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SUBJECT: Proposed: Trans-Polar Free Trade Zone

TO: John Podesta (CN=John Podesta/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Betty W. Currie (CN=Betty W. Currie/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Nancy V. Hernreich (CN=Nancy V. Hernreich/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

April 28, 1999

VIA EMAIL

Dear Mr. President,

I forward to you this very interesting paper, of which I claim no authorship, without any further comment. I hope you will find time to read it.

Best personal regards,

Jock

FOREIGN RELATIONS IN CRISIS: A STRATEGY BEYOND THE BALKANS

April 28, 1999

A. INTRODUCTION:

This paper will address a crisis in United States-Russian Federation

relations. It will examine the formation and potential shape of Post-

Cold War power blocs and it will provide a 21st century US Economic

Strategy. A close reading of this paper through to its conclusion will

also display an executable and feasible solution to the problem of

Immediate Regime Succession Transition in the current Crisis

Envi-
ronment.

This paper will also justify the following key policy statement: No factor for 21st century US economic strategy should weigh more heavily on our current policy considerations than the long-range stable integration of the Russian Federation into a cordial and profitable relationship with Western economic entities such as the European Union (EU), and most importantly, the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA).

This paper will propose a Trans-Polar Free Trade Zone as the economic arm of a wider Diplomatic Initiative and Strategic Alliance that will formally terminate the Cold War. The proposed program will initiate vital trade and industrial development between the Major Strategic Powers around the World's Last Great Undeveloped Land Frontier.

This paper will topically note that Chinese Nuclear Espionage has created a threat of MIRV and Neutron Warhead Missiles targeted at the United States within 5 years. We can no more afford this additional Chinese Threat, than we can afford continually worsened relations with Russia. Improved relations with Russia are prerequisite to immediately Handling and Depotentiating (or Neutralizing) the Chinese Threat.

B. PROGRAM:

A stable Russia with a strong economy and the concomitant social stability engendered by mutually favorable trade relations with the US and EU constitutes a set of economic interdependencies and political strengths which reduce risk of a European Theater War or a Strategic Nuclear Exchange to near zero.

* Simultaneously, an economically-strong mid-Urals Russia and Siberia looking north provides a Trans-Polar Stabilizer

Bloc in the
Russian Far Northeast and a vital, expansive trading
partner for
the US West Coast, Alaska, the Canadian Northwest and
Yukon.

* Trade, investment, industrial expansion, and Science &
Technolo-
gy expansion, not mere loan structures per se, provide an
enduring
basis for Russian stability, both political and economic,
and Future
Alliance.

* The Russians need to earn their keep on their own view,
as well
as ours, thus engendering the right kind of national pride,
dignity
and self-esteem, which will validate their status as
full-fledged
21st century trade partners, and eventually, Future
Alliance Part-
ners.

C. VEHICLE:

A Trans-Polar Free-Trade Zone including the US and Canada
provides
access to the vast quantities of Raw Materials in Siberia.
Further-
more, Joint Investment Efforts could develop these resources
and
feed cheap raw materials into the US and Canadian economies to
sus-
tain growth based on low raw material prices, low energy
prices, and
the development of critical new Arctic-specific,
metallurgical, con-
struction and energy technologies.

* Foreign exchange earnings from this Trade will allow the
Rus-
sians to import consumer goods for their overall internal
consump-
tion as they develop a mutually-dependent Northeastern
Infras-
tructure, which in turn will stabilize long-term relations.

* As the Russians build a global-quality capability in the
Industrial
and Higher-Tech Sectors, over time they will be able to
partici-
pate in Trans-Polar Free-Trade and Global Markets with a
broader

mix of Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Products.

* Such a Trade Bloc is tantamount to bringing the Russian Trade Zone into close economic contact with NAFTA.

D. ECONOMIC STRATEGIC (ECONSTRAT) EVALUATION:

1. This Arrangement confers greater prestige on Russia than its (dubious future) admission to the EU, where it would be just another East-European economy under (temporary) German leadership. The Greater Prestige cited counteracts Russian feelings of Lost Glory, Planned-Economy Nostalgia, Industrial Inferiority and Financial Victimization that could be sublated into an aggressively Re-Assertive military posture and Broad-Spectrum Political Hostility towards the economically and militarily dominant nations of the West. The critical political objective for all parties concerned is to prevent the extremely undesirable scenario of a ruling Brown-Red Political Reaction that globally exports its ideology and modernizes Offensive Strategic Military Systems in a context of repressed political debate. Readers of Reinhart Gehlen's "Das Dienst" ('The Service') will recollect that, in his closing and predictive chapter, Gehlen stated that the rise to power of a tough, young military technocracy would be the West's most dangerous hour in its relations with the Russians. Let us add that a Neo-Communist or Nationalist Rightwing Successorship -- or both in conjunction -- would exceed Gehlen's worst-case scenario.

2. The Arrangement would bring another 150 million relatively-and increasingly-affluent consumers into a US Free Trade Zone. This Emerging Market must not be ignored as most comparable and potentially expansible markets are already targeted by other major trading blocs, including the EU and Japan. Alternative markets present no obvious competitive advantages for US Export Industries. Access

to 150

million additional consumers will significantly increase US
GNP and
GNP growth potential.

3. Denial of the German and Japanese industrial bases after
the Sec-
ond World War to the Soviet Union and China constituted the
govern-
ing concept behind the Marshall Plan, NATO, SEATO, CENTO, and
other
regionally-led US alliances, including the great successes of
NORAD
and ANZUS. The Arrangement brings economic stability to Russia
be-
fore a critical election produces a Brown-Red Alliance in the
Duma or
a Brown-Red Ascendancy in the Kremlin, and in addition,
reduces the
Nationalist-Communist collective influence on affairs --
whether or
not an explicit United States-Russian Federation Alliance
occurs. In
the unfortunate event that a Nationalist-Communist Alliance
does oc-
cur, or should a Brown-Red Ascendancy eventuate, the
Arrangement
will move those Nationalist-Communist elements towards the
center
and allow Yeltsin and other relatively moderate leadership
groupings
to Cap their Legacy or, in the alternative, to Focus their
Opposition
with Concrete Precedents that Good Relations with the US and
the
West bring Economic Prosperity and Political Advantage.

E. MILITARY STRATEGIC (MILSTRAT) EVALUATION:

1. A vital consequence of the central thrust of this paper is
that US
strategy needs to be updated in accordance with the current
Post-
Cold War Realities of hostile Chinese Military Intelligence
Activities
and dangerously Degenerating Relations with the Russian
Federation.
The 'traditional' view of China as a non-aggressive power
should be
counter-balanced by careful study of Yuan Dynasty Policy and
the
fate of the vanished races of pre-Han China (viz., LaCouperie,
Langues pre-chinoises de la chine). Tibet is far less a part

of China linguistically and culturally than Japan. The PLA leadership is Froude-Academy Trained, Technically-Sophisticated, and Ambitious at the Expense of United States Interests and Security. The Peace of Europe and of the vast expanses of the Trans-Polar Regions is a direct function of Russian Federation Integration into a set of stable and long-term alliances with North America, even more importantly than with Western Europe.

2. The Arrangement holds out the prospect of Russia's own economic and political salvation, and thus provides a powerful incentive for the Russians to work constructively with the US to bring the Kosovo crisis to a swift and mutually advantageous termination by exercising their influence upon or withdrawing their support from the Serbian leadership. It may also salvage the dubious future of NATO before the alliance splits in the core major-power NATO countries along Social-Democrat and Reactive-Conservative Fault Lines. It will also help obviate peripheral difficulties with the New NATO members and such traditional rivals as Greece and Turkey. Most importantly, it provides vast potential for US economic and trade growth. Moreover, it provides Strategic Access along the vast northern frontiers of innumerable Eurasian Trouble Spots and offers Dual-Purpose Forward Bases for Trade or Intervention.

3. The Arrangement lays a potential Economic Foundation for a North-ern Hemisphere Alliance -- which may ultimately become necessary to contain an increasingly powerful 21st-century China. Our China Strategy has been to befriend and partner China early so as not to to fight China later. However, should Japan, Taiwan, or other key Asian Countries come under attack, China has 4 times the base

population
of the US and can mobilize along internal lines, which
provides a
highly effective Force Multiplier. The EU has no Strategic
Border with
the PRC and views her containment as being a non-NATO
Considera-
tion. Should war with the PRC ensue, absent a Russian
Federation Al-
liance, reversion to Wheeler Doctrine 2 1/2 War Footing on the
as-
sumption of a hostile Russia, China, and some combination of
their
allies is certainly not feasible on short notice. The United
States-
Russian Federation Alliance provides the only formula for the
effec-
tive containment of China with Conventional Forces.

F. TRANSPORTATION CONSIDERATIONS AND STRATEGIC ADVANTAGES:

1. Transportation and Communication Infrastructures atop
Russia's
southern frontier with China brought up to Modern Standards
provide
direct overland transport of goods between the EU, Northeast
Asia,
and the Access Routes to a projected Trans-Polar Free-Trade
Zone.

THE READER SHOULD CAREFULLY CONSULT A TRANS-POLAR PROJEC-
TION OF THE GLOBE AND COMPARE IT WITH AN EAST-WEST MERCATOR
PROJECTION IN CONSIDERING THE ADVANTAGES AND IMPLICATIONS OF
THIS ECONOMIC STRATEGY. Modern Communications and Computation-

al Science augment these GEOPOLITICAL ADVANTAGES SIGNIFICANT-
LY.

2. Increasing economic activity in the Russian Far East would
require
Russia to secure, protect, and modernize transportation and
communi-
cations links between her Western and Eastern Industrial
Centers. It
also would require a domestic Law Enforcement Program of Mafia

Crackdown and an effective Anti-Corruption and Anti-Financial
Fraud
Program in order to assure stability of the State and of the
Ruble. If
and when Russia is sufficiently stable, the Russian Federation
would
then be able to peg the Ruble to the US dollar. A crawling peg
may
be indicated. The Pre-Emptive Function here is to prevent the

Ruble's
being pegged to the Euro.

3. Modern Transportation and Communications Infrastructures
would
allow the Sino-Russian Front to be reinforced quickly from
Western
Europe and the US in the event of a potential Sino-Russian,
Indo-
Pakistani, or other World-Peace threatening conventional or
potential
thermonuclear conflict on the Eurasian mainland. The three
trade-
linked power blocs -- United States, Western Europe, Russian
Federa-
tion -- can fly the hump of the Himmalyas, the Pamirs, or the
Hindu
Kush, or proceed by land route with air control escort over
the entire
Eurasian land mass with vital North-Based links off the
Continent-
Sized aircraft carrier of Australia/ New Zealand, who can
furthermore
be brought into the economic bloc structure up through the
Pacific and
via the Japanese Home Islands to the Trans-Polar Free-Trade
Zone.

G. POLITICAL STRATEGIC (POLSTRAT) EVALUATION:

1. The Arrangement constitutes a Foundation Agreement and
obviates
mutually destructive arms races and possible future conflicts
with an
Embittered Russia seeking to reassert its Fading World-Power
Pres-
tige in an Historically Inappropriate cul-de-sac and in a
possible
Global Apocalypse Mode.

2. The Arrangement Initiative caps the Cost of Secretary of
State
Albright's and her supporters' Kosovo Adventure by bringing it
to a
swift, and under the circumstances, fortuitous Multi-Nation
Protec-
torate conclusion. This is as good a time as any for starting
to work
with and trust the Russians on the strategic scale. Russian
participa-
tion in this context also provides near unanimity in the UN
Security
Council. Chinese dissent in that body will come at an
unacceptable

cost elsewhere. Furthermore, it lends the respectability and legal aegis of Security Council Resolutions to a situation in the Balkans, or other extremely dangerous Future Trouble Spots which might yet require the most extreme and severe measures.

3. The Arrangement can create new wealth to finance Russian Reconstruction rather than diverting random resources from existing IMF and Other Accounts which may have a destabilizing and counter-productive effect on the Russian Body Politic irrespective of the good intentions of the United States. The underlying concept here is that emergency financial dependence of one Great Power on another is an inherently unstable condition and a process to be avoided.

4. The Arrangement allows a Northern Hemisphere Alliance to economically develop and militarily mobilize a population base the size of China's. Such a Northern Hemispheric Alliance population base would be nearly 100 percent above the poverty level. The population base of China is 80 percent below the poverty level, and constitutes economic and military marginal utility. Nevertheless, 200 million prosperous Chinese armed with ICBMs are a Non-Negligible Threat. Furthermore, MIRV and Neutron Warhead Technology (which have been Chinese-Accessed) could, if developed, provide China with Nuclear-Strike Counter-Valent Equivalency. The current policy of Espionage Condonement, Trade Diplomacy, and Acquiescence to China's Tibetan policy is perceived by the civilized world as both cowardly and ineffective. It is ultimately contrary to China's interests because, as the Tibetans say, such behavior has its consequences in this world, and perhaps, the next. It is also contrary to US strategic interests to wink at or corroborate such behavior out of fear, or for motives of economic gain -- and moreover, of illusory gain in the present

Predatory
Trade Context.

5. Submissive Acceptance of China's military espionage thefts of Neu-
tron Warhead and Telemetry Technologies, inter alia, is not Policy but
Folly. To Permit the Deployment of Stolen Technology and its Target-
ing on the United States is Strategic MADness. Subsidizing these ac-
tivities with a Predatory Trade Imbalance (approaching \$60 billion per
annum) in a country where domestic Science and Technology Salaries
are a fraction of their cost in the West could constitute future State-
gic Suicide. To further provide foreign exchange for the purchase of
dual-use Western technologies and to provide backup foreign ex-
change reserves compounds a Fundamental Policy Error to the point of
a Shift in the Balance of Power. On Sharp Analytic Reduction:
The cur-
rent China Policy invites Beijing to pose a Strategic Counter-Valent
Threat to the United States Heartland and provides an Umbrella
for
the Development of a Blue Water Chinese Navy and of a Strategic Air
Arm, and expands the strategic range of our concerns as Chinese
ability to project naval and air power invalidates our Pacific Theater
Calculations. Full-Scale SLBM-Capable and Cruise-Capable Long-

Range Bomber Threats complete the Worst-Case Scenario Tableau short of Military Defeat or Pyrrhic Victory.

6. The Arrangement, by resuming Moderate Joint Training in the NATO
Partnership for Peace, enables future rapid Russian Integration into a
Northern Hemispheric Alliance (including NATO, US, Canada, South
Korea, and Japan) if the Chinese Military Posture becomes Threatening
or Dangerous and if the Russians can stabilize their Internal Posture
and develop the requisite long-term political commitment and eco-
nomic discipline for such an Alliance.

7. The Arrangement entails Russian support on the UN Security Council at least to a level of cooperation equal to that of France, and may move the UNO closer to a position more compatible with vital Long-Range US Strategic Interests.

8. The Soviet Union certainly did not win the Cold War, nor did they absolutely 'lose' it. Just as Japan and Germany were rebuilt and turned into stalwart economic partners and allies against the Comintern threat, so must the Russia Federation become a friend, an economic partner, and an ally against Inchoate and Emerging Threats of the 21st century.

H. HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS AND LESSONS TO BE LEARNED:

1. The crushing and humiliating debt reparations provisions, inter alia, of the Versailles Treaty after World War I are universally allowed by historians to have contributed to the background conditions that made possible the rise to power of National Socialism in Germany. The rise of Japanese Imperial Aggression during the same period was occasioned, inter alia, by power vacuum considerations in the Pacific. The Reconstruction and Reintegration of Germany and Japan into the International Community after World War II was accomplished in the shadow of an aggressive Comintern. If a truly democratic China is ever to be integrated into a productive Global Economic Order, her Atavistic Statist Tendencies must be overcome and not nurtured by the limitations of a perhaps well-meaning but ill-conceived US China Policy.

2. The Clinton Administration has singularly failed TO DATE to devise a policy to effectively Reconstruct and Reintegrate Russia, a former adversary, into a Beneficial Post-Cold War Arrangement despite the expenditure of tens of billions of dollars in Aid and

Questionably Secure Loans.

3. Both Democrats and Republicans are vulnerable to the charge that Russia will be lost on their Watch -- which is avoidable in the light of the obvious and available Near-Precedent Reconstruction Programs for the Former Axis Powers.

4. Failure to build strong UNILATERAL ties between the Russian Federation and the United States as well as Western Europe will leave her free-floating and accessible to hostile Anti-Western Alignments, such as the Eurasian Strategy already enunciated by Primakov. However, ever impracticable this scheme may appear, its potential for far-reaching destabilization is absolutely real. Worse still, it delays and obstructs initiation of the stated Arrangement.

I. CAUTIONARY TOPICS:

1. It is only a matter of time before the Europeans realize the importance of the Russian Market and move to incorporate Russia into Associate Trade Status with the EU. The EU will actively oppose and interfere with Russia's Integration into the US-Partnered Trade Bloc described above. The Acquisition of Russian Military Technology by the EU in such key industries as Aerospace could threaten US World Leadership in this decisive area of military endeavor. In conjunction with free-market military COTS, this could undermine long-term US leadership in Military Aerospace and Space-Based Communications. The latter development is disastrously inimicable to US Interests and Security. The threat to US Economic growth and Leadership could have immediate repercussions as well as Middle- and Long-Term repercussions.

2. In an attempt to place the current conflict in the Balkans

in proper
perspective given many of the preceding considerations, we
note the
following. Squandering American Moral Capital and losing
Goodwill in
a region that is not vital to US National Security, but is
vital to Rus-
sian Federation views of their National Security, is a
Faustian Bargain
in which we indulge our sympathy for a vast human tragedy at
the
possible expense of long-term US Strategic Interests that are
Abso-
lutely Vital for our Long-Range Strategic Survival, and
possibly, for
our Mid-Range Economic Benefit.

3. Bombing of civilian non-combatants, and even military
conscripts,
as punishment for their leaders' excesses or policies can have
serious
Perceptual Repercussions among Interested Third Parties. Air
Superi-
ority alone does not win America friends and admirers around
the
world. Nor does it advance our long-term interests in the
Balkans, if a
severe backlash of World or European Public Opinion develops.

4. The motives may be worthy, but the means may damage our
good
name, reputation, and military honor as collateral damage
mounts.

5. Given Russian Federation Cooperation, a Joint Peace-Keeping
Force
with NATO can impose its will on the region and could with
that same
Russian Federation Cooperation effect an immediate transition
of the
Serbian regime's leadership at exponentially reduced
operational cost
and effort running the full gamut of forceful measures from
Moral Sua-
sion to Leadership Removal to All-Out Invasion.

6. The ultimate structure of a modus vivendi for the Albanian
popula-
tion of Kosovo falls outside the scope of this paper. Whether
the cor-
rect solution is an armed-force guarantee of fair treatment,
partition,
or removal to Albania Proper is irrelevant without Russian
Federation

agreement to the ultimate status of this population. This paper is primarily concerned with the question of United States-Russian Federation relations and posits that an acceptable solution can be Found or Imposed with an appropriate degree of cooperation between these Two Parties.

7. A matter of special concern is the visit and religious pronouncements of the Russian Patriarch Alexei. Certain aspects of his public statements lead to the possible conclusion that we could be dealing with a genuine religious groundswell for a Pan-Eastern Orthodox War of Religion with its Traditional Theological Adversary, the Latin Christian West. The Patriarch's recent utterances have all but pronounced NATO Anathema for the aerial attacks on a non-combatant population of the Orthodox Faithful. Religious undercurrents run through the consciousness of men. All men are honorable on their own view, but may, in some worldly contexts, over-estimate the purity of their motives. This is another pressing and salient reason to involve the current Russian Leadership, who have ties with the Orthodox Church, in timely negotiations. After upcoming elections, fueled by anti-US and anti-NATO emotions, we may find ourselves dealing with a new leadership and a Hostile Regime with marked antipathies to the principles of all Churches and Religions.

8. The Arrangement Strategy preserves the equilibrium of US Force Deployments, prevents the need to commit additional forces from Principal European or Pacific Theaters, and does not require manpower resources from CONUS on a scale only available through a US

Draft. This paper assumes the absolute political undesirability of the commitment of US Conscript Forces at this juncture to a Combat-

Intensive Environment.

J. COUNTER-ARGUMENTS AND THEIR REBUTTAL:

1. NATO GOES-IT-ALONE: This approach has been, to date, ineffective.

SERIOUS RISKS

- * Protracted ground war in Serbia
- * NATO political collapse
- * European War with the Russians (possibly nuclear)
- * Unconscionable financial drain on the US Treasury.
- * New Arms Race as the Russians respond to their Perceived Insecurity and Lack of International Respect & Prestige.
- * Reinforcement of Minor Power Nuclear Proliferation as nuclear weapons are perceived as the only protection against Western Coercive Diplomacy.

2. NATO BUYS-ON-THE-CHEAP: Bring the Russians into line with 'less costly' incentives. The current IMF loan programs have proven, to date, largely ineffective.

CHEAP INCENTIVES RISKS

- * Observation of the failure of loan incentive policies occurs beyond the point where alternative options can still be initiated.
- * IMF loan programs provide the Russians with inadequate incentives and inadequate resources despite their unacceptable expense to us.
- * IMF loan programs insult the Russians by undermining their status and dignity.
- * IMF loan programs produce no benefits for the US over the medium and long term and questionable benefits in the short

term. If
anything, they continue the transformation of Russia's
image into a
Third-World Gangster Haven, while the Nation remains in
fact a
World-Class Nuclear Superpower.

* IMF loan programs fail to integrate the Russians into a
Broad
Strategy for World Stability.

* IMF loan programs fail to bring cheap raw materials to
the US
economy or New Markets of relatively affluent consumers to
US
Business.

3. NATO-BEDS-DOWN-WITH-CHINA: Assume Russian marginalization
and court Chinese Military Association. Desirable United
States mili-
tary associates don't steal our strategic secrets and target
them on
our cities and population.

CHINA ALLIANCE POLICY RISKS

* In light of the current CIA report on Chinese strategic
thefts and
their confirmation by the FBI this date, an advocate of
this policy
would be laughed out of court.

* The China Alliance Policy provides no solution to NATO's
difficul-
ty in Kosovo or elsewhere in the Balkans. In fact, China's
relation-
ship with her ally Albania has perhaps been inadequately
studied
both in respect to general narcotics trafficking and other
banditti
activities as well as the current crisis background.

* The China Alliance Policy ignores the current Russian
nuclear
threat and downplays the current and future Chinese nuclear
threat.

* The China Alliance Policy ignores the continued theft of
nuclear
and other strategic secrets and the ongoing attempt by the
world's
Major Rogue State to acquire dual-use Western technology.

* The China Alliance Policy will contribute to further

domestic political divisiveness and reduce the vital examination of the issues discussed in this paper to mere partisan acrimony.

* A detailed DIA study (Nicholas Eftimiades, Chinese Intelligence Operations, Naval Institute Press, 1994) of the activities of Chinese Military Intelligence -- quite apart from the question of Illegal Campaign Contributions -- indicates the presence of a sizable, effective, and Ongoing Espionage Effort inside the United States.

Increasing public attention will be focused on Chinese Espionage Activities, undermining both the Rationality and perceived Patriotism of those who advocate a China Alliance Policy.

K. CONCLUSION:

We are at the crossroads of Post-Cold War US Foreign Policy. Our vital military technologies have been compromised. Our relations with the world's only other current Nuclear Superpower have been damaged. We are contemplating an Autumn-Winter Mountain Warfare Campaign against a tough and entrenched enemy who will extract

heavy casualties on the ground. Victory will initiate a period of Protracted Guerrilla Warfare. RUSSIA WILL CONTINUE TO IMplode AND

BECOME INCREASINGLY HOSTILE TOWARDS THE WEST. The new boundaries of NATO and plans for yet further expansion will require major weapons systems expenditures. All of this can be avoided by Russian Federation participation in a JOINT PEACE KEEPING FORCE.

The Definitive Signals of US Seriousness to the Russians are Cabinet Changes at the Departments of State and Energy with an Explicit Shift in our Foreign Policy. It is time to play the Russia Card before a Resurgence of General European Animosities PLAYS IT FOR US AND

PLAYS IT WRONG. Consequences and outcomes of Land Warfare are Politically Uncertain even when Militarily Predictable. The Present Crisis is neither that of an Academic Exercise nor of an

Humanitarian

Relief Mission but is rather a choice between the paths of

Hostility or

Rapprochement by the United States and the Russian Federation,

the

Worlds Nuclear Superpowers, which will Define the Course of

the early

21st Century. The leadership of both nations should be

encouraged by

the recent conversations between Presidents Clinton and

Yeltsin, ex-

pressed caution by the United States with respect to the issue

of Rus-

sian tankers and the Serbian oil embargo, a possible

willingness by

the Russian Federation to make concessions, and the hopefully

grow-

ing consensus of both parties towards Reason and

Statesmanship. FOR

THESE REASONS, WE BELIEVE THAT THIS POLICY, THE ARRANGEMENT

INITIATIVE, SHOULD BE STUDIED CLOSELY AND ACTED UPON.

L. REFERENCES:

The two-part military analysis cited below is the
definitive study

in the Open Literature of the dynamics of the general

Post-Cold

War crisis in Russian Defense Thinking, based on Russian

Federa-

tion Seminal Source Documents. It provides indispensable

back-

ground for any planner or decision-maker concerned with the

future

of the Russian Defense Establishment and the Future

Interactions

of the United States and NATO with the Russian Federation.

[1] George Kamoff-Nicolsky, ``Russian National Security: The
Official

Assessment," The Defense Associations National Network's

National

Network News, Volume 5 (number 2), Summer 1998. (written May

21,

1998). <http://www.sfu.ca/~dann/kamoff.htm>

[2] George Kamoff-Nicolsky, ``Russian National Security: The
Official

Assessment, Part 2: The Impact on the Russian Military

Establishment"

The Defense Associations National Network's National Network

News,

Volume 5 (number 3), Winter 1998. (Written November 9, 1998).

http://www.sfu.ca/~dann/nn5-3_7.htm

Four salient points must be emphasized in the Kamoff-Nicolsky military analysis.

* IMF restrictions on Conventional Defense Expenditures have caused the Russians to dangerously neglect their Conventional and Moderate Response Capacities and to place nearly their Total Defense Reliance on Strategic Nuclear Weapons.

* The Military Implications of this nuclear defense posture and the heightened risk of nuclear weapons first-use should be Duly Contemplated and Gravely Deliberated in conjunction with recent Extreme Kremlin Rhetoric -- unparalleled even during the Stalin years and the height of the Vietnam and Afghanistan Wars. Yeltsin's utterances may have been a desperate man's plea and a warning that a weak administration with a Nuclear-Strategic

Weighted Defense Response was near the limits of its Control of its Deployed Regional Commands for Doctrinal as well as Political Reasons.

* The increasing bias towards an 'affordable' (sic) Praetorian Strategy for Internal Political Control without an Effective Conventional Capacity for External Regional Conflict represents an especially Dangerous Tendency to Unwarranted Escalation and Nuclear Trip-Wire Response.

* Ironically, the Russian Federation's Conventional Defense Weakness represents a Major Threat to the United States' Strategic Interests, and on the Worst Case Scenario, to the United States' Strategic Survival.

For these reasons, Rapprochement, Strategic Cooperation, Reassurances as to Mutual Strategic Security and some form of Advantageous

Alliance with the Russian Federation are vital to all planning
formats
for United States Foreign and Military Policy in the 21st
century.

--

Jock Gill
www.penfield-gill.com
Infrared Internet Vision

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (EXTERNAL MAIL)

CREATOR: uucp@whitehouse.gov@INET@EOPMRX

CREATION DATE/TIME:28-APR-1999 23:14:00.00

SUBJECT: scanner results

TO: binns_m (binns_m@A1@CD) (WHO)
READ:29-APR-1999 06:41:56.74

TO: horn_s (horn_s@A1@CD) (WHO)
READ:NOT READ

TEXT:
SCANNER RESULTS

e per
month.</p>
<p>In addition, Mr. Clinton renewed measures that died in the last
Congress. He suggested he was counting on outrage over the Colorado
shooting to push them through this year over objections of the gun

MESSAGE BODY

From wileyj@erols.com Wed Apr 28 23:12:38 1999
Received: (from uucp@localhost) by WhiteHouse.gov (8.7.1/uucp-relay) id XAA20029 for
<president@Whitehouse.GOV>; Wed, 28 Apr 1999 23:12:38 -0400 (EDT)
Received: from storm.eop.gov/198.137.241.51 via smap
Received: from FCPWH-DAEMON by EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.2-29 #34437)
id <01JAL18V9H000001ES@EOP.GOV> for president@Whitehouse.GOV; Wed,
28 Apr 1999 23:12:31 EST
Received: from smtp1.erols.com ([207.172.3.234])
by EOP.GOV (PMDf V5.2-29 #34437) with ESMTP id <01JAL17U5YFI0000Q0@EOP.GOV>
for president@Whitehouse.GOV; Wed, 28 Apr 1999 23:11:41 -0500 (EST)
Received: from wileyj
(207-172-206-20.s20.as1.blb.md.dialup.rcn.com [207.172.206.20])
by smtp1.erols.com (8.8.8/8.8.5) with SMTP id XAA00164 for
<president@whitehouse.gov>; Wed, 28 Apr 1999 23:11:34 -0400 (EDT)
Date: Wed, 28 Apr 1999 23:12:20 -0400
From: "John H. Wiley, Jr." <wileyj@erols.com>
Subject: World-Wide -- WSJ Interactive Edition
To: president@Whitehouse.GOV
Reply-to: wileyj@erols.com
Message-id: <3727CE14.158C@erols.com>
Organization: Wiley & Co.
MIME-version: 1.0
X-Mailer: Mozilla 3.01C-KIT (Win95; I)
Content-type: MULTIPART/MIXED; BOUNDARY="Boundary_(ID_0EhM2WOreAghe1UEuqhnVQ)"
Comments: Opus One FCP version 2.0 jms/981223

This is a multi-part message in MIME format.

http://interactive.wsj.com/articles/SB925262101354374994.htm

Mr. Clinton, Once again a bad idea. If the jews had guns when Adolph Hitler was on the rise in Germany history would be different. I suppose

you forgot that Hitler and the Nazi party confiscated all weapons owned

by the jewish people. Once again you are going down the path of soft-totalitarian socialism.

John Wiley> [The Wall Street Journal Interactive Edition] [World-Wide]

> [Section Navigation] [Advertisement]

>=20

> In this Section:

> April 28, [The Wall Street Journal Interactive Edition]

> World-Wide -----

> Asia

> Europe Clinton Offers Legislation to Raise

> The Americas Legal Age for Handgun Possession

> Economy Associated Press

> Earnings Focus

> Politics & Policy WASHINGTON -- One week to the day after the Colorado

> school shooting, President Clinton proposed

gun-control

> legislation Tuesday to raise the legal age =

for handgun

> Editorial Page possession from 18 years old to 21 and hold

negligent

> Leisure & Arts parents liable when their children commit c

rimes with

> Voices guns.

>=20

> Journal Atlas: Buyers of explosives would also be subject =
to the same

> Table of Contents Brady law background checks as gun purchases.

> Headlines "It is criminal how easy it is for children =
in America

> Business Index to obtain guns," Hillary Rodham Clinton said at a White

> Search House ceremony, where she led her husband and an

> News Search assembly of lawmakers in a moment of silence for the

> community of Littleton, Colo.

> Past Editions

> Briefing Books The president said his

proposals

- > [Go] Firearms Makers would amount to no mor=
- > Quotes e than minor
- > Soften Stance on delays and minor hassl=
- > es for
- > Resources: Gun Control sportsmen and legal gu=
- > n owners.
- > Help
- > [Go] Littleton "It's going to be a ha=
- > ssle for
- > New Features them. It's worth it. I=
- > t's worth
- > Your Account Probe Puts it. We're sorry -- it'=
- > s worth it,"
- > Gun Shows in Cross
- > Contact Us Hairs Mr. Clinton said. "Peo=
- > ple's lives
- > Glossary are at stake here."
- > Special Reports [Go] Work and In extensive remarks p=
- > receding the
- > Weather Family: president, Mrs. Clinto=
- > n said she
- > Violence in Schools
- > Is Pushing Parents doubted the administra=
- > tion's
- > STOCK QUOTES to Focus on Teens ability to "create a p=
- > erfect set
- > Select of solutions that, if =
- > followed,
- > exchange: [Go] Colorado would have prevented w=
- > hat happened
- > Officials at Columbine High Scho=
- > ol."
- > Enter symbols: Investigating Three
- > Possible But, she added, "That =
- > does not
- > Symbol lookup Co-Conspirators mean that we are eithe=
- > r hopeless
- > or helpless."
- > Related Sites:
- > Barron's Online The president's omnibus crime package, whic=
- > h the White
- > Careers.wsj.com House trumpeted as "the most comprehensive =
- > gun
- > legislation any administration has put forw=
- > ard in 30
- > DJ University years," also proposes banning juvenile poss=
- > ession of
- > Personal Tech semiautomatic assault rifles, halting impor=
- > ts of all
- > Publications Library high-capacity ammunition clips and limiting=
- > an
- > SmartMoney.com individual's handgun purchases to one per m=

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In addition, Mr. Clinton renewed measures t=

the last Congress. He suggested he was coun=

outrage over the Colorado shooting to push =

this year over objections of the gun lobby.

"It's not just the culture of violence that=

change. It's the culture of hunting and spo=

that has to stop financing efforts to frigh=

members," Mr. Clinton said.

"It's not going to be easy," said Sen. John=

R.I.), a supporter who scoffed at critics s=

violence is a cultural problem.

"This isn't about schools ... this is about=

distorted interpretation of the Constitutio=

convinces otherwise rational citizens that =

inalienable right to be armed to the teeth,=

said.

The explosives provision, which aims to tre=

of explosives the same way gun sales are tr=

the Brady law, would cover dynamite, blasti=

the like, not materials that can be blended=

explosive mixture. In Littleton, Colo., the=

killers used homemade hand grenades and pip=

their rampage through Columbine High School=

City, two tons of explosive made from commo=

were used to blow up the federal building i=

Clinton also proposed:

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* Mandatory child-safety locks on all guns sold.
* Extension of an existing ban on juveniles from possession of handguns to include semiautomatic assault rifles; also a ban on importation of assault rifles; also a ban on importation of assault magazines that hold more than 10 rounds, and an extension of current law banning importation of those made since 1994.
* Background checks on buyers for all gun n-show sales.
* A lifetime ban on gun ownership for people who commit violent crimes as juveniles.
* A three-day waiting period for all handgun purchases, with an additional two days if law officers need them to complete their investigation. Until last year, the Brady Act provided five days for police to conduct background checks on buyers if they needed that much time. Now, it limits them to three days, but most checks are instantaneous. Never before has there been a minimum, mandatory waiting period.
* Mandatory prison sentences of three to 10 years and \$10,000 fines for adults, including parents, who allow children access to guns.
The adult could be held liable whenever a juvenile crime is committed and the adult "knowingly or recklessly allowed it to occur," said White House spokesman Barry Toiv. He added that the legislation's standard of

> reckless conduct would be "a difficult stan=
dard to
> meet."
>=20
> Mr. Clinton raised this provision long befo=
re the
> Littleton shootings and it is not meant to =
suggest that
> those killers' parents should be blamed, Mr=
. Toiv said.
>=20
> Senate Democratic leader Tom Daschle, who r=
epresents
> South Dakota, where guns are popular among =
ranchers and
> sportsmen, was skeptical about passing any =
new
> restrictions.
>=20
> "I'm not sure that gun legislation is what =
we need," Mr.
> Daschle told reporters Monday. He suggested=
the school
> shootings were a societal problem stemming =
=66rom parental
> and teacher neglect and violence in the med=
ia and on the
> Internet.
>=20
> "Those are the kinds of things we better be=
looking at,"
> Mr. Daschle said.
>=20
> Andrew Molchan, director of the National As=
sociation of
> Federally Licensed Gun Dealers, said the 7,=
000 gun
> dealers he represents support a lifetime ba=
n on gun
> ownership for anyone who commits a violent =
crime.
>=20
> But the rest of Mr. Clinton's package, Mr. =
Molchan said,
> "is an unfortunate diversion and, in our vi=
ew, a
> dangerous diversion that takes energy, time=
and thought
> away from the real issues."
>=20
> -----=

> [Advertisement]
>=20

> Return to top of page | Format for printing
>=20
> Copyright © 1999 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.
>

--Boundary_(ID_0EhM2WOreAghe1UEuqhnVQ)
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Content-transfer-encoding: QUOTED-PRINTABLE
Content-Base: "http://interactive.wsj.com/articles/SB 925262101354374994.htm"

<BASE HREF=3D"http://interactive.wsj.com/articles/SB925262101354374994.htm">

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<!-- Type: World-Wide -->
<!-- Page: (none given; using "World-Wide") -->
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// document.cookie =3D 'JavaScript_status=3Don;path=3D/';

function unloadSub()
{
//document.cookie =3D 'JavaScript_status=3Dunknown;path=3D/';
}

function f_s(inwhat, what)
{
return (inwhat.indexOf(what) >=3D 0);
}

function isApproved()

```

=09{
=09var isapproved =3D false;
=09isapproved =3D f_s(navigator.userAgent,"Mozilla/3");
=09isapproved =3D isapproved || f_s(navigator.userAgent, "Mozilla/4")=
;
=09isapproved =3D isapproved || f_s(navigator.userAgent, "MSIE 3.01;"=
);
=09isapproved =3D isapproved || f_s(navigator.userAgent,"MSIE 3.02;"=
;

=09return isapproved;
=09}

function popup(sym,type)
=09{
=09var wndPopup =3D null;
=09var d =3D new Date();
=09var rndName =3D sym + d.getHours() + "_" + d.getMinutes() + "_" + =
d.getSeconds();

=09if ( isApproved() )
=09=09{
=09=09wndPopup =3D window.open("", rndName,"resizeable=3Dno,toolbar=
=3Dno,scrollbars=3Dno,width=3D290,height=3D360");
=09=09wndPopup.name =3D "CompanyPopup";
=09=09}
=09else
=09=09{=09
=09=09top.location.href =3D "/pj/q-quote.cgi?sym=3D" + sym + "&type=
=3D" + type + "&sendfullpage=3Dtrue";
=09=09}
=09
=09return false;
=09}
// Quote Check Javascript -- End

// Article Printing JavaScript Popup Function -- Begin

// This overrides the window.open which breaks when used in a "Javascr=
ipt:" line
// in Netscape 3.
function printPopup( szWindowURL, szWindowName, szWindowAttributes )
{
    wndPopup =3D window.open(szWindowURL, szWindowName, szWindowA=
ttributes);
}

// Article Printing JavaScript Popup Function -- End

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<!-------SECTION SPECIFIC NAVIGATION----->

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<TR><TD>

In this Section:
</TD></TR>

<TR><TD HEIGHT=3D"20">

World-Wide

</TD></TR>

<TR><TD HEIGHT=3D"20">

Asia

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Europe

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The Americas

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Economy

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Earnings Focus

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<TR><TD HEIGHT=3D"20">

Politics & Policy

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Editorial Page

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Leisure & Arts

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Voices

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<!-- frontnav end -->

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<!--SECTION SPECIFIC NAVIGATION ENDS ----->

<!-------BOTTOM NAVIGATION FOR ALL PAGES----->

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<TR><TD>
Journal Atlas:

</TD></TR>

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Table of Contents

</TD></TR>

<TR><TD HEIGHT=3D"20">

Headlines

</TD></TR>

<TR><TD HEIGHT=3D"20">

Business Index

</TD></TR>

<TR><TD HEIGHT=3D"20">

Search
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News Search

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Past Editio=
ns

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Briefing Books

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[Quotes](#)

Resources:

[Help](#)

[New Features](#)

[Your Account](#)

[Contact Us](#)

[Glossary](#)

[Special Reports](#)

[Weather](#)

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Related Sites:

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Barron's Online

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Careers.wsj.com

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Legal Age for Handgun Possession</h2>

<p><i>Associated Press

</i></p>
<p>WASHINGTON -- One week to the day after the Colorado school shooti=
ng,
President Clinton proposed gun-control legislation Tuesday to raise t=
he
legal age for handgun possession from 18 years old to 21 and hold neg=
ligent
parents liable when their children commit crimes with guns.</p>
<p>Buyers of explosives would also be subject to the same Brady law
background checks as gun purchasers.</p>
<p>"It is criminal how easy it is for children in America to obtain g=
uns,"

Hillary Rodham Clinton said at a White House ceremony, where she led =
her
husband and an assembly of lawmakers in a moment of silence for the
community of Littleton, Colo.</p>

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Work and Family: Violence in

Schools Is Pushing Parents to Focus on Teens</p>

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orado Officials Investigating Three Possible Co-Conspirators</p>

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<p>The president said his proposals would amount to no more than mino=
r

delays and minor hassles for sportsmen and legal gun owners.</p>

<p>"It's going to be a hassle for them. It's worth it. It's worth it.=

We're

sorry -- it's worth it," Mr. Clinton said. "People's lives are at sta=
ke

here."</p>

<p>In extensive remarks preceding the president, Mrs. Clinton said sh=
e

doubted the administration's ability to "create a perfect set of solu=
tions

that, if followed, would have prevented what happened at Columbine Hi=
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School."</p>

<p>But, she added, "That does not mean that we are either hopeless or
helpless."</p>

<p>The president's omnibus crime package, which the White House trump=
eted

as "the most comprehensive gun legislation any administration has put
forward in 30 years," also proposes banning juvenile possession of
semiautomatic assault rifles, halting imports of all high-capacity
ammunition clips and limiting an individual's handgun purchases to on=
e per

month.</p>

<p>In addition, Mr. Clinton renewed measures that died in the last

Congress. He suggested he was counting on outrage over the Colorado shooting to push them through this year over objections of the gun lobby.

"It's not just the culture of violence that has to change. It's the culture of hunting and sport shooting that has to stop financing efforts to frighten their members," Mr. Clinton said.

"It's not going to be easy," said Sen. John Chafee (R., R.I.), a supporter who scoffed at critics saying school violence is a cultural problem.

"This isn't about schools ... this is about this distorted interpretation of the Constitution that convinces otherwise rational citizens that it is their inalienable right to be armed to the teeth," Mr.

Chafee said.

The explosives provision, which aims to treat the sale of explosives the same way gun sales are treated under the Brady law, would cover dynamite, blasting caps and the like, not materials that can be blended into an explosive mixture. In Littleton, Colo., the student killers used homemade hand grenades and pipe bombs in their rampage through Columbine High School. In Oklahoma City, two tons of explosive made from common fertilizer

were used to blow up the federal building in 1995.

Clinton also proposed:

-

- Mandatory child-safety locks on all guns sold.

-

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- Extension of an existing ban on juvenile possession of handguns to include semiautomatic assault rifles; also a ban on importation of all ammunition magazines that hold more than 10 rounds, an extension of current law banning imports of those made since 1994.

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- Background checks on buyers for all gun-show sales.

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- A lifetime ban on gun ownership for people who commit violent crimes as juveniles.

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- A three-day waiting period for all handgun purchases, with an additional two days if law officers need them to complete their investigation. Until last year, the Brady Act provided five days for police to conduct background checks on buyers if they needed that much time. Now, it limits them to three days, but most checks are instantaneous. Never before has there been a minimum, mandatory waiting period.

<p></p>

- Mandatory prison sentences of three to 10 years and \$10,000 fines for adults, including parents, who allow children access to guns.

<p>The adult could be held liable whenever a juvenile crime is committed

and the adult "knowingly or recklessly allowed it to occur," said White

House spokesman Barry Toiv. He added that the legislation's standard of

reckless conduct would be "a difficult standard to meet."</p>

<p>Mr. Clinton raised this provision long before the Littleton shootings

and it is not meant to suggest that those killers' parents should be blamed, Mr. Toiv said.</p>

<p>Senate Democratic leader Tom Daschle, who represents South Dakota, where

guns are popular among ranchers and sportsmen, was skeptical about passing

any new restrictions.</p>

<p>"I'm not sure that gun legislation is what we need," Mr. Daschle told

reporters Monday. He suggested the school shootings were a societal problem

stemming from parental and teacher neglect and violence in the media and on

the Internet.</p>

<p>"Those are the kinds of things we better be looking at," Mr. Daschle

said.</p>

<p>Andrew Molchan, director of the National Association of Federally Licensed Gun Dealers, said the 7,000 gun dealers he represents support a

lifetime ban on gun ownership for anyone who commits a violent crime.</p>

</p>

<p>But the rest of Mr. Clinton's package, Mr. Molchan said, "is an unfortunate diversion and, in our view, a dangerous diversion that takes

energy,

time and thought away from the real issues."</p>

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CREATION DATE/TIME:18-MAY-1999 17:54:14.00

SUBJECT: Please Forward To LB -- Per Her Request

TO: osu96 (osu96 @ aol.com @ inet [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

TRB from Washington: Saving the World
by John B. Judis

The "third way" is a political strategy identified with Bill Clinton in the United States, Tony Blair in Great Britain, and Gerhard Schroeder in Germany. It is a self-conscious alternative to the old left and new right. It seeks to promote rather than hinder the creation of global capitalism but at the same time to foster greater social equality and community within and among nations. "Its core value," Al From, the president of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), has declared, "is community." The practitioners of the Third Way have defined it primarily as an approach to welfare reform, progressive taxation, and vocational education, but it is also integrally related to foreign policy; and its success or failure may be linked to the NATO mission in Kosovo.

One connection is obvious. A disaster in Kosovo will imperil many of the current NATO governments. In the United States, failure could also derail Vice President Al Gore's presidential candidacy. But there are deeper connections that could threaten the Third Way itself. Its basic objective is to foster social justice without fueling class resentments. In the twentieth century, this kind of liberal communitarianism has worked best when the United States and other

democracies faced totalitarian adversaries during World War II and the cold war--when our international commitment to democracy fed our commitment to democracy at home. When America's commitments have lapsed--during, for instance, the 1920s--an irresponsible individualism has triumphed.

At a forum on the Third Way sponsored by the DLC at the end of last month's NATO conference, Clinton and Blair both drew the connection between the Third Way and Kosovo. Blair made it the clearest. The Third Way, Blair said, "applies internationally as well as nationally." Kosovo "is every bit as much about our values as it is about strategic interests." Kosovo, he argued, was about extending the concept of "active community" from the nation to the globe.

The success of the Third Way also depends upon the creation of a progressive bloc of nations that can carry forward its approach. This is particularly true in global economics. The Third Way is based on the assumption that, because of global competition, purely national economic initiatives can often prove destructive. Trade barriers, for instance, can hinder technological development.

The corollary of this--as understood by Clinton, Blair, and Schroeder--is that many economic and environmental ills that can't be attacked nationally can be addressed through international organizations and multilateral initiatives such as the World Trade Organization and the global warming treaty. The Third Way leaders favor regulating the global economy to avoid recurrent financial crises and a growing divergence between rich and poor nations. At the DLC forum, Schroeder called for the "internationalization of politics" to tame "financial speculators." Clinton favored a new "framework" to keep international markets from "getting out of hand." Clinton, Blair, and Schroeder have also advocated some kind of new labor and environmental regulations.

Extending outward an "active community"--or promoting what Blair adviser

Anthony Giddens calls "cosmopolitan democracy"--also requires the creation of a progressive bloc of nations that can act together not simply in their own immediate interests but on behalf of a greater democratic ideal. Kosovo is the first real test of this Third Way bloc of nations. It is a different kind of war--waged not only to achieve stability in the Balkans but also to uphold a standard of morality. Blair and Clinton provided much of the impetus and the initial rationale for intervention. It is their war--and a war that epitomizes their new political philosophy.

Success in the war, meaning at a minimum the guaranteed safe return of all Kosovar refugees, would strengthen Clinton and Gore, Blair, and Schroeder. It would create an important precedent for international action and help establish an ideal of democracy and human rights that could nurture a spirit of community within the different nations. Unfortunately, however, success in Kosovo looks extremely unlikely. What appears most likely is that NATO will agree to a facesaving compromise in which a U.N. occupation force oversees the repatriation of a relatively small number of Kosovar Albanians. Such a result would be a defeat for civilization in Europe. But, secondarily, it would also be a setback for the Third Way.

The war's failure would buttress the argument that foreign policy should be based solely on narrow national interests rather than on the attempt to create a democratic community of nations. In the United States, it would reinforce Republican isolationists who gauge foreign policy issues on what they will mean for department store sales in Houston or the price of mutual funds. And the same sentiments might well extend to international economic issues, limiting support for international economic and environmental regulation. At a time when Clinton and Representative Richard Gephardt are forming a new consensus in favor of regulated free trade, popular opinion could tilt toward Pat

Buchanan's protectionism.

Failure in Kosovo would, of course, give any kind of internationalism a bad name. It would not necessarily spell the end of NATO, but it would doom that organization to serving as a kind of expensive professional association for European and American generals, in which potentially unruly Eastern Europeans could be taught manners and decorum. NATO would no longer contemplate intervention in places where its own members' survival wasn't immediately challenged--and, even then, who knows? Failure in Kosovo would reinforce a diplomacy based militarily on spheres of influence and economically on regional trading blocs.

Perhaps these predictions are too dire, but there is a clear precedent in the twentieth century. Like the proponents of the Third Way, American progressives of an earlier era saw their own fate bound up with America's greater role in the world. In *The Promise of American Life*, Herbert Croly, the founder of tnr who would later advise Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, argued that the "vigorous assertion of a valid foreign policy" would force the United States "into the adoption of a really national domestic policy." Croly and Roosevelt believed that, by becoming involved in world affairs, Americans would come to appreciate their own common values and commitments and would endorse a progressive national reform agenda. Later, these progressives, who also saw themselves as creating a Third Way between socialism and laissez-faire capitalism, believed that out of World War I would come not only a new progressive bloc of nations but also an abiding commitment to community at home. They would, however, be sorely disappointed. The war's aftermath would not bring democratic renewal but an end to progressivism itself. Kosovo is not, of course, World War I, but it can still be asked whether today's proponents of the Third Way will eventually

suffer the same fate as their progressive forebears.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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CREATION DATE/TIME:23-MAY-1999 23:20:53.00

SUBJECT: SIEC FYI: Belarus

TO: Christine A. Stanek@eop (Christine A. Stanek@eop [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

SIEC FYI: We thought that this excellent article by a Ukrainian politologist on Lukashenkanism should be of interest to the Siec and really anyone interested in the developments in the former Soviet region. The article charts out the retro-ideology that manifests itself, albeit in more benign ways, even in Central Europe but is a clear danger to Ukraine, Russia and the former Central Asian republics. Its dramatization has spawned the Balkan wars, since there are analogies between Lukashenka and Milosevic, as the article articulately establishes. The analysis is as much a warning of things to come as an example of an effectively applied logic of historical ideology to existing social conditions in Belarus. One would think with economic pressures and changes next door, Lukashenkanism would recede and Belarus would follow, say a Poland or a Slovakia example. The author however appears to be more pessimistic. He seems to me to underscore the need to test or at least carefully review what appears to be the growing rift along the former "borderland" (East-West rite) as a potential danger to security and stability in the region. For subscription to Jamestown Monitor and Prism, an excellent daily review of the former Soviet region, contact the addresses listed below. m

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Date: Fri, 21 May 1999 11:48:04 -0400
From: Jamestown Foundation <brdcast@mx.jamestown.org>
To: Daniela@jamestown.org
Subject: 21 May 1999 Prism - Vol.V, No.10, Part 3 (of 3)

THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION
PRISM
A BI-WEEKLY ON THE POST-SOVIET STATES
5/21/99 No.10 Part 3

THE LOST WORLD: BELARUS AS A MODEL OF POLITICAL NECROMANCY
By Volodymyr Zviglyanich

[Necromancy, (Greek, from nekros, a dead body, and manteia, divination), the art of divining the future by conjuring up the spirits of the dead and questioning them.]

The only press Belarus gets is negative press. With the help of both Western and Russian journalists, Belarusian president Alyaksandr Lukashenka has acquired a reputation as an impulsive and crude politician. The lack of attention accorded Belarus makes it harder to understand the phenomenon of "political necromancy"--approaching the future by questioning the spirits of the past. These include, for example, "the history of the great land of the Soviets," "our" Soviet experience, and, finally, inflating the old Soviet idea of the "friendship of the peoples" to overcome present hardships. The device of "questioning the spirits of the past" has been perfected by Lukashenka in his experiment on his own people. An elucidation of his methodology will greatly help us to imagine one possible prototype for development in Russia and Ukraine.

IS ALYAKSANDR LUKASHENKA AN IMPULSIVE POLITICIAN?

Belarus has been neglected by political analysis, which has been replaced by journalistic denunciation of the actions of its colorful and willful president Alyaksandr Lukashenka. After Lukashenka came to power in 1994--by perfectly legal means in an election which was recognized as democratic--he dissolved parliament, which he justly perceived as a threat to his power and ambitious political plans, and appointed a legislature made up of his own supporters. In 1996 he amended the constitution and held a referendum on extending his powers until 2001--an idea which Lukashenka borrowed from his Central Asian colleagues Nursultan Nazarbaev (Kazakhstan), Imomali Rakhmonov (Uzbekistan) and Saparmurat Niazov (Turkmenistan). The results of the referendum in Belarus were not accepted as legitimate by the Belarusian opposition--which has focused on "alternative" elections held on May 16 1999--or by specialists from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Prior to this, the OSCE had refused to recognize the legitimacy of the parliament appointed by Lukashenka.

Since then, Belarus has almost been forgotten; the country and its prominent leader have become targets for journalistic wit, which was provided with a wealth of material during the so-called "sewer" crisis of 1998, when Lukashenka ordered that the water supply to Western diplomatic missions in the Drazdy area of Minsk be cut off. Lukashenka wanted to drive the diplomats out to the suburbs, further away from his enormous luxury presidential palace. Prior to this, in the spring of 1996, Belarus was briefly in the news when the foundation documents for the Russia-Belarus Union were signed. The prevailing opinion in both the Western and Russian press was one of doubt that there could be any practical potential in this new "real" union, which was created as a counterweight to the virtually paralyzed CIS. Commentators were almost unanimous in their view that an economically weak Russia would not be able to fuel the collapsing Belarusian economy, and so the union would serve a purely political propaganda purpose. The only issue was that of whose politics and whose propaganda the Russia-Belarus Union represented.

LUKASHENKA AND THE "ETHNIZATION" OF RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

This emphasis on the ethnic element of Russian foreign policy with regard to

its closest neighbors radically altered the whole concept of Russia's foreign policy since the days of Eduard Shevardnadze, who was appointed by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 to proclaim the emphasis on "common human values" in Soviet foreign policy as the essence of the concept of "new thinking." Common human values were at the core of the pro-Western, liberal policy of Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, who was replaced by Yevgeny Primakov in 1995. The move away from universalism towards the "ethnization" of foreign policy, which took shape after Boris Yeltsin's forced dissolution of the Russian parliament in October 1993, meant that Belarus would have a special role in the future geopolitical organization--for at the time Ukraine had absolutely no intention of joining a "Slavic nucleus." To reduce the possibility of being accused of pan-Slavism by Central Asian states, Primakov and Yeltsin planned to include Kazakhstan in this future "Slavic nucleus." However, Kazakh leader Nursultan Nazarbaev then forgot about the idea as he got carried away by plans to secure Western credits for developing the Tengiz oil fields.

The conflict in Yugoslavia gave a new boost to the future "ethnization" of Russia's and Belarus' foreign policy. The contours of "Slavic" integration took on a decidedly anti-NATO and anti-Western form, particularly after the Yugoslav parliament voted in April 1999 to join the Russia-Belarus Union. The strategic aim of the organization was also clearly defined--to compensate for NATO's expansion eastwards, with Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary joining the alliance. Belarus was to be the outpost of the "Slavic" response to the challenge of the Protestant and Catholic West.

Lukashenka was full of the importance of his historical mission--to defend Eastern Christianity against the aggression of Western religions and Western civilization. His rhetoric even assumed overtones of Messianism and megalomania. The essence of this rhetoric can be reduced to the words: "The Epoch and I" (Vremya television program, May 7, 1999). According to Lukashenka, he knows best how to resolve the Yugoslav conflict--by giving direct military assistance to Belgrade. He was sharply critical of the peacekeeping mission (by which he meant the activities of President Yeltsin's special Balkans envoy, former Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin), advocating offering "real" aid to Belgrade rather than "advice."

THE WORLD OF ALYAKSANDR LUKASHENKA

Elucidating the world view and basic values of any political leader (particularly such an authoritarian one as Lukashenka) helps to form an understanding of their motives and actions. What is Lukashenka's world like?

What are his basic paradigms?

One can state immediately that it is a distinctive world of postcommunist autarchy and retrostrategy, where, though there is no official dominant communist ideology as there was in the Soviet Union, communist practices in politics, economics and management have nevertheless been preserved and modified in their entirety.

The basic feature of Lukashenkism as a sociopolitical phenomenon is a symbiosis of communism, chauvinism and populism, in the Latin American style. The emergence of Lukashenkism cannot be considered coincidental. Its appearance was predetermined by the virtual denationalization of the Belarusian political elite, the annihilation of its more active members during the second world war and Stalin's purges. In Belarus, just as in the Central Asian republics in Soviet times, there were no dissidents and no samizdat. This is where Belarus differs fundamentally from Russia and Ukraine, not to mention its neighbors in the Baltics. The phenomenon of Lukashenkism could have a different name, a different area of localization, even different protagonists. But it is not a historical coincidence which can only be applied to Belarus. The social basis for Lukashenkism exists in almost every country of the former Soviet Union, with the exception of the Baltics.

Lukashenka's world view can be described as "retro-utopian." Retro-utopia is nothing new in the history of human culture. For example, the myth of a "Golden Age" was characteristic of social thinkers of 17th and 18th century Europe. The essence of the retro-utopian view of the world is an acceptance that the best era in the life of humankind is in the past; history then spoiled mankind and we have to look for ways of improving human nature. The communism of Karl Marx sought recipes for salvation in a utopian image of the future, where human relations would not be "blurred" by capitalist property and money, but would be transparent. The main tools for building communism were terror and repression, linked to the seizure and socialization of property. For communism, the past was a symbol of the backwardness and social savagery of mankind.

Conversely, retro-utopia focuses attention on the purity and greatness of the past. In the retro-utopian world view, the past possesses an indisputable moral authority which cannot be questioned. "Our history is nothing to be ashamed of," says Lukashenka. We should be ashamed of the present, with its corruption, poverty, and venal politicians. There was none of this in the past, Lukashenka stresses, ducking criticism for the appalling state of the economy and the miserable life of his people. Lukashenka's idol is the former first secretary of the Communist Party of Belarus, Petr Masherov, who was extremely popular with the people and who was killed in a car crash probably set up by the KGB in 1980. Lukashenka offers a simple recipe for "saving" society--a return to the era of "Masherov's" economic prosperity and "honest" leaders: We should reclaim the "best from our history." Lukashenka has revived the old symbols--the flag and hymn of Soviet Belarus--and made Russian an official language. Questioning the past (necromancy) for existence in the present--because the future for Lukashenka is an open question--is becoming the central feature of his policy and practice.

This is the main difference between Lukashenkism as a political ideology and the social techniques adopted by the transition societies and transition

policy in Russia and Ukraine. For all their differences, the theories of "transition" from socialism to capitalism in Russia and Ukraine have (at least so far) one common feature--denunciation of the past as a totalitarian, administrative socialism to which there can be no return. For now, the better state of affairs is associated with the market economy and the "reforms." As regards methodology, the utopian communism of Karl Marx has given way to a no less utopian post-Soviet "capitalist" model, but one which is being "built" according to the approved formulas of Soviet practice. By stressing the moral greatness of the past and the possibility of finding prescriptions for salvation there, Lukashenka is challenging this methodology. He is showing that the possibilities of the Soviet economic system have not been completely exhausted--it's just that a timely shift to a "firm hand" policy was needed after the chaos of Gorbachev's perestroika.

Unlike the Russian or Ukrainian attempts at democratization, measured liberalism and economic reform, Lukashenka's "Belarusan model" is based on a fundamental rejection of political and economic pluralism and a return to socialist values. The word "reform" does not even exist in Lukashenka's vocabulary. It is replaced by the phrase "the revival and improvement of everything good about the Soviet Union." Lukashenka's world is a laboratory for testing ways of restoring the Soviet system or creating a similar system, and for testing its ability to function under the new conditions. It is a "forgotten world" in the full sense of the word, which has lost the attention of the West and its closest neighbors. Against this background of external isolationism and indifference, it was only a matter of time before the authoritarian retro-autarchic regime of Lukashenka (or another dictator of a similar ilk) emerged.

THE REASONS FOR LUKASHENKA'S POPULARITY

The people of Belarus were pretty indifferent to politics. They were equally supportive of Gorbachev's referendum on preserving a "renewed USSR" in March 1991 and of the break-up of the Soviet Union which happened on December 8, 1991 in Belovezh. To the average Belarusian, Lukashenka's political image is an attractive one. He has not been tarnished by corruption. The problems of the redistribution of property affecting both Russia and Ukraine simply do not exist for him. The Belarusian president is the sole administrator of all state property, which has been termed "people's state property." The administrative system set up by Lukashenka--which is almost Stalinist--has the support of the state bureaucracy and industrial leaders: There is no alternative of private ownership, and obeying orders for a reasonable price saves taking responsibility for poor management. There is no point in the population protesting either, because were they to, they might lose their jobs and thus their means of support.

The image of "father of the nation" (Belarusians call Lukashenka "batska" or father) makes a huge impression Lukashenka's rural electorate, who form the basis of his popularity and of his certainty that whatever he does to the

people they will always support him under any circumstances. Belarus is a predominantly agrarian industrial country, where even the scientific and humanitarian intelligentsia have their roots in the countryside. Minsk has a different feel from the urbanism of Moscow, St. Petersburg and Kyiv, not to mention Prague and Budapest. For the rural community there is no better image for a leader than that of a strong Old Testament patriarch who is tough but fair. He accepts responsibility for all his subjects, who are stuck in the Old Testament and have not made any move towards the New Testament. This is the nature of Belarusian Orthodoxy. Of peasant origin himself, Lukashenka, who worked all his life as a collective farm director, knows exactly what most of his people need. And 26 percent of the population of Belarus is made up of pensioners, who account for 40 percent of the electorate. At the last elections, people under 30 hardly took part at all (Aleksandr Potekhin. Belarusian modification of social and political development, Political Thought, No. 3-4, 1998, pp. 88). For most people of declining years, living in the country, the image of a "clean" and "strong" leader/father who will take care of them in their old age is highly attractive.

What of the opposition? The leaders of the opposition National Front have been practically wiped out by Lukashenka. The chairman of the National Front Zenon Paznyak has received political asylum in the United States; all other potential rivals have been arrested.

Lukashenka has successfully neutralized the opposition press. According to the Belarusian journalists Iosif Seredich, publisher of "Narodnaya volya," and Pavlo Zhuk, publisher of "Naviny" (News) and "Nasha niva," Lukashenka has introduced up to ten exchange rates between the dollar and the national currency, which differ significantly, and applies different rates for state and opposition publications. The latter are obliged to sell hard currency to the state (a condition of receiving aid from abroad) at very low rates and to buy paper and equipment at high rates. Apart from this, Lukashenka has banned the printing of opposition publications in state printing houses (there are no private ones), and ordered the state distribution system to limit the number of opposition newspapers to one thousand copies. Meanwhile, pro-president publications receive state subsidies and are cheaper than opposition ones (Interview with Iosif Seredich and Pavlo Zhuk, Washington DC, January 28, 1999).

The virtual elimination of the opposition and its press has led to the dumbing-down or "zombization" (Iosif Seredich's expression) of the people of Belarus, and to hostility among the population towards the very idea of opposition and liberal market reforms. Realistically speaking, Lukashenka's regime has great opportunities to maintain the status quo. It therefore seems appropriate to discuss the likelihood that Lukashenka's retro-utopian model of authoritarianism will be developed further.

LUKASHENKA AND HIS SLAVIC NEIGHBORS

One phenomenon of modern Belarus is the form of the reaction to the collapse of the ideological, social and political basis of the communist regime. A marginal political regime has been established in the country. It cannot be automatically labeled as center-right, center-left or fascist--it is a kind of patriarchal-populist dictatorship. From a philosophical point of view, this is one of the realities of the modern world. From the moral and human rights point of view, Lukashenka's regime is totally incompatible with the norms of democracy and freedom, a legal state and human rights.

Lukashenkism is one of the possible models of development for all transition countries with an unstable political democracy, strong patriarchal traditions, a large number of pensioners and a retro-ideology. This type of political regime may emerge not just in Belarus, but also in any country in the post-Soviet space or in the Balkans. Lukashenka's ideological brothers are Slobodan Milosevic and, in the Middle East, Saddam Hussein.

Could such a regime appear in Russia? Supporting Lukashenkism as a political phenomenon, economically Russia is unable to do what Lukashenka wants in his pursuit of his "integrationist" dreams--to ensure a level of wealth comparable to Russia's. Different sectors of Russia's political elite view Lukashenka differently. Supporters of the "ethnization" of domestic and foreign policy, such as Gennady Zyuganov, Aleksandr Lebed and Yuri Luzhkov, enthusiastically support Lukashenka as an ally in their attempts to conquer the Kremlin. Lukashenka has created the myth of a unique "Belarusan" path which Russia can follow.

For Russia's liberal politicians, who are in the minority, Lukashenka is an odious politician who cannot be taken seriously. Here, the liberals risk repeating the mistake of the Western democracies which did not realize until too late the danger of the emergence of Germany's fascist retro-regime with its ideas of the "Third Reich."

Yuri Luzhkov, a potential president of Russia, is ideologically closest to Lukashenka. He advocates the dominance of state bureaucracy. If Luzhkov wins the election, one may anticipate, firstly, a swift rapprochement between Russia and Belarus, and secondly the adoption in Russia of the Belarusan model of power, adjusted to take into account Russia's financial and raw material potential. However, there is officially still a year to go before the presidential elections in Russia.

At present, Ukraine has come closest to adopting a populist-authoritarian, irresponsible regime. Lukashenka did not engineer a coup, and did not shoot at parliament. But he did hold a referendum and, taking full advantage of the marginalized and destructured nature of society, he changed the constitutional structure. From the domestic legal angle, Lukashenka did everything he could to formally preserve the legitimacy of his regime.

The power struggle in Ukraine ahead of the presidential elections has

thrown

up almost blatant attempts to go down the same road. Leonid Kuchma has almost managed to neutralize the noncommunist opposition and close down the television programs and newspapers which pose the greatest threat to his regime. During his last visit to Washington for the NATO summit, Kuchma warned the members of the alliance about the real threat of a "communist revenge" and the possibility of a rerun in Ukraine of the Russian elections of 1996, when the patriarchal capitalism of the post-Soviet nomenklatura, symbolized by Yeltsin, faced the retro-utopia of the communists led by Zyuganov (Zerkalo nedeli [Mirror of the Week], May 8, 1999).

If this scenario is repeated in Ukraine, all the prerequisites for the extension and modification of the Belarusian model will be in place, at least in the practice of the political elite. If Kuchma wins, the "patriarchal" element of Lukashenkism will suit him best. The role of the "father of the nation," who crushes his enemies and who alone knows the formula for salvation, will be the most appropriate one.

If the communists win in Ukraine, they will arm themselves with Lukashenka's retro-utopian model.

Retro-ideologies--as examples of Islamic fundamentalism show--and the Slavic authoritarianism of Lukashenka and Milosevic represent the most dangerous model of development for society at the end of the 20th century.

The Belarusian regime is stuck at the half-fascist/half-communist stage: It has exhausted its inner resources. But it may be preserved by expanding into new territories. The forthcoming elections in Ukraine will play an important role in Lukashenka's political fate.

Volodymyr Zviglyanich is a senior research fellow of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociology, a research associate at George Washington University and a senior fellow of the Jamestown Foundation.

<http://www.jamestown.org>

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Robert Bud <r.bud@ic.ac.uk> (Robert Bud <r.bud@ic.ac.uk> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-MAY-1999 05:43:02.00

SUBJECT: Victorians conference

TO: "'mushm-link@mailbase.ac.uk'" <mushm-link@mailbase.ac.uk> ("'mushm-link@mailbase.ac.uk'" <mushm-link@mailbase.ac.uk> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: MUSEUM-L@home.ease.lsoft.com (MUSEUM-L@home.ease.lsoft.com [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: h-sci-med-tech@h-net.msu.edu (h-sci-med-tech@h-net.msu.edu [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: VICTORIA@LISTSERV.INDIANA.EDU (VICTORIA@LISTSERV.INDIANA.EDU [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: history of chemistry <chem-hist@listserv.ngate.uni-regensburg.de> (history of chemistry <chem-hist@listserv.ngate.uni-regensburg.de> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: rete@maillist.ox.ac.uk (rete@maillist.ox.ac.uk [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: mersenne@mailbase.ac.uk (mersenne@mailbase.ac.uk [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
Locating the Victorians

A major international conference commemorating
150 years since the Great Exhibition and the centenary of Queen Victoria 's
death

South Kensington, London, UK

Hosted by the Science Museum, London
PART OF THE SOUTH KENSINGTON FESTIVAL
Call for expressions of interest
12-15 July 2001

The year 2001 will mark the sesquicentenary of the Great Exhibition of
1851 and the centenary of the death of Queen Victoria. Coinciding with the
dawn of a new millennium, these anniversaries provide the opportunity to
review our interpretation of the culture of the Victorian period. The
Science
Museum, the Victoria & Albert Museum and the Natural History Museum in
London 's South Kensington, a cultural quarter itself funded from the
profits of

the Great Exhibition, will therefore host a great Victorian festival with major exhibitions and an international conference which will interpret the 19th Century for the benefit of the 21st.

The dates of the conference will be 12-15 July 2001. The location will be in South Kensington, London, with events at the Museums. Accommodation will be arranged at hotels and at local university dormitories. Before and after the meeting there will be a variety of more specialised groups meeting under the rubric of 'The Victorian Fringe'. It is likely that the registration cost will be between £100 and £150. In some cases it may be possible to defray part of the cost.

The meeting is being structured so as to be interdisciplinary, broadly-based and summative. It is intended to foster communication between students of all branches of Victorian history, culture and literature. It will address questions such as the Victorian concepts of progress and time, of certainty and reality, of participation and inclusion, of gender and class, of association and organisation, of art and imagination.

During 1999 we intend to consult extensively so as to construct a meeting with the widest possible appeal and the greatest possible benefits for the future.

Currently the planning committee is thinking of 10 to 15 themes each of which will incorporate four to six sessions perhaps made up of three papers or, alternatively, of discussion panels. We are however eager to hear proposals for unconventional formats. Themes should each be multidisciplinary incorporating treatments of literature, art, culture, economics, science, technology etc. We see contributions to this conference as summations and interpretations rather than opportunities to present new research findings. Some potential themes chosen to highlight the interdisciplinary intent are listed below. These themes are of course subject to revision as the conference takes shape.

We now seek proposals from anyone who would like to be a theme organiser. Please give a brief description of your concept of the theme, possible

panel
headings and indicative lists of people you would invite to speak. On the
basis
of these proposals, the selected organisers will then be asked to invite
speakers
formally. We encourage partnerships of two organisers for each theme.

The organising group: Robert Bud of the Science Museum (convenor),
Bob Bloomfield (Natural History Museum), Paul Greenhalgh (Victoria & Albert
Museum), and Michael Wolff (University of Massachusetts) is being guided
by a wide-ranging planning committee.

Please submit your ideas not later than 1 October 1999. If you do intend to
do so, we would be grateful if you could alert us to your interest now or
as soon as possible by emailing j.davies@nmsi.ac.uk, using the subject name
?Victorian themes ? and indicating the likely theme and your name. Of course
if you have
any special vision of how you would organise your theme, then please
mention it.

Even if you do not wish to organise a session but would like to attend,
please tell us what you would like
to experience at the meeting or get out of the occasion. Please email
j.davies@nmsi.ac.uk, using the
subject name ?Victorian conference ? with your suggestions. While we cannot
promise to satisfy everyone,
we shall try to use the time available to organise a truly memorable
conference.

Potential themes: An indicative list

- n Democratic consumption and popular culture
- n Mass production
- n Spectacle - museums, theatre, sport and the circus
- n Making music
- n 1851 and other exhibitions

- n Ghosts, new technologies and the boundaries
of the real
- n Faith and doubt
- n The avant-garde
- n The artist
- n Contexts of knowledge: the professional
and the enthusiast
- n Books print and communication

- n Evolution, progress and degeneration
- n Managing, representing and imagining nature
- n Encounters and exchanges
- n Managing capitalism: regulation, statistics, class,

immigration and socialism

- n The built environment
- n Middle class women
- n Workers' movements
- n The individual and the state
- n Heroes and sages
- n The city as organism and idea

- n Death: representation and cultural challenge
- n Sexuality and the body
- n The underworld
- n The representation of people: what is a human?

- n Victorian studies
- n Victorianism around the world
- n Victoria herself

Planning Committee

David Allen
Bob Bloomfield
Robert Bud (Chair)
Martin Daunton
Felix Driver
David Feldman
Paul Greenhalgh
Ian Inkster
John Mackenzie
Peter Mandler
Jim Secord
Joanne Shattock
Jennifer Tann
Michael Wolff

For more details and to keep up-to-date consult
the website:

www.sciencemuseum.org.uk/researchers/victorians

Robert Bud

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Sidney Blumenthal (CN=Sidney Blumenthal/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:26-MAY-1999 11:00:52.00

SUBJECT: Re: plans?

TO: Michael Waldman (CN=Michael Waldman/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Michael: Here is Cass's memo to me, if you don't have it. I think the President should be explicit about the New Chicago School that sees the market as a means to achieve worthy social ends and to help inculcate responsibility. In that vision, the market is not an fragmenting force, at odds with any notion of community, making it impossible for the nation to forge a social contract. On the contrary, the market, rather than being some force of nature, like a wild river, or a tidal wave, can and must be shaped for larger ends. Further, the market cannot be suppressed through government command and control, like in the failed experiments of socialism. Tocqueville wrote in Democracy in America that when achieving a balance of community and liberty in the early/mid 19 th century, Americans demonstrated "individualism rightly understood." At the beginning of the 21st century, we are continuing the experiment. Individualism rightly understood now means understanding the uses of the market, not engaging in idolatry toward it, or casting it into rigid dogma. Another memo to follow...

----- Forwarded by Sidney Blumenthal/WHO/EOP on 05/26/99
10:43 AM -----

Cass Sunstein <csunstei@midway.uchicago.edu>

04/27/99 10:40:36 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Sidney Blumenthal/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: plans?

General themes of Chicago School, sympathetically understood: Use market forces when you can; avoid command-and-control regulation; pay close attention to incentives; be alert to unintended bad consequences -- Uses: 1) allow polluters to trade pollution rights, rather than "one size fits all," eg, 1990 Clean Air Act and current EPA implementation; 2) *global* environmental policy and emissions trading, a la Kyoto accord; 3) taxing polluters rather than mandating specific outcomes from each polluter, eg, CFC phase-down, also lead phase-out, 4) paying close attention to incentives, as in OSHA Star program and Cooperative Compliance Program and many recent initiatives, 5) enlisting market forces in telecommunications,

eg, using auctions for certain licenses (it should be easy to nail down details), 6) trying to pay attention to incentives to designing welfare and welfare-to-work programs, e.g., with earned income tax credit. -- 1), 2), 3), and 5) are much influenced by our Nobel Prize winner Coase; 4) and 6) are in a general Chicago spirit, that is, they attempt to ensure cost-effective regulation and to avoid unintended bad consequences. -- Where the Chicago School goes wrong, and becomes fanatical, is when it takes market forces as an end, rather than as a means. Jeff Rosen wrote a piece in the New Yorker about 2 years ago about what he calls, and what many call, the New Chicago School, by the way, which is more interested in using government to inculcate responsibility and to push social norms in good directions; this might be worth a look. A lot of people at the law school and elsewhere at Chicago are interested in this, which is closely connected to many Clinton administration themes, e.g., with respect to cigarette smoking and drug policy and guns, and the problems created by peer pressure. --

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: David Brock <davidbrock@worldnet.att.net> (David Brock <davidbrock@worldnet.att.net> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:26-MAY-1999 18:39:26.00

SUBJECT: [Fwd: Hunting 5]

TO: Sidney Blumenthal (CN=Sidney Blumenthal/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Received: from imo22.mx.aol.com ([198.81.17.66]) by
mtiwgwc06.worldnet.att.net (InterMail v03.02.07 118 124) with ESMTP id
<19990524160256.CPXH5137@imo22.mx.aol.com> for
<davidbrock@worldnet.att.net>; Mon, 24 May 1999 16:02:56 +0000
Received: from JConason@aol.com (390) by imo22.mx.aol.com (IMOV20) id
cWTHa19484 for <davidbrock@worldnet.att.net>; Mon, 24 May 1999 12:00:17
-0400 (EDT)
Date: Mon, 24 May 1999 12:00:26 EDT
From: JConason@aol.com
Subject: Hunting 5
To: davidbrock@worldnet.att.net
Message-id: <9b87389e.247ad19a@aol.com>
MIME-version: 1.0
X-Mailer: AOL 4.0 for Windows 95 sub 4
Content-type: MULTIPART/MIXED;
BOUNDARY="Boundary_(ID_rtLuVh+dqFkcpQmw/0urmQ)"
- CFIVE.MS===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

1TZ~~NORMAL.STYIBMGRAPH
Chapter Five: 'Justice Jim' Rides Again

A decade as Governor had left Bill Clinton with a small but dedicated cadre of enemies who regarded his presidential campaign as a chance for revenge and profit. Larry Nichols, Gennifer Flowers and Cliff Jackson desired publicity as well as money; Sheffield Nelson, who wanted to ingratiate himself with George Bush and run for Governor again someday, preferred to remain in the background. In due course, others with similarly mixed motives would emerge to torment Clinton, including the state troopers who had once guarded him and his former business partner Jim McDougal. All of them were more or less opportunistic, and each of them had once claimed to be a friend of Bill's.

But Clinton had another implacable adversary whose rancor was untainted by greed, a spectral figure who dated back a quarter-century to Clinton's earliest involvement in Arkansas politics. Jim Johnson had never pretended to be his friend. Normally concealed behind a courtly public persona, Johnson's rage combined the personal frustrations of a lifetime with a profound ideological passion.

In 1992 Johnson was 68 years old, which meant he was old enough to cherish the memory of a different Arkansas, especially in the cotton-growing, piney-wood flatlands down along the Louisiana border where he was raised. He remembered a s

tate where the word "nigger" was still a term used in public discourse, and those to whom it applied were kept forcibly in their place.

For decades, Johnson had struggled to preserve what he regarded as the traditional Southern way of life. In youth his scowling dark brow and burning glare had given him a threatening appearance; now he looked harmlessly avuncular, his hair snowy-white and his narrow eyes squinting behind wire-rims. Denied the power he desired, Johnson had seen his Arkansas slowly fade away, along with segregated schools, "colored" water fountains and burning crosses. Bill Clinton was the smooth, smiling face of the New South, where open racism was no longer respectable or even tolerable. Indeed, the Governor prided himself on his friendships with blacks and had appointed dozens of black officials. He was the emblem of all that Johnson had lost and of everything that he could not abide.

Their feud carried a sharp personal edge, too, as Johnson would candidly admit. "Clinton boasted that his first political employment was as a campaign worker against me in my campaign for Governor of Arkansas in 1966," he once told an interviewer.

Retired and living outside Little Rock on a farm he had named "White Haven," Johnson had plenty of time and energy to pursue his grudge, and a wealth of contacts amassed during forty years in Southern politics. Those who shared his obsessive urge to ruin Clinton seemed drawn to him, as if he were the center of a strange negative universe.

Jim Johnson never achieved the national fame of racial demagogues such as George Wallace, Lester Maddox and Ross Barnett, but there was a moment when he wielded enough oratorical and organizational power to shake the entire country. In his own misguided way, he was a historic personage. Behind the scenes, it was Johnson who incited the 1957 constitutional crisis over the admission of nine black students to Little Rock's Central High School.

Of course, most of the responsibility for the Central High crisis belonged to Orval Faubus, then the Governor of Arkansas. Faubus defied a lawful order to integrate Central High and called out the Arkansas National Guard to surround the school with guns on September 3, 1957. His defiant action forced President Dwight D. Eisenhower to dispatch the 101st Airborne Division three weeks later to escort the nine terrified children past a mob screaming "Get the niggers!" Faubus pandered to that raw hatred and embarrassed the United States before the eyes of the civilized world. But it was Johnson, the state's leading segregationist, who baited and bullied Faubus into acting while he inflamed the gang of bigots outside the high school.

Without Johnson's incessant goading, Faubus might have accepted the Little Rock school board's token integration plan. A native of Madison County in the Ozark Mountains along the Missouri border, Faubus bore blacks no personal ill will. Moderation, however, was unacceptable to Johnson, who had run against Faubus the year before in the Democratic primary, assailing him as a "nigger-lover" and advocate of "race-mixing."

Johnson's electoral base was the White Citizens Council, a well-financed, middle-class counterpart of the openly violent Ku Klux Klan. He was its founder, its statewide director and its most spellbinding orator. In 1950 he had first run for office in his home town of Crossett, becoming at 26 the youngest man ever to win an election to the State Senate.

Examples of the Johnson style can be found in yellowing copies of *Arkansas Faith*, the "official publication of the White Citizens Council of Arkansas," which he edited and published. Its April 1956 edition, for example, featured a cartoon depicting a tornado labeled "Mongrelization" bearing down on a frightened white mother and her infant child. Another showed Faubus in a butcher's apron, with

elding a cleaver labeled "gradualism." On the cutting block in front of him sat a dog with three slices chopped from its tail, labled "Hoxie," "Fayetteville," and "Charleston"--three northern Arkansas communities which integrated their schools voluntarily. "This will please the niggers and confuse the white folks," the Faubus figure says.

As the opening day of school approached in September 1957, Johnson's group began a deliberate campaign to convince the Governor that blood would flow in the streets if a single black enrolled at Central High. Caravans of armed men were rumored to be heading toward Little Rock from all over the state. Decades later, an unrepentant Johnson boasted to Faubus biographer Roy Reed: "There wasn't a ny caravan. But we made Orval believe it. We said, 'They're lining up. They're coming in droves.'"

The Governor's confrontation with Eisenhower transformed Faubus into an icon of resistance, and Johnson, who had considered opposing him again in 1958, ran for and won a seat on the state Supreme Court instead. Thereafter he was known to friend and foe as "Justice Jim." In keeping with his folksy image, Johnson didn't let his lofty new job preclude socializing with old friends. In 1960, an FBI investigation revealed that the judge had met with two men implicated in a terrorist bombing of Little Rock's black Philander Smith College, on the day before they brought the dynamite from Memphis. The accused bombers were, Johnson told the Arkansas Gazette a bit defensively, "very fine people."

During his six terms as governor, Orval Faubus grew steadily more reactionary and closer to his old adversary Johnson. In an effort to cripple the civil rights movement and root out "subversives," Faubus sponsored the notorious Act 10, a measure requiring all state employees and schoolteachers to list every organization to which they belonged or contributed financially. Lest white citizens be "tainted" by non-white blood transfusions, another law required the racial labeling of blood supplies. And while the Arkansas State Police ignored wide-open casino gambling in Hot Springs, its Criminal Investigation Division became a veritable redneck intelligence agency, devoting extraordinary resources to spying for Faubus.

"In pursuit of its mission," Reed recounts, "the CID infiltrated organizations, tapped telephones, secretly tape-recorded meetings...and collected damaging personal information on political opponents and seemingly ordinary citizens. The gumshoes were especially alert for signs of adultery and homosexuality." Sharing information with similar agencies like the infamous Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, the state police spies functioned as an investigative arm of the White Citizens Council. The remnants of this apparatus would one day be employed to investigate the private life of Bill Clinton, who was only eleven years old at the time of the Central High incident.

By the time Faubus stepped down in 1966, Clinton was old enough to take an active part in the election of his successor--a watershed event that permanently changed Arkansas politics. Jim Johnson was back, running as a "states rights" candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Early in the campaign, he made a point of refusing to shake black voters' hands. His speeches decried integration as a Communist plot and "a worse crime than rape or murder."

To a college student inspired by the civil rights movement, the notion of "Justice Jim" as Governor was beyond appalling. Clinton rushed home from Georgetown University that summer to work for Frank Holt, Johnson's leading Democratic opponent and former colleague on the state Supreme Court. His job was to drive Holt's wife and college-age daughters to campaign stops. While travelling with the Holt women, Clinton was shocked to discover the continuing shadow of Jim Crow in Johnson's native region. As he wrote to a girlfriend back in Georgetown

, "Now we are campaigning in the heart of cotton country, south and east Arkansas where Negroes are still niggers. And I couldn't believe my eyes when I saw restrooms and waiting rooms still marked in Colored and White. It made me so sick to my stomach."

More sickening to the young Clinton was Johnson's upset victory in a Democratic runoff against Holt. The Republicans nominated civic activist Winthrop Paul Rockefeller, a scion of one of America's wealthiest families, to face Johnson in the general election. For years, Johnson had been attacking Rockefeller in Arkansas Faith for "opening his big fat mouth in public with unwanted advice... on the great race-mixing experiment." Now he sprayed his rich Yankee opponent with pure poison. In stump speeches Johnson lashed out at Rockefeller as a "prissy sissy" and a "Santa Gertrudis steer." His campaign distributed pamphlets which depicted Rockefeller as a drunken thief and a pornographer who indulged in sodomy with black men. (That Rockefeller was a heavy drinker was well known; he had also been married three times.)

In the runup to Election Day, Johnson was endorsed by the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan at a public rally in the southeast Arkansas town of Star City. Garbed in white robes and illuminated by a flaming cross, one speaker after another warned against the Jewish-Communist-civil rights conspiracy. "The Klan has come out for Lurleen Wallace [in Alabama], Lester Maddox [in Georgia] and Jim Johnson," the Klan leader bragged, "and we're electing them one by one." No matter how often reporters asked, Johnson wouldn't repudiate the Klan's support.

Aroused by the Johnson threat, moderate white Democrats and newly enfranchised blacks almost unanimously supported Rockefeller, making him the state's first Republican governor since the Civil War. An editorial in the Arkansas Gazette hailed voters for rejecting "the vacuous demagoguery that Mr. Johnson brought in his campaign, with all the name-calling, innuendo, distortions, and appeals to fear. They have spurned the smear literature and character vilification."

Two years later, Johnson entered the Democratic primary against Senator J. William Fulbright. This time he yoked his candidacy to the populist, white-power crusade of George Wallace, who was running for President on the American Independent Party line. Johnson escorted the Alabama Governor on his swings through Arkansas, while attacking Fulbright--"the pinup boy of Hanoi"--for his opposition to the war in Vietnam.

The 1968 campaign afforded Johnson his first glimpse of Bill Clinton, who again came home after graduating from Georgetown, this time to help Fulbright. The talkative young aide chauffeured the Senator around Arkansas, much as he had done in the Holt campaign, and meanwhile forged a relationship with James McDougall, the veteran pol and charming raconteur who ran Fulbright's Little Rock office.

One afternoon, Clinton drove out into the countryside with a college buddy to hear Johnson address a group of farmers. Enraged by Johnson's racist rant, Clinton stayed to confront the former judge after his speech. When they shook hands Clinton blurted, "You make me ashamed to be from Arkansas." Many years later, at a conservative meeting in Washington, Johnson would express precisely the same emotion about Clinton in less delicate terms, voicing his regret that his beloved state had produced "a President of the United States who is a queer-mongering, whore-hopping adulterer; a baby-killing, draft-dodging, dope-tolerating, lying, two-faced treasonist activist."

The venerable Fulbright defeated Johnson in the 1968 Democratic primary. And although George Wallace took Arkansas' electoral votes in a three-way contest with

th Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon, the segregationist bloc was isolated permanently below forty percent. No overtly racist candidate ever won another statewide election in Arkansas, which meant that Johnson's political career was finished.

After Win Rockefeller lost his bid for a third term in 1970, the new dispensation belonged to moderate Democrats such as Dale Bumpers, David Pryor and Bill Clinton, their dominance assured by broad support across racial lines. Johnson's crowd gradually faded from the scene; they toned down their rhetoric, and ultimately abandoned the Democratic Party for the Republican religious right. Like any subdued minority they resented the winners, and because Clinton beat them more often than anybody else, winning six statewide contests between 1978 and 1990, they resented him most.

During Clinton's final term as Governor, he erased Johnson's legacy forever by successfully campaigning for an amendment which stripped the last vestiges of statutory racism from the Arkansas lawbooks and the state constitution.

Legally-sanctioned segregation disappeared from the South, but not the impulse behind it. The politics of racebaiting in America was a slightly more refined art by the time Jim Johnson encountered its foremost contemporary practitioner. Actually, Johnson had encountered Floyd Brown--auteur of the most inflammatory television spot in recent history--before the "Willie Horton ad" made Brown famous. They had met several months earlier, during the 1988 Presidential primary season, when Brown was organizing five Midwestern and Southern states for Bob Dole and hired Johnson's daughter-in-law to work for Dole in Arkansas.

The aging segregationist and the young conservative quickly formed a lasting bond. Even if Brown didn't endorse all of Johnson's poisonous opinions about people of color, he and the judge agreed more than they disagreed. Both relished the intrigue of opposition research and the combat of negative campaigning. And the candidacy of Bill Clinton brought them even closer.

Boisterous, barrel-chested and six feet six inches tall, Brown earned his status as a political pariah during the final weeks of the 1988 presidential campaign when the Horton ad was unveiled. Its appeal to white fear was so blatant that even Lee Atwater considered it embarrassing.

The legend of the Horton ad has only grown during the decade since it appeared. Produced by an independent political committee called Americans for Bush, which listed Brown as "senior political consultant," it only aired briefly in a few markets, but became an instant classic of its genre. Just as Brown expected, the ad's mere existence drew saturation coverage from the mainstream media. The brash Brown loved to boast about this coup, and years later claimed credit for it in his official resume on the Citizens United website.

As a video production the Horton ad was as primitive as its message. It opened with head shots of George Bush and Michael Dukakis as the voiceover recited "Bush and Dukakis on Crime." Noting that Bush "supports the death penalty for first degree murderers," the announcer then remarked, "Dukakis not only opposes the death penalty, he allowed first-degree murderers to have weekend passes from prison."

Up came the scary mug shot of a stereotypical urban marauder, sullen and scruffy-looking with a bushy, uncombed Afro. "One was Willie Horton, who murdered a boy in a robbery, stabbing him nineteen times. Despite a life sentence, Horton received ten weekend passes from prison." The Dukakis headshot appeared again, as the solemn voice concluded: "Weekend prison passes. Dukakis on crime."

That mugshot was reproduced millions of times before Election Day, in print and on television. Brown's cheap, blunt thirty-second ad dealt a virtual death

thblow to the inept Dukakis. As Brown put it gleefully, the Horton ad was the "silver bullet" that destroyed the Democratic nominee.

The Horton episode proved lucrative as well as lethal. Behind "Americans for Bush" was the National Security Political Action Committee, a far-right outfit founded by conservative activist Elizabeth Fediay, daughter of a close associate of Senator Jesse Helms. Between 1986 and 1988, NSPAC raised over nine million dollars through direct mail and telemarketing appeals. Twice, the Bush campaign complained to the Federal Election Commission that NSPAC was misusing the Republican nominee's name to enrich Fediay and her friends.

Brown knew better than to take those complaints seriously. As he pointed out to a New York Times reporter, the Bush campaign officials had waited until the Horton commercial's run on cable TV was nearly complete before they requested that NSPAC quit raising money under the name of Americans for Bush. "If they were really interested in stopping this, do you think they would have waited that long to send us a letter?" he asked sardonically.

Two years later, evidence of illegal collusion between Americans for Bush and the official Bush campaign emerged. In February 1990, The New Republic revealed that business associates of Bush media consultant Roger Ailes had worked secretly on the Horton ad with Brown. Democratic Party officials quickly filed charges of unlawful cooperation between NSPAC and Bush-Quayle '88 with the Federal Election Commission. Although Ailes and his former employees denied any collusion, the F.E.C. opened a formal investigation. But the commission's Republican members succeeded in killing the Horton probe two years later, just in time for the '92 election.

By then Floyd Brown was launching a new operation called the Presidential Victory Committee--a subsidiary of Citizens United, the political action group he had set up in November 1988. Brown had seen what he could get away with at NSPAC, and gone into business for himself.

Anyone examining Floyd Brown's background would hardly have predicted his career as a professional rightwinger. He had grown up in the Pacific Northwest as the son of a Democratic sawmill worker and, more remarkably, the grandson of a member of the legendary Industrial Workers of the World, those freewheeling anarcho-socialists better known as the Wobblies. It was as a student at the University of Washington that Brown veered sharply rightward, becoming an activist in the ultraconservative Young Americans for Freedom. In 1983, he was arrested demonstrating in front of the Soviet embassy in Washington, D.C. A gifted, tireless organizer with a quick wit, he was elected national vice-chairman of YAF, which funnelled bright young activists into the Republican Party and the conservative movement.

The managers of Bob Dole's 1988 presidential bid hired Brown to oversee their Midwest primary campaign. He produced victories in five states before Dole finally dropped out of the rough race against Bush. Brown had been shunned by the Bush campaign. Then Fediay brought him into NSPAC.

In 1988 Brown also acquired a stocky, crewcut young sidekick named David Bossie. Like Brown, Bossie had been a campus conservative, joining the College Republicans at the University of Maryland. As a freshman he had been an enthusiastic volunteer in Ronald Reagan's 1984 reelection campaign, and eventually dropped out for fulltime political work. He never went back to school.

Working nights and weekends as a volunteer fireman in suburban Montgomery County, Bossie slept at the firehouse and knocked around in the low-paid world of Beltway conservatism until 1991, when Brown brought him into Citizens United as "chief investigator." While both were clever and ideologically driven, the dogged, low-key Bossie complemented his articulate, publicity-loving boss, who some

times spoke of himself in the third person.

Typically, Brown was full of ambitious ideas for the Presidential Victory Committee. He intended to create a Horton-style ad using the Gennifer Flowers tapes --only this time, the ad itself would generate money with a 900 telephone number. Callers would be charged by the minute to listen to suggestive excerpts of the tapes. Beyond that, Brown planned to write and publish *Slick Willie: Why America Cannot Trust Bill Clinton*, a 150-page paperback book about Clinton's personal life and his record as Governor. When he and Bossie arrived in Arkansas seeking the silver bullet, their first stop was Jim Johnson's White Haven.

Johnson offered historical guidance while his son Mark, a former Congressional aide who hosted a Rush Limbaugh-style local radio program in Little Rock, chauffeured Brown and Bossie around the state to dredge up tales of Clinton's alleged libertinism, radicalism and corruption. They spent hours consulting with Sheffield Nelson at his Little Rock law offices, which became their informal headquarters in the city.

In April, just as Clinton secured the Democratic nomination by winning the New York Democratic primary, Floyd Brown received an anonymous letter from Texas about a woman named Susann Coleman. (The same letter was sent to many news organizations around the same time.) Coleman had committed suicide with a shotgun in 1977. At the time of her death she was almost eight months pregnant. According to the letter, the baby was Bill Clinton's: "She spoke of her husband and how he'd been destroyed by her infidelity....She spoke of her love for Bill Clinton...She condemned herself for being an obstruction to Clinton's high ambitions. She died for them."

Bossie, the 26 year-old amateur sleuth, took over the task of tracking down this tantalizing lead. As the investigation progressed, Bossie often relied on Jim Johnson, who knew one or two ancillary figures in the case. They did establish that Susann Coleman had been a student of Clinton's when he taught at the University of Arkansas Law School, but could find no evidence of intimacy, let alone an illegitimate pregnancy. Coleman's widower refused to discuss his wife's suicide or her suicide note. Members of her family wouldn't talk much, either. As Bossie suspected, they had been reached first by the Clinton campaign, whose detective Jack Palladino had been monitoring Citizens United.

In May, Bossie found Coleman's mother in Georgia, where she had gone to visit her second husband in an Army hospital while he recovered from a stroke. He tailored her to the hospital, eluded hospital security and burst into the sickroom firing questions. Susann's stunned mother said little, except that "Clinton is not the father of Susann's baby."

It was Susann's sister, Lorna Lindsey, who seemed most hostile, demanding proof of Bossie's identity when Bossie called her at her home in South Carolina. Lindsey informed Bossie that she intended to advise her mother not to speak with him or anyone else from the Presidential Victory Committee.

When he reached Lindsey again, she wasn't forthcoming. Growing angry, Brown demanded to know why there had been no police investigation of Susann's death. "Possibly because one of your cousins, who was a police officer at the time, took care of it?...I won't stop this investigation," he warned. If his suspicions proved true, Brown added, he would dispatch attorneys to "meet with Clinton and tell him to get out of the race."

Despite Brown's blustering, Bossie finally filed a report acknowledging that he could find "no proof to support this letters [sic] allegations...this case is closed."

But it wasn't entirely closed. Lindsey had recorded her second conversation with Brown and turned the tape over to the Clinton campaign, which made it

available to CBS correspondent Eric Engberg. In mid-July, as Brown began running his Gennifer Flowers infomercial, Engberg aired a blistering report on the CBS Evening News about the Presidential Victory Committee.

Calling the Coleman affair "an unusually brazen dirty tricks operation," Engberg reminded viewers about Brown's authorship of the "notorious Willie Horton ad of 1988." On camera, he interviewed a friend of Susann's family who said that Bossie and Murphy had "peered" into the windows of her home when she was out. He described the hospital intrusion and played excerpts from Brown's sneering phone call to Lindsey.

"The Bush campaign, referring to Brown and his associates as the 'lowest forms of life,' today branded their tactics as 'despicable,'" the correspondent intoned, noting that Bush lawyers had yet to file a complaint against Brown's committee with the Federal Election Commission.

However repellent Brown's tactics may have seemed to Bush, the President had more pragmatic reasons for preferring not to dwell on the infidelity issue. When the Democratic convention delegates filed into Madison Square Garden to nominate Clinton in late July, they found on their seats the new issue of the cheeky Spy magazine--whose cover blared "1000 Reasons Not to Vote for George Bush; No.

1: He Cheats on His Wife." The article within didn't quite justify that sensationally conclusive headline, but examined in some detail the rumors and facts surrounding Bush's alleged relationships with other women. There was reason to believe Bush might have strayed, including his angry reply to a question about adultery during a mock debate in 1988: "None of your damn business!" In an exclusive convention interview with Time, Clinton pointed to the Spy article as an early warning to the Bush camp. In the weeks that followed, the New York Post and Vanity Fair also referred to the President's alleged extramarital affairs.

Floyd Brown didn't care what the Bush campaign said about him, his Flowers commercial or his tasteless exploitation of the adultery issue, any more than he had cared what they said about his Willie Horton blitz. He feigned outrage at the CBS attack, but friends thought he was privately pleased to renew his reputation as a political hit man. By late July he and Bossie were trying to finish Slick Willie, although additions were still possible before publication in mid-September. An odd farrago of fact, exaggeration and sheer invention, the book charged Clinton with dodging the draft, raising taxes, coddling blacks, chasing women, corrupting state agencies, flip-flopping on abortion, awarding special privileges to gays, promoting secularism (and witchcraft!), wrecking the school system, flirting with socialism, and, in its stirring final chapter, blaspheming the Lord with his campaign slogan of a "New Covenant" between citizens and government. Readers who detected a whiff of earlier anti-Clinton campaigns would not be surprised to see in the acknowledgement a "special thanks" to "Judge Jim Johnson."

Included in the lengthy appendices were carefully edited excerpts from the Gennifer Flowers tapes. The chapter on Susann Coleman substituted innuendo for evidence: "As long as her family refuses to enlighten the public...we won't know why this woman, seven months pregnant, had her head blown off....Why was there no autopsy? And who was the father of that unborn child? These questions remain unanswered, but Bill Clinton's hirelings are working day and night to keep them a mystery."

Brown was too sophisticated to imagine that Slick Willie--a novelty item designed for marketing to far-right mailing lists--would sway more than a handful of voters. At \$8.95 a copy, the little paperback might bring in some money, but it was loaded with blanks, not silver bullets. As he prepared the book for publi

cation, he told Jim Johnson that more and better material would be needed to be at Clinton. Johnson suggested a meeting with Larry Nichols, the man who had first exposed the Flowers affair. In fact, Nichols had been pestering Brown for months--but it was only after Johnson vouched for him that Brown agreed to meet with the gravel-voiced huckster.

When Brown invited Nichols to come to Washington for a meeting, Nichols convinced him that Larry Case should come too. Case said he had damning videotapes from Roger Clinton's cocaine prosecution that the mainstream media wouldn't touch, an audiotape of a prostitute talking about an affair with Bill Clinton, and much more, all for sale.

On August 7, Case and Nichols flew to Washington first-class at Citizens' United's expense. After spending the evening at a Georgetown "titty bar" that still excited Case months later, the two showed up at Brown's office in suburban Fairfax, Virginia, lugging bags of documents and tapes. Present at the meeting, along with Brown and Bossie, was Deborah Stone, sole editor and publisher of Annapolis-Washington Publishers, which had been set up specifically to bring out Slick Willie.

Stone was a blunt and sometimes abrasive woman in her mid-twenties who had found her way into Beltway conservatism via the Dartmouth Review. She had been the editor of the controversial monthly when its staff national news in 1986 by taking up axes and sledgehammers to tear down an anti-apartheid protest shanty on campus. On another occasion, they had secretly taped meetings of Dartmouth gays and outed several fellow students. This breach of civility, as well as the Review's racially divisive editorials and cartoons, had drawn sharp criticism from university officials and others--but Debbie Stone had never seen any reason to apologize.

The meeting could not begin until the arrival of a surprise guest: John Fund of The Wall Street Journal editorial page. An intense, thirtyish devotee of Ayn Rand who served as the Journal's unofficial emissary to the Republican right, Fund was more activist as journalist. He ghosted one of Rush Limbaugh's books and spoke frequently at conservative events. Fund was a particular favorite of Journal editor Robert Bartley, whose approach to editorial policy could be politely described as dogmatic. Dissatisfied with the Journal's straight approach to reporting, Bartley created what his staff called "the reportive editorial," including long investigative essays free of the constraints that governed the news section.

When Fund at last did show up, Nichols and Case began to present their wares. If Brown had known Case any better, they would have suspected that he was secretly taping the meeting.

Possibly hoping to start a bidding war, Nichols suggested that he and Case might take their anti-Clinton material to the Republican National Committee or even directly to the Bush campaign, a notion Stone and Fund both dismissed as silly. "Larry, you're not going to get anywhere with the RNC or George Bush," said Stone.

"You can either believe us or not believe us," Fund chimed in, "They'll have more to do with Abu Nidal than with you."

Nichols and Case didn't seem to get Fund's joking reference to a notorious Palestinian terrorist. "What?" said Case. Fund repeated himself, provoking nervous laughter. Stone moved briskly on to business, eager to examine the merchandise. "What are the videotapes of?"

"I have one video," Case said in his Arkansas drawl, "where he's settin' up a bribe and a payoff between a contractor in Hot Springs and his brother..."

"Roger Clinton?" asked Stone. "And his brother...?"

"Bill Clinton."

"Has anybody in the news media seen this?" Fund wanted to know. "Not this one," Case lied. He had been trying to peddle all his tapes to major media outlets and tabloid TV shows for months.

"And you have a tape," Stone broke in.

"I have a videotape of it. Now I've got the one of him doing the cocaine and all that stuff, but people have seen that..."

"Is CBS gonna use this?" Stone asked.

"Nobody's seen this," Case said. "I've been runnin' it today to get it up, and I haven't got it yet, but it's on there."

"You mean it's not cued up yet?" Stone asked, a note of petulance creeping into her voice. "Can we cue it up now?"

"Sure."

But as the television droned on--the tape's sound and picture quality dimly poor, as is typical with surveillance tapes--the only thing getting clearer was that Case had no idea where to find the vaunted "bribe" segment.

Meanwhile, Stone sounded concerned about Case's contacts with other media organizations. The private eye said he had told "everything" to a TV reporter, prompting another peevish outburst. "What do you mean, everything?" cried Stone. "Not what you've been telling us--Michelle, Louwanda, Denise..."

She naturally wanted exclusive rights to "Louwanda and Michelle"--the pair of prostitutes Case had taped talking about Clinton--as well as "Denise," supposed recipient of a hand-written note bearing Clinton's signature, that sought forgiveness for physically abusing her.

"I used her maiden name," said Case reassuringly.

Nothing interesting seemed to be happening on the videotape, and Stone grew impatient. "What are we looking for on this tape again? The bribe?" she demanded. "Yeah," said Case, "the bribe is on one of these tapes." He paused. "I have the bribe, but I don't remember which one it's on..."

"And why is that significant?" Stone snapped. "What's the bribe?"

"I think it's significant because he's setting up a bribe between a contractor in Hot Springs, to sign a contract on a sewer deal, between him and his brother," Case answered smoothly.

The discussion turned to Roger Clinton's jail term, and Nichols' allegation that the Governor had pardoned Dan Lasater, an investment banker and Clinton contributor who also had been convicted of giving away cocaine at parties. Lasater in fact had been convicted of a Federal crime; Clinton had no authority to pardon him. The Governor had, however, approved a waiver allowing the state Game and Fish Commission to sell Lasater a deer hunting license.

"I bet if he wins the election he'll pardon his brother," Fund remarked.

The tape droned on. "Can you fast-forward this?" barked Stone. "I don't know what to look for," said someone else. That was when Case admitted, "I don't even know if [the bribe] is on this one or not."

For more than an hour, Stone, Bossie, Brown and Fund listened patiently as Larry Nichols rambled on about his grievances against Clinton, his theories about Gennifer Flowers and other alleged paramours of the Democratic nominee, Clinton's rumored illegitimate children, Nichols' aborted lawsuit against Clinton and his unsuccessful attempt to negotiate a cash "settlement" from the Clinton campaign. Among other absurdities, Nichols accused the Democratic candidate of complicity in the unsolved homicide of a Little Rock swimming pool manufacturer for which the man's wife was later arrested. The Citizens United team weren't learning anything they needed to know, but played captive audience to his passionate soliloquy. If treated with deference, Case and Nichols might produce something. From time to time, Stone couldn't stifle a yawn.

Finally, Nichols got around to mentioning a videotape of Bill Clinton entering Gennifer Flowers' apartment, made by her neighbor. His bored audience suddenly woke up. "There's also tapes from cameras at the front door," said Bossie hope fully. He wondered how the dim apartment hallway had been taped. "Because I was in that hallway where Gennifer Flowers lived..."

"And where's this tape now?" Stone inquired.

"Guy's got it and I can't get hold of it," admitted Nichols.

"Where is he? Does he have a family? Can we talk to anybody?" asked Stone. That tape would never turn up either.

Case and Nichols returned to Arkansas without a firm deal, but Brown said they would be in touch.

The list of participants at the Virginia meeting puzzled Bill Rempel. Trying to check out his potential customers, Case had called his friend at the L.A. Times for advice.

"What were they all doing in the same room?" Rempel asked. "You've got journalists there, supposedly, you've got political operatives..."

"You've got Dave, you've got Floyd," Case recited, "and John Fund, who, he said, works for the Wall Street Journal."

Rempel offered to perform a Nexis search on the names Case gave him to determine their identities. Later the same afternoon he called back with the results, which perplexed Rempel even more.

"John H. Fund is an editorial writer for The Wall Street Journal," he told Case. "That makes it all the more curious why he was there. Deborah Stone is spokeswoman for the Republican National Coalition for Life, which is, I presume, an anti-abortion outfit. David Bossie is executive director of the Presidential Victory Committee, which is Floyd Brown's PAC. Floyd's the front man on it, that's for sure..."

"Is there any truth to this Debbie Stone's being backed by the Republicans? Does this group of people sound legitimate to you?"

"Who knows? Certainly the Republican National Coalition for Life is a right-wing organization." (Actually, the Coalition is a pressure group founded by former Birch Society leader Phyllis Schlafly to ensure party purity on the abortion issue.)

Case was confused. "What would she get involved in something like this for?"

"Well, that's the mystery. I don't get that either. What's the Wall Street Journal guy doing there?" Rempel asked.

"That would be borderline unethical as a journalist, I would think," Case ventured.

"Borderline ain't the word. It's right over the edge. It's in free fall," the reporter said.

Case perked up. "So who can I sell that story to?"

Rempel laughed. "I don't know that it has any monetary value...Did Fund seem uncomfortable being there?" he asked.

"I don't know." Now Case was laughing. "If that sumbitch knew me, he should have been."

Irresistibly tempted by Louwanda, Michelle and other possible victims of Clinton's lust, Floyd Brown and his colleagues finally made Case a cash offer. Unaware that the burly detective had already tried and failed to peddle the same tales to the Los Angeles Times, NBC News and the tabloid TV program A Current Affair, Citizens United agreed to pay him \$10,000 for access to the incriminating videotapes and the talkative hookers.

In early September, Stone and Bossie agreed to meet Case at the Little Rock airport. Together the trio would fly to Phoenix, Arizona, where Case said he had an associate who had the evidence about Michelle and Louwanda. In reality, he had been trying for several weeks to persuade Bill Rempel to give him the name of the L.A. Times' original source on the Oklahoma City hookers. He did know that Rempel's source had also talked to a Phoenix TV station. Whether Case actually intended to lure the Citizens' United crew all the way to Arizona on so thin a pretext isn't clear.

As they prepared to board the plane in Little Rock, however, a farcical fracas erupted. Case suddenly accused Bossie and Stone of trying to abscond with his bags. Shouting obscenities in the crowded airport, he demanded payment of the \$10,000 immediately, rather than the following day as agreed.

"Get on the airplane," Stone urged, according to Case's later recollection. "I'll give you \$1000 if you get on the airplane." He wasn't going anywhere for less than \$10,000. Case said later that he pushed Bossie aside to get his bags. Bossie claimed that Case punched him in the face, and swore out a police report seeking his arrest. Case told the cops that Stone and Bossie had stolen documents from him valued at \$1.5 million and threatened to kill him. He then called various media outlets, Floyd Brown later wrote, "in an attempt to plant a story implicating Miss Stone's and Mr. Bossie's research tactics as scandalous."

When Brown hired a handwriting expert to examine the "Denise" note he learned, like the tabloids before him, that it was a cut-and-pasted fake. In the introduction to Slick Willie he suggested that Case was a double agent working for Clinton. In reality, Case was a double agent working for Case. Within days of the airport altercation, Case was bragging to reporters that he'd "slapped the shit out of Bossie," and was mulling how to turn a profit by "exposing" Citizens United.

As Floyd Brown fumed over Case's treachery, the detective and his partner paused to consider their options. By late September, with Clinton's victory over Bush seemingly assured, Nichols and Case became worried. What if Clinton were to exact vengeance upon his Arkansas enemies? In a phone conversation taped by Case, the pair discussed the grim prospect of President Clinton.

"Bill Clinton's got the short course to the White House," Nichols fretted. "Hell, he could stop right now and not do nothin' else. He ain't gotta spend a nother fuckin' nickel. All he's gotta do is just say he's still running, and I believe he's in."

"Yeah, and you know where we're at. We're behind the eight ball," said Case glumly. "We're the people that when he gets in, he's gonna be pissed at us. And we're the people that if he don't get in by some quirk of fate, we're gonna get blamed for it. Now if I'm gonna get blamed for something, I'd damn sure like to do it, is my problem. And it wouldn't hurt to be set up financially to where whatever they did couldn't affect me. Now that's just me talking, because it damn sure ain't gonna happen."

Case however, was mulling a contingency plan. "What the hell would they do," he asked Nichols, "if you brought the Republicans in now? What would the Republicans do to you?"

"What the hell can they do? They ain't gonna be in power."

"You think you could roll Bob Leslie?" Leslie was then chairman of the Arkansas Republican Party.

"I know I could," said Nichols

"You got a paper trail on everybody?"

"Sure do." Nichols proceeded to name as his collaborators in smearing Clinton

ton virtually every important Republican in Arkansas, and claimed to have documentation to prove it. While reluctant to make new enemies, he'd consider turning for the right price.

"You'd be amazed at who I've got on that phone," he chortled. "You'd be amazed at the phone numbers on there."

"You got [Sheffield] Nelson on there?"

"You bet. Home and office."

"Well, we could sure tie them into it, from here on up to Washington, if we really wanted to," said Case. "The way I look at it, Larry, if you're gonna be blamed for it, get paid for it. Shit, it's to the point now where, you know, I'm open. I'm open for business. You and me both."

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: mszporer@polaris.umuc.edu@INET@LNGTWY (mszporer@polaris.umuc.edu@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 3-JUN-1999 15:43:27.00

SUBJECT: SIEC News and Info: Rumors Have It

TO: Christine A. Stanek@eop (Christine A. Stanek@eop [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Agna Wolna informs us of unconfirmed cafe "Czytelnik" rumors that deputy prime minister Leszek Balcerowicz postponed his Washington visit over the detailed discussions involving the new legacy foundation to be established [not in Delaware!] from the proceeds of the Polish American Enterprise Fund. There was some press about it [Zycie!] and the General Accounting Office expressed a much warranted interest.

One wonders however if the money which is to remain in Poland is adequate to make Warsaw into the launch pad for democracy and market values in the former Soviet region. It is hard to run an American outreach program from Warsaw Central to Kamchatka on mere 150 mil!

Slobo Milosevic of Serbia is out, but what of the likes of Lukashenka? Luke has been running for Yeltsin's job for years and he has ambitions to tranform the entire region into a kolhoz. And Belarusin opposition is divided, and Ukraine is tilting. And Russia? My buddy from 600 miles to the east of Moscow quips, "We're so big we might be too big for democracy!"

Lessons to be drawn from this bungled campaign issue: Polish and American interests need to be upped a decibel for the Hill [and Foggy Bottom] to hear 'em! --M

=====

Wed, 2 Jun 1999 15:48:27 +0300

From:

"gender" <gender@ehu.unibel.by>

=====

CALL FOR PAPERS

Institute for Strategic Studies MCRD Foundation, Friedrich Naumann Foundation and Institute of Philosophy at Jagiellonian University announce a conference:

Democracy in Central Europe, 1989-99:
Comparative and Historical Perspectives

at:

Jagiellonian University, Krako *w, Poland
3-4 September, 1999

Democracy in Central Europe conference is an international meeting of scholars and politicians, who examine the democratic changes in Central Europe during the last decade in a global perspective. The economic and political reforms in the Central European countries in the 1990s are similar as they were founded on liberal, even libertarian, assumptions. After several years, however, we can observe different results in particular countries, for example, in standards of living and in economic growth.

Liberalism and politico-economic changes in Central Europe:
Public Choice theory and democratic changes in Central Europe, the role of interest groups and trade unions. Property rights and privatization. Restructuring socialist economy. Social contract theories and the Constitutional revolution in Central Europe. The different paths out of socialism.

Democracy and the common good:
Dilemmas of democracy: equality vs liberty, individual rights vs the common good. Political democracy and democratic values. The role of the Churches in transformation processes. Democratic participation. Nationalism and civil society. Tolerance.

Democratic processes in European, American and Asian countries:
Is there one universal model of democracy? The impact of different national cultures and traditions on shaping the institutions of a democratic State.

Publication of conference proceedings:
Papers should not exceed twenty minutes reading time (12 pages). The papers accepted for the conference will be published in the conference proceedings.

Accommodation:
Accommodation and meals during the conference will be provided by the organizers. The participants of the conference will be accommodated at the University Hotels in Kraków from 2 to 5 September, 1999.

Please send a short abstract of your paper (200 words) before 15 June, 1999 to:

Conference and Program Director:
Dr hab. Justyna Miklaszewska
Institute of Philosophy
Jagiellonian University
ul. Grodzka 52
31-044 Kraków, Poland
Tel: (4812) 421 08 27 Fax: (4812) 422 49 16
email: miklasze@grodzki.phils.uj.edu.pl

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Thursday, June 10 12:30 at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies
Alan L. Berger SHAPING HOLOCAUST MEMORY: THE SECOND GENERATION
Conference Room (5th floor) Dr. Berger is the author of Children of
Job: Second Generation Witnesses to the Holocaust and Crisis and Covenant.
call 202-488-6162

=====

[another letter to article reprinted below]

Wed, 2 Jun 1999 15:41:37 -0400

From: Jeff Weintraub <weintraubj_ajc@compuserve.com>

To: Blind.Copy.Receiver@compuserve.com

Subject: letter to Chicago Tribune

June 1, 1999

N. Don Wycliff
Editorial Page Editor
Chicago Tribune
Chicago, IL
Fax: 312-222-2598

To the Editor:

Tom Hundley's May 23 Tribune article describing the controversy of the crosses at Auschwitz was fair and informative. The accompanying caption referring to "the Polish death camp" (our emphasis), however, was ill-informed and confused important facts about culpability for horrendous crimes. Auschwitz, like all other death and concentration camps in Poland, was created and maintained by the Nazis who occupied Poland with an iron fist from 1939 to the end of World War II. Polish Christians, in many cases, were themselves victims of Nazi savagery; approximately 75,000 perished in Auschwitz alone along with thousands of others at camps throughout German-occupied Poland and the Reich. The Tribune's mistake may seem small to some. But, especially as we move further away from the ignoble era of the Nazis, the shadow it casts will steadily and sadly obscure the truth.

Sincerely,
Professor Stanislaw Blejwas Leonard Grossman
Co-chairs, National Polish American-Jewish American Council

Jeffrey Weintraub
Coordinator

=====

CHICAGO TRIBUNE ARTICLE
AT AUSCHWITZ, THE ISSUE IS WHO WILL CONTROL THE SYMBOLS

By Tom Hundley, Tribune Foreign Correspondent.

OSWIECIM, Poland

In a gravel pit outside the walls of the Auschwitz death camp, a field of crosses has blossomed and multiplied.

This, however, is not a good omen. It marks another spike of contentious recrimination between Poles and Jews over the meaning of this place.

The crosses at Auschwitz have been multiplying since last June when Kazimierz Switon, a retired television repairman and self-professed Polish patriot, planted one in the ground and invited others to follow his

example.

Now there are nearly 300 crosses. Tall, solid crosses of oak; smaller wispy ones of local birch; crosses draped in the red and white cloth of the Polish flag. A few crosses are anchored in cement. A group of Polish-Americans from Chicago planted a cross last September.

Some of the crosses bear the names of the 152 Catholic prisoners who were executed in the gravel pit by the Nazis.

The pit, now filled in and covered with a thin thatch of grass, is enclosed by a fence. Switon, 68, lives in a shabby trailer within the enclosure. A Doberman and a German shepherd growl at anyone who approaches.

Four sharpened scythes--a symbol of Poland's peasant uprisings--are stuck in the ground in front of Switon's trailer.

"This is a place of martyrdom and torture for Poles. We have a right to have crosses here and they will stay," said Switon, a gruff and pugnacious former member of the Polish parliament.

The Roman Catholic Church in Poland has condemned the crosses as a needless provocation. Poland's Solidarity-led government has promised to remove them.

Earlier this month, it passed a law that will allow the government to remove the crosses.

The new law gives the government authority to restrict and control all activity within 100 yards of the eight former Nazi death camps on Polish territory.

Government officials said they hoped the crosses could be removed before Pope John Paul II's visit to Poland next month in order to avoid embarrassing publicity.

Switon's reaction was to start laying the foundation for a new chapel on

the site. He laughs off the suggestion that the crosses are a provocation.

"It's the Jews who are doing the provoking," he said. "How are the crosses bothering them? These Jews think they can come here and tell us how to live on our land."

On one level, the controversy over the crosses is about who will control the symbolism of Auschwitz. On another, it is about post-communist Poland's inability to come to grips with centuries of anti-Semitism.

No patch of European soil is more burdened by the nightmares of the 20th Century than this one. No place is so stained by evil.

For most of the world, the Auschwitz-Birkenau complex, where some 1.1 million to 1.5 million people were murdered, has come to represent the Nazi attempt to extinguish European Jewry.

The camp's first victims however, were Poles, most of them Catholics. An estimated 75,000 Poles--mainly intellectuals, professionals, priests and members of the underground resistance--were killed as part of the Nazi plan to reduce Poland to a slave nation by eliminating its leadership class.

Soviet war prisoners, Gypsies and homosexuals also were murdered at Auschwitz-Birkenau, but Jews were the death camps' primary victims. Between February 1942 and January 1945, at least a million Jews were dispatched in its gas chambers with chilling industrial efficiency.

"Poles and Jews cannot leave Auschwitz to rest," said Konstanty Gebert, a Polish journalist and Jewish activist.

"The identities of both nations have been shaped by the experience of

Auschwitz. Both have learned that they are considered expendable by Europe," he said.

"So the strategy they have adopted is to stimulate Europe's guilt by constantly shoving Auschwitz into Europe's face. Both sides attempt to use their suffering as a kind of insurance policy."

Six million Jews--fully two-thirds of European Jewry--were consumed in the Holocaust. By contrast, 3 million non-Jewish Poles were killed by the Nazis.

"There is a perception--largely accurate--that outside of Poland there is little understanding of the Polish dimension of Auschwitz," said Stanislaw

Krajewski, a member of the philosophy faculty at Warsaw University and co-chairman of the Polish Council of Christians and Jews.

"Before it became the symbol of the Holocaust, Auschwitz was the symbol of the German occupation of Poland--but this was unknown outside Poland," he said.

This, in part, explains the Polish determination to colonize Auschwitz with crosses.

The current controversy has its roots in a Carmelite convent that was established at Auschwitz in the 1980s at the suggestion of Pope John Paul II. The convent is adjacent to the gravel pit and it was here that the Carmelite nuns placed a 25-foot high cross that was used when John Paul II celebrated mass at Auschwitz in 1979.

The presence of the convent and its giant cross became an irritant to Jews, but the Catholic Church in Poland turned a deaf ear to their complaints. Even after the Vatican reached an agreement with Jewish organizations to relocate the convent, the Polish church continued to drag its feet until 1993 when the pope ordered the nuns to leave.

The papal cross has remained.

"You have to remember that for Poles, a cross is not only a religious symbol, but a national symbol as well," said Stefan Wilkanowicz, editor of the influential Catholic journal, *Znak*.

"We have a highly allergic reaction whenever someone wants to remove a cross. In the Polish mind, these people are automatically linked with the communists," he explained. "For Jews, the reaction is the opposite. They see the cross as a symbol of persecution. That is why it is so difficult to reconcile these two sensitivities."

Officially, the Polish church condemns anti-Semitism, and some of its best thinkers and writers have been eloquent on the subject. But somehow the message has not gotten down to ordinary folk.

Part of the reason are deeply entrenched fears and cultural prejudices. Another part, according to British writer Jonathan Luxmoore, is that some elements in the church and on Poland's far-right political fringe still find anti-Semitism a useful weapon against their foes.

"For anybody who is critical of the church, who would reduce its privileges, who is anti-clerical, there is always this subtle suggestion that he must be Jewish," he said.

Switon is not subtle. He has accused the bishops and priests who have condemned his project at Auschwitz of being secret Jews.

Switon can be dismissed as a crank, but nearly a year after he planted his cross, he remains.

"There may not be much sympathy for Switon, but there's no antipathy,"

said Gebert.

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Food for thought: "At one of the local meetings, a woman came up to me and said that if Christ were to appear on Earth, he would most certainly stand closer to Lepper than Balcerowicz." Andrzej Lepper quoted by Warsaw Voice. Andrzej Lepper has made himself into the vocal cords of frustrated farmers. Rural earnings and unemployment are high. So far neither political bloc in Poland, left or right, has addressed this increasingly fringed out constituency that represents about a quarter of Poland's population. Even if much overrated, Lepper's popularity in recent polls is as high as 41%.

Foundation for Free Speech, Washington Office, Michael Szporer
202-547-7114

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Sidney Blumenthal (CN=Sidney Blumenthal/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:10-JUN-1999 09:40:04.00

SUBJECT: Re: Hi

TO: Ed <edepstein@worldnet.att.net> (Ed <edepstein@worldnet.att.net> [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

CH on Kosovo:

Salon Magazine

Bloody blundering: Clinton's cluelessness
is selling out Kosovo

leaders really

airstrikes to

carnage in Kosovo,

indicted for war

If administration

expected NATO

accelerate the

they should be

crimes.

BY CHRISTOPHER

HITCHENS

April 5, 1999 |

During the

1912, Leon

group of liberal

understood

chauvinism

-- just as it is

ally Boris

committed in

Balkan war of

Trotsky was a war correspondent for a
Russian and Ukrainian newspapers. He
that pan-Slavic and Christian Orthodox
was a crucial element in Russian tyranny
today in the warped worldview of our
Yeltsin. Trotsky witnessed atrocities
Kosovo, and wrote that Russian

indulgence had made
gangs "to
massacres of the
of the 'culture'
it much easier for Serbian and Bulgarian
engage in their Cain's work of further
peoples of the Crescent in the interests
of the Cross."

and political
reported:
Quoting a Serbian soldier whose civil
conscience had been revolted, Trotsky

as we
darker the
fearful
against it.
Entire
into
possessions,
grandfathers and
"The horrors actually began as soon
crossed the old frontier ... The
sky became, the more brightly the
illumination of the fires stood out
Burning was going on all around us.
Albanian villages had been turned
pillars of fire -- dwellings,
accumulated by fathers,
great-grandfathers were going up in
flames."

Muslims with
In order to
occurred (or
revisit the
is unlikely
Kosovo have yet
Bosnian
killing and
captives.
But most Europeans found that they could
contemplate the immolation of obscure
relative equanimity. As indeed can we.
understand the shame of what has lately
better say recurred) in Kosovo, one must
shame of what occurred at Srebrenica. It
that even the Serbian "irregulars" in
exceeded what they accomplished in that
"safe haven" in July 1995: the organized
interment of perhaps 10,000 male

That slaughter was carried out as

American satellites
information,
executioners. Even
realpolitik in a
embarrassed and
States knew,
it in his
slaughter for the New
York Review of Books:

he sat
'Precise
Srebrenica
horrible was
Even on that Sunday afternoon, as
answering the reporter's questions,
Holbrooke tells in his memoirs,
details of what was happening in
were not known ... but there was no
question that something truly
going on.'

defining what is
after the Serbs
other officials,
the United
and benefiting
(satellites gazing
photographs
drone planes
diplomats and attachés
secrets and
"precise details" of
in eastern Bosnia,
An odd construction, that sentence,
known only by what is not: Five days
swept into Srebrenica, Holbrooke and
men and women perched on the heights of
States' national security bureaucracy
from all its vast powers of perception
down from space; spy planes snapping
from the upper atmosphere; unmanned
relaying real-time video images;
in-country working their informants for
rumors and gossip), could know no
Serbian actions in this one tiny place

certainty that but were able nonetheless to harbor the
"something truly horrible was going on."

many liberals, Srebrenica, however, was described by
administration, as "a and accepted by the Clinton
and terrified the blessing in disguise." It so horrified
to the Bosnian leadership that it brought them
grateful was conference in Dayton, Ohio. And so
of Slobodan Milosevic for the forbearance
concealing his Washington in understating and even
consented to come to role in the mass murder that he
co-sponsor of Dayton also, and to become the valued
of a Pax Americana. From this glorious page
new chapter: a diplomacy it was but a step to a whole
like all of NATO assault on what seems to most Serbs
flying high over Serbia, with the ethereal war machines
another the continuing pogrom while soliciting
himself! handshake from -- the same Mr. Milosevic
the expression To get the worst of so many worlds (if
victims past, present is not itself an insult to so many
that is numb to and future), one has to have a regime
of principle. all questions of history and all matters

confronting The tactical and strategic wisdom of
on, his territory, Milosevic in this way, and over, if not
forget all the is debatable in a paltry way. You can
Milosevic's half-baked nonsense about Kosovo being
be more "Holy Land" or his Jerusalem. It would

his Anschluss. In accurate to call it his Sudetenland or
of the rigged Kosovo, thanks to the Albanian boycott
its seats. In elections, his party gets 20 percent of
quick-change from Kosovo in April 1987, thanks to a
Socialism, he was Balkan Stalinism to Balkan National
populist able to don the mantle of racial and
clumsy and demagogue. (There is live footage of the
would cost him obvious staging of this provocation.) It
backed down too his head, never mind his job, if he
that was both fast. But, in the cleansing interval
air attacks on provoked and provided by the threat of
won enough other parts of Yugoslavia, he may have
call for another ground and displaced enough people to
Holbrooke to Dayton, and perhaps get Yeltsin and
help broker it.

because our One says "other parts of Yugoslavia"
could not heroic president and commander in chief
speech on have been more wrong, in his patronizing
referring to Kosovo Day One of the airstrikes, than in
speaking, it is a as "a province of Serbia." Internally
Yugoslavia. Its formerly autonomous region of former
revoked by constitutional autonomy was unilaterally
power and his Milosevic when he began his seizure of
as a demented campaign to redefine Yugoslavia
speaking, the frontier Serbian mini-empire. Externally
recognized, demarcating Kosovo from Albania is only
border. Should by international treaties, as a Yugoslav

democrats wish,
will be no more
was anyone in
possibility or
just try asking
design, is
become a part
improvised partition,
with a future
an ugly
Blank looks is
and probably
Which is why
Srebrenica.

Montenegro secede, as Montenegrin
from the rump federation, then there
"Yugoslavia" for Kosovo to belong to.

It would be nice to believe that there
Washington who had allowed for this
pondered its implications. But then,
whether Kosovo, in the United States'
intended to get its autonomy back, or to
of Serbia, or to be subject to an
or to become independent, or to federate
"Greater Albania" (which would itself be
metastasis of the model Greater Serbia).
what you get. These people don't think,
can't think, beyond the next news cycle.
another Dayton may succeed another

The likeliest outcome is obviously a de
of an "ethnically cleansed" Kosovo; the
proposed by Milosevic's then-crony
back in 1988. Such a partition in which
allies would be eager to help out as
the infallible cause of another and even
But by then, President Clinton will have
presidential library in Arkansas. In Bob
book "The Agenda," Clinton was depicted
aides that he wished he had been
World War II. I remember feeling very
read that.

facto partition
very objective
Dobrica Cosic
our Russian
brokers would be
nastier war.
retired to his
Woodward's
telling his
president during
afraid when I

week --
As humanitarian concerns increased last
well-protected were
overriding the question of how
called Srdja Popovic,
billion-dollar stealth airplanes -- I
dissident in former
the chief human-rights lawyer and
decided to
Yugoslavia. Popovic has only recently
so as a further
identify himself as a Serb, and has done
wondered if anyone
means of denouncing Milosevic. I
touch with him
from the administration had been in
lately. No, he said, not since 1992.
required for the
"I told them then that intervention was
Macedonia and
sake of Serbia as well as Bosnia and
so much
Croatia and Kosovo. They hated this idea
they do now is
that they never called me again. What
feeling that
sporadic, and improvised, and I have the
all." A bad enough
they have not thought it through at
that there was
feeling, but not as bad as the suspicion
administration
a carve-up in the works all along.
destitute and
The "line of the day" among
the mass
spokesmen, confronted by masses of
"we expected this
terrified refugees and solid reports of
anyone.) If
execution of civilians, is to say that
war crimes
to happen." They did? (They never told
promise us
they want to avoid being indicted for
themselves, these "spokesmen" had better
that they were lying when they said that.

salon.com | April 5, 1999

About the writer
Christopher Hitchens is a frequent
contributor to Salon

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: June Shih (CN=June Shih/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:14-JUN-1999 20:50:22.00

SUBJECT: rosa draft revised

TO: Janet Murguia (CN=Janet Murguia/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Minyon Moore (CN=Minyon Moore/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Draft 6/14/99

Shih

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS ON CONGRESSIONAL GOLD MEDAL FOR ROSA PARKS

U.S. CAPITOL

WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 15, 1999

In fewer than 200 days, the world will celebrate a new milestone) the conclusion of yet another century. Decades ago, it was said that the 20th Century would be an American Century. At century ,s end, it is not too difficult to see how that prophecy has come true.

The triumph of America is fundamentally the triumph of freedom in our century) of democracy over dictatorship, of free enterprise over state socialism, of tolerance over bigotry. The fight for freedom was waged on the beaches of Normandy and the South Pacific, at Checkpoint Charlie, and in the classrooms, lunch counters, and public buses of the segregated South. At stake was one simple, yet revolutionary, American ideal -- that we are all created equal, endowed with the inalienable right to govern ourselves and live free.

On that fateful evening, on that fateful city bus in Montgomery, Alabama 44 years ago, Rosa Parks reminded all of us that America still lived far short of these most cherished ideals. Her dignified, yet defiant &No, 8 to that bus driver reminded us that, for millions of Americans, through hundreds of weary years, this sweet land of liberty yielded only bitter fruit and silent tears. She reminded us that the ugly shackles of racism kept America ,s house divided, separate and unequal, denying African-American men and women the opportunity to elect their own leaders, to educate their children, to succeed according to their own talents and abilities. As Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. would later explain, Rosa Parks &was anchored to that seat by the accumulated indignities of days gone by and the countless aspirations of generations yet unborn. 8 Her simple act of dignity set off an earthquake of change, clearing the way for a new America where all are judged not by the color of our skin, but by the content of our character.

For two centuries, America has been defined by our struggle to live closer to our ideals. We are a great nation because every time our ideals have been threatened or ignored, courageous Americans have stepped forward to defend and inspire all of us to honor them. Rosa Parks stepped forward to honor America on that day in 1955. And in so doing, she helped make this 20th Century, the American Century.

Mrs. Parks has said that she &did not get on that bus to get arrested. I got on the bus to go home. 8 In so many ways, Rosa Parks brought America back to our one true home) one built on a foundation of respect and tolerance, of justice and equality for all. Mrs. Parks, your place is already assured in the pantheon of American heroes. And we are all in your debt. I am honored to present this Congressional Gold Medal as a small token of thanks from the American people, of our sincere gratitude for your unfailing courage and dignity.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: USIA_Media_Reaction@notesmail1.usia.gov@INET@LNGTWY (USIA_Media_Reaction@notesmail1.usia.gov@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:15-JUN-1999 12:45:39.00

SUBJECT: Daily Digest 6/15: U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS

TO: Laura D. Schwartz@eop (Laura D. Schwartz@eop [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Despite saturation coverage of the Kosovo issue on editorial pages overseas in recent weeks, a fair number of foreign commentators continued to weigh in on U.S.-China relations in the aftermath of the May 25 release of the Cox report alleging Chinese nuclear espionage and of NATO's mistaken bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade earlier last month. Those events, along with another landmark date--the 10th anniversary of China's crackdown on democracy activists in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989--served as bellwethers for analysts assessing the status of U.S.-China ties. Most agreed with a Belgian pundit's assessment that relations between Washington and Beijing were at their "lowest ebb" in recent memory. Many also echoed the view of an independent Hong Kong daily in concluding that the seeds of a new "cold war" between the U.S. and China may have been sown "in the hearts" of Chinese and American citizens, and that only the economic self-interests of both sides might prevent the current "sour" relations from deteriorating even further. Although no comment was yet available on the visit to Beijing of a delegation led by Under Secretary of State Thomas Pickering--who is expected to meet with the Chinese foreign minister tomorrow to make a presentation on the embassy bombing--the independent Hong Kong Economic Standard speculated a week ago that such a visit might be forthcoming. "Anything contributing to normalizing Sino-U.S. ties is to the good," that paper declared, but added that "it is unlikely that there will...be a complete healing any time soon of the wound inflicted by the Belgrade bombing." Following are highlights in the commentary:

VIEWS FROM BEIJING, PRC SYMPATHIZERS: There was no discernible let-up in the torrent of anti-U.S. rhetoric emanating from official Chinese media and from the chorus of U.S. detractors in pro-PRC papers in Hong Kong and Macau, and sympathizers in North Korea and Vietnam. Typical diatribes termed the Cox report a "nasty anti-China farce," "nothing but conjecture and prevarication," and a tool for "demonizing, containing and attacking" China. The U.S. is "lost in persecution mania," charged Pyongyang's official Korean Central News Agency. Official Beijing papers also contended that it was a "lie" that the Chinese Embassy bombing was the result of reliance on an outdated map, contending instead that the bombing demonstrated that the U.S. "has been trying to contain China and prevent it from becoming a strong economic and military power."

TIANANMEN 10 YEARS LATER: The tenth anniversary of Tiananmen Square

provoked an outpouring of sympathy from a number of media outlets in Europe, Israel and a few in Asia for the "young democrats" who "gave up their lives for freedom" a decade ago. Writers in Japan and Australia, however, noted the "ironic" contrast between the violent demonstrations directed against the U.S. Embassy in Beijing following the Belgrade bombing, and those of ten years ago, when Chinese students built the Statue of Liberty-like "Goddess of Freedom" to symbolize their aspirations for democracy.

This survey is based on 44 reports from 21 countries, May 29 - June 15.
EDITOR: Kathleen J. Brahney

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

CHINA: "What Do Cox And His Like Want To Do?"

Fu Zhou insisted in official Communist Party People's Daily (Renmin Ribao, 6/14): "To Cox and his like, as long as China continues with socialism and contradicts the United States, it should be demonized, contained and attacked. Apparently, their objectives are to jeopardize China's development and cause Sino-U.S. relations to retrogress."
"Embassy Attack Explanation Full Of Loopholes"

Huang Qing contended in official Communist Party People's Daily (Renmin Ribao, 6/12): "Unwilling to serve as a scapegoat, the head of the U.S. National Atlas Bureau laid bare the U.S. lie attributing the attack on the Chinese embassy to 'an outdated map.' The clumsy explanation of the United States for the embassy attack trampled upon not only another country's sovereignty, but the American people's integrity and conscience."

"Embassy Attack Must Be Investigated: Zhang"

Official English-language China Daily carried this item (6/11): "China is waiting for a responsible report from the United States for NATO's missile attack on the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia, Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhang Qiyue said yesterday. 'If the United States sincerely hopes to improve bilateral relations, it should conduct comprehensive, in-depth, just and responsible investigations, and take concrete measures to punish those responsible,' said Zhang during a regular news briefing. 'Only in this way can the United States give the Chinese government and people a satisfactory explanation,' said Zhang."

"U.S. Economic Expansion And Hegemonism"

Xiao Lian contended in official Communist Party People's Daily (Renmin Ribao, 6/8): "Using political and military hegemonism to pave the way for economic expansion, the United States is exploiting world resources to serve its own national interests... The United States links political issues like human rights with trade so as to impose political pressure and obtain profits.... While advocating a free trade policy, the United States implements trade protectionism, while not allowing others to protect their own trade."

"Enhance National Defense; Oppose Hegemony"

He Xiantu insisted in Science and Technology Daily (Keji Ribao, 6/8): "The bombing of the Chinese embassy demonstrates that the United States has been trying to contain China to prevent it from becoming a strong economic and military power in the 21st century. By pushing the world into a new cold war, the United States hopes to see China repeat the Soviet Union's collapse."

"Choose Permanent NTR"

Qi Wen judged in official English-language China Daily (6/8): "U.S. President Bill Clinton definitely showed a sensible attitude on deciding to extend normal trade relations (NTR) with China for another year. By unreasonably tying in non-trade issues with the annual approval, anti-China forces have tried to distort the meaning of NTR.... To end its unjustifiable obstruction of normal bilateral trade relations, the United States should make China's NTR status permanent as soon as possible."

"Sino-U.S. Rapport Good For World"

Official, English-language China Daily published this Xinhua News Agency item (6/8): "'China will continue to oppose hegemony and, at the same time, to develop its ties with the United States,' Li Zhaoxing, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, said in Washington. The ambassador refuted the 'dirty names' the Cox Report called China, which exposed the hypocrisy of the authors of the report.... 'If they are really concerned about espionage-hunting, why did they not carry out an investigation of how much technology the United States has stolen and illegally gained from China?'"

"Cox's Report: A Written Confession"

Chen Feng asserted in intellectually oriented Guangming Daily (Guangming Ribao, 6/8): "The Cox report unintentionally revealed a big secret: It is the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency that has stolen Chinese nuclear secrets.... Slipping its tentacles into every nook and cranny of the world, the CIA is the biggest thief in the world."

"Cox Report Insults China"

Zhao Huanxin remarked in official, English-language China Daily (6/7): "'Some anti-China politicians in the United States deliberately confuse the technology needed for satellite launch vehicles with that used for missiles, and blur the distinction between necessary coordination and divulgence of sensitive technologies,' said China Aerospace Corp. spokesman Zhang Lihui."

"Nasty Anti-China Farce"

Official Communist Party People's Daily (Renmin Ribao) held (6/4): "Some U.S. congressmen are staging a nasty anti-China farce by focusing on a

sensational topic but failing to provide any proof. Lies have short legs. Undoubtedly, the American people will be able to tell right from wrong and reach a responsible conclusion in the end."

"Refuting Slander In Cox Report"

Zhu Zuliang had this to say in official Beijing municipal Beijing Daily (Beijing Ribao, 6/4): "The Cox report exposed the ignorance, arrogance and evil intentions of some Americans, who attempt to jeopardize friendly Sino-U.S. scientific communication and further improvement in bilateral relations. China urges the U.S. government not to hurt the feelings of Chinese people any more...for containment and hostility toward China will definitely go nowhere."

"Read Cox Report For Early Summer Fiction"

Official English-language China Daily had this item (6/4): "'The Cox report contains nothing but conjecture and prevarication. 'It is a deliberate provocation of some U.S. congressmen following the U.S.-led NATO's missile attacks against the Chinese Embassy.'..said Wang Fei, a researcher with the China Defense Science, Technology and Information Center. 'The Cox report claims that China has stolen U.S. nuclear warhead information. That is a lie U.S. politicians have fomented for political purposes,' said Wang."

"Chinese Scientists: Cox Report Slanderous"

Zhao Huanxin intoned in official, English-language China Daily (6/3): "The charges in the Cox report are nothing but fabrications...which serve to slander China, and insult the wisdom and creativeness of Chinese scientists and engineers, three nuclear scientists told China Daily.

"The congressional report exposed 'the pomposity and condescending manner of some Americans, who try to derail Sino-U.S. relations,' the three scientists agreed."

HONG KONG: "WTO Entry A Win-Win Position"

Terry Cheng remarked in the independent Hong Kong Standard (6/9): "State Councilor Wu Yi, who has been closely involved in the WTO talks, reportedly said that Beijing planned to review its position on entering the WTO and might retract some concessions agreed upon after public consultations.... In the interest of the nation, Beijing should not overreact to conflicts with the West, such as NATO's bombing of the embassy or the Cox report's allegations, in order not to impede the open-door policy. The leadership should also try to avoid turning WTO entry into a divisive issue for itself.... In a word, China's membership in the WTO will have a positive impact on the country's national character, its domestic reforms as well as its relations with other countries. Membership will be a win-win situation for China and the international community. Every effort should be taken, by China and Western countries, to secure WTO membership this year on mutually acceptable terms."

"Warm Front For Sino-U.S. Relations"

The independent Hong Kong Standard's editorial maintained (6/7): "Now there's the likelihood that Beijing may agree to receiving in a week or so a U.S. special envoy who will present the results of Washington's investigations into the embassy bombing.... Anything contributing to normalizing Sino-U.S. ties is to the good, especially for Hong Kong, whose fortunes also ride on these relations. But it is unlikely that there will ever be a complete healing any time soon of the wound inflicted by the Belgrade bombing. The central government may wish it were otherwise, but it now has to take into consideration widespread anti-U.S. sentiment.... Despite the good signs of warming Sino-U.S. ties, improvements will probably take some time. Ties will improve, but there will be reservations now about how far they should go."

"U.S. Should Grant China Permanent Normal Trade Relations"

The pro-PRC Hong Kong Commercial Daily insisted (6/5): "The United States uses 'the annual renewal' of normal trade relations as a weapon to contain China. Only when the United States responds to China's reasonable requests can China and the United States reach an agreement in WTO negotiations."

"China, U.S. Become Enemies; More Obstacles In Way Of WTO"

Independent Sing Tao Daily News insisted (6/5): "The United States missed an excellent chance to reach an agreement with China when it failed to accept China's conditions during Zhu Rongji's visit in April. Now, even if [the United States and China] resume the negotiations, since both of them have to take politics into consideration, they will not make further concessions. On the contrary, they may withdraw some of the concessions already made. Hence, this will make it more difficult for China to join the WTO."

"WTO Negotiations Will Resume; Sino-U.S. Difficulties Cannot Be Solved"

The independent Hong Kong Economic Times declared (6/5): "The seeds of a cold war have already been sown in the hearts of Americans. In addition, the bombing of the Chinese Embassy has also hurt the hearts of Chinese, arousing anti-U.S. feelings among them. The conflict between the two governments may be solved, based on economic interests. An agreement for China to join the WTO may require both the Chinese and U.S. governments to make concessions. However, if hostile seeds are sown among the people, they will be difficult to remove. Since governments do not want to lose the support of their people, diplomatic policy will be hindered....

"If China and the United States...do not try their best to minimize the hostility of their people toward the other country, this will make the WTO negotiations more difficult. Also, Sino-U.S. relations will develop in an unhealthy direction toward a new cold war."

"Holding Noses For The Sake Of Ties"

Charles Snyder judged in the independent Hong Kong Standard (6/4): "Sino-U.S. relations have sunk to a level that may become the norm for some time to come.... The saving grace for Sino-U.S. ties is that the United

States and China both have enough national interests and needs in common that they have to work together.... So they must hold their noses and fight through the mutual stench to accomplish their common goals. Eventually, the stench will subside. But the fresh air may not replace it any time soon."

JAPAN: "China 10 Years After Tiananmen"

Liberal Asahi's editorial stressed (6/4): "The international community still vividly remembers the Chinese military crackdown on those who gathered at the square protesting political corruption and seeking democratization and human rights. During the incident, Chinese soldiers took down a statue, resembling the Statue of Liberty, which had been built by Chinese art students. Ten years later, it is ironic that Chinese students were throwing stones and other objects at the American Embassy in Beijing, a mission of the United States which is symbolized by the Statue of Liberty..... The mistaken NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade occurred at a time when the Chinese were becoming more confident of their country. In the past, the United States criticized China's abuse of human rights. Now, Chinese intellectuals criticize the NATO bombing as American 'human rights' diplomacy. Many Chinese remain unconvinced of the American explanation that NATO mistakenly bombed the Chinese Embassy by using an outdated map of Belgrade. Anti-American feelings will intensify in China if the United States fails to disclose the truth of that mistaken bombing."

"China's Dilemma 10 Years After Tiananmen Square Incident"

An editorial in top-circulation, moderate Yomiuri observed (6/4): "Economic growth in China, ten years after the Tiananmen Square incident, has slowed down and faces difficult problems affected by the Asian economic crisis. It is reported that Chinese conservatives strongly oppose the further market opening of their country in exchange for its admission to the WTO. Beijing appears to be on the horns of a dilemma over the issue. To make matters more complicated, relations between the United States and China have soured."

AUSTRALIA: "10 Years After Tiananmen"

An editorial in the business-oriented Australian Financial Review held (6/4): "Critics [in the U.S. Congress]...are today insisting that nothing has changed since the awful spiral into panicked violence ten years ago. However, a great deal has changed, not least the present target of a different generation of student anger and protests. Today it is the Americans, whose Statue of Liberty inspired the Goddess of Freedom sculpture, which formed a focus for the Tiananmen protests."

INDONESIA: "10th Anniversary Of Tiananmen And Democratization In Asia"

Leading, independent Kompas emphasized (6/4): "Amid waves of change in Asia, the Chinese Communist government remains. The government is fortunate that China has not been affected by the Asian economic crisis.... It is hoped that the West will take part in the peaceful drive to support the birth of liberal democracy...in China."

MACAU: "Strengthen National Power To Cope With Changes"

Pro-PRC Macau Daily News featured this editorial (6/2): "People like Cox have hegemonism and Cold War ideology in their minds. They do not see the peaceful nature of the Chinese social system and China's peaceful diplomacy. Instead, they regard China as the biggest 'opponent' of the United States after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and want to 'contain' China. While the administration is carrying out a comprehensive engagement policy with China, they are still using methods of 'restriction' (against China) and a new NATO-style Pacific strategic concept--extending the peripheral area of the U.S.-Japan Security Guidelines and considering including Taiwan in the Theater Missile Defense system. All these factors have made it difficult for the administration to draw distinctions with the extreme anti-China group. Hence, the United States and China have frequent conflicts, dragging their relations to the bottom."

MALAYSIA: "South Must Stand Up For Its Rights"

In the view of the government-influenced Business Times (6/1): "Let's face it. China's admission into the World Trade Organization (WTO), if it happens, will not depend on how committed Beijing is to trade liberalization. The United States, not the WTO, holds the key to China's membership, and what it takes is for Beijing to satisfy the Americans on a bilateral level.... The primary concern is that China opens up to the United States.... The United States, as the sole superpower, does everything and is allowed to do so.... If the global community is interested in a just world, it must call for a new arrangement. The burden of policing the world must be shared, and not lumped squarely on the shoulders of the Americans.... China's admission to the WTO...should be decided democratically, not by the United States or the European Union.... The G-7 should not continue to shut its door on the South and at the same time harbor a wish to continue dominating the economic agenda for the world.... But the key change lies not in the North, but in the majority South. They have to stop thinking and acting like Third World elements. They have to stand up for their rights and speak for the rights of others as well."

NORTH KOREA: "U.S. Talk About China's 'Nuclear Secrets Theft'"

The Korean Central News Agency's (KCNA) Internet version carried this piece (6/8): "The United States' much ado about 'China's theft of U.S. nuclear secrets' is a revelation of 'persecution mania,' says [North Korean Worker's newspaper] Rodong Sinmun today.... The United States has a wrong viewpoint that only it has the right to develop up-to-date technology, and its military science and technology are superior to others.... Now lost in 'persecution mania,' the United States does not bother to describe 'exchanges and cooperation' that have been under way as part of the efforts to build [the] 'strategic partnership,' but rather as 'theft of secrets.' The United States is well advised not to waste time searching other countries' nuclear facilities, but [should] exert more efforts to take measures for the elimination of its nuclear weapons, as demanded by

humankind."

PHILIPPINES: "Signs Of Democracy In China?"

Former presidential spokesman Jesus Sison pointed out in independent Malaya (6/9): "On the tenth anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre, there was a big crowd in Hong Kong.... This signals the growing number of democracy believers in China. As a matter of fact, international media is warning Asia and the world about possible social unrest in China due to militant democracy activists. If this happens, the economy of China will again deteriorate and this will be a big problem of the people of Asia and the world."

"Tiananmen, 10 Years After"

The independent, conservative Philippine Star declared (6/4): "Filipinos join the rest of the free world in remembering those who gave up their lives for freedom ten years ago in Tiananmen. Coming to terms with this atrocity will be a major step for China on the road to reform."

SINGAPORE: "Are Sino-American Relations Beyond Repair?"

The pro-government Business Times featured this editorial page commentary (6/3) by Washington Correspondent Leon Hadar: "No one in Washington, not even the staunchest China basher, expects that China and the United States would be fighting a hot or cold war soon. Nevertheless, there are concerns that unless the leaders in Washington and Beijing move swiftly to bring a new balance into the relationship, and among other things, get China to refrain from vetoing an expected United Nations Security Council resolution on Kosovo and win U.S. support for Chinese accession into the WTO, things could get out of hand. As a result, a vicious circle of diplomatic crises and economic tensions would end up dominating the relationship that is bound to be central to the global balance of power in the 21st century. In such a dangerous environment, a minor incident, say collision between Chinese and American warships in the Pacific, or a major disagreement, say over how to deal with a breakup of Indonesia, could escalate into a military confrontation."

TAIWAN: "Aftermath Of Cox Report"

According to an editorial in the liberal, pro-independence Taiwan Daily (5/31): "The release of the Cox report will naturally have an unfavorable impact on Washington-Beijing ties. The 'constructive strategic partnership' must be re-evaluated, and both the U.S. Congress and administration will have to adopt a more prudent attitude toward future technology and military exchanges with China.... However, except for the conflicts between the two countries, they still share certain common interests. It is therefore illusory for Taiwan to expect that Washington-Beijing ties will deteriorate from now on. The benefits that Taiwan can get from this cooling stage of Washington-Beijing ties are also

very limited.... Taiwan should not expect to buy military technology or weapons that are powerful enough to compete with an international nuclear power like Beijing. If the international and cross-strait situation in the next ten to 20 years is what we predict above, Taiwan should start reviewing and adjusting its cross-strait policies as early as possible."

THAILAND: "Thought Of Sino-U.S. Clash Sends Shivers Down One's Spine"

Cafe Dam commented in elite, business-oriented Krungthep Turakij (6/4): "Asked if China is indignant to be accused of human rights violations, military secret thefts, and by the bombing of its Belgrade embassy. Yes, certainly.... But today's China has become more mature, and it is trade and economic matters that have taken priority over communist ideology in its struggle with the West. One may therefore take it for granted that China will try to prevent these new conflicts from degenerating into a new Cold War. But all also depends on the United States to tone down its prejudices against China."

"China Cannot Erase 1989 'Beijing Spring'"

The lead editorial of the independent, English-language Nation stressed (6/4): "While economic reforms have moved forward at a speedy pace, basic political reforms remain at a snail's pace. The call for political reforms during Tiananmen is sadly no longer heard--which explains the irony that despite many Chinese having more money in their pockets, they are still denied some of the fundamental rights that every citizen of any country should have.... Like it or not, the Tiananmen uprising will continue to haunt party leaders as long as there is no genuine desire to learn its lessons.

"In the end, the communist leadership will become China's own worst enemy. Indeed, China's status in the world--not the chauvinistic version of the Middle Kingdom--will not be judged by the height of its skyscrapers or the number of department stores it has, but...by how its citizens are being treated and respected."

VIETNAM: "Behind The Cox Report"

The lead editorial of Sai Gon Giai Phong (Saigon Liberated, the mouthpiece of Ho Chi Minh City's Communist Party) contended (5/29): "We cannot help but realize some 'coincidences' in this espionage [case.] Right before President Zhu Rongji planned to visit the United States in April to call for U.S. backing for China to the WTO, the United States had made a big fuss about Wen Lee Ho's case and made it an excuse to deny its help. Recently, while the Chinese people strongly opposed the U.S. bombing of the Chinese Embassy [in Belgrade,] the United States released the report of the Cox Committee, which should have been kept as a secret document in the U.S. Congress. In fact, this is nothing but a warning that the United States always has its own motives for causing adverse reactions to its opponents."

SOUTH ASIA

INDIA: "New Debate On U.S.-Sino Relations Reflects Beijing's Fears"

The centrist Hindu (6/15) had this analysis by its strategic affairs editor, C. Raja Mohan: "It is the United States that now looms large over Sino-Indian relations. The Chinese references to the creation of a 'multipolar world' and the renewed emphasis here against 'global hegemony' reflect a new wrenching debate here on how China should cope with the extraordinary weight of the United States in the international system.... There is no doubt that the recent difficulties in the relations between Beijing and Washington have had an important role in enthusing the Chinese leadership to accelerate the process of normalizing relations with India.... A series of developments have begun to test the credibility of the Sino-U.S. strategic partnership. The renewal of U.S. military alliances in Asia, most notably with Japan and Australia, the new American engagement with North Korea and its dominance in promoting reconciliation in the Korean peninsula, and fresh U.S. military arrangements in Southeast Asia have raised fears in China of a 'westward progress' of the United States in containing China....

"At the global level, China has been put off by the U.S. action in Kosovo...[which] has raised the specter of the unconstrained assertion of the U.S. power anywhere in the world. Apart from the perceived threats to its territorial integrity and national sovereignty, Beijing has been alarmed by the rising anti-China feelings in Washington marked most recently by the allegations of Chinese nuclear spying. The U.S. bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, in one accidental stroke, crystallized all these fears into a new debate on relations with the United States.... As it rethinks the global setting, China is seeking to limit U.S. dominance worldwide and prevent the emergence of a hostile U.S.-led coalition against it. As a consequence, China is stressing the importance of a 'multipolar world' and looking for new friends who can stand up against the United States.... India and China must indeed look for common political space on various international issues. At the same time, both of them do understand the significance of avoiding confrontation with the United States...and the importance of sustaining broad-based interaction with Washington."

"Test Ban Test"

In the editorial view of the centrist Times of India (6/3): "Following the publication of the bipartisan Cox committee report on Chinese nuclear espionage in the United States, Sino-U.S. relations would appear to have suffered the greatest setback since 1979 when the two countries established diplomatic relations....

"At this stage it is difficult to predict the full impact of the Cox committee report on U.S. public opinion, which is notoriously volatile and easily manipulable. Since President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore are considered 'pro-Chinese' because of Beijing's alleged financial contributions to their election campaign, the Republicans are bound to politicize the issue in the forthcoming presidential race in which Mr. Gore is expected to be a candidate.... The new situation arising out of the Cox...report raises serious doubts about whether the CTBT would get

even simple majority support in the Senate. The demand from legislators will be to widen the nuclear technological gap between the United States and China, and that if more nuclear tests are needed, the United States should not hesitate to conduct them. In these circumstances, the fate of the CTBT and its ratification appear to be extremely doubtful."

EUROPE

BRITAIN: "Tiananmen And After"

The conservative Times contended (6/4): "China is still affected by the national trauma of Tiananmen--and will be, as many even within China's Communist Party believe, until its leaders give a credible account of what happened and reverse their official condemnation.... True stability will come to China as and when it develops the checks and balances, including respect for human rights and equality under the law, that prevent abuses of power. That was what a million mostly young people called for at Tiananmen. It is for this that, in China and the world, they are remembered today."

"China's Square Of Shame"

The lead editorial in the independent Financial Times observed (6/3): "Ten years after it happened, the massacre of students in Beijing's Tiananmen Square still haunts China's government and people alike. While the country's leaders find it impossible to admit responsibility or that the slaughter of democracy activists was wrong, for many ordinary Chinese the event lives on as a symbol of an oppressive and capricious rule that bears no respect for human rights.... Only when its political evolution is complete will China finally be able to come to terms with Tiananmen. In the meantime, it is right to criticize injustice and abuse where they are found, but critics must also recognize progress where it occurs. It is in the world's interest that a stable China eventually be integrated fully into the world community. That requires not just recrimination for past and present misdeeds, but encouragement on a journey that still promises to be long and painful."

FRANCE: "Sad Anniversary"

Left-of-center Le Monde asserted (6/4): "The Chinese government is still paralyzed by the thought of political openness. It still jails demonstrators and dissidents, banishing the most famous.... This reminds one of the worst of the era of the Soviet Union. Beijing is trying to protect itself from a wave of popular demands, triggered by the recent boost in social inequalities as a result of the decade's economic growth. But this type of reaction is destined to fail, or worse, to breed greater ills. It is time China, which believes it should be part of the leading nations of the 21st century, understood this."

ITALY: "An Uncomfortable But Necessary Partner"

Ugo Tramballi penned this analysis for leading business Il Sole-24 Ore (6/3): "Ten years after Tiananmen, there is a new clash in China between reformists and conservatives.... Obsessed by their own security...the Chinese...believe that there is a single, huge plot against them. Many in Beijing believe that the war against Serbia is a pretext to aggression against China in Tibet....

"Perhaps the exaggerated tones adopted by Chinese leaders, the suspicion

that the United States may seek not the 'strategic partnership' proposed by Clinton, but the containment of China...are part of a subtle strategy to overshadow, within China and abroad, the difficult Tiananmen anniversary. China will never be a comfortable partner. But we are obliged to seek its collaboration."

BELGIUM: "China Would Never Be The Same Again"

Asian affairs writer Freddy De Pauw put forth this view in independent Catholic De Standaard (6/4): "After Tiananmen 1989, Deng Xiaoping's first instruction to the new party leader, Jiang Zemin, was to give absolute priority to economic growth in order to restore the party's legitimacy. In other words--make the people happy with wealth instead of political reforms. The Chinese leaders have also learned that it is better to prevent than to heal and, since Tiananmen, they have more often offered a listening ear so that they can implement corrections in time. That is probably the reason why Jiang Zemin forbade the army leadership last year from doing 'business'--to make his campaign against corruption credible. That can work so long as the economic benefits are delivered. In recent times, however, the Chinese are living in increasing uncertainty. Anyway, the Chinese leaders will undoubtedly utter a sigh of relief if June 4, 1989 passes away without any incidents worth mentioning."

"Sino-U.S. Ties At Lowest Ebb"

Philippe Paquet observed in conservative Catholic La Libre Belgique (6/4): "While so many things have changed in China since the Tiananmen events, it is remarkable that, today as then, U.S.-China relations are at their lowest. Titillating detail--the military cooperation which had been suspended in June 1989 to sanction the Popular Liberation Army's behavior, is in limbo again, this time at Beijing's initiative."

HUNGARY: "American Security And Chinese Spies"

Conservative Napi Magyarorszag featured this piece (6/11) by Washington contributor Hanna Kuliffay, who stressed: "China has practically maintained the most recent military secrets, including the next century's nuclear and thermonuclear technologies from poorly controlled U.S. labs. It is now a matter of time for China to fine-tune and upgrade its intercontinental missile arsenal directed at the megalopolises of the United States."

"Tiananmen And Realpolitik"

Peter Varkonyi maintained in influential Magyar Hirlap (6/4): "The world is a realpolitician. It calculates with an empire that has a population over one and a half a billion, an incomparably unique market, and is a significant Asian nuclear potential. But for those who take human rights and democracy really seriously Tiananmen Square remains a symbol."

SPAIN: "Tienanmen Ten Years Later"

Liberal El Pais commented (6/3): "Although China has changed much over the past 20 years...President Jiang Zemin has declared that the Chinese will never have a Western-style democracy.... The regime's lack of transparency will not permit any fissures in the walls surrounding the Communist Party's hold on power. But it is obvious that economic progress could produce colossal political pressures, while the decline of Marxist ideology and widespread corruption undermine the foundations upon which the regime's power rests. The official communications media warn the citizenry against any attempt at commemorating the tenth anniversary of Tienanmen.... Yesterday's People's Daily inveighed against 'attempts by hostile forces to infiltrate, undermine, and divide China.'

"The very prose employed reveals the magnitude of the disconnect being suffered by China between an economy and society in transformation and a political system marked by obscurantism."

MIDDLE EAST

ISRAEL: "No Forgetting Tiananmen"

The independent Jerusalem Post indicated (6/6): "China's ludicrous attempts to make sure the government's massacre of its young democrats in Tiananmen Square is never remembered instead helps to ensure that it is never forgotten. Beijing should know, and be constantly reminded, that the world has not forgotten and will not forget. It should know, too, that a day of justice will come.... To this day, China continues to 'round up the usual suspects' on the anniversary. The real suspects are still in power."

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U.S.CHINA RELATIONS: 'IMPROVEMENTS WILL TAKE SOME TIME'

Despite saturation coverage of the Kosovo issue on editorial pages overseas in recent weeks, a fair number of foreign commentators continued to weigh in on U.S.China relations in the aftermath of the May 25 release of the Cox report alleging Chinese nuclear espionage and of NATO's mistaken bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade earlier last month. Those events, along with another landmark date the 10th anniversary of China's crackdown on democracy activists in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989 served as bellwethers for analysts assessing the status of U.S.China ties. Most agreed with a Belgian pundit's assessment that relations between Washington and Beijing were at their "lowest ebb" in recent memory. Many also echoed the view of an independent Hong Kong daily in concluding that the seeds of a new "cold war" between the U.S. and China may have been sown "in the hearts" of Chinese and American citizens, and that only the economic self-interests of both sides might prevent the current "sour" relations from deteriorating even further. Although no comment was yet available on the visit to Beijing of a delegation led by Under Secretary of State Thomas Pickering who is expected to meet with the Chinese foreign minister tomorrow to make a presentation on the embassy bombing, the independent Hong Kong Economic Standard speculated a week ago that such a visit might be forthcoming. "Anything contributing to normalizing Sino-U.S. ties is to the good," that paper declared, but added that "it is unlikely that there will...be a complete healing any time soon of the wound inflicted by the Belgrade bombing." Following are highlights in the commentary:

VIEWS FROM BEIJING, PRC SYMPATHIZERS: There was no discernible letup in the

to
rent of antiU.S. rhetoric emanating from official Chinese media and from
the c
horus of U.S. detractors in proPRC papers in Hong Kong and Macau, and
sympathiz
ers in North Korea and Vietnam. Typical diatribes termed the Cox
report a "nas
ty antiChina farce," "nothing but conjecture and
prevarication," and a tool for
"demonizing, containing and attacking" China.
The U.S. is "lost in persecutio
n mania," charged Pyongyang's official Korean
Central News Agency. Official Be
ijing papers also contended that it was a
"lie" that the Chinese Embassy bombin
g was the result of reliance on an
outdated map, contending instead that the bo
mbing demonstrated that the U.S.
"has been trying to contain China and prevent
it from becoming a strong
economic and military power."

TIANANMEN 10 YEARS LATER: The tenth anniversary of Tiananmen Square provoked
a
n outpouring of sympathy from a number of media outlets in Europe, Israel
and a
few in Asia for the "young democrats" who "gave up their lives for
freedom" a
decade ago. Writers in Japan and Australia, however, noted the
"ironic" contra
st between the violent demonstrations directed against the
U.S. Embassy in Beij
ing following the Belgrade bombing, and those of ten
years ago, when Chinese st
udents built the Statue of Libertylike "Goddess of
Freedom" to symbolize their
aspirations for democracy.

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EDITOR: Kathleen J. Brahney

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

CHINA: "What Do Cox And His Like Want To Do?"

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Fu Zhou insisted in official Communist Party People's Daily (Renmin Ribao,
6/14

): "To Cox and his like, as long as China continues with socialism and
contrad

icts the United States, it should be demonized, contained and
attacked. Appare

ntly, their objectives are to jeopardize China's development
and cause SinoU.S

. relations to retrogress."

"Embassy Attack Explanation Full Of Loopholes"

Huang Qing contended in official Communist Party People's Daily (Renmin Ribao, 6/12): "Unwilling to serve as a scapegoat, the head of the U.S. National Atlas Bureau laid bare the U.S. lie attributing the attack on the Chinese embassy to 'an outdated map.' The clumsy explanation of the United States for the embassy attack trampled upon not only another country's sovereignty, but the American people's integrity and conscience."

"Embassy Attack Must Be Investigated: Zhang"

Official Englishlanguage China Daily carried this item (6/11): "China is waiting for a responsible report from the United States for NATO's missile attack on the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia, Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhang Qiyue said yesterday. 'If the United States sincerely hopes to improve bilateral relations, it should conduct comprehensive, in-depth, just and responsible investigations, and take concrete measures to punish those responsible,' said Zhang during a regular news briefing. 'Only in this way can the United States give the Chinese government and people a satisfactory explanation,' said Zhang."

"U.S. Economic Expansion And Hegemonism"

Xiao Lian contended in official Communist Party People's Daily (Renmin Ribao, 6/8): "Using political and military hegemonism to pave the way for economic expansion, the United States is exploiting world resources to serve its own national interests... The United States links political issues like human rights with trade so as to impose political pressure and obtain profits.... While advocating a free trade policy, the United States implements trade protectionism, while not allowing others to protect their own trade." Xinhua (# "Enhance National Defense; Oppose Hegemony" Xinhua (# He Xiantu insisted in Science and Technology Daily (Keji Ribao, 6/8): "The

bombing of the Chinese embassy demonstrates that the United States has been trying to contain China to prevent it from becoming a strong economic and military power in the 21st century. By pushing the world into a new cold war, the United States hopes to see China repeat the Soviet Union's collapse."

"Choose Permanent NTR"

Qi Wen judged in official Englishlanguage China Daily (6/8): "U.S. President Bill Clinton definitely showed a sensible attitude on deciding to extend normal trade relations (NTR) with China for another year. By unreasonably tying in no trade issues with the annual approval, anti-China forces have tried to distort the meaning of NTR.... To end its unjustifiable obstruction of normal bilateral trade relations, the United States should make China's NTR status permanent as soon as possible."

"Sino-U.S. Rapport Good For World"

Official, Englishlanguage China Daily published this Xinhua News Agency item (6/8): "'China will continue to oppose hegemony and, at the same time, to develop its ties with the United States,' Li Zhaoxing, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, said in Washington. The ambassador refuted the 'dirty names' the Cox Report called China, which exposed the hypocrisy of the authors of the report.... 'If they are really concerned about espionage hunting, why did they not carry out an investigation of how much technology the United States has stolen and illegally gained from China?'"

"Cox's Report: A Written Confession"

Chen Feng asserted in intellectually oriented Guangming Daily (Guangming Ribao, 6/8): "The Cox report unintentionally revealed a big secret: It is the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency that has stolen Chinese nuclear secrets...."

Slippin
g its tentacles into every nook and cranny of the world, the CIA is
the bigges
t thief in the world."

"Cox Report Insults China"

Zhao Huanxin remarked in official, Englishlanguage China Daily (6/7):
"Some a
ntiChina politicians in the United States deliberately confuse the
technology n
eeded for satellite launch vehicles with that used for missiles,
and blur the d
istinction between necessary coordination and divulgence of
sensitive technolog
ies,' said China Aerospace Corp. spokesman Zhang Lihui."

"Nasty AntiChina Farce"

Official Communist Party People's Daily (Renmin Ribao) held (6/4): "Some
U.S.
congressmen are staging a nasty antiChina farce by focusing on a
sensational to
pic but failing to provide any proof. Lies have short legs.
Undoubtedly, the
American people will be able to tell right from wrong and
reach a responsible
conclusion in the end."

"Refuting Slander In Cox Report"

Zhu Zuliang had this to say in official Beijing municipal Beijing Daily
(Beiji
ng Ribao, 6/4): "The Cox report exposed the ignorance, arrogance and
evil inte
ntions of some Americans, who attempt to jeopardize friendly
SinoU.S. scientifi
c communication and further improvement in bilateral
relations. China urges th
e U.S. government not to hurt the feelings of
Chinese people any more...for con
tainment and hostility toward China will
definitely go nowhere."

"Read Cox Report For Early Summer Fiction"

Official Englishlanguage China Daily had this item (6/4): "'The Cox report
con
tains nothing but conjecture and prevarication. 'It is a deliberate
provocatio
n of some U.S. congressmen following the U.S.led NATO's missile
attacks against
the Chinese Embassy.'...said Wang Fei, a researcher with the
China Defense Scie

nce, Technology and Information Center. 'The Cox report claims that China has stolen U.S. nuclear warhead information. That is a lie U.S. politicians have fomented for political purposes,' said Wang."

"Chinese Scientists: Cox Report Slanderous"

Zhao Huanxin intoned in official, Englishlanguage China Daily (6/3): "The charges in the Cox report are nothing but fabrications...which serve to slander China, and insult the wisdom and creativeness of Chinese scientists and engineers, three nuclear scientists told China Daily.

"The congressional report exposed 'the pomposity and condescending manner of some Americans, who try to derail SinoU.S. relations,' the three scientists agreed."

HONG KONG: "WTO Entry A WinWin Position"

Terry Cheng remarked in the independent Hong Kong Standard (6/9): "State Councilor Wu Yi, who has been closely involved in the WTO talks, reportedly said that Beijing planned to review its position on entering the WTO and might retract some concessions agreed upon after public consultations.... In the interest of the nation, Beijing should not overreact to conflicts with the West, such as NATO's bombing of the embassy or the Cox report's allegations, in order not to impede the opendoor policy. The leadership should also try to avoid turning WTO entry into a divisive issue for itself.... In a word, China's membership in the WTO will have a positive impact on the country's national character, its domestic reforms as well as its relations with other countries. Membership will be a winwin situation for China and the international community. Every effort should be taken, by China and Western countries, to secure WTO membership this year on mutually acceptable terms."

"Warm Front For SinoU.S. Relations"

The independent Hong Kong Standard's editorial maintained (6/7): "Now there's the likelihood that Beijing may agree to receiving in a week or so a U.S. special envoy who will present the results of Washington's investigations into the embassy bombing.... Anything contributing to normalizing SinoU.S. ties is to the good, especially for Hong Kong, whose fortunes also ride on these relations.

But it is unlikely that there will ever be a complete healing any time soon of the wound inflicted by the Belgrade bombing. The central government may wish it were otherwise, but it now has to take into consideration widespread antiU.S. sentiment....

Despite the good signs of warming SinoU.S. ties, improvements will probably take some time. Ties will improve, but there will be reservations now about how far they should go."

"U.S. Should Grant China Permanent Normal Trade Relations"

The proPRC Hong Kong Commercial Daily insisted (6/5): "The United States uses 'the annual renewal' of normal trade relations as a weapon to contain China. Only when the United States responds to China's reasonable requests can China and the United States reach an agreement in WTO negotiations."

"China, U.S. Become Enemies; More Obstacles In Way Of WTO"

Independent Sing Tao Daily News insisted (6/5): "The United States missed an excellent chance to reach an agreement with China when it failed to accept China's conditions during Zhu Rongji's visit in April. Now, even if [the United States and China] resume the negotiations, since both of them have to take politics into consideration, they will not make further concessions. On the contrary, they may withdraw some of the concessions already made. Hence, this will make it more difficult for China to join the WTO."

"WTO Negotiations Will Resume; SinoU.S. Difficulties Cannot Be Solved"

The independent Hong Kong Economic Times declared (6/5): "The seeds of a cold war have already been sown in the hearts of Americans. In addition,

the bombi
ng of the Chinese Embassy has also hurt the hearts of Chinese,
arousing antiU.S
. feelings among them. The conflict between the two
governments may be solved,
based on economic interests. An agreement for
China to join the WTO may requi
re both the Chinese and U.S. governments to
make concessions. However, if host
ile seeds are sown among the people, they
will be difficult to remove. Since g
overnments do not want to lose the
support of their people, diplomatic policy
will be hindered....

"If China and the United States...do not try their best to minimize the
hostil
ity of their people toward the other country, this will make the WTO
negotiatio
ns more difficult. Also, SinoU.S. relations will develop in an
unhealthy direc
tion toward a new cold war."

"Holding Noses For The Sake Of Ties"

Charles Snyder judged in the independent Hong Kong Standard (6/4):
"SinoU.S.
relations have sunk to a level that may become the norm for some
time to come..
.. The saving grace for SinoU.S. ties is that the United
States and China both
have enough national interests and needs in common that
they have to work toge
ther.... So they must hold their noses and fight
through the mutual stench to
accomplish their common goals. Eventually, the
stench will subside. But the f
resh air may not replace it any time soon."

JAPAN: "China 10 Years After Tiananmen"

Liberal Asahi's editorial stressed (6/4): "The international community still
vividly remembers the Chinese military crackdown on those who gathered at
the
square protesting political corruption and seeking democratization and
human
rights. During the incident, Chinese soldiers took down a statue,
resembling
the Statue of Liberty, which had been built by Chinese art
students. Ten years
later, it is ironic that Chinese students were throwing
stones and other objec
ts at the American Embassy in Beijing, a mission of the
United States which is

symbolized by the Statue of Liberty..... The mistaken NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade occurred at a time when the Chinese were becoming more confident of their country. In the past, the United States criticized China's abuse of human rights. Now, Chinese intellectuals criticize the NATO bombing as American 'human rights' diplomacy. Many Chinese remain unconvinced of the American explanation that NATO mistakenly bombed the Chinese Embassy by using an outdated map of Belgrade. Anti-American feelings will intensify in China if the United States fails to disclose the truth of that mistaken bombing."

"China's Dilemma 10 Years After Tiananmen Square Incident"

An editorial in top circulation, moderate Yomiuri observed (6/4): "Economic growth in China, ten years after the Tiananmen Square incident, has slowed down and faces difficult problems affected by the Asian economic crisis. It is reported that Chinese conservatives strongly oppose the further market opening of their country in exchange for its admission to the WTO. Beijing appears to be on the horns of a dilemma over the issue. To make matters more complicated, relations between the United States and China have soured."

AUSTRALIA: "10 Years After Tiananmen"

An editorial in the business-oriented Australian Financial Review held (6/4): "Critics [in the U.S. Congress]...are today insisting that nothing has changed since the awful spiral into panicked violence ten years ago. However, a great deal has changed, not least the present target of a different generation of student anger and protests. Today it is the Americans, whose Statue of Liberty inspired the Goddess of Freedom sculpture, which formed a focus for the Tiananmen protests."

INDONESIA: "10th Anniversary Of Tiananmen And Democratization In Asia"

Leading, independent Kompas emphasized (6/4): "Amid waves of change in Asia, the Chinese Communist government remains. The government is fortunate that China has not been affected by the Asian economic crisis.... It is hoped

that the West will take part in the peaceful drive to support the birth of liberal democracy...in China."

MACAU: "Strengthen National Power To Cope With Changes"

ProPRC Macau Daily News featured this editorial (6/2): "People like Cox have hegemonism and Cold War ideology in their minds. They do not see the peaceful nature of the Chinese social system and China's peaceful diplomacy. Instead, they regard China as the biggest 'opponent' of the United States after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and want to 'contain' China. While the administration is carrying out a comprehensive engagement policy with China, they are still using methods of 'restriction' (against China) and a new NATOstyle Pacific strategic concept extending the peripheral area of the U.S. Japan Security Guidelines and considering including Taiwan in the Theater Missile Defense system. All these factors have made it difficult for the administration to draw distinctions with the extreme antiChina group. Hence, the United States and China have frequent conflicts, dragging their relations to the bottom."

MALAYSIA: "South Must Stand Up For Its Rights"

Xinhua (#) In the view of the governmentinfluenced Business Times (6/1): "Let's face it. China's admission into the World Trade Organization (WTO), if it happens, will not depend on how committed Beijing is to trade liberalization. The United States, not the WTO, holds the key to China's membership, and what it takes is for Beijing to satisfy the Americans on a bilateral level.... The primary concern is that China opens up to the United States.... The United States, as the sole superpower, does everything and is allowed to do so.... If the global community is interested in a just world, it must call for a new arrangement. The burden of policing the world must be shared, and not lumped squarely on the shoulders of the United States."

lders of the Americans.... China's admission to the WTO...should be decided democratically, not by the United States or the European Union..... The G7 should not continue to shut its door on the South and at the same time harbor a wish to continue dominating the economic agenda for the world.... But the key change lies not in the North, but in the majority South. They have to stop thinking and acting like Third World elements. They have to stand up for their rights and speak for the rights of others as well."

X' hp x (# NORTH KOREA: "U.S. Talk About China's 'Nuclear Secrets Theft'"

The Korean Central News Agency's (KCNA) Internet version carried this piece (6/8): "The United States' much ado about 'China's theft of U.S. nuclear secrets' is a revelation of 'persecution mania,' says [North Korean Worker's newspaper] Rodong Sinmun today.... The United States has a wrong viewpoint that only it has the right to develop up-to-date technology, and its military science and technology are superior to others.... Now lost in 'persecution mania,' the United States does not bother to describe 'exchanges and cooperation' that have been under way as part of the efforts to build [the] 'strategic partnership,' but rather as 'theft of secrets.' The United States is well advised not to waste time searching other countries' nuclear facilities, but [should] exert more efforts to take measures for the elimination of its nuclear weapons, as demanded by humankind."

PHILIPPINES: "Signs Of Democracy In China?"

Former presidential spokesman Jesus Sison pointed out in independent Malaya (6/9): "On the tenth anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre, there was a big crowd in Hong Kong.... This signals the growing number of democracy believers in China. As a matter of fact, international media is warning Asia and the world about possible social unrest in China due to militant democracy activists. If this happens, the economy of China will again deteriorate and

this will be a big problem of the people of Asia and the world."

"Tiananmen, 10 Years After"

The independent, conservative Philippine Star declared (6/4): "Filipinos join the rest of the free world in remembering those who gave up their lives for freedom ten years ago in Tiananmen. Coming to terms with this atrocity will be a major step for China on the road to reform."

SINGAPORE: "Are SinoAmerican Relations Beyond Repair?"

The progovernment Business Times featured this editorial page commentary (6/3) by Washington Correspondent Leon Hadar: "No one in Washington, not even the staunchest China basher, expects that China and the United States would be fighting a hot or cold war soon. Nevertheless, there are concerns that unless the leaders in Washington and Beijing move swiftly to bring a new balance into the relationship, and among other things, get China to refrain from vetoing an expected United Nations Security Council resolution on Kosovo and win U.S. support for Chinese accession into the WTO, things could get out of hand. As a result, a vicious circle of diplomatic crises and economic tensions would end up dominating the relationship that is bound to be central to the global balance of power in the 21st century. In such a dangerous environment, a minor incident, say collision between Chinese and American warships in the Pacific, or a major disagreement, say over how to deal with a breakup of Indonesia, could escalate into a military confrontation."

TAIWAN: "Aftermath Of Cox Report"

According to an editorial in the liberal, proindependence Taiwan Daily (5/31): "The release of the Cox report will naturally have an unfavorable impact on WashingtonBeijing ties. The 'constructive strategic partnership' must be reevaluated."

uated, and both the U.S. Congress and administration will have to adopt a more prudent attitude toward future technology and military exchanges with China....

However, except for the conflicts between the two countries, they still share certain common interests. It is therefore illusory for Taiwan to expect that WashingtonBeijing ties will deteriorate from now on. The benefits that Taiwan can get from this cooling stage of WashingtonBeijing ties are also very limited Taiwan should not expect to buy military technology or weapons that are powerful enough to compete with an international nuclear power like Beijing. If the international and crossstrait situation in the next ten to 20 years is what we predict above, Taiwan should start reviewing and adjusting its crossstrait policies as early as possible."

THAILAND: "Thought Of SinoU.S. Clash Sends Shivers Down One's Spine"

Cafe Dam commented in elite, businessoriented Krungthep Turakij (6/4): "Asked if China is indignant to be accused of human rights violations, military secrets, thefts, and by the bombing of its Belgrade embassy. Yes, certainly.... But today's China has become more mature, and it is trade and economic matters that have taken priority over communist ideology in its struggle with the West. One may therefore take it for granted that China will try to prevent these new conflicts from degenerating into a new Cold War. But all also depends on the United States to tone down its prejudices against China."

"China Cannot Erase 1989 'Beijing Spring'"

The lead editorial of the independent, Englishlanguage Nation stressed (6/4):

"While economic reforms have moved forward at a speedy pace, basic political reforms remain at a snail's pace. The call for political reforms during Tiananmen is sadly no longer heardwhich explains the irony that despite many Chinese having more money in their pockets, they are still denied some of the fundamental

al rights that every citizen of any country should have.... Like it or not, the Tiananmen uprising will continue to haunt party leaders as long as there is no genuine desire to learn its lessons.

"In the end, the communist leadership will become China's own worst enemy. Indeed, China's status in the world not the chauvinistic version of the Middle Kingdom will not be judged by the height of its skyscrapers or the number of department stores it has, but...by how its citizens are being treated and respected."

VIETNAM: "Behind The Cox Report"

The lead editorial of Sai Gon Giai Phong (Saigon Liberated, the mouthpiece of Ho Chi Minh City's Communist Party) contended (5/29): "We cannot help but realize some 'coincidences' in this espionage [case.] Right before President Zhu Rongji planned to visit the United States in April to call for U.S. backing for China to the WTO, the United States had made a big fuss about Wen Lee Ho's case and made it an excuse to deny its help. Recently, while the Chinese people strongly opposed the U.S. bombing of the Chinese Embassy [in Belgrade,] the United States released the report of the Cox Committee, which should have been kept as a secret document in the U.S Congress. In fact, this is nothing but a warning that the United States always has its own motives for causing adverse reactions to its opponents."

SOUTH ASIA

Xinhua (# INDIA: "New Debate On U.S.Sino Relations Reflects Beijing's Fears"

The centrist Hindu (6/15) had this analysis by its strategic affairs editor, C. Raja Mohan: "It is the United States that now looms large over Sino-Indian relations. The Chinese references to the creation of a 'multipolar world' and the renewed emphasis here against 'global hegemony' reflect a new wrenching debate here on how China should cope with the extraordinary weight of the United States."

tes in the international system....
There is no doubt that the recent difficulties in the relations between Beijing and Washington have had an important role in enthusing the Chinese leadership to accelerate the process of normalizing relations with India....
A series of developments have begun to test the credibility of the Sino-U.S. strategic partnership. The renewal of U.S. military alliances in Asia, most notably with Japan and Australia, the new American engagement with North Korea and its dominance in promoting reconciliation in the Korean peninsula, and fresh U.S. military arrangements in Southeast Asia have raised fears in China of a 'westward progress' of the United States in containing China....

"At the global level, China has been put off by the U.S. action in Kosovo...[which] has raised the specter of the unconstrained assertion of the U.S. power anywhere in the world. Apart from the perceived threats to its territorial integrity and national sovereignty, Beijing has been alarmed by the rising anti-China feelings in Washington marked most recently by the allegations of Chinese nuclear spying. The U.S. bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, in one accidental stroke, crystallized all these fears into a new debate on relations with the United States.... As it rethinks the global setting, China is seeking to limit U.S. dominance worldwide and prevent the emergence of a hostile U.S.-led coalition against it. As a consequence, China is stressing the importance of a 'multipolar world' and looking for new friends who can stand up against the United States.... India and China must indeed look for common political space on various international issues. At the same time, both of them do understand the significance of avoiding confrontation with the United States...and the importance of sustaining broad-based interaction with Washington."
Xinhua (#)
"Test Ban Test"

In the editorial view of the centrist Times of India (6/3): "Following the

publication of the bipartisan Cox committee report on Chinese nuclear espionage in the United States, Sino-U.S. relations would appear to have suffered the greatest setback since 1979 when the two countries established diplomatic relations
....

"At this stage it is difficult to predict the full impact of the Cox committee report on U.S. public opinion, which is notoriously volatile and easily manipulated. Since President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore are considered 'pro-Chinese' because of Beijing's alleged financial contributions to their election campaign, the Republicans are bound to politicize the issue in the forthcoming presidential race in which Mr. Gore is expected to be a candidate.... The new situation arising out of the Cox...report raises serious doubts about whether the CTBT would get even simple majority support in the Senate. The demand from legislators will be to widen the nuclear technological gap between the United States and China, and that if more nuclear tests are needed, the United States should not hesitate to conduct them. In these circumstances, the fate of the CTBT and its ratification appear to be extremely doubtful."

EUROPE

X' hp x (# BRITAIN: "Tiananmen And After"
X' hp x (#

The conservative Times contended (6/4): "China is still affected by the national trauma of Tiananmen and will be, as many even within China's Communist Party believe, until its leaders give a credible account of what happened and reverse their official condemnation.... True stability will come to China as and when it develops the checks and balances, including respect for human rights and equality under the law, that prevent abuses of power. That was what a million mostly young people called for at Tiananmen. It is for this that, in China and the world, they are remembered today."

"China's Square Of Shame"

X' hp x (#The lead editorial in the independent Financial Times observed (6/3):
"Ten
years after it happened, the massacre of students in Beijing's Tiananmen

Square still haunts China's government and people alike. While the country's
leaders find it impossible to admit responsibility or that the slaughter of
dem
ocracy activists was wrong, for many ordinary Chinese the event lives on
as a s
ymbol of an oppressive and capricious rule that bears no respect for
human righ
ts.... Only when its political evolution is complete will China
finally be abl
e to come to terms with Tiananmen. In the meantime, it is
right to criticize i
njustice and abuse where they are found, but critics must
also recognize progre
ss where it occurs. It is in the world's interest that
a stable China eventual
ly be integrated fully into the world community. That
requires not just recrim
ination for past and present misdeeds, but
encouragement on a journey that stil
l promises to be long and painful."

FRANCE: "Sad Anniversary"

X' hp x (#
Leftofcenter Le Monde asserted (6/4): "The Chinese government is still
paraly
zed by the thought of political openness. It still jails demonstrators
and dis
sidents, banishing the most famous.... This reminds one of the worst
of the era
of the Soviet Union. Beijing is trying to protect itself from a
wave of popul
ar demands, triggered by the recent boost in social inequalities
as a result of
the decade's economic growth. But this type of reaction is
destined to fail,
or worse, to breed greater ills. It is time China, which
believes it should be
part of the leading nations of the 21st century,
understood this."

X' hp x (# ITALY: "An Uncomfortable But Necessary Partner"

Ugo Tramballi penned this analysis for leading business Il Sole24 Ore (6/3):
"Ten years after Tiananmen, there is a new clash in China between reformists
an
d conservatives.... Obsessed by their own security...the
Chinese...believe th

at there is a single, huge plot against them. Many in Beijing believe that the war against Serbia is a pretext to aggression against China in Tibet....

"Perhaps the exaggerated tones adopted by Chinese leaders, the suspicion that the United States may seek not the 'strategic partnership' proposed by Clinton, but the containment of China...are part of a subtle strategy to overshadow, within China and abroad, the difficult Tiananmen anniversary. China will never be a comfortable partner. But we are obliged to seek its collaboration."

BELGIUM: "China Would Never Be The Same Again"
Xinhua (#)
Asian affairs writer Freddy De Pauw put forth this view in independent Catholic De Standaard (6/4): "After Tiananmen 1989, Deng Xiaoping's first instruction to the new party leader, Jiang Zemin, was to give absolute priority to economic growth in order to restore the party's legitimacy. In other words make the people happy with wealth instead of political reforms. The Chinese leaders have also learned that it is better to prevent than to heal and, since Tiananmen, they have more often offered a listening ear so that they can implement corrections in time. That is probably the reason why Jiang Zemin forbade the army leadership last year from doing 'business' to make his campaign against corruption credible. That can work so long as the economic benefits are delivered. In recent times, however, the Chinese are living in increasing uncertainty. Anyway, the Chinese leaders will undoubtedly utter a sigh of relief if June 4, 1999 passes away without any incidents worth mentioning."

"SinoU.S. Ties At Lowest Ebb"

Philippe Paquet observed in conservative Catholic La Libre Belgique (6/4): "While so many things have changed in China since the Tiananmen events, it is remarkable that, today as then, U.S.China relations are at their lowest. Titillat

ing detailthe military cooperation which had been suspended in June 1989 to sanction the Popular Liberation Army's behavior, is in limbo again, this time at Beijing's initiative."

X` hp x (#

X` hp x (# HUNGARY: "American Security And Chinese Spies"

X` hp x (#

X` hp x (#Conservative Napi Magyarország featured this piece (6/11) by Washington

contributor Hanna Kuliffay, who stressed: "China has practically maintained

the most recent military secrets, including the next century's nuclear and thermonuclear technologies from poorly controlled U.S. labs. It is now a matter

of time for China to finetune and upgrade its intercontinental missile arsenal directed at the megalopolises of the United States."

X` hp x (#

"Tiananmen And Realpolitik"

X` hp x (#

Peter Varkonyi maintained in influential Magyar Hírlap (6/4): "The world is a

realpolitician. It calculates with an empire that has a population over one and a half a billion, an incomparably unique market, and is a significant

Asian nuclear potential. But for those who take human rights and democracy really seriously Tiananmen Square remains a symbol."

X` hp x (#

SPAIN: "Tienanmen Ten Years Later"

X` hp x (#

Liberal El País commented (6/3): "Although China has changed much over the past 20 years...President Jiang Zemin has declared that the Chinese will never have a Westernstyle democracy.... The regime's lack of transparency will not permit any fissures in the walls surrounding the Communist Party's hold on power.

X` hp x (#

But it is obvious that economic progress could produce colossal political pressures, while the decline of Marxist ideology and widespread corruption undermine the foundations upon which the regime's power rests. The official communications media warn the citizenry against any attempt at commemorating the tenth anniversary of Tienanmen.... Yesterday's People's Daily inveighed against 'attempts by hostile forces to infiltrate, undermine, and divide China.'

X` hp x (#

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"The very prose employed reveals the magnitude of the disconnect being
suffere
d by China between an economy and society in transformation and a
political sys
tem marked by obscurantism."
X` hp x (#
MIDDLE EAST

X` hp x (# ISRAEL: "No Forgetting Tiananmen"

The independent Jerusalem Post indicated (6/6): "China's ludicrous attempts
to
make sure the government's massacre of its young democrats in Tiananmen
Square
is never remembered instead helps to ensure that it is never
forgotten. Beiji
ng should know, and be constantly reminded, that the world
has not forgotten an
d will not forget. It should know, too, that a day of
justice will come.... T
o this day, China continues to 'round up the usual
suspects' on the anniversary
. The real suspects are still in power."

X` hp x (###
#Xx\ P6QyXP#

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: mszporer@polaris.umuc.edu@INET@LNGTWY (mszporer@polaris.umuc.edu@INET@LNGTWY [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-JUN-1999 19:16:50.00

SUBJECT: SIEC News: Pope; 8th Baltic Sea States Meeting, RFE/RL

TO: Christine A. Stanek@eop (Christine A. Stanek@eop [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
SIEC TRANSLATION:

Gazeta Wyborcza, Tuesday, June 8, 1999

GIVE YOUR CHILDREN LOVE
by Mikolaj Lizut

Youths made up most of the 300,000 people were at Mass yesterday in Lowicz. Close to the altar stood representatives of 60 Polish schools named after John Paul II.

"With pain I think about your peers who don't have a home, who are deprived of love and the warmth of parents. Tell them that the Pope remembers them in his prayers and loves them," said the Pope.

According to the Pope, Christian upbringing is a "special calling," which includes the period before the child's birth. He told parents: "Be the guardians of not only life which is already born, but also at its conception. God is absolutely the Lord of Man, who was formed in his image. Human life possesses a holy and sanctified character which reflects the sanctity of the Creator Himself."

Parents are called to "create a family atmosphere imbued with love and respect for God and others, which enables the raising of children at the level of the individual and society as a whole." The Pope knows that it is not easy these days to create "Christian conditions for the upbringing of children." He still calls upon parents to do everything they can so that God would be present and revered in their home. "Follow religious customs, maintain Christian tradition, teach your children respect for each person." Support for families is in the catechism: "How good it is that religion is taught in school." The Pope expressed joy at

the ever increasing
number of Catholic schools. He called for people to support them, "that
in cooperation with the
entire school system, the well-being of society could be served."

"It is necessary to create a climate of friendly and open dialogue in
the schools....Schools
should become a foundry of virtues: of the open expression of religious
convictions and acting
upon them, of sensitivity to the common good of the Fatherland, and of
responsibility for the
future. Poland needs people who are open to the world, but loving of their
homeland."

He thanked teachers for "service to the Fatherland." "I myself have a
personal debt of gratitude
to my teachers, who I remember to this day, and I pray for them daily."

"Holy Father, show us how to be young!" chanted thousands of youths after
Mass.

Translation: Anthony Nesky

----- Forwarded message -----

Date: Tue, 15 Jun 1999 17:49:47 -0400
From: Rolandas Kacinskas <kacinskas@ltembassyus.org>
To: Michael Szporer <mszporer@polaris.umuc.edu>
Subject: 8th CBSS meeting in Lithuania

NEWS RELEASE
Kacinskas
June 15, 1999
234-5860

Contact: Rolandas
Phone: (202)

LITHUANIA CONCLUDES CHAIRMANSHIP OVER THE COUNCIL OF THE BALTIC SEA STATES

PALANGA, Lithuania - Representatives of eleven European countries and the European Commission gathered in the Lithuanian resort of Palanga on June 14th to take part in the 8th ministerial session of the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS.) In addition to foreign ministers of Lithuania, Denmark, Estonia, Iceland, Latvia, Poland, Norway, Finland and Sweden, Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia and State Minister of Germany, the council welcomed observers from Britain, the United States of America, France and Ukraine who have arrived to contribute to the activities of the session.

Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas said in his statement at the opening of a two-day meeting that one of the priorities of Lithuania's chairmanship has been to involve Northwest regions of Russia and especially Kaliningrad into practical cooperative relationships

with adjacent regions of the neighboring states. Towards this goal, Lithuania initiated projects of cooperation with Kaliningrad region in the sphere of investments, administrative reforms, environment protection, energy and infrastructure. Foreign Minister A.Saudargas pointed out that this specific cooperation would contribute to economic stability and development in the entire region of the Baltic Sea. There was also stressed the need to continue stepping up business-like cooperation with Kaliningrad and other Russian regions. According to Foreign Minister A.Saudargas, this could serve as a model for the development of the EU-Russia relationship on the whole and ultimately open perspectives for a free trade agreement between the EU and Russia. Mr. Marc Grossman, U.S. Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, who has attended the CBSS meeting in Palanga, has confirmed Washington's regard for stability in the Baltic Sea region and praised Lithuania's successful chairmanship of the CBSS.

The gratitude to the Lithuanian leadership and for Lithuania's efforts to draw the Kaliningrad region into the European cooperation has been also expressed by the Russian 1st Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Avdeyev. Russia regards its relations with Lithuania as a model for good neighborly cooperation, Russian 1st Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Avdeyev has said.

On June 15, the 8th CBSS meeting concluded its work and Lithuania handed over one-year chairmanship to Norway. After taking over the chairmanship, Norway vowed to proceed with the work performed by Lithuania and focus on enhancing relations between the regions of the Baltic Sea.

The CBSS also adopted a closing document, underlining the importance of the Council as an institution of regional cooperation in creating a stable, democratic and indivisible Europe. The Council also stressed the regional growth potential, which must be used for the welfare of people taking account of social and environmental needs of the region.

Participants of the Council noted the significance of processes of enlargement, stressing the necessity of reinforcing border cooperation with the Kaliningrad region and other Russian regions. The Council said that economic cooperation should continue focusing on eliminating hindrances of trade and investments in the region. The CBSS reiterated the obligation to cooperate in creation of an integrated energy system.

Reminder: Jurgen Matthaus and Pearl Resnick, German-Jewish Responses to Persecution, 1933-38 Thursday 17, 12:30-2 Conference US Holocaust Memorial Museum. 202-488-6162

Date: Tue, 15 Jun 1999 21:44:30 +0200

From: RFE/RL List Manager <listmanager@list.rferl.org>

To: pbureport@list.rferl.org

Subject: RFE/RL Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine Report No. 4, 15 June 1999

Resent-Date: Tue, 15 Jun 1999 15:57:54 -0400 (EDT)

Resent-From: pbureport@list.rferl.org

RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY, PRAGUE, CZECH REPUBLIC

RFE/RL Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine Report

Vol. 1, No. 4, 15 June 1999

POLAND

POLISH GERMANS DISMAYED BY BONN'S AID CUT. Germany has reduced this year's aid for Germans living in Poland by 8.5 million German marks (\$4.5 million). Announced by Jochen Welt, the German government official responsible for affairs related to the German minority in Poland, in Opole on 8 June, this move has dismayed leaders of the Social and Cultural Association of Germans (TSKN), PAP reported. TSKN head Henryk Kroll said he will seek to have that decision changed, adding that reduced financial support from Bonn might result in a mass exodus of Germans from Poland. "I am surprised at the decision," Kroll said. "Only a year ago I spoke with Gerhard Schroeder when he was still running for chancellor and he promised me that support for Germans in Poland would remain unchanged."

According to the Katowice-based "Trybuna Slaska," Welt sought to encourage Polish Germans in Gliwice during his visit to that town, noting that now they will be more dependent on themselves and the Polish authorities. "You have taken advantage of the possibilities of [taking part] in Poland's public life," he commented, noting that there is no precedent for the way in which the local ethnic Germans assumed responsibility for people and the region following local elections last year in Poland. In that ballot, several hundreds of Polish Germans were elected to local self-governments in the Opole region. Some, however, remained unconvinced. "If we cease to receive support [from Bonn], the Polish government will not meet our expectations. We have requested support from the [Polish] Ministry of Culture, but the minister has given [only] 5,000 zlotys (\$1,250) for a 90,000-strong community," "Trybuna Slaska" quoted German activists from Bytom as saying.

SUCSESSES AND FAILURES OF THE LAST DECADE. According to a recent poll conducted by the Center for Studying Public Opinion (OBOP), some 92 percent of respondents believe that shops full of goods, unrestricted travel abroad, and the pullout of Soviet troops from Poland are the country's most significant successes in the last decade. More than 80 percent of Poles include the revelation of the truth about Katyn (where Polish officers taken prisoners by Soviet troops in 1939 were murdered en masse by the NKVD one year later) and the abolition of censorship to the list of successes. Poland's NATO entry, the promulgation of the post-communist constitution, and the 1989 round-table negotiations between the communist authorities and Solidarity are also among the top 10 of Poland's biggest achievements in the post-communist era.

The largest failures include unemployment (93.6 percent

of respondents), the situation in agriculture (90.5 percent), the housing situation (85 percent), the low level of public security (79.4 percent), the increasing gap between the rich and the poor (78.3 percent), and the introduction of education fees (75.6 percent).

The most controversial events of the last decade include Lech Walesa's presidency (43.9 percent consider it to have been a success while 41 percent deem it a failure), privatization (35 percent versus 44 percent), and Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz's "shock therapy" plan for economic reform (32 percent versus 42 percent). OBOP commented that Balcerowicz's plan received a negative assessment mainly from pensioners and peasants, while garnering praise from managers and entrepreneurs.

MOST POLES PESSIMISTIC ABOUT PROSPECTS. Another recent OBOP poll says 55 percent of Poles think that "things in Poland are going in a bad direction," while only 35 percent believe the opposite. Sixty-one percent believe that the Polish economy is in crisis, while 35 percent think it is developing correctly. Forty-three percent of respondents said living standards in Poland will worsen, while only 21 percent are optimistic in this respect.

A recent poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS) shows support for Poland's EU membership has dropped to 55 percent, down from 64 percent last December. Expressing concern over the dwindling support for the government's pro-EU policies, Polish Foreign Minister Bronislaw Geremek commented, "Knowing the logic of statistics, one may ask: what next?"

BELARUS

MASTERMIND OF BELARUSIAN ECONOMY ARRESTED. At the end of May, the Belarusian police arrested Eduard Eydzin, head of the Independent Consulting Group and author of many economic projects implemented by the Belarusian government in recent years. According to "Belorusskaya delovaya gazeta," it was Eydzin who proposed the term "socially-oriented market economy" to replace "market socialism," coined by President Alyaksandr Lukashenka. It was also Eydzin who suggested the policy of large soft credit emissions by the National Bank to resuscitate the Belarusian economy.

Both "Belorusskaya delovaya gazeta" and Belapan suggest that Eydzin was arrested in connection with his project to replenish Belarus's gold reserve. According to that scheme, the National Bank issued credits to the Minsk-based BelAZ vehicle plant for the production of heavy trucks. Those vehicles were subsequently delivered to Kazakhstan, which paid for them in gold. Following the transfer of the precious metal to a Swiss bank account, the state settled accounts with BelAZ, while Eydzin and his consulting firm were paid a commission for brokering the deal. According to "Belorusskaya

delovaya gazeta," the authorities allege that Eydzin took some part of the gold for himself.

"Eydzin believed that it is possible to overcome the economic crisis [by] printing money and to replenish the country's gold reserve by selling commodities, but he did not understand that it was more important to attract hard currency than gold to the republic," former chief banker Stanislau Bahdankevich told Belapan.

"Narodnaya volya" reported on 9 June that investigators have already interrogated National Bank Chairman Pyotr Prakapovich, who closely cooperated with Eydzin on the scheme to replenish the country's gold reserves. The newspaper suggests that both Eydzin and Prakapovich may be used by Lukashenka as prime "scapegoats" for Belarus's economic failures.

PHONING FOR CASH FROM A KGB PRISON. Two officials from the Babruysk Hydrolytic Plant who were recently sent to a KGB prison on charges of abuse of power and grand larceny asked for cellular phones to be brought to their cells in order to "alleviate their fate," Belarusian Television reported on 8 June. They phoned their friends to ask for money to repay the losses they had inflicted on the plant. According to the KGB, this "first experiment" with cellular phones was a success. Within 24 hours, friends of the two men under investigation brought 8 billion Belarusian rubles (\$31,600) in a box used for packing television sets to the KGB directorate in Babruysk.

It was most likely President Alyaksandr Lukashenka who suggested the idea of "phoning for cash" from prison. At a 9 March conference on how to retrieve dubious foreign credits granted by Belarusian bankers, Lukashenka instructed law enforcement bodies on how to deal with those guilty of issuing such credits. "[Put them] in a solitary confinement cell, [give them] a cellular phone, and [let them] call their families and relatives in the near and far abroad to collect the [unpaid] money. This is a directive for you, and remember--this will be the main point for me in monitoring the performance of the law enforcement bodies and the judicial system," Belarusian Television quoted the president as saying at the time.

BELARUSIAN-SPEAKING CHILDREN CONSIDERED MENTALLY RETARDED?

Nataliya Prymakova, a logopedic specialist from Homel, has diagnosed five-year-old Frantsishak Yauseyanka as "linguistically and emotionally underdeveloped" and has ordered him transferred to a kindergarten group of mentally retarded children, RFE/RL's Belarusian Service reported on 4 June. The reason for such a diagnosis was the fact that Frantsishak, who is being brought up in a Belarusian-speaking family, speaks virtually no Russian. Prymakova, who speaks no Belarusian, tested Frantsishak in Russian when his parents were not present. She concluded that the child's orientation is weak because the boy cannot name some things

in Russian.

Volha Tsyareshchanka, Frantsishak's mother, took the boy out of the kindergarten and sent a letter to the Belarusian Helsinki Committee (BHK), complaining that the kindergarten's management has violated the constitution by denying her son an education in his native language (Russian and Belarusian are the constitutionally-recognized official languages in Belarus).

The BHK commented that in Frantsishak's case it is difficult to present his problem to the international community because international human rights activists are not in a position to understand why the Belarusian government is not interested in promoting the native language of the Belarusians. "According to the BHK's knowledge, there is no Belarusian-language kindergarten in the country," BHK activist Svyatlana Kurs told an RFE/RL correspondent. "The approach to a Belarusian-speaking child is fully dependent on his/her teacher and logopedic specialist. Therefore, the child may become morally and emotionally traumatized in his/her early childhood, owing to the uncivilized behavior on the part of an adult or to the Belarusophobia that, unfortunately, is now being enforced."

According to the BHK, since President Alyaksandr Lukashenka came to power in 1994, some 600 Belarusian-language schools have been transformed into Russian-language ones.

UKRAINE

KUCHMA'S RIVALS COUNT ON REGIONAL MEDIA. Four presidential hopefuls--Oleksandr Tkachenko, Oleksandr Moroz, Petro Symonenko, and Yeven Marchuk--participated in a nationwide conference of regional and local media heads in Kyiv on 31 May. The 5 June "Region" reported that in addition to spewing out anti-government and anti-Kuchma rhetoric, all the hopefuls were seeking to curry favor with regional media in order to enlist their support in the presidential campaign.

In particular, Socialist Party leader Moroz told the conference: "You have not been bribed, unlike media in the capital. ...How long do we have to watch all those "Mornings" and "Breakfasts" [on nationwide channels]? They are so bad that they make one's heart bleed. But in Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv, Lviv, and other cities, I have watched other programs which were made in a really skilled way. We ourselves are to be blamed for living in an atmosphere of information terror. We have come to the point where objective information about Ukraine can be obtained only through foreign media. ...If one wants to tell the truth, one has to address Radio Liberty, Voice of America, Deutsche Welle, or the BBC. ...A junta is in power [in Ukraine]. ...Ukraine's salvation is in deposing the incumbent president. Let us unite and break the information blockade."

Ukraine's regional media leaders adopted a statement

protesting political pressure exerted on regional media by state control and monitoring bodies. "We are doing everything to ensure that the presidential elections are honest and fair. We will give the floor to all candidates who are capable, under the legislation in force, of paying for services provided by broadcasting companies," the statement added.

QUOTATIONS OF THE WEEK

"Standing on the threshold of a new period in history, we all must examine our consciences regarding responsibility for the existing divisions. We must admit the committed faults and pardon one another in turn. ...On the eve of the third millennium, we must move quickly toward full and fraternal reconciliation." -- Pope John Paul II at a 10 June ecumenical mass in Drohiczyn, eastern Poland, attended by Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant Christians as well as by Muslims.

"If [Serbian President Slobodan] Milosevic needs our support [including granting him political asylum], we will always render him this support. But I do not think it will go that far. They [in the West] have declared many people to be criminals. If anybody does not agree with them, their democracy declares him to be a criminal. [Milosevic's] is the same case." -- Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka on 10 June.

"There is such a form of strike or sabotage as continual reforming." -- Syarhey Posakhau, Belarus's permanent representative in the CIS bodies, commenting on the session of CIS prime ministers in Minsk on 4 June.

"Prakapovich, I think, is innocent, he simply loves his president too much. That love is so boundless that it can prompt him, without special difficulty, to change his chair in the National Bank for a cot in prison." -- A columnist in the 9 June "Narodnaya volya," commenting on the interrogation of National Bank Chairman Pyotr Prakapovich in connection with Belarus's scheme to replenish its gold reserve.

"They are idlers. They have neglected their land, knifed their livestock and eaten it. And, in addition, they are not willing to work." -- Belarusian Prime Minister Syarhey Linh on peasants on collective farms facing bankruptcy.

"In my opinion, [presidential candidate Nataliya Vitrenko] is a strong rival of the incumbent president. It is expected on Bankova Street [where President Leonid Kuchma's office is located] that Vitrenko will attract votes of the left-wing electorate. That's a mistake. Vitrenko's electorate consists of marginal and declassé people, not of voters gravitating toward the Communists or the Socialists. Lukashenka in

Belarus has a similar electorate. Vitrenko's nomination [as a presidential candidate] is very dangerous for all political forces in Ukraine." -- Artur Bilous from the Reforms-Center parliamentary group in the 10 June "Segodnya."

"No matter what people say, Marx and Lenin today are topical and right as never before; their conclusions find confirmation in the present-day capitalization of Ukraine according to a 19th century model." -- Ukrainian Communist Party leader Petro Symonenko in the 10 June "Komunist."

(Compiled by Jan Maksymiuk)

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for a reception honoring

Larisa Silnicky

on her retirement
as a RFE/RL Russian Service Broadcaster
Tuesday, June 22, 1999
4:00PM - 6:00PM

in the Ballroom at
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1319 18th Ave NW

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CREATION DATE/TIME:16-JUN-1999 10:48:15.00

SUBJECT: Fw: Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross With Oak Leaves, Swords, and Diamonds

TO: tssman@telepath.com (tssman@telepath.com [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: sanderson@sat.net (sanderson@sat.net [UNKNOWN])
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TO: rlwooten@sat.net (rlwooten@sat.net [UNKNOWN])
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TO: penguinmomma@hotmail.com (penguinmomma@hotmail.com [UNKNOWN])
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TO: msmolly@concentric.net (msmolly@concentric.net [UNKNOWN])
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TO: lain@aol.com (lain@aol.com [UNKNOWN])
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TO: kmromero23@aol.com (kmromero23@aol.com [UNKNOWN])
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TO: Fredrick J. Charney (CN=Fredrick J. Charney/OU=OMB/O=EOP [OMB])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: deborahm@wfs.twc.com (deborahm@wfs.twc.com [UNKNOWN])
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TO: charlob@trib.com (charlob@trib.com [UNKNOWN])
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TO: andrewsfamily@netscape.net (andrewsfamily@netscape.net [UNKNOWN])
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TO: ksams59@hotmail.com (ksams59@hotmail.com [UNKNOWN])
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READ:UNKNOWN

TO: dnollsch@wyoming.com (dnollsch@wyoming.com [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: clain@wyoming.com (clain@wyoming.com [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: ASamaritan@aol.com (ASamaritan@aol.com [UNKNOWN])
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TO: "Eddie M." <MCCANN@telepath.com> ("Eddie M." <MCCANN@telepath.com> [UNKNOWN])
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TEXT:
--- On Sun, 13 Jun 1999 06:37:58 -0600 Dorothy Bartholomew
<dbarthol@tcinc.net> wrote:

Sent: Saturday, June 12, 1999 1:05 AM
Subject: Fwd: Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross With Oak Leaves, Swords,
and Diamonds

X-Sender: spiker@pop3.mho.net
X-Mailer: QUALCOMM Windows Eudora Pro Version 4.1
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To: (Recipient list suppressed)
From: spiker <spiker@amnix.com>
Subject: Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross With Oak Leaves, Swords, and

Diamonds

Awards list.

Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross

With Oak Leaves, Swords, & Diamonds

Click here to read the whole story!

<http://www.bright.net/%7Emdpine/whynazi.html>

Was the hatred from right or left?

This award represents sheer hatred, misery, intolerance, bigotry, the loss of millions of lives and billions of dollars in senseless destruction. To the awardees, the Knight's Cross was an exalted badge of honor in their convoluted society, but after their defeat it has proven to be a millstone around their necks forever. Were the Nazi's and Christians united in this endeavor? What could cause such hatred that would result in no less than 41 million deaths? Many of those deaths were inflicted on their own countrymen deemed unworthy of life for one reason or another. What system of government could cause such wholesale slaughter?

I ran across a letter to the editor in the Washington Times that sheds some light on that question. Somebody said that those who cannot learn from history are doomed to repeat it. I believe we are in a critical phase in our nation's history and our future freedoms will depend on how our generation deals with intolerant and hateful propaganda being fed to Americans right now. I don't think any of us wants to see another Nazi Germany, so let's see what this letter has to tell us about where its hate sprung from.

Letter to Hillary: Letter to the Editor 6/7/95 - Arlington,
Washington Times

(Dear Hillary) During the past several months in the American press, the Democrats have frequently denounced the Republicans as Nazis due to their attempts to control runaway federal spending. How very ironic. I remember the Nazis. Let me share a little about them and recall some of their exploits.

First of all, "Nazi" was gutter slang for the verb "to nationalize". The Bider-Mienhoff gang gave themselves this moniker during their early struggles. The official title of the Nazi Party was "The National Socialist Workers Party of Germany".

Hitler and the Brownshirts advocated the nationalization of education, health care, transportation, national resources, manufacturing, distribution and law enforcement. Hitler came to power by turning the working class, unemployed, and academic elite against the conservative republic.

After der fuhrer's election ceased being a political conspiracy and was transformed into a fashionable social phenomenon, party membership was especially popular with educators, bureaucrats, and the press. Being a Nazi was politically correct. They called themselves "The Children of the New Age of World Order" and looked down their noses at everyone else. As Hitler accrued more power, he referred to his critics as "The Dark Forces of Anarchy and Hatred". Anyone who questioned Nazi high-handedness in the German press was branded a "Conservative Reactionary". Joseph Goebbels, minister of communications, proclaimed a "New World Order".

The Nazi reign of terror began with false news reports on the Jews, Bohemians and Gypsies who were said to be arming themselves to overthrow the "New World Order" and Hitler demanded that all good people register their guns so that they wouldn't fall into the hands of "terrorists and madmen".

Right wing fanatics of the "Old Order" who protested firearms registration were arrested by the S.S. and put in jail for "fomenting hatred against the Government of the German people". Then the Reichstag (government building) was blown up and Hitler ram-rodged an "Emergency Anti-Terrorist Act" through Parliament that gave the Gestapo extraordinary powers. The leader then declared that for the well-being of the German people, all private firearms were to be confiscated by the Gestapo and the Wehrmacht (federal law enforcement and military).

German citizens who refused to surrender their guns when the "jack-boots" (Gestapo) came calling, were murdered in their homes. By the way, the Gestapo were the federal marshals' service of the Third Reich. The S.W.A.T. team was invented and perfected by the Gestapo to break into the homes of the enemies of the German people.

When the Policia Bewakken, or local police, refused to take away guns from townsfolk, they themselves were disarmed and dragged out into the street and shot to death by the S.A. and the S.S. Those were Nazi versions of the B.A.T.F. and the F.B.I. When several local ministers spoke out against these atrocities, they were imprisoned and never seen again. The Gestapo began to confiscate and seize the homes, businesses, bank accounts, and

personal belongings of wealthy conservative citizens who had prospered in the old Republic.

Pamphleteers who urged revolt against the Nazis were shot on site by national law enforcement and the military. Gypsies and Jews were detained and sent to labor camps. Mountain roads throughout central Europe were closed to prevent the escape of fugitives into the wilderness, and to prevent the movement and concealment of partisan resistance fighters.

Public schools rewrote history and Hitler youth groups taught the children to report their parents to their teachers for anti-Nazi remarks. Such parents disappeared. Pagan animism became the state religion of the Third Reich and Christians were widely condemned as "right wing fanatics". Millions of books were burned first and then people. Millions of them burned in huge ovens after they were first gassed to death.

Unmarried women were paid large sums of money to have babies out of wedlock and then given medals for it. Evil was declared as being good, and good was condemned as being evil. World Order was coming and the German people were going to be the "peacekeepers". Yes, indeed(Hillary), I remember the Nazis and they weren't Republicans, or "right wing", or "patriots" or "militias". They were Socialist monsters.

Thomas Colton Ruthford

The contention of this writer is that the hatred didn't spring from the right, but rather from the left - socialism. Another letter written to an American newspaper from an ex-Nazi citizen also points to socialism as the wellspring of the Nazi hatred. She compares the Nazi socialism to the socialism she sees creeping into our society. This ex-Nazi citizen writes:

"Many thoughtful Germans, recognizing Hitler's true character, foresaw chaos and destruction. They were harassed, pursued, had "accidents" or disappeared. Hitler's party expanded national health care, thus enlarging each citizen's records; federalized public schools; set curricula and programs for young and old alike. Religion was actively discouraged. Obedience was demanded of each citizen. Thirteen years of National Socialism institutionalized fear by constant verbal terrorism, lies and fiendish distortion of truth. Government held the citizenry hostage through dread. A cowardly judiciary silently acquiesced. Government controlled an intimidated press. In 1945,the awful consequences of terror, silence and fear stood naked before the world. The cost in human lives and dignity was inexcusable. I saw, I lived there. We are not immune. The tragedy can repeat

itself here! America today is confronted by the depreciated values of socialism advanced for thirty five years. Its self-discipline undermined, a disoriented society lost faith in itself and now denies the value of character. C1

inton continues to disdain character. America has been seduced by dependency on governmental solutions lacking integrity, thus avoiding personal responsibility. Expediency rules. The sickening spectacle of partial-birth abortions is an abomination. Government corruption is rampant. Our society is sick with tragedy. It's imperative that increasing regulation by an overpowering government be halted and reversed."

Elinor Wright

Another writer really pulls the focus to this "control-freak" mentality that dresses itself up to suck people in and then turns on them with murderous intolerance. A writer named Paul posted this message on the MSNBC All Politics bulletin board.

Date:

Why the left hates religion

Paul

bedrock.ffx.ops.us.uu.net

Sat Jan 2 13:17:43

The left wing, or socialist philosophy considers the State to be the one true God.

Through the enslavement of mankind, the State shall bring heaven on earth. However, the State is jealous of its power and all other Gods must be exterminated.

The current political left embraces what is known as "humanism", which preaches that there is no divine being as such, and that the only true morality is that which benefits mankind as a whole. Humanism is the type of philosophy that marxists used to justify the type of reasoning which went

"if we have to shoot a thousand reactionaries to advance civilization, so be it." The only problem with humanism, though, is that the definition of what benefits society tends to differ from dictator to dictator, and it turns out there's a lot more reactionaries than we thought. Pretty soon, just about everyone is either a real reactionary or under suspicion of being one.

Given a choice, I'll take the Inquisition.

Regimes claiming socialism as their root ideology have spawned the most ruthless "control-freak" governments in mankind's history. It is

reported that Josef Stalin's regime was responsible for 71 million deaths and many from the very people that helped to usher in his regime including gays, le
sbians and educational elitists. Remember the Iron Curtain? Red China 28 million were slaughtered and most from their own people, Nazi Germany 41 million. Pol Pot in Cambodia only killed three million but then one has to consider he only started out with around 7 million. Tallying all equates to c
lose to 200 million butcherings in approximately 80 years.

If you want to immerse yourself in hatred that kills, don't look to the right, lean far to the left. Even the vicious and despicable KKK only killed a few thousand at most over the past century, and yet we have fifty seven members of our current United States congress that have aligned themsel
ves with the Socialist Democrats of America. Is there something wrong with that? Americans will have to turn it back around and yes, that includes even you.

Other pages containing information about the Knight's Cross
<http://uboat.net/men/decorations/ritter.htm>

E-mail your comments.

A Link For Nikki Case Who Likes This Site. She's got a great page.
Check it out.

-----End of Original Message-----

Name: Citizen Robert Freddie; Lain
E-mail: Citizen Bob Lain<sentinel@pop3.concentric.net>
Date: 06/16/99
Time: 08:50:19

How shall they know unless they are forewarned.???
Who shall forewarn them.??? The sentinel!!!

" I have sworn upon the alter of almighty GOD, eternal hostility
over all forms of tryanny over the mind of man "
Thomas Jefferson

Citizen Robert Freddie; Lain

C/O

3 Chapel Road

general deliveey

Big Piney, Wyoming

zip exempt dmm 122.32

P.C. [83113]

Ph 307 276 5256 Home phone

Ph 307 276 5202 fax/comp. line

- 9339211.htm===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

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Swords, and Diamonds</DIV></DIV>

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Date: Fri, 11 Jun 1999 23:42:18

-0600
To: (Recipient list suppressed)
From: spiker <spiker@amnix.com>
Subject: Knight's

Cross of the Iron Cross With Oak Leaves, Swords, and

Diamonds

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Awards list.
Knight's Cross of the

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<A

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/B><FONT

color=#ff0000 size=7></DIV>Was the hatred from right or left?

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destruction. To the awardees, the Knight's Cross was an exalted badge of

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<DD>Letter to Hillary: Letter to the Editor 6/7/95 - Arlington, Washington Times

<DD>(Dear Hillary) During the past several months in the American press, the Democrats have frequently denounced the Republicans as Nazis due to their attempts to control runaway federal spending. How very ironic. I remember the Nazis. Let me share a little about them and recall some of their exploits.

<DD>First of all, "Nazi" was gutter slang for the verb "to nationalize".

The Bider-Mienhoff gang gave themselves this moniker during their early struggles. The official title of the Nazi Party was "<FONT color=#ff0000

size=4>The National Socialist Workers Party of Germany".

<DD>Hitler and the Brownshirts advocated the nationalization of education

, health care, transportation, national resources, manufacturing, distribution and law enforcement. Hitler came to power by turning the working class, unemployed, and academic elite against the conservative republic.

<DD>After der fuhrer's election ceased being a political conspiracy and

was transformed into a fashionable social phenomenon, party membership wa

s especially popular with educators, bureaucrats, and the press. Being a Nazi was politically correct. They called themselves "The Children of the

New Age of World Order" and looked down their noses at everyone else. As

Hitler accrued more power, he referred to his critics as "The Dark Forces of Anarchy and Hatred". Anyone who questioned Nazi high-handedness in the German press was branded a "Conservative Reactionary". Joseph Goebbels, minister of communications, proclaimed a "New World Order".

The Nazi reign of terror began with false news reports on the Jews, Bohemians and Gypsies who were said to be arming themselves to overthrow the "New World Order" and Hitler demanded that all good people register their guns so that they wouldn't fall into the hands of "terrorists and madmen".

Right wing fanatics of the "Old Order" who protested firearms registration were arrested by the S.S. and put in jail for "fomenting hatred against the Government of the German people". Then the Reichstag (government building) was blown up and Hitler ram-rodged an "Emergency Anti-Terrorist Act" through Parliament that gave the Gestapo extraordinary powers. The leader then declared that for the well-being of the German people, all private firearms were to be confiscated by the Gestapo and the Wermotten (federal law enforcement and military).

German citizens who refused to surrender their guns when the "jack-boots" (Gestapo) came calling, were murdered in their homes. By the way, the Gestapo were the federal marshals' service of the Third Reich.

The S.W.A.T. team was invented and perfected by the Gestapo to break into the homes of the enemies of the German people.

When the Policia Bewakken, or local police, refused to take away guns from townsfolk, they themselves were disarmed and dragged out into the street and shot to death by the S.A. and the S.S. Those were Nazi version of the B.A.T.F. and the F.B.I. When several local ministers spoke out against these atrocities, they were imprisoned and never seen again. The Gestapo began to confiscate and seize the homes, businesses, bank accounts, and personal belongings of wealthy conservative citizens who had prospered in the old Republic.

Pamphleteers who urged revolt against the Nazis were shot on site by national law enforcement and the military. Gypsies and Jews were detained and sent to labor camps. Mountain roads throughout central Europe were closed to prevent the escape of fugitives into the wilderness, and to prevent the movement and concealment of partisan resistance fighters.

<DD>Public schools rewrote history and Hitler youth groups taught the children to report their parents to their teachers for anti-Nazi remarks.

Such parents disappeared. Pagan animism became the state religion of the

Third Reich and Christians were widely condemned as "right wing fanatics"

Millions of books were burned first and then people. Millions of them burned in huge ovens after they were first gassed to death.

<DD>Unmarried women were paid large sums of money to have babies out of

wedlock and then given medals for it. Evil was declared as being good, and

good was condemned as being evil. World Order was coming and the German

people were going to be the "peacekeepers". Yes, indeed(Hillary), I remember the Nazis and they weren't Republicans, or "right wing", or "patriots" or "militias". They were Socialist monsters.

<DIV align=right></DIV>

<DD>Thomas Colton Ruthford </DD></DL>

<DIV></DIV>The contention of this writer is that the hatred didn't spring

from the right, but rather from the left - socialism. Another letter writte

to an American newspaper from an ex-Nazi citizen also points to socialism a

the wellspring of the Nazi hatred. She compares the Nazi socialism to the

socialism she sees creeping into our society. This ex-Nazi citizen writes:

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<DD>"Many thoughtful Germans, recognizing Hitler's true character, foresa

chaos and destruction. They were harassed, pursued, had "accidents" or disappeared. Hitler's party expanded national health care, thus enlarging

each citizen's records; federalized public schools; set curricula and programs for young and old alike. Religion was actively discouraged.

Obedience was demanded of each citizen. Thirteen years of National Socialism institutionalized fear

by constant verbal terrorism, lies and fiendish distortion of truth.

Government held the citizenry hostage through dread. A cowardly judiciary

silently acquiesced. Government controlled an intimidated press. In 1945,the awful consequences of terror, silence and fear stood naked befor

the world. The cost in human lives and dignity was inexcusable.

<DD>I saw, I lived there. We are not immune. The tragedy can repeat itsel

here! America today is confronted by the depreciated values of socialism

advanced for thirty five years. Its self-discipline undermined, a

disoriented society lost faith in itself and now denies the value of character. Clinton continues to disdain character. America has been seduced by dependency on governmental solutions lacking integrity, thus

avoiding personal responsibility. Expediency rules. The sickening spectacle of partial-birth abortions is an abomination. Government corruption is rampant. Our society is sick with tragedy. It's imperative

that increasing regulation by an overpowering government be halted and reversed."

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<DD>Elinor Wright </DD></DL>

<DIV></DIV>Another writer really pulls the focus to this "control-freak" mentality that dresses itself up to suck people in and then turns on them

with murderous intolerance. A writer named Paul posted this message on the

MSNBC All Politics bulletin board.

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<DD>Date:

<DD>Why the left hates religion

<DD>Paul

<DD>bedrock.ffx.ops.us.uu.net

<DD>Sat Jan 2 13:17:43

<DD>The left wing, or socialist philosophy considers the State to be the

one true God.

<DD>Through the enslavement of mankind, the State shall bring heaven on

earth. However, the State is jealous of its power and all other Gods must

be exterminated.

<DD>The current political left embraces what is known as "humanism", whic

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preaches that there is no divine being as such, and that the only true morality is that which benefits mankind as a whole. Humanism is the type

of philosophy that marxists used to justify the type of reasoning which

went "if we have to shoot a thousand reactionaries to advance civilization, so be it." The only problem with humanism, though, is that

the definition of what benefits society tends to differ from dictator to

dictator, and it turns out there's a lot more reactionaries than we thought. Pretty soon, just about everyone is either a real reactionary or

under suspicion of being one.

<DD>Given a choice, I'll take the Inquisition. </DD></DL>

Regimes

claiming socialism as their root ideology have spawned the most ruthless "control-freak" governments in mankind's history. It is reported that Josef

Stalin's regime was responsible for 71 million deaths and many from the ver

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people that helped to usher in his regime including gays, lesbians and educational elitists. Remember the Iron Curtain? Red China 28 million were

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slaughtered and most from their own people, Nazi Germany 41 million. Pol Po
in Cambodia only killed three million but then one has to consider he only

started out with around 7 million. Tallying all equates to close to 200
million butcherings in approximately 80 years.

If you want to
immerse yourself in hatred that kills, don't look to the right, lean far to

the left. Even the vicious and despicable KKK only killed a few thousand at

most over the past century, and yet we have fifty seven members of our

current United States congress that have aligned themselves with the
Socialist Democrats of America. Is there something wrong with that?
Americans will have to turn it back around and yes, that includes even
you.

Other pages containing

information about the Knight's Cross http://uboat.net/men/dec
orations/ritter.htm

E-mail your comments.

A Link For Nikki Case Who

Likes This Site. She's got a great page. Check it out.

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