tonight: an interview with the president about the day's events.

MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 1994 • USA TODAY
Airlines hearing re comp aints

Consumers had 499 complaints against the airline indust— November, up 27.9% from a year ago and 10.6% more than in October. The Department of Transportation’s monthly report also said 81.2% of flights by the 10 largest carriers arrived on time — within 15 minutes of schedule. That’s 1.8% fewer than a year ago. Delays due to mechan­ical problems are not included. The carriers mishandled 5.34 bags per 1,000 passengers, 4.6% fewer than a year ago.

FLIGHTS THAT ARRIVED ON TIME

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td>86.8%</td>
<td>Southwest</td>
<td>87.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWA</td>
<td>83.0%</td>
<td>America West</td>
<td>82.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US Air</td>
<td>81.9%</td>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>80.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delta</td>
<td>79.8%</td>
<td>United</td>
<td>78.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>77.4%</td>
<td>Continental</td>
<td>77.1%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: Transportation Department

Written by Paul Leavitt. Contributing: Gary Fields and Debbie Howlett

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

Israel, PLO resume talks on peace-plan obstacles

Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization put a week of bickering behind them today to resume peace talks that both sides hope will end in an agreement. The negotia­tions at the Egyptian Red Sea resort of Tabwa were to re­move obstacles delaying a first-phase Israeli troop with­drawal from occupied lands.

The talks would take three weeks. Israeli said it would take two months before terms could be reached for starting Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho. September’s landmark deal set Dec. 13 as the date for the Israeli army to begin withdrawal. It was postponed because of disputes over con­trol of border crossings and security for Jewish settlements.

WIND-FED FLAMES: Fire flares toward a luxury home Sunday at Eleanora Heights, a suburb north of Sydney.

AUSTRALIAN FIRES: Patchy rain, cooler weather and tactical burning allowed 10,000 firefighters to push fires back from populated areas on Sydney’s outskirts where the reg­ime was likely to be only temporary.

The biggest in Australia in 200 years, have killed four people and forced tens of thousands to evacuate their homes, mainly in Sydney’s heavily wooded northern and southern suburbs. The five fires have burned 1.5 million acres in eight days and caused $64 million in damage.

MEXICO FIGHTING: Security forces patrolled parts of Mexico City after half a dozen bombings raised fears that Indian rebels were carrying through on a promise to spread their uprising beyond the south. The rebels, who say they are fighting for the rights of poor Mayan peasants, rose up Jan. 1 and took over several towns in Chiapas, Mexico’s southernmost state. More than 180 people have been killed.

RIO MASSACRE: A gang of drug traffickers invaded a slum in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and battled rival gangsters.

ALSO: About 400 Panamanians burned an effigy of a U.S. soldier and chanted anti-U.S. slogans on the thirtieth anniversary of riots in which 22 Panamanians were killed. The riots started after U.S. residents of the Panama Canal Zone pre­vented Panamanian students from hoisting their flag there.... A fragile truce held in the Afghan capital, Kabul, after rival factions, responding to requests from neighboring Pakistan and Iran, agreed to extend it for another 24 hours.

Indiana typhoid outbreak

TYPHOID OUTBREAK: Florida health officials said 13 cases of typhoid fever in the Miami area prompted a warning to residents to wash their hands and food thoroughly before eating. The disease, marked by headache, fever, loss of appetite and stomach pains, is treatable with antibiotics.

TAPED INTERVIEW: Former State Dept. official says spy disclosures were result of Vietnam, not U.S. involvement in Laos.

By Amy Sanne, AP

ALSO:

2. Also, the Energy Department is compiling a draft report on overhauling the laws that allowed such tests to be conducted secretly.
3. A jury convicted Nesler of voluntary manslaughter.
4. The killing of Daniel Driver, 35, focused debate on vigilantism.
7. The killing of Daniel Driver, 35, focused debate on vigilantism.
10. The killing of Daniel Driver, 35, focused debate on vigilantism.
13. The killing of Daniel Driver, 35, focused debate on vigilantism.
16. The killing of Daniel Driver, 35, focused debate on vigilantism.
19. The killing of Daniel Driver, 35, focused debate on vigilantism.
22. The killing of Daniel Driver, 35, focused debate on vigilantism.
25. The killing of Daniel Driver, 35, focused debate on vigilantism.
28. The killing of Daniel Driver, 35, focused debate on vigilantism.
31. The killing of Daniel Driver, 35, focused debate on vigilantism.
33. The New York Times reported Sunday.
34. The killing of Daniel Driver, 35, focused debate on vigilantism.
LOUIS ANGELES TIMES in an editorial: "All that Attorney General Janet Reno can do other than what she has done — order a department probe and promise that it won't be a joke — is to name some lawyers not working for the Justice Department to head up an investigation outside the department's walls. But that would not necessarily prove superior to a departmental probe! We think not, and in fact there is a good chance that delay outside the department would be worse than any delay inside. Inside the department, Reno's feet not less than Clinton's will be held to the fire."

SUZANNE GARMENT, author, in The Washington Post: "Give them the papers. You say they have no right to the papers? Give them the papers anyway. . . . The Clintons are politically sophisticated folks. Yet to judge by their handling thus far of the Whitewater scandal . . . administration officials were absent from class during this lesson. . . . Again and again in recent scandals we see otherwise calculating, competent individuals lose their shrewd judgment and succumb to paranoia when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these when they are dumped head-first into these 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Poland deserves help from NATO

As President Clinton begins meetings today, he must allay Russian concerns but also reward Poles for fast democratic progress.

BONN, Germany — In our eagerness to help Boris Yeltsin, let's not desert the Poles!

We don't have to grant them and other Central Europeans immediate membership in NATO. We've rightly refused to wave such a red flag before Russian nationalists.

We've thus avoided as well drawing a new East-West line east of Poland and signaling that the Russians could get away with whatever they want in the Baltic states.

We need to reward the Poles, however, for their incredible success in adopting democracy and the free market in only four years.

We need to integrate them fast into the Western clubs of peace and prosperity called the European Union (the former European Community) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

We need to recognize that they are not Yugoslavs. They have mastered instead of succumbed to old ethnic hatreds.

They have created the fastest economic growth in Europe.

They have already educated their voters to reject extremists.

Of course, NATO's muddled-through "Partners for Peace" program is ambiguous. It should stay that way. But it should embody creative ambiguity and not just confused ambiguity.

It should follow the bolder German ideas and not the more timid American fears. That is, the more democratic, stable and open a new applicant for NATO membership becomes, the more cooperation it should expect from the alliance.

Joint training should not be confined to peacekeeping. This spring's planned exercise, mixing Polish and NATO navies in the Baltic Sea, should be followed — once the last Russian troops have left German soil in mid-'94 — by joint Polish-Danish-German land exercises in Denmark.

Eventually, discreetly, NATO should take up Warsaw's standing offer and use Polish military grounds for occasional NATO training.

Poland would be the forerunner, to be followed by the Czech and Slovak republics and Hungary. The case of former Baltic members of the Soviet Union — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania — is more delicate. There the best course is probably increased Scandinavian — rather than NATO — military cooperation. But the same process of gradual integration with the West should go forward.

Such steps would let the Poles and others get acquainted with NATO's unique integrated military command. They would start making Central Europeans' military training and equipment compatible with NATO's. They would spread NATO-style military doctrine and civilian control. They would provide the testing time to make sure the Central Europeans continue to live up to NATO requirements of non-aggression and fair treatment of minorities.

In the end, the Central Europeans would be as ready for NATO membership as they will be for the European Union membership they have already been promised.

When that time comes, some time in the early 21st century, NATO should welcome them as members.

By Elizabeth Pond, a freelance writer and foreign correspondent for more than 25 years, author of Beyond the Wall: Germany's Road to Unification.
A nation living in fear

"I'm a little paranoid now," said figure-skating champion Nancy Kerrigan, recovering from a clubbing attack while looking ahead to next month's Olympic Winter Games in Norway.

That's easy to understand. Being a little paranoid is common nowadays.

Even couch potatoes who can't tell a double lutz from a triple toe-loop can see how the skater's attack underlines a society grown sick with hyperviolence.

The good news is Nancy Kerrigan will skate again, and her fans wish her well. The bad news is that her experience tells us that violence truly is everywhere.

And everywhere it is intolerable.

If this can happen to a glamorous champion in figure skating's pristine, snowflake-perfect world, why not on the way to P.T.A., the video store, or walking along minding your own business?

Right. There's no good reason.

How we react is the big question.

"It's hard to say how long I'll look over my shoulder to see who is behind me," said Kerrigan, expressing an all-too-familiar fear.

She, like so many others, faces an impossible dilemma: Be a victim. Or make yourself a prisoner.

Kerrigan personified that dreadful choice Saturday night as she sat isolated in a sky box shut off from the crowd and the ice that is her life.

This is no solution. Even if the security cocoon is perfect, the resulting isolation carries an unacceptable penalty.

It punishes the victim, it isolates us from each other and, in so doing, it erodes the foundations of a free society.

When the victim is Nancy Kerrigan or Monica Seles, we recognize that intuitively.

Yet, when scores of invisible victims suffer the same fate, as they do daily, we too often stand numb.

Random violence is not acceptable.

Nor is self-imprisonment.

► Kerrigan recovering, 6C

Jackson's new anti-crime challenge is great

The risks for the civil rights activist are great, the potential rewards greater.

Fixing what's wrong with black America.

Now, finally, there's a job everyone is willing to concede to Jesse Jackson.

For at least a decade, Jackson has sought high office. He's twice run unsuccessfully for the presidency. He's pocketed himself into position to be the District of Columbia's first senator — should it gain statehood — and in the process stiffened his opposition to that cause. And last year he lost a bid to head the NAACP.

Privately, Jackson lusted for the job of drug czar — an assignment the president should have offered him. Publicly, he's been marginalized by Bill Clinton, the man he helped put in the White House.

It wasn't long ago that people were talking about Jackson in the past tense — treating him like a has-been. Not anymore.

Not since he took up the issue of black-on-black crime. Not since he dared to fill a void that was large enough to float a battleship through. Not now that Jackson's become the point man in a campaign to fix what's wrong with black America.

Last week, Jesse Jackson summoned many of the nation's most influential black leaders to Washington to talk about ways to stop the violence that's turned many inner-city neighborhoods into killing fields.

And as few others can, he made a meaningful connection between the problems of black joblessness, the breakup of the black family and the crime that results.

Now Jackson wants to lead a crusade to salve black America's wounds and stem the loss of black lives to violent crime.

No one else has applied for the job.

That's understandable. This is work that can't be done overnight. It's going to take many months — if not years — to turn this situation around. To succeed, anyone who gets out in front on this one will have to stay there a long time, or risk being branded a quitter.

We hope Jackson understands this.

A circuit-riding civil rights activist, Jackson has long been accused of moving too quickly from one trouble spot to the next, dousing flames but not sticking around long enough to cool the embers. But if he is going to get this job done, it may very well end up being his last — and most important — campaign.

Nobody is better qualified for this work than Jackson. He's shown in the past a Pied Piper-like ability to influence the behavior of black schoolchildren. And despite being dised by the Clinton administra tion, he remains the single most influential black leader in the nation.

For Jackson, the risks of this job are many, but the rewards — for him and the nation — are much greater.

► Crime summit, 8A

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End post office bullying; ease overnight mail rules

**OUR VIEW**
The post office needs to compete for business, not tell business who must handle its mail.

The U.S. Postal Service portrays itself as your postal buddy. But lately, it’s been acting like a bully instead.

Over the past three years, armed postal inspectors have conducted audits of private business mailrooms, forcing dozens of enterprises to shell out more than $500,000 to the Postal Service. Their crime? Not mail fraud. Just sending mail by private overnight letter couriers like Federal Express.

The inspectors decide letter by letter whether each piece of mail is urgent — with “urgent” defined as requiring a next-day response. If they decide a letter wasn’t urgent, the sender must pay what first-class postage would have cost.

The Postal Service says this is vital. It says the law bars anyone else from carrying low-priced non-urgent “letters.” When businesses bundle a handful of letters in one package — as they often do — they violate the rule.

The Postal Service argues the rule protects affordable home delivery to all.

Bunk. This first-class letter monopoly hasn’t kept rates from nearly quadrupling in the past 20 years. Nor has it improved efficiency. Millions of people have gone to overnight private delivery just to ensure timely delivery.

The post office is just using the law to protect itself from competitors that deliver overnight mail more reliably.

Even if they’re legally correct, the very idea of postal inspectors second-guessing businesses, or individuals, about what mail is urgent is ludicrous.

If this tactic succeeds in crimping competitors, postal rates won’t get cheaper. Service won’t improve. Indeed, all that is likely to happen is that overnight mail service will become less efficient and more costly to consumers.

A bill in Congress would eliminate the Postal Service’s power to fine businesses using private carriers.

But a better way to end this outrage would be to simply throw out the postal rules and let private carriers compete for all overnight mail.

Opening the overnight mails to more competition is the best way to force the post office to stop acting like a nosy bully and be the buddy it promised.

Don’t risk postal service

**OPPOSING VIEW**

Don’t let private competitors skim the low-cost cream and put universal service at risk.

The Private Express Statutes, which most refer to as the monopoly on first-class letter mail, were written to provide every citizen in the United States with universal mail service at a uniform price, not to protect the Postal Service.

The cost for a New York business to send a letter across town is the same as the cost for a mother in Puerto Rico to send a first-class letter to her son and his family in a remote area of Alaska. The cost, I might add, is far below the same service in any other major country in the world.

The monopoly is in the nation’s best interest. Without it, private companies would be free to move into concentrated business centers or affluent residential areas and take away a segment far less costly to the Postal Service than cross-country delivery for individuals.

In 1993, the Postal Service delivered 171 billion pieces of mail — without using tax dollars. Without the monopoly, the price of a first-class letter would skyrocket, scores of small post offices would close and the Postal Service would again have to ask for and depend on tax dollars. Many rural communities and inner-city poverty-ridden neighborhoods — where private companies would not find it desirable or profitable to deliver — would find themselves disadvantaged.

Some incorrectly believe the Postal Service forced some businesses to use our services instead of competitors. The intent was not to coerce businesses but to maintain the integrity of the system we have.

If business leaders feel we are misapplying any rule or regulation, then I’d ask them to join with me to fix it. But let’s not jeopardize the valuable service to the American people we have today.
**What's News**

**Business and Finance**

Viacom's last-minute pact to merge with Blockbuster and use cash from that deal to sweeten its offer for Paramount still appears to leave QVC Network ahead in the bidding. Viacom sharply increased the amount of cash it is offering, but the remaining securities in the cash and stock offer brought the value of Viacom's bid as of Frday to $3.4 billion. QVC's offer is valued at $3.5 billion. (Article on Pages B1 and A2)

Federa ted Department Stores agreed to temporarily refrain from taking further steps to merge with R.H. Macy and may wait until Sept. 15 for Macy to file its reorganization plan before acting. The lack allows Federated to avoid alienating Macy while gaining a chance to see its hand. (Article on Page A3)

Oracle won a Bell Atlantic contract to supply multimedia gear and software, gaining what could be a vital ally in the провнес of emerging technologies for next-generation communication networks. (Article on Page A3)

U S West is expected to unveil plans to construct multimedia networks in 20 cities over five years, aiming to serve interative fare to over 750,000 homes by the end of 1995, and to add half a million annually thereafter. (Article on Page A3)

Pacific Telesis plans to cut 10,000 jobs at its Pacific Bell unit over four years, and take a $565 million fourth-quarter charge as it girds for competition in its local telephone market. (Articles on Pages B4 and B5)

Clinton's advisers agreed to recommend that Brookings Institution economist George Perry be nominated to a Federal Reserve Board seat. (Article on Page A3)

The unemployment rate fell to 6.4% of the workforce in December from 6.5% in November and 7.3% a year ago. But the manufacturing and construction sectors, which had offered encouraging signs of job growth recently, added virtually no new workers. (Article on Page A3)

HealthTrust is negotiating to buy Epic Healthcare, as the consolidation trend in the hospital field continues. (Article on Page A3)

Boeing and four European partners tentatively agreed to go on with the next phase in their proposed joint effort to build the world's largest jet, despite the realization that the project will likely cost at least 50% more than the $10 billion estimated a year ago, people familiar with the talks say. (Article on Page A3)

IBM is considering selling the mutual-fund group it runs for employees in its bid to shed noncore businesses. (Article on Page B3)

**World Wide**

A NATO SUMMIT OPENS today amid talk of air strikes in Bosnia. President Clinton began his first European visit by boosting the alliance's image as a bulwark of peace in Sarajevo's most recent war. A senior U.S. official acknowledged that the success of the military's renewed attacks on the capital, however, may not be assured. Washington issued a warning to Bosnian Serbs after the renewed attacks on the capital. However, the U.S. official said, the effort to build the world's largest jet, despite the realization that the project will likely cost at least 50% more than the $10 billion estimated a year ago, people familiar with the talks say. (Article on Page A3)

President Salinas named a commission to promote "dialogue" with Mexican peasants who led a revolt in the state of Chapas last week. Meanwhile, several acts of violence elsewhere in Mexico sparked concern that the uprising could be spreading. Over the weekend, three car bombs exploded in Mexico City. (Article on Page A8)

A federal appeals court set aside a ruling by the court's three liberal members that struck down the military's now-modified ban on homosexuals. The full court said Friday it would reconsider the case of a former midshipman who was forced out of the Naval Academy because he admitted he was gay. (Article on Page B8)

Saudi Arabia is close to restructuring $10 billion in payments due over two years to five of the biggest U.S. defense contractors. (Article on Page A4)

The U.S. and China are likely soon to conclude a pact that would take back at least some of the cuts in China's textile quotas that were announced by Washington last week. As the two sides traded public barbs, Chinese and U.S. officials met to arrange new talks on a pact to replace an expired accord. (Article on Page A8)

Sen. Moynihan declared that welfare reform shouldn't have to wait in line behind health-care legislation. The Senate Finance Committee Chairman said he was troubled by a meeting last week with White House officials who said repeatedly, "We won't have time for welfare until we get this health-care bill." (Article on Page A4)

Abu Dhabi and the U.S. have reached an accord permitting the U.S. arrest of a suspect in the Bank of Credit & Commerce International scandal. The suspect, a former BCCI official, is to be extradited to the U.S. on charges relating to the acquisition of First American Bankshares, to be turned over to prosecutors within four months. (Article on Page A9)

**Markets**

Stocks: Volume 320,366,970 shares. Dow Jones industrials 3028.77, up 16.89; transportation 1769.21, off 3.00; utilities 222.98, up 1.78.

Bonds: Lehman Brothers Treasury index 5606.57, up 80.13.

Commodities: Oil $15.32 a barrel, off 10 cents. Dow Jones futures index 141.19, up 0.12; spot index 128.48, off 0.09.

Dollar: 111.90 yen, off 0.75; 1.7273 marks, off 0.019.

**Rite Aid plans to sell four noncore assets, repurchase 25% of its common shares and shut 200 stores, resulting in a $91 million fourth-quarter charge.** (Article on Page A6)

**Food Lion plans to close 88 stores this year and take a $170.5 million pretax charge against 1993 earnings.** (Article on Page C1)

**Conran Stores said it filed for protection from creditors under Chapter 11 of the U.S. Bankruptcy Code.** (Article on Page B6)

**Markets**

**An Iran-Contra report was ordered released by a three-judge panel that expressed discomfort with the report's accusatory tone and its use of material drawn from secret grand jury testimony. The panel said that the special prosecutor's report should be made public, provided the Supreme Court doesn't intervene.**

**Gummen in South Africa killed a journalist and wounded two other people in an attack on a high-level African National Congress delegation. The shooting broke out as the ANC officials, including General-Secretary Ramaphosa, toured Katlehong, one of the country's most volatile townships.**

**Cleanup crews stipped oil from a leaking barge off Puerto Rico while workers on shore scooped and skimmed the oil from San Juan's beaches and lagoons. An estimated 750,000 gallons of oil spilled from the barge when it went aground Friday.**

**Wildfires flared around Sydney, Australia, as winds intensified, and hundreds more people were forced to flee their homes. Four people have been killed and over 60 injured since the fires began a week ago.**
Young Guns
A Second Generation
Of Political Handlers
Outduals Forebears
Self-Styied 'Barbarians' Use
New Media Skills to Run
Faster, Meaner Races

'We're All Technocrats Now'

BY JAMES M. PERRY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON - "We used to create heroes," sighs Bob Goodman, a veteran media consultant for Republican political candidates.

"Not any more, Dad," says his son, Adam, a second-generation media consultant now working with his father - and teaching the old fellow some new tricks.

'We're all technocrats now," Adam Goodman says, "reacting to the overnight polls, fighting against shorter and shorter attention spans out there among the voters."

Just like so many others, campaign handlers are taking a wild ride down the information highway, and it is changing the way elections are won, and lost. Successful campaigns in the new media age are meaner, faster, livelier - and they are all driven by data.

Right now, the nation's top handlers are showing off their demonstration tapes (never a losing race in the lot) and boasting about killer polls as they line up to take their cut of the millions of dollars that will flow into about 70 high-spending statewide campaigns this year.

Lost in the rush to win, sometimes at any cost, is the quaint notion of a thoughtful candidate willing to take time to explain, slowly and wisely, his or her positions on major policy issues. What counts are tracking polls, focus groups, dial groups, "wave fronts" and digital-TV editing machines, and a candidate capable of raising the huge amounts of cash needed to pay for the technology.

Some of the first-generation consultants have pulled off the road, unwilling to maintain the pace. Republican Roger Ailes, George Bush's handler, has returned to his first love, entertainment. GOP pollster Lance Tarrance, semiretired, is helping the Gallup Organization set up a poll in China.

Others may be slowly disengaging. Critics say Democrat Robert Squier, 59, works too hard on his tan and spends too much time thinking up sound bites for his appearances on the "Today" show. Chimes in Mr. McMahon. "We don't want to belong to any clubs," says Mark Squier.

"It's a young man's game," agrees Greg Stevens, a 45-year-old handler trained by Mr. Ailes, who whomped the elder Mr. Squier's firm in a classic struggle between first- and second-generation media consultants in last November's governor's race in Virginia.

The Goodman Chronicles

The generational change is personified by the two Goodmans. The 65-year-old Bob Goodman began his political career as media consultant for Spiro Agnew's successful campaign for governor of Maryland in 1966. He hired 45 musicians and a chorus to back up the TV spot, which featured the words "My Kind of Man, Ted Agnew Is," and a chorus to back up the TV spot, which featured the words "My Kind of Town, Chicago Is." In a famous commercial for George Bush, when he was running for governor of Texas, the song was used.

Bob Goodman

"I bet Bob Squier doesn't even know what a wave front is," says Mr. McMahon.

For the record, it is a computerized program the Trippi-McMahon-Squier firm first used in a widely admired TV spot for Rep. Sam Gibbons in 1992. In the spot, the screen fills with thousands of swooping and swirling marbleized dots. As the dots swirl around, the announcer's voice talks about what an ideal congressman should believe in. As the dots converge to form a portrait of Mr. Gibbons, the voice says, "The closer you look, the more you'll see Sam Gibbons as your kind of congressman."

Pretty eye-catching, wasn't it?" says the veteran congressman. There's an irony here: Bob Squier used to produce Rep. Gibbons's ads, but the 73-year-old Florida Democrat switched to the younger Squier's firm.

"The older guys [in the consulting business] like being members of the club," says Mr. Trippe. "They like to hang out in the Senate cloakroom," chimes in Mr. McMahon. "We don't want to belong to any clubs," says Mark Squier.

"It's a young man's game," agrees Greg Stevens, a 45-year-old handler trained by Mr. Ailes, who whomped the elder Mr. Squier's firm in a classic struggle between first- and second-generation media consultants in last November's governor's race in Virginia.

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Please Turn to Page A7, Column 1
Young Guns: Second Generation of Political Pros, Skilled With Media Technology, Outduels Elders

Continued From First Page

for the Republican presidential nomination in 1980, Mr. Goodman pictured his candidate as an eagle, swooping into New Hampshire in his chartered airplane, with a full band blazing away on the sound track. Mr. Bush lost, but he loved the ad.

Now, says Mr. Goodman, "they'd call those commercials warm and fuzzy, and people don't want them any more. I (and as far that big-band music: "These days you can create all that music with one

"nuking campaign - with no time to respond to the Goodman, "I mashed the button." The "nuke" was launched, and the Mistick up to you," he says. On Friday, says Bob

Adam Goodman hired researchers to dig into Mr. Mistick's record, and they came up with a six-year-old story from the now-defunct Pittsburgh Press suggesting that Mr. Mistick, as a member of the zoning board, ruled as many as 40 times in those zoning cases. They held onto it until the final hours of the campaign, when Mr. Mistick, as a member of the zoning and planning panels there.

Launching a 'Nuke'

Adam Goodman hired researchers to dig into Mr. Mistick's record, and they came up with a six-year-old story from the now-defunct Pittsburgh Press suggesting that Mr. Mistick, as a member of the zoning board, ruled as many as 40 times in those zoning cases. They held onto it until the final hours of the campaign, when Mr. Mistick, as a member of the zoning board, ruled as many as 40 times in those zoning cases. They held onto it until the final hours of the campaign, when Mr. Mistick, as a member of the zoning board, ruled as many as 40 times in those zoning cases. They held onto it until the final hours of the campaign, when Mr. Mistick, as a member of the zoning board, ruled as many as 40 times in those zoning cases. They held onto it until the final hours of the campaign, when Mr. Mistick, as a member of the zoning board, ruled as many as 40 times in those zoning cases. 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The U.S. Economy May Dominate for Years

WASHINGTON

By virtually any measure, the U.S. economy outshines those of Japan and Germany.

While the U.S. jobless rate fell last month to a three-year low of 4.4%, Germany's climbed to 8.1%. The U.S. economy probably expanded at better than a 4.5% pace in the fourth quarter. Japan's probably shrank during the period. With some reason, Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen boasted last week that the U.S. is "the world's economic leader, the engine of growth.”

Can this last once Germany and Japan emerge from recession? After all the hand-wringing over America's deficit, inadequate investment, shortchanged corporations and social ills, is it conceivable the U.S. will be the economic envy of the industrialized world five years from now?

Yes.

Like a once-flabby athlete, the U.S. has been working out at the health club for the past couple of years. And it has paid off. Germany and Japan have just finished a big lunch and are only now signing up at the local economic gym.

In the U.S., a banking system that seemed so troubled just a couple of years back is flush with profit and capital. Interest rates are at the lowest level in decades, the product of deficit-reduction and an improved inflation outlook. Corporate dinosaurs are showing surprising willingness to change. Both because of productivity gains and slow wage growth, U.S. manufacturers have an edge. Morgan Stanley figures U.S. workers cost $16.70 an hour at current exchange rates. Japanese labor costs $19.39 and German $25.90. The gap will narrow, but the U.S. advantage is likely to persist.

Japan’s predicament is starting because the country was seen as an economic super-star. But while the U.S. was erecting office buildings that it didn’t need, Japan was doing the same with factories. It sounds flabbergasting, but Japan’s experience suggests a country can invest too much. Its dependence on exports has run into increasingly tough political challenge from the U.S. and economic competition from the rest of Asia, forcing wrenching change at Japanese manufacturing giants. What's more, Japan's political system, which holds sway over the economy, has cracked, and reforms have only just begun.

Japan also is discovering, much as the U.S. did, that it's hard to stimulate an economy with lower interest rates when banks don't much want to lend and businesses don't much want to borrow. Cutting taxes to stimulate consumer demand is one option, though an unappetizing one to the conservative Ministry of Finance. Signs are that the tax cut will be too little, too late, prolonging the economic torpor.

"The Germans are a much bigger question," says Stanley Fischer, former chief economist for the World Bank. "Their social welfare state has gotten out of hand. Dealing with East Germany is a much bigger deal than they — or we — had any idea." As a result, Germany faces years of discomfort as its government cuts its budget deficit and its companies restructure. Sound familiar?

Germany is “overweight and overpaid,” says Massachusetts Institute of Technology economist Rudiger Dornbusch. The unplea-
Japanese Public Keeps Wary Eye On (Imported) Grains of Truth

Continued From First Page

Ihe Japanese public keeps a wary eye on the introduction of foreign rice. It is not a new idea, as rice has been an article of faith here for centuries. But it has been an article of faith here in the hope that consumers will turn to foreign rice in the future. The 67-year-old rice wholesaler brims with confidence. All his life in this provincial southern town he has cultivated Japanese rice and savored its subtle flavor. He knows his rice by heart.

Mr. Yamane, a rice farmer, selects a variety that has "just the right stickiness" and proclaims it Japanese. He is surprised to learn that it's a variety called Calrose. from California. It tastes a bit like rice, but the taste testers consider it Japanese. He is interested in the tests, but he also wants to keep his customers happy.

Wrong. It's He Jing rice from northern China, which has a pungent smell, he says. The rice was ranked first, followed by blended Calrose and Calrose rice. All but one contestant correctly picked out the Japanese rice. The panelists made fun of the one who guessed wrong.

Snap, Crackle, Pop

Nikkei Trendy, a monthly magazine, surreptitiously imported rice from all over the world last October to conduct a taste test of its own. It found that some Thai rice is notably fragrant and glossy mound of rice. The Japanese rice was ranked first, followed by S80 and Calrose. The testers also found that Japanese rice is simple the best in the world. The nation watches gravely as the world's third-largest rice importer.

Mr. Isbell has agreed, as part of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, to open its market to some rice imports. But it has opened an anxious new phase in the culture war, as they are in South Korea which recently lost its prime minister in a dispute over rice. For 50 years, it has been a fact that foreign rice is allowed under Japanese law.

The Japanese government is keeping that law intact, and planning eventually to blend the imports with stocks of Japanese rice in the hope that some will be more acceptable. Theoretically, it remains legal (but illegal) to buy, sell or serve foreign rice here.

One outspoken news commentator did his own test of the imports by means of a rice smell detector. He indoors found that both Thai and Calrose rice smelled funny. The Japanese rice was ranked first, followed by blends of Californian and Japanese rice. One outspoken news commentator did his own test of the imports by means of a rice smell detector.
**Labor Pains**

**Health-Benefit Scams Are Alleged to Take A New Form: Unions**

Their Special Legal Status Makes Them Attractive As Vehicles for Fraud

A Trail of Unpaid Claims

Even if the Clinton proposals survive intact, investigators worry that state regulatory agencies will still be hard pressed to catch up with new operations as they pit their low-cost coverage and an insurance-like structure to employers and consumers scrambling to sign up with a healthcare network.

Moreover, the entrepreneurs behind such operations have already exhibited a remarkable willingness to adapt to changing surroundings. When confronted by authorities, some unions have simply changed names, or moved their operations into other states or new lines of business. Facing growing scrutiny over their health plans, a few such entrepreneurs have already diversified into pension investment funds, workers' compensation plans, legal benefits plans and other forms of coverage.

**Under the Radar**

In the best of worlds, you would say that there wouldn't be a need for them," after the Clinton reforms, says agent Ste­

phen Cossu of the federal Office of Labor

Racketeering's New York office. "But these guys are not going to go away."

**Legal Thickets**

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The demise of Local 355 prompted an unusual labor relations move by the Newsom organization: It started looking for a new union for its employees. The group, led to the Metiville, N.Y., offices of attorneys Allen Berst and Neil Frank. In late 1991, they had incorporated the Financial Consultants Guild, a union which described itself as "a union for the twenty-first century."

It was not Mr. Frank's first experience with unions. "When I was young, health plans are frequently marketed through independent insurance agents selling a variety of plans. One month before the Guild's founding, Mr. Frank wrote to a Dallas area insurance owner and identified himself as president of an employer association that had an "exclusive relationship" with a New York union called the International Employees Benefit Association (IEBA).

/Getty STl.jpg MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 1994

Desperate School Districts

They struck gold after hearing about a newly enacted law requiring Texas school districts to offer their employees health insurance. With the cost of such coverage soaring, some small districts couldn't even get a conventional insurer to bid on their business. "We were just grown men sitting around on lawn chairs making phone calls," says Mr. Clendennen. "Man, we just smiled and dialed.

Health-plan members paid about $120 monthly for individual health benefits, along with $15 monthly dues to Local 211, $3 of which went to the Guild. Investigators say that Local 211 had reinsurance for big claims but was largely self-insured. Although Local 211 representatives have testified that it paid more than $1.8 million in claims, investigators aren't certain how much money it took.

Eventually, if desperate districts signed up with a Texas law prohibiting teachers from engaging in collective bargaining. "The premiums were just ungodly," says Mark Weisser, superintendent of the 43-student Blue Ridge school district, an hour north of Dallas. "When teachers started to raise an issue, we'd respond to complaints, plan administrators frequently said they had never received a claim. "You called them and you couldn't get an answer," says Susan Buchanan, city secretary in tiny Trinidad, Texas, whose employees also joined the union.

Unable to get plan officials to respond to telephone complaints from Blue Ridge patients, Mr. Weisser gathered up a thick stack of unpaid claims and medical records, drove 75 miles to Grand Prairie and handed the stack of unpaid claims and medical records, drove 75 miles to Grand Prairie and handed it to the city's claim. "You called them and you couldn't get an answer," says Mr. Frank.

Back in Blue Ridge, the furious superintendent pulled out his union card one day, called the Oklahoma City telephone number and demanded help. "I said, 'I need to talk to my shop steward, we got problems here. ' " Mr. Weissen recalls. "She said, 'I don't know what you are talking about. '"

Swamped with calls from AIDS patients with unpaid doctor bills and cancer victims who couldn't afford chemotherapy, Messrs. Clendenen and Clendenen broke with the Newsom organizers and last year began steering their customers toward a plan being offered by the newly chartered Self-Reliant Network Guild, Local 557, a Missouri division of the Financial Consultants Guild.

But on Aug. 17, the Texas attorney general's office stepped in and ordered the restraining order effectively freezing the bank accounts of Local 211 and Local 557, as well as the Guild. Although that restraining order has since been lifted, a related lawsuit, filed in a state court in Austin, is pending.

Nick Von Kreisler, an Austin attorney representing Mr. Newsom and the Contract Services employers, says there is more than enough money to pay legitimate, outstanding medical claims. "To me, this is totally abusive behavior," he says.

Now Uninsurable

Not to some of the union's old members, who have been under contract with the plan for years. They disagree with the plan's policy because of medical conditions that cropped up while they were under the Local 211 health plan. The Blue Ridge school district did land a new policy a while ago, to do so, it had to exclude the family of Kerrie and Steve Bohanon. On Dec. 17, 1992, Mr. Bohanon, a 34-year-old carpenter, was hospitalized with chest pains. Covered by his wife's Blue Ridge health plan, he underwent open heart surgery and ran up a $65,000 hospital bill. But that was just the beginning of the family's problems. Mr. Bohanon was diagnosed with a hereditary and potentially fatal heart disease; two of the couple's four young children were similarly afflicted, he turned out. A few months later, teacher Kerrie Bohanon learned that she had multiple sclerosis.

Local hospitals, doctor's offices and collection agencies began calling about medical bills that the Contract Services plan was being charged for but were not at all. Except for monthly statements from medical providers, the Bohanons say they never got any explanation of benefits from the union-sponsored health plan. Meanwhile, the offices of the plan's claims administrator, in Dallas, stated that last year was told they had lost their box.

Mr. Bohanon unable to work, the family sold its Blue Ridge home and moved north to a small Oklahoma town closer to a Native American tribal hospital. Because Mr. Bohanon is a Choctaw, he and his children are entitled to free treatment there, although Mrs. Bohanon cannot. "Larry Clendenen called and said he was sorry," she says, sitting in a room filled with the contents of their roach-infested rental house. "I'm twice as sorry that we ever heard of them."

But the Bohanons may not have seen the last of the likes of Local 211. Even as they seek care at the nearest Indian hospital, about 8 miles away, tribal authorities are investigating reports that some promoters have moved out of the union business and others may be setting up insurance operations chartered by sovereign Indian nations.
Clinton Is Facing Criticism on Bosnia at Summit As He Nears Deal to End Ukraine's Nuclear Role

By MICHAEL K. FRISBY

WASHINGTON—Morton Halperin, one of the Clinton administration’s more controversial nominees, is withdrawing his name from consideration for a Pentagon post, an administration official said.

Mr. Halperin, reached at his home yesterday, declined to discuss his plans, saying only: “I expect to have something to say concerning my future sometime soon.”

The administration official said Mr. Halperin is expected to send a letter tomorrow to President Clinton asking that his name be withdrawn from consideration.

Mr. Halperin had been nominated last year to be the first-ever assistant secretary of defense for peacekeeping and humanitarian operations.

The nomination ran into deep hostility from conservatives on the Senate Armed Services Committee, who were especially critical of what they considered an apparent Pentagon decision to send American forces to areas of the former Soviet Union.

The Senate Armed Services Committee was expected to hold a confirmation hearing for Mr. Halperin in February, but the committee was put on hold in December after Mr. Halperin withdrew his nomination.

Mr. Halperin was widely criticized for his role in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, when he was deputy director for intelligence at the Pentagon.

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Gore Mans the Whitewater Ramparts
As Moynihan Joins President’s Critics

By ALUF K. KARR
Staff Writer of The Wall Street Journal
WASHINGTON — Vice President Al Gore asserted that President Clinton has been unfairly attacked for an alleged coverup regarding an investment in a failed Arkansas real-estate venture.

On NBC News’ “Face the Nation,” Mr. Gore several times lashed out at Republicans for criticizing the president even as Mr. Clinton was attending his mother’s funeral service.

But the GOP critics were joined yesterday by Sen. Daniel Moynihan of New York, a leading congressional Democrat, who said on NBC News’ “Meet the Press” that Mr. Clinton is giving the appearance of a “stonewall.” The president has nothing to hide, the senator said, and “nothing should be hidden.” Mr. Clinton should release all the related papers and have Attorney General Janet Reno name a special prosecutor to investigate the matter, he said.

“Get...some good lawyer working on that issue while we go ahead on other things,” Moynihan said.

Evidence Lacking, Gore Says

Mr. Gore said, however, that any evidence of wrongdoing, in order to justify the naming of a special prosecutor, is lacking. He also contended that Republicans, finding it difficult to criticize the president’s policies, especially as the economy improves, have diverted on the Whitewater issue for political reasons.

“The day that President Clinton was burying his mother in Arkansas, the opposition was on the airwaves attacking frenetically, even though they acknowledge there is no credible evidence of wrongdoing,” the vice president said. White House adviser David Gergen had previously made a similar charge of GOP insensitivity to the death of Mr. Clinton’s mother.

Following Mr. Gore’s remarks, Senate Republican leader Robert Dole, one of those criticizing Mr. Clinton last week, said GOP calls for a special prosecutor weren’t unseemly, noting that he, Sen. Dole, praised the president’s mother on Thursday. But the Kansas senator also said much of the Whitewater controversy has been caused by White House “misstatements, omissions of fact and contrary public announcements.”

The Republicans have charged that Mr. Clinton is holding back on papers concerning his and Hillary Rodham Clinton’s investment in the venture. Whitewater Development Corp., while he was governor of Arkansas. The Justice Department is looking at Whitewater as part of a broader criminal and civil investigation of Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan, a failed Little Rock thrift owned by James McDougal, while he was governor.

The federal panel left a 10-day waiting period to allow appeals to the high court. But unless the justices intervene, Friday’s ruling clears the way for the report and its use of material drawn from secret grand jury testimony.

The 29-page opinion was written by Appeals Court Judge David Sentelle, a past political ally of conservative Sen. Jesse Helms (R., N.C.).

Given the intensity of the issue, it seems likely some party will ask for a stay. Attorneys for President Reagan and former Attorney General Edwin Meese indicated last week that an appeal to the Supreme Court was possible.
Moynihan Asserts Reform of Welfare
Shouldn’t Wait on Health Legislation

By ALBERT R. KARR
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON - Senate Finance Committee Chairman Daniel Moynihan said that welfare reform shouldn’t have to wait in line behind health-care legislation.

The New York Democrat said he was troubled by a meeting with White House officials on health-care changes last Monday, when he recalled that those officials said several times, "We won’t have time for welfare until we get this health-care bill."

"That won’t work," Sen. Moynihan declared yesterday on NBC News’s "Meet the Press." While saying that health care should be a high priority, he took issue with President Clinton’s frequent assertion that there is a health-care crisis. "We don’t have a health crisis in this country," Sen. Moynihan said. "We do have a welfare crisis. And we can do both." He noted that a year after the Clinton inauguration, there still isn’t any welfare bill, though he noted the president campaigned on the issue and frequently refers to it in speeches.

Mr. Moynihan said he thinks he is making some progress with the White House in emphasizing the need to move ahead with a bill to overhaul the welfare system, which has long been a crucial Moynihan issue. And he seemed to back off comments that he made in a New York Post article last Friday, when he was quoted as saying that he “might just hold health care hostage” until the White House makes good on promises to push welfare legislation.

Clinton aides, worrying that welfare reform may interfere with their health-care initiative, have said that an administration bill on welfare won’t be ready until spring. The bill is expected to call for more-extensive job training for welfare recipients and require them to move into jobs after two years on the rolls.

"The administration wants swift action on both these issues," health and welfare reform, Bruce Reed, a White House domestic-policy aide who is helping craft the Clinton welfare package, said in an interview yesterday. He said the administration "is eager to move forward on welfare reform," plans to offer its proposal this year and hopes Congress will pass it soon.

On health care, Sen. Moynihan suggested that the administration's proposal to cap health-insurance premiums is too severe. And he said health-care legislation will need Republican support in the Senate for it to move toward enactment.

Sen. Moynihan complained that while President Clinton is "dead serious" about welfare reform, "he’s appointed a lot of people who aren’t as serious as he is." Sen.

Moynihan has been meeting with a 33-member administration welfare reform task force, whose members are uncertain about whether he'll support the White House’s specific proposals. In the New York Post story, he complained that the White House’s draft welfare plan doesn’t provide the money needed to fund the changes.

The senator also said on the NBC program that he had a long talk on welfare Saturday with White House adviser George Stephanopoulos, "who says they’re coming along." Sen. Moynihan said that now, "I think we have their attention."

As for health care, Sen. Moynihan didn’t agree with an earlier assertion by Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole (R., Kan.) that the Clinton idea of putting caps on health-insurance premiums, to hold down costs, is dead. Instead, he said that the question is really "at what level" those caps should be set.

The Clinton proposal would limit growth in premiums, by the end of the century, to the general rate of inflation, plus population growth. "That would be quite an achievement," considering that health costs have been climbing as much as 10% a year, Sen. Moynihan said.

American Air to Lay Off
775 Workers at Airports

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

FORT WORTH, Texas - American Airlines said it sent layoff notices to 775 employees last week, part of its plan to shrink the AMR Corp. unit by 5,000 jobs during 1994 and 1995.

The employees affected are those who work in airport operations, including ticket and gate agents, baggage handlers and fleet service. The layoffs take effect Feb. 4. While their positions will be eliminated, not all of the workers will lose their jobs; in some cases, employees can work part time and depending on union rules, some high-seniority workers can bump those with less seniority.

As part of the move, American said it plans to announce management layoffs at month's end. Pilot furloughs, which stand at 275 now, will be 400 to 450 by spring, the company said.

American, which has lost hundreds of millions of dollars since 1990, said last year that it would shrink money-losing airline operations and beef up its non-airline technology units.
HealthTrust Inc. Mulls Acquiring Epic Healthcare

Latest Consolidation Move In Hospital Industry Could Cost $400 Million

By ROBERT TOMSHO
And GLENN RUFFENACH

HealthTrust Inc. is negotiating an acquisition of closely held Epic Healthcare Inc. in what would be the latest consolidation in the hospital industry, according to people familiar with the talks.

The proposed purchase of the Dallas company, which would join two of the nation's 10 largest for-profit chains, could cost as much as $600 million, plus the assumption of Epic's nearly $600 million in long-term debt, industry experts estimate.

While neither company would discuss the matter, or confirm that negotiations are under way, people familiar with the talks said an agreement could be announced as early as this week.

In composite trading Friday on the New York Stock Exchange, HealthTrust closed at $19.57, up 12.3 cents.

Falling Occupancy Rates in Hospitals

The combination of the two chains would represent another step in the rapid consolidation of the hospital industry, amid declining occupancy rates and cost-cutting pressure from the Clinton administration.

Orinda HealthCorp., a Nashville, Tenn., chain, recently agreed to buy both Summit Health Ltd. and American HealthCare Management Inc., creating a company with $1.6 billion in revenue and 46 acute-care hospitals in 17 states. Meanwhile, Columbia Healthcare Corp., Louisville, Ky., hopes soon to complete its acquisition of Nashville-based HCA-Hospital Corp. of America. That purchase will create the nation's largest for-profit hospital chain, with estimated revenue of $10 billion and 196 hospitals in 26 states.

Based in Nashville, HealthTrust is the nation's second-largest for-profit chain, with 81 hospitals in 21 states. Nonetheless, the acquisition of Epic, with its 39 hospitals in 10 states, would leave HealthTrust far behind the Columbia-HCA entity in size. The HealthTrust purchase, however, would create an operation with 120 hospitals in 22 states, and estimated $3.4 billion in revenue.

Both HealthTrust and Epic operate primarily in the South and West, with Texas the biggest market for both. Still, overlap

Please Turn to Page A6, Column 3

HealthTrust Is Said Considering Purchase Of Dallas Company

Continued From Page A2

in any one metropolitan area would be minimal; and Epic would help expand HealthTrust in California and Louisiana.

Some observers question the acquisition value of Epic, which reported a net loss of $25.1 million for its fiscal year ended Sept. 30, wider than the year-earlier net loss of $19.3 million. Revenue rose 8.3%, to $1.1 billion, from $941.3 million.

Epic's system is weighted heavily toward smaller-market facilities; the larger urban hospitals that it does have seldom dominate their markets. Moreover, Epic, which is controlled by an employee stock ownership plan, remains saddled with debt from its 1988 spinoff by American Medical Holdings Inc., Dallas, which still holds a 22% stake.

Spun off by HCA in 1987, expansion-minded HealthTrust recently set up joint ventures with competitors in California, Florida and North Carolina. And it purchased five hospitals in Texas and Tennessee for $90.1 million and agreed to buy three more in Utah.

Moreover, HealthTrust has broad experience running facilities like Epic's. About 40% of HealthTrust's hospitals are in rural communities.

The company has slashed debt and significantly boosted revenue from outpatient services, to $1.1 billion in 1993, from $437 million in 1989. For its fiscal year ended Aug. 31, 1993, HealthTrust reported earnings of $121.6 million, or $1.46 a share, compared with a year-earlier loss of $43.1 million, or 88 cents a share. Revenue rose almost 6% to $2.46 billion from $2.27 billion.

Clinton Advisers Advocate Perry For Fed Post

Brookings Economist Views Inflation Differently Than Outgoing Angell

By DAVID WESSEL
Staff Reporters of The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON -- President Clinton's economic advisers have agreed to recommend that he name Brookings Institution economist George Perry to the Federal Reserve Board, administration officials said.

Mr. Clinton has yet to interview Mr. Perry. Advisers say the president won't act on the recommendation until after his trip to Europe and after Mr. Perry has undergone the usual background investigation.

Mr. Perry, 59 years old, initially said he wasn't interested in the Fed job but later changed his mind. If nominated by the president and confirmed by the Senate, he would bring views different from those of the Fed governor he would succeed, Wayne Angell, the banker and economist who was named to the seven-member board by President Reagan.

Mr. Angell, a hard-line advocate of eliminating inflation, sees the price of gold and other commodities as the best guide to making monetary policy. Mr. Perry is in the mainstream of macroeconomics and is likely to advocate a balanced monetary policy that both contains inflation and maintains economic growth. Mr. Perry doesn't talk about the need to reach "zero inflation" and has discounted the importance of gold prices.

In a column published in the Los Angeles Times in October, Mr. Perry wrote that "the policy surprise that would most upset markets today would be a premature increase in interest rates that disrupted the recovery long before we had achieved a healthy economy with good job markets for workers and restored profitability for firms." In that same essay, Mr. Perry said there's no reason to believe that gold prices have "any noticeable effect on finished goods' prices or that they predict inflation more broadly."

The other finalists for the Fed post were Princeton University economist Peter Kenen and Van Duinen, chief economist for the private Committee for Economic Development. Although Mr. Clinton's advisers considered all three to be well-qualified, they were eager to select an economist whose stature and personality would equip him to influence Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan and other Federal Reserve officials.

Mr. Perry has been at the Brookings think tank in Washington since 1969. After earning a doctorate in economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mr. Perry served on the staff of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers and later taught at the University of Minnesota.
U.S. and China Likely to Reach Textiles Accord

By LAURENCE ZUCKERMAN AND JULIA LEUNG
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HONG KONG—The U.S. and China are likely soon to reach an agreement that would take back at least some of the cuts in China's textile quotas that were announced by Washington last week.

Even as the two sides were trading public barbs Friday, Chinese and U.S. representatives met in Beijing to arrange a new round of negotiations on an accord to replace the bilateral textile agreement that expired Dec. 31. Talks could resume as early as this week, people close to both negotiating teams say. If they do, a compromise could be reached before Jan. 17, the date Washington has set to implement the quota cuts.

But even if the negotiations resume after that date, officials and business executives say the unilateral 25% to 35% reductions in China's annual export quotas will have little impact so long as a deal is struck quickly.

Despite last week's tough talk, the differences between the two sides are narrow. Washington wants Beijing to do more to crack down on the illegal transshipment of Chinese apparel to the U.S. through third countries. U.S. trade officials say the annual transshipment totaled $2 billion above Beijing's legal quota of $4.7 billion in the fiscal year ended Oct. 31.

U.S. officials want their Chinese counterparts to agree to help them gather evidence against exporters engaging in this illicit trade. But in case Beijing refuses to cooperate in the investigation of a Chinese company that the U.S. suspects is guilty, Washington wants to be able to deduct as much as three times the amount transshipped from China's annual export quota.

Such a clause has been written into U.S. textile agreements with 16 other countries, U.S. officials say. But Beijing objects to allowing itself to be penalized so severely. It is "unfair" for the U.S. to insist on deducting from the quotas "upon suspicions that the goods are illegal without producing clear evidence," a Chinese official said. Nevertheless, the official revealed that the Chinese are now ready to accept "some form of penalty, but not as heavy as that demanded by the U.S."

Oglethorpe's Debt-Refinancing Plan Is Rejected by Treasury Department

BY JOHN CONNOR
Staff Writer of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON - The Treasury rejected Oglethorpe Power Corp.'s proposal to refinance in the bond market the $3 billion in debt it has outstanding with the department's Federal Financing Bank.

After reviewing Oglethorpe's proposal for six months, Treasury concluded that the electric cooperative's request for a partial waiver of prepayment penalties, on which its refunding plan hinged, "would result in a substantial cost to taxpayers (approximately $286 million) at a time of severe budgetary constraint."

The Treasury, which notified Oglethorpe of its decision Friday, said granting the requested relief would benefit only one group to the detriment of all taxpayers and would set an expensive precedent. Several other electric cooperatives -- and investment bankers -- have been following the Oglethorpe matter in hopes of getting prepayment relief and refinancing their Federal Financing Bank debt in the market if Oglethorpe got the approval.

Oglethorpe, an Atlanta-based electric-generating and transmission cooperative that distributes wholesale power to local electric cooperatives, is "extremely disappointed" by the Treasury's decision, said G. Stanley Hill, an Oglethorpe senior vice president, who found it strange that a proposal to take the cooperative off the federal government's books would be rejected at a time when the administration is talking about "reinventing government."

The purpose of the proposed refinancing is to lower Oglethorpe's interest costs. Oglethorpe's debt is guaranteed by the Rural Electrification Administration, an arm of the Agriculture Department, which considered the matter together with the White House Office of Management and Budget and the Treasury Department. The FFB is a financing arm within Treasury. It was created nearly 20 years ago to coordinate federally assisted borrowing and to provide the lowest funding costs for federal agencies and federally guaranteed borrowers. The Federal Financing Bank holds about $18 billion of REA-backed debt, with Oglethorpe its largest REA-assisted borrower.

While turning thumbs down on Oglethorpe's refinancing proposal, the Treasury said there "may be some value in encouraging financially strong rural electric cooperatives like Oglethorpe to leave" the REA loan program and the FFB. It floated "a concept for a proposal" to allow Oglethorpe to refinance some $600 million of newer debt held by the FFB. But Oglethorpe's Mr. Hill called this concept "confusing," and said it would appear to leave Oglethorpe with more than $2 billion of relatively high-cost debt in the Federal Financing Bank.

The Treasury idea would have the bank selling the $600 million in debt to a trustee without an REA guarantee and the trustee securitizing the debt and reselling it in the market and getting about $50 million less than the sales price charged by the bank.

However, some investment bankers who have been following the Oglethorpe matter closely weren't as grim, seeing the glimmers of business opportunities in the Treasury's statement that it, the OMB and the Agriculture Department are interested in making the REA program more responsive to the most financially needy borrowings and encouraging financially stronger borrowers like Oglethorpe to stand on their own. A federal official involved in the decision-making process said, "We are open to the idea of an exit for healthy borrowers," but stressed that "the taxpayer must remain whole."
Ruling on Pentagon’s Gay Ban Is Set Aside

By JENNY WOO

WASHINGTON — The conservative majority of a federal appeals court here set aside a ruling by the court’s three liberals that struck down the military’s now-modified ban on homosexuals.

The full U.S. Appeals Court for the District of Columbia Circuit said Friday that it would reconsider the case of a former midshipman who was forced out of the Naval Academy and wasn’t commissioned as an officer because he admitted under questioning that he was gay.

In November, a panel of three judges ruled that the military’s former policy, under which service members could be dismissed solely for their homosexual orientation, violated the Constitution’s guarantee of “equal protection” of the laws. The three judges all were appointed by Democrat Jimmy Carter.

The Clinton administration, trying to shift attention to its new, slightly more lenient policy, asked the full 10-member court to reconsider only one narrow part of the panel’s ruling, in which the three judges ordered the Navy to reinstate the plaintiff as an officer.

But on their own initiative, at least six of the seven members of the court appointed by Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush decided to rethink the panel’s entire ruling. The full court’s brief announcement Friday didn’t indicate what the vote had been to reconsider the case.

Administration lawyers speculated that the conservative judges probably would reject the panel’s constitutional reasoning and would give the military more leeway to exclude homosexuals. It is relatively unusual for federal courts of appeals to throw out panel decisions and rethink cases in this manner.

The full court’s action cheered Pentagon officials, who had worried that the panel’s reasoning could be used by gay-rights groups to fight the Clinton administration’s policy. Under the new rules, gays are permitted to serve in the military, but not in staff positions and as members of a war-fighting unit.

In its appeal of the three-judge panel’s ruling, the administration said that the panel was wrong and that the old ban was constitutional. But the administration decided it wouldn’t challenge that main part of the panel’s decision.

If the administration is asked by the court to reargue the case, as would be the standard procedure, administration lawyers said they expected to reiterate their view that the old policy is constitutional.

The administration asserted that position last month in a separate case pending before the federal appeals court in San Francisco.

The appeals court didn’t set a schedule for briefing or oral argument. It could issue a new ruling without further statements from the parties.

The three members of the panel were Chief Judge Abner Mikva and Judges Harry Edwards and Patricia Wald. Under the court’s standard policy, they had been randomly selected to hear the case.

Law Firm Loses AIDS Case

The law firm Baker & McKenzie discriminated against a former lawyer by firing him because he had AIDS, a New York human rights official has ruled.

Lynne Weikart, the state’s executive deputy commissioner of human rights, ordered the Chicago-based firm to pay the man’s estate $500,000 for what she called his “mental anguish and humiliation,” as well as back pay from the time he was fired in 1986 until his death in 1987.

In a written order, Ms. Weikart described the firm’s behavior toward the lawyer, Geoffrey Bowers, as “devastatingly cruel.” Ms. Weikart noted that Mr. Bowers had received favorable job evaluations and that there was no evidence that his work performance deteriorated between his May 1986 evaluation and his firing later that year. Mr. Bowers worked as an associate in Baker & McKenzie’s New York office.

By firing Mr. Bowers, the firm “took from him the one thing which kept his spirits high in spite of impending death,” she wrote. “His psyche was punctured, his self-reliance was smashed, and his well-being was erased.”

The law firm had maintained that Mr. Bowers was dismissed because his work wasn’t satisfactory. The law firm’s partners also said that when they fired Mr. Bowers, they didn’t realize he had AIDS.

Ms. Weikart, however, said that it wasn’t credible that the partners didn’t know about Mr. Bowers’s condition, or that they didn’t notice his facial lesions, which are symptoms of the disease.

John McGuigan, chairman of Baker & McKenzie, said the firm would appeal the decision to a New York appeals court.

“We’re extremely disappointed with the decision in the light of the overwhelming evidence which supported Baker & McKenzie’s position that it had no knowledge of Mr. Bowers’s condition at the time” he was fired, Mr. McGuigan said.

(Cavagnuolo vs. Baker & McKenzie, State of New York, Div. of Human Rights, No. 1B & 96-15826)
District Ends
Lazard’s Role
As an Adviser

WASHINGTON - The District of Columbia dropped Lazard Freres & Co. as its financial adviser, citing "a continuing cloud" over the firm amid probes into Lazard’s municipal-bond-related dealings with Merrill Lynch & Co.

District Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly announced the decision Friday, saying she told Lazard it "would be in the best interests of the District of Columbia to sever its relationship with the firm, effective immediately.

Mayor Kelly said "a continuing cloud over the actions of our financial adviser is an unnecessary distraction." Washington is one of a substantial number of municipal-bond issuing jurisdictions that have provided information to federal authorities looking into whether Lazard Freres and Merrill Lynch violated any conflict-of-interest, disclosure or other rules in their dealings with municipal-bond issuers. Both firms have denied any wrongdoing.

Ellen O’Connor, Washington’s finance director, said the Securities and Exchange Commission subpoenaed the city in December and that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, acting on behalf of the U.S. Attorney in Boston, requested information on the city’s dealings with Lazard and Merrill Lynch. Both firms are based in New York.

Lazard earned a fee of $500,000 a year for providing financial advice to Washington. Lazard Freres "would be in the best interests of the District of Columbia to sever its relationship with the firm," the mayor said.

When Washington asked Merrill Lynch about the firm’s role in advising on the relationship between Mark Ferber, the former head of Lazard’s Boston office, and Merrill Lynch, the firm said publicity surrounding probes centering on the relationship between Mark Ferber and Mr. Ferber, who coordinated the firm’s relationship with the district from 1990 through 1992. That report and related documents alleged that Mr. Ferber traded confidential information about munis issuers he was advising to Merrill Lynch to gain business from Merrill and that he had an undisclosed contract with Merrill Lynch to help it sell so-called interest-rate swaps to public issuers, including the district.

Thomas Dwyer, Mr. Ferber’s lawyer, strongly denied any wrongdoing by his client.

U.S. Is Hoping to Blend Environmental, World Trade Issues at Morocco Meeting

WASHINGTON

By BOB DAVIS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON - On April 15, trade ministers from around the world will gather in Marrakesh, Morocco, to sign a world trade pact. If the U.S. has its way, they’ll create a world environmental organization.

U.S. motives are simple. Creating an international "Committee on Trade and the Environment" would ease the trade pact’s passage by calming concerns in Congress that it would undermine U.S. environmental laws.

But the politics are complex, and it’s far from clear whether the organization will be launched as it would be useful. Trade officials and environmentalists view each other roughly as anti-Christs. Environmentalists accuse trade types of trying to cripple pollution and conservation laws; trade officials dismiss environmentalists as protectionists. And poor nations distrust both trade and environmental officials from rich nations as closet-colonialists.

The U.S. shouldn’t try to "decide what are the best standards for others to follow," says B.K. Zutshi, India’s delegate to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in Geneva.

Sometimes it is hard to sort out legitimate environmental measures from protectionists. When Thailand blocked tobacco imports, it claimed it was protecting the health of Thais. But it permitted a state-owned company to keep churning out cigarettes anyway. After a GATT arbitration panel ruled in 1990 that the import restrictions were improper, Thailand dropped them — although U.S. cigarette makers say Thailand now uses import taxes to keep them out of the market.

Now a GATT panel is looking at whether U.S. fuel-efficiency standards should be overturned because they put high taxes on American cars such as Volvo and BMW, which make heavier, low gas-mileage cars. At a disadvantage? Daniel Esty, a specialist on trade and environmental issues at the Institute for International Economics, says the case is a "close call" because the U.S. could have reduced gasoline consumption simply by raising gas taxes. That would have hindered European imports less than the fuel-efficiency rules.

Nevertheless, he says, "environmentalists will consider GATT hopeless" if it rules in favor of the Europeans.

Last month, the U.S. and 116 other nations negotiated a GATT deal that strengthened the power of GATT panels to decide such issues. Currently, the losing party in a GATT dispute can block the decision from taking effect. Under new GATT rules, the loser has no veto.

The U.S. tried to make GATT more environmentally friendly by setting up a permanent committee to examine whether trade rules should be changed to accommodate environmental objectives. But India, Brazil and other developing countries blocked the U.S. proposal.

U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor says he is confident an agreement will be reached in Marrakesh. But Mr. Kantor says it has dropped its objections. The U.S. wants the committee to have a broad mandate to investigate environmental trade laws don’t impinge on environmental treaties governing ozone-depleting chemicals and endangered species.

And the committee would try to resolve how nations could use domestic laws to regulate the way goods are produced abroad. For instance, environmentalists in the U.S. and Europe want to bar imports of tropical wood unless logging is conducted in a way that preserves the rain forests. Malaysia and others see that as infringing on their sovereignty.

International agreement on environmental standards is critical, says Mr. Kantor, because U.S. companies must comply with tough pollution laws, adding to their expenses. "For them to remain competitive, others must meet these standards too," he says.

Still, even if the U.S. persuades GATT parties to create an environmental committee, its powers will be sharply circumscribed. Unlike the environmental committee that was set up in the 1980s, the new committee would try to resolve disputes before they become trade-law controversies.

Moreover, environmentalists would have to prove that a trade dispute is really caused by environmental concerns.

"An environmental committee doesn’t really do anything," complains Larry Williams, director of international programs at the Sierra Club, which opposes Nafta and GATT. He notes that GATT set up a working group on environmental issues in 1971. It didn’t meet for 20 years, and when it finally did, it didn’t do anything of note.

But Rodrigo Prudencio, a trade analyst at the National Wildlife Federation, says that creating a permanent committee would represent a "commitment" by nations to look at the environmental effects of trade. "It would show the debate is moving in the right direction," he says. And that might be enough to convince his environmental group and others that backed Nafta to back GATT as well.
Employment Picture Continues Weak For Construction and Manufacturing

BY LUCINDA HARPER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—Rising factory orders and homebuilding don't seem to be the panacea for employment in the manufacturing and construction industries. U.S. businesses continued to add a modest number of workers to their payrolls in December. But the manufacturing and construction sectors, which had offered encouraging signs of employment growth in recent months, added virtually no new workers.

"Downsizing may still not be complete, and at best few new jobs are expected to be added," said Gordon Richards, economist for the National Association of Manufacturers. Analysts say the pickup in construction starts is not yet be pervasive enough to see steady rises in employment, especially in the winter.

The Labor Department said 183,000 jobs were created in the economy last month, down from 202,000 new jobs in November. The unemployment rate dropped slightly to 6.5% in November and was nearly a full point below the 7.3% of December 1992.

Analysts said December's job figures highlight how far the economy has come in terms of job growth since 1992, when only one million jobs were generated — half the pace of 1993. But they note that job gains are still only modest and aren't enough to throw the economy into a much higher gear.

Katherine Abraham, commissioner of the department's Bureau of Labor Statistics, said that although the labor market has improved over the past year, there are still some big problems. Many jobs created last year were only temporary positions, she told Congress's Joint Economic Committee. Also, the number of Americans who have become discouraged and stopped looking for work and the number who are employed part-time but want a full-time position barely changed at all during the year.

"Overall, however, the labor market is clearly stronger than it was a year ago," Ms. Abraham said.

Ms. Abraham also moved to allay fears about the new survey that will be used to calculate the unemployment rate starting with the January employment report. It's expected to boost the unemployment rate 0.4 percentage points, and analysts have expressed concern about the lack of historical comparisons for the new figures. Ms. Abraham said that, along with other moves, the department this summer will begin releasing a parallel survey by the old panel system on the basis of a three-month average to put the numbers in context.

Much of the increase in jobs during December came in service industries, which added 68,000 workers, mostly at temporary-help agencies and restaurants. There were gains in the finance industry and in transportation as well.

Manufacturing and construction employment stagnated, however, after two straight months of growth, although factory overtime stayed at historically high levels. "Considering where we were in previous years, it's disconcerting. But we are not converting those hours into more people," said Donald Ratajczak, head of the Economic Forecasting Center at Georgia State University.

There were a few bright spots in manufacturing employment. Auto makers and electronics companies added workers. There were also gains in the construction-related lumber and furniture industries. The report showed that wage inflation remains very low. Average hourly earnings crept up 0.2% in December and were up 2.5% for the year.

Labor Secretary Robert Reich was very accurate in his forecast Thursday that payroll jobs rose between 160,000 and 200,000 in December. His statement, spoken just before the close of markets, may not yet be pervasive enough to see steady rises in employment, especially in the winter.

Factories, Builders Show Almost No Rise In Employment Level

Continued From Page A2

rate of 10.6%. It was the sixth increase in a row. All figures have been adjusted for seasonal variations.

EMPLOYMENT

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CONSUMER CREDIT

Here are the seasonally adjusted totals of consumer installment credit outstanding for November, in billions, and percentage changes from October as an annual rate.

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Please Turn to Page A19, Column 2
Saudi Arabia May Agree to Restructure $10 Billion It Owes U.S. Defense Firms

By THOMAS E. RICKS
And ANDY PASZTOR
Staff Writers of The Wall Street Journal

Saudi Arabia is close to agreeing on a plan to restructure $10 billion in payments due over the next two years to five of the largest U.S. defense contractors, the Saudi ambassador to the U.S. said.

Prince Bandar bin Sultan said that on Saturday, top executives of McDonnell Douglas Corp., General Dynamics Corp., KMC Corp., Raytheon Co. and the Hughes Aircraft unit of General Motors Corp. presented Saudi officials with several options for restructuring the payments.

"I think (Saturday) we reached an agreement in principle," Prince Bandar said in an interview at his home yesterday.

"We would like to do three things: maintain the overall number of equipment purchased, maintain the overall dollar value, and work on a schedule of payments that don't hurt our partners and friends in the U.S. defense-industrial complex and in the labor force."

Today, he added, the tentative plan will be presented to Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, Deputy Defense Secretary William Perry, and officials in the Pentagon's Foreign Military Sales program who act as middlemen on arms sales to the Saudis. Prince Bandar said he expects the plan to be made final by the end of the month.

The Saudi discussions reflect the cash-flow problems of the oil-rich kingdom, but also contain a political element. With oil prices low, the Saudis are worried by mixing their purchases with politics: One reason they favor buying U.S.-made aircraft over those from Airbus Industrie is their unhappiness with European reluctance to provide military aid to the Bonn Muslims.

"They (the companies) told us, if we can't pay, that will affect them dramatically," said Prince Bandar. "We are trying very hard to do it so there will be no effect on the American worker."

Under the tentative plan, Saudi Arabia would agree to pay $1.5 billion in cash this year and $6 billion in 1995, meaning that the companies will be paid about $7 billion in loans unless some arms deliveries are rescheduled.

Some rescheduling of deliveries is possible, but the Saudis and their representatives have been emphatic in recent days that they aren't currently contemplating canceling any orders.

"Essentially, the five U.S. defense companies would divvy up the $1.5 billion in cash, and then take as much in loans as they need to maintain minimum production and take the interest on the loans to be rescheduled. Analysts expect the companies to reduce the interest rate on the new debt on their balance sheets by selling the debt off to third parties as receivables."

Scheduled Saudi arms purchases from the U.S. through the end of the decade total about $20 billion, Prince Bandar said.

In addition to arms purchases, the Saudis have been discussed terms of payment for as much as $6 billion in orders for commercial airliners from Boeing Co. and McDonnell Douglas. While Boeing hasn't yet submitted its final offer, "The commercial thing is a done deal," said a person familiar with the discussions.

At the Saturday meeting in Washington, which also was attended by the U.S. deputy finance minister and the head of the Saudi monetary agency, which acts as the nation's central bank, the Saudis emphasized that they don't intend to cancel any orders, but told the companies they won't object if other orders are moved up on the front burner. Indeed, the Saudis regard it as a Mideast "peace dividend" if Israel decides to purchase F-15 fighters and takes delivery of some of the Saudi F-15s. Deliveries to the Saudis had been scheduled to begin next year.

Of the five companies involved in the discussions, McDonnell Douglas, which makes the F-15, has the most at stake. The Saudis have ordered 72 of the state-of-the-art fighters for a total price of $9 billion. So far, the company has received only a $750 million in long-term credit. Confronting serious problems in both its commercial and defense operations, McDonnell Douglas may be in the weakest position to accept temporary financing. On the other hand, the company battled hard to snare the Saudi sale, telling Congress and the White House at the time that there was no other way to keep the F-15 line open. And in the past few days, industry officials said the largest U.S. defense firm hasn't balked at the Saudi request.

McDonnell Douglas has projected as much as $600 million in Saudi F-15 revenue this year. Prior to the weekend session, according to industry officials, the company drafted a series of proposals to assist the Saudis — ranging from reduced spare-parts purchases to stretching out deliveries of certain missiles and support equipment designed for the kingdom's F-15s.

In St. Louis, a spokesman for the company said on Friday that no outright cancellations were being discussed, adding that the company has "every indication that the program is going to move forward on the schedule that has been laid out."

Hughes Aircraft has about $2.5 billion in Saudi orders pending, including some $1.5 billion for radar gear and other work on F-15s, and $600 million for the "Peace Shield" air-defense system. Hughes spokesmen declined to comment on the discussions with the Saudis, but insiders said that Saudi military officials have indicated that the air defense program won't be significantly impacted by the pending financing plans.

General Dynamics is expecting about $300 million in revenue this year from tank sales to Saudi Arabia, completing an order of 315 M1-A2s. That sale almost certainly won't be affected, and a company spokesman said Friday that if the Patriot cash problem isn't expected to have any material impact on General Dynamics. But the company's hopes for additional Saudi sales are likely to be affected.

A Raytheon spokesman said Friday that the company's sales of the Patriot missile system are "still on track."
Amid Signs of Spreading Violence, Mexico Asks: When Will It End?

Chiapas Reveals Problems That May Draw Money From Modernizing Plans

BY DEANNE SEALES AND CLAIR TOWERS

WALL STREET JOURNAL

Mexico - As the military cleared the last corpses from a bloody marketplace in the Mayan highlands here, the weight of last week's Indian uprising bore heavily on 30-year-old Nely Caballero. "There were many here who sympathized with the guerrillas," she says in a tearful outburst. "I don't think this is going to end."

One question - "When will it end?" - is being asked throughout Mexico, a nation that combines crushing poverty with jet-set opulence. And preliminary signs are that sporadic acts of violence are spreading to other parts of the country.

As a result, some investors have begun to worry that the government may need to slow some of its economic progress in order to divert money to poor areas of Mexico and try to address the problems that sparked the rebellion.

Rebels Operating Outside Chiapas

Since Friday, rebel leaders of the group calling itself the Emiliano Zapata National Liberation army, or EZLN, have managed to heighten fear around the country. They claimed credit for toppling electrical pylons in the central states of Puebla and Michoacan, trying to show they aren't just operating in the southern state of Chiapas. Signs left by the towers read: "Mission Accomplished. On to Mexico City."

Over the weekend, three car bombs exploded in Mexico City. People rushing into a train station were greeted by signs reading, "We've arrived. -EZLN."

Increasing the fear is the fact that rebels stole nearly 3,000 pounds of dynamite from the state-owned oil monopoly, Petroleos Mexicanos, or Pemex, in Chiapas. That dynamite is suspected in events in the southern part of San Cristobal. "This is the kind of scenario you see in a movie," says Manuel de Jesus Castaneda Aquilar, here in Ocosingo, a town of 12,000 in Chiapas. "And now we are living it."

"It's unlikely that violence will spread on anything like the scale going on in Chiapas, where a full-scale rebellion has disrupted the economy," says M. Delal Baer, a senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "But the history of armed clashes over land that has plagued Chiapas also exists in several other states, including a couple that are close to Mexico City, at the heart of the country. And arms are plentiful throughout the country, with people carrying everything from 1915 Revolution-era rifles to modern guns."

President Carlos Salinas has indicated he'll attack the Chiapas problem with more money from his anti-poverty program. Solidarity, but to many here, he has appeared insensitive. Last week, he denied that the rebellion was an Indian uprising caused by abject poverty, blaming the revolt on the work of outside forces from Central America.

Bishop Samuel Ruiz, a liberation theologian widely followed by the Indians in Chiapas, indicates that the government approach is too superficial. Bishop Ruiz says that the answer "can't be money. Money isn't the same as justice. There has to be a deep reflection on the real causes of this movement."

Descendants of the Mayans are now dirt-poor, with high illiteracy rates, and lie at the bottom of an ugly caste system, in which ascendance depends on the percentage of European blood.

Assuming the violence will continue, many investors worry that spending on social problems could siphon money away from much-needed modernization problems. The money could help the economy by improving roads and providing more electricity. In addition, lavish government spending in Mexico is historically associated with high inflation.

"I think we are going to have a fiscal deficit this year," for the first time since 1989, says Sergio Sanchez Garcia, head of research at Mexican broker Investa. And many Mexicans and investors remember that was when the federal deficit stood at 16.1% of GDP, fueling annual inflation rate of 139%.

Repercussions in Elections

The violence in Chiapas may also come to worry investors because it has created a small opening for the leftist presidential candidate, Cuauhtemoc Cardenas. Mr. Cardenas has been trying not to play too blatantly on events in Chiapas, but, by focusing the country on the issue of poverty, Chiapas may boost his lackluster campaign. His chances have also improved simply because the August elections are likely to be fairer than they've been in the past. This is because international attention will be focused on the vote, giving the events in Chiapas and the recently implemented the North American Free Trade Agreement. In any case, Chiapas embarrasses the ruling party, whose candidate, Luis Donaldo Colosio, has pledged to continue the Salinas economic reforms that investors find so encouraging.

The Mexican government does, however, retain considerable financing flexibility. Moderate deficit spending could easily be financed in the capital markets through sales of Mexican treasury bills. Also, the Mexican government still owns residual stakes in many of the businesses it sold over the past three years. Over the weekend, reports circulated in Mexico that the government will soon sell its remaining 4.6% holding in the telephone monopoly, Telefonos de Mexico SA, raising about $1.6 billion. Power companies, ports, and airports could also still be sold off.

"I think we will end up with a small deficit," at the end of 1994, predicts Jonathan Heath, chief economist at Macro Asesoria Economica, a Mexican economic research firm. But the government "has degrees of liberty to do it without causing" a panic in the markets.
Boeing, Partners To Press Ahead On Big Jetliner

Move Comes Despite Signs That Plane May Cost Far More Than Thought

By JEFF COLE

Last Monday's announcement by the Boeing Co. and four European partners tentatively agreed to proceed with a joint venture to build a super jumbo jetliner comes as no surprise. The companies want to make sure they don't slow sales for current and future aircraft. But those familiar with the talks said the officials agreed in New York to remand to the companies' chairmen that the project is pressing ahead despite several obstacles. The cost of bringing the plane to market has grown to the point of production, the world's largest carriers, including Boeing Chairman Frank Shrontz, are expected to meet in March to "finish uncompleted work." In another day of heavy trading. Last week's

ABREAST OF THE MARKET

Continued From Page C1

advancing that chances of that are remote. And for a severe correction — stopping short of a bear market — an unfavorable change in the trend of global economic policy is needed. That might be anything from the German Bundesbank suddenly deciding that it won't cut interest rates further, to the Japanese government refusing to take steps to break out of the stagflationary process. In either case, the official line is to blame on which Mr. Applegate deems unlikely.

He concedes that some overseas markets, particularly emerging markets, are ripe for sharp declines after skyrocketing last year. But even a sharp devaluation of the dollar could affect some countries by cutting U.S. investors, Mr. Applegate says. "To say Hong Kong's integration into the$135 billion to $20 billion low

Friday Market Activity

The Dow Jones Industrial Average shot to its third straight record amid soaring bond prices. The industrials rose 16.49 points to a record 3580.77. Standard & Poor's 500-stock index jumped 2.78 to 296.68, a new high record of 170.40, and the New York Stock Exchange Composite Index gained 1.54 to 208.34. The Nasdaq Composite Index climbed 2.53 to 782.94. The American Stock Exchange Market Value Index advanced 0.40 to 473.49.

Volume on the Big Board totaled 323,367,000 shares, compared with 363,449,000 on Thursday. Advancing issues outnumbered decliners 1,286-555.

For the week, the Dow Jones industrials were up 66.68, or 1.98%, the S&P 500 Index increased 3.45, or 0.7%, and the Nasdaq Composite added 6.14, or 0.6%.

World-wide, stock prices rose Friday in dollar terms. The Dow Jones World Stock Index gained 0.84 to 112.49.

News of a smaller-than-expected jump in nonfarm payrolls in December set off a buying spree in the bond market which carried over to stocks. The Treasury's benchmark 30-year bond, which was up 1%,80, climbed over 101 to 2.85. At par, the bond was down $0.51, or $16.25 for a bond with a $1,000 face value, with the yield tumbling to 6.22%.

Stock investors pushed the market in another day of heavy trading. Last week's

The Dow Jones Utilities Average, also sensitive to interest rates, rebounded after slumping early in the week to end at 222.98 after skidding early in the week to its lowest level in more than a year.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
New Year’s Dollar Rally May Continue Amid Signs of Sustained U.S. Boom

By Gene Gorder

NEW YORK — The New Year’s celebration among dollar bulls may last a lot longer than some expected.

More than a week into 1994, many dollar buyers are still cheerful, citing signs that the U.S. economy’s late 1993 boom may yet extend as soon as many economists had forecast. They’re also buoyed by continued economic weakness in Europe and Japan, which further bolsters the dollar.

Friday’s news that U.S. nonfarm payrolls grew by 133,000 in December — compared with an expected 225,000 or more — sent a sobering mood over the dollar, causing it to drop. Late Friday in New York, the dollar traded at 111.725 marks and 111.90 yen, down from 112.54 marks and 112.74 yen at the end of last week.

But elements of the jobs report suggest that the economy’s uptick is “less a flash in the pan and more something that can be carried forward,” said Sandy Batten, senior economist at Citibank.

One example, he said, is that earnings for employees of all types showed gains.

Last year, consumers were spending faster than their incomes were growing, and economists assumed consumption would eventually have to fall off. This was among reasons forecasters had expected a slowing in the recovery during the first quarter of 1994.

Economists like Mr. Batten also like recent consumer confidence and durable goods reports. They think such data help balance the possible drags of higher taxes and poor health. The Justice Department, the Federal Reserve and the district attorney’s office of New York won’t “seek or pursue any prosecution of, or initiate any civil or administrative proceeding against, any of the Abu Dhabi parties to the agreement arising from the facts and circumstances of the BCCI affair unless this agreement is breached by the Abu Dhabi parties.”

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SEC Seeks Changes In Pact Involving Goldman Sachs

By JOHN CONNOR
Special to The Wall Street Journal
WASHINGTON — The Securities and Exchange Commission wants changes made in a proposed pact with Goldman, Sachs & Co. to settle an expected administrative complaint involving government-securities "tax trades" in the 1980s.

People familiar with the matter said the SEC decided at a recent closed-door enforcement meeting to seek more money from Goldman Sachs than was initially proposed, as well as some changes in the language of the proposed accord. Details weren't available. The changes are expected to be acceptable to Goldman Sachs, and the settlement should be made final without much further delay, these people said.

SEC enforcement director William McLucas declined to comment on the matter, as did a spokesman for Goldman Sachs.

As reported, the case centers on allegedly prearranged government-securities trades designed to create the false appearance of trading losses for tax purposes. Such trades first came to light in the SEC's 1992 complaint against Salomon Brothers Inc., a unit of Salomon Inc. That complaint, which focused chiefly on Salomon's Treasury-auction scandal, alleged that Salomon engaged in prearranged trades in 1986 "to create the false appearance that it had realized bona fide trading losses for tax purposes."

The SEC's anticipated administrative complaint is expected to allege that Goldman Sachs violated record-keeping laws in connection with tax trades initiated by Salomon in 1986 as well as in similar trades undertaken by Goldman Sachs on its own initiative.

No individuals are expected to be cited in the SEC's Goldman Sachs action. The administrative complaint against Goldman Sachs also is expected to cite some unrelated, relatively minor, alleged violations of more recent vintage.

The proposed settlement amount is described by people familiar with the matter as being in the low six-figure range, even assuming the increase sought by the SEC is accepted by Goldman. The tax trades occurred before Congress passed legislation that greatly enhanced the SEC's ability to exact money from alleged perpetrators of securities-law violations.

Lawyers for Paul Mozer, who ran Salomon's government-bond desk when the Treasury scandal occurred, said in a pre-sentencing memorandum filed with a federal judge in New York last month that Mr. Mozer told authorities about Goldman Sachs's alleged involvement in the tax trades and provided "a detailed description of how and why these trades were conducted."

Mr. Mozer last year was sentenced to four months in jail and fined $30,000 after pleading guilty to two counts of lying to a federal agency in connection with the Treasury-bond scandal. He is contesting SEC civil charges related to the scandal.

Cable Officials Agree To Outside Monitor Of Network Violence

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL SlVfReporter
NEW YORK — In a surprise move, top executives of several cable networks tentatively agreed to have their networks monitored for violent content.

As a result, Sen. Paul Simon (D., III.), a longtime leader of congressional efforts to limit violent content on television, indicated to some industry leaders that federal legislation on the issue may not be necessary. Sen. Simon couldn't be reached for comment.

Executives from Time Warner Inc.'s Home Box Office, Viacom Inc.'s Showtime and Turner Broadcasting System Inc. met Friday with Sen. Simon's office to discuss ways to curb violence on television. One outcome of the meeting, a spokeswoman for the National Cable Television Association confirmed, was an agreement "to look more closely at how to implement an outside monitor."

The move upset executives at the rival broadcast networks, who have opposed any plan to monitor violent acts or in any way legislate the content of what they put on the air. Executives at Capital Cities/ABC Inc., CBS Inc. and General Electric Co.'s NBC, who had a separate meeting with Sen. Simon Friday, contend that it is cable that airs the most violent programming and that the broadcast networks have cut way back on violent fare and thus don't need monitoring.

Despite being opposed to monitoring, one broadcast network executive, who asked not to be identified, said his network was very encouraged that Sen. Simon feels that legislation may not be necessary. He added, "We applaud the voluntary steps by cable, and they have more to take," including restricting violence to later hours when children aren't likely to be in the audience and editing some violent acts out of theatrical movies.
Trade Quotas Build New Chinese Wall

By James Bovard

Trade negotiations between the U.S. and China have reached a bitter impasse over the issue of alleged textile trans-shipping. U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor announced Thursday that the U.S. will shun China's permits for textile exports to the U.S. by 25% to add $5 billion in duties on Chinese apparel. No U.S. agency has the right to conduct surprise visits on Chinese factories to count their underwear inventory; yet this is what the U.S. wants to do in China.

The Customs Service has secured guilty pleas regarding the import of only $1.7 billion in apparel—nowhere near the $2 billion a year figure claimed by the Customs Service.

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Have you ever considered how wasteful the standard panel discussion on TV is? Typically the scenario goes something like this:

There is a moderator and four panelists—a liberal congressman, a conservative congressman, a conservative pundit and a liberal pundit. The moderator announces the subject and introduces the panelists by name and position in the spectrum. Then he asks one of the panelists a question. After the answer the moderator refers either the question or the previous answer to another panelist. And so it goes—moderator, panelist, moderator, panelist—until 15 minutes have passed, the moderator thanks everyone, and the performance is over. Nothing much has been said.

Contrast that with a performance of a string quartet. There is no moderator or conductor. The performers are not introduced. Everyone in the audience knows who they are by where they sit and by the instruments they hold in their hands. They start without any outside intervention and end in the same way. But the key thing is that almost all the time they are playing at once. They get a lot done in 15 minutes, many times more than if they had all played seriatim as in a panel discussion.

I can imagine a much more efficient panel discussion that would go like this:

LC, LP, CP, CC: It will soon be January 20th. Yes, it will soon be noon of January 20th. Now comes the witching hour for talking heads. It has been a year of ups and downs for the Clintons.

LC: More ups than downs.
LP: More downs than ups.

LC, CP: Nafta was a great triumph for Clinton.
CC, LP: Nafta was a great triumph for Gingrich.

LC, CP, CC: The main thing is the economy, which is rising.
LP: Healthily.
CC: Weekly.

LC: It's too bad the Republicans defeated the president's stimulus package.
CC: It's a good thing we stopped the president's stimulus package.

CP, LP: Consider the budget package. That was the big economic news. It was a...

LC: Triumph! Investment to spur growth.
CC: Disaster! Taxes will stunt growth.

LC, LP, CP, CC: Look at the shape of the world and what Clinton has done.
CC, CP: Bosnia, Somalia, Haiti.
LP, CP: Middle East, Russia, Japan.


LC, CC: Health care will be the key issue.
CC, CP: Socialism! Rationing!
LP, CC: But fundamentally it will be values that count.
LP: Memphis speech! Biting the Bullet!
CP, CC: Sex, sex, sex.

In this way, TV could cover in five minutes what now takes at least 15. The time saved could be accumulated and used for a day of silence at the end of the year.

Now, you may say that a drawback of this proposal is that while it economizes on the time of the performers it does require a scriptwriter. There have been some musicians, especially jazz performers, who have been able to play together extemporaneously without a written script. But that is a rare ability and we will have to count on providing a script for the panelists.

That is not a serious problem, however. One script can serve for many panelists and with only slight modifications could remain relevant for long periods of time. In fact, even with supposedly spontaneous and independent contributions by panelists today the performances do not change much from year to year.

Now that I've thought this all out I think that I will apply to the National Endowment for the Humanities for a grant. This could be a small but real service to humanity.
Clinton Is Being Drawn Into a Russian Web

President Clinton's visit to Belarus on his current European tour will focus on, among other things, nuclear non-proliferation. Judging from Al Gore's speech in Milwaukee last Thursday, Belarus will get praise on that issue and Ukraine will get pressure. Belarus agreed last February to become a non-nuclear state. Ukraine will be able to work with both Russia and Ukraine. But with his timid approach toward the eastward expansion of NATO, Mr. Clinton is being called overly sensitive to the security concerns of Boris Yeltsin and not sensitive enough to those of former Soviet dominions. His position on the Duk in the Sand. The U.S. continues economic aid to Russia to the general neglect of other former Soviet republics, of course. Some things need to be considered. For one, Mr. Yeltsin is obviously not as weak and vulnerable as he is so often portrayed. He has just won himself a new constitution with very strong presidential powers. Moreover, U.S. timidity has not quieted the imperialists or discouraged the KGB - they seem to be feeling their oats. Finally, history suggests that the U.S. faces better with the Russians with a firm line than with the Baltics some comfort without drawing a line in the sand. The U.S. continues economic aid to Russia to the general neglect of other former Soviet republics, of course. Some things need to be considered. For one, Mr. Yeltsin is obviously not as weak and vulnerable as he is so often portrayed. He has just won himself a new constitution with very strong presidential powers. Moreover, U.S. timidity has not quieted the imperialists or discouraged the KGB - they seem to be feeling their oats. Finally, history suggests that the U.S. faces better with the Russians with a firm line than with the Baltics. 

Consider the Ukrainian point of view. They only have to look a few hundred miles to the southwest to see that being a member of NATO was benign, presumably because he thought it would add stability to a potentially volatile region. But Mr. Yeltsin is nothing if not a politician and he since has found it wise to strongly resist the domestic forces of nationalism, imperialism and revanchism. And he is getting so little counter-pressure from the Western shrewd operatives of the former Soviet Communists with political connections to the President Leonid I. Kravchuk, steeped in the spirit of revanchism is alive and well in Ukraine. They ask themselves, quite legitimately, whether they want to bestow their 1,656 nuclear warheads on the country that most threatens them. Imperialism is not only the theme song of the new Russian foreign policy. It is short on fuel. Its primary source of leverage with the Russians is to hold its nuclear warheads hostage.

It is not clear that Mr. Yeltsin in his heart of hearts particularly wanted to embark on empire rebuilding at this stage. He has plenty of problems in Russia itself. His attempt to unify its economy with Russia's has failed. Imperialism was subverted. He wants to bestow their 1,656 nuclear warheads on the country that most threatens them. Imperialism is not only the theme song of the new Russian foreign policy. It is short on fuel. Its primary source of leverage with the Russians is to hold its nuclear warheads hostage. 

Global View

By George Melloan

The nearest Mr. Clinton and Mr. Talbott have come to an anti-imperialist policy for the former Soviet Union was to draft Presidential Directive 13. It called for U.N. "peacekeeping" in such trouble spots as Georgia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Moldova, and this was quickly overwhelmed by a realization that the United Nations is a weak reed for either peacekeeping or implementing U.S. policy. It went back to the drawing boards.

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The point of it all: Ease up on Ukraine and take a harder look at the neo-imperialism of Russia. It is there that the real threat to the stability of Europe lies.
Segregated and Unequal

Each year Freedom House, a New York-based human rights organization, rates countries on political and civil rights. Their latest report lists the United States as one of 29 nations that are "not free." But Freedom House notes this is "no sign of perfection"; problems cited for the U.S. include election laws favoring entrenched incumbents and "significant contests" over the sometimes strangely shaped legislative districts designed to guarantee the election of racial minorities. "Racial gerrymandering has become enough of a blight on America's political system that it's now being cited as a real problem by a leading human rights group.

It is therefore significant that last month a three-judge federal panel issued a unanimous decision that Louisiana's bizarrely shaped Congressional districts are an unconstitutional racial gerrymander. The court said the state had gone too far in packing black voters into two districts in order to guarantee minorities would win. The Fourth District is depicted here, snaking around the perimeter of the state. Ed Adams, a black city councilman who sued to overturn the districts, says the decision is a welcome step away from "a segregated society where we see everything in terms of color."

The Louisiana decision will likely be appealed to the Supreme Court. Last year, the court ruled for the first time that districts drawn for the sole purpose of segregating voters by race resembled a form of "political apartheid" and could be unconstitutional. In Shaw vs. Reno, which challenged a serpentine 190-mile-long North Carolina district, the court noted such racially packed districts reinforce "impermissible racial stereotypes" and allow that members of a minority group "think alike, share the same political interests, and will prefer the same candidates."

We would add that they also go against the long-held view that individual rights, not group rights, are enshrined in the Constitution. Indeed, the Voting Rights Act clearly renounces "a right to have members of a protected class elected in numbers equal to their proportion of the population." But Justice Department lawyers have twisted the act to effectively require a spoils system that would lead to a certain racial outcome.

Some black elected officials, cheered Justice on for self-interested reasons: racial gerrymandering could dilute minority voting power because it means more Members of Congress will have lily-white districts and might feel free to shorten minority concerns. Primarily, Professor Carol Swain, an expert on blacks in Congress, argues that blacks can't easily increase their current numbers in legislative bodies if they are corralled into a few "super-black" districts.

Ms. Swain notes there are many recent examples of blacks who've made appeals across racial lines and won white votes. Senator Carol Mosley Braun, Virginia Governor Doug Wilder, Mayor Norm Rice of Seattle, Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton of Minneapolis and Reps. Alan Wheat and Gary Franks all won among electorates that were at least 80% white.

In Louisiana, there are also signs that racial voting is abating. David Duke has vanished from the political landscape, and Rep. William Jefferson easily became the state's first black congressman in 1988 in a New Orleans district just over 50% black.

But Louisiana's legislature creates a geographic monster that includes parts of 26 of the state's 64 parishes, or counties, and meanders along the edges of the state for 600 miles. Along the Mississippi River it's only 80 feet wide in spots.

Mr. Adams, the black city councilman from Grambling, says the district smacks of segregation. He joined with three white plaintiffs to argue it violated the 14th Amendment's ban on race-based legislation. The federal court agreed, noting that "equal protection cannot mean one thing when applied to one individual and something else when applied to a person of another color." The decision even quoted George Orwell's "Animal Farm" in rejecting the notion that although all are equal under the law, "some... are more equal than others.

This term the Supreme Court will decide several Voting Rights Act cases. It will have a chance to lay down some firm guidelines on what the Act does and does not require in racial matters. No one argues that race can be ignored in public policy. But we should reject tribal thinking that constantly emphasizes the differences between people instead of common values. These policies, it's now clear, are exacerbating social tensions and resentments in the United States.
Barkett v. Bill

Having read the opinion polls, President Clinton is talking tough about crime. We wish he'd also read the opinions of one of his own nominees to the federal bench, Rosemary Barkett of Florida. He'd discover the Lani Guinier of his anti-crime policy.

Just last month, Mr. Clinton told reporters he’d observed a “sea change in public attitude” on crime and thus might favor wider police authority to stop and search people suspected of carrying illegal firearms. He said he “wouldn’t take that off the table,” according to a report in the Los Angeles Times. He wouldn’t have to, because Ms. Barkett would take it off the table for him.

We reach this conclusion having read her dissent in Perez v. Florida, a case before the Florida Supreme Court last year. Miami police spotted Perez and another man passing something between them in a notorious drug neighborhood. When an officer approached the pair, they fled, and while running Perez pulled something from his waist and dropped it in an alley. Police found a firearm and charged Perez, a convicted felon, with carrying a concealed weapon.

The trial judge suppressed the gun as evidence against Perez as an illegal search and seizure under the Fourth Amendment. But after various appeals, a majority of the Florida Supreme Court ruled the gun was admissible as evidence because Perez had abandoned it prior to any search. The majority cited a U.S. Supreme Court precedent from 1991, California v. Hodari D., in which a suspect had thrown away cocaine while being pursued. The Court ruled that Hodari’s cocaine hadn’t been illegally seized.

None of this was good enough for Judge Barkett, who dissented in the Perez case. Her judgment would have excluded the gun from being used as evidence, thus allowing Perez to go free even though he was clearly guilty. Ms. Barkett thereby endorsed a more extreme version of the “exclusionary rule” than even the U.S. Supreme Court has endorsed. This is the loopy rule that, as the saying has it, allows the criminal to go free even when it’s the constable who blunders.

Ms. Barkett’s dissent is all the more remarkable given that in 1982 Florida passed an amendment to its state constitution that made U.S. Supreme Court interpretations of the Fourth Amendment binding on the Florida Supreme Court. Yet Ms. Barkett now believes that this amendment doesn’t apply because the U.S. Supreme Court has become more strict in its interpretations since 1982. How convenient! And of course, the logic of her dissent in Perez would prohibit the “stop and frisk” authority that President Clinton says police ought to have.

We don’t report all of this to embarrass Mr. Clinton, but to suggest that Ms. Barkett’s brand of liberal jurisprudence is much to blame for America’s crime problem. The U.S. legal system has constructed elaborate protections for defendants that make it all but impossible for criminals to see a connection between crime and punishment. The Rehnquist Supreme Court has pulled back on some of the worst Warren Court precedents, but the Barketts of the world would shift it back again.

Republicans, we should add, can be just as agile at anti-crime posturing. Florida Republican Senator Connie Mack has endorsed Ms. Barkett, who is popular with GOP elites in that state, even as he rails about sending criminals to jail. So the Senate is likely to confirm Ms. Barkett to her seat on the Eleventh Circuit. No one later should claim to be surprised by Judge Barkett’s opinions.
Gergen says Clinton would welcome independent Whitewater inquiry

By Paul Bedard

THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BRUSSELS — The White House opened the door yesterday to the possibility of allowing a special counsel to be chosen from outside the Justice Department to investigate the widening Whitewater land-development controversy.

Responding to a senior Democratic senator's call for an independent investigation and full disclosure by President and Mrs. Clinton, White House adviser David Gergen said the administration will cooperate if Attorney General Janet Reno appoints a special counsel.

Made aware of the comments of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a New York Democrat, Mr. Gergen said of the president, "If it comes to a special counsel, then he'll be very cooperative."

Mr. Gergen added, "We've been cooperating with the Justice Department, and if there is a different investigative body, we'll cooperate with that — whatever the investigative body is."

Mr. Gergen said that although "the forum may change," the Clintons will be cooperative if the probe is "full and impartial."

His comments made here, during Mr. Clinton’s first European trip, were the first sign that the White House may be changing its position from its previous opposition to the appointment of a special counsel.

Until now, the White House has opposed Republican demands for the appointment of such a counsel.

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Mr. Gergen added, "We've been cooperate
Clinton calls Russia key to Europe's future

**CLINTON**

From page A1

have the opportunity to be here and go back to work.

At today's NATO meeting, the cold war in Bosnia-Hercegovina is likely to take center stage. European and American officials said. A senior administration official said the 16-nation North Atlantic Treaty Organization had "renewed" its warning to Bosnian Serbs against continuous shelling of Sarajevo. NATO leaders said they will consider whether to launch air strikes in the beleaguered nation.

The NATO communiqué to be issued tomorrow will contain "strong, serious" language condemning the attacks, a senior administration official said.

The White House, however, wants to keep the NATO summit focused on Mr. Clinton's plan to gradually admit the nations of Central Europe very, very seriously," he said.

The speech was unusual for its lack of detail or offer of U.S. aid for any specific goal. Mr. Clinton only briefly mentioned his plan to expand NATO. Under the "Partnership for Peace" proposal, NATO membership would eventually be offered to the former Warsaw Pact countries.

He also made passing references to keeping the U.S.-European alliance intact and said he will also address when he meets with Eastern European leaders Wednesday in Prague.

Under the plan, NATO would be modernized to add humanitarian and peacekeeping missions and crisis-management assistance to its current role of providing security in Europe, Mr. Christopher said yesterday on ABC-TV's "This Week."

Mr. Clinton will stay on the road until Jan. 15. He plans to travel to Moscow on Oct. 3, then fly to Moscow on Oct. 5 to meet with Eastern European leaders. Then he will also address when he meets with European leaders Wednesday in Prague.

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Under the plan, NATO would be modernized to add humanitarian and peacekeeping missions and crisis-management assistance to its current role of providing security in Europe, Mr. Christopher said yesterday on ABC-TV's "This Week." Gen. John Shalikashvili said the proposed Partnership for Peace will not provide security guarantees for the nations of Central Europe.

"That's the worst thing that we could do," he said on NBC's "Meet the Press." "There are, in fact, serious source issues that are involved, and therefore such steps should be taken only after very deliberate discussions.''

The partnership program will involve joint training, joint exercises, joint planning and possibly joint operations between NATO members and European states that join, the four-star general said.

While it will not provide specific security guarantees, the peace program will provide for consultations between the partner and NATO in the event that one country's security is threatened," Gen. Shalikashvili said.

"And I don't think there should be any doubt that we take the security of the countries in Central and Eastern Europe very, very seriously," he said.

The Eastern Europeans fear that the United States is caving in to anti-Russian pact nations into NATO could create an anti-Russia pact.

Mr. Clinton's bow to Mr. Yeltsin was clear in his speech here yesterday, especially when he hailed against Russian ultranationalists, led by Vladimir Zhirinovsky, whose party scored major election victories last month.

"For the peoples who broke communism's chains, now we see a race between rejuvenation and despair," Mr. Clinton said. Reformers are pit against "the dark hammers of the man's dark throne - the militant nationalists and demagogues who fan suspicions that are ancient, and parade the pain of renewal in order to obscure the promise of reform.

"We, none of us, can afford to be bystanders of that race."

The president said that "this period may decide whether the states of the former Soviet bloc are woven into the fabric of trans-Atlantic prosperity and security, or are simply left hanging in isolation as they face the same daunting changes gripping so many others in Europe."

Mr. Clinton will stop on the road until Jan. 15. He plans to travel to Moscow on Wednesday after a brief but still unscheduled diversion to the Ukraine, where the White House hopes Mr. Clinton will nail down Kiev's pledge to dismantle its nuclear weapons.

After his speech yesterday, Mr. Clinton greeted Americans who had gathered in the medieval Grand Place, the old town square, which was still decorated with a Christmas tree and a manneken-pis statue.

Mr. Clinton also visited a coffee shop and spoke to American Embassy workers.

* • Hill Gertz in Washington contributed to this report.
RUSSIA
From page A1

The demonstrators shouted anti-American slogans and accused Mr. Yeltsin of subservience to the West. While the precise agenda for the Clinton-Yeltsin summit has not been made public, the two leaders will discuss a variety of foreign policy issues. A major talking point is likely to be the Clinton administration's Partnership for Peace, a proposed series of agreements with Eastern European nations based on close cooperation with — but not full membership in — NATO.

The question of Ukraine's nuclear missiles will also be high on the agenda. This could turn out to be the one bright spot in the talks. Mr. Clinton said yesterday that the United States, Russia and Ukraine had made great progress toward a deal to rid Ukraine of nuclear weapons that it inherited after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

"We are working very, very hard to bring all three of us together, and we have made a terrific amount of progress," Mr. Clinton told reporters at the start of his eight-day European tour.

Asked if he was optimistic a deal would be reached during his trip, he said: "I'm proud of the work that's been done, and I appreciate very much the attitude that (Ukraine President Leonid) Kravchuk and Yeltsin have brought to this whole endeavor, but I can't say any more than that."

Mr. Clinton may expand his five-nation European trip to add a stop in Kiev if the agreement is finalized with Ukraine to dismantle its more than 1,000 long-range nuclear weapons.

Mr. Kravchuk will join Mr. Clinton and Mr. Yeltsin in Moscow this week. Mr. Clinton and Mr. Yeltsin also are expected to discuss Russian arms sales to Iran. Mr. Clinton will reportedly offer to lift the Cold War-era Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls restrictions on technology transfer if Moscow agrees to stop selling weapons to Tehran.

Inextricably linked with all these issues — at least from the Russian vantage point — is the question of Western aid.

According to some sources, the Russian side in the summit will directly tie the issue of aid with the question of European security.

Moscow is annoyed by the Eastern European countries' rush to join NATO, triggered by the strong showing of ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky's Liberal Democratic Party in the December parliamentary vote.

Radio Liberty reported Saturday that the Russian side will offer to guarantee "the security and stability of Russia's European neighbors" — obviating the need for changes in NATO's structure — if Washington agrees to activate the aid promised, but so far not delivered, by international lending institutions.

The Munich-based U.S. radio station, citing a source at the Russian Foreign Ministry, also reported that the Russian side plans to blame the strong showing of extremists in the December elections on a "deficit of aid."

The renewed strength of anti-Western forces in Russian politics will be underscored by the new parliament's opening session, which will take place tomorrow on the eve of Mr. Clinton's visit.

Both Mr. Zhirinovsky and Communist Party leader Gennady Zuyanov will likely address the legislature.

Although U.S. aid to Russia is being scaled back, Mr. Clinton will reportedly promise Mr. Yeltsin that he will try to speed up the money not yet delivered by international lending institutions. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank may relax their demands for tough anti-inflation measures if Russia agrees to tighten its control over the money supply and loosen restrictions on foreign investment.

Mr. Clinton will also find warning Russia away from arms sales a hard sell. While Moscow's weapons sales are nothing like they were during the Soviet period, they are a promising source of hard currency for the cash-strapped government.

This article is based in part on wire service reports.
NATO leaders face specter of revived Russian military
Army said to be ready to step in and retake lands

By Andrew Borowiec
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

PARIS — Growing Russian support for a strong-arm military regime that would stop the social decay are placing NATO in the dilemma which, until recently, had not figured in its contingency plans.

As the NATO leaders gathered in Brussels today, several West European intelligence services were warning about the danger to the new and already badly bruised Russian democracy.

The reports, some from Western sources and some based on contacts with embittered Russian officials, paint a picture of a firmly entrenched military that is prepared, if necessary, to expand the territory under Russian control in order to boost the sagging morale of a once mighty army.

A French report considered to be authoritative quoted a member of President Boris Yeltsin’s “Russia’s Choice” party warning that “conditions exist for the formation of a junta that would re-establish order and national dignity.”

The speaker, Mikhail Poltoranin, reportedly told his French contacts that Russia’s military leaders are unlikely to tolerate for long a situation in which the country “has been plunged into uncontrolled criminality, citizens are without defense and racketeers of all colors reign supreme.”

Some West European specialists believe the disgruntled military leaders are using requests by Moscow’s former satellites for NATO protection as a pretext to stir up militant nationalism and end the experiment with democracy.

Thus Yevgeni Primakov, a high-ranking intelligence officer, warned recently of the “growing dissatisfaction of those whose task is to safeguard national security.”

Mr. Yeltsin, according to analysts in Europe, appears to be “alarmed and almost desperate” to defuse the mounting anger of the military leadership and key members of the once-powerful Soviet industrial-military complex.

In addition to GRU, Russia has a civilian service for external espionage (SVR), a counterespionage organization (MB) and an internal security corps (MVD) backed by strong paramilitary units to contain local unrest.

Despite Russia’s impoverishment, neither the GRU’s funds nor its personnel have been curtailed, according to French sources.

GRU headquarters in a heavily guarded prisonlike compound near Khodinsk outside Moscow supervises some 8,000 agents in the former Soviet republics and an estimated 900 key agents in other countries.

According to French assessments, all Russian military attaches in embassies report to the GRU, which directs the theft - or purchase if need be - of high technology from the West.

The GRU’s autonomy has grown considerably during Mr. Yeltsin’s presidency, according to information available here.

It is an active participant in Russia’s economic transformation. In addition to GRU, Russia has a civilian service for external espionage (SVR), a counterespionage organization (MB) and an internal security corps (MVD) backed by strong paramilitary units to contain local unrest.

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As Congress searches for ways to stretch America's health-care dollar, it might want to look at a new Texas variation on the pay-to-play theme:

The state requires nonprofit hospitals to "pay" for their tax-exempt status.

Under a new law that went into effect in September, hospitals are required to provide charity care to the poor in an amount roughly equal to the value of their state tax exemptions, unless that amount is beyond their financial capacity. The requirement can be satisfied through free hospital services or through clinics or other health-care organizations.

"This bill is not a solution to the larger problem of access to health care for the medically uninsured," says state Sen. Rodney Ellis, who sponsored the measure, "but it is a recognition that when we grant a tax exemption, it is the same as spending money, and the hospitals owe something back to the communities they serve.

Some $120 million a year is "spent" in Texas in state tax exemptions for nonprofit hospitals. A conservative guess by the state Attorney General's Office is that the new law will reap at least $20 million a year in charity care — in addition to the free care already being provided by many hospitals required by state law.

The law was passed in part as a reaction to a suit against Houston's Methodist Hospital. The state claimed that while Methodist had received more than $138 million in tax breaks over the past five years, the hospital had provided only $26 million worth of free medical care for indigent patients. The hospital disputed the figures.

The case was dismissed by the court. But Mr. Ellis, whose district includes downtown Houston, pursued the issue. He likened the situation with hospitals to that of developers and corporations that exploit state property tax laws by claiming through a technicality that their property is used for agricultural purposes.

If other states were to join Texas in passing similar legislation, Mr. Ellis says, the law "has the potential to save hundreds of millions toward the cost of insuring the poor."

And that's just for state tax breaks. Imagine the savings, he suggests, if the federal government also demanded a return in health services from the 3,200 hospitals that receive federal tax breaks.

For health-care reform, he says, "one source of funding exists right before our very eyes."

DNC apologizes for false claim

Sullivan not backer of plan

The Democratic National Committee has apologized for falsely claiming in a promotional video that the Bush administration's health secretary backs President Clinton's ideas on health-care reform.

Former Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan won the apology after expressing shock and anger that he was listed as a supporter of Mr. Clinton's health-care plan.

Asked by a reporter why the Republican was supporting the Clinton plan, Dr. Sullivan responded: "It is a total distortion and misrepresentation to list my name implying my support for the plan. The principles? Yes, I'm for motherhood, and I'm for apple pie. But that doesn't mean I'm for the president's plan the way he puts it together."

Dr. Sullivan, now president of the Morehouse School of Medicine in Atlanta, said Democratic Party officials who claimed he backed the key features of the Clinton plan were "lying."

Under a deal proposed by Dr. Sullivan's attorney, Raymond D. Cotton, the DNC stopped production of the 16-minute video to remove Dr. Sullivan's name.

Some 5,000 tapes with Dr. Sullivan listed as a supporter of the Clinton plan were sent to Democratic Party backers, health-care advisers and reporters.

Another 5,000 were sent out after Dr. Sullivan's name was removed, said DNC Communications Director Catherine A. Moore.

The 5,000 persons who received the initial version were subsequently sent a note on National Health Care Campaign letterhead explaining that Dr. Sullivan's name was included as a mistake.

"We let people know that was the case," said Ms. Moore. However, several reporters who received the original tape said they have never seen a copy of the letter written by Ms. Moore.

The letter states: Recently, you received a copy of the video, Health Care Security: Challenge to America, courtesy of the National Health Care Campaign, a project of the Democratic National Committee.

"Listed at the close of the video are the names of individuals, organizations and companies who support the principles of the Health Security Act. Included in the list is Dr. Louis Sullivan, former secretary of health and human services. The inclusion of Dr. Sullivan's name was an error of judgment and represents a failure to exercise appropriate judgment."

The tape was released to help local Democratic organizations build support for the president's entitlement health-care plan. Under the plan, all Americans would receive health care. It would be paid for through a combination of tax increases and cuts in other health-care programs.

Producing the tape, which Mr. Clinton narrates, cost $125,000. It was made by the same media team that produced the "Man From Hope" video biography of Mr. Clinton presented at the 1992 Democratic National Convention.

It was issued to help offset a Republican-led effort to use videos and television ads to fight the Clinton health care plan.

The DNC tape shows people complaining about the U.S. health-care system. The video includes people decrying their inability to get health insurance or the high cost of health insurance.
Clinton proposal to ease claims in airline disasters draws praise

By David Field

A little-noticed feature in the Clinton administration’s airline-revival plan has cheered relatives of those killed in two of history’s worst air disasters.

The policy announced Thursday is willing to cancel this year’s military exercises with South Korea that simulate front-line combat in North Korea.

Mr. Aspin said that the situation “isn’t getting better.”

Mr. Nunn said it is “unacceptable” for Pyongyang to “stonewall” on nuclear inspections.

The administration’s statement said that “the situation’s not getting worse.”

For both the KAL and Pan Am crashes, victims’ relatives claim that security was inadequate; they also point to other airline misconduct.

Proposed revisions called the Montreal Protocols would lift the $75,000 limit and, in effect, modernize the entire international airline liability system.

The new protocols, which cover acts of terrorism and war, would apply to U.S. citizens and permanent residents traveling on international flights of all airlines, and to all passengers purchasing tickets in the United States for international flights of all airlines, and to all passengers purchasing tickets in the United States for international flights.

The North Korean government has accused the United States and South Korea of using the annual exercises, which simulate front-line fighting with North Korea, as a provocation to war.

The large-scale exercises are viewed by U.S. military officials as a key training experience for both U.S. and South Korean forces.

“She’s got a lot of exercises going on,” Mr. Aspin said on ABC’s “This Week.”

Whether the exercise will be held this year “totally depends upon how these negotiations proceed,” said the defense secretary, who is leaving office later this month.

“I mean, one of the things in these negotiations that the North Koreans would like is for the cancellation of Team Spirit,” he said. “So, that’s a bargaining chip in these discussions.”

Appearing earlier on the same program, Sen. Sam Nunn, Georgia Democrat and chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said Team Spirit is scheduled to take place in the spring.

“The exercises are still being held,” Mr. Nunn said in an interview with the ABC News correspondent.

Mr. Nunn said that the plan allows for more inspections of nuclear facilities.

The inspections “are much tougher, much more comprehensive” since inspectors found covert nuclear-weapons equipment in Iraq — and therefore inspections in North Korea will act as insurance “that the situation’s not getting worse.”

The administration’s statement says the Montreal Protocols should be approved to “avoid ‘the quagmire and uncertainty of conflicting laws of hundreds of nations and local jurisdictions’.”

Organized groups of victims’ family members hailed the recommendation and vowed to keep pressing the Senate for a vote.

Mr. Nunn said the Montreal Protocols would not apply retroactively to his case or those of KAL 007 survivors.

“I just don’t want to see others in the future go on for years and years in the courts while they’re trying to get on with their lives or raise their families,” she said.

“Insurance doesn’t govern things like this, and you can’t plan for them. John wasn’t a race-car driver, and he wasn’t going to Beirut. He was going to London on a routine business trip.”

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Settlers find funds in U.S. to press cause

By Judith Colp Rubin
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BEIT EL, Occupied West Bank —
Nears four months after the signing of the Israel-PLO accord, Israel's right-wing opposition, which started off faltering, has finally found its voice.

Last week residents at the settlement of Beit El boarded buses to Jerusalem to participate in a massive demonstration that drew tens of thousands.

In recent weeks, there have been several other demonstrations in a number of Israeli cities to show opposition to the agreement is strong nationwide.

The settler movement has now been effectively mobilized, largely due to the increase in Palestinian violence.

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RAMALLAH, Occupied West Bank - Like many Fatah activists in the West Bank and Abu Ein regularly visits the Palestine Liberation Organization headquarters in Tunis after paying respects to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, Mr. Ein asks for funds and guidance for governing his home city of Ramallah.

But the only thing that Mr. Ein came back with on a recent trip to Tunis was a photograph of himself with Mr. Arafat. The photograph hangs over his desk at the household appliance factory he runs, but Mr. Ein is deluged daily with calls from local residents about their problems with the Israeli military government, which once ran things in Ramallah, but has now been replaced by Palestinian self-rule sometime this year. Residents are looking to the PLO for help in handling issues of water and power bills.

But without any authority from the PLO in Tunis, there's little Mr. Ein can do to prepare for the future. "We'll see what Mr. Arafat and the government and they're asking me to deal with these issues," Mr. Ein said. "We have the answers to their questions," he added.

"It's one of the most important jobs I have," said Mr. Ein. "We have to make good propaganda for the peace agreement and tell people the facts to the people. We have to tell them that our [Arab] allies are in no position to battle Is­rael, because people are just hearing the propaganda that we shouldn't sell Palestine to Israel. People are looking at their lives, and they don't see anything good coming from the agreement, just people being killed.

Mr. Ein, who was in Ramallah on Monday, when he was extradited from the Israeli jail.

"People see me as their govern­ment minister and they're asking me to deal with their problems, but I don't have any authority from the PLO. We are closer to an agreement. We've returned to Tiiba to finish the agreement and stop the marathon negotiations," PLO negot­iator Hassan Asfour said on ar­abic radio's Arabic service.

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Crisis? What crisis?

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York Democrat and chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, had some interesting comments on NBC's "Meet the Press" yesterday, especially given the hysterical description the Clintons and other would-be reformers paint of health care in America:

"We promised in that last presidential campaign that we would address the issue of welfare. In all truth, I don't want in any way to suggest that health is not a priority, and that what the president makes a priority is a priority for me, but if you -- we don't have a health crisis in this country."

"We do have a welfare crisis. And we can do both."

Putting in the fix

We've gotten our hands on a memorandum sent by Treasury Department chief of staff Joshua L. Steiner to the top undersecretaries, assistant secretaries and bureau heads of Treasury: It was dated late last month.

The White House has asked that we limit our public comments on the FY 95 budget to the following four points:

1. The FY 95 deficit will be in the range of $190 billion -- far less than anticipated.
2. Nine of fourteen Cabinet departments will have their budgets cut below the FY 94 enacted level.
3. The President will be able to make significant investments in his priority areas.
4. The budget process worked very well and was accompanied by very little acrimony.

"The White House would obviously like to avoid any public complaining. Treasury was well-served in the budget process so these guidelines should be especially easy for us to adopt."

Future bike-jackings

D.C. Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton, noting that the Washington region "is among the 25 most polluted metropolitan areas," would like to see more people riding their bicycles to work.

"Storage facilities for bicycles," she is encouraging employers, private and government, "have a significant effect in luring employees from their cars."

Assuming It's North

Someone, we're not sure whom, sent us the Washington Blade's annual readership survey to complete and mail back to the homosexual newspaper by Friday.

Carefully thumbing through it, we see where one of the questions pertains to the next Virginia senatorial election. It asks: "Assuming Oliver North will secure the Republican party nomination, which of the two Democrats currently seeking nomination do you think stands the best chance of beating North?"

1. Chuck Robb
2. Doug Wilder
3. Neither; North will win"

Well, given the recent voter dissatisfaction with Virginia's Democratic Party, a lot of which resulted from the Robb-Wilder feud, there's the temptation to pick No. 3.

Intellect and integrity

"A fair-and-square triumph over a conservative puzzle-solver would not only restore your reputation, but might also cow Republican challengers in 1996," Mike Antonucci of Carmichael, Calif., concludes in a letter he sent Jan. 4 to President Clinton, challenging our nation's chief executive to a crossword-puzzle contest.

"Think it over and contact me at your convenience. I am at your disposal," Mr. Antonucci writes, after reading that Mr. Clinton cheats on the New York Times crossword puzzle in order to impress visitors and assistants, zipping through the puzzle in front of them.

Green conflict

Have you ever contributed to any Greenpeace campaigns, specifically Save the Whales, Save the Rainforests or Save the Ozone Layer?

If so, be advised that 21st Century Science and Technology, a group based here in Washington, has informed us that leaders of Greenpeace International have reportedly skimmed tens of millions of dollars of contributions to the above three campaigns and put the money into secret bank accounts.

Documents are said to also show that Greenpeace channels some of its contributions to Earth First -- "a group that specializes in 'ecotage,' or acts of sabotage on behalf of Mother Earth [that] have left a bloody trail of injured, maimed and dismembered loggers, miners and other workers" from the United States to Malaysia, 21st Century charges.

In leveling the accusations, the Washington science and technology outfit hopes that American citizens will insist that the Danish-produced film "The Man in the Rainbow" be shown nationally on U.S. television.

The one-hour documentary presents detailed evidence that leaders of Greenpeace have been involved in international criminal activity -- including financial misconduct, sponsorship of international terrorism and bribery of government officials.

Greenpeace denies any wrongdoing.

The final word

"Obviously, the National Journal was far more prophetic than the clearly departed Tip," writes Washington consultant Gary L. Jarmin, who attaches the "Final Word" entry from the Jan. 3 issue of the Journal. It quotes former House Speaker O'Neill as saying:

"I'm hanging on until the Red Sox win the World Series -- which with this team could mean I'm hanging around for a very long time."
HIGHLY QUOTABLE

The Partnership for Peace proposal has stirred impassioned rhetoric from both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Here are some of last week's most notable comments.

President Clinton

"It is a risk? Of course it is. I've made the best judgment I could on it, and I believe I'm right, and history will render a verdict."

Secretary of State Warren Christopher

Partnership for Peace is the avenue, the pathway for NATO expansion. . . . The door is open.

Polish President Lech Walesa

"I think that the demons personified by [Russian ultranationalist Vladimir] Zhironovskiy grow in power not because the West is carrying an active and firm policy, but because it fails to do this. . . . This is not fear [of Russia]—it is desertion. . . . We are too weak and we have to accept almost everything, but we don't forecast anything good for this concept."

Polish Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski

"Poland's appeal for NATO membership comes down to a blunt statement that Americans have to decide that they will have to come to die in Poland, if necessary, and Poles will go to die in Portugal or Greece."

President Clinton

"If you look at the history of Poland, I understand why President Walesa said what he did. But the whole purpose of what we're trying to do is to try to make the future different from the past.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin's spokesman, Vyacheslav Kostikov

"I think the army would exert strong pressure on the Russian government and the president to respond [to an expansion of NATO]. This response would include more military spending, which would ruin reforms and the economy. Changes in the military doctrine, at present aimed at peaceful cooperation with Europe, would follow as well.

Defense Secretary Les Aspin, speaking to Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev on a new hotline

"Grachev said he looks forward to more and better relations between NATO and Russia. . . . [Mr. Grachev said Russia] supports the concept and is interested in participating in Partnership for Peace."

Gen. John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

"We have worked for so many years to try to break down the division between East and West that existed, and what a shame it would be . . . if the first step that we took toward bringing stability and security to all of Europe was started with the re-establishment of a new line. . . . Russia does not have a veto over who will join or not join, who will participate or not participate in a Partnership for Peace."

ON THE AGENDA

President Clinton's proposed "Partnership for Peace" policy will dominate the NATO summit, but there are other important issues on the agenda. Here are some of them:

Yugoslavia

- France will push the United States this week to get more involved in Bosnia by helping reopen an airport for the delivery of relief aid
- U.S.-European relations
- NATO leaders will agree to give the Europeans more responsibility as U.S. forces on the continent are being reduced
- There will be an agreement that NATO could lend key military assets to the Western European Union, the future defense arm of the European Union.
- NATO will make its military command structure more flexible through a scheme known as "combined joint task forces."
- Weapons proliferation
- NATO leaders will discuss the spread of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and plan a new strategy to counter any threat to the alliance

Compiled by Reuters News Service

The Washington Times MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 1994
Gergen to ABC?
Senior White House Counselor David Gergen may leave the administration as soon as this week, sources with ABC News. A White House official suggested over the weekend that the Republican, recruited last spring to help the administration "unscramble itself" and "go back to the future," will be gone before celebrating his first anniversary with the Clinton White House.
Mr. Gergen, a former aide to President Reagan and former Public Broadcasting System commentator, has been engaged in talks with ABC, according to news reports.
Those reports indicated Mr. Gergen would be leaving the White House soon. But contact with the White House officials are now predicting a quicker exit.
It is not clear what job Mr. Gergen would have at ABC. The position of the network bureau chief is open for some time. A network official suggested Mr. Gergen might be given his own news show.

Moynihan's amnesty
Senate Finance Committee Chairman Daniel Patrick Moynihan yesterday supported granting amnesty to Americans who have not withheld Social Security taxes on domestic workers' wages.
Mr. Moynihan, New York Demo- crat who has chaired the committee for 23 years, said he would support legislation if the administration agrees to "support amnesty for domestic workers' wages now.
Several of President Clinton's cabinet nominees and prospective Cabinet nominees have been dogged by the issue over the past several months.

Irish farewell
Mike Barnicle of the Boston Globe wrote of former House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, for whom funeral services will be held today in Cambridge, Mass. "A fine politician, a tough mudder, a man who could cry and laugh and sing, a man treating the world with a great tender heart and a political vision shaped by Depres- sion, was carved out of those hard, cruel years."

Hillary 'inappropriate'
Las Vegas Mayor Jan Laverty Jones, a Democrat, says it is "de- ceptive and inappropriate" for Hili- rodham Clinton to campaign to campaign for Democratic Gov. Bob Miller be- cause he has a "poor record on women's issues."
Mr. Jones complained that the governor has not spearheaded one piece of legislation for women dur- ing his tenure and said the planned appearance of Mrs. Clinton this morning "feature[s] him as the master himself."

The Wilder years
The Richmond Times-Dispatch reported yesterday that the campaign of Virginia's departing Democratic Gov. L. Douglas Wilder has "won endorsements for balancing the state's recession- wracked budget without raising taxes, but he almost bankrupted his own Democratic Party and the treasury of good will that greeted his historic election four years ago."

Bentsen on tenure
"I'll be here through the year," Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen told reporters when asked about the buzz that he was leaving the Cabinet in 1994. "Who started that rumor?"

Cops needed
Though many black leaders at a Washington meeting on violence denounced the "War on Drugs" package, Baltimore Mayor Kurt L. Schmoke backed the bill, saying, "We need more police."
He said the measure is "not a complete answer" but added that he believes it will reduce crime, re- port the Baltimore Sun. "Call it tough on crime, but you also have to not going to tolerate people preying on other people anymore."

The Nixonson Clinton
"Whitewater may not be Water- gate, but the Clinton White House's skill in handling the real estate scandal, the new scandals centering around the death of her husband, will be right to be called Nixonson," writes columnist Paul A. Gigot in the Wall Street Journal.
"Its gift for inspiring suspicion in important, so its model, a self- conflicted wound, and its talent for seeming uncooperative and slip- pery, is a worthy of the master himself."

Welfare Impulse
Disappointed over signs the ad- ministration is delaying action on welfare reform, Hill Democrats plan their own reform bills in an ef- fort to pressure the White House to act.
The mainstream forum, an orga- nization of central House Demo- crats, is urging President Clinton to reconsider his "apparent" decision to delay welfare reform in favor of health care care reform.
Sen. Joe Lieberman, Connecticut Democrat, told the Los Angeles Times that he'll introduce legisla- tion that will "advance the welfare reform effort in a step-by-step way."

The Washington Times
MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 1994

GOPEE in Jersey
Assembly Speaker Garabar "Chuck" Hayward's path to the GOP governorship for the Senate was slowed clean when state Sen. Bill Gormley bowed out of contention for the good of the party.
Mr. Hayward is expected to offic- ially announce this month his candi- dacy, is a candidate for the GOP, Sen. Frank Lautenberg of New Jersey. Mr. Gormley left the race after a session with Gov-elect Christie Todd Whitman.
"Walker and the Bergen Record, Haywardian Jamie Moore says the campaign has raised $500,000 in the past year, with voluntee- tors in 30 days, adding that a uni- fied party is needed to compete with the "capitvizing sources" of Mr. Lautenberg, a multi- millionaire.

Fund-raiser Jeb
Jeb Bush is oupping his oppo- nent in the race for Florida's $1.3 million in 1993 but spent nearly half. No other campaign is in that spending league, says the Orlando Sentinel.
Terry Holt, manager for state Sen. Peter C. Copley, who is challenging the governor, makes him mortal. It doesn't really matter how much he raises if he has to back it up with a tough to survive day in and day out.
Mr. Bush, son of the former pres- ident, is a candidate for the GOP gubernatorial nomination in Flor- ida.

No on health care
Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, said the governor's tax-funded abortion bill is a "fantasy flies," he said. "I'U do all I can to support it."

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H's in the mail
GOP Gov. Pete Wilson of Califor- nia introduced his new budget last week, indicating that he hoped to make up most of its $3 billion deficit by being reimbursed by the federal government for the cost of illegal immigrants.
Mr. Wilson's bill: $2.3 billion for educating 400,000 undocumented illegal immigrants; $1.3 billion for provid- ing for their emergency medical care; and $1 billion for the federal re- reward for crimes for illegals convicted of felonies.
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Compiled by Alan McConagha.
Why NATO's mission needn't change

By Paula J. Dobriansky, David B. Rivkin Jr. and Jeffrey Baxter

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nerly has so much ridden on a maiden European trip by an American president as is riding on President Clinton at this week's NATO summit. While the most immediate decision facing him and other NATO leaders is how to handle NATO's nuclear arsenal, the specter of a new wave of new East European democracies, their varying and uncertain security partners or a security threat? Unfortunately, while a number of indicators point to the latter as the more likely outcome, the Clinton Administration seems firmly committed to a course which would seem to suggest the former was a done deal. An accommodation policy toward Moscow is not just imprudent. Ironically, to the extent Western actions can influence Russia's domestic developments, they also are likely to reinforce re-emergining imperial tendencies in Russian politics and foreign policy. Current

Paula J. Dobriansky, a former Director of European and Soviet Affairs at the National Security Council, is a research associate at the Hudson Institute. David B. Rivkin, Jr. held a variety of policy positions at the White House and the Departments of Justice and Energy in the Reagan and Bush administrations. He now practices as a partner in a Washington, D.C. law firm. Jeffrey Baxter is a California-based defense analyst.

Rawed American policies aside, NATO seems singularly ill-equipped to handle new security challenges. Indeed, one of the supreme ironies of the post-Cold War international environment is NATO's enfeebled state. The alliance, since 1949 a cornerstone of Western security architecture, now seems to be cast adrift.

To be sure, NATO is no stranger to crises, having weathered many a debate. What has never been fundamentally questioned, however, is NATO's raison d'être — its ability to meet the security challenges of the 20th century. Yet, the real choice for NATO's leaders is not between obsolescence or proliferation in strategic orientation. Rather, recent developments in Russia ought to reinforce the heretofore minority view among Western analysts that NATO's traditional missions — deterrence, defense and reassurance against potential adversary — have become more relevant.

In many ways, Moscow's current policies vis-à-vis Central Asia are a carbon copy of czarist Russia's Great Central Asian Game of the 19th century, when it had the heretofore powerful Tsarist Russia's Great Central Asian

We consider it part of NATO's unified military structure, a la France and Spain, although NATO in New Year's speech, with its military and nuclear crutch that Moscow has asserted some role in Eastern Europe, has enunciated an aggressive doctrine of en bloc, the Baltic states and has been trying to destabilize Ukraine. In addition, in such areas as Moldova, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, its forces have been both provoking and hitting. In fact, perpetuating a security vacuum in Eastern Europe, and delaying NATO admission for countries like Ukraine, invites precisely the problem the West is trying to avoid encouraging Russia to meddle in Eastern Europe.

This view is shared by most of NATO's European members, with Germany's NATO-Russia-NATO partnership. Indeed, for the time being, the Clinton administration seems firmly committed to a different policy, aptly described by one disgruntled administration official as "the subordination of our hopes for Central European democracy, where democracy is feasible and likely, to our extravagant hopes for democratization in the Near East and the Balkans." Hence, NATO's most important function in the years ahead is a combination of our economic pressure, Russian-directed subversion and a sense of being abandoned by the West that is most likely to lead to the re-establishment of a Russian state. Hence, NATO's most important function in the years ahead is a combination of encouraging Russia to meddle in Eastern Europe, has enunciated an aggressive doctrine of en bloc, the Baltic states and has been trying to destabilize Ukraine. In addition, in such areas as Moldova, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, its forces have been both provoking and hitting. In fact, perpetuating a security vacuum in Eastern Europe, and delaying NATO admission for countries like Ukraine, invites precisely the problem the West is trying to avoid encouraging Russia to meddle in Eastern Europe.

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By Bruce W. Weinrod

Looking west for security

Working in the shadows of the NATO summit in Brussels will be the troubling results of Russia's recent elections, in which voters gave around one-fourth of their party votes to extreme nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky and another fourth to other anti-reform groups. In addition, Boris Yeltsin may give more leeway to military leaders who helped him during the October 1993 turmoil in their nation of Russian power in neighboring areas.

In this context, the Clinton administration's proposed "Partnership for Peace" program, which would seek to develop modest security ties (occasional military training and exercises etc.) with nations of the East on an international or domestic policies background. The nations of the East need to be told clearly how this new connection might evolve over the longer term. The relations the East will need to be told about the possibilities and the likely limitations on this emerging relationship. NATO should first affirm clearly that it is open to admitting new members in general reinforce overall European security. Moreover, NATO should make clear that for such members, Article Five would not require NATO military involvement in long-standing local conflicts. Further, NATO should also stipulate that it will not become involved in conflicts between new member nations, and that members may be suspended or expelled for conducting international or domestic policies that contravene NATO's purposes.

Security-related criteria for admission should also be established. For example, NATO could insist where appropriate that national militaries be reduced in size or capabilities (including, in the case of Ukraine, elimination of nuclear capabilities) or restructured to be more defensively oriented. Civilian control of the military should also be required.

New admitees should demonstrate that they would be able to in some way strengthen NATO's military effectiveness. There should be force and equipment compatibility with NATO as well as a willingness and ability to contribute proportionately to NATO's financial and infrastructure requirements. NATO should consider additional stability-enhancing requirements for membership. NATO could insist that potential members renounce any territorial claims as a condition for membership. NATO might also admit some nations only if they join to resolve contentious issues and implement political, economic and security cooperation measures. As of now, Russia should be a part of this evolving process. The West should give encouragement and incentives to those among the Russian leadership and population who want to work with it. At the same time, clear signals should be given that Russia does not have a veto power over NATO's relationships to the East and that expansionist actions or moves away from democracy will face a NATO response.

Enhancing the North Atlantic Coordinating Council (NACC), which NATO launched in 1990 to bring the former Warsaw Pact nations and the former Soviet republics into a closer relationship with NATO, can also be another vehicle for dealing with Russia and Ukraine. NATO should allocate more resources to the NACC's important programs designed to provide expertise and training, as well as direct interaction, between the defense establishments of West and East.

The longer term fate of the NACC will depend upon overall European security developments. But the NACC could serve as an institutional framework for ensuring that even the distant former Soviet republics have some connection to NATO. The NACC also has the potential to become a broader pan-European security mechanism within which NATO could retain its own identity and capacity to act. NATO's principal role and objective during the Cold War was to deter a Soviet-led attack on Western Europe. But in its earlier years, NATO provided a certain core stability for democracy and economic development in a war-ravaged region. NATO also provided an overarching structure within which long-time adversaries such as France and Germany and Turkey and Greece could submerge their differences and work together.

In addition, NATO's defense planning process, whereby the 16 NATO nations share sensitive information about their respective military forces, has been a major confidence-building measure and has resulted in an openness and transparency that has helped make war in Western Europe almost unthinkable.

Further, by its very existence as a militarily capable entity, NATO has a deterrent effect helpful even to nations that are not members. In such a way, the security of such nations as Austria, Finland and Sweden was enhanced during the Cold War. The process of bringing the East closer to NATO will take time, and it should be pursued within a common and agreed framework with a practical, step-by-step basis. The ultimate objective should be to extend NATO's common security culture eastward and thus reinforce the consolidation of political democracy and economic freedom in that region. In this way, NATO can add another success to its already long list of accomplishments.
AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. They could just as easily be directed at prepubescents and the My Weekly Reader crowd because of their simplicity and appeal to fantasy.

Nowhere do they even suggest that the primary underlying cause of AIDS is the sexual promiscuity of adults, and that sex is one of them. In a memorable television documentairev, sociologist Charles Einstein interviewed several young single mothers, and brought them to the TV studio, where they interviewed several different women because they wanted to be loved, to be held, and to be by the boys. They wouldn't obliged them unless they obliged the boys. Many of whom fathered several children with different women. They didn't have any sense of responsibility or shame.

Once upon a time a young girl named Donna Shalala. The secretary of Health, Education, and Women aged 19 to 25, whom she obliged. The boys, many of whom fathered several children with different women. They didn't have any sense of responsibility or shame. That's a little like interpreting "Hamlet" as a parable against dueling. It may play, but its appeal is not very effective.

These advertisements are emblematic of our time, an attempt to reduce complex and awesome issues of sex, morality and love to a television sound bite: making sex sexy and succinct. Why not a humour sticker? How about putting the message in a Chinese for example:

We're throwing up our hands and saying there is no "safe sex" except that being monogamous. We're making sex sexy and succinct. Why not a humour sticker? How about putting the message in a Chinese for example:

AIDS. The culture strikes again. Now that we have sex and AIDS, it's time to go back to the future.

By contrast, the curious part is that folks like our literary MacNeil-Lehrer "essayists," for reasons that lie deep within their psyche, simply cannot bear to punish people. They must release them, rehabilitate them, save them. No matter how thoroughly and how many times it's proved that tough, punitive formulas are not working, such people stick to them fanatically as arrows of religious dogma. It's as if this minority that's winning. These high-minded citizens are not there to serve and protect, but to serve and destroy civil life in America — to be punished and punished harshly. They don't mind. They usually aren't weel-heeled, but neither are they violent criminals. Yet criminals who are so consumed by this, Paul Johnson concludes that our literary essayists of "The MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour" run the gamut of political views, and in which should individuals be protected from the majority? The federal judiciary, nominally a non-political institution, is the arbiter. But our legal culture, as it has turned out, is that of popularly elected legislative bodies. The American judiciary has been encroaching on the country's legal rights of the accused: that as if popularly elected legislative bodies can't really be trusted to decide anything, with the judiciary intervening everywhere: electoral redistricting, education, employment, health, housing, social services, homosexuals in the military, even on which nude performance artists should get NBA grants. The courts' favourite area is crime.

Richard Grenier

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The chances are good this year that for the first time in our history Congress will approve a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget.

Bipartisan support for the balanced budget amendment has been building for several years, and there is growing evidence that the voters are now present in the House and Senate to clear it for consideration by the states.

The amendment came within nine votes of approval in the House in 1992 and lost by just one vote in the Senate in 1986.

But with this year's deficit projected at around $250 billion and the national debt sailing toward $5 trillion, even reluctant lawmakers who once questioned the wisdom of such a step have come around to the idea.

Of the proposal's 260 co-sponsors in the House, 169 are Republicans and 91 are Democrats. Notably, 24 of the 41 members of the House Budget Committee are co-sponsors.

The government has run up mounting deficits for the past 25 years and for 40 out of the last 48 years since World War II.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, the government's $4 trillion debt under President Clinton's budget will grow to nearly $5 trillion in the next four years. And a CBO projection annual deficits in the $200 billion range and over for the rest of this decade and beyond.

This of course will swell the budget forecasts for the coming years, and what they see is a mountain of additional debt that no amount of political rhetoric or fiscal skullduggery is going to be able to hide.

Reduced to its essentials, it would declare that spending in any fiscal year "may not exceed the level of estimated revenues" unless three-fifths of both houses of Congress agree to spend more.

A constitutional amendment is the only clear, sensible solution to end this budget-busting madness before it destroys the economic foundations of our country.

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Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.
Foreign policy cosmetology

The administration must see that it is time to step away from the foggy, nebulous exercise of foreign policy that characterized its first year.

nations in Europe, Asia and elsewhere the perception is that American policy is adrift or that it barely exists. In foreign policy, perception is a critical factor. Foreign leaders and diplomats carefully study and analyze perception as a kind of mirrortlike reflection of intentions, aspirations and goals. But the president of the United States, his secretary of state and his national security adviser have managed to articulate a policy that only creates a perception that it is not negative. It amounts to an absence of a clear and coherent presidential policy, and the result is that both friendly and hostile nations, including North Korea, Iran, Iraq and Libya, may misperceive America's very real commitment to demilitarization, control of nuclear proliferation and peace through strength.

A president so articulate in domestic affairs who remains silent on foreign affairs will not succeed in carrying out an American policy in the foreign arena. It's true that the United States is no longer the world's policeman but it remains the world's only superpower. If it is true that America no longer carries the responsibilities it carried during the Cold War, it is also true that there are numerous revolutionary and ambitious states waiting to upset the balance of the present peace. The prospect of nuclear weapons in the hands of North Korea, Iran or Iraq is sure to destabilize the world order.

The Clinton administration must see that it is time to step away from the foggy, nebulous exercise of foreign policy that characterized its first year if it hopes to design and implement a policy that will nip the nuclear pygmies in the bud, before they can cause serious damage to the current and highly fragile peace.

Amos Perlmutter is a professor of political science and sociology at American University and editor of the Journal of Strategic Studies.
It's all very well for Mr. Clinton to titillate the voters with denial of his sexual adventures; and one can't help being amused by his decision (in the last Internal Revenue Service filing) to claim a $2 deduction for used underpants donated to the Salvation Army. What is not amusing, however, is the president's disturbingly poor instincts on pivotal foreign policy questions — in this case his decision to delay NATO membership for Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. His refusal to propose clear criteria or timing for membership could well jeopardize much that has been achieved in Eastern Europe. Mr. Christopher, currently secretary of state and Mr. Lake, the president's national security adviser, (often called "the Valiums" for their calming effect on creative ideas) have persuaded the president that Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic should not be admitted to NATO but rather offered participation in a contrivance developed by outgoing Defense Secretary Les Aspin called "Partnership for Peace." Their reasoning is that full NATO membership might generate fears in Russia, especially among those given voice by firebrand Vladimir Zhirinovsky in the December elections, that the West intends to encircle and isolate Russia. They are concerned that the military in particular might shift its support from President Boris Yeltsin to Mr. Zhirinovsky, which they say would separate Mr. Zhirinovsky from his base by co-opting the emotion and muting the fear that is his source of strength. A practical first step is to address the housing, retraining, health and educational needs of the vast military establishment — particularly those transitioning to civilian jobs. On the civilian side, consumers must see early, tangible benefits from cooperation with the West.

Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic must be quickly and decisively incorporated into NATO so their security is insured.

Despite pleas from Czech President Vaclav Havel and Polish President Lech Wałęsa, the White House has announced their sugar-coated "noncommitment" at today's Brussels NATO Summit with the likely support of other treaty members. The State Department has stoked the affair with "carrots and sticks," warning Prague, Budapest and Warsaw that their public opposition will delay future NATO membership and bode ill for long anticipated trade and investment agreements. Acquiescence, on the other hand, would mean joint training with consultations if one of the "partners" is invaded — but no security guarantees. The whole thing reeks.

The chance in this century Czech President Havel reminds us, "All of Europe paid a tragic price for the narrow-mindedness and lack of imagination of its democracies. In 1938, the Munich Agreement sanctioned the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, and the World War II summit at Yalta effectively guaranteed control of Eastern Europe to Soviet Dictator Joseph Stalin." To adopt Washington's plan is to accept Vladimir Zhirinovsky's effective use of cultural symbols has generated emotion and harnessed anger, but the future he offers is uncertain. Washington's challenge is to ensure that Mr. Yeltsin moves quickly to separate Mr. Zhirinovsky from his base by co-opting the emotion and muting the fear that is his source of strength. A practical first step is to address the housing, retraining, health and educational needs of the vast military establishment — particularly those transitioning to civilian jobs. On the civilian side, consumers must see early, tangible benefits from cooperation with the West.

Most importantly, Russia must not be tempted. Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic must be quickly and decisively incorporated into NATO so their security is insured while market-based democracy continues to develop.

To do otherwise invites either eventual confrontation or capitulation. Current Russian claims on what it calls "the near abroad" — the newly freed republics on its borders, including the Baltics — must be challenged. If not, the resulting uncertainty will extend the "zone of instability" from the current crescent of nations around the South and East of Russia — Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Georgia — to Ukraine and Eastern Europe. Just as President Bush insisted that the newly united Germany become part of NATO in the face of Russian objection, Mr. Clinton's and the "Valiums" must be reversed before the administration makes Eastern Europe the latest in the string of debacles that already includes Bosnia, Somalia and Haiti.

STEFAN HALPER is a former White House and State Department official and a nationally syndicated columnist.
Radiation panic button

Probably not. Mr. Richmond's paper in 1975 noted that "there have been no recorded substantial incidents of cancer production in man" from ingesting any kind of plutonium isotope. An English medical journal in 1975 similarly concluded that "no disease attributable to plutonium toxicity has been diagnosed in any worker concerned in the production or manipulation of plutonium."

This is important because most of the controversial experiments involved materials with far less toxic punch than plutonium. While radioactive plutonium has a half-life of about 24,000 years and never leaves the kids were getting sufficient calories and antioxidants. One's system, radioactive iodine—which was injected into some pregnant women and newborns—has a half-life of eight days. Scientists in many cases introduced material into just one part of the subject's body, which is far less hazardous than full-body exposure. As one researcher notes, "It doesn't take a whole lot of radiation to do a tracer study. You can be selective about which isotopes you use, so they have short half-lives and don't expose people to significant risk."

The much-publicized experiments at the Fernald School in Massachusetts fit that pattern. Scientists fed radioactive calcium and iron to 55 young men in doses that would be perfectly legal under today's stringent standards. The tests were designed to determine whether the kids were getting sufficient calcium and iron and how best to improve their diets. Despite the medical facts, Hazel O'Leary used the term "radiation" as code for "everybody panic. But radioactivity engulfs us all. Most humans have within them 11 radioisotopes: natural tritium, man-made tritium, carbon, potassium, rubidium, strontium, cesium, lead, radium (Ra-226 and Ra-228) and natural uranium. Physicist Ralph Lapp notes in his book, "The Radiation Controversy," that "the average human being is mildly radioactive—more than half a million (radioactive) disintegrations a minute."

To put matters in perspective, the most definitive studies estimate that radiation exposure produces a maximum of six cancers a year. In contrast, industrial chemicals have been blamed for as much as 10 percent of all cancer deaths among American males. The energy secretary implied that any exposure causes harm, thus inviting lawsuits against any business that might increase overall radiation. A crafty lawyer could use Mrs. O'Leary's logic to sue everybody from the manufacturers of chlorofluorocarbons to nuclear medicine practitioners who use radioactive rays to diagnose and treat various cancers.

Mark Twain once remarked, "There is something fascinating about science. One gets such a sale return on conjecture out of such trifling investment of fact." That's especially true when somebody starts speculating about unseen rays.

Before the Treasury Department begins writing checks to legions of potential plaintiffs, it might behoove Americans to use a little common sense. The doctors who treated innocent people as guinea pigs did an awful thing. But their misdeeds shouldn't prompt history's biggest payout. Unreliable or reputable scientists can show that the sneaky tests actually made somebody sick.
Nuclearitis

Wait — the Democrats radiated people in the 1940s, and today's Democrats are outraged? Isn't something amiss there?

That nice Mr. Tinman, so recently canonized in the best-selling biography by David McCullough, wouldn't do something like conduct low-level radiation tests on American citizens without first allowing the American Civil Liberties Union to notify them of their constitutional rights.

Well, would he? Seems that way.

The radiation tests about which we read so much today started under Truman and continued under Dwight Eisenhower, a Republican (therefore a logical suspect) but also under John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, a back-to-back pair of Democrats. If we're going to be outraged, why not in the bipartisan sense, and why not in historical context?

Forget context, along with bipartisanship. A White House up to its ears in Whitewater, anxious over Whitewater, cant wait to change the subject. Result: instant outrage, suggestions for federal compensation to the "victims," censorious remarks about the last two presidents — Republicans as it happens — who did nothing to remedy the outrages.

It's a little early for the political silly season, you might think. But the radiation matter goes beyond politics. We're back to that fine old federal pastime, technology-bashing.

You might think technology-bashing to be a conservative pastime — all those troglodytes taking out their aristocratic frustrations on Soulless Machines that undermine the quality of life. In fact, technophobia is more common by far on the left. Conservatives are far less afraid of machines than are liberals.

Who has successfully blocked expansion of the American nuclear industry? Liberals. Who raised the hue and cry against asbestos and DDT, the pesticide? Liberals. Who prefers microbes to dams and bicycles to automobiles? Liberals. Whose perpetual answer to perceived technological menaces is more government regulation? Guess.

The radiation scare is going true to form. Nuclear energy is the culprit. More, especially if what you have in mind to say deviates significantly from the party line. The party line on what we should call the Truman Radiation is that it's under mined health and happiness. How do we know? Because it must have. It's nuclear.

Washington-based Accuracy in Media notes that, when the Truman Radiation story broke, NBC's "Nightly News" excised from its story information that would have put the radiation dosages in context. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology's radiation program director told NBC that radioactive iron and calcium given to a small group of boys from 1946-51 exposed them to fewer millirems than two chest X-rays would have produced. Somehow, this got left out of the report. As did the gentleman's explanation of why the tests were conducted — namely, to see if the boys were absorbing enough iron and calcium. (They were.) Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary calls the tests "secret." Hooey! erupts the MIT man. Results were peer-reviewed and published.

AIM says the MIT scientist also related to NBC the relative casualness with which scientists and the public alike accepted radiation during the 1940s. Many shoe stores, he noted, had X-ray machines so persons could check the fit of shoes before buying them. (Aging Pundits Note: They sure did — and kids loved X-raying their toes.) But he pointed out that even by today's standards "the exposure of the [tested students] was well below the limits set by government".

A related question: If the tests were so bad, where's the proof of harm? None so far has emerged. However, the assertions — as distinguished from the proofs — will likely come soon, once the plaintiffs' lawyers have hustled up their clients and drawn up the necessary civil proceedings. No one should, bet against the technophobes' scaring a few juries into awarding millions of dollars to the newest class of American Victim — a category that steadily expands. In fact, I'm starting to wonder when I'll get cut.

Could President Clinton set in train a federal inquiry into the pernicious, soul-destroying effects of Roy Rogers cap pistols, circa 1950? I'd be obliged.

— William Murchison, a columnist for the Dallas Morning News, is nationally syndicated.
Whitewater’s undertow

Well, well. Apparently it wasn’t just Michael Milken and Ivan Boesky who were making out well during what the Clintons like to call the “decade of greed.” It appears that insider trading, of a sort, extended all the way to Arkansas.

About Whitewatergate, as it’s inevitably coming to be called, a friend of mine made a brilliantly simple observation: “This is the president who claims tax deductions when he gives away his old underwear — and he says he forgot to claim a $70,000 business loss?”

Well, now that you mention it — President Clinton, trying to minimize the scandal and maybe maximize his incumbency, implies that the alleged loss proves there was no wrongdoing on his and his wife’s part. That doesn’t follow, even supposing they did lose all the money they forgot to write off. After all, being a crook is no guarantee of success. He’s using a variant of “I didn’t inhale.” I didn’t make as much as Mr. Milken, therefore I’m innocent.

Everyone in Washington smells blood in the Whitewater, and it’s fascinating to watch the power press fall into alignment for this decade’s political Armageddon: The divisions occur even within newspapers.

For example, columnists William Safire (anti-Clinton) and Frank Rich (pro-Clinton) of the New York Times fall on opposite sides. So do Robert Bartley (anti) and Albert Hunt (pro) of the Wall Street Journal.

Mr. Safire opens his Thursday column with a zinger: “What terrible secret drove Vincent Foster, the Clintons’ personal lawyer, to put a bullet through his head?” A quibbler might point out that we don’t actually know it was a “terrible secret” that drove Mr. Foster to suicide, but that question takes the prize for dramatic leading.

The column ends with equal pique: “No politician is so stupid as to try to hide something when there is nothing to hide. The Clintons’ pattern of behavior in Whitewatergate is that of wheeler-dealers with something serious to hide. Let’s hope it’s only politically embarrassing.” Implication: It could be criminal.

On the same day, Frank Rich, drama critic turned columnist, inveighs against David Brock, the reporter who told us about the Clintons’ sex lives in Arkansas. He accuses Mr. Brock of “twisted” motives, including “misogyny” and “rage at women.”

Over at the Journal (also the same day), Albert Hunt lets fly at the Senate minority leader, Republican Robert Dole of Kansas, for “political hypocrisy.” Mr. Dole used to say we didn’t need a special prosecutor in the Whitewater case; now he says we do. Mr. Hunt belittles the sex stories, but admits that “the financial allegations may have legs.” Then he returns to the theme of Republican hypocrisy, quoting a Democratic Massachusetts congressman’s remark that Republicans “just figure the public doesn’t have any memory.” These are the deadpan words of none other than Barney Frank.

Across the page (same paper, same day), Robert Bartley notes that our young president’s lies about the sex stories have weakened his credibility in the Whitewater case. He even fires a zinger at his colleague, Mr. Hunt.

Where is the smart money in this journalistic civil war? Well, the anti-Clinton forces are on the aggressive, making charges, demanding answers and expecting victory. They may or may not be hypocritical, but they seem to assume the truth is on their side.

The pro-Clinton forces are in retreat, reduced to the weak tactic of questioning the motives of Clinton’s critics. They sound like defense lawyers who know their client is guilty and are trying desperately to discredit the key witnesses in the eyes of the jury. Once again we may note that Mr. Clinton has many allies, but precious few character witnesses.

The one thing the pro-Clinton pundits are conspicuously not doing is demanding the evidence. They seem to assume the truth is against them. All they can say is that Mr. Clinton may perish, but there will be a few Republican casualties, too.

Still, take it all in all, both sides are tacitly agreeing that Bill and Hillary Clinton are in deep, deep trouble. The flower children have come of age, and are facing their own Watergate.

Joseph Sobran is a nationally syndicated columnist.
... and turgid status

The Clinton White House is surely correct in pointing out the hypocrisy and political opportunism of some Republicans who are now gleefully demanding the appointment of a special prosecutor to investigate the Clintons' financial dealings with a failed Arkansas savings and loan.

Although the political memory of most Americans — including many media pundits — tends to be measurable in months rather than years, it is difficult to forget the shrill and ultimately successful campaign orchestrated by many Republicans to scuttle the Independent Counsel Act, while their party controlled the executive branch of government.

Now that the Democrats are in the White House, civic virtue has suddenly returned to those Republicans who have conveniently changed sides and are now calling for a special prosecutor.

Nor are Democrats immune from mirror-image charges of hypocrisy and opportunism. Some Democrats who insisted on the appointment of special prosecutors to investigate allegations of Republican hanky-panky are now sanctionediously invoking the separation of powers and the independence of career Justice Department officials, as arguments against the appointment of a special prosecutor in the Clinton matter.

But it is precisely because there is so much hypocrisy and cynicism on both sides of the aisle that a special prosecutor should be appointed in this case and that the Independent Counsel Act — with some needed improvements — should be quickly revived and put in place.

It may well be true, as Attorney General Janet Reno has stated, that career prosecutors are not influenced by the political winds of the day. But it is equally true that the public will simply not trust a process in which the subjects of the investigation — in this case the Clintons — have the power to hire, fire, promote and demote those who will be making important decisions about their political and personal futures.

The appearance of fairness and equality is almost as important as its reality, especially when the integrity of the president and the first lady is at issue.

As an experienced criminal lawyer, I understand the reluctance of the White House to surrender control over the delicate fact-gathering process to an outsider who has no political accountability to the president. Were I his lawyer, I might well take the same view. It is likely — though it is too early to know for certain — that a full investigation may well show some gray areas.

That is typical of these kinds of cases. It is unlikely that any clear criminal conduct will be provable by a smoking gun. Nor is it likely that a merit badge will be awarded the Clintons for their role in the financial fiasco that has come to be called Whitewater.

Accordingly, there is a palpable advantage to them in having the Justice Department, rather than a special prosecutor, conduct the investigation. When the Justice Department completes its investigation, it either secures an indictment or it announces that the investigation has been closed. It does not prepare and distribute a public report on its findings. Special prosecutors, on the other hand, generally do prepare and make public what they have found and why they believe it does not warrant criminal prosecution.

If I am correct that this may be a gray area case, in which evidence of improprieties but not of indictable crimes may be found, then the Clintons are far better off with a Justice Department investigation that will end with a simple statement that no indictment is being sought. Period.

But as president and first lady, are they entitled to such a simple "thumbs-up, thumbs-down" decision? Is not the American public entitled to know everything investigators may learn about the financial, political and legal dealings of our president and his wife?

In a half-century that has included a flawed Warren Commission inquiry into a presidential assassination, the plea-bargained resignation of a vice president, the firing of a special prosecutor by a president, the pardoning of a former president by his hand-picked replacement, the pardoning of a former Cabinet member who may have had incriminating information about the president who pardoned him, and other political actions that have made cynics of many voters, it is imperative that the current allegations be investigated without any cloud of conflict of interest.

The only way to remove all such clouds is for a special prosecutor to be appointed immediately to conduct a full investigation and to report his or her findings to the American public.

As a Democrat and a Clinton supporter, my hope is that a special prosecutor will find nothing improper, unethical or criminal in the Whitewater mess. As an American, I want the whole truth to emerge so that the voters can judge for themselves. Let there be a full and open investigation and let the chips fall where they may.

— Alan Dershowitz, a professor at Harvard Law School, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 1994
Letters

We can’t break the ABM Treaty to build ‘star wars’

Writing in the Commentary section on Dec. 23, James Jameson suggests that government lawyers are thwarting the administration’s desire to build effective missile systems by suggesting particular design might raise questions of consistency with the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. “Policy-makers, not the Department of Defense, should care about the totality of the command-and-control system and, unfortunately, gives your government the provision of counsel on the legal implications of a proposed course of action and available alternatives,” he says. “This information permits an informed choice by the policy-maker. Only when the policy-maker has made his decision, not before, should the government lawyer assume the role of advocate.”

Mr. Hackett’s alternative was, in fact, tried in 1969, when the executive branch attempted unilaterally to reenact the ABM Treaty. He was the legal advisor of the Department of State, without counseling his client as to the possible ramifications of his action, and without the benefit of serious interagency analysis, advocated a view to permit star wars proposals to go forward. In the long run, neither “star wars” nor the broad interpretation “fix” prevailed.

If the best interests of the United States would be served by development of a particular missile-defense system, then Congress should be directed to identifying a way to do so, consistent with the law (including treaties, which are the supreme law of the land) that both policy-makers and lawyers are sworn to uphold. That is the kind of service the government pays its lawyers to provide.

MARY ELIZABETH HOINKES
Deputy General Counsel
US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
Washington

Politics and nuclear secrets

First of all, no American citizen should suffer the indignity of being the subject of government-sponsored medical experimentation without knowing it or consenting to it. Thus far one must certainly agree with Energy Secretary Hazel O’Leary. That said, the publicity following Mrs. O’Leary’s announcement on Dec. 7 of this, as well as other so-called declassifications of the U.S. nuclear secrets program, has obscured a number of questions that have to be considered before we leap to judgement.

One such consideration is the question of timing. A lot of the information that Mrs. O’Leary is treating with such astonishment has in fact been out for years. Over 600 of the cases were detailed in a 1986 report produced by the Senate Subcommittee on Energy of the Committee on Appropriations, chaired by determined nuclear opponent Rep. Ed Markey.

Other parts of the story, the effects of emissions from nuclear power plants and facilities, were in fact publicized by the previous administration. Mrs. O’Leary is drawing on the documents that were declassified under Bush administration Energy Secretary James Watkins, who made it one of his priorities while in office to determine what happened at the Hanford nuclear facility in Richland, Wash., which regularly and deliberately showered its neighbors with radioactivity. A medical study of the effects on the downwind population was put in place and is ongoing.

Mrs. O’Leary is making much of her commitment to openness. It could be said that as the Cold War wound down, such a commitment had already been made by the Bush administration, though carried out in a less haphazard fashion.

So, why is this issue suddenly all over the headlines? One reason might be the desire of many in the nuclear establishment to reflect badly on its Republican predecessor. One of the charges that the Republicans did nothing with the information, as assembled by the Markey committee, is that nuclear medicine is of enormous importance today. Without “human experimentation,” there would be no X-rays, no Magnetic Resonance Imaging scans, no radiation treatment for cancers.

The way Mrs. O’Leary has publicized these nuclear “secrets” has been sensational, ill-conceived, and highly politicized. The issue is far too serious, in scientific, ethical and security terms, to be dealt with in this fashion.
State of the sex scandal, part 1

While we await the next round of disclosures pertaining to Bill Clinton's sexual adventures, it might be useful to take stock of exactly where we stand at the moment. We've learned quite a bit not only about the president's appetites, but also about how the White House moved to try to shut a negative story down.

Let us begin with the obvious: The president has denied nothing. More precisely, the president, his wife, White House staffers and free-lance bimbo patroliers have done the following:

- They have chummed up highly particular denials pertaining to very specific incidents, in the evident hope that these particular denials will be taken as broader or categorical denials. And when the denials have been erroneously taken as broader, they have done nothing to dispel the misapprehension.
- They have issued blanket statements characterizing the charges and those making them in a negative light, in the evident hope that these negative statements, in which in no instance have addressed the truth or falsity of the allegations, will be taken as denials.

The president and the White House have had ample opportunity to say the Arkansas state troopers' allegations are false, if indeed the allegations are false. For some reason, they have not availed themselves of these opportunities. For example, the president went public on the issue Dec. 22. He repeatedly and forcefully denied any and all "wrongdoing." So Mutual-NBC Radio's Peter Maer, in a group interview, put the question to him about as straightforwardly as possible: "So none of this ever happened?"

Did Mr. Clinton respond, "That's right, none of it happened?" He did not. He would, I "would like to start by saying unequivocally and categorically that I deny each and every single allegation against me." He did not.

This is how he responded: "I have nothing else to say. We did, if, the, the, I, I, the stories are just as they have been said. They're outrageous and they're not so." What Mr. Clinton's "not so" refers to, in the context of his fumbling, evasive response to Mr. Maer, it is his previously stated denial of "wrongdoing." The White House has, of course, spared us any definition of "wrongdoing." Does receiving oral sex in a parked car from a woman not your wife constitute "wrongdoing"? Or would the White House consider that part of the trooper's duty to stand guard as the governor received oral sex in a parked car? Or would the White House consider that part of the trooper's duty to protect the governor at all times? We don't know.

One of the major sets of non-denials. One was provided by Hillary Rodham Clinton, who insisted repeatedly that the charges were "outrageous" and "politically and financially motivated" but could not bring herself to say they were untrue. The other major set came in the form of a statement issued by White House fireman in chief Bruce Lindsey. That statement called the charges "ridiculous," but once again, Mr. Lindsey could not or would not say they were untrue. The initial Lindsey statement did, however, pave the way for one (rather curious) White House counteraattack. Mr. Lindsey said, in response to an allegation from one of the troopers. "Any suggestion that the President offered anyone a job in return for 'silence' is a lie." Betsey Wright, who had once described herself as in charge of dealing with "bimbo eruptions" for the Clinton campaign — she is now a Washington lobbyist — travelled to Little Rock to visit one of the troopers, Danny Ferguson, who had described to other troopers as well as to journalists (off-the-record) a conversation he had with the president about federal employment.

According to the Los Angeles Times account, Ms. Wright drove to the governor's mansion, where she found Trooper Ferguson on duty. She showed him a copy of David Brock's article in the American Spectator, insisting that references to phone conversations with President Clinton had been underlined. The Times quotes "one person who heard the conversation but asked not to be identified": "She said, 'Don't worry about this, this is just stuff. We can handle that. But this [a reference to the underlined material] could get him impeached.'"

According to an account in the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, Ms. Wright asked Mr. Ferguson to hold a press conference, but he refused, and he also refused to permit a Little Rock lawyer named Stephen Engram, who had been contacted by busy Bruce Lindsey, to prepare an affidavit for his signature.

There is no public information on what pressure Ms. Wright or others brought to bear on Mr. Ferguson. It seems plausible that, if the White House was most worried about a violation of the United States Code prohibiting the offer of a federal job in exchange for private benefit, Mr. Ferguson might have been led to understand that he might also be criminally culpable under the general conspiracy provision. In any event, Mr. Ferguson had his own lawyer, speaking on his behalf, issue an affidavit that said: "President Clinton never offered or indicated a willingness to offer any trooper a job in exchange for silence or help in shaping their stories."

Denial? No, exactly. Later the very day the affidavit was issued, Mr. Ferguson told the Los Angeles Times that what the affidavit meant was that Mr. Clinton "didn't say those words," offering jobs for silence. He continued to insist that he and the president had discussed federal jobs for himself and another trooper, either with the Federal Emergency Management Agency or the U.S. Marshals Service. To Mr. Ferguson, these constituted job offers, and his point in issuing the affidavit, according to the Times, was that "the job offers were not explicitly tied to silence."

So on what was, in the White House's view, the most important issue pertaining to the troopers' allegations — one that raised impeachment worries — we end up with a denial that denies nothing. If the relevant section of the U.S. Code actually required an official to state, "I am offering you this job in exchange for something that will benefit me personally" in order to convict, there would never be a conviction. It doesn't. Perhaps the White House has successfully shut down this round of "the Clinton affairs." But that's not because there were no credible allegations of wrongdoing to investigate.

As for Ms. Wright, the Los Angeles Times asked her about her conversation with Mr. Ferguson. The Times reported that "she could not recall the conversation verbatim and doubted using any reference to impeachment was made.

Does that sound like Ms. Wright denying that anybody was worried about impeachment? It's supposed to. That's because Ms. Wright speaks fluent Clintonese.
Clinton Pledges Renewed U.S. Commitment to European Allies (Brussels)

By Jack Nelson= (c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

BRUSSELS, Belgium President Clinton, in his first visit to Europe since entering the White House almost a year ago, presented his new vision for the Western alliance in the post-Cold War era Sunday, pledging renewed U.S. leadership and commitment to unite this economically and politically troubled continent.

But he warned that the allies must reach out quickly to help the nations of the former Soviet empire or risk seeing their precarious democracies overwhelmed by "the grim pretenders to tyranny's dark throne" the ultranationalists who have shown alarming strength across Russia and parts of Eastern Europe.

If America and Western Europe work as hard now to unite with their former adversaries as they did to contain communism, then the 21st century can be the "most exciting period that Europe and the United States have ever known," Clinton said, speaking in the medieval Town Hall of this NATO headquarters city on the eve of his summit with allied heads of state.

Integrating the former communist bloc countries with the rest of Europe will be difficult, Clinton acknowledged, especially at a time when European countries are experiencing economic difficulties of their own, but he cautioned that the opportunity to do so may be fleeting.

"We must not now let the Iron Curtain be replaced with a veil of indifference," he said. "For history will judge us as it judged with scorn those who preached isolationism between the world wars, and as it has judged with praise the bold architects of the trans-Atlantic community after World War II."

Clinton will formally outline his "Partnership for Peace" plan when the North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit officially begins Monday. The plan is designed to balance concern in Europe and the United States about responding too quickly to East European requests for NATO membership against concern that excluding the former satellites could come back to haunt the West if Russian nationalism should once again rear its head.

The partnership would open the door to political, military and economic cooperation with all of NATO's former adversaries, including Russia, Ukraine and the other newly independent states of the old Soviet Union.

In another development here, a senior Clinton aide said the United States is "damn close" to reaching an agreement with Ukraine to destroy its massive nuclear arsenal in return for a multibillion-dollar aid package for the collapsing Ukrainian economy. There were reports that the aid package might be as high as $12 billion much of it in the form of payment for enriched uranium removed from the warheads for use in nuclear power plants.

Clinton plans to visit Moscow Thursday and Friday for a summit with Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin. Another senior administration official said that if the deal with Ukraine is completed before the Moscow visit ends, Clinton will go to the Ukrainian capital of Kiev to sign the agreement.

The president's speech, a preview of the NATO summit agenda, was delivered in the Gothic room of the 15th century Hotel de Ville, the town hall, before an audience of 275 young Europeans, many of them students from the College of Europe in Brussels. They listened attentively and applauded warmly at the end of the address.

Clinton, who attended his mother's funeral in Hot Springs, Ark., Saturday before leaving for Brussels, appeared solemn, and at times his eyes were rimmed with red as he went through a busy first day here. His schedule before the evening speech, which had been billed as a major effort to reassure Europe of America's commitment to the alliance, included meetings with King Albert II...
and Belgium Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene, as well as a speech to the U.S. Embassy staff.

The 47-year-old president drew scattered laughter when he said, 'For those of you who know anything about me personally, I ... have a great personal debt of nearly 40 years standing to this country because it was a Belgian, Adolf Sax, who invented the saxophone.'

Seeking to allay the concerns of European leaders who have felt that under Clinton the United States was shifting its focus from Europe to the Pacific Rim, the president said he had come to Brussels to demonstrate that Europe 'remains central to the interests of the United States, and that we will work with our partners in seizing the opportunities before us all.'

While the United States must continue to reach out to both Asia and Latin America, he said Europe remains 'our most valued partner, not just in the cause of democracy and freedom, but also in the economics of trade and investment.'

Above all, the core of U.S. security remains with Europe, he said, and thus he is committed to keeping roughly 100,000 troops stationed in Europe, consistent with the desire of the allies. But he envisions a new system of security that would bind a broader Europe together 'with a strong fabric woven of military cooperation, prosperous market economies and vital democracies.'

Despite the end of the Cold War, he said, the continuing bloodshed in Bosnia-Herzegovina serves as a reminder that strong military forces remain necessary.

Meanwhile, a senior administration official said that despite pressure from France and some other countries for immediate NATO air strikes against the Serbian aggressors in Bosnia's war, no such action is imminent.

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By Paul Richter  

BRUSSELS, Belgium — Beneath the carved panels and ornate Gothic parapets of Brussels' Hotel de Ville, Bill Clinton Sunday faced the first test of his first presidential trip to Europe: Could he persuade members of the Continent's next generation to embrace the deep-rooted bonds with America on which their parents had so long relied?

An audience of young Europeans gathered in the daunting solemnity of the 15th century town hall studied him closely and clapped politely when Clinton told them it was time for us together to revitalize our partnership.

But shortly afterward he got the warmer reaction he had been seeking when he ventured outside into the chilled, charged atmosphere of the historic Grand Place. Jammed amid the worn facades of guild buildings from a prosperous era four centuries ago, the Belgians cheered.

''Bill! Bill!'' they cried, waving tiny American flags to capture the eye of the flush-faced U.S. president.

From the looks of them, it was clear that Clinton has a chance to win the support he is seeking. He has it because of the alarming new world the youth of Europe is seeing in Yugoslavia and further east, and because of the surprisingly good impressions they have formed of the youngest U.S. president in three decades.

U.S. leaders, and their own parents, have long worried about the youth of postwar Europe. Would these young people take seriously the dangers of war that led their parents to build a long-term bond with the powerful nation across the Atlantic?

Western governments have conducted studies and sifted polls, and seemed to reach a worrisome conclusion: This new generation is not as concerned about future security threats as those who had seen the terrible devastation wrought by their parents' war so long relied.

The leaders of their parents' generations, still in power in many European governments, knew those horrors firsthand. It colored their view of their own military needs, and of America's value to them. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl talks of receiving a coat in an American Care package; French President Francois Mitterrand escaped from a German prisoner of war camp.

The postwar generation has seen a different America. Not many of those who braved the chill of a January night in Brussels might be able to identify Gen. George Marshall, the American whose multibillion-dollar plan of relief and reconstruction helped rebuild their continent.

But they know the America of Michael Jordan, of Nike shoes, of the American films whose ads are plastered on billboards throughout their capital city. This has been a culture that they drink in, but do not always admire. To young Europeans, America is also the country of crime, drugs and homelessness of urban contagions they fear are spreading to their own nations.

For many, their first impressions of the country came during the years of the Vietnam War. Many in Europe considered the United States an imperialist power, a muscle-bound nuclear bully that showed the same moral blindness of the Soviets they opposed.

Curiously, with the end of the Cold War that many young Europeans thought brought out America's worst side, a new perception of America has thrived.

With the disintegration of Yugoslavia, many have seen their own continent engulfed by a Vietnam of its own, an all-consuming war that mocks them from television every night. As they watch the collapse of buildings and the burial of civilians, they lament a war their governments seem powerless to stop.

Yes, Europeans have faulted the Clinton administration for its failed efforts to stop the three-way slaughter. But their anger and frustration at the Americans over Bosnia has been directed more at Secretary of State Warren Christopher than at Clinton, and in any case is exceeded by their unhappiness with their own leadership.
Beyond this, the Continent's new generation has shown a special personal affinity for the new president, so far at least. Clinton's attempts to identify himself with John F. Kennedy may seem contrived to some Americans, but polls show Europeans like the vitality of the 47-year-old Arkansan that reminds them of the Democrat who was their favorite postwar president.

Still, during his first European outing, Clinton did not, perhaps, work as hard as he might have at exuding charm.

After his speech inside the town hall, he made his way to a podium outside to meet a crowd that had been gathering for hours. But he cut short his comments, smiling genially as he told the group: "You've heard my speech, I have really nothing else to say."

And the young Europeans in the Grand Place were not overawed by Clinton's lieutenants. The crowd tittered, then burst out laughing, when the oversized TV screen erected in the square to show Clinton's speech panned on the overworked secretary of state, his eyes pressed closed, apparently dozing. "Il dort," a long-haired Belgian youth snickered. "He's asleep."

But the reviews of Clinton's speech struck a different tone. German television, for one, was soon lavishing praise on Clinton for his expressions of concern about the U.S.-European relationship. The same reaction was apparent even as Clinton glided to his waiting limousine. "He's very nice looking," said Natasha Cleti, 24, who works in an art gallery just off Grand Place. "He's very positive and very friendly." "Bill!" cried a young woman in a tricolored jersey apparently made from an American flag. "Come hold our hands!"
Clinton Banks on Fear to Forge New U.S.-Europe Relations (Brussels)

By Doyle McManus= (c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

BRUSSELS, Belgium President Clinton's appeal Sunday for a new, post-Cold War partnership between the United States and Europe centered on two pointed messages of fear, one aimed at Americans and one at Europeans.

To Americans, Clinton issued a warning: The collapse of Russia or other Eastern European democracies could draw the United States into war just as earlier crises pulled the nation into World War I and World War II.

To Europeans, he cast the warning in the form of a plea: Join the United States in stepping up aid and trade with the nations of the East, despite the pain of the recession now racking Western Europe, lest Russia's chaos spreads.

"For the peoples who broke communism's chains, we now see a race between rejuvenation and despair," Clinton warned, pitting "the heirs of the Enlightenment, who seek to consolidate freedom's gain ... (against) the grim pretenders to tyranny's dark throne."

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, he added, must continue to defend the West as long as "the dream of empire still burns in the minds of some who look longingly toward a brutal past."

His words were foreboding and his tone was grim. But among the president's aides, there was satisfaction. After a year of uncertainty, they believe they have found a convincing new mission for the U.S.-European alliance: holding back the tide of nationalism in the troubled East.

Ironically, they owe that new clarity in part to Vladimir V. Zhirinovsky, the ultranationalist who surprised the West and shook the East with his unexpected strength in Russia's parliamentary election last month.

Even before the election, Clinton and his aides had worked out a proposal to extend NATO's defense cooperation gradually and gingerly into Eastern Europe, a plan they have dubbed the "Partnership for Peace."

But to bring home his concern on Sunday, Clinton appeared to have taken the advice given President Truman in 1947 that he should "scare hell out of the American people" to rally support for the "containment" of the Soviet Union.

Clinton's aides said they intended this speech to be as historic as those Truman gave at the opening of the Cold War. Five years from now, we hope this is remembered as the day the president defined a new security framework for the national security adviser, Anthony Lake, said.

This time, Clinton said, the security of Western Europe and the United States must be protected by making sure that Russia and its neighbors succeed in their political and economic reforms and by keeping NATO military defenses ready in case they fail.

"We want to prepare for the worst and hope for the best," a senior Clinton aide said.

(Optimal add end)

In a sense, it is a policy of "pre-containment" of trying to ward off the rise of authoritarian rule in Moscow, and working to limit its effect in advance.

Will it work? For Clinton to succeed in matching Truman's achievement, he must struggle against three obstacles:

One is the European preoccupation with their own economic woes, and a general lack of leadership on a continent of weak and aging governments. Germany, for example, which lies closest to Eastern Europe, complains that it has already spent almost $90 billion in aid to Russia and could stomach little more.

Another obstacle is the unpredictability of day-by-day events in Russia and its neighbors, caught up as they are in the throes of economic and political revolution. Clinton called Sunday for something presidents rarely extol: "humility understanding that we cannot control every event in every country on every day."

And a third is domestic: not the support of the American people, who by surprisingly large margins have backed continued U.S. aid to Russia, but Clinton's own domestic agenda and its demands on his time and energy.

Until now, the president has refused to commit much time to foreign policy, except when compelled by crisis.

That damaged U.S. relations with European countries in 1993. "The transatlantic relationship just wasn't tended the way it traditionally had been," said Rozanne Ridgway, a former assistant secretary of state.

Building a new-style alliance with both Western and Eastern Europe, and persuading European taxpayers to spend more on helping Russia, may require more hands-on diplomacy than Clinton has indulged in so far.
ANALYSIS: Summit Carries Special Meaning for Germany (Brussels)
By Tyler Marshall  (c) 1994, Los Angeles Times

BRUSSELS, Belgium In the uncertain thaw that has followed the end of the Cold War, the summit of the Western military alliance that begins here Monday carries a special meaning for one of its 16 members: Germany.

The collapse of the Soviet Union, the disappearance of its Communist empire during the past four years and the reunification of Germany have all combined to transform the Old World's political realities. Yet amid this sweeping change, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization remains the fundamental reference point for German security policy.

The ravings of neo-fascist Russian political figure Vladimir V. Zhirinovsky, who last week suggested that a nuclear attack was the appropriate response to Germany's refusal to issue him a visa, have only underscored the fact that post-Cold War Europe remains anything but safe.

Many believed that these tensions, coupled with Germany's role as NATO's richest and militarily strongest European member, would quickly elevate a united, fully sovereign Germany to a kind of 'first among equals' status along with the United States in the task of shaping the alliance's future.

It hasn't happened.

Still struggling to define its role in the world and preoccupied by domestic ills, Germany has failed to fill the leadership vacuum within the alliance that began to develop as a result of the Clinton administration's initial focus on Asia and the Middle East.

Indeed, the failure of Germany to become a beacon of vision and change in the new Europe is seen by many as a key reason the alliance finds itself searching so desperately for direction.

"NATO was once greater than the sum of its parts, but it's fast dissolving into 16 sovereign interests," said a respected German government security specialist who requested anonymity. "We're drifting on the high seas."

In part, the reason for Germany's lack of influence lies in the disputed interpretation of its post-World War II constitution, which for decades has tightly limited the country's military role to actions within the territory of Atlantic Alliance countries.

The failure to clarify or reinterpret this provision isolated Germany from other NATO allies during the 1991 Persian Gulf war and has left the Federal Constitutional Court, not Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government, with the power to decide security matters.

It was the court that decided whether German military forces could be deployed to Somalia as part of a U.N. peacekeeping operation and whether German crew members could stay aboard NATO electronic surveillance aircraft deployed to enforce the U.N.-imposed 'no-fly' zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina.

(Citing political rather than legal grounds, the court ruled in favor of both deployments.)

And while French and British troops provide the backbone of U.N. peacekeeping forces in Bosnia, both the constitutional question and a bitter history in the region preclude any German military involvement there.

As a result, Germany remains a political dwarf on security issues central to its existence.

No one country, for example, is more eager to extend NATO's membership and its security guarantees eastward than Germany the nation on the eastern frontier of the alliance.

"The entire political architecture of Europe hangs on this question," said Karl Lamers, a member of the German Parliament and the chief foreign affairs spokesman for Kohl's Christian Democrats. "We have to see this open flank and close it. Who's going to guarantee that in five years it's not going to be still harder to admit these nations?"
Despite this perceived urgency, Germany has found itself having to embrace the Clinton administration's 'Partnership for Peace' proposal, which goes only so far as to hold out the prospect of future membership for former Warsaw Pact nations such as Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. "We're not being taken seriously," the German government security specialist said. "No one talks with us (because) it's like discussing great ideas with children."

The hesitation to amend or reinterpret the constitution reflects an allergy among a broad cross-section of Germans to military action of any kind an aversion developed by hammering post-World War II generations about the horrors of their nation's earlier aggressions.

Sending the troops off to fight even in an honorable cause would win few political points in Germany today.

Yet fearing that continued German reluctance to play an active role in European and global security matters could isolate Bonn further from its main alliance allies, Kohl has consistently pushed for greater involvement.

However, faced with an uphill re-election campaign later this year and saddled with a weak Cabinet, Kohl's chances of enhancing Germany's influence in the short term seem severely limited.

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WASHINGTON Vice President Al Gore accused Republican leaders Sunday of exhibiting "political panic" by attacking President Clinton over his controversial investment in an ill-fated Ozark Mountains real estate venture.

But even as Gore defended the president, a prominent Senate Democrat joined GOP leaders in calling for the appointment of a special prosecutor to investigate the first family's ties to the owner of a failed Arkansas savings and loan.

At issue is whether some of the funds of Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan were used during the 1980s to pay then-Gov. Clinton's political debts or were diverted to the Whitewater real estate partnership established by the Clintons and Madison Guaranty's owner, James McDougal.

"Presidents can't be seen to have any hesitation about any matter that concerns their propriety," said Senate Finance Committee Chairman Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., on NBC's "Meet the Press." Get it out no holding back. If there are things that are embarrassing, turn them over even faster."

Interviewed on CBS' "Face the Nation," Gore said Clinton had already delivered "boxes and boxes" of his records on the real estate venture to Justice Department investigators and would turn over "every single shred" within a matter of days.

The Justice Department official in charge of the inquiry, Donald B. Mackay, is a career prosecutor with Republican credentials and unquestioned integrity, Gore said.

Gore insisted that Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton had done nothing wrong, and that no one has made any specific allegations of wrongdoing.

"What there has been is a series of political attacks," he said, a comment that appeared to be aimed at Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., and other GOP leaders who have criticized the Whitewater investigation.

"I think there is a little bit of political panic about the fact that everything is going so well (for Clinton), and so they are unleashing these attacks on him."

Responding to Gore's statements, Dole said White House blunders have created much of the controversy over Whitewater, and he renewed his call for appointment of a special prosecutor.

"If the president and Mrs. Clinton have done nothing wrong, which may indeed be the case, they deserve to have their names cleared in a manner in which the public will have complete confidence," Dole said in a statement.

Moynihan, while agreeing that Clinton is an honorable man, said the danger in withholding information or rejecting requests for a special prosecutor is that the White House will appear to be stonewalling on the issue.

"Why isn't this all out in the open?" he asked rhetorically. "Do it. Come on. ... Get some good lawyer working on that issue while we go ahead on other things."

The conflicting assessments came as McDougal was quoted as saying he does not think the Clintons lost as much money on the Whitewater development as they claimed during the 1992 presidential campaign.

While acknowledging he was relying only on his memory, McDougal told the Associated Press that he thought their loss on the 230-acre project was about $9,000, far short of the $69,000 cited by the Clintons.

McDougal insisted that the Clintons did nothing wrong, and he denied that he received any special benefits from his business dealings with them.

The failure of Madison Guaranty in 1989 cost the federal government $47 million to pay off depositors. McDougal was acquitted in 1990 of federal charges that he mismanaged the thrift and arranged sham transactions to drive up real estate prices.
WASHINGTON President Clinton, bowing to opposition from conservatives, has decided to drop the controversial nomination of Morton H. Halperin as assistant secretary of defense for peacekeeping, officials here said Sunday.

The White House is expected to announce Monday that Halperin, a 55-year-old former National Security Council staffer and civil libertarian, has asked that his name be withdrawn from consideration.

Administration officials said the Pentagon also will eliminate the new peacekeeping post, which had been created by outgoing Defense Secretary Les Aspin when officials expected heavy U.S. participation in such operations.

The move had been widely anticipated since mid-December, when Aspin himself resigned in response to White House suggestions that Clinton wanted to replace him as defense secretary.

Although incoming Defense Secretary-designate Bobby Ray Inman had publicly supported the Halperin nomination, insiders said it was unlikely that the retired admiral would want to do battle with Capitol Hill over the issue.

Halperin could not be reached Sunday night, but administration officials said there was no doubt that the nomination would not be resubmitted to Capitol Hill this year.

Halperin's nomination had sparked a storm of protest from conservative Republicans, particularly on the Senate Armed Services Committee, which would have had to recommend the nomination for Senate confirmation.

Sen. Strom Thurmond, D-S.C., ranking Republican on the panel, had pronounced Halperin unfit for the position because he had taken "extreme and irresponsible positions" on key national security issues.

The Republicans also objected to creating an assistant secretary's post to deal with peacekeeping and human rights matters, contending that such matters should be handled by the State Department.

The administration initially had expected peacekeeping operations to be a major factor in the post-Cold War world, but the U.S. experience in Somalia this past year has soured enthusiasm for such ventures.

Halperin, who served as a junior Pentagon staffer with Aspin in the late 1960s before going to the National Security Council, left his NSC job to protest the 1970 U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

He then sued his boss Henry A. Kissinger for wiretapping his home to learn whether he had leaked documents about secret U.S. bombing in that country. Almost two decades later, Kissinger apologized.

Over the past 23 years, Halperin has advocated deep cuts in nuclear weapons, opposed covert military operations abroad and sought leniency for Philip Agee, the former CIA operative who leaked the names of other agents.

He also has become a recognized defense expert, winning support from a parade of respected mainstream foreign affairs specialists, including two former secretaries of state and two former CIA chiefs.

For all of Halperin's credentials, the nomination had become a major political headache for the administration.

Although Aspin announced his choice for the position in February, the White House did not formally send the nomination to Capitol Hill until early August. And the appointment drew vigorous conservative opposition from the start.

While critics argued that Halperin acquitted himself reasonably well at a Senate Armed Services Committee hearing on the nomination in November, Republicans on the panel vowed to continue their opposition.

Political analysts warned that had Halperin stayed on, Inman would have needed to expend valuable political capital to get the nomination confirmed a step he was thought to be loathe to take so soon after taking office.
LANCASTER, Calif. Former Vice President Dan Quayle told more than 2,000 churchgoers in the northern Los Angeles County Sunday that they must 'come out of the closet' to proclaim publicly the importance of religion and family values, despite what he termed widespread bigotry against conservative Christians.

Speaking at a $100-a-plate breakfast and later at a church dedication ceremony, Quayle also thanked President Clinton for noting recently that Quayle had raised a valid point in the 'family values' campaign debate that Quayle launched with a criticism of the TV character Murphy Brown. On Sunday, Quayle said he has 'the greatest admiration for single mothers' and meant 'all of our values.'

Although the former vice president said he was in Lancaster to talk about religion rather than politics, Quayle, 46, indicated some interest in a 1996 presidential bid, saying he plans to 'start looking hard at '96' after the 1994 midterm congressional elections.

Using a phrase often associated with homosexuals proclaiming their sexual orientation, Quayle told the Lancaster Baptist Church gathering, 'We need to come out of the closet and speak up for family values like responsibility, integrity, hard work, fidelity and compassion.'

He also complained that fundamentalist Christians are 'taught to be tolerant of others,' but are often the subjects of intolerance. 'Today, the only acceptable form of bigotry in our society is bigotry against conservative Christians,' Quayle said.

Quayle's breakfast speech attracted a small protest by five abortion-rights activists, all members of the National Organization for Women.
Moynihan joins call on Whitewater probe

WASHINGTON - In the clearest sign yet that the Whitewater controversy is causing political problems for President Clinton, Sen. Patrick Moynihan of New York yesterday became the first prominent Democrat to join Republicans in calling for a special prosecutor in the case.

Moynihan, the powerful chairman of the Senate Finance Committee who could make or break the president's congressional agenda, said in an interview yesterday that although Clinton has agreed to turn over the documents, the president would not go along with Moynihan's request for a special counsel.

"There has been no specific allegation of criminal wrongdoing," Gore said. "What there has been is a series of political attacks."

Gore, who may have been unaware that Moynihan had just called for a special prosecutor, then launched into a broadside against Republicans who have sought to make an issue of Whitewater.

"Frankly, you know, the opposition has watched this past year as President Clinton has done everything right - put our country back on the right track, all of the economic indicators are up, the economy is recovering," Gore said. "They attacked his policies all year long, to no effect, and I think there is a little bit of political panic about the fact that everything's going so well, and so they're unleashing these attacks on him."

"The day that President Clinton was burying his mother in Arkansas, the opposition was on the airwaves attacking ferociously, even though they acknowledge there is no credible evidence of wrongdoing," Gore said. "So, you know, they're releasing all of the information."

Gore reiterated the administration's position that the White House is dealing properly with the matter by turning over relevant papers to a Justice Department investigator, who happens to be a Republican. Those who have called for a special prosecutor have said the investigation should be led by someone outside the department.

"The standard for a special counsel... is credible evidence of criminal wrongdoing," Gore said. "That standard has not yet met. Even his political opponents who are trying to make hay out of this, even on the day of the funeral will not say there's a credible evidence of criminal wrongdoing. That standard hasn't been met."

But Moynihan said that the hesitation by Clinton and his lawyer in turning over relevant documents to the Justice Department has harmed the president.

"I don't care what your lawyer says, turn them over," Moynihan said. "If there are things that are embarrassing, turn them over even faster. Get it out in the airwaves attacking ferociously, even though they acknowledge there is no evidence of wrongdoing."

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Gore reiterated the administration's position that the White House has turned over everything relevant. Presidents can't be seen to have any hesitation about any matter that concerns their propriety. And this is an honorable man. He has nothing to hide."

The Whitewater matter has frustrated Democrats because of the perception that the White House has created more controversy than the matter merits by giving conflicting statements about whether the documents would be turned over for investigation.

Last week, White House officials revealed that they had requested a subpoena for the documents after saying that the materials would be handed over voluntarily. The subpoena had the effect of keeping the documents out of public view.

Ginny Terrano, a White House spokeswoman, said in an interview yesterday that although Clinton has agreed to turn over the documents, the president would not go along with Moynihan's request for a special counsel.

"The administration's position has not changed," Terrano said. "The administration certainly would like the story to go away... but there is a difference of opinion as to whether there ought to be a special prosecutor."

Information from the Associated Press was used in this report.
Black mayors challenge busing
Politicians say better schools, neighborhoods come first

By Michael Rezendes
GLOB ST AIT

As civil rights leaders prepare to mark the 40th anniversary of the landmark Supreme Court case that ordered the nation to integrate schools, opposition to student busing is arising from an untraditional source: black mayors.

While civil rights activists across the country continue to support court-ordered school desegregation, new attitudes among black political leaders are taking hold in cities such as St. Louis, Cleveland and Denver, where recently elected black mayors have taken surprising antibusing stands.

Consider the words of Mayor Freeman Bosley Jr. of St. Louis.

"It's time we bring the program to an end and use the millions of dollars that have been spent on busing to improve the quality of city schools and provide stable neighborhoods for people to live in," Bosley said in a telephone interview. "The overall benefits in terms of improved education and integration have been insufficient."

In Denver, Mayor Wellington Webb last year lost a two-year battle to intervene in his city's school desegregation case after declaring his view that busing has destabilized the city's minority neighborhoods.

"He feels that black communities have really been harmed by busing," said Donna Good, Webb's senior education advisor. "There are minority communities where children go to school in their own neighborhood only two out of 12 years. That's incredibly fragmenting for our communities."

In Cleveland, Mayor Michael White campaigned in 1989 as a busing opponent, asserting, among other things, that busing contributed to black middle-class flight and discouraged parents in the city from becoming involved in the education of their children.

"He felt that busing distracted people from the real issues, which come down to what goes on in a classroom and how the money for those classrooms is managed," said Chris Carmody, White's education advisor.

Bosley, elected last year as St. Louis's first black mayor, shocked local civil rights leaders in September when he called for an end to the city's metropolitan busing plan, in effect since 1982.

Since then, he has attempted to win converts to his point of view by asserting that the many gains of the civil rights movement, and not racism, have helped render busing obsolete.

"What's happened is that you have a lot of people who have moved out of racially segregated communities into white communities," Bosley said. "So the need to place an overwhelming emphasis on busing no longer outweighs the need to stabilize neighborhoods."

Despite their passion, Bosley and other black political leaders pushing for a revised assessment of busing have drawn stinging criticism from longtime civil rights activists and education specialists.

Politicians criticized

Some busing supporters charge that black politicians opposed to court-ordered school desegregation are pandering to white voters. And they insist that busing in many cases is essential to prevent large numbers of minority schoolchildren from becoming ghettoized in segregated schools that offer inferior educational opportunities.

"School desegregation is not a matter of politics or of personal convenience. It's a constitutional imperative," said New York attorney Thomas Atkins, referring to the Supreme Court's landmark Brown vs. Board of Education ruling of 1954 outlawing school desegregation.

Atkins, who has represented parents in more than two dozen school desegregation cases and once served as a Boston city councilor, added, "The opinion of one or a thousand mayors doesn't have an ounce of constitutional significance. Never did, never will."

Gary Orfield, a Harvard University professor, also said that black mayors who oppose busing are not acting in the best interests of minority students.

"We have a group of much more conservative black mayors developing multicultural constituencies by taking more conservative positions," Orfield said. "I don't think we should be surprised that black politicians are politicians first and not civil rights leaders."

Black elected officials bristle at such charges, asserting that the political gains won by minorities partially explain why busing, in their view, is an outdated remedy for the substandard education received by many minority students.

Webb, for instance, says that minority students in Denver are protected from the discrimination of previous generations by the presence of a black mayor and a black school superintendent.

More minorities in government

"Our authority structure in Denver includes minorities at the highest levels of decision making," Good said. "The mayor believes that those people are more than capable of running a school system in a way that meets the needs of all schoolchildren."

118
Cleveland officials hold a similar view. Over the last four years White has backed two biracial slates of school board candidates who now hold each of the seven elected school offices.

Together, the mayor and the new school board have worked with parents and the federal court and won approval for a plan to relax mandatory busing in some parts of the city.

Under that plan, parents may either send their children to a community school, regardless of its racial composition, or to a magnet school with advanced educational programs and a more racially mixed student body.

"The mayor believes that having mandatory school assignments rather than choice is onerous to parents," Carmody said. "It forces them into a passive role by not allowing them to become participants in choosing from different types of education."

For their part, many busing supporters say that without the continuing involvement of the federal court, minority students will be resegregated into economically isolated public schools with substandard facilities.

Orfield, the Harvard professor, released a study last month showing that in schools where students are predominantly black or Hispanic, students are likely to be from low-income families.

Schools segregating

The study also found that the nation's public schools are becoming resegregated, due to waves of immigrants, a resistance to integration from local school officials and pressure from the Reagan administration to lift court-imposed busing orders.

In 1968, 77 percent of black students attended predominantly minority schools, Orfield's report said. With the help of court-ordered busing, the percentage dropped to about 63 percent in the early '70s and stayed at that level through most of the '80s. But during the 1991-92 school term, 66 percent of black children were in schools where minorities were more than half the student population.

Atkins, the New York attorney, said racial segregation maintained by government bodies can be inherently harmful to minority students.

"Children understand when adults have decided that one group is more entitled to care than another," he said.

Nevertheless, Bosley, White and Wellington maintain that the arguments made for busing 40 years ago, though appropriate for an earlier era, are out of date and largely moot today.

As whites and middle-class minority families leave the public schools, the three mayors say, school systems with court-ordered busing have become dominated by low-income minorities.

As a result, they contend, lower-income minority students are bearing an increasing burden of desegregation orders, getting up early in the morning for bus rides that may well engender a sense of inferiority about the neighborhoods in which they live.

Good, the education adviser to Webb, said the combination of deteriorating minority neighborhoods and the increased political clout of Denver minorities calls for a new assessment of busing.

"Times have changed and role models have changed," she said. "It's time for strategies to change, too."
Clinton tells West Europe to do more to aid East

By Michael Putzel
GLOBE STAFF

BRUSSELS - Opening his first visit to Europe, President Clinton scolded his West European hosts yesterday, saying they had paid lip service to economic reform in the East while restricting access to their own markets.

The president warned that Russia and its former communist satellites are in "a race between rejuvenation and despair" and that the West must do more to help the reformers win out over the nationalists and demagogues he described as "grim pretendors to tyranny's dark throne."

Meanwhile, senior administration officials traveling with the president said there had been "a great deal of progress" toward an agreement by Ukraine to turn over its nuclear arsenal.

Intensive last-minute negotiations among the United States, Russia and Ukraine could result in a quick stop in Kiev if the parties agree to initial the pact while Clinton is traveling to Prague, Moscow, Minsk and Geneva.

President Leonid I. Kravchuk of Ukraine agreed once before to give up his country's share of the former Soviet Union's massive arsenal of nuclear weapons, but his parliament set a number of conditions that scuttled the plan.

Clinton told reporters last night that the three sides have made "terrific" progress in recent days but that talks were continuing and he had nothing to announce yet.

Gen. John Shalikashvili, chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, said in a television interview the nuclear talks were "at the very final stages."

If the deal is struck, the United States would buy highly enriched uranium extracted from missile warheads and supply Ukraine with processed fuel for use in civilian nuclear reactors, possibly including those at Chernobyl, site of the world's worst nuclear accident in 1986. Ukraine also wants to get substantial US aid for converting its defense plants to civilian use and in the form of debt forgiveness.

With his own secretary of state nodding off behind him and his audience, gathered from across the continent, listening in silence, Clinton launched his one-day trip to Europe by exhorting a group of young Europeans to resist the temptation to concentrate exclusively on their economic problems.

He acknowledged that nearly 20 million workers in the European Union are unemployed and that Europe's economy remains dogged by recession while the United States is recovering.

"If the road to security requires reaching out to the East and lowering trade barriers to the former communist states, ... we must make little sense to the world if we applaud their market reforms on one hand and offer only selected access to our markets on the other," the president said. "That's like inviting someone to a castle and refusing to let down the drawbridge."

U.S. officials have backed complaints by Poland, Hungary and other Central European countries that while some trade barriers have been lowered, they have been prevented from exporting to the West the coal, steel and textiles that they believe could successfully compete with Western producers.

"We must not see the Iron Curtain be replaced by a veil of indifference," Clinton said in his speech in the turreted, Gothic Room of the 15th century town hall on Brussels' ancient market square. "With the Cold War over, some in America with shrivelled memories have called for us to pack up and go home. I am asked often: Why do you maintain a presence in Europe?"

His trip, the president said, was intended to demonstrate that Europe remains central to US interests. But with US forces in Europe being slashed from about 600,000 a few years ago to a target strength of about 100,000, Clinton acknowledged that "our bonds with Europe will be different than they were in the past."

The president was few hours overnight from his mother's funeral Saturday in Hot Springs, Ark., dismissed a suggestion that it would be difficult for him to conduct diplomacy so soon after his personal loss.

"I'm doing what I should be doing," he told a reporter. "I'm glad to have the opportunity to be here and go back to work."

Also, Clinton got some sleep aboard Air Force One and was feeling "cranked" for the opening today of a summit meeting of the 16 NATO partners at which, the allies are expected to approve a new, limited form of membership for former Warsaw Pact adversaries.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, however, was showing the strain of the long overnight flight and several days of intense talks in preparation for the multilateral trip.

As Clinton spoke to about 500 "future leaders" of the European Union, many of them university students, the 60-year-old president sat beside European leaders assembled for the opening address.
Gardner scales a new peak

His down-to-earth approach helps U.S. outlook in Geneva

By Imbert Matthee
P/R Reporter

GENEVA — It wasn’t the job he wanted. And it isn’t the one whose mind he feeding legal jargon he’ll grasp the way his predecessor did.

But even before his confirmation hearing in the United States in Geneva, Booth Gardner had put his stamp on world trade negotiations.

The 117-nation General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which will become the World Trade Organization when it turns into a permanent institution early next year, owes its new name to the former Washington governor — one of the most trade-dependent states.

The night before the historic United Nations General Assembly wrapped up here last month, Gardner suggested to U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor that Multilateral Trade Organization, the previously proposed name for the World Trade Organization when it turns into a permanent institution early next year, was too arcane.

It’s that down-to-earth approach Gardner will bring to his new post as deputy U.S. trade representative. Gardner, who took over the world trade negotiations to a close, will become the World Trade Organization as chief negotiator for the state’s largest exporters.

Although being top U.S. trade negotiator in Geneva wasn’t the first job that came to Gardner’s mind after his eight years as Washington governor ended last year, it’s exactly the kind of challenge the popular Democrat was looking for. "I didn’t want to be an ex-governor in residence," Gardner said in his sparsely furnished office overlooking the stately GATT buildings on Lake Geneva. "This is a chance to take a deep breath and do something different, something that I had never done before.

A couple of years ago, Gardner had to part of the Weyerhaeuser fortune and doesn’t need a steady paycheck, but he enjoys new challenges. After Kantor took the idea to GATT chief Peter Sutherland, who got approvals in the form of GATT’s Round One — a pact that takes him out of his comfortable Northwest surroundings and places him at the crossroads of international trade diplomacy.

And although being top U.S. trade negotiator in Geneva wasn’t the first job that came to Gardner, for instance, wasn’t exactly a trade expert when Clinton appointed him as U.S. Trade Representative, Kantor pointed out. But after Kantor helped push the North American Free Trade Agreement through Congress and completed negotiations on GATT’s new world trade agreement, "people can’t speak highly enough of him now, particularly the Europeans," Kantor said.

A man who will carry the title of ambassador and is expected to be confirmed by the Senate in early February, will also be "well-staffed," he said.

Gardner also brings political stature to the post as a successful two-term governor who is close to the president. Gardner worked with Clinton when the president was governor of Arkansas and the two became friends.

Gardner didn’t waste any time getting settled in his new post. After word got out about his appointment in early fall, Gardner traveled to Buenos Aires, Yerxa and other trade negotiators for talks leading up to conclusion of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations.

"It’s been an eye opener and a little frustrating not being confirmed yet because I was limited in how much I could participate," Gardner said. But "I had a chance to watch the omelet being cooked. I’ll be better versed when I have to come up for my (confirmation) hearings.

Gardner will face several important tasks, such as cleaning up sticky issues from the trade accord. Despite an overall GATT treaty phasing out tariffs, U.S. trade with semiconductors to applies, some countries have not yet agreed to what extent they’ll open their markets.

GARDNER PAGES AD

This is a chance to take a deep breath and do something different, something that I had never done before. — Booth Gardner

From Page 1

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When he left office, Gardner wanted to become ambassador to Japan. He positioned himself by lobbying House Speaker Tom Foley and his good friend, Rep. Norm Dicks, and prepared himself by traveling extensively in the country’s history and culture.

But last spring, ex-Vice President Walter Mondale got what Gardner got instead was an invitation to take on one of the most demanding assignments in U.S. trade policy. Gardner’s predecessor, fellow Washingtonian and lawyer Rufus Yerxa, once described it as “herding cats.”

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Gardner will face several important tasks, such as cleaning up sticky issues from the trade accord. Despite an overall GATT treaty phasing out tariffs, U.S. trade with semiconductors to applies, some countries have not yet agreed to what extent they’ll open their markets.
Japan, for instance, still hasn't agreed to cut all tariffs on finished wood products during the next 10 years. Meanwhile, officials of the European Union say they won't drop their tariffs on paper, pulp and other forest products during the next decade unless Japan does.

U.S. and Japanese negotiators have until mid-April, when the agreement will be signed by its participants. Gardner will also be heavily involved in trying to sell the international agreement to Congress, which has to ratify the Uruguay Round. "His background in politics puts him in a good position to do that," Isaki said.

But no treaty is perfect, leaving the door open for disputes Gardner will have to help settle at the GATT. And after the Uruguay Round has been implemented, there will be more barriers to U.S. exports to raise.

When GATT becomes the World Trade Organization next year, negotiations will focus on one area at a time instead of the sweeping rounds that involved endless bargaining. But even though the job won't require as much organizing and orchestrating, it remains a tactical challenge "to know which countries we can get on our side," Gardner said.

Gardner envisions forming a group of eight to 10 countries that can go to the organization and make presentations. Such tactics would prevent U.S. isolation in areas where it has great interests but little international support, he said.

"A lot is based on relationships, which is an area where I am reasonably skilled," Gardner said.

His trade missions to Europe and Asia as governor also taught Gardner about the dynamics of international trade negotiations. "I got exposed to the way other nations think and work," and to their desire to balance openness with careful politics, Gardner said.

Gardner also faces the personal challenge of settling in a country where he doesn't speak the language and has few acquaintances. Although the weather and scenery in the Geneva area remind Gardner of Washington, "the bottom line is that it's not home," he said.

"I spent most of my time close to home and it will be an adjustment for me."
Prez vows to help create 'new security' in Europe

Rubbing media the wrong way

BRUSSELS - The White House travel office has mixed the four specially trained massagers who were supposed to pamper the President's press corps on the way home from Europe. Northeast Airlines planned the tour for the 100 reporters assembled on the tarmac it might help the airline land another lucrative charter contract. A White House travel aide said yesterday: "The reaction was mixed." among the journalists regarding the surprise departure worry about the 800-pound images they try to maintain, said the White House travel aide was rubbed out the airport.

"Home were saying we're. Some said. But it."

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Yeltsin is reviled at Moscow rally

MOSCOW - "Hassle Vassil," the cry of thousands of bare-chested demonstrators yesterday rallying for Communist and ultra-nationalists taking their lead in the new parliament this week.

The demonstrators. three days before President Boris Yeltsin plane and his President Yeltsin plane had made for the U.S. and had heard words for the U.S., the first day of a new month for its biggest support of Yeltsin.

"Fascist" and "traitors at home" were some of the words demonstrators chanted as they marched to the blossom waving red banners showing flags in the old Soviet regime.

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Clinton camp fuzzy on Ukraine missiles

BY NANCY BALL

BRUSSELS - President Clinton's foreign policy team seemingly slipped into a bit of confusion yesterday when the White House press office determined that Clinton might make a speech to the United Nations in New York today in lieu of a state visit to the nation.

Clinton aides say they fear that the speech will be overshadowed by the NATO announcement yesterday - taking attention away from Clinton's "Patriot for Peace" speech.

But Clinton began to hedge the President's proposal in the several Soviet-bloc countries that would assist his leadership of the conference.

A senior Clinton administration aide said NATO allies might reissue their warnings from last August that the attacks would be matched against the Soviet Union if the new security arrangements were not respected. But no military action was imminent. The president said the current situation is "not as grave" as it was in August and was followed by the U.S. withdrawal from the 10th summit in the same year.

Clinton, arriving in Europe just a day after deciding his speech would be overshadowed by the NATO announcement, said the Joint Chiefs of Staff had been meeting for three days.

"I think it's probably not true," Clinton said in his first speech on European affairs after going office nearly a year ago.

"None of us can afford to be standing." Clinton said, warning of the threat to democracy and nuclear proliferation posed by the increasingly militant nationalists in Russia, among whom he referred to "The grim demands of the speech." The new security must be found in Europe's integration - an integration of security forces, of market economies, of cultural democracies," the President said.

But Clinton seemed to back down under a cloud of early NATO allies for military action in Western Europe.

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Clinton says foe now instability; asks aid to East

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Clinton's NATO proposal:
Report on Slayings of ‘Collaborators’

By Kathleen Parker

Though it was clear from the beginning that the Ennis and Jonestown mass suicides were not a crime against humanity, there was a sense that the government was covering up something.

The White House staff has been under scrutiny for weeks as the FBI investigation into the involvement of the government in the affairs of the People’s Temple has widened. The White House has been accused of withholding information about the People’s Temple and its activities.

The People’s Temple was a religious cult that operated in the United States in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Its leader, Jim Jones, led a mass suicide at his compound in Guyana in 1978, resulting in the deaths of over 900 people.

The government’s response to the People’s Temple scandal has been criticized by some as inadequate. The House Intelligence Committee has launched an investigation into the government’s handling of the People’s Temple case.

White House Trims Access

Memo widens Freedom of Information Act exemptions

By Kathleen Parker

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U.S. Compensation: What’s the Limit?

By Earl Lane

WASHINGTON — In seeking to weigh compensation for those who were exposed to government-sponsored radiation experiments, a Justice Department task force is looking for answers to an array of questions about when and how radiation experiments would be conducted.

The department is weighing a payment of $100 million to each of the 20,000 people who were exposed to radiation during the Manhattan Project, which ended in 1945. The experiments were conducted to assess the effects of radiation on human beings.

The task force is also considering a payment of $10 million to each of the 50,000 people who were exposed to radiation during the 1950s, when the government conducted experiments at the Nevada Test Site.

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Delhi Owner Charged

The owner of a Restaurant Starlet, who has been indicted for a $31,000 fine on Monday for failing to notify the state Department of Public Health of a small outbreak of food poisoning, was charged with contempt of court today.

United Airlines, which operates the Starlet, was fined $5,000 on Monday for the outbreak of food poisoning that occurred in July. The airline has been ordered to pay $500 in fines and $5,000 in costs for the investigation.

Animal Slayers Sought

The Animal Welfare League announced a $1,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of two suspects in the murder of a cat in a New York City park.

Police said the cat was found with its throat cut and its body removed from the scene.

McKay's Vows 'No Sale'

R.M. McKay says, "We are not up for sale," and he has vowed to prevent the sale of the company as an independent department store.

The new owners of McKay's, who have agreed to purchase the store, are said to be considering closing it down.

Yeltsin: A 'Brilliant Solution'

Yeltsin has named his new minister of defense, Prime Minister Boris Yeltsin, as the candidate for the post of prime minister.

The move has been welcomed by many in Russia, who see it as a step towards stabilizing the country.

Go on Yeltsin: chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and former commander of NATO forces in Europe, has urged the United States and Europe to support Yeltsin's plan.

US Agreement: The United States and Europe have agreed to support Yeltsin's plan, which calls for the withdrawal of United States and European Union forces from the former Soviet Union.

The agreement was reached after a long and difficult negotiation process.

Animal Welfare: The Animal Welfare League has called for a $1,000 reward for information on the murder of a cat in a New York City park.

The cat was found with its throat cut and its body removed from the scene.

Macy's Woes 'No Sale'

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Protesters Rail at Yeltsin

In their first mass protest since Congress passed a law to limit their activities, demonstrators showed “No sale!”, the red and yellow flag that they had used to protest against the government. The crowd, estimated at 10,000, gathered outside the White House in protest against the planned sale of the government-owned apartment complex.

More than 140 people were killed in the streets of Moscow in flames between the demonstrators and police. Yeltsin has given the White House to the protesters and has offered a new lease for the famous building to the protesters.

The Russian president has had to form a new government after the previous one stepped down in the wake of corruption and violence. The new government will hold its first meeting today to discuss the situation.

The main opposition party, Russia's Movement for a New Russia, has called for a nationwide protest on Saturday to show support for Yeltsin's new government, which is expected to be announced soon.

Tough Sell In the East, Where Wait Holds Fear

By Ross Dally

In the East, the challenge of selling the new government to the people is immense. The government is facing a tough sell in the East, where wait holds fear.

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The regional leaders have praised the expanding economy and emphasized the importance of the government in fostering development. But the claim is met with skepticism by many.

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Message: We're all in the same boat

There was no mention of Bosnia in President Clinton's speech. But he said: "In 1931, a remarkable British political cartoon portrayed the United States and Europe in a rowboat. At the back end of the boat, where Europe's more Eastern powers sat, there was a terrible leak and it was sinking fast. The front end, where the United States and Western Europe were, was still afloat. And one of the figures in our end of the boat was saying, 'Thank goodness, the leak is not at our end of the boat.' In the end, the whole boat sank. That will happen again unless we work together. Europe's Western half clearly, as history shows, cannot long be secure if the Eastern half remains in turmoil."

MUSIC CITY: In expressing his appreciation of the U.S.-European alliance, Clinton on Sunday singled out the city of Dinant, Belgium, for special honors: That's the place where a fellow named Adolphe Sax invented the saxophone.

Clinton was presented with a specially engraved tenor saxophone by Antoine Tixhon, the mayor of Dinant, in a ceremony at the Belgian capital.

In a thick French accent, Tixhon told the president, "I have the honor to give the president of the United States an instrument of Sax." When the crowd burst out laughing, the mayor quickly added, "the saxophone."

To the disappointment of onlookers, Clinton did not play the instrument.

COFFEE TIME: Clinton strolled across Brussels's most famous square Sunday evening, then took an unscheduled walk down a nearby memory lane for coffee and a chat in a restaurant. After addressing several hundred young Europeans at City Hall, the president walked across the Grand-Place, Brussels's central square, which is surrounded by centuries-old gabled buildings.

After some handshaking, Clinton boarded his limousine for a surprise trip to another square, less than a mile away.

In the Place du Grand Sablon, he entered the Au Vieux Saint Martin restaurant, where he was served a cup of coffee and spent about 30 minutes chatting with diners.

"I love you!" shouted Ciar Mubisi, 29, a native of Zaire, the former Belgian Congo, to the beaming Clinton.

Another patron, Benedicte Dautricourt, said she was both shocked and pleased to see the U.S. president stroll in. "I was just saying," she said. "And there he was."

HANDS OFF! Worried about being branded a pampered press corps, White House reporters have killed the idea of having four masseuses give rubdowns on the plane carrying them home from a long trip to Europe.

Northwest Airlines, the press charter accompanying Clinton on a nine-day journey, surprised reporters with this announcement: Four specially trained masseuses will travel with us from Geneva to Andrews [an Air Force Base near Washington] to help soothe the aches and pains you've accumulated from the rigors of the trip.

Some reporters worried that cost-conscious editors back home would get angry; others worried that it would underscore the image of a perquisite-happy press.

An informal vote was taken on the plane. "It was not unanimous, but it was near-unanimous," said George Condon, president of the Washington Correspondents Association. He asked Northwest to drop the idea.