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[White House News Reports - November 22 1994]

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8:00 a.m. C-SPAN live viewer call-in with Democratic Leadership Council President Al From.

9:00 a.m. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin meets with Secretary Perry. The Pentagon.


9:00 a.m. Meeting of the Senate GOP working group. S-207 Capitol.

9:00 a.m. The U.S. Committee for Refugees holds a briefing on the refugee situation in Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire. Suite 701, Massachusetts Ave., NW.

10:00 a.m. The Cato Institute sponsors a media briefing on the constitutionality of term limits. 1000 Massachusetts Ave., NW.

10:00 a.m. Sen. Baskin (D-Iowa) holds a news conference to propose a measure to end the filibuster. Senate Radio-TV Gallery.

10:00 a.m. Leaders of major religious organizations hold a news conference to announce their opposition to state-sponsored school prayer and to amending the Bill of Rights. Steps of the Supreme Court.

11:00 a.m. The President welcomes President Kuchma of Ukraine. South Lawn.

11:00 a.m. Secretary Reich delivers a major policy address to the Democratic Leadership Council. Secretary Reich will discuss the Administration's strategy to close economic divisions in the work force and build a new middle class. Hyatt Regency Washington, 14th and F Sts., NW.

11:00 a.m. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People hold a news conference to announce the support of religious leaders in mobilizing their congregations to help the civil rights organizations. National Press Club.

12:00 noon The National Resources Defense Council holds a press briefing to discuss the new Congress and its environmental and public health law agenda. 1350 New York Ave., NW.

12:00 noon The Council on American-Islamic Relations holds a briefing with American Muslim leaders to react to the PBS documentary, "Jihad in America." National Press Club.

12:10 p.m. The President meets with President Kuchma of Ukraine. Oval Office.

2:00 p.m. The Treasury Department releases the federal budget report for October. Auction of five-year Treasury notes.

2:45 p.m. Deputy U.S. Trade Rep. Rufus Yerxa holds an on-the-record briefing on the World Trade Organization and GATT. Foreign Press Center, National Press Building.

4:15 p.m. The President and President Kuchma deliver joint statements. 450 OEOB.

6:15 p.m. The International Rescue Committee honors Tipper Gore for her commitment to the world's refugees and her support of the IRC's worldwide mission to help refugees. Plaza Hotel, 58th St., New York.

7:15 p.m. The President welcomes President Kuchma to the White House for a state dinner. North Portico.

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Orange County Register...........
ABC World News Tonight

1 NATO Planes Strike Serbian Runway in Croatia
Barry Dunsmore Washington 2:25

2 Serbs Don't Appear To Be Intimidated By NATO Strikes
Tony Birtley Central Bosnia 1:30

3 GOP Govs. Meet, Make Clear They Have Their Own Agenda
Barry Seraphin Williamsburg, VA 1:50

4 Rostenkowski Says He Owes $500,000 in Legal Bills; Wants a Job
Peter Jennings New York 0:25

5 Dole Links GATT to Cut in the Capital Gains Tax
Peter Jennings New York 0:20

6 Government Warns Against Inaccurate Ice Cream Ads
Peter Jennings New York 0:20

7 USAir Moves to Restore Confidence After Crashes
Ned Potter New York 1:40

8 Boy Who Ran From Cancer Treatment Has Returned Home
Peter Jennings New York 0:15

9 Pilot Buried at Arlington Cemetery
Peter Jennings New York 0:25

10 Cincinnati Forces Parents to Explain Kids' Truancy to Judges
Peter Jennings New York 0:20

11 Many Death Sentences Given to Those With Incompetent Counsel
Tim O'Brien Jackson, GA 4:35

12 Clinton, Rabin Discuss Peace, Aid for Gaza
Peter Jennings New York 0:20

13 Arafat Supporters Rally as Hamas Discontent Persists
Peter Jennings New York 0:20

14 Japan Apologizes For Not Declaring War Before Pearl Harbor
Dean Reynolds Gaza 1:50

15 China Orders McDonalds to Leave Square Despite Its Lease
Peter Jennings New York 0:15

16 Human Error Ruled Out in Ferry Disaster
Peter Jennings New York 0:20

17 Tax Credit Program For Disadvantaged Workers May Be Cut
John Martin Washington 2:10

CBS Evening News

18 U.S. and Allies Attack Serbs By Bombing Airfield
Allen Pizzey Sarejevo 2:30

19 Clinton Expresses Support For Airstrike; Gingrich Condemns It
Dan Rather New York 0:30

20 Clinton Proceeds With Foreign Policy; GOP Focuses On Domestic
Bill Plante Washington 1:30

21 USAir Launches Campaign To Convince Public They're Safe
Bob Orr Washington 2:05

22 Mother Counters Charges That Woman Was A Poor Fighter Pilot
David Martin Arlington, VA 2:15

23 Court Says Women Can Sue Dow Corning's Parent Company
Vicky Mabrey Houston 1:40

24 Recent Studies Say Breast Implants, Illnesses Not Related
Bob Arnot New York 2:05

25 Company Ordered To Pay $60 Million For Money Laundering
Connie Chung New York 0:20

26 Clinton Tries To Shore Up Support For Mideast Peace Process
Dan Rather New York 0:20

27 Palestinians Rally In Support Of Arafat, Try To Scare Hamas
Bob Simon Gaza 2:25

28 Passenger Train Catches On Fire In Canada; Sabotage Possible
Connie Chung New York 0:20

29 Billy Best, 16, Returns Home For Cancer Treatments
Connie Chung New York 0:15

30 Experts Can Use Blood Traces To Solve Crimes
Jerry Brown LA State Penitentiary 3:50
NBC Nightly News

31 NATO Strikes Serb Air Base; Critics Say Its Not Enough
   Ed Rabel Washington 1:55
32 Sarajevans Under Warning; News Of NATO Attacks Give Them Hope
   Richard Roth Sarajevo 2:05
33 USAir Campaigns To Improve Image After Plane Crashes
   Robert Hager Washington 2:15
34 GOP Govs. Meet To Discuss Programs; Welfare Reform Tops List
   Gwen Ifill Williamsburg, VA 2:15
35 Welfare Reform Fight Continues; GOP, Dems Disagree
   Lisa Myers Washington 2:20
36 Clinton Defends Mideast Peace Process In Meeting With Rabin
   Tom Brokaw New York 0:10
37 Thousands Of Palestinians March In Support Of Arafat
   Tom Brokaw New York 0:10
38 FTC Says Haagen-Dazs Ad On Fat-Free Yogurt Was Misleading
   Bob Kur Washington 1:50
39 Shoplifting, Theft By Employees At Four-Year High
   Tom Brokaw New York 0:15
40 Researchers Find Genetic Defect Related To Prostate Cancer
   Tom Brokaw New York 0:20
41 Study Reveals How Areas Of The Brain Changes As People Age
   Robert Bazell New York 3:20
42 16-Year-Old With Cancer Resume Treatments After Running Away
   Tom Brokaw New York 0:20
43 Female Fighter Pilot Buried At Arlington Cemetary
   Tom Brokaw New York 0:25
44 School Welcomes Corporate America, Lets Them Place Ads On Walls
   Roger O'Neil Colorado Springs, CO 2:10

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**** filed by:US-F(--) on 11/21/94 at 20:09EST ****
**** printed by:WHPR(LSAM) on 11/21/94 at 20:38EST ****
Hourly News Summary

Around the World, Around the Clock... with United Press International.

-0-

All the NATO warplanes that staged yesterday's attack on rebel Serb-held Croatian targets, returned safely.

The United Nations had authorized the attack... on an airport that the rebels were using to fire on Bosnian "safe-areas.''

Those in the area targeted were upset, however, saying they feel their country has been invaded.

-0-

Texas executed a man early this morning. 34-year old Warren Eugene Bridge was given a lethal injection for murdering a store clerk in Galveston in 1980... in a robbery that only got him $24. His last words were, 'see ya.'

-0-

It's back to court for O.J. Simpson today. Jury selection continues even though 32 people are seated as alternates.

The defense team is filing more motions... which continue to delay the opening arguments that would kick the trial off in earnest. It could be the middle of January before the trial actually gets under way.

-0-

Australian government officials say they are afraid the United States will capture one of their largest traditional wheat customers. Because of a drought in Australia, they are not able to meet Egyptian demand for wheat this year.

-0-

The families of Jeffrey Dahmer's victims moved a step closer to getting some of the $80 million in judgments awarded them for loss of their loved ones.

A Milwaukee judge appointed a receiver for Dahmer's property and the receiver has opened negotiations with authorities to put Dahmer's property up for auction.

-0-

Scientists say a new innovative approach to gene therapy may one day allow doctors to treat diseases as varied as anemia, hemophilia and diabetes.

The researchers report that they have used a custom-made virus to deliver a human gene into muscle tissue of mice where the gene acts like a mini-pharmacy secreting a hormone into the blood.

-0-

Breast cancer experts say while no one knows the cause of breast cancer, women may be able to reduce their risk of developing the disease through exercise and a fiber-high diet.

Also of help may be traditional Asian herbs and foods such as soy and licorice.

-0-

By Shirley Smith (UPI)
People who needed assistance would no longer automatically be entitled to it.

As such, it will be a focus of debate in the House next year and appears to have a better chance of passage because of the Republican plan's spending limits.

In a further effort to control spending on social welfare programs, the House Republican plan would deny most forms of assistance to people who were not citizens, including many legal aliens.

State welfare officials would have to prove new illegal aliens are eligible for some benefits, but the food stamp program would not be able to expand to meet the need, because of the Republican plan's spending limits. In late 1991 and early 1992, the food stamp rolls sometimes grew by more than 1 million people a month, and the total number of recipients soared to more than 24 million.

In a further effort to control spending on social welfare programs, the House Republican plan would deny most forms of assistance to people who were not citizens, including many legal aliens.

These include Medicaid, maternal and child health care, community health centers, migrant health centers, the school lunch and breakfast programs, the W.I.C. program, public housing, job training, aid to homeless people and the screening of youngsters to detect lead poisoning.

This ban is similar to one in Proposition 187, approved this month by the voters of California. Civil liberties groups and some Hispanic organizations are challenging the California measure in court on the ground that it violates the constitutional guarantee of "equal protection of the laws."

The restrictions proposed by House Republicans would apply to refugees, to emergency medical services or to permanent resident aliens who are over 75 and have lived in the United States for at least five years.

The Republicans' bill would also, for the first time, set a limit on the growth of Federal spending for welfare programs, including Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Supplemental Security Income, for elderly, blind and disabled people, and 15 types of housing assistance for low-income people.

In general, the bill says, the states would not be allowed to pay welfare benefits for a child whose paternity had not been established, nor could the states provide welfare benefits for children born out of wedlock to women under the age of 18.

Money saved from these restrictions would be returned to the states in the form of block grants to provide services, but not cash payments, to help young mothers with illegitimate children. The money could be used to "establish and operate orphanages," to operate group homes for unwed mothers, to promote adoption and to reduce out-of-wedlock births, the bill says.
NATO, Expanding Bosnian Role, Strikes a Serbian Base in Croatia

By ROGER COHEN

Special to The New York Times

ZAGREB, Croatia, Nov. 21 — NATO forces, taking advantage of a Serbian controlled air base in Croatia today, destroying its runway and its anti-aircraft defenses, are taking the Western alliance's political involvement in the Bosnian war to a new level.

Adm. Leighton W. Smith, the American who commands NATO forces in Europe, said 39 aircraft from the United States, Britain, France and the Netherlands had taken off today against the Udbina airfield in Croatia.

The base was used three times in the first week by nationalist Serbs to send aircraft — some carrying napalm and cluster bombs — against the Muslim-held Bihac area of Bosnia, 22 miles away.

The NATO bombing was the larges- t air raid in Europe since the end of World War II and the biggest mounted by the alliance since it was established in 1949 to counter Soviet military power. With it came a warning to the Serbs that the United Nations and NATO were prepared to use force again if provoked.

Michael Williams, a spokesman for the United Nations peacekeepers, said today that "in a raid like this there must certainly have been casualties." There was no immediate esti­ mate on the number of the people on the ground who might be casualties as a result of the strike.

Douglas Hurst, the British Foreign Secretary, said the raid was a justified response to the threat to the Bihac area, but did not represent any taking of sides. "We don't see a military victo­ ry, or even one side or another in this war," he said, "and we are not in­ volved in helping one side or another to its military victory, as we think that is impossible."

With United Nations peacekeepers guarding the Bihac "safe area" from the Serbian air raids and the plight of more than 1,000 Muslim and Bosnian personnel within Bihac, it did not involve Lt. Gen. Sir Michael Rose, the commander of United Nations forces in Bosnia. Of the 24,000 United Nations personnel pre­ occupied by their job, only 1 percent are working in the Serb­ian-held part of the ground who might be casualties as a result of the strike.

official in Sarajevo, who spoke on condition that he remain un­ named. (The official said United Nations military analysts expected the Serbs and rebel Muslims fighting in their ranks to try to cut the Bihac enclave into three pieces and bottle up the Bosnian Army's V Corps inside the Bihac "safe area."

There was no talk of NATO air strikes to stop the ground and artillery attacks on Bihac, he said.)

The NATO warplanes used today flew from bases in Italy and on the Adriatic. They were supported by two American airborne command and control aircraft known as Awacs (There was no talk of NATO air

The Western alliance's role in Bosnia deepens to a new level.
Clinton Open
To the Pleas
Of Rabin

Continued From Page A1

But Helms's Shadow Falls
Over White House Talks

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 — Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel went to the White House today and came away with firm commitments from President Clinton for most everything he sought: generous foreign aid, further military assistance and the prospect of American peacekeeping troops in the Golan Heights should Israel and Syria make peace.

But even Mr. Clinton's firmest commitment is shakier these days, as Republicans assume control of the foreign aid purse strings in Congress. And so the usual exchange of praise at today's session was followed by something new: a defense of the Middle East peace talks against a pointed attack by the pro-Syria Senate majority leader in the Senate, Jesse Helms of North Carolina.

In a weekend television interview, Mr. Helms called efforts to strike a Syrian-Israeli peace a "fraud." He said he would oppose the use of American aid to finance its own intervention in the region — oil and everything else — if there were no Israel, he said.

As senior officials said today that region — oil and everything else — if there were no Israel," he said.

Mr. Helms also suggested that aid to Israel be reassessed on the clear-eyed basis of what the nation's strategic friendship with Washington is worth in dollars and cents.

"We need to find out what it would cost us to protect our interests in that region — oil and everything else — if there were no Israel," he said.

Today, as Mr. Rabin began a two-day visit to Washington, Mr. Clinton offered a response:

"The Prime Minister has already said the process is not a fraud," Mr. Clinton said during a picture-taking session in the Oval Office. "It's been quite successful. It's been the most successful process since Israel became a nation."

Asked specifically about Mr. Helms's opposition to placing American peacekeepers in the Golan Heights, the President declined to "say or do anything on that that would undermine the possibility of the parties reaching a peace."

"I think that ought to be the position that all Americans take," he added.

For now, the question of American peacekeepers — something Mr. Rabin clearly would like — is theoretical. Israel and Syria are moving only glacially toward peace, and Mr. Clinton said that to commit United States troops now would be "jumping the gun."

But it was a clear indication of how the impending Republican control of Congress has at least the potential to gum up what has been Mr. Clinton's smooth-running work toward Middle East peace.

Mr. Clinton spent much of his time with reporters today fending off a barrage of questions about Senator Helms, saying he would address them in a news conference on Tuesday. And Mr. Rabin dwelled at length on the importance of American peacekeepers in the Middle East, noting that 1,000 Americans have kept peace in the Sinai Peninsula for two decades almost without incident.

In their private meeting, a follow-up to Mr. Clinton's brief stop in Israel late last month, the two leaders dwelled little, if at all, on Mr. Helms, senior officials said today. Instead they discussed the talks with Syria, Iran's efforts to spread Islamic militancy in the region, Iran's requests for military and technical aid, and the situation in Gaza, where the autonomous Palestinian Authority is struggling to keep the peace.

Yasser Arafat, the leader of the authority, has sought a quick dose of American aid to finance its own internal peacekeeping operations, because donors worldwide have lagged in delivering pledges of some $700 million to finance the start-up of self-rule. Mr. Clinton said the donors would probably allot about $25 million next week in Brussels.

President Clinton and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel met at the Oval Office yesterday. They discussed Syria, the Golan Heights, American peacekeepers, foreign aid and Senator Jesse Helms.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994
It’s Nothing New for Many

BY PETER APPLEBOME
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Nov. 21 — As President Clinton and the Republican leadership in Congress consider measures that would re- turn prayer to public schools, it is worth remembering one thing:

Prayer is already there.

Despite a Supreme Court rul- ing 32 years ago that classroom prayer and Bible reading are unconstitutional even if they are voluntary, prayer is increasingly a part of school activities from early-morning moments of si- lence to lunchtime prayer ses- sions to pre-football-game prayers for both players and fans.

The most common forms are state-mandated moments of si- lence at the beginning of the day, which are permissible to the ex- tent they are not meant to be a forum for organized prayer. But, particularly in the South, reli- gious clubs, prayer groups and programs such as Student Prayers and community groups are making religion prayer part of the school day.

At Louisa County High School in Louisa, Va., for instance, lunchtime prayer meetings on the steps outside the school's band room were organized last year by Tenille M. Wermteuer, now a student at the University of Virginia.

"We read a chapter of the Bi- ble and prayed for 15 minutes every Monday and Wednesday," she said.

"We got some weird looks, but a lot of people came up and asked what we were doing, I told them, 'Jesus Christ loves you so much, it would be mean not to have it for you to turn him down without giving him a chance.'"

At Greenville High School in Greenville, S.C., the head football coach, Terry Fox, asks his as- sistant to say a prayer and lead the team in reciting the Lord's Prayer before every game.

In Iowa, 50 to 100 of the state's 358 high schools had prayers at graduation ceremonies last year.

The director of the Mississippi chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union said the group was planning to sue a school district in eastern Mississippi, as- serting that the school allows student-initiated, voluntary prayer to the exclusion of other students.

"I think it's about time our chil- dren be given an opportunity to commu- nicate with God," said David Can- ton, state director of the American Family Association of Florida, whose group supported a nonsectar- ian, voluntary prayer measure of- fered during the past session of the Florida Legislature.

But critics say the push for organ- ized school prayer is eroding the separation of church and state estab- lished by courts interpreting the First Amendment's Establishment Clause.

"That clause was put in the Constitu- tion to prevent the religious persecution in Europe that many America- n colonists came here to escape," said Cantor. "And many school officials say prayer has increasingly become an issue dividing school boards and communities.

"We get more questions on reli- gion and sexual harassment than anything else at this point," said Gwendolyn Gregory, deputy general counsel for the National School Board Association in Alexandria, Va. "There is a lot of activity out there by somebody. You get it in big districts and small districts, South and North. It's all over."

Still, it is in the South where pray- er is the hottest issue and where the line between permissible and imper- missible behavior is most likely to be blurred.

Take Mississippi, where the dismissal of a school principal, Bish- op Knox, who had allowed students to read and pray after lunch, led to a court battle.

"People are playing to nostalgic feelings of what once was but never really was," said Charles Kimball, an associate professor of religion at Furman University in Greenville, S.C. "We are active church mem- bers, and I don't have the need for my child to have prayer in school."

But many religious conservatives say prayer has a place in school as a "step in the right direction." And for the first time in decades, they are confident the political leadership is on their side in widen- ing the role of public prayer in school.

"I perceive Newt's proposal, and the kids would agree, as a general response to a public outcry to stop deteriorating morals," said Bob Vander Plaats, principal of Sheldon High School in Sheldon, Iowa. "It's referring to the call by Representa- tive Newt Gingrich of Georgia, who is in line to become Speaker of the House, to reintroduce a form of prayer and are likely to be abused over time.

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With Cuomo Going, Speaker in New York's Top Democrat

By IAN FISHER

The day after Gov. Mario M. Cuomo was defeated and Congress changed hands, the world seemed lost for Democrats, Sheldon Silver, put on the phone.

Mr. Silver, the Speaker of the New York State Assembly, called his 94-member Democratic caucus. He called the four incumbents who lost their seats. He called party leaders across the state and, in his deep and sonorous monotone, reassured them.

"It was very important to be in touch with all of them to let them know there was still a live, active Democratic conference," he said. "We are still who we were before the election." Yet, Mr. Silver, 50, now the state's most powerful Democrat, knows life has become more difficult for him and his party.

Nine months after taking his house's helm, Mr. Silver, the son of a hard- seeded store owner on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, has become the chief guardian of Democrats in Albany, the city where he has the most clout and the mechanic who will seek to rebuild the sequestered machinery of his organization.

Mr. Silver is already sending signals of both compromise and hard-headed resistance. Some of the group's 94 members say they have served him well and characterized his brief tenure as Speaker. He has pledged not to oblige the new speaker of the Republican Assembly, Sheldon Silver said he would take up the issue only if New York City Mayor and City Council approved it first.

He then crushed "three strikes, you're out," the multi-offenderism bill's胚胎 clause that was the cornerstone of Mr. Cuomo's anti-crime agenda, by saying it would cheapen the quality of life without creating a class of inmates with nothing to lose and result in prison geriatric wards for inmates who no longer posed a threat.

Senate Republicans say Mr. Silver is a tough negotiator, though some say he is occasionally too strident. He has traveled the state extensively, and Assembly Democrats say he has built his authority by keeping close touch, as he did with the state's post-election phone calls.

"One on one, I wouldn't bet against Shelly," said Representative Charles E. Schumer, the Brooklyn Democrat who served in the Assembly with Mr. Silver. "He's very smart. He's strategic. He's a good listener. He's not afraid. He's bold in his own quiet way." Like Mr. Schumer, Mr. Silver has been mentioned as a possible Democratic candidate for governor in four years, along with State Comptroller H. Carl McCall and City Council Speaker Peter F. Vallone.

In some ways, Mr. Silver has inherited the job of chief Democrat at an odd time. As the party looks toward the next session, Mr. Silver said he planned to put out a tax-cut plan that will look at energy taxes, personal income taxes and possibly the sales tax on clothes. He also expects to release programs on gun control and the death penalty — that focus on harsher sentences for repeat felons but continue an insurance of alternatives to jail for drug-addicted prisoners.

He said he has also asked his staff to consider a better way to pay for crime. He does not rule out universal coverage, but said: "I can't tell you what I'm looking toward. I'm looking toward what works."

PROFILE

Sheldon Silver

Born: Feb. 13, 1944, Manhattan.


Salary: $35,500 as legislator plus $5,000, Speaker stipend.


Interests: Playing basketball, Rangers and Knicks fan. Has taken up golf in recent years.

The Assembly chief will be the top Democrat.

Council, a coalition of 35 groups that supports low-income housing, "That's the tragedy of it. In this area, when it comes to that enclave, he's out of character." Mr. Silver defends his efforts on behalf of all residents of the area and he has been close to the Assembly's minority caucuses, appointing Herman D. Farrell, a Harlem Democrat, as the first black chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

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Cortines and a Chorus of Others
Plead Against Giuliani’s Budget

BY ALISON MITCHELL

New York City Schools Chancellor Ramon C. Cortines told the City Council yesterday that the latest round of budget cuts proposed by Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani could force local districts to eliminate, on average, two teachers from every school.

Mr. Cortines’s warning was the most dramatic but hardly the only threat of dire consequences on a day in which negotiators for the Mayor and for the City Council sought an agreement on how to close a gap of more than $1 billion in the city’s current $31.6 billion budget.

On various fronts, from rallies at City Hall to testimony before Council committees, city agencies and the citizens who are affected by their services sought to influence the process as the negotiators tried to meet a self-imposed deadline of Wednesday.

The Schools Chancellor told a Council committee that he had found ways to grapple with most of the $100 million in reductions the Mayor outlined last week. But he added that the last $30 million in cuts, he said, would have to be made despite further reductions in school districts and high schools.

“With only one half of a year to generate these savings,” the Chancellor said, “districts and high schools may be forced to take draconian action.”

“It could be two teachers per school,” he added, although he said some districts might find other ways to deal with the funding reduction.

At a news conference later in the day, Mr. Giuliani, who has been battling Mr. Cortines over financing all year, said he saw no reason for the budget cuts for the school system to affect the classroom. “I think there’s actually a lot more room,” Mr. Giuliani said.

Mr. Cortines made his plea as

Continued on Page B2, Column 5

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994
G.O.P. Splits on Dole Threat on Trade Pact

BY DAVID E. SANGER
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 — Republicans split today over the decision of Senator Bob Dole of Kansas to hold a worldwide trade agreement hostage to tax concessions from the White House. While a prominent Republi-

• would be more inclined to vote for 'til Sunday, Mr. Dole had not linked • spanned three Administrations. Un-

. GATT, and is the result of more than a decade of negotiations that • free-trade rules of the General

^capital gains tax. The accord re-

worldwide trade agreement hostage to tax concessions from the White

licans split today over the decision of

Senator Bob Dole of Kansas to hold a

move, Representative Newt Ging-

rich of Georgia, a supporter of the

pact, said he would not interfere with Mr. Dole's effort.

Meanwhile, Democrats worried that the uncertainty over whether the Senate would ultimately approve the pact could erode support for the agreement in the House, where it previously seemed headed for an easy victory.

Mr. Dole, the likely Senate major-

ity leader, said again today that he would be more inclined to vote for the accord if the White House dropped its objections to a cut in the capital gains tax. The accord re-

duces tariffs and greatly extends the free-trade rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT, and is the result of more than a decade of negotiations that spanned three Administrations. Un-

til Sunday, Mr. Dole had not linked the passage of the agreement to the tax cut, long a Republican objective.

Mr. Gingrich, who is expected to become Speaker of the House in Jan-

uary, today reaffirmed his commit-

ment to trying to pass the agreement in a lame-duck session that begins next week. But he declined to criti-

cize Mr. Dole.

"The Senator is negotiating a situ-

ation in the Senate which is different from the House," he told reporters at a news conference in Atlanta.

"He's a very smart negotiator, and I wouldn't attempt to critique what he's doing."

But today some other members of his own party warned that Mr. Dole was playing a dangerous game, with the possible consequence that Republi-

icans could be blamed for the loss of one of the biggest international-

al tax cuts in history and the failure of an important issue for the busi-

ness constituents of Republicans.

"We need to get GATT ratified and out of the way," William Kristol, the Republican strategist, said in a memorandum that was widely dis-

dtributed today. "From a strategic point of view, we don't want a GATT fracas to be the nation's first taste of the new Republican dispensation."

If the bill is delayed beyond the special session of Congress that will begin after Thanksgiving, Mr. Kris-

tol said, it could overwhelm the first weeks or months of the new Republi-
cans-controlled Congress.

"The last thing we need at the start," he wrote, "is a complicated and divisive debate on GATT."

This afternoon Mr. Kristol said he had written the memorandum be-

cause "I was trying to help the Repub-

cans walk back off this limb."

"Given the opposition out there for GATT," he said, it would not be in the best interest of Republicans "to appear to be part of a back room deal for some financial interests." He added: "If we were still a minor-

ity party, it would be reasonable to use this as a weapon. But we're not."

Mr. Kristol's memorandum un-
derscored how divided the Repub-

cans are in trying to determine the best strategy.

Lawmakers are trying to determine the best strategy.

...
The Right Thinkers: Some Voices in the New Political Conversation

BY ROBIN TONER
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 — It was only two years ago that the hottest think tanks, the most sought-after strategists and the most visible political organizations were the ones devoted to charting bold new directions for the "New Democrats." They talked about "third ways" and "reinventing government." They talked about spending government money — "strategically," of course. No more.

The hot strategists in Washington today are those who helped think the conservative movement back to power and are now happily meeting, planning and networking over how to use that power in the next two years. They are consumed with the grand task of building an enduring conservative majority: by reclaiming the tax issue, using the energy of conservative Christians, capitalizing on the politics of values and, perhaps most of all, stoking the public's anger toward big government and the appetite for rolling it back.

Since Election Day, the nation's capital has been utterly in thrall to this new conservative ascendency, or Reagan II, as some conservatives call it. The Heritage Foundation has reclaimed its 1980's glow. The world view of Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, the likely House Speaker, always available to loyal viewers of C-Span, is now parsed and pored over by a city of political professionals. Sales of his 20-hour videotaped course, "Renewing American Civilization," are soaring.

William Kristol, the conservative strategist who long predicted that health care plans would be the Democrats' Afghanistaff "not a threat but an opportunity for us..." Mr. Blankley, a former Senate aide to William Benett, developed the tax pledge and signed on to the 1990 budget agreement. At 41, Mr. Kristol already has a long conservative pedigree, as the son of the commentator Irving Kristol and a former top aide to William Bennet, Secretary of Education, and Vice President Dan Quayle. But Mr. Kristol now rose to new prominence over the last two years by writing a series of widely circulated memorandums that challenged the conventional wisdom on health.

Mr. Kristol played heretic, arguing against the idea that there was, in fact, a health care crisis: he also urged Republicans to resist any effort at making a grand compromise with the Democrats on the issue. "I never thought we faced an inevita- identified by the website as "the organized political forum of the American right..." That's the centerpiece: The Republican Party is saying, "No more money and power to Washington; turn off the spigot." And the Democratic Party is saying, "No, no, more money and more power."

The 38-year-old Mr. Norquist, a former executive director of the National Taxpayers Union, says the American public now sees the connection very clearly between smaller government and lower taxes. He can envision no tax increase that he could ever support, and sees the next two years as a time to begin to "radically restructure Washington.

Mr. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, is part of the Gingrich/Army network on Capitol Hill and is considered an expert on populist anti-tax movements. Since the late 1980's, his organization has been circulating pledges among candidates, asking them to forswear new taxes; 185 in the new House and 28 in the Senate have now signed them.

"The tax issue is the central divide between the two parties," Mr. Norquist said. "That's the centerpiece: The Republican Party is saying, 'No more money and power to Washington; turn off the spigot.' And the Democratic Party is saying, 'No, no, more money and more power.'"

William Kristol
Head of political group who resisted compromise

At 41, Mr. Kristol already has a long conservative pedigree, as the son of the commentator Irving Kristol and a former top aide to William Bennett, Secretary of Education, and Vice President Dan Quayle. But Mr. Kristol now rose to new prominence over the last two years by writing a series of widely circulated memorandums that challenged the conventional wisdom on health.

These days, with the advantage of hindsight, the risks to the Democrats in advancing a big overhaul of the health care system seem obvious. But in early 1993, the Republicans were the ones who seemed in danger — of being outmaneuvered on domestic policy as they were in the 1992 campaign, of being latecomers and foot-draggers for a vast new benefit program for the middle class. Mr. Kristol played heretic, arguing against the idea that there was, in fact, a health care crisis; he also urged Republicans to resist any effort at making a grand compromise with the Democrats on the issue. "I never thought we faced an inevitably dominant resurgence of liberalism," he said, then and now. "I always thought '92 was a rejection of Bush, not an endorsement of activist government."
THE NEW YORK TIMES. TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994

A Ph.D. in government from Harvard who left a career in academia, Mr. Kristol is chairman of a political group known as the Project for the Republican Future and is a longtime believer in "limited government." He sees the next two years as crucial to laying the groundwork for a Republican return to the White House. At the risk, he says, of offending more pure-minded conservatives, he argues that the party needs to "build for the long haul" on Capitol Hill and "shed the minority mind-set of let's do everything we can all at once."

William Bennett
Former Education chief who writes on values

Mr. Bennett, the former Education Secretary who took to the campaign trail this year for an array of candidates, said he was utterly clear on the meaning of this election. "It was about limited government, about the end of the nanny state," he says. It was about beginning to reverse "the discharge of responsibilities from families and communities and local governments onto the Federal Government," and reviving personal responsibility.

After the 1982 Republican National Convention, many analysts believed that the campaign for traditional values had proven too divisive, too dangerous to inject into mainstream politics. Mr. Bennett said that all that was proven was this, "Using the values issues as a club and stick, that's not right." With his best-selling book, "A Book of Virtues," and his writing and speaking, Mr. Bennett did much to revive these issues in the past few years.

"Why did it come back? Because that's what it's all about," Mr. Bennett said. "The question I'd get asked was: 'What's going on the campaign trail this year for an array of candidates, said he with confident interest."

Mr. Bennett added that this new conservative ascendency "won't work" if lawmakers "are not quite sure what Mrs. Sauerbrey was doing here, acting as if she were about to be Governor. She lost, they said, and she should get over it, unless the state elections board decides otherwise.

While the results will be certified this week, Mrs. Sauerbrey refuses to concede. There were irregularities in the voting, she said, and her lawyers are hunting for them. So today, Mrs. Sauerbrey got to sit at the table with the governors and governors-to-be. But she got neither the title, nor the white ribbon like the others. Instead, she stood out with a yellow ribbon on a badge that read, "official party." "I think my role speaks for itself today," said Mrs. Sauerbrey, who tried to keep tentativeness at bay as she listened with confident interest to a panel on federalism, sandwiched between Govs. William F. Weld of Massachusetts and Governor-elect Bill Graves of Kansas. "They seated me at the table with the governors and governors-elect. They seated me at the table with the governors and governors-elect. That was their decision."

But privately, others said they were not quite sure what Mrs. Sauerbrey was doing here, acting as if she were about to be Governor. She lost, they said, and she should get over it, unless the state elections board decides otherwise.

Kate O'Beirne
A leader in Heritage and specialist in marketing

As vice president for government relations at Heritage, Mrs. O'Beirne describes herself as immersed in the "marketing" of conservative proposals. Among them is a $500-per-child tax credit for American families.

She describes the challenge for Republicans over the next two years as "Be not afraid." Mrs. O'Beirne, who first came to Washington in the 1978's with Senator James Buckley of New York, and later served as a deputy assistant secretary at Health and Human Services under President Ronald Reagan, added that this new conservative insurgency has an edge over the last.

"We have resources that we didn't have in 1986," she said. "We had no infrastructure in 1986. Now, there's a network; there's Reagan alums and Bush alums all over town, and they have substantive expertise. You want to reform H.H.S.? We have people who know the department intimately."

Vin Weber
A former lawmaker and friend of Gingrich

Another co-director of Empower America, Vin Weber is also a longtime friend and former House colleague of Mr. Gingrich. After serving six terms as a representative from Minnesota, including a stint in the Republican leadership, Mr. Weber announced his retirement in 1992. Since then, he has made himself felt from his perch at Empower America.

Mr. Weber, who was chairman of Jack Kemp's Presidential campaign in 1988, describes the challenge of the next two years as nothing short of "replacing a 60-year-old framework for problem solving," one less centralized, less bureaucratic. Look to the new farm bill, he suggests, as an early proving ground for these new approaches.

Mr. Weber argues that people are ready for a different kind of government — not a passive one.

A Would-Be Takes a Seat With Winners Of G.O.P.

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times.

WILLIAMSBURG, Va., Nov. 21 — The name is on the ballot all read "Governor" or "Governor-elect," followed by the last name and state.

Except one. The title he indicated in the white plaid suit read simply, "Ellen."

The Republican leadership was in an awkward spot Thursday when Sauerbry of Maryland insisted on appearing at the meeting of the Republican Governors' Association with her new colleagues — although it seems highly unlikely that they are her new colleagues.

Mrs. Sauerbrey lost her state's race for governor by about 5,400 votes to Patris N. Glendenning, a Democrat who is planning his transition to the Governor's Mansion.

Publicly, many Republican partisans backed her up. "We shouldn't leave our wounded lying on the field," said former Gov. Lamar Alexander of Tennessee, who was here laying the groundwork for a possible Presidential bid.

But privately, others said they were not quite sure what Mrs. Sauerbrey was doing here, acting as if she were about to be Governor. She lost, they said, and she should get over it, unless the state elections board decides otherwise.

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"I think my role speaks for itself today," said Mrs. Sauerbrey, who tried to keep tentativeness at bay as she listened with confident interest to a panel on federalism, sandwiched between Govs. William F. Weld of Massachusetts and Governor-elect Bill Graves of Kansas. "They seated me at the table with the governors and governors-elect. That was their decision."

But when asked if she felt as though she did not belong, she shrugged and said, "I feel like I am an legitimate contender." But there was confusion over her role with Mrs. Sauerbrey. She was listed on some literature as a governor-elect. But her biography, unlike everyone else's, was not included.

"Some of those things may have been done when we were thinking she may indeed be the governor-elect," said Gov. John R. McKernan Jr. of Maine, chairman of the association. "It introduced her at the breakfast this morning as somebody we hoped would be a governor-elect."

But he made clear that it was not his idea to put Mrs. Sauerbrey front and center. "I didn't invite her," Mr. McKernan said. "But the staff did." Rather than jumping to Mrs. Sauerbrey's defense, Haley Barbour, chairman of the Republican National Committee, smiled when asked why she was seated with the governors and governors-elect. "That's where they put her," he said.
Inflation Sleeps Amid Midwest’s Roar

By ROBERT D. HERSHEY Jr.

MILWAUKEE — Business is booming all across the major industrial centers of the Midwest. In a region that only a decade ago was dubbed the "Rust Belt," companies are running at top speed, hiring temporary workers, demanding overtime of employees and straining to meet delivery schedules.

These are some of the signs that worry the Federal Reserve, which raised interest rates last week for the sixth time this year out of fear that a fast-speed economy points to a re-emergence of rising wages and prices. But amid this outbreak of inflation the region’s heartland is a curious phenomenon: so far, there is no disease.

The main reason that inflation remains benign, business executives and analysts in the region said, is that greater domestic and overseas competition helps keep prices in check. Moreover, now that American industry is again in fighting trim with business and labor seem to recognize that the United States has a much better chance of seizing a large share of expanding foreign markets if prices remain attractive.

"Business is hot and heavy right now," said David Carlson, sales vice president for the Adron Tool Corporation, an advanced tool and die shop here. "But it’s truly a world market and we’re constantly trying to improve productivity. Basically, we can’t raise prices or we might not get the jobs." If it is coming, this is the first place inflation should show up. But in contrast to the price increase during many previous periods of surging business, price increases remain quite tame. Consumer prices even fell in the North Central states in October, the only region where this occurred, according to the Government.

"It’s amazing that in the Midwest, where manufacturing activity is leading the nation, that inflation pressures are as well contained as they have been," said Schorbus, senior economist at the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago.

Indeed, it is said that price pressures are building under the surface so that they will eventually break the dam to the Fed’s monetary restraint. But it is more likely, to judge by recent interviews with business executives and other analysts in the Midwest, that intensified market forces and new attitudes are reinforcing Fed policy so strongly that inflation should remain restrained. Even after more than three and a half years of economic growth, "one doesn’t see any upward pressure at all on labor costs," said Norman Robertson, an economic consultant in Pittsburgh.

"The competitive pressures seem to be more intense now than in previous upswings." The Midwest labor market is the tightest in the nation. A sharp rebound in the region’s automotive and machine tool industries has driven the unemployment rate down to 5 percent, eight-tenths of a point below the nation as a whole. As recently as May, 1965, when the Midwest unemployment rate was 6.4 percent.

If current levels of unemployment persist in the region, said Mark M. Zandi, an analyst at Regional Financial Associates in West Chester, Pa., "we should begin to see some more pronounced wage pressure." In contrast to the warmer South or to the Rocky Mountain West, with its wide open spaces and recreational features, the Midwest is not as likely to import many workers from other areas. "You don’t see the big migration flows into the Midwest," Mr. Zandi said.

But that pressure toward higher prices has so far been held in check by forces working in the other direction.

Jeffery T. Grade, chairman of Harmschlegler Industries, a large company here that produces cranes and other heavy industrial equipment, points to what he calls a "self-imposed discipline" that is creating a partnership among producers, suppliers and customers.

"If you take unfair advantage," Mr. Grade said, "in the short run you’ll be a hero but in the long run you’ll wish you were not so stern. That, to me, is what’s regulating inflation."

One important way that American companies are keeping costs under control is by using more temporary workers for blue-collar production. The pattern, which is long established in many clerical and technical jobs, is even spreading to managerial work.

Workers supplied by Manpower Inc., the largest temporary help company in the nation, generally cost companies just as much in the short term as full-time workers. But they help keep costs under control by giving management a high degree of flexibility, according to Mitchell S. Fromstein, president of Manpower, which is based in Milwaukee.

"Strategically, companies face both a need to find people and the fear of adding costs because buyers aren’t willing to pay increased prices," he said. "That is a total change in everybody’s psychology." The job market is similar elsewhere in the factory-heavy Midwest. Even in the auto industry, manufacturers and their suppliers are ramping up hiring to meet the demand for an output of bumper-to-bumper.

"We’re opening offices in places I’d never even heard of," a year ago, said Warren Rosenow, Manpower’s regional vice president in Chicago. Still, some signs of potential inflation are cropping up here that policy makers in Washington cannot risk ignoring. There was the man who turned up on a radio call-in show and complained the other day that his "to­ tally burned out" brother-in-law has had only seven days off since July. Meanwhile, some manufacturers say they can no longer count on prompt delivery from suppliers. That points to production bottlenecks that lay the foundation for prices to be bid higher.

The Midwest Metal Products Company, for instance, used to be able to obtain steel blanks in a week or so, said Betty Jane Parrott, the company’s vice president, but now "they’re moving out to two or three weeks."

And in Wisconsin’s Sheboygan County, where the unemployment rate is 3.6 percent, companies are contracting out work they no longer can get done locally. Many are even cutting expansion plans on hold. Finding workers, especially for blue-collar jobs, "is a huge problem right now," acknowledged Barbara N. Lile­ lesand, executive director of the She­ boygan County Chamber of Commerce.

The squeeze is finally forcing companies to start offering more money to attract new workers. "We’re bumping up against our capacity to be able to fill all the orders," said Kenneth Krueger, financial vice president of the Allen-Bradley Com­ pany, a Milwaukee-based unit of the Rockwell International Corporation that is a leading producer of automation controls. In early summer, it hired its first new workers since 1978 after exhausting an employee-recall list that once included thousands of names.

But companies are also gaining flexibility by investing heavily in advanced, highly productive equipment that expands capacity and thereby tends to relieve inflation pressure. Indeed, much of this equipment is produced in the Midwest, a big reason the region’s economy is so strong.

It is possible, of course, that "we’re just sort of waiting for the dam to break," said Mr. Schorbus, the Federal Reserve economist in Chicago. "But I’m more pleased to believe that we’re in a different pricing environment than has existed in the past."

New competitive pressures keep prices in check in a booming region.
It's Too Much of a Good Thing, G.M. Workers Say in Protesting Overtime

BY PETER T. KILBORN

JANESVILLE, Wis., Nov. 16 — If for many workers the American dream is drifting out of reach, the 1,380 General Motors workers here have nailed it down. They own homes, cars, big-screen televisions, sometimes boats. They have the assurance of secure pensions and good medical care. Many of these men — and most are men — earn enough that they can comfortably support their families; their wives don't have to work.

But these workers, whether young and building families or older and planning for retirement, say they cannot enjoy what their labors have bought. G.M. says, they ask them to put in extraordinary stretches of overtime.

The company requires them to work 10 hours beyond the conventional 40, about twice the average overtime for American factory workers. And the company strongly encourages them to work even more hours voluntarily, so that it can sell more of the Chevrolet Suburbans and GMC medium duty trucks made here.

Products of a labor union culture that promised a good day's work for a good day's pay, these workers have skills the company needs. But they are paid for it at a price.

Many other companies have moved to heavy overtime. In September and October, the Bureau of Labor Statistics says factory workers put in an average of 4 hours 42 minutes of overtime a week. In the typical American factory worker, says the company, the costs of overtime are so high that they erode the money that union contracts buy. Laboring for a 10-hour day, 5 days a week, 12 hours on Saturday and 8 to 12 hours most Sundays. For his 80 or so hours, he earns more than $2,000. But if they would ask these workers how to have more people help to do their jobs better, he said, "Then I would think that take care of some of the repair."

Indeed, more and more finished vehicles are being sent to the plant's repair section, the workers say. A man who does paint repairs, for example, and who declined to be identified, said he worked 115 hours five days a week, 12 hours on Saturday and 8 to 12 hours most Sundays. For his 80 or so hours, he earns more than $2,000. But if they would ask these people more help to do their jobs better, he said, "Then I would think that take care of some of the repair."

Idolina Garcia, a 40-year-old worker who installs airbags, said she feared that too much work would lead to a recurrence of the repetitive motion injury she sustained to her wrists. Last week, she says she worked only three days, more than 50 hours: Monday and Tuesday from 5:48 A.M. to 10 P.M., and Wednesday from 3:48 A.M. to 1:30 A.M.

Fed Pape, 55, works as a janitor, lifting and breaking up cardboard cartons, for the standard $18.50 an hour. Sometimes he works as much as 66 hours a week over seven days. He doesn't need the money, he said, but his grown children do. In their jobs, they don't have health insurance, so he pays his grandchildren's medical bills.

"I like my job," he said, "I feel good. I hurt, of course. My arms are numbing. But I don't find it too hard, I'm used to it." Edward Mackay, 36, said high pay could make the job a habit, but with it, high debt. Mr. Mackay, who tightens bolts that hold gas tanks on trucks, said he kept to the mandatory 50 hours and insisted on two days off a week. He said he could manage easily on his $750 a week, or $38,000 a year, without the overtime that brings him to $1,000 a week. Married, with a year-and-a-half-old daughter, he has a 1985 Ford truck, a 1990 Harley-Davidson motorcycle and a two-bedroom house he bought four years ago for $74,000.

But he said some co-workers seem ill-prepared for the 40-hour week, or worse, that will reappearance when the economy eventually stalls. "These guys are getting in so far over their heads," he said, "They have $200,000 homes. They've just got to have something new in that driveway so people driving by can say, 'That guy must work at G.M.'"

G.M. says it needs extra work to keep up with demand and limit costs.

Workers say they don't have time to enjoy what their good jobs bring.

The New York Times. Tuesday, November 22, 1994

The company bowed to the union's demands, and agreed to hire more workers.

People here like Jack Courtney, 50, who fills in for people on breaks, and limit costs. Indeed, they are so fed up with overtime that 92 percent vowed early this month to strike if their union, the United Auto Workers, put the roof on the table. Then a robot picks it up and puts it on the assembly line, which the company has asked. Workers put it on the production line through the day, with three days off. But we've got enough pay. And that is precisely what they are doing. Indeed, they say they are getting in so far over their heads, that that promised a good day's work for their families, their wives don't have to work.

But these workers, whether young and building families or older and planning for retirement, say they cannot enjoy what their labors have bought. G.M. says, they ask them to put in extraordinary stretches of overtime.

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Many other companies have moved to heavy overtime. In September and October, the Bureau of Labor Statistics says factory workers put in an average of 4 hours 42 minutes of overtime a week, the most ever registered in the 38 years for which the agency has kept track.

Joe Valdez, 29, would promptly put his $750 a week, or $38,000 a year, without the overtime that brings him to $1,000 a week. Married, with a year-and-a-half-old daughter, he has a 1985 Ford truck, a 1990 Harley-Davidson motorcycle and a two-bedroom house he bought four years ago for $74,000.

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Bank Settles Charges of Laundering

By ALLEN R. MYERSON

Special to The New York Times

DALLAS, Nov. 21 — A banking arm of the American Express Company settled for $32 million today a Federal money-laundering case involving Mexico's largest drug cartel, also a principal conduit for Colombian cocaine entering the United States. prospects, "It was the largest civil penalty ever assessed against an American financial institution for laundering money.

The American Express Bank International was accused of laundering drug money through Cayman Islands accounts for the Juan Garcia Abrego gang, also known as the Gulf Cartel. The bank pleaded guilty to two bank-, indicted in June. In a prepared statement, the company admitted no wrongdoing but said that it had legal responsibility for its employees' actions, and agreed to forfeit $25 million in laundered money, pay a $5 million penalty and spend $3 million to improve a compliance program that a prosecutor said existed only on paper.

Under the settlement, in a case filed in Federal Court in Brownsville, Texas, the Government agreed not to seek criminal charges against the bank.

"We are combating money laundering effectively and have combated the drug traffic," said the prosecutor, David Novack, an assistant United States attorney. Novack said the $32 million was the money laundering, we can shut off the avenue where they hide their profits.

The American Express Bank International, which handles foreign exchange and bank card transactions and bank fraud offenses in Federal Court in Brownsville.

Thus, Mr. Novack said, the drug dealers and money launderers could pose as legitimate business people. Mr. Giraldi and Ms. Reatagui were convicted of money-laundering and bank fraud offenses in Federal Court in Brownsville.

was the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, the international bank shut down by regulators in 1991 for fraud. The Garcia group is said to handle drugs for the Gulf cartel of Colombia. The Mexican police have said they suspect that the Garcia Group is linked to the Sept. 20 assassination of a top official of Mexico's ruling party.

For two years, United States prosecutors said, they followed the Garcia money from Mexico to the United States to Switzerland and the Cayman Islands and back to Mexico and the United States. Mr. Garcia initially, in 1989, gave millions in drug profits to his aide, Ricardo Aguirre Villagomez, known as Kenny Rogers for his strong resemblance to the singer. The aide channeled the money through a foreign exchange house in Monterey, Mexico, which then had duffel bags stuffed with $56 and $106 bills flown to the Texas side of the Rio Grande Valley and deposited in a local bank.

Mr. Giraldi and Mariel Lourdes Reatagui, then working for Bankers Trust, opened bank accounts in the United States to receive this money, and created Cayman Islands companies to control the accounts.

Mr. Giraldi, forced to resign in February 1990, joined the American Express Bank in Beverly Hills, Calif., in April, bringing Ms. Reatagui, who became a bank director, with him. Receiving the drug money as collateral, the bank issued loans for the cartel to invest in meatpacking, computer and real estate companies, as well as two car dealerships, in the Rio Grande Valley and throughout Mexico.

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CREDIT MARKETS

Treasuries Vary Little in Trading Lull

By ROBERT HURTADE

Prices of Treasury securities were little changed yesterday, with traders generally directionless in the absence of any economic news.

Worries of higher oil prices as OPEC nations meet this week and a large supply of government issues coming to market discouraged buying. But a slightly stronger dollar and lower gold prices helped support the market.

Charles Roden, managing director and head of fixed-income investing for Josephthal, Lyon & Ross, said the market was quiet yesterday, with retail trading virtually nonexistent. Ahead of the Thanksgiving holiday, he said, "people are beginning to clean their books, and after today's five-year note auction I don't expect there'll be much more to hold dealers and traders.

The price of a 30-year bond was unchanged yesterday at 83-13 for a yield of 6.12 percent, and long-term bill rates were slightly higher, but the three-month issue was down three-hundredths of a percentage point.

Some of the investor concern about the amount of new paper coming to market centered on this week's sale of $55.45 billion of Treasuries. In a fairly successful auction yesterday, the Treasury sold $17.25 billion in new two-year notes in addition to the regular weekly sale of three-month and six-month bills, which has been bringing $27.13 billion for weeks. The two-year note sold at the high price to yield 3.36 percent, which is sharply from last month and the highest since December 1990, when it hit 3.72 percent.

Today's auction of five-year notes, however, is expected to be a more difficult sale. When issued, trading latest yesterday, the five-year note was being offered at a price to yield 7.82 percent, up a basis point from Friday. A basis point is one-hundredth of a percentage point.

The demand at auction suggested that some traders and investors were not willing to buy securities with longer maturities amid worries about inflation. And concerns over rising rates and their potential negative impact on fixed-income investments will continue to put upward pressure on bond yields, traders said.

"The $64 question remains, and that is when will higher rates put their bite on the growing economy and slow it down?" Mr. Roden of Josephthal, Lyon said.

Eugene J. Sherman, director of research for M. A. Schapiro & Company, says the bond market is made up of compulsive worries, with the leading worry inflation. "But close behind are the forces leading to inflation," he said. "Other worries include the currency markets, credit problems, and a health care system, political unrest overseas and political change at home."

The most worry, he said, will be the result of the changes brought about by the election, and the commitments by the Republicans to cut taxes and spending and reduce the deficit.

Threading in a holiday-shortened week is expected to keep market activity to a minimum.

The following are the results of yesterday's auctions of three-month and six-month bills and two-year notes.

The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994
Carey to Giuliani, re Pataki: ‘Misgivings’ Might Be Nice

by Joyce Purnick

Message to Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani from a former Governor of New York: Apologize!

Well, the former Governor — the ever gregarious Hugh L. Carey — did not volunteer the last word. But he zeroed in on the idea that Mr. Giuliani should apologize to Governor-elect George E. Pataki: "any misgivings," Mr. Carey said in a telephone interview from Washington, "on the other hand, something I would suspect Pataki would take umbrage at."

Was he suggesting that Mr. Giuliani, who has portrayed himself as the York-apology?— a form of loss of grace. And face.

"The endorsement is his business," Mr. Carey continued, referring to Mr. Giuliani's endorsement of Gov. Mario M. Cuomo. "But attributing corruption to the candidate, suggesting he's unfit to govern is something I would suspect Pataki would take umbrage at."

A near-gasp from Mr. Carey: "I don't recall anything the Governor counsels."

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An apology? Don't call it that, a former Governor counsels.

By Paul Lewis

Failure by the United States Senate to ratify the proposed new global trade agreement, the world's top trade official said yesterday, would destroy the existing world trading order, return international commerce to "the law of the jungle" and deprive the world of an estimated $500 billion in economic gains by the year 2005.

Addressing a press conference at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, the official, Peter Sutherland, who heads the Geneva organization that regulates international commerce, said it was inconceivable to him that the Senate could reject an accord that has been supported by both Republican and Democratic administrations.

But with the Senate preparing to vote on the agreement, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT, amid signs of resistance from Republicans, Mr. Sutherland warned that failure to ratify it would "destroy the credibility of the existing trading system" and create a growing risk of trade wars as countries retreated into beggar-thy-neighbor policies.

"It would be the law of the jungle," Mr. Sutherland said, adding that if the United States failed to ratify the agreement from the Uruguay round of negotiations then other partners to the accord would also renounce on multilateral trade barriers and export international trade law into new fields, like the protection of intellectual property rights.

In recent days Senator Jesse Helms, the North Carolina Republican who is likely to become chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, has called for the vote to be postponed into next year. And Senator Bob Dole, the Republican leader, said over the weekend that he wanted passage of the trade measure linked to a cut in the capital gains tax.

Other conservative senators have expressed fears that the agreement requires the United States to give up too much sovereignty to the proposed new World Trade Organization.

Such indications of weakening support for the agreement have caused dismay among America's trading partners in Europe and elsewhere, raising the possibility of a trans-Atlantic economic clash.

Mr. Sutherland focused on the economic gains all countries are expected to make under the new agreement. He said a new study predicts that the world's total annual income from freer trade in goods alone would be $510 billion by the year 2005, against an earlier estimate of $235 billion. In practice the gain would be greater because freer trade in services is not included in this calculation.

On the most optimistic assumptions in the study, the United States stands to gain $122 billion in additional income from the growth of its exports and imports. The study says the comparable figures for the 12 European Union members is $164 billion, for Japan $27 billion and for the developing world together and the countries in transition between Communism and capitalism, $116 billion.

The study also estimates that America's exports and imports would both increase by as much as 21.7 percent and those of the European Union by up to 19.4 percent.

Arbitration for 3 Postal Unions

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 — After weeks of unsuccessfully negotiating a union contract that expired at midnight, the United States Postal Service today entered into binding arbitration with the three unions that represent most of the service's 600,000 employees.

Although the contract has run out, mail service will not be affected. It is illegal for Federal workers to strike.

The American Postal Workers' Union, which represents mail room clerks; the National Postal Mail Handlers Union, which represents employees who unload trucks; and the National Association of Letter Carriers found themselves at an impasse and agreed to the arbitration, which requires outside mediators.

The three unions are seeking higher wages and expanded benefits.

The contract for both the Letter Carriers and the Postal Workers has been in effect since 1980. This year marked the first time in 24 years that the two unions negotiated separately for contracts, because the Letter Carriers contended that their working conditions required special attention that the Postal Workers, who work inside, do not need.

Drew Von Bergen, the spokesman for the National Association of Letter Carriers, which represents about 216,000 of the 240,000 letter carriers, said the decision to enter into arbitration was not encouraging.

"An agreement would have been a step forward," Mr. Von Bergen said. "No one likes to have a third party."
By ROBERT HANLEY
Special To The New York Times
ENGLEWOOD, N.J., Nov. 21 — After years of futile attempts to integrate the heavily minority Englewood school district with its primarily white neighboring districts, the State of New Jersey today handed the problem of drawing up a racial-balance plan to a private company.

The State Department of Education has hired Applied Data Services of Flanders, N.J., to conduct a six-month study of the racial makeup of schools in Englewood and 19 nearby eastern Bergen County towns. The company is to produce at least seven different plans to redraw some or all of the 20 school districts so that the percentage of black students here will be reduced.

For years, the number of white students in Englewood’s schools has declined to the point that today the enrollment is about 90 percent black and Hispanic.

The study is rooted in a nine-year legal squabble between school officials of Englewood and two neighboring wealthy communities with overwhelmingly white and Asian student bodies, Englewood Cliffs and Tenafly. Those two districts will be included in the study, along with Bergenfield, Cliffside Park, Dumont, Fort Lee, Hackensack, Leonia, Palisades Park, Teaneck, Ridgefield, Ridgefield Park, and several smaller districts.

Blacks constitute about one-third of the enrollment in Teaneck and Hackensack. In each of the other communities, they account for less than 7 percent.

There is still a long way to go in the process, and state officials express reluctance, given New Jersey’s long devotion to home rule and local control of schools. A major question is whether the towns will voluntarily accept whatever regionalization plan state education officials adopt from the study, or whether they will resist. If they do not cooperate, either the State Department of Education or New Jersey’s Supreme Court has the power to impose an integration plan.

Through the years, however, the state’s elected leaders, Democrat or Republican, have shown little appetite for imposing a settlement. Soon after the State Board of Education ordered the desegregation study in 1991, Gov. Jim Florio issued a statement that his administration would not coerce school districts into regionalizing. Aides to his successor, Gov. Christine Todd Whitman, say she, too, opposes mandatory school regionalization for any reason because of the fighting it would produce.

“You are looking at community resistance from all quarters and protracted and expensive litigation,” said Governor Whitman’s press secretary, Carl Golden.

The State Education Department, too, seems to have little interest in using the study to order desegregation mergers in eastern Bergen.

“It’s not a solution I believe we’d like,” said Richard A. DiPatri, a deputy commissioner. “However, everything is up for grabs. I can’t preclude anything.”

The department’s hope, Dr. DiPatri said, is for the towns to use the plan as a guide for voluntary regionalization.

Tenafly’s Superintendent, John Fitzsimons, criticized the education department for not pushing for a voluntary solution earlier. “We are absolutely, vehemently opposed to being forced to regionalize with other districts,” he said. “We want to maintain the integrity of this school system.”

In rulings in 1965 and 1971, New Jersey’s Supreme Court said the state education commissioner has the legal and constitutional power to desegregate schools on a regional basis with neighboring districts. That authority has been exercised only once: in 1971, to merge the school systems of Morristown and the nearby Town of Morris.

Theoretically, state education officials say, the State Supreme Court could issue its own merger orders to correct racial imbalances if the education commissioner or the State Board of Education declined to do so.

Applied Data Services, which specializes in gathering and analyzing demographic data, has been involved in school desegregation studies and planning in several districts since it was founded in 1971 by Wayne J. Verderber, including those for Boston; Seattle; Houston; Buffalo; Providence; Bridgeport, Conn.; Stamford, Conn.; West Islip, L.I., and North Babylon, L.I.

The company’s proposal to do the $207,503 study was chosen over those of four other bidders, officials said. The losing bidders have 10 days to appeal the state’s selection.

The nine-year dispute that led to the study centers on a futile effort by Englewood Cliffs, a small, primarily white district with two elementary schools, to cancel a 1965 agreement to send its high school students to Englewood’s primarily minority Dwight Morrow High and send them instead to primarily white Tenafly High.

Englewood countersued to create a three-town regional high school. That idea won no support until the state board in 1991 ordered the study of a new, racially balanced regional district encompassing kindergarten to the 12th grade. State courts upheld the board’s power to order the study in 1992 and 1993.

A company is to propose seven ways to improve schools’ racial balance.
Battle Goes On as Rent Control Is Defeated in Massachusetts

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Nov. 21 —

Landlords here have complained for years that this city's rent-control laws are ruinous. But when they tried to change the system at the local level, they were always outnumbered by the tenants.

So this year, even though only two other communities in Massachusetts have rent control — Boston and Brookline — the landlords decided to challenge the system at the state level. They introduced a ballot question asking voters across the state whether rent control should be prohibited. On Election Day, they won narrowly, 51 percent to 49 percent. The vote was lopsided in one way, though. Only Boston, Brookline and Cambridge voted — in large numbers — to keep rent control legal. The rest of the state voted to abolish it. The demise is scheduled for New Year's Day.

Landlords say the rent-control system has long been abused by well-to-do tenants who can afford to pay market values for their apartments. Tenants say that the end of rent control will lead to wholesale evictions of poor, elderly and handicapped people.

And the local governments worry that the ballot question has eroded their power. Why, they ask, should voters in the Berkshires and on Cape Cod get to decide what happens in Boston, Brookline and Cambridge?

"In Cambridge, for the last 24 years, the people have elected a City Council that supports rent control," said Kenneth E. Reeves, the Mayor of Cambridge. "That's democracy. But the landlords saw themselves as a minority suffering at the hands of the majority. "In Cambridge, tenants outnumber landlords by three to one,," said Denise Jillson, the president of the Massachusetts Homeowners Coalition, which gathered enough signatures to get the question on the ballot. "It was like three wolves and a chicken deciding what's going to be for dinner. The chicken never wins."

The landlords may yet lose if Cambridge, Boston and Brookline get a reprieve. Cambridge today became the last of the three to file a home-rule petition asking the State Legislature for the right to retain rent control for poor, elderly and handicapped tenants for five more years. The petitions are subject to the approval of the Legislature and the Governor, and a decision is expected in the next few weeks.

Cambridge now has 16,000 rent-controlled apartments. Rents are not tied to income levels, and the apartments do not return to market rates when they are vacated. Boston has 85,000 rent-controlled units, and Brookline, which has 4,100, is already phasing out its system.

Rent control in Cambridge was instituted as a temporary measure in 1970. Market-value rents here are kept high by the city's proximity to Boston, its community of scholars at universities like Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and its combination of tree-lined streets, restaurants, theaters, nightclubs and amenities like bike paths along the Charles River.

"I'm living in a good neighborhood and the talk is, they're going to double the rent," said Mrs. Shelzi, who makes $15,000 a year from her department store pension and Social Security. "And the thing is, physically I can't move, and financially I can't afford to move. I'm not as mobile or as flexible as I used to be."

Then there are landlords like Barbara Pilgrim, who almost went into foreclosure because her two rent-controlled units do not bring in enough money to cover her mortgage payments.

The landlords say that most tenants in rent-controlled apartments are not poor or elderly. Some landlords have offered to extend rent control while the city develops a program to help poor, elderly and handicapped tenants.

The landlords oppose the home-rule petitions. They point out that the state's highest court, the Supreme Judicial Court, ruled in July that their ballot question was legal.

One justice, Ruth M. Abrams, was not present to hear that case. Judge Abrams, who earns more than $90,000 a year, lives in a rent-controlled apartment in Cambridge.

Landlords won a statewide vote, but three communities are attacking it.

Four Children Are Killed in Oklahoma Fire

SKIAITOOK, Okla., Nov. 21 (AP) —

A 12-year-old girl was in serious condition today after being pulled from a blazing house where four other children died.

A boy and two women also survived the fire, which investigators said they suspected had begun late Sunday in the attic of the 60-year-old house in this town of 5,000 about 20 miles northwest of Tulsa. There were no smoke detectors in the building, said a state fire marshal.
OPEC Seeking to Raise Prices by Output Freeze

By PHILIP SHENON

Special to The New York Times

DENPASAR, Indonesia, Nov. 21 — Oil ministers from nations of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries gathered today on the Indonesian resort island of Bali to devise a way to drive up sagging oil production at the current cap of 24.5 million barrels a day.

The ministers, who hope to increase profits by squeezing oil supplies, say the question is not whether they should hold crude oil production steady, but how long they should hold it.

"I will consider 12, or 24 months," the Iranian oil minister, Gholamreza Agazadeh, said as he arrived in Bali for the year-end meeting of the 12-nation organization in Denpasar, Bali's capital. "At this time the most important issue is that the price is not very strong."

The current production ceiling has been in place since September 1993. A decision to keep it in place for another year, and to crack down on rampant quota cheating by some OPEC members, would demonstrate a rare level of discipline for the organization.

OPEC has reported that world-wide demand for oil is up this year by about 700,000 barrels a day and should increase again next year. If oil production holds steady, the ministers say, oil prices will almost certainly increase again. However, because OPEC members are not required to increase their production by more than 6 percent a year, and by keeping growth in supply to the rate of inflation, "I believe we can do it without cutting services, in a way that people are going to look and say, 'My God, I've lost this service,' " Mr. Pataki said in an Oct. 7 interview with The New York Times.

During the campaign, Mr. Pataki said he could pay for his income tax cut through growth in state revenue. "We're going to have to do that. We talked about it," Mr. Pataki said in Williamsburg today that at the time he proposed his plan to cut income taxes by 25 percent over four years, he expected New York's state budget gap to be between $1 billion and $1.5 billion. The Cuomo administration disclosed after the election that the gaps were as much as $4 billion, and perhaps more, in a general fund budget that in 1993 was $34 billion.

Mr. Cuomo's top aides have said that it was clear when this year's state budget was passed in June that the gap in next year's budget would be more than $2.5 billion, and that by the end of the year, the state was facing a $6 billion gap and an 8 percent cut in services.

Mr. Cuomo's top aides have said that it was clear when this year's state budget was passed in June that the gap in next year's budget would be more than $2.5 billion, and that by the end of the year, the state was facing a $6 billion gap and an 8 percent cut in services. In holding down spending, delay signing new contracts and impose a moratorium on other major commitments that can be reasonably delayed until after Jan. 1, 1995. Spokesmen for the Cuomo administration and the State Comptroller's office said early this evening that they could not determine how many state employees had been laid off since the Nov. 8 election.

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Arafat Says He Means to Wield Control

By CLYDE HABERMAN
Special to The New York Times

GAZA, Nov. 21 — Yasir Arafat summoned thousands of his supporters to a Gaza rally today to deliver a blunt message to violence-scared Palestinians that he has political control and intends to keep it.

To drive that point home, hundreds of young men came heavily armed to a rally organized by Mr. Arafat's Fatah faction, some firing automatic rifles in the air and warning Islamic militants that if challenged, they were ready to fight.

Heartened by the support, however, Mr. Arafat insisted that he conducted a referendum in favor of his self-rule administration and that he will talk with Israel.

But the display of strength also showed that the governing Palestinian Authority and its Islamic opponents in the Gaza Strip are still far from reconciliation after the battles on Friday between Mr. Arafat's police and Islamic protesters that left 14 people dead and about 200 others wounded. The known death toll rose by one today.

An uneasy truce continued to hold, but the two sides were still atated in negotiations aimed at putting the violence against them and bystanders away from the precipice of all-out civil strife. If anything, the rally today suggested that Gaza is awash in guns — among all factions — with the police having done almost nothing with the power to carry out promises to confiscate weapons.

The situation was potentially explosive. Leaders of the main Islamic group, Hamas, said their forces would not shoot at fellow Palestinians but would keep away from the precipice of all-out civil strife. If anything, the rally today suggested that Gaza is awash in guns — among all factions — with the police having done almost nothing with the power to carry out promises to confiscate weapons.

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Roman Catholic Bishop Denounces Repression in East Timor

BY ANDREW POLLACK
Special to The New York Times

DILI, East Timor, Nov. 21 — About 135 Timorese protesters against Indonesian rule were arrested last week, and many of them were taken from their homes and beaten without any kind of explanation," Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo said in an interview today that he had "a lot of doubts about I.M.F. reforms."

Bishop Belo conceded that ethnic tensions and unemployment have contributed to the unrest, and he condemned Timorese who engaged in the vandalism.

But the Bishop said that the fundamental problem is the lack of political self-determination. The solution, he said, would be a vote on independence before the results, saying there are Timorese who favor integration with Indonesia.

The Bishop said President Clinton did not go far enough in his meeting with President Subarto of Indonesia about East Timor.

He said he would "be more direct," the Bishop said. "He should say they should withdraw from East Timor."
NATO Hits Serbs
But Not Too Hard

By MICHAEL R. GORDON
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 — By military standards, the NATO attack carried out today against a Serbian-controlled air base in Croatia was the equivalent of a nasty note.

The air strike, trumpeted by NATO as the biggest in the alliance's brief combat history, involved 39 attack and reconnaissance planes from four nations. The targets were hit. There were no allied casualties.

But when the smoke cleared, the main damage at the Udbina airfield was to a concrete runway, which military officials said could be fixed in days. No peaky mines were dropped to interfere with repair efforts. The tower and the approximately 15 Serbian planes were deliberately spared.

This is how allied military operations are conducted in the Balkans, where every air strike must be approved by NATO and by United Nations commanders, who are fearful that strong military action might provoke Serbian retaliation against United Nations peacekeepers.

The question today was what lesson the Serbs have learned from the attack. Have they concluded that NATO and the United Nations are determined to put an end to Serbian bombing raids and violations of the no-flight ban? Or do they think that the West is so fearful of Serbian retaliation that it will shrink from taking decisive military action?

To be sure, today's attack was a far cry from full-scale combat. If this had been the Persian Gulf war, the allies would have pounded the Serbs, it also wanted to avoid signaling Croatia or the Muslim-led Bosnian Government that NATO was joining the war on their side, a point that Pentagon officials said had been made to officials in Zagreb and Sarajevo.

NATO officials said that, by General Laprise's calculation, this was the best way to put the nationalist Serbs on notice that the United Nations will not tolerate any more Serbian air strikes, while not overly aggravating Serbian forces.

"He believes that's the best way to send the signals," Admiral Smith said. "My hope is that we will not have to go back."

Certainly, Clinton Administration officials concede, the NATO air strike required a balancing of military and foreign policy interests.

American officials believed that some sort of NATO military action was needed to respond to Serbian air attacks, three of which have been launched from the Udbina airfield.

But while Washington wanted to punish the Serbs, it also wanted to avoid signaling Croatia or the Muslim-led Bosnian Government that NATO was joining the war on their side, a point that Pentagon officials said had been made to officials in Zagreb and Sarajevo.

Still, a senior Clinton Administration official said that the United Nations had been overly cautious in limiting the attack to the runways at the Udbina base.

"We are dealing with the United Nations here," the official said. "If we had our druthers we would have taken out the Serb planes."

And even as NATO and the United Nations boasted about the "success" of the raid, American officials said that the plight of Muslims in the embattled town of Bihac was getting worse as the assault by nationalist Serbs continued.

United States officials have proposed a weapons exclusion around Bihac and have said that further air attacks may be needed against Serbian nationalists near the town.

"We are still looking for further steps," the official said. "The NATO air strike today was a welcome step, but it has not solved the Bihac problem."

News
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Punches

CHRONOLOGY
Balkans and NATO: A Test of Power

By Reuters

JULY 1992 NATO agrees to use naval force in Adriatic to assess compliance with United Nations sanctions on Yugoslavia. The following year, the naval force is given powers to enforce the sanctions.

OCTOBER NATO agrees to use surveillance aircraft to monitor a United Nations ban on military flights over Bosnia.

APRIL 1993 NATO agrees to use surveillance aircraft to monitor a United Nations ban on military flights over Bosnia.

JUNE NATO offers close air support for the protection of United Nations personnel in Bosnia.

AUGUST NATO offers close air support for the protection of United Nations personnel in Bosnia.

FEBRUARY 1994 NATO gives Serbs 10 days to withdraw heavy weapons from around Sarajevo. The Serbs comply.

NATO planes shoot down four Serbian light attack aircraft that violate the ban on flights over Bosnia.

APRIL NATO conducts two air strikes against Serbian forces around Gorazde, the first allied attacks on ground targets.

NATO says it is prepared to use air strikes to protect all six United Nations-designated "safe areas" in Bosnia and gives the Serbs a deadline to withdraw from Gorazde. They comply.

AUGUST NATO planes hit Serbian heavy weapons violating the exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

SEPTEMBER NATO planes hit a Serbian tank near Sarajevo after Bosnian Serb attack peacekeepers.

NOVEMBER United Nations Security Council grants NATO new powers to hit targets in Croatia used by Serb nationalists for attacks on Bosnia.

NATO attacks the Udbina airfield in Croatia.
WHAT HAPPENED

The Air Strikes in Croatia

Thirty-nine NATO warplanes from the United States and three other nations yesterday bombed a Serb air base in Croatia that had been used for attacks on Bosnia. Previous NATO air strikes have all been in Bosnia and have involved a small number of planes against much smaller Serb targets, like a single tank.

How things were
Areas of control in Bosnia after a Bosnian Government campaign and before Serb counter-attacks.

The Serb strike on Friday
Using napalm and cluster bombs, nationalist Serb planes attacked the U.N. "safe area" around Bihac. There was also an attack Saturday on the nearby town of Cazin.

Current Areas of Control

138 Nations Confer in Italy
On Rise in Global Crime

By ALAN COWELL
Special to The New York Times

NAPLES, Italy, Nov. 21 — In a city as famed for its gangsters as its pizza chefs, a group of government ministers and crime fighters from 138 countries gathered here today for a United Nations conference aimed at forging a united front against the increasingly widespread menace of international crime: "Organized crime has become a world phenomenon," Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said in an address to the conference. "In Europe, in Asia, in Africa and in America, the forces of darkness are at work and no society is spared."

The three-day gathering at Palazzo Reale is supposed to come up with ideas to combat the growth of organized crime, which is estimated by United Nations officials to take in a staggering $750 billion a year.

The conference, however, elicited some skepticism. "I doubt very much whether anything concrete can come out of it," said Bruno Siclari, the head of Italy's anti-Mafia investigating magistrates.

The gathering is being held at a time when the end of the cold war and expanding trade have opened up many borders, and organized crime groups from the Sicilian Mafia to Chinese gangs are suspected of collaborating with one another.

At the same time, the scope of organized crime has broadened far beyond traditional narcotics, vice and extortion rackets into investment of laundered money in legitimate businesses and into illicit trade in nuclear materials, toxic waste disposal, undocumented immigrants and even organs for transplants.

Not only that, the end of Communism and its tight controls on society in some countries has contributed to a collapse of law enforcement in parts of the world, permitting local crime gangs, like the new Russian mafias, to emerge.

"Transnational crime undermines the very foundations of the international democratic order," Mr. Boutros-Ghali said. "Transnational crime poisons the business climate, corrupts political leaders and undermines human rights." The Secretary General called the world's mafias "veritable crime multinationals."

The conference is supposed to work out ways investigators and governments can coordinate their actions against organized crime and their legislation on money laundering. It is also supposed to consider whether a new international convention, similar to those in force for narcotics and piracy offenses, should be introduced to prosecute the leaders of organized crime.

Among United Nations officials, there is a widespread feeling that organized crime has been quicker to take advantage of the post-cold-war order than either law enforcement agencies or conventional businesses.

One example, said Mr. Siclari, the Italian anti-Mafia magistrate, was an attempt by the Camorra, the Neapolitan crime organization, to buy a bank in St. Petersburg, Russia.

WEAPONRY

The NATO Planes

Mirage 2000 France
F-16 Netherlands, U.S.
F-15 U S
F-111 United States
F/A 18 United States
Jaguar Britain, France
Abolition of Military

In a news conference at the National Palace with President Aristide at his side, Mr. Arias said, "The Haitian people should not miss this opportunity to get rid of the armed forces, which since 1981, the year Haiti achieved independence, "have been responsible for more than 24 coups."

"The Haitian Constitution is not like the Ten Commandments," Mr. Arias said. "It can be changed."

President Aristide was smiling agreeably, as Mr. Arias spoke, but when a Haitian reporter asked if he shared the views of his guest, the President turned enigmatic and dodged several versions of the question.

In the past, President Aristide has said he favors reducing the size of the armed forces from its recent high of 7,700 members to 1,500 and separating the police force from the army. But he has emphasized reconciliation since he resumed power on Oct. 15, and diplomats say he is reluctant to take any steps that would further alienate soldiers and officers or encourage them to plot against him.

"At the same time, though, the President has taken several steps to weaken the military. On Thursday, Brig. Gen. Bernardin Possion, who in the hands of the Haitian Government's budget has tv, said he favors reducing the size of the armed forces from its recent high of 7,700 members to 1,500 and separating the police force from the army. But he has emphasized reconciliation since he resumed power on Oct. 15, and diplomats say he is reluctant to take any steps that would further alienate soldiers and officers or encourage them to plot against him.

At the same time, though, the President has taken several steps to weaken the military. On Thursday, Brig. Gen. Bernardin Possion, who as head of the fire department for the last six years did little to distinguish himself, was appointed Commander in Chief of the armed forces.

On Friday a wholesale reshuffling of the high command, military staff and regional commanders was announced at the Army Day ceremonies.

American officials said President Aristide had reassured them that he believed that the armed forces still had a place in Haitian life. But at the same time, as one American official put it, there is "a mood in Haiti to have a loyal force but not a competent one," so as to limit the influence of the military.

American officials have repeatedly said that a slimmed-down and professionalized version of the armed forces has a role in a democratic Haiti. Asked recently why a country that has no external enemies needs a standing army, Stanley Schraguer, a spokesman for the American Embassy here, said such a force was an essential part of the "iconography" of nationhood.

Mr. Schraguer also cited a need to protect Haiti's extensive coastline and secure the land border with the Dominican Republic.

But an adviser to President Aristide said he believed that the reasons for American opposition to abolishing the army went much deeper. He suggested that Washington remains suspicious of the Lavalas's movement, with its leftist roots, and saw the military as a valuable political counterweight.

"The army is the only institution the United States can control," the adviser argued. "They can finance them, arm them, have intelligence links with them."

Asked during a visit here on Friday to comment on Mr. Arias's effort, the United States Army Secretary, Togo D. West Jr., said the issue was so delicate it was best left in the hands of the Haitian Government.

"Each country has to make that decision for itself," he said. "We're here to help restore democracy."

A bill separating the army and police is expected to be approved by Parliament before the end of the year, and other reform measures are expected to be introduced after next year's legislative elections. But it is the possibility of a popular referendum that appears to be the greatest concern to the military and those who do not want to see it abolished. If this issue ever gets to a popular vote, it's going to be curtains for these jokers," one diplomat said. "I don't have the slightest doubt that if there were given a choice, after what this country has been through, at least 70 percent of the population would vote the army out of existence."

2 Violent Incidents Strike Northern Haiti

CAP-HAITIEN, Haiti, Nov. 21 (Reuters) — A three-year-old girl was killed and her 31-year-old mother seriously wounded on Sunday when one bomb accidentally exploded in their house in Cap-Haitien, in northern Haiti, officials said today.

Hours later, in what the police said was an unrelated incident, a mob of demonstrators threw rocks at Haitian Army soldiers in the city, Haiti's Second-largest. They were the first Haitian soldiers in uniform seen here since Sept. 24.

The local police said they had not determined who made the bomb that killed the child or why it was in the woman's home. The woman and child have not been identified.

The soldiers who were attacked were part of the Port-au-Prince, the capital, with a truckload of filmmires for police officers being trained for the new Interim Public Security Force. When the soldiers arrived Sunday afternoon, they were met by a jeering, rock-throwing mob.

An American patrol, unaware of the Haitian soldiers' mission, stopped their truck at gunpoint and handcuffed them. After the Americans verified that the soldiers had been sent by the Government, they escorted them away from the rock-throwing crowds.
Sudan's Long Civil War Threatening to Spread

By DONATELLA LORCH

Sudan's 11-year-old civil war continues, with rebels and Government troops pummeling each other with artillery, mortars and heavy machine guns. In Khartoum, which is bent on spreading Islamic dominance, often through policies of ethnic cleansing, it is a war of ideology. It is also a conflict pitting Arab against black African.

For the Christian and animist rebels, it is a war of identity and the only means they say they have to demand autonomy for their people. But since 1991, the Sudan People's Liberation Army has been deeply splintered along ethnic lines, allowing the Government to make major military inroads.

This year, the rebels have regrouped and are pushing hard against what appears to be the beginning of a major Government offensive. Relief and church officials say the Government is massing troops in the main southern towns as well as in adjacent Zaire and the Central African Republic, with tacit permission of their governments, an arrangement brokered by France, a former colonial power in the region.

On the Aswa front today, barely 9 miles west of the Sudanese border, the battle began just after 1 P.M. and lasted through sunset. Rebel shells were pinpointed by Government soldiers, according to rebel commanders. Their apparent aim, as the battle began just after 1 P.M., is to push to Nimule, thus blocking the major rebel supply route and helping Khartoum to arm its neighbors. In Eritrea, there have been border skirmishes and rebel officials say Khartoum is using the return of thousands of Eritrean refugees as a means of infiltrating Eritrea with Islamic zealots. Officials say Khartoum is also backing Islamic rebel movements in Ethiopia.

In the blistering heat of the Aswa plain, Commander Mamur directed his forces over the walkie-talkie from a rocky hilltop, ordering the firing, gun by gun - heavy mortars, artillery explosions flushing flocks of white egrets from the shores. The rebels and a group of five journalists were hunkered down in rock foxholes on the hillside about a mile from the Government troops when they were pinpointed by the Government's Soviet-made T-55 tanks. The third tank shell exploded on a tree over the foxholes. Three rebels were hurt, two seriously. James Schofield, Nairobi correspondent for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, was hit in the left leg by shrapnel.

The fighting at Aswa, one of several battle fronts in the south, underlined the conflict's fluidity - lost in an endless expanse of lush green elephant grass of the southern Sudan and marked only by the muddy meanders of the Aswa River as it meets the White Nile.

Yet in trenches less than a mile and a half apart, the Sudan's 11-year-old civil war continues, with rebels and Government troops pounding each other with artillery, mortars and heavy machine guns.

Thus the war, which so far has been confined to this largely inaccessible area, to neighboring countries.

The Sudanese Government's attempt to broaden the conflict across borders is seriously affecting its neighbors. In Eritrea, there have been border skirmishes and rebel officials say Khartoum is using the return of thousands of Eritrean refugees as a means of infiltrating Eritrea with Islamic zealots. Officials say Khartoum is also backing Islamic rebel movements in Ethiopia.

But Khartoum's most visible influence is in Uganda, where President Yoweri Museveni has accused Khartoum of supplying weapons to Ugandan rebels.

"This has become Museveni's war as much as the S.P.L.A.'s," said a relief official, referring to the Sudanese rebel army. "This theme was echoed by senior rebel commanders. "The Government forces are preparing now to move on Nimule," said Commander Kuol Manyang, a top rebel leader, referring to a Sudanese town on the Ugandan border.

"Khartoum is talking peace while preparing for war. If they defeat the S.P.L.A., the war will not end here," said a relief official, referring to the Sudanese rebels.

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World News Briefs

U.N. Chief Asks Troops for Rwandans

UNITED NATIONS, Nov. 21 — Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in a report, urged the Security Council today to send up to 12,000 troops to counter the growing violence from armed gangs in camps for Rwandan refugees in Zaire and Burundi.

The gangs are said to consist largely of soldiers of the defeated Rwandan Army. United Nations officials have said that as many as 30,000 of these former soldiers and the militias allied with them may be in the camps controlling the distribution of food and relief supplies and terrorizing the hundreds of thousands of refugees living there.

“It is believed that these elements may be preparing for an armed invasion of Rwanda and that they may be stockpiling and selling food distributed by relief agencies in preparation for such an invasion,” the report said.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali said that taking control of the camps “would be a risky, complex and very expensive endeavor,” but he said it was necessary because the weakness of the present Rwandan Army might well lead to another civil war.

Some countries that had contributed troops to Rwanda peacekeeping operations in the past have already indicated that they would not in the future, and American diplomats have indicated that the United States also would not contribute troops.

Nobel-Winning Writer Flies Nigeria

PARIS, Nov. 21 (AP) — The Nobel Prize-winning writer from Nigeria, Wole Soyinka, slipped out of the country after being tipped off that his arrest was imminent, he said today in Paris.

He was joined by other writers today at a news conference to announce that he had left Nigeria. He said his country “is retreating into a Dark Ages” under leaders as repressive as the white minority governments that ruled South Africa during apartheid.

Civil liberties in Nigeria have eroded since June 1993, when generals annulled a presidential election that was to restore civilian rule.

Mr. Soyinka, 60, said he was alerted several weeks ago that the police were planning to arrest him. His office was raided, two books about him were banned, and his name was stricken from an announcement of a political forum, he said. The Government also seized his passport.

According to unconfirmed reports, he crossed into Benin in the last few days and obtained a visa for France. He said he planned to visit London and the United States.

Mr. Soyinka became the first African winner of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1986.

Sabotage Suspected In Canada Train Fire

OTTAWA, Nov. 21 (Reuters) — A passenger train that caught fire as it sped through a Canadian town, injuring 45 passengers, may have been sabotaged, the police said today.

They said a three-foot piece of loose rail had ruptured and set fire to the engine’s fuel tanks, spewing out burning fuel that engulfed the front two cars as the train passed through Brighton, Ontario, on Sunday.

The police opened a criminal investigation into whether the rail was placed on the track deliberately.

Most of the injuries were minor.

“Chunks of rail just don’t jump on the track by themselves,” said a Brighton police Sergeant, Ron Binovitch.

He confirmed that a criminal investigation was under way.

The express was bound for Montreal from Toronto when the accident occurred at Brighton, 76 miles east of Toronto.

On the plane, off the plane, on the plane... And so it goes these days for Edward Albee, the three-time Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright. He returned from London to New York on Thursday. The next day he gave a speech. By Sunday he was in Boston for another speech. Sunday night, it was back to London to accept The Evening Standard Drama Award for best play for “Three Tall Women” yesterday.

“About two weeks ago I learned I would probably win the award and wouldn’t be it nice if I were there,” he said. “I couldn’t reschedule events.”

Today, he’ll be back in the air.

“I’m flying to Miami, where I will lie down for six days and have a quiet Thanksgiving,” he said. “It was all worth it,” he added. “You don’t get that many awards in your life.”

Or, for that matter, frequent-flier miles.

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On what a diplomat is DONNA E. SHALALA, the Secretary of Health and Human Services. At a dinner given by Ambassador STAMAR BINOVIČ of Israel in honor of Secretary of State WARREN CHRISTOPHER on Sunday evening, she found herself seated next to Israeli Prime Minister YITZHAK RABIN. The Prime Minister smoked through the evening, the only guest in the room to do so, she said yesterday.

Though she is vehemently opposed to smoking, Ms. Shalala said not a word. But afterward she remarked, “I’ve sacrificed my principles and health for Middle East peace.”

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There’s an element of risk in having your portrait painted on Madison Avenue, AL HIRSCHFELD learned on Friday.

His self-drawn caricature, complete with five concealed Ninas, had been replicated in paint on the avenue between 62d and 63d Streets to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Margo Feiden Galleries, which represents him. But then it rained.

Television cameras and political figures in attendance notwithstanding, the 40-foot-long portrait began to drip.

“Threw Hirschfeld’s eyebrows,” Ms. Feiden said. “Then the Ninas disappeared and he lost about 20 pounds. He was supposed to sign the work, but he couldn’t do it in the rain.” The problem, she explained, was that the rain began during the 12 hours that were necessary to seal the top coat.

On Sunday at 3 A.M., the painters returned to touch up Mr. Hirschfeld. So how did he survive yesterday’s rain? Ms. Feiden made repeated forays out of her gallery to check, and pronounced him perfect. “Every hair and every Nina was absolutely in place,” she said.

NADINE BROZAN
Appellate Ruling Called a Threat to Endangered Species Act

BY NATALIE ANGIER

The United States Supreme Court does not overturn a ruling from a Federal appeals panel, the Endangered Species Act might itself be threatened with government obstructionism, conservation groups, biologists and the Justice Department argue.

The department filed a petition with the Supreme Court this month asking it to reject a ruling from the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia that the act does not prevent the destruction of the habitat of an endangered species, even if destroying the habitat means exterminating the animal. The lower court ruling, called Sweet Home Chapter of Communities for a Greater Oregon v. Babbitt, shocked conservationists and made them run for legal ammunition to protect the teeth of an act that is considered one of the most effective pieces of environmental legislation ever passed.

If the act cannot be used to protect the habitat of an endangered organism, the opponents of the new ruling insist, then it cannot protect the species and becomes an impotent husk of legislation.

The act states that it is illegal to take, kill, capture, harass or "harm" an endangered species. For the 20 years of the act's existence, the word "harm" has been interpreted to mean that the foraging, nesting or living sites on which an animal depends cannot be substantially modified. It certainly means that it cannot be destroyed altogether, said Tim Eichenberg, a lawyer with the United States Fish and Wildlife Service's definition of the word "harm." The Sweet Home group asked the court to reconsider, and in March was Judge Stephen F. Williams Voting both times to protect the bald eagle, alligator, gray whale, black-footed ferret and red wolf. Many surveys show that the act enjoys vast support among the general public, though lately the act has been depicted as a drag on economic development and an example of Government obstructionism.

The case started about four years ago when a loose coalition of timberland holders, logging companies and community groups in the Oregon region used the debate over the fate of the northern spotted owl as an opportunity to begin challenging Federal rules intended to protect endangered animals.

Last year, a panel of the appeals court in the District of Columbia voted 2 to 1 to reject the group's arguments that habitat preservation was not specified by the endangered species act and instead upheld Fish and Wildlife's definition of the word "harm." The Sweet Home group asked the court to reconsider, and in March the same three judges reversed their previous ruling and agreed, 2 to 1, that the act strictly referred to the intermediate and direct destruction of species, not to their habitat.

The Justice Department has asked the full Court of Appeals to reconsider that decision, but it has also called on the Supreme Court to issue a ruling that would become the law of the land. Should the High Court choose to take up the case — and many predict that it will — the ruling is likely to be handed down by summer.

The judge who reversed himself in March was Judge Stephen F. Williams. Voting both times to protect the habitat was Chief Judge Abner J. Mikva, while Judge David B. Sentelle voted against extending such protection.

Conservationists say a court permits the destruction of crucial habitat.
Bombed in New Haven

By Christopher Buckley

WASHINGTON Have you been invited to speak at next year's Yale Daily News banquet? Before you accept, let me tell you about my experience as this year's guest speaker.

Though my idea of a good time is not giving a free speech 300 miles from home on a Saturday night, The Yale Daily News was a big part of my life, so I said sure. I'd been the guest speaker before; it was great fun and a chance to meet bright and interesting seniors and juniors.

I was surprised to learn that the banquet would be held off campus. In my father's day (1949), it was the big social event of the year. It was held at the law school. Among the main speakers that year was Gen. Dwight Eisenhower. The others, typical of the august roster in those days, were the presidents of Harvard, M.I.T. and Princeton.

The previous occasion on which I'd been the speaker (you can see that the speakers got a lot less august over the years), the banquet had been held in the President's Room, a chamber of baromial splendor beneath a great rotunda. When I asked the editor why it would not be held there again, she said, Well, um, with the 21-year-old drinking law, it was, um, easier to hold it off campus. I certainly understood. A dry banquet would be an unhappy banquet indeed. But then I learned exactly why the Yale Daily News banquet was no longer held in the President's Room. It had been permanently banned from campus. Why? Well, it seems that the guests had often been — I'll try to put this delicately — collectively unwell. At last year's banquet, two students had to be taken to the emergency room.

Please don't get me wrong. We knew how to party in my day, too (1975), though we waited until after the formal events to start the serious swilling. So I asked what on earth was going on at Yale these days. The answer was the 21-year-old drinking law. (In my day it was 18.) A friend explained: "It's had an infantilizing effect. They treat them like kids, so they act like kids."

The scene that greeted me in the dining room at the New Haven Lawn Club was out of a putch in a Munich beer hall, minus the brown shirts and funny salutes. The leaders were bellowing so loudly that you had to shout to converse with your dinner partner. At one table, a fifth of vodka was being passed around and gulped from. At another table, a woman was slumped over her boy friend, unconscious. Well, they had been drinking since 5 in the afternoon. Apparently the trend these days is "from-load," that is, to go to a party before the event and get so tanked that you will feel no pain later on. Or be aware that there is a guest speaker.

I took out my speech and began to chop, paragraphs at first, then whole pages. It did not help that my hostess then delivered a 40-minute speech recounting in the smallest detail the drinking and sexual escapades of her retiring Daily News board. Nattily, at 9:45, at which point the bright future of American journalism was experiencing sugar shock and the first violent waves of nausea, it was time to go on.

I rose to speak.

Only the dead drunk were silent.

I've been kicking myself black and blue for not having had the guts to say, "You know, if I'd wanted to watch a rerun of 'Animal House,' I'd have gone to the video store." But dull, prodding professional that I am, I gave my speech, though I felt as much extra cutting as I could.

I like to think it was better than the one Senator John Glenn gave at the 1976 Democratic National Convention, the one that got him permanently disqualified from being anyone's Vice President. But my view from the podium that night was every bit as dismal: an unenviable hum of conversational chatter, clumps of people getting up for a cigarette, the audience at least offering the courtesy of silence.

On the way home to a much-needed drink, I reflected on what the national 21-year-old drinking law had accomplished. The good news: drunken-driving fatalities are down. The bad news: so, obviously, is maturity, unless this sort of thing only happens these days at my beloved Yale Daily News.

In that event, I'm left to shudder: What if it had been an important guest speaker? A governor, or a Fortune 500 C.E.O., or a newspaper publisher or Nobel laureate? It is entirely possible that such people might suppose that the Yale Daily News banquet was still an affair of prestige, a chance to meet bright young people in a convivial setting.

This, therefore, has been a public service announcement.

Corrections

An article on Monday about Sena- tor Bob Dole's linking of support for a world trade pact to a cut in the capital gains tax referred incorrectly in some editions to the relationship between a tax cut and a change in Federal budget rules. If the overall economic effects of a tax cut are counted in a manner suggested by Republicans, it can be enacted without matching cuts in Federal spending.

An article on Nov. 15 about plans to renovate the Main Street-Flushing station incorrectly in some editions referred to the station incorrectly in some editions. It is not elevated.

The Pulse chart in the Metro Section yesterday, about the status of the death penalty in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, referred incorrectly at one point to the most recent execution in Connecticut. The date was May 17, 1960, not 1980.

The weather map yesterday forecasting the day's high temperatures and precipitation carried an incorrect date. The forecast was for 2 a.m. on Nov. 21 and Nov. 20.
infrastructure, as omnipotent as it is mysterious, based on the remnants of the powers that were.

This belief is understandable. Those who held lines, less party power are at the top of society again: in the corporatization (the former head of the political directorate of the K.G.B., for example, became a vice president of the influential Most Financial group), in the Duma, in the diplomatic corps, in the military, even in the extended apparatus of the President of Russian Federation, which is still ostensibly considered the guarantor of democratic reforms.

Looking at Boris Yeltsin's retina, I can't help but think: Here they are, the same Soviet faces, the same Go- 
golian characters. It is no exaggera-
tion to say that such people would not be promoted without having sub-
stantial experience as a nomenkla-
tura sycophant. It has turned out to be their revolution, not ours.

Undoubtedly, long before peres- 
stroika, a profound discontent was growing in the party's ranks. Despite being a self-proclaimed "Vanguard of the Soviet People," party mem-
bers felt oppressed and humiliated by their pathological regime. They didn't have enough Western goods, they didn't have enough dollars, they couldn't take the Canary Islands vaca-
tions, they couldn't send their chil-
dren to Harvard. The Communist 
system was doomed because of its inability to meet the ever-growing demands of its own ruling elite.

Without denazification, Germany would not have reached its glamous 
democracy and prosperity so quickly.

But debolshievization is inconceivable in Russia. The Soviet Union was not defeated on the battlefield, it was not occupied by the forces of democracy.

Nor was it ruined as a result of popu-
lar uprising. Even the expected storming of the K.G.B. headquarters in August 1991 did not take place; the crowd was talked out of it by democratic lead-
ers. One of them, Sergei Stankevich, 
told me it wasn't a difficult task.

People didn't want to get even with the Communists: many of them were card-carrying members and all of them had relatives and friends among the rank and file.

Some local dignitaries and industri-
als were around the table — the real masters of that productive and densely populated area. They were enjoying a lavish spread of blini, caviar, boiled crayfish, Russian vod-
ka and French Champagne. They ex-
changed jokes and hoisted toasis.

Suddenly of them, the head of a recently privatized local airline — let's call him Tisha Evnostropov — shouted above the crowd: "Everybody will be happy under the auspiscs of our Mother Russia, except those who do not pronounce the letter 'R' correctly," he said, making a common anti-Semitic slur.

The host of the dinner shouted: "I'm not anti-Semitic," Tisha Evno-
tropro continued. "I'm simply against betrayal, and they're born traitors, the fifth column! Hitler was exterminating them just as the Jews but as turncoats. Unfortunately, he didn't complete the job!"
mockingly: "our wooden one." is in-flation-which has been turned into real money. The mass media, at least a big portion of them, enjoy independence. The borders are open—anyone can get an exit visa. Young women are becoming more attractive; young men clad in leather jackets sip beer in the new bars. I've no doubt that Russia has not lost the opportunity to reach prosperity and democracy. But it can do so only under one condition: a realization of itself as a true part of Western civilization. It is time for Russians to drop their communal sense of confrontation, to put an end to their 100-year undeclared war against everything Western.

Regrettably, post-Soviet cynicism is still dominant. This fall, at George Mason University in Fairfax, Va., where I teach, we received a group of Russian doctors and nurses. "Americans," they said, with a month of training and accomplishment, "are not suffering from the uranium. Even worse, and this is their only goal is to reduce Greater Russia to a backward colony. There is a fashion today in intellectual circles to be anti-Western, to buy the idea that Russian workers have more moral superiority over the West."

So, this summer, I gave a reading in a big Saint Petersburg concert hall and afterward invited questions from the audience. "How can you talk about integration?" a young man asked. "Russia is a country of high spirituality; while Westerners are secularists. We're incomparable. I'm afraid." I looked at his tall forehead and enquired if he had a vocational history. Other guests exchanged glances, the meaning of which was lost on me, but I got the impression it was to prevent me from a staggering silence.

At the voting of Communists, which used to happen or less camouflaged by the party's system of euphemisms and restrained by horizontal discipline, are now unleashed in the atmosphere of total impunity. The timid calls for repentance on the part of the leaders, and denunciation of the unanimous approval of all this on the part of these "highly spirited" nations. "I doubt that we deserve to speak about high spirituality so far," I said. The young man didn't like my answer. Most people kept a mysterious silence. I threw up my hands: let someone else take the generalization about this country. I

When I spend a lot of time sleeping in prose.

Adam
Smith,
Please Call

Reading an article on popular mu-
sic the other day, I was halfway through a fine Hitlers-
asleep. This was not the article's fault.

Why not the same for the busi-
nessmen who have political friends in the West? It is the sandman's most peaceful

boundary, it's "So long, sweetheart!" bound, it's "So long, sweetheart!"

Why I

Why I

depend on people who buy and sell
bonds. If they think we are inflation bound, it's "So long, sweetheart!"

They start buying or maybe sell-
ing bonds—I'm not sure which—at a prodigious rate, and the whole

country is watched, so I think we are inflation bound, it's "So long, sweetheart!"

The New York Times. Tuesday, November 22, 1994

THE NEW YORK TIMES. TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994

RUSSELL BAKER

Adam
Smith,
Please Call

Why I

Why I
Senator Bob Dole, the next majority leader, is exploiting his new political power by witholding approval of a world trade agreement that has taken seven years to negotiate. One reason, he says, is that the accord will threaten American sovereignty. That at least sounds noble, though Mr. Dole is wrong. His other reason is narrow and crass. As he told ABC on Sunday, he may block the trade accord unless the Administration swallows a cut in the tax on capital gains — the profit from selling stocks, bonds and other investments.

Mr. Dole's behavior mirrors what the electorate decisively rejected two weeks ago: politicians who say they stand for one set of principles but act according to another. The Republican Party has proudly put the U.S. in the forefront of nations negotiating for open trade and investment. Mr. Dole supported past free-trade pacts because he recognized that they contributed mightily to world growth. The new accord would give the U.S. economy alone a boost of between $70 billion and $200 billion a year.

Now, however, he threatens to dishonor this tradition by sacrificing an agreement that, on average, could enrich American families by $1,000 per year — for the sake of a proposal designed to line the pockets of already-wealthy investors. The Republican version of a capital gains tax cut would do little to stimulate the economy. But it would be a flashy, and undeserved gift for investors whose assets have appreciated over time.

Time, alas, is on Mr. Dole's side. When Congress takes up the accord next week the legislation comes under "fast track" rules, which require Congress to vote immediately and without amendments. If Mr. Dole stops approval, the legislation will carry over into next year when it may no longer be protected by fast track. Protectionist forces could add crippling amendments, which the 123 other signatory nations would surely reject. Delay, then, almost surely means defeat.

Also adding to Mr. Dole's leverage is the fact that the Government estimates that the accord, by cutting tariffs, would initially reduce government revenue. To adopt it, the Senate will need 60 votes to suspend budget rules — a total that would appear out of reach unless Mr. Dole signs on.

The Senate Appropriations Committee is likely to take the Administration to task for a Faustian bargain. It would agree to warp estimates of future tariff revenues so that the trade pact would no longer appear to raise the deficit. But the Administration would thereby set a precedent of using optimistic revenue estimates, providing safe haven for Mr. Dole's proposals for cuts in taxes on capital gains and retirement savings. At risk is the credibility of budget estimates upon which Congress bases decisions.

Mr. Dole is apparently close to negotiating at least a cosmetic victory on sovereignty. The threat he and others have raised is mostly imaginary, but it goes like this: The World Trade Organization, which the accord would set up to adjudicate trade disputes, might capriciously rule that U.S. environmental, labor and safety laws amount to unfair trade barriers that should be struck down or answered with sanctions against U.S. exports.

Mr. Dole exaggerates the threat. Trade panels under existing international rules can already authorize sanctions against a U.S.; the new treaty does not invent new threats. The U.S. would be ultimately protected in the future, as it is now, by the unwillingness of countries to engage the U.S. in a trade war.

Besides, the U.S. has the right to pull out of the Trade Organization on six months' notice. Whatever deal Mr. Dole might strike with the Administration is likely to clarify procedures for withdrawal but is unlikely to enhance U.S. sovereignty.

Tearing apart the trade accord for the sake of a tax cut on capital gains is reckless. Few believe the tax cut can have a powerful impact on the economy. But free trade helps, enormously.

NATO Pushes Back on Bosnia

Serbian forces may now take NATO enforcement of United Nations resolutions on Bosnia a bit more seriously. In contrast to the pinprick air strikes of recent months, waves of NATO aircraft bombarded an airfield yesterday in Udbina, Croatia, that the Serbs were using to launch attacks against the besieged Bosnian city of Bihac.

Still, the Udbina mission was intentionally limited to cratering the airfield, leaving Serbian planes and fuel dumps intact. NATO also avoided targeting the Serbs' artillery, which poses a more immediate threat to Bihac.

Nevertheless, it represented NATO's largest military action to date. During the cold war the alliance served mainly as a deterrent against a possible Soviet or Warsaw Pact attack. Its first taste of combat came earlier this year as the Security Council's enforcement arm in the former Yugoslavia.

NATO's military restraint in this role stems from political considerations and is at least partly justified. Like the U.N. itself, NATO is formally a neutral party, not an ally of the Bosnian Government. A NATO operation, after all, might be seen as empire aggression, and would risk provoke Serbian counterattacks against vulnerable U.N. ground forces, most of whom happen to come from NATO countries.

But Serbian provocations compelled both this air strike and the earlier ones. The Serbs have exerted unrelenting military pressure on cities the U.N. has voted to protect, like Bihac.

In this case, U.N. and NATO leaders have made the right choice. By broadening their use of air power, they show that the Security Council cannot be defied with impunity. If the Serbs ignore the message, NATO might consider the next logical step and try to silence the artillery actually firing on Bihac.

But given NATO's political disagreements over Bosnia, the alliance must continue to proceed cautiously. Even unrestricted NATO air power would probably not be enough to provide full protection to Bihac and other threatened Bosnian cities. That would take heavily armed ground troops as well. The Bosnian Government, still restricted by a one-sided arms embargo, cannot provide these. Meanwhile NATO's European members are looking for ways to withdraw their existing peacekeepers, not directly enter the conflict.

At best, a less restricted approach to air strikes could slow the Serbian offensive, protect civilian lives and restore some of the prestige NATO and the U.N. have lost during the Bosnian conflict. Those potential benefits justify yesterday's air operation and could justify others like it in the future.
New York City's Budget Cuts

The New York City budget for the current year is at least $1 billion out of balance. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani has proposed cuts to balance it, and City Council members seem ready to accept his overall estimate. But they do not accept each and every cut he would make to reach that total, especially cuts in social service programs. Negotiations to resolve their differences are under way — in secret.

Past practice indicates that a settlement will be reached and immediately approved with no more than a momentary public glimpse of what was agreed. Given the huge impact of cutting so much from programs that have already been cut once this year, the public deserves thorough hearings on the agreement and the rationale behind its cuts.

The budget adopted by the Council in June provided $31.6 billion for the 12 months beginning July 1, including virtually all the $1 billion in cuts the Mayor proposed in May. Despite official word that the budget was balanced, principal players knew it was not; they were agreed, however, that bigger cuts would have been politically unacceptable at the time. Now they must catch up.

The state requires the Mayor to update the budget outlook during the year, and to propose changes to close any new gap, as Mr. Giuliani has now done. As a general rule, the Council cannot vote on separate items but must accept or reject his revisions in toto. It can, however, offer counterproposals and negotiate with him to change the plan before the vote is cast.

That is what is happening now. Tomorrow is the target date for an agreement and a Council vote. While the yes-or-no procedure is generally thought to be required under the City Charter and other fiscal statutes, it is possible that the Council might test a legal loophole to vote on separate items. That would surely provoke a confrontation with the Mayor, and would be surprising from a Council that has been relatively docile so far.

The Council's concerns are valid, however. Members are particularly unhappy with proposed cuts in day care and other youth services, mental health care and aid for food distribution programs. Their counterproposals include a tougher crackdown on billowing outlays for overtime work, most notably in the uniformed forces; consolidation of some city agencies, and generally squeezing small agencies to trim staffing more than Mr. Giuliani already seeks.

The Council's alternatives make sense because they appear to save money in ways that will not hurt the services the city provides, and these savings could then be used to soften the blow to programs for the city's poor. Mr. Giuliani insists the savings he proposes will not hurt services, because he aims to improve the productivity of city offices. That is all to the good, but he should also be open to Council proposals to save more.

With negotiations incomplete, and still secret, it is not possible for outsiders to assess what is going on. But the Council is on the right track in accepting the Mayor's target figure, while at the same time pushing alternatives to cuts to a social services system that is already lean.
Barry Announces Transition Team
Mayor-Elect Promises 'Radical' Changes

By Yolanda Woodlee Washington Post Staff Writer

D.C. Mayor-elect Marion Barry announced yesterday that boxing promoter Rock Coleman will head a group of established civic and business leaders on his transition team, which he said will look for ways to shrink the government and run it more efficiently.

In his first major policy announcement since he was elected, Barry said that he will "make truly radical change — to what government does and what it doesn't do, and how it does it." But he did not specify what sort of changes he was thinking.

Barry named a transition committee that includes several high-profile business executives, labor leaders and civic activists. It includes Joe Albritton, chairman of the board of Riggs National Bank; Robert Bowles, president of the D.C. Chamber of Commerce; and prominent developer Oliver Carr.

Barry also named several city government veterans, including members of his past administrations and former officeholders. They include Carol Thompson Cole, who was city administrator during Barry's last term; Carolyn Smith, a former chief of the Department of Finance and Revenue; and former D.C. Council chairman Arrington Dixon, who once was married to outgoing Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly.

The transition team did not include the names of two of Barry's close associates who already are playing an important role in formulating his budget plans. Former city administrator Elijah B. Rogers and former deputy mayor Ivanhoe Donaldson already have begun meeting with Kelly aides to try to resolve the city's financial crisis.

Donaldson is credited with helping shape the political strategy that propelled Barry into office, but he also was convicted of stealing city money while serving under Barry. Newman played down the roles of Rogers and Donaldson yesterday, saying, "I'm really not familiar with anything that they're doing."

Barry said the transition team will be looking for ways to dramatically overhaul city government, which he said can no longer be managed the same way. "You will still recognize them the world's best and brightest."

Transition team members offered few details of their duties yesterday, saying they had promised Barry not to discuss their work with reporters.

To emphasize that idea, he said, he tried to place a diverse group of people on the transition team. He called them "the world's best and brightest."

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"We're all trying to make sure that the city overcomes all the complications we face," said Dixon, the former council chairman. "There are a lot of things we've worked through together that I can be helpful with, I hope. ... I'm waiting for direction."

The transition team staff will be run by two people who have served Barry before. Barry Campbell, an administrator in the District's Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs, will direct the staff. In the past, Campbell has served as a deputy chief of staff under Barry and overseen the city's Department of Administrative Services, which handles a variety of municipal contracts. His deputy is Betty King, who was Barry's special assistant for boards and commissions for 11 years. She also was chairman of D.C. Council member John Ray's (D-At Large) unsuccessful mayoral challenge against Barry in the September primary.

Newman, who has never worked in District government, said the transition team will examine the city bureaucracy's agency by agency and issue recommendations on how to make each one better. Newman said he and Barry will meet today with several university presidents and ask them to contribute researchers and writers to work with the transition team. "That's a rather comprehensive effort, and it's going to take some quarterbacking ... some pushing, some negotiating, and I'll be playing that role," Newman said. "Our style is going to be one of movement, of getting things done. I think one of the reasons why Marion chose me is because I'm action-oriented and I'm result-oriented."

Barry said that the transition team also will include 50 citizen task forces and that any resident can volunteer to serve by submitting a resume to Campbell. An orientation for volunteers for transition team members will be held at the University of the District of Columbia on Dec. 3.

MARION BARRY'S TRANSITION COMMITTEE

CHAIRPERSON

• Rock Newman: Boxing promoter and entrepreneur; founder of Rock Newman Inc.

CO-CHAIRPERSONS

• Kemi Gray: Public housing activist; chairperson of the Kentworth/Parsons Resident Management Corporation.
• Joe Albritton: Chairman of the Board of the Riggs National Bank of Washington, D.C.
• Carolyn Smith: Partner, Coopers & Lybrand accounting firm.
• Robert Bowles: Current President, D.C. Chamber of Commerce; President and CEO of Chartered Health Care Plan Inc.
• Tony Cheng: Restaurant owner of Tony Cheng's restaurant.
• Patrick Murphy: Director, U.S. Conference of Mayors; former D.C. Public Safety Commissioner; former deputy chief, Syracuse, N.Y.
• Ron M. Linton: President and CEO of Linton, Meldes, Reister & Cottone, Ltd.
• Monte Shepler: President and CEO of the Consortium of Universities of the Washington Metropolitan Area.

• Carol Thompson Cole: Vice President, Government and Environmental Affairs for RJR Nabisco Inc.; former city administrator.
• Al Beveridge: Founding partner, Beveridge & Diamond law firm.
• Eydie Whittington: Ward 8 ANC Commissioner.
• Carolyn Lewis: Assistant director, U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission.
• Joslyn Williams: President of the Metropolitan Council, AFL-CIO.
• Jeffrey Thompson: Founder, president and CEO of Thompson, Cob, Bailo & Associates.
• William Lucy: International secretary/treasurer for the American Foundation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO.
• Polly Shackleton: Former three-term D.C. Council member for Ward 3.
• Oliver Carr: President, chairman and CEO of Oliver T. Carr Real Estate Developing Company.
• Waverly Yates: Executive Director of Bonabond Inc.
• Alejandro Frigerio, Ph.D.: Former director of D.C. Latino Civil Rights Task Force.

Staff writer Sari Horwitz contributed to this report.
As District Goes, So Goes Norton

By R.H. Melton

First came the program on public TV, during which Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.) stared into the camera, wagged her index finger and warned city government workers to accept buyouts now and "get out while you can." Next she taped a Sunday talk show, then interviews on Black Entertainment Television and "CBS Evening News."

Three hours later, long after most District politicians had called it a day, Norton was still going strong, fielding calls on two radio shows. Her message on that typical Thursday was consistently dire: Even as the city veers from one fiscal crisis to another, the new Republican-controlled Congress is poised to roll back the hard-fought gains of home rule.

And maybe even roll over Norton in the process. Two House committees on which she sits, including the one overseeing District affairs, have been targeted for elimination, and there are clear signals the new GOP majority will strip her of her large symbolic vote in the House when it meets as the "committee of the whole."

After four years spent carefully building up the respect of her colleagues, the woman widely viewed as the most popular local politician in town is facing the toughest threat yet to her national stature as the District's advocate on Capitol Hill. As the District faces in the 104th Congress, so too will Norton, fellow Democrats are saying.

See NORTON, A4, Col. 5

NORTON, From A1

"I'm the functional equivalent of Paul Revere, except it's not the British that's coming, it's the Congress that's coming," Norton said in an interview Friday.

In the twilight days of the administration of Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, six weeks before Marion Barry begins his fourth term as mayor, Norton was crossing the city in a feverish effort to drum up support for a continued strong role for D.C.'s delegate and goading District officials, particularly Barry, into deviating a way to erase a deficit that may climb to $600 million.

Though she has no authority over city government spending—"Eleanor Norton can only be Cassandra," she said, referring to the mythical prophet whose warnings went unheeded even though she was always right—Norton has raised many eyebrows by sounding almost as if she does have the power of the purse. By spending some of her accumulated goodwill on such a high-profile campaign, she risks alienating part of her hometown base and energizing her opponents in the Congress, according to some observers.

"It's characteristic of Eleanor not to do anything piecemeal," said Paul A. Schneider, a Washington lawyer who worked in Norton's first two campaigns for delegate. "It's also necessary. She has built up a fair amount of political capital up there that adds to her credibility, but I really don't think she can do it alone."

At 57, Norton has long had the classroom demeanor of her law professor days, often holding what might be admirably as a near a minute. But today her public disposition is slightly different, her rhetoric a touch more impassioned and urgent.

"Over the last couple of years, she has felt frustrated that she may have had the support that she thought would be useful from local officials and to a certain extent the local business community and others," said Schneider, who lobbied in Congress for the Barry administration during the early 1980s.

Some segments of the community are rallying to Norton's cause. The Greater Washington Board of Trade, which has raised its own political profile in recent months, issued a stern statement this week expressing its dismay about the further erosion of our representation in Congress.

"The elimination of Mrs. Norton's limited voting power would effect tremendous damage," the board said. "This action will also seriously undermine the ability of the region's business community to weigh in on congressional actions" affecting the District.

Susan L. Williams, a Hill lobbyist and chair of the Board of Trade's federal affairs committee, said Norton has been sounding precisely the right themes. "She is very focused, and I don't think these chits are going to be wasted at all," said Williams, who once worked for Norton's predecessor. Walter E. Fauntroy. "The city is beset by crisis and challenge. She is trying to speak up the process. . . That is Eleanor's style."

Only yesterday, Norton issued a strongly worded statement against a plan by some House Republicans to strip the District government of the right to borrow emergency money from the federal Treasury.

"Wherever the fault may lie in the District's present financial predicament, no member of Congress wants to be responsible for pushing it over the brink and causing its collapse," she said. "Punitive actions to cut the District off at the knees when it is between administrations do a disservice to the District, the Congress and the country as well."

If she can rouse District residents, Norton also must attempt to negotiate her way quietly out of the delegate's dilemma, for as she warned this week on WETA-TV, "our chances of losing everything else are great."

"You have to be far more skillful in working with Republicans who don't already share your vision of the city," she told the WETA audience, "and I believe if you do so and if we have the right kind of backup from the city, doing what it's supposed to do, that we can retain most of what we have now."

Norton began and ended last week with private sessions with Barry, with whom she has better relations than with Kelly. On Monday, the two met for two hours, until 10:30 p.m., on the budget, and by Friday were meeting again, also in her office, to discuss ways of saving D.C. General Hospital.

"We're all in this together; it's not like we're acting solo," said Donna Branie, Norton's top aide. "Marion is the captain; we recognize that."

For now, though, it is Norton who is out in front.

On Wednesday, the Who's Who of District politics converged on the Quaker meeting house in Northwest for a service in memory of James P. Zais, a longtime activist in the city's gay community who died last week. Kelly and Barry delivered two of the three eulogies, but it was Norton, not on the program, who stirred the crowd with a passionate plea for unity.

"There are few Washingtonians who could gather a group of friends as diverse as those in this room," Norton told the gathered crowd, who they "black or Hispanic, from this ward or that ward, gay or lesbian, Catholic or Jew."

"There are those who are saying there is division in this city," Norton said. "Let the voice of Jim Zais wash over this room and show there are still peacemakers."
NATO Jets Bomb Serb Airfield

Action Was Warning Against Repeated Cross-Border Attacks

By John Pomfret

ZAGREB, Croatia, Nov. 21—NATO's biggest air raid in the history of the alliance today, dispatching more than 300 aircraft, was a clear warning to the Serbs that the alliance is prepared to escalate the conflict in the region.

The air raid, which was the biggest in the history of the alliance, was also a warning to the Serbs that the alliance is prepared to escalate the conflict in the region.

The main risk of the early after­noon strike over the site of the Ud­bina airport was that the Serbs would be caught off guard, allowing the alliance to impose its will on the Serbs. The Serbs have been warning for days that they would not act against the alliance, but the Alliance has been warning for months that it would act if the Serbs did not act.

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In August, Serbia's Milosevic de­clared he was shutting Yugoslavia's border with Bosnia to punish the Bos­nian Serbs for not signing an interna­tional peace deal. Since then, the Bos­nian Serbs have placed the Croatian Serbs under a great deal of pressure to help with their war effort.

While Bosnian Muslim forces burst out of Udibina pocket last month, gather­ing 95 square miles in their biggest gain in the 31-month-old war, that pressure increased. Croatian Serb troops gave weapons, training and transportation to thousands of rebel Muslim fighters who had fled Udibina in August following the crushing of an uprising by forces loyal to Sarajevo. Soon Croatian Serb forces began using tanks and artillery to blast the Bi­bac enclave.

On Nov. 9, Serb planes took off from Udibina, in the first of three air­strikes on the pocket, which included the use of napalm and cluster bombs and a deadly assault on an apartment block filled with refugees.

U.N. officials speculated that radical Serb nationalists want to see a widening of the war to include the Croatian Serbs. Such a develop­ment—in which an alliance of Cro­nian and Bosnian Serbs would take on both Bosnia's Muslim-Croat fed­eration and Croatia itself—would pose a serious challenge to Milosevic, who would be hard pressed to continue his blockade of the Bosnian Serbs and his support of Bosnia's peace plan.

Another question about the air­strike is how it will change relations among the Serbs.

NATO jets attacked the Serb airfield at Udibina, about 20 miles inside Croatia.

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Clinton Fights GATT-Capital Gains Link

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

With the vote on an international trade agreement less than a week away, the White House yesterday worked to douse a nascent effort by both Senate and House Republicans to tie its passage to concessions on cutting the capital gains tax.

Senate majority leader-to-be Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) on Sunday first publicly proposed the link to the vote on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). In a letter to Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen last week, Dole outlined the principles of a bipartisan capital gains tax cut that could be included in a fiscal 1996 Clinton budget.

At the same time, Jack Kemp, the Republican most associated with supply-side economics and one of his party's most devoted advocates of such a tax cut, has been lobbying his former House colleagues, including incoming majority leader Richard K. Armey (R-Tex.), to try to link the GATT and capital gains issues.

The linkage is being heavily promoted within the GOP by Jude Wanniski, an apostle of supply-side economics in the early 1980s who began last Wednesday a series of memos promoting the linkage to Republican leaders. The idea also has created a division among Republicans, who historically have been free-traders and advocates of major trade agreements.

William Kristol, one of the party's political theoreticians, said yesterday the linkage was a mistake. "We are the majority party now. If we want to push through capital gains tax cuts, they should stand on their own and not be part of some back-room deal with the White House as one of our first post-election acts," he said.

Getting Dole's backing for GATT has become a central quest of the Clinton administration, with officials making the case that not only will his vote influence the outcome, but Congress will have the votes anyway. "It will pass in both houses next week," Kantor said. He made similar statements before the White House was forced before the election to postpone the vote.

Kemp, like Dole a prospective 1996 presidential candidate, said yesterday that linking the two "is a good deal. It makes eminent good sense. I suggested to Kantor on Saturday if the president really wants to get GATT, it would make it remarkably easier on everyone if they shook hands with Dole on a budget waiver for both and reached an agreement."

Supporters of the tax cut maintain it would bring the government new revenue by stimulating economic activity and creating more profits subject to taxes. Detractors agree such a cut would stimulate economic activity but strongly disagree over the amount of revenue it would bring the government. Dole is suggesting that because the same question is involved with GATT — how much revenue over the long run would be gained or lost to the government — that at least the rule on budgeting the costs of both should be waived.

Kemp said yesterday he had been urging his old allies in the House, where he served before joining the Bush administration as housing secretary, to push the deal. But unlike Dole, who has not said what he would do if the White House sticks to its no deal stance, Kemp said Republicans should vote for GATT with or without a deal on capital gains.

Clinton has called GATT the first test of cooperation among Republicans and Democrats since the election, and his aides view it as a first step in retrieving some of his lost presidential stature. He has planned a major selling effort next week that opens with an East Room ceremony featuring major officials from the last two GOP administrations. The House is scheduled to vote on the agreement Nov. 29, and the Senate on Dec. 1.
On Social Agenda,
Republicans Remain
Far From Consensus

By Kevin Merida and Helen Dewar

Congressional Republicans are wrestling with how far to push their social policy agenda, with some lawmakers pressing for a dramatic restructuring of programs sponsored by Democrats and others fearful that radical changes could alienate a majority of Americans.

The debate is not being waged strictly along ideological lines and comes at a time when Republican leaders are still figuring out how best to govern with a majority in both houses of Congress for the first time since 1955.

In the House, where the demand for action on social issues seems more immediate than in the Senate, Republican staff members began meeting even before Election Day to make their plans. Some of the proposals to emerge include privatizing the national endowments for the arts and the humanities; streamlining a dozen child-support programs such as Head Start; consolidating 150 job-training programs into one or several; cutting federal funding for family planning; dismantling the Ryan White program to care for AIDS patients; reexamining the Americans with Disabilities Act; and denying educational benefits for illegal immigrants.

"I don't think there's a program that shouldn't be looked at," said Rep. Ralph Regula (R-Ohio), who is in line to become an Appropriations subcommittee chairman.

"A lot of these programs have helped the disadvantaged remain disadvantaged and become more disadvantaged," said Rep. William F. Goodling (R-Pa.), scheduled to become the new chairman of what is now the Education and Labor Committee. "If it isn't quality, I want it to be abolished."

There also are likely to be some solo efforts by GOP lawmakers to strengthen and broaden the ban on federal funding of most abortions and to restore the "pug rule" barring federally supported clinics from counseling pregnant women on abortion. But Republican leaders in both chambers are not eager to see abortion, homosexuals in the military or other divisive social issues subjected to angry floor debates that could undermine their fiscal initiatives, such as tax cuts for the middle class, and other government reforms.

Speaking of abortion, Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.), a leader of Senate conservatives and strong opponent of abortion who is running for majority whip, said: "I don't think you'll see a lot of action there."

House speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) and the next majority leader, Rep. Richard K. Armey (R-Tex.), have been imploring their troops to focus singularly on the first 100 days, in which Republicans have promised votes on their "Contract With America" platform.

The contract, Gingrich and others say, already contains a number of social policy initiatives, including welfare reform, requiring parental consent before schoolchildren participate in federally funded surveys on sexual behavior and attitudes, tougher penalties on child pornography, and tax credits for families with children and for those adopting a child or caring for an elderly parent.

But Gingrich also has promised hearings and a vote next summer on a constitutional amendment to allow voluntary school prayer. And his spokesman, Tony Blankley, said there will be hearings early next year on illegal immigration.

Some of Gingrich's pronouncements have raised alarms among the party faithful. The Republican governors, meeting in Williamsburg this week, warned the new congressional leadership not to be diverted by emotionally charged social issues such as school prayer.

Rep. Ernest J. Istook Jr. (R-Okla.), who has been tapped by Gingrich to take the lead on school prayer, said that rather than "force social change on the American people" Republicans want to use government "to promote cultural values."

He elaborated: "I have seen a growing intolerance of the views of the majority of the American people, yet that intolerance is being disguised as promotion of diversity... Tolerance is a two-way street. You cannot expect people to respect minority viewpoints if our society and its minorities fail to respect the views of the majority." When asked, he said he was not singling out racial groups but "all segments of minorities."

At the heart of the party's internal struggles is how to claim the high ground on values and morality without promoting a message of intolerance. Many Republicans say...
the party failed miserably at that task during the 1992 Republican National Convention, at which some speakers sounded extreme.

"I don't think the party will be successful in '96 if it runs away from its values," said Sen. Dan Coats (R-Ind.), "but it's refining those values and how they're presented that makes a very significant difference."

Coats, a conservative, added that the school prayer amendment "symbolizes to a lot of Americans that this is a value Republicans hold dear, that values do count. The amendment, combined with a middle-class tax break, combined with an effort to rewrite welfare laws, are what we'll be pushing."

But Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.), a leading moderate, said he would hate to see Republicans "burn up our energies about things like school prayer. It's divisive and it doesn't improve education. . . . We want to get on and improve the economy. I do think there is a danger in replicating this [the 1992 convention] if we jettison all those who aren't in 100 percent agreement with us. Pretty soon, we'll all have to take a loyalty oath."

In the Senate, where the rules and procedures give individual players more clout, there are concerns that House leaders are moving too quickly. Opinions vary widely on where social policy fits on the list of Republican priorities and issues are likely to get action.

For instance, Sen. Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), the next majority leader, has indicated that he supports school prayer; some senators could use parliamentary maneuvers to prevent a vote. Speaking on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley" on Sunday, Dole said the Senate should concentrate on legislation it can pass, rather than get "boxed down" in protracted debate over a school prayer amendment—a position also endorsed by Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah).

Dole has not been definitive on what Congress' response should be to ease the burdens on border states for the costs of illegal immigration—an issue given more prominence with the passage of California's Proposition 187. Dole also has not said how far he wants to go with welfare reform—though he has said Gingrich's idea of getting orphanages to help care for children born out of wedlock is too far.

In contrast, Sen. Phil Gramm (Tex.), Dole's potential rival for the 1996 Republican presidential nomination, has suggested building fences at borders to stop illegal immigration, reforming the food stamp program, trimming public housing subsidies and cutting welfare costs in half. He also has gloated that the election results are a validation of the conservative views he espouses, not those of moderate Republicans such as Chafee.

"There's no question there's a thrill of victory," said Sen. James M. Jeffords (Vt), a leading moderate, "but it's refining social and cultural concerns just as they do Congressional reform and economic issues," said Gary Bauer, president of the Family Research Council, a conservative think tank.

For example, Bauer said, he hopes the Republican majority will end the flow of federal money to universities that produce "material that undermines family values." And he said his group will push hard for the privatization of the national endowments and other institutions "that have on the wrong side of the values wars."

But even some of the newly elected lawmakers whose campaigns were closely identified with social conservatism, such as Sen. James M. Inhofe (Okla.) and Sen.-elect Rod Grams (Minn.), say social issues are not high on their legislative priority lists. Inhofe, for instance, cites oil and gas issues, term limits, a balanced-budget amendment, defense and crime as heading his agenda.

Gingrich and other Republicans who are trying to change government by making social policy will have their hands full. One problem is that some of the Republican programs—from stronger border enforcement to orphanages—initially cost more money than they save, thereby threatening their top priority of cutting spending and balancing the budget. "This is one of the tension points for the 104th Congress," said Coats. "We can't fulfill the agenda on one hand and undermine it on the other side."

Though Republican leaders have spoken broadly about dismantling programs begun in the Great Society era of the 1960s and returning power to the states through block grants and vouchers, the politics of implementation will be tricky.

"Just because we're in the majority doesn't mean we can pass anything we want to," said Rep. Charles T. Canady (R-Fla.), a conservative about to begin his second term. "We need to very carefully figure out our agenda beyond the contract." When asked if everyone would march to Gingrich's beat, Canady said: "It's not going to be a one-man show. And I don't think that's the way Newt Gingrich wants it."
Despite More Food in Refugee Camps, Hunger Rises Among Rwandans in Zaire

KIBUMB A REFUGEE CAMP, Zaire—Every day the trucks arrive, plying the narrow, winding roads to teeming Rwandan refugee camps, delivering thousands of tons of food in one of the world's largest ongoing relief operations. And every day, Prudence Bamporiki and her eight children go hungry.

Bamporiki, a 50-year-old refugee from Gisenyi just across the border, scavenges daily in the forested hills that separate Zaire from Rwanda. When she finds corn, she stacks the cobs in neat little rows and sells them along the road outside this squatted camp she now calls home. She said she needs what little money she earns from the corn to buy beans and cooking oil, because the weekly rations she receives are not enough.

"I'm eating very poorly," she said. "Sometimes you see a mother with five children, but when they give her food it's only enough for two plates... Life is very difficult here. I need food."

Her complaint—and the sight of donated food being sold on the road next to this camp filled with tens of thousands of hungry people—illustrates what U.N. officials and some relief agency workers say is a breakdown of the relief supply system. By the time food reaches this border camp from the nearby Zairian town of Goma, hundreds, if not thousands, of tons are pilfered, diverted, sold for cash or not distributed to the neediest refugees.

U.N. and relief workers say the main problem is that relief agencies do not have an accurate count of the camps' populations and that food distribution is controlled by Rwandan militia fighters and former soldiers from the deposed Hutu-led government, accused of massacring at least 500,000 minority Tutsis last spring.

The Hutu regime fell in July after Tutsi-dominated rebel forces vanquished the government army and militias and took over the country, sending hundreds of thousands of Hutus fleeing to Zaire, fearing a major problem is the lack of an accurate count of the Rwandan refugees in the camps. Without a census, relief workers say, they cannot properly register refugees and begin to make food deliveries directly to individual families. Initial reports in July put the figure well over 1 million, but the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees now officially says there are about 825,000 refugees in Zaire's North Kivu area, where Goma is located. The World Food Program says it believes only about 600,000 refugees are in the Goma area.

See CAMPS, A27, Col. 1

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994, THE WASHINGTON POST
Camps' Food Distribution System Failing

Without a population registration system, the agencies that manage the refugee camps say they must distribute food through a procedure that relies on Rwanda's old administrative structures, which breaks down the population by prefecture, then by smaller communes. Each commune is divided into sectors, and sectors are further divided into cells. A sector can number from a few hundred people to 2,000.

Right now, food is given not to individual refugees but to the leader of each commune or sector, who is then supposed to take the food and divide it among his people. But the system collapses if that designated commune or sector leader is dishonest.

The commune or sector leaders are still largely accountable to the old regime power structures—the local "mayors," prefect leaders and Hutu militias that controlled life in Rwanda and continue to do so in the camps.

A report by an assessment team of U.N. and Zairian officials this month said the militiamen had "set up an effective coordination structure within the camps similar to the one they had during the mass killings in Rwanda in April and May 1994."

The World Food Program is pressing for a more traditional system to give food directly to each refugee, having people line up one-by-one, each receiving a designated amount. But aid agencies say that is impractical, given the huge numbers of refugees involved.

The U.N. refugee agency had a massive, one-day census planned for last month, but it was canceled in the wake of refugee violence at the Katale camp that forced the evacuation of the entire CARE International staff. Since then, no further attempts to count the refugee population have been planned, mainly for fear of inciting more violence.

Relief workers believe some refugee leaders object to a head count—and will use violence to prevent it—because they have been inflating the numbers of people for their communes or sectors and do not want to see their rations reduced. Some hard-line Hutu extremists also object to a count because a lower-than-expected population figure might diminish their argument that "millions" of Hutus live in exile and that the new Tutsi-dominated government in Kigali lacks legitimacy.

Violence cannot be contained in the camps because there is no police or military force to quell disturbances and protect relief workers. Typically in refugee crises, the host country provides security in camps. But in the case of Zaire, where unpaid soldiers and police routinely loot and steal with impunity, the local Zairian troops are considered to be more of a security problem than the Rwandan militias.

Every night in Goma, gunfire and sometimes grenades can be heard as Zairian soldiers and police steal vehicles or sometimes engage in shootouts between rival units. Last week, the troops began confiscating the cars of relief agencies, often using some pretense involving faulty paperwork or insurance.

"The problem now is with the Zairian authorities, who are making it very difficult for the NGOs (non-governmental organizations) to operate," said the chief U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees security officer. With the military checkpoints around town, and the now-routine vehicle seizures, he said, "it's unpredictable. You don't know where you can go at any hour of the day."

"The past week, it's been crazy, it's been tense," said Jean Lapierre of CARE International, which had three cars seized by Zairian troops in the last week. "There's been fighting in the middle of town."

Some officials say that even if an international police or military force can be formed, and even if an accurate census could be undertaken, the problem of unequal food distribution would persist because the militia fighters will continue to hold sway in the camps.

"If we reduce the population figures, the militia will still take their share," said Boutrouse. "They don't give a [expletive] if their people live or die."
**Dessert Storm:**
**FTC Strikes Haagen-Dazs Over Fat Ads**

By Sharon Walsh

Low-fat Haagen-Dazs? In several instances, it really was too good to be true, the Federal Trade Commission says.

Haagen-Dazs Co., which built its reputation on rich, creamy frozen desserts, agreed yesterday to settle FTC charges that it made false and misleading statements about its frozen yogurt products. The company, based in Teaneck, N.J., last year advertised its frozen yogurt products as "low fat" and "98 percent fat free." It also said its frozen yogurt bars contained only 100 calories and one gram of fat.

The FTC said seven of the company's nine frozen yogurt flavors were not low-fat—defined by the Food and Drug Administration as having three grams of fat or less. Some of them had as many as 12 grams of fat per serving, the agency said. And three of its eight flavors of frozen yogurt bars—cherry chocolate fudge, vanilla chocolate crunch and coffee chocolate crunch—contained as many as 230 calories per serving, not the 100 calories the ads claimed.

But while the FTC and Haagen-Dazs settled the disagreement on paper, it doesn't seem settled in the minds of the ice cream company's officials.

"The ad is not misleading," said David Gilman, a spokesman for Haagen-Dazs. "It was never our intent to mislead anybody. . . . These people [at the FTC] are caught up in the exuberance of a movement."

Recent studies have shown that claims of low fat and low cholesterol are those most sought by consumers who read food ads and labels. And claims of low fat can mean hundreds of millions of extra dollars in sales.

"The baby boomers are reaching the age where everything tends to drop out, wear out and spread out," said Jeff Nedelman, a spokesman for the Grocery Manufacturers of America. "They are more nutritionally aware. Some would even call them nutritionally schizophrenic. . . . They want All Bran for breakfast and Haagen-Dazs for dessert."

In other words, they want food that's healthy, but that also tastes good.

Food companies that can come up with that combination get their just desserts. Products such as Nabisco's no-fat SnackWell's cookies or the recently test-marketed low-fat Doritos tortilla chips seem to fly off grocery shelves.

"Consumers are going to gobble up any product where they can take the fat out, but maintain the taste," said Nedelman. Dairy products, naturally high in fat, are a particular concern.

"It's certainly an important part of dairy marketing," said Jeff Reiter of Dairy Foods Magazine. "And Haagen-Dazs has the image of a super-luxury, rich ice cream, so when they reverse course and come out with low-fat products, it draws more attention."

One Haagen-Dazs ad, using a photo from the "Honeymooners" television series, asked in large type: "Is Haagen-Dazs frozen yogurt better than your first true love? Haagen-Dazs is still 98 percent fat-free." An asterisk referred to a qualification in tiny type at the bottom—"Frozen yogurt and sorbet combinations," meaning not all of the flavors were 98 percent fat-free.

That's not good enough, said the FTC. "If the advertisement taken as a whole is deceptive, the fact that there's a disclaimer isn't sufficient to cure it," said Christian S. White, acting director of the agency's bureau of consumer affairs.

As part of the settlement, Haagen-Dazs did not admit wrongdoing, but said it would not run misleading ads again.

Haagen-Dazs is not the first food company to be hit by an FTC complaint of misleading advertising claims. Islay Klondike's Klondike ice cream bars also had problems with low-fat and calorie claims. And Stouffer Foods Corp. had a run-in with the agency last month over its low-sodium claims. Both lost.

As part of a new food labeling law that took effect this spring, the FDA defines terms such as "low fat" and "reduced calorie" and makes sure that nutritional information on food packages is correct. But it's the job of the FTC to make sure advertising claims about food are not misleading.

Haagen-Dazs was ahead of other food companies in giving consumers nutritional information on its product labels, spokesman Gilman said. So if a reader misunderstood the ads in question, which appeared in Bon Appetit, Good Housekeeping and other popular magazines, he or she could look at the package and find out how many grams of fat the frozen yogurt had, he said.

Gilman said some of the company's yogurts were not low in fat. He said that a line of yogurt products was created for consumers he called "the pretenders—people who order a Diet Coke with a slice of pizza." Those yogurts tend to have rich ingredients mixed in.

In fact, Haagen-Dazs has reformulated many of its frozen yogurts, and now 12 of 13 flavors are low-fat, according to Gilman. Low-fat yogurts and sorbets are by far the fastest-growing products for Haagen-Dazs, which is privately owned and does not release sales figures.

Staff writer Carole Sugarman contributed to this report.
A consensus is emerging among conservative Christian and "traditional values" groups that public schools have repeatedly ignored the opportunity to put God back in the classroom and leave it to principals and school boards to decide if those prayers are acceptable.

Conservative Christian leaders, who believe that public schools have virtually expelled God, see the new Republican majority on Capitol Hill and in many state legislatures as presenting an unprecedented opportunity to put God back in the classroom. They are opposed by most mainline Protestant and Jewish denominations.

But even the strongest prayer proponents say they will not push the issue this year, realizing how long it will take to build up a coalition to replace prayer with something else. "That's part of the educational experience. It could lead to some good discussions in the classroom or around the dinner table."

No matter what name students might use to invoke God, said Beverly LaHaye, president of Concerned Women for America, to the days when students routinely recited the Lord's Prayer along with the Pledge of Allegiance. "Today's schools, they acknowledge, are too religiously diverse for the one-prayer-fits-all approach."

"If there's a Buddhist student in a California classroom, and that student wishes to lead the class in prayer, so be it," said Robert Dugan, public affairs director for the National Association of Evangelicals, which represents 15 million people in 50,000 theological seminaries. "That's part of the educational experience. It could lead to some good discussions in the classroom or around the dinner table."

Diverse prayers "would be very healthy for us all to learn to respect one another's beliefs," LaHaye said, "as long as, it's not biased and only one side got to do that."

House speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) reignited the school prayer debate when, in the wake of the Republican sweep of midterm elections, he said he would champion a constitutional amendment to reestablish organized public school prayer after a three-decade absence. President Clinton escalated the debate last week when he gave God a nod to the idea of a prayer amendment, then appeared to back off and suggest he might consider a less controversial "moment of silence" in the classroom.

While some Republican officials have recently retreated from making school prayer a legislative priority, conservative Christian groups plan to enter the prayer debate as defenders of students' First Amendment rights.

"It's systemic. These are not isolated incidents, and it's time for a statement of absolute constitutional authority that cannot be ignored at the whim of a school superintendent who's afraid he might be sued by the ACLU," said Gary Bauer, president of the Family Research Council.

"There has been at least hostility, if not outright discrimination, against religiously motivated students in the public schools," said James A. Smith, director of government relations for the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention.

"It is systemic. These are not isolated incidents, and it's time for a statement of absolute constitutional authority that cannot be ignored at the whim of a school superintendent who's afraid he might be sued by the ACLU," said Smith.

Many liberal and mainstream religious leaders agree that some school officials have infringed on students' rights to religious expression.

"It's upside-down misapplication of the First Amendment that's gotten us into this boat," said Oliver Thomas, special counsel to the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., which represents 32 mainline denominations and 25 million members.

Thomas, who visited more than 300 school districts last year in a drive to teach educators about students' religious rights, said more such education would "achieve what the conservative Christian community wants without tinkering with this very delicate balance between church and state."

"Frankly, I think [James] Madison more than Gingrich, and I think we ought to stick with what the founders gave us 200 years ago," Thomas said.

A broad spectrum of religious organizations has been working with Christian groups to counter the efforts of the ACLU and other church-state separationists.

Conservative Christian leaders said the ruling only reinforces the need for a constitutional amendment. "The nation's founders would be absolutely astonished at that kind of a ruling," said Bauer of the Family Research Council. "There is just no historical evidence that's what they intended the Constitution to do. Are the courts going to go to the states to the schools to make sure nobody mentions God?"

When Bauer worked in the Reagan White House, the school prayer amendment he supported was opposed by groups such as the National Association of Evangelicals, which feared it would have allowed school administrators to decide what prayers would be said.

The language now proposed by Rep. Ernest J. Istook Jr. (R-Okla.) is nearly the same wording, and many conservative Christian leaders said it reads: "Nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to prohibit individual or group prayer in public schools or other public institutions. No person shall be required by the United States or by any state to participate in prayer. Neither the United States nor any state shall compose the words of any prayer to be said in the public schools."

Many groups are suggesting that the proposed amendment incorporate the concept of student-initiated, student-led prayer. The cause is popular among conservative Christians because it taps into a well of resentment built up from what they see as years of trivializing religious concerns in public schools.

"If our children have had to go to sex education classes that are overtly offensive to our values, Bauer said. "And when we've suggested that our kids shouldn't be humiliated by having to bring a note to class saying 'Bobby should be excused,' the educational establishment and civil libertarians haven't been very sympathetic to us."

"This would level the playing field," he said, "so if they're going to be cavalier to us on our values, I don't see how they can say the whole class must remain silent because an atheist in the class may be insulted."
Robb Cuts His Policy Staff Back
Press Secretary Denies 'Purge'

By Donald P. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

What has been a bad month for aides to congressional Democrats is being made worse as Sen. Charles S. Robb of Virginia, one of the Demo­crats who won re-election, is firing some of his staffers.

Robb's press secretary, Peggi G. Wilhide, said yester­day that "fewer than four" members of the senator's policy staff are being termi­nated. Other sources, how­ever, said Robb staffers have been told that more of them could lose their jobs.

Robb has 42 employees, 27 of whom work on Capitol Hill. The others work in regional offices around the state. "It's not a purge," Wilhide said.

"Most offices undergo a few changes at the start of a new term," Robb said in a statement. "And some of our staff members, thinking about career moves, agree to remain through the end of a term."

An employee of another winning congressional Demo­crat scoffed at the idea that any Democrat would quit a Capitol Hill job at a time when Democrats are making headway to shrink the federal government and restore power to state and local governments.

"I can go right through the federal budget and identify the aides who are leaving, saying, "If we do have any changes to announce, we'll do so when they occur. I don't think it's appropriate to make some sort of announcement at this point," Robb said.

"You'd be crazy to leave involuntarily," the staffer said.

The employees affected have not been notified, but all are still on the payroll, Wilhide said.

It was learned that the changes will not affect Robb's three most visible aides: Chief of Staff Thomas J. Lehenb, legis­lative director Ridge Schuyler and press secretary Wilhide will remain.

Replacements for the fired employees have not been named. One of the slots is ex­pected to be filled by Peggi G. Wilhide. Robb aide on the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He will lose his committee post as the Democrats become the minor­ity party.

One aide to a losing Demo­crat found a bright spot in Robb's decision.

"You mean I have some place to apply?" joked Maggi Luca, chief of staff to Rep. Leslie L. Byrne (D-Va.).

GOP Governors Eager To Do Things Their Way
Main Request to Congress Is to Loosen Federal Reins

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

WILLIAMSBURG, Nov. 21—It is a de­bate as old as the country itself, but the 1994 midterm elections have breathed new life into the movement to shrink the federal government and restore power to state and local governments.

Republican governors meeting here this week say the election of a Republican Con­gress offers a historic opportunity to trans­form what has largely been a philosophical debate into a practical experiment that could dramatically alter relationships between Washington and the states.

"The relationship between the states and federal government is due for a complete reappraisal, and I think that's be­ginning right now," said Michigan Gov. John Engler (R).

But the fight now brewing grows directly out of conflicting interpretations of what the Republican earthquake two weeks ago meant.

Did voters signal that they wanted leaner, more productive government in Washing­ton—in essence the reinvented government President Clinton has promised? Or were they saying Washington isn't working and needs to shed some of its responsibilities?

Most governors are clear about where they come down.

Governers such as Engler and Wisconsin's Tommy G. Thompson, who have attacked the education and welfare issues in their states, have been aggressive in arguing that they can do more to solve many domestic problems if they are freed of restrictions or requirements mandated from Washington.

"I can go right through the federal budget and the domestic programs, and most of them would benefit from having stronger state and local participation in the actual de­sign and administration," Engler said.

Thompson, whose state has been a leader in reducing welfare, said, "There's no doubt in my mind that I will be able to develop a better welfare reform package that will help more citizens and accomplish greater inde­pendence and opportunities for individuals to get off of welfare than if Washington sets all of the requirements."

That is the message Republican governors have been sending to their congressional leaders in Washington and they are anxiously awaiting an answer from Senate Republican leader Robert J. Dole (Kan.) and House speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), who are scheduled to speak here on Tuesday.

Governors have a series of steps they hope Dole and Gingrich will begin to imple­ment, beginning with relief from unfunded federal mandates.

Ohio Gov. George V. Voinovich (R) has put together a set of priorities, from block grants to welfare to health care, where he said the elimination of federal restrictions could make a major difference in efficiency.

Most governors here agree with Massa­chusetts Gov. William F. Weld (R), who said on NBC's "Meet The Press" Sunday that in the new Congress there will be "more of a mood to give us our head and let us run."

But privately they are wary about just how much relief they will get, particularly from the Senate.

The debate has facets beyond relief through legislative action in Congress. For­mer U.S. attorney general William P. Barr addressed the governors at lunch today and outlined avenues open to them to press their drive to whittle away at the power of govern­ment in Washington.

Through litigation, he said, states can try to regain powers that he said are inherent in the 10th Amendment but that have been eroded over the years. He said the judicial climate today is far more favorable to the states than it was a decade ago.

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Immigration Policy Is Said to Have Vast Social, Political Implications

By Roberto Suro
Washington Post Staff Writer

Immigration policy will be the battleground for the soul of the Republican Party, leading Republicans Jack Kemp and William J. Bennett said yesterday, warning that the debate over California’s Proposition 187 has exposed dangerous social and cultural fault lines in American society.

The two former Cabinet members, who had opposed the ballot initiative that bars illegal immigrants from receiving public services, sharply escalated their criticism of its GOP supporters.

Kemp predicted that an effort in the new Republican-led Congress to legislate a federal version of Proposition 187 could tear the party apart if proponents decide “to carry this nationally and turn the party away from its historic belief in opportunity and jobs and growth and turn the party inward to a protectionist and isolationist and more xenophobic party. That would be something around which the soul of our party would be decided.”

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The most frontal attack on the Kemp-Bennett position came from the National Review, the influential conservative journal, whose Nov. 21 cover story is headlined: “Why Kemp and Bennett Are Wrong on Immigration.”

William F. Buckley Jr., the magazine’s founder, writes that while “the dispute on immigration policy within the right had up until now exercised itself in the theoretical playing grounds,” after the success of Proposition 187, “the two camps are now out in the open, moving towards one another with sabers drawn.”

Buckley argues that Proposition 187 was justified as a way to force the federal government to take firm action against illegal immigration and predicts that this position would prevail among conservatives “because the burden of immigration is greater than our resources to cope with it.”

In a longer essay, John O’Sullivan, the National Review’s editor, lays out the basis for a much broader and potentially bloodier ideological battle among conservatives in which the battleground is not just policies to combat illegal immigration but traditional notions honoring legal immigration as a fundamental American value.

O’Sullivan argues that all immigration, legal and illegal, “strengthens and reinforces ethnic subcultures in American society,” and so “strengthening America’s threatened national identity requires some restrictions on immigration.” He contends that the economic benefits of immigration are “astonishingly small” and blames immigration for the flowering of multiculturnalism and the welfare state.

With equally stout conservative credentials, Kemp argued that “immigrants are among the most hard-working and industrious of all persons who reside in this society. They are far less likely in their working years to—despite poverty—rely on welfare programs.”

Insisting that there is no crisis involving illegal immigration, Bennett argued on the cultural issues that “it is less the problem of illegal immigration as California because they did not face the same levels of illegal immigration as California. However, both governors supported Wilson in seeking federal reimbursement for state government expenses associated with illegal immigrants.

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Tuesday, November 22, 1994
Reich: Cut
‘Corporate Welfare’ Too
Labor Secretary Sees
Savings of $225 Billion

By Frank Swoboda
Washington Post Staff Writer

U.S. companies should be stripped of billions of dollars in tax breaks and other special subsidies, and the money used to help train anxious American workers for new jobs, Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich said yesterday.

"If we're asking middle-class people to work smarter and welfare mothers to play by the rules, it seems important to ask Corporate America to get off welfare and play by the rules as well," Reich said in an interview in which he outlined the themes of a major economic policy speech he is scheduled to deliver today to the Democratic Leadership Council.

Reich said Congress could save an estimated $225 billion over five years by cutting such things as tax breaks for pharmaceutical firms operating in Puerto Rico; credits for producers of ethanol; subsidies to help airlines expand airport facilities and subsidies to farmers whose commodities sell at below government-set prices.

The speech will be Reich's first economic policy statement since Republicans won control of Congress in elections two weeks ago. The DLC is a moderate to conservative group that served in an important economic advisory role during Clinton's presidential election campaign.

Reich, a close friend of the president who serves as an economic adviser, would not say yesterday whether he had coordinated his speech with the White House.

An aide to one of the top Republican legislators in the House of Representatives would not comment for the record, but suggested that his party might agree to cutting some targeted corporate subsidies. Officials from several business organizations, who asked not to be identified, said they preferred to see the details of Reich's speech before commenting.

See REICH, C7, Col. 1

As a society to the people who work hard and play by the rules," Reich said.

"If the rules change then we've got to equip people who want to work hard with the skills they need to prosper under the new rules. I think there was, and still is, an explicit moral compact that work pays."

If the Republicans are serious about empowering individuals in society, Reich said, "they have to be serious about education and job skills." He said that while it was important for individual employers to upgrade the skills of their workers, business alone could not do the job.

He acknowledged that many federal job training programs did not work and that there was a movement both within the administration and both parties in Congress to consolidate programs that work and eliminate those that don't. But he said the savings would not be enough to meet future training needs of the work force.

Reich proposed looking at cutting 68 specific tax and spending subsidies in a list developed by the Progressive Policy Institute, a research group associated with the Democratic Leadership Council. He challenged other Washington think tanks such as the conservative Heritage Foundation and Cato Institute to add to a national debate by coming up with corporate target lists of their own.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST
Industries Fight for Footing in New House

GOP's Reorganization Plan Causes Lobbyists to Shift Focus to Panel Jurisdictions

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

Morgan Stanley and Co. is a Republican-leaning Wall Street firm. But when it comes to the new rules party's plans for reorganizing the House, the financial giant prefers the old order.

Last week, as incoming Republican leaders considered shifting jurisdiction over the securities industry from the familiar venue of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, Morgan Stanley lobbyist Nicholas E. Calio argued against the move in calls to speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.).

Lobbying to determine whom they would lobby in the future is a new wrinkle even for Washington's embattled agents of influence. The Republican takeover has necessitated improvisation by Morgan Stanley and other special interests facing major changes in the way they do business and the time-tested relationships they have cultivated with the lawmakers who govern their industries.

Behind the most ambitious House-cleaning in 50 years is a kind of political shadow boxing, industries fighting for footing in an organizational revolution. The plan would be disruptive for many industries from securities to steel that have years of experience with one committee.

It offers opportunities for others. Commercial bankers, for example, are lobbying to move securities regulation to the House Banking Committee, which favors allowing banks to compete with Wall Street in the underwriting of stocks and bonds.

House Republican leaders say the lobbyist overtures are proper, no different from the practice of suggesting Cabinet secretaries to incoming administrations.

But swept into power in an anti-Washington revolt, the new House lords see a different kind of influence -- a new wrinkle even for Washington's embattled agents of influence.

Lobbyists Must Find New Path in Revamped House

The Bankers Roundtable, representing the top 125 banks, has taken the lobbying lead in favor of the shift. Alfred Pollard, senior director, said the underwriting ban has frustrated the industry for years, and "we've been in favor of [Republican leaders] of that frustration."

Alfred Pollard, senior director of the Bankers Roundtable, which supports the shift of jurisdiction to the House Banking Committee, explains why the change is necessary. "It's a shocker that there's lobbying around jurisdictional issues," Tony Blankley, Gingrich's spokesman, said in mock horror. He quickly added that Republicans have sway over the rules for most industries, pass bills and determine cause of the stock market crash.

The House Banking Committee has voted to repeal the law several times, the latest in 1991. But Energy and Commerce, which shares jurisdiction, has consistently blocked the efforts.

Financial support from the two industries tracks the committee votes. Banking Committee members, for example, received $2.7 million from securities business in 1993 after excessive bank speculation in the securities market was blamed as a contributing cause of the stock market crash.

The House Banking Committee has received more than $1,300,000 in the last Congress and enjoys a friendly climate because of its large cast of energy state lawmakers -- five Texans alone in the last Congress.

Now the industry is lobbying against a proposal to lump together science and energy in a new committee, according to House aides.

And because the committee is stacked with Rust Belt representatives, led by Dingell of Detroit, heavy industry -- automakers and steel and chemical companies -- is fighting plans to move environmental legislation to a revamped Natural Resources Committee dominated by conservatives, the aides said.

No jurisdictional issue has drawn more lobbying fire than securities because of a long dispute over the right to act as an underwriter of stocks and bonds.

A ban on banks getting into the securities business was enacted in 1933 after excessive bank speculation in the securities market was blamed as a contributing cause of the stock market crash.

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Sauerbrey Receives
Baltimore Vote Records
Fraud Squad Begins Probe
As the Tallying Continues

BY DAN BALZ AND DAVID MONTGOMERY
WASHINGTON POST STAFF WRITERS

The place cards were arrayed in neat order on the blue tables. The top line of each read: "Governor" or "Gov.-elect." One stood out. Its top line read: "Ellen." Ellen R. Sauerbrey, the Republican candidate for Maryland governor who refuses to concede defeat, took her place at the table yesterday with all the incumbent and incoming governors at the Republican Governors Association meeting in Williamsburg.

Back in Annapolis, Democrat Parris N. Glendening scheduled a news conference for today to talk about the transition to his new job as governor of Maryland. Who's in charge, anyway? Most of Maryland assumes Glendening is the governor-elect, by about 5,400 votes, but Sauerbrey is unconvinced.

She has vowed to continue investigating allegations of voting fraud, and yesterday her volunteer fraud squad finally got access to the records she says could prove her case.

Armed with five portable photocopying machines and reams of paper, a dozen GOP attorneys and investigators for Sauerbrey descended on the Baltimore City elections board to begin searching for alleged improprieties among Baltimore voting records.

Sauerbrey had been denied access to the records until the official vote canvass was complete. It's not scheduled to be finished until this afternoon, but the Baltimore City elections board's Democratic members relented and let the Republicans in about 1 p.m. yesterday.

While her investigators investigated in Baltimore, Sauerbrey schmoozed in Williamsburg. If her presence at the conference seemed a little awkward or embarrassing, well, this was a party of very polite people who wouldn't think of raising their eyebrows.

"It suits me fine," Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour said. "They let me sit there, and I'm not a governor."

Chris Henick, executive director of the Republican governors, said that Sauerbrey was an invited guest and that Glendening "can transition himself to a fair-thee-well" but it won't mean anything until he is declared the winner.

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MARYLAND, FROM EL

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The winner won't be made official until the canvass results are certified on Dec. 7.

Sauerbrey tried to carry on in Williamsburg as if she will be enounced in Annapolis come January, even though her appearance at the GOP gathering drew many inquiries from reporters.

"I was invited by the Republican governors to attend this meeting," she said. "My position here is as an invitee of the conference, and I'm pleased to be here."

Sauerbrey has been saying for two weeks that the Baltimore City voting records are key to assessing the validity of what she says are "hundreds" of reports of voting irregularities received by her campaign.

To make that assessment, the Republicans set up their copiers on tables in the hall of the city board of elections yesterday and began reproducing thousands of pages of registered voter lists that election judges used at the polls in Baltimore's 408 precincts, said Barbara Jackson, administrator of the board of elections.

The lists include the names of Baltimore's roughly 380,000 registered voters. On Election Day, the election judges marked the names of the 149,000 people who voted.

Staff writer Richard Tapscott contributed to this report.
Talks between the Postal Service and its three largest unions collapsed yesterday, leading, a setback to Postmaster General Marvin T. Runyon, who has courted labor leaders in hopes of avoiding a costly contract settlement.

The end to the negotiations will send the issues between the government's second-largest civilian agency and its unions into binding arbitration, out of Runyon's direct control.

Labor leaders said the agency was asking too much: a three-year contract with annual lump-sum payments of no more than $325 per worker, a two-year wage freeze, an end to cost-of-living increases and an increase in the number of temporary and transitional workers, who earn less than full-time postal employees.

"Forget it. Stick it," was the response of Moe Biller, president of the 360,000-member American Postal Workers Union.

Biller said he suspected the president of the independent Postal Service Board of Governors had used Runyon's hand, limiting what the unions were offered.

"Good relations don't mean anything without rewards," said Biller, who had been outspoken in his praise of Runyon's first two years in office. "In my opinion, there cannot be free and genuine collective bargaining for postal workers without the right to strike." By law, postal workers are prohibited from striking; any impasse in bargaining talks goes to arbitration.

Many of the security companies and their advertisers acknowledge that the current mood is under dispute. The political commercials sometimes create a distrust of government solutions that leads people to put their faith in hardware rather than crime laws. At the crime prevention seminars her firm runs, she said, "I have spoken to people who say they have decided to take some action, that no one else is going to help me and I am taking too long into the night." Vaneta Rogers, a spokeswoman for Sears, said the chain's Security Shops are designed to bring together at one spot in each store the smoke alarms, locks and lighting devices that have been scattered in different departments.

Roberts, president of Radio Shack, said most of the crime prevention information being dispensed in his stores does not relate to popular desire to buy locks and security systems, "but I don't know anyone who has tried to quantify it." Winner International of Sharon, Pa., makers of the Club, the much-advertised steering wheel lock, said its sales have increased 1,082 percent from 1989 to 1993, when net sales reached $118.6 million.

The company sells, for starters, the Truck Club, the Ultra Club, the Ultra Truck Club, the Super Club, the Super Truck Club, the Econo Club, the Econo Truck Club, the Super Econo Club, the 18-Wheeler Club, the Boat Club, the Super Boat Club, the Designer Club and the Premier Club.

Local Home Security Systems Inc. in Chicago, which has conducted a survey for Bill's on crime concerns, said the surge of political commercials adds to an obsession with FBI statistics that indicate violent felonies are not rising significantly. There is something at odds with FBI figures that indicate violent felonies are not rising significantly. "There is something at work other than people's personal experience with violent crime," said Tom Darbyshire, the executive director at the Bethesda office of the Earle Palmer Brown Associates Inc. advertising agency.

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By law, postal workers are prohibited from striking; any impasse in bargaining talks goes to arbitration. A procedure that many mailers say has given postal workers some of the best salaries in the federal government and saddled the agency with huge personnel costs. About 82 cents of every dollar in postal revenue goes for personnel costs, a percentage that has remained largely unchanged despite the billions of dollars that the agency has invested in automation.

Postal spokesman Frank Brennan sought to portray the collapse as less than a defeat for Runyon, saying the bargaining atmosphere was much improved from talks under Runyon's predecessor, Anthony M. Frank, who was object of the APWU's ire.

The talks with the National Association of Letter Carriers and National Postal Mail Handlers Union were declared at an impasse at midnight Sunday and 18 hours later, the APWU, the biggest of the three, followed. The dispute now moves into a period of fact finding. The impasse comes as the agency is seeking an increase in the price of first-class stamp to 32 cents from 29 cents, effective Jan. 1. A ruling on that proposal is expected Nov. 30 from the independent Postal Rate Commission.

Talks' Collapse Ends Runyon's Hope of Avoiding Binding Arbitration

Marketers, Taking a Cue From Politicians, Push Anti-Crime Products

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Talks between the Postal Service and its three largest unions collapsed yesterday, delivering a setback to Postmaster General Marvin T. Runyon, who has courted labor leaders in hopes of avoiding a costly contract settlement.

The end to the negotiations will send the issues between the government's second-largest civilian agency and its unions into binding arbitration, out of Runyon's direct control.

Labor leaders said the agency was asking too much: a three-year contract with annual lump-sum payments of no more than $325 per worker, a two-year wage freeze, an end to cost-of-living increases and an increase in the number of temporary and transitional workers, who earn less than full-time postal employees.

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Roberts, president of Radio Shack, said most of the crime prevention information being dispensed in his stores does not relate to the alarm equipment Radio Shack sells.

"We just wanted to respond to a sense of powerlessness out there," he said. "The paranoia has just been enhanced by the political campaign." Jack Calhoun, executive director of the National Crime Prevention Council, said his nonprofit group received a large donation from Radio Shack as part of the campaign.

The surge of political commercials, he said, "has probably worried people more, but not given them the message of what they can do individually." The problem, he said, still requires a community response, with neighborhoods and cities involved, "or we're just going to stay locked up behind our doors, isolated."
WASHINGTON AT WORK

Who says all of Washington’s secrets deal with national security issues? Not the U.S. Postal Service.

The agency has declined to reveal the results of a 1991 report by its inspection service about whether a certain new way of routing letters would be economically sound. According to a senior postal official, the report was highly critical of the $987.4 million project, which allows workers at a remote site to place bar codes on letters through a computer linkup.

The idea was supposed to save money because lower-paid contract workers were to be used. But the inspectors’ internal report questioned whether the project would save as much as postal officials had publicly predicted. Since the report was prepared, Postmaster General Marvin T. Runyon has given most of the remote bar-coding jobs to full-time postal workers, whose higher pay has pushed the project’s cost way beyond initial projections.

When asked by The Washington Post for a copy of the report, agency officials released only five pages of the 1991 document. Officials deleted virtually all the information on those five pages. They said the information was being withheld because it “contains analyses, opinions, conclusions, projections and beliefs of the auditor.” They also said they could withhold the report because it is “information of a commercial nature which under good business practice would not be publicly disclosed.”

—Bill McAllister
Regarding Metric System, U.S. Is Slow to Give an Inch

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

It's Thanksgiving, and time for the annual pilgrimage to grandma's farm. It takes a while to get there, for grandma lives 800 kilometers away, about 10 hours traveling at 80 kilometers per hour in the new Chevy.

Grandma's a tiny lady, about 1.52 meters tall, and weighs 44 kilos soaking wet, at least that's her story. But nobody argues with her. Grandma has a 9mm Luger strapped to her ankle under her skirt, and she doesn't like smart-mouthed grandchildren.

It's been possible for years in America to shoot somebody in the metric system. Ever since NATO, the arms industry has supplied plenty of 5.56mm, 7.62mm, 9mm, .40mm and 81mm ammo designed to put holes of varying sizes in somebody's enemies.

But when it comes to grandma, her 80 hectares of corn and beans and the joule tax she dodged during budget reconciliation last year, "metrication" seems to be about as popular around the country as hieroglyphics.

Still, in case you forgot or never knew, the United States has been voluntarily converting to the metric system since 1975, and federal agencies have had "metric executives" leading the charge in their bureaucracies since 1991.

According to two new reports compiled by the Commerce Department's National Institute of Standards and Technology, federal agencies are "around" about anything, consider how metrics are creeping up on you.

The General Services Administration has $1 billion worth of metric new construction, the latest Commerce report says. The Bureau of Engraving and Printing makes metric stamps and currency. The U.S. Agency for International Development plans to use metric paper. NASA's new spaceships are supposed to be metric by 1998.

According to Commerce physicist Gary Carver, who ran the metric program for 2½ years and knows all kinds of weird information, a metric building doesn't have lower ceilings or otherwise feel any different from an "inch-pound" building.

But the dimensions are skinnier than the 7.62-x-51-inch sheet Americans know and love, the American Standard for nothing. There are six different kinds of Btu standards, metric intercepts to exhaust manifolds, he said. A metric sheet of paper is taller and skinnier than the 8½-x-11-inch sheet Americans know and love, and stamps and money are worth the same, no matter what size they are.

Zealots contend that the metric system, introduced by the French Revolution, is superior to the inch-pound system because it only has a few units of measurement, and everything is divisible by 10.

Take the liter, for instance, the metric measure of volume. You can have liters, milliliters (1,000 to a liter), centiliters (100 to a liter) or whatever (you have to learn the prefixes).

In the inch-pound system you have quarts, pints (two to a quart), gallons (four quarts), fifths (live to a gallon), barrels (31 gallons for wine, 42 for crude oil), etc. In addition there are fluid ounces (32 per quart), which are different from regular ounces (16 to a pound).

So you have to be crazy to love inch-pound, but apparently we are. Under the 1975 Metric Conversion Act, the government is not allowed to break legs or otherwise force people to go metric, so the idea is to use sweet reason.

This has worked with the automobile industry, in which everything is metric except wheel runs and sparkplug wrenches (don't ask, Carver doesn't know). This is because metric sells overseas, and inch-pound doesn't.

Computers are all metric (exports again), and the 3½-inch floppy disk you use in your word processor is in reality a 90mm floppy disk. Most bottles are metric, or labeled both ways, except for 12-ounce soft drinks (who knows?) and milk cartons (dairy products are sold close to home).

But although Commerce urges "the entire federal government to unite in a determination to lead the nation in joining the rest of the world—the metric world," it is an idea whose time apparently has not yet come.

In fact, Congress appears to be one of the biggest sinners. Last year's proposed Btu energy tax made the metric crowd blanch. There are six different kinds of Btus in the world, Carver said, and none of them are metric. In metric it's joules.

And then there was the Energy Policy Act of 1992, in which urinals and toilets had to be marked in gallons per flush, thus flushing down any hopes for an export bonanza in commodes. They don't call them American Standard for nothing.
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The officials said that while donor
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By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

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of their pledges for this calendar
year before a donors' meeting to be
held in Brussels next week.

The officials said that while donor
countries in Europe, the Persian Gulf
and East Asia have made pledges to-
talling about $700 million in cash and
other aid, only $200 million to $250
million has been delivered so far.
They said the United States has deliv-
ered all of its $100 million pledge ex-
cept for some Overseas Private In-
vestment Corp. (OPIC) guarantees.
By Daniel Williams
Washington Post Staff Writer

NATO's top official warned powerful Republican senators who favor arming the Muslims in Bosnia that if Bosnia sank deeper into warfare as a result, the allies and the United Nations would need American troops to cover a retreat of peacekeepers.

The senators were unperturbed, participants in the meeting said, and urged NATO Secretary General Willy Claes to prepare alliance peacekeepers for a possible withdrawal anyway.

Claes met with Sen. Robert J. Dole (Kan.), who is set to be the Senate majority leader, and other Republicans who want to arm the Muslims. They regard the Muslim-led government as victims of aggression from Serbia and its allies, the Bosnian Serbs, and unfairly crippled by the arms ban.

Claes, a former Belgian foreign minister, is on his first trip to Washington as NATO's top diplomat. He predicted chaos and danger for U.N. peacekeepers, most of whom are NATO troops, in the event the arms ban is lifted. At a news conference he held later with Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Claes said, "My question to the Americans who are in favor of unilateral lifting of the arms embargo is: Are you ready to help us in order to get out the troops, which will be in very, very serious difficulties at that moment?"

Arming the Muslims, an emotional issue among some Democrats as well as Republicans, would convert the war into a U.S. responsibility, Claes warned. "A unilateral lift, believe me, will be followed immediately by withdrawal of the Western European troops...one with probably a lot of casualties" in the ensuing tumult, Claes said.

Claes's journey to the Hill reflected more than just a concern about Bosnia. It also underlined his fears that frequent U.S.-allied disagreements over the Balkans are hurting NATO's cohesion. Clinton's recent decision, under congressional pressure, to withdraw American ships from enforcement of the U.N. arms embargo was a unique instance of the self-styled leader of NATO going it alone, in a huff. The action raised suspicions, always present in Europe, that the United States cannot be trusted with Europe's security.

Washington, London and Paris are feuding over how deeply to punish the Serbs for failing to agree to a peace solution hammered out by the allies and Russia.

The need to maintain the appearance of unity helps explain the light touch in NATO bombing of a Serb airfield yesterday. The bombardment avoided actually hitting any planes.

Pentagon officials stressed yesterday that the intent of the military action was not to put the airfield out of operation for an extended period of time, but rather to signal that use of the site in Croatia as a base for operations against targets in Bosnia no longer would be tolerated.

U.S. officials defended the limited nature of the attack given the political aim of trying to keep what one senior military officer termed "an even-handed approach" in promoting a peace agreement between warring Bosnian Serbs and Muslims.

"It was a sign of restraint in order to achieve a particular solution in Bihac to make it very clear that NATO was serious," the officer said. "It's also important to make the point," said another senior defense official, "that if the message was not received, we have plenty of opportunity to do other things."

Claes expressed exasperation with the impact of Bosnia on NATO. "Maybe I'm a little bit brutal in saying this, but NATO, ladies and gentlemen, is more than Bosnia," he told reporters.

Among the participants in the meeting with Claes was Sen. Richard G. Lugar (Ind.), likely to be a powerful voice on the Republican-dominated Foreign Relations Committee. He said told Claes to "work on a withdrawal strategy" for peacekeepers in Bosnia, in the event a retreat is necessary.

Dole reaffirmed his view that NATO has been weakened by acting as an agent of the United Nations, an organization that is frequently the target of Republican scorn.

Staff writer Bradley Graham contributed to this report.
Lack of a Credible Court System Frustrates Haitians’ Quest for Justice

By Edward Cody
Washington Post Foreign Service

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti—The new justice minister, Ernest Malebranche, issued a notice to judges across the country soon after taking over, urging them to hold court from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. He was unsure where to send it, however, because Malebranche does not know how many judges Haiti has.

Malebranche also does not know where courts are functioning or which judges are honest enough to keep on the payroll, except in the southwestern cities of Jeremie and Les Cayes. He knows about those two spots only because he happened to stop by in Jeremie when he got word of his nomination as minister and stopped off in Les Cayes on his way to the capital to take up the new job.

"For the other places, I will have to go and conduct an investigation," he said in an interview.

In a country starved for justice, the machinery designed to provide it has rusted and fallen apart, like an automobile left in the Caribbean humidity. Years of dictatorship by the Duvalier family, followed by the turmoil of successive outlaw regimes and finally culminating in U.S. military occupation, have undermined the public trust in the judicial system.

The lack of a trustworthy court system has become particularly troublesome as President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and his American backers seek to revive civilian government after three years of military dictatorship that ended with the U.S. intervention in September and Aristide's return from exile Oct. 15.

While urging reconciliation, Aristide also has promised justice to the thousands of his followers who suffered abuses from the military during his absence. Without an impartial and apolitical judiciary, the promise will be hard to keep—except through the street justice, including pillaging and murder, that marred Aristide's first seven months in office in 1991 and helped prompt the coup d'etat that sent him into exile.

"There is no democracy without an independent, honest and trustworthy justice system," said Malebranche, his stentorian voice hanging in the wet air of an office open to the Port-au-Prince harbor.

With that in mind, U.S. Ambassador William Swing on Thursday allocated Malebranche $1 million in aid to help get the machinery moving again. Two advisers from the U.S. Army's civil affairs branch also have taken assignments in the ministry to help survey what needs to be done around the country.

Malebranche, a gray-haired lawyer with courtly manners, said he already has taken "drastic dispositions" to restore life and trust to the court system. His aides said one was a requirement that visitors to his office wear a coat and tie despite the sticky Haitian climate and lack of air conditioning. Asked to detail what the others were, Malebranche, wearing a dark suit buttoned to the top, provided copies of two notices dispatched to judges recalling the rules of procedure.

"The ministry counts on the cooperation of all magistrates to reach a better functioning of the tribunals and thus to restore to Haitian justice, already so denounced, its image of yore," a notice concluded.

In fact, law enforcement has been in the hands of the U.S. military since the occupation began. Unarmed Haitian policemen, retrained in a one-week course by Justice Department instructors, have just begun deploying in towns around Haiti.

"There is no democracy without an independent, honest and trustworthy justice system."

— Justice Minister Ernest Malebranche

In the meantime, the U.S. military has arrested hundreds of Haitians accused of crimes and human rights violations during the military dictatorship headed by Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras. While most have been released, U.S. officials say approximately 30 remain in the national penitentiary under U.S. military control.

Although these prisoners have not been processed according to Haitian or U.S. law, U.S. officials insist the U.N. Security Council resolution authorizing the occupation of Haiti also gave the U.S. military legal standing to arrest and hold prisoners. Once the Haitian justice system is up and running, they have pledged, the prisoners will be turned over to it.

Justice of the Peace Serge Francois, who was holding court Thursday in the Port-au-Prince suburb of Petionville, indicated that could take some time, because of a lack of trained personnel that impedes movement of cases through the judicial system. Under the French-inspired Haitian system, Francois' court is a sort of first-instance tribunal that turns over most of its cases to higher criminal or civil courts.

"We have so many complaints that we don't even have time to read the files," he explained, sitting in the bare room that serves as his office.

A woman petitioner complained, for example, that her husband left her, married another woman and now refuses to recognize the child born soon after their split. That should entail a reference to the police to verify if the bigamy charges are true and a judicial inquiry to see if the husband's story differs from that of his deserted wife, Francois explained. But given the circumstances, he termed the case unlikely to be resolved.

Francois, 35, wore a gold chain bracelet and an open-necked blue-and-white Hawaiian-style shirt under a tan sport jacket as he heard complaints from Haitians filing before his desk. A 1987 graduate of the University of Haiti law school, he was a court clerk before being promoted in 1990 as one of two such judges in Petionville.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST
Japan Apologizes to Itself for Pearl Harbor

‘Deeply Regrettable’ Lapse by Diplomats Said to Have Brought Shame to Country

By T. R. Reid
Washington Post Foreign Service

TOKYO, Nov. 21—Fifty-two years and 50 weeks after the event, Japan’s government finally apologized today for failing to break off diplomatic negotiations before launching the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor that pulled the United States into World War II.

“There can be no excuse,” the Foreign Ministry said, for Japan’s delay in delivering a message to Washington on Dec. 7, 1941, that it would negotiate no longer. The official apology was prompted by the routine declassification of a new batch of documents relating to that fateful day.

But today’s apology for Japanese diplomats’ “deeply regrettable” conduct on Pearl Harbor Day was not addressed to the United States, the victim of the attack. Rather, said Foreign Ministry spokesman Terusuke Terada, “the statement was directed to the people of Japan.”

Why does the government feel a need to apologize to its own people for deceiving another nation a half-century ago?

The answer involves the generalized concept of shame in Japanese society, and the particular sense of shame many Japanese feel about the beginning of World War II.

In Japanese history books, the conduct of Japan’s diplomats in Washington on the eve of Pearl Harbor is treated as a major source of shame for the entire country. That is what prompted the Foreign Ministry’s belated apology today.

The diplomatic question at issue is separate from the propriety of the air raid itself, which killed 2,400 American soldiers and sailors. The Japanese people are still deeply conflicted on that point.

Some argue that a war between Japan and the United States was inevitable, and thus the surprise attack on the U.S. fleet was a legitimate act of war. Others here say it was morally wrong for Japan to start a war no matter what the circumstances.

In 1991, on the 50th anniversary of the attack, the prime minister of Japan issued an apology, of sorts, to the United States, expressing “deep remorse . . . that we inflicted an unbearable blow on the people of America and the Asian countries.”

But last year, politicians here canceled a scheduled visit by Emperor Akihito to the Pearl Harbor memorial. Japanese officials explained that Americans would expect an apology if the emperor went to Pearl Harbor, and that this might cause political problems at home for Japan’s elected government.

No matter how people feel about the actual raid, however, there is a strong sense of shame here about Japanese diplomacy in the last week-end before the attack.

In the fall of 1941, the United States and Japan tried one last round of negotiations to resolve their angry dispute over Japanese aggression against China. While the talks were going on, a Japanese naval task force secretly sailed for Hawaii to attack Pearl Harbor.

On the morning of Dec. 7— or Dec. 8, on Japan’s side of the international date-line—Japan’s Foreign Ministry sent a final message to the State Department. It was supposed to be delivered at 1 p.m. Washington time, just 25 minutes before the raid was to begin. With characteristic vagueness, the cable did not clearly declare war or threaten attack. It said Japan “cannot but consider that it is impossible to reach an agreement through further negotiations.”

Even the Japanese diplomats at the embassy in Washington did not understand this to be a warning of imminent attack. They took their time in typing an English version and did not deliver the message to the U.S. side until an hour after Pearl Harbor had been bombed.

Among the documents released today are letters from Japanese diplomats in Washington saying they were astonished to hear reports on the radio that their nation had attacked Pearl Harbor.

Although the tale of the delayed message is a staple of Pearl Harbor movies, it is not widely known among Americans. In Japan, though, it is conventional wisdom that the failure to deliver this vague message as planned, 25 minutes before the attack, is the reason that Americans to this day do not trust the Japanese in negotiations.

“The delay in delivering that announcement,” the national newspaper Asahi Shimbun said today, “sparked a widespread belief among the American people that the Japanese are sneaky. Long after, the feeling lingers, and even in economic disputes it has a profound impact on Americans’ deep distrust of Japan.”

The issue resurfaced today because documents concerning the tardy cable were included in some 16,000 pages of diplomatic papers made public as part of a declassification program at the Foreign Ministry here.

Since it was easy to predict that newspapers would give the issue banner headlines—as they all did—Foreign Ministry officials decided to issue an apology today to the people of Japan for this 50-year-old meiwaku.

"Of course, Japan should apologize to the U.S., too," said sociologist Katsusuke Suegana. "But in Oriental societies, particularly Japan, the group you belong to disciplines your behavior, much more than an individual. Even the Japanese diplomats at the embassy did not understand this to be a warning of imminent attack. They took their time in typing an English version and did not deliver the message to the U.S. side until an hour after Pearl Harbor had been bombed.

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President to Pledge More Aid for Ukraine

President Clinton will tell Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma at a White House meeting today of Washington's plan to give his country another $100 million in U.S. foreign aid next year, bringing total U.S. assistance to roughly $900 million in 1994 and 1995, senior U.S. officials said yesterday.

The new U.S. pledge comes six days after Kuchma persuaded the Ukrainian parliament to fulfill a longstanding U.S. demand by approving the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, a global accord that commits Ukraine to forgo developing or possessing any nuclear weapons.

It also comes three weeks after Ukraine's comprehensive economic reform plan gained a strong endorsement from the International Monetary Fund, which pledged $371 million in aid. A U.S. official called the plan, which was devised with assistance from U.S. economists, "impressive" and praised Kuchma for appointing "an impressive team of young reformers" to carry it out.

The pledge, which comes from a pool of money already approved by Congress for aid to Russia and other former Soviet republics, will be used to aid the creation of small private businesses in Ukraine and form the stable banking and legal systems that are needed to attract other foreign investment, the officials said.

Washington is asking the 13-nation European Union to donate another $100 million to Ukraine to help finance imports needed to attract other foreign investment, the officials said.

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Rostenkowski Says He Needs A New Job

Outgoing Congressman Cites Legal Expenses

Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), the once-powerful member of Congress swept out of office in Nov. 8 elections, told the Chicago Sun-Times he has more than $500,000 in unpaid legal bills and is looking for work, the newspaper reported yesterday.

Rostenkowski, 66, said in an interview that he has $320,000 in unpaid legal bills for staff members and $300,000 to $400,000 in outstanding bills for his own legal battle against a 17-count federal indictment.

He has exhausted a $1 million campaign fund and a $1 million legal defense fund to pay attorneys defending him or his staff against charges he illegally exchanged cash for stamps at the House Post Office, bought gifts with government funds, hired ghost payroll employees and obstructed justice.

The 18-term congressman, who once wielded immense power as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, said he was hoping to obtain consultation fees at corporations and was considering lectures offered by several area universities.

Female Fighter Pilot Is Buried

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Dawn gray wails and wet on the Pulaski Transportation Highway running east out of Baltimore toward Aberdeen. It's a gritty strip of heavily trucked pavement where the motels are "American Owned & Operated" and you can rent a backhoe or a fork lift on your way to the job. An old-fashioned road, nothing at all like the new information superhighway they talk about down in Washington, but one that carries an important message nonetheless.

Drop into the cozy warmth of the Double T Diner at 6:45 a.m., where Gladys is splashing hot coffee into thick cream-colored mugs and men in flannel shirts and dirt-booted kicks dig into generous portions of scrapple and eggs. There sits a guy named Michael Dolan, 37, a painting contractor with a five-man crew out of New Jersey who's trying to scare up some work in these parts. At the moment, he's hunched intently over a newspaper article about Newt Gingrich.

"I feel great that the Republicans kicked ass," Dolan says in a Jersey twang that bouncing off the walls. "I'm euphoric about it. It's like good times are right around the corner again. And you're looking at a poor man who thinks the capital gains tax is the best thing that could happen to this country because that's when the work will come back. People say capital gains is for the rich, but I've never been hired by a poor man."

His brown eyes glisten. His gray beard switching. In the black jeans and black pullover he wears for bidding jobs he looks less like a frightened working man and more like a movie director.

"Why you say that?" Gladys says, somewhat pugnaciously.

"I can't stomach what the Democrats stand for," Dolan says. "I don't like Clinton. To me, they took the work away. The Democrats take the incentive away from the normal man who wants to go out and make money. I worked my ass off to achieve middle class, and then it all came crashing down."

"I didn't vote," Gladys admits, backing off.

"I lost my home, I went bankrupt," Dolan says, beard twitching, eyes flashing. "New Jersey is a wasteland. Governor Florio made it a wasteland, he just taxed the state to death. That's why we travel all around the place like this because there's no work in Jersey. It's a lonely feeling when the bills are coming in at the end of the month and you got to feed your family."

Little Mike is B, Evan 5 and Caitin 4. Dolan was so fed up that he wasn't even going to vote until Megan, his wife, threatened not to listen to his gab anymore if he didn't go. So he pulled the Republican lever.

"Work," he says, "is everything. When you're not working, nothing in your life seems to go right."

Angry white men is a phrase with a certain ring to it these days. They've changed the political face of America by voting disproportionately GOP, and Dolan happened to be passing through traditionally Democratic WHITE, D3, Col. 3

Maryland, where white men voted by a whopping 63 to 37 percent for Republican Ellen Sauerbrey for governor. Dunn near pulled it off too.

"Too bad for this state," Dolan says of her narrow loss.

The Double T Diner is located in the sprawling 2nd Congressional Dis­ trict, where voters who are regis­ tered nearly 2-to-1 Democratic just elected Republican Robert L. Ehrlich Jr. to the U.S. House.

By nearly two-thirds of the vote.

Yet the story of the last election is scarcely one of numbers alone. With political passions running so high, the whole rich wacko fabric of Ameri­ can life is straining at the seams, as it were. Though pundits and pollsters have struggled brilliantly to make sense of it, the real lives of real people lie beyond reach of cold calcula­tion. They are personal, passionate, of­ ten contradictory, ultimately mysterious—finally more a matter for Dickens, perhaps, than a Gallup.

We can know what the polls showed even before the election—that people have become seriously fed up with politics as usual that attitudes on race and immigration have hardened, and that fears have spiked among those who haven't participated in the economic recovery. Many of those whose rage and anguish has been translated into long fight to take my guns, because I can still go hunting. It's going to be a tail.

And I got my NRA pin on there: "We the people! Right to bear arms!" he says, pointing proudly at a pin on the cap.

MarteU makes $18 to $25 an hour as a crane operator at the steel plant, owns a couple of houses with a woman and four kids, and a Harley and political and cultural "Get me a piece of farm," he muses.

"Live off it."

So Fed Up

Dave Ayers sits in a booth at a Steak 'n Eggs Kitchen in Timonium, an upscale suburb north of Baltimore near Sauerbrey's headquarters and mere miles west of the new Pulaski Transportation Highway but in the same 2nd Congressional Dist­ rict. He's beeding with an older white guy about black athletics.

"I don't support professional sports because there's too many blacks," Ayers says, in the olden man leaves. "The quality has totally gone downhill. Most of them are just drug users.

Ayers at 38 is a thin blond guy with a spider tattoo on his arm and a ratty blue Colts cap on his balding head and "Dave" on the arm of his battered 30-year-old Chevy pickup sporting a few notable scars. He's looking forward to retirement. He's a trucker who builds custom homes for a living, and my property taxes have gone up 20 percent in five years. I'm an iron erector who likes the "rush" of doing tough jobs, and my property taxes have gone up something terrible."

His pool buddies can restrain them­ selves no longer.

"Who'd you vote for, Sauerbrey?" asks Gregg Caffin, 32, a bridge and crane operator who assigns kids the important issue is your job. Yeah, keep your guns but you'll be starved to death.

They argue, friendly. Martell or­ ders another Bud, stops and shoots. "I go to Allegheny County to hunt," Martell continues. "I cut my own meat. I got a cabin. I mostly go hunting for food. I don't just kill deer."

Caffin, the labor loyalist, then con­ tents that if the Republicans "get this to a right-to-work state, they'll have a bunch of [bleepin']" Mexicans down there building that convention cen­ ter.

And, proving that where there are angry white men there are apt to be similarly minded women, Gaila Cor­ ne, 26, a small-town employee, launches herself into the fray.

"I work in Prince George's County and I know what Glendening's done there. He imports niggers into white communities and says, 'Go to it. They get to buy $18,000 helmets and feel like a king.'"

She chalks her stick. Lights a Marl­boro from a pack on the bar.

"I'm a working mother, I got three kids and you know, the government don't give you [excrement] about the single mother. Let's get rid of the crack dealers. I'd be willing to pay more taxes if they'd get rid of crime."

Martell says he's so sick of what's happening politically in Maryland that he's thinking of running for governor.

"I get my 25-year-pension, I'm moving out of state," he says. "I'm gone. West Virginia or Pennsylvania, either one. I got 17 years in now, got eight years to go. I'll be 44."

He eyes the green felt-topped pool table.

"Get me a piece of farm," he muses. "Live off it."
views hot enough to boil a pot of coffee. "I say I'm a Republican," he says, "but I don't think it makes any difference; the politicians are all out of touch with the American people. They don't have a clue about the average Joe who works and makes $10 or $12 an hour and has a family to support and he's paying $80 to $90 a week in taxes and don't get nothing for it." He takes a gulp of coffee.

"Our tax dollars go to support people just to have kids. They don't care—they have kids just to get the checks. You talk to the average white man like me, they'll all say it. The average American and the average black are two different books. I mean, it's not the same. They see things their way, we see things our way. You can't keep on giving and giving and they scream, 'We want, we want.'"

"I've never asked the state for anything, and I have so many business permits and licenses I have to get, I'm so fed up with it. I see Republicans as less government, that's what makes me a Republican."

Ayers talks seamlessly, not stopping as he smiles and waves at the waitress who's going on her break with a guy in a sleeveless black sweat shirt who rubs her back with one hand and stares glumly at the floor.

"The Democrats love passing laws and America is sick of it," Ayers says. "Gun control, that's a total joke. In downtown Baltimore and Washington you have these blacks shooting each other. They don't get permits to break into homes."

"I shoot. I love guns. Just because I have an assault rifle and go out and shoot 300 rounds doesn't mean I'm going to go out and shoot someone. The Brady bill, I feel sorry for him and all, but all that does is put another stupid law on the books. That's what it boils down to, just taking rights from the average American."

He's got a Remington shotgun, a .30-30 Winchester and a Beretta 92S. "That's about all I'll tell you about," he says. "And the Chinese assault rifle. I know people with regular automatic guns. They just have fun with 'em, that's all. They're regular law-abiding citizens. Thank God for the NRA is what I've got to say."

Ayers doesn't automatically favor Republicans, however. "Brock, after he lost down in Tennessee, he became a special lobbyist for the Koreans and Chinese, Is that a good American? I don't think so."

Still, most of the Ayers enmity is reserved for Democrats, particularly the president.

"I'd like," Ayers says, "to say a few things to that faggot liberal draft dodger."

Going Downhill

A little farther up the Old York Road in Timonium you will find a cozy office in a small old building in which sits one Stanley Cohen, 46, at the moment preparing a chicken lunch from Roy Rogers. He's an upper-middle-class guy, he says, who moved here 18 years ago with his growing family for "the good safe environment, the upscale living." Nonetheless, he considers himself somewhat blue-collar since he drills wells for a living. He's wearing a striped dress shirt without a tie, blue work trousers and a beeper.

Cohen is an engineer, and the holes he digs are high-tech "environmental wells" to determine if pollutants are seeping. Cohen is the manager. He's also a Jew with a Catholic wife and who considers himself liberal. With rare exceptions, he's always voted Democratic.

Not this time.

"This time I changed," he says. "It took some thought. Most of my friends still went Democratic, but us than expected voted for Sauerbrey—salesmen, lawyers. She said all the things the white middle class wants to hear. I voted for her because sending my kid to a private school."

The said kid, Shannon Cohen, happens to be a star basketball player at a Catholic high school, and Dad has her pictures and news clippings tapped up all over the office's scratchy wooden walls. He points them out as he leans back in his office chair.

"My main issue is financial," Cohen says. "Then the law and order and crime. We are starting to see an increase. Light rail brings 'em out from the city. Our home has been broken into."

Cohen says he's not an angry man. It's just that Sauerbrey and the Republicans understood that "white men my age are more concerned about their wallet than anything else. You get to our age and you realize that's what politics is all about."

"I started this business five years ago gangbusters. I've steadily gone downhill. The last two years have been static. My friends and I don't see this 'recovery' happening. I really don't. I'm meeting payroll, but there's no growth, no excitement."

Cohen didn't vote for anyone for president in '92. He doesn't like Clinton, but this has nothing to do with the economy. "I'm a veteran," he says. "I think he lies. He's just not my idea of a president."

The Loyalist

A man with a thick black beard and a ponytail, a man with a thick white beard and a ponytail, and a woman sit in a large dark bar called Journey's in North Point, a few miles south of the Pulaski Transportation Highway. There's a special on steamed shrimp. The men are drinking drafts, and the woman has a can of beer. A TV is playing in the corner.

"I'm a labor leader and a Democrat. I stick with the Democrats all the way," says the black-bearded man. He is Larry Fisher, 51, a machinist for a commercial cooking equipment manufacturer and president of Local 50, Stove, Furnace, Energy & Allied Appliance Workers of America.

"Me, I didn't vote. To me, they're all the same," says the white-bearded man, Larry Powers, 45, a mainte-
The leader of C-SPAN has written to the GOP leadership yesterday was attending the Republican Governors' Association meeting in Williamsburg. No response to Lamb's letters is expected until after the Thanksgiving weekend at the earliest. "We don't even know if they'll consider changes"...

In his letter to Gingrich, Lamb proposed that C-SPAN be allowed to use its own camera in covering House floor debates and expand what viewers see—viewers now can only see members as they speak from the well, and cameras cannot pan the chamber or take reaction shots during debates...

Lamb also asked that the speaker's daily on-the-record briefings for reporters be opened to cameras and that C-SPAN be allowed to install a permanent camera position just off the floor (permitting member interviews during votes and before and/or after gavel-to-gavel coverage of House sessions. "Our viewing public," says Lamb, "regularly tells us they need more context for the debates they watch"...)

Lamb also suggested permanently open the House Rules Committee and all legislative committee hearings—including markup sessions—to TV coverage unless national security is an issue (C-SPAN is periodically banned from key hearings, even of committees it routinely covers), and to open all House-Senate conference committees—"the important, final step in the legislative process"—to cameras...

His letter to Sen. Dole covered virtually the same points, including a proposal to "open the leader's 'dugout chatter'"—on-the-record briefings by reporters to television.

The GOP leadership yesterday was attending the Republican Governors' Association meeting in Williamsburg. No response to Lamb's letters is expected until after the Thanksgiving weekend at the earliest...

Lamb said yesterday "there are all kinds of options" that he would like to discuss with Gingrich and Dole, but he admitted, "We don't even know if they'll consider changes"...

He was heartened last Friday when Gingrich proposed making all legislation and documents available on the Internet—and to cameras...

"Basically we're saying it's time to apply real journalism to the activities on the Hill," Lamb said. "This is the freest country in the world and you should do it"...

In his letters Lamb pointed out that "going forward with all of these proposals would require considerable additional resources from C-SPAN" but said the cable TV industry, which created and funded C-SPAN and C-SPAN2, "is committed to providing the additional resources necessary to expand our coverage of Congress"...
A few days before Gingrich ridiculed McGovern, the Wall Street Journal reported: "Several million older Americans are going hungry—and their numbers are growing steadily. Federal food programs cannot keep up with the nation's rapidly growing population."

"Nothing is in Gingrich's vaunted "Contract With America" to ease the fears of hungry people, or anyone else on the edge or over it who looks to America to ease the fears of hungry people, or the Great Society, he said, is vanishing, and anyone else out of favor because they danger the right represents because they see it as the right-wing movements, said in the Progressive magazine last month that many in the center and on the left "have the hardest time appreciating the danger the right represents because they see it as just another swing of the political pendulum. As the [Joseph R.] McCarthy period showed, however, if you let a right-wing movement go long enough without serious challenge, it can become a real threat and cause real damage."

The Selling of Buyouts

By Mike Causey

Many agencies that have

promotions for women and minorities even as agencies

reduce hiring. Paying

higher-salaried workers (mostly white men) to retire fulfills both

missions: It creates new

promotion opportunities and moves the work force toward

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Most agencies hoped to have

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The important question for the next two years is not whether Bill Clinton can sell himself as Harry Truman. (He can.)

The important question is whether Bob Dole can be thus era's Arthur Vandenberg. (He can, but probably won't.)

The bipartisan foreign policy mantle that Vandenberg, a conservative Republican senator from Michigan, wore during the Truman administration may not fit Dole easily. It helped cost Vandenberg his own chance to run against Truman for the presidency.

If Dole decides not to risk seri­ous bipartisanism, the Vandenberg role may fall to none other than Newt Gingrich, the man who pocketed the campaign cash and sold the decibel level the Republicans needed to capture the House for the first time in 40 years. More on this in a moment.

Forget the Truman thing being pushed on Clinton. The times and nature of interests are too differ­ent. To put it bluntly, the senator­ing from the tariff cuts contained in the Uruguay Round agreement, it is time for Congress to approve the GATT for Clinton concessions on taxes in the nation. We must pass the GATT, and we

We must pass the GATT, and we
E. J. Dionne Jr.

A Shift, Not a Mandate

Ideologues are the worst analysts of election returns because their only purpose in looking at the numbers is to figure out how they can declare that the people, in their wisdom, now agree with whatever program the ideologue happens to be selling, so it is with the elections of 1994. Conservatives are eager to see in these results a sharp turn to the right and a restoration of the Reagan disposition. Liberals and the left have a much tougher time with these returns, but some on the left are already arguing that poor turnout in the Democratic base accounts for the losses and that a tilt toward the left will solve the Democrats' problems.

The arguments about the meaning of an election are actually important and not mere exercises in pedantry. Over time, somebody's interpretation of the voters' will becomes the conventional wisdom and thereby influences what politicians—and, yes, even commentators—say and do. So before the conventional wisdom freezes into place, it's worth looking at what actually happened this year.

Democrats and progressives, face it: in the contest of interpretations, the right enjoys a huge edge. When Republicans take control of the House of Representatives for the first time in 40 years, when every incumbent who loses is a Democrat, when Republicans gain big in state legislatures, when even Minnesota sends a right-wing Republican to the U.S. Senate—-one need not go on to understand why Democrats looked so foolish when they tried, even briefly, to claim that this was just one more vote for generalized "change." This election amounted to a huge rebuke to the Democrats and, without question, it moved the country to the right.

The central issue is how far to the right, and on which issues? Voters clearly did respond to the Republicans' smaller government, lower taxes message. Candidates of both parties made sure they declared themselves all in favor of family values, welfare reform and punishing criminals. But the voters did not create a mandate for, say, a cut in the capital gains tax, a rollback of all assistance programs for the poor, or repeal of the taxes on the well-off passed in 1993. The Republicans clearly understood much of this, which is why their "Contract" was pointedly silent on rolling back all of the 1993 tax increases.

The notion that this election was about adjustments in the center, not a lurch to the right, was underscored by the findings of the exit polls and post-election surveys. Bear in mind, first, that the Republicans took just over half of the national vote in House races and won 30 seats with 52 percent of the vote or less. How did they win? The most important reason is the least remarked upon: Some of their biggest gains came among Republicans who promised that less government work better. The people were not convinced that government is botching basic things, such as educating kids, keeping the streets safe and rewarding working families. But the ideological right needs to be wary, too. A right-wing promised land is not what the voters are dreaming of, and this vote is not an irreversible mandate. Democrats promised two years ago they would make government work better. The people were not convinced and supported Republicans who promised that less government would work better. If the Republicans can't prove that—and quickly—watch out, because this electorate does not reward abstractions.

But the Republicans also gained among the Perot voters. Two years ago, Perot voters split 50-50 between Democratic and Republican House candidates. This time, Perot voters supported Republican House candidates by 2-to-1. This was worth another 1.5 million or so extra Republican votes. The Perot voters are not ideologues, tend to be moderate on the cultural issues and issue term limits and the balanced budget amendment. Mostly, they are people dissatisfied with the performance of government—and most didn't see Democrats making things better.

Finally, the Democrats lost because more of their people stayed home than the Republicans' people. A study by CNN found that non-voters were more sympathetic to government than those who voted and less likely to be Republican. A study by Clinton pollster Stan Greenberg for the Democratic Leadership Council found non-voters tended to be young, white and had mostly not attended college—i.e., a group that has gained little out of the economic recovery. Greenberg found that the non-voters supported Clinton by a substantial margin in 1992 but were now dissatisfied with his performance.

What the numbers suggest is that dissatisfied Republicans voted in droves, dissatisfied Democrats stayed home and dissatisfied Perot voters shifted Republican. The mixture was roughly one part ideology, two parts disappointment.

This should be of no particular comfort to the left, which needs to come to terms with why so many Americans sense that government is botching basic things, such as educating kids, keeping the streets safe and rewarding working families. But the ideological right needs to be wary, too. A right-wing promised land is not what the voters are dreaming of, and this vote is not an irreversible mandate.
Hey, look at this bold new Republican idea to help America's working families, who are now working longer hours at less-secure jobs and at lower wages with fewer benefits and declining living standards: a proposed cut in the capital gains tax rate on untaxed income. Three-fifths of the benefits of which would go to individuals making more than $100,000 a year and which would swell the public deficit by $208.1 billion over the next 10 years. Yes, the capital gains tax cut would constitute an enormous tax break for those who already have the most and who need it or any other material advantage—least. Yes, even by its own advocates, numbers, a capital gains tax cut would assault fiscal responsibility by increasing the nation's deficit. Yes, it would be tax relief for the Deserting Rich, with 72 percent of its benefits going to the top one percent of taxpayers.

But don't bet on the Democrats to make the fight against the GOP argument that if only the very-well-off don't have to pay as much in taxes, then—miraculously—the considerably less-well-off will somehow benefit. A lot of Democrats, their reserves of self-confidence and philosophical conviction depleted by electoral defeat and their independence compromised by Wall Street connections, are afraid of being on the unpopular side of the public's generic hostility toward taxes. Prepare yourself to hear all of the buzz words in support of this tax break for the very-well-off. There will be talk of the urgent need for "investment," the "global economy" and the challenge of "competitiveness." Politicians love to deck out banal arguments in rhetorical garments. But in the preferred cliché of the moment, to cut to the chase, the old Republican argument is as ugly as it is uncomplicated. At a time when the rich have never been richer, the reason the rich are not working as hard or being more productive is that they have, presumably because of public policy, too little money. Conversely, according to the Gingrich school, at a time when the nation's doctors are doing better than ever, there were just two decades ago, the principal reason that they are not working more and being more productive and entrepreneurial is that they have too much money. As for me, I prefer Don't Ask, Don't Tell.

Mark Shields

More for the Rich, Less for the Poor

An Army

Haiti and Panama are, respectively, the oldest and youngest independent nations in Latin America. The histories of both peoples have been marked by a tragic parallelism of poverty, foreign intervention, and disenfranchisement, and, in particular, the second half of the 20th century has seen Haitian and Panamanian aspirations to liberty and democracy ruthlessly suppressed through the usurpation of political power by national armed forces. By definition, the army or national guard owes allegiance and obedience to the authorities. The Haitian and Panamanian armed forces repeatedly violated the national constitution and oppressed the people they were charged to protect. Neither army possessed a credible strategic capability; neither army could act effectively to defend territorial borders. But both armies consumed a huge part of the national budget, diverting resources that could have been dedicated to improving the lives of hungry children and disenfranchised citizens.

In October of 1994, two events critical to the future of peace and democracy on our continent took place: the fall of a bloody military dictatorship and the reinstatement of the democratically elected government in Haiti, and the constitutional abolition of the national armed forces in Panama. While the international press has thoroughly covered the return to power of Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, it has practically ignored the great achievements of the Panamanian people. The citizens of the United States must not have yet realized that two members of the Organization of American States—Panama and Costa Rica—have constitutionally abolished their armed forces. In these two countries, politics and geography have forged the first de-militarized region in the world.

This unjustified silence deprives the world of good tidings and the Panamanian people of well-deserved congratulations. Silence also mutes the suggestion that the international community's intervention in Haiti could be used as a model to disband Haitian people to constitutionally abolish their army. To ensure the viability of Haitian democracy, the world must continue its rapid and massive aid toward the reconstruction of the Haitian economy. We must also take advantage of this opportunity to save the Haitian people from future suffering, to help them consolidate their democracy and to offer aid in the determination of the most efficient use of their economic resources. All these goals can be realized through complete and definitive demilitarization.

When the efforts of people who work would be united, tremendous results can be achieved. For the good of the women and men of Haiti, and for the good of Latin America, these efforts should now be turned toward urging President Aristide and the members of the parliament in Port au Prince to please the Panamanian victory in Haiti. The culture of violence must be replaced by a culture of peace and solidarity. The small states of Central America and the Caribbean can take the first step toward achieving demilitarization on a global scale. I am certain that the special-interest Democrat who would promise special treatment to any organized politically correct group that could contribute $3 million to his campaign.

The income disparity between this nation's Most Well Off and Least Well Off—which had been narrowed dramatically in the New Deal of FDR through the Great Society of LBJ—has continued to widen since 1969. Today, the income disparity between the nation's wealthiest one-fifth and the nation's poorest one-fifth is 35 percent greater than it was in 1969. In the last 20 years, while the nation's richest households experienced a 19 percent increase in income, the poorest American households—with precious few stocks, bonds or rental property of their own—felt the pain of an 11 percent cut in real income.

Most Americans, according to the polling of the Wall Street Journal (the diary of the American dream), favor by a better than 3-to-1 margin a U.S. tax code that treats income from human toil and labor more generously than that from passive income collected from dividends or interest. This radical and revolutionary idea was well expressed by all Americans' favorite Republican, Abraham Lincoln, who told the Congress, "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration."

Prepare yourself to hear all of the buzz words in support of this tax break for the very-well-off. There will be talk of the urgent need for "investment," the "global economy" and the challenge of "competitiveness." Politicians love to deck out banal arguments in rhetorical garments. But in the preferred cliché of the moment, to cut to the chase, the old Republican argument is as ugly as it is uncomplicated. At a time when the rich have never been richer, the reason the rich are not working as hard or being more productive is that they have, presumably because of public policy, too little money. Conversely, according to the Gingrich school, at a time when the nation's doctors are doing better than ever, there were just two decades ago, the principal reason that they are not working more and being more productive and entrepreneurial is that they have too much money. As for me, I prefer Don't Ask, Don't Tell.

Tuesday, November 22, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST

Haitian people, as did their Panamanian and Costa Rican brothers and sisters, will support this historic resolution. There have been innumerable martyrs to the cause of Haitian peace and democracy. Their sacrifice must not be in vain. Now is the hour of democracy. Now is the hour of peace. A few years ago, demilitarization was a utopia for Panama. Today it is a fact. Let us not invoke the Haitian utopia today, so that it can become a reality in the very near future.

The writer, former president of Costa Rica, was the 1987 Nobel Peace Laureate.

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Richard Cohen

Chairman Jesse

The sayings of Chairman Jesse—not even yet the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—have already produced a firestorm. He has denounced our foreign aid, the United Nations and, for good measure, suggested that President Clinton does not have the confidence of the military. The last provoked a rebuttal from Gen. John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who called reporters to say Jesse Helms was wrong and to praise Clinton. It seems that not since Bob Hope has anyone been so beloved by our people in uniform.

As a weekend contretemps, the Helms story was not bad—grist for the talk shows and the Sunday papers. It could be seen as just another indication that the Republican Party has yet to get its sea legs. Newt Gingrich's call for prayer in the schools was essentially rebuffed by the GOP governors meeting in Williamsburg, Va. They also warned Congress not to balance the budget on the backs of the states. With the Democrats decimated and dispersed, the Republican Party is filling a void. It will provide its own opposition.

But Helms’s remarks are not easily dismissed. They are not the utterances of a newly empowered Republican feeling his way, but of a tested—and testy—veteran of his own opposition.

The good news is that the prospect of Helms may finally force the administration to get its foreign policy act together. So far the traditional rivalry between the State Department and the National Security Council has, in the Clinton administration, evolved into what one observer called a “pretty nasty” cat fight, although both sides, to their credit, have shied from going public with their differences.

Both Anthony Lake, at the NSC, and Warren Christopher, at State, are widely seen as colorless self-effacing men. Within the government, though, they are both known to be canny infighters whose elbows, if not competence, are respected by their rivals. At State, the NSC’s Lake is vilified as a foreign policy hog whose aim is to become secretary of state in everything but name. At the NSC, apparently, Christopher is seen as a viscerally plokker.

A split within the administration would be bad enough, but now responsibility for foreign policy will be further divided between the Democratic chief executive and a Republican Congress. Partisanship is supposed to stop at the water’s edge, but with Helms at the helm that’s not likely—especially when the differences are not really partisan but deeply ideological instead.

Take, for instance, Helms’s loathing of the United Nations and most, if not all, of its peacekeeping missions. One of the U.N.’s most important operations is in Bosnia. There it maintains a military presence and a humanitarian aid program. Without the U.N., there’s little doubt that the situation in Bosnia would be much worse. It has saved countless people from starvation.

Since the United States is not going to intervene in that war—even, in fact, that it will not even provide peacekeeping troops— the only thing Washington can do is bolster the U.N.’s operations through financial aid, expertise and, of course, the planes NATO uses for its occasional punitive bombing runs. If Helms, backed by similar neo-isolationists in Congress, tightens the tourniquet, the United States will have little or no influence in the Balkans—which is to say over a European war that then could get out of control.

I don’t happen to think that the Bosnian conflict is going to become the third Balkan war, bringing in Macedonia, Albania, Greece and Turkey. Nevertheless, the Balkan situation has already divided NATO and may yet provoke the Russians to move closer to their traditional allies and co-religionists, the Orthodox Serbs. Now is not the time for the United States to turn its back on the international institutions that could prevent a wider conflagration and humanitarian disaster.

Given the turbulent nature and reaction­ary views of Jesse Helms—not to mention the pro-Bosnian Muslim foreign policy of Bob Dole—the Clinton administration can ill afford to continue with a badly divided foreign policy team whose war and money is devoted to fraternal bickering. In fact, some observers say that the prospect of Helms has already focused Clinton’s foreign policy team. The new post-election reality—no chance of a new secretary of state, among other things—is encouraging grudging cooperation.

If the president himself had a passionate interest in foreign policy, none of this fuming would matter. But he doesn’t—and his recent successes in Haiti and Iraq don’t prove otherwise. Chairman Jesse knows exactly where he’s going. Does Bill Clinton’s foreign policy team? Up to now, though, it’s been at each other’s throats.

How the Government Is Saving Money

I feel compelled to correct an impression that may have been left by David Silverstein in his Oct. 25 letter “How the Feds Could Really Save Money.” Mr. Silverstein asserts that government-wide procurement reforms, such as the recently enacted micropurchase section of the procurement reform legislation, would not save any money because agencies have a habit of spending up to their appropriation limits.

However, in enacting the procurement reform legislation, Congress did so directed that budgetary authority contained in eight separate appropriation acts be permanently canceled as of Nov. 30, 1994. These savings amount to some $600 million and result from administrative reforms that simplify small purchase procedures, use more effective contracting techniques and provide for increased productivity among the government’s procurement work force. Although the new micropurchase authority is but one component of these reforms, it is an important one.

Similarly, Craig Allen suggests in his Nov. 4 letter that government small purchase reform may remove fundamental fairness from the system. I would liken some of the federal procurement laws previously associated with the small purchase process as sanctioning the expenditure of $100 in order to ferret out $1 worth of waste or fraud. Moreover, computerized audit techniques now exist that did not exist even 10 years ago that provide reasonable assurance that contract awards will not be “steered” to particular suppliers because of favoritism or, even worse, nepotism.

The need for procurement reform was underscored by the strong bipartisan support it enjoyed in both the Senate and the House.

RICHARD C. LOEB
Executive Secretary
Cost Accounting Standards Board
Office of Management and Budget
Washington
Not a Green Congress

IT ISN'T just the budget that House Republi­cans seek to cut in their "Contract With America." They would impose important new constraints on federal regulatory authority as well, particularly in the environmental field. Some of the regulatory proposals would repre­sent as radical a departure—produce as great a diminution in federal power and the federal role—as any of the spending items on the list.

The contract includes proposals to:

1. Create a regulatory budget wherein each agency would annually project the cost to the private sector of complying with its regulations. A system of caps would then be imposed to force each agency to reduce those costs.

2. Change what is known as takings law to limit what critics regard as a shifting of public costs to the private sector. The government would have to compensate private property holders for any loss in the value of their property (up to 10 percent of market value) by virtue of regulatory activity.

3. Prevent cost-shifting to the state and local sector as well through restrictions on so-called unfunded mandates.

4. Require agencies to perform new risk assessments and cost-benefit analyses before issuing new regulations and to publish impact analyses having to do with the economic cost of major regulations just as they now must publish impact statements setting out the environmental cost of major federal actions.

Efforts are also likely in the new Congress to narrow the scope or limit enforcement of some particular environmental statutes. In the last Congress, for example, an agreement was almost reached to restructure the clumsy Superfund program meant to clean up toxic waste sites. Now the agreement is threatened in part because some leading members want to rewrite the law to eliminate retroactive liability for the dumping of toxics prior to 1980, when the law was originally passed.

The administration had likewise hoped to bring about reform of existing pesticide law in the coming Congress through the threat that it would begin to enforce the so-called Delaney clause, a neglected provision that could drive some widely used pesticides off the market. A rider to the next appropriations act could forbid the use of any funds to enforce the clause; what then? An appropriations rider could also be used to keep the Interior Department from carrying out the partial grazing reform that remains on its agenda. Just such a rider, after all, is what the Democrats used in the last Congress to push in the opposite direction on mining reform.

How do the environmentalists respond? They're still trying to figure it out, as is the administration. In the last Congress, environmental advocates tried to take advantage of what were thought to be receptive Democratic majorities to pass legisla­tion. They came close on a couple of bills—Super­fund, safe drinking water—but mostly failed. Now they are likely going to be trying to block a lot of environmental legislation instead. That's as good a measure as any of what the politics of the next two years may be like.

No Turning Back in Dublin

Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds re­signed last week just as he was about to be ousted. On this side of the Atlantic, the main concern is the newly hopeful peace process in the decades-old dispute over Northern Ireland. In spite of the change in leadership in Dublin, all parties appear to be confident that reconciliation is on track.

Mr. Reynolds led a coalition consisting of his own Fianna Fail Party and the Labor Party headed by the deputy prime minister and foreign secretary, Dick Spring. The coalition came apart over Mr. Reynolds's insistence on appointing his attorney general and friend, Harry Whelehan, to the country's high court. The nomination had been held up by Labor because of the attorney general's role in two episodes—an attempt a few years ago to prevent a 14-year-old girl from traveling to Britain for an abortion and a months­long delay in extraditing a Catholic priest to Northern Ireland, where he was wanted on child sexual abuse charges. Both incidents may be indicative of the changing relationship between the Irish government and the Catholic Church. But it was Mr. Reynolds's political decision to go ahead with the nomination in spite of Labor opposition that caused his government to fall.

Fianna Fail has chosen a new leader, Bertie Ahearn, and the betting is that he will be able to reform the coalition with Labor and share power with Mr. Spring. In that event, there is almost no chance that the peace process will be derailed. But even if a different combination comes to power, the Irish people are, by all accounts, committed to peace. British Prime Minister John Major, who praised Mr. Reynolds for the central part he played in forwarding the peace, has also emphasized that he expects cooperation will continue. Another round of talks is scheduled before Christmas.

Tremendous progress has been made since the Irish Republican Army announced a cease-fire in August and the Protestant paramilitaries did the same last month. One man on each side has been killed in isolated incidents; in general Belfast and the surrounding counties have been at peace. Roads are being reopened, barriers removed and families have begun to get used to life without gunfire and constant fear. There is no going back now. Any new Irish leader must advance the reconciliation now underway.
‘Signal’ to the Serbs

LAST WEEK Serb warplanes rose from a base that the United Nations had tried and failed to neutralize, ignored the NATO-decreed “no-fly zone” over Bosnia and twice hit the U.N.-declared “safe area” of Muslim Bihac. For this brazen escalation, the Security Council promptly ordered up a NATO response. It came yesterday. Some 39 NATO planes struck Udbina in a Serb-held part of Croatia but with armaments, targets and tactics chosen to advertise not the alliance’s outrage but its restraint. The United Nations was at pains to draw Bosnian Serbs to the negotiating table and NATO to preempt their retaliation against alliance members’ peacekeeping forces on the ground. So parked planes were spared, and the Udbina airport is expected to be back in operation shortly.

By a military standard, this was a pathetic response. The “signal” it actually sent is almost certain to be precisely opposite to the one intended. Does anyone really think that the Bosnian Serbs are now the likelier to accept being cowed into the 49 percent of Bosnia that the international peace plan has in store for them? On the contrary, there is now a fear that Serbs, emboldened by NATO’s flabbiness and enraged by Croatia’s invitation to NATO to strike Udbina, may go back on the attack against Croatia. Instead of chastening the Serbs, the raid may end up widening the war.

Sen. Dole speaks for many when he wonders impatiently why NATO should be “subordinated” to the United Nations. A reminder may be in order. NATO is subordinate because it refuses to be prime. Europe and America from the start declined to accept responsibility for taming the fractious Yugoslavs. In a historic default, they dumped the job on an ambitious but shaky and unready U.N., which had not the resources to be anything more than a neutral peace-seeker and aid provider. These are tasks that need no apology, but they are far from ensuring a just peace.

Now many Americans—Europeans seem to know better—complain of the U.N.’s ways. But after three years of lost opportunities, the U.N.’s are the only ways. Bill Clinton’s decision to stop enforcing the arms embargo on Bosnia’s Muslim-led government, for instance, is no more than a gesture—one that risks fooling the Muslims into thinking they may yet be bailed out. A return to the table, whose conveners resume work on Dec. 2 in Brussels, is the only even faintly plausible way out.

Whitewater’s Unfinished Business

With the conclusion of Whitewater hearings this summer, President Clinton and his fellow Democrats reportedly had hoped the congressional probe was behind them. But even before the Nov. 8 election results, there was little chance of Whitewater escaping the next Congress’s agenda. With investigative powers firmly in the hands of Republican lawmakers beginning in January, the new Congress is guaranteed to return to Whitewater in 1995—perhaps with a vengeance. This much the White House can count on: Over the next year or so, the political and business lives of the Clintons and their Arkansas associates are in for a renewed run.

The question is not whether there will be a Washington probe but rather how Republicans led by soon-to-be Senate and House banking committee chairmen Alfonse D’Amato and Jim Leach will exercise their new found powers. They can delve prematurely into matters still under investigation by independent counsel Kenneth Starr, thus potentially compromising his inquiry. They can launch a mean-spirited, meandering fishing expedition designed to embarrass and destabilize an already badly shaken Democratic administration. Or they can select a better and more responsible course and abide by the terms of the agreement reached by Congress last summer.

At that time, it was agreed public hearings would be limited to those phases of the Whitewater probe completed by the independent counsel. The banking committees were on that path in July, when they zeroed into the Whitewater-related communications between White House and Treasury officials. House Banking Committee Democrats, however, abandoned their constitutional duties and went bail for the White House. The Senate Banking Committee’s more balanced and bipartisan inquiry, in contrast, unearthed testimony that was severely damaging to the upper ranks of the Treasury Department.

The independent counsel still must be heard from on the White House’s handling of White House deputy counsel Vincent Foster’s papers following his death. And Mr. Starr’s probe into the Clintons’ Whitewater investments, the Madison S&L failure and the rest their Arkansas affairs is still underway. His enterprise should not be jeopardized. A Congress not motivated by blood sport but intent on responsibly exercising its constitutional oversight role will respect that position.
With Mary Alma Welch

Quote to Note

* "I'm sorry, I have to touch you. Can you lie down on the floor?"
  — Emma Thompson to Arnold Schwarzenegger, her costar in the
  upcoming comedy flick "Junior," on
  meeting the former professional
  bodybuilder for the first time.

By Lois Romano

**From Bytes to Rights**

* Top Apple Computer lawyer Elizabeth Birch isstructing the corporate life and
  moving east from California to head the
  Human Rights Campaign Fund here, the gay
  rights group announced yesterday.

Birch, 38, who has been openly lesbian
since she was a teen, wouldn't concede
yesterday that the emergence of the right
on Capitol Hill will make her new job that
much harder. "I have had
enormous success
by not sticking to issues
with people," she
said yesterday,
"but by promoting
people with
information and
conversation—
by having people
return to
American values,
which are based on
nondiscrimination."

She says she accepted the job to replace
Tom McFeely as executive director
because "finally, I can make a good,
dead integration—bring all my corporate
expertise into the national gay and lesbian
rights movement."

She says her top priorities when she takes
the helm July 1 will be building a lobbying
team and broadening communications
efforts.

"I'm not naive," she says. "I realize there
are enormous challenges. I continue to be
unsurprisingly optimistic about networking,
protection for gays and lesbians. I think the
country is more concerned about the agenda
of the extreme right than about any issues
affecting gay and lesbians."

**From Bytes to Rights**

* A week after his estranged
  wife announced plans to marry
  her bodyguard, Tim Arnold has
  said he'll marry
  Julio Champnessi, a
  21-year-old
  Detroit college
  student.

* And Champnessi plans a July 22 wedding in
  Bloomfield Hills, Mich., the bride-to-be
  will transfer to the University of
  California at Los Angeles.

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* Steven Spielberg is still getting kudos
  for making the Oscar-winning film
  "Schindler's List." In New York Sunday,
  40 Jews who were actually on the list
  gathered to present the Statement of
  the State of Israel Bonds Elie Wiesel
  Holocaust Remembrance Award. Spielberg
  is the first non-Holocaust survivor to receive
  the annual award, presented by the
  agency that issues bonds for Israel. "The
  love and the attention that has been
  brought to the survivors," Spielberg said,"
  has been the best thing to ever come into
  my life," Reuters reported. "I thank
  God for choosing me."

* Education Secretary Dick Riley, who
  underwent surgery for prostate cancer
  in mid-October, was back in his office
  yesterday. His recovery is almost
  complete, said a statement from his
  office, and he expects to resume a full
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By G.B. Trudeau

**DOONESBURY**

**WE'VE HEARD THAT**

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  Schwarzenegger, her costar in the
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With Mary Alma Welch
ROCKWELL WON the bidding for Reliance Electric, besting General Signal with a sweetened $31-a-share offer. The $1.6 billion transaction is expected to boost Rockwell's industrial automation business with the addition of the design and production capacity of one of the nation's largest electrical motor makers. (Article on Page A3)

The SEC launched an investigation into whether PaineWebber Group improperly sold as much as $2 billion of limited partnerships to investors. (Article on Page C1)

Chea-Gely agreed to buy nearly half of Chiron in a deal valued at $2.1 billion, a vote of confidence in biotech research. The move could yield a host of products for the Swiss drug firm. (Articles on Pages B4 and C2)

The White House and Dole are close to a deal making it more likely the U.S. could withdraw from the proposed World Trade Organization if its decisions go against the U.S. (Article on Page A3a)

** Banc One will cut 8.6% of its work force, or 4,300 jobs, and close about 100 branches in the Midwest. The cutbacks will contribute to a fourth-quarter charge of $235 million. (Article on Page A3)

Kemper's shares skidded 13% in the wake of Conseco's failed takeover attempt. Other potential bidders remain, but any offer likely would be well below Conseco's $60-a-share bid. (Article on Page A1)

Stock prices tumbled, fueled by a late round of program trading. The Dow Jones Industrial Average fell late in the round of program trading. The move could yield a host of products for the Swiss drug firm. ( Articles on Pages B4 and C2)

** Microsoft's plan to buy Intuit is coming under close Justice Department scrutiny. Competitors fear the purchase would help Microsoft dominate on-line financial services. (Article on Page B6)

An American Express unit agreed to settle a civil money-laundering case it brought against a unit of Equitable Group for $235 million. The settlement is expected to settle a civil money-laundering case it brought against a unit of Equitable Group for $235 million. (Article on Page A4)

Fingerhut canceled the launch of its home-shopping network because it couldn't win investor backing. It was the latest sign of a slowdown in the electronic retailing industry. (Article on Page A1)

** Treasury estimates put the cost of the capital-gains tax cut Republicans are proposing at $44.5 billion over five years. That's below estimates used by GOP members, which reckon the cost to the Treasury at $56.6 billion. (Article on Page A2)

** Short interest declined 1.3% in the New York Stock Exchange, snapping 12 consecutive months of increases. (Article on Page C24)

** Rolls-Royce plans to buy Allison Engine for $525 million, broadening its airplane-engine product range and establishing a key presence in the U.S. (Article on Page A2)

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Russia appealed for international help in combating crime, but Moscow officials played down fears that mobsters were getting control of nuclear materials. Numerous inspections have turned up no instances of theft of weapons-grade material. Russia's interior minister told a U.N. conference in Naples, Italy, on organized crime.

A Nobel laureate quietly escaped from Nigeria and arrived in Paris over the weekend, defying a recent travel ban imposed on him by Nigerian authorities. Wole Soyinka, 60, who was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 1986, denounced his government as a "brutal dictatorship.

Brazilian troops have pulled out of two shantytowns in Rio de Janeiro after weekend searches for drug traffickers in which scores of people were detained, a military spokesman said. The army also set up checkpoints at the entrances to six other shantytowns in an attempt to cut off the flow of drugs and weapons to gangs.

Hourly Earnings

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** What's News — A1

** Business and Finance

** World-Wide

NATO WARPLANES ATTACKED a Serb airfield in Croatia. (Article on Page A18)

The U.N. termed the action a "necessary response" to Serb air raids in Bosnia last week. The Serbs said some civilians were wounded near Udbina.

ARAFAT ADDRESSED a rally of 10,000 PLO supporters in Gaza.

Palestinian gunmen fired into the air and denounced Mosläids extremists during the rally, described by Arafat as a "final, complete and effective" support for peace with Israel. But militant Islamic leaders, burying the 14th victim of Hamas fanatical fighting, called the rally a provocation likely to damage the truce worked out by Israeli Arab mediators.

Some Gazans said they were afraid their hometowns was on the brink of civil war. (Article on Page A26)

Chinese Premier Li Peng said the U.S. is the primary obstacle blocking China's entry to the World Trade Organization. "If the U.S. weren't placing restrictions, China would be able to join GATT now," Premier Li told an international news conference, the first such meeting ever held with various European leaders. (Article on Page A19)

Defense Secretary Perry criticized what he called "inappropriate" comments by Republican Sen. Helms, who had criticized Clinton's ability to command the armed forces. Separately, Perry announced in Buenos Aires that the U.S. may lease surplus weapons to Argentina. (Article on Page A19)

Clinton reportedly will press ahead with the six-week-old, $5.2 billion Koslovskaya nuclear plant at Sviyazhsk. The plant, part of a Russia-Bulgaria joint venture, is the latest sign of a slowdown in the electronic retailing industry. (Article on Page A1)

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A Special News Report About Life
On the Job — and Trends
Taking Shape There

E-MAIL ABUSE: Workers discover high-
tech ways to cause trouble in the office

The Cassie Institute has surveyed 13 offices across the nation to determine what are the most effective avenues for harassing colleagues and laying off the boss. Some employees sexually harass co-
workers via e-mail, sending vulgar notes. Divorcing couples who work together have signed on using their spouse’s name and password — then sent inflammatory mes-
sages to their spouse’s supervisor.

At Eastman Kodak Co., some employees have tried to operate side businesses through e-mail, says Robert Miquet, the company’s information systems manager. While such cases are rare, the company monitors e-mail when it suspects abuse. In a 1993 survey, 22% of 189 businesses queried complained of e-mail problems, double the number from a 1991 survey.

Top executives complain that as many as 300 “junk e-mail” messages a day are clogging their computers.

ENVIRONMENTAL SURPRISE: Saving energy boosts productivity.

Energy-efficient lights and temperature controls improve work quality and quantity. Some businesses watch productivity jump by as much as 16%, gains that generate extra profits that far exceed money saved through energy conservation. “The things you do to optimize energy efficiency are the same things you do to optimize productivity,” says Joseph Romm, author of a book outlining firms’ success stories.

At Boeing, energy-saving lights let one employee see inside airplane parts she used to work on through touch alone. Better lighting at the Renzo, Nev., post office caused an $86,000 annual savings by reducing paper use and helping workers adjust air flow and temperature.

Top executives cite such energy-conservation steps as an example of how they can make the same investments in technology ways to cause trouble in the office.

THE GLASS CEILING remains nearly impossible to shatter.

Only 13 of the Fortune 500 companies have a woman as one of their five highest-executives, says a new study of the businesses’ 1994 proxies. The paucity showing — women hold less than 1% of the firms’ top 2,500 jobs — has led to widespread labor shortages, protests, and a new growth spurt.

A Special News Report About Life
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Taking Shape There

DAILY GRIND: Guarding the Declara-
tion of Independence leads to a condition the Founding Fathers probably never envisioned: aching feet.

Watching some visitors gasp and break into tears at their first sight of the document, guards aren’t allowed to sit down during their day. Russell Jackson, who makes $12.22 an hour, delights in describing the declaration, saying “the more you talk to people, the faster the time goes.”

OVERWORKED and underpaid: American teachers teach more hours per week than teachers in other nations, a new study shows. Japanese, Chinese and most Euro-
pean teachers spend about 13 to 20 hours a week in classrooms, reserving the rest of their time for preparation and one-on-one conferences. U.S. teachers still earn 20% to 30% less than other workers with similar education and experience.

NETWORKING NIRVANA: More than 600 women signed up to attend a 7:30 a.m. breakfast seminar next Monday on mentor-
ing, three times as many as organizers expected. “When women reach the top, they don’t reach back, teach and coach other women,” says Gale Hiering Varma of Delo-
itte & Touche, which organized the Parsip-
pany, N.J., event. To encourage networking, the company is composing an elaborate seating chart that will group attendees by industry. “It’s like a damn wedding,” Ms. Varma says.

THE CHECKOFF: The Los Angeles County Fire Department’s policy banning Playboy at work is ruled unconstitutional by a federal judge. . . . High-school students who graduate on time but don’t go to college typically earn $2,000 a year more than counterparts who finish high school late.

—ROCHELLE SHARPE

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994
U.S. Estimate Of Tax-Cut Cost Is Below GOP's

Five-Year Loss of Revenue In Capital-Gains Plan Is Put at $44.8 Billion

ECONOMY

By Lucinda Harper
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — The Treasury's estimate of the cost of the capital-gains tax cut Republicans are proposing is far lower than the estimate Republicans themselves are using.

Treasury estimates, obtained by The Wall Street Journal, indicate that the capital-gains tax cut outlined in the Republicans' "Contract With America" would cost the Treasury $44.8 billion in revenue over five years. Using congressional estimates, House Republicans say it would cost $56.6 billion.

The lower Treasury estimate could reduce an obstacle Republicans face in trying to get their capital-gains tax cut through Congress by reducing the spending cuts required to offset it, as required under current law.

Bruce Cutlerberson, spokesman for Rep. John Kasich (R., Ohio), who will be chairman of the House Budget Committee in the next Congress, said the congressional estimates made by non-political career government economists are traditionally far lower than the estimates Treasury economists assume that capital-gains tax rates fall than do congressional estimates.

"The fact that Treasury analysis looks better for the Republicans shows they are really operating independently and in their own best judgment," said Yale law professor Michael Graetz, who was a Treasury tax official in the Bush administration.

The discrepancy exists primarily because Treasury economists assume that more investors will sell assets if capital-gains tax rates fall than do congressional economists, said Princeton University economist Harvey Rosen, who headed tax analysis for the Treasury in the Bush administration. For instance, in 1986, the Treasury estimated that President Bush's capital-gains tax-cut proposal would bring in an extra $16.1 billion in revenue over five years; the congressional estimates said it would cause a revenue loss of $11.3 billion.

The new Republican leaders of the House, Newt Gingrich of Georgia and Dick Armey of Texas, aren't likely to be satisfied with either estimate, however. Neither analysis reflects the possible revenue gains to the government that would occur if a cut in capital-gains tax rates stimulated economic growth. Reps. Gingrich and Armey argue that the resulting growth would wipe out any revenue losses.

OPEC Rallies Around Idea to Freeze Oil Output as Demand Rises Next Year

By James Tanner
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DENPASAR, Indonesia—OPEC's financially strapped members rallied around recommendations to hold their output steady well into 1995 in an attempt to push up the price of oil.

Such a strategy to tighten oil supplies as demand rises next year "could be adopted by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries as early as today," the second day of OPEC's winter conference.

But even as the oil ministers meeting on Bali endorsed the idea of freezing production at the current level, there was debate over the duration of such a move. Some ministers continued to call for a six-month freeze on output despite the popularity of a proposal made over the weekend by Saudi Arabia to extend the current production ceiling of 25.5 million barrels a day for all of 1995.

The Saudi plan is backed by at least one-half of the 12 OPEC members and is credited with some firming of world oil prices yesterday. But some OPEC members object to any "rollover" of the current ceiling at this time beyond next year's first half.

"A 12-month rollover would be bullish and would raise prices 50 cents to $1 a barrel," from the recent range of $17 to $19 for the main U.S. crude, said Mohammed Abdul Jabbar, a crude-oil market specialist for Washington-based Petroleum Finance Co.

"The goal of the Saudi proposal to freeze the current output level for a year is to push up prices as demand exceeds production, particularly in next year's fourth quarter. Many of the analysts here to observe the outcome of the OPEC meeting said a six-month freeze on the ceiling already had been factored into the oil market and that prices weren't likely to rise if that is all that is decided.

"A 12-month rollover would be bullish and would raise prices 50 cents to $1 a barrel," from the recent range of $17 to $19 for the main U.S. crude, said Mohammed Abdul Jabbar, a crude-oil market specialist for Washington-based Petroleum Finance Co.

"The fact that Treasury analysis looks better for the Republicans shows they are really operating independently and in their own best judgment," said Yale law professor Michael Graetz, who was a Treasury tax official in the Bush administration.

The discrepancy exists primarily because Treasury economists assume that more investors will sell assets if capital-gains tax rates fall than do congressional economists, said Princeton University economist Harvey Rosen, who headed tax analysis for the Treasury in the Bush administration. For instance, in 1986, the Treasury estimated that President Bush's capital-gains tax-cut proposal would bring in an extra $16.1 billion in revenue over five years; the congressional estimates said it would cause a revenue loss of $11.3 billion.

The new Republican leaders of the House, Newt Gingrich of Georgia and Dick Armey of Texas, aren't likely to be satisfied with either estimate, however. Neither analysis reflects the possible revenue gains to the government that would occur if a cut in capital-gains tax rates stimulated economic growth. Reps. Gingrich and Armey argue that the resulting growth would wipe out any revenue losses.
Clinton, Dole Are Close to Deal Seeking To Assure Critics of World-Trade Pact

BY BOB DAVIS AND DAVID ROGERS

WASHINGTON—The White House and Senate Republican Leader Robert Dole are close in on a deal that would make it more likely the U.S. would withdraw from the proposed World Trade Organization if its decisions go against the U.S.

The plan, informally known as "Three Strikes and You're Out," would set up a panel of retired federal judges to review WTO decisions, according to administration and congressional negotiators. If the panel finds that WTO arbitration boards acted "arbitrarily" in three cases against the U.S. within a certain period of time, Congress would vote to withdraw from the WTO. The president would have to sign the withdrawal, or veto the congressional resolution.

The WTO would be set up to oversee international trade under the proposed world-trade pact. The pact already would allow the U.S. or other countries to withdraw from the treaty, and legislation before Congress would establish a number of procedures for reviewing WTO actions and withdrawing from the organization. The three-strikes plan being discussed with Sen. Dole would be aimed at giving critics three-strikes plans being discussed with the majority. "The last thing we need at the start is a complicated and divisive debate," said Mr. Kristol in a memo circulated by his "Project for the Republican Future." Mr. Dole was still promoting the idea yesterday, although White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta said Sunday that the administration had no plan to embrace the proposed tax cut. The risk for the administration is that if capital-gains question is elevated to prominence, it could become a defining issue for Republicans, and make it that much harder to win their support for the trade treaty.

"The cat is out of the bag," said Jude Wanninski, a supply-side advocate and former Wall Street Journal editorial writer who has been advising Mr. Dole. In a newsletter circulated to his clients last week, Mr. Wanninski likened the proposal to the famous "Godfather" movie line—"an offer the president cannot refuse." But he said in an interview yesterday that he "can't see the president not to embarrass the administration. Dole is 'not the kind of guy who pulls wings off flies'—or the president," said Mr. Wanninski.

Standard of Review

Under the plan, lawmakers would try to work out a number of details of the three-strikes proposal. One issue is the standard of review of the panel of judges. The WTO, with the U.S. at its head, would use to evaluate WTO decisions. If they were asked to decide whether WTO arbitration boards acted "arbitrarily" in ways that result in an "adverse effect" on U.S. interests, their review would be limited to the most egregious cases, negotiators said.

Under the plan, lawmakers would propose a joint resolution of Congress instructing the president to withdraw from the WTO if the judges find three such cases in a fairly short period of time. It wasn't clear how the procedures would be implemented, since it probably would require congressional approval next year. One possibility would be for President Clinton to issue a letter saying he supports the plan.

The three-strikes review is designed to assure WTO critics, who fear the U.S. would be at the mercy of the new organization's arbitration panels. Sen. Dole has said several times that trade activists have flooded his Kansas offices with complaints about the WTO's proposed powers.

Under the current dispute-resolution system, administered by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the U.S. and other members can veto the decisions of arbitration boards. Under the new WTO—GATT's intended successor—the veto would be eliminated. The U.S. pushed for that change, arguing that the European Union and other trade partners have failed to comply with GATT rulings won by the U.S.

Gary Hubbauer, an economist at the Institute of International Economics, a Washington think tank, said the EU and others would copy the three-strikes plan, potentially undermining the new dispute-resolution system. "We're sending the message that if a decision doesn't go our way, we're leaving," he said. "That's saying we don't accept the final word."
Republicans Pushing Social Agenda, but Many In Party Say Economic Issues Take Precedence

By BARBARA ROSEWICZ
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON - Newly empowered Republicans want to make the nation a more virtuous place, but some are warning that one of the more important virtues is patience.

Even as House Speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich promises to take up school prayer by July, there is a strong current moving through the party that argues instead for going slowly on divisive social issues such as prayer and abortion to keep from blowing the Republicans' real aim, which is to consolidate power from top to bottom over the next two years and beyond.

"They've got to stay focused on issues where they are today: economic issues and issues of change in Congress," cautions Neil Newhouse, a Republican pollster.

"You can't overreach."

But as Mr. Gingrich's quick promise on prayer suggests, blending patience and politics won't be easy.

**Economy First**

Strikingly, even important players such as the Christian Coalition, the biggest of the religious-right groups, say their top priorities are already in the House Republicans' "Contract With America." Though the contract is mainly an economic road map for cutting taxes and government, it also blends in more social proposals than has been widely recognized on issues concerning crime, illegitimacy and families.

"Republicans cannot ignore social issues, because morality has become so important," says Frank Luntz, a GOP pollster who advises the House Republican caucus.

If Rep. Gingrich (R., Ga.) is willing to risk adding school prayer to Congress's early agenda, conservatives see hope for other issues popping up as well, even if there isn't any coordinated move to push the right's social views. Rep. Gingrich's promise to run Congress differently than the Democrats and allow more floor debate on proposals also would open the door to conservative forays into abortion, sex education in schools and attempts to force out President Clinton's outspoken surgeon general, Joycelyn Elders.

"It would be a bizarre twist if, when given the reins of leadership, we would become the party of economic growth only" and ignore basic values, says Rep. Christopher Smith, a New Jersey Republican who leads antiabortion forces in the House. Despite the White House veto power, he foresees an attempt, for example, to reverse the Clinton administration and once again drop abortion coverage from federal employees' health benefits package.

Of course, issues such as abortion and sex education in schools came up while Democrats controlled Congress, too, so to a certain amount of social-reform proposals wouldn't be surprising. What seems to worry the Republican mainstream is the threat of creating gridlock over divisive social issues and diverting attention from passing their core economic agenda. After criticizing the Democratic Congress for failure to act, Republican leaders will want to prove that Congress can actually accomplish something now that the GOP is in power.

Many Republicans also are wary of alienating mainstream voters by repeating the right the mistake President Clinton made from the left when he used his first days in office to take liberal steps to trim abortion restrictions and protect gays in the military. And there seems to be little appetite for spending a lot of time on trying to undo many of Mr. Clinton's past social reforms.

The focus of these Republicans is on the long term. "This is a congressional major-
ity, and it's a big deal," says GOP strategist William Kristol. "But at the end of the day, to really transform American politics

**What Do Republicans Want?**

Here's how Republican voters answered the question: Which of the following would you say was the most important when you decided how to vote in the congressional election?

- **Texas**
- **Crime**
- **Welfare**
- **Health care**
- **Abortion**
- **Social Security**
- **Guns**
- **Immigration**

Source: Public Opinion Strategies

and policy, we need the presidency ... and we need to act in the next few years to try to increase our majorities in 1996, to win the presidency." Mr. Kristol argues for selecting a few dramatic but vulnerable targets, such as eliminating the Education Department, for example.

One tactic to address social issues already has been the blend of social reform in the House GOP legislative agenda, although that isn't well-advertised. The welfare-reform proposal seeks to cure illegitimacy and test-patenting by denying all benefits to unwed teenage mothers and their children. The contract also revives the call for school vouchers for use at private schools, and the middle-class tax cuts are packaged to reward marriage and families with children.

Gingrich Is Tentative

To the extent he has publicly addressed the issue, Mr. Gingrich told an audience recently, "I want to make the nation a more virtuous place, but I won't replace the social engineering by the left with a social engineering of the right."

Some groups that are eager for action on a social agenda want House Republicans to move as soon as they fulfill their pledge to vote on the GOP contract agenda in the first 100 days. Gary Bauer, a former Reagan administration official and president of the Family Research Council, has a passel of parental-rights and education issues he wants Congress to address "on day 101." The Christian Action Network, a conservative lobbying group, says its top goal after Congress's first 100 days is the abolishment of the National Endowment for the Arts, which has survived onslaughts before over such things as the funding of an art exhibit with homosexu-

In many ways, the current search for the right formula on controversial social issues is just a test run for Republicans, who are trying to figure out how to handle them in the 1996 presidential campaign. Already, many on both sides of the issue are talking about scrapping the 1992 GOP platform plank calling for a constitu-

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**THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994**
FCC Gets $522.3 Million Tied to Wireless Auction

WASHINGTON — The Federal Communications Commission said it collected $522.3 million in payments from 30 companies — two in each of 48 regions across the country — to build and operate next-generation cellular-telephone networks.

The payments are earnest money required from any group seeking to bid at the auction, overall, the auction is expected to bring in more than $10 billion from such bidders as AT&T Corp., the regional Bell companies and various cable-television companies. It's scheduled to start Dec. 5.

The FCC expects auction 99 li-censes — two in each of 48 regions across the country, plus one each in the New York, Los Angeles and Baltimore-Washington markets. The commission already has selected the second recipient in the latter three markets through a program that rewards companies for pioneering technologies.

Among those that had applied in October but didn't submit upfront payments were U.S. Airways Inc., a partner-ship that includes John DeFeo, the former head of cellular-phone operations for U S West Inc. Mr. DeFeo said the company will participate in the auctions for licenses set aside for entrepreneurs. Earnest money to participate in those auctions won't be required until shortly before they are to be held next spring.

MONDAY’S MARKETS

BY DAVE KANSA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The stock market tumbled in the final 90 minutes of trading, pushed lower by a round of program selling that a nervous market failed to shrug off.

Most troubling to strategists, the stock market’s usual scapegoat, the bond mar-ket, had a rather ho-hum day, with bond prices slightly lower in light trading. Moreover, the dollar provided little guidance, ending mixed against major currencies.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average dropped 45.75 to 3769.51, smashing below the 3800 level for the first time since Oct. 26. The Standard & Poor’s 500-stock index skidded 3.17 to 638.30, the Nasdaq Composite Index slid 6.93 to 757.74 and the New York Stock Exchange Composite Index fell 1.72 to 250.58.

"It was kind of a dull day and then it just started going wacky after 2:30," said Timothy Heekin, head of block trading at Salomon Brothers. "Things were pretty quiet here; the selling seemed totally driven by programs and activity in the futures market."

In the rather arcane world of program trading, the S&P 500 futures, traded primarily in Chicago, play a key role. When those futures surprisingly pushed below key support levels in Chicago, program selling in New York took off with a vengeance, traders said.

With buyers hesitant to step in, the selling accelerated, pushing the industrial average more than 50 points into negative territory near the close.

Once the blue-chip indicator hit the 50-point mark, the Big Board triggered its circuit breakers that curtail certain pro-gram trading. Underscoring the dominant role played by programs in the selling binge, once the circuit breakers fired, selling pressure rapidly abated.

"There was no significant economic news and no real good reason for stock prices to decline," said Mickey D. Levy, chief financial economist at NationsBank.

"Really, this decline is very symptomatic of a jittery market that’s bad news-vulner-able."

Several analysts say that even though no major news emerged late in the session to prompt selling, the tinder for a sharp decline has littered the stock market floor for some time. Among the negative issues are global trade, higher interest rates and the increasingly competitive fixed-income investments. Many strategists worry that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, a key element to long-term growth scenarios, may face stiff opposition in Washing-ton this month. In the wake of the recent election, a strategy to pass GATT has yet to emerge, and Democrats have been slow to line up behind President Clinton, who supports the trade pact.

"People were talking nervously about GATT all day," said Jack Baker, managing director for stock trading at Furman Selz. "And its difficulties are adding to the market’s nervousness."

In addition, analysts said the sharp declines in the Mexican and Brazilian stock markets stemmed, in part, from worries about the GATT discussions taking place in the U.S. But most of the GATT problems could be found in the morning papers, making the late-afternoon sell-off all the more confusing.

Technical strategists noted that the stock price eventurally forced the ma-jor indexes below key support levels that had held up strongly in recent weeks in the face of rising interest rates and worries about slowing growth.

And the steep decline, in the face of no real news, prompted further discussion about slowing growth. Undergirding worries about an economic slowdown, economically sensitive stocks continued to per-form weakly. General Motors, down ½ to 31½, hit another 52-week low.

"While stocks don’t always predict re-cessions, perhaps they will this time," said Steve Shobin, technical analyst at Lehman Brothers. "With the decline in stocks and the relative stability in the bond market we may be starting to really feel the ax of the Fed’s interest-rate increases."

Stock strategists continued to express worry that the Fed’s interest-rate in-creases will start to squeeze the liquidity in the stock market. Mutual-fund money managers have had a tough year in the stock market, and with fixed-income investments now sporting relatively safe, attractive yields, more investor dollars may start moving away from stocks.

Adding to the market’s jitters, one of the last bulls at a major brokerage firm took a rather bearish turn in a morning conference call. Byron Wein, market strat-egist for Morgan Stanley, told clients that he was increasing the cash position in his stock portfolio to 15% from 10%.

World-wide, stock prices fell in dollar terms. The Dow Jones World Stock Index lost 0.59 to 114.42.

In major market action:

Stock prices fell. Volume totaled 293 million shares on the New York Stock Exchange, where 1,492 issues declined and 810 issues advanced.

Bond prices fell. However, the Trea-sur’s benchmark 30-year bond was un-changed, to yield 8.13%.

The dollar was mixed. In late New York trading, the currency was quoted at 1.5568 marks and 98.38 yen, compared with 1.5505 marks and 98.56 yen on Friday.
In the spring of 1993, Mujo and Melka Music (pronounced MEWsihch), lounged on their manicured lawn, sharing an afternoon nip of coffee and brandy under a beech tree. The Music couple? 

"I got up this morning and was making coffee when the Serbs here told me what happened," Mujo said.

"They took my father in the middle of the night," cried Melka. "We'll go anywhere."
Britain to Decide on Lockheed Order
For Cargo Planes by End of the Year

Britain's Ministry of Defense said it will decide by year end on an order, potentially worth more than £1.5 billion, for up to 30 new C-130J Hercules transport planes from Lockheed Corp., amid reports that Lockheed has underbid European rivals for the hotly contested deal. British Defense Ministry spokesman said the government will choose whether to refurbish as many as 30 of its aging Hercules cargo planes or to replace them with C-130Js, an updated version of the venerable cargo craft.

By Wall Street Journal reporters

refurbish as many as 30 of its aging Hercules cargo planes or to replace them with C-130Js, an updated version of the venerable cargo craft.

Lockheed's competitor is Britain's Brit- ish Aerospace PLC, which has urged the government to refurbish its existing craft to allow time for British Aerospace to complete an entirely new aircraft design whose first deliveries wouldn't occur until 2002.

According to reports in the Daily Tele- graph and the Times, two reports in British media, the government had decided to order new planes from Lockheed, which could begin deliveries in about 1996. Mr. Mieno, the Defense Ministry spokesman dismissed the reports as "purely speculative" and said a decision hadn't been reached. "It could go either way at this stage," he said. A spokesman for British Aerospace also termed the reports "speculative."

Lockheed, based in Calabasas, Calif., and soon to merge with Martin Marietta Corp., said through a spokesman that it is optimistic that it will win the contract but that the company still is negotiating with the British government.

Even so, the simultaneous emergence of reports in two British newspapers brought optimism in some quarters that the American company is ahead in the bidding that pits Lockheed's updated de- sign — on which Lockheed has spent "several hundred million dollars," according to a company spokesman — against British Aerospace efforts to launch its new de- sign.

Lockheed's apparent front position in the race appears to be bad news for British Aerospace and the European consortium working on a next-generation transport plane to replace the Hercules. British Aerospace fears that its hopes to supply the wing technology for the Euro- transport aircraft, dubbed the Future Large Aircraft on the PLAs, could be damaged if the British Defense Ministry shuns the European design. British Aerospace has urged the British government to refurbish the 60 existing C130s that were acquired in the 1960s until the European replacement is available.

The PLA, its designers say, would be more reliable and economical than the new Lockheed design. The project would also secure some 7,500 jobs in the United King- dom.

On the Lockheed side, the company has put up its own money for the new design. The British order would help amortize design costs, potentially enabling the company to offer a lower price to the U.S. military, which is interested in the plane.

HUD Seeks to Boost Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac Housing Goals

By Wall Street Journal Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — The Department of Housing and Urban Development wants the Federal National Mortgage Association and Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp. to boost their commitment to low- income and moderate-income housing.

Draft HUD rules, which are subject to comment on specifics.

"We have never thought in the past that Japan was the greatest economy in the world," Mr. Mieno said. "But now we are thinking that in the future, this will be the case."

The central-bank governor helped tug- gert the downturn himself by driving up interest rates to puncture soaring stock and land prices that were blamed for the severity of Japan's worst recession in decades, though a number of economists credited him with restoring sanity to skewed asset prices.

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Chinese Premier Singles Out U.S. As Obstacle to Fast GATT Entry

Li Praises Go-Slow Course On Stock Markets, Yuan And More-Open Trade

BY KAREN ELLIOTT HOUSE
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

BEIJING -- Chinese Premier Li Peng said the U.S. is the main obstacle to China's entry by year end into GATT, the treaty that governs liberalized global trade.

In a one-hour interview with this newspaper, Premier Li said his talks with European leaders indicate few other impediments remain. "If the U.S. wasn't placing restraints, China would be able to join GATT now," he said. He called U.S. statements of support for China's entry into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade "lip service" but added with a smile, "supporting words are better than no support at all."

China is eager to be quickly admitted to GATT, so it can be a founding member of the World Trade Organization, or WTO, which will succeed GATT early next year if the U.S. and other nations ratify the latest international trade treaty. In the U.S., Congress is expected to vote on the controversial treaty before its Christmas recess (see related article on page A26.). China was a founding member of GATT but dropped out after the Communist takeover in 1949.

Premier Li's comments came a week after President Clinton and Chinese President Jiang Zemin met in Indonesia but failed to clear obstacles to China's entry into GATT. U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor indicated talks would continue but expressed doubt "we can finish our negotiations by the end of this year."

Talk of a Compromise

Regardless, there is speculation that a compromise is afoot to allow China to join GATT this year, despite the Bush administration's assertion that China doesn't meet requirements for joining GATT this year. China's entry would give its 1.2 billion people membership in the world's 11th-largest trading nation and may be sufficient to change trade patterns.

Premier Li was interviewed in an ornate room at Zhongnanhai, once part of the Imperial Palace and now the compound where many of China's top leaders live.

The Chinese leader spent most of the session discussing China's emerging stock markets. Long regarded as the most hard-line of China's leaders both for ordering the crackdown on protestors at Tiananmen and for his lack of enthusiasm for market economics, Premier Li was cordial and relaxed. But whether discussing trade, stock markets or a timetable for the convertibility of China's currency, the premier espoused a go-slow policy.

The advantages of stock markets are "obvious" in that they "attract funds for technological upgrading of industries at low, or no, cost," he said. But the bulk of his remarks about markets focused on the negative. He repeatedly referred to China's stock markets in Shanghai and Shenzhen as "experimental" and insisted Chinese people aren't yet accustomed to taking risk. "If people suffer losses, they will go to the government because they think losses isn't normal," he said. He cited a market scandal in China in 1992 and the more recent MMM investment-scheme collapse in Moscow as evidence of the fragility of markets.

Indeed, Premier Li, like many Chinese officials, seemed to regard China's 10 million shareholders as a potentially destabilizing force rather than as risk-takers helping to finance China's modernization. Another potentially destabilizing force in China is the fact that somewhere between socialism and capitalism are the 100 million shareholders as a potentially destabilizing force, helping to finance China's modernization.

Another potentially destabilizing force in a China that is somewhere between socialism and capitalism are the 100 million unemployed workers now estimated to have migrated to cities looking for work.

Volatile Markets

With stock markets so volatile that share prices rise and fall 40% in a single afternoon based on rumors of the death of Deng Xiaoping, China's 90-year-old paramount leader, Beijing recently ordered the local news media to report market information only if it was released by the stock exchanges.

Asked if China might make its currency convertible any time soon, the premier expressed his own aversion to risk. "If our currency is convertible, another Black Friday crash in the U.S. would hurt China," he said, "so I don't think it will happen very soon." Indeed, he noted that China's large borrowings from Japan in earlier years when the yen was 360 to the dollar must now be repaid when the yen is below 100 to the dollar, greatly increasing China's debt in dollar terms.

China -- whose foreign-currency reserves total $45 billion, Premier Li disclosed -- fears losing control of its economy if its currency is convertible. Similar fears underlie its reluctance to accede to U.S. demands gladly supported by Europe--that China open its economy to more foreign competition if it wants to join GATT.

By charging import tariffs averaging 35%, keeping customs requirements vague and providing large subsidies to state industries, China's central government has maximized exports to earn the hard currency it needs for investment while strictly controlling imports. China's trade surplus with the U.S. hit a record $22.8 billion in 1993 and is headed higher this year. Only Japan has a larger trade surplus with the U.S.

Without saying how, Premier Li indicated he has "full confidence" China can bring down its 27% annual inflation rate to "under double digits," even though the trend has been up in recent months. Soaring inflation is only one of China's economic problems. But the government seems unwilling to open its markets and allow imports to push down inflation because such foreign competition might also force inefficient Chinese firms to close, raising both unemployment and the risk of political instability.

So the government tinkers, alternately printing money to keep inefficient state firms alive, then easing off to curb inflation and the consumer anger it breeds.

China's Economic Picture

Where the Economy is Growing...

percentage change in real GDP

14% 12 10 8 6 4 2 0
0 1689 90 91 92 93

Inflation Remains High...

Year-to-year percentage change in CPI

40 30 20 10 0
30 25 20 15 10 5
0 1989 90 91 92 93 94

And Stocks Swing Wildly

Shanghai A stock index. U.S. dollar terms

7000 5500 4000 2500 1000
22 50 1889 90 91 92 93 94

Sources: International Monetary Fund, U.S. Commerce Dept., Datamonitor International
By Dave Shiflett

A sense of dread seems to have overcome Washington Democrats as they await the Republican ascension, the same sort of sensation that might accompany the word that the Halos had been spotted on the outskirts of town, sharpening their machetes and gawking runes. These feelings, as the president might counsel, are thoroughly understandable, for they are based on a reasonable fear: "I hope the Republicans don't treat us like we treated the Republicans."

A scary thought, indeed.

Consider the travails of Terence M. Scanlon, whose ascension to the Consumer Product Safety Commission, he advocated voluntarily, may not be as famous as similar odysseys by Republican appointees such as Bill Lucia, Bradford Reynolds, Ray Donovan and John Tower, but might give an indication of the depth of animosity possibly awaiting members of the New Democratic Minority.

Mr. Scanlon, it should be said at the outset, truly lived the bipartisan ideal: As the nephew of Mike Mansfield and a fellow aide to Lyndon Johnson and JFK, he was of Democratic royalty, but gladly served as the Reaganite, Ray Donovan, in hot pursuit of a Reaganite deregulator, wouldn't give up so easily. She quickly charged Mr. Scanlon with ly­ing to the GAO, which led Reps. John Ding­dell and Henry Waxman to demand a Jus­tice Department investigation. Justice was looking into the possibility of perjury, which can land a fellow in prison.

A grand jury and more witnesses were called and, amazingly enough, Mr. Scan­lon learned that there had been a spy in his office who kept a file of his "criminal" ac­tivities, some of which had slipped Mr. Scanlon's mind. "I truly had forgotten having asked her to copy a health insur­ance bill," he says.

The informant's credibility eventually suffered upon the discoveiy of her arrest, which can land a fellow in prison. "This is a nomination that does not bring credit to the administration nor the coun­try," Mr. Scanlon says.

The harassment of Mr. Scanlon did not end with confirmation. "We were investi­gating at least six mores times by the GAO," he says. "I finally set aside a room and let them set up an office." Rep. Jim Florio, whose subcommittee had oversight responsibility over the CPSC, challenged Mr. Scanlon's every move, even calling him in to complain of some staffing reas­signments. Mr. Scanlon adds that Richard Huberman, a Harvard Law School gradu­ate and staff member on Mr. Florio's sub­committee, seemed to follow him around, even to social functions.

On top of everything else, Washington Post cartoonist Herblock drew a cartoon that Mr. Scanlon says made him look seedy. "Talk about piling on," he said.

Few were spared. This correspondent, who worked as Mr. Scanlon's flack for two years, also came under scrutiny after writ­ing an article for this publication that staff lawyers had declared politically neutral. Nonetheless, on the day of publication, Mr. Scanlon received a call from a member of his staff, who had bad tidings: He "hoped" a Hatch Act investiga­tion would not be necessary.

They went after a lot of people on trumped-up charges," Mr. Scanlon says. "What is especially maddening is that po­litical opponents like Joan Claybrook can accuse you of anything and then just walk away without consequence."

Mr. Scanlon retired from the CPSC in January 1983. Despite the aforementioned distractions, his tenure included several triumphs, including the resolution of a ma­jor lawsuit against the all-terrain vehicle indus­ttry that his party mustered on Mr. Scanlon's be­half. All things are possible, but maybe he shouldn't count on getting the job.

Mr. Shiflett is deputy editor at the Rocky Mountain News.
Drucker on Management

A very strong case can be made that a more expensive dollar would actually be the best way to shrink the U.S.-Japan trade deficit with Japan—and within three to five years.

Peter F. Drucker

For a decade now one U.S. administration after another—Reagan, Bush, Clinton—has talked down the exchange value of the dollar against the yen. Every time the dollar declines—and it turns up, for a while—many people think that this time the trade deficit with Japan will surely go away. And every time the dollar declines, the Japanese howl that “equality” of the yen, and that this means lower prices in Japan and higher prices in the U.S. So far, these 10 years from 250 yen to below 100 yen—we are told by the experts that “this time” the trade deficit with Japan will surely go away. And every time the dollar declines, the Japanese howl that “equality” of the yen, and that this means lower prices in Japan and higher prices in the U.S. So far, these 10 years from 250 yen to below 100 yen—we are told by the experts that “this time” the trade deficit with Japan will surely go away. And every time the dollar declines, the Japanese howl that “equality” of the yen, and that this means lower prices in Japan and higher prices in the U.S. So far, these 10 years from 250 yen to below 100 yen—we are told by the experts that “this time” the trade deficit with Japan will surely go away. And every time the dollar declines, the Japanese howl that “equality” of the yen, and that this means lower prices in Japan and higher prices in the U.S. So far, these 10 years from 250 yen to below 100 yen—we are told by the experts that “this time” the trade deficit with Japan will surely go away. And every time the dollar declines, the Japanese howl that “equality” of the yen, and that this means lower prices in Japan and higher prices in the U.S. So far, these 10 years from 250 yen to below 100 yen—we are told by the experts that “this time” the trade deficit with Japan will surely go away. And every time the dollar declines, the Japanese howl that “equality” of the yen, and that this means lower prices in Japan and higher prices in the U.S. So far, these 10 years from 250 yen to below 100 yen—we are told by the experts that “this time” the trade deficit with Japan will surely go away. And every time the dollar declines, the Japanese howl that “equality” of the yen, and that this means lower prices in Japan and higher prices in the U.S. So far, these 10 years from 250 yen to below 100 yen—we are told by the experts that “this time” the trade deficit with Japan will surely go away. And every time the dollar declines, the Japanese howl that “equality” of the yen, and that this means lower prices in Japan and higher prices in the U.S. So far, these 10 years from 250 yen to below 100 yen—we are told by the experts that “this time” the trade deficit with Japan will surely go away. And every time the dollar declines, the Japanese howl that “equality” of the yen, and that this means lower prices in Japan and higher prices in the U.S. So far, these 10 years from 250 yen to below 100 yen—we are told by the experts that “this time” the trade deficit with Japan will surely go away. And every time the dollar declines, the Japanese howl that “equality” of the yen, and that this means lower prices in Japan and higher prices in

Drucker on Management

A very strong case can be made that a more expensive dollar would actually be the best way to shrink the U.S.-Japan trade deficit with Japan—and within three to five years.

Walter H. Bagehot is a professor of social sciences at the Claremont Graduate School in California.
TVA Replay: Will Runyon Ring Twice?

The holiday season that kicks off this week is a trial for the U.S. Postal Service, especially this year. Postmaster General Marvin Runyon, beset by complaints of staffing misues and performance falloff, has made the 1994 rush a test of his management of the nation's mail.

"Reader's Digest came in three days ago and said, 'We're really pleased, you're doing exactly what you said you were going to do.' I'm runyon booted over lunch at headquarters earlier this month. Kenneth Gordon, U.S. president of the billion-mailings-a-year publisher (most of whose postage actually is spent on direct marketing) confirms this: Worries over the USPS rollout was flawed but is progressing again and will result in savings because better technology can be bought. Mr. Frank replies that "billions of dollars were left on the floor."

Financial trends are gloomy: $6 billion in negative equity has amassed in the last five years. Mr. Runyon and his aides blame federal budget cutting that stuck the Postal Service with new "creeping LBO," the chief financial officer calls it, while it continues to subsidize favored mailers and keep open marginal post offices. They figure to come in below a projected $1.3 billion deficit for the past year. That would refute pessimists who predicted ballooning losses, but new accounting for worker-comp is to credit. The uniformed rate hike pending for 1995-96 appears to have struck big USPS users as modest, assuming there's no two-tier system to which the GOP takeover of Congress, presumably sparing some costly micromanagement of the system, may not yield enough economies to hold the line.

With a majority of his board still behind him, however, Mr. Runyon is looking to expand his approach to the Postal Service. He thinks his carriers, required to make daily stops throughout America, can piggy-back other types of deliveries and read meters as well. He heralds electronic data transmission to postal stations that then drop off the messages in hard copy, saving time and an originating delivery. Conversely, the USPS could alert receivers of orders or payments that a "check's in the mail."

Automation was delayed about two years while Mr. Runyon reviewed plans at post offices. They fig­ured the system, may not yield enough economies to hold the line. A25

Antichoice Zealots Discover Courtrooms

Planned Parenthood is deeply disappointed that you would find "sweet irony" in the proliferation of frivolous lawsuits aimed at restricting health-care options for American women ("Born to Sue," Review & Outlook, Nov. 2). Why would the Postal Service have to subsidize the USPS's huge middle-class jobs program for "growing the business" are anathema to free-marketeers who hope the Postal Service's end is nigh. Since Lysander Spooner's attempt to compete on letter delivery in the 1840s, an alternative has appeared. Some Reaganites talked the talk in the 1980s. But with Britain's Tories now abandoning their moves to sell the mails, outright privatization may be underrun­able here.

The best shot at dismantling the USPS's huge middle-class jobs program may simply be a war of technological at­tention: Contain the service to obligatory delivery in the 1840s, an alternative has appeared. Some Reaganites talked the talk in the 1980s. But with Britain's Tories now abandoning their moves to sell the mails, outright privatization may be underrun­able here.

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Mr. Runyon mentioned a legal leg up on securing data.

"So they're talking to us—big compa­nies—saying what we need is for you to come in and postmark this stuff. Because when you postmark, nobody can come in and open it, and if they do open it, it's a federal offense. We would not only post­mark it, we would encrypt it," he pro­jected. "If they break that code, they've done a very bad thing—they've opened someone's mail."

Mr. Runyon's visions are grand and his rule, it is said, rather imperial. His de­factors are an ideological mix, but ideas for "growing the business" are anathema to free-marketeers who hope the Postal Service's end is nigh. Since Lysander Spooner's attempt to compete on letter de­livery in the 1840s, an alternative has appeared. Some Reaganites talked the talk in the 1980s. But with Britain's Tories now abandoning their moves to sell the mails, outright privatization may be underrun­able here.

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..."
Newter the Punsters

BY JOHN POWHIRETY

It's "a Newter the Punsters," if you prefer Shakespeare's quill to the word processor of "Aladdin" lyricist Howard Ashman. "Newter," might wish to declaim: "O Brave Newter World!"

In this "Newter World Order," the spell with which legions of political and social impresarios now magically control all of politics contains "eye of Newter." Magazine folk refer to The American Spectator as "The Newter Republic," while supporters of House Democratic chief Dick Gephardt deride his Southern challenger, Charlie Rose, for being a "Newter Democrat."

Some conservatives think the Gingrich takeover is such a welcome development that it offers a "Newter Roman political" to the body politic. Other scientifically minded types are offering up notions of "Newter's Second Law of Thermodynamics"—a political body at rest tends to stay at rest, while a body in motion will tend to stay in motion.

Most overly, with an eye toward the holiday season, we will be hearing about "the Gingrich Who Stole Christmas," while those who find singing saturdays Mark Russell and the Capitol Steps funny (and if you know any, please consider institutionalizing him) will erupt in giggles at "Newter the Punsters." Chester nine roasting on an open fire. Jack Kemp shirtpainting your hair. . . .

Sorry byproduct of the recent political revolution that has introduced a "whole Newter" figure of sport to the American political scene—a man whose name is shorthand for "committed ideological conservative" to enemies and sympathizers alike. Little did one know how enthusiastically his moniker would be taken up by the nation's copy editors—known by his first name as his last. That's because his first name is short, which makes it easy to headline the one column in width. Its similarity to other words combined with its brevity likewise allows a copy editor to work in a joke while conveying a sense of the story's contents: "No Newter Taxes" is better than "Gingrich Seeks Rollback of Clinton Budget."

But, God, is it getting tedious! We're only a few weeks into the Gingrich reign and already the mere sight of the word "Newter" is enough to make a reader tired. Time to switch to another politician with pun possi­bilities, the incoming majority leader with an enthusiastic coterie of followers, who promise: "Dick's Army." Comes to my mind that perhaps his troops will be called "Army-niens." "Tax Cuts Cost Army, and a Leg." I'm looking forward to a "Newter Republic." How about Bill Paxton, head of the National Republican Congressional Committee? He could be accused of trying to make a "Paxton America, in which we all become disenchanted with the way things were going in the Senate, he could declare a Paxton Both Your Houses.

You see how pernicious this stuff is? I advocate a moratorium—enough already with the heavy-handed attempts at folkiness. Happily, it does appear that Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D., Conn.) has bested his Republican challenger by four votes. The challenger's name was "Ed Munster."—as in TV's "Eddie Munster," son of Herman and Lily Munster of 131.3. I can imagine the word's meanings: "a race in the Newter Republic," for example. "The Newter Republic," for a writer about the Republican ascendency for G.P. Putnam's Sons.

We Want Adoption
For All the Children

Rita Kramer's Oct. 24 editorial-page article, "Adoption in Black and White," was misquoted by the Children's Defense Fund (CDF) supported the efforts of Sen. Howard Metzenbaum to get Congress to address the needs of representation of minority children in the foster-care system and delays in placing them with adoptive families. The Multiethnic Placement Act, which CDF supported in both its original and final forms, bans the use of race or ethnicity as the sole factor in the placement of a child in a foster or adoptive home. Both as originally drafted and as amended, it allows race to be considered along with other relevant factors.

Contrary to Ms. Kramer's assertions, the administration's amendments to the Multiethnic Placement Act strengthened the way in which it ensures adoptive families for children whether same race or transracial. They emphasized the importance of recruiting foster and adoptive parents from all races and ethnicities and narrowed the permissible use of race as a factor by limiting its relevance to defined areas. Finally, the enhanced penalty provisions continue to allow a complete cutoff for agencies that fail to comply with the law, and allow other remedies if necessary.

Given child welfare's long history of stable and significant provisions to ensure a complete turnover in the child welfare agencies that fail to comply with the law, and allow other remedies if appropriate.

Given child welfare's long history of stable and significant provisions to ensure a complete turnover in the child welfare agencies that fail to comply with the law, and allow other remedies if appropriate.

Give child welfare its due: a long-term and stable environment. CDF believes that it is normally in the best interest of children to remain in place their respective families of the same race, culture and national origin, and that significantly increased efforts must be undertaken to do so. We also strongly believe that the unavailability of stable same-race families should not bar or inappropriately delay the placement of children with permanent adoptive families. The Multiethnic Placement Act helps to prevent race from being used inappropriately to delay placement decisions for children. As passed, it is a good law. Statements like Rita Kramer's not only misrepresent CDF, but misstate important facts about waiting children and the laws that apply to them.

MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN
Children's Defense Fund
Washington, D.C.

Pinprick Number Seven

"Necessary and proportionate" was the term that the U.N.'s Yasushi Akashi used to describe yesterday's NATO air strike; "insufficient and ineffective" would have been a better characterization.

Some 30 NATO planes were called in to respond to the recent attacks by Serb forces on the Bihac safe area in Bosnia. The Serbs have launched several attacks on Bosnian forces in Bihac from the Udbina air base in Croatia (including the much-reported use of napalm and cluster bombs in one attack). But the NATO planes didn't let the size of the NATO force throw you: they were called on to bomb, of all things, a runway, which can be repaired. They hit the target but missed the point. The most murderous Serb attacks on Muslims in Bihac, as elsewhere in Bosnia, have come from the ground, specifically from tanks and artillery.

The ostensible reason for this target is a fear of incurring casualties and the worry that the 1,000 ill-equipped Bangladeshi troops on the ground may be vulnerable to Serb reprisals. The perversion of logic here is as surreal as it is familiar. Air strikes are calculated simply to stop the embarrassing air raids from Udbina. But not to punish the perpetrators or even to give protection for the Bihac safe area. Serb forces in the area must be elated: Thirty high-tech NATO war planes coming roaring over their vulnerable positions and the only loss incurred is an expendable strip of concrete.

This, the wire stories reminded us yesterday, is the seventh time NATO planes have been called in to respond to Serb attacks. A tally of their sorry record so far provides yet another explanation of why international diplomacy in Bosnia has become such a farce. Now a disabled airbase.

Bombing a runway bears all the earmarks of a particularly heavy-handed attempt at U.N. targeting board rather than one composed of NATO officials experienced in the effective use of force. The U.N.'s Mr. Akashi insists on being咨询ed by the Serbs before the killing and humanitarian forces on the ground and neutralizes any influence NATO can have.

The main obstacle to the effective use of air power in Bosnia is the presence of U.C. troops on the ground. So long as the U.N. exercises the controls, NATO will never be allowed to repel Serb territorial advances from the air, a tactic that is arguably the quickest route to the negotiating table. The Serbs know it.

Pinprick strikes may satisfy the cameras and give diplomats the feeling they are doing something, but we doubt that those civilians trying to survive in the hell that was once Yugoslavia would call the policy "effective and proportionate."
Say a Little Prayer

With all this talk of a school prayer amendment, we'd like to suggest an actual wording: "Nothing in this document should be read to prohibit children from reciting the following words: 'Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our community.'"

Would any serious person object? Is this an anti-Semitic utterance? Well, it's the little prayer that started it all. It was composed by the New York City Board of Regents and recommended to local school boards back in the days before school boards were preoccupied with such unceles tial matters as condoms and metal detectors. Banned by the Supreme Court in 1962 in Engel v. Vitale, it ignited the debate over school prayer that has plagued us for more than three decades.

Ever since 1962, Engel has been interpreted by liberal judges and fearful school boards to ludicrous extremes, with the result that just about any reference to religion has been excised by schools and textbook publishers. In recent years we've seen such absurdities as the little girl whose kindergarten teacher rejected her contribution to the class's show-and-tell session because the child had brought in a Bible. We now witness the annual spectacle of towns trying to figure out how many Santa Clauses must dance on the head of a creche scene to fend off an ACLU lawsuit.

Given such inanities, it's no wonder that since 1962 the American people have been working overtime in the courts and legislatures of the land to overturn Engel. Polls regularly show that 75% or more of Americans favor such an action. Bill Clinton is catching flak from his left flank for being open-minded, but in fact every President since Engel has recommended to local school boards to ludicrous extremes, but in fact every President since Engel has supported some form of a school prayer amendment.

The widely perceived collapse in moral values is surely a reason to pray, in school or elsewhere. A nonsectarian parson won't hurt, and just might help. A kid who's asked to pause for a moment in his day to meditate in whatever way he sees fit has a better likelihood of growing up to be a thoughtful adult than one who is never asked to contemplate something outside of himself. It can't be a coincidence that the same three decades that saw every vestige of religion being erased from the public schools also saw the rise of many social pathologies.

While we respect the concerns of many Jewish organizations that voluntary school prayer would discriminate against Jews, we point out that some of the graduation prayers will be given by rabbis, and that Jewish children, just like Christian children and Muslim children, would be free to say or not say whatever prayers they see fit. We see that an anti-prayer rally has been announced for today with the actual wording: "Nothing in this document should be read to prohibit the community. Against the opposition of 75% of the people, Madalyn Murray O'Hair, founder of American Atheists, wins court victories against Public Bible Reading. The widespread urge for greater equality in public life, we think, is precisely a cry to reassert that the community does after all have some rights.

It's ironic that the political debate over school prayer has erupted anew in the week before Thanksgiving, the celebration of an essentially American mixture of politics, religion and community. First among the Pilgrims' desires was the right to worship freely. The proponents of school prayer are asking that public school students be given back the right to freeze to death on the sidewalk or what words police must say to suspects. In case after case, they've come down for "rights" of the individual against the "rights" of the community. Against the opposition of 75% of the people, Madalyn Murray O'Hair, founder of American Atheists, wins court victories against Public Bible Reading. The widespread urge for greater equality in public life, we think, is precisely a cry to reassert that the community does after all have some rights.

In particular, the school prayer decision is a symbol of what's wrong with the activist judiciary. From about the same time as Engel, judges have taken to doing the legislatures' job by trying to solve the nation's social problems. And so we have judges telling governments how big a prisoner's cell must be or that the mentally ill homeless have the right to freeze to death on the sidewalk or what words police must say to suspects. In case after case, they've come down for "rights" of the individual against the "rights" of the community. Against the opposition of 75% of the people, Madalyn Murray O'Hair, founder of American Atheists, wins court victories against Public Bible Reading. The widespread urge for greater equality in public life, we think, is precisely a cry to reassert that the community does after all have some rights.

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RATES: Consumers cash in

By Janet L. Fix
USA TODAY

The rise in interest rates is paying off in unusual ways:
⇒ Borrowers are getting a break on consumer loan rates.
⇒ Savers are earning more because banks are raising CD rates.

Banks typically raise loan rates faster, but aren't now because of fierce competition for growing demand.

"Banks are afraid to raise loan rates," says Robert Heady of Bank Rate Monitor.

Rising interest rates have investors worried, however. The Dow Jones average closed down almost 1.25 points — and below 3800 — Monday.

But savers and borrowers are happy for now.

Banks have boosted rates paid on certificates of deposit, which attracts more money for banks to loan out.

Before last Tuesday's Federal Reserve increases in key rates, the average one-year CD rate was up 1.86 percentage points, to 4.93%.

Banks also have boosted the prime rate 2.5 percentage points, to 8.5%, this year to keep pace with Fed increases.

But rates on consumer loans — three-quarters of which still carry fixed rates — haven't kept up with the prime, which determines the rate on many personal, home equity and auto loans.

Bankers say they need low loan rates to attract business.

"In this tight market, you'd be killing yourself if you passed on all of your prime rate increase," says Tom Kaplan of CoreStates Bank, Philadelphia.

The impact of the Fed's most recent rate hike will take some time to filter down to consumer loans. Some average rates, through last Tuesday:
⇒ Unsecured personal loans were at 15.65%, up less than half a percentage point this year, says Bank Rate Monitor.
⇒ Auto loans were up just over one percentage point, to 8.96%.
⇒ New home equity loans were 8.34%, up less than half a percentage point this year, says Bank Rate Monitor.
⇒ Auto loans were up just over one percentage point, to 8.96%.

"Surprise" sell-off, 1B

USA SNAPSHOTS

A look at statistics that shape the nation

Choosing primary care careers

About one-fourth of medical students choose primary care over specialties. Students who say they'd practice primary care, by race/ethnicity:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>18%</td>
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<td>Black</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
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Source: General Accounting Office

By Cindy Hall and Stephen Conley, USA TODAY

USA TODAY • TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994

ANOTHER FATALITY: French soldiers under the United Nations prepare to evacuate Bosnian soldier Amir Coric just after he was shot dead by a Serb sniper in Sarajevo Monday.

NATO force bombs Serbs in Croatia

By Lee Michael Katz
USA TODAY

Hours after NATO's first air strikes in Croatia, Bosnian and Croatian Serbs were warned not to retaliate against U.N. peacekeepers — or face more attacks.

"I want to make it clear to Serb forces that they should not take any action to jeopardize the safety of U.N. troops, said Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Croatian Serbs did take two Czech U.N. peacekeepers hostage, but soon released them.

Another 1,300 Bangladeshi U.N. troops are trapped by Serb forces near Bihac with little food and fuel, but a convoy was readied for resupply.

The bombing of airfield runways and missile sites was NATO's largest attack ever and its first in Croatia.

"While NATO Secretary-General Willy Claes called the air strike a "real success," Croatian Serb aide Slolodar Jurevic assailed the NATO bombing as a "vandal attack."

And Republicans such as Sen. Don Nickles, R-Okla., criticized NATO's wait for U.N. consent before bombing as "very bureaucratic, very dangerous, very ineffective."

⇒ Bosnian gloom, 8A

USA TODAY • TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994
"We live in an age of exotic defenses'

But prosecutors say, 'If everyone is a victim, there can be no criminals'

By Robert Davis
USA TODAY

Michael Ricksgers says he was asleep when he shot and killed his sleeping wife. Daimion Osby contends he shot two unarmed men to death because of "urban survival syndrome." Stephen Mobley blames his genes for making him kill. Edward Kelly says he's not guilty of rape — it was one of his 30 personalities that had sex.

The excuses don't always work. In fact, juries usually dismiss them out of hand. But experts say these defenses are typical of the bizarre and unusual rationales that increasingly are being heard in courtrooms across the USA as defendants try to find something — anything — to blame.

"They're outrageous," says Kent Scheidegger of the Criminal Justice Legal Foundation, who calls the tactics the stuff of lawyers "who have nothing left to argue. They should not be able to even get that to a jury."

Famed defense lawyer Alan Dershowitz, author of The Abuse Excuse, is diplomatic. "We live in an age of exotic defenses and excuses," he says. "If you can make it sound like an illness, people are much more sympathetic."

On Friday, a jury of seven men and five women found Ricksgers, a 37-year-old welder from Buffalo Township, Pa., guilty of first degree murder. The jury did not believe that sleep apnea — a disorder that can cause snoring, gagging and odd, jerky movements — led him to pick up a .357-caliber Magnum and shoot his wife, Janet, in the back last Christmas.

His possible sentence: up to life in prison.

So why do people come up with these defenses? When there is little dispute over guilt, says John Parry of the American Bar Association's Commission on Mental and Physical Disability Law, defense lawyers must "throw in whatever is possible."

Colin Ferguson, charged with killing five and injuring 18 in a shooting spree aboard a Long Island commuter train last year, plans to use a "black rage" defense, his lawyer William Kunstalet says. Years of discrimination boiled into a rage that led him to target whites, according to the defense strategy.

The defense strategies, some argue, also come about as a result of the nationwide push to slap violent thugs with tougher sentences.

Abbe Smith of the Criminal Justice Institute at Harvard Law School says that with new mandatory-minimum sentences, three-strikes-and-you're-out laws, and a rise in capital punishment, lawyers feel more pressure to get clients off.

"The rise of creative defense lawyering is part and parcel of a society turning increasingly to harsh punishment," she says. "There is little sentencing discretion, if any."

Some recent cases:

In Georgia, defense lawyers blame Stephen Mobley's genes. Mobley was convicted of murdering John Collins, a Domino's pizza store manager he shot in the neck in 1991.

In an appeal to keep him out of the electric chair, lawyers are trying to convince the state supreme court that Mobley's chromosomes are to blame for his violent tendencies.

While in jail, Mobley tattooed dominoes on his body and decorated his cell with red, white and blue Dominos pizza neighbor­hoods, according to a cellmate about making Collins beg for his life.

In Gainesville, Fla., where Loren Bobbitt was acquitted of slapping her husband's penis, another bizarre trial is brewing.

Edward Kelly, 44, blames one of his 30 personalities for the trouble he's in. A woman Kelly met in group therapy claims he bound her with wire and raped her. Kelly told investigators that a legitimate reason that the law would accept, Harris, the prosecutor in the "urban survival" case, agrees.

In Fort Worth, Texas, Daimion Osby's lawyers argued this month that he shot two unarmed black men in the head last year because he suffered from "urban survival syndrome."

Willie "Peanut" Brooks, 38, and his cousin, Marcus Brooks, 18, were gunned down on the street in 1993. Osby testified the two were trying to rob him. "I was just doing what I had to do," he said. He was sentenced to life in prison.

Prosecutor Renee Harris, who is black, calls Osby's defense offensive.

"Every now and then, there is a person who truly is sick and has a legitimate reason that the law would accept," Harris says. "And they won't get the full benefit because some street punk wants to gun somebody down and blame somebody else."

Dershowitz, who got New York socialite Claus Von Bulow acquitted of murder and is part of O.J. Simpson's legal team, says there are drawbacks to unusual defenses.

Every time some new syndrome makes headlines in a bad case, the legitimacy of the reasoning is weakened, he says. "When you finally get a woman who really was battered, it makes it hard for them to win."

But not everyone agrees that unusual defenses — like urban survival syndrome and sleep apnea — are on the rise.

Jonas Rappeport, medical director of the American Acade­my of Psychiatry and the Law, says health-related defenses, including insanity, are used in only 1% of all felony cases — and that only about 1 in 400 leads to acquittal.

In the end, says Rappeport, jurors are the final arbiters: "I have great faith in the jury system and I have no concern that it will be abused."

Harris, the prosecutor in the "urban survival" case, agrees.

"The jury is the bottom line.... We want to hold people accountable when they commit violent acts against other people. That's what the jury does when the system works."

Please see COVER STORY next page.
Senate ‘seniors’ unlikely to be challenged

By Juan J. Walte and Richard Wof
USA TODAY

Senate Republicans are in no mood especially about his own role in it
to garner the support of their colleagues, like Jesse Helms, R.N.C., as chairman
of the Foreign Relations Committee, or Strom Thurmond, R.S.C., as chairman
of the Armed Services Committee.

Aides say the Republicans have
reached a conclusion. Neither of the two has been cowed so far. "As far as I know, there is no challenge planned," says Sen. Thad Coch
ran, R-Miss., chairman of the Senate
Agriculture Committee.

TRADING TALK: U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, left, Vice President Gore
and Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy hold conference call with farmers on GATT.

As he returned to Washington, the president is:

Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., but the holiday
break is short. "He's going to do ev­
much as he can," says Pat Griffin, legislative affairs director.

Clinton had hoped to meet today with Sen. Robert Dole, R-Kan., and Rep.
Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., but the holiday
break is short. "He's going to do ev­
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much as he can," says Pat Griffin, legislative affairs director.
Governors: Clinton should remember his roots

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

WILLIAMSBURG, Va. — The nation's Republican governors, pressing for relief from costly federal mandates and rules, say President Clinton can raise his sagging political stock by remembering he was a governor once, and heeding their call.

The governors, meeting here Monday, said the results of the midterm voting were clear: U.S. citizens want smaller, more efficient government at lower cost, along with greater local levels of responsibility for solving their problems at the state and local levels.

Therefore, they believe, Clinton, no longer encumbered by a Democratic Congress, has a unique opportunity to show he heard the voters' message by helping states get the federal government off their backs.

The governors made it clear they're not asking the federal government for more money, just the ability to choose which programs they become involved in on their own.

"We can get along with less from Washington if we have to. We told people that are our biggest concern," said Michigan Gov. John Engler.

Clinton, as governor of Arkansas, was a leader in the fight to reduce unfunded federal mandates on the states — programs such as handgun control and environmental cleanup, which Washington imposes on states but fails to provide the money.

As president, however, govern­ors say Clinton was "co-opted" by the "old Democrats" who ran Congress, and now find themselves out of power.

"Hopefully, this was a clear enough election that it will re­mind him of his roots as a gov­ernor and help reiterate that," said New Jersey Gov. Christie Whitman.

"It's known in a cognitive way what the problems of the states are," agreed Massachusetts Gov. William Weld.

In responding to pressing state needs, GOP governors added, Clinton can take a bold step toward the political center and show he is indeed the "New Democrat" he cam­paigned as in 1992, but failed to govern as once he got to the White House.

"It would get him to where he needs to be politically, which is not on the left flank of the political spectrum," said Texas Gov.-elect George W. Bush, whose father was unseated by Clinton in 1992.

California Gov.-elect Pete Wilson said Clinton, if he chooses to re­spond positively, will find the new Republican majority in Congress willing to help.

"If in fact he wants to see the sort of change he articulated as a governor, now is his chance," Wilson said. "If he does, I think he will seriously improve him­self politically."

Asked if helping Clinton re­cover might diminish their own party's chances of winning back the White House in 1996, the governors said their first priority is doing what's best for their states.

"If it aids Clinton, so be it," said Ohio Gov. George Voino­vich, who is optimistic that Clinton will now heed the call of the governors.

"I bet he will turn over a new leaf," Voinovich said. "He's go­ing to become an enlightened governor and help us get mandates off our backs."

Oklahoma Gov.-elect Frank Keating was similarly hopeful about Clinton coming back to the fold.

"He worshipped at the altar before, and there's no reason why he can't get religion again," Keating said.

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Dow tumbles 46 to lowest level since August

By Donna Rosato
USA TODAY

A late burst of selling pushed stocks sharply lower Monday, as renewed fears over rising inter­est rates pushed the Dow Jones industrial average to its lowest close since August.

The Dow sank 46 points (1.2%) to 3770. Most of the losses came on computerized program selling the final half hour.

Broader market indexes also slumped. The Nasdaq composite index plunged 7 points to 758 and the Standard & Poor's 500 index slid 3 points to 456 — both five-week lows.

Investors continue to grapple over interest rates and their impact on the economy.

That's been a worry since the Federal Reserve nudged short­term interest rates up last Tuesday for the sixth time since February in an effort to slow the economy and keep inflation in check.

The Dow jumped 18 points early, but the gains quickly evaporated. The Dow drifted for most of the day. When it fell below its 3800 support level, computer-driven selling kicked in. That sent the Dow tumbling as much as 50 points — activat­ing the New York Stock Ex­change's curb on computer trading.

"Thirty-eight hundred has been a strong level of support for this market. This was a sig­nificant break," says Eugene Peroni, market analyst at Jan­ney Montgomery Scott.

It was a rocky start for Thanksgiving week, typically quiet because many investors are on holiday.

"This sell-off caught every­one by surprise," says Charles Crane, portfolio manager at in­vestment firm Spears Benzak, Salomon & Farrell. "This mar­ket is on pins and needles. In­terest rates are posting stiff competition for stocks."

But unlike past sessions in which investors fear rising bond prices lower, the bond market remained calm. The yield on 30-year Treasury bonds was 8.12%, unchanged from Friday.

Still, many stock and bond investors fear that the Fed isn't finished raising rates and that more increases could push the economy into recession, analysts say. Stocks sensitive to economic cycles were hit the hardest Monday.

Year to date, the Dow is up just 0.4%. The S&P 500 is off 1.8% and the Nasdaq down 2.5%. It could get worse.

"If there's any hint that the fourth-quarter corporate earn­ings may be disappointing, that could be the catalyst for an even bigger drop in stocks," Crane says. The Dow could drop as low as 3200, he says.
Prayer amendment finds many doubting Thomases

By Tony Mauro
USA TODAY

Leaders of major religious groups today announce their opposition to state-sanctioned school prayer, another sign that a proposed prayer amendment faces a difficult time in Congress.

"A lot of people of faith are not in favor of this amendment," says Brent Walker of the Baptist Joint Committee.

"The First Amendment has served us well for 200 years without any change."

In addition to Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, the United Church of Christ Church, Evangelical Lutherans, the National Council of Churches of Christ, and several Jewish organizations will be represented at the news conference on the steps of the Supreme Court.


A working version of a prayer amendment, proposed by Rep. Ernest Istook, R-Okla., would bar restrictions on individual or group prayer in public schools, and also specifies that no student should be required to pray.

But in recent days, other Republican leaders and religious and civil liberties groups have called for a "go-slow" approach to the thorny issue.

Some Christian legal experts, meantime, are moving to reshape the prayer debate in more moderate and more saleable terms.

"I don't want to demolish the First Amendment," says Jay Sekulow of the American Center for Law and Justice, founded by Pat Robertson.

Sekulow, leading legal strategist for Christian groups, says he is meeting today with Istook to discuss alternatives to a proposed amendment that would focus on protecting student-led prayer — an approach he thinks is in keeping with the First Amendment.

"There are a lot of emotions flying about, and a lot of half-baked ideas," says John White, head of the Rutherford Institute which also lites on behalf of religious adherents.

"I advise great caution," says John White of the Rutherford Institute which also lites on behalf of religious adherents.

"Nothing to this Constitution shall be construed to prohibit individual or group prayer in public schools or other public institutions. No person shall be required by the United States or by any State to participate in prayer. Neither the United States nor any State shall compose the words of any prayer to be said in public schools.

The First Amendment, says Brent Walker of the Baptist Joint Committee. "A lot of people of faith are not in favor of this amendment," says Brent Walker of the Baptist Joint Committee.

Supporters of a constitutional amendment say they are not in favor of hasty action or coerced prayer.

"We're looking for curriculum change or a prayer at the beginning of every class," says Mike Russell of the Christian Coalition. "But we believe kids ought to be allowed to make a public display of their faith."

Too often, says Russell, religious students are "treated like criminals," facing discipline for individual Bible reading or small group prayers.

While encouraging debate, Russell says swift passage of a prayer amendment is "not one of our top priorities."

Critics of the prayer amendment say it would be virtually impossible to fashion a prayer or procedure that would satisfy religious adherents while not coercing or stigmatizing those students who do not want to participate in prayer.

"There is simply no way to get around the charge that they are coerced or bullying others to attend prayer," says American University professor Gregg Ivers.

Contributing: Bob Minzer-shimer

The court's past rulings

Informal, individual prayer by public school students is generally considered constitutional. Court rulings on formal prayer:

- Official prayer: In 1967, justices struck down Alabama's law calling for a moment of silence for meditation or "voluntary prayer.

- Graduation prayer: In 1992, justices ruled that an officially sanctioned prayer by an invited clergy member at a public school graduation was unconstitutional.

The constitutional amendment offered by Rep. Ernest Istook, R-Okla., is called a "starting point" by House Republicans.

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USA TODAY • TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994
Winds of change for tobacco

By Tom Watson
USA TODAY

WRAY, Ga. — Tobacco has always grown well here in southeast Georgia's hot, humid coastal plains climate. But climatic changes of another sort 800 miles away in Washington, D.C., have tobacco growers feeling even more hopeful about the future.

“Nobody looks at '95 as an easy year. It's still going to be a tough fight,” says the Tobacco Institute’s Thomas Lauria.

Regardless, many growers and warehouse operators believe that the GOP takeover will mean a let up in the beating they feel their crop has taken in recent years amid studies of tobacco health risks and anti-smoking campaigns that have led to public and workplace smoking bans and a nationwide decrease in smokers.

Frank Pidcock, a tobacco grower and warehouse owner in Moultrie, Ga., calls Waxman “a dangerous man” who has subjected the tobacco industry to a “witch hunt.”

But Tom Brandt of the American Cancer Society believes that, despite recent political changes, tobacco crops will continue to shrink with increasing medical and public opinion against tobacco.

Brandt makes clear though his organization’s fight is not with farmers, but an industry that he says is out to addict young people to tobacco.

“Farmers are just carrying the torch,” he says.

With tobacco’s future uncertain, some farmers have considered abandoning tobacco for cotton. But since the election, most plan to stay with tobacco and its high profits.

With 40 years of tobacco farming under his belt after picking up where his father left off, McCallum hopes that his son, Howell, will be able to continue the tradition.

Though a crop that requires intensive labor, constant attention and careful drying after harvest, McCallum says tobacco has provided a good, honest living that he hopes will not die out. "Tobacco has been good to some of us for a while. I want to see people be able to continue to grow it and I’d like to be one of them,” says McCallum. “We’re not outlaws out here. We’re just trying to make a biscuit (living).”
WASHINGTON

GOP: Black Caucus not being singled out

Republicans denied Monday that they are targeting the Congressional Black Caucus for elimination, but said its funding is being examined as part of a general look at the 38 caucuses that spend taxpayer money without the restrictions that apply to members and committees. The so-called legislative service organizations cost about $4 million a year but perform only support services for members; they have no legislative power.

Rep. Pat Roberts, R-Kan., who's spearheading the drive to eliminate the caucuses, says the Black Caucus is not being singled out. "There's absolutely no effort to single out any caucus," Roberts says. "I'm an equal opportunityterminator."

JOB HUNT: Dan Rostenkowski, the once-powerful Chicago congressman who was swept out of office in Nov. 8 elections, says he owes more than $500,000 in legal fees and is looking for work. Rostenkowski, 66, told the Chicago Sun-Times that he has $220,000 in unpaid legal bills for staff members and $380,000 to $400,000 in outstanding bills for his own legal battle against a 17-count federal indictment. He has already exhausted a $1 million campaign fund and a $1 million legal defense fund.

TV IN CONGRESS: Senate GOP leader Robert Dole, R-Kan., promised to take a "serious look" at a proposal to open more congressional proceedings to TV. C-SPAN, the cable network that shows Senate and House debates, asked for approval to single out congressional leaders, all committee meetings, and outside the chambers for interviews during votes.

ALASKA VOTE: The unofficial final vote tally is in for the Alaska gubernatorial race and it puts Democrat Tony Knowles ahead of Republican Jim Campbell by 588 votes. Campbell has asked for a recount.

WHITE HOUSE SHOOTING: Lawyer Francisco Martin Duran, the man charged with trying to kill President Clinton, said Monday it's too soon to say whether he will use an insanity defense. Duran, 28, of Colorado Springs has pleaded innocent to a charge of attempting to assassinate the president by firing an assault rifle on the White House grounds. He was arrested early Sunday and could be sentenced to life in prison.

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

Arafat, Islamic militants agree to halt in clashes

PLO leader Yasir Arafat and Islamic militants agreed Monday on a cease-fire to end a spate of clashes between Palestinian police and rioters that began last week.

The fundamentalist Hamas group has not yet signed the accord. Hamas has accused the PLO of planning Friday's confrontation that ended with the deaths of 14 people. A Hamas official said he wants Arafat to accept responsibility for the bloodshed until an investigation determines who was to blame.

About 10,000 rallied Monday in what Arafat billed as a show of support for peace with Israel.

PEARL HARBOR APOLOGY: Japan's Foreign Ministry apologized Monday for failing to warn the U.S. that it was at war before attacking Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941. A formal notice breaking off talks to avert war was delivered by Japan almost an hour after the surprise attack.

IRISH POLITICS: Full party leader Bertie Ahern said negotiations to form a new coalition government will not finish by the time parliament reconvenes today and could even drag on until December.

ANGOLA PEACE PACT: Angola's UNITA rebel movement pledged to stick to the terms of its latest peace accord if government forces take no further "warlike actions," UNITA radio said. The government and UNITA declared a truce last Wednesday, and a full cease-fire begins today.

The United Nations Security Council welcomed the signing of the peace pact but expressed concern about reports of continued fighting. Angolan officials said UNITA attacked the town of Cacolo Sunday and the city of Uige Monday.

Churches come to rescue for NAACP

By Desda Moss

Leaders from a dozen predominantly black religious denominations will announce plans today to raise $5 million to help lift the cash-strapped NAACP out of debt.

But while contributions to the civil rights group have risen recently, they may not be sufficient to end a month-long furlough of 88 employees that runs through Friday.

"There have been hopeful signs, but we're still at the base of the valley," said NAACP interim administrator Earl Shinhoster. He would not rule out extending unpaid leaves.

The organization needs $93,000 a day to pay its expenses and erase a $3.5 million deficit. Shinhoster says...

The civil rights group has been struggling to raise money and membership since its complex financial troubles came to light last summer.

The Rev. J. C. Hope, national director of the NAACP's department of religious affairs, said the denominations plan to make their first major installment by Feb. 15.

"The NAACP was born in the black church, and it's been a blessing to all Americans. This is our way of saying we're behind it," he said.

The Ford Foundation, the NAACP's largest contributor, last week awarded $250,000. The NAACP also has received $160,000 in seven corporate grants, says the NAACP's chief fund-raiser, Gil Jonas.

Reatha King, president of the General Mills Foundation, said the foundation's recent $15,000 grant, for a national stay-in-school program for teens, marked last year's.

"We're starting to feel like we're turning the corner, but we still have a long climb back," Jonas said.

A special appeal to the NAACP's 2,200 branches has brought in about $400,000.
Gulf vets expand lawsuit

Case could open doors on liability

By John Ritter
USA TODAY

Persian Gulf war veterans who think chemical and biological weapons made them sick are raising the stakes in a fight for compensation.

Today lawyers in a Galveston, Texas, federal court add to a class-action lawsuit the names of up to 1,000 sick vets. They seek $1 billion or more from firms that made chemical and biological agents that wound up in Iraq's arsenal.

Their numbers could swell to 100,000 in a case with parallels to Vietnam vets' fight over Agent Orange, but with potentially greater consequences.

"We're going to find out if the legal system is broad enough to provide a remedy against these merchants of death," says Francis Spagnolletti, a lawyer for the veterans.

Paul Rothstein, a George-town University law professor, says the suit could "break new ground" and make companies liable when a third party uses their product to cause harm.

"It has implications for suits over second-hand smoke," he says. "Or for a gun manufacturer who puts a gun out there aware of the risk a criminal will use it to hurt somebody."

To vets suffering joint pain, memory loss, heart ailments, rashes, intestinal problems and other symptoms, the suit holds promise of recovering medical bills and lost wages.

"We've seen no proof of their allegations," says J. Clifford Gunter, a lawyer for Bechtel Corp., among 28 companies named in the suit. "We deny any wrongdoing."

The companies argue the case turns on political questions that can't be litigated. They point to a Pentagon civilian science board's finding of no evidence of chemical or biological warfare in the gulf.

But two Senate committees have charged that the military covered up evidence of chemical and biological attacks.

Congress has authorized treatment for "gulf war syndrome," but vets complain that the Veterans Administration has been slow to diagnose their illness or approve claims.

Ailing spouses and children aren't eligible for VA care.

"The companies that made the chemical-biologicals should pay, not the taxpayers," says Vic Silvester of Odessa, Texas, a plaintiff in the suit. "We deny no disability."

Still, the vets' suit faces big hurdles. First, Judge Samuel Kent must certify the case as a class action — instead of each vet suing individually. That would be a crucial victory.

And vets would have to prove chemical and biological agents were used in the gulf. To find negligence a jury would have to agree the firms foresaw that Iraq would use their products on troops.

"This requires action by a lot of unforeseen intervening acts," Rothstein says. "The stuff had to fall into the wrong hands, then there had to be voluntary wrongful acts."

The companies are expected to argue Iraq acquired the materials before export rules were tightened in the 1980s.

Spagnolletti says investigators traced U.S.-made products to Iraq and "can show our troops were injured" by them. Some vets groups worry the suit is premature and too narrow. Limiting its scope to chemical/biological exposure ignores other potential causes of vets' illness — uranium, diesel fuel, pesticides and experimental vaccines.

"Let's not repeat the same mistakes we made with Agent Orange," says Tod Ensign of Citizen Soldier, a veterans' rights advocacy group.

In the 1984 Agent Orange settlement, seven chemical companies agreed to pay $180 million — interest raised it to $240 million — in cash benefits for disabled veterans and families of vets whose deaths were linked to Agent Orange.

But many blasted the terms as small and shortsighted. "Vets who got sick later were stuck with the settlement," Ensign says. "It'd be a real miscarriage of justice to have that happen again."

Going after manufacturers is a long shot, he says. "We ought to be trying to fix responsibility on our own military and political leadership."
Group advises USA to raise interest rates

From staff and wire reports

Interest rates should be raised in the USA to keep inflation low and bolster a weak dollar, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development said Monday.

In its annual survey of the U.S. economy, the Paris-based group predicts U.S. economic growth will slow to a 2.9% pace next year after 3.8% growth in 1994. But that's not enough of a slowdown to prevent one measure of prices from rising 2.8% next year after a 2.1% gain in 1994, OECD says.

That measure: the gross domestic product "price deflator" that gauges prices of goods and services tracked in GDP reports.

The Federal Reserve has already pushed up short-term interest rates 2.5 percentage points this year to slow the economy. But OECD fears the U.S. economy is still growing rapidly enough to spur inflation.

Short-term rates need to be increased "substantially more by the end of 1995," OECD says.

Three-month T-bills now yield 5.3% but should yield 6.3% or more the second half of next year, OECD warns.

The 25-nation group also urged the USA to cut Social Security pension benefits and tackle the widening gap between rich and poor to help ensure the USA's long-term financial well-being.

COVER STORY

Growth outlook: Slow, steady

Tourists are returning to his 16-room inn from Germany, Switzerland and the United Kingdom, nearly tripling his occupancy rates from two years ago. And he points to a headline in the newspaper La Nazione. "Flat Miracle," it reads. "Now, thanks to the recovering economies and exports, France, Italy and most of the rest of Western Europe are enjoying slow, steady recoveries from the deep recession of the early 90's. The U.K. -- first to fall into recession -- began its comeback last year. The German economy has been growing strongly since January, driven in large part by rising demand for German goods in the U.S. and other export markets. France, Italy and most of the rest of Western Europe also are rebounding, as Germany's improving fortunes spill across national borders.

"Right now, things are looking up very nicely in Europe," says Lea Tyler, economist at consultants Oxford Economics in Wynnewood, Pa.

That's more of than passing interest to U.S. businesses. Europe is the USA's third largest regional export market, trailing only North American neighbors Canada and Mexico, and the booming Pacific Rim.

"About 25% of U.S. exports go to Western Europe," Tyler says, "and if (economies there) are growing and their domestic demand is growing, then they have more need for our products."

Although Europe's recovery is real, it's not spectacular.

Please see COVER STORY next page

EC GDP growth

1.5% 1.9% 2.8%


1 - estimates 2 - yearly average

EC unemployment

9.2% 10.3% 11.3% 12.0% 11.9%


1 - estimates 2 - yearly average

Source: OECD, USA TODAY research

USA TODAY • TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994
But even in the east, there are signs of revival. Economists predict its economy will grow 9.5% this year and 9% in 1995. Signs of an economic revival in the east are easy to spot in some towns. When managers from General Motors' Opel division arrived in Eisenach three years ago to set up a small car production venture, the scene was bleak. The air was rarely clear over the east German town.

Today, Eisenach is bustling. Road crews are repaving the highway that leads into the city. Coal-burning furnaces have been converted to natural gas and oil. The smog is gone, leaving massive Warnburg Castle easily visible in the hills above the town.

Lining the main road into town are five new car dealerships, including a just-opened Mercedes-Benz franchise. The parking lot of a Kmart-style hypermarket is packed with vehicles. Downtown is brightly lit and bustling.

But the biggest difference may be Opel's Eisenach plant — a gleaming grey and white factory that replaced an aging factory. Since 1991, when the plant assembled its first car, Eisenach's production has jumped from 50 a day to 670 a day. The plant is producing small Corsas and compact Astras. About 1,800 people work there, earning about half what Opel pays its workers in western Germany. The plant, in which GM has invested 650 million German marks (about $400 million) isn't profitable yet, but GM pays no taxes. The rebound at Eisenach is one of many examples of surging German production. The ripple effects will likely spill over the country's borders.

"Growth seems to be gathering steam in Germany — and one could look to see Germany pull up the U.K.'s. There, the economy is growing so strongly the nation's central bank raised its interest rates slightly in September to lessen the risk of restarting inflation. Inflation is now running at a 2.5% annual rate, a 27-year low. The forces keeping inflation down are much the same as those doing the same thing in the USA: stiff competition and bargain-minded consumers. The growth leader is the U.K.," Weinberg says. So far, the growth has been spurred largely by a surge in consumer spending, which grew 2.5% last year and likely is growing 2.8% in '94. Spending is expected to rise 3% in '95. Sales of cars, furniture and other big-ticket items have all been strong as British consumers let loose after several years of penny-pinching during the U.K.'s recession. As spending has risen, their savings rate has dipped from 12.3% of after-tax income in 1992 to an estimated 10% this year. It's expected to slip to just below 9% next year.

Also spurring Britain's economy: Business investment in buildings and equipment. It expanded a modest 1% last year but likely soared 6.4% this year. And it is expected to grow another 6% in '95.

Economists in the British government expect 3.5% GDP growth this year, and about the same in '95. At the OECD, economists say growth was likely closer to 2.8% this year and will be 2.2% in '95.

In Italy, the economy is going up very quickly in all sections (of Italy)." Mancini says. "Business is very good," Mancini says. "At one time the economy was being boosted by rising exports, a rebound in consumer spending and strong growth in business investment. Italian consumer spending, which fell 2.1% last year, will grow 0.7% in '94 and 1.7% in '95. Exports, which posted a healthy 10% gain in '93, should grow 6.5% in '94 and 6.7% next year. Business investment in buildings and equipment, which plunged 12.2% in '93, is expected to slip just 3.8% this year and to grow 5.2% in '95.

The 53-year-old innkeeper, who studied hotel management at Cornell University in upstate New York, has worked hard to take advantage of the better opportunities. Villa Arceno, the inn he manages a few miles outside of the scenic medieval town of Siena, lost money in '92. It broke even last year. This year, it likely earns its largest profit ever.

"I work from 6 o'clock in the morning to 1 o'clock in the night seven days a week," Mancini says. When he took over as manager last year, he cut prices 30%, hired more staff and improved the quality of service. Occupancy rates have risen from a dismal 23% in '92 to 48% in '93 and 65% through Oct. 31.

Economists estimate the Italian economy will end '94 having grown 1.5%, and will grow 2.6% next year. Italian GDP shrank 0.7% last year. "(Business) is very good," Mancini says. "At the end of October, the hotel was full, and our economy is going up very quickly in all sections (of Italy)."

Contributing: Michelle Maynard
NEW YORK — Trying to pick the bottom in any market is difficult, mainly because sheer momentum can move prices far lower than anyone expects. But for investors looking to chase an investment after the price has run up, there’s nothing quite like a long slump to stir excitement.

Long-term Treasury bonds have been in just such a slump — and the excitement is starting to build. A growing number of Wall Streeters say T-bonds are the best place to invest for 1995.

Monday, that view got a big boost when influential economist Wayne Angell told clients that the Federal Reserve was doing a good job of keeping future inflation in check. Angell resigned as a Fed governor this year and now is chief economist at Bear Stearns. He has been notably bearish on bonds since early spring. Monday, he softened his view, he says, “to a lot less bearish.”

That’s well short of a ringing endorsement for bonds. Still, his shift is an important turn in thinking. Clients interpret Angell’s comments as a switch from bearish to neutral, which basically means he believes momentum for rising bond yields is nearly exhausted.

Other pros are far more effusive in their love of their bonds: “The time has come,” Barton Biggs, chief international strategist at Morgan Stanley, writes in a new report. “Bonds, especially U.S. bonds, are the best, maybe the only, values in the world.”

“Angell is a pitch to a pension fund client Friday, I’m told, Marilyn Sedak, strategist and portfolio manager for Sanford Bernstein, asked for permission to move 33% of the pension fund’s stock assets into bonds. The pension fund agreed to move 10%. Sedak and other Bernstein officials declined comment.

Bond bulls remain relatively few. The clearest evidence of that is simply the direction of bond prices. They’ve been sinking, sending bond prices lower for more than a year. Why? Sensing a pickup in the rate of inflation. They’ve been hypersensitive to yield moves because they pay no current income. It’s all reflected in the deeply discounted price of the bonds.

For less risk, though, normal T-bonds seem a wise move. Another big spike in yields is unlikely, most pros agree. But even if the T-bond yield rises to 9% in a year, the investor buying today would make enough from the interest payments to offset the corresponding decline in the bond price. It’d be a wash — and that’s if things go poorly. The flip side — a decline to 7% — gives the investor a return of 20%. That’s an attractive range of results for anyone favoring the bull case.

For those pros who cling to their bearishness, the T-bond rebound is only one favoring the bull case.

SEC PLUS CFTC? A merger of the federal agencies that regulate the stock and commodity markets will be proposed early next year, promises Rep. Ron Wyden, D-Ore. Monday, Wyden sent a letter to President Clinton asking for support. "This legislation could be another key step... to reinventing government," Wyden wrote. This isn’t the first time lawmakers have looked at combining the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission. The idea has been batted around for a decade as regulators battle for control over now investment products that are part stock, part bond or part commodity. But Wyden’s proposal could be popular in a Republican-dominated Congress that has promised to cut the size of government. Wyden will be a minority member of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, which oversees the nation’s financial markets. The committee is expected to be chaired by Carlos Moorhead, R-Calif.

The risk, of course, is that bond prices keep going the way they’ve been going — down. But, Grannis says, investors have to ask: Where would I rather be? The stock market hasn’t had anywhere near the shakeout that the bond market has had this year. So stocks look more vulnerable. Hopes for a gold rally have faded. Cash equivalents such as money market funds and Treasury bills are safe and look better as yields rise. But they still pay way less than a T-bond — and offer no shot at price gains.

T-bond notes maturing in two to 10 years carry attractive yields of 7% to 8% — and can deliver a price gain as well. Angell especially likes the two-year T-note. But the big gains — should yields drop — will be in T-bonds. For maximum kick, Biggs says, try so-called zero-coupon T-bonds. He expects them to return 36% the next 12 months. "Zeros" are hypersensitive to yield moves because they pay no current interest. It’s all reflected in the deeply discounted price of the bonds.

The worst 12-month period for Treasury bonds since 1927:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total return</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 1984</td>
<td>-17.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 1985</td>
<td>-17.1%</td>
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1 - only one period allowed per calendar year. Source: Arbor Trading
NATO, U.N. still not 1 voice on Bosnia

By Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

U.S. and U.N. officials hailed NATO's air strike against a Serbian airfield Monday as a sign of a tougher, more unified approach in grappling with the 31-month-old Bosnian war.

But while the action may have knocked the Serb airfield out of commission for a while, it did little to put to rest simmering divisions between NATO and the U.N. agenda.

"NATO has sort of become subordinated to the whims of the United Nations," Sen. Robert Dole, R-Kan., said Monday after meeting with NATO Secretary-General Willy Claes. "It almost makes NATO seem irrelevant from time to time."

Dole, the likely Senate majority leader, and others have been agitating for a strong NATO effort independent of U.N. resolutions to force Serbs to the peace table.

But Claes said the raid proved "we are doing better in our cooperation with the U.N."

That view was echoed by Secretary of State Warren Christopher who said, "I see no such rift at all."

U.N.-NATO unity on military action as well as diplomatic strategy may be an absolute necessity as the already-complicated Bosnian war enters an even more complex phase.

Battling a Bosnian army that appears to be gaining strength, nationalist Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia seem intent on finishing the job of carving out a Greater Serbia by linking forces, as they did in the recent attacks on Bihac. The Serbs may be trying to provoke a wider conflict to force Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic to come to their aid with the Yugoslavian army.

In doing so they increase the risk of renewed war with Croatia and more air strikes.

UN-NATO unity on military action as well as diplomatic strategy may be an absolute necessity as the already-complicated Bosnian war enters an even more complex phase. By linking forces, as they did in the recent attacks on Bihac, the Serbs may be trying to provoke a wider conflict to force Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic to come to their aid with the Yugoslavian army.

In doing so they increase the risk of renewed war with Croatia and more air strikes.

Peace plans for Bosnia continue to be rejected by the Bosnian Serbs — despite pressure from Milosevic, himself feeling the pinch of a worldwide embargo.

Milosevic froze all but humanitarian aid to Bosnian Serbs in August after they rejected the peace plan.

Renewed fighting is threatening an eight-month relative calm in Bosnia.

Bosnian troops launched an offensive on Oct. 28. In 10 days they seized more than 100 square miles of territory and several strategic towns.

Bosnian Serbs responded by shelling and sniping in Sarajevo, then by counterattacks against the government gains.

By Monday, Serbs had regained about 95 square miles of territory.

NATO and U.N. officials still insist a peaceful settlement is possible. They meet with Milosevic and nationalist Serbs leaders Wednesday.

Said Claes: "Those who think that there is a military solution in ex-Yugoslavia are probably wrong."

NATO air strikes, 1A

USA TODAY - TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994
3 Republicans urge immigration caution

Three leading conservative Republicans launched a campaign Monday to stop the spread of anti-illegal-immigrant measures based on California's Proposition 187.

"You're dealing with people's assumptions, people's stereotypes: these are tricky and dangerous waters," said William Bennett, a former Education secretary. "It's an explosive issue."

Jack Kemp, a former HUD secretary and possible 1996 presidential candidate, said any GOP attempt to push a national 187 threatens the "soul" of the party.

"The American people want the party to be the equivalent of the Know-Nothing party that was anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic, anti-black," Kemp said.

"It's assimilation, stupid." - Maria Puente

WHO'S LAUGHING NOW? Celia Montalvo of Clifton Park, N.J., faces 18 months in jail if convicted on charges she made a bogus call to 911 to get her husband off the couch to go shopping. Police say Montalvo, 35, called the emergency number Saturday, cried "Don't shoot me! Don't shoot me!" and then hung up. Officers say that when they arrived, she said it was just a joke. Arraignment is Dec. 1.

SENTENCED TO CHURCH: The American Civil Liberties Union has gone to court to stop Lake Charles, La., City Court Judge Tony Rogers from sentencing people to attend church. He estimates he's handed down 350 such orders of criminals. "I'm not going to stop until the courts tell me." - Maria Puente

Ladder fails as fireman attempts rescue

The New York Fire Department plans to continue using Seagrave Aerial ladders, despite the collapse of one during a rescue in which one person died and four were injured.

Yreno Espanoso, 37, was killed Sunday when the lightweight, aluminum-alloy ladder buckled after being fully extended to 91 feet. Firefighter Greg Smith clung to the ladder as it crashed to the ground. The children's mother, Aqueda Santana, 31, who was following Smith, also managed to hold on. The mother and children are in critical condition. Smith is stable.

"There are probably thousands of these ladders in service and they've been involved in thousands of successful rescue operations," said Seagrave's Joe Kaufmann in Clintonville, Wis. August 1994.

By Paul Leavitt, With: Gary Fields, Leo Mullen, Carrie Dowling, Paul Hoversten and Gordon Dickson

written by paul leavitt with: gary fields, leo mullen, carrie dowling, paul hoversten and gordon dickson

USA TODAY • TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994
Black conservatives: We are the future

The GOP shares most blacks' values. Abandon Democratic shibboleths.

The dust of the elections has settled with a resounding repudiation of Democratic liberalism. Black Americans now have to ask themselves, where do we go from here? We have put all our eggs in the liberal basket, and that basket has been dropped by most voters.

We have two options: Continue to cling to the increasingly marginal Democratic Party, or try to find common ground with the party in power and work with it to advance the interests of black Americans. America after the 1994 elections has entered a new era. The old categories don't apply in the realigned political landscape. Black Americans need to change their thinking, look to the future and abandon the threadbare liberalism of the past.

Conservative blacks could help lead the way into the future of America because we have been left out in the cold. Do we want the ruling party in Congress believing it has no one to listen to our concerns? As yet, though, no plans for a Grinch. They're probably saving that for the next rate increase.

By Armstrong Williams, a Washington, D.C., businessman, writer and talk-show host.

1960s. Despite billions of federal dollars poured into welfare programs and pork by liberal Democrats, the condition of blacks has not improved. The inner cities are blasted wastelands raked by crime and drugs. Black economic and educational status remains in the basement. Worst of all, an incredible 68% of black children are now born to single mothers.

We are beginning to see how our faith in the Democrats' shibboleths has been betrayed, but many black Americans have yet to realize how consonant conservatism is with our own values. The Republican Party is the natural home for the vast majority of blacks interested in safe streets, economic prosperity, faith, family and personal responsibility.

Now more than ever, we need to break away from the crippling political orthodoxy that has kept us begging for crumbs at the back stoop of the Democratic plantation. We have become completely dependent on the Democratic Party for our political voice. Now we are taken for granted. We have faithfully served Democratic political interests long enough.

Republican have begun to reach out to blacks and other minorities in a big way. A modern record 24 conservative black Republicans ran in this election. The Democratic Party, our political home for 30 years, is crumbling. If we refuse to respond to Republican overtures, we could be left out in the cold. Do we want the ruling party in Congress believing it has nothing to gain by listening to our concerns?

Armstrong Williams' forthcoming book is The Conscience of a Black Conservative.
Viewers ignored election coverage

 Voters don’t want to spend a lot of time on politics. So, here’s all you need to know for the next few months.

AMES, Iowa — Three things, all sort of related, all sort of about how to read a newspaper or watch TV:

1. Most Americans don’t really care about the election.

2. Which prompts me to offer these next few paragraphs as a timesaver for readers.

   Here is a summary of the Newt Gingrich story as it will unfold over the coming months. You can read this, then ignore any Newt news for months, then read the book — and you’ve read them all.

   Newt will be able to legislate in peace. The facts will be wrong, but they’ll be repeated endlessly because they’re in reporters’ databases. Nothing will come of it.

   Finally, the press will tire of Gingrich and go on to something else — perhaps a new round of stories on the size of Dee Dee Myers’ office.

   Newt will be able to legislate in peace. The facts will be wrong, but they’ll be repeated endlessly because they’re in reporters’ databases. Nothing will come of it.

3. Which brings up the third point: Have you noticed how many people refer to Newt as Newt?

   Did you ever hear reporters refer to Speaker Foley as Tom or Majority Leader Mitchell as George?

   In columns and on talk shows, reporters use first names of politicians only when they really like or really dislike the politician. It’s subconscious, probably, but telling.

   The beloved Kennedys often were Jack and Bobby, especially to liberals and conservatives alike. The widely disliked first lady is often Hillary, especially to conservatives.

   That tells you something.

   Whenever you see or hear “Newt,” a little red flag should pop up in your mind. “Is this story fair?” you should ask. Is this reporter biased?

   It has become, in effect, a loaded word. It’s like “crony.” You and I have friends, politicians we don’t like have cronies.

   Or “waffling.” President Clinton waffles, conservatives allege, he compromises, liberals say.

   Or “allege.” Our foes allege — allege a bill will save money, allege we need the death penalty — while our friends “say” or “state.”

   Meantime, in case you haven’t been reading the political news, the 1996 presidential campaign started last week. Bob Dole and Phil Gramm and Arlen Specter — yes, Arlen Specter — showed up here in Iowa. It’s going to be a long season.

   You might want to cancel your newspaper subscription.

   Or rent Gone With the Wind.

   By Elys A. McLear, USA TODAY
Reject this flawed treaty

OPPOSING VIEW

Send It back to Geneva for renegotiation to bring it in line with U.S. goals and aspirations.

By Ralph Nader

How ironic: USA TODAY's editorial supports the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), while USA TODAY's reporters would be prohibited from covering any of WTO's secret tribunals.

These closed courts would be deciding whether U.S. laws challenged by other countries would have to be repealed, or if you, the taxpayer, would have to pay fines to the winning foreign nation.

If the result were barred from observing, participating in or appealing any of these tribunals' decisions affecting your health, safety and workplace conditions.

Should you try to improve conditions by amending our country's laws, the State Department would inform you if it considers your consumer, environmental or labor proposals to be trade-restrictive and thereby illegal under GATT-WTO.

This chilling effect from Geneva, where effect from Geneva, where

- one is the supremacy of foreign trade over non-trade practices such as food safety, pollution control, occupational health and tax policies.

Trade agreements should stick to trade.

- the second is the international harmonization of standards. This would often mean harmonization downward for our generally higher safety conditions.

Currently, for example, under a similar North American Free Trade Agreement mandate, U.S. and Mexican officials are meeting secretly in Acapulco to harmonize truck-weight standards which in the United States cannot exceed 80,000 pounds. Since the U.S. trucking lobby insists the bigger Mexican rigs that have a 175,000-pound ceiling, which image do you think your rear-view mirror will reflect in a few years?

- As a governing regime, the WTO's 123 member-nations are each given one vote. Two dictatorships can outvote the United States, which has no veto. This is why the Bush administration itself opposed this idea before leaving office in December 1992.

Remarkably, countries that mistreat their workers, consumers and environment (including condoning brutalized child labor) do not violate the GATT-WTO. But our country, with more humane standards than many other countries, can be charged with those secret tribunals with restricting trade.

That is why the proposed WTO is a "pull-down," not a "pull-up," trade agreement.

Fifteen years ago, when the prior revision of GATT called the Tokyo round was completed, Washington made similarly inflated promises of more jobs for the United States.

Since then, our country has suffered from even larger annual trade deficits, including a deficit in manufactured goods.

Even with a cheap dollar, this year's deficit will over $150 billion. That is exporting lots of American jobs from a nation experiencing falling real wages for the past two decades.

Congress should defeat the GA Ti WTO and return it to Geneva for renegotiation under democratic processes and "pull-up" standards of prosperity.

This would also avoid busting the federal budget and overcentralizing unaccountable power in Geneva, and it will prevent the foreign regulation of America.

Today's debate: WORLD TRADE

Anti-trade arguments based on fiction, not fact

OUR VIEW

Opponents spread lies and politicians play games. Stop it; get on with needed treaty.

Senate Majority Leaders-to-be Bob Dole is playing a dangerous game with the nation's future. He's using a trade treaty on the block for partisan gain.

Next week, Congress will decide the fate of that trade accord. The new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade will add $65 billion to $200 billion to the U.S. economy — $900 to $3,000 for each family — by cutting tariffs worldwide. It should add millions of high-paying jobs as well.

No other measure, economists say, could raise national income as much. It's the kind of dividend from trade that areable power in Geneva, and it will prevent the foreign regulation of America.

Fiction: "GATT will cut wages and employment. Textile protectionists such as Sens. Ernest Hollings, D-S.C., and Jesse Helms, R-N.C., along with Ross Perot have raised this fear. Fact: Some industries will reduce employment. Textiles, for example, may lose 7% of its jobs over 10 years. But it's an industry where 30% of jobs have been cut despite protections since 1973. Meanwhile, trade will add many more jobs in industries from machine tools to pharmaceuticals. And trade-related jobs pay wages about 17% higher than others because they are in more efficient industries."

Fiction: "GATT will add billions to the deficit. Fact: Cuts in U.S. tariffs — which are taxes on imports — will cost the treasury $34 billion over 10 years. But gains in income from trade will boost tax revenues billions more. In time, that might even make room for tax cuts."

But not now. Budget rules require a supermajority to pass any measure that increases the deficit. So the Senate must mustler 60 votes rather than 51 to pass GATT. That means it needs the GOP's fullest support. Even to postpone action until next year, as Dole also has hinted, would be fatal. Procedures for adopting the pact change on Jan. 1, giving enemies of trade more power, enough to kill it."

Other nations are waiting for the U.S. to lead on a deal that the USA, led by the GOP, has pushed. It's time for Dole to join House Speaker Newt Gingrich, a GATT supporter, in providing that leadership.

It's time to stop playing games with the nation's future and pass the GATT.

O Trade pact, BA

USA TODAY • TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994
Los Angeles Times first-edition Page 1 for Tuesday, Nov. 22, 1994:

Top of page:

Col 1: While Moscow battles economic chaos, environmental woes ravage the provinces. Public health is in jeopardy, especially in towns like Nadvoitsy, where children pay a grim price for pollution. (RUSSIA ECOLOGY, will move overnight.)

Cols 2-6: Western warplanes attack a Serb airbase, a missile site and an anti-aircraft battery in Croatia, destroying the air defenses and making the runways unusable, U.S. and NATO officials say (with art). (BOSNIA-TIMES, moved.)

Above fold:

Cols 2-3: Presaging what may evolve into a nasty internecine battle over tougher immigration legislation in the upcoming GOP-dominated Congress, two prominent Republicans warn that carrying the Proposition 187 banner to the national stage could lead the party into a divisive internal debate and shift party thinking dangerously to the right. (IMMIG-TIMES, moved.)

Col 4: Senate firebrand and GOP presidential contender Phil Gramm, rejecting tax proposals offered by other key Republicans, says Congress should repeal the budget rules that prevent it from paying for tax cuts by making big cuts in social spending. (CONGRESS-PERKS, moved.)

Col 6: With a clearly concerned Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin at his side, President Clinton promises to prevent it from paying for tax cuts by making big cuts in social spending. (CONGRESS, moved.)

Below fold:

Cols 2-3: In the 40 years that they have controlled the House, Democrats have controlled the quality of daily life for thousands of Republicans. If you ask the GOP, that is a long time to be treated like a doormat, and things are about to change. (CONGRESS-PERKS, moved.)

Cols 5-6: In a massive show of force, an estimated 10,000 supporters of Yasser Arafat march in Gaza City, firing their guns in the air and chanting slogans against the Islamic opposition just days after Arafat's security forces and Islamic militants engaged in bloody street battles. (MIDEAST-RABIN-TIMES, moved.)

Bottom of page:

Cols 1-2: A forthcoming ruling by the California Supreme Court could have widespread ramifications, allowing the deeply religious to discriminate against gays and heterosexual couples in housing, employment and other business transactions. (RENT, will move overnight.)

Cols 5-6: Bucking the anti-welfare movement, the U.S. Department of Agriculture is bankrolling a crusade to attract people to food stamps the most broadly used anti-hunger effort, already serving one of nine Americans (FOODSTAMPS, will move overnight.)

Sent: 9:55 p.m. EST. For questions, call (800) 283-NEWS, ext. 77832.

Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service=

Allied Planes Attack
Military Sites in Balkans (Washn)
By Art Fine=(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

WASHINGTON Western warplanes launched a limited attack on a Serb nationalist air base and on missile and anti-aircraft artillery sites in south central Croatia on Monday, destroying the air defenses and making the runways and taxiways unusable, U.S. and allied officials said.

The attack, carried out by North Atlantic Treaty Organization warplanes in retaliation for this month's three sorties by Serb nationalists near the Bosnian city of Bihac, marked the most extensive strike that the alliance has launched in its 1/2-year effort to protect United Nations-sanctioned safe areas in Bosnia.

About 40 NATO aircraft including 30 combat planes, two-thirds of which were U.S. F-16Cs, F-15Es and F/A-18Ds took part in the attack, launched at 6:30 a.m. EST from five separate NATO bases in Italy. Officials said that all the aircraft returned to their bases undamaged.

Pentagon officials said that the strikes knocked out one Serb-controlled SA-6 surface-to-air missile battery and some anti-aircraft artillery pieces and left five large craters in the airfield runway, blocking the use of the accompanying taxiways as well.

As in previous NATO air strikes, the raid was carefully limited to minimize the risk that it would spur either Serb nationalists or Croatians to widen the war. U.S. military experts said that the airfield could be repaired easily.

Nevertheless, allied officials said, the strike succeeded in "sending a message" that the U.N. and NATO allies "will not tolerate the use of bases in Croatia for military operations in Bosnia."

President Clinton, in a session with reporters, called the NATO strike "a strong and entirely appropriate response."

"We'll just have to see how events develop," he said.

"But I strongly support the NATO action."

And Secretary of State Warren Christopher warned that if Serb nationalists do not stop using their warplanes to bomb Bihac, NATO fighters "will not hesitate" to return with orders to do substantially more damage than they did on Monday.

It was not immediately clear what impact Monday's raid would have on the Bosnian Serbs. Bosnian government reports said that ground fighting in the Bihac area was continuing, but it seemed likely that the Serb-controlled bombing would be interrupted at least temporarily.

U.S. Adm. Leighton W. Smith, commander of the NATO operation, said that the allied air armada scored "good hits" in the area. But he added: "It's fairly easy to fill up a hole in an airfield, so I don't expect this ... to be out of commission for an awfully long time."

The raid was the first under a new U.N.-NATO get-tough policy that extended the no-fly zone previously maintained only over Bosnia and authorized NATO warplanes to strike at multiple targets, rather than using "pinprick" raids against a single tank.

Monday's action came after Bosnian Serb forces, backed by renegade Muslim troops, attacked Bosnian government soldiers throughout northwestern Bosnia early Monday, defying a U.N. threat to launch the NATO air strikes if the Serbs did not stop.

Serb-controlled warplanes had used the Udbina airfield as a base for launching air strikes on Bihac, the Bosnian city initially held by the Muslims that government forces took back last week. Bihac has since fallen again to the Serbs.

On Saturday, the U.N. Security Council voted to allow NATO to expand the no-fly zone, which has prohibited Bosnian Serb warplanes from flying over the country. Under
the embargo, any Serb plane caught violating the restrictions is subject to being shot down.

Despite all the warnings by U.S. and NATO officials, policy-makers here stressed that the allies were acting gingerly to avoid any spread of the ground fighting into Croatia.

"Both the Bosnian government and the Croatian government understand that we do not intend to support any action by them that would widen the war, and we made that point strongly to both Zagreb and Sarajevo (their respective capitals)," a U.S. official said later.

The official also denied that the raid marked the beginning of any new allied effort to push the Serbs to the peace table by using military force. "We continue to believe that the war should end by (adoption of the peace) agreement (brokered by the United Nations)," he said.

Military officials said Monday's raid lasted an hour and 45 minutes. Following standard procedures, allied warplanes first swept in to knock out Serb nationalist air-defense positions, paving the way for bombing runs. The Serbs fired a missile at the planes but apparently missed.

U.S. officials said the NATO aircraft used laser-guided bombs to create craters at the intersections of five key runways and taxiways, rendering the airfield temporarily useless and fired cluster-bombs and Maverick missiles at the air-defense facilities.

But planners said they intentionally did not destroy the 15 to 20 Serb nationalist fighter planes that were parked on a nearby apron, even though it is precisely this kind of aircraft that the Serbs have been using to bombard Bihać.

(Optional add end)

"As a military proposition, they clearly could have been struck," one U.S. official said. But he said the raid was sufficient to send the desired message and said that strategists wanted to limit the possible danger to people.

U.S. officials also took pains to point out that the decision to limit the scope of the mission was made jointly by U.N. and NATO strategists. They said it was "clear" that Smith had "agreed with the judgment ... that this was the appropriate level."

The administration has been criticized by members of Congress for allowing the United Nations to control too much of the decision-making for such missions. Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., said Monday that it seems as though NATO is becoming subordinate to the United Nations.

Besides the U.S. aircraft, the raid consisted of British Jaguar fighters, French Mirage 2000s and Dutch NF-16Cs. Some 10 or 12 support aircraft, including Airborne Warning and Control System planes also took part.

Bennett, Kemp Say Anti-Ilegal Immigrant Talk Will Hurt GOP (Washn) By James Bornemeier= (c) 1994, Los Angeles Times= Washington Presaging what may evolve into an internecine battle over immigration in the upcoming GOP-dominated Congress, two prominent Republicans Monday warned that carrying California's Proposition 187 banner onto the national stage could prove divisive and shift party thinking sharply to the right.

William Bennett and Jack Kemp, former Cabinet secretaries with presidential aspirations, continued their attack on California Gov. Pete Wilson for his promotion of Proposition 187 as a national remedy for the problems of illegal immigration that wrack California and a handful of other states.

Saying they fear emotions over the issue will swamp sound policy decisions, Bennett and Kemp sought to tone down the anti-illegal immigrant rhetoric from Wilson and others as threatening to the Republican Party's future.

"He's scapegoating, damn it, and he should stop doing it," Bennett said of Wilson. "The problem with (Proposition) 187 as a solution ... is it is meretricious. It is superficially attractive. But it doesn't solve the problem."

"Where the battleground will be fought is if they want to carry this nationally and turn the party away from its historic belief in opportunity and jobs and growth, and turn the party inward to a protectionist and isolationist and more xenophobic party," said Kemp. "That would be something around which the soul of our party would be decided."

Both Republicans counseled in a written statement taking a longer view. "We are willing to concede that tossing logs onto the anti-immigration fire might result in short-term gains, but believe that in the medium and long term, this posture is a loser."

Bennett and Kemp surprised many Republicans by opposing the ballot initiative shortly before the Nov. 8 election, while endorsing Wilson's re-election, while endorsing Wilson's re-election. Wilson criticized them for butting into California affairs and blurring the distinction between legal and illegal immigrants. But rather than burying the hatchet, the three Republicans appear to be locked in a running shoot-out.

Proposition 187, which passed by a margin of 59 percent to 41 percent, would deny many public services to illegal immigrants in California. The measure has not taken effect because of legal challenges.

The rift among top Republicans reflects not only the importance that immigration has attained in the wake of the Proposition 187 victory. It also suggests the pitfalls the new majority party in Congress may encounter while wrestling with the visceral issue.

Existing Republican immigration proposals do not advocate barring illegal immigrant children from school, as Proposition 187 would. But if the measure's backers succeed in persuading sufficient lawmakers to their point of view, the debate over immigration legislation could become sharply factionalized.

"It's an issue of tension that they're aware of and will do everything they can to avoid," said Kent Weaver of the Brookings Institution, a Washington think tank. "It will pit the fiscal conservative, pro-cheap labor forces vs. those who want to appeal to Hispanic voters."

Rep. Lamar Smith, R-Texas, who is in line to chair the House Judiciary subcommittee on immigration, said, "The success of 187 will push the issue (of immigration reform) ... and will guarantee that Congress will take it up. I hope that the legislation has bipartisan support."

Facing the new complexities that now underlie congressional discussions about immigration, Smith would not disclose his position on denying schooling to illegal-immigrant children, the most controversial aspect of the California ballot initiative.

Kemp and Bennett made their remarks at a news conference cosponsored by The Manhattan Institute and Empower America, two conservative Washington think tanks that issued a group of "leading immigration indicators," a compendium of various demographic statistics on legal immigrants. The two former Cabinet officials and other speakers said they worried that the momentum generated by Proposition 187 would carry over to punitive measures toward legal immigrants.

"This report puts the facts on the table," said
Gramm’s comments are the opening salvo in the looming congressional budget-balancing wars. In a wide-ranging interview in his Senate office, Gramm reflected not only sharp divisions between Senate Republicans and Democrats, but potentially deep rifts among congressional Republicans themselves.

Those splits are certain to become more pronounced as GOP lawmakers such as Gramm, preoccupied largely with deficit reduction, struggle for domination of the congressional agenda against Republicans intent on increasing defense spending, pressing divisive social policies such as school prayer and abortion, and instituting accounting practices known as “dynamic scoring,” which are grounded in supply-side economics.

“ ‘You’ve got a lot of people who’ve been in the minority for many years, and who have got these pent-up little agenda items,’’ Gramm said. ‘And I think what we’re going to have to do is have the leadership to say to them, ‘We’re going to be in power for many years to come, let’s stay with our agenda now.’ ”

He proposed that Republicans avoid becoming embroiled in a debate over “dynamic scoring,” which assumes that tax cuts will spur new economic growth and increase, rather than decrease, federal revenues. Democrats, including President Clinton, have charged that the technique is a budgetary trick that allows Republicans to claim they are cutting the deficit when they are driving it up.

If Republicans insist on justifying their tax-cut proposals with dynamic scoring, said Gramm, ‘ ‘the media is going to clearly accuse us of trying to keep phony books and trying to defy Milton Friedman’s law on free lunches” which argues that there are none.

The solution is to take accept the budget calculations favored by Democrats, ‘ ‘but with the proviso that if we are right and they are wrong, that the additional resources go to deficit-reduction and to additional tax cuts,’’ Gramm said. ‘ ‘Now why would you object to that? Only if you don’t have the courage to control spending.”

Under Gramm’s plan, Congress would pay up-front for a family tax cut by cutting funds from the Education Department, Housing and Urban Development and Health and Human Resources. To offset a capital-gains tax cut, Gramm called for cuts in what he called ‘ ‘corporate subsidies,” including subsidized interest rates and direct loans from the Small Business Administration.

Only when the tax cuts start creating new wealth and bringing in new revenue as Gramm and fellow Republicans are confident they will should Republicans take credit for them, Gramm said.

“ ‘I think we can do it,’’ Gramm said. ‘ ‘I think if we can do it, we’re going to have to do it now, while the public is ready for dramatic change. This is not the time for incremental thinking. This is a time to be bold.”

(Opposde add end)

As Gramm laid out his challenge to Republicans, White House officials scrambled on another issue Monday as they tried to gain the support of Gramm’s chief rival for the GOP presidential nomination, Kansas Sen. Bob Dole, on a crucial trade vote coming before Congress next week.

White House officials indicated they were able to close some gaps with Dole over the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. And they expressed optimism that they could announce agreement with him Tuesday. The trade pact would sharply reduce tariffs, or taxes charged on imports, and limit other barriers to increased world trade.

Dole, who generally favors efforts to remove barriers to international trade, said Sunday he would be more likely to support the controversial revision of the world trade regulations if the White House endorses a reduction
in the capital gains tax. His position in the Senate leadership, he currently is minority leader, has given him a crucial voice in the trade debate and it is unlikely that Clinton could win approval of the trade plan if Dole decides to fight it.

House Republicans Eagerly Await Their Turn as Top Dogs (Washn)

By Faye Fiore and Rebecca Trounson
(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON It was just the morning after, the ballot boxes were still sizzling with the voter rage that had booted the Democrats from the House majority for the first time in four decades and already, stepping off the elevator, he could feel the difference.

This staffer who had toiled on The Hill for 20 years as a member of the Republican Party "the minority party" was suddenly commanding some respect. He had gone to bed Rodney Dangerfield and gotten up Sylvester Stallone.

"The people who run the elevators in the Capitol they are pretty surly generally but all of a sudden they are very solicitous," said the aide to a Republican congressman. "I am getting calls from people I've never heard of, inviting me to lunches and dinners I never knew were going on."

In the 40 years that they have controlled the House, the Democrats have controlled the quality of daily life in Washington for thousands of Republicans. And, if you ask the GOP, 40 years is a long time to be treated like a doormat.

All of that is about to change. On that fateful Nov. 8, voters swung the prison door open. There is an electricity in the Washington air as GOP lawmakers jockey to lead committees and subcommittees where they have long been hushed, and slashDemocratic staff they always considered bloated. And, on the eve of power, some Republicans admit to having a little trouble overlooking past slights.

"I remember Democrats telling us we couldn't use more than six pieces of paper to copy something," bemoaned Brad Smith, a veteran Washington staffer who now works for Rep. David Dreier, R-Calif. "I don't think people realize how petty things got."

Republicans were banished to the tiniest offices where their phones hardly ever rang. Nobody cared what they had to say. Republican members of the Committee on House Administration, which decides who gets to park where at the Capitol, say they don't know where anybody parks the Democrats wouldn't tell them. (It is rumored that one committee had an underground parking spaces for Democratic staffers and just one for the Republicans.)

"Frankly, I welcome their opportunity to feel what it's like," one of the committee's Republican staffers said.

(Begin optional trim)

It is in committees that the real work of Congress gets done and the Democrats nearly always outnumbered Republicans. "The Democrats have five lawyers and three or four other staff assistants," said Andrew Cowin, Republican staff counsel for the Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice. "I have me and Audray (the secretary), and I share her with another lawyer."

The theory is this: make the little tasks difficult and the big ones become impossible. One Republican likened it to showing up for work every day bound and gagged and then taking heat for never getting anything done.

"Sometimes, it's almost been like you were a member of a jury where only half the members even came to hear the evidence and then the jury foreman reaches into his pocket and pulls out the rest of the votes," said Rep. Edward R. Royce, R-Calif. "It's been awful."

(Gone are the days of never getting bills passed, never getting to offer amendments. No more teeth-grinding as some freshman Democrat presides over sessions of the House while even the most venerable Republican can't so much as sit in the Speaker's chair.

A square dance of sorts is about to take place as occupants of tiny, inconvenient offices move into the nicer digs so the Democrats can hoof it for awhile. Once empty phone-mail boxes are filling up. Republican lobbyists who couldn't get a job a year ago are in sudden demand. And long-frustrated GOP veterans are awash in euphoria. This is their day in the sun."

"I am still waking up every morning thinking it's a dream," said Rep. Robert K. Dornan, R-Calif., who used to sit in the Speaker's chair when the House was dark just to see what it felt like. So thrilled is he about this shift of power that Dornan will not necessarily honor his vow to make his ninth term his last.

Some wonder now how the Republicans ever let this humiliation at the hands of Democrats happen in the first place. The oppression set in slowly, like aging, the process unnoticeable but the result unmistakable.

"If you throw a frog in boiling water, he jumps out. But if you put him in warm water and slowly bring it to a boil, he lets himself cook," said Rep. Chris Cox, R-Calif.

A lot of Republicans keep saying they have no vengeance in their hearts, that they will not stoop to treating their oppressors as they were mistreated. Or at least they hope not.

"We have cried for the opportunity to go to the plate and take a swing for so long," said Rep. Elton Gallegly, R-Calif. "I hope and pray that we'll get up there and take our best swing rather than fight along the sidelines or try to stick it in the other guy's ear."

(End optional trim)

Big Business Likely to Like Next Head of Commerce Committee (Washn)

By Jube Shiver Jr.
(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON When incoming Republican leaders met last week to fulfill an election pledge to slash House committees, the panel targeted for one of the biggest hits was one that has long been a thorn in the side of the GOP and its business allies: the Energy and Commerce Committee.

Over the past 14 years, the committee has grown into a sprawling powerhouse under the chairmanship of Rep. John D. Dingell, D-Mich., a blistering former prosecutor who earned the nickname
"The Truck" for being one of Congress' toughest investigators.

His 130-member committee staff has made a career of going after high and mighty business figures such as deposed junk bond king Michael R. Milken, assorted defense contractors and even First Executive Corp., whose president, Fred Carr, was questioned about the soundness of the insurance company's investments.

That era will end in January when Dingell's likely replacement Rep. Thomas J. Bililey Jr., R-Va., a self-described "genteel conservative" takes over as chairman. Although Bililey has declined to comment publicly on his agenda, pending his appointment, most observers expect the committee to be less regulatory and far friendlier to business.

"If ever there was a committee on Capitol Hill that made companies quake in their boots, it was the Energy and Commerce Committee," said Charles Lewis, executive director of the Center for Public Integrity, a Washington-based research group on government ethics.

"That committee, as much as any other committee on Capitol Hill, went after industry. I would think there are a lot of people who have come to detest John Dingell and his committee, and are celebrating right now."

For corporate America as well as American consumers, the pending change in leadership at the committee may be one of the pivotal post-election events of the 1994 campaign.

Billions of dollars ride on the decisions of the committee, which oversees environmental regulation, securities markets, health care, telecommunications, railroads, consumer protection, tourism and even some trade issues. So extensive is the panel's reach that one committee aide joked that its jurisdiction is rumored to extend to "everything that moves, bleeds or burns."

It remains to be seen, however, whether corporate America will find deliverance in Bililey, a former Democrat who operated a funeral home before he successfully ran for mayor of Richmond, Va. Some issues taken up by the committee telecommunications, for example have historically been so non-partisan that House bills to promote cable re-regulation and telecommunications competition have passed by overwhelming margins.

What's more, if his fellow Republicans have their way, the committee Bililey takes over may only be a shadow of its former self.

That's because Republicans are considering a proposal to rename the committee the Health and Commerce Committee and slash its staff by half, to about 60.

Sources familiar with the Republican discussions say a task force is considering a proposal that would strip the committee of its current oversight of environmental issues, railroads, energy and some securities issues. The panel would continue to oversee telecommunications, health care, insurance and some business investment issues.

"We recognize the fact that we should give up some of this jurisdiction and spread it around," said Rep. Dan Schaefer, R-Colo., a member of the Energy and Commerce Committee. The committee, he added, has a huge jurisdiction: "Some 40 percent of all (Congressional) legislation comes before the committee."

Schaefer said the committee's size has created a regulatory excess epitomized by lawmakers like Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., who chairs Energy and Commerce's subcommittee on health and environment and has been a big proponent of tougher anti-smoking laws.

"Henry Waxman, year after year, was pushing new regulation and thereby driving up costs in the health care arena," Schaefer said. "We're trying to avoid that."

Despite talk of reining in the committee talk which must survive lengthy turf battles Bililey will, nevertheless, be a figure to be reckoned with. Already, as a result of his imminent appointment, the Virginian has achieved new prominence.

"In the past the only calls we would get were from papers like the Richmond Times-Dispatch or the Green County Record in Standardville, Va. But the day after the elections, I came back to my office and had 47 calls from everybody, from the 'Today Show' to CBS News," said Bililey's press secretary, Charles Boesel. When asked about Bililey's last major TV appearance, Boesel mused, "Hmmm, I don't know. It may have been 1987 on CNN."

(Additional end)

Colleagues, staff members and lobbyists say Bililey is highly respected and has gotten along well even with his Democratic adversaries, especially Dingell.

"Bililey is not an ideologue," said David Vienna, a Washington lobbyist for the Pacific Stock Exchange and other securities industry groups. "He's tended to work in a bipartisan way on the committee. He's a consensus builder ... I don't expect that to change."

Even so, the Republican landslide this month has imbued the GOP with a new swagger that's not likely to fade when Republicans make up the majority of both houses of Congress next year.

Bililey is not talking for the record yet, but his political background gives some indications as to where his legislative interests may lie.

He co-sponsored the bill that led to the Safe Drinking Water Act of 1994 that passed the House but not the Senate. Bililey was also a key force behind a health care measure: Republicans offered as an alternative to the Clinton administration's sweeping plan, and effectively blocked Dingell from reporting Clinton's plan out of committee.

More tellingly, Bililey's Richmond-area congressional district is home to a major AT&T plant, as well as giant cigarette maker Philip Morris Co. As a result, he is expected to pay close attention to the tobacco industry and telecommunications.

Between 1987 and 1992, Bililey led the House in campaign donations from tobacco-linked interests and individuals, according to the Sunshine Press of Washington, a news service that focuses on campaign finance. But in the 18 months ended in June, tobacco political action committees gave nearly comparable amounts to Bililey ($18,700) and Dingell ($14,000), according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

Stockton Rejects Plan to Allow Citizens to Arm Themselves (Stockton)

By Richard C. Paddock

(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times

STOCKTON, Calif. In a showdown between the National Rifle Association and gun-control advocates, the Stockton City Council rejected a measure Monday night that would have allowed any "law-abiding" resident of this San Joaquin Valley city to carry a concealed weapon.

After two long and emotional debates before overflow crowds at City Hall, the council refused to make Stockton the first city in California to fight crime by allowing thousands of its citizens to arm themselves outside their homes.

"What is the message sent to our children if we adopt this?" asked Jeff Crawford, a Stockton resident who opposed the measure. "Is that, in a civilized society, a real solution?"

By a vote of 6-1, the council rejected the proposed ordinance that would have relaxed the rules for obtaining
concealed weapon permits. The council agreed that enacting the measure would hurt Stockton's image and escalate violence on the streets.

Council members also concluded that the proposal, which would have allowed as many as 130,000 adult Stockton residents to carry hidden firearms, was preempted by state law governing the issuance of concealed weapon permits.

"I think this would be absolute chaos," Councilwoman Lorilee McGaughey, a strong opponent of the measure, told her colleagues. "I think that it has been a true travesty for this city. It's not something that we need."

Put forward by Councilman Nick Rust, a member of the National Rifle Association, the measure aroused great controversy in Stockton, where a deranged drifter opened fire with an assault weapon on a school yard five years ago, killing five children and wounding 29.

Rust argued that giving a large number of citizens the right to carry concealed weapons would make the city safer. But in the end, he was the only one to vote for the ordinance.

"People are going to have guns, and the people you cannot control are the criminals," he said shortly before the measure was voted down. "I believe we're giving a message to the nation: if you want to commit a crime, come to Stockton."

Under current law, people can legally keep a gun in their homes or businesses without a permit. But Rust and his supporters argue that 70 percent of all crime occurs away from those locations.

State law gives police chiefs and county sheriffs the authority to issue a concealed weapon permit to any citizen of "good moral character." A concealed weapon permit allows the holder to carry a hidden, loaded weapon anywhere in the state, except restricted areas such as schools, courtrooms and airports.

In practice, however, the permits are difficult to obtain in most jurisdictions.

Government Promotes Food Stamps to America's Hungry (Los Angeles)
By Sonia Nazario
(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

Los Angeles: Bucking the anti-welfare movement, the U.S. Department of Agriculture is bankrolling a crusade to attract people to food stamps the most broadly used federal assistance program in the nation's anti-hunger efforts. The new policy means taxpayers are now underwriting the outreach funding was banned throughout much of the 1980s, as government studies on food stamps.

The effort is a striking turnaround for the USDA, which has issued grants totaling more than $2.5 million to 27 groups trying to reach through its new efforts to promote hunger awareness. The aim is not only to inform children about the benefits of good eating, but to use the agency's first coast-to-coast billboard, television, radio and print ad campaign to highlight the nation's anti-hunger programs.

To America's Hungry (Los Angeles) County Department of Public Social Services office. Every chair inside is taken, and people line the walls. The air reeks of sweat. Social workers in 12 Plexiglas booths address people through microphones. Lottie announces:

"Anyone have a problem with their case?"

"Yes! Right here!" exclaims Milton Oppenheimer, madly waving his arms in the air. Oppenheimer, 33, is beleaguered. This is his second trip to the office in the past week. On this day, he arrived at 7 a.m. After he repeatedly asked why he hasn't been put on food stamps, the homeless man says, his social worker shut off her two-way microphone and shoved his application aside, asking him to move along. A security guard who has been out of work for two months, Oppenheimer says he is despondent. "I'm in limbo. I think they put my papers in the circular file."

Lottie offers to help the Marine Corps veteran. Oppenheimer cheers her on. "Sure! Go in there! Kick some tail!" He adds: "Once you get hungry you get desperate. Then, you take care of No. 1. ... This is America. C'mon. I'm a veteran, for God's sake."

Lottie files a complaint, then prods the social worker to put Oppenheimer on food stamps, arguing that he is clearly eligible. An hour later, Oppenheimer's name blares over the loudspeaker as he is called to be fingerprinted and issued a food stamp identification card. Oppenheimer says he can now spend his time looking for another job rather than standing in soup kitchen lines.

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The effort is a striking turnaround for the USDA, which has issued grants totaling more than $2.5 million to 27 groups trying to reach through its new efforts to promote hunger awareness. The aim is not only to inform children about the benefits of good eating, but to use the agency's first coast-to-coast billboard, television, radio and print ad campaign to highlight the nation's anti-hunger programs.

Some oppose the agency's new outreach attempts. "The government should be discouraging people from getting on welfare. We used to tell people we wanted them to be self-sufficient," says Robert Rector, senior welfare policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank. The federal government will spend $40.2 billion in fiscal 1995 for 14 anti-hunger programs, including food stamps and school lunch, roughly 60 percent of the agriculture department's budget. "What we are doing is generating a huge population of dependent people who work less, marry less, and rely on the government more," Rector said.

But USDA officials and many food policy experts point out that two-thirds of the elderly who are eligible for food stamps and more than half of the working poor go without. Some opt instead for church-sponsored food pantries, but these, facing more clients and fewer food donations, are overwhelmed, forcing them to limit their assistance and turn away many requests for help.

"There are many needy people who aren't participating," said James Oth, a senior fellow at Mathematica Policy Research Inc., which conducts government studies on food stamps.

The food department of the federal government is trying to reach through its new efforts to promote hunger assistance programs. Others are the elderly and the working poor who often don't know about food stamps, falsely believe they are not eligible, are stymied by the bureaucracy, or avoid applying out of shame, sometimes going hungry instead, USDA officials say. The policy shift which likely will be reviewed by the new Republican majority in Congress also reflects a recognition of research that shows the ranks of hungry Americans have burgeoned to up to 30 million, many of them children.

Soon, the USDA will announce a $5 million, two-year national nutrition education blitz by the agency. The aim is not only to inform children about the benefits of good eating, but to use the agency's first coast-to-coast billboard, television, radio and print ad campaign to highlight the nation's anti-hunger programs.

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"There are many needy people who aren't participating," said James Oth, a senior fellow at Mathematica Policy Research Inc., which conducts government studies on food stamps.
Contrary to widespread perceptions of dependency, most food stamp recipients use the program less than seven months. More than a third, however, again sign up for food stamps within a year of leaving the program.

"These programs exist to serve all who are eligible and hungry. If we aren't reaching them, we should," said USDA undersecretary Ellen Haas.

The government's new efforts are unlikely to curb what may be the main factor driving hunger: the growing number of people falling into poverty. Although outreach, increased government assistance and an expanding economy drastically reduced the ranks of the hungry in the 1970s, their numbers soared by 50 percent between 1985 and 1991, according to Tufts University reports, as global economic shifts brought a loss of manufacturing jobs and erosion of income.

Food stamp benefits are adjusted according to a person's income, therefore small benefits are outweighed by application waits that can last days in dangerous and dirty welfare offices, which often close their doors early in the afternoon. Anyone with a car valued at more than $4,550 is disqualified. Food stamp recipients must file monthly reports and reapply every six months, even if their income doesn't change.

"We need to simplify procedures," said Haas. "Today, many people sit in food stamp offices all day."

Ohls, the government's food stamp researcher at Mathematica, noted that those receiving food stamps typically get enough coupons to last three weeks, leaving them hungry the last week of the month. The average benefit, 74 cents per meal, is only about half of what the USDA calculates is needed for a nutritionally balanced diet. Benefits are low because the agriculture department's formula unrealistically assumes that even applicants with very low incomes can set aside 30 percent for food, said Ohls.

Religious Freedom, Fair Housing Collide in Conservative City (Chico)
By Maura Dolan= (c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

CHICO, Calif. Gail Randall and Ken Phillips fell in love with the duplex: It had pale yellow clapboard, trimmed in brick, a high steep roof, hardwood floors and a fireplace. The tree-shaded home here reminded Randall of a gingerbread house.

But there was a hitch: the landlady, a conservative, devout Christian, refused to rent to unmarried couples. When she learned Randall and Phillips lived together outside of marriage, she canceled the rental agreement and mailed back their deposit.

"It was real disappointing," said Randall, 31.

The couple filed a complaint against the landlady, sparking a constitutional dilemma over the competing rights of religious freedom and fair housing, property and privacy, and, peripherally, over what constitutes sin.

Backed by one-time presidential candidate and television evangelist Pat Robertson, the landlady maintains that her religious convictions entitle her to discriminate. She and a handful of other landlords around the nation have been prevailing in courts with the help of a legal aid group started by the conservative preacher.

Attorney General Dan Lungren, California's top law enforcement officer, recently refused to continue representing a state fair housing agency against the Chico woman. Lungren said he supported a Court of Appeal ruling in her favor, forcing the state agency to obtain a private lawyer.

The California Supreme Court agreed to review the dispute even though it failed to reach a decision in a similar Southern California case. The justices, who rarely drop a case after voting to accept it, were believed to have been deeply torn. Now Smith's case is considered the most important constitutional test on the issue because most other state high courts have avoided ruling directly on the religious freedom issue.

"If it means the homosexuals and the fornicators can't find a place to live," said Evelyn Smith, 62, the Chico woman. Lungren said he supported a Court of Appeal ruling in her favor, forcing the state agency to obtain a private lawyer.

The ruling, expected next year, could have widespread ramifications, allowing the deeply religious to discriminate against gays and heterosexual couples in housing, employment and other business transactions.

While the government moves to modernize its food stamp program, people like Sondra Trudeau are at the front lines in welfare offices.

Trudeau, an Interfaith Hunger Coalition trainee, encounters people struggling with California's 10-page food stamp application shorter than those in other states, which run up to 40 pages long. Sometimes tempers flare. "If I see you on the street, I'll kill you. I'll kill you," one woman says, gesturing angrily in a social worker's direction as security guards guide her toward the door.

A 58-year-old woman with bad eyesight who can't read or write approaches Trudeau, who has helped three others get food stamps today. Her food stamps stopped eight months ago. This is her seventh trip to the office, says the former garment worker, who is looking for work as a nanny or cleaning lady because she can no longer see well enough to sew. "No one will help me," she laments, explaining that she has spent five hours in the office today alone.

Nearly two hours later, Trudeau has worked with the woman's social worker to gain her $115 in food stamps and $212 in general relief. Deeply moved, the woman, explaining that she is very hungry, quietly says to Trudeau, "Thank God. Thank you."
shares the conservatism of the rest of Butte County. Farmers tend almond and walnut orchards, and retirees from elsewhere in the state are attracted to Chico's mild winters, its two well-regarded hospitals and relatively low cost of living.

Smith, who raised her family in Chico, lives in a different neighborhood from her rental units. The widow said most prospective tenants go away quietly if they do not like her rules on "handy-panky." She once explained her feelings to a gay man who wanted to rent from her. "He said, 'I respect you for that,' " and decided not to pursue the vacancy, she said.

But Randall and Phillips were indignant. He was 28 at the time, she 24. They had lived together for about three years.

When Phillips called Smith about the vacancy seven years ago, she told him she preferred to rent to married couples.

"That shouldn't be a problem," Phillips, now 35, remembered replying, "which it shouldn't be. It was a bit of spin control on my part."

Before meeting Smith later that day, the Chico landscaper called the California Department of Fair Employment and Housing and was told that such discrimination was illegal.

But the couple continued their pretense when they met Smith at the duplex, located in a neighborhood where the couple had long wanted to live. She accepted a deposit, and the couple signed a rental agreement.

Neither Randall nor Phillips wanted to continue the charade. Phillips called Smith later that day and told her the truth. She put their deposit in the mail and canceled the agreement.

Randall, an aspiring nurse who goes to school at night and works two jobs, said she was "tired of the issue coming up."

She and her boyfriend had previously rented from a landlord who assumed they were married, and rather than risk losing their home, let him believe as he wished. She did not like the subterfuge.

"We didn't like being put in the position of having to lie," she said, "and we certainly did not want to keep up the lie every month."

After the unmarried couple filed a complaint against Smith with the state housing commission, her friends put her on "the prayer chain," so that many people would be asking God to send her an attorney.

Jordan Lorence, who was representing a conservative Christian group at the time, took the case. He now is being paid by Pat Robertson's Virginia-based American Center for Law and Justice, which has represented other landlords in similar cases.

At a hearing of the California Fair Employment and Housing Commission, a representative of Smith's church, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), testified that she would not rent from him if he was committing a sin if she rented to an unmarried couple.

"I am not saying everybody who rents to fornicators is not going to go to heaven," she said. "But my God won't let me do it."

Randall and Phillips no longer live together, but remain friends. Like Smith, they plan on attending the California Supreme Court's oral arguments in the case, which have not yet been scheduled.

Phillips said the episode with Smith upset him because he felt she was intruding into the privacy of his sex life. But he did not think of the rejection as discrimination until many months later, when he saw a television program about landlords who refused to rent to blacks.

"Being a white male, I don't think of these things that often," he said. "Usually I am not the victim of these things usually."

10,000 Arafat Followers Stage Massive March in Support (Jerusalem)
By Mary Curtius=
(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

JERUSALEM In a massive show of force, an estimated 10,000 supporters of PLO leader Yasser Arafat marched in Gaza City on Monday, firing their guns in the air and chanting slogans against the Islamic opposition just days after Arafat's security forces and Islamic militants engaged in bloody street battles.

"Here is the weapon, here are the Fatah Hawks, at the hands of our leader, Yasser Arafat, ready to heed your call," roared thousands of young men armed with automatic weapons. "Whoever wrongs Fatah, Fatah will open his head."

Fatah is the largest faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization and was founded in the 1960s by Arafat, chairman of the PLO and head of the self-governing Palestinian Authority.

The march marked a change of tactics for Arafat from the conciliatory stance he took after his police force opened fire on Islamic demonstrators Friday. The two sides quickly agreed to a truce, but efforts to extend that to a broader political accord between Arafat and Islamic militants stalled Monday morning.

Fatah's march seemed calculated to show the Islamic organizations that Arafat's faction remains the strongest in Gaza.

"No one can compete with Fatah and with the PLO or with the Palestinian police and the Palestinian security forces," Arafat told the cheering crowd, speaking from the same spot where he first addressed Palestinians after his return to Gaza in July after decades in exile.

After negotiations with the Islamic militants began to falter Sunday night, Arafat requested the rally, according to Palestinian sources.
On Monday, the Voice of Palestine, the Palestinian Authority's official radio station, broadcast blunt warnings to the Islamic opposition groups. Describing Fatah as the mother of all Palestinians, Voice of Palestine warned that any child who disobeys his Fatah mother will face severe punishment. At first, an unidentified commentator said, the child will be grabbed by the ear. If he continues to disobey, "the ear will be cut. Maybe later, also hands and legs will be cut, and also throats will be cut. The message of the mother of the children is clear and open and harsh and tough."

The radio station also appealed to Fatah activists to attend the pro-Arafat march and to bring their guns with them. Many of the militants who responded by the busload to Arafat's call were leaders of the Palestinian uprising, or intifada, that erupted in Gaza and the West Bank in 1987.

They were largely pushed aside when Arafat and other PLO officials from Tunis arrived in Gaza to take over the Palestinian Authority in July. But Arafat turned to them Monday as his strongest base of support in the territories.

"Today is a referendum of the national authority, a referendum of the PLO," Arafat told the crowd. "The state of alert continues and eyes are open. You are the protectors of security, no one can take away from Fatah and the Palestinian police."

Hours before the march began, leaders of Hamas and Islamic Jihad told reporters that they would not sign an accord with Arafat brokered by a group of Israeli Arab leaders.

"Arafat must accept personal responsibility for what happened Friday. That is our number one condition. Until that condition is met, we will not sign anything," said Ahmed Bahar, a Hamas leader in Gaza. The Palestinian authority had offered to set up a judicial commission of inquiry into Friday's occurrences, but balked at accepting blame for what the opposition calls the "massacre."

On Friday, an estimated 200 armed Palestinian police, wearing helmets and carrying riot shields, surrounded the Palestine Mosque in downtown Gaza City, where about 6,000 worshipers — many of them supporters of Hamas and Islamic Jihad — had gathered for noon prayers. Accounts differ over who started the confrontation that ensued, but a riot erupted as prayers ended. Police fired at rock-throwing demonstrators and the clash soon spread into surrounding streets.

It was the first clash between Palestinian police and civilians since Israel handed day-to-day control of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho to the PLO in May. Before the fighting ended Friday night, some 13 people had been shot to death and at least 129 wounded. A 14th victim, Ata Kanan, died of his wounds Monday and was buried. About 200 supporters of Islamic organizations attended his funeral.

Friday's bloodshed sent shock waves through the Palestinian community and raised the specter of civil war. Mediation efforts were launched to prepare the world community to pay up quickly on commitments of aid to the beleaguered self-ruling Palestinian Authority in hopes of quelling the violence in the strife-torn Gaza Strip.

Although Clinton did not offer to add to the $100 million the United States has already given the Palestinians this year, he told Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin that he will urge other donors to deliver about $125 million in previous pledges before the end of the year in an effort to quiet the unrest that spawned a deadly confrontation Friday between Gaza demonstrators and the fledgling Palestinian police force.

In a dramatic reversal of roles, Rabin came to Washington to appeal for funds for the Palestine Liberation Organization-run government, which faces a severe test of power with Islamic militants of Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

At the same time, Clinton and Rabin sought to prepare U.S. public opinion and the incoming Republican-controlled Congress for an Israel-Syria peace agreement that might depend on U.S. troops to monitor the strategic Golan Heights.

Clinton also agreed in principle to continue U.S. financial support for Israel's Arrow tactical missile defense system and he promised to ship two sophisticated supercomputers to the Israeli defense ministry. The president pledged to maintain the overall level of U.S. aid to Israel at $3 billion a year, the highest of any country. Republicans have called for cuts in foreign aid, but most have indicated they would not reduce the Israeli allocation.

Although officials said the meeting covered all elements of the U.S. relationship with Israel, much attention was focused on the rioting in the Gaza Strip and the new Palestinian Authority's pressing need for cash.

"When you bring peace to a place, you need to work hard to make sure that the benefits of peace become apparent to people who are the targets of the enemies of peace," Clinton said. "And the poor in Gaza are clearly the targets of the enemies of peace. So we have to work harder and more aggressively ... to try to make the benefits more apparent."

In the heady days after Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat signed a peace agreement on the White House lawn in September 1993, dozens of wealthy nations and international financial institutions pledged almost $2 billion over five years to help pay the cost of Palestinian self-government. For this year, total pledges were about $700 million of which at least $500 million remains undelivered.

A senior administration official declined to name the countries that have failed to keep their promises but he said they include nations in the Persian Gulf region, Europe and east Asia. The United States plans to prod the donor countries when they meet in Brussels, Belgium, next week. Although the United States will urge the donors to make good on the entire $500 million in outstanding pledges, Clinton's vow to "try to move about $125 million out in a hurry," indicates that the administration's realistic goal is more modest.

The official said the PLO must shoulder some of the blame for the slow pace of aid because Arafat and his supporters failed for months to establish adequate...
accounting provisions to assure the donors that their money will be properly spent.

The meeting was the first between Clinton and Rabin since the Republican sweep in the Nov. 8 congressional election. They pledged to each other to maintain all of the elements of the current U.S.-Israel relationship and sought to persuade Congress to let them do it.

"I'm sure that without the United States involvement, support under the leadership of both President Clinton through Secretary (of State Warren) Christopher, it would be much more difficult ... to achieve this progress in the peace process that we all witnessed," Rabin said in reference to Israel's agreement with the PLO and peace treaty with Jordan.

Clinton said: "I have reaffirmed my support for the current aid level to Israel, as well as for certain security assistance, including the Arrow missile program, in the years ahead so that we can continue to support the security conditions that in my judgment are the precondition for Israel being able to make a just peace with all their neighbors in the Middle East."

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Japan Votes Into Law Three Political Reform Bills (Tokyo)
By Sam Jameson=
(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

TOKYO Concluding a six-year struggle under seven prime ministers, Japan's Parliament on Monday voted into law the final pieces of political reforms designed to produce a two-party system, campaigns fought on policy issues rather than pork-barrel handouts and periodic changes of government.

Socialist Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama, however, said the vote marked "just the start of political reform."

The form of "a saint has emerged but it has no soul yet. We must transform (the laws) into a force that will restore the people's confidence (in politics)," he said.

Three bills drawing boundaries for 300 single-seat lower house districts, stiffening penalties for vote buying and fixing qualifications of parties eligible to share $309 million in government campaign subsidies passed the upper house in a nearly unanimous vote.

The subsidies, equal to $2.50 for each voter, will be given to parties for the first time in proportion to their holdings in Parliament, in the hope of reducing corruption stemming from reliance upon donations from special interest groups.

Along with reforms passed last March under former Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa, the new laws will go into effect Dec. 25, ending a 70-year old system of multi-seat districts with an average of four representatives, some of whom polled fewer than 20 percent of the total votes. Two hundred other seats will be filled through a proportional representation system, in which voters cast a second ballot for parties of their choice.

When the new electoral system will be put to a test remains unknown.

Former Prime Minister Tsutomu Hata called for elections early next year, but Murayama said he was not thinking of dissolving the lower house, the term of which runs through July 1997.

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Jury Selection Postponed in Terrorism Case (New York)
By John J. Goldman=
(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

NEW YORK A Federal court judge on Monday postponed until early January the trial of Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman and 11 other defendants charged with plotting a war of urban terrorism because the blind Egyptian cleric remains hospitalized with pneumonia.

Defense lawyers said they expected Abdel-Rahman, 56, who suffers from chronic diabetes and heart disease, to return to his detention cell by the end of the week, but that he would be too weak to stand trial.

"I don't have any choice," Judge Michael B. Mukasey said, postponing jury selection until Jan. 9.

According to a 100-page memorandum opposing defendants' pre-trial motions, the government contends that as early as 1989 an Islamic jihad organization existed in the United States which trained for, planned and carried out terrorist acts, including the World Trade Center bombing and the assassination of Rabbi Meir Kahane, founder of the militant Jewish Defense League.

Prosecutors charge that Abdel-Rahman became the leader of the U.S. jihad and "played a key role both in articulating and defining" its organization and acts. When the trial begins, the government will argue that the sheik "provided necessary counsel" whether acts of terrorism "were permissible or forbidden under his radical interpretation of Islamic law."

Prosecutors also plan to introduce evidence that the killing of Kahane on Nov. 5, 1990 was planned and carried out to further the aims of the jihad.

The government will charge that El Sayyid Nosair shot Kahane to death and was assisted by other alleged members of the jihad and that the fingerprints of Mohammad Salameh and Nidal Ayyad, two of the defendants convicted of the bombing the World Trade Center in February 1993, were found in Nosair's car, which was left abandoned in a no-parking zone near the hotel.

The court papers also charge that Mahmud Abouhalima, a third Trade Center bombing defendant who was found guilty,
other Fed critics the central bank has felt compelled to want to see growth in a chokehold. National Association of Manufacturers, whose members don't that faceless manic multi-trillion-dollar monster that economy, many believe the protesters' anger is Fed's policy of raising interest rates to slow the Have You Ever Been Out of Work?" asked another. Carville, quoted in the book "The Agenda" by Bob traders who live in high-rises and are completely out of touch with reality," agrees Jerry Jasinowski, head of the organization's economy that could swing at the mere thought of a healthy economy that could swoons at the mere thought of a healthy economy that could be coming back as the bond market. You can intimidate everybody." Presidential adviser James C. Carville, quoted in the book "The Agenda" by Bob Woodward.

As the governors of the Federal Reserve Board voted their sixth official interest rate increase of 1994 last Tuesday, picketers from organized labor and consumer groups marched in front of the central bank's fortress-like Washington headquarters. "Jobs, Not Rate Hikes," one placard read. "Greenspan, Have You Ever Been Out of Work?" asked another. But even within the ranks of Americans who oppose the Fed's policy of raising interest rates to slow the economy, many believe the protesters' anger is misdirected. Don't blame the Fed, they say. Blame the bond market that faceless manic multi-trillion-dollar monster that swoons at the mere thought of a healthy economy that could bring an uptick in inflation. "Monetary policy in this country is controlled by bond traders who live in high-rises and are completely out of touch with reality," argues Jerry Jasinowski, head of the National Association of Manufacturers, whose members don't want to see growth in a chokehold. By Jasinowski's reckoning and that of more than a few other Fed critics the central bank has felt compelled to punish the economy with ever-higher short-term interest rates this year mostly to appease a seemingly select group of investors who own bonds. Bond owners, the logic goes, can't stand the idea of meaningful economic growth because they're terrified of the possibility of higher inflation, which would erode the value of money they've locked up in long-term bonds at fixed rates. Yet as Jasinowski and others point out, the economy has advanced this year without higher inflation. With 1994 almost over, consumer prices are rising at a lower rate even than in 1993 an annualized 2.6 percent through October, versus 2.7 percent last year. Moreover, many experts argue that with the intense competition in the global economy and labor in excess supply worldwide, inflation simply won't be a problem in the '90s. Someone will always do things cheaper.

The bond market, however, is not impressed. Whereas the Fed controls short-term rates, bond investors determine longer-term rates, which are considered much more important to the economy's health. And all year long the bond market has pushed long-term yields ever higher. The investors' message to the Fed, according to those who would demonize the bond market: "Inflation is coming! Inflation is coming! Keep tightening credit and stop the economy!" Investors today are demanding an annualized yield of 8.12 percent to take the risk of owning a 30-year U.S. Treasury bond, a benchmark for long-term rates. Just a year ago, 30-year T-bonds were sold at a yield of 5.8 percent, the lowest in 20 years.

The surge in bond yields to three-year highs has blasted other long-term interest rates worldwide higher as well this year, boosting the cost of mortgages and car loans and the price at which many businesses and governments borrow. Indirectly, the stock market has been affected as well, with bond traders' counter-intuitive thinking that good economic news is a bad omen now holding sway on Wall Street. But whereas the bond market's critics paint it as a towering, malicious monster, some analysts see an entity more akin to a pitiful, helpless giant the uncontrollable creation of a decades-long binge of government, corporate and consumer borrowing.

It is powerful, dangerous and often irrational, but "this is not some private club," says James Bianco, a bond historian at Arbor Trading Group in Barrington, Ill. "Think who the bond market is," he says. "It's pension funds, 401 (k) (retirement) accounts, mutual funds, governments, corporations, individuals. When you add it all up, we're all bond holders."

By Tom Petruno=(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

Understanding the Bond Market Monster
By Tom Petruno=(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

"I used to think if there was reincarnation, I wanted to come back as the president, the pope, or a .400 baseball hitter. But now I want to come back as the bond market. You can intimidate everybody." Presidential adviser James C. Carville, quoted in the book "The Agenda" by Bob Woodward.

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(Begin optional trim)

The image of the bond market as a bogeyman is a relatively new one.

In the United States and abroad, bond markets for most of the 20th century were the staid province of high-quality borrowers, such as sovereign states and major corporations, and highly conservative investor/creditors, such as bank trust departments. With the number of players on both sides relatively limited as was their ability to trade and track bonds and judge the true extent of inflation the movement of long-term interest rates occurred at a snail's pace for decades.

Sidney Homer and Richard Sylla, in their book "A History of Interest Rates," show that yields on high-quality corporate bonds took 20 years (1900 to 1920) to rise from 3.5 percent to 5 percent and another 20 years (1920 to 1940) to decline from 5 percent to 2.8 percent. As recently as the early 1970s, the bond market was a sleepy place essentially run by arch-conservative Eastern investment bankers and their equally conservative bank and life insurance company clients.
By 1981, with the annual inflation rate running at 13 percent, bond investors were demanding the highest interest rates in U.S. history: yields of more than 14 percent on long-term Treasury bonds, up from 8 percent just two years earlier.

At that point, the Federal Reserve, under then-Chairman Paul Volcker, committed itself to breaking the inflation cycle by inducing a severe recession with short-term interest rates in excess of 20 percent. What's worth noting is that the bond market wasn't blamed for that then-unprecedented rate surge. Inflation was real, and the image of the bond investor was that of victim, not perpetrator.

What makes the bond market so hated and feared? If bigness alone makes something intimidating, the bond market is that in spades. The debt expansion that began in the 1970s has increased exponentially since 1980:

- U.S. government-related debt has exploded from $1 trillion outstanding in 1980 to $5.3 trillion now, the result of years of record federal budget deficits.
- Outstanding U.S. corporate and foreign bonds have more than quadrupled since 1980, from $508 billion to $2.2 trillion, and municipal bonds issued now total almost $1.3 trillion, up from $365 billion.
- All told, the value of bond debt has reached $8.8 trillion, up 370 percent from 1980. To put that in perspective, consider that the Wilshire market value index of 5,000 U.S. stocks is up only 194 percent in the same period, to about $4.6 trillion.
- Not only do investors own more fixed-rate bond assets than ever before, but technology allows them to buy and sell bonds in the blink of an eye, assuring that yields can react instantly to investors' perceptions of what is a "fair" return.

Contrary to what the market's detractors allege, many big bond investors say fear of higher inflation in a healthy economy isn't the overriding issue driving bond yields this year. Instead, they see in rates' sudden turnaround the violent backlash to a sea change in the global economy - a backlash worsened by bond investors' own gluttony in recent years.

Investors had willingly snapped up bonds at ever-lower yields, often with funds borrowed at even lower short-term rates. They assumed that economic growth would remain anemic and, more important, that the Fed would continue to keep short-term interest rates low.

"Too many investors believed the U.S. and other major economies were locked in a quiet depression," said John Lonski, economist at Moody's Investors Service in New York. "That assumption proved to be disastrously wrong for bond holders."

Something else also is at work in molding bond market psychology today: the simple desire to get out of the way of bonds' reversal of fortune and to take advantage of higher yields on much safer short-term bank CDs and money market accounts, courtesy of the Fed's tighter-credit policy.

Proving Government Works:
Still Democrats' Dilemma (Washn)

Garment is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. She is the author of "Scandal: The Culture of Mistrust in American Politics" (Times Books).

By Suzanne Garment

Special to the Los Angeles Times=

WASHINGTON OK, let's review the bidding. It's 1992. Voters are in a surly mood. Bill Clinton says they should vote for Change. They don't like Big Government. He tells people there is a third, smarter way - a "reinvested" government that will perform for the hard-working, law-abiding, tax-paying middle class. He finesmes the social issues, trumping them with economic appeals. He wins the presidency.

Two years later, on the long, hung-over day after the Republicans have creamed the Democrats in the midterm elections, the president holds a press conference. He remarks that when he first declared for the presidency, he gave a speech saying government should create opportunity and let citizens take responsibility for making the most of it. "They don't think we've done that yet," he says. He allows that his health-reform plan, as mischaracterized by its opponents, "looked like" it was "restricting the choices of the American people."

It sounds as if Clinton thinks he has a communication problem to be solved by correcting public misimpressions. But the reason voters think Clintonites haven't "done that yet" is that they haven't. And it is not likely that they'll be able to in the future.

Most critics of the administration now attribute its non-performance to the incompetence of Clinton himself. He's too vacillating. Too wordy. He should get up off the mat and make a strong turn to the right. Or the left.

Part of the problem indeed lies in Clinton's nature but temperaments are hard to change. And the other cause of the administration's failure is even less under his control. It lies in the nature of the Democratic Party, many of whose members have already started to blame Clinton for all their woes - the way they blamed Jimmy Carter in the run-up to the 1980 presidential election.

The midterm elections were not about "the economy, stupid." They illuminated a more pervasive voter anxiety. We just haven't been the same since the Berlin Wall came down, blocking under both the bated consensus about America's role in the world and the Cold War's guarantees of economic security in crucial industries. We feel competition from a world market. We fear a future where success depends on skills as arcane as Urdu.

And this is just part of the angst. Add in the anxieties that have festered for 25 years about the survival of bourgeois values. Liberal rhetoric and policy have addressed the grievances of society's designated victims by taking things, material and emotional, away from non-victims. Activists pursuing church-state separation have done so by denigrating the need for religion in public life.

Then there are the other symbols of loss of control - illegal immigrants, viruses with no vaccines or cures, and the big one, crime, fearsome in itself but serving as shorthand for all the public practices and institutions that fail to do their job of promoting public order.

When Advertising Age runs a feature, titled "Fear!", about the burgeoning commercial side of the perceived crisis, and Hammacher Schlemmer offers a $119.95 life-size dummy for your car so you won't look like you're driving alone, the preoccupation with the dangers of violence has reached an advanced stage.

We want our leaders to protect us against such fears. Yet, in these uncertain days, public officials can't know which specific demands the future will make of them. What
they can do is provide a clear sense of first principles and shared values, so that citizens can identify with them, invest them with moral authority and trust them to make reasoned decisions.

Clinton is likable, supple, untroubled by contradictions and not a protector. He has an ambiguous past; more important, he has not spoken out about this past from the perspective of a grown man looking back on his actions with a grown man's sober judgment. Citizens do not know what standards he would use to make such a judgment, let alone knowing whether they agree with him.

That said, we should not overdraw the importance of Clinton's failings. Inspiring confidence in government, and a sense that government "works," would be a long shot for almost any president reliant on the Democratic Party's political base and dominant thinking. Take the matter of alternative lifestyles. Most Americans probably have some tolerance of these differences, but would prefer not to have them at the top of the public agenda, getting in the way of ordinary folks' atavistic desire for grandchildren. A prudent president would not begin his administration with the issue of gay rights. But what president elected by Clinton's coalition could escape pressure to do so?

Another strong probability: Lots of people dislike affirmative action that mocks old-fashioned meritocratic truths by using explicit racial, ethnic or gender preferences. Clinton's Justice Department pushes these preferences. The predictable friction results. It does not stem from Clinton's foibles; it evolves from the kinds of activists and constituencies attracted to Democratic campaigns and to political office in Democratic administrations.

Or take health reform, where we speak of certainties rather than probabilities. People's ability to choose their doctors may be partly illusory. But folks still think it's important, and for good reason: Though a frail reed, it is often an individual's only weapon against the impersonality of medical bureaucracies.

A prudent president would not mess with this powerful sentiment. But if you put together the sorts of experts who formed the Clinton health task force, many of whom would have been called on by nearly any Democrat in the White House, it is hard to imagine not having them at the top of the public agenda, getting in the way of ordinary folks' atavistic desire for grandchildren. A prudent president would not begin his administration with the issue of gay rights. But what president elected by Clinton's coalition could escape pressure to do so?

The same conclusion is evident in the environmental field. Doing certain kinds of good through government rules and agencies means placing substantial constraints on people's actions. It has been years since Democrats could be trusted to do the job with sensitivity to the people who bear the burden of government demands. Their mistrust is now aggravated by the sense that government does not even reciprocate by providing an elementary sense of security.

This is not a dilemma Clinton created. The focus on the president's personal shortcomings is reminiscent of Carter's presidency. Carter actually did some reinvesting of government but the public's ideological shift outpaced anything he was willing or able to accomplish.

Many of Carter's most articulate fellow Democrats decided the citizenry's restiveness reflected Carter's own ineptitude. The way he sold his energy policy was wimpish. Carter staffers were too young and inexperienced to know how to operate in Washington: blue jeans and pig-sty offices in the White House, rudeness to Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill Jr. on the Hill.

This talk weakened the Democrats' president still further, making him an easier target when Ronald Reagan began to go at him in 1980.

If today's Democrats persist in thinking their troubles are only as deep as Clinton's running shorts or his motor mouth, they will do an effective job of setting themselves up in the same way for 1996.

Expect Gingrich to Renew Debate About Government's Role

Brownstein is a political writer for the Los Angeles Times

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WASHINGTON Near a microphone, incoming House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., has a weakness for both cyber-bebop and the lacerating one-liner that leaves just a trace of blood on his own lips. But he can also be refreshingly direct: "My challenge to the American people is real simple," he declared in his first speech after the GOP landslide earlier this month. "You really want to dramatically reduce power in Washington? You have to be willing to take more responsibility back home."

With Gingrich at the helm, the Republican ascendancy should prompt the most fundamental debate about government's role since at least the New Deal. In Gingrich (and such like-minded allies as Texas Sen. Phil Gramm), liberals face opponents much more tenacious and committed than Ronald Reagan to radically reducing Washington's reach. Indeed, as they scurried across the capital last week from television studio to press conference as if taking an electronic victory lap GOP luminaries such as Gingrich and Gramm, former Education Secretary William J. Bennett and party strategist William Kristol all presented the election as an historic referendum on the federal government. The Republican sweep, Kristol said, marked "the end of the New Deal era" in a precise way: It Signified that Americans finally had concluded that new programs from Washington could not solve the nation's problems.

Kristol has a good case for reading a strong mandate in the election results. The only way to deny the ideological content is to assume that no one in America listened to anything the candidates said. Virtually every Republican candidate this year ran on the same three-legged message: one part Reagan (smaller government), another Ross Perot (congressional and political reform), and a third Bill Bennett (values, virtue and tough love for the poor.)

With that appeal overwhelming all Democratic defenses, the election represented a decisive victory for the decades-long GOP project of shifting populist discontent away from its historic targets of the rich and big business toward government (and, to a slightly lesser extent, an underclass portrayed as violent and welfare-dependent). In a survey immediately after the election, veteran GOP pollster Richard B. Wirthlin found that three-fourths of Americans now agree with Reagan's classic contention that government is not the solution to our problems; government is the problem.

That strong statement of dissatisfaction with Washington gives the Republicans a lot of rope for the coming months. But they could still hang themselves with it, if they are no more successful than President Clinton at negotiating a paradoxical set of pitfalls: the risks that they will go too far, and not far enough, in pursuit of their agenda.

On one side, Republicans can be undermined by not going far enough in pursuit of wasteful spending for fear of offending powerful Republican-leaning interests the same way Clinton's support from public-employee unions, teachers and social workers has blunted his knife in some arenas. Already Kristol's call for placing agricultural...
The risk on the other side is that reformist Republicans will go too far in pursuing their vision of the ideal state. In his first two years, Clinton's single biggest mistake was seeking to reify, in one great leap, his panoramic revelation of the perfect health-care system.

Already, the same hubris is infecting GOP plans for welfare. In pushing for benefit cut-offs that could force substantial numbers of poor women to abandon their children, Republicans risk the same fate that befell the House GOP in the early 1990s, when it ultimately could face the same dynamic that did in Clinton's health care plan: How much the problem worries Americans, they may end up fearing the solution even more.

Welfare points up another critical choice facing Republicans as they try to imagine a post-New Deal government.

Most House Republicans want to "solve" welfare in Washington, with stern nationally-established time limits and benefit reductions. But a minority insists that setting such inflexible rules violates conservative principles; they would rather devolve welfare to local governments - perhaps in a swap where the federal government would assume the full cost of Medicaid and give states total freedom to run welfare, food stamps and infant-nutrition programs. If Republicans try to redesign welfare from Washington, says Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum, R-Kan., who has proposed such a swap, "we'll weave ourselves right back into the same web."

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Most House Republicans want to "solve" welfare in Washington, with stern nationally-established time limits and benefit reductions. But a minority insists that setting such inflexible rules violates conservative principles; they would rather devolve welfare to local governments - perhaps in a swap where the federal government would assume the full cost of Medicaid and give states total freedom to run welfare, food stamps and infant-nutrition programs. If Republicans try to redesign welfare from Washington, says Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum, R-Kan., who has proposed such a swap, "we'll weave ourselves right back into the same web."

But any divisions between Republicans on reforming government pale beside the gulf with Clinton. The president also wants to reinvent government but so that it can take on new tasks or perform old ones with new vigor. Clinton's philosophical foundation remains the belief that government can serve "as a catalyst to empower people to make more of their own lives" through programs that link opportunity and responsibility, like his national service plan. "We cannot get very far in this government pale beside the gulf with Clinton. The risk on the other side is that reformist Republicans will go too far in pursuing their vision of the ideal state. In his first two years, Clinton's single biggest mistake was seeking to reify, in one great leap, his panoramic revelation of the perfect health-care system.

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all, those awful disciples of the counterculture.

There is, in fact, some truth to Gingrich's charges:

Their leader was a mild-mannered South Dakotan,
McGovernism was an elite movement, staging a hostile
takeover of the Democratic Party. That, after all, is why
McGovern won only one state. His was an anti-Establishment
campaign that often resembled a commune; it included
Warren Beatty, his roving campaign sidekick Gary Hart, and
enough longhairs on the 1972 convention floor to make many
lunch-bucket Americans feel their Democratic Party had been
stolen from them.

And no wonder: There's a story that when Gov. Frank
Morrison of Nebraska introduced McGovern to an audience in
a high school gym, he intended to set the record straight
about GOP smears that McGovern was for legalizing drugs.

"They say George McGovern is for the legalization of
marijuana, but I say ...," he began, but he was drowned
out by applause before he could finish the sentence. When
he did, the audience went wild.

But that was long ago, and most of Gingrich's
characterizations about the effects of these elites today
are exaggerated, if not false. The universities, the media
and Hollywood are not liberal monoliths, if they ever were
which is why the conservative Rush Limbaugh and "Forrest
Gump" are this year's sensations. There are no Great
Society liberals left. (Maybe one Ira Magazine.) The
Washington Establishment is an equal opportunity employer,
as many former Reagan and Bush aides will attest.

It is certainly true that many values of the
counterculture have become mainstream: If Americans are
not for "acid, amnesty and abortion" the 1972 GOP
miscalculation of McGovern's views they do tend to
favor a right to abortion, while eschewing involvement in
foreign wars. (acid never caught on, but two out of three
ain't bad.) In fact, many of the counterculture's other
values, its stress on sexual freedom and personal
liberation; its emphasis on the rights of women and
minorities, and its distrust of authority are now key
parts of the mainstream culture. Which means Gingrich's
quarrel is not so much with a McGovem or countercultural
elites, as it is with the American people.

In fact, Gingrich's preoccupation with the 1972
Democratic nominee may tell us more about him than it does
about McGovern. For all his criticism of the Clintons and
their ties to Democratic elites, the irony is that the
speaker-to-be so closely resembles his archenemies that he
could be their mirror image. He, too, is a baby boomer,
who avoided Vietnam so he could go to graduate school.
Like Clinton, he is a lifelong political junkie, who
retreats to academic settings to reinvigorate himself.

Both are vilified by enemies and are the target of
constant jokes; neither has ever met a TV camera he didn't
like. Both claim homes in the South but now appear to be
rooted nowhere or everywhere. The same "liberation"
movements that Clinton's critics now find inherent in the
chief executive's character apparently allowed Gingrich to
gain a divorce and remarry in a way that might have eluded
him before those awful 1960s. In the same way that Hillary
has apparently always been a true believer wandering from
support of Goldwater in 1964 to a "values-based
liberalism" so, too, has Gingrich been a pilgrim in search of ideological purity moving from support of
Nelson A. Rockefeller's statism in the '60s to his own
values-based conservatism.

And now the Clintons and Gingrich will clash. It has
been said the most intense rivalries are between those
most alike Harvard and Yale, Army and Navy, Alabama and
and Neil Howe predicted the baby boomers, always messianic
in their opinions, would wage a great national battle
among themselves over values, with neither side giving an
inch. The last time a similar generation rose to power,
they recalled, we ended up fighting the Civil War.

It looks to be a horrifying two years. But don't blame
me: I voted for McGovern.

California Can Still Be a Golden State
State Sen. Art Torres, a Democrat, was a candidate for state insurance commissioner.

By Art Torres—Special to the Los Angeles Times—
Take pause, California. Look around and reflect. We have
many wounds to heal.

The eyes of my 14-year-old daughter, Danielle, told the
entire story on election night. The concern and fear in her eyes
had less to do with her father's election loss than her
recognition that all is not well in California; that an unfolding
environment of racial animosity, fueled in large measure by
Proposition 187, which denies education and non-emergency
medical services to illegal immigrants, bodes ill for her future;
that, by virtue of being Latino, attending a public school, she is no less suspect of the "I" word than her immigrant classmates. Indeed, in a
world where skin color actually does matter, all Californians
with immigrant roots are implicated by the climate we have
created.

The most vocal supporters of Proposition 187 have
successfully cast the immigrant as leech. The most vocal
opponents have branded the average white California voter
as bigot. In our collective, cathartic effort to address a
long-ignored public-policy issue, we've scarred one another
for generations to come. We've taken complexity and
reduced it to all-or-nothing equations. We've given our
children a classic lesson in how not to solve problems.

Am I overplaying this? In 20 years of service in the
California Legislature, I've witnessed periodic waves of
racial tension that have rocked this state. If I had a
dollar for every hate letter I've received in Sacramento
targeting my Mexican heritage, I'd be a very rich man. And
yet the fevered pitch we hear today is unprecedented and
frightening. We're adrift.

But between these spurts of anger, I've also seen our
periods of triumph, of rising above race and class to
pursue a common agenda. We saw it after the Los Angeles
riots, at the First African Methodist Episcopal Church,
where black, brown, yellow and white came together in
harmony to address a crisis. We saw it after the two
earthquakes, north and south.

We have the capacity to rise above difference to move
California forward. But we must first expunge the emotion
and "politics" from the critical issues facing this
state, such as immigration. By no means should we relax
our efforts to curb undocumented immigration. But we need to
address the issue responsibly and with an understanding of
who we are in California.

We are, in fact, a state that boasts the most diverse
population in the world, where today's minority will be
tomorrow's majority. We are a state where our rich
diversity combined with our proximity to our NAFTA
partner Mexico, and at the gateway to the emerging Pacific
Rim may well translate into our economic salvation. We
are a state where today's voters will soon be dependent on
the good wisdom and foresight of the future and
ethnically diverse generation of voters.

All of which presents a critical test for our state's
leadership. With the passage of Proposition 187, we've
created a national issue for which our own governor may
well be drafted as primary spokesperson. He can build
national political capital by ratcheting up Proposition
187-style demagoguery, inflaming racial tension on a
national scale, or he can set a national standard for
leadership by healing the wounds of division in his own back yard.

The latter is what California desperately needs. Wilson needs to be the voice of leadership and unity in a state divided, and must set a standard for reasoned, informed debate. He needs to reach out to those within the Latino community, among others, who feel betrayed by his actions. He needs to transcend politics and work hand in hand with Sen. Dianne Feinstein to address immigration concerns. He needs to restore hope in a growing generation of disillusioned and bewildered Californians.

Let us embrace the change California voters have endorsed. But let us do so without demagoguery, hate and finger-pointing. Let us respect the rich diversity of our population with responsible leadership at the helm. Let us heal our wounds and rediscover our common ground.

I will reach out to the young people in this state who showed me during the campaign year what truth and conviction are all about.

My vision has not changed, no matter what perceived tide washes away, and we are left with new imprints to make upon the sand we call our California.

Throwing off the Shackles of

Racism Remains America's Challenge

Banks is a San Francisco-based lawyer and writer

By R. Richard Banks=

Special to the Los Angeles Times=

The debate generated by Charles Murray's and Richard Herrnstein's "The Bell Curve" and the book's astounding commercial success tell more about our society than any arguments Murray and Herrnstein offer.

That this book has elicited such serious discussion even among those who steadfastly oppose its claims demonstrates that we have yet to shake off the heaviest psychological shackles bequeathed to us: the assumption of black inferiority which, in turn, provides an explanation of black inferiority as beyond the pale, similarly ridiculous assertions. If we didn't already accept the possibility of black inferiority, no one would need expend the energy or money, but not in science, where the ultimate reward, dishonesty lately that the British journal Nature observed "evidence" could be found to support those beliefs as well. (After all, didn't the "ice people" start two world wars and aren't the Jewish people inordinately successful in high finance?) We believe what we are inclined to believe.

So it is with black intellectual ability. For all that earnest debate, Murray and Herrnstein haven't told us anything new. They've simply given us permission to engage an idea whose hold we have never shaken and whose attractiveness we remain unwilling to admit.

Science Reputation Corroded by Fraud and Dishonesty

(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

The following editorial appeared in Monday's Los Angeles Times:

Nothing is quite so corrosive of science as reports of fraud and misconduct by scientists. One expects cheating and thievery in business, where the object is to make money, but not in science, where the ultimate reward, ostensibly, is finding the truth.

But there have been so many allegations of scientific dishonesty lately that the British journal Nature observed that "outsiders can be forgiven for believing that science is not the honorable profession it pretends to be, but a mafia in which rival gangs scheme to win the credit for intellectual innovation." The reports have damaged the credibility of science in Congress, which recently set up a special commission to examine the integrity of the scientific community to drop its defenses on this issue. It must help determine whether misdeeds are isolated events or signs of a wider problem driven by underlying institutional pressures to publish, succeed and win research grants from the government in a highly competitive environment.

Leaders of science assert that fraud is rare and that, in any case, the process is self-correcting because other scientists ultimately will discover the error when trying to replicate the work. But the steady flow of reports of alleged cheating is disconcerting. Earlier this year the National Institutes of Health were jolted by reports that some researchers had compromised a breast cancer study by arguments about other groups we acknowledge for what they are. When Leonard Jeffries talks about white, war-mongering "ice people" and loving, melanin-rich "sun people," no one unfurls the banner of unfettered discourse to consider the theory's validity. And when, as occasionally happens, some lunatic group condemns "evil Jews" as having brought the Holocaust upon themselves through their shrewd manipulations of the European economy (or, conversely, claims that the Holocaust never happened), no right-thinking person accepts that the claim is valid. The preposterous nature of these arguments places them beyond the need to be disproved.

Such contentions are discussed only as a means of examining social context. Jeffries' arguments may be used to examine the rise of Afro-centrism on college campuses, the evil-Jew theories to open a window into the mind of an anti-Semite. But neither is taken seriously as a potentially insightful observation about whites or Jews.

Of course, Murray and Herrnstein provide ample evidence in support of their conclusions. How could one dismiss "The Bell Curve" when its authors marshal such voluminous data?

Were one predisposed to see whites as mean-spirited "ice people" or Jews as money-hungry troublemakers, "evidence" could be found to support those beliefs as well. (After all, didn't the "ice people" start two world wars and aren't the Jewish people inordinately successful in high finance?) We believe what we are inclined to believe.

The latter is what California desperately needs. Wilson needs to transcend politics and work hand in hand with Sen. Dianne Feinstein to address immigration concerns. He needs to restore hope in a growing generation of disillusioned and bewildered Californians.
including ineligible subjects. More recently, the agency has been looking into whether data was altered in a study of ocular cancer.

Scientific misconduct ranges from outright fabrication and plagiarism and the sabotage of others' work to the more ethically ambiguous acts of overinterpreting data to claim priority for an unproven idea or not giving sufficient credit to others. One hoary practice that should be dropped immediately is the use of "honorary" authorship by which a senior researcher puts his name on publications of disciples or co-workers even though he had nothing to do with the research and cannot defend it.

We suspect that instances of gross fraud are rare, if only because such cases are so easy to detect. When physicists at the University of Utah falsely claimed to have achieved nuclear fusion at room temperature in 1989, the conclusion was quickly debunked because it was so improbable. Probably the wider problem is that of fudging and shaving, the seemingly innocent corner-cutting that could pollute the scientific literature for years and is very hard to detect.

The problem is that there is little hard data on the true prevalence of misconduct. Five years ago Dr. Drummond Rennie, a professor of medicine at University of California, San Francisco, stirred a storm by proposing an experiment by which publications on clinical research would be checked to see whether they conformed to the raw data.

That idea has been taken up by some members of the new Commission on Research Integrity, and is expected to come up at the commission's meeting in Washington Dec. 1 and 2. Under it, journals that publish original clinical research would require that scientists submit to random, confidential spot checks of their records. Such audits of drug research by the Food and Drug Administration suggest that the incidence of misrepresentation and sloppiness is not small.

Outright deception in applying for or using federal grant money is grounds for criminal prosecution. But federal agencies cannot police the scientific community. That responsibility lies mainly with universities and hospitals. Staffs must be monitored better and institutions must examine themselves, asking whether they have put such emphasis on publication as a condition for tenure and promotions that the very scientific truths they seek to advance are compromised.
President Clinton told Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday he was ready to take the American people the case for stationing U.S. troops on the Golan Heights as peace monitors between Israel and Syria.

"I will come to the American people, I will come to the Congress, and I will make the case at that time based on an agreement that they would reach," Mr. Clinton said after an 80-minute Oval Office meeting with Mr. Rabin.

He stressed, however, "there has been no agreement of any kind about this."

"We have not been pumping the gun here on this part of it," he said.

Mr. Clinton also assured Mr. Rabin that he will press Congress to maintain aid to Israel at current levels and will endorse new commitments, including money to finish developing the Arrow tactical anti-ballistic-missile system, an agreement to license the export of two supercomputers to Israel and help with unspecified "particular defense issues." Mr. Clinton said he would fight to keep that support.

Incoming Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, Kansas Republican, seemed to predict the Senate would go along with that view.

"I would hope and I would guess that at this time of great tension in the Middle East, where we're trying to achieve peace, there wouldn't be any effort to reduce the level of aid," Mr. Dole said as he met separately with Mr. Rabin.

Mr. Helms was not available for comment on possible new peacekeeping duties to which he voiced opposition in Saturday Mr. Clinton's interview, but a Senate staff member said: "He didn't think much of the idea. ... It is not something that he is going to embrace. He wants to consider it, period."

The staff member reinforced Mr. Helms' support for current levels of foreign aid to Israel.

"The senator does not feel that Israel is one of the foreign ratholes by any standard." — Senate staffer

"The senator does not feel that Israel is one of the foreign ratholes by any standard," the staff member said, using the phrase Mr. Helms applies to foreign aid projects he opposes. "We have to look at Israel in terms of what Israel is worth to us. It is like an aircraft carrier, like a base in the Middle East."

Mr. Helms favors cuts elsewhere, however. When Republicans won control of Congress on Nov. 8, Mr. Helms said, "We must stop this stupid business of giving away the taxpayers' money willy-nilly."

Agency for International Development Administrator J. Brian Atwood, whose agency has been targeted by Mr. Helms yesterday that further aid reductions would have a serious impact on the overall peace process, Mr. Atwood said: "I respect his position. I respect him. But, with all due respect, I don't believe he has changed his position despite the fact that the world has changed," Mr. Atwood said.

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Mr. Rabin joined with the president in appearing to pave the way to request a troop commitment in the Golan Heights by pointing out that U.S. troops have been in the Sinai Desert without a serious terrorism incident for over 15 years.

He said the Golan would be even safer.

"The Golan Heights today is the safest from terror because the Syrians keep their commitment to the disengagement agreement of 1974," Mr. Rabin said yesterday that further aid reductions would have a serious impact on the overall peace process, Mr. Atwood said: "I respect his position. I respect him. But, with all due respect, I don't believe he has changed his position despite the fact that the world has changed," Mr. Atwood said.

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GOP

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both because they are larger proportionally and, more importantly, because they tend to be the ones who have been there longer and hence are the ones assuming the committee chairmanships," Mr. Pascoe said.

David Mason, who studies Congress for the Heritage Foundation, said eight of the 11 incoming Senate freshmen are strong conservatives, while only one, Rep. Olympia Snowe of Maine, at this point could be identified as a "moderate."

"The balance of power has definitely shifted from one that was roughly equally divided (between centrists and conservatives) into a caucus that is definitely — though not necessarily — lopsided conservative," Mr. Mason said.

Of the Senate's 20 committees, seven could be run by Republican senators who voted for conservative bills less than 60 percent of the time, according to the ACU's lifetime ratings. Of these seven, three had significantly higher ACU ratings for the 1994 session than their lifetime average.

But others who are poised to step into some of the Senate's key committees are the American Conservative Union (ACU).

Analysts identify about a dozen members of the Senate GOP conference as "moderates," although the number changes depending on the issue. Republicans will work on the tone and shape of their agenda today when an issues working group holds its first meeting to which all GOP senators are invited.

"The moderates in the Senate Republican caucus wield much more power over their caucus than the moderates in the House Republican caucus," Pascoe said.
Dole not budging on capital gains cut

Presses for link with GATT vote

By Patrice Hill
The Washington Times

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole kept the heat on the White House yesterday by refusing to withdraw his proposal that next week's vote on the GATT accord be linked to a capital gains tax cut.

White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta shot down Mr. Dole's idea in a television interview Sunday, soon after the Kansas-Republican described his discussion with the White House about it on an earlier TV talk show:

"I don't think he's going to get a commitment from us that we're going to suddenly support a capital gains tax cut, particularly as part of the trade accord, Mr. Panetta said, adding that he sees no relationship between the two issues.

But Mr. Dole, responding to Mr. Panetta, said yesterday that he doesn't expect the issue to go away.

Mr. Panetta "only took one shot at it. He can fire again," Mr. Dole told reporters.

A spokesman for Mr. Dole declined to say yesterday whether he was speaking for other Republicans when he proposed the swap. Other Republicans did not back the idea in public yesterday.

The effect the proposals will have on the economy is expected to be a critical issue swaying votes on both the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade accord and the tax-cut plan. Because of that, Mr. Dole sees a natural linkage between the two issues.

The treaty is expected to stimulate trade and economic activity by cutting $740 billion in tariffs.

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DOLE

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worldwide. The increased income and revenues it generates eventually would offset the loss of tariff revenues, the administration and its Capitol Hill advocates argue.

A Senate rule would require specific spending cuts or new rev­

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see DOLE, page A22

With organized labor often in opposition, free-trade issues traditionally divide Democrats in both houses.

Mr. Dole said his office had been receiving roughly 2,000 calls a day on the issue, adding, "Some may be from talk shows, but a lot of them are legitimate questions."

His proposed linkage of GATT and capital gains taxes provoked a sharp reaction yesterday.

House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, Missouri Democrat, accused him of "blatant, back-room horse-trading" and "threatening to hold next week's vote on the GATT treaty hostage to the Republicans' favorite giveaway for the rich."

William Kristol, chairman of the Project for the Republican Future, also found fault with the idea.

In a memorandum to Republican leaders, he suggested that the Republican-controlled Congress need not stoop to such tactics.

Such deals are "unnecessary" because of the public's broad backing for the Republican agenda, Mr. Kristol argued.

"An attempted deal might damage both causes, capital gains rate reduction and free trade," he wrote. "And from a strategic point of view, we don't want a GATT fracas to be the nation's first taste of the new Republican political dispensation."

In the House, Speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich has called for passage of the accord next week.

On political grounds, many congressional Democrats oppose a cut in the capital gains tax, which is levied on the profits of sales of stocks and other assets. At the same time, Mr. Clinton has pushed hard for passage of the trade agreement, and rejection would be a blow to his prestige.

Several White House officials said that while talks continue with Mr. Dole on other issues, Mr. Panetta's comments stand on a capital gains tax cut. Lobbying for the accord during the day, Vice President Al Gore said: "This is a big fight. It's going to be hard fought and close."

The White House says failure to vote on GATT by the end of the year would doom it to defeat because it would no longer be subject to a no-amendment rule in the Senate.

Mr. Dole disputed that on Sunday, and officials said they believed new legislation could be brought up next year that could be voted on under the same ground rules.

The measure, however, would be subject to redrafting by the new Republican majorities in both houses.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.
President Clinton today will make Ukraine the fourth-largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid when he raises taxpayers' donations to $900 million, including a $30-million-to-$50-million program to build free homes for former Red Army soldiers.

During the state visit of Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, Mr. Clinton plans to reward the former Soviet state's economic reform program and its agreement to destroy all its nuclear weapons with a no-strings-attached $100 million check.

A senior administration official said Kiev will be allowed to use the money to pay any debts that might be undermining political and economic reforms.

The official acknowledged that the non-earmarked payment is unusual. The added $100 million brings the total U.S. contribution to Ukraine in 1994 to $900 million — a figure that is controversial now that foreign-aid foe Sen. Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican, is expected to take over the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in January.

"It shows the order of importance of Ukraine," a senior administration official said at the beginning.

Aid includes free homes for ex-soldiers

Ukraine's parliament last week approved the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and Kiev has decided to remove from its soil all nuclear weapons inherited from the Soviet Union.

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The state visit is the fourth hosted by Mr. Clinton since taking office. It was the result of intense lobbying by Ukrainian-Americans who felt it unfair that the president was focusing his foreign policy so much on Russia.

At a briefing for reporters yesterday, a senior administration official explained that the U.S.-Ukraine relationship under Mr. Clinton was rocky at first but has been bolstered by the July election of Mr. Kuchma, a reformer.

"I think it's fair to say that we began this administration with a somewhat strained relationship with Ukraine, a relationship that was focused primarily on nuclear issues, but a relationship that President Clinton felt from the very beginning was one of the key foreign policy relationships that he had to develop as president.

"And if you look at the two central policy issues of this visit, the nuclear future between us and the ecological future of Ukraine and what the United States can do to support that future. I think you'll see a lot of growth and a lot of expansion in our relations over the last two years," the official said.

She said the troops to get the free housing are from the 43rd Missile Army.

When Mr. Clinton proposed a similar program to provide housing for former Red Army troops in the Baltics, several U.S. veterans groups complained.

The American Legion led the charge, saying that it was unfair for the administration to give housing away to former U.S. foes when many American soldiers are applying for welfare to take care of their families.

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The Washington Times TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994

The official acknowledged that the non-earmarked payment is unusual. The added $100 million brings the total U.S. contribution to Ukraine in 1994 to $900 million — a figure that is controversial now that foreign-aid foe Sen. Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican, is expected to take over the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in January.

"It shows the order of importance of Ukraine," a senior administration official said of the huge country that was once the breadbasket of the Soviet Union.

A senior administration official explained that the U.S.-Ukraine relationship under Mr. Clinton was rocky at first but has been bolstered by the July election of Mr. Kuchma, a reformer.

"I think it's fair to say that we began this administration with a somewhat strained relationship with Ukraine, a relationship that was focused primarily on nuclear issues, but a relationship that President Clinton felt from the very beginning was one of the key foreign policy relationships that he had to develop as president.

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Barry names boxing promoter to lead mayoral transition team

By Adranne Flynn

Millionaire boxing promoter Rock Newman is the main man in Marion Barry's corner as the District of Columbia's mayor-elect prepares to take power in the city he ran for 12 years.

Yesterday, Mr. Barry said his current role as city commissioner for commission-related affairs, Commission on Consumer Affairs, was deputy director of the Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs during Mr. Barry's third administration.

Another veteran Barry aide, David Rivers, attended the news conference but was not announced as a team member.

"The familiar faces you're seeing are some of the best, and I think there's nothing wrong with appointing them to separate the best of what worked before," Mr. Newman said.

When Mr. Barry left office in disgrace at the end of his third term, his government was deeply in debt and tainted with corruption. After being videotaped by the FBI smoking crack cocaine, he was convicted of one count of misdemeanor crack cocaine possession later in 1990.

Mr. Barry went through a drug rehabilitation program, did six months in jail and lost an election for an at-large seat on the D.C. Council before winning his current seat as council member for Ward 8.

The mayor-elect's fourth wife, Cora Masters Barry, is a friend of Mr. Newman's going back to her days as chairwoman of the D.C. Board of Education.

Mrs. Barry, then Cora Masters, grew wealthy with real estate deals during the heyday of the DCenta, a real estate development corporation, which stretched from 1979 to 1990.

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Slaying robs 6 children of 'remarkable' mother

All witnessed murder-suicide in PG

By Matt Neufeld

THE WASHINGTON TIMES

In one violent moment Sunday, Tracy Elliott's six children were orphaned in a shooting that all six youngsters — ages 3 to 10 — witnessed.

The children were getting into a car with their mother just after 4 p.m. Sunday when Charles Hammonds Jr. got in the back seat, pulled a gun and shot her several times before killing himself, said Prince George's County police.

Hammonds, 23, was the father of the youngest child. Relatives said the father of four of the other children, Bruce Jamison, was shot to death in August in Reidsville, N.C., just weeks after he was released from jail.

"Lord have mercy," whispered Millicent Jones, the children's grandmother, as three of the youngsters scammed around her in their well-kept Forest Heights garden apartment.

Mrs. Jones said she doesn't know the identity of the father of the sixth child. "We just didn't discuss it," she says.

The children — Bruce, 10, Brian, 9, Thanneta, 6, Brandon, 5, Kevin, 4, and Calvin, 3 — will stay with Mrs. Jones and her husband, a retired postal worker, in their four-bedroom Fort Washington house, Mrs. Jones said.

One thing was certain, relatives, neighbors and acquaintances said yesterday: Ms. Elliott, 26, was a model parent. And her children appeared to love her in return.

"She was 26 years old, she was pretty, she was a good mother," Jones said, but enrolled in a county job-training program designed to steer people off public assistance.

Bruce said yesterday when asked about his mother: "She gave me almost anything I wanted. I thought something might happen, that she might die. I had a dream that someone might kill her." Howard Wright, the principal of Forest Heights Elementary School, where four of Ms. Elliott's children went to school, said other parents were envious of her success as a single parent of six bright, good-looking, well-behaved children.

"She had a lot of spirit, a lot of life," said Mrs. Jones, 46, a veteran postal supervisor. "She wouldn't let anything hold her back." Ms. Elliott had her first child when she was 16, then another one year later. She graduated from Oxon Hill High School and eventually had to go on welfare, Mrs. Jones said, but enrolled in a county job-training program designed to steer people off public assistance.

She finished the program, improving her family and co-workers, got a job as a computer worker with the Department of Housing and Urban Development and got off welfare. She talked about marrying Mr. Hammonds in June, relatives said.

"Nobody had to dictate her life to her," Mrs. Jones said. "She knew what she wanted and went after it. A very good mother!"

H UD officials were so impressed with Ms. Elliott that they recommended that the county honor her with an award. Ms. Elliott was named employee of the year by the job-training program, Mrs. Jones said.

"She just took care of her kids, had fun with her kids, did what her kids wanted to," said her brother, William Elliott. "Every weekend she would take them to Chuck E. Cheese."

There were trips to Kings Dominion and Ocean City and Ms. Elliott was planning on driving them to Disney World sometime before Christmas, he said. "They were No. 1."

Yesterday afternoon, the oldest children — Bruce, Brian and Tanetta — bounded around their apartment, playing with toys and video games, listening to portable radios and looking over their mother's photo album.

They looked directly at a visitor, smiled often and were friendly. Tanetta and Brian politely shook their head's "no" when asked about their mother; they smiled.

William Garrison, chairman of child psychiatry at Children's Hospital, said the youngsters' nonchalance yesterday is deceiving.

"Kids who see something traumatic, today they're playing Nintendo, but at midnight they could wake up screaming. Sometimes it's repressed, sometimes it's not," he said.

These children might also be affected because they witnessed a violent act, he said, and they may experience flashbacks of it at any time.

A neighbor of Ms. Elliott's in the 5100 block of Deal Drive remembered the family as "very nice people, nice personalities" — and said they were nice kids. I watched them after school sometimes. It seemed like only yesterday my family (was killed), when I heard."

"They are very well-mannered, for the most part normal kids: pleasant, nice to be around, very well-dressed and very well-groomed," said Mr. Wright, the school principal.

She had done a remarkable thing with them over the past few years. We had teachers in tears here this morning. Whenever there was a need [at school] she responded. She came in for the conferences. The future was only brightened and made to look up.

But something happened Friday in the relationship between Ms. Elliott and Mr. Hammonds, Mrs. Jones said. Ms. Elliott accused him of cheating on her and broke up, Mrs. Jones said.

"I think he couldn't live without her. He was in love with her," Mr. Elliott said. "He felt if he couldn't live with her, he couldn't go on."

Mr. Hammonds recently got a job as a security guard at Catholic University and did not recently show violent tendencies, said Mrs. Jones and Mr. Elliott. About a year ago Mr. Hammonds threatened to kill himself with a knife, Mrs. Jones said.

"I told him . . . 'Life don't have to be that way, you can do things with your life to make it better.'"

Police in Reidsville, N.C., confirmed yesterday that Bruce Jamison, 30, was found shot to death in a car in August. Investigators have few solid leads and a few sketchy suspects but nothing. There has been no arrest in the case, said Police Chief James Fisterman.
The Washington Times

Governors say GOP had edge on 'ideas''

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

WILLIAMSBURG — Republicans won big at every level in the midterm elections because their party had the ideas, Republican National Chairman Haley Barbour said in his address to the Republican Governors Association yesterday.

"The issues helped us, and we knew it," said Mr. Barbour, who has preached the need for the GOP to be the "party of ideas."

GOP pollster David Hill told the 30 governors and governors-elect they need not be leery of moral issues, and campaign strategist Ed Goeas said voters want to see the principle of individual responsibility emphasized by their leaders.

Mr. Barbour said that next year Republicans will hold a majority of House seats in three of the four regions of the country and a majority of the governorships in all four regions.

"Next year, over 180 million Americans will live in states with Republican governors, about 70 percent of the U.S. population," he said.

"When the focus was on taxes and spending, crime, health care and welfare reform, we were constantly gaining ground," Mr. Barbour told the governors.

All incumbent GOP governors won, and seven out of 10 received more than 60 percent of the vote in their states, he said.

GOP governors made a net gain of at least 11, with the outside chance of a 12th in the person of Maryland candidate Ellen Sauerbrey, who has been attending the conference at Mr. Barbour's request.

GOP campaign pollsters here to give post-election analyses pointed out that although the party made stunning gains among voters, there is still a gender gap. Mrs. Sauerbrey is regarded as the kind of Republican woman who can help close it.

"A man has a better chance of appealing to other women with a conservative, limited-government message than a man does," Mrs. Sauerbrey said in an interview.

Mrs. Sauerbrey, who is contesting the results of the close Maryland race, has been warmly received here. She stood with other incumbent and incoming governors on the dais at Sunday's opening press conference.

Yesterday, she attended all the sessions and was treated as if she were governor-elect.

"I'm here because I was invited by the Republican Governors Association and the Republican National Committee supporting my efforts back home," she said.

She said her presence here "makes it clear from the national party's perspective that this race is not over. This sends a signal there's support for my efforts to continue challenging the election until we have resolved the issues that surround it."

Some party leaders have said they expect Mrs. Sauerbrey to play a national role in the GOP even if she loses her gubernatorial race against Prince George's County Executive Parris Glendening.

"I certainly will continue to have a role in Maryland, regardless of the outcome of this election," she said.

She said she brings to the GOP a willingness to stand for principles and issues.

"There has been a belief that in order to survive in politics in Maryland, you had to be a liberal and appeal to that point of view," she said. But her close contest with Mr. Glendening, a liberal Democrat, has proven that Maryland is not as liberal as people have supposed.

GOP campaign pollster Neil Newhouse told the Republican governors that white male voters identified with the GOP by a 56-28 percent margin. But with white women, the margin was only 46-40.

Mrs. Sauerbrey said that working women "seem not to be identifying with Republicans and, according to the polls, I had a gender gap myself."

She believes she can help overcome that gap. "A woman can articulate that women's issues go far beyond abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment and include jobs, taxes and crime."

"I think there was a lot of passion on the part of people who supported me not because I was talking about tax cuts, but because that was a code for a much broader yearning," she said.

That yearning, she said, was for "a reawakening of values, of hard work and individual responsibility and strong families as the basis of strong communities."

GOP pollster David Hill told the governors that about a third of voters thought moral leadership was "very important" in a governor. "The interesting thing was that the appeal of a moral leader was just as strong among Democrats as among Republicans," he said.

Mr. Hill said he found one of the "moral leadership" issues that worked well in several gubernatorial campaigns he advised was "character education."

He said people saw it as a way to deal with juvenile crime.

Honesty, and respect for private property rated high with voters as things that should be taught. "Being tolerant of those who are different was the one that voters were least keen on," he said.

He found 87 percent of respondents said it made sense to teach character traits in school if "kids are not being taught the difference between right and wrong at home."
Rabin raps nationalists over Golan

By Martin Sieff

Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has accused nationalist opponents of trying to sabotage the latest U.S.-mediated peace effort by Congress against deploying U.S. troops on the Golan Heights.

"We cannot accept that our word being heard today as if out of the darkness we are not willing to emerge from a desire to sabotage the chance of peace," Mr. Rabin said at the Israeli embassy in Washington Sunday night. He was addressing to the embassy staff, and his remarks were later carried by Israeli radio.

"It's Israelis who are irresponsible in a criminal way," Mr. Rabin said. "To come and say today that this is unacceptable if and when we reach a peace treaty with Syria is not only stupidity, it's the embodiment of hypocrisy.

Benjamin Netanyahu, leader of the nationalist Likud, the main opponent of Mr. Rabin's Labor-led coalition, said in Israel that the prime minister was ignoring U.S. public opinion, which, he said, adamantly opposes the stationing of U.S. troops on Golan.

"Mr. Rabin, apparently in his frustration, doesn't understand there is a majority of U.S. public opinion, the American public according to the surveys... who clearly oppose stationing U.S. troops on Golan.

"I must assure the public that my government is determined to ease the pain of the Golan inhabitants of our world. Share responsibility is to nurture the American heritage. Our challenge is to give assistance and encouragement that are real, not just the alleviate human suffering. Our responsibility is to nurture the peace in the Middle East, common and compromise, humanity, like other governments before us, it is our privilege to aim toward lofty goals."

Across this land as people gather together with loved ones to say happy thanksgiving day, we are determined to keep our promise — a land of freedom for all. Still only a few generations removed from our nation's founders, we continue to blaze a trail toward the possibility for the blessing of a fruitful land. For more than 200 years, Americans have wade-in with gratitude and good will. On Thanksgiving day, our daily routines to acknowledge the bounty and mercy of God, a reminder of the blessings we have been given.

As the end of another year grows closer, we are again filled with the confidence of the American people, who are among the most optimistic people in the world.

As we reflect on the challenges of the past year, we are filled with a sense of hope and understanding.

One of the most important challenges we face is to ensure that our country remains a land of opportunity, where all are welcome.

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Cuban refugees flee Guantanamo, try to swim home

By Ben Barber

Forty-six refugees tried to swim to Cuban territory from a U.S. military base in Guantanamo Bay on Sunday morning. They are Yossi Ben-Aharon, a 30-year-old Israel, his wife, their apartment to see if they could mobilize to stop it. That nearly happened in the 1973 Yom Kippur War.

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The Cubans left their country in a wave of refugees last year in the hopes of reaching freedom, where nearly a million of their countrymen have settled since Fidel Castro came to power in 1959 and established a communist regime in Havana in 1959.

But the United States has tightened its immigration policy over the past two years, and the 25-year-old policy of allowing Cubans fleeing their homeland to enter and settle in the United States.

Jose Cardenas, a spokesman for the Cuban-American National Foundation lobbying group, said the desperate attempts to return to Cuba are an indication of frustration with the peace process and a sign that the Cubans are fed up with the conditions in the camp.

A U.S. official said that while 600 Cubans have been approved to return to Cuba and have been moved to Camp Newbell, Cuban officials have denied requests from the people to fast to slow the return process.

"They have been told by their wife, their apartment to seek if these people are wanted back," said the U.S. official. "They have not rejected anyone, but the acceptances are at a snail's pace.

One of the refugees who is believed to have returned to Cuba on four flights left before a court order stopped the returns. Two more flights left for Cuba last week from the newly opened Guantanamo Bay Naval Station.

There has been a steady stream of Cubans attempting to return to their homeland from the United States, with 258 escapes from Guantanamo Bay.

The Cuban-Americans argued the refugees lacked access to legal counsel and face poor living conditions forced the Cubans to choose to return home.
New state's policy is no enemies

By Hennadiy Udovenko
Ukraine's foreign minister
SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

When Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma arrives in Washington today, it will be the first state visit of a Ukrainian leader to the U.S. capital in the brief history of Ukrainian-American relations.

It was on Christmas Eve a little less than three years ago that the United States announced it would establish diplomatic relations with Ukraine, whose people had voted for independence with a 90 percent majority in a nationwide referendum on Dec. 1, 1991.

My country set sail on the sea of world politics ill-equipped for the mission at the time. It had no foreign policy, no embassies, minimal foreign service personnel, few friends, and was met by a great deal of suspicion as to the future behavior of a country that had inherited the world's third-largest nuclear arsenal.

The first three years of Ukraine's foreign policy were a logical beginning for a country that was initially perceived as an unpredictable player in a claustrophobic game. The government in Kiev looked for prospective friends and partners, and was quick to state that it has no foes but honest friends, and was met by a great deal of suspicion as to the future behavior of a country that had inherited the world's third-largest nuclear arsenal.

Ukraine's foreign policy has been strictly in line with that ideology, and thus fairly predictable — even on the issue of nuclear weapons, where it became the world leader in disarmament for the last three years. Ukraine voluntarily halved its nuclear arsenal at the expense of tactical weapons, deactivated the remaining strategic weapons and continues to remove warheads on schedule.

Kiev established inter-government relations with the majority of countries, created a network of diplomatic outposts across the world, and entered negotiations on a number of international and European issues. It has become a signatory of many multilateral and bilateral treaties, agreements and accords as well as a respected player in the document of principal importance — the Tri-lateral Statement on Ukraine's nuclear status signed by the presidents of Ukraine, Russia and the United States.

In other words, Ukraine has filled the international niche that a country of its geopolitical importance, political caliber and economic potential should have occupied after the demise of the former Soviet Union.

After electing a new president and legislature this year, Ukraine is entering a new period of its independence. It sheds its romantic misconceptions of statehood, existence of Soviet economic concepts, and foreign policy objectives formerly based on symbolism.

During his first hundred days in office, President Leonid Kuchma introduced the key elements of economic reforms that will in time result in a complete overhaul of the economy on the principles of free enterprise, market mechanisms, economic expediency and common sense.

The foreign policy of Ukraine cannot but be revised, modified and based on the priorities which will have to reflect the new national strategy forwarded by the president and endorsed by the new Supreme Rada (parliament) of Ukraine. It will be streamlined in accordance with the new political realities.

The two pillars of Ukraine's realpolitik will have to be the implementation of the accords and agreements reached, and second, priority for foreign policy targets that can promise immediate results, primarily in the economy.

Another important element of Ukraine's foreign policy will be a country aimed at serving as a bridge in a new global system of international relations. Despite endless speculations about whether Ukraine is drifting either to the West or the East, we have made our decision to be where we are — the center of Europe.

I hope the path of Ukraine will be easy for Americans to understand. It can be traced back to the formula coined by Thomas Jefferson in his inaugural address almost two centuries ago: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all Nations..."

With this strategic goal in mind, Ukraine will build the architecture of its foreign policy on at least four priorities:

- First is Ukraine's normal relationship with Russia, a neighbor whom we wish to have as our special partner and friend. But a friend who will not be "more equal" than us. The Ukrainian leadership sees no other alternative to this policy for the simple reason that the state of the Ukrainian-Russian relations will necessarily influence the overall situation in the territory of the former U.S.S.R., in Eastern and Central Europe and on the continent as a whole.
- Second, Ukraine would like to rebuild its relations with newly independent ex-Soviet states on an entirely new basis. Centuries of coexistence within one state has made liaisons among us strong and varied. Though there is no return to the Soviet or other Union, Ukraine does not want to discard the invaluable experience of former partnership. It co-founded the Commonwealth of Independent States in the hope of minimizing the threat of implosion when the Soviet Union was breaking up. Making it work better and promoting bilateral relations within the Commonwealth is another priority.
- Third, as a European nation, Ukraine regards as its major foreign policy objective to be an active contributor to the making of a new Europe. After the Berlin Wall dust settled, Europe seemed to begin living as a homogeneous entity with no clear-cut political, ideological and cultural barriers. However, the homogeneity ends in the sphere of economy and security issues. For Ukraine, the truth is obvious: There cannot be stability in only one part of the entity.
- Finally, the United States, as well as Canada, will remain an important priority in Ukraine's foreign policy for decades to come. America's avowed commitment to promote the ideals of democracy and free enterprise throughout the world have been received in Ukraine as signals of a much-needed help and prospective partnership for mutual benefit.

It took three years before the signals became clear for two major reasons.
Russification of neighbor persists in use of language

By Boris Baczynskyj
CON NEWS SERVICE

KIEV — A few days after Leonid Kuchma was sworn in as the second president of this proud but shaky nation, state radio reverted to a Russian grammatical form when it gave the time of day.

That helped provoke a furor that has evoked more passion among Ukraine's 52 million people than the formalistic parliamentary debates over nuclear weaponry that headline Mr. Kuchma's current visit to the United States.

The uproar continued at the opening ceremonies for the Ukrainian Armed Forces Academy, when the only one who spoke in the official Ukrainian national language was the ambassador from Germany. Everyone else spoke in Russian, the language of Ukraine's dominant big brother for the last 400 years.

Mr. Kuchma, who was elected on promises of closer political and economic ties with Moscow, sparked the debate in his inauguration address on July 19.

Speaking in newly learned Ukrainian with a marked Russian accent, he promised to make Russian the second "official language" in the country, softening a 1989 law making Ukrainian the state language. Mr. Kuchma's pledge evoked sustained cheers and applause that drowned out a lone cry of "shame" from a disgruntled parliamentarian. The reaction was no surprise in a legislature where speeches are as often in Russian as in Ukrainian.

On their first visits here, Ukrainian-Americans eager to use the language they learned from their parents and in Saturday schools at Ukrainian ghettos in Cleveland or Philadelphia are taken aback by the pervasiveness of Russian.

Conversations on the street and in stores of urban centers outside western Ukraine are overwhelmingly in Russian.

One was the inflated international attention to the nuclear arsenal that is of no use to Ukraine, and only overburdens its path to economic independence. Three years of intensive dialogue between Kiev and Washington seemed to help us both make progress on that issue and start taking effect.

We have to build civilian production, we have to free our trade from the "shackles," we have to solve the problem of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant and heal the aftereffects of the global catastrophe. We have to build civilian production in place of the heavily militarized industries and solve the critical energy problems in Ukraine. We still have no infrastructures and businesses that are the backbone of a market economy.

These and some other monumental problems are not out of our reach, and we will need international assistance to address them, and clear the way for massive reforms. A better understanding of Ukraine's problems and needs at the crucial transitional period has been taking shape in the U.S. administration, American business community and among the people at large during this year, which President Bill Clinton declared as "the year of the Ukraine." The first state visit of the president of this proud but shaky nation, state radio reverted to a Russian grammatical form when it gave the time of day.

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One was the inflated international attention to the nuclear arsenal that is of no use to Ukraine, and only overburdens its path to economic independence.
While the Agency for Internationa l Development and the Department of State together have spent $11 billion in aid to Haiti, Critics want a stronger push for free markets

**AID sputters in stoking foreign economies**

**FOREIGN AID LEVELS**

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<th>Country</th>
<th>Aid from top developed countries (in billions)</th>
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<td>Japan</td>
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<td>France</td>
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By Brian Robertson

The Washington Times

Tuesday, November 22, 1994

Aid to top developed countries (in billions): $11.26

Aid as percentage of gross national product:

- Japan: 0.30%
- France: 0.63%
- Germany: 0.31%
- United Kingdom: 0.29%
- Netherlands: 0.29%
- Canada: 0.30%
- Australia: 0.26%
- Sweden: 0.14%

**Table includes aid from top developed countries in billions:**

- Japan: $11.26
- France: $9.07
- Germany: $8.65
- United Kingdom: $4.79 billion
- Netherlands: $4.56
- Canada: $3.52
- Australia: $2.50
- Netherlands: $2.17
- Japan: $1.33
- France: $1.52
- Sweden: $1.75

By all measurements, Haiti remains one of the world's fastest-growing economies, with GDP growth averaging 7.3 percent a year.

**Reconsidering aid**

According to Mr. Sheehy, AID and foreign-assistance providers such as the World Bank and the IMF have wrongly linked aid to "basic human needs" — food, clothing, shelter and education — regardless of a nation's policies. Channeling aid through government-only corrupts and stunts the type of free-market reforms that would help the poor, he says.

Mr. Sheehy's suggestion that aid be contingent on a country's commitment to free-market policies is not new. In 1992, the Ferris Commission, appointed by President Bush to examine AID, reached the same conclusion, proposing that the agency stress free-market reforms as the best way to eliminate poverty and promote stable development.

The commission's report urged AID to establish an Index of Economic Freedom when granting development assistance. The index would include factors such as support for private property rights, size of the state sector, tax rates, trade policy and regulation of the economy.

In February, Secretary of State Warren Christopher and AID Administrator Brian Atwood responded to calls for reform by unveiling new legislation overhauling the original foreign-aid law of 1961. The original legislation has been burdened with 33 amendments, or tax relief for the type of foreign aid in general, and reform to them is just a cutting amendment," says one congressional aide who asked not to be named. "It has nothing to do with the way it's being administered.

**More effective giving**

Aside from adopting the Index of Economic Freedom proposed by the Ferris Commission, Mr. Eberstadt suggests more effective mechanisms of assistance. The charitable inclinations most Americans have toward developing nations could be effectively harnessed by emphasizing private-sector efforts, he argues.

While AID currently distributes some funds to private voluntary organizations, or PVOs, that set up business schools to develop entrepreneurial classes in developing nations, Mr. Eberstadt suggests such groups may benefit more from nongovernmental funding. It would be better "to encourage genuine PVOs — as opposed to taxpayer-funded — through various types of tax credits for donations, or tax relief for the type of foundation you wanted to encourage," Mr. Eberstadt says. "There's a problem with the potentially corrupting nature of using public money to stimulate private enterprise... To the extent that they're using taxpayer money, it's not what one would ordinarily describe as private or voluntary.

AID imposes a complicated set of congressionally mandated requirements and regulations on PVOs before they can receive money; some of those rules have little to do with the PVOs' purposes and, in fact, reduce their effective...
A lot of the PVOs doing good works overseas receive half — in some cases, even 80 to 90 percent — of their money from the U.S. government. "It's a much better strategy for a PVO to shake a tin cup at AID than it is to go out and put a similar amount of effort into raising money from private citizens," Mr. Eberstadt says.

One advantage of Mr. Eberstadt's alternative is that not only would such a system bypass the cumbersome AID bureaucracy, it also would encourage the establishment of new foundations to help create the skills and institutions developing nations need to compete in the modern world economy.

One such organization already in existence is the Private Sector Initiatives Foundation, or PSI, which promotes education and training programs for economically disadvantaged youth in less-developed countries. Receiving no government funds, PSI contributes technical and financial assistance to projects created by local organizations in developing countries, finding willing donors of money and expertise in the U.S. private sector.

Robert Best, a former Senate staff economist, founded PSI in 1989 after working for years on Capitol Hill as a lobbyist for various Fortune 500 companies. His work brought him into contact with numerous worthy projects in Latin America, none of which could find funding from AID or international banks.

"I thought to myself, 'There's got to be a way of helping these people by getting them in contact with all the investors in this country who would want to help them if they knew about their projects,'" Mr. Best says.

Small foundations such as PSI are better able to focus attention and resources on the projects themselves since they are relatively unencumbered with bureaucracy.

"AID, the World Bank and IMF programs are almost exclusively government to government," Mr. Best says. "Too much of the money supposedly directed to development projects is eaten up by the bureaucrats, and most of the government is only interested in keeping the funds flowing."
Justice probe of Idaho siege centers on FBI sniper, boss

Agent killed wife of white separatist; Freeh expects at least 2 indictments

By Jerry Seper

The FBI sniper who killed the wife of white separatist Kevin Harris in August 1992 was accidentally killed during an 18-month surveillance, according to the sources who told the FBI's hostage rescue team, have emerged from the Justice Department investigation into the bloody standoff in Idaho.

On December 10, 1992, the FBI sniper, who had been named as the suspect in the murder of Mrs. Weaver, was shot by a deputy US. marshal.

Miss Reno has declined to comment on the report or to answer questions on why the in-house probe had taken so long.

"I have pretty consistently said that we don't know what will happen with the case," she said.

The bureau's investigation of the case was turned over to the public's continued confidence in federal agencies.

The sniper, who was identified as a 19-year-old Idaho man named Kevin Harris, was killed by a deputy US. marshal on October 10, 1992.

It is not known if the sniper was acting alone or if he was part of a larger force.

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Popular post-election Texas bumper sticker: "Don't Blame Me, I Didn't Vote for His Daddy, Either."

Tear down the walls
Brian Lamb, founder and chief executive officer of C-SPAN, has written a proposal to incoming House Speaker Newt Gingrich that would give viewers a much better grasp of Congress.

"Here, more specifically, is what we propose," wrote Mr. Lamb, forwarding a copy to this column:

• Allow C-SPAN cameras to cover House floor debates (current rules prevent House cameras from panning the chamber or taking reaction shots).
• Open the speaker's conference to television (cameras are now kept out of these daily on-the-record briefings between the speaker and reporters).
• Install a permanent camera just off the floor (allowing interviews with members during votes).
• Open the House Rules Committee and all other legislative committee hearings (coverage has been sporadic).
• Open all House-Senate conference committees to cameras (cameras are often shut out of this final and important step in the legislative process).

Federal takeover
Curmudgeonly New York writer Fran Lebowitz was in the District over the weekend for an appearance at Chapters bookstore to promote her new book, "The Fran Lebowitz Reader."

Miss Lebowitz, a notorious chain smoker, complained that "you can't smoke anywhere in this town."

"I mean, what's the point of voting for Marion Barry?" she kvetched.

Smoker takeover
After only one year of existence, the National Smokers Alliance, based in Alexandria, told us yesterday it's reached the 1.5-million-member mark and is growing at a rate exceeding 100,000 new members a week.

"Particularly rewarding is the number of nonsmokers who are joining," says the group's president, Thomas Humber, which has him believing that "nonsmokers are also fed up with government over-regulation."

Where to go?
A concerned military officer alerted us yesterday to a major problem at the Pentagon. It seems that water mains into the building had to be shut down during afternoon hours, and at this point in time they're starting to lock up the bathrooms," he said.

"We're waiting for them to tell us, 'Guys, you better make your break now,' or things are going to get a little bit squirmy around here!"

Are you kidding?
The buzz around Zimbabwe is that former Vice President Dan Quayle, while vacationing recently in the resort town of Victoria Falls, tried bungee jumping.

Sources in Victoria Falls report seeing a release form signed by Mr. Quayle, accepting all consequences of such a daring leap.

Could this be true? Dan Quayle, aspiring future leader of the free world, hanging life and limb on the threads of a bungee cord?

No way, Mr. Quayle informed us when we caught up with him in Indiana yesterday.

GATT debate
Pat Buchanan, former presidential candidate and current political commentator, will moderate an open discussion tomorrow at the National Press Club on the politics of GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Sponsored by Mr. Buchanan's the American Cause and titled "The Republicans, the Contract and GATT," the hourlong discussion begins at 10 a.m. and features Democratic analyst Bob Beckel, Republican analyst Kevin Phillips and Republican politico John McLaughlin.

The usual suspects
"Clinton is scheming to put your car up on blocks," warns Murray N. Rothbard, contributing editor of the Free Market, on the latest Clintonian march toward what he calls totalitarianism.

He writes that the White House has established an advisory panel of Clinton officials, environmentalists, sympathetic economists "and a few stooges from the automobile industry" who call themselves "White House Car Talks."

In addition to higher taxes on gas-guzzling cars, panel ideas reportedly under discussion include establishing a higher minimum age for driver's licenses, revoking licenses of older drivers, limiting the number of cars a family can own and enforcing alternate driving days for car commuters.

"If that isn't totalitarianism, what exactly would qualify?" Mr. Rothbard asks.

The group will report back to President Clinton in September.

Call Ripley
The Tax Foundation has just completed its annual analysis of the typical American family's income, and would you believe federal, state and local taxes will claim a whopping 40.1 percent of the income earned by a median two-income family in 1994?
Democratic reality

Aside from the presidency, the Democratic Party faces severe problems in the 1996 elections from retirements, districts weakened by redistricting and lack of funding for incumbents, says analyst Charles E. Cook in Roll Call.

"Let's face it," he writes, "a large amount of business money has been going into Democratic incumbents for the last couple of years has not been love money; it has been tribute money. It is difficult to imagine any other incumbents are going to make up the difference any time soon."

Noting that the GOP successes at the state level finally give the party a farm team for politically experienced future congressional candidates, Mr. Cook adds, "It's foolish to underestimate the ability of a party to screw up a good situation, and Republicans may well do just that.

"But Democrats who are rationalizing away this election and consider it some freak of political nature had better come to grips with what has happened and learn to deal with it.

Huffington, Gramm?

Columnist Liz Smith in New York Newsday on Rep. Michael Huffington: "Next the Huffingtons of Houston and Santa Barbara will help finance the 1996 campaign of Texas Sen. Phil Gramm to run for president. . . . What's in this for Michael Huffington? Why, the vice presidential slot, right alongside his friend, Phil Gramm."

Today's quote

The word for the day comes courtesy of CongressDaily from the Los Angeles Times: Rep. Fred Grandy, a former "Love Boat" actor leaving the House: "From the day a shy 15-year-old was to be curator of the zoo in Washington, she said."

Losers go to Harvard

"Just as the intellectual center of gravity shifts away from Cambridge. . . . CongressDaily says the Kennedy School is poised to lose several of its most promising political scientists, the ability of losing candidates as fellows in its Institute of Politics program, of what has happened and learn to deal with it.

The Washington Times

Inside Politics

Compiled by Alan McConaughy

write the Boston Globe's Anthony Flint.

"The school may soon be home to the likes of Texas Gov. Ann Richards, Tennessee Sen. James R. Sasser and Washington Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly — a lineup likely to cement its unwanted but widespread image as a refuge for failed government entrepreneurs.

"The ill-timed combination — losing relevance and becoming home to those the voters have rejected — has prompted some soul-searching at Harvard, and at the Kennedy School in particular," Mr. Flint concludes.

Weakened Clinton grip

The New York Times R.W. Ap- ple Jr: "It is still only a question, but a politically portentous one, and it is on the lips and in the minds of prominent Democrats across the country: Can Bill Clinton — should Bill Clinton — be the party's presidential nominee in 1996?"

Newt news

The Boston Globe reports: "From the day a shy 15-year-old whose mother still refers to him as 'Little Newtie' decided to be a congressman, the Gingrich plan to take control of Congress has been evolving into the most sophisticated, best-financed but perhaps least-scrutinized political operation in the country."

"As [Mr. Gingrich's mother] Kathleen Gingrich, 68, remembers it, her son's fondest desire was to be curator of the zoo in Harrisburg [Pa.].

"Well, I guess he got his wish in Washington," she said.

Capital gains-GATT

Wall Street Journal editorial: "The most important news of the weekend was Senator Bob Dole linking [the capital gains tax reductions and GATT] on the Brinkley show."

"It is obviously a symmetrical deal, and in fact may be the only way the administration can assure the treaty will be ratified." Earlier, Journal columnist Paul A. Gigot reported Newt Gingrich, "supposedly the whacko partisan," is trying to pile up enough GOP support to rescue President Clinton on GATT as Mr. Gingrich did on NAFTA.

Prayer

Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed told the New York Times he was more interested in tax relief and welfare reform: "For, one, don't think we'll turn the country around by having public acts of piety".

Rating conservatives

Senate Republicans Whip Alan K. Simpson was the seventh-most fiscally conservative member during the 103rd Congress, while Sen. Trent Lott, the Mississippi Republican challenging Mr. Simpson, ranked 35th on the scale, according to the National Taxpayers Union Foundation.

The foundation sent letters to all Republican senators yesterday telling them of the rankings. It said Mr. Lott "supported almost $34 billion more in annualized federal outlays than Mr. Simpson."

Analysts are looking at the Simpson Lott contest — which will be decided Dec. 2 — as a test of how far to the right senators want to take the GOP conference. Most observers place Mr. Lott further to the right than Mr. Simpson.

According to the foundation, the most fiscally conservative member during the most recent Congress was Sen. Robert C. Smith, New Hampshire Republican who has the least fiscally conservative was Sen. J. Bennett Johnston, Louisiana Democrat.

More candidates

The Democrats' bad day created more GOP presidential aspirants. The Baltimore Sun's Jack W. Germond says the results have already produced five or six more potential candidates and focused anew on those already running de facto campaigns.

"Among Republican professionals, the consensus seems to be that the biggest winners . . . were Senators Dole and Gramm, the former because of his elevated new status, the latter because he's aggressively playing in leading the charge against Democrats this fall."


At the same time, Mr. Ger- mond says, men whose credentials stem from the Bush and Reagan periods "may become seen as relics because they were so far out of the public eye."

Included in this group: James A. Baker III, Dick Cheney, Dan Quayle and, possibly, Jack Kemp.

Baker: still maybe

In Houston, James A. Baker III said he has not yet decided whether to run for the GOP nomination for the White House in 1996: "I have not ruled it in, but I have not ruled it out."

Farmers say 'nuts'

The Wall Street Journal reports that a movement is spreading through the Farm Belt to scrap federal crop-price supports and to start over in the impending five-year farm bill.

The Journal notes that budget cuts have so eroded the appeal of crop subsidies that a survey released last week by the University of Illinois found only 37 percent of 9,754 farmers in 15 states wanted to keep the system.

Some think it would cost the federal government too much to simply guarantee 70 percent of normal crop revenues. A simulation by the Agriculture Department seems to agree, the Journal says.
After a rocky start, U.S. relations with Ukraine are improving

By Ian J. Brzezinski

Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma's visit to Washington Wednesday occurs at a time when relations between America and his country are rapidly improving. Washington summit, which follows the Ukrainian Parliament's ratification of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), sets the stage for the emergence of a partnership that may well become a strategically significant factor in European affairs.

Ukraine and the United States share many objectives, the most important being the consolidation of Ukrainian independence, the safeguarding of the nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union, and the establishment of a peaceful and stable security environment in Eastern Europe, which requires Russia's emergence as a post-imperial state.

Differing approaches toward these objectives, as well as differing priorities, initially impeded the development of close U.S.-Ukrainian relations. This has been particularly true of disagreements over the future of Ukraine's nuclear arsenal. Washington has been pressing Ukraine to transfer its nuclear arsenal to Russia and to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear weapon state.

President Leonid Kuchma's visit to Washington occurs at a time when relations with the West that Mr. Kuchma needed to convince the Verkhovna Rada to ratify the NPT. During the first 10 months of 1994 alone, there have been no significant U.S.-Ukrainian contacts that has featured prominent American political support on the issue of U.S. membership in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

By removing an impasse over nuclear weapons policy, the Trilateral Agreement provided the foundation for the rapid expansion of economic and military contacts that has featured prominent American political support on the issue of U.S. membership in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The United States has shown continued optimism about the U.S.-Ukrainian Triilateral Agreement among the United States, Ukraine, and Russia to overcome an increasingly acrimonious gridlock over nuclear weapons policy. The United States has repeatedly recognized Ukraine's sovereignty. President Boris Yeltsin criticized the Russian Duma for sanctioning the former Soviet Union.

The Russian Duma has withdrawn its recognition of Ukraine's sovereignty. Nonetheless, the Russian Duma has remained firm in its stance that Russia might not fully respect the universal sovereignty of the United States.

The Jan. 14, 1994, TVilateral Agreement's quotas have already been fulfilled, and the United States pledged to provide Ukraine with $700 million of economic and technical assistance, half of which was dedicated to shared non-proliferation initiatives.

The second dimension of U.S.-Ukrainian relations concerns the triangular relationship among the United States, Ukraine, and Russia that has been the focus of the Trilateral Agreement. As of the end of October 1994, Ukraine had returned over 300 of its nuclear warheads to Russia. Moscow provided, albeit tardily, the financial and technical assistance to Ukraine, including direct U.S. assistance. Success in economic reform will enable Ukraine to integrate itself more readily into the global economic system, thereby providing the needed economic pillar in U.S.-Ukrainian relations.

The improvement in American-Ukrainian relations is a geopolitically significant development. It reflects growing awareness in the United States that promoting the consolidation of Ukraine's independence is a critical component of any effective policy designed to ensure both Russia's post-imperial security and a stable Eastern Europe.
Learning process to what end?

World, as men and women of good will scratch and scramble for new things as we stumble toward the 21st century.

But are they? The question we now visit is this: Are the many mistakes in all of this essentially well-meaning new policy part of a learning process that will indeed lead us somewhere? Or do they contribute a tragic series of quite documentable errors that are going to be repeated over and over?

To answer that question, let us look at the problem of the UN. Rwanda is a tragic case. The United Nations and the United States changed the misfortune of the people in Rwanda because President Clinton couldn’t make up his mind. But our policy power are allowing them to do that. They are not all blanketed by the international community! “It’s outrageous,” said Samantha Bolton, spokeswoman for the respected organization Doctors Without Borders. “We shut our eyes” to helping the war victims in the camps, but there was aid going in. “We’re stronger than the Zairean border camps (and all others in the region) that relief supplies to the estimated 750,000 Hutu refugees have come under the direct control of former Hutu government leaders and militias — accused of systematically slaughtering at least half a million Tutsi civilians in Rwanda before they fled here in July.”

And who and what elements of the Constitution do the president and his advisors, including Attorney General Janet Reno, have in mind to keep up with the new Republican Zeitgeist? is the question. But if the new Zeitgeist is serious, its adherents ought to be able to do better than what Mr. Gingrich endorsed and Mr. Clinton retracted.

There is, of course, no good reason why schools should not teach the Constitution, but restoring the freedom to pray won’t address whether the president and in his desperate effort to keep the “Incorporation Doctrine,” writes Samuel Francis, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

The rebirth of Bill Clinton as a Reagan Democrat

Will, whaddya know about that? With the turn of the new century, has been a Reagan Democrat all along. Just in case you were wondering, the big news from Jakarta last week that certainly “there is room” for a constitutional amendment to allow prayer in public schools. The next day, of course, you could hear the usual gang of liberal interest groups, who pronounced that he was misguided. As an example was that he might support mere legislation that would allow “a moment of silence” in the course of the school day.

It doesn’t take a moment of reflection to realize that is not, indeed, the president said and why he said it. Only today before the first statement, Newt Gingrich had also let loose his own view that he favored a constitutional amendment, Clinton failed to respond. In any event the authority of the Constitution 1962 Supreme Court decision that banned prayer as well as the very basis of “Incorporation Doctrine” is a fact. The root is what is called in legal circles the “Incorporation Doctrine.” In the cases, the Supreme Court has held that the religious right and moral rights in particular have never adequately linked the erosion of faith and morals with government, but to no avail. Under it the courts have mandated that the power of the Court has managed to pull off in the past 50 years. The foundation of that usurpation is the Incorporation Doctrine, with the claim that the 14th Amendment to the Constitution “incorporates” the Bill of Rights and makes those rights apply to state and local government.

In his more recent argument, Mr. Gingrich and his cohorts are in their radical mode, they might be better advised to keep the “Incorporation Doctrine” a dead letter. And they have imposed their own whims, the judicialactivism, and the entire Supreme Court.

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Reconfigured political playing field

Republican options

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the 1994 election. Simply, it ended the progressive revolution started by John F. Kennedy. It brought the Reagan Democrats to power in 1980, self-consciously turned American government to the right in 1982, and limited government model, to build the nation in and started the imperial presidency. That experiment expired Nov. 8, 1994. Ronald Reagan began the conservative revolution. In his Inaugural Address he pledged to return to the principles of governance intended by the Founders. House Control in 1994 strongly indicates that control was a successful — limited government was back with 67 percent preferring a smaller government with fewer services, centralized solutions were discarded, and people were looking toward local government and the private sector. As the back of the Republican revolution, the New Deal taking the House of Representatives in 1930 and the Great Society in 1965. Mr. Reagan's presidency was this time was also the taking of the people's chamber. Lasting revolutions take time. While the New Deal was elected in 1932, it did not pass its full agenda until the Great Society in 1965, and Mr. Reagan's conservative victory took 14 years and50 percent of the voters. The trick is to make sure 1994 was 1930 and not 1946. Of course, in 1930, Franklin D. Roosevelt ran against a "do nothing" Republican Congress. Republicans can only lose if they try to govern, if they refuse to govern, if the trump cards are in the White House. The GOP could win a sound like the GOP is already governing. Let the president try to lead. Force him to choose. And then let the voters decide whether he is the man to be re-electing in 1996.

The dynamics of presidential election have not changed. The president will dominate the congressional agenda until 1996. Ultimately, 1996 will be a referendum on the Republican president and his "Contract with America." Ultimately, 1996 will be a referendum on Republicans in Congress. Harry Truman pulled it off once before. But in 1946, the GOP had no warning. How many Republicans are not sure whether there is a Republican government period of only two or 20 years and more hangs in the balance. It will depend upon the willingness and ability of congressional leadership to play the waiting game and consummate the victory in 1996.

Republican leaders must have a message. The message must be that the government of the United States is to be re-electing in 1996.

Don't call it a "Contract". Republicans can only lose if they try to govern, if they refuse to govern, if the trump cards are in the White House.

Democratic divisions

T he father in dirt-stained work clothes had his elbow at a right 90-degree angle, his palm stiff in a sharp, well-drilled salute at the majestic sight passing before him. Beside him stood a young, shaggy, shorn, doing the same. The two were watched by the woman, her hand pressed reverently to her chest. This picture, taken from the window of Robert F. Kennedy's funeral car, captures better than words the tie between the Democratic Party and the millions of working American families who for so many generations called it home. It details better than any thousand words the compact of trust that now lies tattered by time, neglect, stupidity, arrogance and outright betrayal.

How do Bill Clinton and his party react to the Democratic Contract with America that was so hastily signed in Nov. 8? How do the Democrats recover the trust of working families disgusted with what they see in Washington? How Mr. President, remember your constituency. You spoke often during your 1992 campaign of wanting to serve those Americans "who work hard and play by the rules." So do they go back with Newt Gingrich and his new "Contract with America"? The answer lies not in turning left or right. Mr. President, but in deciding whom you are there to the West Wing and other White House aides, the Renaissance Republicans, the business leaders, the Hollywood liberals, the United Nations devotees, the Haiti and Angola new job since you took office. They should be making student aid loans available and its Congress, not the president. The greatest Congress is to the "terms of from Congress, when the voters decide whether he is the man to be re-electing in 1996.

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It's time to pass GATT—quickly

The following is the latest Memorandum to Republican Leaders from the Project for the Republican Future, whose chairman is William Kristol. It was released yesterday.

With the special session on GATT coming next week, Republicans are engaged in an uncertain debate about whether, and under what conditions, the treaty should be passed. To the degree Senator Dole succeeds in securing the clearest possible agreement on the World Trade Organization or in removing some of the more egregious special interest provisions of the implementing legislation, so much the better. But complicated bills don't change the view of the GOP on GATT, or the general view in Congress. The House Republican Committee. Congress is still at this point technically lame-duck and "special." But it is also now correctly assumed by virtually everyone in the country to be de facto controlled by the GOP. And a GOP Congress should pass GATT.

After all, few free-trade advocates now argue for delaying on GATT believe that the treaty, as now written, is a net minus for U.S. trade interests or conservative principle. And when protectionists and their fellow-travellers attempt such an argument, their effort is unpersuasive. Instead, free-trade advocates of delay suggest that the implementing legislation can be "improved" next year—or that we now need to pass GATT to secure a "deal" for something else we like.

First, about improving the implementing legislation. Fast-track authority for the treaty would have to be extended into the next session, and even if that could be achieved, there's plenty of reason to doubt that the huge special interest provisions currently included in the text could be removed. Nevertheless, the House has made some progress. And if a similarly compromized piece of implementing legislation would turn out "better" after the predictable high-pressure lobby-bargaining efforts against a large collection of freshmen members by all the usual vested interests, GATT is an historic free trade treaty, negotiated by executive and legislative representatives of three presidents, from both parties. Conservatives tradition in the U.S. are generally willing to accept even with such treaties with disdain. We continue to share that view, and would like to see it removed.

What about a deal? GATT will be subject is an economic and social insurance, not a treaty. And the Republican Party—between the mid-1940s and the new Congress to be convened in 1995—will be decisive. And the RepubUcan Party and medical costs will "increase dramatically." The result, she said, was that the Social Security crisis is identical. Robert J. Samuelson summed it up in a postelection commentary in The Washington Post: "Social Security couldn't be braided, except to deny that anything needed to be changed."

Demographics is the basic problem behind the coming crisis in Social Security. As the baby boom generation (generally born between the mid-1940s and the early 1950s) comes of age, and with the ratio of workers to nonworkers will fall sharply. Since Social Security is a social insurance mechanism, schemes, not genuine pension systems, workers must pay more taxes to cover the benefits to fund beneficiaries for nonworkers.

One basic solution to the crisis was to increase Social Security benefits, but to cut down in net national saving and investment. More investment would result in faster growth of output and real income per worker. This would have the added benefit of providing benefits to nonworkers. Indeed, the 1983 National Commission on Social Security Reform, chaired by the late Richard Greenspan, who is now chairman of the Fed) proposed a series of changes intended to produce large Social Security surpluses.

Congress adopted most of these recommendations. As a result, federal social insurance funds went from a deficit of $40 billion in 1983 to a surplus of $63 billion in 1990 and about $50 billion in 1994. Sadly, Congress now appears to want to return to previous levels, instead of saving U.S. deficits, including the Social Security funds, were much larger than the President's overall fiscal projections. In the 1994-1995 fiscal year, the White House predicts a deficit of $50 billion, up from 1.7 percent in the 1970s and two-tenths of 1 percent in the 1980s.

Deficits are the opposite of saving. Consequently, net national saving has fallen since 1981 from 1981 through 1993 and seems likely to remain below that level for the balance of this decade. The decline in average from 1947 to 1980 was 8.4 percent. It may already be too late to ensure the solvency of Social Security through changes in fundamental economic policy. Furthermore, Mr. Clinton still lacks a strategy for the 1996 election. After all, he got the job done—especially those that would likely to remain below that level for the balance of this decade. The decline in average from 1947 to 1980 was 8.4 percent. It may already be too late to ensure the solvency of Social Security through changes in fundamental economic policy. Furthermore, Mr. Clinton still lacks a strategy for the 1996 election. After all, he got the job done—especially those that would likely to remain below that level for the balance of this decade. The decline in average from 1947 to 1980 was 8.4 percent. It may already be too late to ensure the solvency of Social Security through changes in fundamental economic policy. Furthermore, Mr. Clinton still lacks a strategy for the 1996 election. After all, he got...
T he U.S. Supreme Court was wrong to ban prayer from public places, starting with schools. Newt Gingrich — supported, to one degree or another, by Bill Clinton — is right to talk of a constitutional amend­ment that would reintroduce prayer to the schools. Are the mush-brained ’60s over at last? Let’s hope so! That would let the thought police come and get me.

The thought police, disguised as dispensers of fashionable opinion, have roamed the land looking for dissent in order to file suit against it. They have intimidated large num­bers. In fact, they still try. Hardly had Mr. Clinton prudently declared his open-minded policy on the Gin­grich amendment than People for the American Way came down on him hard for supposedly sanction­ing prayer in our schools. That’s what we’ve traversed isn’t the least bit pretty.

Besides being wrong, the prayer ban — accompanied by a ban on Bible-reading and even the posting of the Ten Commandments — was silly. What was the point? To rub religious people’s noses in their impotence vis-à-vis the all­mighty U.S. Supreme Court? On these disagreeable terms, the prayer decisions have succeeded splendidly.

Consider: For 175 years, the United States enshrined no anti-prayer policy. Open prayer in the classroom was OK. The United States, in this era, fought two world wars, freed the slaves, settled the West and introduced the internal combustion engine that is today the envy of the world. Leading lights of this era included George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Robert E. Lee and Thomas Alva Edison.

S ince we undertook to heave heaven out of the public square in 1962, we have fought a divisive war in Vietnam, wit­nessed student riots across the country, watched the formation of a drug culture, and seen violent crime increase more than 500 per­cent and illegitimacy 400 percent. Among the leading figures and statesmen of this time: Jerry Rubin, Timothy Leary, Roseanne Barr, Michael Moore, Ralph Nader, Pat Schroeder — and Bill Clinton.

All this is vastly to oversimplify. The point remains: How come school prayer didn’t sabotage the most expansive, creative period in our history? And how come, having abolished school prayer, the modern era has been sick and awful? You’d wonder, wouldn’t you, to hear Peo­ple for the American Way go on, how we ever survived under such school prayer. Why didn’t the roof fall in, the state and boondoggle become our national symbols?

Because the problem — stu­dents praying on public property — has been grossly exaggerated. That’s why. What’s wrong with a lit­tle, and it never was more than a little, acknowledgment of Divine Providence and authority in our affairs? The reverse possibility — realized in our time — is to say, no, we don’t have any truck with Divinity around here. That’s hard­ly the kind of statement we want.

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Our schools and public institutions to make — atheism, agnosticism, skepticism. But prayer infringes on private rights! Or so we hear. Buncombe, is how I respond to that. What’s going on here? What we have is a small anti-religious minority veto power over the endeavors of the religious? It surely looks that way. Meanwhile, in 30 years’ time, we move beyond the abolition of prayer on government property to the abo­lition of anything looking or smelling like religion, including Christmas, Bible, Baloney! That’s not constitutionalism, it’s reverse Puritanism.

We haven’t yet seen the Gingrich prayer amendment. When it comes forth, we can judge it as a docu­ment. Meantime, we can praise what the gentleman from Georgia is trying to do because what he’s basically trying to do is restore a little common sense and little de­cency and civility to our national arrangements. That’s no con­tentible mission — it’s a high and exalted one.

William Murchison, a columnist for the Dallas Morning News, is nationally syndicated.
Under wraps
Embassies have been under siege and under fire. But how many have been under wraps?
Greenpeace activists wrapped a 600-yard fish net around the Athenas compounds for four hours before police cut down the nets, which had models of dolphins pinned to them to demonstrate the damage caused to marine life.
Greenpeace claims France and Italy oppose a full ban on drift-net fishing.

Chinese envoy feted
The tide of good feeling between the United States and China — much in evidence in Indonesia earlier this month when President Clinton held talks with Chinese President Jiang Zemin — lapped across the Pacific and onto Embassy Row Saturday night.
Some of America's top corporate executives doing business with China showed up at a reception at the Chinese Embassy to honor Ambassador Li Daoyu.
The reception was a prelude to a Washington Civic Symphony concert at the Commerce Department auditorium, featuring Metropolitan Opera star Robert Merrill, after the same event in Tokyo.

AMOS PERLMUTTER
Dark turns of policy on Bosnia
And now it's Bosnia's turn again, where we find the situation and landscape radically changed, if not for the better and with the same tragic results.
A Nov. 6 New York Times editorial trumpeted "Balkan Moral Order Upset," which is not far from the case. The failure of the West, led by Europe and the United States is once again making itself felt. The upheaval of President Clinton's tormented, winding policy in Bosnia is grim. In Bosnia, Mr. Clinton relentlessly threatened to punish the Serbs, even at one time suggesting he would move militarily against the Bosnian Serbs. His policy of threatening Belgrade, flipping on sanctions and threatening to remove sanctions to allow the open rearmament of the Muslim Bosnians, is finally bearing tainted fruit.
Having basically set sail during the first stage of this tragedy, the president is now indirectly involved in what amounts to the second ethical cleansing of Bosnia, this time as the Bosnian Muslims battle the Bosnian Serbian minority. "The Serbs," wrote the New York Times, "promptly destroyed their moral case, acting with brutality." This occurred, of course, in the wake of another bloody Muslim massacre in Krajina.

Carlucci recovering
Former Reagan administration official Frank Carlucci is recovering from open-heart surgery at Arlington Hospital.
He was in intensive care yesterday afternoon after heart-bypass surgery that morning, a hospital official said.
Mr. Carlucci served Mr. Reagan as a national security adviser and defense secretary.

no. 6

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1994
What did DOD know and when?

What a difference a few days make! Last month, Deputy Defense Secretary John Deutch dismissed concerns that the U.S. armed forces were being reduced to the “hollow military” of the late 1970s, claiming that readiness was actually better than it was at the start of Desert Storm in 1991.

Last week, however, in a letter to Members of Congress, Mr. Deutch’s boss — Defense Secretary William Perry — was obliged to acknowledge something approximating the truth: Fully three out of 12 active duty Army divisions are rated as “C-3” or seriously unprepared for combat.

Mr. Deutch claims that he did not know about these statistics when he made his misleading statement. This strains credulity, however, since the position of deputy secretary of defense traditionally has responsibility for day-to-day management of the Pentagon, including oversight of such data as readiness ratings for the services and their key components. If, indeed, Mr. Deutch were unaware of the twin condition of one-fourth of the U.S. Army’s combat units present for duty as required when most affair publicly contended to the contrary in the past month, this fact alone would be sufficient to disprove his assertion.

The “didn’t-get-the-word” explanation seems all the more incredible since alarms have been raised repeatedly in recent months by senior military personnel, key legislators and the media concerning the plummeting readiness of the U.S. military. For example:

• A top Marine officer recently noted that the Corps was being asked to do missions on a scale commensurate not with the 175,000 troops and resources it currently has but with those at its disposal when it had 50,000 more Marines.

• It is being funded at a level of training, operations and investment appropriate to a Marine Corps of only 125,000 troops.

• Sen. John McCain, Arizona Republican, in September 1994 published a lengthy report chronicling on the basis of congressional testimony from members of senior military officers, myriad serious deficiencies in the readiness and sustainability of the nation’s armed forces.

The truth of the matter is that troops that have been reduced to performing police functions rapidly lose their capacity to perform more demanding military tasks.

A vivid example of this problem was the experience of Task Force Smith, a contingent of U.S. troops hastily diverted in July 1990 from occupation duties in postwar Japan to the Korean Peninsula in a desperate bid to counter Kim Il-sung’s invasion of the South.

They had only six anti-armor artillery rounds and were easily routed by the more combat-ready North Korean aggressors.

Clearly, the Congress has an obligation not only to take those steps necessary to undo the hollowing-out of the U.S. military that has occurred in recent years. It also must get to the bottom of the multi-billion-dollar question: Was official acknowledgment of the readiness dilemma repeatedly in recent months by members of senior military officers and Congress?

It goes without saying that the serious shortfalls being experienced by the U.S. armed forces, shortfalls that go well beyond those divisions in a C-3 status, will be exacerbated by increasing costs of the American military’s open-ended constabulary mission in Haiti and those new ones associated with a Pentagon peacekeeping (or “peace-monitoring”) assignment on the Golan Heights.

The truth of the matter is that troops that have been reduced to performing police functions rapidly lose their capacity to perform more demanding military tasks.

Mr. Deutch’s boss, Mr. Perry, was recently asked to testify before the House Armed Services Committee, Rep. Floyd Spence, South Carolina Republican, has issued a series of press releases over the past few months highlighting a problem that he aptly summarized this week:

“Wholesale categories of combat units are in a reduced state of readiness and those that are not are managing to preserve short-term readiness only through engaging in a desperate ‘shell-game’ with dwindling resources.”

On the eve of the invasion—turned-uncontested—occupation of Haiti, ABC News broadcast a stunning picture of a U.S. military whose personnel were going untrained, whose equipment was being cannibalized and going unmaintained and whose operating tempo was being stretched to the limit in order to perform — and pay for — the various peacekeeping and other non-combat operations in which the United States military is now engaged. To varying degrees, other news organizations have also documented the phenomenon Mr. Perry has now acknowledged:

“Any major contingency operation is not in the budget. And, therefore, if you conduct that, you either have to put in supplemental funds to pay for that, or you have to take away funds which we have in the budget for the standard thing. And, therefore, you will degrade your readiness to conduct any operation.”

The inhabitants of the Kingdom of Tarkhankut were invited to vote on whether to remain a part of Russia or to be annexed to Ukraine. The Ukranian government held a referendum on this issue.
A suggestion for Commander Clinton

Here’s a spot of advice, sincerely tendered, for President Clinton:

Resist the temptation to tell us that a warrior’s heart beats strong and true beneath that wonk’s exterior.

Any man who does that — and this goes double for a commander in chief — puts himself in the position of the spinster schoolteacher who, caught coming home at 5 in the morning, defends herself against the town gossip by announcing: “I am not a slut.”

Or, to recall a famous presidential boast, you risk sounding like Richard Nixon when he swore to us that he was not a crook. Some people might believe you, but most people will wonder why you brought the subject up.

The flap over Mr. Clinton’s military readiness, set off by Jesse Helms’ remark that he thinks the president is not up to being commander in chief, is not about the president at all, but about demons. Jesse Helms is one of several candidates for demonization in the absence of Ollie North and Michael Huffington, who were designated before the elections to be the media’s Beelzububs of choice. Nobody, not even Betsy North or Arianna Huffington, was as devastated by the election returns as the reporters and pundits who were otherwise mortified by the expression of the nation’s will.

In the wake of the Republican knockout, the distinction between reporter and pundit is fuzzier than ever, and they’re all so eager to make sausage they’re reaching for any old cut of meat.

So when Rowlie Evans and Bob Novak, in their CNN interview, asked Mr. Helms in passing whether he thinks the president is “up to the job” of commander in chief, the senator gave them a careful, reasonable answer: Naturally the demonizers were infuriated.

“You ask an honest question,” the senator replied. “I’ll give you an honest answer. No, I do not. And neither do the people in the armed forces.”

This is exactly the answer millions of Americans would have given (which is further infuriating to the demonizers), and it’s difficult for a reasonable man to see how the Helms answer is in any way disrespectful of the office. He might have lied, to say he thinks that Bill Clinton is a perfect reincarnation of Pat Cleburne or Stonewall Jackson, but reporters and pundits are generally very hard on public officials who lie. So why should he?

Sen. Chris Dodd of Connecticut, who hasn’t had a lot of fun in Washington since the new Mrs. Kennedy won’t let Teddy out to play, is suddenly eager to play in a higher league. He insists that there’s something deeply sinister about letting a senator express his opinion. “You could almost say this is coming close to aiding and abetting insubordination of the commander in chief;” he says. “I don’t think this is what the American public expected on Tuesday. This gets close to that notion that this was a mandate for extremism.” Naturally he doesn’t say how, or why.

Leon Panetta, the chief of staff who is staying up nights trying to figure out how to save Mr. Clinton’s commander-in-chiefhood, says Mr. Helms is sending “terrible signals” abroad by speaking his piece. In addition to sending “terrible signals” abroad, Mr. Helms is sending “terrible signals” to our troops, who might now go over the hill in awful numbers, and “terrible signals to the kids of the nation,” who are taught to respect their president. Mr. Panetta is so terrified by Jesse Helms he can’t sleep. Somebody ought to send him a bigger teddy bear to relieve his bedtime terrors of a runaway Signal Corps.

Mr. Helms’ opinion of the leadership prowess of the president was expressed with a mildness you rarely find in the remarks of those troops whose loyalty Mr. Panetta now questions. Soldiers save their richest scorn for a man who asks other men to do what he would not do.

On the other hand, Gen. John Shalikashvili, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said exactly what he should have said, that Mr. Helms’ opinion of the commander in chief “not be represented as that of the military leadership, or for that matter the view of the military as a whole.”

If Gen. Shalikashvili, or any other officer, should say anything less about loyalty to the commander in chief he ought to be sacked and stripped of his rank, benefits and PX card.

But the chairman knows that scorn for Bill Clinton the man runs rampant through the ranks below him, and not very far below him. Every man, even a senior military officer, is entitled to his opinions. If these opinions conflict with his oath as an officer he is obliged to keep them hidden in the secret places of the heart.

A United States senator is under no such obligation. The media tormentors of Jesse Helms know this very well. Very few of them give a damn about the nation’s uniform or the men who wear it. Jesse Helms has demonstrated that he does.
Virginia Democrats can't count on luck again

By Glenn K. Davidson

Virginia Democrats were damn lucky this year. In the midst of national political upheaval, we Democrats held on to our majorities in the Virginia Senate and six of our 11 congressional seats.

On the surface, this would appear to be good news for Democrats. We survived the worst year for our party since Reconstruction — pretty much intact. Our success could even lead some to look upon us as a model for future electoral successes. But if they're smart, they'll look elsewhere.

You see, if the Republicans hadn't fielded such a flawed candidate for U.S. Senate and if they hadn't so clearly divided themselves between their populist and libertarian wings, Virginia surely would have been engulfed by the same partisan sea change that overtook most states from Rhode Island to California.

A united Republican Party would have, almost certainly, captured Virginia's U.S. Senate seat. They also could have picked up two or three more House seats.

Thankfully, Virginia Democrats don't carry the liberal baggage that often accompanies our national counterparts. We have wisely steered clear of liberal orthodoxy and promoted a more moderate platform. Nevertheless, our party holds within it the same seeds of destruction that uprooted our national leaders this year. And unless we accept the hard-earned lessons of the Mary Sue Terry debacle and embrace necessary reforms, we will have much to pay in future elections.

So what needs fixing in our party?

Virginia Democrats, it seems, have a much harder time getting up for lunch. Rather than focus their attention on the reactionary and sometimes regressive policy pronouncements of partisan opponents, some have chosen instead to publicly attack their colleagues. As one fine sage put it, "If you retreat when the enemy is not pursuing, you have no one to turn on but each other."

That Democrats would run away from the superb record of Gov. L. Douglas Wilder, as they did in 1993, is stupid. Virginia Republicans had no substantive basis on which to criticize the Democrats, as we were the party of the first black majority. Instead, they used our personal differences to divide us, and we allowed them. With the coming together of Charles Robb and Douglas Wilder, we have an unprecedented opportunity for healing, and we should use it.

Women and African Americans have long been the core of our party. Recent elections statistics indicate that Rob received but 35 percent of the white male vote. Clearly, he owes his election to women and African Americans.

Yet, time after time, we Democrats have failed to embrace them and sometimes, as in the case of our political campaigns, we have chosen instead to publicly attack our colleagues.

Rather than focus their attention on the reactionary and sometimes regressive policy pronouncements of partisan opponents, some Democrats have chosen instead to publicly attack their colleagues.

They deserve it. Lacking the rock-solid preciptation of our core supporters, Republicans have sought to win elections by spending heavily and they have been largely successful at it. Subsequently, many of our state's political reporters have been led to believe that money is the most important ingredient in a campaign; their reports suggest that the more one has in his campaign coffers, the more likely he will win the election. Influenced by such reports, we Democrats began focusing more of our attention on raising money than on grassroots organization, and our precinct operations suffered as a result. But, if the Mary Sue Terry campaign taught us anything, it's that money can't buy an election. If we are to compete fairly in future elections, we must continually build and energize our most local operations.

Democrats have also begun to lose their populist appeal. Maybe it's because we've been in power so long, but it seems Virginia Democrats are becoming somewhat elitist, protecting the status quo rather than the interests of the people. Again, it's time we got back to our roots and acted upon what the people want, not what the special interests want. We need to broaden our appeal and include those who have felt unwanted or not part of the system.

Again, Democrats were lucky this year. If the state's GOP hadn't nominated someone whose felony convictions were only overturned on appeal, our electoral losses probably would have been greater this year. However, in future years — 1995, 1996 and 1997 — Virginia Democrats cannot rely on the Republicans to mess up. We should expect them to run a more moderate appeal and less divisive image than Oliver North.

In addition, together this year to defeat Oliver North and maintain our majority in the U.S. Senate for Republicans. But our success may be short-lived unless we stay together and fix our problems. Otherwise Virginia Democrats will become the minority in the General Assembly. The leading Democrat may be consigned to minority representation in our congressional delegation in 1996.

The night they drove Ward 3 down

If Bosnia, Belarus and East Timor were not enough, now we have a secession movement in Ward 3. Yes, the hapless political prisoners of such places as Foxhall Road and upper Connecticut Avenue are demanding that Pharaoh let their people go — to Montgomery County of all places.

"Pharaoh," in this case, is the once and future mayor of Washington, the Hon. Marion Barry, Jr. His move to rehabilitation to his rightful throne was just about the last leaf on the tree for the oppressed masses of Ward 3. For years, the mostly upper-income citizens of the ward have gnashed their teeth in vain against the incompetence, corruption and expensiveness of District government, and now, with Mr. Barry returning to the mayor's office, some of them are ready to pack it in.

Hence, in September, a group of Ward 3 citizens started organizing and now are ready to kick the movement off. The goal is to leave the District and become part of Montgomery County, and they want a vote on the issue. They have secured support for secession within the ward before trying to get Congress to push it through.

But there seem to be a good many opponents of the plan, not least in Montgomery County itself, and indeed it's not clear how the separation from the District would affect without answering a thesis of legal, administrative, financial and perhaps constitutional questions. Then there are a few outright political issues as well. The District wouldn't want Ward 3 to leave, because the ward provides an awful lot of taxes for the rest of the city — which of course is one of the main reasons some people want to leave. The addition of Ward 3 voters to Montgomery might also affect the balance of power in the county and the congressional district, and Rep. Constance Morella, the Republican congresswoman in question, sounds skeptical on the matter. On the other hand, Parris Glendening having eked out only a ten-to-one victory (so far) against Rep. Constance Morella in a state that is 2-to-1 Democrat, maybe Mr. Glendening could see his way clear to support a rapid granting of secession to Ward 3. Women and African Americans would probably be part of the system.

Again, Democrats were lucky this year, too. If the state's GOP hadn't nominated someone whose felony convictions were only overturned on appeal, our electoral losses probably would have been greater this year. However, in future years — 1995, 1996 and 1997 — Virginia Democrats cannot rely on the Republicans to mess up. We should expect them to run a more moderate appeal and less divisive image than Oliver North.

In addition, together this year to defeat Oliver North and maintain our majority in the U.S. Senate for Republicans. But our success may be short-lived unless we stay together and fix our problems. Otherwise Virginia Democrats will become the minority in the General Assembly. The leading Democrat may be consigned to minority representation in our congressional delegation in 1996.

The Washington Post Tuesday, November 21, 1995
The term limits imperative

The GOP Contract with America was not a promise to pass 10 key pieces of legislation, it was only a promise to bring the measures to the House floor for open debate and votes. Ask any House Republican leader about the Contract, and he will be sure to point that out, again and again. Four enough. But the new Capitol Hill majority is kidding itself if it thinks that distinction will be honored by Democrats, who are lying in wait. If one of the Contract items is voted down, they will take to the airwaves to denounce the GOP for reneging on their bargain with the electorate.

With this in mind, Republicans ought to exercise their bronzepants before doing any backsliding on term limits. It will simply not be good enough for Republicans to do less than everything they can possibly do to pass a term limits amendment. Nor should the GOP talk itself into thinking that a Republican Congress will so inspire voters that their desire for term limits will dissipate. For one, term limits is a litmus test for a wary electorate: It will be hard for the public to believe that business-as-usual has been defeated if term limits go down the tube.

Heaven help the new majority if the effort to pass term limits is merely perfunctory. If the Republican leadership goes into the term limits fray with the enthusiasm reserved for root canals, there is little chance 290 members will vote for the proposal. A Constitutional amendment, of course, needs a two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress before being sent to the states. Three-fourths of the states have to get on board for the amendment to be ratified.

Passing every item on the Contract may not be possible, but the more of it that becomes law, the better. Results, not excuses, are the order of the day. Quibbling that only votes were promised, not passage, may suffice for one or another issue that the votes are divided on, but will not assuage the 70 percent or so of the electorate that wants term limits if those limits are defeated. Passage of term limits, beyond any other item on the GOP platform, will declare that the Republicans are different. They should not squander that opportunity.

Hamas and Fatah

Whoever wrongs Fatah, Fatah will open his head. Where are you, [Hamas leader Mahmoud al-] Zahhar, where are you? Abu Ammar [Yasser Arafat] will rip your eye out." Thus chanted hundreds of Mr. Arafat's supporters marching and firing their guns into the air this week in Gaza City. It hardy bodes well for peace in the autonomous Palestinian region. But then, not much has boded well for peace among Palestinians in recent memory.

Hamas, still holding out for total destruction of the Jewish state and refusing to accept the Israeli-PLO accord giving Mr. Arafat control over Jericho and the Gaza Strip, has been causing trouble since the accord was signed. Though the Islamic fundamentalist group has confined itself to terrorist acts against Israelis, it has posed a significant difficulty to Mr. Arafat nevertheless. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has made it very clear that he holds Mr. Arafat and the PLO responsible for maintaining a tight grip on Hamas and that failure to do so will not be taken lightly. Mr. Arafat, looking for support from Palestinians of all stripes, has been reluctant to crack down. But it seems to be becoming clearer to him that he has no choice but to take absolute charge of the situation if he really wants to keep his autonomy, or to see any of the promised money from foreign donors. Last week he let Hamas know in no uncertain terms that he is prepared to do just that.

On Monday, he staged his Gaza City rally — complete with armed thugs and blood-thirsty slogans. Those Hamas people outside the mosque weren't really unarmed, of course. PLO officials insist some of them were carrying knives and bombs; Hamas denies it, and the episode will probably be the subject of an investigatory commission the two sides are in the process of negotiating to set up. But even if there were no knives, or bombs, or guns, there were stones. Stones were the Hamas weapon of choice against Israeli soldiers during the six years of the intifada; and they turned out to be the ideal weapon. A well-thrown stone can be extremely dangerous — even fatal — to its target. Israeli forces dealing with the West Bank uprising learned that lesson too well. Ultimately, they used their superior weapons to defend themselves; at which point the stone-throwers declared themselves nothing but little boys with slingshots. And voila: New martyrs to the cause and a public relations coup as well.

That mess is now in Mr. Arafat's lap. And if any one is suited to clean it up, it's him. There may be doubts — in Israel as well as among foreign investors — about his ability to run a government. But putting down a rebellion is something else entirely. The Israelis never quite managed it, even when they tried draconian anti-terrorist measures (such as sealing off or burning houses of known terrorists) that went very much against their country's democratic spirit and were a bone of much domestic contention. Mr. Arafat, on the other hand, is no despotic ruler for he knows the human price of peace. He is a terrorist who has never been squeamish about eliminating opposition — particularly from within his own ranks. If Hamas decides to take up arms and the PLO, in other words, they will find themselves facing an enemy far more formidable than the Israeli army.
White House might swallow Dole's push to link GATT, capital-gains tax cut
By Michael Kranish  Boston Globe

WASHINGTON  White House officials held a furious round of negotiations Monday with Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole to try to salvage the world trade treaty, amid indications that he might get an 'indirect' response to his suggestion to link a capital-gains tax cut to the deal.

White House officials said Chief of Staff Leon E. Panetta had firmly rejected Dole's effort to tie the tax cut to next week's votes in Congress on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. But Dole, R-Kan., who is slated to become majority leader in January and whose treaty support is considered critical to passage, stayed firm, suggesting that administration aides 'fire again' in an effort to resolve the matter.

As negotiations between Dole and the White House continued, sources said President Clinton was not willing to give Dole a direct quid pro quo on GATT and capital gains. But the sources said the White House was willing to provide Dole with some leeway on technical aspects of GATT and an indirect response on capital gains that might satisfy Dole without making it appear that Clinton was caving in.

Sources said Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen was expected to provide such a response. The reply could amount to nothing more than a vague assurance that the administration will study the issue closely, officials said, or it could involve a more detailed promise to allow the impact of a capital-gains tax cut to be calculated more favorably under budget rules.

Dole views the capital-gains issue as a priority partly because it is important to his party's conservative wing, which he is trying to woo in his move toward majority leader and his potential bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 1996. Dole believes GATT and capital gains are related because of the way both are paid for under budget rules.

U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, in an interview with the Boston Globe on Monday, expressed confidence that the negotiations with Dole had gone smoothly. "I am confident we can reach agreement on issues that Sen. Dole finds important," Kantor said. "We are going to have a big majority in both parties.

Asked whether the administration would make a side deal on capital gains, Kantor said that was "tangential" to his discussions and was dealt with by other officials.

Joyce Campbell, a Dole spokeswoman, said Monday night that "the negotiations are ongoing. We are not under the impression that anything will be resolved tonight."

Kantor said he had spent much of Monday negotiating with Dole's staff about his other concern: the status of a World Trade Organization that could arbitrate economic disputes. Dole in effect wants assurances that the United States can get out of the organization if it is disproportionate to its own interests.

"In our view, you're going to make money with the capital-gains rate reduction," Dole said Sunday on ABC-TV. "And according to Treasury, you lose a lot of money. We'd like to say, Well, come on now, if we're going to waive the budget on GATT, maybe we can waive the Budget on ... capital gains."

But Democratic leaders, many of whom view GATT as a Republican measure that has little political benefit for them, are not eager to make concessions.

House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt, D-Mo., who supports GATT, on Monday accused Dole of holding the trade deal hostage in order to get 'a giveaway for rich investors.'

"It's an attempt at the kind of blatant, back-room horse-trading that has made so many Americans cynical about their legislative leaders," Gephardt said.

Meanwhile, Clinton and his aides intensified their campaign to drum up support for the 123-nation pact, which would eliminate many tariffs and which the president has called the biggest tax cut in history. Critics have said that the deal would cost jobs and that the United States' sovereignty would be overtaken by the trade organization.

Some Republicans said the emphasis on Clinton's effort to woo Dole has drawn attention from the possibility that the pact's fate is in trouble because of the reluctance of some Senate Democrats to support it.

Vice President Al Gore has said Republican members should stand up for a treaty negotiated in large part by Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush. But some Republicans said it is Clinton's inability to win commitments from at least 35 Senate Democrats to support the deal that has put Dole in the strong bargaining position in recent days.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN END HERE)

If Clinton could win over more Democrats, he wouldn't need Dole's support, according to Sen. Judd Gregg, R-N.H., who has taken a strong position in favor of the treaty despite some criticism back home. Gregg said he was so upset by Gore's attacks that he might consider opposing the deal unless the vice president retracts his attacks on Republicans.

"The problem here is the White House and the inability of the White House to persuade members of its own party to persuade members to go along," Gregg said in an interview. "Yet they continually to gratuitously trash Republicans on the issue."

Republican vote counters said that at least 25 of 54 Republicans are committed to the deal and that 22 of 56 Democrats favor it. That is if correct and such counts are often given in an understated way for strategic reasons then the Senate is 13 votes short of the necessary 60 votes needed to waive the GATT-related budget rule. But White House officials expressed confidence that they already have enough votes.

GOP governors seek end to federal mandates
By John W. Mashek  Boston Globe

WILLIAMSBURG, Va. The nation's Republican governors plan to meet Wednesday with the GOP congressional leadership to press their case that the party's national initiatives to cut spending not come at the expense of the states.

The governors, exuding confidence after sweeping election victories that give Republicans control of eight of the nine most populous states, will discuss their proposals and concerns with Rep. Newt Gingrich, the incoming House speaker, and Sen. B-B Dole, who will be the new majority leader.

Flexing their newfound political muscle, the governors called on the federal government to halt unfunded mandated

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programs and to shift the power and responsibility to the
states.

The mandated programs run the gamut from Medicare, to
education, to environmental protection, to welfare and federal
regulations. While the governors are not opposed to increased
responsibilities in many areas, they are concerned that new
legislation might mandate the states fund formerly federal
programs, without providing funds to do so readily.

For the first time since 1970, there will be a majority of
Republican governors. Most of the 30 are attending a
conference here of the Republican Governors Association.
The Republican takeover of both houses of Congress was
driven partially by the Contract with America, a House
agenda that includes spending cuts to balance the budget.
The GOP governors hope the shift will coincide with a new
era of state's rights.

"The message of the election was clear in my state:
Leave us alone. Texans can run Texas," said
governor-elect George W. Bush, the son of the former
president. "Leave us alone, so we can run it ourselves."

The governors contend that Congress has passed more
than 90 mandates since 1970, most of them in the past
eight years. They say mandates threaten state treasuries
with major budgetary and financial problems.

Massachusetts Gov. William Weld, who has emerged as a
leading spokesman for the GOP governors, said that
Congress could either legislate an end to the unfunded
mandates, or the proposed balanced budget amendment to the
Constitution could be a vehicle for solving the problem.

"It will take years to get a constitutional amendment
through," Weld said, "but you can't trust future
Congresses" to refrain from imposing new mandates on the
states.

Gov. George Voinovich of Ohio, a veteran of statehouse
wars with the capital, said, "There is seemingly no end
to the burden that Washington is inclined to pass on to
state and local governments."

Voinovich said President Clinton, as a former governor
of Arkansas, should agree with other governors of both
parties on giving states more flexibility and resources.

"In fact, I predict Clinton will turn a new leaf, as
an enlightened ex-governor, and help us convince those who
have preferred to micro-manage out of Washington," added
Voinovich.

Gov. Pete Wilson of California, a possible GOP
candidate for president, said Clinton, as governor, had
been in the forefront of fighting federal mandates. The
effort was always stymied, Wilson said, by powerful
Democratic committee chairmen in Congress. Those chairmen
will be replaced by Republicans in January.

"But the Republicans have the House and Senate now and
I think a new day has arrived," said Wilson, adding that
if Clinton did not join governors "he runs the risk of
having some of his old speeches quoted back to him."
White House returns fire from Helms

"We've done pretty well in foreign policy," Clinton says

BY RANDY LILLESTON
Government/Govt. Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — In 1992, then-Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas portrayed himself as the presidential candidate of the forgotten middle class.

His campaign aides often suggested that President Bush spent too much time with foreign policy and not enough time on domestic concerns.

These days, both President Clinton and top administration officials are claiming foreign policy successes.

They say the successes have come through long-term planning and proper short-term decisions.

"We've done pretty well in foreign policy," Clinton said in an interview on CNN's "Larry King Live" earlier this month.

The effort to promote the administration's foreign policy successes was turned up a notch during the weekend in the wake of comments by Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C.

Helms said in a CNN interview Friday that Clinton is not qualified to be commander in chief.

Helms, who is in line to be chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee when Republicans take control of Congress in January, said many military leaders share his view.

His comments left White House advisers seething.

Helms' assertion quickly was disputed by Gen. John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Shalikashvili called several news organizations Saturday to express his full confidence in Clinton.

"It's important to me that this view not be represented as that of the military leadership or, for that matter, the view of the military as a whole," he said.

Even some Republicans distanced themselves during the weekend from Helms.

On ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley," incoming Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., said Sunday: "I had heard your story."

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Continued from Page 1A

some conversations early on, but I think he's up to the job now."

On Monday, White House officials were busy stressing the administration's efforts in:

• North Korea, where questions about that nation's nuclear program have been resolved, at least temporarily.

• Haiti, where democratical

ey elected President Jean-

Bertrand Aristide was restored to power with the help of U.S. troops.

• Northern Ireland, where the framework is being put in place to end the nation's decades-long civil war.

• The Persian Gulf, where Iraq withdrew troops from near its border with Kuwait after a quick military response from the United States.

• The Middle East, where the latest step in the peace process is the signing of an accord between Israel and Jordan.

• Russia, where Clinton noted that the nation's missiles are no longer "pointed at the United States."

One beneficiary appears to be Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who early this year was the subject of rumors that he was on the way out. Key Republicans, including Dole, have praised Christopher in recent weeks.

But Helms' comments about Clinton and others have attracted the most attention.

Of Christopher, Helms said: "He ought to be allowed to be secretary of state, not trot in some substitute secretary of state. No matter how much you like (former President Carter), he was not appointed or confirmed by the Senate as secretary of state."

Oliver North, the former Reagan administration official who lost a Senate bid in Virginia this week to Democratic incumbent Chuck Robb, also said the president was not qualified to be commander in chief. Clinton responded by saying North also appeared to have problems with President Reagan as a commander in chief after his actions in the Iran-Contra affair.

Former first lady Nancy Reagan publicly criticized North. "There has been a lot of controversy in foreign policy directions in the last two years." Clinton said last week. "I don't expect that to go away. But I do think on the really pivotal matters, we'll be able to achieve the kind of bipartisan... consensus to do what's right for the country. That will be my goal."

Leon Panetta, the White House chief of staff, is among those reiterating that message. Panetta said Helms' comments usually reflect a "very narrow range of the political spectrum" and "don't reflect the mainstream of what this country is about."

He said the remarks could strain White House relations with Helms. Panetta said it is up to Helms to decide whether he owes Clinton an apology.

Sen. Christopher Dodd, D-Conn. and a Foreign Relations Committee member, said Helms was "coming close to aiding and abetting insubordination."

Dodd said Helms' remarks were "very, very reckless" and affirmed the notion that the Nov. 8 election was a mandate for extremism.

"We don't need to demonize our government," the president said. "It is, after all, just the instrument of our own will."

The Associated Press contributed to this article.
It's true: Character is important

William Bennett, the conservative
apologist who says he is most defi-
nitely not running for president in 1996, told an interesting story on his bud-
get for the future of the nation a few months ago. While it's not the Brothers Grimm, it's a tale worth retelling.

It seems Bennett was on a commercial airplane en route to one of his travel destinations when he recognized a well-dressed gentleman across the aisle who immediately proceeded to chat up the former drug czar. He had apparently grown tired of the wisecracks about the president's weak and somehow thinking America distorted by the erosion of American values and the elevation of a woman-chin-up draft dodger to the nation's highest office. He was all hopped up to talk to one of his cultural heroes, a man who might one day vanquish the evil Clintons and reassert America for the true American.

As Bennett told it, this fellow was ob-
noxious. He belittled for the stewart... scrutiny, to bring in a weak drink. He complained loudly when his vodka was improperly bruised, and he berated him soundly for his incompetence and sloth. He brayed for the stewardess to be exemplary of all that was wrong with the country; in one indif-
fert airline hostess, he was able to dis-
cern all the moral failings in America.

The parallels with the work of Leo Strauss, Lord Acton and the Uni-
versity of Chicago's Richard Epstein, and what-
ever else cultural warriors discuss on air-
planes. He probably got into the eminent
reform clause of the Constitution and how
it clearly forbids any legislation that has the
flee of registering wealthy donors and

He was, in short, an evil劲怪 from the word
properly was more important
than free speech.

Naturally, Bennett listened patient-
ly. Then, just before the flight touched
down, he asked his neighbor if he had a
business card. Why yes, of course, he sput-
tered, and let him know how disgracefully
talk the service and others who job is to
provide service. A man who snaps at a
waitress, who berates a cab driver or a re-
tail clerk is almost always compensating for
feelings of insufficiency. It is either a gesture of
other psychic injury, real or imagi-
ned, petty or grand. Reasonable people do
not go ballistic when they are served in
kind of waiters. Their job is to serve, not to

Besides, Abraham Lincoln tended bar.

In these days of free-floating, it's not
necessary to pay for the blue book. De-
mocrats stain the streets, it may sound
quaint to suggest that public debate ought
to be conducted at a civil level.

Yet it is depressing that the newly as-
cendant leaders of the Republican Party
seem to be so much like the obnoxious
boys on encounter on airplanes. Bob
Gingrich and Gramm — especially Gramm — have been particularly
green in victory, like frat boys braying over
football scores. To a man, they seem capa-
bles of kicking puppies and stuffing paper
boys at Christmas. They are big, big
boys.

Of course, the fellows in the white coat
know no ideologies; there are many De-
mocrats and liberals who bully and pull out
their chests. But one of the things the Clin-
tonsathers are right about — character is im-
portant — in fact, as Bill Bennett has
pointed out, the only qualification for hold-
ing public office enumerated by the Found-
ing Fathers. And people of character don't
gloat or threaten, they go about their busi-
ness. They serve the common good, not
their own ambition.

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he New York Times published a pure-
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that Bill Clinton might not be the Democ-
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重任的权力。
Michael Almaguer says he is tired of undocumented immigrants who come to his country and take benefits that should be going to U.S. citizens. "I'm Mexican American," said the retired postal worker and World War II veteran. "But there is a difference between being Mexican American and what I clearly see as people from a foreign country."

Maria Isabel Herrera fled the turmoil of El Salvador five years ago. She came to the United States as an undocumented immigrant and may soon lose her status as a political refugee.

"Latinos help build this country," said Mrs. Herrera, 26. "We work in many cases for less than minimum wage, in jobs that U.S. citizens will not take."

More than a week after Californians voted to restrict public services to legal U.S. residents, the battle over Proposition 187 has shifted from the campaign trail to the courtroom.

Several lawsuits challenging its constitutionality are now pending, with legal scholars predicting that a final resolution possibly by the U.S. Supreme Court could be years away.

In the meantime, opponents are staging demonstrations, planning boycotts of the state and warning that Proposition 187 could scare the sick from health clinics and crime victims away from police. Supporters offer advice to like-minded activists in other states and call for stronger federal steps to choke off illegal immigration.

"Washington has virtually ignored its responsibility to control our nation's borders," Gov. Pete Wilson, an ardent 187 backer, told a Washington audience on Friday.

Proposition 187, which passed on Election Day with overwhelming public support, essentially denies undocumented immigrants access to public schools and most services provided by public agencies, including nonemergency health care. Agency officials are required to report suspected undocumented immigrants, and police officers are under a similar mandate to report arrestees who are not legal residents.

On Wednesday, a federal judge in Los Angeles issued a temporary restraining order that prevents much of Proposition 187 from being enforced.

Under the ruling by U.S. District Judge Matthew Byrne Jr., undocumented immigrants still have access to public schools and most services provided by public agencies, including nonemergency health care. Agency officials are required to report suspected undocumented immigrants, and police officers are under a similar mandate to report arrestees who are not legal residents.

Proposition 187 opponents are asking for an injunction that would stay enforcement of the initiative until after legal challenges have been exhausted; the Supreme Court ruled in a 1982 Texas case that states must educate all children. Another federal judge is scheduled to consider the request on Tuesday.

The measure's supporters see illegal immigration as a financial drain in a state that is beset with economic woes.

Many industries have left California, and with them, jobs. Undocumented immigrants, Proposition 187 supporters say, have driven up taxes and overstrained government resources that are financially strapped.

Estimates of the number of undocumented immigrants in California range from 1.4 million to about two million.

"I feel like it was the right thing to do because you just can't leave your doors open," said Jack Davenport, 60, owner of Jack's Family Kitchen, one of the better-known breakfast restaurants in Los Angeles' South Central neighborhood.

Gil Wong, who heads the pro-187 group, Asian Americans for Border Control, said Californians acted because they were confronted with a crisis.

"A lot of people don't like to mention the word 'bankruptcy,' but this state is bankrupt," said Wong, a 59-year-old free-lance photographer and public relations consultant from suburban Sylmar. "Illegal immigrants have infiltrated our social and economic fabric. And they are draining this state of its resources."

Many 187 supporters also argue that illegal immigration has taken jobs from citizens.

"It has had a terrible impact on the black population," said Almaguer. "A lot of their jobs have gone to these illegal aliens. They have depressed wages."

Jaime Flores, a senior official with El Rescate, a humanitarian aid group that works with Central American refugees, opposes Proposition 187. He also dismisses claims that undocumented immigrants are stealing jobs from citizens.

"You don't see many white women working in Beverly Hills as maids, cleaning those big houses," he said.

"You don't see many white men doing gardening work."

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Flores and other Proposition 187 opponents say the measure has racial overtones that affect undocumented immigrants as well as U.S. citizens. And they dispute assertions that undocumented immigrants burden the state financially.

"If you look Latino, if you look Asian, you will be expected to produce documents to prove that you are legally in this country," Flores said. "That is a racist element."

Almaguer, the retired Mexican American postal worker, counters that many Proposition 187 opponents are trying to bully those who disagree with them by accusing them of being racists.

Many Hispanic supporters, he said, "are in the main underground" because of fears that they will be labeled as sellouts and out of fear of reprisals.

While race is a factor, economics is the issue most often argued by both sides.

Flores said that undocumented immigrants contribute to the economy by providing labor for industry, through their purchases, and by paying taxes.

"They're here to work," he said. "They don't come to this country to take advantage of all the benefits. Newcomers don't understand welfare. And with their undocumented status, they're afraid that they're names will be given to the INS and they will be deported."

Barbara Kiley, the mayor of suburban Yorba Linda and one of Proposition 187's foremost advocates, argues that undocumented immigrants do not contribute.

"They're making minimum wage or less," she said. "How much disposable income do they have? Do you think they're buying fur coats and yachts? There's no taxes on food."

In fact, Ms. Kiley said, undocumented immigrants are "sending money back into their country of origin."

(STORY CAN END HERE)

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Proposition 187's opponents include many educators and health care workers.

Some health-care experts say efforts to fight communicable diseases may become more difficult if undocumented immigrants, fearing that they will be reported to immigration authorities, won't seek medical care.

State officials have stated that services protecting public health will continue to be provided to undocumented immigrants. Alva Moreno, who heads a nonprofit
organization in Los Angeles that makes bilingual health-care referrals, said many clinics already are seeing a decrease in patients.

Mayor Kiley countered that many serious communicable diseases are more widespread among undocumented immigrants. Keeping them out of the country is one way to fight the problem, she said.

Some senior law enforcement officials, including Los Angeles County Sheriff Sherman Block, also have voiced concerns that undocumented immigrants who witness crimes will be less likely to come forward, as well as victims.

"What's scary for us is that we were just now at the point where women who were assaulted felt fairly comfortable coming to us," said Ms. Moreno, whose AVANCE Human Services, Inc., also counsels rape and battering victims. "Rape is very devastating, and women have a hard time talking about it, let alone a women who is here undocumented, doesn't speak the language and doesn't know her rights."

(STORY CAN END HERE)

Many educators say they are upset with provisions of Proposition 187 that would compel them to report children who are in the country illegally.

"It puts us in an untenable position," said Levi Kingston, founder of the Hoover Intergenerational Day Care center in South Central. "As an educational institution, our responsibility is to the families who walk through the doors and to the kids especially. It's not going to do anyone any good if kids don't get an education."

Malcolm Vest, 62, sees another problem.

"We've got gangs all over the place now," said Vest, owner of Shazuezo's Hat City in Los Angeles. "What do they think these kids are going to do with their time if they're not in school?"

Mayor Kiley of Yorba Linda said that the quality of education in California has suffered because an inordinate amount of resources is being spent on undocumented immigrants.

Many elements of Proposition 187, she acknowledges, may seem hard.

But, she said, citizens should come before undocumented immigrants. "How did we get in this position where we deny services to citizens and give them away to lawbreakers who are foreign nationals?"

GOV. KILEY QUESTIONS MEASURES

By Susan Feeney

Dallas Morning News

WILLIAMSBURG, Va. The scene was unlike any in the last quarter-century: Republican governors crammed together, two deep in places, forming a wide arc in front of a swarm of reporters and lobbyists.

Fed up with Washington, taxes, crime, welfare and policies that don't work, voters have been putting their diminishing faith in government in GOP governors. Eleven more states including Texas will have Republican governors in January, putting the party in charge in 30 states.

"They have really been on the cutting edge of government," said Robert Hollsworth, a political science professor at Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond. "Over the last five years, Republican governors have been able to very effectively capture the issues that have resonated so loudly with the public."

Former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander, who was working the Republican Governors Conference, gathering support for a likely 1996 presidential run, said "the biggest news is the Republican Congress. The most important news is the governors."

In January, about 70 percent of Americans will have Republican governors. But even as the governors rejoiced at having a sympathetic ear in the new Republican-controlled Congress, they chafed at taking orders just the same. They urged a "new federalism" to give more power to the states.

Utah Gov. Michael Leavitt said, "We're balancing budgets. We're reforming welfare. We're fixing health care. We're dealing with crime. Our message will be to congressional leaders and the people of this country: 'Give us the ball and then get out of the way. We can solve these problems.'"

Texas Gov.-elect George W. Bush said in an interview, "I think it's going to matter who runs the Congress and the House. But I will be critical if Texas is still hamstrung. ... No matter what party controls Congress."

But this "new federalism," tried unsuccessfully when Democrats controlled Congress and Ronald Reagan was in the White House, probably won't come easily.

"I expect fireworks," said David Rhode, a political science professor at Michigan State University in East Lansing, Mich.

At the three-day conference in Colonial Williamsburg, governors and governors-to-be planned measures to insulate states from federal fallout.

They expressed widespread support for a Capitol Hill Republican plan for a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget.

The governors say they would endorse the almost certain federal funding cuts in exchange for greater freedom in how they carry out federally mandated programs such as Medicaid and Medicare, pollution cleanup and education.

"I think it's going to matter who runs the Congress and how they carry out federal mandates," said New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman, who backs abortion rights and is at odds with the GOP platform.

"I'm concerned that we don't squander the power that we have," Whitman said.
"If we don't deal with the economic issues," said Michigan Gov. John Engler, "we'll need more than prayer to solve our problems."

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

Engler, Massachusetts Gov. William Weld, California Gov. Pete Wilson and Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson are among the first wave of statehouse Republicans who have been forging new ways to govern.

In an era of high voter cynicism, even critics of these Republican reform governors admit they have kept most of their campaign promises for lower taxes, smaller government, reduced welfare dependency and a crackdown on crime.

On Nov. 8, Engler, Weld, Wilson and Thompson were re-elected with an average vote of 65 percent.

Thompson, a pioneer in welfare reform and school choice, has cut taxes and reduced Wisconsin's welfare caseload by over 20 percent. Weld, in addition to cutting taxes six times since 1990 and cutting the state budget 14 percent, has eliminated 8,000 state jobs.

Wilson, mentioned as a potential 1996 presidential contender, led the support for California's Proposition 187. The hotly contested ballot measure, if it is upheld by the courts, would deny government services such as education and health care to illegal immigrants and their children.

Engler in Michigan cut taxes and curbed general assistance for able-bodied persons. He also took the step of abolishing property tax as a source of revenue for schools, replacing it with a sales tax.

With property taxes as popular as the federal income tax, the move gave Engler "a very powerful boost" in a state with deep Democratic roots, Rhode of Michigan State said.

Allen of Virginia, who was elected in 1993 on an anti-crime platform, signed legislation Oct. 13 keeping his campaign pledge to abolish parole for convicted criminals.

Whitman, the nation's only woman Republican governor, was elected last year on the strength of a 11th-hour promise to cut income taxes by 30 percent over three years. She pushed through the first year's cuts, but recently conceded that budget problems may mean the cuts will take four years, not three.

Whitman also cut off state funding for public broadcasting, expected to be a $300 million GOP target in the upcoming federal budget cycle.

Critics of tax-cutting governors like Whitman contend that worthy programs were sacrificed, and that local governments and school districts were forced to raise taxes to make up for the state cuts.

The governor deny this. Whitman that said some local entities in New Jersey have raised taxes, but that the number was fewer than in previous years.

Bush said it's vital that governors do not insist that the federal government reduce its requirements for states, and then turn around and dump more responsibility on local governments.

"In order to be consistent in philosophy, a governor who demands freedom must also remember that school districts and cities and counties demand the same freedom," Bush said.

"Hold me accountable," he said.
Gramm details presidential campaign plans

By Richard Whittle
Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News

WASHINGTON — Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas said Monday that he probably would kick off his 1996 presidential campaign in February or March with a formal announcement in College Station and a fund-raiser in Dallas.

"It would be my goal to begin raising funds to run for president beginning in early January," the second-term Republican said in an interview with Texas reporters at his Capitol Hill office.

"I haven't firmly set the date, but I'm probably looking at late February, early March, to do a formal announcement, probably in College Station, and then a series of events around the country, and then coming back to Dallas for a large fund-raiser," he said.

Mr. Gramm, 52, a Georgia native whose sights have been set on the 1996 presidential race for years, taught economics at Texas A&M University in College Station in the 1970s. He maintains a voting address there.

The senator said he hoped his presidential campaign would be helped by the fact that he has led Gov. Lamar Alexander, who arrived the National Republican Senatorial Committee the past four years.

Noting that he had raised money and campaigned for candidates in almost every state in that role, Mr. Gramm said: "I hope I've gotten more for all that work than just saddle sores."

On Nov. 14, Mr. Gramm became the first Republican candidate to file a statement of organization for a 1996 presidential campaign committee with the Federal Election Commission.

After his meeting with Texas reporters, Mr. Gramm was off to Williamsburg, Va., for the Republican Governors' Conference. As party leaders in their states, the governors control the Republican campaign apparatus and can have significant influence on primaries or caucuses.

Mr. Gramm insisted he was talking to governors about legislation.

"Some will probably talk to me about the presidential race, he said with a smile. "I would never bring it up."

Mr. Gramm, who campaigned for some of the 38 GOP governors who will take office in January, planned to meet with a half-dozen of them late Monday and attend a dinner.

He also planned to meet with Texas Gov.-elect George W. Bush Tuesday.

Mr. Gramm said he planned to devote his time in the Senate next year to welfare reform, tax cuts and stronger rights to compensation for property owners whose land is taken by the government.

Because of that agenda, Mr. Gramm said, he will try to move from the Senate Appropriations Committee to the Senate Finance Committee, which handles those issues, as the new, GOP-controlled Senate organizes.

On other issues, Mr. Gramm said:

• The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade treaty is "95 percent good." But Mr. Gramm has not decided how he will vote on it because proposed implementing legislation has "rotten" provisions and there is concern about losing U.S. sovereignty to the new World Trade Organization.

The reason I have not taken a position on GATT is I am still hopeful of being able to give some reassurance to people about preserving sovereignty, and I am hopeful that we might strip out some of these extraneous matters," he said.

Congress will meet in lame-duck session after Thanksgiving to consider the treaty.

He does not endorse a statement over the weekend by Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., that President Clinton is unfit to be commander in chief of the military.

"Anyone who is elected (president) by the American people is the commander in chief, and as long as they're the commander in chief, they're going to have my respect," Mr. Gramm said.

"I'm not going to tear down an institution that I hope some day to be part of."

Staff writer Susan Feeney in Williamsburg, Va., contributed to this report.
Hyde says committee will take up school prayer, abortion, immigration

By Mitchell Loci Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON Rejecting warnings that school prayer, immigration and abortion are divisive issues that could imperil a new Republican consensus, Rep. Henry Hyde said the House Judiciary Committee will consider them all next year when he takes over as chairman.

However, he said he adamantly opposes but will not block from consideration limits on congressional terms, signaling what likely will be numerous conflicts within the GOP over provisions of their "Contract With America."

He also said any balanced budget amendment, another of the "Contract's" high-profile provisions, would have to be very carefully worded so that it did not shift financial burdens to states.

Though prayer, immigration and abortion were not among the 10 issues addressed in the GOP contract, they illustrate the difficulty Republican leaders will have in maintaining unity behind the goals that won the party control of both houses of Congress and a majority of governorships on Nov. 8.

Rep. Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., who is expected to be elected speaker of the House in January, broadened the party's agenda immediately after the election by saying the House would consider by July 4 a constitutional amendment allowing prayer in public schools.

Moderate and moderate-conservative GOP governors cautioned against that approach.

"I think Newt Gingrich should dance with the gal that brung him," Massachusetts Gov. William Weld said over the weekend. "And the gal that brung him was the tax-and-spend issue and crime and welfare."

Hyde, however, said that while the issues contained in the GOP contract will take precedence in his committee, school prayer will not be shunted aside.

"I think Gov. Weld ought to find out a little bit more about the girl that brung him," Hyde said. "I think he would find (that) a lot of people who voted Republican support school prayer."

Hyde acknowledged that serious constitutional issues need to be examined regarding school prayer but "a moment of silence seems to be innocuous."

Another issue not in the contract, immigration policy, is already dividing party leaders. California Gov. Pete Wilson has suggested that California's successful ballot initiative dening social services to illegal immigrants would put the GOP on "the wrong side" of a critical national issue.

The remarks, by Jack Kemp and William Bennett, put them in sharp conflict not only with California Gov. Pete Wilson, a presidential hopeful who rode the anti-immigrant issue to re-election this month, but also with the party's "Contract with America," which in a little-noticed provision seeks to deny certain benefits even to legal immigrants.

The provision part of the Republicans' 10-point campaign pledge says benefits from several dozen health, housing, education, job-training and nutrition programs should be withheld from new immigrants. The cuts, which the contract's authors claim would save $22 billion over five years, would include most Medicaid benefits as well as Supplemental Security Income, a program that offers a small monthly subsidy to the elderly and disabled poor.

Kemp and Bennett disagreed with Wilson before the Nov. 8 election on Proposition 187, the successful California ballot initiative that denies social services and public education to illegal immigrants. On Monday, the pair took issue with Wilson's recent suggestion that the measure be made national policy.

They spoke at a symposium on a new report by the Manhattan Institute, a conservative research group, challenging the popular view that immigrants increase unemployment and abuse the welfare system.

"Just like health care, there is no crisis in illegal immigration," Bennett asserted. "There are some problems with illegal immigration, but ... Wilson is scapegoating, damnit, and he should stop it. Now he is trying to ride this horse to a national level. Come on, Pete, get off it."

The post-election debate inside the GOP suggests the emergence of immigration, legal and illegal, as a contentious national issue, the "sleeper" issue of 1996, in the words of conservative activist Linda Chavez.

Prop. 187, the centerpiece of Wilson's successful re-election campaign, passed Nov. 8 by a 3-to-2 ratio, and Kemp and Bennett were pilloried inside the GOP for their stance.

No one was more irked than Wilson, who tagged the pair
as "outsiders" and argued in a Washington speech last week that the new Republican-controlled Congress should adopt a federal version of the California measure.

As the immigration debate increases, many observers believe Prop. 187 will not survive a court challenge on constitutional grounds. And Bennett, who has taken himself out of the '96 presidential derby, is sharply critical of its leading advocate, Wilson.

On Monday, the one-time "drug czar" in the Reagan administration reminded his audience that as a U.S. senator, Wilson had promoted 1986 legislation that allowed one million undocumented workers into California, a policy shift sought by the state's agribusiness interests.

"A reasonable person sees the consequences of his actions," Bennett said, chiding Wilson for "turning on the spigot, then complaining the water won't go back up the faucet when you're done."

Wilson contends Prop 187 will relieve the estimated $3 billion annual burden on California taxpayers for education and health benefits for illegal immigrants.

In a speech to the conservative Heritage Foundation last week, Wilson contended, "It is very wrong and unfair to reward people with public benefits for breaking our immigration laws ..." Bennett demurred Monday, insisting the proposition "is not a sensible way to conduct public policy."

"It is fairly attractive on the surface," he said, "but it doesn't solve the problem. You deny people medical care and you deny education to kids, and you still have the problem of illegal immigration."

Kemp said his opposition to the policy, before the election and after, was caught up in the proposition's repeated use of the phrase "suspected illegal aliens," which he characterized as race-conscious.

"We accept the fact that the people of California voted for Proposition 187 as a cry for help from the federal government to control the nation's borders," he said. But Kemp expressed concern than extending the restrictions of Prop 187 to the federal level would paint the GOP as nativist and anti-immigrant. He argued that Republicans had alienated European immigrants at the turn of the century, and had made another critical mistake in the 1950s and '60s, stepping away from the voting-rights debate.

"I believe there is no chance for the Republican Party to be a majority party in this country without being a party of inclusion," Kemp said. "We have to make the case that immigration is a blessing to America, not a curse."

Both men insisted they were not waging an isolated battle, citing the opposition of GOP governors in Arizona and New York to Prop. 187. Bennett noted that that newly elected Texas Gov. George W. Bush came out against it before Nov. 8, as did Jeb Bush, who narrowly lost a GOP bid to be Florida governor.

And both men acknowledged that immigration would be a hot-button issue in 1996, and will be problematic for Kemp, who is likely to run.

NATO launches attack on Serb-controlled air base

By Terry Atlas Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON NATO's decision Monday to bomb a Serb-controlled air base in the biggest attack in its 45-year history also strikes back at the notion that the mighty Atlantic alliance is a paper tiger.

President Clinton called the raid by 30 allied warplanes a "strong and entirely appropriate" response to continual Serb violations of the no-flight zone declared over Bosnia-Herzegovina by the United Nations.

The four-hour raid authorized by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was an apparent success. Western officials said American, British, Dutch and French bombers attacked runways at the Udbina airfield and nearby surface-to-air missile sites in the Krajina, a region of Croatia controlled by ethnic Serbs ever since the opening months of the Yugoslav war, which is now in its third year.

Any successes with the airstrikes won't forestall questions about the future of the West's premier alliance in the post-Cold War world, however.

Despite the reflex of allied leaders to back NATO, alliance unity has been eroded by trans-Atlantic bickering over Bosnia policy, by rising tensions between alliance members Greece and Turkey over the Aegean Sea, and by differences over a timetable for admitting former Warsaw Pact adversaries into NATO as full partners with Western security guarantees.

But the raid gave NATO advocates a chance to suggest that public doubts about the strength of NATO's resolve are overstated. Indeed, upon hearing news about the success of the raid, Willie Claes, NATO's new secretary general, emerged Monday from meetings with Secretary of State Warren Christopher and observed "that NATO is not dead after all."

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)
had orders to hit runways and air defenses, but not aircraft on the ground or buildings, in an effort to minimize casualties.

Western military officials said they were operating under conditions imposed by United Nations military commanders whose interest was in sending diplomatic signals rather than delivering a decisive military blow to the Serbs.

(EDITORS: NEXT 3 GRAFS OPTIONAL)

At the start of a Capitol meeting with NATO’s Claes, Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., who becomes Senate majority leader in January, complained about the U.N.’s say over NATO’s actions.

“NATO has sort of become subordinated to the whims of the United Nations,” said Dole, who nonetheless called the air strike “very effective” and said he hopes it has the desired effect of forcing the Serbs to the negotiating table.

Citing differences over NATO’s role in Bosnia, Claes said he invited Dole to NATO headquarters in Brussels next week for a full briefing and further discussions.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

In Naples, Italy, Adm. Leighton W. Smith, the commander of NATO forces in southern Europe, estimated the Udbina airfield would be out of commission for 30 days due to “good hits” on the runways.

A Croatian commander quoted by the Associated Press, however, predicted that the runways could be repaired as early as Wednesday.

Smith said in a briefing that aircraft taking part in the raid included French Jaguars and Mirage 2000K jets; Dutch F-16s; British Jaguars; and American F-15E, F-16C and F/A 18Ds. About 30 planes took part in the raid, backed up by about 20 aircraft for refueling and other support.

Serb gunners apparently fired surface-to-air missiles, but there were no losses among allied aircraft, Smith said.

The Yugoslav news agency Tanjug said it had an unconfirmed report from Krajina Serb army sources that one person was believed killed and an unspecified number of civilians were wounded.

(EDITORS: NEXT 3 GRAFS OPTIONAL)

Clinton has been under growing pressure from some Congressional Republicans, most notably Dole, to lift the U.N. weapons embargo on Bosnia’s Muslim-led government and to seek stronger NATO military action against the Bosnian Serbs, who have spurned internationally proposed peace plans to partition Bosnia.

The pressure to lift the embargo has provoked an open rift with some NATO allies, most notably the British and French which have the largest contingents of peacekeepers on the ground in Bosnia.

The Europeans were shocked and angered last week when the Clinton administration, mandated by Congress, abruptly quit efforts to enforce the U.N. arms embargo on Bosnia. It was the first time that the U.S. acted unilaterally on a key alliance matter.

“I don’t think there’s any secret ... that some members of NATO are upset by this,” a Pentagon official acknowledged.

Alarmed by the American action, Claes flew to Washington for talks Monday with President Clinton and Christopher that officials hoped would paper over the differences.

Asked about any rift between the United States and its European allies over the use of force in Bosnia, Christopher said, “I see no such rift at all.” He said the air strike was carried out “in full concurrence with the British and the French.”

Remarked Claes: “We are not trying to multiply military victories; we are just trying to convince the Serbs that the moment has come to go back to the conference table.”
As its numbers grow, GOP less eager for term limits

By Ernie Freda
STAFF WRITER

It sure is a great issue for the "outs," but when you're an "in," well, that might be another story. And some House Republicans, committed to a first-ever vote on congressional term limits but back in power after 40 years, are already having second thoughts about having to give up their jobs before they're good and ready.

Rep. Dick Armey (R-Texas), who will be the new House majority leader in his sixth term, is suggesting now that public support for term limits might not be as strong now that the Republicans will control Congress. He says that if the Republicans "can straighten out the House," Americans may not be as enthusiastic about a constitutional amendment limiting the time a person may serve in Congress. He supported term limits "with a terrible amount of reluctance," Armey says now, only because the House performed so poorly in recent years.

And Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), who will be in his ninth term when he takes over as speaker, has his reservations, too. And so it goes.

C-SPAN SEEKING MORE ACCESS: If Republicans are really serious about wanting Congress to be more accessible to the public, says the head of the C-SPAN public affairs cable network, they should open more proceedings to TV coverage. C-SPAN now shows all Senate and House floor debate, but Congress controls the cameras and restricts coverage to tight shots of whoever is talking. No panning the chamber to show the voters at home. Dick Armey (R-Texas), who will be the new House majority leader in his sixth term, is suggesting now that public support for term limits might not be as strong now that the Republicans will control Congress. He says that if the Republicans "can straighten out the House," Americans may not be as enthusiastic about a constitutional amendment limiting the time a person may serve in Congress. He supported term limits "with a terrible amount of reluctance," Armey says now, only because the House performed so poorly in recent years.

And Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), who will be in his ninth term when he takes over as speaker, has his reservations, too. And so it goes.

And Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), who will be in his ninth term when he takes over as speaker, has his reservations, too. And so it goes.

PACKWOOD CHASE STILL ON: The Senate Ethics Committee's investigation into sexual harassment allegations against Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) is reawakening. The committee reportedly has started to receive a lot of the "critical" evidence it had been seeking and hopes to prepare a preliminary report for the members soon after the new Congress convenes. The stepped-up effort comes at a time when Packwood was achieving new influence in the Senate. But Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), the soon-to-be Ethics Committee chairman, said no effort will be made to prevent Packwood from assuming the chairmanship of the Finance Committee. Democratic Sens. Donald Riegle of Michigan and John Glenn of Ohio both kept their chairmanships during and following the Keating Five investigation.

ELSEWHERE

Education Secretary Richard Riley returned to work a month after undergoing surgery to remove a cancerous prostate, and he said he would soon resume a full schedule. . . . Two House seats remain undecided in Southern California's 22nd District, where Republican Andy Seastead leads Democrat Walter Capps in the race for losing Republican Senate candidate Michael Huffington's seat; and the 36th, where freshman Democratic Rep. Jane Harman holds a narrow lead over Republican Susan Brooks. . . . Defeated Sen. Jim Sasser (D-Tenn.) has removed himself from consideration to be chairman of the Democratic National Committee, saying his "primary interest is in returning to the private sector." . . . U.S. News & World Report says Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.), the new chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, has put Whitewater hearings at the top of his to-do list when Congress convenes next year. . . . Talker Rush Limbaugh, a committed free-trader, is coming under conservative fire from Pat Buchanan and Phyllis Schlafly because his radio and television shows have refused to run ads opposing the GATT world trade treaty. . . . Marine Reagan, daughter of the former prez, and Dennis Revell, who live in Sacramento, Calif., have adopted an 11-year-old girl from Uganda, says Washingtonian magazine.

IT'S A FACT

The last time the World Series was canceled (in 1904), the Republicans gained 43 seats in the House. They gained about 53 this time (it's still not exactly official).

SAY IT AGAIN

"My Italian father used to say that the toughest thing to do is to try to build a barn. Any jackasses can knock the barn door down. And we've got a lot of jackasses out there trying to do that." — White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta.

"We watched Leon a lot when we were in the White House (and Panetta was in Congress). He kicked down the barn a lot, so he's had a lot of practice." — Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.).

—— From staff, news services and published reports
The harm Helms can do

Come January, Jesse Helms is slated to become chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the most powerful post in Congress for an internationalist. 'So, when Helms (right) declared Friday that President Clinton is unfit to serve as the nation's commander in chief, the statement could not have gone unnoticed in other capitals around the world.' With those remarks, Helms allowed his personal and personal displeasure of Clinton to overbear his sense of reason and judgment, and he ought to apologize for that mistake.

Furthermore, that apology should go not merely to the president, but to the American people as well, for it is they whom Helms has harmed most grievously.

Such remarks by a powerful American political figure harm the president's credibility in dealing with other countries, encouraging those who might contemplate a military challenge to U.S. interests overseas.

More importantly, perhaps, they undermine the confidence of U.S. troops in the leader who may someday have to order them into battle. It is perhaps too much to expect a return to the days when peace was sold to stop at the water's edge. But even in the current climate of bitter partisanship, Helms' remarks are beyond the pale. Over the weekend, Bob Dole and other Republican leaders moved to minimize the damage, asserting their own confidence in Clinton as commander in chief without directly criticizing Helms.

Helms himself has been silent.

Clearly, however, the North Carolina Republican intends to run U.S. foreign policy. If he can, from his seat as committee chairman, Clinton cannot allow Helms to do so, both to preserve his president's duty to run foreign policy and because Helms' positions on foreign policy are irresponsible and border on the bizarre.

For example, Helms wants to pull U.S. troops out of Haiti immediately, even at the risk of undoing all that we have accomplished. There is no secret that Helms felt more comfortable with the right-wing dictators who ran Haiti than with that country's legitimately elected civilian president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Helms also seems intent on re-creating the Cold War. He wants to cut off financial aid to the struggling democracy in Russia, including the money being used to dismantle Russia's nuclear arsenal. He advocates enunciating Russia by bringing Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia into an anti-Russian NATO within four years, a move that would almost guarantee that Russian hard-liners are returned to power.

Many of his fellow Republicans no doubt recognize the petty nastiness of Jesse Helms, but until now, they have refrained from confronting him. With Republicans in control of the Senate, Helms' potential to make trouble grows. A hands-off-Helms attitude has become an affordable luxury for the GOP.

Humane route to immigration reform

It's a new era whose country built by immigrants is suddenly enraged at them. Some of that anger is understandable. Immigrants who enter this country illegally are doing so at the rate of 500,000 a year. As a result, the federal government has failed to put in place a legal policy for stemming the flow. And what's been put in place is a policy by civil rights activist Barbara Jordan, proposed at the White House, to curb the illegal population.

That void was filled by Proposition 187, a California referendum to deny illegal aliens such services as education, health care and other social services. The measure passed overwhelmingly, and it is the heart of a new movement, the American Immigration Reform Movement, which has reached the boiling point in the states where many of the nation's 4 million illegal immigrants live. The measure puts an end to health and education benefits for California's illegal immigrants, but it raises troubling questions, including whether it is constitutional. Two judges have temporarily banned its enforcement.

If Proposition 187 eventually goes into effect, it could mark a new wave of discrimination against legal immigrants. That's because California health and education officials have yet to figure out how they will distinguish between legal and illegal immigrants.

Tom Jordan must be shaking his head. At the heart of the plan proposed by her Commission on Immigration Reform was a national computerized registry that would require employers to verify a person's immigration status, now so easily forged. But President Clinton said he had been caved to complain about the registry would heighten discrimination. In fact, the opposite should occur since all job applicants -- not just foreign-born -- would be asked for identification.

Proposition 187 is no solution to the failure of the federal government to stem illegal immigration. Teachers should not be asked to close the doors on children they have taught for years. Doctors cannot be asked to violate their Hippocratic Oath by turning away those who need medical care.

Teachers should not be asked to close the doors on children they have taught for years. Doctors cannot be asked to violate their Hippocratic Oath by turning away those who need medical care.

As the debate continues, we should remind ourselves that this economy has benefited from illegal immigrants. Otherwise, the law prohibiting their hiring would not be so difficult to enforce. We should also remember that the spirit embodied in Proposition 187 is not the spirit that founded this country.
GOP leaders divided on linking trade vote to capital-gains tax cut
By John Maggs Journal of Commerce

WASHINGTON Republican leaders appear split over Sen. Bob Dole's suggestion that next week's vote on the Uruguay Round trade pact be used to kick off the GOP fight to pass a cut in the capital-gains tax.

Rep. Bill Archer, R-Texas, the incoming chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, said last Friday that he was opposed to entangling the trade pact in what could only be an inconclusive fight over capital gains this fall.

Meanwhile, congressional sources said that the two other key Republicans on trade House GOP leader Newt Gingrich and Sen. Bob Packwood, incoming chairman of the Finance Committee would resist any attempt to hold the agreement hostage to a commitment from the White House on a capital-gains tax cut.

The tax, currently 28 percent, is assessed on the profit made when selling an asset such as a house or common stock. Republicans calling for a cut have argued that a rate of 15 percent would stimulate sales, freeing up money for investment throughout the economy.

Dole, in line to be named the majority leader of a Republican Senate next year, has withheld his support for the trade agreement while laying down a growing list of conditions. While the first three dealt directly with trade legislation, Dole appeared to reach beyond Sunday when he called on the White House to endorse a relaxing of budget rules for a capital-gains tax cut.

Speaking on ABC-TV, the Kansas Republican said that the Clinton administration already had endorsed the idea of a growth-generating tax cut when it argued that budget rules should be relaxed for the trade agreement.

"We'd like to say, well come on now, we're going to waive the budget on the (agreement), maybe we can waive the budget on how you suggest capital gains will be scored," Dole said Sunday.

Clinton administration officials have argued that the growth produced by the Uruguay Round will generate much more tax revenue than is lost from tariff cuts mandated by the agreement. Nevertheless, they have condemned GOP ideas of a self-financed tax cut as "nonsense" that will add to the budget deficit.

White House chief of staff Leon Panetta quickly rejected the idea of supporting a capital-gains tax cut, although he did not speak to the question of changing rules and the forum for trade-dispute resolution.

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White House chief of staff Leon Panetta quickly rejected the idea of supporting a capital-gains tax cut, although he did not speak to the question of changing budget rules to make it easier to pass.

Even if Dole decides to support the trade agreement without the change he wants in budget rules, his comment Sunday could influence what is going to be a very close vote on waiving the budget for the trade agreement.

Among the undecided senators are Republicans like Indiana's Dan Coats, Missouri's Kit Bond and Wyoming's Alan Simpson, fiscal conservatives already under pressure in their states from constituents who regard the trade pact as a yielding of U.S. sovereignty.

Although the balance of GOP leaders appears opposed to putting off the trade vote, it is hard to predict how conservatives will react to Dole's comment.

Archer said it would be a mistake to wade into capital gains during the trade debate. "That is an important issue, and it will be dealt with next year, but we've got to get this agreement through," he said.

Sutherland Presses U.S. to Ratify Trade Pact
By Keith Rockwell and Milan Ruzicka, The Journal of Commerce

Knight-Ridder/Tribune Business News

NEW YORK—Nov. 22—The top world trade official, Peter Sutherland, the outgoing secretary general of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, warned U.S. rejection of the trade agreement would destroy the multinational system.

Meanwhile, U.S. officials in Washington, speaking anonymously, said that, while they welcome any comment from U.S. allies and international officials urging the United States to act as the world's trade leader, the fate of the pact in Congress hinges on whether the new Senate Republican leadership and the White House can strike a deal.

"It's now between (Sen. Bob) Dole and (White House Chief of Staff Leon) Panetta," said one official.

The Uruguay Round trade agreement is scheduled for a debate in the House on Nov. 29 and in the Senate Dec. 1. More than 30 nations have already ratified the agreement, and an additional 50 are expected to endorse it within the next two weeks.

Speaking to the Council on Foreign Relations here, Mr. Sutherland, the outgoing secretary general of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, warned U.S. rejection of the pact would spell the end of the 50-year-old international trading system with "devastating consequences" for the world's economy.

"It seems to me to be inconceivable that the United States could create a barrier to trade" by a no vote, he said. It would be "an international disaster," he said.

According to Mr. Sutherland, if the United States turned down the accord, the 12-nation European Union and Japan would follow suit, rendering the agreement meaningless.

"U.S. ratification is the sine qua non for the completion of the Uruguay Round; without it, it is not possible to create the World Trade Organization," he said.

The WTO is the transnational trade body that would replace GATT next January as the administrator of the world trade rules and the forum for trade-dispute resolution.

European officials, addressing the latest Republican demands that the United States must be allowed to opt out of WTO, said such a possibility has already been written into the agreement. They said any nation can withdraw from WTO on a six-month notice.

In one of the growing number of recent demands on the administration, Mr. Dole, R-Kan, the incoming Senate majority leader, has said the U.S. government should maintain control over WTO by forming an independent review body.

GATT officials said such a move would not be necessary under the escape-hatch clause in the trade agreement.

Speaking to a conference of U.S. and European journalists in Newmarket-on-Fergus, Ireland, earlier, Mr. Sutherland also sought to head off congressional opposition to the WTO by stressing that the body would not impinge on U.S. sovereignty.

He said the Uruguay Round was a contract between partners and not a mandate for a supranational body, which would undermine the rights of U.S. citizens or overrule U.S. laws.

"The argument about sovereignty in the United States, which some have put forward, is particularly hard for us to understand," he said. "Sovereignty doesn't arise in this situation. We're not talking about sovereignty, we're talking about a contract."

Mr. Sutherland was equally adamant that U.S. legislators come to understand that the accord does not represent "the law of the jungle" that is unfettered free trade, but rather a stronger set of rules to insure fairness in the global trading system.
He said he was optimistic that Congress would approve the accord, but he was frustrated with the lack of understanding in the United States that this agreement would, by GATT estimates, add $127 billion annually to the U.S. economy.

"There doesn’t seem to be in all sectors quite the recognition of the momentous importance of the occasion," he said.

But the key message he brought with him to New York was that, whatever its internal concerns, the United States could be responsible for the demise of the world-trade order if it did not ratify the agreement.

"It’s do or die... delay is not an option," he said.

END/6/93C-SUTHERLAND

The Journal of Commerce Tradetalk Column
By Rosalind McLymont,
The Journal of Commerce
Knight-Ridder/Tribune Business News

Nov. 22--GOVERNMENT TAKES EXPORT PROMOTION STREAMLINING TO HEART:

Daniel J. McLaughlin, the U.S. Commerce Department's deputy assistant secretary for domestic operations, is a man U.S. exporters should love.

He's the man who sets up Export Assistance Centers around the country. These centers are the federal government's attempt to literally get its export promotion act together, or, as the government puts it, to provide "a more rational and integrated delivery system of export services to the trade community."

About time, too. Exports now account for 55 percent of the nation's economic growth.

The centers provide a single point of contact for all federal export promotion and finance programs, covering mainly those within Commerce, the Small Business Administration, the Export-Import Bank and sometimes the Agency for International Development.

Normally, they are established in partnership with state and local export promotion organizations from the public and private sectors, and are at the site of one of these organizations, such as a World Trade Center.

Aside from providing free space, partners expand the range of services offered by the EAC. For example, one partner may add its own database of foreign buyers or local financing opportunities to the federal mix.

EACS TO BENEFIT SMALLER EXPORTERS: As anyone who runs a small or medium-sized export operation in the United States would tell you, such centers are sorely needed -- not for multinationals, mind you.

Multinationals are governments unto themselves, smaller export entrepreneurs often say, not without envy. Their chief executives can call upon cabinet ministers and heads of state if they need help with their overseas transactions.

But right now, getting information from the federal government about help available for smaller exporters is like playing hopscotch -- you hop from the U.S. & Foreign Commercial Service offices at Commerce, to SBA, to Ex-Im Bank, maybe to the AID or the Department of Agriculture, and then turn around.

You land on one foot here, both feet there -- depending on how much sense the information makes as far as your own export plans are concerned.

Much time later and many dollars shorter -- not that you had an abundance of either in the first place -- you make it back to home base to start figuring out how to put all the steps together to close some deals.

NEW YORK TO HOST ITS OWN EAC: Mr. McLaughlin has been sent out to change all that.

At the beginning of the year, he set up EAC pilot sites in Baltimore, Chicago, Miami and Long Beach. It took him six weeks, working with a staff of five.

He's got 11 more centers to set up in 1995, including one in New York. "You've no idea how much work is involved in this," he said. "When I started this I didn't have any gray hair," Mr. McLaughlin joked last week, drawing attention to his silvery gray crown.

He was in the New York region for two days of "cooperative strategic planning" on the proposed center.

The sessions brought together a working committee of state and local public and private organizations that offer export promotion services, including the New York District Export Council, the Port Authority of New York & New Jersey, Nexco, Fashion Institute of Technology, New York Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and New York City Partnership.

At issue now are the design and location of the center. A number of organizations are vying for the prestige of housing the center, including the Port Authority and Consolidated Edison Co., the New York utility.

The working committee will reconvene, possibly on Dec. 5, to address those issues.

EAC ADOPTS A HUB-AND-SPOKE SYSTEM: Taking advantage of communications technology, Mr. McLaughlin and his staff devised a "hub and spoke" system, whereby regional EACs are "hub" offices that would be linked electronically to "spokes," or district EACs.

The spokes will house U.S. and Foreign Commercial staff, and will rely on the hub to provide trade finance services.

In the New York region, for example, the regional EAC - or hub - will be in New York City, with spokes in Stamford, Conn.; Newark, N.J.; Albany, N.Y.; Harlem, N.Y.; Long Island, N.Y.; and Westchester County, N.Y.

The program, long the backbone of U.S. policy to curb overproduction, is slated to expire in the year 2000. It has idled 40 million acres, or about 5 percent of all U.S. farmland, in each of the past 10 years.

Farm groups say the program, into which the government plowed more than $15 billion, has been helpful in rejuvenating overused farmland. Proponents also say it has maintained an equilibrium between supply and demand.

But sentiment is changing.

Today, farmers envision a future with fields planted from fencrow to fencrow, to take advantage of surging sales resulting from last year's lower yield and the relaxing of trade barriers.

Overall, last year's production fell 30 percent because of the Midwest floods. The U.S. Department of Agriculture estimated 1994 corn, wheat and soybean production at 14.9 billion bushels, up 4.2 billion bushels from the previous year.

At this point, Congress seems willing to respond.

The indications are that congressional debate on farm legislation, to be taken up in the early months of 1995, will focus on eliminating conservation programs earlier...
than anticipated in order to increase production, analysts said. By ending the pay to farmers who idled land, it is hoped these acres will be plowed into new production.

Rep. Pat Roberts, R-Kan., a prospective chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, is expected to take a harder approach to any new environmental restrictions on farmers than did outgoing Chairman Kika de la Garza, D-Texas, said an aide to de la Garza.

Said Randy Gordon, spokesman for the National Grain and Feed Association in Washington, D.C.: "If we (U.S.) do not encourage the best use of our land for food production, we will continue to lose our edge as the world's largest agricultural exporter. And Congress is beginning to realize that."

In 1985, the United States produced 27 percent of total world output of grains and soybeans. In 1993 its share was down to 22 percent, while the CRP program idled more than 5 percent of U.S. farmland, the grain and feed association said.

It said that since 1985, programs such as CRP have been largely responsible for a decline in the U.S. share of world crop production, although cheaper, European Union-subsidized grain has robbed the United States of foreign business.

The United States responded with the Enhanced Export Program, a subsidy plan that lowered the price of U.S. grain to compete on the world market.

Congress will have to address farmers' arguments that current conservation programs are costly to most farmers and, at the least, should be changed in the next farm bill, said Terry Francl, chief economist for the American Farm Bureau.

"Congress will have that opportunity next year when it begins formulating new farm legislation to replace the 4-year-old Farm Bill of 1990, which expires in September 1995," said Francl, whose organization represents over 3.2 million farmers.

The bureau said in a position paper that CRP should be retooled to idle only highly erodible land. It said that more than 25 percent of the land currently enrolled in the CRP is "not highly erodible."

A targeted CRP could allow for expansion of U.S. crop production while still safeguarding environmentally sensitive lands, the group said.

"It should include land with the highest environmental-benefits index, or EBIs. That index would sample soil, water and air quality, wildlife habitation and soil erosion to determine eligibility of lands for an extended CRP program," the Farm Bureau's Francl said.

Cargill Inc., a major U.S. agricultural exporter, said that the United States can expect increased demand for farm products in a post-GATT market in which subsidy payments might be gradually lifted.

The USDA has projected export sales this year of 100 million metric tons of corn, wheat and soybeans, up 17.4 million metric tons from the previous season.

Cargill recently predicted that Japan and Taiwan, the two largest Pacific Rim corn and soybean importers, will boost demand by 2 million metric tons to a total of 7 million in 1995.

However, environmentalists warn of danger in dismantling conservation programs. "These programs have kept U.S. land highly arable," said Constance Hunt, senior conservation analyst at the World Wildlife Fund in Washington. Returning to a "helter-skelter" approach to managing resources will do irreparable damage to farmland and "deplete our ability to help feed the world," she said.

But the National Grain and Feed Association said the time is right for weeding out erosion-management programs such as CRP that discourage greater production.

Bruce Knight, legislative director of the National Association of Wheat Growers, said: "CRP might not be the best approach any more for Congress to take with regards to farmland conservation programs."

Grant Buntrock, former head of the USDA's defunct Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, said he expects conservation programs like CRP to be phased out in the next farm bill.

Meanwhile, domestic demand for corn should also rise from the increased use of ethanol as a motor fuel. Ethanol, derived from corn, is being considered as an alternative fuel under the government's Renewable Fuels Mandate.

Archer Daniels Midland, the largest U.S. corn processor, said corn will continue to contribute about 3 percent to 4 percent of the U.S. motor-fuel supplies this year. More than half of U.S. crop is used for animal feed.
GATT hypocrisy

Republicans won't take control of Capit lHill until the 104th Congress convenes in January, but many of them are itching to turn the last act of the Democratic-controlled 103rd Congress into yet another embarrassment for President Clinton. In the meantime, they're making themselves out as hypocrites and putting their own leadership in an indefensible position.

These Republicans, aided by a few protectionist Democrats, are trying either to publicize or renegotiate the agreement known as GATT or at least to postpone voting on it until next year, when the makeup of Congress will change radically. There are several factors making it clear that the Republican position is nothing more than a grab for what's in the best interests of the United States or the rest of the world and everything to do with kicking Clinton while he's down.

Modern Republican history says the GOP should be solidly behind GATT. The treaty is, after all, a product of the Reagan and Bush administrations. Moreover, Republicans have been free-traders for decades, theirs is the party that helped Clinton win the North American Free Trade Agreement last year.

Until a new morning dawned for them on election day, they were pretty solidly behind GATT, too. But now, with a chance to embarrass the White House on a global scale, House Speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich is talking about delaying a vote until next year so Republicans can impose their will on the treaty. All this has left Bob Dole, who will be Senate majority leader, in a decided­

ly uncomfortable position.

Last weekend, Dole said his support for GATT could depend on Clinton's willingness to drop objections to cuts in the capital gains tax, a Republican evergreen. To the administration's credit, the White House rejected the proposal. It's nothing short of blackmail: the Republicans are trying to wring all the concessions they can from Democrats while the Democrats are still reeling from Gingrich's victory. Dole undoubtedly feels he can get the tax concession, it will appease the new Republican right, which has taken control of his party and increasingly opposes GATT.

But there's serious danger for Dole at home if he helps beat the trade treaty. He can't ignore the fact that Boeing, a major economic force in Kansas, is solidly behind the treaty, and it has the backing of 250 agricultural groups, also a major political force in his home state. More than that, the treaty makes sense for the United States because it would lower or eliminate ubiquitous foreign tariffs against major American exports and would offer copyright protection for American films, music and comput­
er drives, all strong sellers overseas.

While the White House is expressing optimism about the vote of the lame-duck Congress later this month, passage is far from certain. If GATT fails, it will demonstrate that the new Republican leaders are as partisan and petty as they've been sounding over the last few months and are more interested in massaging their own egos than in managing the nation.
Plan targets legal immigrants’ benefits

GOP bill proposes to take away Medicaid, public-housing access

WASHINGTON — With an anti-immigration sentiment strong in parts of the country, Republicans are moving to pass into law benefits to most legal immigrants, favor of them, the elderly parents of U.S. citizens.

In the next weeks, Congress will vote on a sweeping immigration bill. The measure would ban government services and benefits to most legal immigrants, except for emergency health care and Supplemental Security Income (SSI), which provides monthly checks of $440 in the elderly and disabled.

The Republican plan is part of a larger immigration bill, including some provisions in the GOP, the two Dade Republicans, House member Lincoln Diaz-Balart and Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, did not sign the GOP bill. The proposal to limit benefits to legal immigrants is one of the most controversial provisions in the bill. The congressional delegation did sign the conservative proposal, which is a central theme that runs from Miami to New York.

Refugees and legal residents of America, Newt Gingrich, the next speaker, said, "We believe America is a country for all Americans."

Some of the largest savings would come from initiatives that exclude legal immigrants from Medicaid, except for emergency health care, and Supplemental Security Income (SSI), which provides monthly checks of $440 in the elderly and disabled.

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Relations most foreign

T he there are no fresh expressions of outrage to depict Bosnia's bloodshed. They've all been written, describing attack after atrocity after slaughter — most perpetrated by Serbia's dominant Serbs against their Muslim neighbors.

So how to describe the Serbs' escalating attacks last week on the beleaguered cities of Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Bihac? The stock of tired adjectives may strike Western ears as just more of the same old news. Not so: The ferocity of the bombardments, and their blunt message of war for the United Nations and NATO, ranked with only a few of the war's most gruesome episodes. So brutal was the week-long campaign — culminating in a shower of napalm and cluster bombs on Bihac — that yesterday it stirred even the dozing United Nations to admit it is无力, even as the forces in the armored forces. They compromised (some might say that the command in chief retreated). Since then he has cooled the rhetoric on Bosnia, swiftly perhaps Saddam Hussein's thrust toward Kuwait, and ordered a conspicuously successful intervention in Haiti. Senator Helms, you recall, is the senator that released the phony CIA psychiatric report portraying Haiti's President Jean-Bertrand Aristide as a mental case. That report, untrue and unfair, still has credence among some U.S. segments.

Senator Helms has a long record of sowing confusion about U.S. foreign policy. He denounced foreign aid and opposes the United Nations. He bullies career America diplomat to oppose him. Last week the senator even wrote to the president, telling him that he should delay asking Congress to vote on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade if Mr. Clinton wants his foreign policy initiatives fully considered in the Foreign Relations Committee. This power play ignores the role that U.S. administrations have played in negotiating GATT, whose approval is vital to U.S. economic growth.

Senator Helms for years has been a maverick, unwilling to pursue bipartisan support. But he's been consistent about Republicans as well as Democrats. He's not this week. Senator Helms is looking to consolidate their gains, House Republicans are jockeying seniority in picking committee chairmen. Why don't Republican senators and their leader, Bob Dole, adopt this same policy — starting with the senior senator from North Carolina?

Conflicting roles in Bosnia

Are the blue helmets neutral peacekeepers or stern enforcers? The U.N. has to choose.

Gen. Sir Michael Rose, rejects nearly all Muslim requests for air strikes. Once when the United Nations had explicitly threatened intervention in Bosnia, swiftly.

The Serbs defy threat after threat, and punishment is withheld for the sake of a peacekeeping mission that plainly isn't keeping any peace. Only when the Serbs cross a line into horrific barbarity, as happened last week, does General Rose feel compelled to act. Yet by then, hopes of actual peace are more remote than ever.

This is cynical, deadly nonsense. Except in rare cases, the U.N. is not a go-to answer. The forces' position is increasingly vulnerable, even as their role becomes less and less clear. If the United Nations must choose between delivering on its threats and maintaining a peacekeeping mirage, its peacekeepers ought to depart.

As matters stand, they are little more than hostages. The Serbs control their fuel and supplies and extract bribes from nearly everything. Bosnia's Muslim-led government, which supposedly benefits from U.N. "protection," would just as soon see the blue helmets go. If yesterday's raid signals a new determination to put muscle behind U.N. threats, fine. If not, then some other employment should be found for General Rose and his peacekeepers, and the U.N. mission should be simplified to one objective: punishing aggression until it ceases.

U.N. GOALS UNCLEAR

Are the blue helmets neutral peacekeepers or stern enforcers? The U.N. has to choose.
Congresswoman recounts obstacles at Women's Hemispheric Conference
By Margo Harakas
Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel
MIAMI It's not that women don't yearn to do as U.S. Rep. Carrie Meek advises, "the common thing uncommonly well." Too often, they're barred from doing it. In fact, often barred from even learning how to do it.

That was the message in workshops and keynote and luncheon speeches on Monday, the opening day of the Women's Hemispheric Conference in Miami one of the events leading up to the Summit of the Americas Dec. 9-11 in Miami.

Throughout the hemisphere, girls must begin at an early age to acquire the educational skills that will allow them to operate in the "global village of the 21st century," Meek told delegates from the 34 nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Delegates called for educational reform, for a more equitable distribution of resources and for the inclusion of women in policy and decision-making roles.

The full participation of educated women in every aspect of social and political life is integral to any country's economic and social development, the women said. "To postpone the education of women is to postpone development of the country," said Guadalupe Jerezano Mejia, second vice president of Honduras.

"What we need is a new educational model," she said, one free of the "sexist orientation" in many textbooks and much instruction.

Nitzia de Villareal, Panama's minister of commerce and industry, said the reason many girls in her country do not complete their schooling is early pregnancy. Education, she said, should include sex education. "At 12 or 13 years of age, these girls are becoming mothers," she said.

In the new world economic order, "no one can or should be left out, as countries cannot afford to miss any of the available human potential that can be put to work," said Ruth de Krivoy, former director of the Central Bank of Venezuela.

In the massive economic reshaping that is taking place throughout the hemisphere, new opportunities are occurring for women.

"The presence and role of women as entrepreneurs can and should be strengthened through special training in business skills, motivation programs and also by ensuring women equal access to financial resources and to full property rights," de Krivoy said.

At the close of the conference on Tuesday, delegates will present a statement on women as the hemisphere in the 21st century to heads of state at the Summit of the Americas.

More Cuban refugees reach U.S.; Haitians seek same status
By Nancy San Martin
Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel
HOMESTEAD, Fla. Another planeload of Cuban refugees, plus one Haitian woman, arrived at Homestead Air Reserve base on Monday in what has become a stream of arrivals from the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay.

The Haitian woman was allowed to leave the base for medical reasons, authorities said. She is one of only a few Haitians allowed to pursue asylum in the United States because of poor health.

"Legally, once they reach the U.S., all rights and privileges are afforded to them," said George Waldroup, a spokesman for the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service in Miami.

Also on board the flight were 111 Cubans. They included unaccompanied minors; the elderly and sick and their families; and relatives of Cubans previously allowed entry into the United States after being detained at Guantanamo.

Their arrival brought to 319 the number of Cubans allowed to pursue asylum claims here.

The Cubans' entry is at the heart of a lawsuit argued on Monday in federal court on behalf of Haitians detained at Guantanamo. Attorneys from the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami went before U.S. District Judge C. Clyde Atkins to demand that their clients be treated the same as Cubans.

"We just want Haitians to get equal protection," said Steven Forester, supervising attorney for the Haitian center. "If they are going to allow the Cubans to come in, they should also allow the Haitians to come in."

A ruling is expected today.

The lawsuit, filed on Oct. 31, aims to block the return of the 5,993 Haitians still at the base. Attorneys argue it is still not safe to repatriate some Haitians despite U.S. intervention and the restoration of democracy to Haiti. The lawsuit is similar to one involving Cubans detained at Guantanamo and in Panama. Both suits demand that the refugees be given a chance to apply for U.S. asylum.

Unlike the Cubans, attorneys representing the Haitians have not been able to get the federal government to agree to allow some of the refugees into the United States for humanitarian reasons. They also have not been able to confer with their clients.

Attorneys for the Cubans have been allowed to travel to the base to confer with their clients. They also have been successful in getting unaccompanied children and the elderly and extremely ill, along with their relatives, into the U.S.

So far, about 8,000 Haitians have left the base and gone back to Haiti voluntarily, the U.S. government says since the reinstatement of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.
Having lost Senate race, Huffingtons head to Washington with uncertain plans
By Jean O. Pasco  Orange County Register

LOS ANGELES There stood Arianna Huffington talk-show host, author, perceived co-candidate of her husband's $27 million Senate campaign insisting in light of her husband's sure defeat that the money was well-spent.

"This money was spent in order to promote certain ideas," she told the local chapter of the Public Relations Society of America on Thursday, observing that computer whiz Bill Gates spent $30 million for a Leonardo da Vinci manuscript without a ripple of reaction.

"There is no question this race made a difference," she said of California's U.S. Senate campaign, which consumed one-third of her husband's reported $70 million fortune. "Michael made the race a referendum on the role of government. There is an incredible mandate for his ideas."

Huffington's opponent, Democratic U.S. Sen. Dianne Feinstein, declared victory Friday in a race whose outcome was predicted but which lingered for more than a week as 700,000 absentee ballots were tallied. Huffingston came within about 160,000 votes of Feinstein but has refused to concede, alleging "massive voter fraud" among Democrats.

Michael Huffington returned to Washington last week ahead of his family; they caught a late-evening flight from Los Angeles after his wife's speech Thursday. Neither of the Huffingstons was visible immediately after the campaign. They took their daughters to Disneyland one day; on another, Huffington went to the movies.

What's ahead now for the Huffingstons?

Arianna Huffington said their first stop was Washington, where their two daughters, Christina, 5, and Isabella, 3, began private school Monday. The couple has a home in Washington and a mansion in Montecito, Calif., near Santa Barbara.

In an interview last week, Arianna Huffington refuted published reports that their Montecito villa, which they bought for $4.3 million after moving from Texas in 1989, is on the market. The couple was waiting until the final vote count to decide on future plans. But, she said, those plans don't include a move to Orange County, Calif., despite their rental of a Balboa peninsula home for the campaign's final two months.

Realty agent Mike Stinchfield said last week that the Santa Barbara house is "not officially on the market." When questioned further, he said, "I'd prefer not to talk about it."

Arianna Huffington also squashed another speculation: that her husband's Senate campaign was a dress rehearsal for a 1998 campaign against Feinstein's colleague, U.S. Sen. Barbara Boxer.

"I really think Michael would say categorically no" to running again, she told the public-relations group. "He has said it. I think he says it in his sleep."

The millions of dollars Huffington poured into fighting Feinstein made news as the most expensive Senate race in U.S. history. It also provided ample fodder for comedian Jay Leno, who spent last week taking several shots at Huffington as he continued to hold hope of victory.

"Huffington expects a miracle," Leno joked to a "Tonight Show" audience Nov. 15. "In fact, he called the Vatican: 'How much do miracles cost anyway? I'd like to buy one!'"

Last week, Arianna Huffington aimed some jokes at herself, referring to news stories that she remains close to John-Roger, founder of the Movement of Spiritual Inner Awareness who has proclaimed himself the earthly embodiment of the "Mystical Traveller Consciousness."

In considering what to do after the campaign, she joked that she should create "a perfume called 'Mystical Experience.'" Or become part of the "No Excuses" jeans advertising campaign.

Arianna Huffington said the couple has accepted whatever the eventual outcome of the ballot count, which won't be official until Dec. 7. She said she has moved on to other endeavors, including promoting her fourth book, "The Fourth Instinct: The Call of the Soul," and her Washington-based cable television show, "Critical Mass."

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

Win or lose, her husband contributed to the national debate on the need to reduce government a debate in which he'll continue to play a role, she said.

"Replacing the welfare state with community action has become the mainstay of what (incoming House Speaker) Newt Gingrich is talking about quoting Michael, actually," she said.

Republican pollster Arnold Steinberg said last week he believes Huffington, despite spending millions, will become "largely irrelevant."

The ideas he championed have been articulated for years by others, Steinberg said. Huffington's contribution was that he allowed GOP money to be spent on other U.S. Senate races nationwide, boosting a Republican Senate majority.

"I've said it was a case of the right message but the wrong messenger," Steinberg said. "His candidacy demonstrated that this year a number of Republicans could have defeated Feinstein, including (U.S. Rep.) Chris Cox."

"There's this feeling that because you spent millions and lost narrowly that you could have spent more and won. But the race could have been won by far less (spending). It's highly likely another Republican spending a respectable amount could have won."

Political science professor Mark Petracca of the University of California, Irvine, said Huffington's contribution meant more to political consultants and TV executives than in politics. Huffington pumped in $5.2 million to defeat longtime Rep. Robert Lagormarsino in 1992 as well as the Senate race's $27 million price tag, most of which was spent on TV campaign ads.

Petracca, a Democrat, said Huffington confounded conventional wisdom in one way: by proving it takes more than money to win a seat in the U.S. Senate.

"All things considered, he would have been better off moving to Tennessee."

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Politics Today; RELEASE: 11/22/94

GOP GOVERNORS AND UNFUNDED MANDATES

By Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover

WILLIAMSBURG, Va. Gov. George Voinovich of Ohio, easily re-elected in the GOP tide that swept the nation two weeks ago, had a prediction about President Clinton here at the annual Republican Governors' Conference.

"I will bet you that President Clinton is going to turn over a new leaf," he said, "become an enlightened ex-governor and help us deal with this mandates problem."

"This mandates problem" is the continuing overriding concern of governors of both parties about Washington enacting costly programs and then imposing them on states to enforce without any or sufficient money to pay for them.

The practice was spotlighted most prominently in the fall campaign in California, where voters approved Proposition 187 that would deny non-emergency health, education and welfare services to illegal immigrants and their families, now federally mandated.

Republican Gov. Pete Wilson won re-election while supporting the proposition and after relentlessly demanding that the Clinton administration more effectively close the borders with Mexico and pick up the tab for the huge cost to California taxpayers to provide such services to those who make their way illegally into the state.

Voinovich has been the lead governor in efforts to stop the flow of mandated programs to the states 72 of them since 1987, he says. House and Senate bills limiting Congress in imposing unfunded or insufficiently funded programs died this year, blocked, Voinovich says, "by a coalition of special interests and the congressional Democrat leadership."

With the Republicans in control of Congress starting in January, he says, "We're going to sit down with them and get it done," and beleaguered President Clinton, if he's wise, "will recognize we are partners, not adversaries" and go along. "The president has a wonderful opportunity to stand up," he says. "He was for unfunded mandates as a governor. If he's smart, he will become a team player on this."

The focus on unfunded mandates well illustrates the new sense of clout exhibited by the Republican governors in the wake of the Nov. 8 elections in which they gained a net of 11 governorships, giving them 30, their high-water mark since 1970. They clearly do not intend to cede party leadership to the GOP leaders in the Senate and House, Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich, for all the attention focused on them, and Gingrich particularly, since the elections.

Another easily re-elected Republican governor, John Engler of Michigan, says there was a time when the governors were willing to accept the federally mandated programs provided that the money to pay for them came with them and the governors had a free hand in implementing them. "In the past we were saying, 'Send us the money without the strings,' and they sent us no money and all strings."

Now the governors either want the feds to stop sending programs they enact to the states without the funds needed to carry them out, or to let the states develop the programs themselves when they decide they're needed. It is an old argument between the parties, largely dismissed by the Democrats when they controlled Congress, but they can't brush it aside now.

Some Republican governors here agree with Voinovich that the election disaster suffered by the Democrats will persuade Clinton to play ball with them on the mandates issue and others. Republican pollsters analyzing the midterm elections for the governors here offered evidence that the president needs to move to the center or right of the political spectrum in the next two years if he hopes to regain the modest confidence voters expressed in him in 1992 when he ran as a "New Democrat."

Neil Newhouse of Public Opinion Strategies noted that in a survey of 300 adults a week after the election 53 percent tabbed him as "an old-style Democrat who believes that government should do more for the people and generally tends to support increased federal spending and raising taxes to pay for it." Only 39 percent saw him as "a new-style Democrat who believes in limited government and is concerned about cutting the level of government spending and bringing the federal budget under control."

The clear message of the Republican governors to the Democratic president is that he'd better get in step with them in their desire to trim Washington's clout if he is to be perceived again as the "New Democrat" they thought they were buying into two years ago.

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