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U.S.-ASIA: NEW ERA OPENS WITH VIETNAM, BUT CHINA TIES STILL TROUBLED

Journalists watching Asia zeroed in on Washington's resumption of ties with Vietnam while also continuing to focus on the strained U.S.-China relationship. Secretary Christopher's weekend visit to Vietnam prompted considerable commentary on the U.S. "reentry" into southeast Asia and its role as a guarantor of regional stability. Analysts noted with approval the "rapid improvement" of U.S. relations with Vietnam following the end of the Cold War and hailed the embassy opening in Hanoi as a "historic moment." Most writers hit a positive tone--stressing the conclusion of the bitter Vietnam War chapter and the potential economic benefits for both sides, and praising President Clinton for his "logical" and "courageous" move. Paris's influential Liberation warned that U.S.-Vietnam ties could sour if the Republican majority in Congress imposed difficult conditions in areas like intellectual property, drugs and human rights. Others held to optimistic views; for example, the Hanoi correspondent for Bangkok's independent Nation gushed, "As any American who lives in this country can tell you...the Yanks are especially welcome here." Malaysian and Indonesian editorialists praised the U.S. presence as a force promoting stability, but Manila's pro-business Malaya wondered whether Vietnam also "favors a continued U.S. presence in Asia?"

Commentators in Asia and Europe remained preoccupied with the troubled U.S.-China relationship. A few dailies took heart from a Manila report that China was easing its stance on the Spratly islands. Many writers suggested that while the Christopher-Qian summit in Brunei had not resolved basic differences, it did set the scene for future exchanges. In Tokyo, business-oriented Nihon Keizai warned the two powers not to return to Cold War-era mentalities. Several analysts stressed that the "mere" expulsion of two U.S. Air Force officers suspected of espionage indicated

that both sides wish to avoid any further worsening of their bilateral relations. Singapore's pro-government Straits Times--one of several papers to criticize U.S. "ineptitude"--chided the Clinton administration for letting special interest groups drive China policy on narrow concerns rather than hewing to its policy of "engagement" with Beijing. Seoul's moderate Hankook Ilbo perceived a "Great Wall" between Beijing's "expansionism" and Washington's "containment," arguing that confidence building was sorely needed to heal the relationship and allay regional security jitters. Editorialists across the board reiterated domestic factors contributing to the sorry state of Sino-U.S. ties, and a few lashed out at Beijing for its grim human rights record. Centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich averred, "The source of all tensions, and this should not be forgotten in Beijing...remains a country that arrests human rights activists like Harry Wu, propels missiles to hit targets right next to Taiwan, and leaves its neighbors anxious about its future ambitions." Beijing's official, Communist Party People's Daily gleefully quoted former Secretary of State Kissinger's description of containment as "a daydream." However, several commentators concluded that the new friendly relations between Washington and Hanoi were indeed intended in part, as a Thai writer suggested, "for the joint purpose of containing China's expansionism southward."

This report is based on 97 commentaries from 29 countries, August 5-10.

EDITOR: Rose Sue Berstein

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

CHINA: "New U.S.-Vietnam Ties"

Hu Suojin remarked in official, Communist Party People's Daily (8/9), "Secretary of State Christopher paid an official visit to Vietnam from August 5th to the 7th. The purpose of this visit was to seek solutions to (unresolved) issues regarding American prisoners of war and missing in action and at the same time to end the bitter past history between the two countries and establish new relations between the United States and Vietnam. Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has rapidly improved its relations with Vietnam in line with regional security needs."

"Dream On"

Zhou Zhunnan remarked in People's Daily (8/4), "On July 31, Time magazine carried an odd article entitled 'Why we must contain China.' This article speaks the words which some in political circles want to say but are unwilling to speak openly.... This is a self-confession of hegemonism and power politics.... People have reason to believe that such articles, having successively appeared in the influential American press, reflect the ideas of certain policymakers. It is precisely as Kissinger said, 'At present, it is a daydream to adopt a containment policy toward China.'"

VIETNAM: "Historic Moment"

The official Vietnamese press played up the country's July 28 entry into ASEAN with banner headlines hailing the "historic moment" as a major victory for the Communist Party and the government.

CAMBODIA: "We Are Here To Help You"

Major, Khmer-language Rasmei Kampuchea (8/6) and the English-language Cambodia Daily (8/7) and Cambodia Today (8/7) carried extensive news reporting on Secretary Christopher's visit. Earlier, Cambodia Daily (8/1) ran Agence France Press's Matthew Lee's observation that "Christopher's visit...is seen by many as a stamp of approval for Cambodia's emergence from the dark years of Khmer Rouge rule and the Vietnamese occupation that followed.

"Many here, especially those in power, say it is also validation for the work the two-year-old government has done to create democracy in a country that in the past 25 years has tried authoritarianism, radical Maoism and Soviet-style socialism.... But human rights groups and the diminishing number of outspoken dissident voices in the country say they are wary of that perception of the visit. They say a blanket validation is dangerous and they will use Christopher's visit to point out that Cambodia still has a long way to go to democracy. They intend to explain why they fear that gains made after the UN-brokered elections in 1993 are diminishing."

JAPAN: "U.S., China Should Continue Talks Patiently"

Business-oriented Nihon Keizai opined (8/4), "The United States and China have swerved away from a diplomatic collision course.... Problems in the Sino-U.S. relationship caused by Taiwan and other issues are just too complex to be resolved through the recent...meeting alone. There was little progress in key issues such as the one-China policy and human rights diplomacy. "With the presidential election set for next year, the Clinton administration has given greater priority to domestic politics.... Beijing has also taken a harder-line diplomacy in anticipation of the imminent death of...Deng Xiaoping. The United States and China, big powers on each side of the Pacific, should not be dragged too deeply into domestic politics, however. They cannot return to their Cold War era mentalities. The two countries must work harder to bring peace and stability to the Asia and Pacific region."

"Asian Confidence-Building Should Be Promoted"

Nihon Keizai opined (8/4), "Voices expressed at ASEAN and Asian Regional Forum (ARF) meetings in Brunei reflected growing Asian concerns over China's territorial ambitions and military potential as well as the chill in U.S.-China relations. Needless to say, China also feels the threat of containment by other countries. The ARF, launched last year to discuss East Asian security, should discuss regional security plans from a long-range perspective.... Security in southeast Asia is not...security for the whole of Asia. The organization should be enlarged...to cover...northeast Asia."

AUSTRALIA: "U.S., China Seek Warmer Relations"

The national, conservative Australian (8/10) commented, "When...Christopher and...Qian Qichen announced a few days ago that they had made progress toward better management of their differences, the region's collective sigh of relief was almost audible. What was particularly good about the talks held during the ASEAN meeting in Brunei was the clarity of the U.S. position and the measured Chinese response. Mr. Christopher was firm but reasonable.... Mr. Christopher's more consensual approach toward China should develop into the continuing dialogue that will be necessary to iron out the real and potential differences between two of the region's economic and military giants. Having established a bridge to the Chinese leadership...the United States should move to restore its bruised status in terms of regional leadership."

"Peace Move In Spratlys"

The regional West Australian (8/10) ran this Manila bylined report: "China displayed a new flexibility on the Spratly Islands dispute yesterday, telling the Philippines it was ready to discuss joint projects.... The offer came as senior officials of the two countries began a two-day meeting in Manila to try to defuse tension in the potentially oil-rich cluster of isles, reefs and shoals."

"Dollars Fire New U.S. Drive Into Asia"

The West Australian (8/10) observed, "Forty years after Greene wrote his classic indictment of naive U.S. meddling in Vietnam in the name of democracy and human rights, Americans are back in force.... These days however, they seem more interested in getting the Vietnamese to drink Coca-Cola and use American Express cards than in winning over hearts and minds.... The emphasis on exporting products rather than political principles marks a significant change from the early days of the Clinton presidency. Previously, the administration's mantra was that human rights and trade were inextricably linked.... Mr. Christopher has walked a fine line between defending U.S. values and smoothing over relations with his sometimes-prickly hosts." "Vietnam Turns Deaf Ear To Ideas"

The West Australian ran this Hanoi bylined report (8/8): "Vietnamese newspapers ignored most of a speech by...Christopher dedicated to explaining democracy, human rights and the free flow of information.... The Communist Party newspaper Nhan Dan highlighted only the economic aspects of the speech and Mr. Christopher's comment that the U.S. government looked at Vietnam as a country, not a war.... No doubt it will take a giant leap for Vietnam to cast off its communist economic system. Despite some moves toward economic reform, the regime permits no private ownership of land and remains intolerant of dissent."

"U.S. Policy Still Driven By Domestic Concerns"

The Hanoi correspondent for the business-oriented Australian Financial Review filed (8/7), "The U.S. secretary of state...made initial steps in forging economic ties which are being offered as a veiled form of reparations.... Mr. Christopher's approach underlines the extent to which U.S. policy toward Vietnam is still being driven by domestic political concerns."

BRUNEI: "ASEAN Talkathon"

The independent Borneo Bulletin (8/5-6) ran this report by a diplomatic correspondent: "Christopher came with 'an olive branch' from President Bill Clinton aimed at improving their bilateral relations. Qian Qichen responded guardedly and stuck to a new Chinese axiom: 'A friend indeed is a friend with deeds.' The issue of the expelled U.S. Air Force officers was obviously sidestepped by both ministers.... They were concerned on a greater diplomatic picture--the need to foster better relations.... Some observers are skeptical saying that the expulsions would mean a further strain on U.S.-China relations. But with Hillary Clinton scheduled to visit China for the upcoming global conference on women, bilateral ties are bound to get...cozier."

HONG KONG: "Lesson For West In Indochina's Take Off"

The independent Hongkong Standard asked (8/8), "Is it a conscience racked with guilt or simple realpolitik that is making new friends of old enemies?... Mr. Christopher not only formally opened the U.S. embassy after decades of absence, but had the gall to tell Vietnam to mend its political ways if it wanted to profit from economic liberalization. What Mr. Christopher did not tell his enthralled audience was that his homilies might have been unnecessary and Vietnam's economy would have been chugging along, had Washington not tried to bomb the country out of existence.

"Ironically enough, the U.S. Secretary of State was in Cambodia before visiting Vietnam. It is not clear whether he preached the same lessons to the Cambodians who were pitchforked into the Vietnam War in 1970 by the very country that Mr. Christopher represents, undermining the neutrality of this Indochinese nation in that particular conflict.... Now that the Indochina states are beginning to reconstruct their countries in their own way, let us hope that the big powers will desist from poking their fingers into the region's political pie. If they do, they will only help to raise the specter of another Pol Pot, and he, we can well do without."

"US-Vietnam Disagreement On Human Rights"

Leading pro-PRC Ta Kung Pao's columnist Shi Junyu held (8/8), "Three million Vietnamese died. All of them were victims of direct attacks launched by U.S. troops. And property damage is simply impossible to estimate. However, today the United States wants to 'look into' Vietnam's 'human rights issue,' making inquiries about political prisoners.... The United States even uses this as a test for the improvement of relations between the two countries. Isn't it

outrageous?... Vietnam is a socialist regime under the leadership of one party. For this reason, to some people in America, Vietnam is simply an eyesore. The Vietnam War caused a new decadent generation to breed in America. The two nations have different cultural backgrounds. Normalization of relations does not mean the past will be written off at one stroke."

"U.S. Seeks Vietnam's Peaceful Evolution

Center-right Sing Tao Daily (8/7) held, "Judging from Secretary Christopher's speech at the opening ceremony of the American Embassy (in Hanoi), it is not difficult to see that the United States will accelerate Vietnam's peaceful evolution by assisting (it) to carry out economic reforms. This will inevitably result in frictions between the United States and Vietnam."

"Fulfilling Obligations"

The leading, independent English-language South China Morning Post (8/7) opined, "A fervent defense of intellectual property rights in China will add to the mainland's case to fully integrate into the international trading community. Support from the United States to join the newly formed World Trade Organization might be in the offing if Beijing's drive to tackle CD and software piracy becomes more rigorous and widespread."

"Containment Not A China Option"

South China Morning Post (8/6) judged, "There is nothing wrong with considering the concept of containing China. Indeed, many in Hong Kong will take pride...that this is now back on the agenda since it shows how far the mainland has risen from third-world poverty toward superpower status. But any serious discussion must end by concluding that the way to curb Beijing's expansionist tendencies, as it becomes an ever more powerful force in the region, is through dialogue rather than containment."

"Spy Case Must Not Harm Sino-U.S. Ties"

The Hongkong Standard held (8/4), "It is vital for the destiny of mankind that the advance of China to greatness should take place in an atmosphere of friendship and not hostility. The latest China spy case must not be allowed to cause a further deterioration in Sino-U.S. relations."

"Sino-U.S. Relations Hard To Improve For The Time Being"

The independent Sing Pao Daily News (8/4) remarked, "Fortunately, both sides still recognize that they cannot let their relations continue to worsen, and the two U.S. air force officers alleged to have engaged in espionage could then be freed.... Reportedly China's high-level [officials] reckon that it will not be easy for the United States to abandon playing the 'Taiwan card'. 'They have planned to confront the United States in the long term, including not

cooperating with America on international issues, to expose America's double standard and to restrict, as it thinks appropriate, U.S. opportunities...in the China market. Should this turn out to be true, Sino-U.S. relations can hardly be expected to improve for a considerably long time."

INDONESIA: "U.S. Military Presence Important"

Leading, independent Kompas' editorial (8/5) maintained, "Indonesia relies on regional and national defense rather than a major power for regional stability. However, as an ASEAN founding member, Indonesia must heed other ASEAN members' beliefs that a U.S. presence is significant.... The problem is that there is no common enemy within Southeast Asia...and that the region has great potential for border conflicts.... Without a U.S. presence in the region, the balance among the four major Asian powers (China, Japan, Russia and the United States) would be disrupted and Southeast Asia pushed into an arms race."

"New Atmosphere For America, Vietnam And Japan"

Former Foreign Minister Roeslan Abdulgani wrote in the nationalistic, English-language Indonesian Observer (8/4), "In the atmosphere of commemorating 50 years since the end of the Pacific War and...the termination of the Vietnam War 20 years ago, Vietnam is now being eyed by...countries...that confronted each other 50 years ago as enemies. Subsequently Japan was forced to adhere to U.S. (policy), but today Japan in its independence is eager to woo Vietnam...to free itself from American 'hugging.' This is a new dynamic process...toward a new configuration in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. We in Indonesia should heed and view this together."

MALAYSIA: "Christopher's Positive Visit"

Government-influenced, Chinese-language Sin Chew Jit Poh (8/4) held, "Secretary Christopher's visit to Southeast Asia has its positive significance. Many issues may remain at a view exchanging level with no definite solution in sight, but apparently all the parties concerned reached consensus on matters of principle."

THE PHILIPPINES: "China Does It Her Way"

Beth Day-Romulo noted in the leading Manila Bulletin (8/8), "China has suddenly reversed itself on the prickly Spratlys issue and announced that rather than relying on historic claims (which was the basis of its claim to the entire South China Sea) China is now ready to discuss the problems...on the basis of the international Law of the Sea.... The switch is good news for everyone. It means that China, instead of rattling sabers and laying huge territorial claims and frightening friends and foes alike that it was on the brink of massive expansionism, has decided instead to pursue a peaceful course in the resolution of claims with its neighbors in the South China Sea.... The diplomats can breathe easier for a while."

"Does Vietnam Favor Continued U.S. Stay?"

Jesus Sison wrote in the pro-business Malaya (8/7), "ASEAN members and Japan are supporting continued U.S. military presence in Asia to help preserve stability in the region.... Does this mean Vietnam also favors a continued U.S. presence in Asia?"
SINGAPORE: "Battered Sino-U.S. Relations"

Chief regional correspondent Lee Kim Chew wrote in the pro-government Straits Times (8/8), "The pity is that while the administration has a policy to engage China on a wide range of issues, Mr. Clinton does not hold fast to it.... Instead, he had unwittingly let special interest groups in...Congress drive America's China policy on narrow concerns, be it on Taiwan, Tibet or trade.... The Clinton administration is anxious to get its relations with Beijing back on track quickly, and it wants the suspended talks on nuclear non-proliferation and other high-level exchanges to be resumed.... The Brunei meeting...has not resolved their basic differences, but it has set the scene for more exchanges to come."

SOUTH KOREA: "China Seeking Upper Hand In Talks With U.S."

Conservative Chosun Ilbo commented (8/4), "The situation was such that the United States would not have been in a position to utter a word of protest even if China had detained the two American officers. Instead, China chose to 'deport' them, which is tantamount to allowing them to leave the country. This (generosity) sends the message that China wants a U.S.-China summit."

"Thawing In U.S.-China Relations"

Moderate Hankook Ilbo maintained (8/4), "Both China and the United States are trying hard to lessen the mistrust between them, but it is going to take time. At the moment, there seems to be a Great Wall dividing them, between the one country's expansionism and the other country's attempt to block it. The bridging of the division will be possible only when the two nations have built up a lot of patience and trust."

TAIWAN: "Where We Stand"

Chiang Ching-ling wrote in the pro-establishment China Times (8/3), "(Beijing) not only asked Washington to review its own policy and actions but also demanded that (its) standards be used as an index for measuring the future development of the bilateral relationship.... The United States is a big country and...its moves or actions will be watched closely by the world. If Washington could actively adopt corrective measures to ease the tension in Washington-Beijing ties caused by Lee's visit to the United States, it would certainly have some influence on other countries...."

"Taiwan should understand where it stands better after the Brunei talks. We will not provoke Beijing, but we also must understand that we cannot rely on Washington or any other country to intervene in our

relations with Beijing. Moreover, we must seriously and carefully consider the further development of Taipei-Beijing ties. It is too reckless to assume that the tense relationship across the Taiwan Strait will be alleviated after the Brunei talks.... As a matter of fact, Washington has for a long time regarded Taiwan as a pawn in its bargaining with Beijing. Our romantic yearnings for the United States as a defender of freedom and justice should have died out along with the three communiques signed between Washington and Beijing.... History tells us that the United States often neglects human rights in favor of practical interests. This also explains why many countries feel confused and outraged at the United States. It is because its foreign policy is always inconsistent and full of double standards.... "The Brunei talks also signaled that Beijing is playing the Taiwan card, too, using the Taiwan issue as a bargaining chip to push Washington into a defensive position in order to gain advantages on political and economic issues."

THAILAND: "The Strategy Of Cam Ranh Base"

Thitichai Thanadeerojkul commented in Siam Post (8/10), "The U.S.-Vietnam renewed ties have taken off. In the not-too-distant future, when its economy, with the United States as a catalyst, has gained momentum, Vietnam may have to make concessions to certain U.S. demands.... And for the joint purpose of containing China's expansionism southward, it may be possible to see the U.S. flag flying once again over Cam Ranh bay."

"The New U.S.-Vietnam Era"

Top-circulation Thai Rath concluded (8/8), "Vietnam-U.S. normalization of relations and Vietnam's admission into ASEAN...will lead to closer regional economic, cultural and social cooperation and in turn bring about greater peace and prosperity in the region."

"U.S.-Vietnam: A Historic Opportunity"

Elite Siam Rath's Chaiwat Yonpium commented (8/8), "Economic pressure was not all the reason for the U.S. decision to normalize its ties with Vietnam. More importantly, Clinton did it...to banish once and for all the Vietnam War specter that has long haunted Americans and the American government."

"Yankee Stay Here?"

An op-ed piece (8/6) in the independent, English-language Nation by Ken Stier in Hanoi read, "The United States may still be portrayed in their official history textbooks as an imperialist invader that wreaked uncountable suffering, but for most Vietnamese the United States is enjoying most-favored-nation status. As any American who lives in this country can tell you, rather than an object of scorn or resentment, the Yanks are especially welcome here."

EUROPE

GERMANY: "Clinton's Courageous, Logical Decision"

Washington correspondent Juergen Koar filed the following piece for centrist General-Anzeiger of Bonn, Stuttgarter Zeitung and Koelner Stadt-Anzeiger (8/7): "Where Communism still prevails, its days seem numbered--and sooner or later this will also happen in Hanoi.

Against this background, Clinton's decision to recognize...Vietnam is still courageous because of the domestic risks it entails, but also logical. The one-time battlefield is now an enticing market for U.S. investors. It was tangible--and mutual--economic interests rather than sentimental reasons which persuaded the former adversaries to open a new chapter. Some Congressmen and veterans are still protesting.... But even Clinton's Republican predecessor George Bush, who never considered diplomatic recognition, is planning a lecture tour in Hanoi and Saigon next month."

"Beijing And The Conspirators"

Kai Strittmatter opined in centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung (8/4) of Munich, "We may count on chauvinist rhetoric from Beijing as long as the power struggle in the succession of Deng Xiaoping has not been clarified. But the United States is also not cutting a good picture. A weak Democratic president must defend himself against a Republican Congress which is constantly contravening his unsystematic policy toward China. One week, the strongman Newt Gingrich is celebrating the recognition of Taiwan as an independent nation, and the following week, Congress has tea time with Madame Chiang Kai-shek. And in the meantime, President Clinton is unable to explain to the Chinese that he does not want to insult them, but that it is the only aim of the West to remind China that, as a major power, it also has to stick to the rules of the game.

"The source of all tensions, and this should not be forgotten in Beijing...remains a country that arrests human rights activists like Harry Wu, propels missiles to hit targets right next to Taiwan, and leaves its neighbors anxious about its future ambitions."

"Clinton's Calculations"

Juergen Koar wrote in Stuttgarter Zeitung (8/4), "This should not have happened: In the era of satellite reconnaissance such risky outings of officers are not really necessary, and second, the timing could not be worse. Sino-American relations are at a low, and the Clinton administration is not interested in an ice age in relations. This is why it is trying to play down the expulsion of the two officers.... What looks like ingratiation is in reality a sober calculation of the U.S. superpower: Without relations, there is no chance to influence the colossus in Asia. Washington wants...an end to human rights violations in China, the release of...Harry Wu, and a halt to Chinese exports of nuclear and missile technology. But the latest fiasco is not very helpful in accomplishing these aims."

BRITAIN: "Serious Purpose Behind Normalization"

The independent Financial Times remarked (8/7), "Although very little of immediate substance emerged from Mr. Christopher's two-day stay in the Vietnamese capital, the United States and Vietnam have a serious purpose in cementing ties after decades of frostiness. The United States now sees Vietnam as a regional political player worthy of serious consideration.... For the Vietnamese, normalization of relations with the United States...brings closer the prospect of greater trade and investment with the world's largest economy."

"Courage And Cowardice"

Columnist Bernard Levin remarked in the conservative Times (8/4), "For purposes of trade, the Chinese have suddenly made demands...that President Clinton has been obliged to obey. He grovels in agreeing that Taiwan is only a part of China, but he is wriggling out of actually saying so in public.... Meanwhile, Harry Wu is still awaiting sentence. And Daw Suu Kyi did not wait for permission to speak the terrible word 'democracy.'... But if President Clinton is weak around the knees, what can we say about Chancellor Kohl?... Daw Suu Kyi did not wait for a translator to interpret Kohl's craven, grovelling, betrayal, nor did Harry Wu ask whether the chopsticks in the Beijing jail were regularly washed." FRANCE: "Uncle Sam Back In Southeast Asia"

Conservative Le Figaro's special correspondent to Phnom Penh Antoine Keomanivong said (8/7), "Twenty years after the Vietnam War, Uncle Sam is coming back to Southeast Asia. All nations in the region apparently want it. During the last ASEAN session, Filipinos and Indonesians stressed 'the U.S. membership in the Asia-Pacific zone' and that the 'U.S. military presence was vital for the region.' China probably does not share this view. It openly displays its economic and strategic ambitions in this part of the world."

"Clouds, Already?"

Influential Liberation's Bangkok correspondent Alain Lebas held (8/7), "Specialists think U.S.-Vietnamese relations may be clouded by a series of new conditions set by the Republican majority in Congress, ranging from respect for human rights to intellectual property and drug trafficking."

ITALY: "Vietnam: Stars And Stripes Business"

Aldo Rizzo held in centrist La Stampa (8/8), "In Hanoi, after having signed the agreement to establish diplomatic relations, Secretary of State Christopher has opened the U.S. Embassy.... Vietnam is somehow like China: It does not want to repudiate Marxism-Leninism, but meanwhile it wants to open to markets, from which the only concrete chances of economic development come.... In the meanwhile, America does not stand idle: It sees the potential for real markets, invests.... It also does its political calculations because, notwithstanding some similarities, the Chinese and Vietnamese are not on very good terms, for historical and geopolitical reasons.... America proves to be the superpower still, capable of playing on all

the world chessboards."

RUSSIA: "China Comes Next"

Alexander Chudodeyev judged in reformist Segodnya (8/4), "Given their lasting allergy to China's record in the areas of human rights and arms buildup, the U.S. lawmakers, as soon as they are through with Bosnia, may get around to China, deciding to strip it of the Most-Favored-Nation status."

AUSTRIA: "China Smiles"

Andreas Schwarz held in prestigious, independent Die Presse (8/4), "When President Clinton's foreign policy is defined one day, it will read: 'He let the Chinese make a fool of him.' The mood between Beijing and Washington is chilly at the moment, because the United States keeps unofficial company with official Taiwan...and because China keeps an American critic of China in custody and is not very reliable as far as its nuclear policy is concerned.... But as the American economy wants frictionless relations at any cost, Bill Clinton, the former human rights pioneer in China, wants them, too.... It is said that Southeast Asians cannot take someone seriously who shows weakness. The Clinton administration has offered to prove that."

CANADA: "China Is Not The Enemy"

The liberal Toronto Star (8/8) commented, "For more than 20 years, ever since Richard Nixon's visit in 1972, China has been a de facto ally of the United States. "During that time, most of what the West now finds so offensive about the Chinese regime was present, indeed in a more virulent form.... So what has changed? For one, China's strategic value has waned now that the Soviet Union is no more.... For another, China has emerged as a great economic and military power, without the global reach of the United States but certainly able to dominate its region.... Third, the opening up of China to investment, trade and human exchanges of all kinds has given foreigners a much more intimate view of the country.... Yes, the West should be firm on human rights. But we should apply our standards uniformly, to all nations.... Yes, we should discourage further nuclear tests.... Yes, we should discourage arms sales to volatile regions such as South Asia.... As for the Taiwan issue, it requires a special delicacy.... No, now is not the time to pick fights with a nervous China."

"Relations On The Rocks"

Eric Margolis remarked in the conservative Ottawa Sun (8/8), "The looming crisis between the two nations is the result of...domestic politics, and the dangerously weak leadership in both Washington and Beijing. This has produced a childish and utterly unnecessary spat between two powers who have no real strategic disputes and who should be on good terms. Over the past six months, the Clinton administration has alternated between demonizing China and trying to

patch up rocky Sino-American relations.... China-bashing by the stunningly inept Clinton is foolish and counterproductive. Its result has been to strengthen Chinese hardliners and the military, while stoking Chinese xenophobia and fears of the 'gwai-lo,' or white devils. Clinton's blunderbuss tactics with Beijing have also endangered American trade and investment in China, giving a major advantage to Japanese and European competitors. It's time to end this trumped-up crisis and conduct relations with China in an adult, reasoned manner."

THE NETHERLANDS: "Clinton, China And Congress"

Centrist Algemeen Dagblad (8/4) opined, "Good intentions cannot prevent the relations between the United States and China from worsening by the day.... The squabbling...is grist for the mill of...Congress...which is trying to get full control over Clinton's foreign policy.... Congressional meddling makes the president even weaker in foreign policy. Beijing only respects stable straightforward leaders. As long as Clinton continues to say that the problems with China are not that serious, U.S.-China relations will not improve."

PORTUGAL: "Vietnam Revisited"

Influential Publico (8/7) ran this by Joao Carlos Espada (guest professor at Brown University and former adviser to President Soares): "The reestablishment of diplomatic relations between America and Vietnam...is of crucial importance for the strengthening of stability and peace in Southeastern Asia. It helps to counterbalance China's increasing power and hegemonic ambitions, gives Vietnamese people total integration in an area of intense economic growth and a quick rise in their living standards. On the short term, it will certainly lead to the liberalization of the political regime.

"This event deserves to be celebrated by all those who believe in the values of democracy and free enterprise, regardless of what their judgment was during the Vietnam War." SPAIN: "The Vietnamese Friend"

Liberal El Pais (8/9) held, "Twenty years after the end of the war...celebrated now with the establishment of relations between Hanoi and Washington, Vietnam--Communist or not--by joining the ASEAN organization becomes the key Western ally in the region....

"Why and against whom is this reconciliation made? Who is worried about Hanoi's entry into the Western alliance? The answer is clear: China. Without doubt, it was time for Washington to turn the page with Vietnam, attracted by the possibilities for the economic development of an ancient enemy. It is also in Washington's interest to diversify its Pacific strategy at a time when Japan is undergoing a sort of economic decline.

"The intentions of the United States are honest and understandable but it is also true that an approach to Vietnam will be perceived by

China with little sympathy.... A strong and unified Vietnam is, by definition, an obstacle to the expansion of Beijing.... All this does not mean that the West would be interested in gaining an uncalled-for enemy in China. Therefore, the West can only follow a policy of economic cooperation among the countries in the zone and favor its progressive political liberalization."

"Chinese Tensions"

El Pais (8/7) commented, "(China's) obsession with the imminent death of Deng Xiao-ping...and the problems posed by his replacement play an important part in the strategy or lack of it followed by Chinese leaders.... A number of leaders--especially those tied to the army--are interested in maintaining an atmosphere of tension with foreign contacts and poor relations with the United States....

"To be influenced by a supposedly worrisome China apparently willing to use its military power to maintain its leadership in the region, would be very negative unless what we really want is instability in Asia. China may be doomed to a difficult time while a solid leadership team is devised, but this should not deter us from desiring a controlled relationship with China which does not mean taking advantages of the situation to weaken Beijing's world role. To fall into this temptation would cause, in the long run, the worst effects for Asia and the rest of the world."

SOUTH ASIA

PAKISTAN: "Sino-U.S. Freeze"

The centrist News (8/8) held, "Relations between the United States and...China appear to have run into rough weather, with Washington making all the wrong moves to worsen them.... It is improbable that Washington feels that sprucing up Taiwan could help to contain Beijing, knowing full well that the slightest hint of 'two Chinas' has serious repercussions. In fact, the reaction came sooner than expected.... Taiwan's interest in declaring its independence has already resulted in China testing its long-range missiles close to the northern tip of the island. Such calculated moves are evidently meant to make the point that Beijing does not take kindly to any American hint of reviving an unfortunate chapter in their relations."

INDIA: "The China Syndrome"

The independent Pioneer (8/4) held, "China's detention and expulsion of two American Air Force officers...is a further manifestation of a deepening impasse between the world's two remaining superpowers.... In all politeness, but not for want of a better word, Americans called it engagement. But right now, there is a better word that sums it up: Containment....

"The domestic political situation in the United States at the moment is hardly conducive for President Clinton to adopt a coherent China policy. In the run-up to the election year, the Republican-dominated

Congress is keen to embarrass Clinton.... Strident calls are likely to emanate from Capitol Hill asking for the MFN status accorded to China to be revoked. Further, the U.S. move to normalize ties with Vietnam and the Clinton administration's grant of a travel visa to Taiwan's President, Lee Teng-hui, for a 'private visit' to Cornell University, make it appear as though the U.S. policy on China is moving toward engagement with the region through various economic fora also would reinforce this view.

"It is expected that an eventual meeting between the U.S. president and his Chinese counterpart Jiang Zemin, will clear the air. But the remarkable lack of progress on all fronts during the recent and crucial meeting between the Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, in Brunei, shows that such an exercise continues to remain in the realm of wishful thinking."

BANGLADESH: "Americans In Hanoi"

The independent Bangladesh Observer (8/9) editorialized, "The move augurs well at a time when international cooperation is necessary to replace the antagonisms fostered by the Cold War. Vietnam has entered ASEAN, and the United States has been trying to play a definitive global role as the world's only remaining superpower. Besides, Washington is acutely aware that with relations with Beijing going downhill, it will need new partners, if not exactly friends, in the distant regions of Asia. Vietnam should turn out to be (a) good investment."

NEPAL: "Tame The Chinese Dragon"

Independent Suruchi (8/6) observed, "To the rich nations of Eastern Asia, Western Europe and North America, China has become an object of both terror and attraction.... China has proved to be a place of golden opportunities for capital investment and an extensive market....

"That enmity and friendship have no meaning for China is shown by its attacks on India and Vietnam, its relations with Russia, and both its closeness with and distancing from the United States....

"Even though there has been a great hue and cry about suppression of human rights, the United States is still trying to please China.... By the beginning of the next century, one-fourth of the world population will live in China, and economically it will become a very powerful nation, with bases of production and markets to stand on its own.... As it is equipped with nuclear arms, it will impose a forbidding dominance over small countries....

"It is difficult to say at the moment how many nations can survive the sting of the Chinese dragon in the very first decade of the 21st century. Still, there is time for Asia and the United States to forget their economic interests and tame the Chinese dragon."

"U.S. Worried About Keeping Trade, Security Edge"

Pro-left Chhalphal held (8/6), "America thinks that peace and security in the world can be maintained only by its military strength.... The American thinking is far from reality.... Crisis and tension have prevailed wherever American military force has moved in....

"America's incoherent policy which allowed the Taiwanese president to visit the United States despite strong Chinese protest, has been taken as an affront to Chinese sovereignty and national integrity....

"The uproar about human rights has been raised just to shadow the Chinese reaction and save America's ungracious image.... With the entry of Vietnam in ASEAN, the United States is now contemplating using it as a front against China.... Southeast Asia is likely to become a large market for arms supply.... That's why the United States is worrying about losing a lucrative market....

"There is no guarantee that world politics guided by trade and commerce will be consolidated only through American domination.... It is also a known fact that undesirable events have resulted from adhering to American policies."

LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

URUGUAY: "U.S. And Renewal Of Relations With Vietnam"

Conservative La Manana (8/2) held, "The Vietnam issue generates strained reactions in the U.S. social and political arena. This historic and polemic step forward, taken to honor an agreement with a wounded nation (Vietnam), is not something favorable on the part of a man who, 20 years ago, tried everything possible (and succeeded) to avoid going to a war which killed more than 55,000 of his compatriots. Everyone knows that 'realpolitik' must be flexible and pragmatic. But giving a great deal for virtually nothing (in return) may be too much for many Americans for whom patriotism and the memory of the dead are still important."

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

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:11-AUG-1995 11:23:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

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id <01HTY1EE2S68003MUL@PMDF.EOP.GOV>; Fri, 11 Aug 1995 11:25:51 -0400 (EDT)

Received: by gatekeeper.eop.gov (5.65/fma-120691); id AA10420; Fri,

11 Aug 95 11:20:33 -0400

Received: from usia.gov (XGATE.USIA.GOV) by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDF V4.3-12 #6879)

id <01HTY1986G68000RL4@STORM.EOP.GOV>; Fri, 11 Aug 1995 11:21:44 -0700 (MST)

Received: from Connect2 Message Router by usia.gov via Connect2-SMTP 4.00; Fri,

11 Aug 95 11:12:51 -0500

Organization: USIA

X-Mailer: Connect2-SMTP 4.00 MHS to SMTP Gateway

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: owner-usda-agam@reeusda.gov@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:28-AUG-1995 13:50:00.00

SUBJECT: USDA-AGAM> AgNews 8/28 Midday

TO: Multiple recipients of the list (usda-agam@reeusda.gov@INET@EOPMRX)
READ:NOT READ

IND_TO: Maureen F. Lewis (LEWIS_M) (WHO)
READ: 1-SEP-1995 16:23:32.70

TEXT:
Monday, August 28, 1995 MidDay Edition

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FARM & FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SERVICES

U.S. POULTRY OFFICE TO OPEN IN MOSCOW (201 Knight-Ridder 8/25) -- Tyson Foods Inc., the leading U.S. exporter of poultry to Russia, plans to open a sales office in Moscow. The company envisions opportunities for increasing sales of processed poultry and other protein products in Russia and other CIS nations. Similar offices in Hong Kong and Japan have been successful in expanding the company's presence in the Pacific Rim countries.

BULGARIA PLANS WHEAT EXPORTS (202 Reuter 8/25) -- Bulgaria plans to export 500,000 tons of wheat from its 1995 crop; a trade ministry deputy said it will not affect their domestic grain consumption. Bulgarian firms have declared intentions to export 1.27 million tons, but the official said their experience is that only 40% to 50% of the declared volumes get exported.

CHINA'S AGRICULTURE STATUS (203 Knight-Ridder 8/25) -- China has issued a report on their agricultural development. It projects steady growth of rural markets because of large increases in farmers' income and savings in 1994. The report indicates it is possible China will meet its target of 455 million tons of grain this year and cotton production is expected to rise 5.9% to 4.5 million tons.

(204 Knight-Ridder 8/25) -- China's state trading company is considering whether to resume limited exports of corn, rice and soybeans. Japan is seen as the market for the rice and soybeans. Chances for corn exports are seen as slim without a subsidy because the local value is much higher than the world price.

PHILIPPINE RICE IMPORTS (205 Reuter 8/25) -- The Philippines farm minister said they have not decided whether to import more rice than the 245,000 tons already brought in to overcome a domestic shortfall. He noted about 1/3 of the rice has been delivered and said they have a problem of internal

distribution.

FOOD, NUTRITION & CONSUMER SERVICES

DIETARY GUIDELINES (206 Reuter 8/27) -- The panel updating the Dietary Guidelines for Americans, noting that many Americans are overweight, suggested exercise as an important way to use up food energy. The updated guidelines are expected to recommend limiting fat intake, eating plenty of grains, fruit and vegetables, and moderation in salt, alcohol and sugar consumption. Public Voice for Food and Health Policy said it was unfortunate the revisions do not set specific targets for consumption of salt, cholesterol and fiber. The Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine was pleased the panel noted that vegetarian diets are consistent with the guidelines.

FOOD SAFETY

WILL HEALTHIER BIRDS MEAN SICKER PEOPLE? (207 Business Week 9/4) -- Some public health officials were alarmed on Aug. 18 when FDA approved the use of sarafloxacin against bacterial infections in poultry. They worry that the move will make the drug ineffective against human disease. Skeptics also says the benefits are minimal and the strain of E. coli bacteria which the drug controls doesn't harm people anyway. They say that by saving infected flocks, it may reduce the supermarket price of chickens and help the profitability of poultry producers.

USDA SCHEDULES MEAT MEETINGS (208 UPI 8/28) -- USDA has scheduled six public meetings in September to discuss planned changes in meat and poultry inspection procedures.

MARKETING & REGULATORY PROGRAMS

U.S. TO CURB CHECKS AT CUSTOMS (209 Los Angeles Times, UPI 8/27) -- A radical proposal by federal agencies would allow millions of travelers to enter the U.S. through airports and the Canadian border without undergoing immigration or customs inspections. A working paper from a member of the group which drafted the proposal said the plan's recommendations boil down to facilitation versus safety and security and, among other things, add risk to U.S. security from pest disease outbreaks.

U.S. APPLE, PEAR GROWERS GET BRAZIL IMPORT WAIVER (210 Journal of Commerce 8/28) -- Largely through the work of APHIS, the office of the USTR and the Northwest Horticultural Council, U.S. apple and pear growers have been granted a reprieve from new import regulations in Brazil that threatened to trash the marketing season for both fruits in the Latin American country.

LIVESTOCK TAMPERING STILL A CONCERN IN OHIO (211 UPI 8/26) -- Ohio agriculture officials are investigating two cases of alleged livestock tampering with animals shown at country fairs. An investigator said they probably will file criminal charges. The article outlines the protests of the accused, as well as the steps taken by the state to investigate the incidents.

BAITING FRUIT FLIES (212 LA Times 8/24) -- Officials are spraying a mixture of insecticide and sex pheromones to lure male oriental fruit flies and break the insects' reproductive cycle. The spraying will cover about 9,600 sites in

an area where two of the pests were discovered in the past two months.

NATURAL RESOURCES & ENVIRONMENT

CLINTON SEEKS EXPLANATION FROM GLICKMAN (213 UPI 8/28) -- An angry President Clinton seeks an explanation from Sec. Glickman for the failure of two department planes to show up in the Hamptons on Long Island, N.Y., to help fight wildfires. White House press secretary Mike McCurry said (Monday) the federal government supplied "a lot of help," but added "there was one miscue" and he described Clinton as "angry" the planes weren't sent as promised.

RESEARCH, EDUCATION & ECONOMICS

MORE ON PROJECTED RECORD U.S. FARM EXPORTS (214 Journal of Commerce 8/25) -- The article looks at some of the reasons behind the rapid increase in U.S. farm exports. It cites USDA trade official August Schumacher as saying that the current export expansion is "much more sustainable" than the last expansion in the 1970s.

HIGHER PRICES OF MOST FRUITS LIKELY TO OFFSET DECLINES IN CITRUS (215 AP 8/27) -- Several western states are expected to harvest smaller crops of apples, grapes and pears this fall, which probably will mean higher grower prices through this year and into 1996. That would offset lower citrus prices resulting from Florida's near-record crop this year.

PLANTS FOUND TO HELP COUNTERACT FUEL USE (216 New York Times 8/27) -- A new study has found that about half of the carbon dioxide emitted from burning fossil fuels is absorbed by plants in the Northern Hemisphere, showing that plants play a role about equal to that of oceans, to which most of the absorption had previously been attributed.

USDA -- MULTI-MISSION

FARMERS EXPECT TOBACCO TO SURVIVE (217 UPI 8/27) -- Farmers in Ohio said the president "will never get rid of tobacco." They said attacks on the crop are not new and claimed too many people were backing tobacco for the president's plan to force the industry to pay for anti-smoking advertising to pass.

FDA TO KEEP UP ITS CAMPAIGN AGAINST TOBACCO (218 Washington Post 8/27) -- FDA said the apology by ABC TV, concerning its report on spiking nicotine levels in tobacco products, would not affect the agency's efforts to regulate the industry. The article reviews FDA's evidence of nicotine manipulation, much of which it obtained from the tobacco industry.

A"MAZE"ING MAIZE FIELD (219 People 9/4) -- The article covers the world's biggest maze, cut into three acres of a Pennsylvania corn field to coincide with a local corn festival. The \$70,000 project has already attracted more than 5,000 tourists.

EDITORIAL AND OPINION

WEANING WEST'S RANCHERS OFF 'COWBOY SOCIALISM' (220 Los Angeles Times 8/27) -
- The editorial focuses on how grazing rule changes by Interior Sec. Bruce Babbitt set the stage for a showdown in Congress. It concludes that Western

lands cannot be locked up in near-perpetuity to protect a privileged part of an industry which accounts for only a tiny, and diminishing, fraction of the regional economy.

RAYS OF HOPE IN THE WATERSHED (221 New York Times 8/26) -- The editorial looks at the slow progress New York has had in reaching agreements that would help clean up the 2000-square-mile watershed which serves New York City. It praises a project which subsidizes farmers with nearly \$40 million (\$75,000 per farmer) to help farmers reduce polluted runoff from nearly 550 farms, calling the project an inspiring precedent.

RAISING A GOOD CROP FROM BAD SOIL (222 Chicago Tribune 8/26) -- The editorial reports on research into the use of plants to clean up contaminated soil. Field tests by Rutgers University and Phytotech Inc. into a strain of Indian mustard have been particularly fruitful, and the writer suggests such efforts deserve encouragement through added funding.

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

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:28-AUG-1995 13:48:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

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id <01HULXEWGTA80012KA@PMDf.EOP.GOV>; Mon, 28 Aug 1995 13:50:44 -0400 (EDT)
Received: by gatekeeper.eop.gov (5.65/fma-120691); id AA16658; Mon,
28 Aug 1995 13:45:21 -0400
Received: from maat.reeusda.gov ("port 2773"@maat.esusda.gov)
by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01HULX9IGG6C0001UN@STORM.EOP.GOV>;
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Received: (from daemon@localhost) by maat.reeusda.gov (8.6.12/8.6.12)
id RAA04383 for usda-agam-outgoing; Mon, 28 Aug 1995 17:23:45 +0000 (GMT)
Precedence: bulk

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: bobhayes@oz.net@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:15-SEP-1995 14:39:00.00

SUBJECT: Presidents

TO: oc-alum (oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu@INET@EOPMRX)
READ:NOT READ

IND_TO: Angela Davis (DAVIS_AC) (WHO)
READ:18-SEP-1995 14:19:40.52

TEXT:

Let's face it, they ALL suck. There are no answers. Joe Grave's idea of electing regular folks via grassroots organizing is terrific, except that it wouldn't work; the regular folks would get to Washington and about 20 minutes later would morph into politicians. Ted Morgan's revolution would at least be interesting, except that it isn't going to happen because no one WANTS a revolution (at least no one with the wherewithal AND fighting spirit to conduct one). Under liberalism the economy collapses and everyone starves, under conservatism the economy collapses and everyone starves except for a couple of rich white guys, under socialism the economy collapses and everyone starves while looking at really pathetic art, under communism the economy collapses and everyone starves or gets shot, under fascism the economy does great until the war, then everyone starves AND gets shot, under anarchy everyone starves because nobody volunteers to go out into the fields and actually work.

The best alternative would be for everyone to back me, Bob Hayes, in a bid to take over the world and run it as a benevolently enlightened despotism. All my Obie friends would get to have policy influence, there wouldn't be a war because I'd be all there was, I'd get to have a really nice car and a big house, nobody would starve (except the people living in the areas where I let my Obie friends have policy influence, and we'd provide relief for them as long as they behaved themselves), the arts would boom because I like art, there would be lots of trains because I like trains...basically it would be heaven on earth, as long as everyone behaved and did as I told them. That wouldn't be so bad anyway since I'm such a hands-off management kind of guy. We'll call our political movement Anarcho-Fascism; anarchy for the things I don't care about, fascism for the things I want to run myself. Send checks and money orders now to reserve your place among the new ruling class.

Bob Hayes '90
"Anarcho-Fascism - Disparate Measures for Desperate Times"

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

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:15-SEP-1995 14:37:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

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id <01HVB4DEB0CG006D6E@PMDf.EOP.GOV>; Fri, 15 Sep 1995 14:39:21 -0400 (EDT)

Received: by gatekeeper.eop.gov (5.65/fma-120691); id AA15380; Fri,
15 Sep 1995 14:34:06 -0400

Received: (from mailserv@localhost)
by ocean.rutgers.edu (8.6.12+bestmx+oldruq+newsunq+grosshack/8.6.12)
id OAA18740; Fri, 15 Sep 1995 14:28:19 -0400

Resent-date: Fri, 15 Sep 1995 14:28:19 -0400

Resent-from: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

Resent-sender: oc-alum-request@ocean.rutgers.edu

X-Sender: bobhayes@oz.net

Resent-message-id: <qNFZ01.0.la4.1NSMm@ocean.rutgers.edu>

X-Mailer: Windows Eudora Version 1.4.4

Precedence: list

X-Mailing-List: <oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu> archive/latest/8425

X-Loop: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: jamest@usia.gov@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:19-SEP-1995 18:54:17.98

SUBJECT: 2_13_U.S._China_Trade

TO: williams_ma (williams_ma@A1@CD) (WHO)

READ:19-SEP-1995 18:54:18.08

TEXT:

FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION

DAILY DIGEST

USIA

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND MEDIA

REACTION

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, WASHINGTON, DC 20547

Patricia McArdle, Branch Chief Media Reaction, (R/MR), Tele. No. (202)619-6511

Monday, February 13, 1995

U.S.-CHINA TRADE DISPUTE:
'CONTRADICTION' U.S. POLICY, UNDERLYING TENSIONS

Foreign journalists continued their keen focus on the trade frictions over intellectual property rights between the U.S. and China. An overwhelming majority of observers implored both sides to work toward a "win-win" solution. Analysts throughout Asia, joined by colleagues in Europe, the Middle East and South Asia, ascribed the ferocity of the conflict to underlying political factors complicating the bilateral ties between Washington and Beijing. While there were varied positions on the correctness of the giant trade partners' stances, writers agreed that if a trade war were to erupt, the spillover would be particularly harmful to APEC and the hoped for regional free trade zone. Beijing's official China Youth Daily warned that trade retaliation is a "double-edged sword" that can boomerang to hurt its wielder.

Commentators feared that the combination of new U.S. Congressional leadership and anxiety over China's leadership succession would hinder efforts to compromise. In addition, a number of writers worried that "contradictory" signals and "mood swings" from the U.S. were confusing the message of U.S. resolve on IPR. The pro-PRC Hong Kong Commercial Daily called Washington "shameless" for planning to send Energy Secretary O'Leary on a mission soliciting contracts in China in the midst of the IPR controversy. Singapore's pro-government Business Times urged Washington and Beijing to "resist the attempts by the hawks on both sides to crowd the bilateral trade agenda with political issues such as human rights and Taiwan." Pundits suggested that Beijing needed assurance from the U.S. that the West supports an economically strong and prosperous China, while the West needs China's acknowledgment that complying with international standards of behavior in human rights, trade and arms control is the price

for securing international cooperation and respect. Taipei's economic Daily News argued that U.S. Trade Representative Kantor's statement that Washington would cancel the sanctions if Beijing would adopt policies to curb piracy before they took effect was an "unprecedented" conciliatory move that would weaken the "sternness of its previously awe-inspiring Special 301." While most regional observers fretted that trade war would hurt their own countries as well, some editors in Indonesia and the Philippines saw opportunities for their products to fill in the market vacuum.

A number of dailies took issue with the purity of the U.S. argument. The right-wing Jerusalem Post, for example, argued that the U.S. was wrong to "exploit the cheap skilled labor of China to assemble expensive consumer goods...and then scream foul when the same skillful Chinese exploit the foreign designer labels to market copies of these Western goodies at half-price." The paper added, "The piracy industry in China is part of the commercial Wild East that central reform has unleashed." A number of South Asian papers found the stand-off potentially harmful for the developing world. Islamabad's independent Dawn declared that while IPR should be honored, it was unjust to "make these rights a barrier to the spread of human progress."

This report is based on 61 comments from 23 countries, Feb. 6-13.

EDITORS: Rose Sue Bernstein and Pat McArdle

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

CHINA: "Could A Trade War Really Be Fought?"

Lu Tong remarked in the official China Youth Daily (2/9), "U.S. values are very contradictory. On the one hand, East Asia is the region with the fastest development in the world economy, and China is a motor for the forceful growth of the East Asian economy. None of the big U.S. enterprises can remain indifferent toward such a great market potential.... Trade retaliation is always a double-edged sword. When one uses it to cut others, he himself would inevitably be wounded at the same time."

JAPAN: "U.S. China Trade Policy Criticized As Inconsistent"

Conservative Sankei's Washington correspondent Yajima wrote (2/10), "Voices of sharp criticism have been increasingly heard from among Congressional leaders over what they call the Clinton administration's inconsistent trade policy toward China following three recent announcements by the administration.

"The announcements were: (1) USTR Kantor's announcement of trade sanctions against Chinese imports over intellectual property piracy; (2) the Department of Agriculture's announcement of the export of about a million tons of subsidized wheat to China; and (3) the dispatch to China of a large U.S. economic delegation led by Energy Secretary O'Leary. Administration officials, however, seem to be

assuming a defiant attitude toward Congressional criticism of these announcements by describing these trade measures as 'consistent with the basic interests of the U.S.' The latest U.S. measures--sanctions (against Chinese imports) and sales of wheat to China can be likened to a 'stick-and-carrot' policy. The massive economic delegation, that will consist of the chiefs of about 50 energy firms under DOE Secretary O'Leary's leadership, is aimed at winning contracts amounting to \$4 to \$8 billion while visiting China February 19-24."

AUSTRALIA: "Squeals Heard 'Round The World"

Melbourne's conservative tabloid Sunday Herald-Sun (2/12) stressed regarding U.S.-China trade, "Stand on U.S. trade and you stand on the most sensitive part of the American body.... This week the squeals could be heard around the world as Mickey Kantor announced Washington was 'mad as hell and wasn't going to take it anymore.'"

"Historical Bitterness"

The defense correspondent for the liberal Sydney Morning Herald (2/9) opined, "Cold War or not, historical bitterness is a common denominator of much of China's dealings with the West and the United States in particular and it exerts a powerful influence over Beijing's strategies for dealing with its economic, political and military rivalry with Washington.... In (Washington's) negotiations with Beijing, the Chinese leadership should be reassured that the West supports an economically strong and prosperous China because it offers improved living standards for a quarter of the world's people.... However, it should be made clear that complying with international standards of behavior in human rights, trade and arms control is the price that must be paid for securing international cooperation and respect."

"China Blow--Time For Some Deep Thinking"

The conservative Brisbane Courier Mail (2/7) editorialized, "In this instance (the U.S.-China trade sanctions)...the champions of fair play and freedom are the same people whose selfish dumping policies keep clobbering our agricultural exports. Australia, coincidentally...has just announced a review of its trade relationship with the Americans. It is a relationship which is certainly rather less beneficial to us than might be the case if Uncle Sam were to operate genuine open-door trade policies."

HONG KONG: "Mood Swings Confuse Sanctions Message"

The independent, English-language Hongkong Standard (2/10) opined, "The acrimonious Sino-U.S. trade dispute seems to be suffering from wild mood swings as the protagonists switch tactics and fall back on the stick-and-carrot strategy. The latest developments appear to indicate that both sides are backing away from brinkmanship, from slapping punitive tariffs on each other's goods.... China stands to lose \$1 billion dollars if the United States imposes threatened sanctions. But it still stands to win a consolation prize."

"Under the rules of the new WTO, each member country, including the United States, has to cut its tariffs. It has been estimated that because of these cuts, China will gain an added \$2 billion from items it exports to the United States which would not be affected by the threatened U.S. sanctions. Washington, it seems, is punishing China with one hand while giving it a belated 'lai see' (traditional lunar new year gift of money) package with the other."

"What Have Sino-U.S. Trade Disputes Shown Us?"

PRC-owned Wen Wei Po (2/10) editorialized, "That China has become the target of Special 301 this year shows that China's economy has been growing rapidly. The United States is feeling extremely uneasy about an increasingly powerful China. That is why it is brandishing the stick of 'sanctions', in a bid to block China's economic development. If China were still as poor and backward as it was in the past, it would in no way be looked upon with 'favor' by Special 301. And the United States would not claim that its 'interests are being encroached upon'. That the United States has been unceasingly making 'sanctions' threats and having trade disputes with China precisely indicates that, with its national strength growing, today's China is no longer the China of the past."

"Brazen U.S. Conduct"

The pro-PRC Hong Kong Commercial Daily (2/10) asked, "If the trade war breaks out on the 26th of this month, can the U.S. Secretary of Energy be so shameless as to lead a delegation asking for contracts from China? The U.S. side declared that the energy business had nothing to do with the IPR negotiations. This is nothing but a deception of one's self and others."

"Sino-U.S. Relations Unpredictable"

Independent Ming Pao Daily News (2/9) observed, "At the moment Sino-U.S. relations are in a rather delicate situation.... Judging from the uncompromising attitude adopted by the United States toward China on IPR negotiations, the Taiwan issue and human rights, it is not difficult to detect the influence exerted by the Republican Party. "Mainland China is also in a transition period of power transfer. Deng Xiaoping's days are numbered.... Leaving aside that Jiang Zemin and his colleagues would not attach too much importance to maintaining a good Sino-U.S. relationship...they have to be intransigent toward the United States just to manage their unfavorable situation.... Sino-U.S. relations have turned cloudy after previous fine weather. Right now, it is becoming overcast. From now on, there will be a period during which things will be quite unpredictable, and a new crisis may emerge at any time."

"U.S. Takes Initiative; China Should Not Go Too Far"

The independent Hong Kong Economic Times (2/8) opined, "Now that China and the United States are returning to the conference table after

each of them made some kind of show, it is necessary for them to be practical and realistic. The U.S. side should stop asking an exorbitant price by abandoning its unreasonable demands. And the Chinese side should present a plan for carrying out IPR protection. Each of them ought to make a concession and try to make peace so as to achieve a result where both sides are winners."

INDONESIA: "U.S. Arrogance"

Indra Ismawana wrote for ruling Golkar Party's Suara Karya (2/13), "In bilateral conflicts, the arrogance of the United States is quite evident in its pressure on other countries to formulate policies that are beneficial to the United States. The United States uses the threat of imposing sanctions under 'Chapter 301' as a weapon.... The tug of war between the interests of the United States and China is very dangerous to the whole world since it may cause global economic cooperation to shrink.... If the (Feb. 26) deadline passes by without any positive developments, it is very likely that lengthy economic-political friction will take place."

"Will A U.S.-China Trade War Harm Indonesia?"

Basis Susilo held in Surabaya's independent Post (2/10), "U.S. leaders certainly think that Chinese leaders--like the leaders of other Asian countries--will succumb to U.S. demands and beg the United States to cancel its ultimatum.... Even Japan never confronts the United States directly. China, however, is not the same as Japan.... The U.S.-China trade war clarifies how the United States will treat East Asian countries that stand up to it...(and) raises unhappy feelings among East Asian countries about U.S. arrogance.... Happy or not, however, the U.S. trade weapon has succeeded in taming Asian countries.... The U.S.-China trade war will harm Indonesia...(which) will be flooded by products from the two countries."

"U.S.-China Trade Relations Crisis"

Christian oriented Suara Pembaruan commented (2/8), "If the crisis drags on, Indonesian products may be able to enter the market vacuum left by Chinese (products).... Although China is not yet a member of the WTO, the conflict will become the first test as to what extent the organization will be able to settle world trade conflicts. The United States actually could learn from the history of patent and copyright pirating by developing countries in Asia.... (Pirating) is often encouraged by the high duties and cost involved in using their patent rights. This trend could subside as the purchasing power of developing nations (increases and they) can afford to pay the entry duties and copyrights fee." "The Problem Of Intellectual Rights"

Independent Jawa Pos of Surabaya (2/7) asked, "Who can say that the birth of new industrialized countries like Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong is not based on the very act of violating intellectual copyrights--especially those of Western countries? Some would say these newly industrialized countries are 'illegitimate' because they

were born from the violation of intellectual copyrights.... The problem is whether or not this issue should become a political issue. That depends on the economic/political impact on the country harmed. The larger the impact on profits, the bigger the political issues will be and vice versa. That is why China remains calm even though it is threatened by the U.S."

PHILIPPINES: "The Looming War"

Liberal, new Today (2/9) said, "Local producers of items that will be affected by any trade war...could perhaps find a ready market. And that market will not be a small one. It is certainly not inappropriate for local industries to map out strategies this early on how they can realize gains from this looming crisis."

SINGAPORE: "Avoiding A Trade War"

The pro-government Business Times (2/9) observed, "The United States and China have been engaged in recent days in a risky economic confrontation.... Changes in the power structure in the two capitals may make it more difficult for the Clinton administration and the Chinese leadership to reach a compromise this time.... As China and the United States return to the bargaining table next week, it is incumbent on Washington and Beijing to resist the attempts by the hawks on both sides to crowd the bilateral trade agenda with political issues such as human rights and Taiwan.

"Instead, the focus should be on resolving the specific and manageable trade problems that separate the two countries. China's interest is in removing the IPR issue as an obstacle to joining the World Trade Organization so as to strengthen the confidence of foreign investors in its economy. The United States should be prepared to welcome a prosperous China integrating itself into the global economic system and creating lucrative business opportunities for all. Beijing should recognize the weight that the U.S. administration and business community attach to the protection of IPR. At the same time, Washington should acknowledge the difficulties China has in adopting Western rules in that area."

"Dispute Real, Stakes Higher"

The pro-government Straits Times (2/8) editorialized, "The dispute turned ugly because of the difficulty of reconciling what are genuine concerns on both sides. America's computer programs, films and music are among its fastest-growing and most competitive industries. They give it an international edge which it seeks to protect. That is understandable. Though piracy is not restricted to China--it is an international scourge--the breach of copyrights, trademarks and patents there costs the United States nearly \$1 billion a year, according to the most quoted estimates.... Admittedly, reconciliation will take hard work. What is equally obvious, however, is the damage that will be wrought by American sanctions and Chinese counter-sanctions--which include, ironically and pointedly, 100 per cent tariffs on the cassette tapes and CDs whose copyright

protection the United States seeks."

TAIWAN: "Reasons For Beijing-Washington Trade Friction"

The pro-establishment China Times said (2/7), "Many hidden factors lie behind the escalating trade friction between the United States and Communist China. The IPR issue is merely a reflection of the strains in the bilateral relationship. For many years, the U.S. government has believed that the rapid economic development on mainland China benefits from the U.S.' ever-increasing trade deficit with Beijing.... As a result, the U.S. government believes that Communist China should repay it by opening up the mainland market. It also demands that Beijing adopt the high standards of developed countries, including the standards on IPR protection. Naturally, the United States makes such demands in order to protect its own economy....

"As for Communist China, its dissatisfaction with Washington is evident. Especially the U.S. constant criticism of and pressure on human rights and its strong boycott of its accession to GATT have triggered Beijing's strong antipathy. On the other hand, Beijing is very confident of its market's great potential. Beijing therefore believes that Washington will have to seriously consider its countersanctions, or it will have to face the result of American firms losing great trade opportunities in the mainland market. Based on these factors, the Beijing authorities are evidently ready to adopt an even tougher attitude toward the United States. Beijing's firm attitude of unwillingness to compromise on the IPR talks undoubtedly shows its intention to have a showdown with the United States."

"Taiwan's Worries For The Trade War"

Economic Daily News said (2/7), "Before announcing the list of items for trade sanctions...Kantor said that the United States will cancel its retaliation if Beijing would adopt appropriate policies to curb piracy before the sanctions become effective. The unprecedented U.S. conciliatory move has clearly injured the sternness of its previously awe-inspiring Special 301. The destructiveness of the Special 301 will be weakened next time when it is imposed on other trading competitors. It is therefore evident that the United States has recognized the unfavorable position it is now in and is seeking to get away from it with the least sacrifice."

THAILAND: "China, U.S. Wrong To Indulge In Brinkmanship"

The top-circulation, English-language Bangkok Post (2/10) concluded, "It would be wise for the two sides to agree immediately to shelve the threatened trade war indefinitely as a first order of business. China owes the United States vigorous enforcement of international and local copyright laws. Washington would do well to give both Beijing and its own businessmen more time to let the market try to solve this dispute. Let's hope that common sense prevails when the two sides resume negotiations in Beijing next week. Brinkmanship is a dangerous diplomatic game to play. It can also easily backfire in

the heat of the moment with terrible consequences."

"All Sides Stand To Lose In Trade War"

The independent, English-language Nation (2/10) opined, "The priority for both sides should not be Microsoft or Kellogg, but rather how to accommodate China's accession to the WTO. As Thailand has always insisted, trade laws and rules should be based on multilateral agreements, because bitter feelings are contained and the level playing field is better guaranteed in this way.... (The) dispute between China and the United States could severely undermine the future of the APEC.... All reasons point to the need for both countries to avoid a trade war."

"China Rejects Coercion"

Trairat Soontornprapat commented in the mass-appeal, Thai-language Daily News (2/10), "China does not like to be threatened, disdained or coerced...by the United States which always comes back with fresh demands. The United States ought to be more yielding and talk the matter out with China. ... A new cold war will benefit neither side."

"China Just As Jittery As U.S. About Trade War"

Rangsan Tanapornpan penned this op-ed comment in Phujatkarn (2/10), "The Chinese government is as jittery as the United States at the thought of a possible trade war. Since the two share the same feeling, the trade war eventually is likely to be averted."

"U.S. Collides With China Wall"

Centrist Ban Muang (2/8) argued, "In addition to intellectual property rights...the United States also constantly cites human rights issues as pretexts to intimidate those...on the opposite side.... The United States wants to undermine the remnants of socialism or communism that still prevail in several countries and its main target is socialist China.... What the United States is best advised to do is adopt humanitarian approaches in extending its influence...which will be more acceptable and welcome than threats."

EUROPE

RUSSIA: "China Prepared To Make Sacrifices To Save Face"

Independent, youth-oriented Komsomolskaya Pravda (2/9) remarked, "There is little doubt that China is prepared to make sacrifices to save face and prove that any arm-twisting practiced on it would be counterproductive. By contrast, the American leadership will have a far harder time of it, as the hikes in the prices of cheap Chinese merchandise will scarcely add to its popularity with its fellow citizens. Nonetheless, many believe that no war will come to pass, after all, since, in that case, it would compromise major economic interests. The whole thing could ultimately de-escalate into some psychological broadsides.... There is still time for the adversaries

to come to terms."

BRITAIN: "Critical Test Of U.S.-China Relations"

The independent Financial Times (2/13) commented, "The United States and China this week face a critical test in their complex relationship.... At stake is the course of Sino-U.S. relations in these uncertain times for both sides.... "Chinese officials had been sanguine about dealing with the new Republican-led Congress, but recent evidence may have persuaded them otherwise. The new breed of Republicans at large in Washington is different from that with which China has been accustomed to doing business, such as Mr. Henry Kissinger....

"A Sino-U.S. trade war would not be good for APEC's further development, or for the realization of a timetable established for free trade in the region by 2010. Tensions between Beijing and Washington, complicated by continuing political uncertainties in China, may also undermine an evolving regional security consensus. This helped to defuse the North Korean nuclear crisis, and holds promise for dealing with other potential disputes, such as competing claims to islands in the South China Sea. Those hoping for a resolution of the copyright dispute are worried about the possibility of a miscalculation born of China's traditional resort to brinkmanship in negotiations, and pressures on the United States to 'hang tough.' As a Western official in Beijing said: 'There is plenty of scope for things to go wrong.'"

AUSTRIA: "Another Silly War"

Johannes Steiner remarked in liberal Der Standard (2/7),"Announced economic wars usually take place no more often than announced revolutions. Who should know that better than generations of commercial delegates from Washington and Beijing.... Now business is at stake. Specifically the \$1 billion dollars that U.S. companies, by their own account, lost in China because of CD, record and film pirating. There's nothing new about it either. In 1992, a memorandum of understanding on the protection of copyrights was agreed on in the very last minute, after threats to impose sanctions.

"The otherwise very sensitive Hong Kong Stock Exchange remained unaffected. In fact, despite a high domestic need for tough words, too much business is at stake for both sides: The United States doesn't want to let their competitor make progress in the fiercely embattled future China market, and China can't do without investors from America. A new memorandum of understanding, edition 1995, is therefore probably already being drafted."

BELGIUM: "Bill Clinton's Chinese Fiasco"

Philippe Paquet opined in conservative Catholic La Libre Belgique (2/8) that the present deadlock in Chinese-American trade relations "illustrates the global failure of the conciliatory policy conducted by Mr. Clinton since his arrival at the White House, and even more,

since last May when he assured China of the renewal of its MFN status without linking it to the enforcement of conditions set by himself. That decision was an extraordinary demonstration of weakness which a Communist regime accustomed to only listening to the language of force did not fail to exploit rapidly....

"The outcome of the trade negotiations underway will perhaps open the eyes of the White House. The resumption of the dialogue, only two days after the announcement of American sanctions, should already convince it that the only language heard in Beijing is that of firmness. Moreover, it is the language that prevailed in relations between Moscow and Washington--and the outcome is well-known."

NORWAY: "Barrier"

Leading, conservative Aftenposten (2/7) opined, "Both China and the U.S. would benefit from avoiding the trade war that they now are preparing for and which will be a fact by the end of the month unless a solution is found.... The initiatives the Americans have signaled they will take, have been answered by signals of similar initiatives by the Chinese. A trade war along this front is in no one's interest. We therefore hope that the two trade giants can find an amicable and reasonable solution before the deadline runs out in less than three weeks. It is a discouraging sign, however, that the negotiations, in spite of long-lasting efforts, have been without results and that there is so much prestige in these issues both in Beijing and in Washington."

SERBIA MONTENEGRO: "What's Behind Current U.S.-China Trade War?"

Washington correspondent Slobodan Pavlovic observed in centrist Nasa Borba (2/7), "The problem of U.S. companies' intellectual property protection on the Chinese market is worth many billions of dollars, but it is not the heart of the matter. Washington-Beijing relations have been going downhill for quite a long time, regarding the human rights issue, Taiwan, etc.... The question is whether this is a passing cloud or a thunderstorm with far-reaching consequences for the future of U.S.-Chinese relations.

"The State Department Human Rights Report...confirms that the situation...in China has not much improved since President Clinton's decision last summer not to tie U.S. economic relations with Beijing to this issue. On the contrary, there are many signals which indicate that the situation has been aggravated, while Washington expects the negative trend to continue simultaneously with the stagnation and slowing down of political reforms.

"The above speculation offered by U.S. analysts is the more optimistic variation of possible future developments in China. The more negative version reveals some much more 'problematic activities' which the United States might be confronted with in this Far East region--an open conflict of potential new Beijing leaders with political dissidents; renewed threats to Taiwan; a more active missile and other weaponry export program to Iran, Syria or Pakistan;

as well as a tougher Chinese engagement in issues before the Security Council."

SWEDEN: "Chinese Checkers"

Conservative Svenska Dagbladet (2/8) editorialized, "The United States is getting tired of Chinese companies ignoring patents and copyrights...and though the fact (is) that trade-related political actions are seldom welcomed, there is no doubt that the United States is in the right and that a change must be brought about. China has the most to lose should the conflict become a reality....

"Growing caution on the part of American business leaders to invest in China will rapidly have serious consequences on the Chinese economy...sharpened trade disagreements will, no doubt, bring about such cautions. It would be a great advantage if disagreements of this kind could be handled within the framework of the new multilateral trade organization, the WTO, which has clear cut regulations on what is permitted and what is not....

"But unfortunately, China is not a member of the WTO. Its repugnance to making commitments on patent and copyright rules being one of the main reasons...The U.S. government has taken a reasonable first step to counter an absurd situation.... China now has the next move."

SWITZERLAND: "The American Bulldozer"

Centrist Tribune de Geneve (2/8) held, "The United States hasn't always been very tactful in its dealings with China.... In trade matters, giant China doesn't react at all like some Latin American country accustomed to dependence on Uncle Sam. Its weight enables it to respond blow for blow. And it knows just where to apply the pressure. Its threat to single out the American automobile and entertainment industries for retaliation is sure to alarm their lobbies in Washington and get the U.S. government's demands damped down. However, the Clinton administration has set Beijing a problem it cannot resolve in short order. The Chinese central government is losing control over what is happening in its far-flung provinces, especially observance of the intellectual-property treaties it has signed and embodied in its legislation.... After an obligatory toot on its nationalist trumpet, Beijing could well return to sweet reason and sit down again at the negotiating table."

"Disenchantment In Washington"

Center-left Tages-Anzeiger of Zurich (2/8) opined, "American policy toward China seems full of contradictions. Only eight months ago the Clinton administration decided to separate trade and human rights and accord China Most-Favored-Nation treatment. It said promotion of trade was in the U.S. economy's best interests. But on Saturday retaliatory measures against Chinese goods were announced, supposedly to protect U.S. business. The change shows how much relations between the two countries have cooled. The American business

community has found that agreements with China are often worthless."

"Beijing-Washington Honeymoon Over"

Centrist Tribune de Geneve's Beijing correspondent Laurence Soustras noted (2/8) "Behind the conflict on protection of intellectual property, political relations...are going sour over differences which are not only commercial. Last week, the Department of State's human rights report strongly criticized China's human-rights situation, a continual stumbling block in bilateral relations. With last May's decision no longer to link most-favored-nation treatment with rights improvement, the Beijing government thought it had scored a point over Washington.... Having thus flexed its muscles, the Chinese government continued to overestimate its political advantage over the United States. Its comeuppance came in December, when the setback to China's efforts to join the WTO was felt as an insult for which the American administration was held responsible. Today, at a time of uncertainty about the political succession in China, relations between Beijing and Washington are deteriorating. Confronted with a Chinese government obsessed with its sovereignty, the United States is revising its China strategy.

"Washington, like China's Asian neighbors, is alarmed at this unpredictable and aggressive nation-continent's growing military power, shown by a swelling defense budget and threatening Chinese naval operations in the South China Sea."

MIDDLE EAST

EGYPT: "U.S. Decision Welcomed In U.S."

Samia El Guindi wrote in his column for pro-government Al-Ahram (2/13), "The United States did not hesitate to impose customs sanctions on China and ignite a trade war between the two countries over the issue of intellectual property rights.... This economic sector has become America's hope in future welfare.... Although the White House decision...came in contradiction...to its strategy of trade liberalization...it was welcomed by all businessmen, critics and American policy experts. They found in the decision evidence that American foreign policy is coherent and is able to take a position. Faint criticisms of the decision say that the Clinton administration has been hasty."

"In Both Countries' Interest To Show Flexibility"

According to Samir Fouad Ramzi in pro-government Al-Akhbar (2/10), "The United States can take a more realistic position that China can implement. It is illogical to expect China, which is a developing country, to observe the protection standards of Western countries overnight. Washington can consider the gradual implementation of these rights.... It is in China's interest to show flexibility because it will lose more than the United States will in the event that the coming talks fail."

ISRAEL: "The Wild East"

The right-wing Jerusalem Post (2/8) editorialized, "It is a little disingenuous for some Western businessmen first to exploit the cheap skilled labor of China to assemble expensive consumer goods like designer footwear, computers, software and CDs--and then scream foul when the same skilful Chinese exploit the foreign designer labels to market copies of these Western goodies at half-price.... The new China may be allowed some more generous latitude. New frontiers have always started as Wild West--who should know that better than Americans. The piracy industry in China is part of the commercial Wild East that central reform has unleashed. It will take a little time for the mandarins and lawyers to reach the outback."

SAUDI ARABIA: "Piracy Can't Just Go On"

The pro-government, English-language Arab News (2/7) opined, "In these days the world will not accept the argument that a country with a preeminent position in the world's affairs can disregard international law and turn a blind eye to what is effectively piracy. This is what Beijing seems to want. The scale of copyright and patent violation in China is staggering.

"The reason why all these threats and counter threats do not make the world stop breathing is that this has happened before.... However, this is a dangerous game. If played too often, there could be a time when it could get out of hand. The world hopes this is not that time."

SOUTH ASIA

INDIA: "U.S. Wants To Retreat A Little"

Jognath Mukhopadhyaya wrote in Bartaman (2/10), "China has announced it will also impose a 100 percent import tax on certain U.S. products.... The United States better look into details before taking the final decision...if the trade war actually begins. For China does not accept at all that intellectual property is anyone's monopoly.... It now seems the United States also wants to retreat a little...which is evident from Brown's statement...on finding a solution before February 26.... Maintaining close trade ties with China is so important to the United States that it is almost prepared to swallow its own words."

"Warning For Developing World"

Hyderabad's right-of-center Newstime (2/10) held, "The tit-for-tat trade sanctions now being launched...indicate the future shape of things to come for developing countries. It is one thing that the Asian giant has stood up to the U.S. pressure in the eyes of the world, but it is doubtful if it will be able to continue with it for long. No country, not the least China, can sacrifice the country's interest from the long-term point of view.... Everything is not lost yet.... The U.S. strong arm tactics will, however, give notice to

other developing countries to beware of American goods and the stringent requirement of conforming to the intellectual property laws.... The signal to countries like India, next only to China in market size, is clear enough: We will have to acquire competitive edge in strength and vitality, in quality and in price at the earliest."

"Sino-U.S. Truce"

The independent Hindustan Times (2/8) maintained, "The simple fact is that the United States and China need each other.... It is more the...APEC than the NAFTA that appears to Washington as the green pastures of the coming decades.... One major reason why both China and the United States agreed not to cross over the precipice is an impending meeting of APEC's executive.... With far more worrisome reasons for the United States and Japan to engage in a trade war, Washington would not opt for more than frictions with China."

"Copy Cads"

The independent Telegraph (2/6) noted, "Beijing's response has been hypocritical.... It is possibly no coincidence that China's recalcitrance on the issue of copyrights and patents abuse has peaked at a time...Deng's hold over power has all but gone.... That China has adopted the eye-for-an-eye response to the U.S. sanctions seems to indicate that a conservative coterie may well have usurped much of what was hitherto distinguished by Dengism.... February 26 may signal the beginning of a battle, not the end of war cries. That is surely not what the United States wants. The point is whether a dangerously new-look China will see sense."

PAKISTAN: "Averting A U.S.-China Trade War"

Independent Dawn (2/8) opined, "The question of intellectual property rights and patents is extremely sensitive. While no one supports piracy, developing countries have definite views on these issues which are at variance with those of the industrialized West. "Western businesses price these products in a monopoly situation and their approach in this smacks of rank exploitation and keeps these products out of reach for the developing countries.... Creators of intellectual property are certainly entitled to fair recompense for their efforts and creativity and to reimbursement of material expense. But to make these rights a barrier to the spread of human progress is a gross violation of the values which the world community claims to stand for."

"Will They Settle?"

The independent Business Recorder (2/8) held, "As for the current situation, piracy on (a) large scale has been rendered possible by the extent of technological progress. Viewed in this perspective, it may not be possible for China or for any other country to eliminate violation of trade-related intellectual property the way the United States is demanding of China. One hopes that opening another front

in its trade war in Asia is unlikely to do any good to the United States either. Perhaps it will be advisable both for China and the United States to exercise restraint and avoid a direct clash on the issues under dispute."

BANGLADESH: "IPR Agreement Bad For Developing Countries"

Government-run, Bangla-language Dainik Bangla (2/7) judged, "The intellectual property rights agreement will actually act against the interests of the developing countries.... It cannot be allowed to happen that the developed countries will develop things after painstaking research and the developing countries will enjoy those (at no cost).... (On the other hand) prosperity has come to the developing countries suddenly through various preferences given to them. The developed countries do not seem to be taking this in good humor. There is no doubt that the emerging markets of Asia and Latin America have brought the world economy much benefit. Asia's emerging market is not only a point of attraction for the world, but also a cause for uneasiness in the developed countries.... China is Asia's largest emerging market. It is difficult for Western countries to tolerate China's faults. It will be better for all if China and the United States do not get involved in a trade war."

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

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ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

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13 Feb 95 13:28:16 -0500

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Organization: USIA

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

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TO: williams_ma (williams_ma@A1@CD) (WHO)

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TEXT:

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Patricia McArdle, Branch Chief Media Reaction, (R/MR), Tele. No. (202)619-6511

Wednesday, March 29, 1995

CASTRO REGIME AND U.S. EMBARGO--"ARCHAIC"

Senator Helms' proposal to tighten the U.S. trade embargo on Cuba, following closely on Cuban President Castro's recent travel to Europe prompted keen interest from foreign journalists. Analysts, continuing a chorus sung since the end of the Cold War, criticized the trade embargo as "useless, "ineffective" and counterproductive, and called U.S. Cuba policy "archaic and "deeply flawed." Dailies spanning regional and ideological divides urged the U.S. to lift the embargo and pursue change in Cuba through other means such as trade and exchanges. The only paper to comment on a possible U.S. plan for such a reversal of policy was Moscow's reformist Segodnya, which suggested that although there was both liberal and conservative support in the U.S. for a phased lifting of the sanctions in return for concrete political and economic reforms, the anti-Castro lobby might still be strong enough to defeat such a concept. A Belgian writer warned that U.S. business was missing the boat as others rushed in to trade with Havana. And Dublin's liberal Irish Times urged Washington to follow up its success in bolstering democracy in Haiti with an initiative to help Cuba emerge from its dictatorship.

Again and again, writers questioned how the U.S. could trade with other countries having odious human rights infractions, like China, but still maintain the Cuba embargo. An Italian daily suggested that France was using with Cuba the approach the U.S. had shown with Vietnam--of forging new ties based on trade. The Canadian press stressed Ottawa's "high ground" approach of encouraging reform and proceeding with trade, and accused Washington of pandering to domestic political needs, namely the votes of Cuban exiles in Florida. Several papers maintained that Havana was in fact moving toward a market economy. London's conservative Daily

Telegraph huffed, "The Cuban leader invites foreign investment on the island, entirely in line with orthodox capitalist thinking," and wryly noted that the U.S. had allowed IRA leader Gerry Adams to visit but was still not speaking to Mr. Castro. At the same time, editorialists--with a few obvious exceptions like the official Chinese press-- were unstinting in their condemnation of Mr. Castro's regime, particularly its sorry record of human rights abuse. The emphasis was not on defending Mr. Castro, but on arguing that the current methods to change his policies not only did not work but were in fact, counterproductive.

Most commentators--especially in Latin America--were derisive of Senator Helms' recently announced plans to tighten the embargo by sanctioning businesses that trade with Havana, calling it insulting and a violation of other nations' sovereignty. An Uruguayan paper said that if the bill passes, "the whole world, led by the Americas, would rise up in protest." However, in Buenos Aires, conservative La Prensa defended the proposal and averred that "curiously--the person who will make it possible, who provides the proposed legislation with moral reasons and irrefutable internal logic, is Fidel Castro himself. Without the assistance of Fidel Castro, Senator Helms would be easily defeated by the more conciliatory tendencies in the North American legislature."

This report is based on 55 commentaries from 24 countries, March 8-27.

EDITOR: Rose Sue Berstein LATIN AMERICA AND CARRIBEAN

MEXICO: "Cuba And The U.S., An Outdated Embargo"

Nationalist Unomasuno (3/20) opined, "The New York Times had a clear approach to the Cuban embargo issue that contrasts with Jesse Helms's proposal to toughen the embargo.... Neither the White House nor U.S. Congressmen have realized that Cuba will continue to survive despite the embargo. Moreover, while Castro is apparently successfully erasing his image as a dictator--he attended the U.N. Conference on Development and visited Paris in civilian clothing--a market economy is making significant strides in Cuba.... However, those with stubborn attitudes, like Senator Helms, do not see these changes. If Helms's proposal to refuse issuing U.S. visas to businessmen doing business in Cuba (passes), there will be adverse reactions from the countries of origin of these businessmen which will not tolerate limitations being imposed on their businessmen's activities."

"Castro Cannot Be An Impartial Judge Of What Happened In Cuba"

Unomasuno (3/14) stated, "While Fidel Castro blasted the U.S. embargo against Cuba, a number of demonstrators criticized human rights violations on the island.... The embargo has not been the only reason for the misery of the Cuban people. The Cuban government built an economic policy based on fragile dealings with a handful of countries, and did not promote its own development. Further, the Cuban people are facing hunger not because they do not deal with the United States, but because their government favored rhetoric over building solid industry...."

"Commander Castro has questioned the morals of the international

community.... Let's ask him what has happened in Cuba--the only nation in the hemisphere without a democratic government, where the human rights of those opposing the government have been systematically violated.... Cuba is going through a difficult situation that will not change as long as it clings to an outdated system in a world of radical changes."

ARGENTINA: "Castro And Helms"

Conservative La Prensa (3/23) opined that "there is a very high probability that the two chambers of the North American government will pass a new law aimed at tightening the Cuban embargo. The author...is the powerful Senator Jesse Helms, but--curiously--the person who will make it possible, who provides the proposed legislation with moral reasons and irrefutable internal logic, is Fidel Castro himself. Without the assistance of Fidel Castro, Senator Helms would be easily defeated by the more conciliatory tendencies in the North American legislature. Strange bedfellows, as the gringos are wont to say."

BRAZIL: "Shocking Realism"

Center-right O Estado de Sao Paulo (3/15) opined, "Francois Mitterrand has become the first and only important Western statesman to offer hospitality to Fidel Castro. Mitterrand added nothing but unnecessary damage to his nation's foreign policy and prestige.... Domestically...he raised doubts about genuine interest in the fate of Cuban political prisoners, which is a matter of serious concern to French human rights organizations. Fidel Castro, however, received tenderness and encouragement for his moribund dictatorship.... Fidel is seeking available French investment. President Mitterrand may, therefore, have his reasons to accord the dictator the testimonial of a democrat(ic leader). But such realism shocks (us)."

BOLIVIA: "Opportunity For Fidel"

Conservative El Diario (3/12) editorialized, "Suddenly and with no preambles, the meeting in Copenhagen has given the old leader of the worldwide left (Castro) a new and loud opportunity to cut a figure for himself.... Fidel's presence was highlighted even more by the absence of President Menem, with whom he had had several arguments during their last few meetings about the lack of democracy on the island (Cuba). Fidel felt irritated by Menem's insistence on this issue, when he (Castro) wanted to focus only on Washington's blockade, about which there are now rumors of a progressive softening."

CHILE: "Relations With Cuba"

Influential, conservative El Mercurio (3/8) remarked, "The Deputy Foreign Minister Mariano Fernandez, has been obliged to say there is nothing new regarding a possible (Chilean) renewal of diplomatic relations with Cuba, (a subject that is) a persistent socialist and communist initiative brought up from time to time.... The human rights situation in Cuba is very serious, as specialized, international organizations have proven in a regular and uniform manner....

"Chile faces important international questions, such as the arbitrators' decision on the Laguna del Desierto (territorial dispute) and (Chile's)

possible incorporation into NAFTA.... To add to these the renewal of a conflictive diplomatic relationship with Cuba, suspended 22 years ago for sound reasons, would create external imbroglios, and in addition, the winners would be none other than the socialists and communists whose devotion to Fidel Castro's dictatorship has not changed in three and a half decades."

HAITI: "Castro's Exceptional And Controversial Visit To France"

Le Nouvelliste (3/16) ran an Agence France Presse piece that remarked, "Fidel Castro completed his first visit to France Thursday, which was meant to be a defiant gesture toward the United States, but which gave rise to controversy due to the honors given to Numero 1 of a regime that has been condemned for human rights violations. The chief of the Cuban revolution, though on a simple visit, was welcomed with the greatest honors by the Socialist President Francois Mitterrand, and by the Gaullist President of the National Assembly Philippe Seguin at UNESCO."

EL SALVADOR: "Let's Talk History"

Second-leading, conservative La Prensa Grafica (3/15) editorialized, "Independently of what one thinks of the effectiveness of the trade embargo maintained by the United States for more than 30 years, the truth is that it is not the embargo that has sealed the final fate of 'Castrismo.' Fidel, in 1953, pronounced the famous phrase: 'history will absolve me.' Instead, history quietly abandoned him....

"What does destiny have in store for an isolated survivor like Fidel? Well, destiny should have for him a last and supreme mission, risky and surprising: to put Cuba on the road toward a free, participatory and pluralist democracy.... There is no doubt that history is giving him, perhaps undeservingly, an opportunity for absolution...a chance for Cuba to stop...suffering in the absurdity of a tired regime without a future."

GUYANA: "Harassing Cuba"

The independent Stabroek News (3/22) commented, "American policy on Cuba is archaic and deeply flawed. The boycott is a Cold War relic springing from Castro's expropriation of American business and his subsequent alliance with the Soviet Union. America now trades and deals with countries that are far more repressive than Cuba. The policy is partly driven by the large Cuban-American community which is virulently anti-Castro and largely based in Florida, an important electoral prize. It is also driven by the old doctrine of the American backyard and the Monroe doctrine which turned from being a shield into a sword.

"The Clinton government has not yet decided on its approach to these bills and Caribbean governments, including Guyana, should lead the way in speaking out strongly against them. In the first place, they could at some stage conceivably affect our sugar exports to the United States. But more fundamentally, the debate on Cuba is between extremists like Helms who believe that the way to go is to seek to dislodge Castro by economic and political pressure and those who contend that increasing contact with Cuba, foreign investment (Jamaican businessmen are among the pioneers) and

the encouragement of political and economic reforms will help Cuba to achieve a gradual transition to a more open society.

"Our own government has had long and friendly relations with Cuba, which has provided medical and other assistance. Its voice should be heard in speaking out against the bizarre laws promoted by Senator Helms and his associates which take us back to another era which we all hoped had ended."

PANAMA: "Breach Of Protocol"

Conservative El Panama America (3/15) held, "Mitterrand...and Mayor not only broke protocol rules but basic democratic principles.... It is unacceptable that UNESCO's director has received with full honors the leader of a regime that jailed and deported hundreds of writers and artists.... Fidel is not a victim but an executioner of a political and cultural apartheid...who appears in a place whose 'raison d'etre' must be the defense of liberty of thought and esthetic creation.... We condemn the embargo...against the noble Cuban people, but we are not behind (Fidel's) dictatorial regime."

"UNESCO Should Be Promoting Freedom, Not Castro"

Independent La Prensa (3/12) ran a column saying, "UNESCO, which should theoretically defend liberty and culture as human spiritual values, will commend Fidel Castro for 'promoting the education' of the Cuban people. We accept...that he indeed educated his people...but it's useless to learn the words, if repressive state organs will decide later what they can and cannot read.... It is hard to understand how an institution (UNESCO) devoted to culture can commend an enemy of it."

URUGUAY: "In The Universe Of Nonsense"

Top-selling, conservative El Pais (3/19) ran this editorial by one of its publishers, Washington Beltran: "We have always considered the United States embargo against Cuba to be a useless and ineffective measure; instead of leading to the disappearance of Castroism, it ensures that it lives on.

"The embargo gives Castro justification for calling for the solidarity of his fellow-citizens on behalf of a threatened nation. And this allows his followers to obscure his image as a cruel dictator, and hold him up as a capable leader who is able to continue, on his own, a heroic fight against the most powerful country in the world....

"News reports say that ultraconservative Senator Jesse Helms and another Republican congressman are promoting a law which would impose sanctions on countries trading with Cuba. Such a thing would be an attack on the sovereignty of other countries. In that case, Cuba would not be the only country objecting, but the whole world, led by the Americas, would rise up in protest."

EUROPE

RUSSIA: "New Opponents Of Anti-Cuba Embargo"

Vladimir Kozlovsky filed for reformist Segodnya (3/21) from New York, "Not only liberals but also conservatives already demand the lifting of the sanctions. President Clinton's foreign policy aides...support the idea of offering Havana a stage-by-stage lifting of the sanctions in return for concrete political and economic reforms. Given the attitude of Clinton himself, he is sure to be with that faction, in his heart. His other aides...however, are whispering objections in his ear, still hoping for Clinton's victory in Florida next year.... It seems, therefore, that American entrepreneurs, eager to stake out the Cuban market, and conservative honchos with a 'new thinking' vis-a-vis the embargo provide a good political cover for Clinton. It is unclear, though, if their combined influence will be strong enough to offset the local anti-Castro lobby."

"CIA's Sweet Trail"

Anatoly Veslo remarked in reformist Segodnya (3/16), "The latest 'leaks' by American competing agencies, surprisingly, fell exactly in time with the preparation of another trade protocol between Russia and Cuba. The U.S...interest in having the signing of that agreement foiled needs no comment.... Clearly, the current regime in Cuba will not last forever. Moreover, Russia is interested in maintaining its economic position and market in a post-Castro Cuba. And finally, Cuba has on its territory the one and only strategic surveillance facility Russia can use.... It is somewhat odd to count exclusively on goodwill when it comes to this country's security treaties. Russia cannot afford...to abandon its traditional markets, the more so as neither the United States nor anyone else is eager to let her into their's."

"Fidel Castro in Paris"

Vitaly Dymarsky observed from Paris in reformist Segodnya (3/16), "(The hosts) emphasized the traditional French anti-Americanism and a need, first, for Cuba and its leader to be initiated in the values of democracy and the market economy and, second, to put a stop to the U.S. economic blockade against the island, a blockade Mitterrand was not ashamed to call 'stupid.'... Given her long-term economic and strategic interests, France is unlikely to be very persistent in her entreaties with Cuba concerning respect for human rights and progress to democracy, even though they are everpresent in her officials' speeches and statements."

"Mitterrand's Last Anti-American Hurrah"

Andrei Smirnov wrote for reformist Kommersant-Daily (3/14), "Small wonder, one of the last 'communist dinosaurs', viewed by the United States as enemy 'Number One', was actually offered a heartfelt reception in France. Many took the French president's demarche as a last challenge to the Americans. The Cuban leader, it seems, expects to gain more than just moral satisfaction from his visit to France. He intends to meet with representatives of business circles. That is an entirely new shade in the bright portrait of the revolutionary."

BRITAIN: "Embargo Is Dangerous Nonsense"

The conservative Daily Telegraph (3/16) opined, "Even the fiercest critics of the visit (of Castro to Paris) concur in denouncing the U.S. embargo as a dangerous nonsense which has probably only strengthened Mr. Castro over the years. The Cuban leader invites foreign investment on the island, entirely in line with orthodox capitalist thinking. Nor is there any grounds for complaint from the White House, to which Mr. Clinton is about to welcome a particularly controversial guest of his own."

FRANCE: "Embarrassing Little Thorn For Americans"

Nicolas Beytout said on RTL Radio (3/15), "Why impose an embargo on Cuba, a policy which neither France nor the United States follow with China, for example? China also is not a model on the question of human rights. The truth is that China is a big market, while Cuba is an embarrassing little thorn in the Americans' flesh."

"Just Because We Disagree With U.S. Policy"

An editorial in economic Les Echos (3/15) stressed, "One could have disagreed with the U.S. policy toward Cuba and not offer (Castro) a platform where he could pour out his anti-American propaganda."

"Where Does He Get His Greenbacks?"

Georges Suffert mused in regional Nice Matin (3/15), "Mysteriously, Fidel Castro still has dollars. One wonders where they come from. For ordinary French people, this visibility of a discredited dictator is somewhat indecent."

"Infamous Jailer Visits Home Of Rights Of Man"

Jean-Marie Gauthier remarked in regional Presse Ocean (3/15), "The Cubans, deprived of freedom, certainly feel dizzy when they see, on their tv screens, their jailer showing off in the country of the rights of man."

"U.S. Has New Problems--But Castro's Retirement Would Be A Major Plus"

Bernard Guetta commented on France Inter Radio (3/14), "Today, Cuba no longer represents a threat for the United States, whose problems are no longer Communist subversion or Soviet expansionism, but the Mexican crisis, the resurfacing of racial discrepancies, urban poverty and the weariness of institutions and political parties.... If this Castro visit can help Bill Clinton convince Congress (that the U.S. should ease the sanctions), that's good. But if this visit can make Castro understand what France really wishes him--a prompt retirement--that would be perfect."

"Blood Red Carpet"

Claude Imbert remarked on private Europe One radio (3/14), "Paris has swallowed its shame and unrolled the red carpet for Castro. This blood-red carpet hides one of the worst regimes in the world."

"Tacit Support"

Influential Le Monde (3/14) judged, "This (Mitterrand's) attitude (regarding Castro)...reflects France's tacit support for the Cuban policy of independence against U.S. economic and diplomatic pressure.... Mr. Mitterrand has always opposed the 'stupid' U.S. trade embargo against Cuba. This position seems justified, all the more so since, in the United States itself, an increasing number of people--except those inveterate anti-Castroists from Congress and Florida--are asking that sanctions against Cuba be softened.... By choosing to put an end to the Western ostracism of Castro, Francois Mitterrand in a way linked up with Bill Clinton."

"Castro Is A Little French Revenge For U.S. Haiti Involvement"

Influential Liberation's senior editorialist Jacques Amalric held (3/14), "Only a few months ago, Francois and Danielle Mitterrand's invitation to Fidel Castro would have posed a problem to any serious democrat. Why give so many heartfelt honors to a man whom one must call a dictator?... (Castro's visit) will flatter the anti-American sentiments that lie dormant in each Frenchman--in Georges Marchais as in Charles Pasqua, who will also meet with Castro during his Paris stay. Also, the visit will avenge the setback that the United States inflicted on French-language militants when it intervened in Haiti--an intervention the failure of which is still impatiently awaited by a large number of French officials."

"No, Thank You, On Chance To Help Desperate Castro"

Georges Suffert wrote in conservative Le Figaro (3/14), "Dumbfounded French people are seeing that one of the most spectacular dictators on earth is being welcomed in their capital city as a first-rate visitor.... What does Castro want? To stay in power. It is true that the U.S. economic blockade strongly affects the island's economy, but this effect is still far less than the sudden end of Soviet subsidies. The deals concluded with Moscow allowed Cuba to survive, to equip soldiers and to send them to Angola to fight in the name of the Communist revolution. All that does not exist anymore. Castro knows it. And he must find other countries to help him--in Europe for instance, France, in particular.... Castro is ready to do anything to get help. He relies on us. What an incredible situation! Human rights will once again sink into the ocean. And Fidel Castro will become one of France's close friends. No, thank you."

ITALY: "Fidel, A Nice Enemy"

Washington correspondent Vittorio Zucconi commented in centrist La Stampa (3/14), "Castro has become a nostalgic symbol, a feeling, an icon of our times from which it is difficult to depart.... Those who hated him and fought him were victims of the illusion that all the troubles of the world, all the dangers came from Communist ideology and the men who embodied it. When Fidel's beard also falls...it will be tough but inevitable to admit that ideologies pass but wars and tragedies remain."

"It is too late for all of us. We are all sinking with Castro,

applauding his senile triumphs and celebrating our nostalgias. America is still gripped by him, that America that could well strangle the Castro regime by simply lifting the embargo and allowing the invasion of dollars, tourists and Cuban emigrants, who would destroy what is left of the 'Caribbean socialism' in a few months. The Cuban people no longer have illusions, but see no alternatives to their old 'caballo.' And we Europeans also have no alternatives, orphans as we are of big enemies and big friends. In this time of formidable international mediocrity, the son of the Galician immigrant and his maid is at least a 'little giant.' It is not his fault if the others are 'dwarfs.'"

"Fidel In Bloom"

La Stampa (3/14) ran this report from Paris: "If Castro was in bud in Copenhagen, he is blossoming here in Paris.... America is asking Paris to intercede with the Cuban leader to obtain his commitment toward the promotion of 'democratic reforms.' A sensational turn? We shall see. Yet Castro...can already consider his French visit a big diplomatic success.... Castro a persecutor? It will be more difficult to convince the world from now on.... During the last two days of the visit Castro will meet, among others, French businessmen. He should not have trouble charming them: His eyes are already shining about the imminent orders."

"French Approach To Cuba Like U.S. Approach To Vietnam"

Franco Fabiani remarked from Paris in leftist, influential La Repubblica (3/14), "Political realism and economic interests: This is the position of Paris toward Cuba. The same realism, it was pointed out, that has prompted Washington to normalize relations with Hanoi and Beijing."

"Clinton Gives In On Cuba"

Washington correspondent Paolo Passarini commented in La Stampa (3/8), "Clinton is aware of the anachronism of the American hard line toward a country that no longer represents a threat. But he will have to come to terms with the new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the ultraconservative Jesse Helms."

CANADA: "Undue Deference"

The independent Winnipeg Free Press (3/20), commenting on "proposed (U.S.) legislation imposing penalties on countries that trade with Cuba," argued, "The bill should not sway Ottawa from a policy that is not only practical and reasonable but which is more likely to contribute to reform in Cuba than the American approach. The Americans cannot claim the high moral ground here. They enthusiastically pursue trade with nations at least as despotic and oppressive. There is no justification for the continuing U.S. embargo of the island except as a means of securing the votes for the large Cuban exile community.... If the United States were truly interested in the Cuban people, it would be joining the Canadians, not threatening them."

"Gerry, Meet Fidel"

The liberal Ottawa Citizen (3/20) remarked, "How Irish eyes must smile. The country that won't give Fidel Castro the time of day rolls out the red carpet for IRA frontman Gerry Adams.... Both consider force the best way to resolve political differences, both accept the suffering of innocents in the pursuit of their goals, and neither lets democracy get in his way. "Castro can at least be credited with improving the lives of some of his countrymen--in fields such as education, nutrition and health--which is more than can be said for Irish extremists. To what, then, can we attribute the extremes of U.S. behavior, when more dispassionate, moderate stances might be preferable? Simple. Adams enjoys the all-too-forgiving, unthinking support of millions of Irish-Americans brought up on stories of the potato famine. And Castro endures the hatred of Cuban-Americans who fled their homeland during or after the 1959 revolution. Next to petty U.S. domestic considerations, the complex reality of Northern Ireland and Cuba seem to come a distant second in determining American foreign policy."

"Mr. Castro Goes To Paris"

The leading Toronto Globe and Mail (3/17) took a dim view of Mr. Castro's record on human rights, but argued this does not "mean we should isolate Cuba, as the United States has. Absolutely not. The way to strengthen Mr. Castro is to allow him to claim that the world is ranged against him. The way to weaken him is to offer trade and investment, hoping that it will foster new expectations and new demands for democracy, as it did in Eastern Europe. For the United States to lift its economic embargo...is not to endorse his reprehensible record. To deal with Mr. Castro is not to coddle him. It is a distinction the French should remember the next time Mr. Castro comes to call."

"We Can Denounce U.S. Embargo Without Absolving Castro"

French-language Le Devoir (3/14) commented in an editorial by Sylviane Tramier, "The United States maintains its embargo on Cuba but trades, in the name of realism, with China.... This begs the question. Why be a stickler for principles with Cuba, and be converted to pragmatism when dealing with China? We can denounce the American trade embargo without absolving Fidel Castro. As expressed more and more by many voices in the American Congress and in the exiled community of Cuba, the defense of human rights and democratic freedoms in Cuba does not necessarily have to be done through diplomatic ostracism."

BELGIUM: "U.S. Missing From Growing Flood Of Investments In Cuba"

Latin American affairs writer Francis Van den Berghe commented in independent Catholic De Standaard (3/27), "Except for the Americans--who have to stay at home because of their country's embargo against Cuba--an increasing number of investors is travelling to the Caribbean island. European countries and Canada are extremely critical of the U.S. Congress's plans to sharpen the embargo. Under pressure from anti-Castro Cubans, conservatives want Washington to reserve for itself the right to punish foreign firms and even nations that conduct trade with Cuba."

CZECH REPUBLIC: "Lesson For Both Castro and Clinton"

Oldrich Pospisil commented in labor union Prace (3/17), "French President Mitterand is not far from the truth when he says that his reception of Fidel Castro does not mean any support for communism or other evaporating ideology, but rather a disagreement with the 'stupid' U.S. embargo on Cuba.... Especially, when the United States implements a 'realpolitik' when normalizing mutual relations with such countries as China or Vietnam--and not without success.... Castro implies he would totally open his domain to the world if the U.S. embargo did not stand in the way. At the same time, Washington usually states that it will not lift the embargo until democracy comes to Cuba. The vicious circle is closed. Mitterand is trying, clearly in vain, to convince both Castro and Clinton." IRELAND: "The End Of Apartheid For Castro's Cuba"

The middle-class, liberal Irish Times (3/21) editorialized, "What is remarkable is that President Castro has managed to survive for so long. This is because he has been able to draw on a nationalist tradition of revolt against dependency on the United States, which is continually reinforced by Washington's policies of embargo and boycott. Last autumn's negotiations on the flow of refugees yielded no sign that Mr. Clinton is willing to re-examine his policy. It was perceived by many in Cuba as an attempt to undermine them, an impression reinforced by the fact that U.S. policy seems to be driven by ultra right-wing Cuban exile pressure groups in Miami which have successfully lobbied against any relaxation in American policy....

"After his cautious but firm engagement with Haiti...Mr. Clinton would be well advised to look again at his Cuba policy.... An evolutionary and gradual political change in Cuba would be far preferable to the counter-revolutionary outcome sought by the exile groups and would be much more in keeping with the Clinton administration's approach elsewhere in the world."

PORTUGAL: "Don't Forget, There's Still No Freedom In Cuba"

Editor-in-Chief Mario Bettencourt Resendes remarked in leading Diario de Noticias (3/14), "The current American-led blockade might be an unjustifiable violence against a suffering people, but that does not turn Fidel into a democrat. And the European left, starting with the French one, traditionally susceptible to totalitarian temptation, must not forget that there is still no freedom in Cuba."

SWEDEN: "Time To Listen To Reason?"

Social Democratic tabloid Aftonbladet's editorial (3/14) maintained, "Yesterday Fidel Castro got the support of President Mitterand in his campaign to have the U.S. blockade on Cuba lifted.... Even in the United States there is the realization that the sanction policy has been ineffective...and President Clinton's advisers are reportedly recommending that he ease travel restrictions for Americans and remove the ban for Cuban exiles to send money to their relatives in Havana....

"Has the time now come, perhaps, for Bill Clinton to listen to reason?"

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

CHINA: "Time To Break Isolation"

Fang Qiu wrote in the official, Communist Party People's Daily (3/22), "Under extremely difficult conditions, Cuba not only has not been overwhelmed by the constantly enhanced blockade policy of the United States, but has also maintained its social stability, and thus has won increasingly extensive international sympathy. Most Latin American countries have improved relations with Cuba, and quite a number of Western countries are also dissatisfied with the U.S. policy toward Cuba, and have strengthened their exchanges with Cuba. The high standard of the French reception for Chairman Castro demonstrates outstandingly that the international environment for Cuba is continuing to turn for the better.

"Domestically, in order to overcome economic difficulties, Cuba has gradually practiced reform and opening.... It seems that this would be another reason for Cuba to be able to break the segregation. "At present, the main obstacle to the improvement of Cuba's relations with Western countries lies in the U.S. policy of hostility to and blockade of Cuba. Such a U.S. policy against Cuba, which was inherited from the Cold War, was criticized by the French President as 'stupid' and was criticized by the political and media circles in the United States itself.... Now it is time for the United States to adjust its policy toward Cuba and remove its blockade against Cuba."

SINGAPORE: "The Limits Of 'Dollar Diplomacy'"

Washington correspondent Leon Hadar commented in the pro-government Business Times (3/21), "Even the president's harshest critics have applauded him for at least one area of his diplomacy: placing the interest of U.S. business on top of his international agenda.... But to operate successfully, the direction of the 'dollar diplomacy' has to correspond with other political and military considerations--and, yes, with the value of the dollar....

"It should also be based on the principle of constructive commercial engagement that tries to co-opt into the global trading system economies like Iran, Iraq, Cuba, Myanmar, Vietnam and China--a process that serves U.S. economic interests as well as helps to create the conditions for economic reform in those countries, while strengthening the hands of those who want to improve ties with the outside world.

"By permitting political considerations to set obstacles on the road to putting its fiscal house in order and by trying to segregate the economies of so-called 'pariah nations,' Washington is bound to shoot its own geo-economic foot. It should instead put its money where its 'dollar diplomacy' mouth is."

AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA: "Castro's Promises"

Afrikaans-language, pro-Nationalist Party Die Burger (3/17) editorialized,

"The Cuban dictator, President Fidel Castro, for the first time in 36 years, is prepared to set aside his scepter and allow a fact finding mission to investigate reports of human rights violations against his people.... We'll have to see to what extent in reality will the Cuban dictator allow this. There is nothing that a dictator breaks so easily as a promise."

MIDDLE EAST

MOROCCO: "A One-Sided Love Affair?"

Opposition, leftist, Arabic-language Al-Ittihad Al-Ichiraki (3/18) complained, "Our American friends use only their tongues--but not their pockets--in their dealings with us. During his visit to the U.S. King Hassan declared that Morocco loses more than \$1 billion a year as a result of the Iraq and Libya embargoes.... For the last 30 years, Morocco has refused to trade with Cuba, just to satisfy our American friends."

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===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:30-MAR-1995 11:47:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

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id <01HOQV141H8G0031AU@PMDF.EOP.GOV>; Thu, 30 Mar 1995 11:45:14 -0400 (EDT)

Received: by gatekeeper.eop.gov (5.65/fma-120691); id AA10090; Thu,
30 Mar 95 11:45:16 -0500

Received: from NetWare MHS (SMF70) by usia.gov via XGATE 3.01.b16C MHS to SMTP
Gateway; Thu, 30 Mar 95 11:45:31 -0500

Organization: USIA

X-Mailer: XGATE 3.01.b16C MHS to SMTP Gateway

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

CREATOR: Margaret M. Suntum (SUNTUM_M) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME: 23-SEP-1995 15:27:22.41

SUBJECT: 1995-9-22 Air Force One remarks

TO: Marlene A. MacDonald (MACDONALD_M) (WHO)

READ: 25-SEP-1995 09:02:51.47

TO: Margaret M. Suntum (SUNTUM_M) (WHO)

READ: 23-SEP-1995 15:27:29.39

TEXT:

PRINTER FONT 10_POINT_COURIER

BOTTOM ODD

MORE

PRINTER FONT 12_POINT_COURIER

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 22, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT

ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

En Route From San Diego, California

To Washington, D.C.

THE PRESIDENT: (In progress) -- education speech, but when I saw the venue today I couldn't do it. There were kids, they were happy -- I just couldn't do it. But this school, I have been -- we got the DLC interested in this before I ever thought I'd be running for President in '92, the whole idea of charter schools, because one of the biggest problems with public education is there are too many people telling the teachers and the principals what to do -- levels of authority, but not enough genuine accountability, and not a sort of organized entrepreneurialism in the schools.

So these charter schools -- like this guy calls himself the CEO of the school instead of the principal. And they come up with a theme and they develop a culture and develop all the kind of community services, as well as all the parents -- they have an organized influence. It's a tough neighborhood. And those children that were talking to me were very articulate -- they showed me their work; very high

-quality work. And they really just hammer on these kids that they can all learn, doesn't matter what their background or their income is, they matter, they can learn.

They got rid of the -- there's no principal, no vice principal, no counselors, no nothing; everybody is organized in these small clusters that they call families -- Family A or Family B.

Q Oh, so that's what's the Family B --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Yes, Family B is -- that's the way they organize it. And they've got a certain number of teachers per students. So it's like -- they've got like a one to 20 ratio, because they don't have any sort of administrative

-service infrastructure. I think it's a little more -- it was 7 to 160, I think. And so every student has a teacher who is also a counselor, a friend, a mentor, as well as an educator. And they've reduced the dropout rate and their performance levels on the basic scores are basically at or above the California and the national averages, even though their social

-economic profile would tend to put them way below.

And it's very interesting to watch it. And I'm convinced it's because -- these charter schools, in effect, it's a way of having school choice that's as close as you can get to vouchers without going to vouchers and still keep the money you need in the public schools, because it's not like a magnet school where the people that go there may tend to be super -- the more intelligent kids only, or higher IQ kids, because -- and that case, although it's a school of choice, you can opt not to go there or opt to go there. Most of them are neighborhood kids that you saw. They were basic -- BOTTOM EVEN MORE (inaudible).

But the whole idea of the charter school is that you're part of the school district for funding purposes, but you're an independent operating unit. And Bertha Davenport (ph), the woman who

TOP EVEN

- \p -

BOTTOM EVEN

MORE

is a school superintendent, a very impressive woman. And she succeeded Tom Passon (ph), who was also very successful, and Dick Riley brought him to the Department of Education to try to promote this. So a lot of superintendents don't like charter schools because they lose control of the schools, but her idea is -- she said, I'm not running these schools, I just created a climate, set

expectations, make sure the trains run on time. So she's got nine of them.

And one of the things we did with the Goals 2000 program and with the rewrite of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act last year was to get the Congress to put out a little money just to fund school reforms, because if you switch from a regular schools to one of these charter schools you need some extra money that aren't in the school districts' budgets, the money is -- like to organize kind of planning sessions and figure out how you're going to redo the whole thing. So that's what I announced today. But it is an example of what we tried to do to invest more in education, but to deregulate it, without lowering the standards -- in fact, we're trying to deregulate it and raise the level of accountability.

So it's great. So these little independent operating --(inaudible) -- and they will basically have contracts with their school districts with performance standards. And they'll either meet or exceed them, or they won't. And if they won't, then their charter can be jerked.

It's very exciting. There's no such thing as a cure

-all, but you saw what happened. I mean, one of the things that I always was amazed by is that when schools had a monopoly on customers and a monopoly on money, and districts were sort of independent of one another, there were not incentives to copy what works. And I think one of the most -- the thing that I keep hammering home is -- almost every problem in our country's education system has been solved pretty well by somebody, somewhere. But there's no -- it's not centralized like the Japanese system, for example, where they can say this works in Kyoto, here's how it works, everybody will institute this in 60 days; show up 10 days from now and we'll have a training session about how to do it. We don't have that, but it's not entrepreneurally decentralized like a competitive environment.

For example, Sam Walton was the best entrepreneur I ever met. And way into his old age, until he got very sick, he was still getting on his one

-horse airplane and fly to some town where he was opening a new store. And he'd go check out his store; then he'd go down to K

-Mart and start wandering -- and he'd say hello, and he'd introduce -- he'd say, who are you? He wouldn't tell them he was Sam Walton. You'd say, I'm John Palmer, and he'd say, well, Mr. Palmer, how long have you been shopping at K

-Mart? If you don't mind my asking, what are you in to buy? How do these people treat you? If you have a defective product can you get your money back?

He did that, and he did it in the large stores and he did it in small stores. In other words, he thought, no matter how big he got he had to at least equal his competition. And if they were doing something for his customers, it was not only bad business, it was unethical for him not to do for his customers what his competition was doing. And in different, less explicit, less organized ways, that's the way a market works in the best sense.

But I found that when -- we had a little, old school that was a semi

-version of this, a great school in a little rural country in Arkansas. And we got them permission from the federal government to take all their Title I funds and some of this special ed funds in the first grade and get rid of all the separate classes and put them all together. And we went down to one to 15 in this poor school district. (inaudible.) There were three kids that had been held back. The next year they quadrupled their test scores.

TOP ODD

- \p -

BOTTOM ODD
MORE

There was an 80 percent increase in the scores of the Chapter I kids the year next over the previous year, and a 67 percent increase in overall scores in the first grade. They even had first

-graders working in teams, learning together, doing collective work, which, by the way, we know how that really works. And I actually was paying people from other school districts, their expenses, to come look at what these people did.

And we found that there were school districts that were reluctant to copy it because it would be like admitting failure. And others who didn't copy it because it was too much trouble, everybody -- (inaudible) -- or they thought it was some fad that -- (inaudible.)

But the lesson is that things can get better, schools can perform at world

-class standards, more kids in racially integrated -- (inaudible) -- economically isolated places can do well.

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: It's like trying to turn a battleship around or it's basically trying to hold 400 ping

-pong balls in your arms, because it's -- but the point is when you get when you get something that works, if you can get enough visibility to it, people can be looking at it and involved in it, and you basically -- you empower the parents and the students and all these other people who come in here.

There was a very impressive man from the state social services there who talked about how he brought in -- if all these kids had any problems, about all the services at the school. And he said, "all these pathologies are in our communities, but all the antibodies are, too" -- which I thought was a real -- great one

-liner.

So what I tried to do is to put the federal government in the business of adding funding where it's needed, holding up things that work, having high standards, but not adding to the problem of over

-regulation. Riley has reduced federal regulations in education by about 40 percent since he's been there. And this is a program that has, at the state level, an enormous amount of support -- (inaudible) -- as you might imagine.

So, parenthetically, it helps make the case for why we should cut the education funding in the balanced budget debate. But it also shows that there is a way to make schools work better, to have high expectations of kids, and to get some results. One of the things I find is that there's so much -- people tend to give up now. They tend to think, oh, the schools can't be made to work well, or the crime rate will never go down. But those things just aren't true.

So -- and this was an extraordinary school, which is why I really wanted to go there. I thought we could really juice it up.

Q Is it hard to explain to people how these sort of public

-private, or public

-local partners -- I mean, the technology initiative yesterday, the Goals 2000 -- I mean, they are a lot more complicated than most people understand.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q But in the face of everybody saying less government, it's hard to explain this sort of thing.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what I'm trying to -- like I said in my speeches this week, psychologically, they've got an easier

argument. If a majority of people are anxiety

-ridden and worried

about the country, they can say, we're moving into a new era, and the problem is the government, and the government is spending too much time on immigration, welfare, and affirmative action -- too much of your money. Therefore, just get rid of it; less is better.

It's a harder argument to say, we're moving into a time of change; we're all going to have to change; we need to be faithful to our values; what works is having the right vision, working together and working for the future. But if you can find some summary ways to say that, then the San Francisco announcement on the computers, or the San Diego announcement on the charter schools, they become like ornaments on a Christmas tree. But the programs have to be secondary to people's understanding of what's happening, and the vision and the values behind it, so that the programs become like ornaments on a Christmas tree.

That's why I keep saying this budget debate fundamentally is not about funding. It's about the choices we make about money.

Q Mr. President, what was it that got you thinking about this sort of 100

-year change that -- I mean, we're you just sort of reading since --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, for years I felt like most people, I've been aware for a long -- I began to talk about the wage stagnation and the relationship in the social disintegration and the wage stagnation at least eight or nine years ago, before I heard anybody else talking about it. I just studied -- because I study data all the time. When I was a governor and I was trying to -- restructure the economy, I just studied a lot of things that were -- looked like boring numbers, but could be made -- but had real

-life stories around them.

But when I ran for President I believed that if I had the right sort of economic policy, which was to grow jobs in the private sector and try to pursue strategies that will increase the number of high

-wage jobs, facilitate defense conversion, and raise skill levels in the work force, we could grow jobs, grow entrepreneurs and raise the incomes. I thought if we had a social policy that was -- that emphasized helping people to help themselves, helping people that need help, but imposing responsibility and accountability, that we could reform welfare and do all these other things. And I thought if we had a government that was strong, but smaller and more entrepreneurial, that was more oriented toward

results, and less oriented toward regulation, we could build broad support for it.

And we did all that. We had a huge amount of success in the first two years. And the Congress -- the Democrats actually moved a long way -- however you want to say it -- either to the center or into the future. But there was no perception of it on the part of the voters. Part of it the Republicans spent a lot more time and money on communication, as opposed to governance. But they hadn't been in the governing business for a long time, so they could do it. And part of it was that there was no way for people to feel it. They had these feelings about the way their lives were.

And after the election was over, I basically spent -- I spent a lot of time trying to understand what was driving the mind

-set of voters in terms of what was happening in their lives, and try to tie what's going on here to what's going on in the rest of the world. And I finally realized that the depth of the changes -- you know, it's one thing to say it's a post

-Cold

-War era, the global economy, the information age, and another thing to try to come to grips with the fact that the depth of the changes in the way we live and work and relate to each other and the rest of the world are, in my judgment, greater than at any time in 100 years.

So I started looking for historical parallels. And it started with people saying, you know, this is going to be like Truman, all that kind of stuff -- you know, what people say about '48. And I think the psychological dynamics are a lot like '48, where we had to come down off World War II, we had to make all these economic adjustments, there was no common -- (inaudible) -- to weld us together. If there was, it was -- (inaudible) -- into exhaustion. The psychological dynamics were -- (inaudible), but the underlying reality was different, because, basically, even in the Great Depression, we knew we had a great industrial country; we just had to figure out how to make it work again, how to get out of this depression.

But this is something different. The way we live and the way we work is really changing. And so I started going back into history, and I read -- and I started trying to read things that would -- triggered it. And finally, I realized, thinking about the beginning of the progressive era -- basically, from Teddy Roosevelt to Woodrow Wilson, that the same kinds of things were being done. We changed the way we live; we changed the way we work; we changed the idea of what the role of government was; we defined our relationships to each other in different ways. We never had to worry about child labor on the farm; nobody would have thought of -- a farmer couldn't let his kid work 12 hours a day, six days a week on the farm, except

when he was in school, you know. And we changed our relationship to the rest of the world.

I mean, when we got into World War I -- it started with Teddy Roosevelt, even a little before Roosevelt, with the antitrust laws which said we were not going for socialism in the industrial age, but we had to have competition to avoid the evils of a monopoly. Then we got into child labor. Then we got into the idea that we could destroy our natural heritage by abusing the environment -- Teddy Roosevelt wanted to preserve the environment. And then Woodrow Wilson did a lot of other progressive things. We enacted the progressive income tax, to pay for things that we had to do together in an industrial society, that we couldn't do apart.

And then, lo and behold, after this whole tradition of isolationism -- the biggest war we ever fought was the one we fought with each other -- we wound up having to come into World War I basically to ensure the victory of the good guys and what we believed in.

And if you go back -- and it took about 20 years. So if you look at the way things are today, you see the same sort of thing, with a lot of good things and a lot of bad things, and all these anomalies. The economy comes back, the wages stay flat. The crime rate goes down, our juvenile crime goes bad. Peace in our time, with all these isolated acts of madness. And it's the same sort of deal. And so we have to work our way through it.

And as President, one of my big jobs is -- and I neglected the first two years -- I think. The first two years I knew exactly what I wanted to do and I went about doing them. And I was obsessed with doing them. A lot of it required the Congress to go along. And I would have been better served, I think, and the country probably would have been better served if maybe we had done -- even if we had done just slightly less, if people had understood sort of the big picture more. And the President, in a way, has to impart that big picture.

And there were times when I did it, like in that Memphis speech, for example. But if you go back and look at Lincoln's speeches, for example, he was always explaining the time people were living in and putting the big issues in terms of choices that had to be made. So that he basically never let the people off the hook.

Q You mean like now we are engaged in the great Civil War, testing whether or not --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes. His second inaugural. One side could make war rather than stay in the Union, and the other side would accept war rather than see the Union rend apart. And the war came. It was all about choices.

And one of the -- the traditional rap on the Republican and Democrats' tradition is that the Democrats believe that

government could solve all the problems, the Republicans believe that government was useless, and they were both too extreme and the Americans were in the middle. But the real problem now is the Democrats have really moved a lot, and when we move this way the Republicans move this way.

But the real problem is, if we talk only in terms of programs and dollars, right, and they talk only in terms of the evils of government and how the President is doing too much for them -- (inaudible) -- both sides are letting the people off the hook. That's what -- you go back and read Lincoln. You know, the people were always -- he would never let the people off the hook. We were making choices.

And Teddy Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson. If you go back and read their speeches, there's a lot of that in there. And even when FDR was railing against the trust and all the enemies that he'd created, he still in the Fireside Chats was always reminding people that they had things to do.

So what I try to do -- even the speeches I gave in my fundraisers, which were not your traditional campaign speeches, is I'm trying to find ways to explain as best as I understand it what is happening to our people, and trying to get us to make choices that are consistent with the new realities and the basic values that I believe we all have to hold. And it's a very exciting thing.

And I'm also trying to tell the Democrats that they need to just relax and say what they believe, and not worry about this debate -- a lot of people are, you know -- there are members in the Republican House that say things like Medicare's the worst thing that happened to the '60s; Janet Reno ought to be indicted and all this stuff. It's driving some of our people crazy. But what I'm trying to tell them is -- and I'm trying to tell the Republicans the same thing -- this debate had to come because of the transition period. And in a period like this, new things become possible which are good, but then things become thinkable which caused people to shutter for the same reason -- because all the conventional wisdom breaks down, and then you have to create a new one.

Q Why do you say the progress that Truman faced is the one you're facing -- there were Republican Congresses both times, but that was a do

-nothing Congress; this is sort of a do

-too

-much

Congress in terms of activism. Do you draw -- think the analogy -- (inaudible) -- do you see that as a different --

THE PRESIDENT: But the difference is perception. The truth is the last Congress was not a do

-nothing -- you mean, Truman
had a do

-nothing Congress.

Q Yes. But the current Congress is an activist
Congress.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the House is an activist House.
The Senate wants to be activist, but they're trying to find a more
dynamic center that can be a bipartisan center. And the real
interesting is whether the chemistry between the House, the Senate
and the President can lead to a creative kind of tension that will
move us forward. That's the argument I keep making to the Speaker,
or the personal plea I made to Bob Dole on welfare reform, which,
frankly, to which he responded and we worked through a lot of that
stuff. A lot of those ideas that are in there, the giving states
a bonus for putting people to work, requiring people to sign personal
responsibility contracts -- all those things are ideas we've been
advocating for years. And I'm excited -- I don't agree with
everything in that Senate bill, but I'm excited about the direction
it took; that it really is a new ideas direction rooted in the idea
of both work and family, which I think is -- one of the central
realities for you and for every other American is we have to create a
country which you can succeed at work and at home. And if we get in
a position where even the poorest among us have to choose, we're in
deep trouble.

Q Has Dole you he thinks he can get most of that
bill?

THE PRESIDENT: No, he didn't say. But before he
brought the bill up, we had a visit when he came to the White House
one time, and I just told him that I would really go a long way to
try to meet him in agreement, and I thought that welfare reform had
become a symbol for the country and I didn't want it to become a
symbol of division because I didn't think we ought to kick poor
people around and beat them up. But I did think it was bad to have a
system of permanent dependency that was created for a different age.
As Moynihan never tires of telling us, it was created for the West
Virginia miner's widow, who had a fourth

-grade education and kids at
home and there wasn't anyplace in the work force for her anyway.

We live in a world now where work and family are merged
much more clearly, and which we cannot afford to have a whole class
of our people in a state of permanent dependency. It draws upon
their dignity, it's bad for their children. So welfare should be a
temporary help to people in need.

So, anyway, that's a hopeful sign anyway. But we can do
a lot of good for this country. We can balance the budget. We can

strengthen the economy. We can maintain our commitment to education and technology, which means people will be able to make more of their own lives and they'll have a stronger economy. We have to slow the rate of growth in Medicare and Medicaid -- I don't disagree with all the specific Medicare reforms that have been advanced. Some of them are common to what I recommended in '94, if you go back to my health care plan. What I'm worried -- what I think is wrong is to jerk an arbitrary amount of money out of a health care system without considering what the consequences are.

I was in Orange County after I left the -- you all were down there with me, but after I did the public deal I went in and did a roundtable with business executives in Orange Country and some education leaders. And most of them were Republicans. But I started a dialogue with them in '92; some of them supported me and some of them didn't, but I've kept up the dialogue because they are a lot of forward

-thinking people around there. And one man spoke up in this room; he said, you know, nobody has talked about the impact of the Medicaid program, all these cuts on the great teaching hospitals; that basically this is typical of the Democrats -- it's a problem they solved a few years ago in an indirect way and they never thought to explain to America that, basically, Medicare, because so many of the great teaching hospitals are located in and around cities with large numbers of poor people, and because those teaching hospitals need patients, Medicaid funds have actually supported medical education in America, and indirectly supported institutions of -- (inaudible) -- resource.

So he was telling me -- now, one of the things we estimate is that California will rebound from the defense downsizing by having a huge advance in medical and biological sciences over the next 20 years as we move into the age -- (inaudible.) And he said, if we just arbitrarily take all this money out of the Medicaid system without really thinking about what it's going to do to these great centers of learning and research, it's a bad deal. So that's an issue that nobody has even thought about in the actual debate.

But the point is we can work this out. We can -- we do have to slow the rate of (end of side one, begin side two) -- Is this going to become another Washington paralysis, like the it was before I showed up. They fought about the crime bill for six years, and fought about family aid for seven years and fought about all this other -- where each side can walk away and say, well, I tried, but the others were unreasonable? Or will we find a creative tension here which enables us to do -- make real progress on all these -- (inaudible) -- so that we're throwing the country into the future, but in a way that keeps us together and really preserves our obligations to our children, our parents, and our obligation to keep opportunity -- (inaudible.)

It's going to be a very interesting two months.

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it did that. And also it came about because I realized that either -- right before or right at the election there were a few sort of revisionist articles that came out in magazines saying, people think nothing has been done, but this Congress has given Bill Clinton 80 percent of his programs in two years, very ambitious program; it's only the third time since World War II this has happened, and why don't they link it? Maybe they don't feel it. The Democrats govern better than they talk. Health care was a \$300 billion fight by those who were -- so health care overshadowed everything else. There were all these reasons, but when you stripped it all away, I was doing all these things that 70 percent of the American people really agreed with when they heard about it, but it didn't connect in their lives and their minds. And a lot of them couldn't even receive it. A lot couldn't even receive it.

I'm going to tell you an interesting story. Mack McLarty -- two stories. Mack McLarty spoke at the Perot convention for us, and basically -- and I now think we took slightly the wrong tack there. But anyway, and there were some -- a lot of them were Republican political people, but there were some real Perot people there, too. And so Mack talks to this -- he's working the crowd after he talks. He basically said, we did 80 percent of what Ross Perot advocated in his book, and here's what he advocated and here's what we did, and here's what we still have to do.

So he talks his heart out, you know. And this woman comes up to him -- he's working the crowd, and this woman says, "You're a nice young man and you're a very attractive, nice young man. But I don't agree with anything you and your President stand for." So he says, what is it that you don't agree with? Do you disagree with the fact that we took the deficit from \$290 billion to \$160 billion? She said, did you really do that? He'd just spoken about that. He said, yes, we really did that, he talked about it. She said, well, I do agree with that.

He said, well, what do you do? She said, I'm a retired schoolteacher. He said, do you have children? She said, one, my son works for Dupont -- or some company. I think it was Dupont; I can't remember. And he said, you don't agree with NAFTA, do you? He said, you know, 30 percent of that company's profits last year came from trade with Mexico. She said, is that right?

It was interesting. But the point is she literally could not hear him when he was standing up there talking to her because her resistance is to her preconceptions about Democrats and me and government and Washington. She couldn't absorb it.

And a lot of you have heard me talk about my Cabinet member whose sister called her one day and said, I'm so excited because my tax bill went down \$600 or whatever it was. This woman

was a working mother with two kids and a modest income. She said, yes, I know, that was a big part of the President's program. And she said, no, it wasn't. She said, what do you mean -- I'm in the Cabinet, it was a big part of our program. She said, all you do is defend him. She said, he went around the table and made us all give up money to pay for that earned income tax credit so people like you get a tax break. She said, I watch the news every night; if anything that important had happened -- that's the most important thing that's happened in years -- I would know that if he had.

But, you see, it was buried amidst all the bigger conflicts of the economic plan, just like the Direct Student Loan Program was, which is why they can never -- (inaudible.) The point I want to make is what struck me is in a democracy it is not enough to do a lot of particular things that will make the general points you're trying to make. Things are changing so much that a lot of what is unsettling is not so much in reality as it also is in people's heads. And it's very important that -- I mean, the most important thing in a democracy is how -- is not who happens to be President at one given moment; it is how the people understand their time, their obligations, and their opportunities.

Which is why I don't like the argument going on between the two parties, even though in specifics I normally agree with -- I don't think we ought to frame it just in terms of we're for this much money and this program, and they say the government -- (inaudible.) What we really have to do is say, this is the change; this is what's happening in your life, and the money is incidental to the value choices you're making and the vision you have about the future. This is -- don't kid yourself, this is a decision we're all making; these are changes we're all going through. You can't just blame somebody or drive a wedge through the country and expect us to get results. Neither will all your problems be solved if we win this money battle over this program.

And I just began to see that and I realized that if you go back and read the really important things that presidents said in history, very often what they tried to do is to explain to the American people that -- (inaudible) -- and how the American idea can be preserved and enhanced in that moment by taking a different course rooted in the basic things that have always been at the guts of this -- (inaudible.)

Q -- modern presidency people do -- (inaudible) -- because they see this on the TV --

MR. MCCURRY: Time out. This is good food for thought, but these guys need real food, too.

Q Lincoln -- if he suggested the same kind of scrutiny that you are -- (inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think in the information age, too much exposure and too much information and too much sort of

quasi

-information -- I mean, you guys have to compete with near news, too. It's like when we were kids, we'd drink near beer? You've got all this information and a lot of competition among news sources, and then you're competing with the near news, and there is a danger that too much stuff cramming in on people's lives is just as bad for them as too little in terms of the ability to understand, to comprehend.

Which is why, again I say, I underestimated in my first two years the importance of continually not just -- even the town meetings, one of the problems is -- like yesterday in the Larry King thing -- I don't know if you listened to it -- I thought it was good, I loved doing it, but I found myself about three questions in, I said no, no, no, no, I'm doing too much of the details of the specific issue they're asking without trying to keep putting it in the larger context. Because we need to develop sort of a common understanding.

Now, people intuitively respond to that. When in Colin's book, he talks about the American family, or if I talk about common ground, or I say what it is that brings us together, or Ross Perot says we shouldn't have politics, or you know, or when the leaders in the Congress make some outreach that they resinate to intuitively, but there's no sort of -- well, what does that mean at this time, which is what I'm trying to do.

I had so many people on this trip, even at these fundraisers, come up to me and say that they were really glad they were there because they had been themselves trying to understand what was going on and make sense of it, to kind of incorporate it into their lives.

Q -- you have an autographed copy of General Powell's book tomorrow night when you see him?

THE PRESIDENT: I certainly hope so. (Laughter.)

Q Are you looking forward to that? It will be the first time you will share the platform with --

Q Is he going to be at the Congressional Black Caucus?

Q Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Maybe I'll get my book. (Laughter.)

Anyway, it's very -- I'm also trying to get people to get out of their funk about it.

Q Get out of their funk?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Yes, because the truth is that we have proved that we can make this economy perform under these

circumstances. But it used to be that a high

-performance economy, a lot of entrepreneurs, a lot of new millionaires was inexorably -- inevitably meant higher wages for everybody. It doesn't anymore. So we've got to go to the second problem. We've proved we can perform. We've proved we can make progress in social problems. I mean, it's -- just last night on the news it said teen pregnancies down in America for the second year in a row. And you heard me -- the divorce rate is down, food stamps, welfare, crime, murder. But the wrinkle on it is the teenager is still in trouble.

But we've proved -- you know, five years ago most Americans basically thought the crime rate was going to go up forever. And you now know -- so we can do these things if we have the right understanding and we understand that we just have been given the gift or the burden of living through this time, and we've just got to do our job.

I think it's really -- it's quite exciting. But I believe, to go back to what you said, John, my own belief is that human beings, particularly the American people, are capable of enduring a lot of difficulty and a lot of tumult and upheaval if they understand it. What makes people insecure is when they feel like they're lost in the funhouse. They're in a room where something can hit them from any direction any time. They always feel living life is like walking across a running river on slippery rocks and you can lose your footing at any time.

If people kind of -- if you understand what's happening to you, you can make the necessary not just changes, but necessary psychological adaptations. So you define security in a different way and you can rear back and go on then. So that -- I find it -- and I really feel that this is important for me to do.

Q -- in California what do you hear about President Reagan? I understand it was possible you might visit him, but he is in pretty bad shape. Have you heard any word on him lately?

THE PRESIDENT: I called Mrs. Reagan some -- a couple months ago, I guess. I haven't heard anything since then.

Q On what we were talking about, do you feel after this trip that you found the words that can explain the time to people, or are you still searching for it?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but I can't do it in 30 seconds.

Q But when you talk about getting people out of their funk, there was this period where you were so -- consistently reported -- a long time ago now, but to be in one yourself. Are you long since out of it and is this part of why?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, yes. Yes. But what bothered -- I

don't mind adversity. I have difficulty when I -- I don't think I can do my job as President if I don't understand what's happening. And I really spent a lot of time trying to understand what was going on, and I really think what I said is true. I think that I and all of us had underestimated the dimensions of the changes and the challenges facing us. And so now I feel quite good about it.

Q -- 30 seconds in this day and age?

THE PRESIDENT: I'll -- eventually, I'll get it in 30 seconds. I'll be able to do it in 30 seconds, in a minute, two minutes, five minutes, and 30 minutes. It's what you've got to do. You need to -- if you can go 30 minutes down, you know.

Q It's a long way to November in 1996 --

MR. MCCURRY: I get the last question. These guys -- you've had so much energy this week, they all want to know are you going to try to keep this same pace all the way through to November of 1996.

THE PRESIDENT: No. (Laughter.)

Q Can you tell us how to get by on four hours sleep a night? Are there things you learned in Oxford or --

THE PRESIDENT: I never slept -- I slept more than four hours every night we were gone. I never slept less than five hours. But except that night we were in Denver -- I slept six hours, but it was two and four.

Q Not continuous.

THE PRESIDENT: Two and four. So it was tough. When I have a difficult day like that, particularly if I can't exercise, I try to drink lots and lots and lots of water. I try to make an extra effort to concentrate on what other people are saying, to listen --

Q -- don't fall asleep.

Q Good advice to us.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, so you don't fall asleep -- not fall asleep, but just don't get blah, you know.

Q Mr. President, when you run at 7:00 a.m. it means that we have to run at 5:30 a.m. (Laughter.) Seriously. When you run at 7:00 a.m., I have to get up and run at 5:30 a.m. to catch the pool for you running.

THE PRESIDENT: Why couldn't you make a deal with the pool that you could be the designated runner, then you could run at 7:00 a.m.

Q Believe me, that would be the most popular innovation you could make.

Q -- hey, I'll take pool duty.

THE PRESIDENT: I would love to have the pool run with me, any day.

Q They should. I'm not sure Lew Merletti would love it, but I mean --

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, no, it would be fine.

Q Because that's what the public thinks. They think jogging with the President is running alongside of him. They don't think it's the 10th and 11th cars in a 12

-car motorcade, passing beside him around the corner.

THE PRESIDENT: The Secret Service would not care if anybody in the pool wanted to run with me.

MR. MCCURRY: That's not the -- the problem is, have you ever had Helen Thomas sit in your office at 7:00 a.m. in the morning? (Laughter.) That's what I do every morning. (Laughter.) Now it's like a running press conference.

THE PRESIDENT: No, I couldn't talk while I was running.

Q We couldn't either, believe you me.

THE PRESIDENT: I laid off for a couple of months. And one of the things I always have to do when I start running again, particularly the older I get and the harder it gets, is concentrate real hard on my breathing patterns. Because most people can run a lot more than they think; it's their breathing that gives out. They get into irregular breathing and they start gasping instead of pushing out. So I can't -- when I get in real good shape again I can talk when I'm running. But right now I can only concentrate on --

Q Why did you lay off? Had you had a sprain or a strain or just --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, this summer, the heat and allergies bothered me. So I just worked out. And then when I went to -- by the time I got on vacation I was as tired as I've ever been in my life I think. And I just didn't want to do it. I just wanted to lay around my family, or fool around on the golf course, or go climb mountains if you're going to do it. I just didn't want to do it.

TOP EVEN

- \p -

BOTTOM ALL

MR. MCCURRY: Let's let these guys have dinner.

Q Thank you, sir.

Q I was going to ask, can you come back again and say hello to --

THE PRESIDENT: Thanks, guys.
END

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: SCHWEITZ@UCIS.VILL.EDU@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:30-SEP-1995 17:54:00.00

SUBJECT: Re: immigration

TO: oc-alum (oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu@INET@EOPMRX)

READ:NOT READ

IND_TO: David B. Anderson (ANDERSON_D) (WHO)

READ:30-SEP-1995 19:08:21.48

TEXT:

Immigration is a problem that cannot be solved with a couple of paragraphs and a conclusion -- for starters, it is one of those little of this/little of that subjects. What I mean is that you really can't have completely open borders for a lot of reasons today -- but you cannot completely shut the borders down either, for no other reason than it would be a complete betrayal of the best this country has had to offer.

Interesting note: Economists who have studied the great wave of immigration 1880-1920, found that immigration contributed to economic growth -- they suggested that part of the reason was that immigrants generally tend to be young people, at the prime of their working life. The nation did not have to pay to raise them. And if they have an education, we didn't pay for that either. So you are getting population expansion, but with highly productive citizens.

That said, it is also true that the labor movement in America was held back dramatically by the fact that half of factory workers at this time were immigrants -- hence, it was easy to characterize them as the "other". While there were intellectuals in Europe who at least sympathized with the plight of factory workers, the male intellectuals in America preferred to spout nativist and racist views on preserving our moral and cultural purity. The closest we came to cooperation between intellectuals and a workers' movement was over in the women's movement, where some college-educated women joined forces with working class women and expressed ideologies similar to the Fabian socialism of Britain at the same time (some of them were corresponding with socialists in Britain, too). But many in the women's movement also used nativist prejudices against the "unwashed, swarthy hordes of immigrants" as an argument for getting the vote -- arguing that these women's husbands would never let them vote, and that white women could counter-balance the influence of immigrants.

Nativism has always been ugly in the United States, and often tied up with concepts of racism. The Irish were considered an

"alien race" in the America of the 1840s. (Not to mention Britain ...) And it has been used, as racism has been used, to shift the focus of the "working class" (in quotation marks because it's not quite a proletariat) in the U.S. away from the more probable causes of their problems.

In this particular case, I think some rather vicious strains of nativism in the U.S. reflect the rising underemployment and falling real wages of many Americans who nevertheless are infatuated with the myths of the past generations of politicians. Who think their interests lie with Donald Trump.

It hasn't helped much that nativism and racism have combined in some very dreadful ways.

I also think that upper-class nativism is a reflection of our failure to deal with the very real problems of our public education systems today. Better to complain about the immigrant who goes into the graduate program instead of to ask why he/she is better trained in math. Or ask why we shouldn't help pay for a good student to go through college -- if you leave it to the market, don't be surprised to find the market is international.

Latin American migration in California and the American Southwest is a different type of issue. Keep in mind that this area was part of a larger culture for centuries, and part of a different nation (Mexico) for longer than it ever was part of the United States. To some extent, migration across our southern border is as natural as it would be from East to West Germany, had it not been for the Berlin Wall when they were two distinct countries.

All this is to give some context. I really have no answers. I know that the educated migrants to Miami from Cuba helped transform that city into an international port rather than a sleepy little resort town. I also know that it doesn't help at all to get lots of young men who aren't going to find a job here. They just get angry and frustrated.

The stereotype of the Asian immigrant is the achievement-oriented professional -- but there are also Asian immigrants who have come without skills, and don't look likely to acquire any soon. If the ghettos of America have worsened in the past 30 years for African-Americans, they are not any better for the recent Vietnamese or Taiwanese immigrant with few resources. In many American cities, these are the fastest growing group in poverty. Again, we think of the stereotype of the Korean grocer. But it is a stereotype.

I don't quite know what to make of all of this myself. You can't deny there are sections of the country where immigration is sorely taxing already overstressed social services and infrastructure. And I do not see how a family can live -- immigrant or not -- on the wages for an unskilled worker in this country.

Certainly it is a national problem, and should not be shucked off to California and Texas to resolve (or pay for).

Nevertheless. The current cures seem to me far worse than whatever disease might be imagined. It seems to me that immigrants are being attacked as a class of people, rather than dealing with the problems highlighted by immigration as a social factor. What we lose by denying civil and human rights to immigrants will be far greater than anything we gain. I am deeply troubled by efforts to "catch" illegal immigrants through their children. And enforcement mechanisms that lend themselves to active discrimination against citizens who are of foreign ancestry, perhaps first generation, but U.S. citizens nevertheless.

The answer lies somewhere in between "open borders" and nativist isolationism. (Besides, the policing efforts necessary to completely seal borders would not only be awfully expensive, they would also be dehumanizing for all concerned -- wouldn't it be better to spend the money on things like education and not worry so much about whether someone is sneaking in? Criminals always can find a way around strict regulations; it is the innocent who get hurt. See -- it seems to me to be very difficult, to repeat, to find a cure that won't be worse than the disease.)

I do think we should go to more trouble to educate new citizens in English and civics -- gee, while we're at it maybe we could do the same with high school students. I would rather spend my tax dollars that way, I think, than building our own Iron Curtain.

As for the children of naturalized citizens -- I didn't know about that one; that's pretty cold if it is true. How can the child of a naturalized citizen not be a U.S. citizen? That's simple -- if the child was born in the Old Country! How many of you out there have grandparents who were born abroad and migrated to the U.S. with their parents when they were very young? The family restriction also sounds to me like pandering to the "easy solution" and I think it has nativist undertones -- fear of those foreign large families; let one in, you have to let two dozen in.

I see it all as part of the same trend -- the general meanness, pointing fingers at someone else as the cause of the problem. If someone can figure out how to write new immigration laws that do not discriminate against the foreign-born as a group (or worse yet, against first and second generation citizens) I'm interested. Or won't turn us into a police state in an effort to weed out the undeserving illegal immigrant. Open to these suggestions. But the way the debate is currently couched -- and the parameters of both the California initiative and the new bill in Congress -- does not bode well for the future of the country.

Longwindedly yours -- Mary (McKinney) Schweitzer (x72)

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

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:30-SEP-1995 17:52:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879)

id <01HVVW9J85XQ8007YI5@PMDf.EOP.GOV>; Sat, 30 Sep 1995 17:54:15 -0400 (EDT)

Received: by gatekeeper.eop.gov (5.65/fma-120691); id AA20091; Sat,
30 Sep 1995 17:50:47 -0400

Received: (from mailserv@localhost)

by ocean.rutgers.edu (8.6.12+bestmx+oldruq+newsunq+grosshack/8.6.12)

id RAA26450; Sat, 30 Sep 1995 17:48:26 -0400

Resent-date: Sat, 30 Sep 1995 17:48:26 -0400

Resent-from: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

Resent-sender: oc-alum-request@ocean.rutgers.edu

Resent-message-id: <yS-ep3.0.DT6.eiRRm@ocean.rutgers.edu>

Precedence: list

X-Mailing-List: <oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu> archive/latest/8781

X-Loop: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: Kirsten@cedpa.org@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:20-OCT-1995 10:26:00.00

SUBJECT: Re: re PC & ACLU (by another card carrying member) - long

TO: oc-alum (oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu@INET@EOPMRX)
READ:NOT READ

IND_TO: Angela Davis (DAVIS_AC) (WHO)
READ:20-OCT-1995 12:52:59.14

TEXT:

>Nonetheless, what do you suppose those two high school kids
>think a leftist is?

>
>
> - Steve "Mostly Grey
> Beard With a Few
> Remaining Brown Hairs"
> Loeb

I suspect that they think it's something like the woman screaming on the sidewalk...

I have been in a real quandry for sometime - basically since feminist theory - about the "Left". I don't like ascribing myself to a boxed in set of values - I'm a registered Dem, because it allows me to participate in the primaries, but my views tend toward socialism. I'm not a strong believer in sure sexuality (I don't think love is necessarily tied to gender). I don't know, maybe it's a Libra thing. But the point is, I'm feeling politically lost. In college it seemed to be enough to scream and shout and write letters. But living in DC, I have no viable political representation. I find the left-wing screamers to be short sighted, and the Dems to be sell outs.

What's an intelligent leftist to do?

Kirsten Sherk
kirsten@cedpa.org
OC '93

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

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:20-OCT-1995 10:25:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01HWNRP18S68000AE6@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for davis_ac@a1.eop.gov; Fri,

20 Oct 1995 10:26:06 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from ocean.rutgers.edu by gatekeeper.eop.gov;

(5.65v3.2/1.1.8.2/17Oct95-0424PM) id AA11148; Fri, 20 Oct 1995 10:29:07 -0400

Received: (from mailserv@localhost)

by ocean.rutgers.edu (8.6.12+bestmx+oldruq+newsunq+grosshack/8.6.12)

id KAA05771; Fri, 20 Oct 1995 10:20:50 -0400

Resent-date: Fri, 20 Oct 1995 10:20:50 -0400

Resent-from: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

Resent-sender: oc-alum-request@ocean.rutgers.edu

X-Sender: kirsten@cedpa5.cedpa.org

Resent-message-id: <cqazQ3.0.6Q1.01xXm@ocean.rutgers.edu>

X-Mailer: <PC Eudora Version 1.4>

Precedence: list

X-Mailing-List: <oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu> archive/latest/9201

X-Loop: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: epm2@lehigh.edu@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:21-OCT-1995 12:52:00.00

SUBJECT: Re: "leftists" intelligent & otherwise

TO: oc-alum (oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu@INET@EOPMRX)
READ:NOT READ

IND_TO: Angela Davis (DAVIS_AC) (WHO)
READ:23-OCT-1995 09:12:09.47

TEXT:

A few thoughts on Kirsten & Brian's posts on being a "leftist..." (long)

I am very sympathetic to Kirsten's "profile" (>I'm a registered Dem, because it
>allows me to participate in the primaries, but my views tend toward socialism.
>I'm not a strong believer in sure sexuality [?])...

But are these the only two options:

>I find the left-wing screamers to be short sighted, and the Dems to be sell
>outs.

or what do you mean by left-wing screamers? Surely not people who see many
of the most virulent flaws in our culture as products (at least in good part)
of capitalism. That's not screaming, it's not Marxist dogma, it is (I would
say) being intelligent and carefully analytical about what's going on in the
world. THIS requires that one get OUTSIDE the mainstream information system
(or as Chomsky would say, the propaganda system) that encompasses the New
York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, and most of what's in the
regional papers. (Forget TV).

>What's an intelligent leftist to do?

Well one thing is find the information/support-system/exchange-of-ideas
communities that are out there... Reading: The Nation, The Progressive, Z
Magazine, In These Times, Socialist Review, Monthly Review; internet
discussion lists; Z Magazine's LBBS left-list, etc.

It ISN'T easy, and I would think that being in Washington would make it even
harder, since your environment is miles from being in touch with the myriad
of movements, activities, local struggles, disenchantments that bring people
to a non-Beltway view of the world.

Brian adds,

>more importantly: whats an intelligent leftist who isn't a cynic and
>who hasn't lost all faith in the American political system and/or in
>the intelligence of the American polulation to do?

I'd say the key here is what do "cynic," "faith in the American political
system" and "intelligence of the American population" mean? IS it cynical to
see ways in which people's everyday decisions add up to a political system in
which fundamental change is virtually excluded except for those times when the

American populace is sufficiently aroused and focused to DEMAND things? Is it having no faith in the intelligence of the American population to argue that the mass of people are daily inundated with "information" (illusion, pseudo-information, entertainment, manipulation, propaganda, etc.) that makes it virtually impossible to break through (via these media) with information that gives them something to ACT on, yet to argue that the American people, at some gut level of alienation, are miles ahead of the politicians and corporate elite in understanding what's going on?

Jonathan chimes in with..

>The only answer I have (so far) found is to shun all labels and categories,
>and to resolutely follow my own instincts and beliefs on specific issues, not
>any sort of a platform or program. We each can and should create our own
>party or ideology.

There's a contradiction here in that "creating a party or ideology" means having identifiable "labels" that others can understand. I don't think the problem lies so much with the labels as with the misuse of them by the media and political opinion-makers.

My nutshell version is:

Ordinary US discourse: (largely invisible) | "liberal" "conservative"

Real Spectrum: Left ---- Center ---- Right

[Thus the New York Times is sometimes "liberal," sometimes
"conservative" but essentially Centrist.]

Conservative REALLY means embracing some established system of authoritative value (often: tradition, religion, morality, local community,...). Liberal means embracing the value of freedom --meaning the freedom from outside interference (by Govt. oppressors, etc.)

"liberals" are Liberal in advocating freedom of thought while clashing with "conservatives" who embrace the Conservative value of "morality" of some kind (prayer in schools, etc.) "liberals" are Conservative in embracing the value of basic standards for all people against "conservatives" who embrace the Liberal value of no government intervention in the economy....

Both embrace the market & capitalism and individual freedom (the basic Liberal language of the American system).

The LEFT, on the other hand, does not embrace capitalism and the kind of atomistic individual freedom Liberalism means, but argues that the values of freedom and community are subverted and undermined by a capitalist economy. There are many directions leftists go with this, some of which arguably violate the values of freedom and community as much or more than "liberals" and "conservatives" would, but this isn't necessarily the case in the critique of capitalism. Leftists also come from the "identity politics" perspectives (anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-heterosexist, etc.) because these strains (racism, etc.) operate along with the market to violate & suppress freedom, individuality, community, etc... Thus there are tensions within left over which is the greatest source of oppression & domination (my own take is that they all are significant and that the identity oppressions

are reinforced by capitalism, which pits us all against each other, etc..)
Now, you can also throw in ecology, which also fits into the left, but maybe
that's enough for now (!!).

My two bits...

Ted Morgan '68

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

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:21-OCT-1995 12:50:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01HWPB3UCVOW000BA2@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for davis_ac@a1.eop.gov; Sat,
21 Oct 1995 12:52:05 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from ocean.rutgers.edu by gatekeeper.eop.gov;
(5.65v3.2/1.1.8.2/17Oct95-0424PM) id AA31919; Sat, 21 Oct 1995 12:55:10 -0400

Received: (from mailserv@localhost)
by ocean.rutgers.edu (8.6.12+bestmx+oldruq+newsunq+grosshack/8.6.12)
id MAA10443; Sat, 21 Oct 1995 12:44:19 -0400

Resent-date: Sat, 21 Oct 1995 12:44:19 -0400

Resent-from: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

Resent-sender: oc-alum-request@ocean.rutgers.edu

Resent-message-id: <Ee20X2.0.6Z2.XDIYm@ocean.rutgers.edu>

X-Mailer: SENDM [Version 2.0.15]

Precedence: list

X-Mailing-List: <oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu> archive/latest/9210

X-Loop: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: Kirsten@cedpa.org@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-OCT-1995 17:06:00.00

SUBJECT: Re: "leftists" intelligent & otherwise

TO: EDWARD P. MORGAN (epm2@lehigh.edu@INET@EOPMRX)
READ:NOT READ

IND_TO: Angela Davis (DAVIS_AC) (WHO)
READ:23-OCT-1995 17:09:35.25

CC: oc-alum (oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu@INET@EOPMRX)
READ:NOT READ

TEXT:

Golly you've given me a lot to respond to, Tedd! But let me try:

- > Ted Morgan '68
- > or what do you mean by left-wing screamers? Surely not people who see many
- > of the most virulent flaws in our culture as products (at least in good part)
- > of capitalism. That's not screaming, it's not Marxist dogma,

By "left-wing screamers" I mean those who follow a particular dogma like Marxism without stopping to think about its meaning. How many people did you know in college who claimed to be Marxists but were enjoying the fruits of capitalism as soon as they got a decent salary. "Socialism only means the workers aren't paid properly." There are right wing screamers, too, but my personal experience is usually with the left wing variety. A concrete example could be ACT-UP, a group with whom I was involved at Oberlin. As a volunteer at an AIDS services organization in Washington, this was a good outlet for my anger and need for action. But I found that many people involved just had the need for anger and activism without actually DOING anything productive for the cause.

>>What's an intelligent leftist to do?

>

- >Well one thing is find the information/support-system/exchange-of-ideas
- >communities that are out there... Reading: The Nation, The Progressive, Z
- >Magazine, In These Times, Socialist Review, Monthly Review; internet
- >discussion lists; Z Magazine's LBBS left-list, etc.

As for the literature, it's true that I do take comfort from the mere presence of Ms. Magazine on the newsracks. But I tend to have little patience for intellectual discussion without any basis in real life.

- >It ISN'T easy, and I would think that being in Washington would make it even
- >harder, since your environment is miles from being in touch with the myriad
- >of movements, activities, local struggles, disenchantments that bring people
- >to a non-Beltway view of the world.

Au contraire, citoyen: remember that people like me _live_ in DC, too.
Information rules here, particularly that coming from the press, and since almost everyone sends their voice this way, we get a lot. You're right that we don't see the grassroots struggles outside the Beltway, but at the same time, the grassroots activists in Chicago don't see the struggles in Orlando, or even in DC.

Kirsten Sherk
kirsten@cedpa.org
OC '93

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:23-OCT-1995 17:05:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01HWSCKNHZMO000S3I@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for davis_ac@a1.eop.gov; Mon,
23 Oct 1995 17:06:15 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from ocean.rutgers.edu by gatekeeper.eop.gov;
(5.65v3.2/1.1.8.2/17Oct95-0424PM) id AA04932; Mon, 23 Oct 1995 17:09:26 -0400

Received: (from mailserv@localhost)
by ocean.rutgers.edu (8.6.12+bestmx+oldruq+newsunq+grosshack/8.6.12)
id QAA18811; Mon, 23 Oct 1995 16:57:18 -0400

Resent-date: Mon, 23 Oct 1995 16:57:18 -0400

Resent-from: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

Resent-sender: oc-alum-request@ocean.rutgers.edu

X-Sender: kirsten@cedpa5.cedpa.org

Resent-message-id: <gp92K2.0.pb4.h60Zm@ocean.rutgers.edu>

X-Mailer: <PC Eudora Version 1.4>

Precedence: list

X-Mailing-List: <oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu> archive/latest/9238

X-Loop: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: BCS41@aol.com@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-NOV-1995 17:56:00.00

SUBJECT: Articles - 11/6/96 (3)

TO: Yandura_P (Yandura_P@A1@CD) (WHO)

READ: 7-NOV-1995 08:49:22.15

TEXT:

CONTENTS:

1. REUTER: French gay group mourns Rabin
2. AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATED PRESS: Gay men heterosexual, too?
3. REUTER/VARIETY: "Celluloid Closet" will be eligible for Academy Award despite being on television before theatrical release
4. ENTERTAINMENT WEEKLY: Avoid this video rental at all costs

REUTER

November 6, 1995

FRENCH GAY GROUP MOURNS RABIN

PARIS - A French gay rights group paid tribute to slain Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on Monday, saying he had once authorised the reunion of an Israeli man and a Palestinian man separated by the border.

The group Homosexualities and Socialism called it ``a simple and grand gesture...showing his respect for life and love, this force that brings beings together without any nationalities, borders, religions or conflicts."

In a letter to acting Prime Minister Shimon Peres the group asked him to convey its condolences to Rabin's family. It gave no details about the reunited male couple.

AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATED PRESS

November 7, 1995

SYDNEY, Nov 7 AAP - A new study of sexual identity had overturned the stereotype that gay men only had sex with men and did not have sex with women, researchers said yesterday.

The Macquarie University's Sydney Men and Sexual Health (SMASH) report to be released today showed that men in the gay community, both men who described themselves as gay and those who said they were bisexual, had sex with women.

Study coordinator Garrett Prestage said in a statement the study showed sexuality was just as complex among gays as it was among heterosexuals, and warned against stereotyping gays.

"Previous studies challenged presumptions about heterosexuality, namely that sexual activity does not occur between straight men," he said.

"We have found that presumptions about homosexuality are equally inappropriate. Gay men do have sex with women."

Macquarie University-based National Centre in HIV Social Research director Sue Kippax said the findings were a reminder that HIV-AIDS education targeted at the gay community must address issues of bisexuality.

The report found the gay community men who had sex with women had fewer male partners than overall than exclusively homosexual men, but were equally likely to practice safe sex with partners.

Full details of the report were to be released today.

REUTER/VARIETY

November 6, 1995

By John Dempsey

NEW YORK (Variety) - "The Celluloid Closet," the documentary about Hollywood's treatment of homosexuality, will be eligible for the best-documentary Academy Award, despite being screened on HBO before its official theatrical release.

"Its showing at the New York Film Festival last month qualifies 'The Celluloid Closet' for the 1995 Oscars," said Michael Barker, co-president of distributor Sony Pictures Classics. The HBO one-time-only screening occurs Jan. 30 at 10 p.m.; Sony will release the picture at the end of March.

Barker said, "We regard the HBO showing as a great way to expand the awareness of the movie and create word of mouth."

Rob Epstein, co-producer of "Celluloid Closet," said HBO, which gets a prominent production credit, came across with about half of the movie's \$1.5-million production cost.

"We did want to get something back for our investment," said Shiela Nevins, senior VP of documentary programming for HBO. But Nevins said her main strategy is to get "Celluloid Closet" for HBO's sister network Cinemax, which has begun scheduling off-beat documentaries on a regular basis, for a pay-TV window in 1998.

By that time, the movie will have run not only in theaters but in homevideo and on pay per view. One source stated that Sony Classics paid \$400,000 for domestic theatrical, video and pay per view.

The problem with the HBO cablecast is that anybody with a VCR can copy the movie off the tube. But Epstein said he's not worried because "I regard 'Celluloid Closet' as a theatrical movie -- people will want to see it in the theater."

The HBO showing before its theatrical run is not unprecedented. A 1989 Epstein docu, "Common Threads: Stories from the Quilt," premiered on HBO and received such acclaim that it ended up in the theaters a few months later. Similarly, the 1991 "Hearts of Darkness: A Filmmakers's Apocalypse," the docu about the making of Francis Ford Coppola's "Apocalypse Now," made its debut on Showtime and later got a theatrical release from Triton Pictures.

ENTERTAINMENT WEEKLY

No. 300, November 10, 1995 issue

VIDEO - RECENT MOVIES

FALL TIME (Mickey Rourke, Stephen Baldwin, 1995, R, priced for rental):

Think that the idea of Rourke and Baldwin playing a pair of gay psychos SOUNDS bad? You should only experience the reality. The couple's bank heist goes horribly wrong when it's interrupted by three teens playing a particularly idiotic practical joke; the rest of this straight-to-tape film is pointless sadism and tiresome pseudoexistential philosophizing, mostly from Rourke, who plays the brains of the duo. (No, that's not a misprint.)

Unless you're really interested in hearing Rourke call Baldwin "honey," avoid this at all costs. Rating: F

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

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 6-NOV-1995 17:58:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.0-4 #6879)

id <01HXBYEFWJ5S0046R2@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for Yandura_P@a1.eop.gov; Mon,
06 Nov 1995 17:56:13 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from emout05.mail.aol.com by gatekeeper.eop.gov;

(5.65v3.2/1.1.8.2/17Oct95-0424PM) id AA10203; Mon, 06 Nov 1995 18:02:54 -0500

Received: by emout05.mail.aol.com (8.6.12/8.6.12) id RAA26631; Mon,
06 Nov 1995 17:55:34 -0500

Apparently-to: Yandura_P@a1.eop.gov

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: ewitte@mail.state.mo.us@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:18-DEC-1995 12:49:00.00

SUBJECT: Re: capitalism & win-win economics

TO: oc-alum (oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu@INET@EOPMRX)
READ:NOT READ

IND_TO: Angela Davis (DAVIS_AC) (WHO)
READ:18-DEC-1995 18:24:39.99

TEXT:

>Okay. FIRST, to Eric Witte: Yes, in an ideal Coasian world, you
>would search for mechanisms (institutions) that assign property
>rights to current indefinables. However, this is not an ideal
>world.

>....
>Okay. Well, Coasian solutions are not always achievable because
>the institutional mechanisms are too expensive to implement (they
>would defeat whatever cost-savings you arrived at through
>greater efficiency), OR they are politically unfeasible.

Yup. So, given that perfect ("Cosian") solutions are not possible, that suggests that an imperfect solution will get implemented. This still leaves the question: In designing the imperfect solution, should we seek to emulate the perfect one as closely as possible, or should we seek an alternative paradym? I know of no theory in the abstract to answer that question.

>In the mean time, in the real world, we still have to deal with
>what I believe they still teach in econ departments as public
>goods and externalities, no?

>
>And many of us find it far more useful to model a world full of
>lumps, lags, and frictions; information asymmetries; transactions
>costs; heterogeneous tastes, heterogeneous labor forces, bundles
>of attributes sold in the market as pckages, precluding a single
>optimal solution being achieved (because of the lack of
>monotonicity); and what is charmingly called "path-dependency"
>which really translates into "history matters". Hmm, did we
>mention differeing institutional arrangements and their impact?

>
>Where was I?

I think that you were oberving that classical/Cosian/traditional economics isn't perfect. However, the questions were: Is capitalism inconsistent with a win/win paradym? and How do you solve the Tragedy of the Commons (which I interpreted literally, not allegorically)? I answered the questions with No and Privitize. Do you disagree?

>If you ask me, the whole problem starts when you assume capitalism
 >matters. Does it?
 >
 >If you think it does, then you are going to get all hung up on
 >"protecting" capitalist institutions -- OR "resisting" and
 >"dismantling" them.
 >
 >I think that is a fruitless game these days. More useful to
 >think about varieties of institutions and institutional arrangements
 >and cultures and goals and assumptions, even utility functions and
 >constraints, interdependent and varying solutions.
 >
 >That is, think about what your own goals are in life.

I interpret these remarks to mean that you gauge the "goodness" of an economic system by the extent to which it promotes your values, and that labels such as "capitalist" or "socialist" tend to obscure rather than aid this assessment. I'll agree with this--hence my remarks comparing powerless under capitalism with powerlessness under socialism.

>Said this before, BUT -- what kind of a society lets children
 >suffer so? Wastes their minds so? For what?

OK, now we're getting somewhere. You value reducing childhood suffering and mind-wasting. The US has the 23rd lowest child mortality rate in the world (something like that). What could be done to improve this? We could subsidize medical care. We could reduce malpractice liability. We could increase liability. We could lower the barriers to entry into the medical profession, or increase the incentives to enter. We could increase the barriers or reduce the incentives. We could put messages in the media. We could remove messages from the media. We could do any number of things. We might prefer an economic system that facilitates the measures we prefer. I prefer a system that facilitates initiative.

>Eric Witte makes some interesting observations. Regarding the commons,
 >I can see a problem where some people may be willing to exploit the commons
 >to their own benefit without contributing to its maintenance. Human nature,
 >as you say. However, "privatizing" the commons may cause more enlightened
 >management, but still be ecologically unsound. The private owner of a piece
 >of the commons may apply herbicides to control weeds, fertilizers to
 >foster rapid growth, and may leave with his profits when the ex-commons
 >is too worn out or too polluted to be worth further effort on his part.
 >Better to use his profits to buy someone else's land.

What's wrong with the landowner using up his land and moving on?

Perhaps the problem is that all those chemicals would pollute the neighboring land. This is one of those externality problems Mary noted above. Coase would argue for private ownership of the neighboring land. That would give the neighbors not only the right, but the incentive, to sue the polluter--which would give the polluter an incentive not to pollute. Mary might argue that the legal system is too expensive to make this a practical remedy, and that we need to regulate the use of chemicals. Others

might argue for nationalizing land, and governing land use centrally. There are various possible solutions.

Perhaps the problem is that we all rely on having green growing things to protect the air and water. Here, we have reverse pollution--somebody dumping desirable stuff on the rest of us (clean air and water), potentially to his own detriment (that is, if his could have earned more by using up his land, but decided to keep it green instead). Coase would argue that we should give people private property rights in air and water. Mary might argue that we need to offer incentives to land owners to keep land green, financed by a tax on those who benefit (i.e. living people). Others might argue for nationalizing land, and governing land use centrally. There are various possible (and some impossible) solutions.

>I hope you enjoyed your soda at McDonald's.

Thanks, it was quite refreshing.

>As consumer and vendor, you

>have a certain equality in your relationship.....

>

>However... equality does not exist in the workplace. Corporations have

>staying power that individuals do not. A corporation can afford to lose a

>worker (or even a customer) a lot better than a worker can afford to lose a

>job. In a marketplace where jobs are not abundant, or where the available

>jobs are less desirable than the one you have, or where skills are required

>that you didn't need before, etc., etc., etc., you are dealing with a very

>different situation.

How is this different than being an employer where employees are scarce, or where available employees are less desirable than the employees you've already got? (Actually, in an efficient job market, you would expect the available jobs to be less desirable than the one you have; otherwise, you'd keep changing jobs until this was true. Similarly, you'd expect an employer to face a situation where available employees are less desirable than present employees; otherwise, the employer would fire existing employees and hire the more desirable ones until this was true.)

Here is the one place where generalizations about socialism and capitalism may have value. If, as you say, the cards are stacked in favor of employers, under a capitalist system, **YOU CAN BECOME AN EMPLOYER**. The fact that you have not done so suggests that you prefer the hardships of being an employee to the hardships of becoming an employer.

Current unemployment in the US is quite low (by historical standards). So is median real income. This is exactly what I would expect--when the cost of labor is down, consumption of labor (i.e. employment) goes up. So here's the question: is it better to have low wage levels and low unemployment, or high wage levels (for those who get jobs) but high unemployment? Consider this question before writing your congressman about your views on minimum wage.

(OK, let's beat Mary to the punch. I've heard the argument that, if we're gonna have welfare programs, the minimum wage is in fact a more efficient form of welfare than other government programs. I haven't seen any numbers

on this, though.)

In conclusion, I'd just like to say that if people are going to die, they had better get on with it and decrease the surplus population. And happy holidays.

Ebanezer Witte, '87

Eric "Redbeard" Witte
ewitte@services.state.mo.us

Staff, Missouri Public Service Commission
(314)751-4140

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:18-DEC-1995 12:50:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01HYYBWN7P2O00787W@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for davis_ac@a1.eop.gov; Mon,
18 Dec 1995 12:49:28 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from ocean.rutgers.edu by gatekeeper.eop.gov;
(5.65v3.2/1.1.8.2/17Oct95-0424PM) id AA20700; Mon, 18 Dec 1995 12:58:02 -0500

Received: (from mailserv@localhost)
by ocean.rutgers.edu (8.6.12+bestmx+oldruq+newsunq/8.6.12) id MAA05536; Mon,
18 Dec 1995 12:43:11 -0500

Resent-date: Mon, 18 Dec 1995 12:43:11 -0500

Resent-from: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

Resent-sender: oc-alum-request@ocean.rutgers.edu

X-Sender: ewitte@services.state.mo.us

Resent-message-id: <OfTnN.0.OM1.hWQrm@ocean.rutgers.edu>

X-Mailer: Windows Eudora Version 1.4.4

Precedence: list

X-Mailing-List: <oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu> archive/latest/10352

X-Loop: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: root@WhiteHouse.eop.gov@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:18-DEC-1995 00:29:00.00

SUBJECT: NEW words found

TO: horn (horn@WhiteHouse.eop.gov@INET@EOPMRX)
READ:NOT READ

IND_TO: Stephen K. Horn (HORN_S) (WHO)
READ:18-DEC-1995 11:24:56.04

TEXT:

president-left to their arguments. There is no question as to that this will happen
president-it is only a matter of time. And once we are committed, and positioned in
president:Bosnia, like post Kennedy administration Vietnam, America will become more
president- and more embroiled in Bosnia. If you think that you can just bring troops
president-in there and take them out in a year, your either nieve or very misled.

--

president-Mr. President,

president-

president: I applaud your efforts to stand up for federal social programs that have been an important part of our national fabric for the last fifty years. However I would encourage you to push means-testing in programs like Medicare and Social Security. Such programs can represent a transfer of wealth from working Americans, including those of relatively modest means, to some of our wealthiest citizens. My own grandmother died leaving an estate of over two million dollars, and continued to collect Social Security payments to the end of her 96 years. She always felt entitled to the money, feeling that she and her husband had paid for it. You can only imagine how many times over she collected any money that had been withheld. There is virtually no talking to such people about such benefits, so I am talking to you instead. This is money that could and should be going to educational programs or expanded welfare for the truly needy such as job training and child care.

president- Also, as much as it may be tilting at windmills given the current Congress, please don't give up on raising the minimum wage. The Republicans are standing on an illusory mandate, don't give up the faith.

president-

--

president-Content-transfer-encoding: 7BIT

president-

president: You slimy democrat! I'm going to fuckin' kill you! LL [D [D

president:I line I live in D.C and i'm gonna shoot you in your head, American

president-sshole!. Prepare for death!!

president-

--

president-

president-For someone that supports child murder- (including partial birth murder), a

president:draft dodger that now "supports our troops", Murdered your "good fried"

president-Vince Foster, has our government so far in debt that it has to shut down--

president-and STILL plans on sending troops to Bosnia at the cost of several BILLION

--

president-

president-Bill,

president: We share a few things in common: age, I was a exchange student to Little Rock Central in 1965, my e-mail name and CB handle is Road Scholar (street smart/commuter student), but at this point this is all we share. I propose

that instead of paying government workers (while not on duty) which seems to be the norm,that all of congress or whomever is in the stalemate of this Budget Battle, do not get paid one (1) cent while these political negotiations are in process. I don't like paying for persons who are not working (no business that I know of pay for non-work). Will you propose legislation for amnesty for those soldiers that refuse to go to Bosnia? What is your stand on that? One more thing, I wish you not do the goose step while marching along with troops of another country. Look at some of the file footage when your walking with some Russian troops.

president-Bill

president-

--

president- Thank you very much. (YOU ARE THANKING US FOR WHAT, YOUR PAY CHECK? AN
president-OVER-PAID UNQUALIFIED QUACK, THAT IS A DRAFT DODGER, AND SOON TO BE THE
president:KILLER OF INNOCENT MEN THAT ARE IN BOSNIA, AND THE PRESIDENT THAT COULD HAVE
president-PREVENTED THE FALL OF AMERICA, YET IS TO BLIND TO SEE THE PAST, IN ORDER TO
president-CREATE A BETTER FUTURE. SIGN THE BUDGET AND WE SHALL THANK YOU.)

--

president- In view of the above article published in THE NEWS INTERNATIONAL

president- on Dec 17th I would like to ask a single question, MR PRESIDENT.

president: If you can't stop India testing a nuclear bomb and other progress

president- it has been doing for years in this field, then why you are

president- always making hue and cry over Pakistan's advancement in Nuclear

--

president-and say that they want hurt the children of this country.

president-You are misleading the American public. You support the

president:killing of unborn live babies and you support the UN law

president-that will take away rights of the parents in raising their

president-children. How can you talk out of both sides of your mouth

--

president-REPUBLICANS.

president->>

president:>>THE HERO MAY TURN OUT TO BE PRES. CLINTON! YOU GUYS MAY BE SHOOTING

president-YOURSELVES IN THE MOUTHS. DOING THIS AT CHRISTMAS IS OUTRIGHT BLACKMAIL!!!ME

president->>

--

president-

president-Clinton had it right: health care NEEDS fixing. Clinton had it wrong: fixing

president:it in such a way that you don't disturb all the perks and private goodies is

president-NOT the way to fix it. Right now our dollars are going madly into a system

president-which will simply not EVER be able to serve the people who pay for it. I

--

president-Potomac,MD 20854

president-

president:Field 2 = Hi,Mr.President,have you ever beent to dine at The Bombay Club?If

president-you did, my dad saw you there.(From my dad>)I am hopeful budget problem gets

president-solved so there is no further government shut down.

--

president-[Message content follows]

president-

president:Around September our club launched a campaign for new or loved stuffed animals to give to children in unfortunate situations around our county. We put stuffed animals in almost every emergency vehicle in Lawrence County. And we still have hundreds left. Our club would like to send stuffed animals to Bosnia and have the troops give them to the children there. We just don't know how to do it though. We thought you might be able to tell us how. We have all read in the newspapers and heard on the news about how frightened the children are and we're sure a strong and powerful soldier giving a small child a little brown teddy bear would definately make the child feel more secure. If there is some kind of problem with this request we understand but we are willing to launch and even bigger campaign

president-

president-Ask the following questions of our politicians: 1) Are you in favor of tobacco subsidies? 2) Are you against tobacco subsidies? 3) What are you going to do about them?

president-

--

president-X-Dave-Sez: I got the flava

president-

president:I will kill each and every one of you if this message somehow gets back

president-to me. =)

president-

--

president-QUALIFIED PEOPLE, SOCIAL SECURITY.

president-

president:5) I truly think you shot yourself in the foot by not forcing through PAC

president-reform as soon as you entered office!

president-

--

president-

president-I hope you realize how hopeless the idea of peace is in the region: hopefully,

president:not all of our young, VOLUNTEER soldiers will come away with a life-scarring ex

president-perience.

president-

--

president-I urge you not to veto the "Late Term Abortion" bill recently passed by

president-congress. Late term abortions are a viscious crime against humanity just

president:like the heinous killing of young children in Bosnia. I understand your

president-concern about the health of the mother but I can see nothing in this bill

president-that puts the mother's health at risk. Please leave it up to the doctors to

--

president-

president-My name is Matthew Korwel, and I am 15 years old. I wanted to

president:let you know that I support your sending American soldiers to Bosnia. I

president-feel that it is the right thing to do morally and that your decision is a

president-necessary step towards preserving Americas image as a super-power. I

--

president-Hey;

president-

president:If you don't save the environment then there will be no place to live. Even the animals will die. If we chop down the rain forest we won't be able to breathe.

president-Please pay attention to this letter as I want to breathe good air and drink good water as I hope you do.

president-Stand up for the rights of all living creatures and all will be well.

--

president-

president-Field 2 = You know that you are the poorest excuse for a leader of a

president:democracy there ever was. If you and your liberal buddies want a socialist

president-country, leave this one and go abroad. There are plenty there. There are even

president-a few that have seen that our system works pretty good and are changing.

--

president-

president-Field 2 = I don't think that you should send troops to Bosnia because they

president:might get shot down. I think that you also shouldn't use so much money.

president-

president-

--

president-[Message content follows]

president-

president:I understand that your only objection to this bill is that it makes no provision for the life of the mother. Since the doctors have other ways of killing the baby, either inside or outside the womb, your objection is not valid.

president-

president-The reality is that this is the most monstrous form of abortion. You have stated that 'this procedure should be safe and rare'. I assumed you meant abortions in general should be safe. This procedure is monstrous - - do yourself a favor and do NOT veto the bill.

--

president-I don't think sending troops to Bosnia is a good idea especially not right

president-before Christmas. In a war that has dragged on for so many years why couldn't

president:you have waited until after Christmas to send our soldiers.

president-

president-Bring our boys home soon. Bosnia has the possibilities to become a quagmire

--

president-constant effusion of American blood. What will you do - activate more

president-reservists and guardsmen ? We develop a professional army to fight this kind

president:of battle and you take citizen-soldiers away from their families ! Sheesh !

president-

president-

--

vice.president-

vice.president-Despite the claims of the abortion industry, all of the babies that are

vice.president:killed by this procedure endure extreme pain and distress. If you won't

vice.president-sign this bill, won't you at least sign a bill requiring fetal anesthesia?

vice.president-Your advisors have lied to you!!

--

vice.president-Dear Sir,

vice.president-

vice.president: Since the summer of 1982, six young Israeli soldiers have

vice.president-been reported as Prisoners of War or Missing in Action. Ron Arad,

vice.president-Zachary Baumel, Zvi Feldman, Joseph Fink, Yehuda Katz, and

--

vice.president-in New York by Clinton and the others who talked about the

vice.president-extremists of the right wing with the Oklahoma City bombing or

vice.president:assassination of Yitzhak Rabin? Rush doesn't expect this to

vice.president-happen - once again, because this violence is done by those on

vice.president-the left, it will be swept under the rug.

--

vice.president-show. Rush is not worried about what might happen in 1996 because

vice.president-his success is not dependent on who wins elections, nor will guys

vice.president:like Ted Kennedy, David Bonior, Dick Gephardt, or the rest of the

vice.president-liberals out there just disappear.

vice.president-

--

vice.president-<<Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders, speaking>> Most of the people

vice.president-who die of heart disease and cancer are our elderly population,

vice.president:you know, and we all will probably die with something sooner or

vice.president-later. I've heard Eric Clapner . . .

vice.president-

--

vice.president-

vice.president-Unless you teach kids a respect for human life, you get kids who

vice.president:don't think about shooting one another with a gun. You have kids

vice.president-today who diss Santa Claus, treating him like an enemy, and
vice.president-people are wondering why this is happening.

--

vice.president-13, 1995, page A4), may have been that he engaged in a public
vice.president-disagreement a few months ago with secret police operative
vice.president:Avishai Raviv. The commission investigating the assassination
vice.president-of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has heard testimony that Raviv
vice.president-tried to incite against Rabin and his policies while working

--

vice.president-don't they? and what do they give us for it? Almost nothing. They
vice.president-didn't predict the breakup of the Soviet Union, nor the fall of the
vice.president:Berlin wall. And they assassinate innocent people abroad, and harrass
vice.president-citizens here at home, illegally. And what about the Aldrich Ames
vice.president-fiasco, relying upon unreliable information? They are incompetent. Who
new scanner results

>>>>>>> kill you <<<<<<<<

Content-transfer-encoding: 7BIT

You slimy democrat! I'm going to fuckin' kill you! LL [D [D

>>>>>>> shoot you <<<<<<<<

You slimy democrat! I'm going to fuckin' kill you! LL [D [D
I line I live in D.C and i'm gonna shoot you in your head, American
===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:18-DEC-1995 05:55:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:
RFC-822-headers:
Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01HYXM3IDH2O006W1M@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for horn_s@a1.eop.gov; Mon,
18 Dec 1995 00:29:46 -0400 (EDT)
Received: from whitehouse.gov by gatekeeper.eop.gov;
(5.65v3.2/1.1.8.2/17Oct95-0424PM) id AA06215; Mon, 18 Dec 1995 00:38:19 -0500
Received: (from root@localhost) by WhiteHouse (8.7.1/uucp-relay)
id AAA24728 for horn; Mon, 18 Dec 1995 00:29:57 -0500 (EST)
===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: MENDESRM@delphi.com@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:19-DEC-1995 00:25:00.00

SUBJECT: Re: Capitalism, etc.

TO: oc-alum (oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu@INET@EOPMRX)
READ:NOT READ

IND_TO: Angela Davis (DAVIS_AC) (WHO)
READ:19-DEC-1995 11:44:51.26

TEXT:
Eric Witte says:

> What's wrong with the landowner using up his land and moving on?

Nothing, if you treat land and other resources as consumables, and don't worry about the consequences of poor conservation. If you believe that resources are finite and that pollution creates social costs exceeding production costs, then there's a problem. Historical evidence would suggest that the profit motive is insufficient to make private owners willing to practice the best conservation measures. Using up resources and moving on to other, low-cost areas makes more "laissez-faire" sense.

> Coase would argue for private ownership of the neighboring land.
> That would give the neighbors not only the right, but the incentive, to
> sue the polluter--which would give the polluter an incentive not to
> pollute.

> Mary might argue that the legal system is too expensive to make this a
> practical remedy, and that we need to regulate the use of chemicals.

The legal system is not only too expensive, it is too slow, and besides, it is more responsive to those with profits in hand than to those with little profit or power.

If you don't see a difference between being a consumer in anything like a competitive market, and an employee in today's job market, you need to go back to school.

> Here is the one place where generalizations about socialism and capitalism
> may have value. If, as you say, the cards are stacked in favor of
> employers, under a capitalist system, YOU CAN BECOME AN EMPLOYER. The
> fact that you have not done so suggests that you prefer the hardships of
> being an employee to the hardships of becoming an employer.

It might also suggest that I don't have to capital to invest in a business and hire employees to operate it.

> Current unemployment in the US is quite low (by historical standards). So

> is median real income. This is exactly what I would expect--when the cost
> of labor is down, consumption of labor (i.e. employment) goes up. So
> here's the question: is it better to have low wage levels and low
> unemployment, or high wage levels (for those who get jobs) but high
> unemployment? Consider this question before writing your congressman
> about your views on minimum wage.

Employment statistics are a bit skewed. To a large degree, they don't measure employment, but the degree of unemployment. In recent years, many people have been forced off the recognized job market. They have failed to find employment, and are no longer eligible for unemployment. So they aren't counted. And the statistics, except for measuring median income, fail to account for those who are underemployed (part time/temporary) or who are now working at the 7-Eleven instead of working as engineers or teachers or whatever.

The government could use tax and other policy to encourage certain types of behavior. Someone else discussed capital gains tax rates in the context that favorable treatment makes a lot more sense when the initial investment in new products and services is made. It makes much less sense in the "after market" of swapping pieces of paper. The old investment tax credit encouraged development of new production facilities (and may have contributed to overcapacity, too!). Similar incentives could encourage employers to train and retrain employees and to increase employment.

- Richard Mendes, '59

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

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:19-DEC-1995 04:50:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879)
id <01HYZ08LSP7K007BOA@PMDf.EOP.GOV> for davis_ac@a1.eop.gov; Tue,
19 Dec 1995 00:25:32 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from ocean.rutgers.edu by gatekeeper.eop.gov;
(5.65v3.2/1.1.8.2/17Oct95-0424PM) id AA11105; Tue, 19 Dec 1995 00:34:03 -0500

Received: (from mailserv@localhost)
by ocean.rutgers.edu (8.6.12+bestmx+oldruq+newsunq/8.6.12) id AAA10089; Tue,
19 Dec 1995 00:24:46 -0500

Resent-date: Tue, 19 Dec 1995 00:24:46 -0500

Resent-from: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

Resent-sender: oc-alum-request@ocean.rutgers.edu

Resent-message-id: <9UNsA2.0.aT2.Soarm@ocean.rutgers.edu>

X-VMS-To: INTERNET"oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu"

X-VMS-Cc: MENDESRM

Precedence: list

X-Mailing-List: <oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu> archive/latest/10370

X-Loop: oc-alum@ocean.rutgers.edu

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: root@WhiteHouse.eop.gov@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME: 1-JAN-1996 00:24:00.00

SUBJECT: NEW words found

TO: horn (horn@WhiteHouse.eop.gov@INET@EOPMRX)
READ:NOT READ

IND_TO: Stephen K. Horn (HORN_S) (WHO)
READ: 3-JAN-1996 12:17:16.74

TEXT:

president-your country, I respect the office of the President and I feel that I must

president-tell you some of the things that are on my mind.

president: I believe that the question asked of you by a member of the audience a

president-long time ago still bears repeating. What nation ever taxed its way into

president-prosperity? I think that a severe belt tightening is in order and it must

--

president- First, I want to say thank you for doing a good job. I have followed your Presidency and I think that you have done a good job! But, I must say, I believe that you have more guts/strength/intuition to fall prey to Congress...etc. I believe in you!!! I want to see you in the White House Again. It's because of you that I got a student loan.

president-

president: Anyhow, my point of writing you tonite was to congratulate you on the move to Bosnia. I know that it wasn't the most popular thing to do, but when I saw those poor civilians preparing for Christmas, (With no shells falling around them, blowing up buildings), I felt for them. I am proud that you are doing this!!! I know that an election is coming up, but I don't care, I'm with you on this! Please don't give-in before it's too late to do those people some good. And, don't forget to reward our servicemen well, for a job well done. They sure gave up a lot to go and get shot at over there!!! Plus it's got to be freezing cold over there, and I feel guilty sitting close by my warm fire...But, I guess that's what it means to be an American!

president-Thank you Mr. President,

president- Please offer my thanks to Mrs. Clinton and give your daughter a hug for...Well, just because.

--

president-Dear Bill,

president-

president:Fuck You....

president-You're a dork, a nerd, a bastard...

president:go and fuck yourself... and enjoy it.

president-

president-

--

president- Instead of protecting and strengthening families as legally mandated by federal law, CPS agents act intentionally to destroy the innocent Schipke Family in retaliation for numerous complaints and lawsuits Mary has filed against them for violating her family's civil rights. CPS needs to have physical custody and control of "live bodies" to be able to continue receiving millions of dollars in funding, so they are intentionally keeping the mother and son separated.

president-

president: The entire "paper case" against Mary is packed full of governmental "paper lies." Mary has been "paper character assassinated" by the state rented psychiatric industry and CPS attack dogs to allow the misapplication of millions of dollars in funding to personally profit these state workers at the expense of the innocent Schipke Family.

president-

president- The case has turned political and now CPS has stooped to unbelievably low and underhanded dirty double dealings to destroy the Schipke family.

--

president- The false criminal damage charge was dropped in city court after Mary proved that pictures of the damaged bathroom were not taken until 24 hours after the alleged incident. This gave CPS ample time to fabricate the whole story and damage the bathroom.

president-

president: The trumped up criminal assault charges were dropped after Mary had been character assassinated by state contracted psychiatrist Barry Morenz, who conveniently misdiagnosed Mary as suffering from a "persecutory type of delusional disorder." Mary was ordered to undergo this psychological evaluation under the threat of being sent to jail.

president-

president- This is a direct violation of her Fourth and Fifth Amendment rights to privacy and the right to not be forced to be a witness against oneself.

--

president- Interestingly enough, Mary was denied court funds to hire her own expert witness to rebut the false state diagnoses. Mary's due process rights were grossly violated and as a direct result, she is now branded with the social stigma of a false mental illness diagnoses compliments of the state.

president-

president: CPS psychiatrists Walter Healy and Ralph Wetmore were also hired as state paid assassins to "dig up dirt" on Mary. Mary was forced to incriminate herself under duress and coercion and the verbal threat of never seeing Kitt again. Mary was told that unless she "fully cooperated and answered every question, that Kitt would be put up for adoption, that Mary would never see Kitt again and that Mary's parental rights would be severed."

president-

president- The famous case of Miranda vs. Arizona guaranteed that state actors and police could no longer physically beat a confession out of a person. However the state has found a new way to "beat" confessions out of people using court forced psychological evaluations.

--

president-Covering up the crimes

president-

president: There is a massive coverup in process. Anyone working to expose the multi-billion dollar racket is conveniently character assassinated by the psychiatric industry. Branding and stigmatization with false claims of "mental illness" are common ploys used to scare and shame parents into strict silence and capitulation. Parents are threatened they will never be allowed to see their children again, that their children will be put up for adoption or that their parental rights will be severed if they question any proceedings. Interestingly enough, psychiatry has become a powerful weapon used to destroy, discredit and terrorize anyone in opposition to the profitable, corrupt and criminal business of child thievery.

president-

president-Human laboratory animals

--

president- With the help of Juvenile Court, parental rights are maliciously severed. The white collar child thieves then obtain both adverse possession of the child and acquired "legal" rights to sell the stolen children to the highest bidder on the adoption market.

president-

president: Any parent who fights these criminals in court are judicially gang raped, brutally tortured, mentally terrorized, character assassinated, emotionally traumatized, and verbally and physically assaulted. Psychiatry is used as a dangerous weapon against the parents, the children and the family.

president-

president- How long will a loving parent suffer and be tortured before the pain becomes too much to bear and the parent is forced to abandon their child? CPS and Arizona psychiatrists are working on answering this hideous question through abuse of taxpayers money.

--

president-

president-And the pain, it's had me on my knees,

president:And I'm begging please, ' Dear God won't you let me die!'

president-But God said "You got to stay cause you know,

president-I've got a big surprise."

--

president-turn against us and think of us as the new enemy.

president-

president:I think in the future, you should not commit yourself to sending our soldiers

president-into harms way without consulting with us the people or our representatives

president-in Congress.

--

president-extremist nonsense and quit calling the spending controls "cuts". We "ain't"

president-buying it out here in Peoria. The media and people like Rush got your

president:number and they're killing you out here. We all know socialism is dead in

president-America. People want jobs, not gov't handouts. Initiate incentives for

president-business to come back to the US and rebuild the cities, or threaten to

--

president-As part of a social studies project, can you please offer any

president-information as to how protection of the President has changed

president:since the assassination of President Kennedy thru the present?

president-

president-Thank you very much.

--

president-the vice president after you ask him to be your running mate. I beleive that yow will be re-elected to the job in 96.

president-What will help you, (I'm sure you already know this) is to let the people see the the passion you have shown for issues in the past. Your downside is

president:that when your on there is no one who can match you on knowledge of a subject, you communication skills (Mr. regan was the great communicator) not so you have him beat hands down. The

president-could read the words; you can think on your feet. Bet of luck in 96.

president-p.s. I can't believe I called the White house, i'm a new user to the net.

--

president-1. How can you help us with linking our little, but powerful, group of children up with financial supporters. We try to keep our programs free to schools and communities and let businesses and private donations support us. In reality, the people who need us the most should not have to foot our bill.

president-

president:2. Would you like to attend one our performances (Black History Month Program/Original show) or would you like us to come to you and your friends and family and do a presentation for you? We are in Maryland right outside of Washington D.C. With you in our audience we could put on a wonderful free show for any youth groups interested in attending.

president-

president-

--

president-

president-Dear President Clinton,

president: I am writing to let you know that your position on /Bosnia has won me over. Although I am in complete disagreement with having our soldiers in harms way I am applauding you for making the hard decision and I believe ignoring political consequences. You will have my vote in the upcoming election. God bless you and your family during the coming new year and much continued success.

president-

president-From nobody@razorback.arc.nasa.gov Sun Dec 31 13:32:56 1995

--

president-First of all, congratulations to all the americans on account of their president Clinton, very much batter than our Oscar Luigi Scalfaro (I am a Berlusconi fan, and you can understand the reason of this opinion).

president-By the way, in this exact moment I'm watching on our "TELEPIU' DUE" the Wild Card Game between

Packers and Falcons. I hope that Packers could win even if I'm an unbelievable Cowboys' fan. Emmitt, Troy and Deion will win the next Superbowl without any doubt, that's clear.

president:Then, since I am the national vice-president of the association about the Italian conscripts' civil rights, I'd like to receive from some of your office a document about the conditions of life, the disciplinary rules and the general legal situations of your armies' conscripts or simple soldiers.

president-Here, in Italy we have two laws born in 1978 and 1986 and, naturally, the "Military Discipline Code" about conscripts. It will be very useful for our association to know, in a synthetic document, the situation of the United States.

president-Finally, if, even in a very small place of the USA, someone needs an Italian young Sport-journalist's article, please call me, at any time, in every condition.

--

president-ers, of having to

president-

president:s the rating of the company today. How sad it is to see what has happened to a once strong and respected insurance organization. I close now, trying to make sense of all this. As I wait for an explanation, the words of one of my former managers comes to mind. As Mr. James Southall once said, Do not bother to explain, it's just an excuse... Congratulations, Ms. Quinn, you are now aware of the standards, The Travelers the company you work for, be proud of it! Respectfully, Roger A. Dubose

CC: Mr. Bill Clinton, President of the United States of America

1995 Benefit Schedule

1996 Benefit Schedule

Option A! ietiker D:\MSOFFICE\WINWORD\MOMQUIN.DOC L P

Dietiker D:\MSOFFICE\WINWORD\MOMQUIN.DOCy@Epson LQ-850

president-

president-From 76360.2776@compuserve.com Sun Dec 31 14:30:59 1995

--

president-I think you should have never passed this!!!!!!!!!!

president-

president:I also think you and your "HOT-SHOTS" should get your heads out of your -----!

president-

president-If you try saying "oh, it's not so bad". I would like to see how your family

--

president-

president-I'm not asking for a response to my letter. I'd like to know what your

president:response is to that young soldier's mother in Maryland, who, by the way, lost

president-a brother in Vietnam,

president-

--

president-that 160 of its 500 man garrison had been captured

president-including the garrison commander. 16 soldiers have been

president:reported killed. President of Yemen: Ali Abdullah Salih;

president-President of Eritrea: Issaias Afewerki (AP, in NYT,

president-December 18/19, 1995).

--

president-

president-4. Rwanda -- Mid-93 population estimate: 7.4 million. The

president:plane crash on April 6, 1994 killing Rwanda's president,

president-Juvenal Habyarimana, precipitated the war between Hutus

president-and Tutsis which left as many as one million dead and about

--

president-[Message content follows]

president-

president:I would like to encourage you to persist in your position. The Republicans have grossly misread the image of the last elections. People were fed-up with politics as usual and chose to throw out those in power. The antics of Newt and his buddies are opening their eyes. I would like to suggest you compromise on a budget which includes the tax cut combined with a Defense Appropriation bill which excludes the Republican pocket-lining proposals and a term limit on

entitlements. I believe that you could claim that the cuts from defense and budget could achieve a balanced budget within seven years without any cuts to ed. and other social programs while still providing a tax cut. If you will dig up the tapes of your meeting with Newt in New Hampshire, I believe that is what the two of you actually agreed to.

president-

president-From KITCHY22@aol.com Sun Dec 31 17:05:06 1995

--

president-you stay underground in a metal tomb crying about what you should have

president-done. You people are not stupid but something tells me you are.

president:You bomb Iraq and then go home and celebrate a party! This is good,

president-forget the future. Man becoming God! You not God. God does not take

president-pleasure in destruction. You people are crazy, I see smiles and glee

president-on peoples faces. There going to fry. I know what is coming. My

president:soul tells me the truth, I seek it. I am so fuckin scared! You people have

president-so much, manpower, equipment and the brightest minds. Why are we still

president-on the path of destruction! Why do you remain the same? It is over.

--

president-that it was Your decision to send them there. I hope in your heart you

president-are prepared to do that, because as those young men and women are injured

president:and/or killed (God Forbid) it will be you who has to answer to their

president-parents. I feel badly for the people who have suffered there, but it is

president-still not our war. We can't continue to invest our young men and women

--

president-I can understand his desire to express his views by not wearing the UN insignia, and I agree with his view that the UN involvement in Bosnia is not in our country's best interest. I am sure that he knows that the UN Charter directly forbids the UN in becoming involved in what could be considered a domestic "civil war" as is the Bosnian conflict. I am also sure that he is aware of the fact that the UN has goals and interests diametrically opposed to those of the United States, and his actions support that position.

president-

president:Perhaps the most shameful part of the story was hearing that you supported the military's decision to proceed with a courtmarshall. By courtmarshalling this soldier, who has shown his willingness to protect our country, you and the entire military will be committing a disgraceful act that will be a stain on the 220 year old history of American sovereignty.

president-

president:Please, reconsider your stand on this soldier, and be vocal in your support of him and of all our servicemen who, despite their apprehensions, are willing to sacrifice for our country.

president-

president-From nobody@razorback.arc.nasa.gov Sun Dec 31 18:54:11 1995

--

president-

president- Thank you for your time. I do not request a reply but if you're in

president:Tuzla during your visit perhaps you can say "Hey!" to the soldiers from the

president-Center for Army Lessons Learned from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. If my husband

president- is present please send our love and prayersfor him, as they are for all the

--

president-Dear President Clinton:

president-

president:I applaud you for supporting the soldiers who become HIV positive

president-while on active duty in the military. I served 21 years and retired from

president-the Army. This is a very important stand you have taken and I commend you

--

president-

president-Dear Mr. President, (Or the reader of the message)

president: I have a question about our armed forces. Can you explain to me how com a soldier,that enlists in The US Military, has to obey orders from UN commanders. The swore to uphold the orders of officers apointed over them. Not

people from other countries. It seems to me like they are handing our soldiers to other countries to do what they wish. Please respond with the President's views.

president-

president-From ldenton@mailhost.hooked.net Sun Dec 31 21:07:20 1995

--

president-been in our government. There is no such thing as a "Statesman" anymore. It president-breakes my heart to acknowledge that my government which over the years president:thousands of our young men have died for, have selfish,self centered motives president-for their voting records. The latest(and by no means the most president-important)reference being the shutdown of our National Parks..... I

--

president-D.C. in April and would like to get tickets to visit the White House on April president-19th or 20th. Can you assist? Can you direct me to the appropriate person president:to ask? Thank you, Linda Taggart, 2062 Venice Street, San Diego, CA 92107

president-

president-From nobody@razorback.arc.nasa.gov Sun Dec 31 22:38:24 1995

--

president-

president-I'm wondering, President Clinton, if you are going to take any action on president:behalf of Mumia-Abu-Jamal, or are you going to allow him to die like the president-political prisoners in Nigeria, after a "phony" trial.

president-

president-It's imperative that you take a position on this issue, President president-Clinton. Don't let an innocent man die again, like the poor, retarded president:man you let die when you were governor of Arkansas and it was election president-time. This time you can save a life, and maybe save your presidency at president-the same time!

--

president-

president-Sir; you say that abortion is a womans right. But I must ask you if you president:think that all women have the right to commit murder? How can you say president-that if a fetus is 8 months old it is not a child? How about premature president-babys born, say at 7 months, if you hold true to your position then you president:would have to say that you could still kill that baby when he is younger president-than a month. He is still under 8 months. I believe that by looking at president-evidence most rational people would have to say that a fetus is a baby

--

vice.president-

vice.president- My name is Robyn Leigh and I am a 7th grader at Morgan Park Academic Center in Morgan Park High School 1744 West Pryor, Chicago, Illinois. Our social studies class is having a scavenger hunt and my team could use some help. Please could you or some member of your staff mail me a message of greetings on WHITE HOUSE STATIONARY!!! You could just say HI!, that's all. This would help us a lot.

vice.president: Also if you or your wife,or Mr.or Mrs.Clinton are in Chicago and have time please come by and visit my social studies class. We would be glad to have you come by and see our great teacher Mrs. Marcia Arrington, our principal Mr. Charles Alexander and the other great teachers of our school.

vice.president-

vice.president-

Sincerely,

--

first_lady-Dear Hilary,

first_lady-

first_lady:I think you have been one of the most wonderful caring first ladies in first_lady-history. I was sorry that all the time and effort you put into health care first_lady-for all came to no fruition, but I appreciate your having brought many

--

first_lady-
first_lady-I think that you are stupid and you suck the cat, socks. I hope that WW3
first_lady:starts real soon and you die along with Billy Bob. And, do you know that
first_lady-Captin' Crunch found out the president's Bomb Shelter number a long time ago?
first_lady- It was not listed in the database....well, l8r
new scanner results

>>>>>>> you die <<<<<<<<

I think that you are stupid and you suck the cat, socks. I hope that WW3
starts real soon and you die along with Billy Bob. And, do you know that
===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 1-JAN-1996 00:26:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:
RFC-822-headers:
Received: from storm.eop.gov (storm.eop.gov)
by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01HZH5Z0VF34006D8U@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for
horn_s@a1.eop.gov; Mon, 01 Jan 1996 00:24:41 -0400 (EDT)
Received: from whitehouse.gov ("port 4562"@whitehouse.gov)
by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01HZH5V2WVJA000ZH8@STORM.EOP.GOV> for
horn_s@a1.eop.gov; Mon, 01 Jan 1996 00:21:27 -0700 (MST)
Received: (from root@localhost) by WhiteHouse (8.7.1/uucp-relay)
id AAA02698 for horn; Mon, 01 Jan 1996 00:25:12 -0500 (EST)
===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: qnews@NS1.CYBERSPACES.COM@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:28-JAN-1996 03:58:00.00

SUBJECT: Public Service Rebroadcast - Daily Digest

TO: Daily.Digest.Subscribers (Daily.Digest.Subscribers@aimnet.com@INET@EOPMRX)
READ:NOT READ

IND_TO: Paul Yandura (YANDURA_P) (WHO)
READ:29-JAN-1996 18:05:30.36

TEXT:
Channel Q Public Service Rebroadcast Facility - Daily Digest for Sunday,
January 28, 1996

1. Gay TV Shows 1/27/96 - 2/2/96
2. Articles - 1/27/96
3. SPECIAL: The outing of Lily Tomlin
4. Articles - 1/27/96 (2)
5. FEEDBACK
6. HBO to air "Celluloid Closet" 10 p.m. Tuesday

Date: 27 Jan 1996 00:41:48 -0800
From: CarolM10@aol.com
Subject: Gay TV Shows 1/27/96 - 2/2/96

Hi, folks! This is note #1 (of 5) of the list of tv shows
with gay, lesbian, other sexual minority, and gay/straight
AIDS themes, for the tv week of Sat 1/27/96 - Fri 2/2/96.
Be sure to read all 5 notes. Local shows are listed with
local times; national shows are Eastern time zone.

The following shows air at multiple/various times:

- - POSITIVE: LIFE WITH HIV. This new series was produced
by AIDS Films for the Independent Television Service
(ITVS). A press release says: "POSITIVE: LIFE WITH HIV is
a limited series of four one-hour programs that provides a
forum for sharing the achievements, frustrations,
aspirations, and successes of those who are affected
and/or infected by AIDS." WHYY's APPLAUSE guide says:

#1. Community: "...looks at the ways that societal issues
affect people living with HIV and AIDS. How does race,
class and gender influence diagnosis, care and treatment?"

#2. Identity: "...explores the issues of identity and lifestyle, including a candid look at sex and sexuality among those affected and infected by HIV."

#3. Care. "This segment takes a look at the American health-care system and how it is dealing with the overwhelming demands of this epidemic."

#4. Fighting for Our Lives. "This final episode examines the many forms of AIDS activism as fears and concerns about death, grief and commemoration are explored."

> Check your PBS listings for airings in your area.

Upcoming airings include but are NOT limited to:

> Sat. 1/27/96, 11:00 pm, on New Jersey Network public tv stations (incl. Camden WNJS ch. 23, Trenton WNJT ch. 52, and WNJM Channel 50 in northern NJ). (#4)

> Sun. 1/28/96, 10:30 pm, NYC NY WNET ch. 13 (#4)

> Sun. 1/28/96, 11:00 pm, Allentown PA WLVT ch. 39A (#3)

- - WHAT SEX AM I? TV Guide calls this "A study of transvestism and transsexualism." Airs:

> Sun. 1/28/96, 9:00 pm, Discovery cable

> Sun.-Mon. 1/28-29/96, 1:00 am, Discovery cable

- - THE YOUNG & THE RESTLESS (CC). This show has an AIDS/HIV storyline involving the character of Keesha.

> Y&R's air time depends on location, so check listings.

> On the east coast, Y&R airs weekdays at 12:30 pm on CBS

- - ALL MY CHILDREN (CC). The story about suspended gay high school history teacher Michael Delaney (Chris Bruno) continues to be a major plot. There are also reports of an HIV/AIDS storyline.

> Airs weekdays at 1:00 pm ET on ABC.

- - GUIDING LIGHT (CC). The HIV/AIDS storyline continues.

> Airs weekdays at 3:00 pm ET on CBS.

- - SOUTH BANK SHOW #1. According to TV Guide, Monday's segment is a profile of lesbian singer k.d. lang. Airs:

> definite: Mon. 1/29/96, 10:00 pm, Bravo cable

> possible: Mon-Tues. 1/29-30/96, 4:00 am, Bravo

> possible: Tues. 1/30/96, 5:00 am (NOT pm!), Bravo

- - SOUTH BANK SHOW #2. According to TV Guide, Tuesday's segment is a profile of openly gay British actor Sir Ian McKellen. Airs:

> definite: Tues. 1/30/96, 10:00 pm, Bravo cable

> possible: Tues-Wed. 1/30-31/96, 4:00 am, Bravo

***** TO BE CONTINUED ON NOTE #2 *****

Be sure to read all 5 notes!

Warmly, Carol Mortimer, NJ

Prodigy ID = npwc08a

AmericaOnLineID = caroLm10 In IDs: 0 & 1 are numbers.

Internet ID = caroLm10@aoL.com o & L are letters.

WORLD WIDE WEB GAY TV HOME PAGE (case-sensitive):

http://pages.prodigy.com/NJ/carol_mortimer/gay_tv_menu.html

Hi, folks! This is note #2 (of 5) of the list of tv shows with gay, lesbian, other sexual minority, and gay/straight AIDS themes, for the tv week of Sat 1/27/96 - Fri 2/2/96. Be sure to read all 5 notes! Most times Eastern.

***** CONTINUED FROM NOTE #1 *****

-- A CHORUS LINE(CC). This film based on the Broadway show has a gay character. Airs:
> Wed. 1/31/96, 6:30 am (NOT pm!) & 5:30 pm, Prism

-- ROSEANNE (CC). "Roseanne is the life of the party at a gay bar until Nancy's girlfriend (Mariel Hemingway) plants a kiss on her."-TV Guide As a result, Roseanne freaks out a bit. Airs:
> Wed. 1/31/96, 7:00 pm, on Philadelphia PA WPSG ch. 57
> Check local listings. This show will Wed. 1/31/96 in some areas.

The following shows air once this week as far as I know:

-- THE PELICAN BRIEF (CC). Airs Sat. 1/27/96, 5:30 pm, Cinemax. It is incidental to the plot, but a Supreme Court Justice who gets killed in the beginning of the film turns out to have been a closeted gay man.

-- NAKED IN NEW YORK. Airs Sat. 1/27/96, 10:30 pm, STARZ (East). Satellite Choice Direct Broadcast Satellite magazine says: "A playwright deals with the unexpected advances of a longtime male friend and a veteran stage actress."

-- MRS. DOUBTFIRE (CC). Airs Sun. 1/28/96, 8:30 am, Cinemax. Harvey Fierstein and California gay comic Scott Capurro appear as the gay male couple who transform Robin Williams into an elderly woman.

-- ZORRO THE GAY BLADE. Airs Sun. 1/28/96, 8:35 am, The Movie Channel. Very stereotypical but also very funny movie about the twin sons of the legendary swordsman, who take over as Zorro when their father dies. One is straight, and the other is a flaming queen. (Picture Zorro in a lavender tassled hat!)

-- ABSOLUTELY FABULOUS MARATHON. 6-hour marathon begins

Sun. 1/28/96, 4:00 pm, Comedy Central cable. This series had several gay characters. (Note: Episodes normally air weekly on Comedy Central, on Saturdays at 4:00 pm and also on Sundays at 8:00 pm. I don't list this show each week, so mark your calendars if you're interested.)

- - THE TIMES OF HARVEY MILK. Airs Sun. 1/28/96, 11:15 pm, Independent Film Channel (IFC). Documentary about the gay San Francisco politician who was assassinated.

- - THE WEDDING BANQUET. Airs Mon. 1/29/96, 7:00 pm, Cinemax-2. Movie about an interracial gay male couple. One of the men decides to marry a woman to keep his traditional Chinese parents from learning of his gayness.

- - JUST ONE OF THE GUYS (CC). Airs Mon. 1/29/96, 10:30 pm, HBO. Fun movie about a teen woman who poses as a male & enrolls in another high school, to research a newspaper article on sexism. When she falls for a male friend at that school, the other students think she's a gay man.

***** TO BE CONTINUED ON NOTE #3 *****

Be sure to read all 5 notes!

Warmly, Carol Mortimer, NJ

Prodigy ID = npwc08a

AmericaOnLineID = caroLm10 In IDs: 0 & 1 are numbers.

Internet ID = caroLm10@aoL.com o & L are letters.

WORLD WIDE WEB GAY TV HOME PAGE (case-sensitive):
http://pages.prodigy.com/NJ/carol_mortimer/gay_tv_menu.html

Hi, folks! This is note #3 (of 5) of the list of tv shows with gay, lesbian, other sexual minority, and gay/straight AIDS themes, for the tv week of Sat 1/27/96 - Fri 2/2/96. Be sure to read all 5 notes! Most times Eastern.

***** CONTINUED FROM NOTE #2 *****

- - POSITIVE HEALTH. Airs in Philadelphia PA on Tues. 1/30/96, 7:30 pm on WYBE ch. 35. Local weekly show by and for people with AIDS and HIV disease.

- - FICTION AND OTHER TRUTHS: A FILM ABOUT JANE RULE. Airs in Philadelphia PA on Tues. 1/30/96, 9:00 pm, on WYBE ch. 35. May or may not air on other PBS stations, so check local listings. WYBE's program guide says: "A compelling film about a compelling person: lesbian writer, teacher, thinking and 'hot-eyed moderate' Jane Rule."

- - THE CELLULOID CLOSET (CC). Airs Tues. 1/30/96, 10:00 pm, HBO. Documentary based on the late Vito Russo's book

of the same name. The 1/26/96 issue of Entertainment Weekly (pg. 47) says: "An enlightening history of homosexuality in movies, THE CELLULOID CLOSET ... will be released to theaters in March after a one-time cable airing. Lily Tomlin narrates this documentary tracing the evolution of gay characters from silent-film sissies to multidimensional human beings in recent movies such as The Crying Game and Philadelphia. Interviewees range from Tom Hanks to Antonio 'Huggy Bear' Fargas (also seen as a drag queen in 1976's Car Wash telling a homophobe 'I am more man than you'll ever be, and more woman than you'll ever get!'). One caveat: Closet's script, by Armistead Maupin (Tales of the City), has an overly happy ending that implies all current movie depictions of gay people - even Basic Instinct's - are positive."

- - DREAM ON. Airs Thurs. 2/1/96, 10:00 pm, Comedy Central. "Martin and Nina discuss testing for AIDS."-TV Guide

- - LATE DATE WITH SARI. Airs Thurs.-Fri. 2/1-2/96, 12:30 am, Lifetime cable. "Scheduled topic: women whose fantasies involve other women."-TV Guide

- - SOAPDISH (CC). Airs Fri. 2/2/96, 8:05 pm, WTBS national cable Superstation. Parody of tv soap operas. One of the many villains is transgendered. Transphobia alert.

- - SALMONBERRIES. Airs in Toronto Canada on Fri.-Sat. 2/2-3/96, 12:30 am local time, on CBLT Channel 5. Most of the women I know who've seen this have panned it, but others love it because it features k.d. lang.

That's it for this week's gay tv shows.

In the "ALL ISMS ARE RELATED" category, check out these non-gay, diversity-related tv shows:

- - IN THE MIX (CC). TV Guide says "A report on ways young people combat racism considers programs in Washington, New York and Korea. Included: a Seattle youth group lobbying for a multicultural school curriculum." Airs:

> Sat. 1/27/96, 6:00 pm, on New Jersey Network public tv stations (incl. Camden WNJS ch. 23, Trenton WNJT ch. 52, and WNJM Channel 50 in northern NJ)

> Probably airs in NYC sometime this week on WNET ch. 13.

> May or may not air on other PBS stations. Check your local listings.

***** CONTINUED ON NOTE #4 *****

Be sure to check out all 5 notes!
Warmly, Carol Mortimer, NJ

Prodigy ID = npwc08a
AmericaOnLineID = carolm10 In IDs: 0 & 1 are numbers.
Internet ID = carolm10@aoL.com o & L are letters.
WORLD WIDE WEB GAY TV HOME PAGE (case-sensitive):
http://pages.prodigy.com/NJ/carol_mortimer/gay_tv_menu.html

Hi, folks! This is note #4 (of 5) of the list of tv shows
with gay, lesbian, other sexual minority, and gay/straight
AIDS themes, for the tv week of Sat 1/27/96 - Fri 2/2/96.
Be sure to read all 5 notes! Most times Eastern.

***** CONTINUED FROM NOTE #3 *****

Continuation of non-gay, ALL ISMs ARE RELATED DEPARTMENT
list:

- - DEALING WITH DIVERSITY. Segments air Sat.-Sun., 1/27-
28/96, at midnight & 1:00 am, Allentown PA WLVT ch. 39A.

- - GLORY. "Stirring tribute to the Army's first black
regiment, mustered up during the Civil War under the
command of an inexperienced New Englander (Matthew
Broderick). Denzel Washington won an Oscar for Best
Supporting Actor."-TV Guide Airs:
> Sat.-Sun. 1/27-28/96, 1:00 am, Encore cable
> Wed. 1/31/96, 4:55 pm, The Movie Channel

- - WOMEN AND SOCIAL ACTION. Airs:
> Sun. 1/28/96, 7:00 AM (NOT pm!), Allentown PA WLVT ch.
39A
> Fri. 2/2/96, 6:00 AM, Allentown PA WLVT ch. 39A

- - ANOTHER VIEW. TV GUIDE says "Included: an exploration
of issues facing the African-American community in the
'90s." Airs:
> Tues. 1/30/96, 6:30 pm, New Jersey Network public tv
stations (incl. Camden WNJS ch. 23, Trenton WNJT ch. 52,
and WNJM Channel 50 in northern NJ)

- - GERALDO: TEENAGERS AND RACISM. Airs Wed. 1/31/96 in
some (not all) areas. Check local listings. Airings
include:
> Wed. 1/31/96, 3:00 pm, on Phila. PA WCAU ch. 10

- - WORKING FROM CAN'T TO CAN'T: AFRICAN-AMERICAN COWBOYS
IN TEXAS. Airs Wed. 1/31/96, 11:30 pm, on Phila. PA WHYY
ch. 12. May or may not air on other PBS stations. WHYY's
program guide APPLAUSE magazine says: "Those 'can'ts' are
'Can't see when you get up and can't see when you lay
down.' Six African-American cowhands, now in their
twilight years, discuss a way of life that now exists only
in their memories; including rare footage of ranch work

from the '30s to the '50s."

-- A BUNNY'S TALE (CC). Airs Thurs. 2/1/96, 11:00 am, on HBO. Movie based on Gloria Steinem's Ms. Magazine expose of the treatment received by Playboy "Bunnies".

-- ONE SURVIVOR REMEMBERS (CC). Airs Thurs. 2/1/96, 2:30 pm, HBO. HBO's on-line Prodigy directory says: "On the 50th anniversary of WWII's end, HBO and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum commemorate the occasion with a look back at one woman's story of the horrors inflicted on her and her family when the Nazis invaded Poland in 1939."

-- MALCOLM X. Denzel Washington is electrifying as the title character in this Spike Lee bio. Airs in 2 parts:

> Thurs. 2/1/96, 8:00 pm, on NYC NY WWOR ch. 9 (pt. 1)

> Thurs.-Fri. 2/1-2/96, 12:35 am, on Phila. PA WPVI ch. 6 (pt. 1)

> Fri. 2/2/96, 8:00 pm, on NYC NY WWOR ch. 9 (pt. 2)

> Fri.-Sat. 2/2-3/96, 12:05 am, on Phila. PA WPVI ch. 6 (pt. 2)

> Check local listings. This probably airs in most areas.

***** TO BE CONTINUED ON NOTE #5 *****

Be sure to check all 5 notes.

Warmly, Carol Mortimer, NJ

 Prodigy ID = npwc08a

 AmericaOnLineID = caroLm10 In IDs: 0 & 1 are numbers.

 Internet ID = caroLm10@aoL.com o & L are letters.

WORLD WIDE WEB GAY TV HOME PAGE (case-sensitive):

http://pages.prodigy.com/NJ/carol_mortimer/gay_tv_menu.html

Hi, folks! This is note #5 (of 5) of the list of tv shows with gay, lesbian, other sexual minority, and gay/straight AIDS themes, for the tv week of Sat 1/27/96 - Fri 2/2/96. Be sure to read all 5 notes! Most times Eastern.

***** CONTINUED FROM NOTE #4 *****

Continuation of non-gay, ALL ISMs ARE RELATED DEPARTMENT list:

-- COUNTDOWN TO FREEDOM: 10 DAYS THAT CHANGED SOUTH AFRICA. Airs Fri. 2/2/96, 7:30 am (NOT pm!), Cinemax. TV Guide says: "James Earl Jones and Alfre Woodard narrate this chronicle of the period leading up to the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as State President of South Africa."

-- A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM (CC). TV Guide says: "A profile of the civil and labor-rights pioneer

(1889-1979), whose activism on behalf of equality for black Americans 'sets the agenda for the modern civil-rights movement.' The program traces the roots of his socialism, from his interest in radical politics while living in Harlem to his involvement with unions." Airs:
> Fri. 2/2/96, 9:00 pm, on NYC NY WNET ch. 13 and also on Allentown, PA WLVT ch. 39A
> Fri. 2/2/96, 10:00 pm, on Phila. PA WHYY ch. 12
> check local PBS stations

- - AFRICAN AMERICAN ARTISTS (CC). WHYY's APPLAUSE program guide says "A spotlight on five African-American artists: Leroy Almon Sr., Frederick Brown, Sam Gilliam, Lois Mailou Jones and Keith Morrison." Follows the A. Philip Randolph profile on most PBS stations. Airings include:
> Fri. 2/2/96, 10:30 pm, on NYC NY WNET ch. 13 and also on Allentown, PA WLVT ch. 39A
> Fri. 2/2/96, 11:30 pm, on Phila. PA WHYY ch. 12
> check local PBS stations

That's it for this week! Happy viewing.

Warmly, Carol Mortimer, NJ
Prodigy ID = npwc08a
AmericaOnLineID = caroLm10 In IDs: 0 & 1 are numbers.
Internet ID = caroLm10@aol.com o & L are letters.
WORLD WIDE WEB GAY TV HOME PAGE (case-sensitive):
http://pages.prodigy.com/NJ/carol_mortimer/gay_tv_menu.html

PS: The Prodigy server is having problems. Please be patient on web site access & updates.

Date: 27 Jan 1996 06:37:17 -0800
From: BCS41@aol.com
Subject: Articles - 1/27/96

CONTENTS:

1. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS: Leader of anti-gay rights referendum seeks probe of alleged vote fraud
2. NEW YORK TIMES: N.Y. Attorney General settles with union on bias lawsuit
3. SAN JOSE (CA) MERCURY NEWS: "South Bank" show on Bravo cable network Monday delves into k. d. lang's life
4. SYNDICATED COLUMN - MARVIN LIEBMAN: A room of our own
5. SYNDICATED COLUMN - PATRICIA NELL WARREN: Heterosexual deviants
6. FEEDBACK:
 - a. How to write to thank Oprah for show on gay marriage
 - b. Oklahoma City paper reports city will terminate human rights commission partly because it's goal was to "give rights to gays"
 - c. Member of Phelps cult convicted
 - d. Gay survey

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

January 25, 1996

LEADER OF ANTI-GAY RIGHTS REFERENDUM SEEKS PROBE OF ALLEGED VOTE FRAUD

AUGUSTA, Maine - The leader of Concerned Maine Families offered sworn statements by four supporters to bolster her claim that Maine's anti-gay rights referendum was marred by fraudulent voting.

Asserting that it would take too much time to prove her allegation, Carolyn H.T. Cosby instead presented four affidavits from CMF members who said officials obstructed their attempts to monitor and challenge ballots during the Nov. 7 voting.

"The most serious thing that happened on Election Day is not that some people may have voted fraudulently, but that clear evidence exists that election officials deliberately interfered," Cosby told reporters Thursday.

After reading the affidavits, Secretary of State William G. Diamond said he thought that after 2 months Colby would have been able to come up with more than four statements from co-workers.

"The obvious thing to me was it wasn't fraud at all. She ended up with four people from her own group talking about their dissatisfaction with the way they were treated at polling places," Diamond said.

Cosby, whose organization initiated the referendum, submitted the affidavits to the Attorney General's Office and asked for an investigation. Attorney General Andrew Ketterer was out of his office and unavailable for comment Thursday.

Maine voters rejected the referendum known as Question 1, which would have nullified gay rights ordinances in Portland and Long Island, and prevented other communities from adopting such laws.

CMF posted volunteers in several communities to watch the polls. In Portland alone, 300 ballots were challenged as potentially invalid, and Cosby suggested that referendum opponents from outside Maine were registering and voting illegally.

No ballots were ever dismissed as a result of CMF challenges, and Cosby said Thursday that tracking down fraudulent voters would take too long.

"We'd have to spend a long, long time - six months - going through a labyrinth of records," she said.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

229 W. 43rd Street, New York, NY, 10036

--(Fax 212-556-3622, print run 1,209,225)

(E-MAIL: letters@nytimes.com)

Saturday, January 27, 1996

N.Y. ATTORNEY GENERAL SETTLES WITH UNION ON BIAS SUIT By CLIFFORD J. LEVY

ALBANY, N.Y. - State Attorney General Dennis Vacco has settled a complaint that a union filed against him last spring, after he rescinded an executive order that banned discrimination against gay and lesbian workers in his office.

Under the settlement, Vacco released a letter stating that his office would not discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation, said James J. Sheedy, president of the Public Employees Federation. The union represents about 220 employees in the attorney general's office.

Soon after he became attorney general in January 1995, Vacco ran into

criticism when he issued a new executive order on job discrimination in his office that did not protect homosexuals. Vacco's two immediate predecessors had written orders that did include sexual orientation.

Vacco said at the time that he was not anti-homosexual, but was merely insuring that his executive order was in line with the state's human rights law. That law bans discrimination on the basis of color, creed, disability, marital status, national origin, race and sex - but not sexual orientation.

Christopher McKenna, a spokesman for Vacco, said Friday that under the settlement, the attorney general would not change the executive order he issued when he came into office.

McKenna emphasized that the order was never intended to signal a bias against homosexuals. He said Vacco has repeatedly said he would not discriminate against gay people.

``There is nothing new here as far as we are concerned," McKenna said. ``This is what Dennis has been saying for the last 13 months."

But Denyce Duncan Lacy, a spokeswoman for the union, said Vacco's executive order had sent the wrong message to gay workers in the attorney general's office.

``It made people who had been openly gay in that office fearful that they would be discriminated against," she said.

The union, which brought its complaint before the state's Public Employment Relations Board, said it had not received any charges of discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in the attorney general's office under Vacco.

Before Vacco, there had been an executive order in place for 15 years in the attorney general's office banning bias against gay people.

Gov. Mario Cuomo issued a similar executive order in 1983 for agencies under his control. Gov. George Pataki, his successor, has not changed that order.

SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS

San Jose, California

Saturday, January 27, 1996

'SOUTH BANK' DIVES INTO LANG'S LIFE

- -- SOUTH BANK SHOW: k.d. lang - Monday night, Bravo

By RON MILLER, Mercury News Television Editor

FANS of England's "South Bank Show" don't need to be reminded to watch Monday night's edition, which is devoted to Canadian singer k.d. lang. Fans of the "South Bank Show" watch all editions -- at least once.

The biographical editions are especially good because they can show stuff we never imagined about people we thought we knew really well. I was pretty sure I didn't need to learn more about lang, for example, because I wasn't too impressed with what I already knew.

Which only proves how wrong a guy can be.

MIND CHANGER

I thought lang was a sort of undistinguished singer. I had seen her perform several times on TV and she never showed me anything special.

But Monday night's show captures her in a wide variety of performances that prove she's an exceptional talent with a really drop-dead powerful set of pipes. It shows her metamorphosis from kooky country novelty act -- I must have seen her during her Cousin Minnie Pearl phase -- to stylish cafe singer with all the sensitivity and inflection of a sort of Vancouver version of Edith Piaf.

The "South Bank" style is to bring the story of an artist's work out in

a naturalistic way, letting us see lang creating her music from the early picking phase through to the polished final version. It's fascinating to watch her pass through the stages of her development -- at one point she seems to be possessed by the spirit of Patsy Cline -- until she gets to where she's at today.

GRADUAL COMING OUT

Along the way, we also piece together her gradual coming out as a gay woman. "South Bank" stops to talk with her mom, who seems pretty relaxed about the whole thing, though lang suggests there was a time when she dreaded her mom's reaction like nobody's business.

After an hour's immersion in lang's life, I decided I not only like her as a performer, but probably would like her as a person, too. If you've never watched a "South Bank Show," give this one a look and you may become a steady fan.

SYNDICATED COLUMN

By Marvin Liebman (Marvin1923@AOL.COM)

February, 1996

INDEPENDENTLY SPEAKING - A ROOM OF OUR OWN

by MARVIN LIEBMAN

There is much talk of the American gay and lesbian "community". But, just what is it"? We have no real national leadership, and the national political organizations supposedly representing "us" are not accomplishing much. We are in mortal danger from the religious right, and little is being done by these organizations to counter this danger except empty rhetoric and posturing. We have neither a central institution nor a national journal to serve as rallying points.

What then is the American gay and lesbian "community"? An ephemeral figment of the imagination of both our enemies and the national groups who claim to represent us? Maybe there is no national gay and lesbian "community", but many "communities" across the country.

The question is in the process of being answered, and not by holding the usual and endless caucuses to arrive at some consensus definition. While I am no fan of creating more national gay groups, there is a new one that is actually on to something. And while it needs to raise its profile, the grassroots clamor for its services may soon prove advertisement enough. It is uninterested in a grandiose notion of political coalitions, which too often prove short-lived. Its plan is to give American lesbians and gay men roots in their own communities and rooms of their own.

The National Association of Lesbian and Gay Community Centers (NALGCC) was born late last year to "encourage development of new lesbian and gay community centers" in cities across the country. Its founders recognized a crucial truth. With gay communities already thriving in cities across the nation, we are more plural than singular, and our strength is more potent locally than nationally.

The new group already has a head start. There are now 65 gay and lesbian community centers throughout the country, employing over 300 people, with combined budgets exceeding \$38 million. The two largest centers are in Los Angeles and New York, with Chicago, Minneapolis, San Diego, and Dallas close behind. There are smaller centers in such places as Fort Wayne, Indiana; Cedar Rapids, Iowa; and Boise, Idaho. Some of our major cities have no centers, including Boston, Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. Their absence makes local political and social action fragmented and renders our efforts weaker.

In trying to increase these numbers by creating more centers, the NALGCC

faces one reality and one key problem. The reality is that causes and movements such as ours need a launching pad, a safe place in which to plan and strategize. Without a center of some sort, groups aspiring to change the world too often end up forced to change their meeting place - repeatedly - until the inconvenience prove too much, and participation diminishes. The civil rights and anti-war movements of the 60's and 70's had classrooms and churches. Today, the religious right has enormous resources. Gay and lesbian communities, too, need rooms of our own.

The major problem which community center organizers face is that gay men and lesbians are far from the unified entity hawked by those who speak of a national "community." Although we share a common experience and a common enemy, rarely do we integrate. Lesbians hang out with lesbians; gay men, with other gay men. There is a gulf between lesbians and gay men in America which is bridged only sporadically - in rallies and marches, political campaigns, religious services, or fund-raisers for various enterprises important to us. We can weep together for our dead - from AIDS, breast cancer, and hate violence - but we laugh together far too little.

The lack of common ground between lesbians and gay men is a problem which community centers are uniquely equipped to bridge. In the cities where they exist, enormous progress has already been made. A common space fuels interactions of all kinds, deeper and more enduring than those which flourish in rallies or campaigns. Meeting and interacting with each other - outside the closet-like environments of jobs and even religious congregations - means dispensing with the pantomime of distance. It also offers an option from the moribund bar scene.

From one old organizer to another new one, here's a cheer for the NALGCC. I will be watching closely for the signs of its success. It will be registered not merely in the numbers of new rooms for our local communities, some erected, some restored. It will most of all be manifested in the substance of our interaction with each other, both men and women. Out of the many communities may finally come the solidarity and strength of one valid lesbian and gay American community.

For more information on the NALGCC write or telephone Ben Stilt at 208 W. 13th Street, New York, NY 10011. 212 620 7310.
(Marvin Liebman, Apt. 806, 1330 New Hampshire Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20036, Tel: 202 659 1942 Fax: 202 785 3255, E-mail: marvin1923@aol.com)

SYNDICATED COLUMN

By Patricia Nell Warren (WildcatPrs@AOL.COM)

January 26, 1996

NEWS YOU DIDN'T SEE ON TV - A DEVIATE OF A DIFFERENT COLOR

By Patricia Nell Warren

In a recent issue of the Colorado Springs Gazette News, the executive chairman of Colorado for Family Values, Will Perkins, was going off on homosexuals in his usual manner. What fascinated me about Perkins' remarks was that he characterized heterosexual adultery as one of several "heterosexual deviances."

Today the nation's media shudders with controversy about homosexuals. Thanks to cultural, religious and medical prejudices, homosexuals have been labeled "deviants" ince sometime in the 19th century. But gosh, I don't recall seeing any religious-right leaders being as wrathful about "deviant heterosexual adultery" as they are about "homosexual deviance". Yet the Bible condemns homosexuality and adultery with equal ire -- it demands death for both "offenses."

This is a very illuminating thing to think about. It means that the religious right are soft on heterosexual adulterous deviants.

As an American who wants to stay informed, I listen to religious-right radio, and visit some of the major RR sites online. But I never see the religious right campaigning for the death penalty for heterosexual adulterers. No signs at demonstrations reading DEATH TO ADULTERERS, though you see plenty of DEATH TO HOMOS signs around.

In California, Sen. Rob Hurtt, who is in the pocket of the RR, has said he will move to reinstate the old sodomy penalties of the state, which included -- as many will recall -- castration and lobotomy for homosexuals. Similar legislative moves are being made in other states. But gee, I never see the RR legislators or lobbyists advocating similar treatment for adulterers.

Nor do adulterous heterosexual deviants get routinely incarcerated in mental hospitals, as homosexuals have been -- complete with shock treatment, forced sexual re-programming and the gamut of "therapy." We never see RR leaders or legislators wanting to bar these awful adulterous deviants from teaching in public schools, or fair treatment in employment, benefits and housing, or holding government office.

Amidst the throes of the same-sex-marriage controversy, all heterosexual adulterous deviants have access to the rights and joys of marriage, whereas homosexuals who wouldn't dream of stepping out on their partners cannot legally marry. A few states still have adultery laws, but almost never enforce them. Under U.S. law, adulterers get to mess around with impunity, divorce and remarry again and again without a care in the world. No Jesse Helms rants in Congress to deny federal funding to any state or school district that is soft on heterosexual adulterers.

Perkins brings up the old RR terror of homosexuals endangering morale in the armed forces. As a matter of fact, our U.S. military are just as soft on heterosexual adulterous deviants. Today's U.S. military law still makes adultery a criminal offense. Yet in practice these horrible "heterosexual deviants" whose deaths are mandated by Biblical law are not deemed a threat to red-blooded military morale. There's no ridiculous "don't ask, don't tell" for adulterers -- in fact, some military men get macho points with their buddies for bragging about two-timing their wives.

Men and women who routinely violate the regulations on adultery never do serious time in military prison, as did my gay friend Larry Meholick, who did five years, including some time in solitary. Nor are adulterers hounded by military interrogators, and drummed out of the service with dishonorable discharges. A flagrant adulterer can still have high security clearance, enjoy the trust of the U.S. government in war time, and every kind of social perk that is denied to uniformed "homosexual deviants."

I wonder why the religious right are so soft on adultery. Possibly it's because they'd have to kill half the country, in order to enforce this kind of "family values."

Another little problem is pastors in the religious-right movement who have committed adultery. I have listened to talk shows where pastors openly discussed their extramarital heterosexual relationships, their divorces, etc.

But nobody is taking away these pastors' lives or civil rights because of their confessed deviance. Compared to the horrors that the average homosexual has to live through, including gay-bashing, these heterosexual deviant pastors get emotional support, cushy therapy programs -- in short, a slap on the wrist. Newscasts never tell us of adulterous pastors being adultery-bashed on the street by angry homosexuals who are hell-bent on

enforcing Biblical law by the vigilante method.

There are political reasons too. Lots of presently unchurched adulterous heterosexual deviants are potential church-joiners and money-givers to the religious-right cause. A Bible-style crackdown on adultery would alienate too many people who might go to the polls later this year, and vote the religious-right way. Heterosexual deviants might be the swing vote that puts an ultra-right-wing President in the White House. Whereas the RR feel they can dispense with the homosexual vote. After all, it is only (according to them) less than one percent of the population.

It seems to me that the religious right's position on heterosexual adulterous deviance is glaringly inconsistent with what the Bible teaches. The inconsistency also reveals that religious extremism has much to do with controlling other people's lives -- and little to do with the "word of God."

Perhaps if the same massive machine of hateful feeling and wrathful law were to start crushing legions of adulterous American heterosexuals like so many insects, they would wake to the danger of legislating Biblical belief into 20th century American life.

* (Patricia Nell Warren wrote "The Front Runner," "Harlan's Race" and other bestselling novels about gay life. She lives in Los Angeles, where she serves on the Gay & Lesbian Education Commission of the Los Angeles Unified School District. Her publisher is Wildcat Press. Visit her Web page at <http://www.gaywired.com/unity/wildcat/wildcat.htm>.)

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FEEDBACK:

* From PFLAG@aol.com: Write to the producers of the Oprah Winfrey show and show your support! [for Friday's show on gay marriage] Write to: Mary Donahue, The Oprah Winfrey Show, Harpo Productions, 110 North Carpenter Street, Chicago, IL 60607

FEEDBACK:

* From aegis@mindspring.com: On the front page of the Daily Oklahoman (Oklahoma City newspaper) today there is an article that describes the City Council's vote to terminate the city's human rights commission. The article mentions several reasons given for the action, including the commission's "goal to give rights to the gays, the lesbians, the people who have had sexual changes and things of that nature." The article goes on to discuss opposing views as well, but the vote was 5 to 3 to abolish the commission.

According to the article the commission was created in 1988 in response to a series of hate crimes. The article ends with a comment hoping that this move would not invite more hate crimes in the city.

Letters to the editor to: The Oklahoman, P. O. Box 25125, Oklahoma City, OK, 73125 - Fax 405-475-3971 (print run 231,650)

FEEDBACK:

* From OzActivist@AOL.COM: The trial held recently in Lawrence over an incident at a Lutheran Topeka church cleared 3 charges of unlawful restraint but convicted Charles F. Hockenbarger, 23, of the same. Hockenbarger reportedly left the court in a huff. In the incident involved, members of a Lutheran church were become upset and crying or angry over the chants of the Phelps picketers. The pastor went outside and nailed a sign reading "GOD'S LOVE SPEAKS LOUDEST" into the ground. Seeing him with a hammer, several of

the cultists reportedly thought he was going to attack them with it and wrestled him to the ground, kicking and injuring him in the process.

Letters to the editor may be sent to:

Topeka Capital Journal: state@cjnetworks.com

Lawrence Journal World: LJWorld@AOL.COM

FEEDBACK:

* From JOHN.FERREIRA@uboc.com: This morning I saw an ad in the San Francisco Bay Times from Overlooked Opinions (the gay survey firm) who are running a census\survey. It's a toll-free call that asks various questions ranging from how you identify yourself to what magazines you read. The call will last about 10 minutes, and you will hear a blurb from the long-distance carrier, Community Spirit, which is not a lot to ask. Please send this information out to your "subscribers" so we can be counted and heard. Its 1-800-GAY-VOICE.

- - - - -

TO SUBMIT AN ARTICLE FOR THESE REPORTS:

E-Mail: BCS41@AOL.COM

or FAX: 319-339-8546

Date: 27 Jan 1996 07:46:42 -0800

From: BCS41@aol.com

Subject: SPECIAL: The outing of Lily Tomlin

THE VILLAGE VOICE

New York, New York

(voice@echonyc.com)

January 30, 1996

MICHAEL MUSTO COLUMN (excerpt)

...And now...I'm unleashing this bit of groovy gossip, and when I go down in flames you're gonna cry and tell the world. First, the setup: Our hero Armistead Maupin appears in and wrote the narration for The Celluloid Closet, the documentary about homosexuality in the movies based on the late Vito Russo's book (it's playing on HBO this week and opening in theaters in the spring). The psychosexual journey is directed by Common Threads Oscar winners Robert Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman and narrated by Lily Tomlin, a close friend of Russo's who tirelessly helped get the film produced. Anyway, I'd heard that Maupin was more than a tad upset about Tomlin's public sexuality status, so I tracked him down and (gay) bingo!

"I feel profoundly disappointed and slightly used," Maupin told me candidly. It seems Tomlin was set to come out in a big way in conjunction with the opening of Closet, as it were, but she typically withdrew (she's doing an Advocate story for the movie, but I hear SHE'S interviewing Epstein and Friedman for it).

"I'm not angry at The Celluloid Closet," continued Maupin. "I love it. It's That's Entertainment with teeth. Rob and Jeff have done a brilliant job and will probably win another Oscar for it. I'm angry at Lily because she led several of us to believe she'd use this film as a vehicle for coming out."

"I would never have accepted the project if I thought that wasn't the

case. Rob and Jeffrey asked me to come on board and I said, 'I'll have a hard time writing narration for a closeted person.' At one point, Vito told me he wanted an out-of-the-closet actor to narrate the film. My feeling was it should either be an openly gay person or a sympathetic straight person. Instead, I have to endure the cruel irony of a film called The Celluloid Closet narrated by a closeted person!"

"She's been pulling this shit for years. She plays gay for large gay audiences and the rest of the time remains conspicuously silent. If she doesn't want people to know she's gay, then she shouldn't sell locks of hair in The Advocate and she shouldn't take on a project called The Celluloid Closet. She got up at an L. A. gay event several years ago and said, 'Here's to all of us who've been out for 20 years' - a very cagey way to phrase it.

She's been playing both sides of the fence for a very long time. It enrages me that she presents herself as a person of conscience and continues to dodge the one issue that's central to her life. I don't know what she thinks she's going to lose - certainly not a big, juicy romantic lead." (My thought: Moment to Moment II?)

Continued Maupin: "Everyone I know - gay and straight - knows Lily is gay. I'm tired of hearing apologies from people saying, 'Well, she's done so much for gay people.' I know, she's knocked herself out on this project, going to bat for it in Hollywood. But her silence about her own sexuality undermines all of her good work and it reinforces the notion that homosexuality is something to be tolerated, but never discussed. That's not the message I want to send to teenagers or the message of The Celluloid Closet. I didn't spend four months of my life so Lily can sound more enlightened than she really is."

I agree, I agree, I agree, and feel that Lily staying semicloseted while promoting her role in this film is like Kathie Lee Gifford narrating the cable show Positively Jewish (don't worry, she isn't). Anyway, doors continued to slam in my face when I tried to garner the positions of other folks involved in this sticky situation. Friedman and Epstein said "No comment" through a publicist, and when I called Tomlin's office, an assistant listened to my query, then said, "THAT'S not very festive, is it?" "I think it is," I said chirpily, and never heard back from Tomlin.

Extra gossip bonus: Gore Vidal says in the movie that he added gay subtext to Ben-Hur (Ben-Her?) by telling Stephen Boyd to play his scenes with Charlton Heston as if they were ex-lovers, a secret Heston wasn't let in on, than god (the anecdote also pops up in Vidal's psychosexual journey, Palimpsest). Also, Heston - Her again - refused the filmmakers the chance to use a clip from The Agony and the Ecstasy because, as the actor told them, he knows Michaelangelo wasn't gay. How does HE know? I didn't think he was THAT old.

* [NOTE: The Celluloid Closet will be broadcast on HBO Tuesday, January 30 at 10PM Eastern Time.]

Date: 27 Jan 1996 11:56:34 -0800
From: BCS41@aol.com
Subject: Articles - 1/27/96 (2)

CONTENTS:

1. THE BOSTON GLOBE:

- a. High school principal censors letters to school newspaper
- b. Advice from sex columnist

2. THE PHILADELPHIA DAILY NEWS: New lesbian columnist Debbie Woodell talks about a girlhood crush

3. SIDNEY (OH) DAILY NEWS Letter: Gays ignore the Bible

4. 4-FRONT MAGAZINE: Columnist writes about effeminate gays

5. FEEDBACK: Are our numbers large or small? - Critics: make up your mind

THE BOSTON GLOBE

Wednesday, January 24, 1996

SOURCE: AP

SCHOOL CENSORS GAY POLICY LETTERS

MERRIMACK, N.H. -- High school principal Timothy Mayes has censored two letters to the school newspaper, citing concerns that they violate the district's policy restricting discussion of homosexuality.

The letters are critical of the policy, which bans anything that has the "purpose or effect of encouraging or supporting homosexuality as a positive lifestyle alternative."

*

MEMO: ASK BETH / Sense About Sex

SHOULD HE PRETEND TO LIKE A GIRL?

Dear Beth: I'm 13 and I haven't got a girlfriend. I would like to, but I'm too shy. So my enemies call me gay and say I act like a girl. Should I pretend to like a girl, just to get them off my case? --HANK

Beth: Until quite recently, kids seldom started having boyfriends or girlfriends until they were older than 13. Now that there is pressure to do it much younger, it creates difficulties like this for many.

At your age, most kids are still just establishing their sexuality. It is a big mistake to rush it, and to try to act out sexually before you are ready. It would be another big mistake to hurt a girl by pretending an affection you don't feel.

Don't let your enemies push you into a corner with their remarks. Many kids, unsure about their own sexuality, try to cover up by accusing others. If you refuse to let it bother you, they will soon lose interest or turn to another victim.

PHILADELPHIA DAILY NEWS

400 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, PA, 19101

-- (Fax 215-854-5691, print run 221,855)

(E-MAIL: DNedit@aol.com)

(NOTE: Philadelphia Daily News welcomes letters to the editor from anyone in the country.)

Tuesday, January 23, 1996

COLUMN BY DEBBIE WOODELL

MEMO: Debbie Woodell's column on lesbian and gay matters will appear on the Daily News' opinion pages every other Tuesday. She is a Daily News copy editor.

THAT SKATE KEY'S THE MEMENTO OF A GIRLHOOD CRUSH

Dear Mrs. Brennan,

Do you remember me? I was in your junior English class in 1972, the nerdy girl who marginally fit in with the popular kids. The one who hung on your

every word, every move, hoping you'd like me as much as I liked you.

I gave you a skate key, because you liked Melanie and her hit song "Brand New Key" came out that year.

I couldn't wait to get to your classroom each day. Not only because I liked English class, but also . . . well . . . you know . . .

Before school, I always checked to see if your car - a red Buick Skylark with a cream-colored vinyl top - was in the lot. I don't think I was ever so nervous as when I stayed after school for a makeup test and rode home in your car.

Funny, what I remember most about that ride is the smell of cigarettes and perfume. It wasn't pleasant, actually, but I figured I'd get used to it if we were going to be friends. The ride was way too short, but I don't recall much of it, because I was so excited for you to learn where I lived. I think I might have asked you to stay for dinner. You didn't.

I hoped you'd teach at Clayton High forever. We could be real friends once I was a senior, or out of school altogether. We'd do things together.

But you left after that year. Your husband the Marine got transferred or something, and you were gone. I was sick about it.

Only years later did I recognize those symptoms as one huge crush.

Did you figure it out? I didn't even know what a lesbian was then, let alone realize I was one. The only gay person I knew of was a guy in town people called "Aunt Joey."

There was no Melissa Etheridge or Martina Navratilova proudly declaring her sexuality. I think maybe ignorance was bliss for me. I can't fathom being as brave at that age as today's openly gay young lesbians are, despite tremendous peer pressure (one thing that hasn't changed in 23 years).

You wrote in my yearbook I had a lot going for me. Thanks. I think I still do. My partner and I have been together nearly 11 years; I believe we will stay together forever. I am proud to be gay and I have a fulfilling life.

One last thing, though; if you still have that skate key, when you hold it, think about today's young lesbians and the Mrs. Brennans they have crushes on. Some of them struggle with being gay; they turn to drugs or alcohol or other forms of self-abuse.

Some run away from home. Others attempt suicide; too many succeed.

That's the horribly sad part.

But it is my wish - I hope yours, too - that they all will turn out fine. And that some day they'll smile wistfully when they remember their first crush.

THE SIDNEY DAILY NEWS

P. O. Box 4099, Sidney, OH, 45365

--(Fax 513-498-0806, print run 17,000)

(NOTE: The Daily News welcomes letters to the editor from anyone in the country; word limit 200.)

January 23, 1996

THE TRUTH ACCORDING TO THE BIBLE

To The Editor:

When a letter such as "God's right hand judge" is printed, the truth concerning homosexuality according to the Holy Bible must, of necessity, also be voiced.

Alan Light tells of a friend who sent him a Christmas card with letters from the Sidney Daily News enclosed. He claims the nastiest letters were written by religious people. He asks why it is so hard for some people to

love others in accordance with religious traditions. Christians do love others according to God's holy word, not according to homosexual tendencies.

The terrorist, psychopath and wife batterer, without a doubt, bring harm to someone. To believe two consenting adults involved in a perverted relationship harms no one is the wisdom of a fool. Both partners are offending the master of time and space - the last being the homosexuals should be offending.

The amazing fact is the gay community uses the very source of light that condemns their lifestyle, in what has to be the ultimate absurdity in another vain attempt to justify their deviation.

Do the gays read the Bible as they claim? If so, do they purposely ignore the scriptures that in no uncertain terms condemn their lifestyle?

To believe the gay person has no control over what he or she does would be the biggest error of all. Unless they are so much in league with the devil that they really have lost control of their lives, then I have to agree with Mr. Light. However, their genetic makeup has nothing to do with their unbecoming sexual behavior.

--Ralph J. Copeland, 409 East Main Street, Anna, Ohio 45302

4-FRONT MAGAZINE

7985 Santa Monica Blvd. #69, West Hollywood, CA 90046

(Fax 213-848-2196, E-MAIL: The4FRONT@aol.com

,,,WE NEED EACH OTHER, NOT JUST OURSELVES

By Mr. Damon

This piece is written for all of my effeminate brothers and my masculine sisters, and those who never bother to get to know them.

I remember my dear friend Chris, telling me of how much fun it was being gay in the 70s. After Stonewall, he said, everyone was like a big family.

The lesbians loved their gay male friends, and vice versa. The drag queen was welcomed by the leatherman and all in between. I looked through his gay bar rags from back then and saw it for myself. I saw the lesbian, arm in arm with the "butch queen" who had the arm of the drag-queen. They were all three different races and they were holding up a big banner that read "WE ARE FAM-I-LY!" I went to my first Gay Pride in 1990. Let me say...times had changed.

I went with a friend who was so humiliated that day that I will not even mention his name. He wore long black eyelashes and a huge top hat with a pair of overalls. He was a brilliant creation that day. Most gay men are artistic and admire creativity, or so I thought. I was shocked to hear snide remarks, loud "whispers" and out and out rudeness. I had weird visions of high school. I had flashbacks of being whispered about, stared at, and spit on in the hallways at school. That...that day...GAY PRIDE. I was surrounded by my own kind: my gay brothers and sisters. My friend was silent and walked with pride, ignoring all of it.

Worse than this, was at last year's APLA Summer Party. Another friend of mine had a very pretty face (a boy) but had a shaved head. I couldn't believe the rude sons of bitches that sarcastically called him Sinead O'Connor and the nicer ones yelling out "Hey Annie Lennox!" Yes, these two women are pretty, but not the way these people were saying it. It was clearly derogatory and sarcastic.

At least as far as gay men go, I have witnessed a loathing for the effeminate. No, I'm not talking about Judy or Barbara or Marilyn. I'm talking about our fellow MAN: the one with the pretty face or the "swishy" behind' the one that DARES to go into West Hollywood in anything other than

cut-off jeans and a vest with no shirt on under it; the ones who don't flash their gym cards as a form of ID; the ones that are automatically labelled a "bottom".

I do have a question. Who are we as gay people to judge that harshly and discriminate? We, who have been spot on and called "faggot" in high school (and MOST of us WERE). We, who STILL have to fight bitterly not for rights, but for general equality. We, who ask others not to judge us as a community. How could WE discriminate against each other? I'm sorry to say it, but I find that disgusting.

I remember once going to meet a boyfriend's parents and he said to me beforehand, "Try not to say any gay things or act so...you know." Well, needless to say, I never met his parents and he quickly became single.

Coincidentally he is still single today and that incident happened 6 years ago. Perhaps he shouldn't "act so...."

I don't really know what people think when they see me. I have certainly dated heavy for years now and have had some very sweet (and not so sweet) relationships in the last 10 years [I came out at 15]. I have always looked "different" too. I had big bushy eyebrows for most of my childhood.

Well...not anymore. I have always felt a little short. Not anymore. I have my shoes re-soled, and "upped a few inches." I had curly hair. Not anymore -- I had it straightened. I don't wear jeans. I haven't worn tennis shoes in at least 10 years. Am I a drag queen? No. Am I a finger-snapped, loud, obnoxious gender bender? No. I have been called "Punk rocker," even "Death Rocker," "Klub Kid," all of it. I've been called a lot of things, actually. The word, is just "ME." Once you get to know me, you'll see I'm intelligent, and not anymore "effeminate" than the next guy.

I have a lot of somewhat masculine female friends who, once I got to know them, I saw several sides of. They are great girls and not "bull dykes," as I've heard other gay people whisper behind them as we walked by.

I realize "to each his own." I happen to love "eyebrow queens" and effeminate guys. Sometimes I like rough trade. But I'm not talking about sex, or what turns us on. I'm talking about genuine love (at the very least, common respect) toward one another in the Gay and Lesbian community.

1996 really doesn't look so good for our future and we NEED each other.

Not just ourselves. Whether we are "straight-acting/straight appearing" (something we should never aspire to be, since we are NOT STRAIGHT), or effeminate or hard-core butch, we need to NOT JUDGE A BOOK BY ITS COVER, because it may contain some fascinating text.

I think we will be amazed at how we all expand as gay and lesbian and bisexual people, if we put ourselves all in one boat. Let the gay men, the lesbians, the bisexuals, the transgender, the HIV positive and negative, the effeminate man, the drag queens and everyone in between, join hands, and make sure this boat doesn't sink.

FEEDBACK:

* From OzActivist@AOL.COM: [Said in a letter to the editor by a Rep. from South Dakota:] <<Many homosexuals want same-sex marriages, which would allow them to apply for federal and state marriage benefits...blah blah blah...This could bankrupt our state.>> FASCINATING--Sometimes there are "huge" numbers of us, sometimes hardly any of us at all..... These people need to quit inhaling!

-- -----

TO SUBMIT AN ARTICLE FOR THESE REPORTS:

E-Mail: BCS41@AOL.COM

or FAX: 319-339-8546

Date: 27 Jan 1996 15:49:35 -0800

From: BCS41@aol.com

Subject: FEEDBACK

CONTENTS:

1. FEEDBACK:

- a. Important notice for those HIV+ and in the military
- b. Gay Iranian seeks advice dealing with immigration meeting Tuesday
- c. Air Force captain in Leavenworth prison for engaging in private, consensual sex with civilian male

FEEDBACK:

* From BobPHOTO@AOL.COM: You may wish to publicize this in the event you have not already done so:

Congress has passed a bill that will mandate discharge of all military members who are currently HIV+ or test HIV+ in the future. If you are HIV+ and in the military, please contact SLDN immediately for confidential legal counseling. (202) 328-FAIR.

* From dadgari@hsc.usc.edu: I am a gay Iranian who is scheduled for an appointment with INS this coming Tuesday. I was wondering if anyone knows anything about the questions INS asks on these occasions with regards to sexual orientation, etc.. When I applied for asylum 4 years ago homosexuality to the best of my knowledge was not a valid reason for seeking protection in U.S. Therefore, I used the fact that I am an agnostic and hence an apostate in the eyes of the Iranian government in my appeal. Both homosexuality and apostacy are punishable by death in Iran, and I must admit that I am more afraid of the consequences of being gay in Iran than an apostate. For this very reason I have not been to Iran since the Khomeini revolution of 1979. I would therefore be most grateful if you could provide me with some information concerning these asylum interviews. Particularly, in view of my original appeal, I am wondering if it is a good idea to declare that I am gay since I have not mentioned it in the original appeal? Would Ins consider this a phony strategy? For that matter how can one prove one's gayness to INS? As I said earlier, my interview is this Tuesday. Therefore any helpful suggestions before then would be most appreciated. Sincerely, Joseph Dadgari

* From TomSwann@AOL.COM: This is the complete text of a handwritten letter I received from Air Force Captain Warren Dinges. CAPT Dinges is serving time at Fort Leavenworth Prison due to a November 15 conviction and sentence for engaging in consensual, private sex with an adult civilian male. The Air Force used coercive tactics in the trial; even threatening contempt of Court and a 6-month jail sentence if the civilian did not testify against CAPT Dinges. I have sent letters to the Air Force Secretary seeking a

release from prison pending the appeal. Marsha Scott Deputy Assistant at The White House is receiving letters at fax number (202) 456-5558. I am attending a reception for Marsha Scott next month and will deliver your petitions and letters to her in person.

Here is the letter:

17 Jan 96

Dear Tom Swann,

I cannot begin to express my appreciation for your support of me, my case and the fight in which I have most recently been thrust. Your letter was the first of now 6 letters from others offering encouragement. It is definitely comforting to know that there are enough other gay and lesbian veterans that we could actually have a hand in ending this policy of discrimination.

Here in prison I look forward to three things each day: mail call, another day passing-another day closer to freedom and the hope that I will be the last service member sent to jail and convicted of a crime solely due to sexual orientation. As I learn more about your case, the cases listed in a book Conduct Unbecoming by Randy Shilts and the so many others that have gone before, I become even more appalled and astounded. I bear absolute contempt for and disgust with the military legal system that permits, condones and encourages such injustice. This cannot last. The Constitution to which service members take their oath will not permit it. Maybe, just maybe I will be the last.

I am glad and honored to help and assist in anyway that I can. I am just now beginning to realize the impact that this case could have. That alone could make what I personally have gone through worth it.

Your continued support is greatly appreciated! I will write and answer any questions that you have. SLDN has the details of my case. Please encourage your readers and E-Mail correspondents to express their feelings to their representatives and the officials in Washington, D.C. That seems to be the most immediate remedy.

I thank you again for your support. It is outstanding. Sincerely,
Warren Dinges

Note: Send letters to Air Force CAPT Warren Dinges, Box 76543-6B, 310 McPherson Avenue, Ft. Leavenworth Kansas 66027-1363

Date: 28 Jan 1996 00:19:19 -0800

From: Channel Q News Desk <newsdesk@channelq.com>

Subject: HBO to air "Celluloid Closet" 10 p.m. Tuesday

HBO to air "Celluloid Closet" one time only at 10 p.m. Tuesday

By Jeff Walsh

Oasis Editor

On Tuesday, Home Box Office will present a one-time-only showing of "The Celluloid Closet" prior to its playing movie theaters.

The gripping documentary, based on the late Vito Russo's book of the same name, was produced and directed by Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman, who won an Academy Award for their 1989 HBO Documentary "Common Threads: Stories from the Quilt," about the AIDS Quilt.

The movie, which will be released theatrically in March, begins with a montage of swishy mimes, self-hating homos and effeminate bachelors from Hollywood's history.

"These were fleeting images, but they were unforgettable, and they left a lasting legacy," Lily Tomlin narrates over the montage. "Hollywood, that great maker of myths, taught straight people what to think about gay people -- and gay people what to think about themselves. No one escaped its influence."

Watching the movie now, as an openly gay man, the negative images didn't affect me as they were intended. But then, I realized that I didn't come out until I was 23, and I couldn't think of any movie role that featured a gay character that helped me see myself while growing up. The lack of gay characters also shows the straight world the distorted image it wants, that we don't exist. Gay youth particularly have a hunger to see themselves, to identify. It's a hunger that still goes by relatively unsatiated.

Tomlin, who helped get the movie produced, has recent come under attack by writer Armistead Maupin, who is featured in the documentary and wrote Tomlin's narration. He told Michael Musto, a gossip columnist for the Village Voice, that Tomlin was going to use the Celluloid Closet's release to mark her own coming out.

"I feel profoundly disappointed and slightly used," Maupin told Musto. "I'm angry at Lily because she led several of us to believe she'd use this film as a vehicle for coming out. I would never have accepted the project if I thought that wasn't the case."

"At one point, Vito told me he wanted an out-of-the-closet actor to narrate the film. My feeling was it should either be an openly gay person or a sympathetic straight person. Instead, I have to endure the cruel irony of a film called The Celluloid Closet narrated by a closeted person!," Maupin said.

Despite Tomlin's backpedaling, the film is still essential viewing.

The earliest clip in the documentary is a 1895 experimental film by Thomas Edison which shows two men dancing for the camera. Such begins a chronological tour through cinema's lavender vault, intercutting film footage and present-day interviews with writers of gay films and actors such as Harvey Fierstein, Tony Curtis, Whoopi Goldberg, Susan Sarandon and Tom Hanks.

When films in the 1920s started dealing openly and sometimes positively with homosexuality, lobbies formed to censor the movies, which led to the Hays Code and the Legion of Decency ratings of the mid-1930s.

The new measures forced gay content in the movies to be more covert, such as Peter Lorre's gay character in The Maltese Falcon, who wears perfume and nearly fellates his cane while talking to Humphrey Bogart. The novel, according to the documentary, had Lorre's character as openly gay, but the movie was only able to hint -- broadly.

Movies about gay killers, self-loathing lesbian prison wardens and married women lured into lesbianism were apparently unaffected by the code.

Sal Mineo's character, Plato, in Rebel Without a Cause was obviously gay. He idolized the James Dean character and had a picture of Alan Ladd in his high school locker. It also featured scenes of male bonding between the two characters which people sometimes interpret as being about homosexuality.

"Rebel was about tenderness, intimacy. It was an attempt to widen the

permission to love when men were supposed to be one way with each other," Rebel's screenwriter Stewart Stern says in the documentary. "I think if I were writing that script again today, I would be much more specific about Plato. I would let him be an outcast because the gang thought he was a fag. And let his isolation come from that opinion."

Plato, being an obviously gay character, was, of course, killed in the movie.

Gore Vidal, the screenwriter for Ben-Hur, provides the funniest insight of slipping homosexual subtext into a movie. He decided that in the back-story of the movie, Ben-Hur and Messala used to be lovers. When they meet again, many years later, Messala wants to start the relationship back up.

So, Vidal and the film's director tell the actor playing Messala about the back-story, but not to Charlton Heston, who played Ben-Hur.

"Don't say anything to Heston, because Chuck will fall apart," Vidal recalls the film's director telling him.

So, the two share an intimate scene, and only one actor was aware of the subtext -- even while locking arms to drink from goblets.

Richard Dyer, a film historian, notes that expressing homosexuality in real life in those days was the same way, it was all covert and reading between the lines. "The movies were in the closet, and we were in the closet," Dyer says.

In 1959's "Pillow Talk," Rock Hudson, a gay man perceived then by most of America to be heterosexual, poses as a straight man posing as a gay man. In "Spartacus," from 1960, Anthony Curtis is chosen to be Spartacus' "body servant," with no further reference as to what that means. In a deleted scene shown in the documentary, Curtis is then shown bathing Spartacus with a dialogue dripping with gay subtext.

But in most instances, characters with a questionable sexuality died, by their own or someone else's hand, before the end credits rolled.

"It's not always like it happens in plays, not all faggots bump themselves off at the end of the story," one character tells another in 1970's "The Boys in the Band," a bittersweet movie about gay men, in which no one dies in the end. Some films of the 1970s began featuring openly gay characters, but not all were positive.

In 1980, "Cruising" had Al Pacino exploring the gay S&M scene in a murder thriller, which drew gay protesters upon its release.

"Making Love," a 1982 movie, featured a gay romance between Harry Hamlin and Michael Ontkean. The film studio's trailer featured a "warning" about the subject matter of the film, which contains both actors undressing one another, running their hands over each other's naked torsos and kissing passionately.

Also in 1982, "Personal Best" featured a lesbian relationship with full-frontal nude scenes.

"I think straight men are more uncomfortable with two men making love, because somehow that means you're weak," says Whoopi Goldberg, who played a lesbian character in The Color Purple. "And people equate weakness with male sensuality toward other men, not realizing that that's a ridiculous theory. ... Like being a man is based on who you happen to be boning that day."

Other movies, like "Fried Green Tomatoes" water down the sexuality of its lead characters, and make them ambiguous, but not necessarily queer.

Tom Hanks attributes his acceptance as a gay lawyer with AIDS in 1993's "Philadelphia" to his "everyman" screen persona. "Because of it, this idea

of a gay man with AIDS is not scary," he says. "You don't have be threatened ... because little Tommy Hanks is playing the role."

Gay films such as Fierstein's "Torch Song Trilogy" don't get much screen time in the documentary, which focuses mainly on mainstream Hollywood's dealing with gay subject matter. Some people have also criticized the film for including the controversial "The Silence of The Lambs" and "Basic Instinct" among a montage of positive "real" images of gays and lesbians.

But with films such as the delightful "The Wedding Banquet," "Swoon," "Parting Glances," "The Crying Game," and "Jeffrey" (which comes out on video in the middle of February), a new era of positive images is beginning in Tonseltown.

"The long silence is finally ending," Tomlin says near the end of the feature. "New voices have emerged, open and unapologetic. They tell stories that have never been told -- about people who have always been there."

- ----

Oasis is the monthly webzine for queer and questioning youth, located at <http://www.outproud.org/oasis/>

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE:28-JAN-1996 03:59:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from storm.eop.gov (storm.eop.gov)
by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01I0J3AOSL740016J5@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for
yandura_p@a1.eop.gov; Sun, 28 Jan 1996 03:57:58 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from mailhub1.aimnet.com ("port 2155"@mailhub1.aimnet.com)
by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01I0J360SLKQ003CC2@STORM.EOP.GOV> for
yandura_p@a1.eop.gov; Sun, 28 Jan 1996 03:54:09 -0700 (MST)

Received: from ns2.cyberspaces.com ([204.247.8.32]) by aimnet.com (8.7.1/8.7.1)
with SMTP id AAA07963; Sun, 28 Jan 1996 00:36:03 -0800 (PST)

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: jamest@usia.gov@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME: 8-FEB-1996 20:23:00.00

SUBJECT: 2_8_U.S._China

TO: matsui_d (matsui_d@A1@CD) (WHO)

READ: 9-FEB-1996 12:37:16.40

TEXT:

FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION
DAILY DIGEST USIA

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND MEDIA REACTION

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, WASHINGTON, DC 20547

Patricia McArdle,

Branch

Chief Media Reaction, (R/MR), Tele. No. (202)619-6511 Ann Pincus, Director

Thursday, February 8, 1996

U.S.-CHINA: BUSINESS AS USUAL DESPITE SABER RATTLING?"

As Taiwan's March 23d presidential election draws nigh, the foreign press has gone on alert over Beijing's increasingly menacing posture toward Taipei. Beijing's official press reiterated official declarations of the one China policy and firmly noted that its foreign ministry would neither confirm nor deny reports that China would soon launch a military exercise off Taiwan. The independent, English-language Hongkong Standard predicted that Beijing would continue to reject any criticism from Washington about pre-electoral maneuvers it might stage near Taiwan. The paper pointed out that the U.S. "regularly holds similar war games with its South Korean ally each year...presumably, to warn Pyongyang not to 'cross the line.'"

A majority of observers joined in a voluminous outpouring of concern, cutting a wide swath across Europe and Asia, about the troubled waters in the Taiwan Strait. Again and again, journalists fretted about the possibility of an "accidental" outbreak of war. Thai writers, for example, called Beijing's posturing "frightening." Centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich warned that an attack on Taiwan--China's second biggest investor--would be "life threatening for China's Communists," but added that "China's policy has not always been based on logical decisions," especially its policy toward Taiwan. A scant few writers--notably in Moscow and East Asia--downplayed the threat from Beijing. Moscow's reformist Segodnya, giving the pragmatic view, doubted that Beijing would risk killing the "Taiwanese 'goose' that lays the 'golden eggs,'" and suggested that Beijing only wanted to "try to frighten the rebel province."

Loudly and clearly, a number of other foreign analysts looked to

Washington for leadership to nudge Beijing to climb down from its aggressive stance against Taipei and outsiders it saw as siding with the island's leadership. Editorialists in Canada, Britain, Norway and elsewhere called on the U.S. to defend Taiwan, though they differed on what form that defense should take. A Swedish daily suggested that "joint efforts from democratic countries to strengthen political and diplomatic relations with Taiwan could check this Chinese aggression." A Dutch paper joined Berlin's right-of-center Die Welt in seeking "global crisis management with the Americans at the top." Several also urged Washington to take measures to allay China's fears regarding its approach to Taiwan. Along these lines, some wondered whether the disclosure that the nuclear-equipped USS Nimitz had traversed the Taiwan Strait in December was helpful or inflammatory.

A smattering of European commentators focused on trade issues and Indian writers scorned Washington's "indulgent" attitude toward China's nuclear activities. China's official press reported on ongoing agricultural negotiations and asserted that Beijing should not have to make concessions harmful to its sovereignty in order to fulfill its goal of joining the World Trade Organization. Papers in Paris and Prague also noted that the U.S. had lifted restrictions on satellite trade with China. A Czech economic writer observed that trade antagonism with Beijing usually backfires, while financial La Tribune in Paris found Washington's timing "odd" in light of ongoing bilateral wrangles over intellectual property rights.

This report is based on 81 commentaries from 22 countries, Jan. 26 - Feb. 8

EDITOR: Rose Sue Berstein

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

CHINA: "No Confirmation"

According to an article appearing on the front page of the official, English-language China Daily (2/7), "Foreign Ministry Spokesman Shen Guofeng would not confirm or deny reports that China is soon to launch a military exercise off the coast of Fujian Province. 'I will not comment on whether there will be a military exercise or what kind of an exercise it might be because it's purely an affair of the military,' he said."

"Farm Talks To Continue In U.S; Wheat Quarantine Will Be Central Topic"

Wu Yunhe wrote in the official, English-language China Daily Business Weekly (2/4), "The whirlwind visit of U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman in Beijing last week produced at least one immediate result: China agreed to send a trade delegation to the United States for further talks on bilateral trade in farm produce. But despite Glickman's energetic efforts to persuade his Chinese counterparts, China could still hold firm on its traditional attitude (on quarantining wheat from the Pacific Northwest) in the future Sino-American talks, observers say."

"China Demands U.S. Honor Its Commitment On Taiwan"

The official, Communist Party People's Daily Overseas and China Daily ran this (2/2): "Foreign Ministry spokesman Chen Jian said China firmly opposes Taiwan's efforts to use stopovers (by leaders) to pursue a policy of 'two Chinas' or 'one China, one Taiwan.' China advises Taiwan not to proceed any further on the path of trying to split the motherland. China demands that the U.S. government honor its commitment under the three Sino-U.S. joint communiques, limit relations with Taiwan to an unofficial level and pledge not to provide conditions for the Taiwan authorities to pursue such activities in order to prevent further harm to the bilateral relationship."

"Spokesman Says China Has Strengthened Anti-Piracy Efforts"

Official dailies and Xinhua all covered the IPR issue. The People's Daily (2/2) wrote, "Foreign Ministry Spokesman Chen Jian called 'groundless' the criticism that China's efforts to protect intellectual property were inadequate as alleged recently by a U.S. official. Chen said that protecting intellectual property rights (IPR) is a basic government policy. Since launching its reform efforts, China has made tremendous strides in adopting the relevant legislation and law enforcement measures and has established legal protection for IPR which meets international standards. In 1995, China strengthened its enforcement of the IPR law and launched a series of anti-piracy campaigns to remove pirated products from the audiovisual and publishing markets. These efforts met with visible success.

"'IPR violations are an international problem which even the United States has experienced,' Chen said. He added that China is willing to exchange experience and strengthen cooperation in the field of IPR protection. However, threatening to impose sanctions on China is detrimental to such cooperation and also harms SinoU.S. trade relations across the spectrum. China is opposed to such behavior."

"Stronger Sino-U.S. Trade Necessary, Official Says"

Ma Chen wrote in the China Daily (2/2), "'The world community has acknowledged that the Chinese market is opening wider to foreign trade,' the foreign ministry spokesman said yesterday.

"'Differences in statistical (measures) account for the United States calculating its trade deficit with' China at \$37 billion, while China tallies it at \$8.6 billion, 'spokesman Chen Jian said. In spite of this dispute over statistical measures,' he said, 'China favors strengthening economic ties and opposes any actions that would harm such ties.' The spokesman said disputes on market opening should be judged according to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade instead of standards set by an individual country."

"'One China' View Is Reaffirmed"

The following report ran on page one of the China Daily (1/26): "Whatever the Taiwan authorities are doing cannot change the fact that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China, nor can it shake China's commitment to the

reunification of the motherland, Foreign Ministry spokesman Chen Jian said in Beijing yesterday. Chen refuted speculation that Chinese officials are sending a warning or conveying any message to the United States on the Taiwan issue. He said the dispute across the Taiwan Strait is purely an internal matter. He also said that China is against any sales to or co-production of weapons with Taiwan by any foreign country. As for Sino-U.S. relations, the spokesman said China adheres to the principles announced by President Jiang during his visit to Seattle in late 1993: 'More trust, intensified cooperation, fewer troubles and no confrontation.'"

"Refuting The 'Contain China' Theory"

The People's Daily (1/26) commented, "On the emergence of containment theory, some people hoped that the dramatic changes in the post-Cold War world would extend to China. However, their hopes were dashed. They regard China's independent and peaceful foreign policy as an obstacle to their pursuit of hegemony and power politics. Unwilling to see a unified and strong China, they have used every possible means to pressure China on the issues of Taiwan, Tibet, human rights, arms control, nuclear testing, trade and religious belief and to otherwise make trouble and suppress China's development. Attempts to spread a 'China threat' theory, advocate a 'contain China' policy, and to disrupt China's relationships with its neighbors are only the latest in a series of efforts to make trouble.

"Actually, only a few people brazenly advocate containment, even among the Western press. But even a few voices can poison the international atmosphere and disrupt international credibility, neither of which is conducive to world peace and stability. Therefore, we must be alert to the spread of the containment theory."

"WTO Entry Must Involve No Sacrifices"

Jiang Jian remarked in the China Daily (1/25), "Although joining the World Trade Organization is consistent with China's development program and opening-up policy, China will not sacrifice its national interest (to join the organization), China's top trade negotiator said in Shanghai yesterday. Long Yongtu, assistant minister of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation and head of China's WTO negotiation delegation, said that it is hard to predict when the nine-year-old negotiations will come to an end because some developed countries are magnifying political issues."

TAIWAN: "Beijing Aimed At Testing Washington And Taipei's Reactions"

The pro-establishment Economic Daily News (1/26) ran these excerpts from a lecture by the director of National Chengchi University's Institute of International Relations: "The New York Times report is Communist China's way of testing Washington's bottom line and Taiwan's reaction.

"It is also one of the means used by Beijing to intimidate Taiwan both in newspaper articles and through military exercises. The move did not raise the tensions across the Taiwan Strait again, nor did it alleviate them. It is worth noting that the official reaction from the United States has

changed from a previous low-profile message that 'Beijing's moves make no contribution to the peace across the Taiwan Strait' to the stronger remark that 'the United States will act according to the Taiwan Relations Act.'... Another explicit purpose for Communist China to launch...psychological warfare recently is...to affect Taiwan's upcoming presidential elections."

"PRC Acting Against Pragmatic Diplomacy"

According to the pro-establishment China News (1/26), "The recent development across the Taiwan Strait indicates that a dilemma is faced by both Taipei and Beijing. Taiwan cannot afford to abandon pragmatic diplomacy because as a sovereign state it has the right to seek international recognition. On the other hand, Beijing cannot sit idle watching Taiwan develop a separate identity recognized internationally. A solution to this dilemma must be found by the Chinese people of both sides through peaceful means. This may take time, but bad peace is better than good war, after all. A military solution is the worst option and should not be permitted by the world community as a means to settle disputes."

AUSTRALIA: "Business As Usual Despite Saber Rattling"

The Hong Kong correspondent for the national, business-oriented Australian Financial Review (2/2) reported, "The Taiwanese (trade and profits) data were aired as the United States upped the ante in the three-way cold war, in granting a lengthy 'transit' visa to Taiwan's vice-president en route to official functions in Central America. At the same time, Washington has raised the pressure on China over trade, with Trade Representative Mickey Kantor saying yesterday that China's plans to inhibit the flow (of) economic information, much of it provided by U.S. firms...was not just an issue but 'at the heart of our trade relationship. Clearly it is a step in the wrong direction'... he said."

"Taiwan Leader's U.S. Visit A New Taunt For China"

The Washington correspondent for the liberal Sydney Morning Herald (2/2) reported, "The United States announced yesterday that it would let Taiwan's vice president stop over in three American cities this month, despite the risk of provoking China.... But China today demanded the United States keep ties with Taiwan non-official and said it had made serious representations to Washington over the issue."

"Keating Backs Bully In Chinese Neighborhood"

The Australian Financial Review (1/30) held, "There would seem to be little reason to doubt that (Chinese President) Jiang means what he says in promising that the 'long march' begun by Mao will end with Taiwan firmly under Beijing's thumb. One way of trying to ensure this does not happen is for the United States to stick with its policy of warning the Communists it will not tolerate a military attack on Taiwan."

"(Australian Prime Minister) Keating and (Foreign Minister) Evans, however, want the United States to go softly on China while warning the Taiwanese to shut up and suppress any democratic inclination to declare

their independence from Beijing.... In Keating's view, the most important thing about China is not that it is a Communist dictatorship but that it is the world's biggest emerging economy."
"China Our New Security Fear"

The Sydney Morning Herald (1/25) ran this "exclusive" report by its foreign affairs correspondent: "A secret Australian government assessment has warned that hostility between China and Taiwan may spark a regional crisis embroiling the United States and endangering this country's security and trade ties in East Asia.... The assessment says intelligence sources have revealed that the People's Liberation Army has 'war gamed' an invasion of Taiwan despite doubts about the success of occupying the island. However, Washington appeared 'helpless' to ease tensions because the pro-Taiwan lobby had successfully won over Congress and U.S. public opinion while the Clinton administration...failed to develop a clear strategic vision for Asia.... The assessment says Chinese military action would bring strong pressure...on the U.S. government to supply military support to Taiwan, which...may force Washington to seek support from its traditional allies, including Australia."

HONG KONG: "Who Asked Your Opinion, America?"

The independent, English-language Hongkong Standard (2/7) held, "Beijing will almost certainly reject any 'holier than thou' comments from Washington about any large-scale military exercises that China might or might not stage near Taiwan before the island's March 23 presidential elections--especially since America regularly holds similar war games with its South Korean ally each year...presumably, to warn Pyongyang not to 'cross the line.' Our message to Washington...Let Beijing and Taipei shout at each other. Let them settle their problems on their own. And keep your nose out of it."

"U.S. May Not Send Troops But May Intervene; Sino-Taiwan Ties Worsen"

The independent Hong Kong Economic Journal (1/31) held, "(Judging) from the incident involving U.S. warships recently passing through the Taiwan Strait and the news that the seventh fleet will sail in the Taiwan Strait during the Taiwan presidential election, the United States will not send its troops to protect Taiwan but may intervene in military affairs in the Taiwan Strait. This move will create some obstacles for China...."

"The United States is very concerned about Taiwan. The superficial reason is to protect the fruits of Taiwan's democracy and at the same time give southeast Asian countries a guarantee of stability. The real underlying motive may be to control the economic development of China."

"U.S. Aircraft Carrier 'Unrestrained Sail Through'"

Center-right Sing Tao Daily News (1/27) held, "It is predictable that the United States does not want to see a war break out in Taiwan Strait. In case there is a war, the United States will not participate. However, it will give Taiwan the necessary weapons...."

"The Seventh Fleet has maintained peace in the Taiwan Strait for more than

20 years. The Taiwan government and civilians have deep feelings about the Fleet, and they welcome its return. If there is a crisis in the Strait, the United States can adopt the method used from the fifties to the seventies--sending the Seventh Fleet (to the Strait) again. Of course, the strategic deployment of the Seventh Fleet is not limited to the Taiwan Strait; it includes the South China Sea as well. The United States will not stand neutral if the security of the region is threatened. There are many considerations for fighting a war in the Strait. It shouldn't be started. The (authorities) of the two coasts of the Strait should maintain their policy of reunification through peaceful means."

"USS Nimitz Carries 'Certain Victory' For Taipei"

The English-language Eastern Express (1/29) commented, "Reeling from the New York Times report (asserting that China had told the United States it had completed plans for a missile attack on Taiwan), which hit a nerve in Taiwan, the defense ministry leaked the 'news' of the U.S. carrier transit to calm the public and to show Beijing that the United States is on Taiwan's side.... Unfortunately, the short-term propaganda victory may have unfortunate long-term consequences. While the United States is committed to maintaining peace in the Asia-Pacific region, it is not certain the United States would intervene in any cross-strait conflict."

INDONESIA: "China, Taiwan Furor"

The leading, independent, English-language Jakarta Post (1/30) opined, "Last week two warnings were aired: by former British PM Thatcher on China's growing threat and by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Lord on the Chinese military build-up. They have piqued the concern of countries in the region. And although China has announced that it will soon reduce its military personnel by 500,000...some countries still consider China an undeniable threat. Now that tension between China and Taiwan has surfaced again, it is our hope that Beijing will solve what is an internal issue peacefully, and avoid any move that will backfire after what it has painstakingly achieved thus far.... If China does resort to force then the future stability of the region will be gravely in doubt. By settling the Taiwan issue peacefully, Beijing will assure its neighbors that China has no intention of posing a threat to any of them."

"Asian Countries Should Not Excessively Fear China"

Leading, independent Kompas (1/29) held, "Military observers doubt that China seriously plans to attack Taiwan. The plan is probably just a bluff. China wants to send a message to both Taiwan and the United States...that President Lee Teng-hui should stop seeking international recognition of Taiwan and that the United States should not be too friendly to Lee. It is important that the world, including the United States, as a Cold War ally of Taiwan, not interfere in China-Taiwan bilateral issues. Foreign involvement could intensify the conflict, which would jeopardize regional security."

"Should China Invade Taiwan?"

The pro-government, English-language Indonesia Times (1/29) opined, "It is

strongly suspected in Beijing that the visit of President Lee Teng-hui to Washington was to seek U.S. recognition for Taiwan once it is declared by its people as an independent republic. The United States is probably sending signals to both Taiwan and China by sailing the Nimitz aircraft carrier to the Straits of Taiwan.... One feasible alternative for Beijing is the use of military might to invade Taiwan. But the problem is whether Beijing dares do that. Taiwan's military might is not inferior to that of China. And the United States has economic and strategic reasons to defend Taiwan and keep the island's position as it is today. The United States would undoubtedly involve its Seventh Fleet to protect Taiwan once Beijing begins military operations to reunite Taiwan with the mainland motherland."

MALAYSIA: "U.S. Must Allay China's Suspicions"

Government-influenced, Chinese-language Nanyang Siang Pau commented (2/8), "The United States must understand that its past policy on Taiwan has sharpened China's distrust. In the midst of the present war cry, the best way to prevent a miscalculation that will draw the United States into troubled waters is to give concrete assurances to China (of the continuation of the U.S. China policy) to allay its suspicions." SINGAPORE: "Cruising In Troubled Waters"

The pro-government Straits Times (1/30) held, "Even routine deployments take on new meaning in unroutine times. So it was for a report last week, confirmed by the U.S. Defense Department, that the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Nimitz and its escort battle group had sailed through the Taiwan Strait on December 19.... If Washington's intention in making the move was to underscore that it is a Pacific power with interests in the Pacific, that is welcome--as is the way in which the journey of the Nimitz reiterated the right of passage through international waters.... Put bluntly, what the Nimitz left in its wake was a reminder, amid a backdrop of recent Chinese military maneuvers directed at Taiwan, that the United States is still a force to be reckoned with in Asia. It was a visual reminder that Beijing would have to factor the U.S. presence into its calculations.

"Two things are problematic about the American move, however. It does not clarify whether U.S. support for Taiwan, which is a part of China, would extend to helping the province defend itself if it declared independence and so provoked Beijing to carry out its threat of the use of military force to reclaim it. At issue is not whether the Americans are committed to protecting the status quo across the strait but whether they will continue to support Taiwan once the status quo is invalidated by a declaration of independence. That is the first point, and it is critical.

"The second leads on from it. If the presence of the Nimitz was not a symbolic indication of America's commitment to see Taiwan through the military consequences of bidding for independence, it could create a false sense of security for Taiwanese who desire separation. Ambiguous signals are thus best avoided, especially since American--like Chinese--moves will be studied assiduously in the lead-up to the Taiwanese presidential election in March. What those moves do is raise the stakes in an

increasing risky game whose victims, should it unravel, will be primarily Taiwanese themselves. Instead, what is necessary is an effort by all sides to prevent the situation in the strait from escalating. Much depends on it, and not only for the players, because the issue touches on the peace, stability and prosperity of Pacific Asia."

"Generation Of Technocrats Takes Charge"

Pro-government, Chinese-language Lianhe Zaobao (1/30) said, "Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew pointed out the need for the United States to remain in the region to counterbalance China because no country in Asia can play such a counterbalancing role as the United States.... No leader in Southeast Asia believes we can counterbalance China if we unite together. It is a one-sided contest.... We must view the issue of counterbalance from the standpoint of the whole Pacific region, not from Asia alone."

SOUTH KOREA: "Merely Pressure On Taiwan"

Conservative Chosun Ilbo commented (2/8), "It does not seem that China has real military designs against Taiwan behind its recently announced military exercises. It would be more accurate to say these exercises are merely to put pressure on Taiwan's President Lee. China's internal situation explains why a real assault is unlikely: It would seriously jeopardize the safe return of Hong Kong and Macao to Chinese control, and an attack would mean a drastic cut in badly needed foreign investment in China. Moreover, the Chinese military does not appear to be strong enough and well-equipped enough to guarantee a quick victory. Most of its weapons are old and inefficient, while Taiwan's have constantly been upgraded."

THAILAND: "Easing Tension Essential In Taiwan-China impasse"

The independent, English-language Nation (2/2) said, "There seems to be a consensus within Beijing that China's leaders are willing to risk short-term stability to secure long-term sovereignty and this is indeed a frightening scenario.... While (President) Lee might choose not to face the truth, the reality is that his efforts to get Taiwan back in the UN fold, his ambiguous stand on the issue of reunification and his so-called private visit to the United States last year...all led to current tensions.... What is also worrying is that the United States has remained deliberately ambiguous...in saying how it would respond to any military action by China.... The Clinton administration is better known for its internal vacillations and chaos rather than its strategic visions. Clearly tension between Taiwan and China must be eased. The Chinese hardliners have to be placated and the success of...the United States and China in finding a solution to the Taiwan problem will go a long way toward ensuring peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific."

"China, Taipei Must Settle Differences Peacefully"

The top-circulation, English-language Bangkok Post (2/1) opined, "It is true that at this moment there appears to be no imminent danger of a Chinese invasion of Taiwan. China's continuing threat of such a move hardly inspires confidence, however. Beijing's insistence on the right to

use raw force against Taiwan is troubling on several levels. Those of us in this part of the world would be greatly affected by any moves by China to recover Taiwan by force. We can sympathize with Beijing that the Taiwan problem is a serious matter. At the same time, we should make clear to China that impatient and violent actions would be most unwelcome throughout our region. Taiwan has stood apart from China since the day the Communist Party won the Chinese civil war more than 46 years ago. Beijing and Taipei should solve this separation peacefully."

"Control Of The Asia-Pacific Security Agenda"

An analysis in the Nation (2/1) by Walden Bello said, "Last year's...U.S. Defense Department's Security Strategy in the East Asia Pacific Region will be seen as a watershed.... (It) is basically a throwback to the Cold War system of regional security, where the peace and security of Western-oriented elites rested on the threat of exercising the U.S. military force that was deployed in more than 350 major bases and facilities, and legitimizing defense treaties with selected Asia-Pacific governments...."

"To a U.S. military establishment requiring a new foe to justify its massive Pacific presence after the collapse of the Soviet enemy, North Korea was a godsend.... Containment, that venerable strategic doctrine of the Cold War, had not become irrelevant, declared Washington. And now the rationale of containing Korea has been joined by that of containing China, which is increasingly regarded by the U.S. media, Washington policy circles and defense intellectuals as the threat to the region."

"China Ecstatic At Russian Communism Revival"

Anek Permwongseni of Chulalongkorn University's Asian studies Institute commented in the Nation's Thai-language sister publication, Krungthep Turakij (1/29), "The failure of democracy in Russia and several Eastern European countries has helped the Chinese leadership convince the Chinese as well as the world population that democracy may not be suitable for some societies, and that laissez faire capitalism does not really contribute to the public well-being. To the contrary, socialism, if properly fine-tuned and kept abreast of world development, should be viable and even prosper. China's world highest growth has so far successfully proven this point."

"China Moves, Taiwan Panics, U.S. On The Lookout"

An analysis in the Bangkok Post's Thai-language sister publication, Siam Post (1/29), bylined Somdun Ponsaen, commented on the increasing tension between China and Taiwan, "In this increasingly volatile situation, it is interesting to see whether the Taiwanese will still re-elect President Lee Teng-hui. If so, how would China react? And if China then decides to carry out its threats and attacks Taiwan, how would the United States react to China's claim of reunification?"

EUROPE

BRITAIN: "U.S. Warships Sent To Deter Attack On Taiwan"

The centrist Independent said (2/7), "The confrontation between Taiwan and China is reaching a level where the risk of an accidental clash is as high as that of a deliberate act of provocation, says a senior Western military source based here.... China is evidently keen to maintain the tension.... Taiwan meanwhile is showing restraint by not holding military exercises of its own."

"Stand By Taiwan"

The conservative Times editorialized (2/6), "If Russia were to threaten missile attacks on a neighbor, the West would act swiftly to impress on Moscow that military intimidation was intolerable. By contrast, there has been barely any response, even in the United States, to equally menacing behavior by China. Over the past year, Beijing has sold missiles and nuclear technology to Iran, grabbed the Mischief Reef on the disputed Spratly Islands, laid claim to parts of Indonesian waters and harassed shipping in the South China Sea. Above all, it has set out to intimidate Taiwan.... Indecision is dangerous.... Before China goes further, [Clinton] needs to leave Beijing in no doubt that, whatever Taiwan's legal status, its right to be left in peace has his determined support."

"Stand Up For Taiwan"

The independent weekly Economist (2/2) asked, "Is China preparing to pick off Taiwan?... The message needs to be conveyed a lot more clearly by America, backed by its allies, that others have a strong interest in a stable and secure Taiwan. To help the message sink in, China needs to be reminded that any military action, whether missiles fired at Taiwanese territory or harbors blockaded, would put at risk not only the huge sums that Taiwanese invest on the mainland, but also China's lucrative trade with the world's rich economies.

"And if China blunders on? Then the job of America and its allies is to help Taiwan defend itself. That means providing it with anti-missile defenses and other military equipment and, if necessary, moving ships from the American Seventh Fleet into position between China and Taiwan. Too provocative? It is China that is being provoking."

GERMANY: "Needed: Global Crisis Management With U.S. On Top"

Ruediger Moniac's editorial for right-of-center Die Welt of Berlin said (2/8), "In this interim stage where the power is slipping out of Deng Xiaoping's hand, his possible successors are at loggerheads with each other. That the Chinese army is now...beginning a maneuver gives reason to assume that raw-power politicians who have no interest in democracy and human rights are at the helm, at least for the time being. The future will show whether in this stage of tensions and excitement, reason will gain the upper hand.

"What is now necessary is a global crisis management with the Americans at the top. Every international body, mainly the UN, should publicly appeal to...Beijing and use all kinds of diplomatic activities to force the leadership of Beijing to show moderation."

"Does China Want War?"

Centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich (2/7) held, "China's Premier Jiang Zemin recently said that China would not wait 'for an unlimited time' for its unification, and Hong Kong newspapers reported unprecedented maneuvers in the waters around Taiwan.... Does China want war?... An attack on Taiwan with all its implications would be...life-threatening for China's Communists.... And there are further reasons why a military strike would be absurd. Taiwan is the second biggest investor in China and, according to experts, China's armed forces are too weak for an invasion.... But in the past few months, China's policy has not always been based on logical decisions, and this is particularly true for the policy toward Taiwan."

"Ritualistic Bluster Or Something More?"

Sueddeutsche Zeitung (2/1) said, "China's threat to invade Taiwan is not new.... But what is new today is the aggressiveness and the hefty intimidation attempts. And this policy is directed at all those--mainly President Lee--who want to create a place for Taiwan in world politics.... Beijing wants to use all means possible to prevent the re-election of President Lee. The message of the Beijing government is simple: Every vote for Lee will create a danger for the island of Taiwan."

"Beijing has reason to be concerned. Lee is the favorite in the presidential elections. If he wins, he will be the first president in China's history who will be directly elected by the people. And it would also create a dilemma for the West. The governments in Washington, London and Bonn must justify themselves again and again why they ignore and single out a democratically elected president--only because of pressure from the dictatorial regime in China. The Beijing government is afraid not only of the dissidents in its own country but also of democracy in Taiwan."

FRANCE: "U.S. Worries: Most Explicit Warning"

In the view of influential Liberation (2/8), "The United States is taking seriously the current tension in the Straits of Taiwan. Defense Secretary Perry expressed concern about 'the military threats' which China exerts on Taiwan. This U.S. warning is the most explicit one since the renewed crisis between the island and China last summer."

"Arms Race"

Beijing correspondent Jean Leclerc du Sablon wrote in conservative Le Figaro (2/8), "After France and the United States, Russia is now entering the arms race between the 'enemy brothers' on both sides of the Straits of Taiwan (Russia will deliver Sukhoi-27 airplanes to Beijing).... The warming up between the two former Communist brothers, both irritated by the West, is accelerating."

"Pragmatic U.S. Approach"

Catherine Chatignoux maintained in economic Les Echos (2/8), "It seems that trade reasons alone inspire the end of the satellite embargo.... Pressure from the business milieu already played a considerable role in

Bill Clinton's decision not to link the MFN clause to the human rights question in 1993. The (satellite) decision made yesterday seems to confirm this pragmatic approach."

"Odd Timing"

But Philippe Le Corre noted from Hong Kong in financial La Tribune (2/8), "The end of the (satellite exports) sanctions is taking place at an odd moment, when a U.S. delegation...is preparing to travel to Beijing to address what is probably the most difficult issue in U.S.-Chinese bilateral relations--intellectual property rights."

ITALY: "Troubled Waters Between U.S. And China"

New York correspondent Marco Valsania filed for financial Il Sole-24 Ore (2/8), "The waters are troubled again between Washington and Beijing. The United States is concerned over the latest evidence of nuclear technology transfers from China to Pakistan. The Clinton administration may decide to immediately suspend the flow of public funds for agreements between U.S. firms and local authorities in China.... However, it is clear that the United States is trying to avoid a break with Beijing, even though it is maintaining pressure, especially as far as economic liberalization is concerned. There was tension recently in the field of human rights protection, while conditions for China's entry into the WTO represent another unresolved question. But Washington also uses a much more positive language: Yesterday it announced a green light to new projects with China in the field of satellite telecommunications."

"Two Chinas And One Market = Headache For The U.S."

An editorial in the new four-page Il Foglio (2/2) held, "The influence of economic concerns on American contradictions (in relations with China and Taiwan) is much stronger now than it was 16 years ago, when the Taiwan Relations Act was promulgated. U.S. investments in China are huge and, at the same time, the trade gap between the two countries is about \$20 billion per year in favor of Beijing. U.S. exporters would like to achieve a balance which a diplomatic hardening would make more difficult. These are the reasons the United States denied China membership in the WTO.

"However when we move from economic disputes to respect of national sovereignty sanctioned by international treaties (as in the case of China and Taiwan and their relations with the United States), finding an equilibrium between business and freedom becomes even more complicated. All the more if we consider that, while in the post-war era the barrier was determined by the conflict between capitalist democracies and socialist countries--yes to business, but freedom was the main concern--the impression now is that the West has lowered the guard on this crucial aspect. And that, now that the Soviet Union has dissolved, it is also renouncing a little bit the principle it used in opposing the USSR, i.e. the intransigent defense of freedom."

RUSSIA: "War Preparations Or Political Games?"

Reformist Segodnya said (2/6), "The presidential elections are scheduled

to take place on Taiwan in March, and the escalation of China's military pressure on the island by that time cannot be ruled out. Apparently, Beijing is trying to prod Taipei into talks with the mainland in this way.

"However, China's military invasion of Taiwan is highly improbable also because the United States and Japan's reactions to any such development would be extremely negative. Moreover, the mainland already has such strong economic links to Taiwan that it will hardly opt for butchering the Taiwanese 'goose' that lays the 'golden eggs': A sizeable share of foreign investment in mainland China is controlled by Taiwanese capital. However, Beijing will nevertheless try to frighten the rebel province in order to turn in a profit."

"Taiwanese Official's Trip Threatens New Row"

Ivan Shomov remarked in Segodnya (2/3), "Another foreign trip by a high-ranking Taiwanese official threatens a new brouhaha with far from diplomatic consequences.... While People's China has been incensed over the U.S. transit visas story, the White House has tried to maintain composure."

"There's No Smoke Without Fire"

Alexander Chudodeyev commented in Segodnya (1/26), "There is no smoke without fire. With Taiwan as a burr under its saddle, Beijing will from time to time engage in harassing tactics to intimidate Taipei into giving up 'independent policy' and making concessions on the matter of reunification with mainland China. A direct attack is unlikely, as by launching it, Beijing would lose more than it would gain.... On the other hand, Taipei likes playing a poor little piglet threatened by a big bad wolf, and by doing so, obtain Washington's approval of modern arms supplies."

"No Danger Of Chinese Attack"

Alexander Koretsky, commented in reformist, business-oriented Kommersant Daily (1/25), "As for the tension buildup on the island and around it, experts believe it is nothing else than psychological pressure behind which there is no real military danger."

BELGIUM: "Beijing Taking Taiwan Elections As Affront"

Philippe Paquet wrote in conservative Catholic La Libre Belgique (1/31), "Beijing's irritation arises because Taiwan's election will represent the first democratic designation of a chief of state in the entire Chinese history--an unfortunate precedent for the Communist regime--and it will further cement the independence enjoyed de facto by Taiwan, whereas Beijing swears by the unification of the island and of the continent....

"The expected election of Lee Teng-hui, the incumbent Taiwanese president whom the Communist leadership believes to have independentist views should...mark the third step of a drift, after the attack against Taiwanese tourists at Lake Qiandao on March 31, 1994, and Mr. Lee's unprecedented trip to the United States last June. Such a prospect should convince the international community to devote more careful attention to

the March 23 election, as it already prompted the U.S. aircraft carrier Nimitz to cruise in the Taiwan strait for the first time in seventeen years."

CANADA: "Hands Off Taiwan"

The liberal Montreal Gazette (2/5) held, "Beijing has been doing some disturbing saber rattling lately, evidently in hopes of intimidating residents of Taiwan.... China's Prime Minister, Li Peng, suggested that Taiwan's reunification with the Communist mainland will become a top priority after 1999.... Military action has not been ruled out.... It would be a big mistake for either side to do anything rash. An invasion of Taiwan by China would be an inexcusable outrage. But any declaration of independence by Taiwan would almost certainly bring violence from Beijing. China and Taiwan are well-armed, and China is a nuclear power. A war would be enormously painful for both and destabilizing for the region. With any luck, the unification problem will one day be solved by China's evolution into a democratic society."

"China Is Blackmailing The Democratic Countries"

Frederic Wagniere held in French-language La Presse (1/29), "All of the Far East tends toward a more open and fairer political system. Incorporation of Taiwan within China would spread the idea farther. Beijing sees an even greater danger: many Taiwanese want the formal independence of their island.... It is very surprising that a country whose international trade is so important should not have diplomatic representation abroad.... Beijing's threats are designed to end (diplomatic discussions) by instilling the menace of an international incident.... By pleading the defense of China's integrity, the Communist government wishes to show the weakness of democratic countries, starting not with Taiwan's, but with Washington, Ottawa and all the others who accept the humiliating conditions that it imposes. It is indeed a great humiliation for us to renounce our values and to pretend that a country of twenty million people simply does not exist, even if it is one of our best trading partners."

CZECH REPUBLIC: "U.S. Settles Controversy With China"

Economic Hospodarske noviny (2/8) said, "It has become evident that he who tried to impose sanctions against Beijing has lost his own position in the Chinese market (because) China's main business partners, Japan and other neighbors have not joined the embargo.... When China is undergoing a fundamental economic transformation, the world's major firms cannot afford to stand aside and passively watch competing firms taking over."

THE NETHERLANDS: "As Usual, There's A Key Role For Washington"

Influential, liberal-left De Volkskrant said (2/7), "Beijing's announcement of large scale military maneuvers off the Taiwanese coast raised the temperature in that part of Asia.... The question now is how an eruption of violence and force can be prevented. As usual, there is a key role for Washington. The Clinton administration has not presented its China policy in a very fortunate way.... Tough words about sanctions for

Chinese violations of human rights and economic piracy had alternated with very soft diplomacy. It is possible that these hardly effective alternating hot and cold baths have strengthened Beijing's idea that unfriendly sounds from Washington should not be taken too literally.... It would be wise if Washington would make two things very clear: keep telling Taiwan that the United States still works with the status quo; and tell the leaders in Beijing that they will have to pay a high economic and political price for any military adventure."

NORWAY: "China Threatens Taiwan"

Top-circulation VG commented (2/6) "The stupidest thing China could do would be to attack Taiwan. However, until the order of succession after Deng has been stabilized, nothing can be ruled out.... 400,000 of China's 3.3 million soldiers (the largest military force in the world) will begin a month-long maneuver at the mainland coast this week, right across from Taiwan. Ironically enough, it is a comfort that China frequently carries out these threatening military exercises outside Taiwan--without making them into more than that. The exercises are part of China's 'diplomatic' game, usually targeted at the United States."

"When Will Taiwan's Turn Come?"

Christian People's Party-affiliated Vaart Land (2/6) held, "No one knows whether...Beijing means its threats seriously, or if they are just rattling their sabers.... If Beijing decides to attack, there is probably nothing we can do other than condemn and boycott. It will in any case not be a parade march over the Taiwan Strait. Let's hope it is just empty threats."

SPAIN: "Armed Confrontation: Quantity Against Quality"

Centrist El Mundo (2/7) wrote, "Political analysts say that China is in no condition to extend its deadlines any longer.... Comparisons between Taiwan's and China's arsenals indicate that if the Chinese army has quantity, Taiwan's armed forces have quality.... President Lee...is taking advantage of the good relations between Taiwan and the [U.S.] Congress, where the Taiwanese lobby is second only to Israel's, to extend its diplomatic relations to halt the net of isolation carefully spread by China."

"China Seeks Its Reunification"

Columnist Pedro Gonzalez held in centrist Diario 16 (2/7), "Unrest is mounting in Taipei and Washington is beginning to worry about Beijing's challenging attitude. China's continued military maneuvers are interpreted by the United States as a serious warning.... Meanwhile the island of Taiwan risks becoming a bargaining tool. The preservation of its present status of autonomy will depend only on the security need of the region. From a financial and market point of view, the opening of the immense continental market of China to Western--led by U.S.--companies, will prove too appetizing a morsel to refuse in defense of the sovereignty of a prosperous island of just twenty million inhabitants."

SWEDEN: "The Threat Against The Other China"

Conservative Svenska Dagbladet (2/7) opined, "Taiwan's increasing international goodwill is a matter of concern to China, considering that China insists on the reunification of the island with the mainland. A democratic Taiwan recognized by the international community as the 'other China' would be a dangerous example for Tibet and provinces like Sinkiang and inner Mongolia.... Most countries hardly dare to risk their relations with China by recognizing Taiwan. However, joint efforts from democratic countries to strengthen political and diplomatic relations with Taiwan could check this Chinese aggression. Sweden has every reason to work toward these goals in the EU. The international community cannot isolate China any more than China can isolate itself from the rest of the world."

SOUTH ASIA

INDIA: "Washington's Indulgent Attitude"

Washington correspondent Seema Sirohi said (2/6) in the left-of-center Telegraph, "In the past all of Beijing's trespasses have been indulgently overlooked by Washington because of a 'special' relationship. U.S. businessmen do not favor any disturbances in their profit-making ventures. The State Department considers China a very valued partner in Asia and treats the country with a mixture of awe and hesitation. China flagrantly violates U.S. non-proliferation laws but rarely faces any consequences."

"China Steps Up Pressure"

Pundit K. Subrahmanyam wrote in the independent Economic Times (2/5), "China has a better understanding of the U.S.' style of functioning than India. The United States respects military power first and foremost, and then economic power. China was bullied by the United States throughout the 50s.... The bullying tactics began to change as China acquired increasing nuclear and missile capabilities.... Today China has a favorable trade balance with the United States, exceeding \$30 billion and an overall two way trade exceeding \$70 billion.... And very powerful lobby interests have been built in the United States to support Sino-U.S. trade. Having carefully prepared the ground, China is able to deal with the United States in a tough manner on a range of issues."

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===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 8-FEB-1996 20:25:00.00

ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

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Received: from storm.eop.gov (storm.eop.gov)
by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01I0ZEUEROCW0096J9@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for
matsui_d@a1.eop.gov; Thu, 08 Feb 1996 20:23:10 -0400 (EDT)
Received: from usia.gov ("port 2248"@XGATE.USIA.GOV)
by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01I0Z704JHTU00007N@STORM.EOP.GOV> for
matsui_d@a1.eop.gov; Thu, 08 Feb 1996 16:36:55 -0700 (MST)
Received: from Connect2 Message Router by usia.gov via Connect2-SMTP 4.00; Thu,
08 Feb 1996 16:30:19 -0500

Organization: USIA

X-Mailer: Connect2-SMTP 4.00 MHS to SMTP Gateway

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: jamest@usia.gov@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:27-MAR-1996 13:08:00.00

SUBJECT: 3_27_Russia

TO: matsui_d (matsui_d@A1@CD) (WHO)

READ:27-MAR-1996 13:48:29.01

TEXT:

FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION
DAILY DIGEST USIA

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND MEDIA REACTION

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, WASHINGTON, DC 20547

Patricia McArdle,

Branch

Chief Media Reaction, (R/MR), Tele. No. (202)619-6511 Ann Pincus, Director

Wednesday, March 27, 1996

PRE-ELECTION RUSSIA FIGHTS NATO, REINVENTS CIS,
WAXES NOSTALGIC FOR USSR

Foreign commentators cast apprehensive glances at President Yeltsin's drive to expand CIS ties, the Duma's March 15 vote to restore the Soviet Union and the hostility against NATO most recently laid bare during Secretary Christopher's visit to Moscow last weekend.

A large majority of observers--even in Russia--attributed this burgeoning nationalistic mood in part to "propaganda" during the runup to the June presidential poll. But most journalists sensed that Moscow's harsh tones also reflect a growing disillusionment with its relations with the West, a desire to reassert Russia's standing as a world power and a need to reestablish a "security zone" to guard against NATO expansion to the east. They suggested that Russia's dealings with the West, most importantly with Washington and NATO, will remain "confrontational," at least until the Russian political landscape clears up come June. Moscow's reformist Izvestia admitted, "One cannot...ignore the fact that Moscow-Washington relations have recently been clouded over owing to foreign policy and ideological shifts in the Kremlin." These shifts, the paper judged, arose from the vote-getting struggle between President Yeltsin and his Communist opponent, Mr. Zyuganov. A few opinion-makers, including Russian and Western European ones and the independent Times of India, urged the West "not to overreact" to irritating gestures such as the Duma vote and to continue to support Mr. Yeltsin. Those--including many in NATO countries--who believed the Kremlin leader is no "rampart" against anti-democratic forces, pointed to his bloody record in Chechnya and his attempt to play "the same card as Zyuganov and Zhirinovsky--nostalgia for the Soviet empire" as reasons for a more assertive Western policy.

Disturbed by the prospect of the "integration" treaty between Russia and Belarus, Warsaw's top-circulation, center-left Gazeta Wyborcza warned, "The West hasn't noticed that Russia is again expanding its influence. Now it is Belarus, but the tendency will continue."

Even though they castigated Mr. Yeltsin for his anti-NATO rhetoric and voiced their skepticism of his promised peace plan for Chechnya, what alarmed analysts most was the spectacle that a Communist win in the presidential ballot might usher in a newly expansionist Russia. Munich's centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung insisted that, with their attempt to revive the USSR, the Communists are already "threatening to push forward a new chain reaction of distrust in Europe," starting with the CIS neighbors. This unease, the paper added, might increase the pressure on the West by the Central Europeans to gain admittance into NATO and thrust Moscow into "the isolation it caused all by itself." Rejecting Communist claims that the USSR could be rebuilt peacefully, the national Australian Financial Review concluded that their victory could fan "a flame of hope for irredentism" from the Baltics to Central Asia. Reformist, business-oriented Kommersant Daily--one of several Moscow dailies that criticized the Communist move--wearily reminded its readership that "trying to move back in history has hardly ever done anyone any good."

This survey is based on 84 reports from 20 countries, Feb. 29-March 27.

EDITOR: Mildred Sola Neely

EUROPE

RUSSIA: "Yeltsin Is Taking The Initiative In Implementing New CIS"

Pavel Vasilyev stated on page one of reformist, government Rossiyskiye Vesti (3/26), "The Commonwealth of Independent States is embarking on a new stage of development.... Yeltsin is taking the initiative, determined to implement what his political opponents in the Duma only promise. The Communists have been losing trump cards in a game called 'nostalgia for the great and mighty union.'"

"Russia, Belarus Build Road To Future"

Under the headline above, official government Rossiyskaya Gazeta (3/25) front-paged a comment by Mikhail Shchipanov, "After the famous referendum in Belarus on rapprochement with Russia, this process has been free of formal and legal obstacles. A common emblem or flag, an integrated budget or supra-national bodies do not count today. After all, all these things are merely outward attributes, an emotional decorum of objective, 'tectonic' processes."

"A Union Treaty A La EU, Not USSR"

Yuras Karmanov, commenting on mass demonstrations in Minsk against President Lukashenko, pointed out on page one of centrist Nezavisimaya Gazeta (3/26), "A new union treaty is only possible if it provides for something similar to the European Union, not the former USSR. Its key provisions need to be clear to all so that there are no doubts in anyone's

mind that integration only brings benefits, without damaging the sovereignty of either side.... Otherwise, protests may spill over into Russia."

"A Propaganda Move And An Indicator"

Georgy Bovt held in reformist, business-oriented Kommersant Daily (3/26), "(The proposed treaty) can be viewed as a propaganda move in the presidential campaign and, at the same time, as an indicator of the current state of the post-Soviet political elite. The integration process, whipped up by the controversial March 15 statement by the Duma, is remarkable for President Lukashenko's desire to run 'ahead of the train,' or to be ahead of others.... He says and does more than he can help, and the Kremlin has had to restrain him occasionally."

"Nostalgia For USSR: A Strong But Unproductive Feeling"

Kommersant Daily's Vadim Bardin pointed out (3/26), "Nostalgia is a strong but unproductive feeling.... Trying to move back in history has hardly ever done anyone any good. Of course, it is very tempting to try to win the votes of those seeing the breakup of the Soviet Union not only as a geopolitical catastrophe but also as a personal tragedy. Quite a few people think so. But words, no matter how strong, will be words. Words don't make history."

"Basic Differences"

Konstantin Eggert held in reformist Izvestia (3/23), "Nicholas Burns did not weary of repeating, 'We have good relations with Russia.' Judging by his words, basic differences remain on two main issues: NATO's enlargement and, to a lesser extent, Russia-Iran nuclear cooperation. One cannot, however, ignore the fact that Moscow-Washington relations have recently been clouded over owing to foreign policy and ideological shifts in the Kremlin....

"The Kremlin and the Russian Foreign Ministry refuse to take on faith assurances by Brussels and Washington that nobody is going to isolate Russia from European processes. Both sides keep repeating that there must be a way out of the impasse. The impression, however, is that the direct opposite is true. Mutual mistrust is so great and stakes in presidential elections are so high that compromise may seem a more risky business than continued confrontation."

"No Hope For Compromise On NATO"

Under the headline above, reformist Segodnya front-paged a comment by Vladimir Abarinov (3/23), "It's worth noting that even as the Russian foreign minister described the talks, finding no better epithet than 'constructive,' his American counterpart sat, looking downcast.... Yevgeny Primakov said that he knew of no questions that could not be discussed. Nor did he know of any problems that could not be resolved. And he added that 'compromise was to be sought in a wide field, except where NATO's military infrastructure came close to the Russian border.' Obviously, the last statement invalidated all the previous ones."

"NATO Helps Russian Communists"

Rossiyskaya Gazeta stressed (3/23) in a comment by Tamara Zamyatina and Nikolai Kalintsev, "NATO leadership pretends to be unaware of how much it helps the Communist opposition in Russia by pushing expansion plans."

"Discomforting Russia-U.S. Relations"

Andrei Smirnov wrote (3/22) on page one of Kommersant Daily, "A review of Russia-U.S. relations over the period since the first meeting between Christopher and Primakov gives no comfort. While the number of problems has not increased, there is no solution to them in sight. Even worse, there have been more stiff notes in the Russia-U.S. dialogue. The reason for that, apparently, is the ongoing election campaigns, with foreign policy priorities invariably sacrificed.... The promise Christopher gave the Eastern Europeans shortly before his visit to Moscow that a final decision on the procedure and time of their admission to NATO will be made next December can hardly be taken as a friendly gesture toward Russia."

"Restoring USSR Does Not Incite Enthusiasm Overseas"

Neo-Communist Pravda's Vladimir Shelkov said from Washington (3/20), "Any steps that might lead to restoring the former union in whatever form--not the stillborn CIS but a more viable and effective entity--do not excite enthusiasm overseas.... It looks as if the opponents of the Duma resolution at home and abroad have been scared by the hope it gives people for the revival of the great power and for changes in the destructive reform policy."

"Don't Overreact To Duma's Decision On Reviving USSR"

Nezavisimaya Gazeta's editor Vitaly Tretyakov pointed out on page one (3/16), "Objectively provocative, rather than constructive, the Duma's decision does not make for reviving the USSR. To overreact to (their) decision is to play into the provocateurs' hands."

"Electoral Ploy"

Alexander Gamov and Vasily Ustyuzhanin remarked on the front page of reformist, youth Komsomolskaya Pravda (3/16), "Yesterday's attempt to 'restore the USSR' is nothing but an electoral ploy, one that does not tally with the current constitution at that. Therefore, Russia, thank God, will live, no matter what decrees the Duma passes."

"No Quick Solutions In Chechnya"

Mikhail Leontyev contended on page one of Segodnya (3/7), "There is no quick solution to the Chechen problem.... In the run-up to the elections, the party that is interested in the peace process the most is, naturally, Dudayev's bandits, who have recently provoked a series of armed acts with the sole purpose of proving that the federal authorities cannot find any 'solution.' If the president...really wants to show his resolve to win the elections, he must not make his policy dependent on ultimatums by

political opponents."

GERMANY: "The West And Chechnya"

Werner Adam noted in an editorial in right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine (3/27), "Not even the very reserved OSCE wants to be silent in view of the atrocities of soldiers in Chechnya. Nevertheless, the West continues to stick to its view that this is no business for the international community, because it is an 'internal' Russian affair. Instead, President Yeltsin can welcome a great number of foreign visitors three months before the presidential elections. These visitors eloquently talk about European security structures but do not lose a word about the currently bloodiest of all conflicts between the Atlantic and the Urals. This has little to do with realpolitik. Whatever angle you look at it: This attitude is reprehensible."

"Looking For A Security Zone Around Russia"

The Yeltsin visit to Norway prompted this editorial by Herbert Kremp on the front page of right-of-center Die Welt of Berlin (3/26): "The Scandinavian move is meant seriously--even as an attempt to keep the states from Scandinavia via the Baltic states to the former members of the Warsaw Pact in a state of non-alliance and thus in a state of suspense. Looked at it from this point of view, the Communist move toward a restoration of the Soviet Union and Yeltsin's efforts for a closer alliance among CIS members are two variations of the same theme. What he is looking for is, in the long run, a power status of global importance and the accompanying establishment of a security zone around Russia."

"Russia: On A Populist Track, Not Democracy"

Karl Grobe dealt in his editorial in left-of-center Frankfurter Rundschau on the alliance between Russia and Belarus (3/26), "Yeltsin...hopes to take the wind out of the Communist leader Zyuganov's sails by parodying Zyuganov's nostalgia for the Soviet Union. By doing so he confirms its attractiveness, thus giving the Duma decision to restore the Soviet Union political weight. On a populist track, Russia is increasingly withdrawing from democracy."

"Russian Protests Will Not Stop NATO Expansion"

Right-of-center Bonner Rundschau's editorial by Jens Dorner observed (3/23), "Despite Yeltsin's attempt to flex his muscles toward NATO, and the allegedly desperate attempt of his foreign minister for a compromise, NATO's expansion is already clear for the Kremlin.... As certain as NATO's expansion are the efforts of the Kremlin to found in return a successor organization of the Warsaw Pact."

"Why Chechnya Cannot Be Pacified"

Werner Adam maintained in an editorial in Frankfurter Allgemeine (3/20), "Yeltsin has taken his time in presenting a peace plan on Chechnya, although he wants to see an end to the war at the latest by the presidential elections in June. Instead the fighting has taken on such brutal characteristics that even the proxies who were established by

Moscow in Grozny are accusing the Russian forces of acting like marauding soldiers.... It will become depressingly clear that Chechnya cannot be pacified as long as the Russian leadership relies on old Soviet ideals to enforce its claim for power, instead of granting this small group of Caucasian peoples autonomy."

"More Than An Election Campaign Maneuver"

Josef Riedmiller argued in an editorial in centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich (3/20), "The Duma decision is an election campaign maneuver...but it is even more than that. It is the first indication of the fact that the discussion about the historical shape of the 'Soviet Union,' its achievements and its deficiencies has not yet ended in Russia and among its close neighbors.... If the issue is to make life more tolerable and easier in the vast territory that made up the Soviet Union, and this with the support of everybody, we cannot be opposed to it. But Russia's Communists and nationalists are striving for something else, namely the revision of history."

"A New Chain Reaction Of Distrust In Europe"

Sueddeutsche Zeitung remarked in an editorial by Miriam Neubert (3/18), "The Communists in the federal Duma are threatening to push forward a new chain reaction of distrust in Europe: Russia's immediate neighbors, although confronted with an economic crisis, have no choice but to direct important resources into their military budgets. The neighbors which are situated farther away in Central Europe would do the same--and would increase their efforts to join the Alliance. And Russia would find a pretext in the isolation it caused all by itself.... The Communists' decision could turn against themselves."

"Plain English: 'No Enemy, No Ally'"

Josef Riedmiller concluded in an editorial in Sueddeutsche Zeitung of (3/8), "Thanks to Primakov, the West now knows where Russia stands.... Only recently he presented himself in an interview with Izvestia as an advocate of Russia playing the role of a major power.... Primakov put a damper on the widespread Western view that the interests of the Kremlin can be channeled and satisfied with the support of international organizations or by close cooperation of Western diplomats. He said that Russia 'does not want to be the enemy and not the ally of the West.' This was plain English: Russia wants to have its hands free; it does not want to allow international institutions to hold it in leash; it wants to act according to its own will in its backyard (Chechnya) and its front yards (CIS states). And a partnership with the West is welcome where it is useful (IMF), and embarrassing where it restricts Russia's latitude (the CFE treaty)....

"Russia's disassociation from partnerships with the West is an expression of growing self-confidence, and this could mean that its resistance to NATO's expansion eastward could even grow."

BRITAIN: "Yeltsin And The Horror Of Chechnya"

The liberal Guardian's editorial (3/27) said, "Any proposal (to end the

war in Chechnya) now should be treated with extreme skepticism, the more so since the same military sources say that the interior ministry's troops--responsible for the worst indiscipline and excesses in the past--plus two military brigades will remain in Chechnya permanently.... Mr. Yeltsin's alleged concern for the ordinary people of Chechnya is hardly the real issue. He and his officials have made it clear that what is really at stake is the indivisibility of Russia--and his pride. General Dudayev, the separatist leader, is not an attractive figure but most Chechens would now prefer him to marauding Russian troops. The federation will not be maintained by force. And in their apparent preference for Boris as the next president, Western governments must not turn a blind eye to the horrors of his war."

"Best Of A Bad Lot"

The conservative Daily Telegraph observed in an editorial (3/20) under the headline above, "Boris Yeltsin has become the despair of those who would maintain the pace of radical reform begun five years ago.... Less than three months before the presidential poll, the man who climbed on a tank to defy the putsch in 1991 is marking time. Rather than promoting a positive image of himself as the champion of reform, he is standing on a negative platform as the man who can keep the Communists out.... The conclusion which must be reluctantly drawn is that Mr. Yeltsin is the least objectionable candidate. Evgeni Yasin, the economic minister and the only radical reformer still in the cabinet, said in an interview with the Financial Times on Monday that the president had 'tied his fate to that of the reforms.' It would be encouraging to have more evidence of that commitment in Mr. Yeltsin's current policies. Failing that, a survey of his achievements, from dismantling the Soviet Union to the...shattering of the command economy, will have to suffice."

FRANCE: "Christopher, Walking On Eggs"

Economic Les Echos' editorial said (3/22), "In Moscow for a three-day visit, the U.S. secretary of state...will have to walk on eggs.... There is only one message that the West can address to Moscow until June: to claim out loud that it is not willing to isolate Russia, but, on the contrary, to open its doors and gradually integrate it."

"Yeltsin Is No Rampart"

France Inter Radio's Bernard Guetta commented on the Duma vote on restoring the Soviet Union (3/19), "Yeltsin is not a rampart against this threat (reinstatement of the USSR). He, too, is looking for legitimacy and trying to cater to feelings of national pride."

"A Return Of Communists?"

Under this headline, Thierry de Montbrial penned this for conservative Le Figaro (2/29), "In Russia, Communists will perhaps be back soon. This is more worrisome than in Central European countries.... One fears what a new Stalin could do, thanks to the Yeltsinian constitution."

ITALY: "Christopher Offers Yeltsin Clinton's Support"

Left-leaning, influential La Repubblica, in a report from Moscow (3/25), noted that "Boris Yeltsin received the support of President Clinton through Secretary Christopher...notwithstanding the dispute over NATO's expansion."

"Vote Clear Sign Of Nature Of Communist Party"

A commentary by Piero Sinatti in financial Il Sole-24 Ore (3/18) judged, "The atrocious way in which Moscow is conducting the war in Chechnya reinforces the concerns of its 'close neighbors,' concerns which would be multiplied by the electoral victory of the Communist Party, a party which refuses to condemn Stalin and his criminal system and has not evolved toward social-democracy but toward nationalist-socialism, anti-Western, imperialistic, and certainly not unrelated to the history of the Soviet Communist Party. Last Friday's vote, which confirms the Lenin-style propaganda use which the Communists make of the parliament, with destabilizing goals, is a clear indication of the nature of the Russian Communist Party. Yet Yeltsin's ambiguities, rather than reducing the Communists' space for such maneuvers, have added to that space: It is enough to think of the nationalistic rhetoric which often characterizes his speeches, but, most of all, of the recent changes at the top imposed after the Communist victory in the December elections, with the removal from the government of the last reformers. Yeltsin's tough condemnation of Zyuganov's parliamentary initiative will not be enough if the president fails to rebuild (at the last minute) a large social and political front that will restore meaning, clarity and consensus to the liberal and anti-imperialistic revolution in Russia, which is still so tragically incomplete."

BELGIUM: "Reported Pullback From Chechnya Strains Credulity"

Responding to President Yeltsin's announced intention to present at the end of this month his report on the pacification of Chechnya and General Grachev's promise to end "large scale combats," Michel Rosten wrote in conservative Catholic La Libre Belgique (3/27), "Can one reasonably believe...that as of April, the Russian troops will be withdrawn in order to leave only two brigades in Chechnya?... One should not entertain any illusions. Independence movement members know, like everyone else, that Boris Yeltsin's chances of reelection depend a lot on appeasement in Chechnya. This will represent a serious encouragement, for Dudayev's faithful as well as for the adversaries of the Kremlin leader in Russian political circles, to make peace impossible."

"Dangerous Obsession"

In socialist La Wallonie (3/23-24), Robert Falony opined about Christopher's remarks on NATO enlargement in Prague, "This is a dangerous obsession reflecting a complete misunderstanding of history.... Europe has nothing to gain by humiliating Russia.... This frame of mind, this lack of foresight remind (us of) the mistakes committed by the 'democracies' toward Germany during the Twenties."

"Communists Made A Serious Electoral Blunder"

Michel Rosten suggested in La Libre Belgique (3/21), "Pending the reconsideration of this text which startled the CIS member states and provoked Warren Christopher's acerbic criticism during a stopover in Kiev, one thing seems to be certain: The Communists made a serious electoral blunder....

"Accelerating this centripetal movement could not but worry the neighboring republics and cause useless agitation in capitals of the former satellite countries of Central Europe....

"Prague and Warsaw's interest in the security guarantees offered by NATO vindicates President of the Russian Foreign Affairs Committee Valdimir Loukine....who claims that the Duma resolution 'offers a master trump' to the process of enlargement of the Alliance. It remains to be hoped that the West will not behave like a bull in a china shop by excessively castigating the Duma. Doing so would provide the Communists with the opportunity to emphasize with Russian voters the interest of a project so ill-received in the capitalist world."

"How To Keep Chechnya And Win Elections"

According to Pol Mathil in independent Le Soir (3/7), "Russian powerlessness in Chechnya is obvious.... Yeltsin would like to keep Chechnya and win the elections. That increasingly resembles an attempt to fit a square peg in a round hole."

GREECE: "Self-Confidence"

Centrist Kathimerini carried an inside editorial by Ourania Lampsidou (3/21) that said referring to Christopher's words, "The Russian Duma's vote for the reconstitution of the Soviet Union provoked a big convulsion and generally frayed nerves, especially in the United States, to the point of hysteria, even though the vote has no legal meaning.... To take the situation seriously, and from the beginning, perhaps the dissolution of the USSR, in the summary and unnatural way in which it happened, was in a similar way 'exceptionally irresponsible' and perhaps the memory of this irresponsibility finds voice in a nostalgia for the ancien regime. Nostalgia which is the only consolation for the miserable conditions brought on by the West's fully arbitrary decision to drive this region to imitate it. Irrespective of how things develop with Russia and the other states, the naivete of this smug Western culture, which believes so deeply that it has confronted barbarism, is indeed impressive. It is strange that after so many centuries of struggle with evil, we insist that everybody should imitate us.... Such self-confidence cannot be without a cost."

POLAND: "Yeltsin Plays Zyuganov's Card"

Adam Szostkiewicz remarked in Catholic weekly Tygodnik Powszechny (3/31), "With the presidential elections approaching, Yeltsin is playing the same card as Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy--nostalgia for the Soviet empire.... Poland is going to have a common border, again. Let's hope it will stay an open, good-neighborly border. Open for contacts and economic exchange. Polish politicians, however, should not hesitate to use the new situation

as another argument for supporting our efforts to join NATO."

"Absorption Of Belarus Not Just A Bad Dream"

Correspondent Daniel Beauvois filed from Paris for top-circulation, center-left Gazeta Wyborcza (3/26), "The absorption of Belarus by Russia is not just a bad dream. The case is serious.... The West now is quoting Moscow's soothing declarations, and making light of the issue. It seems that the experience of the past hasn't taught it much.... Construction of the new Europe hasn't proceeded very well. The West hasn't noticed that Russia is again expanding its influence. Now it is Belarus, but the tendency will continue. The West is deaf, which is hard to understand, unless the old fascination with Russia is considered."

"The Problem Of Russia"

Centrist Rzeczpospolita, widely read in government circles, stated (3/25) in a commentary by Kazimierz Dziewanowski, former Polish ambassador in Washington, over the weekend, "Almost the entire Russian political class is repeating now and again that Russia is a superpower, and that she should be treated as such. The Russian economy, however, is collapsing, and Russia cannot feed itself.... The main subject of the presidential campaign is protesting against NATO enlargement. Opinion polls show, however, that the electorate couldn't care less about the issue....

"The political elites don't know what to do with problems which they have created themselves. They don't have any conception of national interests--should they defend the empire, or dissolve it?... With problems like these, the Russians waste valuable time fighting contradictory tendencies.... The future of Russia is the greatest problem for the contemporary world."

SPAIN: "Time Is Getting Short For Yeltsin"

Leading, liberal El Pais commented editorially (3/8), "Being conscious that time is getting short and that Yeltsin has not much chance of being re-elected unless the Chechnya problem is solved, Chechen independence supporters have launched a big offensive against Grozni to force him to negotiate. Even Zyuganov, the Communist leader and candidate, is using the 'Chechen case' to present himself as a moderate. After having repeatedly announced the total destruction of the 'Chechen bandits,' Yeltsin finds himself now at a crucial stage. Either he convinces the rebels to depose their arms and gradually stop the fighting before June or he has no possibility of retaining power. This would clearly favor a Communist comeback...in Moscow."

SWEDEN: "Completely Unrealistic"

Conservative Svenska Dagbladet's editorial (3/19) opined, "Considering the potential power of the Russian Federation, the decision by the Duma to declare the disintegration of the former Soviet Union as unjust is quite alarming. The idea is of course completely unrealistic and more an example of Communist election propaganda. However, there is always a way for anyone who really is determined to re-establish a Communist Soviet Union. One possible method of doing it, as crazy as it may seem, is to

use the threat of nuclear weapons."

SWITZERLAND: "Chechnya Will Be Dangerous For Europe, Too"

Antoine Bosshard wrote editorially for center-right Journal de Geneve (3/20), "On the international news scene, there are happenings which are almost non-events--too familiar to get much attention, and too distant to generate much emotion. An example is Chechnya. And yet there, on Europe's borders, for 16 months a war has been raging which is every bit as disgusting as the one in Bosnia. The Moscow authorities are bombarding, killing, wiping out whole villages.

"Yeltsin is suffering a backlash from the conflict, which is highly unpopular with most Russians. The war has caused a disquieting change in the regime itself, bringing out its authoritarian aspect and relegating to the sidelines the liberal elements it once had. And where is the West in all of this? Quite frankly--nowhere at all. True, Western governments have appealed for a negotiated solution. But none of them has called in question the legitimacy of this catastrophic war, or throttled back financial aid to the Russian leaders.

"The grant of considerable loans by the IMF and German and French banks have in effect endorsed candidate Yeltsin in his election campaign. Russia has just made a widely applauded entry into the Council of Europe.... And if harmful to Russia, it will be dangerous for us too in the long run."

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

CHINA: "Complicating An Already Difficult Political Situation"

Russia correspondent Xu Hengsheng filed for official, Communist Party People's Daily (3/19), "On March 15, the Russian Duma adopted two resolutions which will complicate an already-difficult political situation.... The Communists want to cater to those voters who cherish the past and are dissatisfied with the status quo. The party also wants to show its resolve in carrying out its program for action and put President Yeltsin on the defensive."

AUSTRALIA: "Political Storm In Moscow"

According to the Moscow correspondent for the national, conservative Australian (3/21), "A political storm over last week's decision by the Russian Duma to denounce the breakup of the former Soviet Union, threatens to overwhelm this week's key talks in Moscow between...Yeltsin and the NATO Secretary General Javier Solana.... Solana is in Moscow to calm Kremlin fears over the Alliance's planned expansion.... But even before Mr. Solana arrived in Moscow, his strategy looked shaky as nations from the Commonwealth of Independent States condemned the Duma vote amid warnings that it may hasten the flight of many into the arms of the Western security grouping."

"Loss Of Empire Remains Potent Issue"

The Moscow correspondent for the national, business-oriented Australian

Financial Review said (3/20), "Zyuganov...interprets his party's promise to rebuild the Soviet Union as a goal to be reached peacefully. But it can't be done peacefully.... In an arc from the Baltics, through Moldova, Crimea and the Caucasus to Central Asia, they will see it as a flame of hope for irredentism.... Wisdom and restraint will be needed to prevent uprisings, should the Communists come to rule the Kremlin again. This is one of the reasons why the return of the Communists in Moscow differs from their return in Warsaw or Budapest."

INDONESIA: "Denunciation Of Democratic Process And Reforms"

Pro-government Berita Buana pointed out in an editorial (3/25), "We observe that the critical voice of the Duma, condemning the demise of the USSR and the NATO 'Partnership for Peace,' is a test of Russian anti-Communist power and a denunciation of the democratic process and reforms."

SOUTH KOREA: "Russian Expansionist Aims"

Conservative Segye Ilbo (3/27) maintained, "The Russian parliament passed a resolution disavowing the collapse of the Soviet Union. Belarus meanwhile announced that it wants to be integrated into Russia. These changes reflect Russian expansionist aims, and they are troubling the West."

VIETNAM: "West's Double-Dealing Policy Vis-A-Vis Russia"

Under the headline above, Communist Party Nhan Dan (3/24) ran a commentary signed "Le Nghiem": "Experiences in the past few years showed that the United States and the West did not intend to cooperate with Russia on an equal footing in spite of all its good will and compromises. Instead, they took advantage of Russia's difficulties to press and overshadow it with a view to consolidating their position to the maximum...."

"After the end of the Cold War, the Russians harbored many illusions about the generosity of the West as well as the possibility of a smooth integration into Western society, both economically and politically. Now, they have realized more and more clearly that the West's Russia policy still remains a double-dealing one of cooperating with and encouraging Russia's reform on the model of the West while constantly containing it to prevent it from restoring its world power posture."

"Duma Tactics"

In a commentary signed by "Quang Loi," army daily Quan Doi Nhan Dan (3/20) noted that, with its March 15 resolutions, the Russian Duma "has decided to launch an offensive on the forces that have stood for breaking up the former Soviet Union.... Nobody should think simply that those two Russian national Duma resolutions mark the beginning of an inevitable process leading to the complete restoration in the coming period of time of the Soviet Union to what it was.... Nor was the restoration of the Soviet institution asserted in the presidential campaign program of Communist Party President Zyuganov. Such a situation reflects two aspects: Firstly, it is a tactic to rally forces from broad social strata and avoid unfavorable reactions from the West; and secondly, Russian society is

evolving in an extremely complicated manner and none of the trends therein has proved itself to be winner."

SOUTH ASIA

INDIA: "West Should Be Careful Not To Overreact"

In the editorial view of the independent Times Of India (3/20), "Five years of economic problems following the USSR's dissolution have generated some new thinking all around. The leaders of the newly emerged republics are not fervent anti-Soviet nationalists.... The idea of republics which are already members of the CIS moving closer to each other to have a union of sovereign states does not sound terribly dangerous or regressive. The Duma's resolution highlights the strength of nationalistic feeling and the degree of disillusionment with...Yeltsin and his politics. The West should be careful not to over-react. Any overtly hostile or paranoid reaction in the West will only further strengthen anti-Yeltsin Russian nationalism in the coming elections."

"A Signal To Yeltsin And The West?"

The opinion of the independent Hindustan Times (3/18) was that "the Duma vote is primarily an expression of Russian nationalism bolstered by Communist support.... (It) would seem to be a signal to...Yeltsin whose economic policy fallout has angered Russians, and to the West whose efforts to expand NATO eastward is seen as stemming from Russia's loss of superpower status.... (The vote) may have already carried the message that Russia is ready for a sharp turn in its global policies."

"U.S.-Russian Ties In Turbulence"

The above headline ushered this analysis (3/9) in the Times of India by Researcher of Institute of Defense Studies and Analysis C. Uday Bhaskar, "Recent developments in Russia...suggest...a significant domestic turbulence whose contradictory contours have the potential to shape the emerging post-Cold War strategic framework.... On the one hand, there is the increasing estrangement between the United States and Russia over issues such as resurgent Russian nationalism, the expansion of NATO eastward, the Chechen war, and the differences over the interpretation and implementation of major arms control treaties such as the START and ABM. On the other hand, the United States is keen to keep Russia wedded to a reformist path in the painful march to a free market economy and a pluralist democracy....

"The entire nuclear dialogue between the United States and Russia appears to be on hold.... The downstream effect of this will shape the maneuverability and inter-linkages for major nations/groupings such as the EU, China, Japan and India.... Inchoate as the current situation is, what merits attention is the primacy of Russia in reshaping the post-Cold War strategic ambience, for the U.S. posture in the latter half of 1996 will be largely determined by the kind of image that Moscow exudes after the June elections."

NEPAL: "Things May Not Remain As They Are Now"

An editorial in the independent Commoner (3/10) concluded, "After Russia's June presidential poll, things may not remain the same as now. Whoever wins or loses, the ex-superpower once again seems poised to be instrumental by its politics in unveiling another chapter of history.... Much also is at stake for the West which has by no means been found by the Russians as a very dependable and considerate friend."

LATIN AMERICA

ARGENTINA: "Another Challenge To Post-Soviet Reforms"

Leading Clarin maintained (3/22), "Although this Duma 'annulment' of the Minsk Agreement is nothing more than a symbolic step without any practical consequences, it is significant to see how unsteady and blurred the legal and political bases of the Russian Federation still are.... The Duma vote vindicating 'Greater Russia' should be interpreted as another challenge to the reforms of the post-Soviet era, and, in that sense, it has achieved its objective of cornering Yeltsin and creating a sense of rejection and uneasiness among the other CIS leaders."

BRAZIL: "Reviving Old Specters"

In the editorial view of center-right O Estado de Sao Paulo (3/21), "The resolution approved by the Duma to restore the Soviet Union has no practical value...but it is rich in symbolic and political significance for Russia's presidential elections.... The most dramatic aspect of such a restoration, whether it be more or less voluntary, more or less gradual, is the resizing of Russia's territory and its geopolitical consequences.... The idea of restoration of a structure geographically equal to the former Soviet Union, though with less centralizing force and with more autonomy for the federal republics, would tend to revive old specters, as much inside as well as outside the empire."

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

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ATT BODYPART TYPE:D

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by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879) id <01I2U1P6JUS00004FT@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for matsui_d@a1.eop.gov; Wed, 27 Mar 1996 13:08:02 -0400 (EDT)

Received: from usia.gov (XGATE.USIA.GOV) by STORM.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-6 #6879) id <01I2U1PWZ8EM00007M@STORM.EOP.GOV> for matsui_d@a1.eop.gov; Wed, 27 Mar 1996 13:09:01 -0700 (MST)

Received: from Connect2 Message Router by usia.gov via Connect2-SMTP 4.00; Wed, 27 Mar 1996 13:09:58 -0500

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