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TEXT:

HEADLINE: Showdown at Gucci Gulch._book reviews

BYLINE: Glastris, Paul

BODY:

Showdown at Gucci Gulch.

Jeffrey H. Birnbaum and Alan S. Murray. Random House, \$ 18.95.
Publication date: June 29.

Saturday, May 3, 1986. Tax reform is bogged down in the Senate Finance Committee. A group of committee members who support the reform plan crafted by Chairman Bob Packwood are gathered in the committee room of the Dirksen Senate Office Building. It is a secret meeting; the hall outside, dubbed "Gucci Gulch," for the lobbyists who normally lurk there, is empty.

The goal of the meeting is to eliminate \$ 35 billion in tax breaks. As rewards to themselves for supporting the controversial measure, the members of the group, in choosing cuts, make sure certain of their most favored tax preferences are protected. But to reach \$ 35 billion, each senator must pony up some cherished breaks.

Packwood offers to eliminate the preferential treatment on capital gains, which is important to his state's timber industry. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan sacrifices the sales tax deduction.

As others follow suit, an inside joke develops: the senator giving up the break his constituent lobbyists expected him to fight for asks for "a note from the chairman." This means that when the plan is revealed and the lobbyists descend, the senator has permission to claim to have struggled fiercely for the break, only to be defeated by the chairman, to whom the lobbyists can then complain.

These and other subterfuges in the name of shared sacrifice are marvelously told in a new book* by two Wall Street Journal reporters, Jeffrey H. Birnbaum and Alan S. Murray, that chronicles the ups, downs, and ultimate

victory of tax reform. In terms of offering insight into and conveying the drama of the Hill, Showdown at Gucci Gulch rivals Eric Redman's *The Dance of Legislation*. It is an important story. Tax reform was the first dramatic confrontation in more than a decade in which the special interests, and the politics of selfishness they represent, lost to the public interest.

No one seems to be eager to go through the same exercise again. Reforming the tax code meant forcing the political system to work against some of its most powerful tendencies. The success of tax reform is seen by many as an anomaly--a sort of political solar eclipse that required a peculiar political arrangement and is unlikely to repeat itself for a long time. It was not heavenly bodies, however, that made tax reform happen, but people--politicians, bureaucrats, reporters, and others, only a small minority of whom were idealistically committed to the goal. Solutions to many of our most pressing and seemingly intractable problems, such as the federal deficit, also depend, at least in part, on getting government to adopt policies that run counter to the demands of narrow, moneyed interests. The larger these problems loom, the more tax reform, with all its setbacks and imperfections, may become the paradigm for dealing with them.

Lobbyists' relief act

Retrospective searches like this, which try to isolate the powerful forces propelling history, can leave you with a sense that what happened was inevitable. Plenty of seasoned Washington observers talk about tax reform as if its victory was not at all surprising. It's healthy, then, to recall just how unlikely tax reform looked to insiders at the time. When Sen. Bill Bradley, the "godfather" of tax reform, was peddling his "Fair Tax" plan to eliminate most exemptions in exchange for low rates, Sen. Russell Long derided the bill as "an attractive conversation piece."

The odds remained bad even after the Reagan administration adopted tax reform and the legislators began formally considering it. Rep. Richard Gephardt himself abandoned the issue, preferring hotter subjects such as trade protectionism and his own budding presidential candidacy. In the summer of 1985, Gephardt encountered a reporter who was still covering taxes: "That's not a good story," the congressman advised.

After tirelessly driving tax reform through the House, Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski gloated over his success, content in his belief that the Republicans would be blamed when tax reform died in

the Senate.

The cynicism was perfectly reasonable. Attempts at reforming the tax code had an impressive record of failure even before the growth of special interest PACs. On this recent effort, the special interests poured resources into the fight to save their tax benefits. PAC contributions to House Ways and Means and Senate Finance committee members in 1985, the year the tax reform legislation was being considered, were \$ 6.7 million, two and a half times the 1983 amount. Chairman Packwood was the Hill's number one recipient of PAC contributions. Industries and organizations paid such enormous fees to so many lobbyists that the tax reform bill soon became known in Washington as the "Lobbyists' Relief Act of 1986."

One of the remarkable lessons of tax reform--one that should encourage attempts to apply the lessons elsewhere--is that you don't need many reformers to effect reform. The key players were not, for the most part, men who had lost sleep over the inequities of the tax code. Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan had spent his years as head of Merrill Lynch lobbying for various investment tax credits. Pragmatic Jim Baker, a Texas corporate lawyer for whom oil and gas breaks were sacred, took Regan's job eagerly, but the tax reform cause grudgingly. Deputy Secretary Richard Darman had idealism, accompanied, however, by equally strong Machiavelian instincts. Rostenkowski, his roots in the Chicago Democratic machine, was infamous for his failed attempt to outbid the Reagan administration in giving tax breaks to special interests during markup of the 1981 tax bill. Robert Packwood was perhaps the most unlikely reformer of all; "I sort of like the tax code the way it is," he said in 1985. Before tax reform landed in his committee, Packwood twice threatened to kill it if his favored tax breaks weren't preserved. There were precious few reformers in either Packwood's or Rostenkowski's committees; members generally seek appointment to Finance and Ways and Means for the purpose of giving tax breaks to favored and powerful constituents. "None of us is committed to tax reform," declared Senate Finance Committee member Malcolm Wallop at one point.

Neither, in fact, was the public, as politicians repeatedly found out on their trips back home. This did not mean, however, that Americans cared much for the existing tax code. In 1972 Americans generally viewed the federal income tax as more fair than state and local taxes; by 1985, they saw it as less fair by far. A major reason was that congressmen loved to give special interests loopholes, which transformed accountants and lawyers into tax shelters. Between 1976 and 1983, the amount of money in tax

shelters is believed to have risen ten-fold, from \$ 2 billion to \$ 20 billion.

The sense of unfairness coalesced around the kind of Outrageous Anecdote that had previously helped lead to reform. In the final days of the Johnson administration, for instance, Treasury Secretary Joseph Barr, warning about an impending taxpayer's revolt, released figures showing that in 1967 155 people with incomes higher than \$ 200,000, 21 millionaires among them, managed to pay no taxes at all. The resulting press reports and constituent outrage caused newly elected President Nixon to agree to legislation that repealed many tax breaks.

The man behind the Outrageous Anecdote that led to the Tax Reform Act of 1986 is Robert McIntyre, a lawyer with Citizens for Tax Justice. With a computer and stacks of annual reports from the nation's largest companies, McIntyre discovered that, thanks in part to the Reagan-sponsored 1981 tax act, 128 large and profitable companies paid no federal income taxes in at least one year between 1981 and 1983. His study led to banner press headlines and changed attitudes; even James J. Kilpatrick started preaching against "corporate welfare."

Changed attitudes toward corporate tax breaks were behind one of the great surprises of tax reform, "Treasury I," the tax overhaul plan drafted in 1984 by Donald Regan's Treasury Department. In his 1984 State of the Union address, the president directed Regan to "study" tax reform. The call was a largely cynical attempt by the White House to take the wind out of what it believed were Mondale's plans to make tax reform a central campaign issue. (Mondale, of course, had no such plans, despite entreaties by Bradley; Democrats were no less vulnerable to special interest pressures than Republicans.) But in the process of "Studying" the tax code, Regan--who, say Birnbaum and Murray, saw tax overhaul as a way to regain prominence for himself within the administration--underwent a remarkable transformation.

Throughout 1984, Regan kept himself and a handful of top treasury officials locked up in secret tax-drafting sessions. There, sealed off from outside political influences, the secretary came under the intellectual sway of Ronald Pearlman, assistant secretary for tax policy, and Charles McLure, Pearlman's deputy. Both were die-hard conservative tax reformers who believed that the market, not the tax code, should guide the flow of capital. Putting that idea in practice meant wiping out virtually all deductions and exemptions--including corporate breaks backed by Reagan, and Regan, in 1981. These ideas

delighted treasury bureaucrats, who kept the two constantly supplied with analyses to support their arguments. McLure, a conservative economist affiliated with the Hoover Institute, spoke in Reagan's language--he called attempts to spur growth with tax breaks "tax code socialism." Reagan became a convert, openly delighting in the havoc his plan would cause. (Birnbaum and Murray point out that the secretary had a strong iconoclastic streak. On Wall Street, he broke ranks by advocating an end to fixed brokerage commissions and enjoyed the chaos he caused in other firms when he transformed Merrill Lynch into a financial services giant.) In drafting Treasury I, Reagan agreed to hit just about every tax preference in the IRS Code and to raise corporate taxes by a staggering \$ 150 billion.

The president praised Treasury I in his 1985 State of the Union address. His support for reform, and his famous ability to charm rebellious legislators into also supporting it, would prove crucial for its success. His fondness for Treasury I, however, was apparently enhanced by his ignorance of certain substantive details. When asked by reporters about Treasury I's vast increase in corporate taxes--a clear 180 degree reversal of his 1981 corporate tax strategy-- Reagan was honestly shocked and dismayed such increases were proposed.

With its pristine fairness and huge corporate tax increases, Reagan's plan was widely considered politically inept. Upon coming to Treasury in 1985, Jim Baker and Richard Darman devised their own, more accommodating proposal, and in so doing kept the reform process moving. But Treasury I played a crucial role: it planted the flag. Like Nixon's opening of China, it changed the politics of tax reform. Traditional Democrats, who feared crossing the special interests but who could always be counted on to chime in when the unfairness of the tax code was under discussion, could find nothing in the proposal to use as an excuse not to support it. One such Democrat, Chairman Rostenkowski, suddenly had several compelling reasons to become a reformer: he feared the Republicans would outpolitic the Democrats with the issue; he saw shepherding tax reform through Ways and Means as a way to regain a reputation as a powerful committee leader after the drubbing he took in 1981; and he saw the campaign contributions that might come his way. "I started to realize that, brother, I've got a lot of friends in the business community," the chairman recalls. "I realized at that point that I was their salvation, because I wasn't going to move as far as Treasury I."

Treasury I also proved invaluable to Republican tax reformers. In the early days of the tax bill's mark-up in the Senate Finance Committee, the prospects for reform had hit a new low.

Committee Chairman Packwood was a reluctant reformer; it was an election year, and he did not wish to be seen as the man who stood in the way of his own president's worthy initiative. His way of moving the bill along was to try to meet the minimal parochial demands of every committee member. It was a losing strategy--with each concession came further demands. Sensing defeat, Packwood tried something desperate. Over burgers and beer at a Capitol Hill watering hole, the chairman and his top aide Bill Diefenderfer decided to propose what they called the "radical plan": a top rate of only 25 percent, a full 10 points lower than any previous plan. (Like Regan, Packwood enjoys an image of himself as a maverick; his support for radical reform made the senator think of the final shootout in the Sam Peckinpah western "The Wild Bunch.") To compensate for such low rates required not only relentlessly eliminating exemptions but raising corporate taxes. It was Treasury I that made those corporate tax increases possible. "If you're a Republican, there're certain things you can't backtrack on; corporate tax increases was one of them," Diefenderfer told me. "Because of Treasury I, we weren't having to fight constantly for that ground."

Tax reform yin and yang

The lack of public support for the tax reform effort did not reflect a lack of public eagerness for reform but cynicism about the government's ability to achieve it. This created a maddening dilemma for politicians once tax reform became a real issue. They could support reform, a cause for which there was little outcry, and in so doing face the wrath of the special interests, or they could oppose it, and risk being tagged by the press, and perceived by the public, as having sold out to the money men. "It's paranoia on the Hill," complained a lobbyist. "They're scared to appear to be caving in to the special interests."

Behind their fear was the knowledge that enough reporters actually understood the intricacies and significance of what was going on. Too often newsmen are so baffled by the complexities of subjects like tax policy that they are grateful when officials tell them what the issues are. Correspondents like Birnbaum and Murray, who modestly refrain from mentioning themselves or their work in their book, provided some of the debate's most comprehensive, and comprehensible, reporting. The Washington Post, however, not The Wall Street Journal or

The New York Times, is the paper federal officials and politicians and staff members read most regularly. The Post and the hometown press are where they take the measure of how well they are performing. Even more key to tax reform's success, then, was the reporting of the Post's Dale

Russakoff and her partner on the tax reform beat, Anne Swardson. "Dale understood what the fight was all about," Robert McIntyre said recently. "It wasn't about technical gobbledygook, it was about money and politics and society. By just describing things clearly, she kept people from getting confused and kept the politicians from covering up." In the early days of the House markup, when the Ways and Means Committee voted to give additional breaks to the banking industry, the Post ran this headline: "Tax Reformers Turn Recidivist; Bank Lobbyists Won Another Break From Ways and Means." New Republic editor and tax reform champion Michael Kinsley also kept the heat on in his TRB column. Another article in the magazine dubbed the Senate Finance Committee chairman "Senator Hackwood."

Shame and fear, however, were not enough to assure tax reform's passage. Seamier tactics were also employed. Chairmen Packwood and Rostenkowski greased up tax reform with transition rules--special breaks that exempt certain groups, industries, and companies from the first year or two of the new taxes--in order to keep the bills moving. During the final, delicate days of the House markup Rostenkowski openly threatened to withhold transition pork from any member who crossed him. Richard Darman convinced legislators to accept a 5 percent "surcharge" on income between \$ 100,000 and \$ 250,000, thus raising additional revenue while maintaining a lower "official" top rate on income above \$ 250,000. When Treasury discovered a \$ 21 billion shortfall in Packwood's bill that might have lessened its chances of passing the Senate, Darman and Baker muscled the department into keeping the numbers secret; by the time the Joint Tax Committee made the same discovery, tax reform was already in the House-Senate conference.

With all the horsetrading and political gerryrigging, plenty of narrow interests, such as oil and gas producers, succeeded in protecting their breaks. But the narrow interest that came out best in tax reform was not an industry but a class: the rich. As a result of tax reform, the top rate dropped from 50 percent to just 28 percent, and with it, the heart of the principle of progressive taxation.

This was not a concession made in the heat of legislative battle. Trading the rich tax breaks for much lower rates was a well-considered strategy dating back to Bradley, one he and others felt was crucial to achieving the larger goal of tax reform. They were right. Lower tax rates have an obvious and natural appeal to people of almost any political stripe, but especially to Republicans. With the rise of Reagan and Reaganomics, the

appeal of rate-cutting reached a new high. In formulating his Fair Tax, Bradley consciously incorporated that appeal, fusing it with the loophole-closing equity that had long drawn Democrats to tax reform. That was the brilliance of the plan. It gave each side something it wanted and asked each side to yield other things it wanted, the political yin and yang tied to a greater common good.

Yet there are costs to the new low rates few Democrats at the time apparently considered. The rules Bradley set up in Fair Tax, which Treasury and Congress then followed, was that tax reform would affect neither government revenues nor income distribution. This was an implicit call for accepting the low rate the rich, with all their deductions and shelters, actually paid, as the rate they ought to be paying. Tax reform, in a very real sense, conceded that all the lobbyists and tax lawyers and shelter hustlers who have profited from helping the rich outwit the IRS were ultimately in the right. A familiar rationalization for this was that high rates create incentives for the rich to undermine the tax code through lobbyists and accountants--as if, even with the new low rates, the rich wouldn't continue such schemes.

Journalist William Greider pointed out the palpable costs of the top rate reduction. In Rolling Stone last November, Greider showed that the new rate will give a \$ 20 billion tax windfall to 390,000 rich Americans who make more than \$ 200,000 a year but aren't taking advantage of tax shelters. Tax reform also takes about \$ 20 billion from those in the same top income group who are using tax shelters. Taking from the rich to give to the rich.

Writing in The Washington Post in April, Robert Reich articulated a less palpable, but more insidious effect. Reich likened the loss of the principle of progressivity to the informal exemption from military service the rich received with the ending of the draft in 1973. Both, says Reich, amounted to "a renunciation of social aspiration. The retreat signaled an abandonment of an important goal, and with it our sense of mutual responsibility and interdependence." Sadly, the loss of the principle of progressivity represents the opposite of what tax reform, in its noblest light, stands for: the spirit of shared sacrifice for the common good.

Yet without the lower rates, tax reform was doomed--that's the persuasive justification for it. Indeed, the lower the top rate, the more loopholes had to be eliminated to pay for it. Rostenkowski's bill, with high corporate taxes and a top rate 11 points higher than Packwood's, did not seriously crack down on tax shelters; Packwood's bill, with lower but still substantial corporate

taxes, virtually eliminated shelters. Yet the effect of both bills on the amount of taxes the wealthiest group of Americans paid was about the same.

Despite its imperfections, the Tax Reform Act is for the public good. Though the 28 percent top rate is a blow to the principle of progressivity, the new tax code will be more progressive in its effect than the loophole-ridden code it replaces. It takes six million of the working poor off the tax rolls. It eliminates billions of dollars of economically worthless tax shelters. It removes inequities between those who paid their full share of taxes and those who exploited deductions to reduce or eliminate their taxes.

But tax reform's most important victory is in showing that politically irresolvable dilemmas can be overcome by appeals to, and strategies aimed at, the common good. The country now faces another such dilemma: towering deficits side-by-side with the need for immense amounts of additional government spending--for programs such as infrastructure repair, welfare reform, and care for the elderly. The best solution to these problems is to divert tax dollars from where they aren't essential to where they are, and to increase taxes. One becomes gloomy just thinking of the number of special interests arrayed against such a solution.

What makes tax reform an inspiring lesson is that cracking the special interest gridlock doesn't require sweeping Washington clean of self-interest. A few key players in the right places can set things in motion so that even those disposed toward fighting reform see their own interest in backing it. There must be Bill Bradley-types able to fashion radical compromises that work. There must be reporters who understand federal programs well enough to see through press releases and distinguish fat from muscle. There need to be a few administration officials who, like McLure and Pearlman, can persuasively argue the case for ideal solutions. There's an equal need for a few others, like Darman and Baker, who can fashion the Machiavellian tactics to implement them.

Jaded Washington insiders may not believe it, but tax reform has widened the boundaries of the politically possible. It is not outrageous, then, to call for one simple legislative change that will correct the most serious flaw in the Tax Reform Act of 1986, plant a flag for the notion of shared sacrifice and, incidentally, brings us about \$ 20 billion closer to the goal of deficit reduction: raise the top tax rate by, say, 10 percent.

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TEXT:
- early.rtf===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

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\plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf4 In the absence of hard news, commentators focused on the viability of any Israeli-Palestinian agreement that might emerge, noting that its architects are an American president with less than a month left in office, an Israeli prime minister who is tanking in the polls, and a Palestinian leader who is perceived to lack popular support.
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\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Jerusalem Post

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 held (12/28): "By accepting a withdrawal a

lmost to the 1967 lines including dividing Jerusalem and abandoning the Jordan

Valley, the pretense of safeguarding Israel's vital interests has been thrown t

o the winds."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx288

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf4 "Topple Barak!"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600

0 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Nationalist

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Hatzofe

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 asserted (12/28): "Senior U.S. senators and congressional representatives have said that Israel was prepared to make even bigger concessions, but that Clinton told Israeli representatives that the Israeli people would not accept them.... All freedom-lovers must enroll in toppling Barak in the

coming elections."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf4 RUSSIA: "Problem Of Refugees Still Unresolved"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040

40 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Zakhar Gelman wrote from Tel Aviv for reformist

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Vremya MN

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 (12/28): "The problem of refugees is still unresolved and very acute. Not a single Arab country in which they have lived for a long time--some since 1948--grants them full citizenship. For decades they have been crowded in camps and recruited by terrorists. Why does Israel have to receive these people? True, refugees is not an issue that worries some extremist Palestinians

and leaders. A commander of a militant unit claims that 'the original aspiration of the Palestinian people is total destruction of Israel.'"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf4 "Will Clinton Manage To Become Chief Peacemaker?"

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 \par

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720

0 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Yevgeny Umerenkov commented in reformist youth paper

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Komsomolskaya Pravda

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 (12/28): "Arabs and Israelis may spring surprises. Radicals both in Israel and in Palestine oppose the 'Clinton plan'. Everything depends on whether the ailing Arafat and Prime Minister Barak whose powers expire in February manage to restrain their own hard-liners from another provocation which may bury Clinton's

hope to go down in history as the chief peacemaker in the Middle East."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf4 GERMANY: "Under Pressure"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \

tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Wolfgang Guenther

Lerch noted in a front-page editorial in right-of-center

Frankfurter Allgemeine

(12/28): "Clinton has suggested giving the Palestinians more than just the administration of the Muslim shrines on the Temple Mount: political sovereignty over East Jerusalem. In return, Arafat is to make far-reaching concessions on the refugee question. This plan has provoked angry protests from

Jewish extremists, and the word 'treason' is being heard, just as it was before Israeli Prime Minister Rabin's assassination."

Watching From The Sidelines In the Middle East"

Eberhard Wisdorff judged in an editorial in business daily

Handelsblatt

of Duesseldorf (12/28): "The new Middle East peace initiative by outgoing President Clinton, which has a chance of succeeding, highlights once again the marginal role played by the EU in global political matters.

The latest expression of this powerlessness, surfacing at the Nice summit a few weeks ago, was another appeal to the Middle Eastern opponents to renounce violence and implement the obligations agreed to in Sharm el-Sheikh and Gaza. The offer to participate in efforts aimed at the resumption of the peace talks sounded equally helpless.... The EU is clearly lacking a foreign policy profile. The appointment of the new EU representative for foreign and security policy, Javier Solana, and participation in the official commission investigating sources of violence in the Middle East represent only minor gains in European influence."

FRANCE: "An Opportunity"

Gerard D

Liberation

(12/28): "Can all the hate we witnessed these past months in the Palestinian population disappear with the half-measures of Clinton's proposals? Can Barak and his party accept the territorial concessions involved and still remain in power? The impasse that has prevailed until now, 'an impossible war, an improbable peace,' cannot last forever. Even if, as far as we know, Clinton's proposals are not that different from what was discussed at Camp David. Will Arafat and his friends take advantage of this opportunity, before the new American administration defines its Middle East policy? Clinton's goodwill is a known fact, while his successors are shaped after the Pentagon model. This does not mean they favor war, but rather that they entertain a certain political indifference mixed in with much confidence in military superiority."

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\tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx14
40 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf4 "Clinton An
d History"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx288
0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx
720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Jean
Daniel in left-of-center w

EEKLY

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Le Nouvel Observateur

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 (12/28): "I have certain information on Bill Clinton and
his passion for the Middle East that Madeleine Albright gave me during my last
visit to the U.S. in November. She admitted she knew of no other politician or
U.S. president who had invested so much of himself in this double mission: rea
ching an agreement between Israel and the Palestinians and balancing America's
policy toward the Arabs.... According to her, no one else
has been able to win such confidence from Arab nations, without losing any of I
srael's trust... In this matter, Bush still has much to learn."

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0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx
720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf4 IT
ALY: "Half Of Israelis Oppose Clinton's Proposals"

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880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx
720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Pro
vocative, classical liberal daily

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Il Foglio

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 noted (12/28) on its front page: "According to some

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Jerusalem Post

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 public opinion polls, 52 percent of Israelis oppose Clin
ton's proposals, while 51 percent of them are convinced that the Palestinians w
ould

reject the U.S. president's proposals."

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf4 "C
linton Waiting For Answers (To His Peace Plan)"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx288
0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx
720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Under the subhead, "Bush Is Al
so Worried," an article in Rome, center-right daily

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf4 Il Tempo

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf4 said (12/28), "The 'day of truth' with regard to the pea
ce in the Middle East might be postponed until tomorrow.... While consultation
s continue at a restless pace, Clinton's assistants are keeping George Bush's f
oreign policy slate abreast on the slightest developments. According to some s
ources, Bush wouldn't be di

sappointed by a peace agreement reached by Clinton at the end of his mandate at
the White House. However, according to other reliable sources, (Bush) require
s that a possible agreement 'be supported' also on the battlefield, and not onl
y by an agreement between the two leaders (Barak and Arafat), who might not enj
oy the support of their respective populations. The next (U.S.) administration

would particularly worry about sending to the Jordan Valley an international contingent, which...would also include American soldiers."

DE
NMARK: "Clinton's Ambitious And Courageous Plan"

Center-right

Berlingske Tidende

editorialized (12/28): "President Clinton's [peace] plan is both an ambitious and a courageous one. It deserves to be considered very seriously by both parties, even though it seems unlikely that its contents could form the basis of a peace agreement before Clinton leaves office.... Arafat will find it difficult to sell the plan to the Palestinians because he has failed to prepare them for the fact that their demand that Palestinian refugees be allowed

to return to the land of their forefathers is completely unrealistic. Nonetheless, there is a good chance that Clinton's plan will succeed [to some degree], even if it only paves the way for the continuation of the peace process."

HUNGARY: "In The Shadow Of Peace"

Washington correspondent Gabor Miklos editorialized (12/28) in leading daily

Nepszabadsag

, "The mediator is a 'lame-duck' president, who ought not to undertake tasks that only his successor can perform, not him. But peace, although the signs are different, has a chance. The proposal package that U.S. President Bill Clinton has put forward...does not mean peace. The co-existence of the two communities (the Jews and the Arabs) could be settled, but their future is not decided. In this case the crisis is more about civilization than about leadership or territory. The main question is what kind of 'forces' prevail? Democratic values and institutions or national or religious fundamentalism? And the West does not have any other alternative but to 'finance the situation'."

SPAIN: "Umpteenth Peace Effort"

Conse

ABC

remarked (12/28):

"Under the current circumstances, (the Palestinians) will not accept the offer presented, however they have not closed the door to an agreement. Everything remains suspended.... Clinton would like to walk out of the grand doors of th

e White House with the Nobel Peace prize in his pocket.... A failed summit is not a disaster, only one more setback."

PHILIPPINES: "Clinton's Peace Dream"

Columbianist Hernando Zenasna wrote in the largest circulation

Manila Bulletin

(12/28): "Efforts to forge his

toric peace agreement between the Israelis and the Palestinians may yet come to fruition before the year ends but a lot more needs to be done fast to make that event possible. President Bill Clinton who is leaving office on January 20 is earnestly pushing for the peace deal to enhance the achievements of his presidency. It's a dream and it may yet see its day."

BRAZIL: "Form And Content"

Rio's independent daily

Jornal do Brasil

(12/28) commented, "No U.S. president in this last half century has been so interested in peace in the Middle East as [Clinton]

. Diplomatically, it would be an injustice were he to end his term without at least a response from the Palestinians and the Israelis. And all indications are that the next Republican government will try to reapproach the Arab countries of the region, principally with those producers of petroleum products, which without a doubt will change the balance. Under this aspect, the only opportunity for peace, for the time being, is to accept, in whole or in part, Clinton's plan. This plan calls for painful concessions from both sides.... Shimon Peres, the architect of the Oslo Accords, never stops repeating: 'The solution is there, in front of us.' Will another 50 years pass before someone harvests the ripe fruit?"

SEBIA: 'A NEW OPENING,' BUT QUESTIONS ABOUT MILOSEVIC'S FATE

BRITAIN: "Milosevic On The Ropes"

SERBIA: 'A NEW OPENING,' BUT QUESTIONS ABOUT MILOSEVIC'S FATE

BRITAIN: "Milosevic On The Ropes"

The liberal

Guardian

editorialized (12/28): "The Milosevic era is truly over and in the next few months Serbia's evil genius may well be put on trial in his own country. He lost the presidency and now in the latest democratic exercise he has lost control of the Serbian parliament. The reformist forces have sw

apt the board, taking more than two thirds of the seats and leaving them with the chance of amending the flawed Milosevic constitution if necessary. Zoran Djindjic, the experienced leader of Democratic Party who is to be Serbia's prime minister, has a formidable task. He must hold his coalition of 18 parties together. The economy needs reforming. The old regime's cronies must be removed. A sound legal climate has to be created for foreign investment. Negotiations with independence-minded Montenegro loom. Milosevic's future, in limbo since last autumn, must be clarified. Mr. Djindjic has indicated that he wants to move fast to see if Milosevic tried for corruption, vote-rigging and embezzlement. Provided the trial is fair and speedy and the former strongman is soon evicted from the state villas he still enjoys, this might prove better than any early transfer to the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. Milosevic ran a killing machine in which thousands of Serbs took part, and at some stage the authorities must take steps to organize trials of a range of military and paramilitary commanders or send them to The Hague. Other

wise, the nationalist page will not be fully turned."

GERMANY: "Stopping At The Hague"

Right-of-center

Frankfurter Allgemeine

pointed out in an editorial (12/28): "After the election victory of the Democratic Opposition, the era of Milosevic appears to have ended in Serbia. But what about addressing Milosevic's legacy via legal means? Yugoslav President Kostunica evaded that question in an interview with the French daily

Le Monde

. Instead, he repeated several times that Serbia was in need of a period of 'calm, stability, and reconciliation.' His suggestion to set up a 'commission for truth and reconciliation' instead of throwing up new barriers among Serbs fits with that goal. Kostunica appears to see such a commission primarily as a tool for collective therapy. But in South Africa such a commission did not replace taking legal action. Kostunica blames all sides equally for the Yugoslav wars of succession--Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Kosovars. But this is an oversimplification. For Croats, the International Court of Justice in The Hague was a necessary stop on the road to Europe. The new government in Belgrade will not arrive in Europe unless it accepts this condition."

"After The Change In Belgrade"

Rolf Paasch maintained in

Frankfurter Rundschau

(12/28): "Serbia will be able to resolve its conflicts

and shed the Milosevic legacy only if the international community of states reacts to the new challenges of peace with greater flexibility. Kosovo will require a strong Western military presence for years, but these (EU) troops will have to adjust more quickly to changing situations like the one in South Serbia than KFOR managed to do in the safety zone. And the promise of billions in aid for the economic restructuring Serbia is...too limited, and it cannot be made at the expense of other Balkan countries if the Stability Pact and the vision of an economic union in the Balkans is meant in earnest."

ITALY: "Djukanovic's Challenge To Serbia"

Elena Ragusin filed from Belgrade in leading, business

Il Sole-24 Ore

plai
n (12/28): "President Milo Djukanovic announced yesterday...that his objective included a popular vote concerning the dismantling of what is left of the Yugoslav Federation by mid-2001. 'My goal is to make Montenegro an independent state, internationally recognized, and then, maybe, it could agree to seal 'a free union' with Serbia,' he said. This came as a cold shower for the new (Serbian)

leadership.... The secessionist plan of the government of Montenegro had been justified by the necessity of ending all relations with Milosevic's Serbia--a position that was supported by the international community, especially by the U.S. Department of State. Following the victory of the Democratic front in Serbia, most Western governments started being cautious with regard to a possible redefinition of the borders of former Yugoslavia. A conclusive breakdown between Podgorica and Belgrade could provoke instability in the region."

BULGARIA: "The Serbian Elections' Predictable Results"

Socialist Opposition Party

Duma

commented (12/27): "Milosevic's nationalism shrunk Serbia's territory to its Ottoman Empire province size.... Socialism in Serbia could have survived, like it did in China and Cuba, if it hadn't succumbed to nationalistic chauvinism, launching various absurd military adventures. It could have survived if it wasn't subjected to NATO's monstrous aggression, too. We hope that the considerable Social-Democratic presence in the Serbian Democratic Opposition will prevent democra-

y from becoming another name for theft, corruption and misery for the majority of people in Serbia."

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\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf10 Vesna Fabris Perunicic wrote in Zagreb-based \plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf10 Vjesnik \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf10 (12/27): "One certainly must welcome the results of the recent Serbian election

s, but they're nothing but the first step in redressing the deep political and material crisis, inherited from the decade-long leadership of Slobodan Milosevic. For a change of regime, much more is needed than a radical step forward from the existing negativist psychological state of the nation. With the international community's support, a lot of wisdom and money is needed--neither of which can be gained overnight."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf10 HUNGARY: \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf10

\plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf10 "The Day After" \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf10 Foreign affairs writer Miklos Ujvari declared in influential, liberal-leaning \plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf10 Magyar Hirlap

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf10 (12/28): "Milosevic's place is before the International Tribunal in The Hague. The UN can be the only forum to judge his crimes. A trial in Belgrade would be partial and subjective. This is one of the greatest responsibilities of the new Belgrade leaders: They must be working to prove their country's respectability and democratic commitment by extraditing Milosevic. And back home...they will have to go through the cleansing process during which each Serb faces his/her own personal responsibility for the ten years of Milosevic's running amok."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf10 POLAND: "A New Opening"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf10 Zygmunt Slomkowski opined in leftist

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf10 Trybuna \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf10 (12/27): "The electoral success of the opponents of Slobodan Milosevic's team...opens a new chapter in Serbia's history. It is not a simple change of political guard. The takeover of power by the DOS Party...sets conditions for the removal of obstacles in promoting and strengthening dem

ocracy, reforming and modernizing economy, and normalizing relations with neighbors.... Much depends on whether the winning coalition, which was until now united basically by a wish to overthrow the Milosevic team, will remain united in matters connected to running the state. If the DOS is consistent in fulfilling its electoral promises, they can count on international solidarity and assistance. All Europe is vitally interested in the stabilization of the Balkans, and Serbia is of key importance in this process."

APAN: "Don't Miss Out on Chance to Promote Balkan Stability"

observed (12/27): "The political situation in the Balkans--particularly internal politics in Yugoslavia--remains a difficult issue for this reformist government.... It is imperative that the Kostunica government wipe out the underground economy and corruption, which have grown under Milosevic's controlled economy. The new

leadership must rebuild Yugoslavia's national system of finance.. .. The Kostunica government will also have to deal with Montenegro and Kosovo issues. Its failure to settle these issues may rekindle unrest which could develop into a new conflict."

CANADA: "Send Him To The Hague"

Quebec's conservative, English-language

Gazette

editorialized (12/27): "If Slobodan Milosevic were sent to The Hague to face war-crimes charges over Kosovo, it would mark a decisive step toward establishing a permanent and effective system of international justice for war crimes and crimes against humanity.... War crimes, on the other hand, should be answerable to the world at large, not just to the nation whose citizens committed them."

"A Boost For Yugoslavia's Fragile Democracy"

720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf10 The conservative

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf10 National Post

\plain \f6 \fs22

\cf10 opined (12/27): "Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica and the reformist Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) coalition that he heads are to be congratulated.... In his victory speech, Mr. Djindjic promised not only to reform the economy, but also to prosecute Mr. Milosevic for war crimes.... Bringing Mr. Milosevic to justice is indeed important, but it is not the first priority. What Yugoslavia needs is internal stability. Mr. Djindjic must make good on his promise to fix the economy--in particular, by chopping the corrupt links that bind the government with leading businessmen. He should also focus on reforming the 85,000-member Serbian police force.... Moreover, Mr. Djindjic and Mr. Kostunica, whose bitter political rivalry is threatening the breakup of the DOS coalition, must put their differences aside and work together toward the democratic reconstruction of the country."

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\sb0 \sa0 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf9 BRIEF

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\par \pard \qc \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \qc \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf9 NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION TO MEET U.S.

.-CHINA RELATIONS 'AT A CROSSROADS' \par

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf9 CHINA: "A Seminar Of Clear-Cut Repudiation Of Falun Gong"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160

\tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf9 Shi Guan wrote in the intellectually oriented

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf9 Guangming Daily

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf9 (

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf9 Guangming Ribao

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf9 , 12/28): "By misleading the American public, the cult of Falun Gong has been trying to drive a wedge between China and the United States and to create obstacles to the bilateral relationship. Li Zhaoxing, Chinese Ambassador to the U.S., voiced his hope that people could work together to protect the hard-won improvement of the Sino-U.S. relationship."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240

\sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf9 HONG KONG: "Bush's Island Dilemma"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf9 Cary

Huang and Fong Tak-ho wrote in the independent

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf9 iMail

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf9 (12/28): "The new U.S. administration will face its toughest choice on China policy in decades: whether to engage the rising communist giant or contain it to prevent what Henry Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has warned could be the 21st-century rebirth of the Soviet Bear. At issue is whether the United States is able to seek a Korean-style detente between the longtime rivals across Taiwan Strait or whether Washington is prepared to protect Taiwan, risking provoking the world's third-most-powerful military armed with a nuclear arsenal.... Mr. Qian of Xinhua Center cited such explos

ive issues as U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, TMD, and the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act as potentially the most costly to Sino-U.S. relations. As the dust of the U.S. election has settled, Beijing appears to be more willing to put a positive face on Mr. Bush's victory.... However, it will take time for both sides to narrow their differences even though

Mr. Bush's tougher line might be just election-campaign rhetoric."

JAPAN: "U.S.-China Times At The Crossroads"

Nihon Keizai

's senior writer Isao Yamamoto opined (12/28): "U.S.-China relations stand at the crossroads. Both countries are shifting from the strategic partnership, proposed in the fall of 1997, to a new, competitive relationship in diplomatic and military fields in Asia. Such rivalry is expected to emerge

following the inauguration of the Bush administration

hile achieving a 7 percent economic growth and building up its military. To do

so, the Chinese will launch 'smile diplomacy' toward the United States for the time being. The Chinese are well aware that they have successfully 'soothed' the hard stance of the Clinton administration...by opening its markets to American goods and services. The undercurrent of U.S.-China relations has changed greatly during the past several years. U.S. officials believe that China's shifting to a market economy and its high economic growth have accelerated its military buildup but not democratization. If this trend continues, the United States is concerned that it will not only become difficult to deter China's attempt to use massive military force to reunify Taiwan but also allow China to hold sway over Asia."

RUSSIA: "Republicans Adherence To NMD And TMD Add Fuel To Fire"

Kommersant-Daily

(12/28): "The Chinese authorities keep repeating that they reserve the right to use military force

, including nuclear weapons, if Taiwan declares independence, is occupied or continues to refuse to negotiate peaceful reunification with the PRC on Beijing's terms. The U.S. Republican administration added fuel to the fire confirming it

s adherence to the plans of Democrats to deploy a national missile defense and theater ABM that would cover Taiwan. Beijing is fiercely opposed to both systems which makes a conflict in the Taiwan strait more probable."

U.S.-UN DUES DEAL: 'UNFAIR' AND 'A BAD DEAL,' BUT 'BETTER THAN NO DEAL'

CHINA: "An Unfair Deal On The World Body"

Feng Qihua commented in the official English-language China Daily , (12/28): "Under a new UN deal, Washington's share of the world body's membership fees will be significantly slashed. By making the world body yield to its domestic law, the United States has once again shown its might and become the biggest beneficiary of the UN's first major financial reform since 1973. The United States has successfully shifted its economic obligation

s to developing countries and has turned the issue of its debt into a political tool to promote its own interests. One wonders whether the new administration will place further conditions on U.S. payments, push for more cuts or exert more political influence on the world organization."

THAILAND: "Decision On U.S. Sets A Bad Precedent"

The lead editorial of the independent, English language

Nation held (12/28): "After a year-long battle, the UN General Assembly on Saturday adopted the first major overhaul of its financing in more than two decades, cutting U.S. payments and shifting most of the shortfall to developing countries with improving economies. In many ways, the deal is a step in the right direction.... The deal, however, sets a precedent for financial mayhem in the future. If the world's richest country can simply refuse to cough up its share--which it was bound by a treaty obligation to pay--why should other disgruntled members pay their dues? It should also not be forgotten that the UN is a multilateral agency --meaning that it must move by negotiation and majority rule. The UN will never achieve its founding dream of enhancing international cooperation to solve security and social problems if it allows one member to dictate the procedures and rules by

which it operates. Now that it has got its way in the UN again, Congress should quickly endorse the deal, and the United States should promptly cough up its full arrears, without delay and without any more conditions."

SINGAPORE: "Shame on Uncle S

am"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf9 The pro-government

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf9 Straits Times

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf9 editorial stated (12/28): "After months of intense, sometimes bitter, negotiations, the UN has finally settled upon a new payment scale for its member countries.... As much as this newspaper finds the entire exercise distasteful, we accept, grudgingly, that a bad deal is, at this stage, better than no deal. The UN's operations, including its efforts on behalf of the world's many poor and oppressed, have been held up long enough by the antics of a superpower crybaby. If a reduction of a few million dollars will serve to pacify that baby, so be it. But the international community should be clear-eyed about what has transpired: The United States issued an ultimatum, and the UN folded.... For better or worse, the United States will remain a superpower for decades to come; for better or worse, it will be tempted to use its power to ride roughshod over others. Having bent over backwards once, the UN should try not to make a habit of it. To begin with, it should send a clear signal to the US Congress, as well as the new Bush administration, that they cannot expect more cuts. Congress may well balk at the deal, for it passed a law in 1995 saying the United States should not pay more than 25 percent for peacekeeping, while the deal specifies a 27 percent rate. If Washington now makes a fuss over 2 percent, it should be booted out of the General Assembly--a hundred percent."

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

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: The New York Times Direct (The New York Times Direct [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:30-DEC-2000 11:29:08.00

SUBJECT: Opinion Headlines from NYTimes.com

TO: Mark R. Schlakman (CN=Mark R. Schlakman/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

OPINION HEADLINES

The New York Times on the Web

Saturday, December 30, 2000

For news updated throughout the day, visit www.nytimes.com

EDITORIALS

=====

Uneven Choices for the Cabinet

President-elect George W. Bush continued to build his cabinet team Friday, mixing interesting choices for the departments of Education and Health and Human Services with an unsettling pick for the Interior Department.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2000/12/30/opinion/30SAT1.html>

Stifling Dissent in Tunisia

Tunisia has long been one of the most modern societies in the Arab world, with a successful economy. But it has never had an equally modern government.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2000/12/30/opinion/30SAT2.html>

Socialism Triumphs on the Gridiron

The National Football League is a socialist society that incessantly strives for parity according to the tenets espoused by the league's departed visionary, Pete Rozelle.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2000/12/30/opinion/30SAT3.html>

/----- ADVERTISEMENT -----\

What's ahead for business in 2001?

Get the Times's perspective on business and the economy in 2001, both foreign and domestic. Explore our Web exclusive interactive timeline of business in 2000 that ranges from the AOL Time Warner merger to the plunging Nasdaq with an essay by Floyd Norris, the Times's senior financial correspondent.

<http://www.nytimes.com/library/financial/2001outlook1-index.html?ibd>
\-----/

OP-ED CONTRIBUTORS

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Count on Rumsfeld, Not the Missile Shield
By RICHARD L. GARWIN

Donald H. Rumsfeld as defense secretary (again) could be good news for the nation as well as for the armed forces. Mr. Rumsfeld's years of experience in government and industry will serve him well.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2000/12/30/opinion/30GARW.html>

Another Prohibition, Another Failure
By GARY E. JOHNSON

As governor of New Mexico, I'm neither soft on crime nor pro-drugs in any sense. Yet when I ask whether our costly, protracted war on drugs has made the world safer for our children, I must answer no.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2000/12/30/opinion/30JOHN.html>

Working With the Neighbors
By JUDITH RODIN

For a university, being surrounded by urban blight is not just inconvenient ? with students, faculty and staff commuting long distances to find housing, restaurants and stores ? it is also a competitive disadvantage.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2000/12/30/opinion/30RODI.html>

OP-ED COLUMNIST

An Unfit Nominee

By ANTHONY LEWIS

Senator John Ashcroft of Missouri is on the extreme right of American politics. His rigid ideology makes him a strange choice to be attorney general of the United States.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2000/12/30/opinion/30LEWI.html>

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CREATION DATE/TIME: 1-JAN-2001 15:55:54.00

SUBJECT: Upsidedown US flag at the Rose Parade.

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TEXT:
Upsidedown US flag at the Rose Parade.

We saw on HGTV 1-1-01 11:08 AM EST at the Rose Parade the "Golden Knights" US Army Parachute Team had the American flag flying upsidedown in the disstress position !

We Must Resist the Global Gov. Take over.

Warning Danger !!!

http://community-1.webtv.net/We_The_People_/WarningDanger/

Analysis of the Gulf War Syndrome :

Historical analysis of the present GWS situation points to evidence that it is a calculated effort by the New World Order globalist factions that have infiltrated the United States Government over the last 30 years to: Destroy the United States military forces in order to destroy national sovereignty of the United States.

Implement mass population destruction mandates in order to decrease population to controllable levels.

Now, if you study all the evidence, including all the reports available on the WWW, you will see that the main people in at least the last three presidential and military administrations are guilty of crimes against humanity and genocide against the human race. It has been documented that both the Bush and Clinton administration are involved with this process. Examine the historically documented facts below, then add them up at the end.

Factions in the United States supplied all the biological, chemical and conventional weapons to Iraq to be used against our own troops. Weapons were provided by U.S. companies. President Bush, James Baker and others in the administration had stock in those companies. Now this deadly communicable syndrome has been deliberately given to 1 million military members, who will spread it to the general population. Now the Secretary of the DoD William S. Cohen wants to inject all the troops in the Military ! You know something is not right here ! The British government is getting worried, because the syndrome is spreading like wildfire amongst British troops, their families and relatives.

Prescott Bush, George Bushes father, was involved in the financial dealings that financially supported Nazi Germany through Schroeder Bank in Germany at the start of the regime. The Rockefellers and Standard Oil were also heavily involved, and subsequently took over the U.S. medical system, which profits by treating disease intentionally given to the population. Other nations follow suit. This is all historically documented. Factions in the United States, who created Nazi Germany, imported thousands of Nazi scientists back into the United States during a 30 year period after WWII under Operation Paperclip and Project 63. These scientists were involved with high technology, biological experiments on concentration camp victims, chemical behavior control experiments using fluoride compounds in prisoner water supplies (I.G. Farben), social control methodology and more. Subsequently, the CIA, the military and other agencies began programs of biological, chemical, pharmaceutical and electromagnetic manipulation in the United States and Canada to do covertly what had been done overtly during the war. Factions in the United States shipped tons of fluoride to the Soviet Union for use in prisoner water supplies in the 1940's and 1950's. In 1990, the World Health Organization (WHO) mandated worldwide

fluoridation of water supplies by the year 2000.

The rise of Nazi Germany, an extreme form of National Socialism, and the rise of Communism, an extreme form of international socialism, were both supported and financed from the United States, and the international Banksters in order to pave the way for installation of Global socialism, the kinder, gentler, New World Order.

Senator Howard Ambruster in 1947 wrote a book entitled "Treason's Peace" in which he documented through personal contact with certain factions over 30 years, how the U.S. Congress sold the U.S. out to I.G. Farben before World War II. Farben dominated control of all essential industries in the U.S, preventing adequate and timely challenge by the U.S. Military to the German threat.

President Reagan visited the SS cemetery during his presidency. Evidence suggests that the United States supplied weapons to North Vietnam during the Vietnam war to use against our own troops.

President Bush brought former KGB member Gorbachev to the United States to live at the Presidio, at taxpayer expense, to plan U.S. military base closures.

What is wrong with this picture?

President Clinton who, it is documented, hated the United States and its military when he was younger, spent a lot of time in the Soviet Union. Both the U.S. and Iraq signed conventions never to use biological and chemical warfare, yet both have violated the convention. The United States signed the International Genocide Treaty only under the proviso that no nation could sit in judgement of the United States. The FDA in 1990 authorized the United States Department of Defense unrestricted authorization to conduct biological experiments, using experimental and untested vaccines, on U.S. military members, after being pressured by the DoD, who said they were going to do it anyway.

Do ya get it, yet? Do you see how things are adding up? Yet ... there is so much morein the world of the 4th Reich. Never Again? It never stoppedthe same people are in control doing the same things...the paradigm has not changed....only some of the faces.

We_Must_Resist.

Sons of Liberty Militia

; ; ; Tim Stine

312 S. Wyomissing Ave.

; ; Shillington, Pa. 19607

U.N. Occupied U.S.A.

1-610-775-0497

We_The_People_@webtv.net

What is a Militia ? Defenders of Liberty & Freedom, and the Constitutional Republic. Against Tyrants ! Foreign and Domestic ! Resist the United Nations New World Order Global Government, and it's Global Socialism, actually a Evil Oligarchy of the Superrich. We must Declare our Independence from the U.N. New World Order ! Or forever lose our freedom.

We_Must_Resist_For_God_And_Country.

The_American_Revolution_Continues !!!

http://community.webtv.net/We_The_People_/SonsofLibertyMilitia

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: STATE_Media_Reaction@10.32.82.254 (STATE_Media_Reaction@10.32.82.254 [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 3-JAN-2001 11:56:19.00

SUBJECT: Issue Focus : SERBIAN ELECTIONS

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(Embedded image moved to file: pic23122.pcx) Kathleen J. Brahney,
Branch
Chief Media Reaction, (202) 619-6511 Ann Pincus, Director Archived at:
www.usinfo.state.gov/products/medreac.htm

Wednesday, January 3, 2001

SERBIAN ELECTIONS: WHAT LIES AHEAD AFTER 'BIGGEST CHANGE SINCE WWII'?

The Democratic Opposition of Serbia's (DOS) convincing defeat of Slobodan Milosevic's SPS party in the December 23 parliamentary elections was hailed by observers in Europe, Asia, Latin America and Canada as evidence that Yugoslavia was bidding goodbye to a legacy of communism and opening a new "democracy chapter." While optimistically concluding that the "Milosevic era is truly over," nearly all observers were quick to outline the "formidable tasks" facing Yugoslav President Kostunica and future Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic. Of paramount importance, several editorial writers judged, is that the new leadership bring former President Slobodan Milosevic to justice. Commentary highlights follow:

MAJOR SHIFT: Opinionmakers asserted that the reformist coalition's big victory in parliament--winning 65 percent of the vote--dealt a telling blow to Slobodan Milosevic's strong hold on political power, coming only months after he lost the presidency in a popular uprising in October. Analysts were optimistic that the trend toward democracy begun in the fall would continue. Belgrade's

official

Politika, for example, looked eagerly toward the future, observing that

"the

victory of DOS represents a major shift from the previous regime and

promises a

legal state, stability, respect for human rights and ties with the rest of

the

world--ties which we have been deprived of in this last decade."

CHALLENGES: Hopes for a democratic future aside, commentators went on to

enumerate the many pressures--both from within and outside the

FRY--currently

facing the new government in Belgrade. They noted that the international

community and the "critically-minded part of the intelligentsia" in Serbia

are,

in the words of Moscow's centrist Trud, demanding "an immediate and severe

punishment for the Milosevic regime." A number of observers contended

that if

Mr. Kostunica does not turn Mr. Milosevic over to The Hague war crimes

tribunal,

then "the nationalist page [in Serbia] will not be fully turned." Others

pointed out that the Yugoslav president must still address the complex

geopolitical problems of Kosovo and Montenegro, where separatist sentiments

continue to threaten the survival of the Yugoslav federation.

Editorialists

also described the equally daunting problems on the Serbian home front,

warning

that Mr. Kostunica must find a way to stop the "ubiquitous corruption" in

his

nation and address the "bitter political rivalry" that threatens to

breakup up

the DOS coalition.

WEST'S ROLE: Several columnists focused on the role of the West. They

held

that the great powers have the "duty to stand by this fragile democracy as

much

as possible." Analysts urged the international community not to flag in

its

aid and assistance to the Balkans, concluding that "it is now time for

reconstruction." A few worried about the Bush camp's pre-election

statements

regarding the possible withdrawal of U.S. troops from the region. A

Mexican

paper held that the new U.S. leadership will have to decide whether it

wants to

"abandon Yugoslavia to its own fate, or...help [it] to consolidate the

difficult

transition to democracy and stability."

EDITOR: Diana McCaffrey and Katherine Starr

EDITOR'S NOTE: This survey is based on 36 reports from 19 countries

December

24-January 3. Editorial excerpts are grouped by region; editorials from

each

country are listed from the most recent date.

EUROPE

YUGOSLAVIA: "Serbia For Democratic Opposition"

Official Politika filed this report (12/24), qualifying the election results as "the biggest change in the system of Serbia since World War II.... The political leadership has been formed for the first time in a democratic way, by the will of the people. The victory of the DOS represents a major shift from the previous regime and promises a legal state, stability, respect for human rights and ties with the rest of the world--ties which we have been deprived of in this last decade. If there are no more surprises, the citizens of Serbia will, by these elections, have transferred themselves into a new age."

BRITAIN: "Milosevic On The Ropes"

The liberal Guardian editorialized (12/28): "The Milosevic era is truly over and in the next few months Serbia's evil genius may well be put on trial in his own country. He lost the presidency and now in the latest democratic exercise he has lost control of the Serbian parliament. The reformist forces have swept the board, taking more than two thirds of the seats and leaving them with the chance of amending the flawed Milosevic constitution if necessary. Zoran Djindjic, the experienced leader of Democratic Party who is to be Serbia's prime minister, has a formidable task. He must hold his coalition of 18 parties together. The economy needs reforming. The old regime's cronies must be removed. A sound legal climate has to be created for foreign investment. Negotiations with independence-minded Montenegro loom. Milosevic's future, in limbo since last autumn, must be clarified. Mr. Djindjic has indicated that he wants to move fast to see Milosevic tried for corruption, vote-rigging and embezzlement. Provided the trial is fair and speedy and the former strongman is soon evicted from the state villas he still enjoys, this might prove better than any early transfer to the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague. Milosevic ran a killing machine in which thousands of Serbs took part, and at some stage the authorities must take steps to organize trials of a range of military and paramilitary commanders or send them to The Hague. Otherwise, the nationalist page will not be fully turned."

FRANCE: "Serbia Opens The Democracy Chapter"

Left-of-center Liberation observed (12/26): "The new government will have to be capable of firmness, not only to take to court the former regime's criminals but also to stop a ubiquitous corruption.... Westerners, especially the European Union, have the duty to stand by this fragile democracy as much as possible.... It is now time for reconstruction."

GERMANY: "Stopping At The Hague"

Right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine pointed out in an editorial (12/28): "After the election victory of the Democratic Opposition, the era of Milosevic appears to have ended in Serbia. But what about addressing Milosevic's legacy via legal means? Yugoslav President Kostunica evaded that question in an interview with the French daily Le Monde. Instead, he repeated several times that Serbia was in need of a period of 'calm, stability, and reconciliation.' His suggestion to set up a 'commission for truth and reconciliation' instead of throwing up new barriers among Serbs fits with that goal. Kostunica appears to see such a commission primarily as a tool for collective therapy. But in South Africa such a commission did not take the place of legal action. Kostunica blames all sides equally for the Yugoslav wars of succession--Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Kosovars. But this is an oversimplification. For Croats, the International Court of Justice in The Hague was a necessary stop on the road to Europe. The new government in Belgrade will not arrive in Europe unless it accepts this condition."

"After The Change In Belgrade"

Rolf Paasch maintained in left-of-center Frankfurter Rundschau (12/28): "Serbia will be able to resolve its conflicts and shed the Milosevic legacy only if the international community of states reacts to the new challenges of peace with greater flexibility. Kosovo will require a strong Western military presence for years, but these (EU) troops will have to adjust more quickly to changing situations like the one in South Serbia than KFOR managed to do in the safety zone. And the promise of billions in aid for the economic restructuring

Serbia
is...too limited, and it cannot be made at the expense of other Balkan
countries
if the Stability Pact and the vision of an economic union in the Balkans is
meant in earnest."

"Serbia's Road To Europe"

Matthias Rueb noted in a front-page editorial in right-of-center
Frankfurter
Allgemeine (12/27): "By holding early parliamentary elections, Serbia has
completed the change of system--from dictatorship to democracy.... A
relapse
into a dictatorship such as the one that existed under Milosevic seems
impossible. That, of course, does not mean that a late-Communist,
centrally
planned economy has already been transformed into a democratic market
economy.
On the contrary, Serbia is only starting this process. And it is
difficult to
predict how long it will take, when it will succeed, and what setbacks the
country will suffer on this difficult path.... And the West? Yes, it is
true
that without a democratic and prosperous Serbia there can be neither peace
nor
stability in the Balkans. So it is in the West's deepest security
interests to
support Serbia as much as it can.... But it is also true that the Balkans
can
only be pacified if those peoples who suffered so much from Serbia's
policy of
aggression during Milosevic's rule do not feel that they have been
forgotten by
the West yet again. If Europe and the United States were unwilling to take
early military action to protect Croats, Muslim Bosnians, and Albanians
from the
genocidal policies of Milosevic, they should not now turn away from the
people
who were the victims to devote themselves entirely to the people who were
the
aggressors."

ITALY: "Djukanovic's Challenge To Serbia"

Elena Ragusin filed from Belgrade in leading, business Il Sole-24 Ore
(12/28):
"President Milo Djukanovic announced yesterday...that his objective
included a
popular vote concerning the dismantling of what is left of the Yugoslav
Federation by mid-2001. 'My goal is to make Montenegro an independent
state,
internationally recognized, and then, maybe, it could agree to seal 'a free
union' with Serbia,' he said. This came as a cold shower for the new
(Serbian)

leadership.... The secessionist plan of the government of Montenegro had been justified by the necessity of ending all relations with Milosevic's Serbia--a position that was supported by the international community, especially by the U.S. Department of State. Following the victory of the Democratic front in Serbia, most Western governments started being cautious with regard to a possible redefinition of the borders of former Yugoslavia. A conclusive breakdown between Podgorica and Belgrade could provoke instability in the region."

"Dealing With Their Own Problems"

According to an analysis by Alberto Negri in leading business-oriented Il Sole-24 Ore (12/27): "Two consecutive elections and a new leader seem to have restored to Europe a recovered and democratic Serbia: But is it really so? Serbia is now beginning to deal with his recent history. And this day of reckoning will naturally have immediate, perhaps unpredictable, political repercussions. Now that the ranks of Milosevic's supporters have become very thin, the future Prime Minister, Zoran Djindjic, has said that he is in favor of putting Milosevic on trial, in Serbia and not in the Hague for the time being.

But the list of clarifications is long.... Restoring the rule of law in Belgrade is as indispensable as rescuing it from economic disaster. Serbia would not have collapsed completely had it not been, for years, the game preserve of a large and aggressive gang of opportunists and criminals.... In this phase of transition, 'recovered' Serbia must find the answers for the moral and legal responsibilities of the crimes carried out over the last ten years. It is not in the interests of a majority of the Serbs and of the West to assign these responsibilities to oblivion, unless we want another historical misunderstanding in the Balkans."

"Djindjic...Putting Fight Against Corruption And Organized Crime At Top Of His Agenda"

Massimo Nava filed from Belgrade in centrist, top-circulation Corriere della Sera (12/24): "The unquestionable success scored by the Democrats, however, does not mean that the road has suddenly become all downhill for Kostunica. The man who has put an end to thirteen years of regime rule and tragedies...must deal with the serious problems of the country and the internal divisions within

his coalition. The prime minister apparent, Zoran Djindjic, promises 'a government of honest and capable people,' putting the fight against corruption and organized crime at the top of his agenda."

RUSSIA: "Belgrade's 'Island Of Crimea'"

Alexander Ivanitsky commented in reformist Novye Izvestia (12/30): "As soon as their victory in the parliamentary elections on December 23 was announced, the Serbian democrats declared they would initiate prosecution and bring to court the defeated rival from the Socialist Party of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic. The Socialists who have won seats in the new parliament too are not immune from being jailed. The first to be mentioned is the head of the Serbian Radical Party Vojislav Sesel, for his endless harassment of the right-wing press and threats to journalists. Vladan Batic, a candidate for the post of justice minister of Serbia, has promised that Milosevic will soon be deprived of his bodyguards. The determination of the winners is best conveyed by the words of Nebojsa Covic, widely tipped to be a vice premier in the new cabinet of Serbia: 'You can arrest any member of the inner circle of Milosevic and safely put him behind bars for ten years. And we should forget about The Hague tribunal. They must answer before their own people.' These words may persuade many of those indicted as war criminals by the international UN tribunal for the former Yugoslavia to present themselves to it."

"Montenegro Goes"

Georgy Stepanov wrote in the reformist Izvestia that Yugoslavia is finished as a multi-ethnic state (12/30): "There is every sign that Montenegro will withdraw from Federal Yugoslavia in 2001. Its government has approved a basically new policy with regard to Belgrade. Under the document, Montenegro and Serbia will form 'an alliance of two independent, equal, internationally recognized states.' So, the divorce between the two republics is becoming legal. Speaking on television the other day, Milo Djukanovic, the leader of Montenegro, said that 'only a blind man can fail to see that Yugoslavia de facto does not exist.'... Vojislav Kostunica will hardly obstruct the natural course of events. If divorce is inevitable, let it be a 'velvet' and bloodless divorce like that

between the Czech Republic and Slovakia, think the Serbian democrats who have replaced Milosevic in power. Montenegro with a population of 600,000, has long lived a life of its own.... The only problem is that once a country named Yugoslavia disappears from the maps of Europe, Kostunica will be temporarily out of job. And the status of Kosovo, officially still a province of Serbia, will be unclear."

"Slobodan Milosevic Will Be Tried In His Home Country"

Gennady Sysoyev wrote in business-oriented, reformist Kommersant-Daily (12/27):

"At the same time the question of the crimes perpetrated by Serbian politicians in the course of the wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia is a very painful one for the Serbs. Much of the world blames the bloody disintegration of Yugoslavia on Serb nationalism. The Serbs themselves think (with some reason) that they are the main victims of the Yugoslav tragedy. They have lost more than any other peoples of the former Yugoslavia. But the blame must rest with the former Serbian leader. So, a trial of Milosevic for war crimes is very much in the cards. But he will most probably be tried not in the Hague but in Belgrade where the ex-president lives in his heavily guarded residence."

"Serbia To Have New Government"

Yulia Petrovskaya wrote in reformist Vremya MN (12/26): "The snap parliamentary election in Serbia held on Saturday was the most boring in the last decade, observers note. There was no suspense and there were no political passions. For the first time the West has no complaints about the way the Serbs have voted.... No political force in the whole history of multi-party Serbia could win such a convincing majority as DOS did. This is the conclusion analysts draw from the parliamentary elections in Serbia which were for the first time held according to the proportional system. Small democratic parties which had little chance individually, wiped out Slobodan Milosevic's regime by forming a united front in the autumn. The DOS which led in the presidential election and elections for the two houses of parliament of Yugoslavia on September 24 and in the local elections in Serbia is completing the formation of its

administration."

"Serbia Says Yes To Democracy"

Viktor Borodich observed in centrist Trud (12/26): "The new government of Serbia is under pressure from the critically-minded part of the intelligentsia which demands immediate and severe punishment for the Milosevic regime which, they are convinced, bears the blame for the fact that Serbia has quarreled with all its friends, provoked several local wars, incurred an economic blockade and made millions of its citizens live on social benefits--all within a space of ten years. In the three months since the democratic opposition came to power, it has failed to bring to justice a single party functionary or economic manager although the newspapers constantly print sensational documentary proof of financial fraud and corruption among top socialists or officials of the former administration."

"Slobodan Milosevic Purged From Parliament"

Gennady Sysoyev commented in reformist Kommersant-Daily (12/26): "The new authorities in Serbia have to resolve complex political tasks: determine the status of Kosovo and agree with the smaller of the two Yugoslav republics, Montenegro, on the future character of their relations. While there is some time for solving the Kosovo problem (international forces will remain in the province for several more years), the Montenegrins have to settle their affairs quickly: The authorities in that republic want to hold a referendum on independence in the summer."

BULGARIA: "The Serbian Elections' Predictable Results"

Socialist Opposition Party Duma commented (12/27): "Milosevic's nationalism shrunk Serbia's territory to its Ottoman Empire province size.... Socialism in Serbia could have survived, like it did in China and Cuba, if it hadn't succumbed to nationalistic chauvinism, launching various absurd military adventures. It could have survived if it hadn't been subjected to NATO's monstrous aggression, too. We hope that the considerable Social Democratic presence in the Serbian Democratic Opposition will prevent democracy from becoming another name for theft, corruption and misery for the majority of people in Serbia."

CROATIA: "The First Step"

Vesna Fabris Perunicic wrote in Zagreb-based Vjesnik (12/27): "One certainly must welcome the results of the recent Serbian elections, but they're nothing but the first step in redressing the deep political and material crisis, inherited from the decade-long leadership of Slobodan Milosevic. For a change of regime, much more is needed than a radical step forward from the existing negativist psychological state of the nation. With the international community's support, a lot of wisdom and money is needed--neither of which can be gained overnight."

CZECH REPUBLIC: "Burden For The Victor"

Adam Cerny commented in centrist Zemske noviny (12/29): "The defeated Slobodan Milosevic probably likes this moment. His opponents, who won the presidential as well as the parliamentary elections, face too many problems. The people who enthusiastically welcomed the fall of the dictatorship now demand a quick and substantial improvement of daily life.... The issue of punishment of Slobodan Milosevic is increasingly addressed these days. The new Yugoslav leadership nevertheless makes it clear that it would be better for the healing of society if the ruling on his punishment was issued by Yugoslav courts, not in The Hague. The new Belgrade government stumbles through a political minefield. Not only the defeated Milosevic, but also radical nationalists cannot wait for it to make mistakes. It is often difficult to win. However, to know how to deal with the victory a day after winning a war may be even more difficult."

HUNGARY: "Hope In The Dark"

Gabor Stier pointed out in right-of-center, pro-government Magyar Nemzet (12/29): "While reform forces in Novi Sad opine that, if gradually, Vojvodina's autonomy must be restored--even they do not talk much about minority autonomy, which in practical terms would basically mean economic independence--neither Kostunica, nor Djindjic support the idea. Consequently, it can almost be taken for granted that the first confrontation within the democratic forces will break

out on account of Vojvodina."

"The Day After"

Foreign affairs writer Miklos Ujvari declared in influential, liberal-leaning Magyar Hirlap (12/28): "Milosevic's place is before the international tribunal in The Hague. The UN can be the only forum to judge his crimes. A trial in Belgrade would be partial and subjective. This is one of the greatest responsibilities of the new Belgrade leaders: They must be working to prove their country's respectability and democratic commitment by extraditing Milosevic. And back home...they will have to go through the cleansing process during which each Serb faces his/her own personal responsibility for the ten years of Milosevic's running amok."

"Djindjic Out Of The Christmas Sky"

Columnist Endre Aczel stated in top-circulation Nepszabadsag (12/27): "Yugoslavia has a very popular, introverted president with little experience in large-scale politics who is averse to anything outside the law (Kostunica), and will have an active, experienced prime minister who is not above reproach either morally or financially (Djindjic). The latter will have more power...but more burdens as well. He is expected to free the country from the Milosevic-nurtured, corrupt elite.... He is expected to settle relations with Montenegro, and in cooperation with KFOR, to liquidate the Albanian separatism in the Presevo Valley. He will also have to amend the constitution so that Milosevic could be extradited to The Hague."

"Serbia Before A Transfusion"

Tamas Ronay held in independent Nepszava (12/27): "Yugoslavia is facing an extremely painful period, since the reforms will mean grave restrictive measures. A further significant drop is expected in the living standard. If the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) is unable to show results, their popularity may significantly decrease. At the same time, however, it is a fact that the DOS that won the federal elections in September has already done a lot for the country even in this relatively short time. DOS has a huge capital of trust. If they are able to preserve their unity, they may have a chance to launch Yugoslavia, Serbia, on the way to progress."

THE NETHERLANDS: "Now Milosevic Should Go To The Hague"

Centrist Haagsche Courant editorialized (12/27): "Most Serbians knew it already, but the former dictator now also knows it: The Milosevic era is definitely over. The results of the Serbian parliamentary elections are unmistakable.... The Serbian people have made a clear choice, against the past and in favor of the future.... Now that the role Milosevic had played is over, there is no reason not to have him judged for 13 years of crimes. The Serbian government's preference is to have him stand trial in Belgrade, but there will, in the coming months, be the requisite pressure exerted to get him and a number of his henchmen to The Hague. And that is only right, because it is at the tribunal, specifically established for this purpose, he will have to tell the world how such misdeeds occurred."

"Revolution Completed"

Independent NRC Handelsblad of Rotterdam opined (12/27): "Serbia behaves as was expected. With a respectable majority that the Serbians elected, the Democratic Opposition will now form the government.... All this exerts a heavy responsibility on the international community, especially the EU. Its Stability Pact will have to be the basis for reconstruction in Yugoslavia. That is not only a question of providing financial and technical assistance. In a democratic Yugoslavia there will also be points of friction. In the first place there is the position of Milosevic.... The international tribunal for the former Yugoslavia has accused Milosevic of war crimes and crimes against humanity. That necessitates bringing the former Yugoslavian president to trial in The Hague. Nothing less will satisfy the international community."

"Serbia And Milosevic"

Liberal-left De Volkskrant of Amsterdam held (12/28): "The large victory of the Serbian opposition in the parliamentary elections of last Saturday may be considered a hopeful prospect. But economic chaos threatens to overshadow the political progress.... Western nations can assist Kostunica in solving his dilemma with political and economic support. If there is economic progress in Serbia, then the chances diminish that Serbs will become nostalgic about the past and that Milosevic will become a martyr. The West must, come what

may,
persevere in the demand that Milosevic be tried in The Hague instead of in
Serbia, as Kostunica wants. For war criminals the idea needs to sink in
that,
irrespective of political developments, they will be tried by the
international
community."

NORWAY: "A Trial in Belgrade Is Not Enough"

Social democratic Dagsavisen commented (12/28): "In spite of the fact
that the
new Serbian leaders applaud democratic and European values and have already
moved in the right direction, they are reluctant to confront the Serbian
nationalism that brought Milosevic to power and sustained him for 13
years. The
question, therefore, is whether it is possible to build a real democracy
without
confrontation."

"Last Election In Serbia Is Only The Beginning"

Newspaper-of-record Aftenposten opined (12/29): "The question of how the
new
leaders will act with respect to Milosevic is important because it will
tell us
something about their attitude and principles.... Therefore the election
victory points forward--but we also see that Serbia has a long way to go
before
the country again is a part of a stable and cooperative Europe."

POLAND: "A New Opening"

Zygmunt Slomkowski opined in leftist Trybuna (12/27): "The electoral
success of
the opponents of Slobodan Milosevic's team...opens a new chapter in
Serbia's
history. It is not a simple change of political guard. The takeover of
power
by the DOS Party...sets conditions for the removal of obstacles in
promoting and
strengthening democracy, reforming and modernizing economy, and normalizing
relations with neighbors.... Much depends on whether the winning
coalition,
which was until now united basically by a wish to overthrow the Milosevic
team,
will remain united in matters connected to running the state. If the DOS
is
consistent in fulfilling its electoral promises, they can count on
international
solidarity and assistance. All Europe is vitally interested in the
stabilization of the Balkans, and Serbia is of key importance in this
process."

SPAIN: "Yugoslavia Gets Normal"

Independent El Mundo maintained (12/24): "In recent months, Yugoslavia has been readmitted into international fora and has consolidated its aspiration to change itself into a democracy, eliminating the last vestiges of the 13 long years that Milosevic directed the country's destiny. For this reason, the citizens of the Balkan republic have voted massively...for the Democratic Opposition of Serbia's coalition.... [Incoming Prime Minister] Djindjic will have to undertake, in the first place, a vigorous regeneration of public life in order to distance the country from the participants of the old regime and to bring those who deserve it to national and international justice."

"End Of The Nightmare"

Center-left El Pais noted (12/26): "Now, power in Serbia and what is left of Yugoslavia is in the hands of those who want to finish off the legacy of the communist apparatus which preceded--and the national socialist apparatus left by--ex-President Slobodan Milosevic.... Now the Democrats have to show that they are for real. The economy is important. However, for this to function, Serbia has to send a better message to its Western partners, which is that it will turn over the criminals, including Slobodan Milosevic, to The Hague tribunal. On this, the new authorities in Belgrade will have to measure up."

SWITZERLAND: "End Of The Honeymoon For Serbia"

Cyrill Stieger wrote in center-right Neue Zürcher Zeitung (12/27): "Saturday's parliamentary elections in Serbia have delivered victory to the democratic reformers, cast the Socialist Party into opposition and thus, it would appear, brought the Milosevic era definitively to an end. The real work now begins for the reformers--turning a corrupt system and a destitute economy into a prosperous democracy where the rule of law holds sway. Expectations are enormous, but there is a willingness to make sacrifices, as long as the government acts decisively before resignation sets in. But will the anti-Milosevic coalition hold together once the hard work begins? Will Kostunica and Djindjic, the Yugoslav and Serbian leaders, be able to work together despite their obvious differences? Will Montenegro remain part

of the
Yugoslav Federation? With Milosevic gone, Belgrade has managed to re-establish relations with the West, but things could take a turn for the worse if the new regime fails to acknowledge Serbia's role in the Balkan Wars and deliver Milosevic and other suspected war criminals to The Hague. All in all, the honeymoon period for Serbia is over."

EAST ASIA

JAPAN: "Don't Miss Out On Chance To Promote Balkan Stability"

Top-circulation, moderate Yomiuri observed (12/27): "The political situation in the Balkans--particularly internal politics in Yugoslavia--remains a difficult issue for this reformist government.... It is imperative that the Kostunica government wipe out the underground economy and corruption, which have grown under Milosevic's controlled economy. The new leadership must rebuild Yugoslavia's national system of finance.... The Kostunica government will also have to deal with Montenegro and Kosovo issues. Its failure to settle these issues may rekindle unrest which could develop into a new conflict."

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

CANADA: "Send Him To The Hague"

Quebec's conservative, English-language Gazette editorialized (12/27): "If Slobodan Milosevic were sent to The Hague to face war crimes charges over Kosovo, it would mark a decisive step toward establishing a permanent and effective system of international justice for war crimes and crimes against humanity.... War crimes, on the other hand, should be answerable to the world at large, not just to the nation whose citizens committed them."

"A Boost For Yugoslavia's Fragile Democracy"

The conservative National Post opined (12/27): "Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica and the reformist Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) coalition that he heads are to be congratulated.... In his victory speech, Mr. Djindjic promised not only to reform the economy, but also to prosecute Mr. Milosevic for war crimes.... Bringing Mr. Milosevic to justice is indeed important, but it is not the first priority. What Yugoslavia needs is internal stability. Mr. Djindjic must make good on his promise to fix the economy--in particular, by

chopping the corrupt links that bind the government with leading businessmen.
He should also focus on reforming the 85,000-member Serbian police force....
Moreover, Mr. Djindjic and Mr. Kostunica, whose bitter political rivalry is threatening the breakup of the DOS coalition, must put their differences aside
and work together toward the democratic reconstruction of the country."

ARGENTINA: "Serbian Reinsertion In Europe"

According to an editorial in leading Clarin (1/3): "After the victory of the
Democratic coalition in the parliamentary elections...political changes will
deepen in the new Yugoslavia and that will contribute to pacifying the...Balkan
region. The election outcome has strengthened President Kostunica by allowing
him to form a government with majority support and has left the party supporting
Milosevic in a minority.... It is for the powers who have led the attacks
against Milosevic and for international organizations...to help Serbia at this
new stage...build a future for Balkans and live in harmony with the rest of
Europe."

MEXICO: "Yugoslavia, The Wars Still Ahead"

Mireya Olivas commented in nationalist Milenio (12/26): "The New York
Times
praised the 1999 NATO bombings against Yugoslavia as a prelude to
Milosevic's
fall.... Even though most of the Serbs who have been interviewed
questioned the
utility of NATO bombings, what is important is what the United States and
its
NATO allies do to rebuild Yugoslavia. NATO countries should have accepted
the
responsibility for cleaning up after the mess that their offensive left
behind.... President-elect Bush has said that he is not interested in U.S.
involvement in humanitarian actions, such as the NATO air strikes in
Yugoslavia.... His administration, however, will have to finish this job,
either by abandoning Yugoslavia to its own fate or by helping Yugoslavia
consolidate the difficult transition to democracy and stability."

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Topics Included:	-----
[] AID	
[] Africa	
[] Asia	
[] BBG	
[] China/Japan	

☐	CIA	
☐	Commerce	
☐	Cuba	
☐	Defense	
☐	Dept of State	
☐	East Asia	
☒	Europe	
☒	Frm Yugoslavia/Bosnia	
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☐	Middle East	
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he Democratic Opposition of Serbia's (DOS) convincing defeat of Slobodan Milosevic's SPS party

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\plain \i \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 in the December 23 parliamentary elections was hailed by observers in Europe, Asia, Latin America and Canada as evidence that Yugoslavia was bidding goodbye to a legacy of communism and opening a new "democracy chapter."

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\plain \i \f6 \fs22 \cf0 While optimistically concluding that the "Milosevic era

is truly over,"

\plain \i \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 nearly all observers were quick to outline the "formidable tasks" facing Yugoslav President Kostunica and future Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic. Of paramount importance

\plain \i \f6 \fs22 \cf0 , several editorial writers judged,

\plain \i \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 is that the new leadership bring former President Slobodan Milosevic to justice

\plain \i \f6 \fs22 \cf0 . Commentary highlights follow:

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\plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 MAJOR SHIFT:

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Opinionmakers asserted that the reformist coalition's big victory in parliament--winning 65 percent of the vote--dealt a telling blow to Slobodan Milosevic's strong hold on political power, coming only months after he lost the presidency in a popular uprising in October. Analysts were optimistic that the trend toward democracy begun in the fall would continue. Belgrade's official

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Politika

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 , for example, looked eagerly toward the future, observing that "the victory of DOS represents a major shift from the previous regime and promises a legal state, stability, respect for human rights and ties with the rest of the world--ties which we have been deprived of in this last decade."

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\b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 CHALLENGES:

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Hopes for a democratic future aside, commentators went on to enumerate the many pressures--both from within and outside the FRY--currently facing the new government in Belgrade. They noted that the international community and the "critically-minded part of the intelligentsia" in Serbia are, in the words of Moscow's centrist

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Trud

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0

2 \cf0 , demanding "an immediate and severe punishment for the Milosevic regime." A number of observers contended that if Mr. Kostunica does not turn Mr. Milosevic over to The Hague war crimes tribunal, then "the nationalist page [in Serbia] will not be fully turned." Others pointed out that the Yugoslav president must still address the complex geopolitical problems of Kosovo and Montenegro

o, where separatist sentiments continue to threaten the survival of the Yugoslav federation. Editorialists also described the equally daunting problems on the Serbian home front, warning that Mr. Kostunica must find a way to stop the "ubiquitous corruption" in his nation and address the "bitter political rivalry" that threatens to breakup up the DOS coalition.

WEST'S ROLE:
Several columnists focused on the role of the West. They held that the great powers have the "duty to stand by this fragile democracy as much as possible." Analysts urged the international community not to flag in its aid and assistance to the Balkans, concluding that "it is now time for reconstruction." A few worried about the Bush camp's pre-election statements regarding the possible withdrawal of U.S. troops from the region. A Mexican paper held that the new U.S. leadership will have to decide whether it wants to "abandon Yugoslavia to its own fate, or..help [it] to consolidate the difficult transition to democracy and stability."

EDITOR:
Diana McCaffrey and Katherine Starr
EDITOR'S NOTE: This survey is based on 36 reports from 19 countries December 24-January 3. Editorial excerpts are grouped by region; editorials from each country are listed from the most recent date.

EUROPE
YUGOSLAVIA: "Serbia For Democratic Opposition"

Official

Politika

filed this report (12/24), qualifying the election results as "the biggest change in the system of Serbia since World War II.... The political leadership has been formed for the first time in a democratic way, by the will of the people. The victory of the DOS represents a major shift from the previous regime and promises a legal state, stability, respect for human rights and ties with the rest of the world--ties which we have been deprived of in this last decade. If there are no more surprises, the citizens of Serbia will, by these elections, have transferred themselves into a new age."

BRITAIN: "Milosevic On The Ropes"

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\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Guardian

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 editorialized (12/28): "The Milosevic era is truly over and in the next few months Serbia's evil genius may well be put on trial in his own country. He lost the presidency and now in the latest democratic exercise he has lost control of the Serbian parliament. The reformist forces have swept the board, taking more than two thirds of the seats and leaving them with the chance of amending the flawed Milosevic constitution if necessary. Zoran Djindjic, the experienced leader of Democratic Party who is to be Serbia's prime minister, has a formidable task. He must hold his coalition of 18 parties together. The economy needs reforming. The old regime's cronies must be removed. A sound legal climate has to be created for foreign investment. Negotiations with independence-minded Montenegro loom. Milosevic's future, in limbo since last autumn, must be clarified. Mr. Djindjic has indicated that he wants to move fast to see Milosevic tried for corruption, vote-rigging and embezzlement. Provided the trial is fair and speedy and the former strongman is soon evicted from the state villas he still enjoys, this might prove better than any early transfer to the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague. Milosevic ran a killing machine in which thousands of Serbs took part, and at some stage the authorities must take steps to organize trials of a range of military and paramilitary commanders or send them to The Hague. Otherwise, the nationalist page will not be fully turned."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 FRANCE: "Serbia Opens The Democracy Chapter"

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\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Liberation

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 observed (12/26): "The new government will have to be capable of firmness, not only to take to court the former regime's criminals but also to stop a ubiquitous corruption.... Westerners, especially the European Union, have the duty to stand by this fragile democracy as much as possible.... It is now time for reconstruction."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 GERMANY: "Stopping At The Hague"

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\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Frankfurter Allgemeine

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 pointed out in an editorial (12/28): "After the election victory of the Democratic Opposition, the era of Milosevic appears to have ended in Serbia. But what about addressing Milosevic's legacy via legal means? Yugoslav President Kostunica evaded that question in an interview with the French daily

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Le Monde

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 . Instead, he repeated several times that Serbia was in need of a period of 'calm, stability, and reconciliation.' His suggestion to set up a 'commission for truth and reconciliation' instead of throwing up new barriers among Serbs fits with that goal. Kostunica appears to see such a commission primarily as a tool for collective therapy. But in South Africa such a commission did not take the place of legal action. Kostunica blames all sides equally for the Yugoslav wars of succession--Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Kosovars. But this is an oversimplification. For Croats, the International Court of Justice in The Hague was a necessary stop on the road to Europe. The new government in Belgrade will not arrive in Europe unless it accepts this condition."

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\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Rolf Paasch maintained in left

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\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Frankfurter Rundschau

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 (12/28): "Serbia will be able to resolve its conflicts and shed the Milosevic legacy only if the international community of states reacts to the new challenges of peace with greater flexibility. Kosovo will require a strong Western military presence for years, but these (EU) troops will have to adjust more quickly to changing situations like the one in South Serbia than KFOR managed to do in the safety zone. And the promise of billions in aid for the economic restructuring Serbia is...too limited, and it cannot be made at the expense of other Balkan countries if the Stability Pact and the vision of an economic union in the Balkans is meant in earnest."

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\li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Matthias Rueben noted in a front-page editorial in right-of-center

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Frankfurter Allgemeine

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 (12/27): "By holding early parliamentary elections, Serbia has completed the change of system--from dictatorship to democracy.... A rapid

elapse into a dictatorship such as the one that existed under Milosevic seems impossible. That, of course, does not mean that a late-Communist, centrally planned economy has already been transformed into a democratic market economy. On the contrary, Serbia is only starting this process. And it is difficult to predict how long it will take, when it will succeed, and what setbacks the country will suffer on this difficult path.... And the West? Yes, it is true that without a democratic and prosperous Serbia there can be neither peace nor stability in the Balkans. So it is in the West's deepest

security interests to support Serbia as much as it can.... But it is also true that the Balkans can only be pacified if those peoples who suffered so much from Serbia's policy of aggression during Milosevic's rule do not feel that they have been forgotten by the West yet again. If Europe and the United States were unwilling to take early military action to protect Croats, Muslim Bosnians, and Albanians from the genocidal policies

of Milosevic, they should not now turn away from the people who were the victims to devote themselves entirely to the people who were the aggressors."

IT ALY: "Djukanovic's Challenge To Serbia"

Elena Ragusin filed from Belgrade in leading, business

Il Sole-24 Ore

(12/28): "President Milo Djukanovic announced yesterday ...that his objective included a popular vote concerning the dismantling of what is left of the Yugoslav Federation by mid-2001. 'My goal is to make Montenegro an independent state

and, internationally recognized, and then, maybe, it could agree to seal 'a free union' with Serbia,' he said. This came as a cold shower for the new (Serbian) leadership.... The secessionist plan of the government of Montenegro had been justified by the necessity of ending all relations with Milosevic's Serbia--a position that was supported by the international community, especially by the U.S. Department of State. Following the victory of the Democratic front in Serbia, most Western governments started being cautious with regard to a possible redefinition of the borders of former Yugoslavia. A conclusive breakdown between Podgorica and Belgrade could provoke instability in the region."

"Dealing With Their Own Problems"

According to an analysis by Alberto Negri in leading business-oriented

Il Sole-24 Ore

(12/27): "Two consecutive elections and a new leader seem to have restored to Europe a recovered and democratic Serbia: But is it really so? Serbia is now beginning to deal with his recent history. And this day of reckoning will naturally have immediate, perhaps unpredictable, political repercussions. Now that the ranks of Milosevic's supporters have become very thin, the future Prime Minister, Zoran Djindjic, has said that he is in favor of putting Milosevic on trial, in Serbia and not in the Hague for the time being. But the list of clarifications is long.... Restoring the rule of law in Belgrade is as indispensable as rescuing it from economic disaster. Serbia would not have collapsed completely had it not been, for years, the game preserve of a large and aggressive gang of opportunists and criminals.... In this phase of transition, 'recover

d' Serbia must find the answers for the moral and legal responsibilities of the crimes carried out over the last ten years. It is not in the interests of a majority of the Serbs and of the West to assign these responsibilities to oblivion, unless we want another historical misunderstanding in the Balkans."

'a government of honest and capable people,' putting the fight against corruption and organized crime at the top of his agenda."

o have won seats in the new parliament too are not immune from being jailed. The first to be mentioned is the head of the Serbian Radical Party Vojislav Seselj, for his endless harassment of the right-wing press and threats to journalists. Vladan Batic, a candidate for the post of justice minister of Serbia, has promised that Milosevic will soon be deprived of his bodyguards. The determination of the winners is best conveyed by the words of Nebojsa Covic, widely tipped to be a vice premier in the new cabinet of Serbia: 'You can arrest any member of the inner circle of Milosevic and safely put him behind bars for ten years. And we should forget about The Hague tribunal. They must answer before their own people.' These words may persuade many of those indicted as war criminals by the international UN tribunal for the former Yugoslavia to present themselves to it."

720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Georgy Stepanov wrote in the reformist \plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Izvestia \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 that Yugoslavia is finished as a multi-ethnic state (12/30): "There is every sign that Montenegro will withdraw from Federal Yugoslavia in 2001. Its government has approved a basically new policy with regard to Belgrade. Under the document, Montenegro and Serbia will form 'an alliance of two independent, equal, internationally recognized states.' So, the divorce between the two republics is becoming legal. Speaking on television the other day, Milo Djukanovic, the leader of Montenegro, said that 'only a blind man can fail to see that Yugoslavia de facto does not exist. '... Vojislav Kostunica will hardly obstruct the natural course of events. If divorce is inevitable, let it be a 'velvet' and bloodless divorce like that between the Czech Republic and Slovakia, think the Serbian democrats who have replaced Milosevic in power. Montenegro with a population of 600,000, has long lived a life of its own.... The only problem is that once a country named Yugoslavia disappears from the maps of Europe, Kostunica will be temporarily out of job. And the status of Kosovo, officially still a province of Serbia, will be unclear."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 \par \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 "Slobodan Milosevic Will Be Tried In His Home Country"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Gennady Sysoyev wrote in business-oriented, reformist \plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Kommersant-Daily \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 (12/27): "At the same time the question of the crimes perpetrated by Serbian politicians in the course of the wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia is a very painful one for the Serbs. Much of the world blames the bloody disintegration of Yugoslavia on Serb nationalism. The Serbs themselves think (with some reason) that they are the main victims of the Yugoslav tragedy. They have lost more than any other peoples of the former Yugoslavia. But the blame must rest with the former Serbian leader. So, a trial of Milosevic for war crimes is very much in the cards. But he will most probably be tried not in the Hague but in Belgrade where the ex-president lives in his heavily guarded residence."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 "Serbia To Have New Government"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Yulia Petrovskaya wrote in reformist \plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Vremya MN \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 (12/26): "The snap parliamentary election in Serbia held on Saturday was the most boring in the last decade, observers note. There was no suspense and there were no political passions. For the first time the West has no complaints about the way the

Serbs have voted.... No political force in the whole history of multi-party Serbia could win such a convincing majority as DOS did. This is the conclusion analysts draw from the parliamentary elections in Serbia which were for the first time held according to the proportional system. Small democratic parties which had little chance individually, wiped out Slobodan Milosevic's regime by forming a united front in the autumn. The

DOS which led in the presidential election and elections for the two houses of parliament of Yugoslavia on September 24 and in the local elections in Serbia is completing the formation of its administration."

Serbia Says Yes To Democracy"

Viktor Borodich observed in centrist

Trud

(12/26): "The new government of Serbia is under pressure from the critically-minded part of the intelligentsia which demands immediate and severe punishment for the Milosevic regime which, they are convinced, bears

the blame for the fact that Serbia has quarreled with all its friends, provoked several local wars, incurred an economic blockade and made millions of its citizens live on social benefits--all within a space of ten years. In the three months since the democratic opposition came to power, it has failed to bring to justice a single party functionary or economic manager although the newspapers constantly print sensational documentary proof of financial fraud and corruption among top socialists or officials of the former administration."

Slobodan Milosevic Purged From Parliament"

Gennady Sysoyev commented in reformist

Kommersant-Daily

(12/26): "The new authorities in Serbia have to resolve complex political tasks: determine the status of Kosovo and agree with the smaller of the two Yugoslav republics, Montenegro, on the future character of their relations. While there is some time for solving the Kosovo problem (international forces will remain in the province for several more years), the Montenegrins

have to settle their affairs quickly: The authorities in that republic want to hold a referendum on independence in the summer."

BU LGARIA: "The Serbian Elections' Predictable Results"

3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Socialist Opposition Party

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Duma

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 commented (12/27): "Milosevic's nationalism shrunk Serbia's territory to its Ottoman Empire province size.... Socialism in Serbia could have survived, like it did in China and Cuba, if it hadn't succumbed to nationalistic chauvinism, launching various absurd military adventures . It could have survived if it hadn't been subjected to NATO's monstrous aggression, too. We hope that the considerable Social Democratic presence in the Serbian Democratic Opposition will prevent democracy from becoming another name for theft, corruption and misery for the majority of people in Serbia."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 CROATIA: "The First Step"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Vesna Fabris Perunicic wrote in Zagreb-based

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Vjesnik

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 (12/27): "One certainly must welcome the results of the recent Serbian elections, but they're nothing but the first step in redressing the deep political and material crisis, inherited from the decade-long leadership of Slobodan Milosevic. For a change of regime, much more is needed than a radical step forward from the existing negativist psychological state of the nation. With the international community's support, a lot of wisdom and money is needed--neither of which can be gained overnight."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 CZECH REPUBLIC: "Burden For The Victor"

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\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Zemske noviny

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 (12/29): "The defeated Slobodan Milosevic probably likes this moment. His opponents, who won the presidential as well as the parliamentary elections, face too many problems. The people who enthusiastically welcomed the fall of the dictatorship now demand a quick and substantial improvement of daily life.... The issue of punishment of Slobodan Milosevic is increasingly addressed these days. The new Yugoslav leadership nevertheless makes it clear that it would be better for the healing of society if the ruling on his punishment was issued by Yugoslav courts, not in The Hague. The new Belgrade government stumbles through a political minefield. Not only the defeated Milosevic, but also radical nationalists cannot wait for it to make mistakes. It is often difficult to win. However, to know how to deal with the victory a day after winning a war may be even more difficult."

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NGARY: "Hope In The Dark"

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\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Magyar Nemzet

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 (12/29): "While reform forces in Novi Sad opine that, if gradually, Vojvodina's autonomy must be restored--even they do not talk much about minority autonomy, which in practical terms would basically mean economic independence--neither Kostunica, nor Djindjic support the idea. Consequently, it can almost be taken for granted that the first confrontation within the democratic forces will break out on account of Vojvodina."

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\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Foreign affairs writer Miklos Ujvari declared in influential, liberal-leaning

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Magyar Hirlap

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 (12/28): "Milosevic's place is before the international tribunal in The Hague. The UN can be the only forum to judge his crimes. A trial in Belgrade would be partial and subjective. This is one of the greatest responsibilities of the new Belgrade leaders: They must be working to prove their country's respectability and democratic commitment by extraditing Milosevic. And back home...they will have to go through the cleansing process during which each Serb faces his/her own personal responsibility for the ten years of Milosevic's running amok."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 "Djindjic Out Of The Christmas Sky"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0

Columnist Endre Aczel stated in top-circulation

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Nepszabadsag

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 (12/27): "Yugoslavia has a very popular, introverted president with little experience in large-scale politics who is averse to anything outside the law (Kostunica), and will have an active, experienced prime minister who is not above reproach either morally or financially (Djindjic). The latter will have more power...but more burdens as well. He is expected to free the

country from the Milosevic-nurtured, corrupt elite.... He is expected to settle relations with Montenegro, and in cooperation with KFOR, to liquidate the Albanian separatism in the Presevo Valley. He will also have to amend the constitution so that Milosevic could be extradited to The Hague."

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\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Nepszava

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 (12/27): "Yugoslavia is facing an extremely painful period, since the reforms will mean grave restrictive measures. A further significant drop is expected in the living standard. If the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) is unable to show results, their popularity may significantly decrease. At the same time, however, it is a fact that the DOS that won the federal elections in September has already done a lot for the country even in this relatively short time. DOS has a huge capital of trust. If they are able to preserve their unity, they may have a chance to launch Yugoslavia, Serbia, on the way to progress."

\par \pard \li72

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\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Centrist

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Haagsche Courant

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 editorialized (12/27): "Most Serbians knew it already, but the former dictator now also knows it: The Milosevic era is definitely over. The results of the Serbian parliamentary elections are unmistakable.... The Serbian people have made a clear choice, against the past and in favor of the future.... Now that the role Milosevic had played is over, there is no reason not to have him judged for 13 years of crimes. The Serbian government's preference is to have him stand trial in Belgrade, but there will, in the coming months, be the requisite pressure exerted to get him and a number of his henchmen to The Hague. And that is only right, because it is at the tribunal, specifically established for this purpose, he will have to tell the world how such misdeeds occurred."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx

1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 "Revolution Completed"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Independent

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 NRC Handelsblad

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 of Rotterdam opined (12/27): "Serbia behaves as was expected. With a respectable majority that the Serbians elected, the Democratic Opposition will now form the government.... All this exerts a heavy responsibility on the international community, especially the EU. Its Stability Pact will have to be the basis for reconstruction in Yugoslavia. That is not only a question of providing financial and technical assistance. In a democratic Yugoslavia there will also be points of friction. In the first place there is the position of Milosevic.... The international tribunal for the former Yugoslavia has accused Milosevic of war crimes and crimes against humanity. That necessitates bringing

ng the former Yugoslavian president to trial in The Hague. Nothing less will satisfy the international community."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 "Serbia And Milosevic
\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 "

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Liberal-left
\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 De Volkskrant

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 of Amsterdam held (12/28): "The large victory of the Serbian opposition in the parliamentary elections of last Saturday may be considered a hopeful prospect. But economic chaos threatens to overshadow the political progress.... W

estern nations can assist Kostunica in solving his dilemma with political and economic support. If there is economic progress in Serbia, then the chances diminish that Serbs will become nostalgic about the past and that Milosevic will become a martyr. The West must, come what may, persevere in the demand that Milosevic be tried in The Hague instead of in Serbia, as Kostunica wants. For war criminals the idea needs to sink in that, irrespective of political developments, they will be tried by the international community."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 NO
RWAY: "A Trial in Belgrade Is Not Enough"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Social democratic

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Dagsavisen

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 commented (12/28): "In spite of the fact that the new Serbian leaders applaud democratic and European values and have already moved in the right direction, they are reluctant to confront the Serbian nationalism that brought Milosevic to power and sustained him for 13 years. The question, therefore, is whether it is possible to build a real democracy without confrontation."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 "Last Election In Serbia Is Only The Beginning"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Newspaper-of-record

\p
\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Aftenposten

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 opined (12/29): "The question of how the new leaders will act with respect to Milosevic is important because it will tell us something about their attitude and principles.... Therefore the election victory points forward--but we also see that Serbia has a long way to go before the country a

gain is a part of a stable and cooperative Europe."

040 **POLAND: "A New Opening"**

720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 **Zygmunt Slomkowski opined in leftist**

Trybuna

(12/27): "The electoral success of the opponents of Slobodan Milosevic's team...opens a new chapter in Serbia's history. It is not a simple change of political guard. The takeover of power by the DOS Party...sets conditions for the removal of obstacles in promoting and strengthening democracy, reforming and modernizing economy, and normalizing relations with neighbors.... Much depends on whether the winning coalition, which was until now united basically by a wish to overthrow the Milosevic team, will remain united in matters connected to running the state. If the DOS is consistent in fulfilling its electoral promises, they can count on international solidarity and assistance. All Europe is vitally interested in the stabilization of the Balkans, and Serbia is of key importance in this process."

040 **SPAIN: "Yugoslavia Gets Normal"**

040 **Independent**

El Mundo

(12/24): "In recent months, Yugoslavia has been readmitted into international fora and has consolidated its aspiration to change itself into a democracy, eliminating the last vestiges of the 13 long years that Milosevic directed the country's destiny. For this reason, the citizens of the Balkan republic have voted massively...for the Democratic Opposition of Serbia's coalition.... [Incoming Prime Minister] Djindjic will have to undertake, in the first place, a vigorous regeneration of public life in order to distance the country from the participants of the old regime and to bring those who deserve it to national and international justice."

2880 **"End Of The Nightmare"**

720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 **Center-left**

El Pais

(12/26): "Now, power in Serbia and what is left of Yugoslavia is in the hands of those who want to finish off the legacy of the communist apparatus which preceded--and the national socialist apparatus left by--ex-President Slobodan Milosevic.... Now the Democrats have to show that they are for real. The economy is important. However, for this to function, Serbia has to send a better message to its Western partners, which is that it

will turn over the criminals, including Slobodan Milosevic, to The Hague tribunal. On this, the new authorities in Belgrade will have to measure up."

SWITZERLAND: "End Of The Honeymoon For Serbia"

Cyril
l Stieger wrote in center-right

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

(12/27): "Saturday's parliamentary elections in Serbia have delivered victory to the democratic reformers, cast the Socialist Party in to opposition and thus, it would appear, brought the Milosevic era definitively to an end. The real work now begins for the reformers--turning a corrupt system and a destitute economy into a prosperous democracy where the rule of law holds sway. Expectations are enormous, but there is a willingness to make sacrifices, as long as the government acts decisively before resignation sets in. But will the anti-Milosevic coalition hold together once the hard work begins? Will Kostunica and Djindjic, the Yugoslav and Serbian leaders, be able to work together despite their obvious differences? Will Montenegro remain in part of the Yugoslav Federation? With Milosevic gone, Belgrade has managed to re-establish relations with the West, but things could take a turn for the worse if the new regime fails to acknowledge Serbia's role in the Balkan Wars and deliver Milosevic and other suspected war criminals to The Hague. All in all, the honeymoon period for Serbia is over."

AST ASIA

JAPAN: "Don't Miss Out On Chance To Promote Balkan Stability"

Top-c
irculation, moderate

Yomiuri

2

observed (12/27): "The political situation in the Balkans--particularly internal politics in Yugoslavia--remains a difficult issue for this reformist government.... It is imperative that the Kostunica government wipe out the underground economy and corruption, which have grown under Milosevic's controlled economy. The new leadership must rebuild Yugoslavia's national system of finance.... The Kostunica government will also have to deal with Montenegro and Kosovo issues. Its failure to settle these issues may rekindle unrest which could develop into a new conflict."

2

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

CANADA: "Send Him To The Hague"

Quebec's conservative, English-language Gazette

editorialized (12/27): "If Slobodan Milosevic were sent to The Hague to face war crimes charges over Kosovo, it would mark a decisive step toward establishing a permanent and effective system of international justice for war crimes and crimes against humanity.... War crimes, on the other hand, should be answerable to the world at large, not just to the nation whose citizens committed them."

"A Boost For Yugoslavia's Fragile Democracy"

The conservative National Post

opined (12/27): "Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica and the reformist Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) coalition that he heads are to be congratulated.... In his victory speech, Mr. Djindjic promised not only to reform the economy, but also to prosecute Mr. Milosevic for war crimes.... Bringing Mr. Milosevic to justice is indeed important, but it is not the first priority. What Yugoslavia needs is internal stability. Mr. Djindjic must make good on his promise to fix the economy--in particular, by chopping the corrupt links that bind the government with leading businessmen. He should also focus on reforming the 85,000-member Serbian police force.... Moreover, Mr. Djindjic and Mr. Kostunica, whose bitter political rivalry is threatening the breakup of the DOS coalition, must put their differences aside and work together toward the democratic reconstruction of the country."

ARGENTINA: "Serbian Reinsertion In Europe"

According to an editorial in leading Clarin

(1/3): "After the victory of the Democratic coalition in the parliamentary elections...political changes will deepen in the new Yugoslavia and that will contribute to pacifying the...Balkan region. The election outcome has strengthened President Kostunica by allowing him to form a government with majority support and

has left the party supporting Milosevic in a minority.... It is for the power
s who have led the attacks against Milosevic and for international organization
s...to help Serbia at this new stage...build a future for Balkans and live in h
armony with the rest of Europe."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx288
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\tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f6 \fs22 \cf0 MEXIC
O: "Yugoslavia, The Wars Still Ahead"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx288
0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx
720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Mirey
a Olivas commented in nationalist

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22 \cf0 Milenio

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 (12/26): "

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 The

\plain \ul \f6 \fs22

\cf0 New York Times

\plain \f6 \fs22 \cf0 praised the 1999 NATO bombings against Yugoslavia as a p
relude to Milosevic's fall.... Even though most of the Serbs who have been int
erviewed questioned the utility of NATO bombings, what is important is what the
United States and its NATO allies do to rebuild Yugoslavia. NATO countries sh
ould have accepted the responsibility for cleaning up after the mess that their
offensive left behind.... President-elect Bush has said that he is not intere
sted in U.S. inv

olvement in humanitarian actions, such as the NATO air strikes in Yugoslavia...

. His administration, however, will have to finish this job, either by abandon
ing Yugoslavia to its own fate or by helping Yugoslavia consolidate the difficu
lt transition to democracy and stability."

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}

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

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SUBJECT: Slate Politics: Lessons for Bush From the Last GOP Trifecta

TO: Joshua S. Gottheimer (CN=Joshua S. Gottheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
SLATE POLITICS

Thur., Jan. 4, 2001

--history lesson: When Republicans Last Ruled the Earth

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history lesson

When Republicans Last Ruled the Earth

By David Greenberg

In a few weeks, the presidency and both chambers of Congress

will be under Republican control for the first time since 1953-55. The Republicans' slim majority in the 107 th Congress (221-212-2 in the House; 50-50 in the Senate (with the vice president casting the tiebreaker) echoes the spread in the 83 rd Congress, when Dwight D. Eisenhower was president and the GOP ran both the House (221-213-1) and Senate (48-47-1). The millennial hat trick has some Republicans eyeing a promised land of conservative redemption. "I've been waiting all my life to have a Republican president and a Republican Congress," gushed Texas Sen. Phil Gramm. If 1953-55 is any example, though, Gramm may not enjoy the salvation of his fantasies.

Needless to say, it's not the '50s anymore the Cold War is over, and the '60s revolutionized our social landscape so comparisons to the 83 rd Congress go only so far. And yet in both cases, the GOP elected a conservative president who wavered between following the lead of his party's ideologues and trying to save them from their own excesses. In both cases the president used a seductive slogan (Ike's "Modern Republicanism" versus Bush's "Compassionate Conservatism") to mask tensions between the unreconstructed rank-and-file's and the wider culture's wish to leave liberal attainments in place. In 1955, the Republicans relinquished control of Congress after a session marked by internecine fighting, a farrago of pro-business deals and anti-communist calamities, and an ultimately slender record of accomplishment. Bush and the 107 th Congress should beware.

Entering the 1952 elections, Republicans held neither the White House nor the House nor the Senate, and just twice before (in 1800 and 1840) had a party totally shut out of power won the trifecta in a single year. But the GOP pulled off the feat that fall, returning to complete dominance for the first time since 1930. Like the Phil Gramms of today, those Republicans were thirsting to exercise power. Their only obstacle to doing so, it turned out, was their new leader.

On the issues dear to the Old Guard questions of private versus public interest Eisenhower did fall in line behind his party's stalwarts. President and Congress alike endorsed the dictum of Secretary of Defense Charlie Wilson: that what was good for General Motors was good for the country. Ike backed Congress' controversial decision to cede to the states (and effectively to business) the \$300 billion worth of natural resources (mainly oil) that lay underwater along American shores. Ike also joined with his partymates to pass the Atomic Energy Act, which allowed private industry to produce atomic power, and the St. Lawrence Seaway Act, which green-lighted construction of the canal under terms favorable to private developers. On taxes, too, Ike and the Republicans (along with some Democrats) cut corporate and excise taxes and handed out a bevy of new deductions.

If Eisenhower supported Congress on economic issues because he shared their pro-business outlook, he followed them on questions of anti-communism because of the dicey politics of the issue. Ike's unwillingness to oppose Sen. Joe McCarthy and McCarthyism in general brought the nation some of its most shameful moments. In his first two years, Eisenhower tightened the federal "loyalty" program to weed out "security risks," allowed the executions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and agreed to revoke the security clearance of Manhattan Project physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer. He also signed into law the Communist Control Act, which denied to the Communist Party "all rights, privileges and immunities attendant upon legal bodies." Of course, the bill's prime movers —enthusiasts of bipartisanship take note —were Sen. Hubert Humphrey and other liberal Democrats who feared being tarred as "soft on communism." Only in 1954 did Ike begin inching away from McCarthy, and when he did he incurred the wrath of the party's hard right (extreme anti-communists started calling Ike a pinko). Conveniently for Eisenhower, McCarthy soon self-destructed.

On other issues, however, Eisenhower often found his partymates more nettlesome than the opposition, not unlike recent presidents whose parties have controlled Congress (Jimmy Carter in 1977-1981; Bill Clinton in 1993-1995). The main area of trouble was foreign policy, where Eisenhower aggressively tried to reshape his party. A belief that the world's nations depended on one another for security had first emboldened Ike to seek the Republican nomination in 1952. (He feared that Sen. Robert Taft, an isolationist, would lead the nation into retreat and the party into ruin.) And once in office he sought to steer his party a new course rather than following Congress' lead.

But over foreign aid, trade, and immigration, Congress fought with the president. In each case, Ike favored a liberalized program, and in each case his party's isolationists forced him to scale back his plans. Nonetheless, in agreeing to compromises on these issues, Eisenhower ultimately won victories. In the process, he converted many isolationists into at least part-time internationalists and thus built the beginnings of a Republican consensus behind military and economic engagement with the world. Engineering this shift marked probably his greatest success as president.

The Republicans fought among themselves on other issues, too, particularly Social Security. Anti-New Dealers in Congress wanted to eliminate the program, which they saw as "creeping socialism." But Ike again led his party into the modern age, expanding benefits to cover farm workers and domestic laborers —thereby correcting the racial bias that had kept the large numbers of blacks in these jobs from receiving benefits. Ultimately, he got sizable majorities of his own

party to sign on to his reforms. Finally, in one last area perhaps the most important of all Eisenhower overcame conservative resistance to appoint as California Gov. Earl Warren as chief justice of the United States.

In the 1954 elections, the Republicans lost control of both houses of Congress, leaving the 83 rd Congress with few accomplishments to look back on. Whether the 107 th Congress can achieve more is impossible to predict. Like Ike, George W. Bush will face an ideological Congress that intends to offer advantages for business. He too will almost certainly come under pressure to place new constraints on civil rights and civil liberties, whether on abortion or religious freedom. And he too will confront a renewed isolationism within his own ranks that will demand farsighted leadership. Eisenhower, the record shows, pulled off only a passable job of resisting his party's extremism and guiding it toward a forward-looking agenda. In that sense, he set a relatively low bar for Bush to jump. Of course, Bush has gone lower before.

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SUBJECT: Fwd: Senator Ashcroft -- Bob Jones University remarks transcript

TO: sbwhoeop@aol.com (sbwhoeop@aol.com [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

>From: rachael.sunbarger@bushcheney.gov

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>Subject: Senator Ashcroft -- Bob Jones University remarks transcript

>Date: Fri, 12 Jan 2001 18:15:34 -0500

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>penguin.prod.itd.earthlink.net id PAA27369

>

>The numerous documents dating back 30 years requested by the Senate

>Judiciary committee on Senator Ashcroft began to be delivered this
morning.

>As part of the materials delivered this afternoon was a transcript of

>Senator Ashcroft's remarks at Bob Jones University.

>Subject: Statement by Ari Fleischer on Senator Ashcroft's Remarks to Bob

> Jones University

>

>"Senator Ashcroft and Senator Joe Lieberman have both given speeches that

>address the importance of faith in the lives of individual Americans.

>Faith is an important part of the fabric of our society."

>

> U.S. Senator John Ashcroft

> Prepared Remarks

> Detroit Economic Club

> Monday, November 30, 1998

>

>

> Thank you for the invitation to speak before this famed
institution.

>This has been a forum where ideas matter, where principles are
fortified,

>and where history has been made. I am honored to be a part of
your

>inspirational tradition.

>

> During the 1984 Democratic Convention, Mario Cuomo gave a

speech

>entitled, "A Tale of Two Cities." He set out to show that while we "are
'a

>shining city on a hill,'— there's another part of the city— where there
are

>more poor than ever, more families in trouble, more and more people
who

>need help but can't find it." He went on to say that America had
developed

>into a Darwinian struggle in which the fit survive and the poor are
left

>behind. His words were powerful, his delivery eloquent, and his
passion

>profound. I'd like to take a few minutes to revisit these two cities
and

>see how they look in the twilight of the 20th Century.

>

> America's shining city on a hill is still intact -- shining a
beacon

>of light that draws the tired, the weak, and the huddled masses to
Lady

>Liberty's lamp-lit shores. This is a golden age of prosperity where
more

>and more people are living better and longer and healthier. It is a
city

>where those who were once thought elderly are now strong enough to
wait

>another decade before retirement, adventurous enough to start a
new

>business or daring enough to bungee jump. It is a city where a child
born

>today stands a realistic chance of living well into the 22nd Century. It
is

>a city where crime is as low as it has been in decades, where faith
is

>resurgent, and where families are learning that there is more
fulfillment

>in staying together than in splitting apart.

>

> But there is another part of that same city. And it is a city
that

>gets frightfully little attention from either of our political parties.
It

>is a city where unemployment is still high -- where many have simply
given

>up looking for work. It is a city where the life expectancy of a
young

>black male is less than it is in Bangladesh -- arguably the poorest
country

>in the world. It is a city where whole generations have been abandoned
as

>lost, where millions are consigned to menial jobs and a marginal
future,

>and where generations of children are growing up in homes without a

father.

>

> There are some who look at our shining city and say all is well.

There

>are others who look at our damaged city and say all is lost. I believe that

>neither the prophets of doom nor the Pollyanna's of prosperity are right.

>This is, for all who can see it, something else: a moment of monumental

>challenge at a new century's first light.

>

> Creating one America for all Americans will require at least three

>commitments -- three ideals. The first is a commitment to free markets.

The

>second is a commitment to opportunity. And third, a commitment to security

>-- for our young and for our elderly.

>

> -more-

>

>

>

>Ashcroft Remarks Continued:

>

>

>Free Markets

>

> There are two ways to look at our economic future. One is the model

>of government, management and control. Those who see government as the best

>creation of man frequently find that government is the answer to every

>problem. The other model is the free market. Those who believe in the

>market believe that economic success occurs when people are free to pursue

>their dreams and are free from the heavy-hand of the state. The first is

>the path of Jimmy Carter. The second is the way of Ronald Reagan.

>

> For the evidence, look no further than Uncle Sam's payday -- April 15.

>On that day, 120 million Americans were subjected to the largest tax burden

>in the history of our country. The average American spent almost the

>equivalent of a work-week filling out a 1040EZ form! We not only have a tax

>code that penalizes marriage, discourages child-birth, and taxes everything

>from birth to death, we have a tax code that is so insanely complex that it

>robs us of nearly 120 million weeks of work. Even worse, it is growing.

>Like the blob from the old horror movie, our tax system just keeps

>expanding. Over the last 5 years, federal, state and local income, estate,

>property, capital gains and excise taxes have grown at an annualized rate

>of 9.9 percent (from \$698.3 billion to \$1.1 trillion).

>

> We do the American people an injustice to speak of reform. There is

>only one thing to do with this tax code - shred it, bag it, and haul it to

>the nearest dump.

>

> This past fall I offered a tax plan to do just that. Entitled "A New

>Beginning," my plan would create a fair flat tax by establishing just two

>income rates -- 10 and 25%. It would relieve the working middle class of

>the regressive double-tax on work. It would mean a lower tax burden for

>all Americans, especially the 70% of those paying more in payroll taxes

>than in income taxes. All told, it will provide a \$1.7 trillion tax cut to

>the American people over five years.

>

> And Congress should start preparing for the next century by cutting

>marginal tax rates for every American this year. Free markets succeed when

>individuals taste the fruits of their labors, not when government imposes

>the highest tax burden in history and our leaders ignore the threat to our

>freedoms.

>

> Adhering to the principle of free markets also means aggressively

>pursuing world markets. Today there are some voices that argue for America

>to turn inward, close her borders, and hide herself. I understand the fear

>and the uncertainty that can lead people to these conclusions. Cutbacks and

>layoffs are more than news to the people they affect - they are

>life-changing realities. Our shift from the industrial age to the

>information age has been like rewiring a house with the electricity still

>on - it is, to say the least, a harrowing experience. But America must not
>succumb to the fears of an unknown night. To endorse the tired voices of
>timidity who suggest that America is neither good enough nor strong enough
>to prevail on the world stage is to deny our heritage. We Americans must
>unite to say with one voice that America will stand alone atop the world
>stage and that everyone else is playing for second place.
>
> -more-
>Ashcroft Remarks Continued:
>
> This is not to say that we ignore the proper fears of those Americans
>who look at an information age economy and wonder where they fit in. Nor is
>it to say that America will succeed if our companies put their short-term
>profits ahead of the long-term prosperity of our people. Rather, it is to
>say that this new economy can bring an abundance to this land like never
>before.
>
> In just the past eight years, American automobile exports have
>increased from about 950,000 per year to nearly 1.6 million. That has meant
>income, jobs, and hope for countless thousands of American workers. We need
>more American successes like this.
>
> Looking south of our border, I see a place that needs American
>products and American ingenuity. When I look west across the great Pacific
>Ocean, I do not see a domineering dragon or threatening tigers. No, I see
>a market of nearly 2 billion people who need what America has to offer.
>
> As we survey the landscape of global economic competition our
>government has a responsibility to stand up for our ideals and our people.
>To show, by word and deed, that America is committed to free trade markets
>sustained by free peoples. It is the responsibility of the United States
>to do what no single corporation can: to enforce fair trade policies, to
>stand behind American corporations and their products, and to fight

against

>any policy or nation that inhibits competition by productive

American

>workers.

>

> Only a nation as great as America has the stature to go to China, to

>stand amidst her powerful, to look them in the eye and to tell them to

>"Tear down this Great Wall of protectionism that denies freedom and

>economic opportunity."

>

> For, free markets have been the medium of one of the most optimistic,

>inspirational, and revolutionary occurrences of any century. It has been

>said that the assembly of great minds coming from rural Virginia in the

>middle of the Eighteenth Century may have been without parallel.

>Washington. Jefferson. Madison. These men envisioned a new kind of nation

-

>one of, for, and by the people. Then they created it.

>

> I believe that the assembly of minds in a valley on our western coast

>rivals the minds that created this nation -- for they are recreating the

>world. Not too long ago men and women dreamed of a world of information

>that would unite and liberate. Then they set out to create it.

Today

>Silicon Valley, and the valleys it has bred from Washington state to

>Virginia to Texas, are places where history is written every time another

>circuit is placed on a chip the size of a pinhead. These places are

>redefining the possible on a daily basis.

>

> This should serve to remind us of what we can do. Like every great

>movement in American history, Silicon Valley's revolution is one built on a

>rainbow of diversity limited only by time and space - not by anything else.

>Not by government. Not by fear. Not by prejudice. It should serve to remind

>us of who we are. America is the strongest alloy known to man - the

>amalgamation of the best of every single person into one family, one nation

>in pursuit of one America, challenged by adversity, and strengthened

by
>diversity without division.
>
> -more-
>Ashcroft Remarks Continued:
>
>Opportunity
>
> Why do you suppose that America is the destination of choice for
all
>in the world who want to start anew? It is because other societies
have
>provided to the select few the chance to get wealth; America has
provided
>to all the opportunity to create wealth. To build one America for the
21st
>Century, we need a recommitment to the ideal of that opportunity.
>
>Our recommitment to opportunity must begin with a rejection of the
politics
>of division. For too long, political parties left and right have been
mired
>in the muck of special interests. Democrats and Republicans have both
found
>themselves trying to cater to the narrow interests of the few to
the
>detriment of the many.
>
> Because I am a Republican, let me speak only for myself and my
party.
>Just like the Democratic party of the 1970s, we are fast approaching
a
>point as a Party where the things that are dividing us are defining
us.
>That must end. We must be a party defined by what unites us, not
that
>which divides us. We need to recommit ourselves to the ideals of
freedom
>and opportunity and a vision of one America. We must embrace the power
of
>faith, but we must never confuse politics and piety. For me, may I
say
>that it is against my religion to impose my religion. C.S. Lewis
wrote
>that the greatest danger for those who loved God and politics was that
they
>would come to see their faith as a means to their political ends.
With
>history as our guide, we must avoid that fate.
>
> Tomorrow, members of the Senate will meet to select their leaders
for
>the 106th Congress and begin to set an agenda for the year to come.
Our

>challenge is to create a vision that can be embraced broadly by Americans.

>As the last election proved, the absence of a compelling agenda will leave

>our party to be balkanized by warring factions who care more about their

>narrow interests than the national interest.

>

> Our Party must recommit itself to opportunity for all Americans,

>including those Americans who are in the most desperate need of help.

How

>can we do this? During the welfare debate in 1995 and 1996, I advanced a

>simple concept called "Charitable Choice." With the votes of 67 Senators we

>enabled states using federal funds to contract with private, faith-based

>social service organizations to care for those in need. This quiet

>revolution in welfare is making a profound impact in improving the lives of

>those in need.

>

> We need to expand Charitable Choice to more welfare programs and

>enable the best of American social entrepreneurship to flourish.

Groups

>like Bethany Christian Services and Catholic Social Services in Michigan,

>which work through Governor Engler's Families First program should be

>encouraged. Studies show, they provide more success at lower cost than

>foster homes.

>

> These groups are the charitable equivalent of what companies like

>Apple and Microsoft and Wal-Mart were a few decades ago - they are our

>social sector entrepreneurs. Think of them as a down-payment on one

>America.

>

> -more-

>

>Ashcroft Remarks Continued:

>

>A Sense of Security

>

> Free markets will strengthen us from within. A recommitment to

>opportunity will engage all Americans in our work. But one more thing is

>needed: a renewed American spirit that says we will look out for our own,
>that no American, young or old, will be left behind - a sense of security
>for all Americans -- young and old alike.

>
> I speak here not only of security from without - but of security
>within. Security, for instance, for the young. Today America's young are
>confronted with a maelstrom of drugs, violence, lawlessness, and danger.
>Our schools harbor too many killers, pushers and punks. I believe that our
>government needs to ensure that our children are safe on our streets and
>successful in our schools. That means tougher juvenile justice laws and
>drug-enforcement efforts. It means zero tolerance for those who would harm
>our children and steal their youth. Washington should send federal funds
>directly to our classrooms and free principals and teachers to exercise
>discipline in our schools.

>
> But security is more than providing safety for our children. It also
>is a framework of certainty around our elderly. And that demands saving
>Social Security.

>
> Today an entire generation believes that a system they are forced to
>pay into will not be around for their own retirement. If current trends
>continue, they are right. The Social Security system faces bankruptcy and
>American workers are now taxed 12.4 percent of their income for a system
>doomed to fail.

>
> Social Security was originally designed solely as a pension plan for
>full-time workers. Today it covers farmers and the self-employed, surviving
>spouses and the disabled. The system was also created at a time when
>average life expectancy was only 62 years. Today, thanks to the miracles
>of modern medicine, Americans can expect to live to an average age of 76
>years.

>
> The first way we need to protect Social Security is to start

paying

>off our \$5.5 trillion national debt, and restoring solvency to the

Social

>Security Trust Fund. My economic plan calls for treating the debt like

a

>mortgage, paying it down over a 30 year period, with the first dollars

>going to place real assets in the Social Security Trust Fund. In this way,

>every dollar borrowed by the government from future retirees would be paid

>back over a 12 year period. The best action today to protect the economic

>security of tomorrow's retirees is to build up real assets with growing

>market value in the Trust Fund.

>

> Next, America needs to reform the entire system and save it for

>generations to come. Social Security reform requires thoughtful, honest and

>sustained Presidential leadership, and I do not believe that we will

>receive that leadership from this White House. The Clinton administration

>has recommended two major overhauls this decade - of health care and

>tobacco controlled programs. Both plans erred on the side of meddling

>instead of markets, of socialism instead of self-determination. Both plans

>took the wrong approach, and both plans, under both Democratic and

>

> -more-

>

>Ashcroft Remarks Continued:

>

>Republican Congresses, failed to muster anything close to majority support

>in Congress and among the American people.

>

> If the President takes this path, his scheme for Social Security could

>endanger the economic security of retirees and economic prosperity of all

>Americans. For example, in the President's recent Advisory Commission on

>Social Security, a plurality of members recommended a dangerous plan

>whereby the government would invest up to 40% of the trust fund into the

>stock market. Such a scheme for the federal government to direct over \$650

>billion would represent the largest government nationalization of

an

>economy in history--a stunning reversal of the world-wide move towards

>privatization and free enterprise. It would fundamentally threaten the

>economic and political freedoms of the American people.

>

> If the government were to manipulate the investment of trillions of

>dollars from the Social Security Trust Fund in our private financial

>markets, special interests, lobbyists, and politically-favored groups would

>exert their influence and massively distort competitive considerations in

>the capital markets. Special interests could lobby for the investment of

>government funds in preferred corporate stocks, not only to increase their

>value, but also to obtain the government's imprimatur on their products or

>to ward off investment in new industries that challenge existing

>franchises.

>

> An even more dangerous development would be the urge for government to

>set politically correct standards for Trust Fund investing.

This

>governmental social engineering would place the Social Security Trust

>Fund's solvency at the whims of politicians' pet social causes.

Interest

>groups might try to pressure the government from investing in defense

>contractors, entertainment companies, non-unionized corporations, or

>perhaps even in automobile companies who don't conform to fuel efficiency

>constraints. If Social Security reform makes political protestors

>investment advisers, neither retirees nor the American economy would

>benefit. The last thing the Social Security Trust Fund needs is poor

>investment decisions.

>

> In sum, the worst thing we could do is to give the government more

>authority over the stock market. I understand the impulses to seek higher

>rates of return. But I also think it important to recognize the limits of

>prosperity - to understand that there are times when prudence is indeed

the
>better part of valor.
>
>
> A sensible system of security, a recommitment to opportunity,
and a
>commitment to free markets. These are not simply three ideas, they
are
>three themes of freedom; they are the foundation for creating one America.
>
> I began my remarks this morning with Governor Cuomo's keynote
address
>at the Democratic Convention in 1984. His remarks are valuable
because
>they capture America's other city. A city where young people struggle
to
>buy homes. A city where middle class parents can't afford college for
their
>kids. A city where the elderly need help but can't find it.
>
> -more-
>Ashcroft Remarks Continued:
>
> Too few members of both parties seem willing to acknowledge
America's
>other city. Even fewer seem interested in trying to reclaim it.
Instead,
>they seem content to tell us that some people simply will have to do
with
>less. Circumstances are such, they say, that we can no longer expect
each
>new generation to inherit a set of opportunities that is brighter
and
>better.
>
> Ladies and gentlemen, I reject that with every fiber of my body.
For
>more than two centuries, America has been a place defined by a
single
>phrase: the best is yet to come. And like Governor Cuomo, this
former
>Governor wasn't taught that lesson by a book and he didn't learn it in
a
>classroom. He saw it firsthand.
>
> My grandfather "Cap" Larson came to America when he was just
thirteen.
>It was 1893 and the Statue of Liberty was less than ten years old.
He
>couldn't read the first word of Emma Lazarus' poem. But he knew
that
>America was a place where dreams come true ? that the best was yet to
come.
>

> And through the simple elegance of his example, I learned about values
>like integrity, hard work, and responsibility. I learned that America's
>free markets offer the opportunity for anyone of any background to create,
>to pursue, to succeed. Only in America could Cap Larson dream that one day
>his daughter would graduate high school and his grandson would be Governor.
>Only in America the beautiful.
>
> And, ladies and gentlemen, I am more convinced than ever that working
>together we can make the dream of one America a reality. To finally do
>what we know to be possible. To reduce taxes, to provide economic
>opportunity to all, to build an America that is more secure and more free.
>We can create a new American Century that is as good and great and grand as
>the one we have known ? a shining, glittering city on a hill that is the
>symbol of one America.
>
> Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

* * * *

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>The New York Times - December 7, 1998,
>
>HEADLINE: Political Briefing; Conservative's Shift Angers Backers
>
>By B. Drummond Ayres Jr.
>
>BODY:
>Ever since he said he might seek the Republican nomination for President in
>2000, Senator John D. Ashcroft of Missouri has been angling hard for the
>support of the religious right. Always solidly conservative, he has become
>even more so in recent months, repeatedly punching the buttons that most
>energize Christian conservatives -- no more abortions, no more Federal
>financing for the arts, no more immorality in high office.
>
>The response from this powerful political group has been encouraging, and
>the Senator's friends say he is increasingly inclined to jump into the
2000
>contest.

>
>But a few days ago, Mr. Ashcroft suddenly made a major adjustment in
>ideological course, one that turned heads and has left some members of the
>religious right angry and others wondering just where the Senator stands
on
>the causes dearest to them.
>
>In a speech to the Detroit Economic Club -- all serious Presidential
>aspirants drop in on this powerhouse collection of business captains -- he
>veered back to the political center, taking a swipe at the religious right
>on the way.
>
>The Republican Party, he warned, is fast approaching the point where "the
>things that are dividing us are defining us." Then he added:
>
>"We must never confuse politics and piety. For me, it is against my
>religion to impose my religion."
>
>Thereafter, he talked only economics to the economics crowd. Not once did
>he mention abortion, Federal support for the arts or the Clinton-Lewinsky
>scandal.
>
>His omission drew quick reaction.
>
>Gary Bauer, the religious conservative who heads the Family Research
>Council and who is also considering a run for the Republican nomination,
>charged that Mr. Ashcroft was driving his own divisive wedge into the
>party's ranks by "ignoring the craving of Republicans and conservatives
for
>someone who will defend innocent human life and the rule of law."
>
>Paul Weyrich, an Ashcroft supporter who runs the Free Congress Foundation,
>cautioned the Senator to choose his words more carefully in the future.
>"You simply can't afford to have your base in an uproar over speeches you
>give," he said.
>
>Ashcroft aides insist that while the Senator is in fact beginning to
change
>his political emphasis a bit, he has not changed his core beliefs. They
say
>that in the wake of the Nov. 3 Republican election debacle, he wants to
>focus less on emotional, hot-button issues and more on the kinds of issues
>that proved to be Republican winners that day, notably tax cuts, fiscal
>responsibility and welfare and education reform.
>
>Still, to disappointed members of the religious right and to many
political
>pros, Mr. Ashcroft suddenly sounds like an echo of Gov. George W. Bush of
>Texas. Mr. Bush has been talking a lot recently about party unity and
>moderate, "compassionate" conservatism, and polls indicate he leads the
>Republican Presidential pack.
>