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SUBJECT: Welcome to the Viridian List

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TEXT:
Subject: Viridian Note 00001

From: bruces@well.com (Bruce Sterling)

Key concepts: Viridian movement; Viridian design;
Greenhouse Effect; historical analogy; Belle Epoque;
futurism; postmodernity and its successors; Year 2000;
culture industry; principles of industrial cultural
design; Viridian Mailing List

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Sources: an original composition for the New Minds
Lecture/Performance Series

Links: <http://www.bespoke.org/viridian>
<http://www.well.com/conf/mirrorshades>
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Ideological Freeware -- Distribute At Will

October 14, 1998
Yerba Buena Center for the Arts
San Francisco

"Viridian Design"

Hello. Good to see all of you tonight. Thanks for taking the trouble to show up. Tonight I'm going to do something that I've never done before. I'm going to do something that I've struggled against doing for twenty years.

Tonight, I'm going to prophesy.

I've always very much wanted to prophesy. Of course, I know how dangerous and foolish this is. I realize what a sparkling career temptation this always is for us science fiction writers. Because there you are, you see.... doing the job at hand, filling up those wire racks at the chain store, spilling that ink and killing those trees, keeping the wheels turning in the good old Baloney Factory. And then you have to spoil it all by saying something stupid like "Let's found the Fabian Movement and bring enlightened socialism to the world's oppressed masses!"

But I can't resist any longer. Because lo the time is almost nigh. The Millennium is well-nigh upon us, and since I am ahead of my time, I'm also ahead of the Millennium. Tonight, you'll be getting a foretaste of January 2000.

Of course we all know that the 21st century doesn't officially begin until 2001, but that's just not how people's heads work. Sometime in the first week of

January 2000, journalists all over the world are going to recover from their hangovers, and find themselves confronting blank screens and blank pages. And not just because of the Y2K problem -- because of a new-idea deficiency. So the editor yawns and he says to his ace reporter, "Well, the 20th century's dead now; what comes next?"

"What do you mean, boss?"

"Well, it's a new millennium now, so we need a hot story on all the brand new stuff and all the brand new, original ideas and fads and trends."

"Oh. Well...."

Now a sudden scowl creases the editor's brow. "I thought you were supposed to be hip, with-it and on the culture beat, man. Where's the brand new stuff? Where's the futuristic weirdness and the snappy prognostications and the enthralling visions of vast possibility?"

"Gosh..."

"Well, what the hell has been going on out there all this time?"

"Uhm, well, mostly it's been appropriation and sampling, sir. And subversion of the dominant paradigm. With lots of, uhm, calling the discourse into question. We call that postmodernism."

"Look kid, that was last year. That was last CENTURY. That was last MILLENNIUM, for Christ's sake. To hell with postmodern, postmodern is over now. The consumers have a goddamn new millennium on their hands, they don't want us to tell them that they're POST something. Everything post is buried now, it's irrelevant. Go out there and beat the street and find something brand-new, or you're fired."

You know, ladies and gentleman, that was a little sci-fi prediction of mine there, but I intend to stand by that prediction. If that doesn't happen in the first quarter of the year 2000, I'm gonna eat my spangled hat as a cyberguru and technopundit. I fully expect to have the phone ringing off the wall in the first days and weeks of 2000, with anxious journalists desperate for novelty. And since I can smell this coming from a mile away, I plan to have a fully developed party line.

I've got a whole year to work seriously on this project. I am going to move it right on up my agenda. People are going to demand from me to know what the future

holds, and I am going to be fully briefed and in total command of my material. I will coolly and meticulously detail the future for them, in chapter and verse, with principles, subtexts, and policy recommendations. In the highest tradition of my futurist craft, I will be often wrong, but never in doubt. I feel a deep necessity to meet the need here, I consider this my moral duty.

Although it's a convulsively funny thing to do, I am totally in earnest about doing this. You see, the way I figure it, I might as well. I am going to throw away the scabbard of my sword, raise the black flag and burn my bridges. That year, 2000, will be the biggest hole in the status quo since 1977 and 1989. Furthermore, the year 2000 is going to be my personal last hurrah as a brain-burning futurist prophet. I'm in my forties now. The years after 2000 -- the decade of the zeros, whatever the hell we're going to call that -- will be the last time that I will be able to say things, things that I know are true, and that are obvious to me, that sound weird and inexplicable to the general public.

In ten years, I'll be able to compose a public speech like this; I'll be able to find the podium. But I very much doubt that I'll scare or amaze anybody. And in twenty years, people will feel all warm and nostalgic when I talk. So you see, I have no reason to hold back any more. It's prophecy or bust.

So now, I want you to all take a deep breath and get all comfy. I've got you all trapped in here with me, and we are going to be here for quite a while. I am about to reveal unto you just a few of the many, many things that I can foresee, and that you have no inkling of.

So: the future. How to think about it productively. Well, of course I can't foretell the goddamned future. I can write and sell a novel set a hundred years from now, in fact I've done that, but I can't detail the events of 2098. Prediction is impossible, we all know that. What we don't know is that retrodiction is also impossible. History is a form of science fiction. The future is history that hasn't happened yet. History is the sensibility of one time, assessing another time, that it cannot possibly know.

And yet there is hope. Because those who know history get to watch other people repeat it. Once we know that the future is history, we can predict the present. A historical analysis of own situation is the vital first step toward framing the future. Because when we understand the present, we are stalking the future, we have sneaked up as close to the future as we can get. The future is latent here, its seeds are all around us. The

future is already here, it's just not well distributed yet.

History does not repeat itself, but it does rhyme. People are people, trouble is trouble, and if you stare cross-eyed and ignore enough evidence, you can make any historical situation resemble any other. But I am going to make a strong argument here -- no, to hell with that, I am simply going to proclaim unto you -- that our present historical condition, the fin de siecle, postmodernism, the New World Order, the 1990s, is best understood by comparing it to one hundred years ago. The last fin de siecle, the Belle Epoque, the period from 1890 to the beginning of the First World War.

Hearken ye unto these manifold signs. Upon my left hand I bear the past, upon my right, the present.

Pax Britannica -- Pax Americana

Global peace with small nasty wars -- Global peace with small nasty wars.

Gross class divisions between the aristocracy and the proletariat -- gross income disparity between the super-rich and the excluded.

Gilded Age corruption with industries buying Congress wholesale -- Gilded Age corruption with PACs buying Congress wholesale.

Robber barons in oil, railroads, stocks and steel -- versus megabanks, software and media moguls and currency speculators.

Terrifying anarchists with bowling-ball bombs -- scary terrorists with truck bombs.

It gets stranger. Russia is back. We spent most of the 20th century without any Russia. If you go to Russia, as I have done on a couple of occasions recently, you see the period before 1914 as **very** much alive. The dead Czar and his family have been literally disinterred and given a Christian, Russian Orthodox burial. The Czarist period architecture is under extensive restoration, it looks newer than anything built under the Soviets. Local artists hearken back to Diaghilev and Mayakovsky and NeoClassical art. You see, if you disown Communism from 1918 to 1989, there is really no place for a Russian to go BUT the Belle Epoque. That was the last time in which they were Russian. This is a superpower we are talking about, a huge chunk of the earth's land surface, which has resurfaced from 1914 just like Atlantis.

Times are unhappy in Russia, they are blundering around in a brain-damaged flashback state, but let's face it: they're Russians, their life means suffering. The Belle Epoque wasn't very Belle for the Russians, but the Belle Epoque is seen a splendid time mostly in retrospect. People call that epoch beautiful, mostly because it ended in such an ugly way.

People who were living during the Belle Epoque didn't think it was beautiful. They considered themselves to be rather tense and disoriented. Freud's theories were just coming into worldwide vogue. People complained a lot about decadence, perversity and neurasthenia. "Neurasthenia" is an extinct sensibility now. For people in our period of history, is literally impossible to feel neurasthenic. A hundred years ago people were half-dead of this spiritual ailment, and it simply doesn't exist for us. Isn't that marvelous? It's history at its finest, really. I suspect that we do have certain parallels. Maybe our native version of neurasthenia is what Arthur Kroker calls "spasm," which is that violently oscillating 1990s state when you feel totally hyper and nauseatingly bored. That gnawing sense that we're on the road to nowhere at a million miles an hour.

The historically definitive look of the Belle Epoque was Arts & Crafts design and its cousins, Mission Style, Jugendstil, Art Nouveau, the Vienna Secession. Arts and Crafts is hugely popular now, much more so than it was in its time of origin, when Arts and Crafts was seen as being alternative, socialist-leftie and very far out. Frank Lloyd Wright -- a wild man in his own day, a scandal, an exile, but hugely popular and deeply respected today, especially his Belle Epoque Prairie House period. Arts and Crafts, Mission Style, these things have incredible appeal among 1990s cultural figures one would never expect to favor them. The widow Cobain for instance, Courtney Love, puts on her kinderwhore and Versace outfits, and cavorts appropriately on stage, and then she goes home to her Arts and Crafts house. Elvira, Mistress of the Dark, owns a famous Arts and Crafts house. William Gibson -- Dr. William Gibson I mean, he has an honorary doctorate in design now -- has an 1920s arts and crafts-style house in Vancouver, where he likes to go out on the porch and read weapons manuals in his Adirondack chair. The ubiquitous Goth subculture is very 1990s and also very 1890s, very Aubrey Beardsley, very decadent and epicene, very Yellow Book, very Art Nouveau.

Art Nouveau was European craft design, you see, back when Europe was still functional. Jugendstil and Art Nouveau emerged from design studios in Vienna, Paris, Brussels, Munich, Glasgow. For most of the 20th century, we had a crippled Europe. There was Europe dying

in the trenches, Europe in the Depression, Nazi Holocaust Europe, Europe in two halves and covered with nuclear warheads, a continent with the lamps gone out all over it. But in the late 1990s Europe is back. Incredibly, we even have a Germany. You can go back to time immemorial and look for historical periods that have a Germany. Scarcely any. A Germany that is whole and at peace -- totally unheard of.

The Belle Epoque was a very Techno-progressive age. One of the reasons Art Nouveau was art nouveau was because it used new materials, aluminum, glass, weird new forms of metalwork. No one could miss the importance of radio, or rather the "wireless telegraph," as they understood that medium. We use terms that are almost that goofy now -- we have stuff we call "wireless cable." Plus little radios and satellite links that we somehow still call telephones.

The early cinema of Melies was basically stage magic, set in front of a camera. It was a cinema of special effects. We also have a cinema dominated by special effects. And of course the Belle Epoque launched the TITANIC. We also have a TITANIC, our special-effects, virtualized TITANIC. The first was an Imperial British flagship of the line, and the second is a flagship property of the imperial American entertainment industry. Cameron's TITANIC probably made ten times more money than the TITANIC would have made if she'd sailed without a hitch for forty years. We have every reason in the world to respond with recognition and affection to this TITANIC movie. It's all about them while also being entirely about us.

I could multiply parallels like all night, but it wouldn't push my argument much. If you're a skeptic on the subject of historical analogy, you can list things that aren't parallel. For instance, there is no massive arms race between Germany and Britain now. We don't care a hang about colonizing Africa, we can't be bothered to do that. We have a vast indifference as to how many people get shot in Sarajevo now.

But even these differences can be illuminating. If you see the differences, perhaps you can get a handle on them; the differences stand out in relief, they can be grasped.

For instance, the Belle Epoque had culture. It had an educated, distinct and privileged class of well-trained humanistic intellectuals, who were very self-consciously engaged in art and thought. We have something else entirely, which is a culture industry. A culture industry is not about art and thought. It's about images and information. Its primary reason for being is not inspiration or taste or refinement, but marketable

intellectual property.

We're not used to having a culture industry, and we don't really think very clearly about it. But it's clearly a new phenomenon, and it's an exciting prospect for futurists. It's very difficult to second-guess cultural development, because you are basically declaring that you are outsmarting and out-creating every other intellectual, critic and artist on earth. But outguessing a culture INDUSTRY, that's a different matter. Anyone can outsmart a businessman. The woods are full of guys who make a living claiming they can outsmart businessmen. They are corporate futurists. I know dozens of these people. I know their techniques, I know how to think like they do. And when I think that way about culture -- I see daylight, it feels good.

In fact, once I had attained this insight, I had an immediate breakthrough in my own line of business. I've seen this happen right in front of my eyes. The last time science fiction had an artistic movement, it was back in the mid-1980s. The great story of the 1990s in science fiction was that printed science fiction has become a tie-in for other media. The most commercially vigorous action in science fiction today is in acting as a retailing billboard for action figures and other collectible spinoffs. Even science fiction movies have become billboards for the soundtrack, the T shirt, the CD-ROM and the other ancillary rights. This is the culture industry at its finest, this rhizome-like exploration of every possible commercial space.

Science fiction as an art form is diffuse and gaseous and all over the map, but science fiction as an industry has always been very ductile. Like pornography, science fiction is always one of the first genres to show up in new media, one of the first to exploit any new means of display and distribution. In a lot of cases, science fiction is actually ABOUT media, it romanticizes media and promotes it. For instance, Hugo Gernsback's original science fiction magazines were really about the romance of Hugo Gernsback's radio mail-order operation. Science fiction acts as a kind of conceptual lubricant here.

A fine modern example is an Internet entertainment property like ULTIMA, the Electronic Arts multiplayer campaign. ULTIMA is genre-based adventure fantasy, and yet it isn't. It's about selling the experience of being a group of people on a computer network, who are pretending to be a group of people in a simulated fantasy environment. The busywork with the swords and trolls and dragons is really absolutely paper-thin here, it's just one phosphor-dot thick. The real drama in this game is in defending yourself from human-player assassins, other

people in the game who want to kill your character. The truest and most intense devotees of ULTIMA are the player-killers, the assassins.

I've always been aware that the structure of genre publishing is a historical accident. I was never under the illusion that science fiction publishing and distribution was a work of nature and an eternal monument. On the contrary, I'm painfully aware of the evanescence of communications. For the past three years, I've been actively researching this subject, in an effort called Dead Media Project.

Thanks to this three-year, Internet based, scholarly matriculation of mine, I am now the world's leading authority on extinct forms of media. I'm going to write a book about dead media. I have one more science fiction novel to complete, and then this is my next big publication project. I'll be taking off my novelist's beret, and putting on my pointy, spangled, techno-guru hat.

This book on dead media comes in two parts. The first is a forensic catalog, a list of defunct technologies: magic lanterns, pigeons carrying messages, signalling mirrors, skywriting, the Apple Newton, and other similar relics. The second part poses the deeper problem. I have no doubt that a plain catalog of dead media would be quite interesting; something like those very nice specialized collectors books one sees, about the salt and pepper shakers of Occupied Japan, and so forth. But fieldwork is not the whole answer; a collection of facts isn't scholarship, any more than a pile of bricks is a house. Despite the fact that Dead Media is an intensely technical subject, I'm not really asking scientific questions. The questions I want answered about media are basically literary questions, cultural questions, questions of sensibility. "What does it mean, and how does it feel?" This is not an engineering question, not quantifiable, how many, how much. What does it mean and how does it feel?

It occurred to me that if I could answer these questions successfully, I would have changed people's attitude about media. In fact, I would probably change the understanding people have about the interrelationship of technology and society. But this isn't really the kind of effort one attributes to pop science writers, or even science fiction writers. This is basically an attitude one expects from an artist, a designer, an architect, from the guru of an art movement. This is what one expects to hear from a figure such as Le Corbusier, or Andre Breton, or Alexander Rodchenko.

And that's an attractive prospect really, because I quite like art theory, and I'm especially fond of designers. Designers, especially industrial designers, are one of the few classes in society that talk as strangely and anomalously as good science fiction writers do. The range of thought and expression you can get out of designers, the sheer expansiveness of their professional rhetoric, is absolutely enthralling to me. Graphic artists and painters and such, they tend to be a little bipolar, sort of smeared with cadmium yellow and vaguely inarticulate. But designers have that kind of bedside-manner glibness that you get out of expensive architects.

You can go to a designer's meeting, let's say some teakettle exhibit, and the dialogue sounds something like this.

"So, uh, nice teakettle you've made there, man."

"Yes, it's all about the mastery of space and volume. I'm developing a geometry with a strong symbolic impact."

"Yes I see, mmm-hmmm!" So you move on to the next designer. "So, uh, very striking teakettle you've got in the vitrine there."

"Yeah, well, I noticed that no one had used the unique affordances of lacquered plywood in a teakettle before."

Move on one more. "'Ma'am, I couldn't help but admire your teakettle."

"Well," (blink blink) "true beauty arises from the abject surrender of the object to its innate functional utility."

The weirdest part is when you're talking to some Finnish or Japanese guy, and he explains to you that his teakettle represents the inner recesses of his national character. The delightful part is that they're all teakettles. Most of them even work. People can actually cram a lifetime of aesthetic experience into a household device for boiling and pouring water. Henry Petroski once talked for an entire book about a pencil, and half a book about a paperclip.

But you know, for all the joy I take in studying this, there's something itchy and unsatisfying about it. My problem is, I'm not a designer. I'm not hands on. I design imaginary gizmos sometimes, but what I'm really interested in is the intimate interplay of technology and

culture. What technology does to culture and vice versa, that is my theme as an artist.

Then it occurred to me that if I really do understand history, and if I really do live and work in a culture industry, then I ought to be able to design a design movement.

And here is where it all falls into place with a very loud clatter and thud. I've got means, motive, and opportunity. You couldn't ask for a better time to start a design movement than the year 2000. I've got my slate clean, or I will by that time. I've got my Internet mailing list chops down, I can easily set up another one. And the fun part is that I believe I actually CAN design a design movement. I don't think I can design objects, but designing the culture sounds very attractive to me. Here's a chance to begin the century with an art movement that has been designed from the get-go.

Is he joking, you ask. Is he serious? Why even ask those questions? They are bad conceptual formulations. We don't really have the terminology for industrial design of the culture industry. From our primitive perspective, this is probably best understood as an act of prophesy.

Now let me explain to you why my 21st century design movement is going to be a great technical improvement over all previous art movements. Let me give you a tour of its many unique and innovative features.

Number One. Perhaps most importantly, this movement has a built-in expiration date. The problem with previous art movements is this unexamined assumption that they have discovered some eternal cultural truth, and that they will therefore go on forever. In point of fact, no matter how much truth they discover, movements never do last very long. When they run out of steam it is painfully difficult to extricate yourself from them. I still get plaintive phone calls from journalists asking me if cyberpunk is dead yet. And if not, why not. Lately I even have to put up with guys who claim to be post-cyberpunk. With my new effort, I will design this problem right out of the system from the get-go.

Feature Number Two. This is also of vital importance. My new art movement has a deliverable. It is going to center its focus and activity around one central design challenge. My art movement is about the Greenhouse Effect. Our activities and interests center around greenhouse gases. Why? Because Malaysia and Indonesia and Mexico were all on fire this summer, that's why. An area the size of Europe has been flooded in Asia this summer, including 300 million people in fifteen countries.

I don't think I have to lecture San Franciscans about the effects of this year's El Nino. Of course, many people claim not to be convinced by this so-called climate change evidence. That is because they are shortsighted sociopathic morons who don't want to lose any money.

But anyone who can look even a little bit into the 21st century has got to be highly interested in the summer *after* this bad and evil summer, and the summer after that one, too. Our society runs on fossil fuel. We have a substance-abuse problem with carbon dioxide. This is a seemingly abstract issue now, but it's going to get very, very much livelier once we start having evacuation camps and dustbowls and so on. At that point, anyone who isn't talking about the Greenhouse Effect is going to seem very twentieth-century and extremely old-fashioned.

So, this is where our movement gets its built-in expiration date. The date is 2012, a date in the Kyoto accords, when people are supposed to be engaged in a serious decline in CO2 emissions. So it's 2012 or environmental catastrophe, whichever comes first. I'm not saying there will be no more use for environmental design issues after a catastrophe; I'm just saying it won't be the province of an arty avant-garde. They'll control CO2 all right, but it will almost certainly be done by the military then, or at least at bayonet point.

A genuinely degraded climate doesn't mean that the sky is falling. It doesn't mean armageddon, or utter annihilation, or anything half so romantic. It means a conclusive end to our Belle Epoque, though. Basically, it means smoke and heat and damp, clinging filth. All our cultural circumstances will become different then. Everything we know and cherish about life will suddenly become antiquated. It will belong to a vanished, beautiful, innocent era. That will be our Belle Epoque's version of the Great War, in other words.

So why is this an aesthetic issue? Well, because it's a severe breach of taste to bake and sweat half to death in your own trash, that's why. To boil and roast the entire physical world, just so you can pursue your cheap addiction to carbon dioxide.... What a cramp of our style. It's all very foul and aesthetically regrettable.

I suppose there's some faint possibility that we will burn all the fossil fuel on earth, and the weather will calm down or even get much, much nicer. There's also some chance that we'll all be killed by the sister of the comet that hit Jupiter. Personally, my mind's made up. I live in Texas. It was 112 degrees Fahrenheit in Dallas this summer. That does it for me right there. The longer you wait to catch on to this, the more foresighted I get.

This is Feature Number Three. We have moral gravity and sense of urgency. This is not just a talking-shop for aesthetes, we are actually engaging a pressing design need for our civilization. This will keep our discussions from wandering all over the map, engaging in random theory-surfing, flames and topic drift. It's not about paradigm demolition. It's about CO2.

So, we have a deliverable, we have a built-in expiration date, we have a focus.... what else?

Number Four. We have no physical locale. You don't have to be in Vienna or New York or the Left Bank of Paris. It's all done with nets.

Number Five. A real problem with traditional art movements is that they acquire their enemies at random. Mostly their enemies emerge from within their own ranks. Any avant-garde that lacks a designated hate and contempt figure immediately breaks up into warring schisms. Successful groups tend to define themselves by the people they can't stand.

My art movement comes presupplied with powerful, malignant, threatening enemies, the Global Climate Coalition. They are perfect villains. They have huge industrial backing, massive P.R. budgets, and a headquarters in Washington, things that we don't have, and will never have, and that we deeply envy. Worse yet, they have a vested interest in obscuring and distorting the truth about climate findings. Plus, they carry out intensive campaigns of personal smear attacks on the integrity of scientists. This practice is Lysenkoism, which all serious intellectual workers must hold in contempt and abhorrence.

Our enemies thus give us a unifying internal principle. We badly need this principle. By necessity, we are combining highly variegated input from people in design, art, engineering, networking, computation and climate science. That's a very eclectic grouping by 20th century standards, but we do have one shining commonality; none of us can stand evil bastards who tamper with the integrity of the data.

This makes the GCC perfect punching-bags for us. It helps a lot that we resemble them so much. You can't get a good acrid bitterness going unless your enemy shares a lot of your own characteristics. You see, we're both global climate coalitions. And we're both very 21st century organizations: we are a net-based, autonomous, research-and-design collective, while they are Washington infowar spooks supplying black spin for megacorporations. We share a lot of physical characteristics, kind of like

the noble electric eel and the vile, bloodsucking leech.

We intend to find out all about the people of the GCC. We intend to make public fun of their moms and the way they dress. So our friends and fellow travellers needn't worry about sharing every jot and tittle of our arcane aesthetic doctrines. If you're on the web and willing to do some oppo research against the GCC, you'll always receive a hearty welcome from us.

It's obvious by now that we are Greens. What keeps us from vanishing into the undifferentiated primal newage of all other Greens? Well, one vital principle, which we can call Feature Number Six. We have no tolerance whatsoever for anything spiritual or mystical. This is simply absolute anathema for us. If it doesn't pass muster over at the Skeptical Inquirer magazine, we don't want to know about it. It's not that we're going to pick big public fights with spiritually motivated Greens and other illuminated hippie types. This is useless and a waste of time, like beating up Quakers and the Amish. We're simply going to serenely ignore them, the way everyone else does.

Feature Number Seven. Our movement has no street credibility. We are not hip, underground, bohemian or alternative in any way. If anyone asks you, tell them you are engaged in corporate futurism and product development. Trust me on this one. I have an exquisite understanding of how this system works, and at the end of the 90s, the real estate in the underground is priced out of site. Not *monetarily* of course -- it's priced in reputation capital, and the interest rates and confiscatory taxes there are way too high. The product-cycle and shelf availability times in the underground are absurdly thin. Forget about the underground, it's not worth it. Give it back to the young people and let them live there and breathe there and grow there.

Our movement has no street credibility, and it is certainly not a youth movement. We're not particularly interested in young people, or in recruiting young people to our cause. We think that young people have suffered enough, and will probably suffer a great deal more for things that they never did. They should not be required to be trendy any more, the overhead there is just too cruel. Young people should be left to enjoy their pirated MP3 music and their baggy cast-off clothing, and everyone over 30 should get the hell off their backs.

Which leads to unique feature Number Eight. We are an avant-garde that is specifically interested in OLD PEOPLE. If anyone should be galvanized with guilt over this issue, it's guys who have been driving big ugly cars

and living in leaky mansions for sixty years. Well, your chickens have come home to roost now, Mr Muscle Car, Mr Little Deuce Coupe. This is your legacy to the grandkids. If you have a spark of decency, you should pitch in and help us. We've got plenty of stuff you can do without leaving the house or even getting out of your wheelchair. Besides, we're the first avant-garde that is living in a society where the median age is rising steadily. The target audience is old.

Unique feature Number Nine. We love cops and soldiers. Cops and soldiers are the armed wing of our movement. One problem with traditional cultural movements is that they have way too much culture and not enough people with revolvers. We have a special fondness for environmental crimes units, anti-poacher units, post-disaster National Guard units, emergency civil engineers, the Red Cross and so forth. As for terrorism and vigilante action, we just find this absurd. These people aren't serious players, they have no idea how to seize and hold power.

One gets tired of watching cultural movements act as if they were engaged in something daringly criminal and semi-licit. The GCC is the group that is engaged in something daring, criminal and semi-licit. They should live in dire fear of arrest and prosecution. So we don't engage in any of this net-radical hacking or monkeywrenching nonsense. We're far more interested in things like on-site inspections and legal indictments.

Feature Number Ten. We're futurists. One of the major problems of the Belle Epoque movements is that they had no idea what they were getting into with World War One. You saw artists who should have had more sense giving up everything to bay for blood and glory. Once they realized just how ugly it was getting, they got this stunned, sheeplike look. We will never, ever look like that. We see our own doom very clearly. We're interested in the specific, everyday details of our doom. We're not all intimidated by it, we want to look at it with coldblooded objectivity and document it. When society starts coming apart at the seams, we want to affect the thinking of the guys running the contingency and the emergency plans.

Feature Number Eleven. All art movements tend to have favorite drugs. We're also interested in drugs. Our pet drug is Viagra. This is the first legal, recreational dope that has swept the entire population in ages. We're interested in biomedicine and life-extension drugs. Mostly we're interested in these drugs because they are the only mind-altering drugs that are well-designed. Because believe me, when you live longer, your mind gets permanently altered.

We're also concerned about the problem of short-term thinking in environmental issues. We want people to live longer, so that they can comprehend the full extent of their foolishness, and pay the full personal penalty for their shortsightedness. This is a minor issue for us, but it's on the agenda. It ties into our interest in futurological principles and scenario forecasting. We think design movements should study culture as if they knew it was going to change and *keep* changing. And the best way to understand the future of culture is to invent it yourself.

Feature Number Twelve. We have a name, and a coherent look. Art movements that aren't designed in cold blood have a problem, which is that moron critics name them. That's how you get stuck with a name like the "Fauves." We've already got a name. We're Viridian Greens, the Viridian movement.

That's because we're green, but there's something electrical and unnatural about our tinge of green. We're an art movement that looks like a mailing list, an ad campaign, a design team, an oppo research organization, a laboratory, and, perhaps most of all, we resemble a small feudal theocracy ruled with an iron hand by a Pope-Emperor. We have our own logo -- or we will. We have our own font and our own typography. And we have an entire list of favorite Viridian-approved tie-in products: T-shirts, chrome stickers, socks, solar panels, ultrasonic sterilizers, and so on.... We're going to be spending a lot of time picking bits and pieces out of the background clutter, and assembling them, and placing our stamp of ideological approval upon them. The future is already here. It just hasn't been assembled as a cultural ensemble.

So much for my organizational principles. They're excellent principles except for one major problem, the unlucky Feature Thirteen.

Feature Thirteen is that I am the absolute monarch of the Viridian Movement. Not only does the buck stop here, but I am going to be coining and distributing the bucks. If you would prefer to be the King, you have my blessing; I have made my design principles public and open, so start a movement, knock yourself out.

All I ask of you, is don't do one fatal thing. Don't commit the fatal act of all eager net-based dilettantes. Don't think that just because you have a really cool idea, all those eager volunteers will materialize out of cyberspace to do your organizational work for free. Editing a list and picking out good ideas from crap is

heavy, killer work. It's like sorting letters, it's disgruntled postal worker labor. I've been doing this for three years in Dead Media Project, I know what I'm talking about. It's not about youthful enthusiasm, it's all about grim middle-aged persistence. Anyone in a frenzy of enthusiasm can edit one issue of a fanzine; even Ezra Pound could manage that much. Scarcely anyone can do four issues in a row. Everyone in cyberspace has cooler ideas than WIRED magazine. Nobody else can come out on time with their facts checked and the proofs read.

So I plan to give it a shot, starting next week. There's one final thing art movements don't have. Lucky Feature Fourteen. They don't have a beta pre-release. That's why I have one. Real zealots ship, you see? Our first pilot project, our first official rollout, is a Viridian Manifesto for January 3, 2000. We are going to collect and filter all the cool ideas we can, we are going to build a new world on the screen through an act of vivifying imagination. It's an act of science fictional world creation, but this time, it's the world we're living in. The plan is to set the world back on its heels. We have till January 3. If we can't put that together and ship, then it's vaporware. It never happened. We'll all deny everything. No one will ever know.

If you're with me, send email.

Thanks for your attention.

Bruce Sterling bruces@well.com

Subject: Viridian Note 00002

Key concepts: Viridian List mechanics; attention economics; reputation capital

Attention Conservation Notice: This Note will explain, in full detail, the unorthodox format of Viridian Notes. On the other hand, if you simply skip this, it will make little difference, since the list's autocratic moderator is determined to do these things anyway.

From: bruces@well.com (Bruce Sterling)

Sources: none

Links: <http://www.bespoke.org/viridian>
<http://www.well.com/conf/mirrorshades/viridiandesign.htm>

To go further: stay subscribed

Allow me to explain the structure of Viridian Notes and my basic ideas about future contributions to this

list.

Internet mailing lists, such as this Viridian list, are a form of publishing in which no money changes hands. Nevertheless, there are two important forms of para-economics involved. The first is "reputation economics." People tend to contribute to Internet exchanges because there are useful personal benefits in spreading one's ideas, establishing one's public expertise, and making one's name known to other interested parties. This practice has a long and honorable history, and is well known in the sciences and in academia generally. These groups were the original source of the Internet and its publication practices -- along with the military.

The second para-economic aspect is "attention economics." This one is more problematic, because this is where the cruelest forms of exploitation take place in the Internet's noncommercial world. It is easy to cut-and-paste huge archives of found text and images, and to bomb one's hapless correspondents with them. The time and attention of recipients suffers badly, since the work of distribution can be accomplished in seconds, while parsing all that text, and finally deciding that it is useless, can take seemingly forever.

We are intensely interested in the efficient design of lists and distributed, noncommercial, electronic networking. These issues will be a major topic of discussion in the Viridian list. We also intend to try some experiments within the list itself. We hope they will lead to improved list performance.

Our first formal innovation is an attempt to steal as little of your attention as we can. We don't fondly imagine that every reader will find all posts in this list to be equally fascinating. We are going to be covering a lot of ground here, and much of our content will be not only novel, but frankly weird. Therefore, we will begin each Viridian Note with a useful set of its key concepts. With some practice, we hope that you will be able to reject a Viridian Note, confidently and without a pang, within two or three seconds.

This effort, however, may not be enough. You may still find yourself painfully tempted to actually **read** the Note. We therefore offer a backup safety system, our unique "Attention Conservation Notice." This will begin each Note by explaining to you, in some brief detail, why you should NOT read it.

This has never been done before in print-based publishing, but in the text-glutted electronic context, we feel this practice makes a lot of sense. By saving your

attention, we are offering you a considerable value-added service, which makes our Viridian list considerably "cheaper" in attention-terms than the other, more primitive lists you may be reading. They cynically imagine that you are reading everything they spew; we, however, know much better, and we are on your side. Besides, this is honest practice in list moderation. No piece of text (especially *free* text) can be perfect. Since the list editor has already taken the trouble to figure out what's wrong with it, you might as well know, too.

We will follow the useful design edict to "Look at the Underside First." We'll start each Note by explaining the areas in which its design and intention *fails*, rather than act as attention-hucksters, trumpeting the work's supposed benefits and demanding that you concentrate.

With time, we hope to develop a standard set of "Attention Conservation" disclaimers that will save you much mental processing time. In future, the following warnings may see considerable use in this list:

"Highly speculative;" "Beautifully phrased but offers no evidence to support its claims;" "Of interest mostly to technical specialists," "Written in postmodernese;" "Infested with subcultural jargon," "Grimly accurate assessment, can cause feelings of despair," "Contains violent partisan attacks," "Writer's original language not English," and so forth. (At least, those disclaimers would be of huge benefit in most of the lists that we're reading right now.)

We will try a similar tactic with the issue of "reputation economics." In academia and the sciences, steady publication and the practice of citations can lead to promotion, tenure, awards, membership on committees that allocate research resources, cool junkets on other continents, and so on. That is why scientists will frequently pay to be published, and even engage in the hideous scutwork of reading unsolicited science papers. Unfortunately, being autonomous and budget-free, we Viridians can't offer any academic benefits; not even so much as a parking space.

But the principle sounds intriguing. So we will try the following experiment. Whenever you offer useful commentary, research leads, or behind-the-scenes aid for this list, you will receive a Viridian medal, a little decorative chevron >^< for your log-in name. For every piece of writing or artwork that you publish on the Viridian list, we will place a star >*< by your name. And they are cumulative, as in:

bucky@tensegrity.net^^^^^^** (Buckminster Fuller)

and

kandinsky@blauereiter.org^^^^** (Vassily Kandinsky).

These chevrons and stars will allow readers in future to instantly see that you have been doing real intellectual labor here, rather than merely lurking, and then dipping in to fatuously pontificate on other people's efforts. This parasitic activity constantly takes place in other, more primitive lists; but the Viridian list has a work-around. As time goes on, our core contributors will receive a veritable sleeve-full of chevrons and stars. Perhaps a formal ranking system of some kind will develop: with Viridian bishops, archbishops, cardinals, High Priestesses, and so on. We are open to suggestion.

For those who have won reputation capital in other contexts that they do not want to risk slumming on the Internet, we offer our Viridian house-names, "A. Viridienne" (and, for gender fairness, "A. Viridian"). You can write under these names if you choose, and bypass the reputation economy entirely. The most generous contribution is, of course, an anonymous one. Think the matter over, and you may consider this the best contribution you can make. It is much easier to affect people's thinking, than it is to affect people's thinking, and get the credit for it.

We are all drowning in information here online, but we have a dire famine of meaning and relevance. Of course we appreciate people who send us useful material. You will get a chevron. We will appreciate it much more, if you can find the time and energy to deliver your own critical assessment of what you have found. You will star. We know that it's interesting to you -- for some reason. We want to know why. And how it makes you feel. Why it fits into our interests, and what general relevance you feel that it holds for the future. We are not a news distribution list. We are engaged in cultural criticism. This is a creative, speculative, world-building exercise.

Viridian text will be sent out in a format which is readable on a screen in large, generous, 14-point type. This is for the direct benefit of middle-aged and elderly readers.

We will send standard ASCII and avoid enclosures, for the sake of list subscribers who lack massive bandwidth and bloated, semifunctional, web-based, email readers.

If you want to pass a Viridian note to a friend or a list of friends, go ahead.

Whenever possible, we will list the sources of our data, so as to facilitate fact-checking activities by journalists, scholars, police officers and other interested parties.

Whenever possible, Notes will include relevant web links and other suggestions indicating how this particular line of inquiry might be usefully pursued.

I hope and believe that the workaday activities of the Viridian list will be much simpler and more natural than this elaborate explanation might suggest.

Bruce Sterling (bruces@well.com)

Further Viridian writings available at:

<http://www.bespoke.org/viridian>

<http://www.well.com/user/jonl/viridian.txt>

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Medley_Global_Advisors@medleyadvisors.com@INET@LNGTWY (Medley_Global_Advisors@medleyadvisors.com@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 11-MAR-1999 10:02:31.00

SUBJECT: Morning Meeting for 03/11/99

TO: Lael Brainard@eop (Lael Brainard@eop [OPD])
READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

MEDLEY GLOBAL ADVISORS
MORNING MEETING

March 11, 1999

Germany: War on the Rhine, part II
ECB: What, me worry?
Latin America: Latin hat trick or hat dance?
China: Repositions no devaluation stance

GERMANY

PUSHING FOR A GERMAN U-TURN

The rumors are flying this morning about resignations from the Schroeder government, including the Chancellor himself and market bete noir Oskar Lafontaine. These rumors are part of the expanding War on the Rhine we first told you about in Monday's Special Report. In fact, information from across the German elite indicates strongly to us that you should expect to hear an increasingly critical tone in press reports about the Schroeder government in the next few weeks. The goal of the campaign is to get rid of -- or shunt aside -- Lafontaine deputy Heiner Flassbeck, but to do that, Lafontaine himself must become a target (maybe Ken Starr could just indict him).

While the press has been bad for Schroeder, it's about to get worse and stay worse as German business and Central Bank leaders mount a quiet campaign to make sure the splits in the five-month old government are well documented. The goal is to undercut the "old Labour" influence on Finance Minister Lafontaine, and the model is pretty much dictated by the 1993-4 Republican assault on Bill and Hillary Clinton: don't attack the master, attack the assistant and get the master to disassociate himself from the assistant to save his own political neck. Just as in the Clinton case, the German business and Central Banking elite is aided by serious splits within the Schroeder government itself between new and old labour.

The latest leak this morning about Schroeder losing his temper in yesterday

morning's cabinet meeting and threatening to resign is only a part of the campaign. Yes he did lose his temper, but resignation was hardly on his mind. Neither is it in consideration by Lafontaine, as subsequent rumors had it. Observers note that Lafontaine would never voluntarily take a political defeat of such a magnitude, as it would "weaken him even more." Chancellery sources do tell us Schroeder strongly criticized his government's tax and energy policies as "policies I cannot deliver to the German people." He turned to Lafontaine specifically to say it is important the government deliver "the right economic policies." On Tuesday, Schroeder met for nearly two hours with chief executives of the German business community, including Allianz and Deutsche Telekom in preparation for a trip to Asia that aides described as "very positive." Schroeder, a senior official stated flatly to us, "wants to make it clear that what he wants is a partnership with business."

The German elite is becoming increasingly concerned that the policies being promoted by Lafontaine and his State Secretary Heiner Flassbeck will tip the balance of discussion in European political circles if it goes on for too long. "It's one thing to have the Swedes or even some of the loony French running around spouting 70's style socialism," one stalwart noted, "we can be amused by that. But it's another thing to have the German government saying these things. It can legitimize the hard left in other countries." These German officials and business leaders point particularly to the still important split between French Finance Minister Strauss-Kahn (The Capitalist Tool) and Madame Aubry ('private sector jobs are not real jobs, for they can be lost') and to the diminishing influence of Italian Budget Minister Ciampi within the D'Alema government. Turn around and -- yikes -- we'll have Scala Mobila again. Too much loose talk out of Bonn could get the colonists thinking unclean thoughts again. If you need evidence of this look at the European Parliament today pushing forward a vote, with no amendments offered by the center-right, that the ECB needs to make monetary policy based on "general conditions." The articles make no reference to price stability whatsoever, and goes on to urge coordination of fiscal policies to stimulate growth since the EU budget is not large enough to make a difference. The directives to the ECB are of course meaningless in and of themselves, but illustrate the increasing militancy that the central bankers are concerned about.

Although the press campaign will make things look worse for Germany in the short run, the anti-old Labour forces hope it will force Schroeder and Lafontaine to unite in a U-turn of the kind Clinton did in 1995 and Mitterrand did in 1983 (Blair escaped this fate by coming into office as a right-of-center leader). As we wrote earlier this week, the key would be to see Heiner Flassbeck shunted aside either officially or de facto.

THE ECB

OKAY, WE DON'T CARE ABOUT THE EURO LEVEL, BUT WE DO CARE ABOUT THE EURO IN A HEGELIAN SENSE

French officials and German central bank officials make it abundantly clear that unless the economics of euroland deteriorate rapidly, rate cuts are unlikely to be on the agenda anytime soon. The ritual formulation is "yes, yes, we look at all the evidence fortnightly, but it doesn't change all

that quickly, and the evidence indicates that nothing is wrong with the European economy that lower interest rates can fix."

The point they make is that all of Europe except Germany and Italy is cruising along at growth rates above 2.5% and those two core economies would not be helped by lower rates. German problems are seen --as you have heard endlessly -- as structural, not credit-related, while the Italian growth slump is actually blamed on the sudden rush of lower interest rates that undercut fixed-interest income. By contrast, officials note that in countries used to high long term interest rates (including France) the sudden arrival of 4 and 5 percent long-bond yields has produced a boom in construction and investment as businesses and homeowners rush to take advantage of these historic low rates before the mirage disappears.

So, with rate cuts blocked for the moment, the euro continues to be the focus of ECB and NCB officials. We continue to hear from all sides that the level of the euro is of zero concern to them now. Senior Central Bank officials understand that there is little they can do about the euro right now:

** First, most of the movement is easily explained by the economic and interest rate differentials between the US and Europe (but how about the UK? Is it all rates?) and as one Central Bank official put it, "that's what floating rates are for."

** Second, as another senior central banker says, "we are in a neutral zone for the euro right now. If you look behind the euro to the deutschmark and french franc rates you will see that we are at levels where we have always been silent before and where we are comfortable being silent now."

** Third, no one wants to get in the business of picking a "level" that's "too weak" for the euro. This is particularly true since the euro has been trending down since its debut. This is as we heard from one very experienced Central Bank official: "what happens if we pick a figure that's too low; say 1.05 or even par? Then we give the markets something to shoot at; something to test. Markets will have to go there, won't they? And then what if we go through those levels? Then we have a currency that is officially 'too weak' and people begin to question it as a reliable store of value. Better to smooth a little on the way down, and let the market pick its own levels while we concentrate on ensuring the currency is received as a reliable and smooth functioning newcomer without getting into a 'too weak' battle we can't really win."

** Fourth, directly related to the point above, what would the ECB authorities do if they set some "too weak" level and the markets challenged it? Certainly, they aren't going to raise interest rates no matter what happens (as one official noted, this was one of their most effective arguments with Lafontaine and Flassbeck against target zones). So that leaves verbal intervention, which would work for a few weeks. But it would eventually come down to physical intervention and that is something the Bundesbank and Banque de France have long believed to be counterproductive unless supported by shifts in fundamentals. And, to complete the logic, if the fundamentals do shift, then the currency will begin recovering on its own anyway.

While those reasons are plenty to keep the ECB from declaring war right now to support the euro, there must be conditions that would trigger an

emergency push by central bankers to underpin the euro. The answer seems to be linked directly to long term interest rates in Europe. "As long as the spread between 10-year interest rates for European and American government bonds continue to stay wide," one official noted, "we can be certain that the declining euro reflects the market's judgment on Europe's economy versus America's economy. We can live with that. But if the European long rates started to rise sharply toward American rates without a change in your economy or ours, then we would be worried that the weak euro was reflecting rising concern about the ECB and the EMU. If that happened we would have to respond sharply, concretely and quickly." That is not likely. Despite a steepening yield curve in Europe, the spread of US ten-year rates over bunds since October has gone from 40 over, to a peak of 140 over in late February, to 110 now. That's plenty wide to keep even the ECB currency hawks relaxed.

But there is an increasingly serious sense among senior European central bankers that the ECB needs to get its rhetoric right on the euro and that it needs to send the correct message to markets. In other words, while the euro will rise and it will sink depending on the economic conditions of Europe versus the US and Japan, some of the senior officials in Frankfurt and Paris believe ECB members are verging on encouraging a weak euro by talking about it being a good thing for the euro to be weak. Expect a campaign in the next few weeks to fine tune that rhetoric, not to push the euro up, but to smooth the language so it does not appear to be actively pushing the euro down.

LATIN AMERICA

TRYING TO PLEASE THE MARKETS IN BRAZIL AND MEXICO

What a difference a week can make. Right on cue for the IADB meetings in Paris, Latin America is providing a bit of hope, or at least realistic plans to deliver some good news to emerging markets. Ecuador is preparing a comprehensive economic package to address its current crisis (see our special report issued yesterday afternoon). Brazil's economic team goes into its road show of private meetings with bankers later today. And Mexico is feeling comfortable enough with fiscal and exchange stability -- and the potential bottoming of oil prices -- to begin to shift its focus to bringing interest rates down.

Brazilian government supporters in Congress defeated the most pernicious amendments against the CPMF tax, so the measure can proceed unweakened to its final vote next week. Domestic investors have begun to shift their focus from currency to interest rate futures contracts. Local banks stand ready to take advantage of lower reserve requirements on foreign liabilities to help corporate borrowers restructure their external debts and clear the decks for new corporate issues. And key international bankers have indicated their willingness to support the new Brazilian program even without much jawboning from the G7 central bankers who will be standing at Arminio Fraga's side during the coming days. Things are even looking stable enough for Arminio to have started talking to his I-bankers about the structure of a \$1 billion sovereign bond issue targeted for April.

Mexican crude has risen over \$1/bbl this month and the most recent trade

numbers gave a positive surprise. Even if the recovery is not sustained, it has reduced government expectations that a further expenditure cut will be required. The government now has flexibility along two dimensions. First, Mexico can reduce somewhat its desired IMF borrowing. The figure being discussed is now closer to \$5 billion than the previously mooted \$7.5 billion. That amount would allow the IMF package to come in under the government's cap on new debt, obviating the need for congressional approval. Second, the Central Bank can now look to take advantage of relative strength in the fiscal and trade accounts to address the high interest rates that have been dragging the Mexican economy. Top officials at the Central Bank told us this week that markets will be surprised at the speed at which inflation and interest rates come down. But markets are already taking the hint: this week's primary auction of local treasury bills was vastly oversubscribed sending the 28-day CETES rates down over 200 basis points on the week and 900 basis points over the past seven weeks of consecutive declines. The target, and indeed rates are being targeted, is to bring the benchmark one-month bill rate to 20% early in 2Q 1999, consistent with monthly inflation rates of 0.6-0.8%. If a virtuous cycle does indeed begin to spin around Latin American markets, this target could be achieved sooner rather than later.

CHINA

SETTING THE STAGE FOR 2000

China is finding it increasingly difficult to communicate a consistent and credible position on the RMB. It has no intention to devalue this year, and Beijing wants to impress this upon foreign investors. China needs continued FDI to help with its massive investment projects -- of course, the threat of devaluation in the future undermines that objective. The political costs in terms of the government's prestige of devaluing the yuan this year would be too high given all the pledges leaders have made and several significant anniversary celebrations planned for this year. On the other hand, the government also wants to ease itself out of the bind it got itself into with its categorical no devaluation promises. In light of the worsening economic and social conditions at home, Beijing is casting about for political cover in the event its current stimulus strategy does not work and a devaluation in 2000 becomes unavoidable. Tough job, tough sell.

But that is 2,000. Sources in Beijing keep on telling us that right now leaders there are deeply committed to pursuing a domestically-led growth strategy. Therefore, the new caveats on its no devaluation pledge should be seen as repositioning and not as signals of readiness for immediate devaluation. Policy discussions before the Party Congress in late summer will seriously revisit the yuan situation. The fate of the yuan will largely depend on the party's assessment of both internal and external situations then.

MEDLEY GLOBAL ADVISORS

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===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

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id <01J8P7HN9DCG00465J@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for brainard_l@a1.eop.gov; Thu,

11 Mar 1999 09:57:34 EST

Received: from storm.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.1-9 #29131)

with ESMTP id <01J8P7HIPEKG004SU0@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for brainard_l@a1.eop.gov;

Thu, 11 Mar 1999 09:57:29 -0500 (EST)

Received: from mig1.medleyadvisors.com ([206.41.15.104])

by EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.2-29 #34437) with SMTP id <01J8P7GZIUDI0005EU@EOP.GOV> for

brainard_l@a1.eop.gov; Thu, 11 Mar 1999 09:57:03 -0500 (EST)

Received: by mig1.medleyadvisors.com(Lotus SMTP MTA SMTP v4.6 (462.2 9-3-1997))

id 85256731.0051F787 ; Thu, 11 Mar 1999 09:55:17 -0500

X-Lotus-FromDomain: MEDLEY

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Sharon H. Yuan (CN=Sharon H. Yuan/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

CREATION DATE/TIME:15-MAR-1999 09:33:12.00

SUBJECT: G7 Special Report: Game, Set and Match: Schroeder

TO: Bruce McNamer (CN=Bruce McNamer/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [OPD])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Sharon H. Yuan/OPD/EOP on 03/15/99
09:34 AM -----

Medley_Global_Advisors @ medleyadvisors.com
03/14/99 11:29:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Lael Brainard

cc:

Subject: G7 Special Report: Game, Set and Match: Schroeder

MEDLEY GLOBAL ADVISORS
G7 SPECIAL REPORT

Game, Set and Match: Schroeder

March 14, 1999

Less than 24 hours after seeing off his arch-rival for command of his government and his party, German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder won the SPD's endorsement of his candidate for the Finance Ministry, Hans Eichel, as well as the party's support to name himself as Oskar Lafontaine's successor as SPD party chairman. In an amazing turn of events, Schroeder has been handed a golden opportunity to reshape the political and legislative agenda to his liking. In a way, the federal election results last October only came through Thursday night: Gerhard Schroeder is now, finally, the Bundeskanzler. The SPD will never be the same.

Perhaps the first litmus test of his grip on the government policy will be how he handles the current play in the tax reform bills Lafontaine crashed through the Bundestag two weeks ago. (The other key policy test will be staying quiet about ECB interest rates. Central bankers caution, however, against overly optimistic market hopes for shortening the rate cut timetable following Lafontaine's departure.)

Tax reform discussions are currently due for a final vote in the Bundesrat on March 24. German industry has pressed hard for changes, particularly in the fossil fuel and electricity levy increases and the removal of the tax deductions for insurance industry reserves. The markets are watching how the tax bills are handled for evidence of Schroeder's promised pro-business policy stance.

Schroeder has said already that there will be no change in the current tax bills. But behind the political curtain much more is going on. Of course, Schroeder has no choice, senior sources in the government say, but to assert publicly and to the party that there will be no changes in the tax reform bills in order to achieve his immediate and most important objective: to calm the party in the aftermath of the internally popular Lafontaine's sudden exit. Additionally, there is a cold political calculation: any changes now to the current legislation would delay the final vote in the Bundesrat to after April 4, and that is a key date in Schroeder's desk calendar. Since the SPD lost the Hesse election, the CDU will succeed departing Hesse Prime Minister Hans Eichel in voting in the Bundesrat. That means Schroeder has no guarantee he could control the changes in the tax bills. The CDU would almost certainly use their new majority to either delay the bills or to demand larger changes than Schroeder envisages, if for no other reason but to bring him grief from the left of his own party.

We are reliably told the current strategy being developed inside the Chancellery is to maintain a public stance of sticking with the current tax legislation in order to see it through a Bundesrat vote before the fourth of April, but to assure industry that amendments favorable to their position will be made in the autumn that would go into effect in fiscal 2000. The basic plan is to rebate to affected industries the difference between what Lafontaine's Finance Ministry originally calculated their additional tax burden to be, and the much higher number that these industries have estimated (and which Lafontaine ultimately conceded to be closer to the truth). The granting of rebates will not affect the calculated deficits for this year, since the budget is based on the lower number. Certainly by the fall, the political strategists argue, Schroeder will have a firm enough grip on the party machinery to be free to assert more moderate policies that he firmly believes will create more jobs than Lafontaine's ill-fated interventionist approach. The new regime has also told us that they plan to deliver a reduction in the corporate tax rate to 35%, starting in the year 2000. How's that for "business friendly?"

LAFONTAINE'S AUF WIEDERSEHEN

Incidentally, we learned a few more of the details surrounding Oskar's stunner of an exit from Bonn. He had clashed with Schroeder on two other policy differences in addition to the tax reform bills. First, Lafontaine had been admonished by Schroeder who felt Lafontaine was way out of line when he so publicly reached out to the Party of Democratic Socialism (the former east German communists). Schroeder had told Lafontaine and the cabinet that he would only be willing to work with the PDS on a laender, not a federal level, and would do so discreetly in the way the CDU had. Secondly, Lafontaine felt betrayed by Schroeder who had approved budgetary concessions on the EU Cohesion Funds without consulting him on such a

matter that was clearly a Finance Ministry issue. Coming barely days after the two had thought they had reached an understanding with each other on working relations, Lafontaine was said to have taken the turn of events badly. (Agenda 2000 negotiations, by the way, now look even more like a debacle for the German taxpayers, since the German eagerness for a deal remains intense, but a new negotiator has to step into Lafontaine's shoes.)

Non-political friends say Lafontaine had been brooding for several days before his decision, repeatedly recalling the 1990 assassination attempt in which he was stabbed in the neck. Thursday morning, he typed a letter of resignation in his office at the Ministry and gave it to Ottmar Schreiner, the SPD's federal manager, to give to Schroeder. Schreiner did so at noon. Lafontaine called Peter Struck, the SPD parliamentary whip, to inform him of his decision, but otherwise told no one else -- not even inside the Finance Ministry (Heiner Flassbeck, the State Secretary, for instance, was at an all-day deputies meeting just outside Bonn as host of a G-33 meeting on the international financial architecture reforms). Lafontaine then headed for his home in Saarbrücken that afternoon, and has declined to return calls ever since, even from Schroeder himself.

Schroeder delayed telling anyone else about the letter until 5:30, we are told, to buy himself some time to think through the implications of Lafontaine's departure and to decide on how to capitalize on it. But Chancellery sources confirm Schroeder was positively stunned. During the afternoon, Schroeder decided on Eichel as Lafontaine's successor and called to ask Eichel to be at the Chancellery that evening. Schroeder also decided that he himself would press the party to name him as party chairman. Sources say that former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt -- who mostly resides in Hamburg near Schroeder's home power base of Niedersachsen -- had advised Schroeder that one of his single biggest regrets during his tenure as Chancellor was that he was not party chairman as well.

By the time he did allow the release of Lafontaine's letter after the markets had closed in Germany, the Chancellor was confident he had already set in motion the means by which he could impose his control of the party. "His single biggest challenge in the next few days and weeks will be to calm the party," says one political observer. "Nothing will be possible along the lines of what he has in mind until he is secure within the party."

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READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

MEDLEY GLOBAL ADVISORS
WEEKLY MONITOR

March 19, 1999

PART I: CORE POSITIONS

G-7

UNITED STATES

** THE FED -- Economy "balanced," but in a spooky liminal state between fire and ice, and everyone is a lot confused about what happens next. There's not the faintest evidence of inflation in the data, despite upward revisions in 1999 GDP forecast to 2.5-3% growth -- and even those estimates may prove to be too low. Dream-like conditions remain something to be enjoyed, but not fully trusted, so it will take signs of real overheating to get a rate hike out of the Fed. They are at least as worried about plunging capacity utilization rates as the implications of future commodity price rises. Even the most hawkish NAIRUists are beginning to believe in a new age economy where upticks in oil prices are not seen as threats and even the overvalued stock market can be explained away.

** FISCAL POLITICS -- Jeez, battling over how to spend those surpluses is proving to be as tough as it was to fight over cutting the deficits. To date, a post-impeachment Prez and revitalized Dems have skewered the GOPsters, though Domenici and Kasich are endeavoring to come up with credible budget with much prized tax cuts. But may have blundered yet again with proposed reductions in limits on public debt. Did someone say government shutdown?

** DOLLAR -- Still-strong dollar likely to be Bob's legacy to Larry.

EUROPE

** ECB -- "YES!!!" Oh sorry, we didn't mean to say that, er, we have no comment on the departure of that French-speaking bastard up in Bonn. No, we have to focus on being stoical central bankers, unruffled by the short-term noise of politics, or even by 35 million unemployed Europeans. The ECB rhetoric persists that liquidity is ample and growth will magically appear without any help from a further monetary boost. Nevertheless, the ECB will ease if the data paves the way with another fall in HICP, or if the German and Italian slowdown looks to be spreading across Europe, and piss-poor business confidence drag down what little consumer spending there is. Data

like the appalling Ifo survey go in that direction, and the ECB monthly report admitted that "confidence needs to be supported," but adds that industrial confidence is a function of "structural impediments," not interest rates. That rejoinder can easily change, though, if consumer confidence wilts.

**** THE EURO --** The euro is ranging at levels that don't displease anyone. Plus, if they ever want it to strengthen again we'd be happy to provide a list of names of other officials who the market wouldn't mind seeing resign

**** GERMAN POLITICS --** Schroeder sees the demise of his co-chancellor with barely a fight. But refashioning his SPD-Green coalition as business and market-friendly will prove to be fraught with difficulties and has barely begun. Look for continued tensions and a wobbly government soon facing a de facto vote of confidence in June elections for the European Parliament and laender election in Bremen.

**** EU POLITICS --** Prodi still looking like the man for next commission president. If the guy can get Italy into EMU with its finances, he can certainly knock the commission into shape. Mass resignation a solid positive since it means Europeans bureaucrats discover accountability, while Schroeder and Blair calling the shots in aftermath is a good thing too.

UK

**** EMU POLITICS --** The shadow groups are up and running, with the commission debacle being spun furiously in either direction - Brussels hopelessly corrupt vs. long overdue housecleaning underway. All makes it very important for Blair not to appear to be snookered in the Agenda 2000 talks next week. Don't touch my rebate!

**** BUDGET --** Even the Bank of England came out and said they had no problem with Brown's budget. Maybe Tory party base rebuilding should start with their obvious core support among short sterling traders.

JAPAN

**** BOJ POLICY --** BOJ targeting call money via generous liquidity stance. Still observing the feedthrough of the recent policy moves into money supply data, and waiting to see the effect, if any, that the bank recapitalizations have. Easy policy will continue as evidenced by continued supply of funds to money market and possible targets of longer dated instruments. Meanwhile the market waits with dwindling patience for the official announcement of the next big policy step-- targeting inflation, bank reserves, little green apples, something, anything! Doves on the policy board want to move ahead faster but quarrels within the dove camp have left the initiative with the hawks who pray they have done enough for now. Basically they're all crossing their digits on market prices for year-end.

**** FISCAL POLICY --** FY99 budget passed this week and it is only modestly stimulative. Miyazawa has already put the kibosh on a supplementary budget in the Fall, but we shall see. Public works spending to be front-loaded in the first half (as usual) but actual disbursements likely to be delayed until second half of FY99 anyway (as usual). MOF not in any position to accommodate additional spending if it has to pay for the ongoing bank bailout.

**** BANKS --** Speaking of banks, your shares in Long-Term Credit Bank are officially worthless. Mounting net losses (now Y2 trillion and rising) leave nothing in the kitty for common shareholders. Even royal

shareholders are getting flushed. There will be political hell to pay for the loss of public funds in LTCB. How this is handled will set a precedent for NCB and other banks to be nationalized at some future date. Banks still numbered among the living are praying nothing untoward happens between now and month-end. BOJ is using moral suasion to keep yen/dollar above 115 and avoid the invocation of the 15% rule.

**** DOLLAR/YEN --** Yen strength will be limited to an outside top range at best through the end of the month because of 15% rule fears. Lots of happy folks if currency is at 120 or weaker on March 31.

**** NIKKEI --** Everyone's favorite stock market continues to rally. Foreigners are buying, egged on by Japanese institutions. Note that June Nikkei futures are consistently trading at a discount to the cash market. Our friendly bankers are hedging their cross-holding portfolios while they can so they don't get burned come the September 30 midterm.

EMERGING MARKETS

BRAZIL

**** BANKING ON THE BANKS --** Brazil has gotten the credit rollovers it needed, with banks agreeing to maintain lines at February 28th levels until August 31. With the kinder and gentler Korea-style plan in place, the government's funding focus can shift to domestic debt rollovers and an international bond issue likely in April. Both will be helped by the real's rebound, and additional technical measures -- along with judicious intervention -- will be deployed to maintain the currency's direction.

This week's set of measures aimed at both supply and demand by limiting participation in the foreign investment fund to force the repatriation of funds, and by easing dollar demand through a loosening of import financing requirements.

**** PLAN DEPENDS ON MONETARY CONTROL NOW --** The main fiscal elements of the economic stabilization program are in place, although there will be political pressures against expenditure cuts and some need to tighten to cover slippages at the state and municipal levels. Success now depends on bringing interest rates down. The Central Bank is on a virtually round-the-clock inflation watch, poised to cut rates when monthly price figures come in below expectations. Further real appreciation advances this goal.

**** HOME FRONT --** The fractious states have been neutralized, for the time being. Itamar Franco may extend his debt moratorium when its initial 90 days expires. The underlying intent is more anti-government posturing to make way for the launch of a new party Franco is beginning to talk about. His efforts aimed at succeeding Cardoso notwithstanding, Franco has been successfully isolated from the other governors, who are in reconciliation mode. The focus of internal politicking at the national party level can now shift to the forthcoming cabinet reshuffle.

RUSSIA

**** IMF --** Progress is being made in negotiations between Russia and the Fund, with narrowing of the gap between the two sides on fiscal targets, tax "reform" and the like. IMF and Russia are still likely to reach agreement on aid...eventually. Negotiations may not be finished until April, despite Primakov's hopes that he could wrap up the deal when he visits the US next week. IMF is still looking for leverage over a

government it rabidly distrusts. Ideas include demanding the Russians pay May's obligations to the IMF, as well as a two month "observation period" before credits are disbursed. As for disbursement schedule itself -- can you say "pair off?"

**** FOREIGN DEBT** -- Eurobond coupon payments are likely to continue through Q1 1999, but low reserves make the risk of default even on Eurobonds rise dramatically after that. May looks more and more like a critical month, with over a billion dollars of MinFin3 bonds likely to turn into expensive wallpaper. If IMF can make the Russians really pay about \$1 billion to the Fund in May, it could force the Russians into a stark choice between default on Eurobonds and draconian measures to keep export earnings (i.e. oil and gas) from seeping out of government coffers. The immediate threat of forcing changes in Eurobond covenants is receding as IMF backs away, leaving that nightmare alive only in the Paris Club.

**** DOMESTIC POLITICS** -- The surprise un-resignation of Prosecutor-General Skuratov (via a Federation Council vote that was intended as a slap in Yeltsin's face) illustrates the changing nature of Russian internal power alignments. Skuratov's Lazarus-like resurrection highlights Yeltsin's political weakness, the growing assertiveness of the regions (through the Federation Council); Skuratov is further bad news for the old financial oligarchs, the Central Bank, and the whiz-rebyata who made up the Kiriyenko cabinet -- in short, for anyone in a position of power on or around 17 Aug, 1998. Turbulence in Chechnya and bombs in North Ossetia further complicate "domestic tranquillity."

MEXICO

**** HIGHER OIL, LOWER RATES** -- Oil prices continue to strengthen. If the latest producer cartel agreement holds, there will be no need for further expenditure cuts, and Banco de Mexico's prediction that interest rates will come down is being fulfilled even as we speak. The goal is 20% early in 2Q 1999, consistent with monthly inflation rates during the trimester of 0.6-0.8%. If a virtuous cycle does indeed begin to spin around Latin American markets, this target could be achieved sooner rather than later. The bigger problem could be exchange overvaluation as export earnings rise and capital inflows resume. Early efforts to talk down the peso are already beginning.

**** FRATERNIZING WITH THE FUND** -- No, Mexico is not getting money from the new contingency facility - but only because that facility doesn't yet exist. The government is negotiating quietly with the IMF to borrow enough to roll over a substantial portion of the debt owed to the Fund. Since the IMF is relatively pleased with the way things have been going in Mexico, a loan shouldn't be a problem, particularly if Mexico can get some parallel financing from the private sector in line with the IMF's new emphasis on "bailing in." This week's deal to refinance 70% of the credit lines drawn down from banks last year will improve Mexico's relations with its bankers and set the stage to meet that bit of conditionality.

**** PUTTING THE PRI HOUSE IN ORDER** -- The challenges for the septuagenarian PRI come from without and within. The PAN and PRD will each be able to offer credible alternative presidential candidates in the Y2K election. The PRI, however, remains deeply divided, as this week's protest letter and leadership resignations showed. It is unclear whether divisions can be healed quickly so as to enable the party to build enough support to win the presidency.

SOUTH KOREA

**** THE PRIZE WE SOUGHT IS WON --** The won/dollar rate is still above the 1200 level that the government might term a point of concern. The Central Bank continues to use its state-owned bank proxies to influence the market at the margin, but had to let the dollar slide from 1230. The BoK will be looking for additional ways to keep the pressure off if equity investment inflows continue and the April 1 deregulation of foreign exchange transactions spurs additional inflows.

**** POLITICAL DETENTE --** President Kim has decided that implementing economic reforms might be a little easier with some accommodation to his coalition partner, not to mention the opposition. DJ sacked chief policy-maker Kim Won Gil, who had objected to the pension program championed by coalition partner PM Kim Jong Pil. Meanwhile, the government and opposition have agreed to cooperate on selected issues that require national consensus, including inter-Korean relations and a joint economic panel. The reconciliation could help the government deal with labor strikes later this month.

**** PENINSULAR DETENTE --** Southern President DJ Kim's package-deal approach to security and economic issues is carrying the day. The US kept explicit linkage out of this week's statement on the agreement to inspect the North's suspected nuclear site, but everyone knows the promised food aid and technical assistance on potato farming is linked. With the nuke issue settled (for now), the US and Japan can proceed to haggle with the North about missiles while the South pushes them to normalize relations and Hyundai (a state unto itself) readies its plans to build an industrial complex. So much for cash-strapped chaebols.

CHINA

**** REPOSITIONING ON YUAN --** We believe that China's no deval commitment will hold far beyond Zhu's visit to the US next month. The possibility of a deval beyond 1999 has definitely increased, however. Beijing's assessment of its current stimulus strategy late this summer will determine the fate of the RMB. In addition to the size of foreign exchange reserves and trade balances, whether the much-hyped growth can be maintained without help from exports is becoming increasingly crucial.

**** BUYING STABILITY --** Less than a week after the NPC session, President Jiang has already upped the economic ante. He told foreign journalists that 1999 economic growth should be about the same as 1998. That would be almost 1% higher than the forecast Zhu announced before NPC deputies. It is not that Beijing doesn't understand all the economic problems that can result from steroid-induced growth, but Beijing sees continued high growth as the only way to diffuse social and political tension.

**** INTEREST RATES --** Despite a PBOC spokesman's denial on Wednesday, there is clearly room for another rate cut in the near future given the absence of inflation and China's desperate need to spur consumption. Such a move could give the depressed stock market a lift, but is not expected to have much real effect on people's spending habits. High unemployment, the rising costs of medical bills, and the government's plan to privatize housing all make people feel that they need to save more.

HK

**** TUNG IS THE MAN --** Despite all the mishaps Tung has had in HK since the

retrocession, nothing would please Beijing more at this moment than a clear commitment from the Chief Executive that he will serve a second term. Beijing officials feel that Tung is their most trusted man in HK. This is good news for stability in the territory, but it also means that HK will continue to bend over backwards to read Beijing's mind. HK's famed adaptability continues to suffer.

**** NO DE-PEGGING** -- HKMA has no plans to change HK's currency board system. Ongoing studies are designed only to improve the system. After all, the decision not to let the peg go has been made in Beijing so far and has been more political than economic. Unless there is clear and present danger

to the peg, and a strong consensus emerging from the HKMA studies, there is unlikely to be a change in the political bias. In the long-run, however, much could depend on what Beijing does to the yuan in 2000.

**** RATE CUTS** -- The government clearly wants another cut to boost the economy, but the banking cartel continues to drag its feet. The ball is now in HKAB's court. There is room and a lot of pressure for another rate cut in the near future -- it seems to be just a matter of when and not if.

TAIWAN

**** TMD** -- With President Clinton reversing himself this week and Congress set to pass a supportive resolution, the missile defense system increasingly looks like a done deal. While the system is at least several years from being built, the debate over whether the US should extend it to Taiwan could further heat up. This issue will certainly be on the top of Zhu's agenda when he visits the US early next month.

INDONESIA

**** HABIBIE'S HOUR** -- President Habibie continues to amaze not only his severest critics but even his own inner circle with the success of his two-steps-forward, one-step-back economic plan. The bank recapitalization and liquidation scheme announced last weekend that shuttered 38 banks was the high point so far, and won him praise -- and more money from the IMF and other IFIs. With the election season heating up, Habibie's successes give his Golkar Party a platform to campaign on, but going forward, the President has a difficult path to navigate as every mis-step and miscue will become campaign fodder for the opposition.

MALAYSIA

**** GOOD GRIP** -- Coming off a successful win in the Sabah state election, PM Mahathir will embark on a country-wide tour next week to lay the foundations for upcoming national elections. He plans to explain the UMNO party's economic program, though the market will get better clues from Bank Negara's annual report to be released at the end of the month. Politically, while the increasing number of vocal opposition parties is becoming a growing concern, Mahathir has to contend with people's wrath over the government's ineptitude in handling the recent "pig flu" which has left over fifty Malaysians dead. But these are but ripples in Malaysia's route to recovery. Mahathir still has relatively smooth political waters in which to sail.

VENEZUELA

**** MORE PERON THAN MENEM** -- The military character of the new administration has not, as yet, raised concerns that unorthodox solutions

to the country's economic problems are on the way. Venezuela's external creditors comforted themselves when Mr. Chavez came to power advocating an external debt rescheduling with a comparison to Mr. Menem in Argentina, who, once elected, did a volte-face on his populist past, successfully adopting orthodox structural adjustment measures and market-oriented reforms. This is unlikely to be the case with Mr. Chavez, who seems very likely to keep many of his campaign promises including a clean sweep of past political practices, a new legislature, a new constitution...and perhaps a rescheduling of external obligations.

**** BREAKING THROUGH INERTIA --** Despite the sharply deteriorating state of the Venezuelan economy, inaction has been the rule. However, a "Plan" is now being formulated, announcement of which is scheduled for late next week. Officials assure us they want to be "market friendly" but know that they are sitting on a social time bomb. Meanwhile, in public the government continues to rule out any adjustment of foreign exchange rate policy -- of course denying that the bolivar is significantly "overvalued". After all, reserves are only down 6.4% for the year so far. Officials are "firmly dedicated" to reducing inflation, but sharp recent drops in local interest rates suggest that ending the deepening recession may be a more important goal. The proposed fiscal target of cutting last year's deficit (8% of GDP) in half will be made easier by the recent and expected bounces in oil

prices and by some surprise moves on long delayed privatizations.

ECUADOR

**** LESS HERE THAN MEETS THE EYE --** After more than a week of violent protest, the embattled President Mahuad and the recalcitrant, factionalized Congress reached a compromise. Under the compromise, the President reportedly would lift the state of emergency and rescind a large part of the increase in fuel prices announced a week earlier in return for the promise of legislative support for passage of the remaining elements of the fiscal package from seven political parties (and two independent congressman). These compromise partners account for 70 of the 121 seats in Congress. Unfortunately, the "coalition" agreement was showing signs of falling apart before it was completed, and the assumptions used for projecting the additional revenues generated by the new measures are tenuous at best. One of the seven signatories, the leftist party, Izquierda Democratica, has already stated they intend to oppose the legislation, endangering the fragile majority so recently obtained.

**** MULTILATERAL MUDDLE --** Multilateral lenders who were poised to support Ecuador with ready funds just a week earlier are sitting firmly on the sidelines. The last minute deletion of plans to deal with the banking system's serious problems put off the IFIs, and they will remain sidelined until the political compromise produces results. In addition to a clean up of the financial system, legislative passage and implementation of serious fiscal reform have become preconditions for financial support. Unfortunately, the latest compromise package, even if fully implemented, is already being dismissed as inadequate. Nevertheless, reinforcements to the IMF team are scheduled to arrive today to assess the new package, despite little confidence that political cohesion can be maintained for long or that any reversal of government mismanagement and inefficiency will occur.

PART II: MEDIUM-TERM VIEW

What If The World Healed?

Here's a terrible thought. What if the ring of world crisis came to an end? The danger of that is greater than you might think.

On the domestic front, Republicans have quieted down and Ken Starr has taken the final step into absurdity by investigating himself (Goddamn it, I'm going to indict someone and make it stick....say, I'm looking a little suspect; wonder how I'd look in shackles?), President Clinton is feeling good enough to hold an actual press conference, and Monica is knocking them dead in Deutschland. The Dow's knocking at 10,000 and the Fed doesn't think it's a bubble. The economy's growing at 4% and there's no inflation and there's a new report out saying that our national savings rate, correctly calculated, is about 6% rather than minus 2%.

On the national security front, those Serbs are still giving diplomacy a (well-earned) bad name (hint: when your bluff is called, you have to deliver), but everywhere else the bad guys are turning into softies. Boris Yeltsin's weekly hospital trips leave the world unfazed with Primakov and the KGB back in charge. North Korea has agreed to a potato(e) for nukes program and we've been assured that nuclear reactors are harder to move than germ warfare vials. Iran's new president is winging around the west, making the Pope look like a stay-at-home kind of guy, and the Revolutionary Guard has invited the hostages back for a twenty year reunion. China is warming up to enter the capitalist love fest inside the World Trade Organization and has just agreed to formal visits between Beijing and Taiwan.

Even on the international economic front the disaster fires are burning less brightly than in years. The IMF is trying its best to get a country to default on eurobond payments and can't find any takers. Pakistan says no, we want to pay what we owe (although rumors that it has threatened to nuke IMF headquarters unless Camdessus backs off have been denied); Ukraine is so terrified by the IMF idea that it pre-paid some of its debt this week (and threatened to sell nukes to renegade countries unless Camdessus backs off) -- even lowly Romania has vowed to struggle on trying to scrape together a few leu hoping that someone notices how hard they're trying and gives them some Brownie points (lacking nukes, Romania has threatened to use DNA cloning techniques to bring back the Ceaucescus unless Camdessus backs off).

The Latin American crisis looks like it could be over before we could get a good disaster story out of the region. Brazil has survived devaluation and local government rebellions. Its currency is now strengthening, money is flowing in from American and European banks and it could start cutting interest rates by next month. And even during the worst of the Brazilian crisis the rest of the world barely noticed. Unlike last fall markets didn't fall, hedge funds didn't explode and Bob Rubin got some sleep at

night.

Looking beyond Brazil, the recent agreement between OPEC and non-OPEC countries to cut production has bumped up oil prices with salutary effects all around. Venezuela has been bailed out and Mexico has enough money for the Zedillo government to pay back debt early and cut interest rates. The Saudi royal family is looking good again and even Russia looks set to see some hard currency revenue return. The Russian stock market is on a roll.

But Russian stocks are punks compared to the long-suffering Japanese stock market where prices are up 20% this month alone. Compare this to the Dow which has eeked out a mere 8.5% rise for the whole year to date. Prime Minister Obuchi's government is whipping the banks into shape, forcing the top heavy industrial companies into throwing the window people into the street (messy, but it does provide clean-up work) and the result is growing consumer confidence and the first signs of optimism. Hell, Obuchi's approval rating is sitting at an all-time record of 28%.

Even Europe is getting into the swing of things. Oskar (Laffy) Lafontaine has exited stage left from the German government, and the entire European Commission is fleeing Brussels in a hail of brickbats as the parliamentary corruption report finally revealed the cesspool that is Eurocracy. The combined effect of those resignations has cleared the way for UK Prime Minister Tony Blair and his new best friend, German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder to drag Europe kicking and screaming into the late 20th century. Blair and Schroeder call their plan "the third way" between raw capitalism and stultifying socialism. However, it's more accurate to call it Capitalism 2.1.

In fact, the only bad news is for the professional hand-wringers and CNN/MSNBC pundits. If the world's not collapsing, what will there be to talk about? Losing Monica was bad enough, but losing disaster would be, well, a disaster.

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CREATION DATE/TIME: 3-MAY-1999 09:24:08.00

SUBJECT: BCR Conference! --CREATING ALLIANCES FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE

TO: Eugenia Chough@eop (Eugenia Chough@eop [OPD])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

The message you have just received is too large to be displayed in the normal application. You should look at it using another application (like a text editor or word processor). The attached file MAIL.TXT contains the message.

Thank you.

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

This is a message from MIMI ABRAMOVITZ and the The Bertha Capen Reynolds Society Conference Planning Committee:

ANNOUNCING!

Bertha Capen Reynolds Society National Conference
GET UP/STAND UP: CREATING ALLIANCES FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE

June 25-27, 1999--Smith College School for Social Work
Northampton, MA. For more information please call Jerry Sachs at
413-585-7973 or email Fred Newdom fnewdom@aol.com

>PLEASE HELP PUBLICIZE THIS IMPORTANT CONFERENCE FOR SOCIAL ACTIVISTS.
>IF YOU CAN DISTRIBUTE THIS INFORMATION BY EMAIL TO INDIVIDUALS, GROUPS,
>LISTSERVS AND WEB SITES AS WELL AS BY WORD OF MOUTH, ANNOUNCEMENTS AT
>MEETINGS, CLASSES, ETC THAT WOULD BE GREATLY APPRECIATED. FEEL FREE TO
>COPY THIS ANNOUNCEMENT AND POST IT IN APPROPRIATE FOLLOWING LISTS ALL THE
>WORKSHOPS BY TITLE AND SPEAKERS AS WELL AS OTHER FEATURES OF THE CONFERENCE.

>

>The Bertha Capen Reynolds Society is an organization of workers in
>social welfare committed to economic and political justice, peace and
>alliance with movements for fundamental change in existing class, racial and

>gender hierarchies. It is named after Bertha Capen Reynolds (1885-1978), an

>eminent author, educator, practitioner, trade unionist and social activist
>whose lifework linked concerns for individual and social change.

>

>Every year, the BCRS holds a conference aimed at bringing together a
>diverse group of activists, social workers, students and academics to

>discuss, strategize and renew ourselves.

>

>This year the conference will focus on how to build alliances for economic
>justice. It is clear that various social justice movements all have an
>important contribution to make in building "one big movement." Our work is
>to identify what we have in common, to find ways to work together despite
>our differences, and to develop an inclusive vision to guide us in the work
>ahead. This conference will provide us with the opportunity to think
>together, talk together, act together and enjoy each other.

>

>BCRS CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

>Friday, June 25 Friday AM 9:00-10:15 Beginnings:

> Greetings from Smith College School for Social Work
> Poet Linda Carney;
> Fred Newdom: Creating Alliances for Economic Justice & the Role of Social

>Welfare Work and Workers

> |

>FRIIDAY MORNING 10:30 -12:00 Foundations Workshops: These short workshops
>introduce the major assumptions, facts, and approaches that will help
>conference participants have a comparable base of information that will
>allow us to work together more productively. Our assumption is that
>everyone needs to be introduced to some of the content and methods that
>will resonate throughout the conference. We urge participants to attend the
>workshop about which they know the least.

>

>1. FACING ECONONIC REALITIES: Joel Blau, SUNY at Stony Brook; Rosemarie
>Freeland, Welfare Rights organizer, Greenfield, MA. Reviewing and
>understanding the basic assumptions about the wealth, job and income
>structures that influence our strategies and alliances.

>

>2. POPULAR EDUCATION AND POLITICAL ACTION Anna Megyesi, American Friends
>Service Committee, Northampton, MA. The basics of popular education and why
>it is important to find new ways to learn and to teach as we try to make
>change. Exploring the assumptions and politics behind popular education
>methods.

>

>3. POLITICS THAT OPPRESS US: WELFARE & IMMIGRATION REFORMS: Mary
>Sutherland, ARISE for Social Justice, Springfield, MA; Cheri Honkala,
>Kensington Welfare Rights Union, Philadelphia; Tyler Moran, Immigrants and
>Refugees Association, Boston. This session will cover the basics of what we
>know now about how federal and state policies are hurting people - a place
>to learn and get basic questions answered.

>

>4.MORE POLICIES THAT OPPRESS US: THE MENTAL HEALTH MANAGED CARE ANTI-SYSTEM
>Debbie Levine, Boston. The basics of what we know about how the managed
>care system is making both autonomy and appropriate treatment for people
>with mental illnesses difficult to achieve, and is dramatically changing
>the nature of work within the system.

>

>5.FACING THE WORLD AS A RADICAL IN SOCIAL WELFARE: Members of the Journal
>of Progressive Human Services Collective including Marcia Cohen and Diane
>Stokle, Portland, ME Developing a deeply felt radical practice within the
>social welfare systems. Ways to bring our politics into the workplace and

>still respect and learn from the people we work with.

>

>6.IF THERE'S ONE THING WE DID RIGHT, IT WAS THE DAY WE STARTED TO FIGHT:

>Organizing Strategies and Options for Today: Willie Baptist, Kensington

>Welfare Rights Union, Philadelphia; Rick Wilson, West Virginia Economic

>Justice Project, American Friends Service Committee, Huntington, WV.

>Ways to think about organizing in these times. What works to allow low income

>people to gain power and lead alliances? What works to radicalize the

>non-poor so they stay in the struggle?

>

>7.BEYOND REACTING: ALTERNATIVE VISIONS OF WHAT WE REALLY WANT Ann Withorn,

>UMass/Boston; Teresa Funicello, author of The Tyranny of Kindness. People

>have been thinking about better ways even in the midst of defeat and fight

>backs. We'll introduce the basic strategies that are out there for

>radically changing the systems that oppress: basic income, living wage, and

>socialism today.

>

>8.DIVERSITY AS A RESOURCE FOR CONNECTIONS Lisa Werkmeister-Rozas and

>Preston Smith, Mount Holyoke College, S. Hadley, MA and David Bell, UMass/

>Amherst. Folks have been doing diversity and anti-racism work for years

>now. Some of the lessons we have learned that should help us organize and

>work together.

>

>9.TALKING UNION: THE ISSUES AND STYLE OF UNION POLITICS Dale Melcher,

>UMass Labor Center, Amherst; Jason Pramas, Workers' Center, Boston, Brenda

>Stokley, President, Social Service Employees District Council 1707,

>AFSCME/AFL-CIO, New York. As we work more with unions again, many non-labor

>activists need to learn more about the basics of how the labor unions

>operate and what it takes to work effectively with labor.

>

>FRIDAY LUNCH: 12:00-1:00 Showing of Outriders; Anchor House Exhibition

>

>FRIDAY AFTERNOON "INSTITUTES": 1:15 -4:30 -Learning From Our Experiences

>These Institutes give us time to hear about each other's efforts and begin

>to build the skills we need for action.

>

>10.LEARNING OUR LESSONS: WHAT HAS THE DEBACLE OF WELFARE REFORM TAUGHT US.

>A conversation among activists led by Mimi Abramovitz, Hunter College, NY;

>Diane Dujon, UMass/Boston; Cheri Honkala, Kensington Welfare Rights Union,

>Philadelphia; Roslyn Powell, NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, New

>York, NY. Lessons for organizing and changing policies with organizing

>groups from around the country. We'll be checking in about the state of the

>movement and

>sharing tactics and strategies for change.

>

>11.THE ASSAULT ON IMMIGRANTS HAD NOT ENDED: Keeping Watch and Learning From

>Each Other. Susan Collins, The BRIDGE/El PUENTE, Houston, TX; Tyler Moran,

>Immigrants and Refugees Association, Boston; Rhina Ramos, Workplace Project,

>Long Island, NY; Changes Project social action theatre, Holyoke, MA.

>Lessons for organizing and changing policies from Texas, New York,

>Massachusetts. We'll be checking in about the issue and sharing tactics and

>strategies for change.

>

>12.WATCH OUT, WE'RE ALL NEXT! SOCIAL SECURITY AS THE NEXT REFORM: Ken

>Grossinger, AFL-CIO; Maie Croner, National Jobs for All Coalition; Jason

>Pramas, Workers' Center, Boston. What's behind the rhetoric? How to be

>prepared and why. Lessons from the AFL-CIO organizing and education

>campaign to save and improve social security, as well as discussions about

>the potential effects if we don't win on this.

>

>13. I AM A WATERMELON SEED:EXPLORING POVERTY THROUGH METAPHOR: Ann Scott,

>Rhonda Soto, Krystal Recor, Alicia Robert and Cynthia McBride, members of

>the The Changes Project, a participatory action research project

>investigating the impact of welfare policy changes on the learning and

>achievement of adult students in the Mentor Program at Holyoke Community

>College. This is a participatory workshop led by current and former welfare

>recipients to explore the "welfare experience" through generating and

>analyzing metaphors.

>

>14.BUILDING BRIDGES: LEARNING FROM COMMUNITY/LABOR CAMPAIGNS: Mary Brent

>Wehrli, UCLA; Louise Simmons and Marcia Bok, University of Connecticut,

>Hartford; Bob Pollin, Living Wage Campaign, Amherst; Judith Mullins, Pioneer

>Valley Project, Springfield. There are many efforts going on to build new

>kinds of community/labor alliances. Learning from the Living Wage,

>Anti-Displacement, and Contingent Work campaigns.

>

>15.LEARNING HOW TO WALK FUNNY: DOING RADICAL CLINICAL WORK AND TEACHING

>WHEN YOU HAVE ONE FOOT IN THE SYSTEM: Fred Newdom and Jerry Sachs, Smith

>College.

>Progressive workers and teachers face a number of contradictions between the

>demands of their values and the demands of the institutions in which they

>work. Efforts to reconcile these contradictions include approaches that grow

>out of the work and ideas of Paulo Freire and other liberatory thinkers.

>Workers and teachers will have an opportunity through facilitated

>discussion and experiential approaches to share ways they have addressed

>the dilemmas they face by having one foot in radical politics and the other

>foot in the system.

>

>16.DEFENDIGN OURSELVES: REMEBER WHAT THE RIGHT IS STILL UP TO: Chip

>Berlet and Serena Kahn, Political Research Associates, Boston; Jean Rexford,

>Coalition for Democracy, New Haven, CT. Learning how the Right is still

>fueling local efforts to undermine public schools, stop abortion and gay

>rights and, in general, to end domestic socialism. We will discuss what's

>happening and how people are fighting back.

>

>17. HERPOLITIC/HERPRACTICE: FEMINIST POLITICLS AND SOCIAL WELFARE: Barbara

>Joseph, SUNY at Old Westbury; Mary Hobgood. Cross University, Worcester,

>MA; Cross

>University, Worcester, MA; Mary Bricker-Jenkins, Temple University,

>Philadelphia. What have we learned from 25 years of feminist practice and

>organizing? How do we bring a feminist understanding to the policies and

>reduced work opportunities of today's corrupted welfare state?

>

>FRIDAY DAY4:30-5:30 :Who was Bertha Reynolds, Why Name Ourselves After Her

>and Why Change Our Name? Betsy Meisner, Boston; Pearl Tuck, Danbury, CT;

>Tomannie Walker, New York City; Ann Withorn; Fred Newdom

>

>FRIDAY EVENING: A Conversation with Adolph Reed, The School for New Research,

>New York and Cheri Honkala KWRU, Philadelphia with respondents from

>movements about the state we are in and what to do about it.

>

>SATURDAY, JUNE 26

>SATURDAY MORNING: 8:45-9:30 Greetings: A special greeting/orientation for

>folks joining the conference on Saturday, including a greeting and short

>introduction to the issues facing our Northampton neighbors from Clare

>Higgins, President of the Northampton City Council.

>

>SATURDAY MORNING Workshops II. 11:45-11:15

>18. FIGHTING THE STIGMAS THAT DIVIDE US: Lenny Lapon, Springfield; Heather

>Johnson, Foundations, Inc., Holyoke. People with mental illness are often

>subtly and not so subtly excluded from joining the struggles for change

>that they understand so well. This workshop will focus on experiences of

>challenging the stigma and understanding its implications for all.

>

>19. HEALTH RIGHTS AS A BROAD-BASED ORGANIZATION ISSUE: Attieno Davis, Health

>Care for All, Boston; Marty Nathan, Southwest Community Health Center,

>Springfield; Jeff Scavron, Brightwood Health Center, Springfield.

>Health care offers important opportunities for linking the concerns of

>African American and Latino communities with a wide array of white working

>and middle class people's concerns -- how do we take advantage of these

>opportunities? What are the issues in building coalitions around health care?

>

>20.GAY RIGHTS ARE HUMAN RIGHTS LINKING THE STRUGGLES Sean Cahill, New

>York City; Pam McMichael, SONG (Southerners on New Ground), Louisville, KY.

>Struggles around gay issues are often separated from other progressive

>initiatives, so that radical gays and lesbians are often left with the

>dilemma of "choosing" their struggle. We'll explore experiences of bringing

>gay issues into other struggles, especially in broad based coalitions.

>

>21. BLACK RADICAL POLITICS: WHAT ARE THE POSSIBILITIES AND IMPLICATINS OF A

>REVIVED BLACK POLITICLS: Judith Roderick, Black Radical Congress;

>Adolph Reed, Labor Party. As the intersections between race and class

>becomes clearer within the economy, the possibilities for a more radical

>Black politics may be rising. What will affect the possibility of this

>happening? How does it relate to building an alternative force for change?

>

>22. THE CRIMINALIZATION OF PRACTICALLY EVERYTHING: David Ellenbrook, Diane

>Stokke, and Luther Brown, Castleton State College, Castleton, VT, Katherine

>Van Wormer, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, IA; Michaelann

>Bewsee, ARISE for Social Justice, Springfield; Ellen Miller-Mack,

>Brightwood Health Center, Springfield. Under welfare and immigration

>reform, poverty itself is becoming criminalized at the same time as many

>social problems are being solved by longer and tougher criminal sentences.
>What are the implications of this for people with substance abuse and
>mental illness issues as well as for low-income communities?

>

>23. SIX DEEGRESS OF SEPARATION: SEEING WELFARE RIGHTS AS HUMAN RIGHTS: ARISE

>for Social Justice, Springfield. This experiential workshop uses popular
>education approaches to deepen participants' understanding of economic and
>political power and its impact on policies like welfare reform.

>

>24.LISITEN UP: CRATING A LISTENING PROJECT: Anna Megyesi and Rick Wilson,
>American Friends Service Committee. The Listening Project is a process
>developed by Rural Southern Voices for Peace in North Carolina. We will
>train ourselves in a method that local groups can use in gaining insight
>into community perceptions, expanding community awareness and working for
>social change.

>

>25. CAMPUS BASED ORGANIZING Amanda Sapir, Mount Holyoke College; Jennifer
>Fasulo, Mahmood Ketabchi, Johnnie Zibell, Parent Student Survival Campaign,
>Amherst. Students are rebuilding a base of campus concern for economic
>justice issues -- from welfare, to immigration, to homelessness. This
>workshop will explore What's going on, what the issues and potential are,
>and how to keep the
>process moving forward.

>

>26.WORKING IN THE MIDDLE OF WELFARE REFORM: WHAT CAN BE DONE Mary Byrne
>; Ted Murphy, Salem State College, Salem, MA; Jennifer Filipovich,
>Missoula, MT; John Templeton, President, Local 509, SEIU, Boston. This
>workshop will focus on what can be done to make parts of welfare reform
>work for people, what are the dangers and possibilities (for recipients and
>workers) of trying to work within the system. People from various states
>around the country will share their experiences and research.

>

>27.CHANGING THE MEDIA/USING THE MEDIA: Wes Blixt, freelance journalist,
>Amherst. How do we change the media images and messages that mislead and
>discourage people? How can we get the media attention we need without
>making the mistake of chasing the media instead of organizing?

>

>SATURDAY LUNCHTIME: 11:30-1:15:--YOU ONLY GET WHAT YOU ARE ORGANIZED TO
>TAKE: NOT ACCEPTING THE UNACCEPTABLE; Conversations about organizing &
>building alliances with people who are doing the work in welfare reform,
>social security, women's rights, worker's rights and housing/homelessness.
>Moderated by Ann Withorn.

>

>SATURDAY AFTERNOON WORKSHOPS III: 1:30-3:00

>28.INCREASING MISERY: SEEING THE EFFECTS OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY: Don Cooney,
>Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI; Pete Delgado; Asoka Bandarage,
>Mount Holyoke College. Capitalism today demands compliant low waged workers
>with fewer protections and a shrinking conception of economic rights for
>all. This workshop will give participants a chance to explore how this
>works and what it means for workers and social policies within the US, as
>well as how to fight back without dividing ourselves from each other.

>

>29. IS THAT A MOVEMENT BUILDING? Mary Bricker Jenkins, Temple University,

>Philadelphia; Grace Ross, Women's Alliance, Framingham, MA; Attieno Davis,
>Health Care for All, Boston; Ann Withorn, UMass/Boston. There are signs
>that things are changing and we may be rebuilding a movement. We will think
>about how to know when to stand up, sit down, pipe down and speak out. This
>workshop covers how movement building differs from community-based
>organizing and how it is linked.

>

>30. PRIVATIZING THE PUBLIC'S TRUST FUND: LEARNING FROM WHAT WE KNOW AND
>WHAT WE FEAR : Bob Fisher, University of Houston; Rick Colbath-Hess, Human
>Service Workers Rights Initiative, Boston; Timothy Scott, New York City;
>Jason Pramas, Workers' Center, Boston. Privatization has already changed
>the criminal justice and mental health worlds. It is fast creating dramatic
>shifts in public welfare and public health. How is this all linked to the
>attack on secure jobs, the welfare state, social security and our future?
>This workshop will link current struggles together into a broader picture
>of what is happening.

>

>31.GETTING TOGETHER: LOW INCOME PEOPLE'S ORGANIZING WORKSHOP: Michaelann
>Bewsee and Mary Sutherland, ARISE for Social Justice, Springfield; Rosemarie

>Freeland, welfare rights organizer, Greenfield, MA; Pat Gowens, Welfare
>Warriors, Milwaukee; Cheri Honkala, KWRU, Philadelphia. This workshop will
>allow people in low income people's organizations to talk together about
>the issues they face in doing their work in these times. Especially, how to
>keep low income people in leadership while working in coalitions and how to
>link to broader issues while responding to immediate attacks.

>

>32. YOUTH ORGANIZING: TIME FOR MOVING ON: Susan Saltzburg and Grace
>Seibert-Larke, Bridgewater State College, Bridgewater, MA; Members of the
>Governor's Commission on Youth; Beth Mattison, Youth Leadership Academy,
>Northampton. In our graying world, the power and potential of youth to make
>change is often overlooked. This workshop will address how programs that
>originate as service can also lead to political action. Lessons from gay
>youth organizing,
>student organizing and other youth struggles.

>

>33 OUTRIDERS' A VIEWING AND DISCUSSION ABOUT HOW TO USE THE FILM IN
>ORGANIZING AND EDUCATION: Kensington Welfare Rights Union, Philadelphia.
>The film Outriders has great potential as an organizing and educational
>tool. This workshop will view the film and talk with KWRU allies and
>members about how it can be used effectively.

>

>34.STAYING ALIVE: WAYS SOCIAL ACTIVISTS CAN SUPPORT EACHOTHER AND BUILD
>RESILIENCY: Kathy Armenta and Jean Ellis Avera, University of Texas,
Austin,
>Texas. Bombarded by economic injustices, managed care, the power of the
>right and
>other assaults, organizers need to develop effective capacity building
skills

>to sustain their passion, motivation and spirit. This workshop will use
>experiential methods to help participants who are trying to work for change
>to examine and identify the whole set of strengths they possess for facing
>the difficulties of social justice work.

>

>35.COMMUNITY /UNIVERSITY CONNECTIONS FOR CHANGE- What's Possible? What Are
>the Limits?: Lee Staples, Boston University; Louise Simmons and Marcia Bok,

>University of Connecticut. This workshop will present some examples of the
>issues and possibilities when universities and community organizations try
>to build partnerships for change.

>>
>36. CREATING NEW VISIONS FOR CHANGE IN NEW WAYS: THE WORK OF SCHOLARS,
>ARTISTS AND WRITIERES FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE: Dan Claussen, SAWSJ,
Umass/Amherst.

>Enough of talking heads and strategic planning. This workshop will cover how

>we can push ourselves to bring an ever-widening alliance together in more
>creative ways and how to use that creativity to push for justice.

>>
>37. FAITH AND JUSTICE BASED ORGANIZING TO PREVENT MORAL MELKDOWN: Sister
>Jane Morrissey, SSJ; Fred Rose, Pioneer Valley Project, Springfield; Morris
>Norwood; Folks for the Simple Way, Philadelphia. As the policies of today
>are cutting closer and closer to the moral bone, the work of faith-based
>groups in organizing and getting the message out about what is wrong has
>become critical. This workshop will discuss the work of several faith based
>organizations and explore the issues and the potential for pushing harder.

>>
>SATURDAY 3:15-4:30 ECONOMIC RIGHTS ACTION IN NORTHMAPTON

>>
>SATUDAY 5:00-6:30 Discussion of the war in the former Yugoslavia: This
>program went to press just as the U.S./NATO bombing started. Descriptions
>of presenters and content were not yet available.

>>
>SATUDAY NIGHT ENTERTAINMENT AT Davis Center: Come dance to the tunes of
STASH

>>
>SUNDAY MORNING, June 27: 9:00-12:00 Closing Gathering Discussion of where
>a movement of social welfare progressive types goes with Ann Withorn and
>Pam McMichael.

>>
>+++++
>REGISTRATION FORM: BERTHA CAPEN REYNOLDS SOCIETY NATIONAL CONFERENCE
>JUNE 25-27, 1999, NORTHAMPTON, MA

>Mr./Ms.
>Address City/State/Zip
>Phone(h) (w) (fax) (email)
>Organizational Affiliation (optional)

>>
>Special Needs: Smith College is wheelchair accessible. Please indicate how
we

>can further accommodate you or your needs: |
> I am vegetarian.
> I would like information about child care referrals.
> I will need accessibility or other accommodations (please specify):

>>
>Please Indicate Preference Number : (Names of presenters are accurate as of
>the time we went to print. There may be changes between now and the

>conference.)
>
> Workshop I (Fri: 10:30-12:00) 1st Choice 2n Choice 3rd Choice
>
> Institute (Fri: 1:15-4:30):1st Choice 2nd Choice 3rd. Choice
>
> Workshop II (Sat:9:45-11:15):1st Choice 2ndChoice 3rd Choice
>
> Workshop III (Sat: 1:30-3:00) 1st.t Choice 2nd Choice
>3rdChoice
>
>Conference Registration Fees (Includes 3 breakfasts, lunch on Friday and
>Saturday and dinner on Friday)
> \$175 BCRS Member
> \$200 Non-member
> (Deduct \$35 from either of above if rec'd by 6/1)
> \$55 Student/Limited Resources
> (Limited sliding scale scholarships are available. For information
> please email Marilyn Moch at MochCIHRI@aol.com)
>
>Cozy New England Lodging : Dorm Room(After June 5, rooms based on
>availability) \$35 single ; Nites: Thurs, Fri, Sat
>
>BCRS Membership Information \$35 Regular \$15 Student/Limited
>Resources \$18 Subscription to Journal Of Progressive Human Services
>
>Registration Fees: Note: There will be a \$25 cancellation fee and no
>cancellation
>refunds after June 11thConference registration fees (total):...
>
>Voluntary tax deductible contribution to support limited income
participants
>(\$10 suggested)
>
>Housing Fee (total): .
>
>Journal subscription
>
>TOTAL: Enclose check/money order payable to: BCRS
>
>Return Registration Form to: BCRS Conference c/o Smith College School for
>Social Work, Lilly Hall, Northampton, MA 01063 For more information please
>call Jerry Sachs at 413-585-7973 or email Fred Newdom fnewdom@aol.com
>
>
>

Sue Pearlmutter
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===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

===== ATTACHMENT 2 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from conversion.pmdf.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.1-9 #29131)

id <01JAR7PVDHA8000XKQ@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for chough_e@a1.eop.gov; Mon,
3 May 1999 09:22:49 EST

Received: from storm.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.1-9 #29131)

with ESMTP id <01JAR7PRRT2O000XLT@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for chough_e@a1.eop.gov; Mon,

03 May 1999 09:22:43 -0500 (EST)

Received: from hhs-mx01.os.dhhs.gov ([158.70.254.120])

by EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.2-29 #34437) with ESMTP id <01JAR7PGVX5O000H00@EOP.GOV>
for chough_e@a1.eop.gov; Mon, 03 May 1999 09:22:27 -0500 (EST)

Received: from B11WDC-OV08B.os.dhhs.gov

(b11wdc-ov08b.os.dhhs.gov [158.70.253.48])

by hhs-mx01.os.dhhs.gov (8.9.1/8.9.1) with SMTP id JAA17879 for
<chough_e@a1.eop.gov>; Mon, 03 May 1999 09:22:25 -0400 (EDT)

Received: by B11WDC-OV08B.os.dhhs.gov with VINES-ISMTP; Mon,
03 May 1999 09:22:26 -0400

X-Incognito-SN: 1361

Errors-to: welfare reform research <WELFAREM-L@AMERICAN.EDU>

X-Incognito-Version: 4.25.256

X-Priority: 3 (Normal)

===== END ATTACHMENT 2 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: TAF Publications <pubs@tafnet.com> (TAF Publications <pubs@tafnet.com> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:21-MAY-1999 16:24:28.00

SUBJECT: This Week's TransAtlantic Wire: "ECB as Europe's Leader: What the ECB Must Do Now that Euro-Socialism Has Been Defeated"

TO: Robert F. Wescott (CN=Robert F. Wescott/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Dear TransAtlantic Wire reader,

Attached please find the latest edition of our global strategy letter, "ECB as Europe's Leader: What the ECB Must Do Now that Euro-Socialism Has Been Defeated"

The gist of this week's issue:

"By creating an implicit 'conditionality' in its monetary policy, the ECB would make the entire restructuring process smoother than it would otherwise be. And it would insure that European governments adopt the necessary legal, regulatory, and labor market reforms."

Best regards from Washington,

Stephan-Gtz Richter
Publisher

Visit us on the world wide web at: <http://www.TransAtlanticFutures.com>

You can view the attached Adobe PDF file with the Adobe Acrobat viewer, available for free at:
<http://www.adobe.com/supportservice/custsupport/download.html>

If you cannot install the Adobe reader and would prefer to receive a plain text version of the TransAtlantic Wire, please send a reply email to <mailto:wire@tafnet.com>, or contact Davina Sashkin, Publications Manager, at (202) 898-4760.
[Tracking ID:927316947|5782]

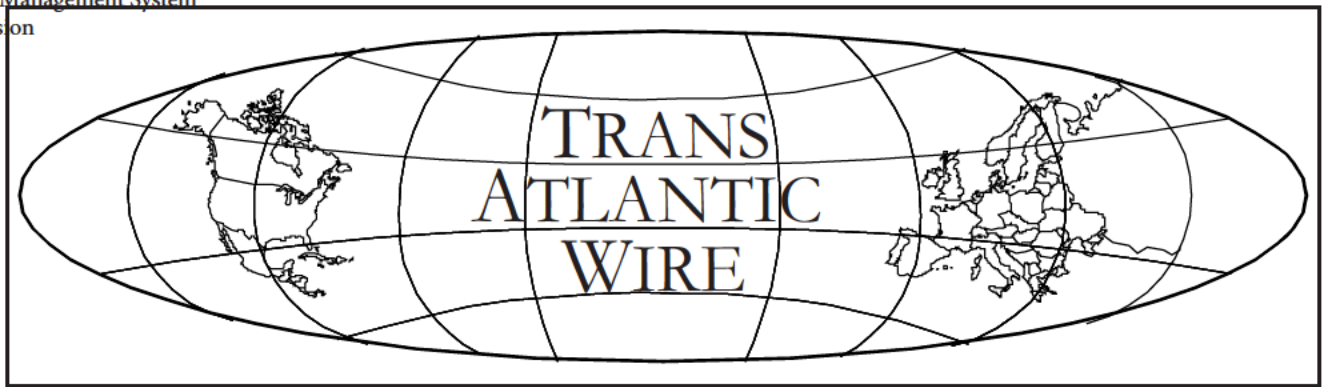
- twi99-21 ecb as europes leader.pdf

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

Unable to convert ARMS_EXT:[ATTACH.D86]ARMS29827735T.136 to ASCII,
The following is a HEX DUMP:

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====



Washington • Frankfurt • Brussels

ECB as Europe's Leader

What the ECB Must Do Now that Euro-Socialism Has Been Defeated.

Last week, we suggested that it would be appropriate to let the euro weaken. We can hear the howls of protest from across the Atlantic: "How can you seriously suggest that we let the euro fall?" For starters, the political economy of Europe is very different than what it was just a few months ago. The defeat of old-style euro-socialism, symbolized by the resignation of Oskar Lafontaine, opens a window of opportunity for the forces of reform. Now is the best time to enhance and direct the restructuring of European business. Moreover, at birth, the European Central Bank (ECB) found itself on the horns of a dilemma...

As any central banker knows, credibility is the key to central banking success belief on the part of markets that the bank will credibly support the value of its currency. At the same time, the European economy needed a dose of easy credit. The Bank was forced by these circumstances to take a chance, and can only hope that all will turn out well. The ECB

however faces another credibility issue and one which has broader implications for United Europe. That issue is whether the role of the central bank is to be narrowly confined to the monetary/inflation area, or whether it encompasses broader economic issues. A central bank can be a leader in developing a society's economic strategy.

An Industrial-Monetary Pact for Europe

Such has been the role, for example, of the German Bundesbank. The Bundesbank's reputation was made not only by operating a strict monetary policy, but also almost by default by taking the lead in setting the tone of economic policy while the politicians fiddled. By doing so, it became the key player in economic policy making in Germany. If the ECB is to be anything more than a minor institution if it is to become to Europe what the Bundesbank is to Germany it will need to take a broader view of its role. Fortunately, just such an issue is waiting in the wings.

■ Dangers of Restructuring ■

The most important economic challenge facing Europe is the need to reform its corporate sector and, for its societies, to tolerate those changes. The potential political

fallout is great. As we pointed out last week, the fall of the dollar in the late 1980s helped oil the gears of corporate restructuring. Quite simply, layoffs and corporate changes are much easier to accept in a good business climate.

■ An Industrial-Monetary Pact ■

Allowing the euro to depreciate would help ease the process of restructuring, provided that Europeans view a weak euro as an opportunity for change. If European governments and businesses use depreciation to *avoid* restructuring, they would end up worse off.

What euroland thus needs is a kind of industrial-monetary pact: depreciation *combined* with public sector reform. As European businesses continue the process, already underway, of rationalizing their operations, the ECB and the national governments would put in place the policies necessary to allow the change to happen more easily.

The ECB's role would be to maintain relatively easy credit and allow the euro to weaken. A weak currency and easy credit would help keep the economy buoyant, reducing the pain felt by individuals and communities affected by necessary corporate changes. The policy would therefore help insulate the restructuring from damaging political interference. European governments, for their part—especially in Germany, France, and Italy—would adopt necessary legal, regulatory and labor market reforms to facilitate the restructuring. By creating an implicit “conditionality” in its monetary policy, the ECB would make the entire restructuring process considerably smoother than it would otherwise be.

By creating an implicit “conditionality” in its monetary policy, the ECB would make the entire restructuring process smoother than it would otherwise be. And it would insure that European governments adopt the necessary legal, regulatory, and labor market reforms.

■ Beyond Monetary Policy ■

An industrial-monetary pact would also help the ECB accomplish the single most important task it faces in its formative stage. To become an effective institution, the ECB must demonstrate originality *and* independence. It must carve out its own expertise and power separate from those of the national central banks. Otherwise, the ECB remains vulnerable to precisely the kind of confusion that has occurred recently, where European central bank heads like Hans Tietmeyer have insisted on maintaining strong, independent

voices that can undermine the ECB's message. An ECB initiative on an issue of great importance to Europe would be the ideal way to establish the ECB as the premier economic policy-making body on the continent.

Constructing such a pact would require a good deal of political effort. Europeans are divided on what they want from the euro. A monetary-industrial pact is the way to

satisfy *both* those Europeans who want to see the continent recognized as an economic powerhouse—and those who want a weak currency to stoke demand. Those calling for a weaker euro would get it, but only under conditions that insured that the weaker euro translated into a permanent structural improvement in the European economy. Those who wish to have a strong Europe would find that a Europe with a restructured corporate sector will prove a stronger player on the world economic stage than one which remains hobbled by dysfunctional labor markets and inefficient corporate bureaucracies.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release
1999

June 15,

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON CONGRESSIONAL GOLD MEDAL FOR ROSA PARKS

U.S. Capitol
Washington, D.C.

4:10 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you so much. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gephardt, Senator Daschle, Representative Carson, Senator Abraham, Representative Clyburn, Representative Watts -- to all the members of the House and the Senate here, and those not here, who supported this resolution, I thank you for what you have done -- Dr. Ogilvie, Dr. Ford, Reverend Jackson, members of the Cabinet and the civil rights community who are here -- Dr. Height.

I'd like to say a special word of welcome to two members of the Little Rock Nine who came here to honor Rosa Parks -- Minnie Jean Brown Trickey and Robert Jefferson -- welcome to you. (Applause.)

I want to thank the Howard University Gospel Choir and the incomparable Jessye Norman for their wonderful, wonderful music. (Applause.)

The previous speakers have spoken with great power, eloquence, and truth. In less than 200 days now, we will mark the end of another century. They have told you the story of one brave woman, and the ripples of impact she had upon all the millions of people who lived in the United States. It is, in many ways, the quintessential story of the 20th Century -- a time with trials and tribulations which still, fundamentally, is the story of the triumph of freedom -- of democracy over dictatorship, free enterprise over state socialism, of

tolerance over bigotry.

It was a fight waged on the beaches of Normandy, on the islands of the South Pacific, at Checkpoint Charlie, behind the Iron Curtain, and countless known and unknown, large and small villages, across the globe. Here, at home, a fight waged in classrooms, lunch counters, and on public buses in the segregated South. For us, what has always been at stake is whether we could keep moving on that stony road, closer to the ideals of our Founders -- whether we really could be a country where we are all equal, not only endowed by our creator with -- but in fact living with -- the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Forty-four years ago, Rosa Parks reminded us all that we were a long way from those ideals; that for millions of Americans, our history was full of weary years -- our sweet land of liberty bearing only bitter fruit and silent tears. And so she sat, anchored to that seat, as Dr. King said, "by the accumulated indignities of days gone by, and the countless aspirations of generations yet unborn."

Rosa Parks said, "I didn't get on that bus to get arrested. I got on that bus to go home." In so many ways, Rosa Parks brought America home, to our Founders' dream.

You know, when we look across the history of the civil rights movement, we celebrate President Lincoln and the Congress of that era -- for Constitutional amendments. We celebrate William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass. In our own period, we celebrate President Eisenhower and sending the troops to Little Rock, the commitment of John and Robert Kennedy, the magnificent legislative achievements of President Johnson and that Congress -- reaching across party lines.

But we know that in a funny way, people who have no position or money and have only the power of their courage and character are always there before the political leaders. We know that.

When Rosa Parks got on that bus in Alabama, I was a nine-year-old boy, living in Arkansas, going to segregated schools, riding public buses every single day, where all the colored people sat in the back. My family got a television

when

I was nine years old, just a few months before it became worldwide news that

Mrs. Parks had gotten on the bus. I thought it was a pretty good deal, and so

did my friends. And we couldn't figure out anything we could do, since we couldn't even vote. So, we began to sit on the back of the bus when we got on. (Laughter and applause.)

It seems like -- I say this -- (applause) -- now, this is a little thing. I

say it only to say we must never, ever -- when this ceremony is over -- forget

about the power of ordinary people that stand in the fire for the cause of human dignity, and to touch the hearts of people that have almost turned to stone.

I thank the Congress for honoring Rosa Parks. I was honored, Rosa, to give

you the Medal of Freedom, and I was thrilled during the State of the Union Address when you got that enormous, bipartisan ovation here. But

remember, my

fellow Americans, freedom's work is never done. There are still people who are

discriminated against. There are still people -- (applause) -- there are still

people that because of their human condition are looked down on, derided, degraded, demeaned, and we should all remember the powerful example of this one

citizen. And those of us with greater authority and power should attempt every

day, in every way, to follow her lead.

God bless you, Mrs. Parks, and God bless America. (Applause.)

Now -- (applause) -- thank you. Now, I would like to -- again, this is my errand for Congresswoman Carson and Senator Abraham, and the Speaker, and Mr.

Gephardt, and the other leaders here -- I understand the actual medal has not

been struck yet, but a "gold line" copy of the resolution that authorizes the

medal has been struck, or prepared, for Mrs. Parks. And I'd like to ask all of

you to look to my left, to your right, for a glimpse of the proposed design for the medal.

Could we -- Julia, why don't you go down there and you and Spence can -- (laughter) -- wow, it's beautiful. (Applause.) Really beautiful. (Applause.)

Let's give a big hand to Ardith Lane (phonetic) who was the artist who prepared this. Didn't she do a wonderful job? (Applause.)

Thank you.

END 4:20 P.M. EDT

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Results from this Update: 28

Next Update: October 20, 1999 at 08:00

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Agence France Presse

October 19, 1999 15:46 GMT

SECTION: Sports

LENGTH: 470 words

HEADLINE: Chelsea run gauntlet of abusive fans at Istanbul airport

DATELINE: ISTANBUL, Oct 19

BODY:

Chelsea arrived to a noisy and intimidating welcome here Tuesday for their Champions' League Group H tie with Galatasaray, running a gauntlet of placard-waving Turkish fans shouting mostly good natured abuse.

But Chelsea player-manager Gianluca Vialli was unfazed, saying his team had come to win and the atmosphere here was "as it should be" in football.

When Chelsea arrived, a smoke bomb went off to general indifference as the players made their way to the bus.

They sat sat bemused as some fans hurled projectiles and one lifted a placard that read: "Please relax, the hell of Ali Sami Yen is waiting for you," a reference to the stadium where they will be playing Wednesday night.

The team were whisked through customs and immigration in 15 minutes flat, contrary to the wishes of some Turkish papers that suggested the English team be given the same treatment Galatasaray said it received at Heathrow when they arrived for the September 28 tie Chelsea won 1-0.

The Turkish players were apparently subjected to a string of questions they considered abusive - "Where are you staying?" "How much money do you have?" and "Do you have return tickets?" - before having their gear searched with a fine-tooth comb by overzealous customs officials.

Some 300 Turkish fans shouted, clapped, waved insulting placards and gave Chelsea players the finger as the bus drove away from the airport under a huge, checkered flag of red and yellow - Galatasaray's colours.

"Chelsea, welcome to the inferno," read one sign; "Welcome to hell, Chelsea bastards," read another.

"There is no way Chelsea is getting away at Ali Sami Yen," Fatih Terim, the Galatasaray coach, told a press conference, saying a win Wednesday could catapult his team from the bottom to the top of Group H, which also includes AC Milan and Hertha Berlin.

Vialli said Galatasaray had to win to maintain their hope of going to the next round, but that this was to Chelsea's advantage, allowing them to concentrate on defence and look for goals on the counter-attack.

He told a press conference the Galatasaray players he feared the most were Romanian star midfielder Gheorge Hagi and international striker Hakan Sukur.

The Italian was speaking to journalists at Chelsea's posh Ciragan Hotel, a former Ottoman palace on the shores of the Bosphorus, before training at

Ali

Sami Yen - another courtesy Galatasaray say they were denied in London, having to train at a stadium other than Stamford Bridge.

Before the game starts, Chelsea will present Galatasaray with a 22,000-pound (36,520-dollar) cheque to help with relief for the earthquake that devastated northwestern Turkey on August 17, killing more than 20,000 people.

The money was collected from fans, the club and the players at their first match last month.

sf/cw99

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Copyright 1999 Capital City Press

The Advocate (Baton Rouge, LA.)

October 19, 1999, Tuesday METRO EDITION

SECTION: News; Pg. 2-A

LENGTH: 122 words

HEADLINE: House legislation aids foreign siblings

BODY:

WASHINGTON - Legislation approved by the House Monday would make foreign children ages 16 and 17 eligible for adoption if they are adopted together with their siblings.

The measure, passed 404-0, amends current immigration law that allows U.S. citizens to bring an adopted child into the country only if that child is age 15 or younger.

The Senate has yet to take it up.

The purpose of the bill, introduced by Rep. Steve Horn, R-Calif., is to help those Americans wishing to adopt the older sibling of a child they are adopting in order to keep the family together.

Adoption of older children is fairly rare. Of 11,316 immigrant orphans adopted in fiscal 1996, only 351 were age 10 or older.

The bill is H.R. 2886.

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Africa News

October 19, 1999

SECTION: NEWS, DOCUMENTS & COMMENTARY

LENGTH: 1365 words

HEADLINE: Liberia;
Liberian Daily News Bulletin

BYLINE: Star Radio (Monrovia)

BODY:

Monrovia - Government has declared the sight where the arms were destroyed a Memorial Peace Park. The declaration was made yesterday in Tubmanburg at the close of the destruction of weapons. Foreign Minister Monie Captan made the announcement in a speech delivered on behalf of President Charles Taylor. The destruction of the weapons started in July this year.

UN representatives say the process cost more than a quarter million U.S. dollar while the weapons destroyed worth over 20 million U.S. dollars. About three million rounds of ammunition and nearly 30 thousand pieces of weapons were destroyed. Defense Minister Chea said the destruction of the weapons indicated Liberia's resolve to remain a peaceful nation. He urged Liberians to always resolve their problems through peaceful means. The weapons destruction process was financed by the UN, the American government and ECOWAS.

* The Criminal Court "A" will begin the selection of jury today in the murder trial of former Deputy Immigration Commissioner Henric Cassell. The move followed the court's granting of the defense lawyers' request for speedy

trial.

The defense lawyers filed a motion last week for the trial to begin during this

August term. State lawyers opposed the motion. The state prosecutors said the

request was unlawful and asked the court to deny it. In his ruling yesterday,

Judge Moses Vah said the defense lawyers' request was legal. State prosecutors

have rejected the court's decision and is expected to request the judge to recuse himself from the trial. Mr. Cassell is to face trial on charge of murder.

* The sedition trial of nine soldiers has come to a standstill.

Progress in

the trial has slowed down due to money problem. The Court Martial Board has

requested for 100,000.00 Liberian dollars to transport witnesses. The 10 witnesses are to testify for the accused soldiers. The accused soldiers

have

already completed their testimonies, in which they've denied their involvement

in the alleged plot. Defense lawyers are insisting on having witnesses for the

accused to testify. They argued the trial would not proceed without the testimonies of the witnesses. Defense Ministry authorities are yet to

respond to

the request for funding.

* The Monrovia City Court has charged a Portuguese national with illegal possession of fire arms. Mr. Mustapha Thamaz, Captain of the vessel M.V.

Alper

Bilici, was accused of discharging the gun at the Freeport of Monrovia.

The

court said Mr. Thamaz does not have a license to carry fire arms in Liberia. The

court has also stopped his vessel from leaving the country. The vessel arrived

in the country two months ago.

* The United States Government has pledged U.S.\$65 million to Sierra Leone.

The money is intended for the resettlement of displaced and reintegration of

former combatants. The U.S. Secretary of State also said logistics worth U.S.

\$11 million would be provided to consolidate peace. Madam Madeleine Albright

said her government would waive U.S.\$65 million of Sierra Leone's external debt.

She spoke in Freetown Monday on her tour of Africa. The U.S. Secretary also

promised additional U.S.\$1 million to the strategic mineral commission.

Madam

Albright said the money is to discourage black market trade of minerals in the sub-region. The Sierra Leone Mineral Commission is headed by the RUF Leader Foday Sankoh. The U.S. Secretary said her government would support the truth commission in Sierra Leone. Madam Albright said the U.S. Government would provide fund to document atrocities by armed groups.

* Residents of district number four, Grand Bassa County, have called for the removal of their commissioner. They accused commissioner Daniel Smith of corruption and lack of development initiatives. The residents made the call during a visit of the county superintendent to the district. Superintendent Robert Vonyeegar was in the district to identify the development needs of the district. The residents alleged commissioner Smith had converted development funds to his personal use. They said the commissioner has also failed to begin the construction of the district compound. Commissioner Smith has denied the allegations. He challenged the residents to prove their claims against him. Superintendent Vonyeegar has asked the residents to forward their complaints to his office in Buchanan.

* Labor Minister Tom Woewiyu has won the NPP primaries in Grand Bassa County. The primaries were held to choose a party candidate for the forthcoming Senatorial by-election. Mr. Woewiyu defeated Cornelius Hunter forty seven to five votes. Two other contestants Enid Natt and Francis Lloyd withdrew from the race before voting started. Also in Bassa, two persons have received petitions to contest the senatorial seat. Those who received petition are Charles Johnson and Circuit Judge Moses Vah. Mr. Johnson is former member of the defunct Interim Legislative Assembly.

* The business community in Grand Kru County has increased the prices of all goods. The price hike followed a decision by the county authorities to put the two Liberian banknotes on par. A town meeting in Barclayville decided the J.J. and liberty five dollar banknotes be exchanged for the same value. Superintendent Isaac Nyema chaired the meeting at which the decision was taken.

But the business community is protesting the decision. They say they were left out of the discussion about the two banknotes. The businessmen say they bought their goods in Maryland County at an unequal rate of exchange between the two banknotes. Government this year set the exchange rate between the two banknotes as two to one. The business community further says it increased the prices of goods in Grand Kru to cover the difference in exchange rate.

* The Education Ministry has launched the literacy program in Bomi and Grand Cape Mount Counties. A British charity, Action Aid, is to implement the literacy program in Cape Mount. Education Minister Evelyn Kandakai has urged residents in the two counties to take advantage of the program. The Superintendents of the two counties have pledged their support to the program. The mass literacy program has now been launched in six counties.

* President Charles Taylor is in Buchanan, Grand Bassa County. He went to inaugurate the new Liberia-Malaysian company. The company is to manage the port of Buchanan, in keeping with an agreement signed last month with the Liberian government. Under the agreement, the Liberia- Malaysian will also engage in logging and open a plywood factory. Our Correspondent reported massive preparations to welcome the President to the county.

* A Liberian government official on a visit to the U.S. is urging Liberians there to support the reconstruction process back home. Deputy Rural Development Minister Kofa Nagbe says Liberians must realize they have a home to develop. Deputy Minister Nagbe spoke recently when he addressed a cross section of Liberian in the United States. He is in the U.S. on the USIS International Visitor Program. The visit is over, but Minister Nagbe says he is currently rallying support for the Ministry of Rural Development Programs. He also says he is seeking support for the development of Grand Kru County. Through his interaction with Americans and Liberians, Mr. Nagbe says he is able to erase a lot of misconceptions about Liberia. He praised the U.S. Ambassador to Liberia, Bismarck Myrick, for giving fair picture of the Liberian situation to his government.

* NOTE FOR EDITORS: Star Radio is staffed by Liberian journalists and managed by the Swiss NGO Fondation Hirondelle with financing from the U.S. Agency for International Development through the International Foundation for Election Systems. Non-commercial redistribution is allowed, providing that the source is quoted and no editing other than reformatting is made.

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LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Africa News

October 19, 1999

SECTION: NEWS, DOCUMENTS & COMMENTARY

LENGTH: 3077 words

HEADLINE: Liberia;
Liberia: The Emergence of a Criminal State

BYLINE: Tom Kamara, The Perspective (Smyrna, Georgia)

BODY:

Atlanta - For many Liberians, the end of their 7-year ghastly conflict meant an opportunity for renewal and reconstruction. But 2 years after a much heralded election, the evidence is that this country of barely 2.6 million which lost about 300,000 persons, including 20,000 children dead out of 45,000 drafted into rebel armies, is being transformed into a criminal state and a comfortable, supporting home for West Africa's most callous criminal dissidents.

Moreover, underground businessmen from other parts of the world are finding Liberia an appealing setting for activities unacceptable in normal states. Thus instead of the promised democracy and accelerated development, this tiny West African country, founded by American slaves in 1822 as their land of liberty, is emerging as a bastion of state sponsored terrorism and crimes, all under the cover of politics as practiced by a "democratically elected" government. .

But the foundations for this legitimizing of crime in politics were firmly laid during the war years. Forests were attacked in an orgy of indiscriminate logging. Diamond mining increased under Taylor's watchful eyes. Mining companies were severely looted and their equipment sold to Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and elsewhere. And although Taylor's new party chair, Cyril Allen, would announce this year that the rebel NPFL made about US\$300m. annually from this unprecedented looting spree, not a single school or clinic was built when the rebels had 90% of the country to themselves. As the cries against the international community for failing to pump in millions into the pockets of the new leaders continue, the US State Department, in its 1998 Country Report on Human Rights Practices, noted that government officials and former rebel commanders are engaged in exploiting the country's resources for personal benefit. Logging entities are mushrooming while proceeds go to personal bank accounts of former warlord and government functionaries.

Now in control of the state, this entrenchment of crime as a political tool is not surprising, that is if the character of politicians is a determining factor in establishing the nature of the state and its politics. What is evidently clear in Liberia now is that those at the helm of power, from the president to party officials and leaders in the Senate and other branches of government, carry abysmal criminal records. Hence, they have simply given crime a respectable face by packaging it in politics with devastating consequences for the country and the sub region. Let us take a passing glance at some of the main actors in this transformation and their ties with the past, which is influencing the present.

The President, Charles Taylor: A known fugitive from justice following his escape from an American prison, Taylor's political fame in Liberia began when he participated in the 1980 military coup that toppled the centuries-old Americo-Liberian (descendants of freed America slaves) oligarchic regime. In the midst of the political confusion and anarchy that followed when inept individuals found themselves in power, Taylor appointed himself director of the General Services Agency (state purchasing entity and warehouse), then one of the most lucrative positions in the government. Along with his wartime Defense Minister, now Labor Minister, Tom Woewiyu, they are known to have organized a bogus American-based company through which used and useless equipment were collected in the US and sold to the government as new products at escalated prices. In his bid to win them over, Taylor also instituted a policy of showering the junta leaders and their many concubines, family members, with "gifts" bought with public funds. These schemes were possible because the junta, People's Redemption Council (PRC), adopted corruption as its guarding principle and it was here that Taylor, among others, became useful guides and allies. There was a common saying in Monrovia at the time that for each car Taylor bought for a junta member, he allocated funds to buy one for himself. For each house he furnished, he furnished one for himself. And in order to dig further into state resources, he convinced the junta that a "bulk purchasing" scheme with him in charge would save the government millions of dollars. This meant that Taylor would procure all supplies bought for state use. All Lebanese, Indians merchants and others wishing to sell to the government had to "see" Taylor. It meant budgetary allotments for various state agencies for supplies and logistics now went to Taylor's General Services Agency. (At his side at the GSA were two loyalists: Blamo Nelson, then his deputy, now Director of the Cabinet; Grace Minor, then his secretary or receptionist, now a senior Senator in the upper house.) This decision augmented Taylor's influence within the economic and political circles,

now that every government entity, including schools and hospitals, got supplies from Taylor.

As years progressed however, Samuel Doe became wiser and capable of telling the difference between "gifts" and theft. So it soon became a case of no honor among thieves. Taylor subsequently lost his lucrative posting and was transferred to the Ministry of Commerce as a deputy minister. The man who succeeded him, Clarence Momolu, demanded an audit before he could assume office.

Taylor, claiming he was stabbed in the back, would later declare Momolu an enemy unable to live in Liberia as long Taylor lives there as President. Feeling cheated, Taylor left the country, claiming political persecution. Doe pursued him in the US for allegedly stealing about a US\$ 1m. It is here that the famous case against him began, leading to his arrest and subsequent escape. But the Doe years convinced Taylor of the sweetness of crime in politics, and one of his motivating factors in launching the war was that if less literate, less conning, naive soldiers could supervise such a criminal empire with him as a wealthy foot soldier, the sky would be his limits in crude wealth accumulation if he became president. Doe, despite his naivete, came to know Taylor well, although belatedly. His knowledge of Taylor as an individual was one of the prime reasons for his intransigence in negotiating with his former procurement director. "Taylor is a rogue", he cried, a cry coming too late. Doe would negotiate only with NPFL men like the late Samuel Dokie who was later butchered along with his wife and two others by Taylor's security men, but not Taylor himself. It must have been an awful feeling for Doe in realizing that a man he made would hold a knife at his throat. But thieves always fall apart. So did Doe and Taylor with a horrible aftermath for Liberia.

Tom Woewiyu, Labor Minister: Here is a man who earned his place at Taylor's side through longstanding criminal business links. The two men were among the many twisted-minded activists against the True Whig Party regime, which they repeatedly assaulted for human rights abuses and corruption while they roamed the streets of the US with no meaningful jobs and claiming answers to

Liberia's dire socioeconomic problems. But more than that, Woewiyu was a key partner in the implementation of Taylor's "bulk purchasing" scheme, "buying" materials and equipment from the US and sending them to Taylor. He, too, must have concluded that if the PRC junta could make him reasonably wealthy in his shanty Newark neighborhood, then the risk of launching a rebel invasion for a bigger pile was worth taking. He, like other government officials, is now engaged in illicit logging and other dubious business deals.

Finance Minister John Bestman: A close actor in the PRC junta, he held key lucrative positions such as Governor of the National Bank of Liberia and subsequently finance minister at a time when the US Government's aid to Liberia surpassed any to previous governments since Liberia became a state. He owns several real estates and other properties in Monrovia. With his strategic postings at the National Bank and the Finance Ministry, two agencies responsible for disbursement of government funds, he was Taylor's close ally when they served in the junta. The alliance continued when Taylor launched his war, with Bestman as the rebels point- man in Rotterdam, The Netherlands, responsible for buying and sending supplies to the rebel leader as the war progressed. Immediately after the elections, he flew in to get his reward-the finance ministry once again. (Mr. Bestman is now Minister of Post and Telecommunications)

Senate Leader Kekura Kpoto: Here is a man whose fortunes, were tied to the junta. As the junta's party (National Democratic Party of Liberia) chair, his money came principally from taking huge supplies of rice, fuel and other state resources from state corporations, selling them and pocketing the money. Furthermore, although the Liberian dollar rated far lower against the US dollar, Kpoto's position and links to Doe enabled him to frequently exchange the Liberian dollar one to one at the National Bank of Liberia, a "business" he institutionalized without any protest from Bank officials who feared his influence. An angry Doe once threatened him with imprisonment if he did not pay the hundreds of thousands of dollars he owed the state, but the case was silenced.

Party Leader Cyril Allen: Those who know him believe his name is

synonymous

to crime and impropriety. Even among thieves, there is a star, and Allen proved this when he served as head of the rebels hydrocarbons in Gbarnga. Incredibly, he was dismissed for corruption even among known thieves! A case of first among equals? Too close a competition with Taylor himself. When journalists reminded him recently of the contradiction between the price of ore he made public and the actual price as stated in the sale contract, he ordered them flogged, leaving one of them with a bleeding split lip. But Allen's record in criminal activities are best known to those involved in Liberia's insurance business over the years. Of Nigerian ancestry, he masters the acts of theft and lies.

Presidential Adviser Emmanuel Shaw: This man was one of the closest beneficiaries of Doe's era. Some how, again in his sorry naivete, Doe saw him as a model, admiring his looks and rewarding him for them. Doe even tried to look like Shaw, copying his Afro hair style and dressing like him. Taking advantage of this, Shaw teamed up with others like Dew Mayson (the former fiery "revolutionary" who incited workers to demand justice against the Tolberts) and a Dutchman named "Gus" to "buy" LAMCO which they re-named LIBINCO. But Shaw may have overestimated himself when he penetrated South Africa's African National Congress Government and began to use his Liberian criminal knowledge to siphon funds for dubious services. He was soon exposed and up till now, a criminal trial hangs over him in that country. He is accused of converting hundreds of thousands dollars belonging to the Liberian government into his own at the close of the Doe era. His specially built Mercedes was shipped to him in London by Sawyer's interim government after Doe's death.

Here, in brief, is our team promising democracy, transparency and development. The backgrounds of key men running Liberia tell us to expect an entrenchment of a criminal state far worse than anything we have seen in Liberian history. This unchallenged and crude criminalization of politics, the transformation of con artists into national leaders, can be seen through many incidents since the team was ushered in a little over two years ago. Again, let

us look at a few examples.

1. The Dutch daily, Het Parool reported in 1997 that a drug gang, involving in Dutch men, was active in Liberia under Taylor's personal protection. The paper said this gang, using business covers, was trafficking drugs from Liberia to other parts of the world, mainly Europe and the United States. Moreover, as traditional local banks such as the Housing Bank and the Agricultural Bank have been shutdown due to gross mismanagement and theft, dubious banks are mushrooming in Liberia, a country whose economy has virtually collapsed. Money laundering and other criminal activities are obviously the attraction.

2. Crime as a political weapon is now the norm, and there are several examples. Impunity in criminal acts is on the increase, as indicated when the deputy commissioner of immigration shot and killed a man for overtaking his vehicle. Examples of such acts are endless. When the Dokies were butchered and burnt, Taylor was the first to announce the killings due to pressure from human rights groups who had information linking the government to the murders. To avoid a possible arrest of the killers by uninformed security men, the President personally announced that they had suddenly escaped from government detention and that he would do all in his power to have them arrested wherever they were. The irony of the announcement was that the arrest of the alleged killers, their names was not reported. Since then, these presumed killers have not been seen or heard from. Inside sources reveal the actual story: the killers were in turn killed to erase the possibility of them ever emerging and pointers fingers to their recruiters. Thus, they may never, ever be found.

3. When state security men dragged Madam Norwai Flomo, an unbending critic of the government, from her home and butchered her, the government again promised to prosecute those responsible. A few thugs were arrested, but then ordered released for lack of evidence of their involvement. A similar Gestapo method was used when so-called ex-combatants, clearly under government control, attacked

and looted the home of journalist Medina Wesseh, stealing a couple of thousand dollars. Mrs. Wesseh, now in the United States, received further threats for insisting that the UN's Special Adviser to Liberia and a known government backer, Downes Thomas, had helped to plan the attack. Several opponents to the government have fled as Gestapo tactics against critics intensify.

4. The case of the eleven Krahn officers arrested, interrogated and shot by state security men would have gone unnoticed, but for the report of the US State Department on Human Rights Practices. After executing the men, Taylor announced that they were shot in an attempt to escape. The fact, as given to us by the State Department, is that they were shot outside Monrovia in September 1998.

5. The criminal tentacles of state is gradually reaching beyond Liberian territory, as the Rev. Lloyd, once a pro-Taylor activist now a changed man, found out in September 1999. Because he had indicated that his return home would be based on security in the country, his home in the border town of Danane, Ivory Coast, was burnt down. Lloyd believes the Liberian government is responsible because immediately after the interview which he said was "blown out of proportions," the Liberian Information Minister issued a public threat against him.

6. "Illicit drugs: (Liberia is) increasingly a transshipment point for Southeast and Southwest Asian heroin and South American cocaine for the European and US markets."

A key strategy in this criminal extension of politics is the establishment of a clever basis of denial. The Dokie killers were in turn silenced to have a cover of deniability since there are no witnesses. Madam Flomo's killers cannot be found so no one is responsible.

But if crime in politics is now a nationally accepted policy, its extension within West Africa poses a greater danger as Liberia becomes the official headquarters for con men, dissidents, looters, and thugs from around the sub region.

Taylor's many denials of backing Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United

Front rebels and their junta allies have now been exposed with the permanent residence of RUF and AFRC (Armed Forces Revolutionary Council) leaders in Monrovia. AFRC leader Johnny Paul Koromah told the BBC recently that he was issuing orders to his men in the bush from Monrovia. The notorious rebel commander Sam Bokarie, alias Mosquito, lives within Taylor's compound. Guinean dissidents roam around Liberia freely planning their moves to destabilize their country Liberian style.

Evidence indicates that the Sierra Leone war with all its beastly dimensions was planned in Taylor's stronghold of Gbarnga. The initial batch of fighters were overwhelmingly Liberians and so were those who invaded Freetown in the December 1998, leaving 5,000 dead, including dozens of amputated children and adults. From all accounts, the Freetown invasion would have been inconceivable without Taylor's active involvement in supplying men and arms to the RUF rebels.

Moreover, the RUF military strength became formidable after Taylor's election.

With Taylor as President, Liberia's entire Western border became RUF territory.

RUF supply line now extended from Libya-Burkina Faso-Ivory Coast -Liberia into

RUF held areas of Vahun, Kailahun, etc. Often issuing commands on Liberian territory and using Taylor's satellite phones, RUF became a political factor

feared and hated in Freetown. Several factors are key to Taylor's obsession with

Sierra Leone. One is his fear of Sierra Leone as his weakest spot in case his

enemies converge against him. Thus, he needs the RUF as eyes and ears within

Sierra Leone, forestalling any possible attack against him. The other is the

preoccupation with Sierra Leone" diamonds. RUF's demand in keeping diamond areas

under their control while disarmament is negotiated is linked to the factor.

Since the height of Sierra Leone's war, Liberia, and Ivory Coast, non-significant diamond exporters, have become net diamond exporters. An estimated

US\$500m. worth of diamonds have left this world's poorest, now begging for US\$35m for its disarmament package, in recent years. With Monrovia as a congregating point for underground and criminal diamond buyers, Taylor's

RUF links become pivotal in any peace agreement.

All in all, what is evolving in Liberia which many now down play is the cementing of a criminal state with the capacity of extending its wings around the West Africa and beyond. Illegal passports issuance, money laundering, proliferation of dubious banks, drugs trafficking are finding an accommodating environment in Liberia.

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LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Africa News

October 19, 1999

SECTION: NEWS, DOCUMENTS & COMMENTARY

LENGTH: 1063 words

HEADLINE: Liberia;
Sorry Charlie, They Won't Be Coming After All

BYLINE: Massa-Amelia Washington, The Perspective (Smyrna, Georgia)

BODY:

Atlanta - The joy was endemic contaminating everyone in the crowd of anxious Liberians and well-wishers of Liberia gathered outside across from the White House on the evening of September 19, as Black Congressional representatives and Rep. Patrick Kennedy of Rhode Island, wasted the good news.

Liberians seeking refuge in the United States on the Temporary Protected Status (TPS) will not be deported after all. Hence, a well-planned evening of candlelight vigil to plead and petition President Bill Clinton against the deportation of Liberians in fact ended a celebration of victory for the petitioners.

After a marathon of lobbying efforts on the part of Liberian organizations

and friends of Liberia, President Clinton has endorsed Deferred Enforced Departure (DED), allowing an estimated 15,000 Liberians refugees, additional one year legal residence in the U.S. In a memorandum to Attorney General Janet Reno, President Clinton said: "Although the civil war in Liberia ended in 1996 and conditions have improved such that a further extension of Temporary Protected Status is no longer warranted, the political and economic situation continues to be fragile... there are compelling foreign policy reasons not to deport these Liberians at this time..."

The president further said: "Pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct the foreign relations of the United States, I have determined that it is in the foreign policy interest of the United States to defer for 1 year the deportation of any Liberian national who is present in the United States as of September 29, 1999."

It is a victory made possible through the collective efforts of Liberians in the US, supported by members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), Rep. Patrick Kennedy, Sen. Jack Reed, and other true friends of Liberia, who work endlessly and tirelessly to ensure that uncle Sam's step children are treated fairly and with dignity. But real victory will be ensured if current bills HR919 and S656 - pending before the House and Senate to grant Liberians permanent residence status, are approved.

Frankly, Liberians have every reason to be ecstatic over this latest development, since immigration status of Liberians abroad, is but one of many impurities off a list of plagues, which descended upon this group of West Africans since the outbreak of civil war on December 24, 1989. According to reports from the offices of the US Attorney General Janet Reno in July this year, deportation proceeding for Liberians on TPS was scheduled to have commenced by September 28, following the official termination of the program.

Imagine the all round effect, had these number of refugees including, children (some of whom know Liberia only by name) and the elderly, been shooed like geese back to a place where they fled for fear of their lives not so long

ago, a place of which they now hold nothing but bad memories and of which many still have nightmares.

Nightmares in which the bellies of pregnant women are split open and the fetuses extracted and destroyed. Nightmares in which mothers and daughters are raped while their husbands and fathers watch helplessly petrify. Nightmares of wounded and starving babies crying and sucking onto the breasts of their dead mothers, and nightmares of young boys drugged and turned into killing machines so that a handful of spineless pundits may satisfy their selfish desires.

Imagine then the fear and mass confusion that could have overcome these individuals upon their arrival in Taylorland. Already by implication Liberians residing outside of the country are indicted for "spreading false rumors against the government." (Remember presidential comments and accusations that Liberians living abroad are the ones blocking international aid to the country by speaking lies about the government?) Lies that there is no electricity and water supply in Liberia except at the homes of Taylor and his band of merry men, when in fact every home enjoys 24 hours service of these commodities. Lies that security for residents is an illusion because, ex-fighters who were neither rehabilitated nor trained, now form the core of security officers, when to the contrary, everyone enjoys maximum peace and security because state security personnel are all trained, and well disciplined. Yes, lies that there are less Liberian children attending school today than has ever been in the history of the nation due to insufficient schools, and lack of instructional materials. And even more lies that the public health system is so pathetic that so-called health facility lack the commonest material such as gauze. Imagine then these Liberians who have maliciously misrepresented the situation back home for the sole purpose of obtaining that thing called "Green Card", now having to face their accusers

Liberians on TPS and asylum comprise opposition politicians, ex-service men, student leaders, journalists, and former members of disbanded factions and ordinary people who also experienced persecution because of their ethnic origin.

The Taylor government has from time to time made pronouncements with the intent, it says to encourage exiled Liberians to return home, often using the August 97 elections and its outcome as a spring board to highlight to the world what 'great democracy' Liberia has.

The President's latest appeal was made last Tuesday in which he asked Liberians to stop harboring fears about reconciliation and the due process of law and instead return home to contribute towards the reconstruction of the nation. Many Liberians however, doubt government's sincerity to improve conditions in the country due to the way it continues to unconstitutionally and ruthlessly deal with situations especially, involving persons challenging its policy and so-called troublemakers. The fact that it also sought the closure of refugee camps in the sub-region because "dissidents Liberians" reside in these areas, also raises brows.

No exaggerating than what fate awaited the majority if not all of these 15,000 Liberians had they been deported to Liberia. Well, as the trite expression goes "man proposes but God disposes," and since Bill has decided otherwise, just forget it Charlie, cuz September is sure not your month.

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Africa News

October 19, 1999

SECTION: NEWS, DOCUMENTS & COMMENTARY

LENGTH: 694 words

HEADLINE: Lesotho;
Mystery Surrounds Passport Scam

BYLINE: Khutliso Sekoati, Mopheme/The Survivor (Maseru)

BODY:

Maseru - The mysterious disappearance of the 276 new Lesotho passports before they were brought into use has sharply left some yet unanswered questions with those linked to their custody claiming no foul play.

Some disclosures have been made by some people who were closely linked to the custody of these travel documents which were still to be used. According to a highly placed source which opted to remain anonymous, it was decided that the documents be kept at a highly safe place after a South African firm of Shadow Consultants conducted a consultation to observe the advantages and disadvantages of moving from old system of manual operation to a computerised method within the Immigration Department.

Thousands of these documents were kept at the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF) armoury at the Ratjomose Barracks after the department struck a custody deal with the army authority late in 1997/98.

According to the source which had been strongly involved in seeking the safe custody, it was resolved that the documents be kept at the LDF because there was fear that police custody was volatile because memories about their strike were still fresh.

"The problem started when the so-called SADC (Southern African Development Community) entered the country. We were informed that at the time SADC was looking for weapons there were some passport that were destroyed in the armoury. Most boxes were still sealed,' the source told the newspaper in an exclusive interview.

Five boxes of the cartoons were tempered with and some passports were mutilated while others were found missing when in inspection was being done according to the recorded serial numbers.

According to the source the inspection was made by the three Immigration officials the then Director Monaheng, now acting Director Jeanette Toloane and

the Immigration Stores Manager Mrs. Lehlabathe in the presence of the then Brigade Commander Antony Thibeli, some LDF members together with some SADC soldiers.

"On discovery that there were some passports missing the LDF promised to deal with the matter," the source added. A list of missing documents was ferried to the Foreign Affairs Ministry headed by Minister Tom Thabane in an attempt to stamp down their possible use. Some lists were forwarded to the foreign embassies in the country while others were placed on border posts.

But the LDF has categorically denied any knowledge of the disappearance of the documents saying there was no loss on their side because when the owners come to fetch them, a registry is kept to record those taken away. Major Clifford Polisa of the LDF Public Affairs told the newspaper that this confidential registry book is signed when the documents are being taken by the Immigration officials, adding that on their part it is not every official from both sides who is allowed access to their release. We're still keeping them and we do not release them in ones but in cartoons, Major Polisa said, adding that they are still being kept in a safe place at the LDF.

When the newspaper wanted to see the registry book kept by the LDF, Major Polisa agreed but his superior Lt. Colonel Pula Mochesane rejected the idea, saying it would not be released to the press due to its confidentiality.

These new passports are obtained at a price of M75 each and are not easy to obtain. But according to the source, if they are sold in black market, they would cost millions of Maloti.

During the military rule some local passports were stolen and sold in Hong Kong to the tune of M8 million. It is estimated that the new ones cost M20 million in black market.

Attempts to source comment from the Acting Immigration Director Toloane failed in two weeks. Last week she said she was busy preparing the budget estimates and would not spare any time and asked to be conducted this week. Foreign Affairs Minister Thabane was not available because he was out of the country.

But the source urged: "If the government seriously wants to know where these passports are, they should ask Siphiwe Nyanda (South African National Defence Force) and the SADC Boleas operation Commander Colonel Robbie Hartslief.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Birmingham Post

October 19, 1999, Tuesday

SECTION: Pg. 12

LENGTH: 1806 words

HEADLINE: LETTERS: HOW BAD DOES CRIME HERE HAVE TO GET?

BODY:

Sir, - In common with most of our neighbours in Ladywood, we are subject to the attention of thieves and vandals almost continuously. Opportunist thieves in white vans cruise around the streets looking for anything of value that they can pick up, load and steal.

Youths break into cars belonging to staff and most offices or factories in the area have recently had a break-in or attempted break-in during the night.

A car outside these premises was broken into this week in broad daylight and the young thief was seen shortly afterwards with a mobile phone that he had just stolen from the vehicle.

His young legs carried him away from capture at speed but he has since been recognised walking the same street looking out for a similar opportunity. When it was made known to him that he was being watched, he swore and gave the normal two fingered abuse gesture.

Inquiries of neighbours reveal that most of these thieves are known but

depressingly the inevitable comment is made "but you can do nothing" and "they always get away with it". Or "it is not worth reporting it to the police, they do nothing and probably can't, even if they wanted to".

One of our neighbours reported today that their roof had been broken into during the night and the thieves had stolen new tyres from the building.

There had been previous attempts and although this theft was reported to the police, they were told there was little chance of apprehending the criminals responsible unless by some miracle they were caught red-handed on a future occasion.

This victim had heard that there was a "vandal detection" paint available and he could paint around the vulnerable area of the roof with this fluid which effectively does not dry and therefore stains the criminals' clothing.

There would be a better chance therefore of detection after the crime had taken place. The police response was that it would be necessary to display a notice close to the roof warning vandals and other thieves of the presence of this harmless paint.

One wonders whether the police in New York City, when faced with similar problems, react in the same way as our police in Birmingham. They have a "zero tolerance" policy and clear evidence of significant success in curbing crime.

How bad and intolerable does life have to become for the average citizen who works or lives in this city before somebody changes things here?

P R W SABIN

Managing Director,

William Morris Rolling Mills

Limited,

Ladywood,

Birmingham.

Learn a lesson

from Singapore

Sir, - Drug abuse, illegal immigration and general crime in the UK are inter-related issues about which little or no effective action is being taken.

Remedies such as education, rehabilitation and reduction of unemployment have long since proved totally inadequate, while damage to public security, the economy, social structure and quality of life steadily increases.

This situation undoubtedly arises from the failure of successive governments, through fear of unpopularity, to implement the uncompromising type of penal system including long sentences, hard labour and capital punishment, that has made Singapore one of the most crime free and consequently safe, peaceful and prosperous places in the world.

It is worth remembering that similar penalties operated in the United Kingdom within living memory of many people over the age of 50. Then crime was only a fraction of what it is today, and concern for the comfort of criminals except for a minority of cranks and the criminal community itself, generated little public support.

If such a system was acceptable then why not now when crime figures are so much worse?

Two other even more serious issues about which governments appear to have no sense of urgency for necessary radical action, are global warming and world over-population.

Since the answer to this obviously and unavoidably lies in drastic and widespread reduction of petrol consumption, industrial pollution, non-essential consumer demand, birthrate and mass migration, governments become even more hesitant to do what is necessary.

They should reflect however that as unfamiliar and unappealing as these measures might seem the consequences of not taking them will inevitably be far, far worse.

R POUNTAIN

Kenilworth,
Warwickshire.
On the side of
the criminal

Sir, - The very sensible letter on crime and punishment from J P
Lethbridge
(Post, Oct 12) raises again the question why Dr David Wilson has a regular
column in The Post.

Dr Wilson's idiosyncratic views, apparently always on the side of the
criminal rather than the victim, seem to be out of tune with those of the
majority of readers.

That could still be useful if he set out to stimulate debate by
arguing his
case, or by replying to his critics. In practice, however, he does not
(perhaps
cannot) reply to reasoned counter-arguments and continues merely to make
unsupported assertions, of a kind which seem to me to be merely formerly
modish,
left-wing claptrap.

If David Wilson provides no rationale for his opinions on criminology
he
will have only himself to blame if we write him off as a mere air-headed
self
-publicist. In any case Post readers deserve a better quality of
discussion than
his column provides.

DAVID ATKINSON

Birmingham.
Horror
comparison

Sir, - I am what is known as a nonagenarian and have been a reader of
The
Birmingham Post for many of those 90 years. It was therefore with horror
and
disbelief that I read your comparison between Birmingham and Manchester.
Not
only was it untrue, but rather absurd and I hope you will soon return to
your
usual high standards.

D DIXON

Four Oaks.

No place

like home

Sir, - With reference to your article "20 things that make Manchester worse than Birmingham" (Post, Oct 12), as a Scouser and a proud Lancastrian living in Worcestershire and working in Birmingham, how dare comparisons between Birmingham and Manchester be suggested?

To say it's grim up north and Manchester is close to Liverpool is scandalous and that Manchester is the arson capital of the UK is an absolute insult.

I can take anybody to "no go" areas, derelict sites, run down factory units in many parts of Birmingham, not forgetting the Black Country (what a name!)

Please ensure you tell readers what we think. Keep smiling Manchester and Lancashire - it is good to go home to see mum.

GARY ROBINSON

Wyre Piddle,

Worcestershire.

Countryside

whingers

Sir, - We had 18 years of a wretched government that didn't care much about the industries of the Midlands or the millions of people who depended on them.

Instead of investing in new industries - helping clear up the mess from yesterday's fat dividends - they were content to leave a generation to the mercy of market forces. Sink or swim.

The "army" of country fanatics (from as far as the shores of the Tyne and the Taff) that "invaded" our city centre have no such injustice to protest.

They face the possibility - an outside chance to judge by Blair's disgraceful vacillations on the issue - that their "rights" to chase and

kill
wild animals for pleasure may be curtailed. And they are squealing fit to
burst
with their own preposterous indignation.

The majority of country dwellers would be well-advised to dissociate
themselves from the revolting spectacle these obnoxious whingers make.

PAUL SLATTER

Birmingham Green Party.

More than one

sport in the frame

Sir, - Mr Mike Foster, MP, believes that hunting with hounds should be
banned.

He is a very keen fisherman. What does he say to those who believe that
fishing should be banned?

Is he not aware of an organisation called the League Against Cruel
Sports?
Does he not realise that the word "Sports" is plural?

R P TAYLOR

Leamington Spa,

Warwickshire.

More important

issues than hunting

Sir, - After reading about the rally in Birmingham for foxhunting, I
feel
that it is time for all Labour MPs to think long and hard before they ban
all
hunting with dogs.

I'm convinced that they really don't know what is involved, most of the
people who work with the hunting fraternity have never been out of work
in their
lives, and to have your job taken from you is very worrying. Surely there
are
more important things to do in Government than this?

J COLE

Lighthorne,

Warwickshire.

Villa losing out

to the Lord?

Sir, - Lord Taylor of Warwick was, at one time, an obsessive Villa supporter. He has, apparently, been converted to Christianity. "I am concerned that soccer has become a false idol worshipped around the world. Becoming a Christian has helped me to put Villa Park in some realistic perspective," he is reported as having said.

Assuming that he does not now attend Villa Park as frequently as he once did and using this as a possible marker for match attendances of 5-10,000 below those of last season, perhaps there has been a silent and mysterious turning to the Lord across the West Midlands whereby supporters pray for the Villa at church on Sundays instead of praying for the final whistle at Villa Park on Sundays.

GEOFFREY BUBB

Kingswinford.

Put Midland players

in the spotlight

Sir, - I quite enjoyed your souvenir "Worthington Cup Special", until I reached pages 10, 12, 13 and the centre fold poster - Dwight Yorke and David Beckham, respectively.

While there is no doubt that these two players have magnificent talent, surely - as a Midlands publication - it would have been more interesting, and far more tactful, to have produced features on one or two Midlands footballers? There is surely more than enough footballing talent in the Midlands without having to resort to players from Manchester United who have more than their fair share of press kowtowing all year round?

I know the Worthington Cup involves teams and players from all around the country, but in a Midlands newspaper you should concentrate on Midlands players, and not all those superstars who we already hear enough about in the

media.

Mrs MICHELE PLATMAN

Harborne,

Birmingham.

Varied radio - in

Birmingham too!

Sir, - Now that I'm retired, I am getting a great deal of pleasure and learning a lot from listening to BBC Radio 4. There are programmes to suit all tastes from current affairs to community issues, from poetry to plays, from history to health, etc.

But all these programmes are broadcast from London so I thought I would listen to the BBC's radio output from Birmingham.

What do we have today? No programmes, just "shows" with "ego tripping" presenters.

If Malcolm Boyden is BBC Birmingham's bearer of standards as it moves into the 21st century, then heaven help the corporation!

F HATHWAY

Meriden.

GRAPHIC: Zero tolerance: New York City police at work. See lead letter.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Congressional Press Releases

October 19, 1999, Tuesday

SECTION: PRESS RELEASE

LENGTH: 361 words

HEADLINE: HORN BILL TO KEEP ADOPTED SIBLINGS TOGETHER PASSES HOUSE

BYLINE: STEPHEN HORN , REPRESENTATIVE , HOUSE

BODY:

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE OCTOBER 18, 1999 HORN BILL TO KEEP ADOPTED SIBLINGS TOGETHER PASSES HOUSE WASHINGTON, D.C. - (October 18, 1999) - U.S. Rep.

Steve

Horn (R- Calif./38th) today applauded the unanimous House passage of a bill he introduced to expand foreign adoption opportunities for U.S. citizens and to keep immigrant orphan siblings together. "Foreign adoption provides many U.S.

citizens with the opportunity not only to experience the joys of parenthood but also to provide their children with a better life in the United States," Horn

said. "H.R. 2886 -- a bill I introduced that the House passed today -- expands

these opportunities." Under current law, a U.S. citizen may bring an immigrant

child they have adopted to the United States if the child is under the age of

16. H.R. 2886 would allow U.S. citizens to adopt immigrant children ages 16-17

if the adoption would keep a group of siblings together. The House passed the

bill today by a vote of 404-0. "The typical case this proposal would help is a

group of siblings who were orphaned in their home country, or their parents

became unable to care for them," Horn added. "If the children are adopted by

U.S. citizens and the oldest sibling is 16 or 17, the oldest sibling cannot come

to the United States with his or her brothers and sisters under current law. It

does not make sense for siblings to be separated because of an arbitrary age

limit. "Moreover, some foreign adoption authorities do not allow the separation

of siblings," Horn said. "In such a case, if a U.S. citizen wanted to adopt a

group of siblings and one of them is 16 or older, the citizen would lose the

opportunity to adopt any of them under current law." The bill is unlikely to

cause a significant increase in immigration levels overall. During fiscal year

1996, a total of 351 immigrant orphans older than age 9 were adopted by U.S.

citizens, out of 11,316 immigrant orphans adopted by U.S. citizens overall that

year. "Although the number of families helped by this bill may be relatively

small, the chance to keep a group of brothers and sisters together would

mean a
great deal to these families," Horn added.

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LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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October 19, 1999

SECTION: News

LENGTH: 184 words

HEADLINE: Brunei- (USDollar) 500 fine for an illegal visit to uncle

BODY:

A Filipino's trip to his uncle cost him (USDollar) 500.

When Ahmad Salihuddin Angatung, 23, who is unemployed reached the
Sungai
Tujoh Immigration check point on October 15 he was refused entry because
of lack
of funds.

He was charged with entering Brunei illegally from Miri without a
valid pass
issued by the Immigration officers.

But without the knowledge of the Immigration officer on duty, he
entered
Brunei by getting into a taxi and went to his uncle's house at Jerudong
and
stayed there for 3 days and 2 nights.

On Oct 17, at about 11.45 am, he reported himself to the Immigration
officer
on duty at the Sungai Tujoh Immigration check point, prior to leaving
Brunei for
Miri.

He was detained and handed over to the Enforcement Section for further
investigation.

He told the court yesterday that he came to Brunei to look for a job.
He
pleaded for leniency.

He was fined (USDollar) 500 or five weeks' jail in default. He paid the
fine.
Immigration Prosecuting Officer Hj Ansamawi bin Hj Tengah prosecuted.

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LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Copyright 1999 BORNEO BULLETIN

October 19, 1999

SECTION: News

LENGTH: 110 words

HEADLINE: Brunei- Four months in jail for overstayer

BODY:

An Indonesian, Artam Achmad Ansori, 36, was sent to prison yesterday
for
four months for remaining in Brunei unlawfully after the expiry of his
employment pass on Nov 7, last year.

He remained illegally in Brunei from November 8 last year to October
18 this
year, the court heard.

Artam, married with two children told the court that he ran away from
his
employer because his salary was not paid for three months. And so he went
to his
embassy and waited till now.

The court jailed him for four months.

Immigration Prosecuting Officer, Moharefandi bin Haji Md Tahir
prosecuted.

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LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Copyright 1999 BUSINESSWORLD (PHILIPPINES)

October 19, 1999

SECTION: Business

LENGTH: 452 words

HEADLINE: SBMA, Immigration ink pact to establish more liberalized entry of foreign investors

BODY:

A more effective and liberalized immigration policy in processing travel visas for foreign tourists and technical experts will be introduced in the Subic Bay Freeport Zone.

A memorandum of agreement was signed recently by Subic Bay Metropolitan Authority (SBMA) chairman Felicito Payumo and Immigration and Deportation commissioner Rufus Rodriguez, which will allow easier entry documentation process for tourist and foreign nationals possessing technical skills and who intend to work in the country.

Mr. Payumo said the agreement is part of the government's effort to facilitate investments and the entry of expatriates in the free port zone. "This is another evidence that Subic is investor-friendly. Apart from this new service for our expatriates here that we will now be providing them, this agreement has also strengthened our status as a tourist destination."

Among the innovations introduced by the agreement is the creation of a one-stop shop at the Subic Bay International Airport (SBIA), where foreign investors and expatriates can have their visas processed immediately without having to go to the immigration office in Manila.

Under the agreement, passports of all visiting foreigners will be stamped with "no visa" mark upon arrival at SBIA, allowing them to stay for 14 days, which could be extended upon request of visa waiver.

The Immigration bureau will also permit extension of up to 59 days for foreign visitors who availed of the "14-day No Visa" privilege.

Under the agreement, Subic locators will be allowed to hire more services of foreign executives and other workers with technical skills provided that "no Filipino within the SBMA zone" will be available as certified by the Department of Labor and Employment.

The agreement initially covers only the current fenced area of the free port zone. However, it states that the (secured area) "may be adjusted from time to time by the SBMA, as the requirements of the business in the Zone may demand or permit." In such case, the Immigration bureau will be informed by the SBMA of any adjustments in the free port boundaries.

Areas that are included in the metes and bounds of the free port as defined by Republic Act No. 7227 include Olongapo City and some areas in the adjacent municipalities of Morong and Hermosa in Bataan, and the towns of Castillejos, Subic and San Marcelino in Zambales.

The agreement also calls for the creation of a technical working group, constituting representatives from the SBMA and Immigration bureau that will ensure the effective implementation of the agreement and to address other relevant issues.

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LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Copyright 1999 International Herald Tribune

International Herald Tribune (Neuilly-sur-Seine, France)

October 19, 1999, Tuesday

SECTION: Opinion; Pg. 9

LENGTH: 119 words

HEADLINE: LETTERS TO THE EDITOR;
Test Ban Pros and Cons

BYLINE: International Herald Tribune

BODY:

The rejection of the test ban treaty has shown the Republican majority to be dangerously out of touch with geopolitical realities. That John McCain and George W. Bush, so-called moderates running for the Republican nomination, also oppose the treaty is cause for concern. Centrist voters should not be lulled into complacency by their liberal ideas about education and immigration policy.

These men, like their colleagues in the Senate, have an extremist foreign policy agenda that does not bode well for a stable international order in the new century. It is in the world's interest that the Republican Party not be allowed to recapture the White House in 2000. ALEXANDER FORD ZAITCHIK.
Prague.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

13 of 28 DOCUMENTS

Copyright 1999 The Irish Times

The Irish Times

October 19, 1999

SECTION: CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; Pg. 5

LENGTH: 506 words

HEADLINE: Asylum-seekers may be sent back to first EU country entered

BYLINE: By KITTY HOLLAND

BODY:

The Minister for Justice has made regulations to allow asylum-seekers who entered the State through other EU countries to be deported.

The regulations, under the Immigration Act, 1999, give operational effect to Mr O'Donoghue's power to deport asylum-seekers to the country through which they entered the EU. "Other EU countries have agreed to take back these persons and process their asylum claims," a statement from the Minister said last night.

The Minister said he was considering whether to remove a number of persons whose applications for asylum fell under the Dublin Convention, which specifies the country of entry as the place in which to seek asylum. Several hundred letters have been issued to failed asylum-seekers, saying deportation is proposed and that representations may be made to the Minister.

There is a right of appeal under the new order, which restores the previous power of deportation struck down by the courts.

Mechanisms to house asylum-seekers outside Dublin and the introduction of the "direct provision" of food and housing support to people seeking refugee status will be proposed to the Government today by Mr O'Donoghue.

His proposals are understood to be included in a report from the Interdepartmental Committee on Asylum-Seekers and Other Matters. This addresses how local authorities might be persuaded to accommodate more asylum-seekers, as more than 85 per cent are currently housed in Dublin.

In the Eastern Health Board area the 2,600 emergency beds available for asylum-seekers are full.

Yesterday morning staff at the refugee application centre in Dublin were able to secure just seven beds, while more than 100 applicants arrived needing housing.

The EHB has been seeking accommodation in Kilkenny, Cork and Donegal. Local authorities would initially pay for the accommodation and make welfare payments, which would be recouped in full from the Departments of the Environment and Social Welfare. The EHB is said to be looking into whether former

seminaries and
convents, and the hostels which housed Kosovar refugees, could be used.

The report is also understood to recommend that the Government adopt a similar approach to supporting asylum-seekers as has been employed by the British Home Office. "Direct provision" is to be implemented in Britain
next
April.

This will see asylum-seekers housed together in purpose-built
accommodation
and provided with food and clothing vouchers rather than social welfare payments.

It is thought that as Britain clamps down on payments to asylum-seekers, "disincentives" should be introduced here, to prevent the arrival of
applicants
who might otherwise have gone to Britain.

More than 5,000 applicants have been seen at the centre already this
year, up
from 4,625 in 1998 and 3,883 in 1997. The monthly figure for October is
expected
to pass 1,000 for the first time.

The queue of 300 individuals and family groups spilled out onto the
street
yesterday. Such queues have been a feature for about six weeks now.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

14 of 28 DOCUMENTS

Copyright 1999 The Jerusalem Post

The Jerusalem Post

October 19, 1999, Tuesday

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 3

LENGTH: 636 words

HEADLINE: 240,000 Russians expected by 2003

BYLINE: Nina Gilbert

HIGHLIGHT:

At the Knesset

BODY:

Some 240,000 Jews are expected to immigrate to Israel from the states of the former Soviet Union by 2003, according to Zvi Magen, the new director of Nativ, the government's liaison office for immigration in those countries.

In his first appearance before the Knesset Immigration and Absorption Committee, Magen said he estimated that during that period another 140,000 Jews would immigrate to the West.

Magen was formerly Israel's ambassador to Russia before replacing Ya'acov Kedmi at Nativ.

According to Nativ's estimates, some 750,000 Jews are living in the CIS states today.

At present, he described the situation in Russia as "unstable, and deteriorating from all respects." He warned that immigration from Russia could be harmed if undemocratic forces take power in the presidential elections in another year. He anticipates that antisemitism would worsen during the campaign and the phenomenon is taking on a political character today. "Jews are not a target, but antisemitism is being used as a tool by politicians," he said, warning that the public could pick up messages and act on them.

Magen said that since the wave of immigration began in 1989, 796,000 Jews have arrived here, while another 440,000 moved to other countries.

He noted that a few hundred Jews are still remaining in Chechnya who are not interested in leaving, despite dangers to their lives.

Mahar becomes

The Democratic Choice

The House Committee yesterday approved a change in the name of the faction of breakaway Yisrael Ba'aliya MKs Roman Bronfman and Alexander Tsinker from Mahar to The Democratic Choice. The two split after Yisrael Ba'aliya joined the coalition.

The committee also decided to change the name of the Labor and Social Affairs Committee to the Health, Labor and Social Affairs Committee.

Meanwhile, the proposal to establish a committee for the war on traffic accidents is still under dispute, with the coalition in favor of a full-fledged committee and the Likud preferring a sub-committee of the Economics Committee.

Referendum for all citizens

Yisrael Beiteinu has submitted a bill under which all Israeli citizens, even those living abroad, would be able to take part in a referendum.

Party leader Avigdor Lieberman said there is no reason why the existing discrimination among citizens should be applied to decisions on the fate of the country.

Library for blind to reopen

Education Minister Yossi Sarid intends to approve another NIS 650 million in funding to enable the reopening today of the national library for the blind in Netanya, in response to a request from Knesset Education Committee chairman Zevulun Orlev (National Religious Party.) The library closed down last week after its funds ran out. Its director, Uri Cohen, explained that the library produces books and tapes and serves 10,000 citizens. The committee said the library's budget must be updated to keep up with its costs.

Cubans need housing solutions

The main problem facing the immigrants from Cuba is a lack of housing solutions, the Knesset Immigration and Absorption Committee heard yesterday.

Committee chairman Naomi Blumenthal (Likud) said the Treasury did not know about the immigrants until a month ago and the need to give them housing assistance. She said she would ask the Treasury to help approve better mortgage conditions for the Cubans.

However, an immigrant representative, Maya Angel, said public housing is a better solution for the Cubans because of their low income.

Roni Arad, a Treasury representative, said the Absorption Ministry has budgets, but if there is a need it will be given additional assistance.

MK Sofa Landver (One Israel) said the Cuban immigrants should be given refugee status and thus qualify for greater assistance.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Copyright 1999 The Jerusalem Post

The Jerusalem Post

October 19, 1999, Tuesday

SECTION: OPINION; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 901 words

HEADLINE: Haider's opportunism

BYLINE: Robert S. Wistrich

HIGHLIGHT:

The writer is the Dr. Erich and Foga Neuberger Professor of Modern Jewish History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and an expert on Austrian and East-Central European Affairs.

BODY:

During the past two weeks, the prospect of Joerg Haider's Freedom Party eventually joining a new coalition government in Austria has led to much hysterical comment in Israel. There have been threats of cutting diplomatic ties to Vienna or at the very least of a reassessment of this country's relations with Austria. In the media, Haider has been called a "neo-Nazi," a "fascist," a "neo-fascist," or with slightly more justice, a right-wing extremist - though that too is a questionable label.

Comparisons with Adolf Hitler have also been made, which not only inflate Haider's importance but also implicitly trivialize the monstrosity of Nazism.

What, if any, truth is there in these stereotypes? How dangerous is the Haider phenomenon and what are the causes of his current success? Finally, what

is the appropriate response of Jews in Israel and abroad, to the seemingly irresistible rise of his movement?

It is certainly the case that Haider comes from an impeccably Nazi family background in Carinthia (both his parents were true believers) and that the Freedom Party (FPO) which he leads, was until the 1970s, the main political home for former Nazis. No doubt this upbringing explains his penchant for addressing gatherings that have included many ex-SS Nazi and far-right Kameradschaften - though they are far from being his main audience today.

Not accidentally, the Freedom Party has been the most lukewarm of Austrian political parties, in efforts to get Austria to take responsibility for its Nazi past. Though open antisemitism is not part of his party's program and Haider himself is careful to avoid any such taint, surveys indicate that anti-Jewish sentiments are more frequently encountered among his supporters than among Socialists or Conservatives.

Haider's rhetoric on the "foreigner question" (Auslanderfrage) deliberately plays on fears that Austria may be swamped by refugees, asylum-seekers, and immigrants from the Slavic East, Turkey, the Balkans, Africa, and Asia. They represent in his eyes a threat to the German ethnic, linguistic and cultural character of Austria which must be defended by putting a stop to further immigration and perhaps even by repatriation.

This is no phantom problem and by openly addressing what many Austrians privately feel, Haider gained an advantage over his political rivals which he has not hesitated to exploit.

This does not make Haider a "fascist" or a "neo-Nazi," but he is certainly comparable to other radical populist demagogues like Pat Buchanan in America, Jean-Marie Le Pen in France, Gerhard Frey in Germany or Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in Russia. They all represent soft, "democratic," non-violent versions of "ethnic cleansing" that fall some way short of Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini.

HOW THEN can one explain Haider's exceptional electoral success in Austria - so much more striking than that of his counterparts elsewhere?

Firstly, Haider is clearly the most charismatic, photogenic, and the youngest of the post-war radical populists - which partly accounts for his appeal to the new generation of voters (among 18- to 30-year-olds in Austria, the FPÖ is comfortably the most attractive party).

He cultivates a modern, sporting look and a "liberal" economic program even as he promises to be more "socialistic" than the Socialists when addressing the disillusioned Austrian working class.

Though Austria is prosperous and politically stable, many Austrians are nonetheless fed up with the Socialist- Conservative oligopoly that has governed the country for thirty years. They want change and Haider has cleverly positioned himself to represent that desire, while simultaneously feeding fears of an uncertain future as Austria is opened up to Europe and new winds of competition.

Thus he has performed the rare feat of winning strong support both from the yuppie generation of go-getting entrepreneurs and the anxious losers in the modernization process.

This peculiarly Austrian version of "Third Way" politics (neither Right nor Left) cuts across the older class divisions and entrenched political camps with a message that blends radicalism and bourgeois respectability, the promise of economic individualism with a smooth media-oriented message of reform, an ugly strain of xenophobia with a shrewd denunciation of establishment corruption.

Neither Israel nor the Jews in Austria are targets of Haider and his party, though the latent racism in its discourse is a source of legitimate concern and justifiable protest. But an exaggerated response runs the risk, as in the Waldheim Affair a decade earlier, of driving more Austrians into Haider's arms - an outcome that will produce the opposite effect to what may be intended.

A hundred years ago, Austria was the cradle of the most strident, politically successful, and dynamic antisemitic movement in Europe before Nazism. Its leader, Karl Lueger, was not only a charismatic demagogue, but a gifted social reformer and the most popular Mayor that Vienna ever had.

Joerg Haider reminds me in some ways of Lueger's skillful brand of coolly opportunist and radical xenophobic populism. He will probably be a force in Austrian politics for years to come. The real problem may not be Haider but the respectability and legitimacy which his present success may give to more extremist forces in Europe that have yet to surface.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Copyright 1999 Bergen Record Corp.

The Record (Bergen County, NJ)

October 19, 1999, TUESDAY; ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. L7

LENGTH: 336 words

HEADLINE: BOARD RULES AGAINST DEPORTING DETAINEE

BYLINE: DAVID VOREACOS, Staff Writer

BODY:

A Palestinian arrested in Passaic who faces deportation for alleged terrorist ties does not pose a risk to national security and should get a green card, an immigration board in Washington, D.C., has ruled.

The Board of Immigration Appeals ruled on Friday that Hany Kiareldeen should not be deported because it has "serious doubts about the reliability of the information" in secret FBI reports accusing him of terrorist activities.

That doesn't automatically mean he will be freed, however.

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service is seeking an emergency stay to keep Kiareldeen detained at the Hudson County Jail, his lawyers said late Monday.

Kiareldeen, 31, has been detained since March 1998 based on secret evidence that the INS and FBI will not disclose. They accuse him of being a member of a terrorist group, hosting a meeting with terrorist Nidal Ayaad one week before the World Trade Center bombing in 1993, and threatening to kill U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno.

Immigration Judge Daniel Meisner ruled in April that the INS had done a poor job of presenting its case for deportation at a hearing that

included secret evidence which Kiareldeen could not confront.

He said Kiareldeen deserves the permanent-resident status conferred by a green card, and release on \$ 1,500 bail. But the INS appealed to the board in Washington, which upheld Meisner.

"We do not find that the classified and unclassified evidence presented by the INS would 'justify a reasonable person in the belief that Kiareldeen is engaged in or will likely engage in terrorist activity,'" ruled the board.

Kiareldeen's lawyer, Houeida Saad, applauded the panel's ruling.

"This is a major victory,"Saad said."We feel that we've been vindicated. The government did an incredibly bad job in litigating this case."

She hopes to persuade U.S. District Judge William Walls to hold an emergency hearing this week to release Kiareldeen based on the ruling.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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The Washington Times

October 19, 1999, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: PART A; COMMENTARY; Pg. A18

LENGTH: 895 words

HEADLINE: Campaign finance hogwash

BYLINE: Bruce Fein

BODY:

To demonstrate satirically the unfair political favoritism toward the rich in

France under the Third Republic, Anatole France wrote in "The Red Lily" (1894):

"The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread."

Proponents of federal campaign finance reform echo that sentiment in asserting the prevailing scheme in which unlimited sums may be donated to

political parties or independently expended systemically corrupts candidates and elected officials on behalf of the upper crust. The theory is fetching; but, like claims of cold fusion, lacks convincing empirical support. Indeed, Anatole France's caustic cynicism is more apt in the United States today when turned on its head with appropriate adaptations as follows: "The federal law, in its majestic equality, levies on the rich as well as the poor a marginal income tax rate of 40 percent on high earnings, and, entitles both to hundreds of billions in redistributed income through Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, Food Stamps, housing vouchers, and welfare payments if they prove indigence." In other words, the large mixture of laws that Congress enacts discredits the idea the current campaign finance rules imbalance politics against the middle or lower classes and endows the rich with undue clout. That recognition destroys the moral foundation of campaign finance crusaders.

The entire sweep of the United States Code speaks volumes. The top 1 percent of income earners pay approximately 30 percent of all federal income taxes, while the bottom 50 percent chip in approximately 4 percent, and the bottom one-third pay nothing. Billions are showered on low-income earners through the earned income tax credit. The estate tax is paid only by the wealthy.

The ordinary working man or woman is favored under federal labor laws. Unions are exempt from the antitrust laws, and employers are prohibited from negotiating individual contracts with employees if a majority vote for union representation. Immigration restrictions are largely calculated to inflate free market wage levels, as are federal laws that compel the payment of prevailing union wages on government construction and service contracts. And a host of laws forbid employment discrimination based on union activity, age, race, ethnicity, gender, pregnancy or disability. While many of these laws are fully warranted, they nevertheless contradict the claim of a corrupt political system generally biased toward the rich.

Approximately 50 percent of the \$1.7 trillion federal budget, or \$850 billion, is dedicated to entitlement or welfare programs that redistribute

wealth in favor of the penurious. Social Security benefit formulas sharply discriminate against high wage earners. The colossal billions spent on Medicare, Medicaid, Food Stamps, rent and heating subsidies, farm relief and welfare dwarf defense expenditures plus the costs of "pork barrel" projects such as highway construction or earmarked research grants.

The white knight of campaign finance reform, presidential aspirant Sen. John McCain, Arizona Republican, insists simultaneously that the system corrupts politics but that none are guilty of corrupt voting, like an epidemic disease without patients in need of treatment. Inconsistency in argument is a great power in D.C., but it ought not to be abused.

Mr. McCain enlists a morally pious book authored by the esteemed Elizabeth Drew, "The Corruption of American Politics," to prove his case. She sermonizes: "The culture of money dominates Washington as never before. . . . It affects the issues raised and their outcome." But no list is forthcoming of laws that rob from the poor to give to the rich, or demonstrate that overall the federal code tilts toward the latter at the expense of the former. The most crusader Mr. McCain says is that his 10-year scrutiny of appropriations bills shows evidence of low-priority, unnecessary or wasteful spending because of procedural irregularities in their enactments; however, he neither quantifies the aggregate sums involved nor substantiates a pro-rich, anti-poor bias.

Probably the most muscular lobby in the nation is the American Association of Retired Persons, consisting of tens of millions predominantly concerned with raising Social Security benefits. AARP's membership is not dominated by the likes of retired chief executive officers from the Fortune 500, but by ordinary citizens of ordinary means. Their staggering voting power has made even a hint of Social Security austerity politically taboo for decades. The Business Roundtable and Chamber of Commerce are green with envy.

The general middle and lower class bias of the laws explains what is inexplicable to many: the absence of any popular fervor for campaign finance

reform. Citizens care vastly more about what laws are enacted than who pays for campaigns. Few care if fat cats squander money for ego-promoting nights in the Lincoln Bedroom, White House coffees, or punctual attention to telephone calls made to Congress or the Executive Branch. And when the beneficiaries of the vast panorama of federal laws are carefully examined, the ordinary citizen has little or nothing to gripe about.

Bruce Fein is a lawyer and free-lance writer specializing in legal issues.

GRAPHIC: Illustration, NO CAPTION, By Kreneck

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Copyright 1999 News World Communications, Inc.

The Washington Times

October 19, 1999, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: PART A; COMMENTARY; EDITORIALS; LETTERS; Pg. A20

LENGTH: 207 words

HEADLINE: Increased interest in Reform Party candidacy is about the bucks

BODY:

Kenneth Smith's Oct. 14 Op-Ed column, "Blame government first," regarding Pat Buchanan and William Kristol, was excellent. Two sentences amazed me, and I had to read them three times to make sure I got the meaning: "There's no room for a presidential contender Buchanan in the party of limited government. The Republican or Reform parties will have to do."

It is correct that neither of these parties favors government limited to the boundaries our Constitution gave it. Now the obvious question is: Which is the real "party of limited government?"

The answer is the Libertarian Party, which has been for free trade, free

immigration and ending subsidies for more than 20 years and is on the ballot in all 50 states (unlike the Johnny-come-lately, rich boy's toy Reform Party). Why did the column allude to the existence of a party of limited government without naming the Libertarian Party?

Columnists who quote Friedrich Hayek would do well to give recognition to the Libertarian Party. By doing so, conservative columnists cannot help but succeed - either in moving Republicans further from socialism or in promoting a new party that can lead us back to the vision of our Founding Fathers.

NOELLE STETTNER

Falls Church

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Copyright 1999 The Denver Post Corporation

The Denver Post

October 18, 1999 Monday 2D EDITION

SECTION: DENVER & THE WEST; Pg. B-10

LENGTH: 948 words

HEADLINE: Migration transforms West politics

BYLINE: By The Economist,

BODY:

COLORADO SPRINGS - A Californian, a Texan and a Coloradan are out drinking.

The Texan picks up his Lone Star beer, throws the bottle in the air, takes out a six-shooter and empties the chamber. Froth and glass everywhere. 'We've got plenty of beer back in Texas,' he says, 'but I've got to keep my aim straight.'

An hour passes, and the Californian starts on his second bottle of Merlot. He tosses it up, takes out his Saturday Night Special and blasts away.

'We've got plenty of wine back in the Napa Valley, but I've got to keep my trigger finger sharp.'

Then the Coloradan puts three bottles of Coors beer on the table, takes out his rifle and shoots the Californian and the Texan. 'We've got plenty of those back in Colorado,' he says, 'but the bottles I've got to recycle.'

The joke neatly embodies the changing attitudes of the West. The huge migration out of California into Rocky Mountain states; the tension this engenders; and the curious mixture of Old West gun culture and high-tech individualism - between them, these things have shaped a new political landscape.

Almost 20 years ago, when Ronald Reagan won the presidency, his victory promised to usher in a period of Western dominance of American politics. The country's economic center of gravity was shifting westward.

Reaganism - populist, internationalist, friendly to business, skeptical of government - was distinctively Western. And that meant distinctively Californian; the Rockies and the Pacific Northwest then seemed little more than California's hinterland.

The promise of 1980 has been only partly fulfilled. Economically, the West is the country's fastest-growing area. But the boom is taking place less in California than in the 'inland West' (otherwise known as the mountain West), those states that straddle the Sierra Nevada and the Rockies.

So it no longer makes sense to think of this region as someone else's hinterland. The inland West is a growth area in its own right. Today's big gravitational shifts are taking place between different parts of the West, not between the West and the rest of the country.

As Latinos pour into California and Texas, whites are pouring out of California and into the Rockies. As a result, the West is splitting.

California and the Pacific Coast have become more multiethnic and Democrat-controlled. The inland West is economically even more successful and the most solidly Republican area in the country.

This part of the West is becoming like the old California, while California is becoming less like its old self.

The transformation begins with the rise of the Latino vote. There are 29 million Latinos in the United States, making them the country's second-largest minority. California has a third of them, 30 percent of its population.

Between 1990 and 1997, 1.4 million more people moved into the states of the inland West than moved out of them. If you include Texas, Oregon and Washington (also targets of Californian flight), the figure for internal migration is 2.5 million.

Three-quarters of those moving came from California. This had unexpected consequences. For much of the 1990s, Western politicians talked about the 'greening' of the West, about the growth of Democratic power there, and even about the collapse of the 'Old West,' socially and economically.

It has not worked out quite that way. Certainly the reliance on primary industries has gone, to the point where ranchers and farmers feel they are constantly on the defensive. But, instead of greening, the West has been urbanizing - and fast.

The eight inland West states now contain six of the top 10 fastest-growing states by job creation and population, and five of the 10 states with the highest personal-income gains.

This is genuine, bottom-up growth, not the boom-and-bust kind that used to characterize the West. But this boom is largely a high-tech affair. Denver is one of America's leading cable-television and telecommunications centers, home to TCI, a big cable television firm recently acquired by AT&T.

Boise, Idaho, and Salt Lake City, Utah, are other fast-growing high-tech centers. Intel's largest production plant is in Portland, Ore. Microsoft is in Washington.

Some of these companies have been encouraged by people who left California for the great outdoors.

It argues they have played a vital role in transforming the inland West. They have helped make it another technology-based region, like

California in
the 1980s.

Californian migrants like them have also strengthened the Republicans
of the
Rockies and turned parts of the wide-open spaces - Idaho, Wyoming, Utah
- into
one-party states.

The present Western scene, then, is a strange one. For the moment,
ranchers
and city-slicker computer wizards both find themselves under the
Republican
label, united by a common disdain for taxes and regulation. Yet social
issues,
from health care to immigration, often divide the more tolerant techies
from
the rest.

This ideological disconnect has already caused intense fights within
the
Western state legislatures, and is likely to have a large impact on next
year's
elections.

Added to this volatility is another Californian import: Republican
intolerance of the growing influence of Latinos, which threatens to do
for the
party in the inland West what it did for the party in California.

Put all these together, and there is just a slight glimmer of hope for
Democrats who wonder how the New West can be won.

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Copyright 1999 The Denver Post Corporation

The Denver Post

October 17, 1999 Sunday 2D EDITION

SECTION: DENVER & THE WEST; Pg. B-06

LENGTH: 1271 words

HEADLINE: 'Someone has to pay,' he said Man fought for a country that
didn't
want him

BYLINE: By Jim Sheeler, Special to the Denver Post, A COLORADO LIFE,

BODY:

The two letters arrived on the same day in 1942, postmarked by fate, addressed to Jesus Montero, Denver, Colorado.

Inside the first envelope, Montero found a draft notice from the United States Army. In the second, he found a deportation document from the U.S. Department of Immigration.

If Montero answered the first letter, he would be sent to fight for a country that did not want him. If he answered the second letter, it would send him back to his homeland, where he could avoid the horrors of the battlefields.

Jesus Montero's decision was immediate.

'Someone has to pay,' he said.

Inside an Aurora apartment, Lydia Montero points to a photo of a young man in military fatigues.

'He didn't talk much about the war, but it was a defining time in his life,' she says. 'He released people out of the German death camps. He said he could not believe the evils he saw.'

Montero had made it all the way to a boot camp in New York before the Army found out where he was born. As a migrant worker, he had no record of 'legal entry' into the United States. At that point, he could have been sent back home. His lieutenant had a better idea.

'If you might die over there,' the officer told him, 'you should at least be a U.S. citizen.' Clad in his military dress uniform, Montero was sent across the Canadian border while a sympathetic judge drew up the papers that would allow him official legal entry back into the country. When he returned to the United States a few hours later, he was sworn in as his wife and daughter watched, and cried.

During his time overseas in the Fifth Armored Division - where he was known as 'Monty' - he would gather memories that would shape his life, memories he would rarely share. On the wall in the room, his daughter finds another photo, one of his best friends, a man who was killed instantly when a bomb hit

his
truck.

'A lot of Hispanic men who died over there never had their
citizenship,'
Lydia says.

'My father said, 'Courage is not the color of your skin.' He said,
'Courage
is the color of red blood.'

Jesus Jaime Montero was born Nov. 12, 1912, in La Ojuela, Durango,
Mexico.
His mother died of malnutrition one year after his birth. The town's
income
source, a silver mine, collapsed soon afterward, killing many of the men
inside.

'The town no longer exists. It isn't on any map,' Lydia Montero says.
'It
collapsed with the mine. Those who survived left.'

The Montero family crossed the border to New Mexico, where Jesus stayed
briefly before his father brought him along to help work on railroads
from
Texas to Trinidad, and in sugar beet fields from Lamar to Billings, Mont.

When his father settled in Denver in 1921, with his new wife, daughter
and
sister, Jesus was 9 years old, and his childhood had already long since
past.

'Someone once asked him if he felt an allegiance to Mexico,' Lydia
Montero
says. 'He told them, 'You can't make an allegiance with starvation.'
Nine
Montero children followed, eight of whom survived, giving the oldest
brother
the job of 'president and CEO of the family,' Lydia says. By the time he
was
10, Jesus had learned English and had begun a lifelong habit of reading
a newspaper every day.

'He was the one who negotiated with the lawyers, sold the horses and
bought
the Model T,' she says.

Jesus, or 'Jessie' as friends called him, continued to work in the
fields
with his father, forcing him farther behind in school. At 16 years old,
he was
the biggest kid in the fourth grade. He eventually left to enroll at the
Emily
Griffith Opportunity School, where he learned a trade as a mechanic.

He began dating Catherine 'Katie' Rendon in the late 1930s, the couple attending 5-cent movies at theaters that no longer exist, places long since replaced by what Mrs. Montero calls 'the glass monsters.' They married in 1942, and lived the rest of their lives in Denver. As skyscrapers grew around their home, Jessie Montero quietly grew his garden.

Jessie began working at Luby Chevrolet before he left for the war, and returned to his job once he had come home. He was named a master mechanic in 1949 and every year that followed, until his retirement in 1977.

Like most things in his life, he took his profession extremely seriously.

'When I do a good job, for instance, on the brakes,' he told his granddaughter, Dalal, 'I know that that family will be OK.'

This explains the transmission resting in the corner of the Monteros' living room.

'He had a 1968 El Camino in hopes of reconditioning it - he just never had time,' Lydia says. 'He once said, 'My version of heaven is to have a Rolls Royce, the kind with a nice wood interior. And all the time I want to tinker.'

In the same room with the pictures of Jessie Montero as a young boy and as a military hero are photos of the next two generations. All of them wear graduation caps.

'He told us, 'Education is the only thing," Lydia says. 'He said, 'Your body degenerates, you lose your health, and all you have is what's in your mind." It was a concept that Lydia says was constantly repeated by her parents - even when it went against the traditional roles of women in turn-of-the-century society.

'My grandfather (Jessie's father) was livid when I went to high school,' Lydia said. 'He said it would make me uppity and no man would want to marry me.' Eventually, Lydia says she and her parents won over her grandparents by deeds instead of arguments.

'He never shouted,' Lydia says. 'He said, 'A real man doesn't have to shout.' I can remember him saying that in Spanish and in English.'

As he grew older, the soft-spoken man always seemed to have a solution, and always seemed to have it at the right time.

'He wouldn't get involved in people's lives; they would come to him,' Lydia says. 'He said, 'People only hear wise things when they're ready to hear them.'" In the past few decades since his retirement, Jessie Montero refused to slow down. Much of his time was spent at the Denver Veterans Affairs Medical Center, where he would talk to patients and push their wheelchairs to church. Recently, the VA awarded Montero a certificate praising him for 3,060 hours of volunteer service during the past 27 years.

Though Montero didn't speak much about his war experience with his family, he and Katie spent much of their spare time at the Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 501, where Katie served as president, and he served any way he could.

Recently, Montero wanted to return to Normandy for the 50th anniversary of D-Day.

'He wanted to see that place again,' says Katie Montero. 'He wanted to make sure the people were all right. But I couldn't travel with him, and he wouldn't leave me again.'

Jessie Montero died Sept. 2 at the age of 86. Six days later he was buried in his uniform at Fort Logan Cemetery, with a 21-gun salute.

During the war, Montero won numerous medals, including the cherished Bronze Star - a medal awarded for an act of meritorious or heroic achievement.

Despite the family's questions, Jesus Montero never told them what he did to earn that star.

In a way, his family members say, they know.

'He never spoke of it with us,' Katie Montero says. 'He only said, 'Someone had to pay.'" To leave suggestions or comments for A Colorado Life, call 303-516-1959 or e-mail Jsheeler@BoulderPlanet.com.

GRAPHIC: PHOTOS: Courtesy of the Montero family Jessie Montero, left, wife Katie, and daughter Lydia Montero pose for a family portrait, shortly before he left to fight in World War II. Montero, above, moved to Denver when he was 9 and lived most of his life in a house on California Street.

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The Providence Journal-Bulletin

October 17, 1999, Sunday, All EDITIONS

SECTION: ISSUES & IDEAS, Pg. 1E

LENGTH: 1409 words

HEADLINE: Challenging Weygand, Licht vies for Latino support

BYLINE: M. CHARLES BAKST

BODY:

Vying with Rep. Bob Weygand in the 2000 Democratic Senate primary, former Lt. Gov. Richard Licht asserts he has a real shot to win the support of the Latino community, which was a key to Weygand's success in getting to Congress.

Several Latinos tell me Licht - because of his pluses or because of some disenchantment with Weygand - indeed has a chance.

Licht already has the backing of Dr. Pablo Rodriguez, who is president of the Rhode Island Latino Political Action Committee and who supported Weygand against Joe Paolino in their hotly contested 1996 House primary.

Rodriguez says Licht "absolutely" could win the majority of Hispanic votes.

"He could take it simply because this community is one that is sophisticated, that is looking for leadership that responds to issues of Latinos."

Weygand concedes nothing, contends he enjoys robust rank-and-file Latino backing here and notes continued strong support from Rep. Loretta

Sanchez, the
high-profile Hispanic congresswoman from California.

With Weygand, a fellow House rookie, escorting her to several stops,
Sanchez
visited Rhode Island in 1997. She tells me she'll be here again for his
Senate
bid.

According to a Weygand Senate campaign-finance report filed this
summer, he
has received \$ 1,000 from her reelection committee and \$ 2,000 from
Hispanic
PAC, a political action committee operated by Democratic Hispanic members
of
Congress.

The 1990 census put the Rhode Island Latino population at 45,000, but
it's
been growing substantially, with estimates that it may now be close to
75,000.
Two cities in which Hispanics especially are a presence - Pawtucket and
Central
Falls - are in the congressional district represented by Patrick Kennedy.

It may be that some in the Hispanic community aren't rushing to embrace
Weygand at this point because they don't want Latinos to be taken for
granted.

Sanchez says Hispanics must continually ask candidates what they'll do
for
them - and look at the candidates' history. "Hopefully, the Hispanic
community
is doing that up there," she says in a telephone interview from
Washington. "They'll see Bob has been good on issues that affect our community."

She praises Weygand's constituent work - visas, work permits and so on
- and
his voting record in such areas as support for bilingual education.

She says she's never met Licht. But she can't say enough about Weygand.
"When
I need a vote and I need him to round up votes, I explain the issue to
him and
he goes out and rounds up votes," she says.

Weygand, who was then lieutenant governor, became a darling of Latinos
in
1996 after calls by former Providence Mayor Paolino to make English the
official
language of the United States, to crack down on illegal immigration and
to take
another look at bilingual education.

At the Biltmore Hotel, Hispanics thrilled to Weygand's victory on primary night. Victor Capellan told him, "Our whole community is all excited." Carolina Bernal said, "It's good for the whole state to have a person like you that we can trust."

But today, Capellan, an aide at the Center for Hispanic Policy and Advocacy, says it's "very possible" Licht could seize Weygand's Latino support. And Bernal, a staffer at the Institute for Labor Studies, says, "It's going to be a tough race." She calls both candidates "excellent" and refuses to give me a prediction on how things will go. That would be "free publicity" for one of them, she chuckles. "They've got to do their homework."

You could have seen both Licht and Weygand working the crowd at a recent Latino PAC reception.

Licht told me he has good prospects among Latinos because of a "strong record" in working with them. "When I was lieutenant governor, I had an Hispanic advisory council. We met on a frequent basis."

He also employed a Hispanic woman, Margarita Baez, as a policy aide.

Licht largely disappeared from public view after he lost a 1988 Senate bid. He says he's making a concerted effort to reintroduce himself to Latinos.

Licht says it's too early to say whether there will be any Latinos on his campaign staff, but he definitely will have a Latino committee.

Licht contends his stands on issues - including education and immigration - appeal to Hispanics.

Rodriguez considers him a stronger voice than Weygand for an amnesty for undocumented immigrants, which is viewed as a way of keeping families united.

Many undocumented immigrants, from such countries as Colombia, Mexico and Guatemala, work here and pay taxes. But because they came illegally, they cannot claim health benefits and they live in fear of being deported - often to countries devastated by war or hurricane - and separated from relatives, including American-born children, here.

Weygand is leery of an amnesty that would be so broad as to include criminals. On the other hand, there is debate over how to define criminals. And

for the moment the amnesty topic may be more emotional or symbolic than real:

Sanchez says that unless House Democrats find some magic bargaining chip in dealing with Republicans, the only way the legislation will pass is if Democrats seize House control in 2000.

Another problem Rodriguez has with Weygand is that the congressman does not have high-ranking Hispanic staffers.

Weygand boasts of having an Hispanic constituent caseworker, Yvette Jaquez, in his Rhode Island office. Overall, he says, his staff is "very diverse," with more women than men and more minority representation than in the population at large.

Capellan, who has run unsuccessfully for the Rhode Island House and is eyeing another race, says he'd have liked to have seen Weygand immerse himself more in the Latino community, but he goes out of his way to praise Jaquez for being "very active with us."

In some Hispanic quarters, as with any other group, Weygand may be taking a hit for his opposition to abortion rights.

This is one area in which he and Rodriguez, medical director of Planned Parenthood, part company. Obviously, the two men also disagreed on abortion in 1996, but Rodriguez, who found the "pro-choice" Paolino unpalatable on other fronts, was willing to swallow the differences. Licht is "pro-choice."

Congresswoman Sanchez tells me, "I am probably one of the strongest 'pro-choice' votes here in Congress, as well as an advocate. When I look at candidates to support, that's one of the criteria I look very hard at. It's hard for me to work for 'anti-choice' people. Bob is an exception. Overall, the rest of his agenda is very straightforward for working people: education, for children and vocational and lifelong learning. That's important, especially to the Hispanic agenda."

Weygand says his relationship with the Latino community is "extremely strong."

He says it doesn't panic him if some leaders, such as Rodriguez, are not in his corner. In 1996, he says, some top Democrats weren't for him either, "but the rank-and-file Democrats certainly were."

Jenny Rosario, a high school teacher who was a close Weygand adviser in 1996, says she remains an enthusiastic backer, even though she also considers Licht a "wonderful person."

She says Weygand has done an "excellent" job representing average Rhode Islanders, including Hispanics.

Yet I also spoke with Francisco Cruz, who works for the Providence Plan, a nonprofit urban revitalization agency. Once a City Hall aide to Paolino, Cruz in 1996 sided with Weygand.

Today he says he leans to Licht, whom he knew through Margarita Baez and with whom he has cooperated over the years on several projects. Cruz says he's in the dark about the extent to which Weygand has maintained some of his connections in the Hispanic community. For example, in the Senate primary, "I wasn't approached by his campaign." Cruz says Licht did seek his support.

It's not like Weygand to be lazy. This guy is driven. But I've never met any politician more driven than Licht. So if Licht says he's going to best Weygand in the Hispanic community, I'll keep my eye on the situation.

Suggest you do same.

M. Charles Bakst, The Journal's political columnist, can be reached by E-mail at mbakst@projo.com

* *

REP. LORETTA SANCHEZ, center, a high-profile Hispanic Democrat from California, is a strong supporter of Rep. Bob Weygand in his 2000 Democratic Senate primary fight against former Lt. Gov. Richard Licht. . . . Bob has been good on issues that affect our community, she says.

AP

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The Providence Journal-Bulletin

October 17, 1999, Sunday, All EDITIONS

SECTION: LOCAL & REGIONAL NEWS, Pg. 3C

LENGTH: 400 words

HEADLINE: 10 men sentenced in fraud scheme

BODY:

The 10, all suspected illegal aliens, tried to cash counterfeit payroll checks at Citizens and Fleet Banks.

**

PROVIDENCE - Ten men, all suspected illegal aliens, have been sentenced in a scheme to cash more than \$ 100,000 in counterfeit payroll checks at local banks earlier this year, U.S. Attorney Margaret E. Curran announced.

The sentences, ranging from two years for the ringleader to several weeks, were imposed during separate hearings by U.S. District Court Judge Mary M. Lisi during the last three weeks.

All 10 will be referred to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for deportation after completing their sentences.

There were two separate check-cashing sprees, in February and March, said Assistant U.S. Attorney Terrence P. Donnelly. In late February, 225 fake checks made out against a Johnston manufacturer's account were cashed at 24 Citizens Bank branches. The checks ranged from \$ 374 to \$ 394. Eight of the defendants and 19 unidentified men cashed the checks during two days.

On March 26, the 10 defendants and 15 associates obtained counterfeit checks drawn on a Massachusetts greenhouse company's Fleet Bank account. They cashed or

attempted to cash 60 checks from \$ 360 to \$ 410.

By then, the Secret Service was investigating the initial check-cashing episode. The defendants were arrested by local police departments, six of them at various Fleet branches as they tried to cash checks. The four others were arrested at a hotel in Warwick.

As a result of the scheme, Citizens lost \$ 107,657 and Fleet lost \$ 20,070.

Lisi ordered the defendants to repay these amounts. All 10 admitted to defrauding the banks, Curran's office said.

The ringleader, Rolando Solares, 33, of 41 Longfellow St., was sentenced to 24 months in federal prison.

Sentenced to six months in prison and four months of home confinement were

Armando Silvestre Garcia, 22; Jose Nieves-Torre, 23; Jose Jasso, 19; Jose Gil-Peralta, 27; Gerrardo Rodriguez; Juan Talavera, 18; and Nemecio Lopez Silva,

28. None of these men has a permanent address.

Luis Avelar, 20, of 387 New York Ave., was sentenced to three weeks in prison, the time he served while awaiting bail. Calixto Liborio Saligan, 27, no fixed address, was sentenced to the six months he served while being held without bond. These two men were involved in the second check-cashing round, but not the first.

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Central News Agency

October 16, 1999, Saturday

LENGTH: 327 words

HEADLINE: LEGISLATOR CALLS HEARING OVER FRAUD INVOLVING FOREIGN BRIDES

BYLINE: By Lilian Wu

DATELINE: Taipei, Oct. 16

BODY:

A legislator called a public hearing on Saturday to call attention to

cases
of fraud involving foreign smuggling rings collecting the passports of
foreign
brides for illegal use.

Legislator Kuo Su-chun of the ruling Kuomintang called the hearing on
international fraud involving foreign brides. Participating in the
hearing were
Taiwanese victims of the fraud and government officials from the Ministry
of
Foreign Affairs and the Bureau of Immigration.

Legislator Kuo said that such fraud has compromised the rights of local
people and threatened the social order.

Legislator Kuo pointed out that the smuggling rings first act as
matchmaking
agencies for Indonesian brides and Taiwanese men. The rings then collect
the
passports of the Indonesian brides after they return to Indonesia within
six
months according to Indonesian regulations.

The rings then give the passports to others who then use the contraband
passports to enter Taiwan shortly thereafter.

The legislator stated that the illegal smuggling rings might be
involved in
getting jobs for the illegal immigrants after they arrive in Taiwan.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian brides who have handed over their passports
cannot
leave their country after they have been taken away from them and their
husbands
in Taiwan are left without both their bride and the large sum of money
given as
a dowry.

Kuo asked relevant authorities to check the whereabouts of the brides
to see
if their passports have been converted for illegal use or the women have
been
sent to serve in the prostitution business.

A Bureau of Immigration official said the law states that foreign
brides must
report the loss of their passports and reapply for entry before they are
allowed
to return.

Another official also said that Taiwan cracks about 350 cases of illegal
immigration every year with many more illegals entering undetected.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 19, 1999

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Copyright 1999 Independent Press

The Moscow Times

October 16, 1999

SECTION: No. 1817

LENGTH: 968 words

HEADLINE: Medecins Sans Frontieres Wins Nobel

BODY:

COMBINED REPORTS Reuters, MT OSLO, Norway - Medical relief group Medecins Sans Frontieres won the last Nobel Peace Prize of the century Friday and dedicated it to "forgotten populations" of the world from the Congo to Afghanistan.

The Norwegian Nobel Committee said the prize honored MSF, also known as Doctors Without Borders, for "pioneering humanitarian work on several continents" and for its speed and fearlessness in providing emergency aid.

The news reached the MSF office in Moscow minutes after the announcement in Oslo, moving the excited and astonished activists to send for champagne.

The toast? "To world peace," said Ilona van de Braak, the media coordinator for the organization's AIDS prevention project.

"That was a moment in which ... you suddenly realize that you are a part of one big organization," she said. "I hope it (the Nobel Prize) is for the combination of doing something and speaking out for the people that do not have the opportunity to speak for themselves." In Russia, the Dutch branch of MSF runs an AIDS prevention and awareness project, as well as programs to help the homeless and tuberculosis sufferers.

The French aid agency also operated in Chechnya during the 1994-96 war and assisted refugees from Chechnya sheltering in neighboring Ingushetia. MSF pulled out of the North Caucasus in 1997 after one of its workers was kidnapped in

Ingushetia and held for nearly four months before he escaped.

MSF welcomed the award, one of the least controversial Nobel Peace Prizes in years. But it expressed concern that the prestige of the prize might jeopardize the independence built up since it was founded in 1971, mainly by French doctors.

MSF, with offices in 23 nations, calls itself the world's largest independent medical aid agency and has championed a right for "humanitarian intervention" - helping victims in a country even when governments were opposed.

James Orbinski, MSF International president, said in Paris that the award was "an important high-level confirmation of the fundamental right of ordinary people to humanitarian assistance and protection." He called it "an opportunity to highlight the forgotten populations of the world who exist in extremely precarious situations, for example in Congo, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan and in many of the other 80 countries where we work." The Red Cross and the UN refugee agency, both former laureates, also praised MSF. MSF sends more than 2,000 white-coated workers around the world each year with a budget of about \$ 230 million, most of it from private donors.

Orbinski, a Canadian, sounded a wary note that the award "is in some ways a risk for MSF because it in some ways reinforces the institutionalization of humanitarian assistance." MSF seized the occasion to urge European Union leaders meeting in Finland to keep the doors open for refugees in its work for a united policy on justice, immigration and crime.

MSF co-founder Bernard Kouchner, an ex-French health minister and now interim UN administrator in Kosovo, said the presence of groups like MSF would make massacres such as at Auschwitz, Cambodia and Rwanda impossible in the next century.

MSF was in a field of 136 candidates including Chinese dissidents, Pope John Paul and Israeli President Ezer Weizman.

The Nobel committee said MSF "has adhered to the fundamental principal that all disaster victims, whether the disaster is natural or human in origin,

have a
right to professional assistance, given as quickly and efficiently as
possible.

Medecins Sans Frontieres set the trend for independent humanitarian
missions
almost three decades ago.

Now a fixed part of the relief scene, private aid groups were all but
unknown when MSF was founded in 1971 by French doctors caring for victims
of the
Biafran civil war.

Its founders chafed under their neutrality as Red Cross doctors in
Biafra,
where they were barred from criticizing what they saw as genocide by
Nigerian
forces against the separatists.

First seen as "medical hippies," MSF grew during the 1970s as a boom in
civil wars and refugee camps in developing states boosted the need for
quick
medical aid around the world.

Suddenly, MSF was helping embattled Shi'ites in Lebanon, Angolan
refugees in
Zaire, Somalis in Djibouti and Saharan refugees in Algeria and Eritrea.

In Thailand, it cared for Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian refugees.

After Russia invaded Afghanistan in 1979, MSF doctors trekked into the
mountains with the Mujahideen rebels on dangerous aid missions that
summed up
the commitment and adventure the doctors became known for.

With the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, MSF broke new ground
providing
medical aid not to Third World countries but to industrialized states with
woefully inadequate health services.

It launched an AIDS prevention center in Moscow, a tuberculosis
treatment
project in Siberia, a polio vaccination campaign in Albania and public
health
programs in Uzbekistan. MSF played a key role in this year's biggest
humanitarian crises, in Kosovo and East Timor, where its doctors were the
last
medical aid workers to leave at the height of the fighting and among the
first
to return.

It was also active in helping victims of Turkey's earthquake, which
killed
more than 17,000 people. MSF says that less high-profile projects include

fighting sleeping sickness in Uganda or bone disease in Tibet.

With Friday's award, the first and last peace prizes of the century have gone to humanitarian groups: The first Nobel Peace Prize in 1901 went to Henri Dunant, the founder of the Red Cross.

The awards are named after Sweden's Alfred Nobel, the inventor of dynamite, and is worth 7.9 million Swedish crowns (\$ 980,000). It will be handed out in Oslo on Dec. 10.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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Copyright 1999 Independent Press
The Moscow Times

October 16, 1999

SECTION: No. 1817

LENGTH: 950 words

HEADLINE: David Duke Finds Communist Ally

BODY:

By Jen Tracy Special to The Moscow Times In a little-noted meeting here to discuss "the new world order orchestrated by Jews," Communist Duma Deputy Albert Makashov and American politician and former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke exchanged opinions - and found themselves in surprising agreement.

Duke, a former Grand Wizard of the KKK, an American organization that has become an international symbol for racism, considers himself a staunch anti-communist. But in a telephone interview from Mandeville, Louisiana, on Friday, Duke said he and Communist Party member Makashov - a retired Soviet general best known for urging crowds to blame and attack Jews in response to the 1998 ruble meltdown - saw eye-to-eye on what ails Russia.

"Russia's biggest problem is organized crime and its leaders are influenced

by the Russian mafia," Duke said. "But it's not right to call it a Russian mafia, it's a Jewish mafia." Makashov and Duke met last month in Moscow at the editorial offices of the nationalist newspaper Zavtra, but the newspaper only recently reported the meeting. Duke said he also met with other key Russian leaders, but he declined to mention any names.

"I met with a lot of people, but I'd rather not talk about this. These meetings were private," he said.

Duke said that as the U.S. Republican Party's chairman for the largest district in the southern U.S. state of Louisiana, he feels it is his duty to remain in contact with leaders of other parties worldwide. He said he expects he and Makashov will keep in touch.

"I intend to keep the dialogue (with Makashov) going," he said.

The get-together at Zavtra came about after Duke decided to visit Moscow on a fact-finding mission about Russian money laundering - a hot topic in the United States in the wake of reports that billions of dollars in Russian money were laundered at the Bank of New York.

Duke said he particularly wanted to hear Makashov's views about allegations that some of those billions might have been stolen from International Monetary Fund loans to Russia.

The conclusion Duke came away with from his visit to Moscow is that the money-laundering affair is real, and is the work of the "Jewish mafia," who are a ruthlessly organized group of "Zionists." Saying President Boris Yeltsin has links to this "organized group," Duke said: "I agree with those in opposition to Yeltsin. He is a weak leader who is going along with the new world order people. And there are many questions about his connection to this (corruption) scandal." Instead, Russia needs a nationalist as president, Duke said. And a nationalist is just what Duke found in Makashov.

"It seems like the communists are being transformed," he said. "They're not like the individuals of Lenin or Stalin's day - they're nationalists.

'Communist' is only a name they are trying to hold on to for

nostalgia."

Instead of taking offense at the communist label, then, Duke says he is ready to cooperate with men like Makashov to meet shared threats. He said Russia and America "are both losing their sovereignty" to Jewish organized crime, and both have problems with immigration.

"The Russian Federation has a growing Moslem minority, which is causing cultural and religious clashes. This is similar to mass immigration of Mexicans to America, and certain presidential candidates are tailoring their campaigns to get Mexican votes," he said.

In Russia, the Jewish Congress has accused the "nationalist-communist majority" in the State Duma of using Makashov as an anti-Semitic mouthpiece. Russian authorities have condemned Makashov's frequent anti-Semitic statements, but the Communist Party has doggedly refused to rebuke Makashov.

In the United States, the Anti-Defamation League has also condemned Makashov's anti-Semitic public statements, and has dubbed Duke "one of the most dangerous extremists in America." According to the ADL, Duke has increasingly disguised his ideas behind more mainstream conservative-sounding rhetoric.

In an attempt to demystify Klan ritual, for example, Duke renamed the position of Grand Wizard "National Director." He has also put a new spin on cross burning - the KKK practice of setting a large, flaming crucifix in front of a home or organization as a form of intimidation - by referring to them as "illuminations." In 1980, Duke resigned from the KKK and formed something called the National Association for the Advancement of White People to promote the cause of "white rights." He has run unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate, the U.S. presidency and the Louisiana governor's office over the years. But he was elected to the Louisiana State Legislature in 1989, and though he has been repudiated by the national leadership of the Republican Party, he is now Republican Party chairman for Louisiana's St. Tamany Parish.

Makashov rarely talks to mainstream Russian or foreign media, but Zavtra quoted him as telling Duke, "Once upon a time, the Russian people and the nationalist elements in the (Communist) Party could master the Trotsky-Zionist line ... but that power was destroyed by (Soviet leader Mikhail)

Gorbachev and
Yeltsin." In a self-published 1998 book, Duke offered a similar view
about his
own country - complete with a nod to Russia, a country Duke says he
admires for
its long suffering: "Jewish power is ubiquitous. Every politician is so
aware of
it that he knows he cannot dare mention it! Jewish organizations, Jewish
media
and Jewish political agents ruthlessly seek their perceived interests
without
remorse and without introspection. Just as single-mindedly as they once
orchestrated the Russian Revolution, they now coordinate their power."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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