

Patriotism had refuge etc.
Now it has become the
first step, the foundation,
the guide, the source of
energy for anyone who
wishes to be in
the ~~secret~~ ~~control~~
their most private
motives to become a
patriot because that's
where the ~~money~~ vote
is, the money, and
the power.

Back to Bush's shell.

Ad-on. Reagan

American would rather
be told they were bad
than be bad.

(over)

The Democrats have
all the more their
except for the ~~most~~
beat-note-gotten
who has the beat
jaw for anyone who
^{is ready to be a}
~~would be a further~~
dictator since
Mante Mordine.

The Democrats have
the (Michael O'Connell)
and the Rehabilitation
have mapped up
the sentimental value
of Hollywood from
Boris Taron, Andy Hardy
Jimmy Stewart and
John Wayne.

Kerry's problems
that ~~the~~ Negroes
old reliable voter
(the electoral college)
of the Republicans) the
filial dignity is
more ~~than~~ sufficient
than ever before.

Technological progress
has left them even more
anxious, more fearful,
more paranoid and
more hostile to people
brighter than ^{are} themselves,
~~than ever they~~ (it's narrow

The news, the 261 majority.
Between Bush and Clinton
America's endowment, that's the way.
The women are still a couple
Marriage to one world and
become the world's only
be speaking her mind
slavery to the day, come

add the danger back
~~factor~~ of the
level is not
unfamiliar, the
tide at the end
can change a
small vector
for 3 weeks
a major one.

Which means danger
+ the future

divorce and since they
tend to rapidly do so
whether or not
America wants to
not criticize the
leader. Unless and until
there is a leader, and it
may not, Gorge is a
center back for a long time,
we must use the

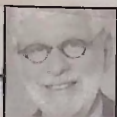
60, 65, 70, 75, 80, 85, 90, 95, 100, 105, 110, 115, 120, 125, 130, 135, 140, 145, 150, 155, 160, 165, 170, 175, 180, 185, 190, 195, 200, 205, 210, 215, 220, 225, 230, 235, 240, 245, 250, 255, 260, 265, 270, 275, 280, 285, 290, 295, 300, 305, 310, 315, 320, 325, 330, 335, 340, 345, 350, 355, 360, 365, 370, 375, 380, 385, 390, 395, 400, 405, 410, 415, 420, 425, 430, 435, 440, 445, 450, 455, 460, 465, 470, 475, 480, 485, 490, 495, 500, 505, 510, 515, 520, 525, 530, 535, 540, 545, 550, 555, 560, 565, 570, 575, 580, 585, 590, 595, 600, 605, 610, 615, 620, 625, 630, 635, 640, 645, 650, 655, 660, 665, 670, 675, 680, 685, 690, 695, 700, 705, 710, 715, 720, 725, 730, 735, 740, 745, 750, 755, 760, 765, 770, 775, 780, 785, 790, 795, 800, 805, 810, 815, 820, 825, 830, 835, 840, 845, 850, 855, 860, 865, 870, 875, 880, 885, 890, 895, 900, 905, 910, 915, 920, 925, 930, 935, 940, 945, 950, 955, 960, 965, 970, 975, 980, 985, 990, 995, 1000

Natural and flexibility

More people are afraid
of wind and water
than love it.

More people are stiff
than flexible.

The wrong is that the
world can use a leader
who is open to change
(ideas) and since we
live in a time so
completely cultural solid
security that the ability
to shift ~~our~~ ~~values~~ ~~over~~
while when encountered
the unforeseen is more
useful than persistence
to a cause that is no
longer relevant. ~~Therefore~~
Kerry does not beat the
American people (republic)



ON POLITICS

By RICHARD COHEN

It's Bush who's the flip-flopper

John Kerry finds himself accused of aggravated flip-flopping in the first degree. The charge comes from various Republican Party front groups and the President himself. President Bush has had great fun mocking Kerry for, among other things, his vote for the war and a subsequent vote not to fund it.

Not mentioned is that in between the two votes came ample evidence of incompetence on the part of Bush. And so Kerry, as behooves a thinking man, chose to voice a protest. The vote did not lend itself to sound-bite analysis, but it made a certain amount of sense: The war in Iraq was a mess; Bush had not earned a blank check.

In supposed contrast to Kerry, Bush presents himself as the immutable politician, a man of firm beliefs who sticks to them not because they are popular, but because they are right — despite all evidence or reason. This is certainly the case when it comes to his core beliefs. His devotion to minimal taxes on the rich, for instance, is touching, but it has put the government in such debt that it will take our children's children to pay it off.

But on other matters, Bush has flipped and flopped with the best of them. As a presidential candidate, he declared himself implacably opposed to nation-building. Now we are engaged in building nations in Iraq and Afghanistan. In Iraq, the cost has not only been a ton of money, as it was in Haiti and other places Bush said he wouldn't go, but nearly 1,000 American lives lost and countless more ruined.

Mind you, with WMD all but declared a mirage in the desert, the new — and sole — justification for the war is not anything approaching self-defense, but

getting rid of Saddam Hussein and his regime. This is nation-replacement and nation-building, a total rehab project.

Bush also declared himself determined unilateralist, kissing off treaties and understandings and even spurning NATO help in Afghanistan. Now, though, the unilateralist of old is sending Secretary of State Powell around the world, seeking alms and arms for Iraq. Flip-flop.

Bush said he would not negotiate with North Korea. He did. Flip-flop. He told the UN to butt out of Iraq. Now he wants it in. Flip-flop.

Bush opposed creating the Homeland Security Department. Soon after, he flip-flopped his way to an embrace. He later opposed the creation of the 9/11 commission, but now he cannot thank it enough.

He did not want his chief aides, Condoleezza Rice, for instance, to testify publicly before it, but relented in the face of popular opposition. Flip-flop.

He himself would not testify because of all sorts of hallowed constitutional reasons and then, of course, did. Flip-flop.

Finally, we get Bush's recent call for the creation of the post of national intelligence director, a position he once opposed.

The truth is that Bush flip-flops all the time. If he had been in public life as long as Kerry has, his flip-flops would be as legion as the fish in the sea.

Flip-flopping, like beauty, is in the mind of the beholder. It can be an indicator of an alert mind, one that adjusts to new realities, or it can be evidence of ambition decoupled from principle.

With Kerry, it's a mix of both. With Bush, who changes his positions but never his mind, it is always the latter.

Cohenr@washpost.com

H.D.S. GREENWAY

How will the Iraq war end?

ON ONE level, of course, there is no comparison between America's lost war in Vietnam and the current enterprise in Iraq. After all, Vietnam is in Southeast Asia and Iraq is the Middle East. That conflict was fought in rain forests, this one in desert towns. One was fought by draftees, this one by a volunteer army. The list goes on.

Yet, although the Bush administration takes pains to deny it, the comparison keeps creeping into the national conversation, and the most obvious link is the word "quagmire." For the dwindling band of reporters who covered the war in Vietnam, a trip to Baghdad cannot help but bring forth ghosts.

America fought in Vietnam to contain communism. In this war the reasons for fighting keep shifting, but the central idea seems to have been to create a friendly democracy in the heart of the oil-producing Middle East that could transform the region by example.

Forty years ago the "best and the brightest," as David Halberstam called them, got us into Vietnam to prevent other neighboring countries from falling like dominoes, or so the theory went. The best and the brightest this time around believed in a domino theory in reverse — the transformative power of democracy. Lots of talk about an "Arab Spring" by prowar professors is beginning to sound a little hollow, however.

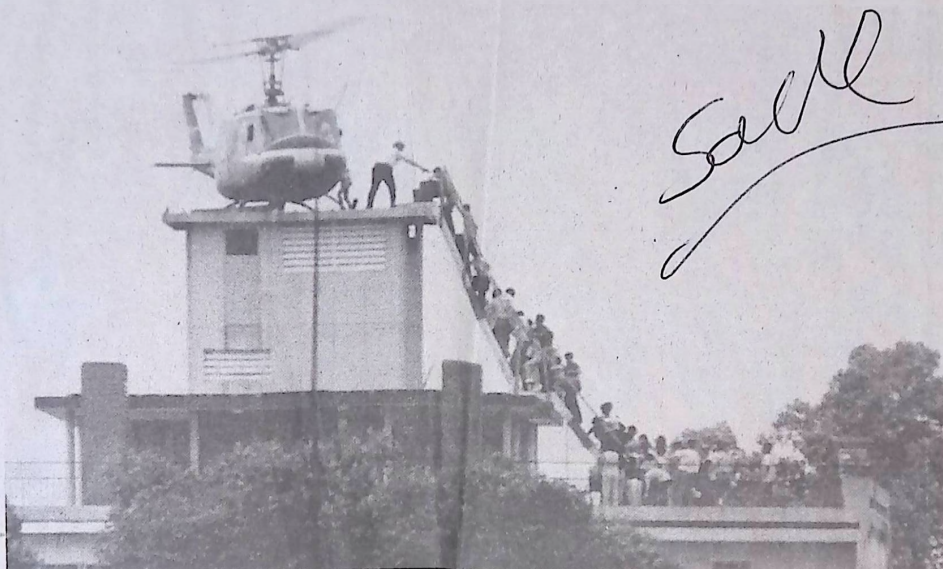
Both Vietnam and Iraq were wars of choice. Neither Saddam Hussein nor Ho Chi Minh threatened the United States directly, but in both cases our leaders in Washington took the road to intervention to further perceived American interests. In Vietnam, however, there really was a communist threat, while in Iraq, Islamic extremism was not a problem before we got there, nor did Saddam Hussein possess the means to harm us.

In Vietnam then and in Iraq now, the administration finds itself engaged in a war it is unable to win and reluctant to lose. The American people are walking away from this war, as they did in Vietnam, and the Bush administration knows that staying the course is not a long-term option. The recently announced troop drawdown is a reflection of this domestic pressure, not conditions in Iraq.

But Bush today, as did Lyndon Johnson before him, vows to fight on until victory, and some of the same ridiculous rhetoric prevails — such as that we are fighting them there so we won't have to fight them at home. In Iraq, war is actually helping Al Qaeda to recruit terrorists to one day attack us at home.

Both Vietnam and Iraq saw monumental miscalculations on the part of our war leaders. Hubris played a big role in both. It seemed inconceivable to both Johnson's and George W. Bush's defense departments that these weak opponents could stand up to America's modern arms. In both cases it was thought that the Americans could prevail quickly and go home.

As Richard Nixon's defense secretary, Melvin Laird, recently wrote: "Both the Vietnam War and the Iraq war were launched based on intelligence failures and possibly outright deception." To deception, add willful self-deception as well. For in both wars there was a tendency to ignore those who could tell our government about what Vietnam and Iraq were about. Johnson's defense secretary, Robert McNamara, would confess years



Evacuees boarded a helicopter atop the US embassy in Saigon in 1975 as what is now Ho Chi Minh City fell.

later that he didn't know anything about Vietnamese culture and history, but as far as I know he hasn't confessed that he went out of his way to ignore people who could have informed him as to the difficulties ahead.

Likewise, Donald Rumsfeld went out of his way to ignore the advice of those who knew something about Iraq. In both cases any information that would get in the way of doctrine was unsought and unheard.

America's former viceroy, Paul Bremer, and his young ideologues ran Iraq in blissful ignorance. I am told that making sure that there was no room for abortion in Iraq's Constitution was a goal — likewise a flat tax for Iraq. John Negroponte's team would later call Bremmer's people "the illusionists."

Consider the author of "The Assassins' Gate," George Packer's account of briefings in Baghdad: Daily press conferences "about the coalition's intentions toward the rebels that were usually at odds with the facts, on occasion flatly untrue, and often in direct contradiction to statements made a day or a week earlier. . . Packer might have been describing the "5 o'clock follies" briefings in Saigon.

Likewise, in Saigon of old, there were bright young people working long and hard hours to have the Vietnamese do things in the American way totally removed from the reality of the country around them.

That being said, however, compared to Iraq there were quite a few Vietnamese speakers among the Americans who got themselves out and about in the countryside in Vietnam. In comparison, Americans in Iraq live in near total isolation with few Arab speakers and very little contact with Iraqis outside their fortified compounds. The civilian theorists and intellectuals that came to power with George W. Bush, and promoted this war, had almost to a man no military experience. They had "other priorities" than to fight for their country, as Vice President Cheney so famously put it.

Although President Bush is finally admitting to some problems in Iraq, Washington's dreary drip of propaganda has the same Vietnam-era ring. The famous "light at the end of the tunnel" of the Vietnam War is reflected in all the overly optimistic statements from the Bush White House about the Iraq insurgency's bitter-enders and last gasps.

Today the training of an Iraqi Army is being pushed at a frantic pace so that we can withdraw, much in the same way President Nixon's "Vietnamization" was supposed to prop up Vietnam so that we could bring our armies home.

It is not that there is no progress being made in Iraq. There is. But the question is, as it was in Vietnam: What does this progress mean for our ultimate goals? In Vietnam it became all too clear that no

to make that same judgment in Iraq, but it is clear that too many Iraqi politicians are cast in the same mold as were our Saigon politicians.

And that old chimera the "body count," which the Americans first avoided in Iraq, is creeping back into usage — as if the number of insurgents we killed today had any bearing on whether we are actually winning the war.

Likewise the search-and-destroy missions that General William Westmoreland employed in Vietnam seem to be in vogue today in Iraq. But then as now, the insurgents melt away before our armies and come back again when we have passed on. And somehow they always seem to know when we are coming.

It was interesting for someone like me who spent years in Vietnam to meet even

US generals in Iraq who are too young to have fought in Southeast Asia. But then as now, it is clear that this protracted war is putting tremendous strain on the US Army. It

was something that General Creighton Abrams worried about aloud to me in Saigon, and it worries our military commanders today. It took years for the US Army to recover from Vietnam, and it will take years for it to recover from the strains put upon it in Iraq. But the most haunting parallel to me is that it will be possible to win every battle in Iraq and yet lose the war.

US involvement in Iraq will not end with American helicopters flying from the roof of the embassy. But it may end badly with Iraq split among ethnic and sectarian warlords, empowering those who wish America ill — destabilizing the Middle East rather than transforming it.

Or Iraq could emerge united with some kind of representational government. But ultimately, all that will be up to the Iraqis, not the Americans, who do not, and cannot, control events. Once again, as in Vietnam, we are learning the limits of American power.

H.D.S. Greenway's column appears regularly in the Globe.

MARK VONNEGUT Twisting Vonnegut's views on terrorism

FOR THE past month or so it's been said and repeated that my father supports terrorism. The desire to have it be true is almost palpable. If novelist Kurt Vonnegut supports terrorism, then maybe all critics of the war are on some level pro-terrorist.

It's my fervent hope that if I'm alive at 83, I'll have enough left in my tank to make people this angry.

My father cares not a fig about the Middle East. He's never been there, doesn't think about their art or writing, may or may not be able to pick out some of their capitals and important rivers on a map. His true heroes are Abraham Lincoln and Mark Twain.

He doesn't listen to me. When he was going to go on national television he told me he was going to call for the impeachment of President Bush. I told him he'd do better talking about growing up in Indiana in the Depression, how people took care of each other, how much he has loved and celebrated freedom. Kurt Vonnegut calling for the impeachment of Bush is not news.

Like most people, my father can be wrong. I'll bet you can take most 83-year-olds out to lunch and they'll say one or two stupid things. It wouldn't be that surprising if he had said something outrageous and unforgivable, but the plain fact of it is that he didn't.

At no point did he say that blowing yourself up in a crowd of people was a good thing to do. What most outraged his interviewer was Kurt's disinclination to dismiss the terrorists as mentally ill. He said that suicide bombers believed that they were dying for a just cause and that he imagined they were probably brave people. It was all speculation. Neither he nor his interviewer had any knowledge about suicide bombers or radical Islam. Nowhere in the interview did he say anything in support of terrorism, though I'm quite sure he enjoyed horrifying his interviewer by skating around it. Kurt, every so often, will play with people a little.

What Kurt can do better than most people is reframe things and turn them around in a way that creates a new perspective. Even if you disagree with that perspective, the plausibility and novelty of his vision are enough to make you think. We need to think a little more, not less. Kurt loves to be gloomy and tragic. It's a loss to him that his life has mostly gone so well. He envies Twain and Lincoln their literary talents, but also their dead children. If my sisters and I were a little more devoted, we would have drawn straws. More than once or twice I've been fed to the teeth with my father's negativity and provocative posturing, but that doesn't make him un-American or pro-terrorist.

If these commentators can so badly misunderstand and misrepresent my father, how much more so will they misrepresent me. I am not a terrorist. I am not a supporter of terrorism. I am not a pro-war person. I am not a pro-peace person. I am not a pro-anything person. I am just a man who likes to think and write and talk and argue and disagree and be angry and be happy and be human.

JOHN E. McDONOUGH

JOHN E. McDONOUGH

The health insurance meltdown

BUSINESS GROUPS ACROSS the Commonwealth are mobilizing against a proposed 5 to 7 percent payroll assessment on employers who don't provide health insurance to their workers. This assessment, approved by the Massachusetts House of Representatives in November, is part of their health reform plan now before a House-Senate conference committee. This debate is of enormous consequence for business — and for everyone. Here's why.

Nationally, employer-sponsored health insurance coverage is undergoing a meltdown. The Kaiser Family Foundation reports that the percentage of employers who cover their workers declined from 69 percent in 2000 to 60 percent in 2005. That's an alarming drop in five years. The Journal Health Affairs documents that the number of uninsured Americans grew by 6 million between 2000 and 2004, primarily because of a drop in employer-sponsored coverage among adults. This jump occurred as the number of Americans with government-sponsored coverage increased.

Massachusetts did not avoid this trend — it was a trendsetter. The Economic Policy Institute reports that between 2000 and 2004, Massachusetts suffered the third largest decline in workers receiving employer-provided health insurance of any state, 5.6 percent, after Virginia and Arkansas.

Some suggest inadequate coverage occurs only among economically vulnerable employers. It's not true, as last fall's confidential Wal-Mart memo on their employee health benefits program reveals: "In 2004, 38 percent of enrolled Associates [Wal-Mart employees] spent more than 16 percent of the average Wal-Mart income on healthcare. . . . In total, 46 percent of Associates' children are either on Medicaid or are uninsured."

It's not just Wal-Mart, as a 2005 Massachusetts gov-

ernment report on employers with workers who obtain health benefits through MassHealth or the state's Uncompensated Care Pool shows: Dunkin' Donuts, Stop & Shop, Wal-Mart, McDonald's, and Unico (janitorial services), head the list — costing taxpayers more than \$12 million in medical services for these workers.

The race to the bottom in health insurance coverage is on. Employers who provide decent health coverage, and their workers, pay higher premiums and taxes to cover employers who don't. Employers who provide coverage pay \$160 million annually to finance the Commonwealth's Uncompensated Care Pool; a larger cost-

Employers who provide decent health coverage pay to cover employers who don't.

shift is embedded inside everyone's health insurance premium. As the loss of employer-sponsored coverage accelerates, the size of this cost shift grows.

In short, the employer health insurance meltdown threatens everyone — not only the 532,000 uninsured in Massachusetts.

National data shows employers pay, on average, 12 to 15 percent of gross payroll to provide health insurance. The Massachusetts House payroll assessment does not mandate employers to provide health insurance and does not require employers to pay an assessment even close to that level: 5 percent for employers with 11 to 100 workers, and 7 percent for firms with more than 100 workers.

Some question whether the House plan creates an incentive for employers now offering coverage to drop it and pay the assessment instead. That will not occur because many middle- and upper-income workers in those firms would have to obtain individual coverage on their

own, and the payroll assessment revenue would not directly benefit the firm's own workers. Firms dropping coverage would be disadvantaged in competition for good workers.

Others suggest the assessment would lead employers to leave Massachusetts. As the 2005 state survey makes clear, firms that provide no coverage or inadequate coverage, such as Dunkin' Donuts, may leave the state, but can't take their business with them. Overwhelmingly, businesses in Massachusetts that could move to Tennessee or Taiwan cover their workers — and pay higher premiums to subsidize care for employers that don't.

Businesses opposing the House plan suggest government, consumers, and taxpayers should shoulder the burden to fix our health coverage crisis. Their opposition raises the larger, important question — what should the responsibility of employers be in providing health insurance to workers? If we don't confront this question now, the answer will not get easier.

Overwhelmingly, opinion polls show the public supports a shared solution involving government, individuals, and employers. A November poll by Gerry Chervinsky found 66 percent of Massachusetts residents support the House payroll assessment.

As the conference committee attempts to craft a health reform compromise, business groups will advertise their opposition to the assessment, confusing the public about the real stakes in health reform. One group calls their effort "Massachusetts Businesses for Real Health Reform."

Real reform requires everyone — government, individuals, and businesses — to be part of the solution.

John E. McDonough is executive director of Health Care For All.

fed to the teeth with my father's negativity and provocative posturing, but that doesn't make him un-American or pro-terrorist.

If these commentators can so badly misunderstand and underestimate an utterly unguarded English-speaking 83-year-old man with an extensive public record of exactly what he thinks, maybe we should worry about how well they understand an enemy they can't figure out what to call.

The outcome in Iraq will not depend on what we believe and how hard we believe it.

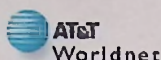
I'm not an expert on the Middle East or terrorism or the use of military force or politics. It's all I can do to know a little bit about how to help people raise their kids and what to do when they get sick. When a war happens, I just hope it gets over with quickly so that how we take care of children becomes more important again.

I didn't like the '60s because it was too important what people who had nothing to do with the war thought about it. From the beginning I have hoped our leaders were right but feared that they might be wrong. I hoped we would be welcomed as liberators.

I take care of military families. Their sacrifices are very real. The harm done them by this war is very real. Our government won't even give them decent medical insurance. I hope I can be forgiven for hoping we can give them decent strategic thinking and a better understanding of the enemy we're asking them to fight.

I hope I'm wrong, but if the people actually in charge of this war can't listen and think better than the people beating up my dad, it's not good news for military families and no amount of flag waving will make it so.

Mark Vonnegut is a pediatrician in Milton.



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REUTERS

Sept. 11 Families Disgusted by Bush Campaign Ads

Updated 1:57 PM ET March 4, 2004



By Mark Egan

NEW YORK (Reuters) - Families who lost relatives in the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks voiced outrage on Thursday at President Bush's first ads of his re-election campaign that use images of the devastated World Trade Center to portray him as the right leader for tumultuous times.

"Families are enraged," said Bill Doyle, 57, of New York, who is active in several Sept. 11 family groups. "What I think is distasteful is that the president is trying to use 9/11 as a springboard for his re-election."

"It's entirely wrong. He's had 3,500 deaths on his watch, including Iraq," said Doyle, whose 25-year-old son Joseph died at the trade center.

Long time Bush adviser Karen Hughes defended the four commercials -- which began running on Thursday in at least 16 important battleground states -- as "tastefully done."

"September 11 is not some distant event in the past," Hughes told ABC's "Good Morning America."

"It's a defining event for our future and important that we learn the lessons of that day. All of us feel deeply that tragedy but it's also important to recognize the impact it had on our national public policy," she said.

Two ads refer to the hijacked airliner attacks as the Bush campaign seeks to present him as a leader who rose to the challenge. One ad shows World Trade Center ruins behind an American flag. Another shows firefighters removing the flag-draped remains of a victim.

Ron Willett of Walnut Shade, Missouri, said he was disgusted when he saw the ads. Willett, who lost his 29-year-old son, John Charles, when planes hit the trade center, said he is now so upset, "I would vote for Saddam Hussein before I would vote for Bush."

"I think it is an atrocity," his wife, Lucy, added. "He should not be allowed to use those images at all."



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STAY AWAY FROM GROUND ZERO

With Republicans holding their political convention in New York in late August, victims said they hope Bush does not make it worse by speaking at the site now known as Ground Zero, which many view as sacred.

"If he does, there will be a protest and it could get ugly," said Doyle.

Several family members said their annoyance at Bush's using the emotional images stems in part from his refusal to testify in open session before the federal commission investigating the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks.

"There is really a hypocrisy here. The Bush administration will not cooperate fully with the 9/11 commission and at the same time they are trying to invoke and own 9/11 and use it for his re-election," said Stephen Push from the Washington office of "Families September 11th." His wife died on the plane that crashed into the Pentagon that day.

The International Association of Fire Fighters, which endorsed Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry, also denounced the campaign spots as "hypocrisy at its worst."

"I'm disappointed but not surprised that the president would try to trade on the heroism of those fire fighters," the union's general president, Harold Schaltberger, said.

New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg said he had not yet seen the ads but had no objections.

"I haven't a problem in reminding people in the country and the world of the sacrifices that the New York City fire department and police department and civilians made," Bloomberg said.

And not all relatives of victims were upset by the ads.

"I don't have a problem with his pointing to his leadership at that time. He helped us weather it. To me it was a tasteful ad," said Patricia Reilly, whose sister Lorraine Lee died in the New York attacks. (additional reporting by Larry Fine)

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DIARIES



LIFE AND DEATH IN ISRAELI-OCCUPIED PALESTINE

'I punched an Arab in the face'

Liran Ron Furer (reported by Gideon Levy) writing from Tel Aviv, Ha'aretz, 28 November 2003

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November 21, 2003-- Staff Sergeant (res.) Liran Ron Furer cannot just routinely get on with his life anymore. He is haunted by images from his three years of military service in Gaza and the thought that this could be a syndrome afflicting everyone who serves at checkpoints gives him no respite. On the verge of completing his studies in the design program at the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design, he decided to drop everything and devote all his time to the book he wanted to write. The major publishers he brought it to declined to publish it. The publisher that finally accepted it (Gevanim) says that the Steimatzky bookstore chain refuses to distribute it. But Furer is determined to bring his book to the public's attention.

"You can adopt the most hard-line political positions, but no parent would agree to his son becoming a thief, a criminal or a violent person," says Furer. "The problem is that it's never presented this way. The boy himself doesn't portray himself this way to his family when he returns from the territories. On the contrary - he is received as a hero, as someone who is doing the important work of being a soldier. No one can be indifferent to the fact that there are many families in which, in a certain sense, there are already two generations of criminals. The father went through it and now the son is going through it and no one talks about it around the dinner table."

Furer is certain that what happened to him is not at all unique. Here he was - a creative, sensitive graduate of the Thelma Yellin High School of the Arts, who became an animal at the checkpoint, a violent sadist who beat up Palestinians because they didn't show him the proper courtesy, who shot out tires of cars because their owners were playing the radio too loud, who abused a retarded teenage boy lying handcuffed on the floor of the Jeep, just because he had to take his anger out somehow. "Checkpoint Syndrome" (also the title of his book), gradually transforms every soldier into an animal, he maintains, regardless of whatever values he brings with him from home. No one can escape its taint. In a place where nearly everything is permissible and violence is perceived as normative behavior, each soldier tests his own limits of violence impulsiveness on his victims - the Palestinians.

His book is not easy reading. Written in terse, fierce prose, in the blunt and coarse language of soldiers, he reconstructs scenes from the years in which

<http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article2213.shtml>

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3/10/04

he served in Gaza (1996-1999), years that, one must remember, were relatively quiet. He describes how he and his comrades forced some Palestinians to sing "Elinor" - "It was really something to see these Arabs singing a Zohar Argov song, like in a movie"; the emotions the Palestinians aroused in him - "Sometimes these Arabs really disgust me, especially those that try to toady up to us - the older ones, who come to the checkpoint with this smile on their faces"; the reactions they spurred - "If they really annoy us, we find away to keep them stuck at the checkpoint for a few hours. They lose a whole day of work because of it sometimes, but that's the only way they learn."

He described how they would order children to clean the checkpoint before inspection time; how a soldier named Shahar invented a game: "He checks someone's identity card, and instead of handing it back to him, just tosses it in the air. He got a kick out of seeing the Arab have to get out of his car to pick up his identity card ... It's a game for him and he can pass a whole shift this way"; how they humiliated a dwarf who came to the checkpoint every day on his wagon: "They forced him to have his picture taken on the horse, hit him and degraded him for a good half hour and let him go only when cars arrived at the checkpoint. The poor guy, he really didn't deserve it"; how they had a souvenir picture taken with bloodied, bound Arabs whom they'd beaten up; how Shahar pissed on the head of an Arab because the man had the nerve to smile at a soldier; how Dado forced an Arab to stand on four legs and bark like a dog; and how they stole prayer beads and cigarettes - "Miro wanted them to give him their cigarettes, the Arabs didn't want to give so Miro broke someone's hand, and Boaz slashed their tires."

Chilling confession

The most chilling of all the personal confessions: "I ran toward them and punched an Arab right in the face. I'd never punched anyone that way. He collapsed on the road. The officers said that we had to search him for his papers. We pulled his hands behind his back and I bound them with plastic handcuffs. Then we blindfolded him so he wouldn't see what was in the Jeep. I picked him up from the road. Blood was trickling from his lip onto his chin. I led him up behind the Jeep and threw him in, his knees banged against the trunk and he landed inside. We sat in the back, stepping on the Arab ... Our Arab lay there pretty quietly, just crying softly to himself. His face was right on my flak jacket and he was bleeding and making a kind of puddle of blood and saliva, and it disgusted and angered me, so I grabbed him by the hair and turned his head to the side. He cried out loud and to get him to stop, we stepped harder and harder on his back. That quieted him down for a while and then he started up again. We concluded that he was either retarded or crazy."

"The company commander informed us over the radio that we had to bring him to the base. 'Good work, tigers,' he said, teasing us. All the other soldiers were waiting there to see what we'd caught. When we came in with the Jeep, they whistled and applauded wildly. We put the Arab next to the guard. He didn't stop crying and someone who understood Arabic said that his hands were hurting from the handcuffs. One of the soldiers went up to him and kicked him in the stomach. The Arab doubled over and grunted, and we all laughed. It was funny ... I kicked him really hard in the ass and he flew forward just as I'd expected. They shouted that I was a totally crazy, and they laughed ... and I felt happy. Our Arab was just a 16-year-old mentally retarded boy."

■ Letters to EI

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He Said, She Said
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In his sister's rooftop Tel Aviv apartment, where he is living now, Furer, 26, comes across as a thoughtful, intelligent young man. He grew up in Givatayim, after his parents immigrated from the Soviet Union in the 1970s. Before Yitzhak Rabin's assassination, his mother was a right-wing activist, but he says that their home was not political. He wanted to be in a combat unit in the army, and served in two elite infantry units. He did his entire army service in the Gaza Strip.

After the army, he traveled to India, like so many others. "Now I was free. The crazy energies of Goa and the chakras opened my mind ... You stuck me in this stinking Gaza and before that you brainwashed me with your rifles and your marches, you turned me into a dishrag that didn't think anymore," he wrote from Goa. But it was only afterward, when he was studying at Bezalet, that the experiences from his army service really began to affect him.

"I came to realize that there was an unchanging pattern here," he says. "It was the same in the first intifada, in the period that I was serving, which was quiet, and in the second intifada. It's become a permanent reality. I started to feel very uncomfortable with the fact that such a loaded subject was hardly mentioned at all in public. People listened to the victim and they listened to the politicians, but this voice that says: I did this, we did things that were wrong - crimes, actually - that's a voice I didn't hear. The reason it wasn't being heard was a combination of repression - just as I repressed it and ignored it - and of deep feelings of guilt.

"As soon as you get away from army service, the political and media reality around you is not ready to hear this voice. I remember that I was surprised that no soldier had gone public with this yet. It all somehow dissolved in the debate about the legitimacy of settlement in the territories, about the occupation - for or against - and nothing connected to the routine of maintaining the occupation appeared in the media or in art."

Not an individual case

Furer is out to prove that this is a syndrome and not a collection of isolated, individual cases. That's why he deleted a lot of personal details from the original manuscript, in order to underscore the general nature of what he describes. "During my army service, I believed that I was atypical, because I came from a background of art and creativity. I was considered a moderate soldier - but I fell into the same trap that most soldiers fall into. I was carried away by the possibility of acting in the most primal and impulsive manner, without fear of punishment and without oversight. You're tense about it at first, but as you get more comfortable at the checkpoint over time, the behavior becomes more natural. People gradually test the limits of their behavior toward the Palestinians. It gradually becomes coarser and coarser.

"The more confident I became with the situation, as soon as we reached the conclusion - each one at his own stage - that we are the rulers, we are the strong ones, and when we felt our power, each one started to stretch the limits more and more, in accordance with his personality. As soon as serving at the checkpoint became routine, all kinds of deviant behavior became normal. It started with 'souvenir collecting': We'd confiscate prayer beads and then it was cigarettes and it didn't stop. It became normative behavior.

"After that came the power games. We got the message from above that we were to project seriousness and deterrence to the Arabs. Physical violence also became normative. We felt free to punish any Palestinian who didn't

follow the 'proper code of behavior' at the checkpoint. Anyone we thought wasn't polite enough to us or tried to act smart - was severely punished. It was deliberate harassment on the most trivial pretexts.

"During my army service, there wasn't a single incident that made us understand, or made our commanders interfere. No one talked about what was permitted and what was not. It was all a matter of routine. In retrospect, the biggest source of guilt feelings for me didn't happen at the checkpoint, but by the Gush Katif fence, when we caught the retarded boy. I demonstrated the most extreme behavior. It was a chance for me to catch one - the closest thing to catching a terrorist, a chance to vent all the pressure and impulses that had built up in all of us. To lash out the way we wanted to. We were used to giving slaps, to handcuffing, to a little kicking, a little beating, and here was a situation in which it was justified to let go entirely. Also, the officer who was with us was himself very violent. We gave the kid a real beating and as soon as we got to the post, I remember having a great feeling of pride, that I'd been treated like someone strong. They said, 'What a nut you are, how crazy you are,' which was basically like saying, 'How strong you are.'

"At the checkpoint, young people have the chance to be masters and using force and violence becomes legitimate - and this is a much more basic impulse than the political views or values that you bring from home. As soon as using force is given legitimacy, and even rewarded, the tendency is to take it as far as it can go, to exploit it much as possible. To satisfy these impulses beyond what the situation requires. Today, I'd call it sadistic impulses...

"We weren't criminals or especially violent people. We were a group of good boys, a relatively 'high-quality' group, and for all of us - and we still talk about this sometimes - the checkpoint became a place to test our personal limits. How tough, how callous, how crazy we could be - and we thought of that in the positive sense. Something about the situation - being in a godforsaken place, far from home, far from oversight - made it justified ... The line of what is forbidden was never precisely drawn. No one was ever punished and they just let us continue.

"Today, I feel confident saying that even the most senior ranks - the brigade commander, the battalion commander - are aware of the power that soldiers have in this situation and what they do with it. How could a commander not be aware of it when the more crazy and tough his soldiers are, the quieter his sector is? The more complex picture of the long-term effects of this violent behavior is something you only become conscious of when you get away from the checkpoint.

"Today it's clear to me that that boy whose father we humiliated for the flimsiest of reasons will grow up to hate anyone who represents what was done to his father. I definitely have an understanding of their motives now. We are cruelty, we are power. I'm sure that their response is affected by elements related to their society - a disregard for human life and a readiness to sacrifice lives - but the basic desire to resist, the hatred itself, the fear - I feel are completely justified and legitimate, even if it's risky to say so.

"It's impossible to be in such an emotional state and to go back home on leave and detach yourself from it. I was very insensitive to the feelings of my girlfriend at the time. I was an animal, even when I was on leave. It also sticks with you after your service. I saw the remnants of the syndrome in

India - something about being in the Third World, among dark-skinned people, brings out the worst of the 'ugly Israeli,' which is as Israeli as it gets. Or the way you react to a smile: When Palestinians would smile at me at the checkpoint, I got tense and construed it as defiance, as chutzpah. When someone smiled at me in India, I immediately went on the defensive.

"I was an average soldier," he says. "I was the joker of the group. Now I see that I was often the one to take the lead in violent situations. I often was the one who gave the slap. I'm the one who came up with all kinds of ideas like letting the air out of tires. It sounds twisted now, but we really admired anyone who could beat up some guy who supposedly had it coming. The officer we admired most was the officer who fired his weapon at every opportunity. Out of everyone I've spoken to, I've been left with the most guilt feelings ... A friend from the army read the book and said that I'm right, that we did bad things, but we were kids. And he said that it's a shame that I took it too hard."

Ha'aretz is an Israeli daily newspaper, published in both Hebrew and English versions.

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Opinion/Editorial: Why seeking justice for the Palestinians is the Jewish cause (10 March 2004)

Action Items: McBusted: Mounting evidence supports claim McDonald's Israel fired worker for speaking Arabic (10 March 2004)

Human Rights: McBusted: McDonald's manager admits speaking Arabic led to firing (10 March 2004)

Multimedia: EI's Laurie King-Irani on KPFK's Middle East In Focus programme (10 March 2004)

Activism News: Refusniks appear at the European Parliament (10 March 2004)

Human Rights: Rights of Palestinian children "compromised" (9 March 2004)

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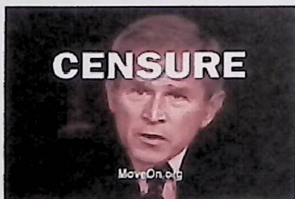
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View our *Censure* TV ad
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Looking for information on the Fahrenheit 9/11 house parties with Michael Moore? Click here.

Al Gore: The Bush Administration is Destroying Democracy

In an address to the American Constitution Society, former vice president Al Gore accused the Bush administration of undermining democracy through deception, the erosion of checks and balances and a misinterpretation and exaggeration of presidential powers. "This administration has not been content just to reduce the Congress to subservience. It has also engaged in unprecedented secrecy, denying the American people access to crucial information with which they might hold government officials accountable for their actions, and a systematic effort to manipulate and intimidate the media into presenting a more favorable image of the administration to the American people."

Read his remarks as prepared [PDF]

Protect Our Votes - Insist on a Paper Ballot

We all remember the election of 2000. Because of faulty and mismanaged election systems, George W. Bush won Florida's electoral votes and the presidency. And now look at the mess we're in.

People demanded improvements, and now states are spending millions to buy new voting machines. So far, so good. But many key states, including Florida, Ohio and other battlegrounds, are installing "black box" voting machines — computer voting terminals that don't produce a paper ballot. Without a paper ballot, there's no way to know if our votes are counted correctly. Also, computers are vulnerable to malfunction — how often does yours freeze up?

It's time to take action to protect our votes.

Sign our petition

The Movie the White House Doesn't Want You to See

Hollywood has just released a summer blockbuster movie that's making the Bush administration very nervous. In fact, they'd rather you didn't see it at all. Why? Because it's a disaster movie about a potential climate crisis.

While "The Day After Tomorrow" is more science fiction than science fact, people everywhere are talking about it — and asking "Could it really happen?" This is an unprecedented opportunity to talk to millions of Americans about the real dangers of global warming and expose President Bush's foot-dragging on the issue.

Download and print the flyer

Sign our petition calling on Bush and Congress to prevent a climate crisis

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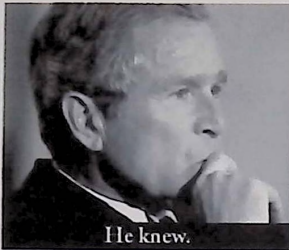
The Daily Mislead

Bush Administration Lied About Secret Saudi Flight
The Bush administration and its right-wing allies are launching an all-out assault on Michael Moore and his new movie, attempting to discredit the film before it is even public. Last month, White House communications director Dan Bartlett said the movie is "so outrageously false, it's not even worth comment" — a comment made despite the fact that the movie was not yet public and Bartlett had not seen the film. If the smear campaign is focused on creating the public illusion that Moore lied about a secret Saudi flight that was permitted after 9 when most U.S. airspace was closed. But, according to one report, the Tampa International Airport "confirmed that the flight took place" — despite three years of Bush administration denials.
» more

News From MoveOn

Call now to stop genocide in Sudan June 28, 2004
A major human tragedy is unfolding in Sudan, one that has reportedly claimed at least 30,000 lives, and could claim hundreds of thousands more unless the world community works together, starts immediately, to end it.

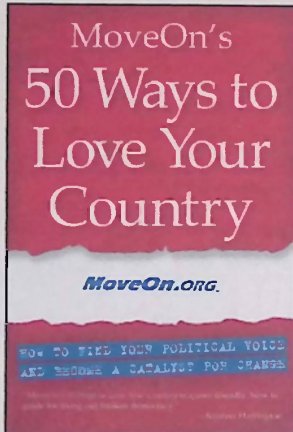
"Fahrenheit 9/11" opens tonight Parties and more. June 25, 2004
When *Fahrenheit 9/11* opened New York on Wednesday, it broke box-office records, beating out even *Men in Black* with wall-to-wall sold-out shows. And tonight, despite the right-wing campaign to stop it, it will open at over 80 theaters across the country — totally unprecedented for a documentary. Well over one hundred thousand MoveOn



He knew.

Congress must censure the president.

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Check out our new book and order your copy



View "Child's Play," the People's Choice and Overall winner:

www.bushin30seconds.org

Fire Rumsfeld: View our new TV ad

It's time to raise the stakes in our demand that Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld be fired. We've just put a powerful new TV ad on the air.

We now know Rumsfeld personally approved a policy that "encouraged physical coercion and sexual humiliation of Iraqi prisoners," violating their fundamental human rights under the Geneva convention. Our new ad will help make sure everyone in the country knows about Rumsfeld's direct responsibility for the prisoner debacle, but to air it we need your help.

View the TV ad and hear the radio ad

Censure Bush for Misleading Us

In an attempt to evade responsibility for the misleading statements that pushed the nation into war, Bush has announced plans to form an independent inquiry to look into what went wrong. An inquiry would serve the Bush administration well: it would envelop the issue in a fog of uncertainty, deflect blame onto the intelligence services, and delay any political damage until 2005, after the upcoming election.

But the facts need no clarification. Despite repeated warnings from the CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency, President Bush and his administration hyped and distorted the threat that Iraq posed. And now that reality is setting in, the President wants to pin the blame on someone else. We can't let him.

Congress has the power to censure the President — to formally reprimand him for betraying the nation's trust. If ever there was a time for this, it's now.

Join our call on Congress to censure President Bush.
Resources on Censure.

MoveOn's 50 Ways to Love Your Country

How to Find Your Political Voice and Become a Catalyst for Change

Written by MoveOn members across the country, from Hawaii to Maine, from political figures to teachers, this collection of essays shares compelling personal stories and action items with resources for taking inspiration a step further. Simple ideas are illuminated, such as "His Last Vote," about a dying man's wish to cast a ballot, as are more dynamic actions, such as "Start a Petition," which chronicles a couple's quest to protect wolves from trappers in Alaska. *MoveOn's 50 Ways to Love Your Country* answers the question that more and more citizens are asking: "What can I do?"

Learn more about the book and order your copy.

Al Gore Speaks on Fear: Its Political Uses and Abuses

Al Gore delivered the keynote address at New School University's conference on Fear: Its Political Uses and Abuses. The conference brought together leading scholars, journalists and writers to examine issues related to fear and its role in today's political climate.

View the webcast

members will be there over the course of the weekend, and we hope you can come, too.

Our First Four Candidates!
June 24, 2004

A week ago, we asked you to nominate U.S. House and Sen candidates who you are excited about and who you think are worthy of other MoveOn member support. In response, you nominated more than 400 candidates with close to 16,000 separate nominations. MoveOn members sent in thoughtful impressions of the candidates, their races, their accomplishments and many of the personal experiences you have had with them.

Nominate Your Candidate:
MoveOn Members Endorsement
June 17, 2004

Every two years around election time, politicians inside the D.C. beltway make most of the crucial decisions about support for Congressional candidates and campaigns. Their decisions are often based on the "buzz" from latest poll numbers, breaking news and scandals, or the size of the candidate's war chest. But their little room in this process for an input or feedback from the constituents these folks serve.

Stop the Censorship of Fahrenheit 9/11

June 16, 2004

Last night, I got a chance to see sneak preview of Michael Moo new film *Fahrenheit 9/11*. It is an incredibly powerful movie that I bare the cynicism and greed behind Bush's war policy. And astonishing and revealing foot in it has the power to change the course of the 2004 election.

If Bush won't repudiate torture, must

June 15, 2004

By refusing to hold senior administration officials accountable, President Bush has failed to fully repudiate the tort that occurred at Abu Ghraib. E passing day brings new photos new news of how these despotic techniques were sanctioned at very top, but Bush won't even condemn Rush Limbaugh for saying that the tactics were "brilliant" and the troops were "blowing off a little steam."

[Read the transcript](#)

Al Gore Speaks on Global Warming and the Environment

Beacon Theater, New York
January 15, 2004, Noon

In this, his third major speech sponsored by MoveOn, Mr. Gore issued an indictment of the Bush administration's inaction on global warming, linking the issue to national security. He showed that global warming is not a future threat – it is happening now. And yet, the President is choosing to help his coal- and oil-company supporters rather than advance modern technologies that can affordably solve this critical problem.

[Click here for the webcast page.](#)

[Click here for the text of the speech as prepared.](#)

Uncovered: The Whole Truth about the Iraq War

Looking for a copy of the documentary that MoveOn.org Voter Fund helped to launch? Go to www.truthuncovered.com.

Bush Greenwatch

Bush Administration Squelches Bad News on Parks

Candidate George W. Bush made two promises on the environment when he ran for President in 2000: he would regulate carbon dioxide, the primary greenhouse gas, and he would close the \$5 billion maintenance backlog for our national parks. It took President George W. Bush a mere 53 days to break his promise on reducing greenhouse gases. [1] And to the dismay of environmentalists and career park officials alike, America'... *continues*
>>More

BushGreenwatch provides accurate and timely information on the Bush Administration's assault on our environment and public health.

Other Ways to Help

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If you have some time to give, you can make an impact on issues that affect us all.

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7/29/04

Dear Norman,

Thank you for this. If you like my book as much as I hope you will, your endorsement will greatly increase the chances of getting attention for my art and argument.

The audience I have mostly in mind is the one I've been teaching for the last 30 years. That means people like the young writers you mention in *The Spooky Art*, whose attitudes you contrast with your own early aspirations, when you would gladly have trudged the forty miles between Cambridge and Worcester to hear Hemingway speak. "The shock," you say, "decades later, was to realize that this view of the writer is rare by now." My teaching career has been about that shock.

And it's not just writing. It's everything. This book is meant to evoke, as well as explain, an ethos, the ethos of the last few decades. Hence, much of the style and the pop culture referencing. A Trojan horse in service of an internal critique.

Thank you again for your precious time.


Thomas de Zengotita
279 Henry St.. #4
Brooklyn, NY 11201
(718) 834-1820
tdcz@dalton.org

P. 162

Transcript of Osama bin Laden's Speech

Aljazeera.net (online publication), Doha, Qatar, October 30, 2004

Praise be to Allah who created the creation for his worship and commanded them to be just and permitted the wronged one to retaliate against the oppressor in kind. To proceed:

Peace be upon he who follows the guidance: People of America this talk of mine is for you and concerns the ideal way to prevent another Manhattan, and deals with the war and its causes and results.

Before I begin, I say to you that security is an indispensable pillar of human life and that free men do not forfeit their security, contrary to Bush's claim that we hate freedom.

If so, then let him explain to us why we don't strike for example - Sweden? And we know that freedom-haters don't possess defiant spirits like those of the 19 - may Allah have mercy on them.

No, we fight because we are free men who don't sleep under oppression. We want to restore freedom to our nation, just as you lay waste to our nation. So shall we lay waste to yours.

No one except a dumb thief plays with the security of others and then makes himself believe he will be secure. Whereas thinking people, when disaster strikes, make it their priority to look for its causes, in order to prevent it happening again.

But I am amazed at you. Even though we are in the fourth year after the events of September 11th, Bush is still engaged in distortion, deception and hiding from you the real causes. And thus, the reasons are still there for a repeat of what occurred.

So I shall talk to you about the story behind those events and shall tell you truthfully about the moments in which the decision was taken, for you to consider.

I say to you, Allah knows that it had never occurred to us to strike the towers. But after it became unbearable and we witnessed the oppression and tyranny of the American/Israeli coalition against our people in Palestine and Lebanon, it came to my mind.

The events that affected my soul in a direct way started in 1982 when America permitted the Israelis to invade Lebanon and the American Sixth Fleet helped them in that. This bombardment began and many were killed and injured and others were terrorised and displaced.

I couldn't forget those moving scenes, blood and severed limbs, women and children sprawled everywhere. Houses destroyed along with their occupants and high rises demolished over their residents, rockets raining down on our home without mercy.



A frame grab taken from a videotape aired by Al-Jazeera news channel on October 29, 2004. (Photo: AFP/Getty Images)

The situation was like a crocodile meeting a helpless child, powerless except for his screams. Does the crocodile understand a conversation that doesn't include a weapon? And the whole world saw and heard but it didn't respond.

In those difficult moments many hard-to-describe ideas bubbled in my soul, but in the end they produced an intense feeling of rejection of tyranny, and gave birth to a strong resolve to punish the oppressors.

And as I looked at those demolished towers in Lebanon, it entered my mind that we should punish the oppressor in kind and that we should destroy towers in America in order that they taste some of what we tasted and so that they be deterred from killing our women and children.

And that day, it was confirmed to me that oppression and the intentional killing of innocent women and children is a deliberate American policy. Destruction is freedom and democracy, while resistance is terrorism and intolerance.

This means the oppressing and embargoing to death of millions as Bush Sr did in Iraq in the greatest mass slaughter of children mankind has ever known, and it means the throwing of millions of pounds of bombs and explosives at millions of children - also in Iraq - as Bush Jr did, in order to remove an old agent and replace him with a new puppet to assist in the pilfering of Iraq's oil and other outrages.

So with these images and their like as their background, the events of September 11th came as a reply to those great wrongs, should a man be blamed for defending his sanctuary?

Is defending oneself and punishing the aggressor in kind, objectionable terrorism? If it is such, then it is unavoidable for us.

This is the message which I sought to communicate to you in word and deed, repeatedly, for years before September 11th.

And you can read this, if you wish, in my interview with Scott in Time Magazine in 1996, or with Peter Arnett on CNN in 1997, or my meeting with John Weiner in 1998.

You can observe it practically, if you wish, in Kenya and Tanzania and in Aden. And you can read it in my interview with Abdul Bari Atwan, as well as my interviews with Robert Fisk.

The latter is one of your compatriots and co-religionists and I consider him to be neutral. So are the pretenders of freedom at the White House and the channels controlled by them able to run an interview with him? So that he may relay to the American people what he has understood from us to be the reasons for our fight against you?

If you were to avoid these reasons, you will have taken the correct path that will lead America to the security that it was in before September 11th. This concerned the causes of the war.

As for its results, they have been, by the grace of Allah, positive and enormous, and have, by all standards, exceeded all expectations. This is due to many factors, chief

among them, that we have found it difficult to deal with the Bush administration in light of the resemblance it bears to the regimes in our countries, half of which are ruled by the military and the other half which are ruled by the sons of kings and presidents.

Our experience with them is lengthy, and both types are replete with those who are characterised by pride, arrogance, greed and misappropriation of wealth. This resemblance began after the visits of Bush Sr. to the region.

At a time when some of our compatriots were dazzled by America and hoping that these visits would have an effect on our countries, all of a sudden he was affected by those monarchies and military regimes, and became envious of their remaining decades in their positions, to embezzle the public wealth of the nation without supervision or accounting.

So he took dictatorship and suppression of freedoms to his son and they named it the Patriot Act, under the pretence of fighting terrorism. In addition, Bush sanctioned the installing of sons as state governors, and didn't forget to import expertise in election fraud from the region's presidents to Florida to be made use of in moments of difficulty.

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Jakarta Embassy Bombing Refocuses Election Campaigns

Rich Bowden, Wordpress.org
contributing editor, Sydney, Australia,
September 13, 2004

His Name Is Unknown, His Deeds Incomparable

Maksim Glikin, *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*
(centrist), Moscow Russia, Feb. 26, 2004

Who Will Lead the Russian Cabinet?

Komsomolskaya Pravda (mass-circulation), Moscow, Russia, Feb. 24, 2004

Bombing in the Moscow Subway

Reaction from Athens, Istanbul, Beijing, Budapest, Sydney, Berlin, Oslo, and Sofia

that we have mentioned has made it easy for us to provoke and bait this administration. All that we have to do is to send two mujahidin to the furthest point east to raise a piece of cloth on which is written al-Qaida, in order to make the generals race there to cause America to suffer human, economic, and political losses without their achieving for it anything of note other than some benefits for their private companies.

This is in addition to our having experience in using guerrilla warfare and the war of attrition to fight tyrannical superpowers, as we, alongside the mujahidin, bled Russia for 10 years, until it went bankrupt and was forced to withdraw in defeat.

All Praise is due to Allah.

So we are continuing this policy in bleeding America to the point of bankruptcy. Allah willing, and nothing is too great for Allah.

That being said, those who say that al-Qaida has won against the administration in the White House or that the administration has lost in this war have not been precise, because when one scrutinises the results, one cannot say that al-Qaida is the sole factor in achieving those spectacular gains.

Rather, the policy of the White House that demands the opening of war fronts to keep busy their various corporations - whether they be working in the field of arms or oil or reconstruction - has helped al-Qaida to achieve these enormous results.

And so it has appeared to some analysts and diplomats that the White House and us are playing as one team towards the economic goals of the United States, even if the intentions differ.

And it was to these sorts of notions and their like that the British diplomat and others were referring in their lectures at the Royal Institute of International Affairs. [When they pointed out that] for example, al-Qaida spent \$500,000 on the event, while America, in the incident and its aftermath, lost - according to the lowest estimate - more than \$500 billion.

Meaning that every dollar of al-Qaida defeated a million dollars by the permission of

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Bin Laden Wants Nukes: Canadian Intelligence | Jim Bronskill, *Canada.com* (online news service), Toronto, Ontario, Nov. 4, 2004.

Two More States to Quit Iraq Coalition | Stefan Wagstyl and Charles Clover, *Financial Times* (centrist), London, England, Nov. 4, 2004.

Analysis: War on Terror Helps Bush Win Re-Election | *People's Daily* (communist party), Beijing, China, Nov. 4, 2004.

What Bush's Re-election Means for Korea-U.S. Ties | Hoe Yong-beom, *The Chosun Ilbo* (conservative), Seoul, Korea, Nov. 4, 2004.

Kenya Celebrates Obama Win | Patrick Thimangu, *East African Standard* (liberal), Nairobi, Kenya, Nov. 4, 2004.

Karzai Wins Mandate for Offensive on Warlords and Drugs Trade | Nick Meo, *The Independent* (liberal), London, England, Nov. 4, 2004.

The Story of Zafer Abdel Jawad Al Rimawi | Rima Merriman, *The Jordan Times* (independent), Amman, Jordan, Nov. 4, 2004.

Allah, besides the loss of a huge number of jobs.

As for the size of the economic deficit, it has reached record astronomical numbers estimated to total more than a trillion dollars.

And even more dangerous and bitter for America is that the mujahidin recently forced Bush to resort to emergency funds to continue the fight in Afghanistan and Iraq, which is evidence of the success of the bleed-until-bankruptcy plan - with Allah's permission.

It is true that this shows that al-Qaida has gained, but on the other hand, it shows that the Bush administration has also gained, something of which anyone who looks at the size of the contracts acquired by the shady Bush administration-linked mega-corporations, like Halliburton and its kind, will be convinced. And it all shows that the real loser is ... you.

It is the American people and their economy. And for the record, we had agreed with the Commander-General Muhammad Ataa, Allah have mercy on him, that all the operations should be carried out within 20 minutes, before Bush and his administration notice.

It never occurred to us that the commander-in-chief of the American armed forces would abandon 50,000 of his citizens in the twin towers to face those great horrors alone, the time when they most needed him.

But because it seemed to him that occupying himself by talking to the little girl about the goat and its butting was more important than occupying himself with the planes and their butting of the skyscrapers, we were given three times the period required to execute the operations - all praise is due to Allah.

And it's no secret to you that the thinkers and perceptive ones from among the Americans warned Bush before the war and told him: "All that you want for securing America and removing the weapons of mass destruction - assuming they exist - is available to you, and the nations of the world are with you in the inspections, and it is in the interest of America that it not be thrust into an unjustified war with an unknown outcome."

But the darkness of the black gold blurred his vision and insight, and he gave priority to private interests over the public interests of America.

So the war went ahead, the death toll rose, the American economy bled, and Bush became embroiled in the swamps of Iraq that threaten his future. He fits the saying "like the naughty she-goat who used her hoof to dig up a knife from under the earth".

So I say to you, over 15,000 of our people have been killed and tens of thousands injured, while more than a thousand of you have been killed and more than 10,000 injured. And Bush's hands are stained with the blood of all those killed from both sides, all for the sake of oil and keeping their private companies in business.

Be aware that it is the nation who punishes the weak man when he causes the killing of one of its citizens for money, while letting the powerful one get off, when he causes the killing of more than 1000 of its sons, also for money.

And the same goes for your allies in Palestine. They terrorise the women and children, and kill and capture the men as they lie sleeping with their families on the mattresses, that you may recall that for every action, there is a reaction.

Finally, it behoves you to reflect on the last wills and testaments of the thousands who left you on the 11th as they gestured in despair. They are important testaments, which should be studied and researched.

Among the most important of what I read in them was some prose in their gestures before the collapse, where they say: "How mistaken we were to have allowed the White House to implement its aggressive foreign policies against the weak without supervision."

It is as if they were telling you, the people of America: "Hold to account those who have caused us to be killed, and happy is he who learns from others' mistakes."

And among that which I read in their gestures is a verse of poetry. "Injustice chases its people, and how unhealthy the bed of tyranny."

As has been said: "An ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure."

And know that: "It is better to return to the truth than persist in error." And that the wise man doesn't squander his security, wealth and children for the sake of the liar in the White House.

In conclusion, I tell you in truth, that your security is not in the hands of Kerry, nor Bush, nor al-Qaida. No.

Your security is in your own hands. And every state that doesn't play with our security has automatically guaranteed its own security.

And Allah is our Guardian and Helper, while you have no Guardian or Helper. All peace be upon he who follows the Guidance.



Subject: 17 Reasons Not to Slit Your
Wrists...by Michael Moore

11/5/04

Dear Friends,

Ok, it sucks. Really sucks. But before you
go and cash it all in, let's, in
the words of Monty Python, 'always look on
the bright side of life!' There
IS some good news from Tuesday's election.

Here are 17 reasons not to slit your wrists:

1. It is against the law for George W. Bush to
run for president again.
2. Bush's victory was the NARROWEST win

for a sitting president since Woodrow Wilson in 1916.

3. The only age group in which the majority voted for Kerry was young adults (Kerry: 54%, Bush: 44%), proving once again that your parents are always wrong and you should never listen to them.

4. In spite of Bush's win, the majority of Americans still think the country is headed in the wrong direction (56%), think the war wasn't worth fighting (51%), and don't approve of the job George W. Bush is doing (52%). (Note to foreigners: Don't try to figure this one out. It's an American thing, like Pop Tarts.)

5. The Republicans will not have a filibuster-proof 60-seat majority in the Senate. If the Democrats do their job, Bush won't be able to pack the Supreme Court with right-wing ideologues. Did I say "if the Democrats do their job?" Um, maybe better to scratch this one.

6. Michigan voted for Kerry! So did the entire Northeast, the birthplace of our democracy. So did 6 of the 8 Great Lakes States. And the whole West Coast! Plus Hawaii. Ok, that's a start. We've got most of the fresh water, all of Broadway, and Mt. St. Helens. We can dehydrate them or bury them in lava. And no more show tunes!

7. Once again we are reminded that the buckeye is a nut, and not just any old nut -- a poisonous nut. A great nation was felled by a poisonous nut. May Ohio State pay dearly this Saturday when it faces Michigan.

8. 88% of Bush's support came from white voters. In 50 years, America will no longer have a white majority. Hey, 50 years isn't such a long time! If you're ten years old and reading this, your golden years will be truly golden and you will be well cared for in your old age.

9. Gays, thanks to the ballot measures passed on Tuesday, cannot get married in 11 new states. Thank God. Just think of all those wedding gifts we won't have to buy now.

10. Five more African Americans were elected as members of Congress, including the return of Cynthia McKinney of Georgia. It's always good to have more blacks in there fighting for us and doing the job our candidates can't.

11. The CEO of Coors was defeated for Senate in Colorado. Drink up!

12. Admit it: We like the Bush twins and we don't want them to go away.

13. At the state legislative level, Democrats picked up a net of at least 3 chambers in Tuesday's elections. Of the 98 partisan-controlled state legislative chambers (house/assembly and senate), Democrats went into the 2004 elections in control of 44 chambers, Republicans controlled 53 chambers, and 1 chamber was tied. After Tuesday, Democrats now control 47 chambers, Republicans control 49 chambers, 1 chamber is tied and 1 chamber (Montana House) is still undecided.

14. Bush is now a lame duck president. He will have no greater moment than the one he's having this week. It's all downhill for him from here on out -- and, more significantly, he's just not going to want to do all the hard work that will be expected of him. It'll be like everyone's last month in 12th grade -- you've already made it, so it's party time! Perhaps he'll treat the next four years like a permanent Friday, spending even more time at the ranch or in Kennebunkport. And why shouldn't he? He's already proved his point, avenged his father and kicked our ass.

15. Should Bush decide to show up to work and take this country down a very dark road, it is also just as likely that either of the following two

scenarios will happen: a) Now that he doesn't ever need to pander to the Christian conservatives again to get elected, someone may whisper in his ear that he should spend these last four years building "a legacy" so that history will render a kinder verdict on him and thus he will not push for too aggressive a right-wing agenda; or b) He will become so cocky and arrogant -- and thus, reckless -- that he will commit a blunder of such major proportions that even his own party will have to remove him from office.

16. There are nearly 300 million Americans -- 200 million of them of voting age. We only lost by three and a half million! That's not a landslide -- it means we're almost there. Imagine losing by 20 million. If you had 58 yards to go before you reached the goal line and then you barreled down 55 of those yards, would you stop on the three yard line, pick up the ball and go home crying -- especially when you get to start the next down on the three yard line? Of course not! Buck up! Have hope! More sports analogies are coming!!!

17. Finally and most importantly, over 55 million Americans voted for the candidate dubbed "The #1 Liberal in the Senate." That's more than the total

number of voters who voted for either Reagan, Bush I, Clinton or Gore. Again, more people voted for Kerry than Reagan. If the media are looking for a trend it should be this -- that so many Americans were, for the first time since Kennedy, willing to vote for an out-and-out liberal. The country has always been filled with evangelicals -- that is not news. What IS news is that so many people have shifted toward a Massachusetts liberal. In fact, that's BIG news. Which means, don't expect the mainstream media, the ones who brought you the Iraq War, to ever report the real truth about November 2, 2004. In fact, it's better that they don't. We'll need the element of surprise in 2008.

Feeling better? I hope so. As my friend Mort wrote me yesterday, "My Romanian grandfather used to say to me, 'Remember, Morton, this is such a wonderful country -- it doesn't even need a president!'"

But it needs us. Rest up, I'll write you again tomorrow.

Yours,

Michael Moore
MMFlint@aol.com
www.michaelmoore.com

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Subject: 17 Reasons Not to Slit Your Wrists...by Michael Moore

11/5/04

Dear Friends,

Ok, it sucks. Really sucks. But before you go and cash it all in, let's, in the words of Monty Python, 'always look on the bright side of life!' There IS some good news from Tuesday's election.

Here are 17 reasons not to slit your wrists:

1. It is against the law for George W. Bush to run for president again.

In "Fascism Anyone?," Dr. Lawrence Britt, a political scientist, identifies 14 characteristics common to fascist regimes. His comparisons of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Suharto, and Pinochet yielded this list of 14 "identifying characteristics of fascism."

1.) Powerful and Continuing Nationalism

Fascist regimes tend to make constant use of patriotic mottos, slogans, symbols, songs, and other paraphernalia. Flags are seen everywhere, as are flag symbols on clothing and in public displays.

2.) Disdain for the Recognition of Human Rights

Because of fear of enemies and the need for security, the people in fascist regimes are persuaded that human rights can be ignored in certain cases because of "need." The people tend to look the other way or even approve of torture, summary executions, assassinations, long incarcerations of prisoners, etc.

3.) Identification of Enemies/Scapegoats as a Unifying Cause

The people are rallied into a unifying patriotic frenzy over the need to eliminate a perceived common threat or foe: racial, ethnic or religious minorities; liberals; communists; socialists, terrorists, etc.

4.) Supremacy of the Military

Even when there are widespread domestic problems, the military is given a disproportionate amount of government funding, and the domestic agenda is neglected. Soldiers and military service are glamorized.

5.) Rampant Sexism

The governments of fascist nations tend to be almost exclusively male-dominated. Under fascist regimes, traditional gender roles are made more rigid. Opposition to abortion is high, as is homophobia and anti-gay legislation and national policy.

6.) Controlled Mass Media

Sometimes the media is directly controlled by the government, but in other cases, the media is indirectly controlled by government regulation, or sympathetic media spokespeople and executives. Censorship, especially in war time, is very common.

7.) Obsession with National Security

Fear is used as a motivational tool by the government over the masses.

8.) Religion and Government are Intertwined

Governments in fascist nations tend to use the most common religion in the nation as a tool to manipulate public opinion.

Religious rhetoric and terminology is common from government leaders, even when the major tenets of the religion are diametrically opposed to the government's policies or actions.

9.) Corporate Power is Protected

The industrial and business aristocracy of a fascist nation often are the ones who put the government leaders into power, creating a mutually beneficial business/government relationship and power elite.

10.) Labor Power is Suppressed

Because the organizing power of labor is the only real threat to a fascist government, labor unions are either eliminated entirely, or are severely suppressed.

11.) Disdain for Intellectuals and the Arts

Fascist nations tend to promote and tolerate open hostility to higher education, and academia. It is not uncommon for professors and other academics to be censored or even arrested. Free expression in the arts is openly attacked, and governments often refuse to fund the arts.

12.) Obsession with Crime and Punishment

Under fascist regimes, the police are given almost limitless power to enforce laws. The people are often willing to overlook police abuses and even forego civil liberties in the name of patriotism. There is often a national police force with virtually unlimited power in fascist nations

13.) Rampant Cronyism and Corruption

Fascist regimes almost always are governed by groups of friends and associates who appoint each other to government positions and use governmental power and authority to protect their friends from accountability. It is not uncommon in fascist regimes for national resources and even treasures to be appropriated or even outright stolen by government leaders.

14.) Fraudulent Elections

Sometimes elections in fascist nations are a complete sham. Other times elections are manipulated by smear campaigns against or

even assassination of opposition candidates, use of legislation to control voting numbers or political district boundaries, and manipulation of the media. Fascist nations also typically use their judiciaries to manipulate or control elections.

"I deplore... the putrid state into which our newspapers have passed and the malignity, the vulgarity, and mendacious spirit of those who write for them... These ordures are rapidly depraving the public taste and lessening its relish for sound food. As vehicles of information and a curb on our funtionaries, they have rendered themselves useless by forfeiting all title to belief... This has, in a great degree, been produced by the violence and malignity of party spirit." --Thomas Jefferson to Walter Jones, 1814. ME 14:46

"The most effectual engines for [pacifying a nation] are the public papers... [A despotic] government always [keeps] a kind of standing army of newswriters who, without any regard to truth or to what should be like truth, [invent] and put into the papers whatever might serve the ministers. This suffices with the mass of the people who have no means of distinguishing the false from the true paragraphs of a newspaper." -- Thomas Jefferson to G. K. van Hogendorp, Oct. 13, 1785. (*) ME 5:181, Papers 8:632

Reporter Held in Contempt in CIA Probe

By Curt Anderson

The Associated Press

Thursday, October 7, 2004; 1:48 PM

A federal judge held a reporter in contempt Thursday for refusing to divulge confidential sources to prosecutors investigating the leak of an undercover CIA officer's identity.

U.S. District Judge Thomas F. Hogan ordered New York Times reporter Judith Miller jailed until she agrees to testify about her sources before a grand jury, but said she could remain free while pursuing an appeal. Miller could be jailed up to 18 months.

Hogan cited Supreme Court rulings that reporters do not have absolute First Amendment protection from testifying about confidential sources. He said there was ample evidence that U.S. Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald of Chicago, the special prosecutor in the CIA leak case, had exhausted other avenues of obtaining key testimony before issuing subpoenas to Miller and other reporters.

"The special counsel has made a limited, deferential approach to the press in

Research breakdown

The ABC TV Network is owned by the Walt Disney Company and includes

ABC Entertainment

ABC Sports

ABC Daytime

ABC Kids

ABC owner TV stations

and some 226 local affiliates.

The Walt Disney Company annual report for 2003 is online. Google "Walt Disney Company" and the corporate website is easy to find. Click on "financials" to see the annual report.

From that document:

ABC Media revenues for 2003 \$10,940 (millions)

breaking it down further, Broadcasting revenues (which exclude Cable and include ABC TV Network)

\$5,419 millions

Federal tax revenues

Google "Congressional Budget Office" and go to their homepage. They seem to live up to their self-description as "non-partisan" and therefore, one can actually FIND (as opposed to going on an archaeological dig for) data on their site.

Follow the links to Table 3, which breaks down Federal tax revenues for the last 20-30 years in billions of dollars. Data from 2003 (in billions)

personal federal income taxes	\$793
corporate taxes	\$131
Social insurance taxes	\$713
Excise taxes	\$ 67.5
total federal tax revenues	\$1,782

note: the gap between the total and the listed figures is from several quite small (comparatively speaking) federal tax sources, namely, Customs, Estate and Gift Taxes, and "Miscellaneous."

this matter," Hogan said.

Fitzgerald is investigating whether a crime was committed when someone leaked the identity of CIA officer Valerie Plame, whose name was published by syndicated columnist Robert Novak on July 14, 2003. Novak cited two "senior administration officials" as his sources.

The Novak column appeared after Plame's husband, former Ambassador Joseph Wilson, was critical in a newspaper opinion piece of President Bush's claim that Iraq sought to obtain uranium in Niger. The CIA had sent Wilson to Niger to investigate that claim, which he concluded was unfounded.

Miller's lawyer, Floyd Abrams, said he would quickly file notice of an appeal of Hogan's ruling with the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. He and Miller both noted that although she gathered material for a story about Plame, she never wrote one.

"I think it's really frightening when journalists can be put in jail for doing their job effectively," Miller told reporters outside the courthouse.

Fitzgerald also has issued subpoenas to reporters from NBC, Time magazine and The Washington Post. Some have agreed to provide limited testimony after their sources -- notably Lewis "Scooter" Libby, who is Vice President Cheney's chief of staff -- released them from their promise of confidentiality.

Miller and Bill Keller, the Times' executive editor, said they would not agree to provide testimony even under those circumstances.

Novak never has said whether he has been subpoenaed.

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Holland+Knight

Michael A. Pezza, Jr.

Holland & Knight LLP

10 St. James Avenue

Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Mediated has the same liveliness and intense intellectuality as Marshall

Understanding Media

McLuhan's The Medium is the Message—which is a way of saying there are

anywhere from three to ten new, exciting ideas ~~and/or subtle post-modern~~

~~problems~~ ~~hanging up~~ on every page. Let me offer my salute to Thomas de

Zengotita.

Dear President Bush,

Thank you for doing so much to educate people regarding God's law. I

have learned a great deal from you and try to share that knowledge with as many people as I can. When someone tries to defend the homosexual

lifestyle, for example, I simply remind them that Leviticus 18:22 clearly states it to be an abomination. End of debate. I do need some advice from you, however, regarding some other elements of God's Laws

and how to follow them:

1. Leviticus 25:44 states that I may possess slaves, both male and female, provided they are purchased from neighboring nations. A friend

of mine claims that this applies to Mexicans, but not to Canadians. Can you clarify? Why can't I own Canadians?

2. I would like to sell my daughter into slavery, as sanctioned in Exodus 21:7. In this day and age, what do you think would be a fair price for her?

3. I know that I am allowed no contact with a woman while she is in her period of menstrual uncleanness (Lev. 15:19-24). The problem is, how do I tell? I have tried asking, but most women take offense.

4. When I burn a bull on the altar as a sacrifice, I know it creates a pleasing odor for the Lord (Lev. 1:9). The problem is my neighbors. They claim the odor is not pleasing to them. Should I smite them?

5. I have a neighbor who insists on working on the Sabbath. Exodus 35:2 clearly states that he should be put to death. Am I morally obligated to kill him myself, or should I ask the police to do it?

6. A friend of mine feels that, even though eating shellfish is an abomination (Lev. 11:10), it is a lesser abomination than homosexuality. I don't agree. Can you settle this? Are there "degrees" of abomination?

7. Lev. 21:20 states that I may not approach the altar of God if I have a defect in my sight. I have to admit that I wear reading glasses. Does my vision have to be 20/20, or is there some wiggle-room here?

8. Most of my male friends get their hair trimmed, including the hair around their temples, even though this is expressly forbidden by Lev. 19:27. How should they die?

9. I know from Lev. 11:6-8 that touching the skin of a dead pig makes me unclean, but may I still play football if I wear gloves?

10. My uncle has a farm. He violates Lev. 19:19 by planting two different crops in the same field, as does his wife by wearing garments made of two different kinds of thread (cotton/polyester blend). He also tends to curse and blaspheme a lot. Is it really necessary that we go to all the trouble of getting the whole town together to stone them (Lev. 24:10-16)? Couldn't we just burn them to death at a private family affair, like we do with people who sleep with their in-laws (Lev.

20:14)?

I know you have studied these things extensively and thus enjoy considerable expertise in such matters, so I am confident you can help.

Thank you again for reminding us that God's word is eternal and unchanging.

Time for U.S. to withdraw**Neil Abercrombie** and Dennis J. Kucinich

403 words

17 May 2005

Error! Bookmark not defined.

FINAL

A.12

English

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Today's debate: War and peace Opposing view: Legislation needed to define end and bring 'brave' troops home.

Forty-one months after the United States entered World War II, we had achieved victory in Europe. We've been in Iraq for over half that period. What reasonable person would say we have reached the halfway point in Iraq?

Today's troops are just as brave, patriotic and capable as their WWII predecessors. They have already accomplished much. They deposed and imprisoned a tyrant. They have given ordinary Iraqis the chance to shape their country's destiny.

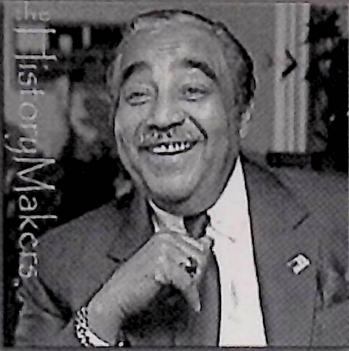
Nevertheless, the military occupation of Iraq will not turn Iraq into a democratic nation. Longstanding rivalries will do more to shape that country's future than anything American troops can do. Those forces will not be controlled by American boots on Iraqi ground, no matter how many we put there or how long they remain.

In Iraq there are no front lines, no easy way to tell friend from foe, and no clear way to measure success. Iraq is a quagmire. Meantime, it has become a recruiting poster for Osama bin Laden. Are we to keep fighting indefinitely, losing more troops every week, spending billions of dollars, and increasing the strain on our armed forces, especially the reserve and National Guard? We feel this course, with its echoes of Vietnam, is unsustainable. It has already added \$200 billion to our national debt and costs

U.S. taxpayers more than \$1 billion per month. It jeopardizes the strategic interests of the United States, particularly in Asia and the Pacific. It alienates allies in the Muslim world and elsewhere, hindering efforts to create a united global front against al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations.

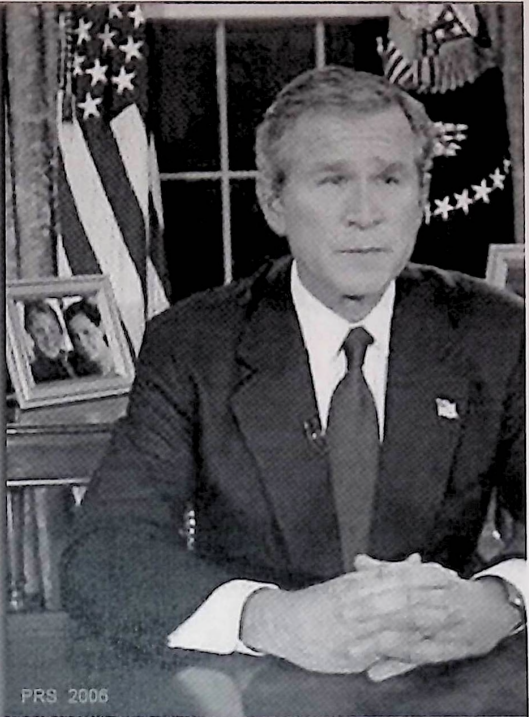
Unlike World War II, where the enemy surrendered and the troops came home, there is no such prospect in Iraq. We must define an endpoint. We will soon introduce legislation to achieve that goal by bringing the occupation of Iraq to a close. The troops have done their job. It's up to Congress and the president to forge a policy worthy of their sacrifices.

Rep. **Neil Abercrombie**, D-Hawaii, is a member of the House Armed Services Committee. Rep. Dennis J. Kucinich, D-Ohio, is ranking member of the House Government Reform Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats and International Relations.



Rep. Charles Rangel,
(D-N.Y.) was asked what
he thought about the
President.

"Well," he said, "I really
think he shatters the
myth of white supremacy
once and for all."



~~Clinton Article~~

Political

done 1st June 61

From WC XVII

pp 700 - 836
Monahan compile file
on thorough file on
FBI work with LHO
infore after.

FL

NORMAN MAILER
142 COLUMBIA HEIGHTS
BROOKLYN NY 11201
phone: 718-858-0892

28 December 1994

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

In your letter of December 6, you asked in effect what the themes might be if I were to do an interview with you for Esquire and since answers don't come tripping to my tongue, let me see if I can find the ground for a dialogue by circling around it. Years ago, having done a book on the flight of Apollo 11 to the moon, I was still trying to convince Neil Armstrong to talk to me and finally I dropped all modesty and wrote that there were many who thought I was the best journalist in America, and by analogy I suggested to him that he would never let any commercial airline pilot, no matter how good, get near the controls of the LEM that would touch down on the moon, yet he was willing to be written about by good journeyman reporters, and Armstrong wrote back and said "Dear Mr. Mailer--your arguments are most cogent but I think the answer still is no."

Well, once a philosopher, twice a pervert: I'm trying the same approach again. I think you owe it to yourself to have one of our best American writers--myself humbly nominated--to take a shot at interpreting your Presidency and

yourself. My feeling, and it's paramount, is that the public needs a fresh look. If there's time, and I certainly respect how little you have for diversion, I'd propose that you take a look at my Esquire piece on Madonna which I wrote at a point when she was at a relatively low ebb in her fortunes, and I swear I think I did her some good, because she came through in the piece as independent and surprisingly intelligent and feisty and funny; in sum, an honest woman. The point is that it was a new look at her since I do have my way of seeing people and I prefer it to the media way.

So I would propose a dialogue between us of an hour in length, ideally two, in which we would discuss a variety of topics, many of them, preferably, not political, but wide enough and open enough for you to be seen in the breadth of your interests, your more intense concerns, your preferences, your biases--let the public see you for once as a human being rather than as a public servant and/or politician.

The way I see it, we would talk and transcribe the talk, and the tone, while generally amiable, would hardly be sycophantic. Naturally, I have disagreements with you, and a couple of them are serious, Cuba for one, but I do think that over the whole you have not only been treated abominably by the media but that there were profound social reasons for the swell of rage in American life that focussed itself unfairly upon you, and I want to give my writing attention to that. You would hardly have to be the active complainant on such matters--I'm the one who's outraged at the treatment you were given. In fact, I might wish to start the piece by recounting this joke:

The Pope and Bill Clinton are in a rowboat and the Pope's high white mitre blows off. Bill Clinton leaps out of the

-3-

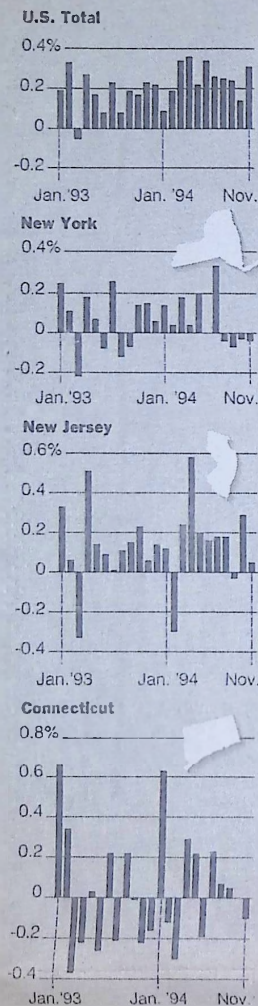
boat, walks on the water, picks up the Pope's hat and walks back to return the Pope to his hat. Next day, the headlines read: BILL CLINTON CAN'T SWIM.

If we're going to do it, can I propose sometime this January or the first two weeks of February?

Cheers,

Economy in New York Region Is Stagnant, Unlike the Nation's

Percent change in
nonagricultural employment in the
United States and the New
York State region.



The New York Times

Losses in Tax Revenue Complicate the Plans of Elected Leaders

By THOMAS J. LUECK

Economic expansion and job growth in the New York region has come to a virtual halt since July, and higher interest rates are further undermining the region's prospects, according to economists, executives and government officials.

Although the New York region shows few signs of sinking back into recession, the experts say the local economy remains one of the weakest in the nation, when business activity elsewhere is so robust that the Federal Reserve has raised interest rates six times since February to ward off inflation.

Whatever impact higher interest rates may have in slowing the national expansion, they seem certain to hurt New York City and the surrounding areas. Several of the region's main industries — the banks and brokerage houses of Manhattan, the military contractors of Connecticut and Long Island, and the pharmaceutical companies of New Jersey — are shedding thousands of workers and slashing salaries, and those cuts, along with the higher interest rates, are helping to drag down other sectors of the economy.

"Just when things started looking like they were going to improve, buyers dropped out," said Bob Sullivan, a sales associate at Prudential-Degnan Boyle Real Estate in Montclair, N.J., where, according to company records, 21 homes changed hands in November, fewer than half the number sold each month in the first half of 1994.

The lagging economy could complicate plans by the governors of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut to cut taxes. And on Tuesday, aides to Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani said New York City's business tax revenues are expected to be \$200 million lower than anticipated for the fourth quarter of 1994, largely because of weaknesses in the banking and investment industries.

The regional economy does retain

Continued on Page B5, Column 2

First 81 Teachers Qualify For National Certification

By LYNDIA RICHARDSON

In a move to professionalize teaching and raise its standards, a crop of veteran teachers has become the first to receive national teaching certification.

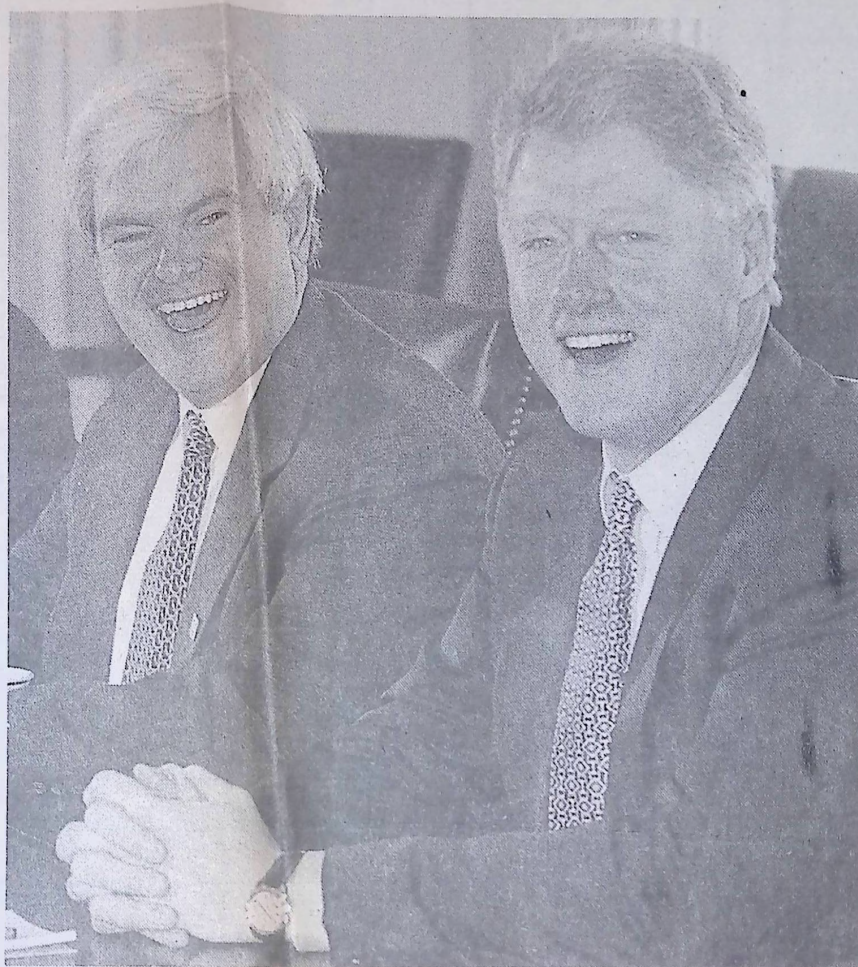
The 81 middle-school and junior high teachers, who had to pass a stringent yearlong assessment, were announced yesterday in Washington by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards.

Certification does not replace current licensing, but many educators hope that National Board teachers who move to another state will be able to avoid sometimes cumbersome recertification and start work right away. In addition, the educators hope that states and local school districts will reward these teachers with higher pay and greater recognition.

"It's a moment that is every bit as historic as the changes that came about in the medical profession when they decided to set high standards," said Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. of North Carolina, who heads the 63-member board.

"We're going to have, for the first time, a true and recognized profession of teaching that is respected and one that I believe will be far more attractive to young people coming along who are considering their careers," Governor Hunt, a Democrat,

Continued on Page A16, Column 2



Associated Press

President Clinton and Speaker Newt Gingrich yesterday before a meeting on the agenda for Congress.

Bombing of Rebel City Lets Up, But Not the Attacks on Yeltsin

By ALESSANDRA STANLEY
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Jan. 5 — There were reports today of a respite in the bombing of the embattled capital of Chechnya, as ordered by Boris N. Yeltsin. But it brought no reprieve to the Russian President, who remains under attack at home and abroad for his military offensive against the secessionist southern region.

Western press reports from Grozny, the rebel capital, supported Russia's claim that bombing was limited to the outskirts of town, but Russian reports contradicted it.

Two members of Russia's Parliament declared in Nazran, near the Chechen border, that Russian planes had bombed some parts of Grozny. Vesti, a news program on state-controlled television, reported that one bomb had been dropped on the presidential palace in the city's center, despite Western reports that the device was a rocket. Another television news program also reported bombing inside Grozny.

The chairman of the President's commission on human rights, Sergei Kovalev, returned from a three-week stay in Grozny today and said the Yeltsin Government's claims

about its military operation in Chechnya were lies that surpassed those of "the Communists and even Goebbels."

Outside Russia, outrage over the killing of hundreds of civilians also grew sharply.

In Washington, after weeks of calling the conflict in Chechnya an internal matter for Russia to solve, the Clinton Administration is set to open a high-level effort with Western Europeans to persuade Russia to accept a negotiated end to the crisis. [Page A8.]

For the first time since Russian troops entered Chechnya on Dec. 11, European governments threatened to try to punish Moscow economically. The European Commission in Brussels said today that it would hold up an interim trade agreement that Russia signed in December as a way of underlining Europe's concern about the killing of civilians.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany said that though he still viewed the conflict in Chechnya as an internal Russian matter, he had

Continued on Page A8, Column 3

JAPAN KEEPS PACE IN U.S. CAR MARKET

Detroit Market Share Drops
Despite Strong '94 Sales

By JAMES BENNETT
Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, Jan. 5 — American auto makers are celebrating a banner 1994, a year of ready customers and soaring profits. But one stubborn fact emerged today: The Japanese auto makers, despite offering higher-priced cars against American vehicles of improved quality, did not lose any of their share of the nation's car and truck market last year.

In fact, they gained share, and the Big Three auto makers lost some.

Last year demonstrated how fiercely — and adroitly — the Japanese auto companies will fight to retain American customers' against tough odds. They were more vulnerable than they had been in years. The yen strengthened against the dollar to record levels last year, making it far more costly to import cars from Japan. And Japan's economy continued to sag, making it difficult for its car makers to use profits at home to subsidize their operations here.

But they kept bringing buyers into their showrooms, by holding down prices and increasing the number of models.

TRUCE ANNOUNCED BY G.O.P. LEADERS AND WHITE HOUSE

A SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE

Friendly Words Exchanged on
Welfare Overhaul, Tax Cuts
and a Balanced Budget

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 — President Clinton and the new Republican leaders of Congress, just two months ago the gray and blue commanders of an increasingly uncivil war in politics, emerged from a first meeting at the White House today to declare a firm truce in their two-year legislative conflict. At least, for now.

In an 80-minute talk in the Cabinet Room over coffee, Mr. Clinton, House Speaker Newt Gingrich and the Senate majority leader, Bob Dole, agreed to pursue what they later called a sincere search for compromise on virtually every plank of the Republican Congressional agenda.

Mr. Gingrich said the President had specifically agreed not to wage an aggressive lobbying battle against passage of a constitutional amendment to balance the budget, a principal Republican goal that the White House opposes.

In turn, Mr. Clinton and Democratic Congressional leaders, who also attended the session, said the Republicans had in effect agreed to limit their proposed cuts in the income and capital-gains taxes to levels the Government can finance without further ballooning the deficit.

Mr. Clinton promised to sign legislation, already passed by the House and now before the Senate, that would subject members of Congress to the same laws governing private citizens in areas like employment and safety. And Mr. Gingrich said the President had indicated that he would sign Republican-backed bills giving him a legislative veto over individual Federal expenditures and barring the Government from making states pay the cost of enforcing new Federal laws.

The two sides agreed to explore common ground on an overhaul of the Federal welfare system before a White House conference on welfare later this winter. Republicans pledged to take up legislation overhauling the lobbying, campaign spending and Congressional ethics laws — all Democratic priorities — "fairly quickly," Mr. Gingrich said.

Whether the sides can remain "amazingly friendly," as one White House official put it, is less clear.

Minutes after Mr. Gingrich spoke,

Continued on Page A20, Column 1

Subway Death Stirs Call for More Curbs On Mental Patients

By RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA

The state's top mental health official

First 81 Teachers Qualify For National Certification

By LYNDIA RICHARDSON

In a move to professionalize teaching and raise its standards, a crop of veteran teachers has become the first to receive national teaching certification.

The 81 middle-school and junior high teachers, who had to pass a stringent yearlong assessment, were announced yesterday in Washington by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards.

Certification does not replace current licensing, but many educators hope that National Board teachers who move to another state will be able to avoid sometimes cumbersome recertification and start work right away. In addition, the educators hope that state and local school districts will reward these teachers with higher pay and greater responsibilities.

Already, North Carolina has promised a 4 percent raise and reimbursement of the \$975 exam fee for teachers who complete the certification program. Iowa, North Carolina, New Mexico and Oklahoma have agreed to waive state licensing requirements for nationally certified teachers who relocate there. Other states, including Massachusetts and Ohio, will accept the national certification as an alternative to their own state recertification program.

Educators said the National Board initiative paralleled that for other professionals, like doctors. It sets high standards, including extensive evaluations of classroom performance and a battery of exams testing the teacher's knowledge, rather than the minimum thresholds that state licenses usually require.

"It's a moment that is every bit as historic as the changes that came about in the medical profession when they decided to set high standards," said Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. of North Carolina, who heads the 63-member board.

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Continued on Page A16, Column 2

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Continued on Page A8, Column 3

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But they kept bringing buyers into their showrooms, by holding down price increases on popular models, emphasizing lease deals, shifting more production to the United States and introducing new, appealing cars and trucks.

"Anyone who underestimates the Japanese is in big, big trouble," said Robert J. Eaton, chairman and chief executive of the Chrysler Corpora-

Continued on Page D2, Column 1

INSIDE

Moynihan Cut From Panel

Senate Democrats asked Daniel Patrick Moynihan to leave the Foreign Relations Committee so junior party members could get a seat. Page A21.

Clinic Suspect's Statement

In a rambling written statement, the suspect in shootings at three abortion clinics said he wanted to be executed if found guilty. Page A12.

Hitler Defaulted; Bonn Pays

Sixty years after Hitler defaulted on \$210 million that American investors lent Germany, Bonn is moving to pay the last of the debt. Page D1.

Jets Get New Coach, Again

The Jets' owner, Leon Hess, saying he wants to win now, dismissed Pete Carroll after one season and hired Rich Kotite to succeed him. Page B7.

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South Pole Epic Ends in Après-Ski Party

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE

Special to The New York Times



AMUNDSEN-SCOTT SOUTH POLE STATION, Antarctica, Friday, Jan. 6 — An epic polar adventure is to end here today as four Norwegian skiers break camp at the South Pole to head home after nearly two months of hardships reminiscent of the historic expeditions that first traversed this hostile continent.

One skier, Liv Arnesen, 40, a former Oslo schoolteacher, became the first woman ever to ski unaccompanied from the edge of the Antarctic continent to the South Pole. Three men also reached the Pole, along a different route. One of the men has no arms but uses a prosthetic right arm.

The skiers were uncertain what kind of welcome they would get on their arrival at the United States base here. Relations between the polar program officials of the National Science Foundation and nonofficial expeditions, tour groups and unauthorized visitors have been uneasy, if not downright hostile.

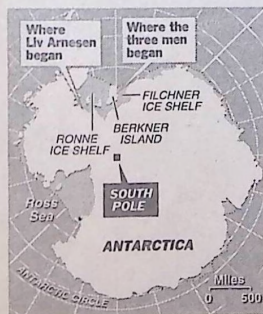
The agency contends that United States taxpayers ought not to be burdened by the expenses of looking after commercial or private expeditions in Antarctica, particularly those that might end in disasters requiring relief from foundation planes or helicopters. The agency has often had to res-

cue stranded adventurers facing death.

But increasing numbers of expeditions attempt the arduous and dangerous trip to the Pole, despite the inhospitality of the Government in possession, and a few expeditions have reached it.

"I really didn't know what to expect here," Ms. Arnesen said. "I thought the station would turn me away. But when I arrived I found myself eating chili at a Mexican buffet in the Dome, with

Continued on Page A10, Column 1



The New York Times

The four Norwegians were welcomed by the sometimes xenophobic South Pole community.

Reuters

Cato Zahl Pedersen, who lost both arms in a childhood accident, heads for the South Pole.

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Obituaries	A24-25	Weather	A24
Classified	B14	Auto Exchange	B12

WHERE IS EVERYBODY? CAROL WAS NOT IN bed this morning. The goldfish were not in their tank. All the beds were empty, all the offices deserted. So, pray tell, where is everybody? — Check today's — Advt.

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Individual federal expenditures and barring the Government from making states pay the cost of enforcing new Federal laws.

The two sides agreed to explore common ground on an overhaul of the Federal welfare system before a White House conference on welfare later this winter. Republicans pledged to take up legislation overhauling the lobbying, campaign spending and Congressional ethics laws — all Democratic priorities — "fairly quickly," Mr. Gingrich said.

Whether the sides can remain "amazingly friendly," as one White House official put it, is less clear.

Minutes after Mr. Gingrich spoke,

Continued on Page A20, Column 1

Subway Death Stirs Call for More Curbs On Mental Patients

By RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA

The state's top mental health official said yesterday that the man accused of pushing a woman to her death under a subway train should not have had the freedom to walk away from a mental hospital and that the state needed to improve the security at its mental institutions.

Dr. Bruce Feig, the executive deputy commissioner of mental health, said the suspect, Reuben Harris, should have been classified as dangerous — a designation that would have required tighter control of his movements — but was not. "He had the freedom to go from his locked ward to his rehabilitation program unescorted, and he should not have," said Dr. Feig.

It was that freedom that allowed him to walk away from Manhattan Psychiatric Center on Wards Island on Dec. 24. He had been given the grounds privileges despite a 20-year-history of violence and mental problems that Dr. Feig said should have made him ineligible for them.

Dr. Feig said it was not clear whether the error resulted from poor decision-making, lax policies or doctors' ignorance of Mr. Harris's history.

For 11 days, Mr. Harris was one of the hundreds of people who live on the city's streets after disappearing from state mental hospitals. Hospital officials next heard from him on

Continued on Page B4, Column 4



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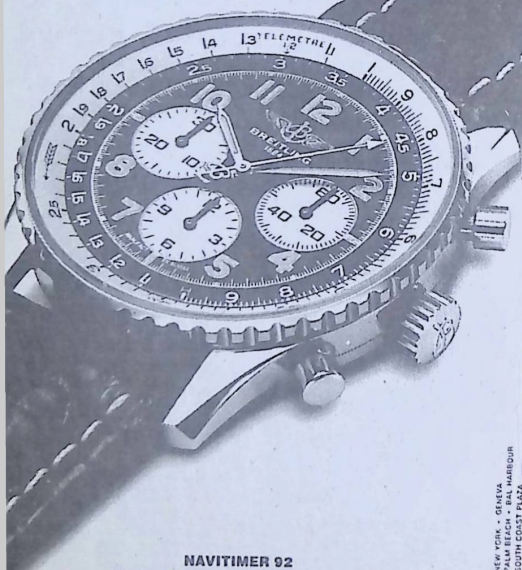
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International

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CRITICISM OF YELTSIN MOUNTS

Despite reports of a respite in the bombing of the separatist capital of Chechnya, President Yeltsin remains under attack at home and abroad for his offensive against the secessionist region. A1

U.S. OPENS RUSSIAN PEACE EFFORT

After weeks of calling the conflict in Chechnya an internal matter, the Administration is set to open an effort with Western Europeans to persuade Russia to accept a negotiated end to the crisis. A8

RUSSIA TO FREE ITS OIL MARKET

In a decision that could hasten needed loans to Russia, Moscow has bowed halfway to foreign pressure and agreed to start liberalizing the domestic oil market. A3

SOUTH POLE SKIERS HEAD HOME

Four Norwegian skiers broke camp

at the South Pole to head home after nearly two months of hardships reminiscent of the expeditions that first traversed Antarctica. A1

U.N. LEADER HIDES COUNCIL

The U.N. Secretary General accused the Security Council of "micromanaging" peacekeeping operations and criticized unnamed governments for demanding strong action and then not supporting it. A3

U.S. TO SHIP OIL TO NORTH KOREA

Less than a week after the release of a downed American helicopter pilot, the U.S. said that it would begin shipping oil to North Korea as part of a deal to end the North's nuclear weapons program. A7

The escape of three convicts becomes a crisis for the Tories. A5
Kiev Journal: Ukraine's Jewish culture is having a rebirth. A4

National

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BIPARTISAN BUDDIES — FOR NOW

The President, the House Speaker and the Senate majority leader agreed to search for compromise on virtually every plank of the Republican Congressional agenda. A1

JAPANESE CARS STILL STRONG

American auto makers have been celebrating record sales and soaring profits in 1994. But one stubborn fact gives Detroit no cheer: Japanese competitors, despite higher car prices, gained market share, edging up two-tenths of a point to 23.3 percent of the market. A1

NATIONAL TEACHING STANDARDS

A group of veteran teachers has become the first to receive national teaching certification. A1

CYBERCITIZEN GINGRICH

Republican House leaders are placing every bill they introduce — and every mundane utterance — on the infobahn. A22

Congress is expected to approve a balanced budget amendment. A22

New York will lose \$1.9 billion in Federal aid next year. B2

THE NEW WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN

Man in the News: In his 18 years in Washington, Michael McCurry has learned a lot about defending Democrats in big trouble. A19

“God knows what she could’ve gotten my mother to say.”

PRESIDENT CLINTON
to Newt Gingrich, about
Cokie Chung.
[A20:2.]

GOLF COURSE GOOSE HUNT

Scottsboro Journal: A town in Alabama is the site of a hunt to eliminate geese that are fouling a golf course with their droppings. A12

“NOT AN ADMISSION OF GUILT”

Declaring he wants the death penalty if convicted, John Salvi 3d returned to Massachusetts to face charges in the fatal shootings at two abortion clinics. A12

EASIER UNION ORGANIZING

A Clinton Administration commission will recommend that Congress change labor laws so workers can organize unions more easily. A15

A striking advance in blood cell research has been made. A16

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A challenge to the Endangered Species Act focuses on a word.

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Job growth and economic expansion in the New York region have come to a virtual halt, and higher interest rates are undermining the region's prospects, economists say. A1

SECURITY AT MENTAL HOSPITALS

New York State's top mental health official said that the man accused of pushing a woman to her death under a subway train should not have had the freedom to walk away from a mental hospital. A1

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Basketball: Nets rookie knows about comebacks. B10

High school star picks Georgia Tech. B10

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Hockey: Owners express pessimism. B7

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in the New York region will result to a virtual halt, and higher interest rates are undermining the region's prospects, economists say. A1

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Louise A. Osborn: The killer and the healers.
David J. Garrow: A deadly, dying fringe.

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Corrections

A chart yesterday showing who fills the committee chairs in the Senate and the House omitted the Senate Special Committee on Aging. It is headed by Senator William S. Cohen, Republican of Maine. The chart also referred incorrectly to the Veterans' Affairs Committee. Its chairman-ship has indeed been filled, by Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming.

In some editions, a picture in the chart — identified as that of Representative Pat Roberts, Republican of Kansas, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee — was published in error. The man shown, in eyeglasses, was Pat Roberts, president of the Florida Association of Broadcasters.

An article yesterday about the opening day of the 104th Congress misidentified Representative Patrick Kennedy's home state in some editions. He is a Democrat of Rhode Island, not Massachusetts.

An article yesterday about the

Senate's first day under Republican control misstated the term of Senator Bob Dole's first period as majority leader. It was 1985 to 1987, not 1981-86.

An article on Wednesday about the retirement of Bruce Wright, a New York State Supreme Court Justice, misstated the basis of Mayor Edward I. Koch's decision against reappointing the judge to the Criminal Court bench when his term expired in 1980. Mr. Koch said that he accepted the recommendation of the Mayor's Committee on the Judiciary against reappointment, and that he was not acting out of disapproval of Judge Wright's practice of setting low bail.

A music review on Tuesday about a recital by the soprano Angelina Réaux at Merkin Concert Hall on Saturday night misstated the title of a song by Kurt Weill and Ira Gershwin. It is "This Is New," not "This Is Now."

Articulate Defender

Michael Demaree McCurry

By TODD S. PURDUM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 — In his 18 years in Washington politics, Michael D. McCurry, the new White House spokesman, has learned a lot about defending Democrats in trouble, having represented a Senator facing indictment and three failed Presidential candidates with equanimity and wit.

He showed those qualities just minutes after President Clinton officially announced his long-expected appointment as press secretary today, when a reporter noted that Mr. McCurry had worked in 1992 for one of Mr. Clinton's rivals for the Democratic nomination, Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, and asked if he had any reservations now.

"Well, I think, as everyone said here, I've worked for a very long list of losers in my time," Mr. McCurry answered, as the White House briefing room exploded in laughter.

But it instantly dawned on him how that could be misinterpreted, and with some friendly prompting from the reporter, who has known him for years, he added: "It's nice to be working for a winner now, yes. Thank you for feeding me that line."

Mr. Clinton and his aides are betting that Mr. McCurry's agile tongue — and long acquaintance with Washington journalists — can help avoid the public-relations pratfalls that have often dogged the White House. Mr. McCurry has already served the Administration for two years as spokesman for the State Department, where, Mr. Clinton said, he "has dealt with a wide range of very sensitive, complicated and difficult issues, and he's done it very well."

Like one of his old bosses, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, Mr. McCurry is rum raisin in a world of plain vanilla, his thinning blond hair crowning a pixieish countenance. But he is also a foursquare, 40-year-old father of two children (with a third on the way), who lives in suburban Silver Spring, Md., and is the sort of steady hand that many Democrats say has long been needed in a White House noted for the low median age of its staff.

"Mike McCurry knows the rhymes and rhythms of press coverage," said George Stephanopoulos, the senior Presidential adviser, whose own tenure as daily White House spokesman was, by his own reckoning, less than smashing.

Indeed, as the White House chief of staff, Leon E. Panetta, who engineered Mr. McCurry's appointment, noted today, he has worked for four members of the Clinton Cabinet: Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Commerce Secretary Ronald H. Brown (as communications director for the Democratic National Committee), former Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen (in the 1988 Vice-Presidential campaign) and Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, (in his 1988 Presidential bid).

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Already familiar to television viewers worldwide for his daily briefings at the State Department, he will present a much different face to the public from the White House than Dee Dee Myers, the 33-year-old Californian he succeeds. For most of her tenure, Ms. Myers lacked the routine access to daily deliberations

of State's plane last year, he accused one reporter of being "puny-minded" when she complained that a competitor had been granted greater access.

Michael Demaree McCurry was born on Oct. 27, 1954, in Charleston, S.C., but spent much of his childhood in Redwood City, Calif., south of San Francisco, where his father worked as a regional director at the Centers for Disease Control. At Princeton University he worked as a campus correspondent for local newspapers, but upon graduation in 1976, he wound up in politics instead, working for Senator Harrison A. Williams of New Jersey.

And so it fell to Mr. McCurry, then a 25-year-old press secretary, to telephone the Senator one Saturday afternoon in 1980 and tell him that The New York Times was preparing to report on its Sunday front page that Mr. Williams was among eight members of Congress implicated in a bribery investigation being conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation under the name Operation Abscam.

As Mr. McCurry now tells it, there came a long pause before the Senator, who was later convicted and jailed for the crime, replied. "Mike," he said slowly, "there may be something to that."

Mr. McCurry went on to work for Mr. Moynihan, for Senator John Glenn's 1984 Presidential campaign, and then for Mr. Babbitt, Mr. Bentsen and finally Mr. Kerrey, in whose service he threw more than a few well-aimed darts at Mr. Clinton.

Until the week before Christmas,



The President's new press spokesman, Michael D. McCurry, listened to a reporter's question yesterday at a White House press conference.

when the President and the First Lady invited him to the White House for separate talks, Mr. McCurry had spent little time with Mr. Clinton, having met with him only among large groups.

Mr. McCurry describes the straight-talking Mr. Babbitt as the "Iodestar" among his former bosses. "It's about thinking with your heart instead of your head," he said of that affiliation and his unbroken record of aligning himself with Democrats who proved losers at the polls.

In his State Department office at the end of the year, surrounded by balloons from a celebration of his promotion, he showed off photographs of the old blue pickup truck with gun rack kept by his father's family on a rural compound in Abbeville, S.C., as he described the move as consistent with his career-long attraction to centrist New Democrats.

And the new spokesman insisted that in the Democratic primaries of 1992, Mr. Clinton had always been his second choice.

Deputy C.I.A. Head Is Named to Stand In For Leaving Director

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 (AP) — The Director of Central Intelligence, R. James Woolsey, who announced his resignation last week after two stormy years at the agency, will leave his office on Monday to return to private law practice. His deputy, Adm. William O. Studeman, will serve as interim director, President Clinton announced today.

Mr. Studeman will head the spy agency until a new director is appointed and confirmed by Congress, the President said.

Mr. Studeman, 54, became director of naval intelligence in 1985 and director of the National Security Agency in 1988. In 1992, the year he became an admiral, Mr. Studeman moved to his current post at the C.I.A.

He is married and has three children.

Mr. Woolsey had offered to stay through January to ease the transition. But with the Republican-led Congress convening this week, an Administration official said today that the time was right for Mr. Woolsey to leave.

The Director has been criticized by Congressional Republicans and Democrats alike for the C.I.A.'s big budget, a \$310 million secret construction project, charges of sexual harassment at the agency and what many felt were insufficient sanctions against supervisors of Aldrich H. Ames, the C.I.A. official who confessed to working as a mole for the Soviet Union and, later, Russia.

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Despite his recent immersion in the tortured elisions of diplomacy, Mr. McCurry can be brusque, and sometimes temperamental. While he is widely admired for his candor, his detractors in the Government suggest that his confidence sometimes leads him to say more than he should.

At the State Department the other day, he dismissed a briefing paper drafted for him by departmental experts as "bupkes," the Yiddish word for "nothing." Aboard the Secretary

Ex-Justice Hospitalized

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 (AP) — William J. Brennan Jr., former Justice of the Supreme Court, has been hospitalized because of chest pains, but doctors have found no problems with his heart, the Court's spokeswoman said today.

The spokeswoman, Toni House, said the 88-year-old former Justice was "resting comfortably" at Bethesda Naval Hospital in suburban Maryland after being admitted on Wednesday. "Doctors have determined he has not had any cardiac problems," she said, "but he is suffering from high blood pressure."

Ms. House said Justice Brennan was expected to leave the hospital on Friday.

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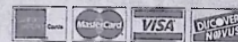
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THE 104TH CONGRESS: On Their Best Behavior

THE WHITE HOUSE

Administration and G.O.P.
Promising to Compromise

Continued From Page A1

Representative David E. Bonior of Michigan, the House minority whip, came to the same microphone to denounce Republicans as the organ of "the millionaires, the people that clip coupons" and assail their tax proposals. And minutes after that, the White House chief of staff, Leon E. Panetta, and other officials began advising reporters that Mr. Clinton still opposed a balanced-budget amendment every bit as fiercely as before and that any shifts in the fight against it were purely tactical.

Still, today, those were clouds no bigger than a man's hand.

The new Republican Speaker told reporters on the frigid driveway outside the White House that the meeting with the President had been "superb."

"There were no lines drawn in the sand, I think I am correct in saying, by any party to the meeting," the House majority leader, Dick Armey, added. "It was a very open meeting. Let's explore our differences and see

rules. We are doing different things."

As an example, Representative Tom DeLay, the new majority whip, said the White House was showing a new willingness to work with Republicans on a bill that would restrict new Federal regulations, even though it had ignored a demand after the Republican victories in November for an outright ban on new rules.

And Mr. Armey appeared downright sunny about the prospects for a compromise bill to cut taxes, saying both sides had expressed "a commitment and encouragement that we can work out the differences and come to an agreement." Told that the White House feared that Republican tax cuts would worsen the deficit, Mr. Armey said the President had yet to see the Republicans' determination to cut spending sharply before considering a tax bill.

"The President, I think again, will see that in January, and any concern he has along those lines would be resolved," he said.

The House minority leader, Richard A. Gephardt, and the Senate minority leader, Tom Daschle, agreed that discussions on a tax bill had gone well, but Mr. Gephardt and Mr. Bonior made it clear that the House Democrats would balk at the current Republican proposal, which would reduce taxes for households earning less than \$200,000 annually.

Representative Bonior, the most partisan of the Democratic Congressional leaders, was notably downbeat. "We're going to try," he said. "But you know, frankly, we have major differences in who we represent. They represent the wealthy in this country."

A senior Administration official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said that Mr. Clinton believed there was some room to work with Republicans on welfare, health care, taxes and some fiscal issues but that he would not cede ground on his demands that any new legislation help average Americans and not inflate the deficit.

"Those are lines he won't cross," the official said.

Mr. Armey said, however, that the President drew only one line in the session. "I think he was very firm on chocolate-covered doughnuts," he said. "No more of the high cholesterol."



President Clinton met with Congressional leaders from both parties yesterday at the White House to discuss a legislative agenda. Mr. Clinton and the leaders of the Republican majority emerged promising a season of compromise and accommodation on a wide range of issues and proposals.

An effort to find
some common
ground.

if we can't find ways to work them through."

In the White House press room, Mr. Clinton said: "We can do a lot of business together," a remark almost identical to the assessment of former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, after her first meeting with Mikhail S. Gorbachev, who was not yet then the head of the Soviet Union.

And in fact, Mr. Gingrich somewhat irritably insisted, both detente and perestroika were in the air.

Asked by a reporter when the two sides would finally butt heads, the man who once boasted of using "Chinese water torture" tactics to destroy the Democratic House replied: "I am just tired of it. There is no point in you all being destructive. We had a positive meeting."

"I am just telling all of you, this is a different era with different ground

THE SPEAKER'S MOTHER

Clintons Reply to a Whisper With a Gesture and a Joke

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 — Hillary Rodham Clinton responded today to the cutting remark made about her in a television interview with a gentle dose of hospitality, and President Clinton defused the situation with a bit of humor about his own outspoken mother.

In an interview broadcast tonight on the CBS News program "Eye to Eye With Connie Chung," Representative Newt Gingrich's mother, Kathleen, was coaxed into saying that her son had referred to the First Lady as "a bitch." Mrs. Gingrich made the remark after Ms. Chung urged her, "Why don't you just

whisper it to me, just between you and me."

At a White House meeting with Congressional leaders today, Mr. Clinton privately passed a hand written invitation from Mrs. Clinton to Mr. Gingrich and his mother to visit the White House for a personal tour.

Later, a reporter imitated Ms. Chung's cozy style to ask this question: "Between you and me, is it going to be compromise or combat?"

Mr. Clinton replied, "My answer to that is Mr. Gingrich will whisper into your right ear and I will whisper into your left ear."

The room erupted in laughter.

Mr. Clinton, whose mother, Virginia Kelley, died a year ago this week, then clutched Mr. Gingrich's arm and said in reference to Ms. Chung: "God knows what she could've gotten my mother to say."

Asked tonight about the First Lady's invitation to the Gingrich's, Mrs. Clinton's press secretary, Lisa Caputo, said "it speaks for itself."

Mr. Gingrich's spokesman, Tony Blankley, said that the Speaker and his mother "thought it was a very gracious gesture on her part, and they look forward to responding promptly."

Republicans Defeat Lobbyist Gift Ban and a Move to Weaken the Filibuster

By ADAM CLYMER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 — With the House taking the day off after an opening session of more than 14 hours, Senate Republicans today moved to center stage in the task of making the 104th Congress a vehicle of change, pushing for a law that would require Congress to abide by workplace rules that it sets for private industry.

But as the Republicans kept the Senate in session past supertime to work for their own proposed changes, they voted unanimously to kill a Democratic effort that would have made it easier to end filibusters. And they buried a Democratic move to forbid members of Congress to accept gifts from lobbyists.

The vote against the gift ban was 52 to 39, with 50 Republicans and 3 Democrats moving to kill it and 27 Democrats and 2 Republicans seeking to keep it alive.

Senator Carl Levin, Democrat of Michigan, insisted that the time was now ripe to help restore the Senate's reputation by adopting the ban as an amendment to the workplace-rules legislation. "We just have to get rid of the junkets and the dinners and the tickets to the sporting events and

the concerts that are supplied by the special interests," he said.

But the Republican leader, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, said any amendments to the workplace legislation would unacceptably delay the measure. He told the Senate that the gift issue would be considered later this year.

In their near unanimity, the Senate Republicans approached the perfect party loyalty that their House counterparts displayed in an opening session that did not end until 2:23 this morning. On 15 roll-calls in that session, the House Republican leadership never lost a single Republican vote.

On almost all of those roll-calls, the Republicans also got sizable Democratic support, even though the minority complained bitterly as the session continued through Wednesday night and into this morning that the Republicans would not allow them to offer amendments, in particular a lobbyist-gift ban.

In fact, on the final roll-call of the House session — the vote to impose the workplace laws on Congress — 200 Democrats joined 228 Republicans and one independent to provide the 429 votes in favor; no one voted against.

Only 52 House Democrats supported a rules change requiring that any measure to raise income taxes be approved by a three-fifths majority, but it nonetheless passed easily, 249 to 178. And a majority of Democrats supported every other rules change, from 127 supporting term limits for committee chairmen to 203 backing

which they had previously excluded themselves.

The Republicans argued that it was important to restore public confidence in Congress by subjecting the legislators to the same rules imposed on private industry. And, said Senator Hank Brown, Republican of Colorado, Congress might be inclined to reduce the current "atrocious" regulatory burden after living with the problems it causes.

Republicans wanted to act quickly, without a gift ban — or, as Mr. Dole put it, without letting the bill get "cluttered up with amendments that would require us to spend a considerable time in a conference" to reconcile differences with the House before the measure could be enacted.

But they were also playing a power game, making it clear to the Democrats that it was now the Republican prerogative to set the agenda.

"Give Senator Dole an opportunity to govern," said Senator William S. Cohen, a Maine Republican who supports the ban on gifts and who said the majority leader had promised him that the issue would be considered later this year.

"What's at stake here," said Senator Mitch McConnell, a Kentucky Republican who opposes the ban, "is the whole issue of who runs the Senate."

Democrats said that what was at issue was restoring a Congressional reputation tarnished by free trips and other gifts from lobbyists who seek access and influence. Senator Russell Feingold, a junior Democrat from Wisconsin, said that in his first two years here, he had received — and returned — 800 gifts, ranging from crystal to a Christmas tree. He said his constituents thought this gift-giving showed that "something is rotten in Washington."

Democrats said that although the workplace bill was a worthy measure, it was only a small step toward reform. Without action on the gift ban, and on legislation on campaign finance and lobbying, said Senator Levin, "the public is not going to take the claims of reform seriously."

Senator Paul Wellstone, Democrat of Minnesota, complained that Republicans were more interested in "power and prerogative" than in the substance of the gift ban issue.

The parties clash on renewed reputations, and how to get there.

a requirement that committee meetings be open to the public and to television coverage.

Today the focus in the House shifted from the floor to a meeting of the Ways and Means Committee, where Speaker Newt Gingrich discussed the tax measures in the "Contract With America," the House Republican campaign document listing bills and House rules changes on which the party promised to vote in the first 100 days of this Congress.

Mr. Gingrich told the committee that he knew it had a heavy burden, as did other committees, to act on an imposing load of legislation in a hurry. But he insisted, "We're going to get this done."

In the Senate, the filibuster issue was the only significant question raised about the rules package. Senator Tom Harkin, Democrat of Iowa, proposed changing the current filibuster rule, under which debate can be ended only by a 60-vote majority, so that after several attempts just 51 votes would be needed.

With hardly any debate, the proposal was tabled, effectively killing it, on a 76-to-19 vote. Twenty-three Democrats, including the minority leader, Senator Tom Daschle of South Dakota, joined all 53 Republicans in voting the measure down.

"If this is supposed to be the reform Congress," Mr. Harkin said later, "then I'm sorry to say that we started off with a thud instead of a bang." And he said that if Democrats now used the filibuster to delay Republican bills, "not one single Republican has a leg to stand on if they rise up to complain."

At the same time, Senate Republicans sought quick action on the Congressional Accountability Act, the legislation to impose on Federal lawmakers the workplace rules, from

FOR THE RECORD

New House Rules

In its first session, on Wednesday and into early yesterday morning, the Republican-controlled House of Representatives adopted several changes in rules and procedures, all of which take effect immediately.

COMMITTEES Three standing committees — District of Columbia, Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and Post Office and Civil Service — and 25 subcommittees were eliminated.

COMMITTEE STAFF A total of 622 staff positions were eliminated, for an estimated annual saving of \$35 million.

LEGISLATIVE SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS Public financing of service organizations like the Congressional Black Caucus and the Arts Caucus was eliminated.

BUDGET A "truth in budgeting" measure was adopted, requiring lawmakers to compare spending proposals with current spending levels rather than with current levels plus estimated inflation. Republicans said the earlier practice had encouraged higher spending.

TERM LIMITS The Speaker's tenure was limited to four consecutive terms, and that of the chairman of any given committee or subcommittee to three consecutive terms.

OPEN MEETINGS All committee meetings and hearings will be open to the public "except in extraordinary circumstances." This "sunshine" resolution allows, as a right, broadcast coverage of any meeting or hearing open to the public.

TAXES A majority of three-fifths of the House will be required for passage of any bill that would increase personal or corporate income taxes. There will also be a ban on any measure or amendment that would provide a retroactive increase in the income tax rate.

HOUSE AUDIT A requirement for a comprehensive independent audit of House operations was adopted.

DELEGATES Delegates who represent the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and American territories will be prohibited from voting on the House floor, a privilege they were permitted for the last two years if their votes stood no chance of affecting the outcome.

COMMEMORATIONS A ban on commemorative legislation, for instance a measure declaring National Asparagus Day, was adopted.

Nine senators were absent when the vote to table the gift ban was taken today. The two Democrats who voted with the Republicans to kill it were Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut and J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana. The two Republicans who joined Democrats in support of the measure were Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon and Spencer Abraham of Michigan.

A final Senate vote on the workplace bill is most likely to be taken on Friday or Monday.

THE 104TH CONGRESS

The First 100 Days

Main developments in Congress yesterday:

HOUSE The House took the day off after Wednesday's marathon opening session, but the Speaker, Newt Gingrich, testified before the Ways and Means Committee as it opened a discussion of the Republican "Contract With America." He said the nation's tax code punished Americans more than it helped them, and he urged that people think creatively about alternatives, like giving tax credits for people who buy laptop computers.

SENATE Republicans pushed for a law to make Congress abide by work rules it sets for private industry, and in a session that lasted into the evening, they voted to kill a Democratic effort to weaken the filibuster rule. The new majority also buried a Democratic move to prohibit Senators and Representatives from accepting gifts from lobbyists.

WHITE HOUSE President Clinton and Republican Congressional leaders held their first meeting and proclaimed conflict and legislative gridlock to be at an end. Mr. Gingrich said the President agreed not to fight aggressively against a Constitutional amendment to balance the budget, and the President said the Republicans had effectively agreed to limit their efforts to cut capital gains taxes. In addition, Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gingrich each indicated that the President had promised to sign various elements of the legislation that the House passed in its opening flurry on Wednesday. Mr. Gingrich said that Republicans would take up legislation aimed at overhauling the lobbying, campaign spending and Congressional ethics laws — all Democratic priorities — "fairly quickly."

The New York Times For home delivery call 1-800-631-2500

Newt Reaps Fruit of White

Washington — Newt Gingrich has one dynamite riff in his stock political speech that should guide us to a national agenda:

"In this country it is impossible to maintain civilization with 12-year-olds having babies, with 15-year-olds killing each other, with 17-year-olds dying of AIDS and with 18-year-olds ending up with diplomas they can't even read."

At the same time, Gingrich and his fellow conservatives are opposed to abortion, sex education, condom distribution, gun control, the crime bill, AIDS research, jobs programs and federal aid to schools.

How do we then solve the problems that threaten our civilization? By being better people.

This is the paradox of Gingrich and of the 1994 elections: The Republicans who have won such extraordinary governmental power reject governmental solutions for the urgent national problems they define.

Voters are angry about crime, poor schools, decaying cities and disappearing jobs, but they want government to get off their backs and out of the way.

The Gingrich prescription: Cut taxes, downsize government and somehow cause America to reinvent itself with a

grass-roots moral revolution, a restoration of traditional religious values and revival of the work ethic. It sounded good when Ronald Reagan proposed it — remember voluntarism? — and it sounds good today.

Gingrich is a walking, one-man intellectual gridlock. He espouses "family values" but would put the children of unemployed, unwed mothers into orphanages. He wants a smaller, less intrusive government, but the immigration controls the Republican Party now ponders would require a national identity card and turn teachers and hospital workers into government informants.

He wants to cut the federal budget — but not Social Security, not defense, not prisons, not the border patrol, not the FBI, not the information superhighway. Just other, unnamed things.

He talks constantly about an "opportunity society" but wants to cut back on Head Start, which aims at providing a first opportunity to the children of the poor.

He wants to compel welfare recipients to get jobs, but he vigorously supports the kind of free-trade agreements — NAFTA, GATT — that kill entry-level manufacturing jobs for working-class

Americans.

"For those who don't find a job, what is your prescription?" Gingrich was asked by ABC's Sam Donaldson.

"I think I would want to expand private charities," Gingrich replied. "That would be their recourse."

Here is the Republican agenda for those American workers displaced by the cataclysms of the global marketplace: Beg. You're a loser.

How did the Democrats manage to lose to Gingrichism? Easy. No matter how you slice and dice the polling data from last week's national elections, one stunning number stands out: 62 percent of white men voted against the Democratic Party.

For the Democrats, this debacle was a kind of poetic justice. After years of responding to interest-group politics — women, racial minorities, gays and lesbians and the elderly — the Democrats were defeated by the one group in America that does not qualify as a special interest.

The reasons for losing the white-male vote are numerous and overwhelming. In recent years, white men have had slower income growth than most other groups in America — and in many cases have seen their income decline.

Yet as traditional job sources in man-

ufacturing vanish, white men, especially without higher educations, get a double whammy: They are hit hardest by affirmative action programs that pretty much tell them "White Men Need Not Apply" for the new jobs that are being created.

In the famous Piscataway, N.J. teacher case, the Democratic-run Justice Department sent a message that in a job conflict where all else is equal — the white and black teacher were equally qualified, with equal seniority — the Democrats would side against the white person for racial reasons.

President Bill Clinton's first visible priority as president somehow became putting gays in the military. It was announced early on that no man could be attorney general. And the one cause Clinton really fought for was NAFTA, turning his back on the working-class breadwinners who had so long been the heart of the Democratic Party.

As was noted here a month ago, men get one incessant message from Democrats: In this new, liberal, high-tech, gender-neutral, New Age society, you are neither needed nor wanted as a worker, as a father, as a soldier, as a boss, as a strong back, or as a breadwinner. You are needed only as a taxpayer.

To this, white men voted no.

For the Democrats, this debacle was a kind of poetic justice.



Lars-Erik Nelson

South Korean president will be honored in July

By Larry Fish

INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

President Kim Dae Jung of South Korea, who survived decades of jail, assassination attempts and exile to lead his nation toward greater freedom, will be awarded the 1999 Liberty Medal at Independence Hall on the Fourth of July.

Mayor Rendell, who announced the selection yesterday, said that President Kim "has been called the Mandela of Asia," a figure who endured long persecution and has shown he wants reconciliation and democracy since he was elected president in 1997.

Kim, 75, will become the 11th recipient of the Liberty Medal and its \$100,000 prize. Last year the award went to former U.S. Sen. George J. Mitchell of Maine for his work in brokering a peace agreement for Northern Ireland. When Kim arrives in Philadelphia, he will be greeted by close friend Thomas Foglietta, former congressman from South Philadelphia and now U.S. ambassador to Italy.

Rendell said Foglietta had urged the Liberty Medal selection committee for several years to honor Kim.

Foglietta said from Rome yesterday that Kim's remarkable career included repeated brushes with death, sometimes in bizarre forms. Foglietta himself was beaten and kicked by South Korean security agents intent on killing Kim as he returned from exile in 1985.

Kim and Foglietta have been close since Foglietta stood next to him when the former dissident took the oath as president of the Republic of Korea last year.

"He has been a fighter for democracy for that country ... against overwhelming odds," Foglietta said.

Originally the owner of a trading company, Kim was arrested by invading North Koreans during the Korean War and narrowly escaped execution as a capitalist.

The war ended in 1953, but South Korea endured years of repressive military governments against which Kim became a leading dissident.

Kim ran for president in 1971, an election that many observers thought he would have won had the military not rigged the results.

South Korea was under martial law from 1972 to 1979. The Korean Central Intelligence Agency tried on more than one occasion to kill Kim, including kidnapping him in 1973 while he was in Japan.

"They chloroformed him and put him in a suitcase to ship him back to Korea," Foglietta said. "They were hoping he would die in the suitcase."

Kim survived that ordeal and a reported drowning attempt by the same agency. Then former U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and the government of Japan intervened on his behalf.

Imprisoned, Kim was under a formal death sentence in 1980 for opposing the government. His hanging was averted by intense international pressure.

The sentence was commuted to life in prison. In 1982, he went into exile in the United States.

Foglietta, then a congressman, met Kim in 1984 when one of Foglietta's Korean American constituents introduced them. What was planned as a 45-minute session went on for 3 1/2 hours, Foglietta said.

The next year, when Kim planned his return to South Korea, Foglietta and many others feared he would be killed upon landing in Seoul, South Korea.

Foglietta was on the plane with Kim. When it landed at the closed airport, the ambassador said, it was surrounded by several hundred military and security agents. Inside the airport, agents tried to force Kim alone onto an elevator with a man who had an ominous bulge under his coat, Foglietta said.

A standoff of about 15 minutes ensued, he said. It ended when Kim and others, including Foglietta, were beaten and kicked to the ground.

Kim was taken away in a van, Foglietta said, and "I thought, oh, they've killed him." He said he later learned that the order to spare Kim was issued during the elevator standoff, when authorities realized the international media were watching closely.

But Kim and other dissidents prevailed. The election of December 1997 was the first truly free vote for South Korea; Kim's inauguration was the first peaceful handoff of power.

In office, Kim has freed political pris-



Kim Dae Jung will be honored for his commitment to democracy

oners, fought corruption, and made tentative overtures to the hostile North Korean regime. He also has promoted a revival of the once-robust economy, a victim of the Asian economic meltdown that began in 1997.

He has linked a free economy with democratic reforms. Though elected with 40 percent of the vote, his approval ratings since have been as high as 80 percent.

The Liberty Medal selection committee chose Kim from about 10 candidates, said chairman Martin Meyerson, former president of the University of Pennsylvania. He declined to name the others.

The committee this year had 20 members from throughout the world, including former U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, William H. Gray 3d of the United Negro College Fund, and former World Bank president Robert McNamara.

Kim's selection was cheered at the City Hall announcement by some of the 70,000 Korean Americans who live in the region.

"I've met him a couple of times," said the Rev. Peter Hwang, president of the Philadelphia Korean Ministerium, which represents 150 churches. "He's very humble and very sensitive to the needs of the people."

Previous winners of the Liberty Medal include Polish Solidarity founder Lech Walesa, South African Presidents Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk, and former U.S. President Jimmy Carter. ■