

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	From USIA_Media_Reaction, re: Early Report 3/4: U.S.- CHINA/IRAQ [partial] [10 U.S. Code § 424] (1 page)	03/04/1999	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Tape Restoration Project [Email]
(WHO)
OA/Box Number: 500000

FOLDER TITLE:

[03/04/1999 - 11/12/1999]

2019-0159-F

bg284

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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CREATOR: USIA_Media_Reaction (USIA_Media_Reaction@notes1.usia.gov [UNKNOWN])

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SUBJECT: Early Report 3/4: U.S.-CHINA/IRAQ

TO: (b)(3) UNKNOWN])

[001]

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TEXT:

In the wake of Secretary Albright's visit to China and looking ahead to Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji's visit to the U.S. next month, foreign media commentators diverged in their assessments of the U.S.-China relationship. Noting that the U.S. needs China's markets and China needs U.S. technology, Hong Kong's pro-PRC Macau Daily News said "these factors provide the momentum...for Sino-U.S. relations, keeping them on the right track." Pundits in Indonesia and the Philippines agreed, judging that the "strategic partnership continues" and the two countries "sometimes ignore friction between them." Observers in South Korea and Britain, however, saw tensions over human rights and "the prospect of a U.S.-furnished missile shield for Taiwan" as leading to a "difficult period." London's independent Financial Times judged that China's accession to the WTO could "cap" the visit to Washington of Mr. Zhu Rongji, but it warned that "getting an agreement that will satisfy American business and farm interests--and other members of the WTO--will be far from easy." New Delhi's centrist Hindu also said "the deal in the offing for Zhu's visit is...WTO-related." That paper noted, however, that the U.S. would have to consider "Zhu's domestic compulsion of not being seen as surrendering to U.S. conditions" and also saw the theater missile defense issue as potentially stirring tensions between Chinese civilian and military leaders.

IRAQ: 'ORCHESTRATED ACTION' AND THE U.S. 'PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN'

The ongoing air strikes on Iraq and the underlying U.S. policy vis-a-vis Iraq were highlighted in a smattering of editorial comment from the region and beyond. Papers in Jordan and Tunisia were highly critical of the U.S. military action, with Amman's center-left, influential Al-Dustur charging that the professed U.S. concern about Middle East stability is at odds with "recent threats to Iraq by the U.S." that demonstrate "the unwarranted use of brutality and barbarism." Some editors expressed "confusion" over U.S. policy goals on Iraq, leading a Tunis writer to ask, "What does America want exactly from Iraq? Does it want to topple Saddam as it is claiming? Does it want to punish him for what he did?" After noting "confusing remarks" by U.S. officials, a Saudi daily made this observation about U.S. efforts to overthrow the Baghdad regime: "What is going on is a propaganda campaign for something that is not yet known or has been lost and...we do not know where it will lead in the region." From Europe, Edinburgh's independent Scotsman expressed support for "this undeclared war" on Iraq and hoped that "the political will exists in Washington and London to continue the strategy...until it yields results," despite protests from what it termed "Saddam's growing band of Western apologists." Paris's right-of-center L'Express contended that "the scenario prepared to overthrow Saddam" illustrates American "hyperpower" and judged that U.S. motives are based on a mix of "democratic evangelism and pragmatism."

BRIEFS

- 'Israel's Dilemma In South Lebanon'
- Cuba And The European Left: 'Too Many Silences'

EDITORS: Katherine Starr and Bill Richey

U.S.-CHINA TIES: STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP OR NEW TENSIONS AHEAD?

HONG KONG: "Main Current And Adverse Current Of Sino-U.S. Relations"

Pro-PRC Macau Daily News said (3/3): "Madeleine Albright's China visit is to pave the way for Premier Zhu Rongji's visit next month..... In the mind of the U.S., China is a huge and profitable market. As far as China is concerned, it needs resources and advanced technology from the U.S. to quicken its pace of modernization. These factors provide the momentum and foundation for Sino-U.S. relations, keeping them on the right track even though they have encountered severe tests.... The fundamental differences between the U.S. and China originate from the dual character of America's China policy. While the U.S. is developing its relationship with China, it continues to contain China. It uses 'peaceful' means by keeping up contacts with China in order to advance China's internal 'evolution,' so as to secure the hegemonic status of the U.S."

INDONESIA: "Human Rights Issue Sensitive, But U.S.-China Cooperation Continues"

Leading independent Kompas observed (3/4): "Washington's willingness to enhance bilateral cooperation is apparent in Albright's...and Barshefsky's visits to Beijing. U.S.-China relations have not been very close, as noted in Albright and Barshefsky's statements, especially concerning human rights and trade.... Although the U.S. and China have differences in

terms of human rights, the two major powers seemingly seek an increase in economic and trade cooperation. Perhaps due to that shared view of the significance of economic cooperation, the U.S. and China sometimes ignore friction between them regarding trade, human rights, and Taiwan issues....

The U.S. position toward China is very interesting. The U.S. seemingly must compromise with China, especially since it cannot dictate to China on trade and human rights issues. China continuously demonstrates an unyielding attitude against U.S. pressure, including the threat of economic embargo."

PHILIPPINES: "U.S. Strategic Partnership With China Continues"

The editorial in the government-owned Journal (3/4) said: "Albright told Chinese leaders the other day that Washington wants to see the release of Chinese political prisoners soon..... Don't believe this kind of talk.

While Albright is talking this way, the strategic partnership with China continues. Preferential trade continues, transfer of military technology continues and the diplomatic ties remain as warm as ever. The human rights line is intended to appease domestic consumption, particularly the Democrats who believe that the world has to be fashioned in the image of Washington. But deep in her heart, Albright knows that China will just listen to her but continue with its domestic policy of political control while giving some economic concession to the middle class. The problem for Filipinos is when the U.S.-China strategic partnership extends to the Spratlys. If that is so, then goodbye Kalayaan Sea."

SOUTH KOREA: "Human Rights And China"

Conservative Chosun Ilbo (3/4) said: "The Sino-U.S. relationship is headed toward a difficult period because of the debate over human rights. One defense China is always ready to put forward is the disparity between capitalism and socialism with regards to the standards required on human rights. We cannot say China has no basis to stick to this stance, but larger truth is that there has to be absolute and basic human rights."

BRITAIN: "Unconstructive, Less Engaged"

The independent Financial Times said (3/4): "An intense round of American diplomacy this week is attempting to save a pillar of President Clinton's foreign policy: constructive engagement with China. The trouble is that since his visit to China last year, he has precious

little to show for it. Now, all of a sudden--or so it seems--a new issue has emerged that could expose the fault lines between the two countries: missile defense.... Beijing is violently opposed to the introduction of a theater missile shield anywhere in Asia, as an unwelcome shift in the balance of force there. But it is the prospect of a U.S.-furnished missile shield for Taiwan, which it considers a renegade province, which has provoked the most extreme reaction.... With difficulties almost across the board,, American and Chinese officials are hoping for a breakthrough in the one area where it still is possible: China's accession to the WTO. That could cap a visit to Washington next month by Prime Minister Zhu Rongji. Given China's economic difficulties, getting an agreement that will satisfy American business and farm interests--and other members of the

WTO--will be far from easy. And even if an accord is reached, the unusual warmth between the two countries that was demonstrated during Mr. Clinton's visit last year is unlikely to return for some time to come."

INDIA: "U.S., China Searching For Medal For Zhu"

Tokyo correspondent F.J. Khergamvala wrote in the centrist Hindu (3/4):

"Albright's trips to Asia are not taken too seriously by most in the region, except the accompanying U.S. media. Especially in Japan, China and in parts of Southeast Asia, she is treated as the tough talking cowgirl who no longer decides policy but merely tries to soften the opposition before the hard bargainers arrive.... Eventually the Sino-U.S. equation boils down to dollars and cents as well as image projection. The deal in the offing for Zhu's visit is almost certainly WTO-related. The U.S. is striving to strike a bargain between opening out a huge market on its own terms yet it must bow before Zhu's domestic compulsion of not being seen as surrendering to U.S. conditions. China is in an extremely difficult position.... At this point, when its growth rate has declined, exports are down in January by 11 percent year to year and unrest feared, China can hardly carry a domestic constituency on making concessions about WTO admission terms as required by the U.S. This is where there is much merit in Bill Clinton's public plea that an open economy cannot be delinked from an open political system.... A closed system without firm indication of public support for a close relationship with the U.S. also prompts the People's Liberation Army to throw its own challenges to the Chinese civilian leadership which is accused of being soft toward the U.S. on missiles and the TMD policy."

IRAQ: 'ORCHESTRATED ACTION' AND THE U.S. 'PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN'

JORDAN: "Peace And Revenge"

Daily columnist Rakan Majali observed in center-left, influential Al-Dustur

(3/4): "The United States often speaks about its concern for world

security and stability and about protecting this region in particular from

explosions and dangers. All this is very much lacking in credibility,

because what is being implemented on the ground is completely [at odds with

their words].... Recent threats to Iraq by the United States and to

Lebanon by Israel show the level of rancor, the desire for revenge and the

unwarranted use of brutality and barbarism. Not to mention the fact that

such policies fail to serve peace and security in this region."

SAUDI ARABIA: "A Propaganda Campaign"

London-based, pan-Arab Al-Hayat ran this commentary by the paper's Riyadh

bureau chief (3/3): "Frank Ricciardone, the U.S. official in charge of

assisting the Iraqi opposition with removing the Iraqi regime, is the

successor to Martin Indyk in the region.... Indyk describes himself as the

Assistant Secretary of State for Middle East Affairs, yet we never hear

from him, during his visits to the region, any comment which indicates that

he works at the State Department, but instead he (always) speaks in the

language of pure propaganda. He knocks at the doors of media outlets

instead of the doors of ministries of foreign affairs. His (Indyk's) new

successor claims that he helps the Iraqi opposition but he talks about the

army. In a recent interview he mentioned that....the Iraqi regime would be toppled through a military coup.... He

never mentioned the Iraqi opposition.... In addition, the Iraqi opposition, which he supports, has rejected all of his proposals and views Ricciardone as looking for an opposition agent to carry out Washington's desires.... After all these confusing remarks, we find in the Arab world those who talk about (supporting) U.S. policy toward Iraq, but what is going on is a propaganda campaign for something that is not yet known or has been lost and...we do not know where it will lead the region."

TUNISIA: "Who Will Save Iraq From Continuous Strikes?"

An unsigned editorial in bilingual weekly Realites held (3/4): "Since the beginning of this week, Iraq has been exposed to air strikes, described by observers as the most violent since 1991.... What does America want exactly from Iraq?... Does it want to topple Saddam as it is claiming?... Does it want to punish him for what he did? But punishment should not consist of striking innocent people...and killing children, old people and women.... What is most dangerous is the fact that this genocide is being done in silence...silence of the international media...and silence from the groups that fight for human rights.... Iraq is used as a springboard to send the message to the rest of the states in the region and in the world. The message is clear...no state is permitted to go beyond the limits drawn by America and the West in general.... It is high time to declare that Iraq needs immediate initiatives to save its people from a collective and slow death. On the other hand, the Iraqi government has to demonstrate new

policies...that create new relations to its advantage.... These initiatives should come from Arab leaders, who know well the danger that surrounds the region from the Iraqi strikes."

BRITAIN: "Orchestrated Action In Skies Over Iraq"

Edinburgh's independent Scotsman had this lead editorial (3/4): "There is a gap between what ministers say American and British warplanes are doing in the skies over Iraq and the strategy their officials describe in private. Neither case is morally offensive. But the one advanced in unattributable briefings bears a closer resemblance to observable reality.... The private case states that the program of aerial bombardment is more deliberate than acknowledged. Senior Pentagon sources have told this newspaper that allied aircraft are deliberately enticing Iraqi retaliation and then using it as a pretext to conduct an orchestrated campaign against Iraqi military and government targets.... We hope the political will exists in Washington and London to continue the strategy (this undeclared war) until it yields results. That could take a long time. Meanwhile, the cultivation of opposition groups inside Iraq must be pursued with urgency. A stable and prosperous Iraq under responsible leadership is a genuinely ethical ambition. Britain is entitled to use force to achieve it. Saddam's growing band of Western apologists will protest, but the only Iraqis who will mourn his passing are those who are complicit in his crimes."

FRANCE: "Uncle Sam's Law"

Denis Jeambar signed this editorial in right-of-center L'Express (3/4):

"The U.S. president has declared himself as defender of democracy and human rights, without ever forgetting that economic and trade interests lead diplomacy. In the name of those two ideals, he ends up intervening everywhere. Giving lessons here, smacking the table, using air strikes when he thinks it is useful and preparing destabilizing operations when he has no alternative. The scenario prepared to overthrow Saddam Hussein illustrates this: in this affair, democratic evangelism and pragmatism are mixed. No one will blame the United States for its desire to get rid of the Baghdad dictator. But by wanting to regulate everything in the name of a world responsibility which no one can oppose, the American hyperpower runs the risk of going astray and of giving us more disappointments than triumphs. We remember the raid launched by President Jimmy Carter to free the American hostages held in Tehran. A fiasco. The Ayatollahs came out stronger. In this anti-Saddam operation, openly led, the United States must not fail. Otherwise it would be condemned to make a fool of itself."

"Frank Ricciardone: The Man Who Will Overthrow Saddam Hussein"

Nukte V. Ortaq remarked in right-of-center l'Express (3/4): "The scene took place at the American embassy in London, on January 25. A handful of Iraqi opponents.... Kurds, Shiites, monarchists and Islamists are assembled.... The man who joins them is called Frank Ricciardone.... He is a talented diplomat. Only a few days before this meeting, Madeleine Albright named him 'special representative for the transition in Iraq.'... Never before did the world's leading power make so official its policy to throw out Saddam. This announcement condemns the United States to succeed."

BRIEFS

'ISRAEL'S DILEMMA IN SOUTH LEBANON'

ISRAEL: "A Question Of Understanding"

The independent Jerusalem Post wrote in its lead editorial (3/4): "In searching for a way out of the Lebanon imbroglio, it is tempting, as Defense Minister Moshe Arens did in an interview with The Jerusalem Post, to consider scrapping the 1996 Grapes of Wrath understandings. But as unfair as those understandings may seem from an Israeli perspective, it would be unwise to abandon them.... Instead, Israel could interpret the self-defense clause of the understandings to include immediate and direct retaliation against mortar attacks, even if they are launched from civilian areas.... Israel should state clearly to the United States and France, as key members of the monitoring group, that it is no longer willing to tolerate constant violations of the understandings by Hezbollah. However, Israel should not--as Arens seemed to be hinting was under consideration--act as if the understandings are already too far gone to attempt reconstruction. Since 1996, the number of Katyusha attacks against Israeli civilians has gone down greatly. In addition, the five-nation monitoring group is the only forum where Israelis and Syrians can talk to each other."

"Exaggerated Lamentations"

Conservative writer Israel Harel commented in independent Haaretz (3/4):

"Why are people saying 'This situation cannot go on?'... Our casualties in past wars have been much heavier than these recent figures.... It is our fragile morale...which is preventing us from achieving a military victory...and is strengthening the enemy's resolve. The weeping and sobbing are ruining our deterrent capabilities also vis-a-vis Syria, Iran and Iraq. Arab states, including one that has already signed a peace treaty with Israel, are again entertaining the hope of being able soon to crush the Zionist entity."

"The Limits Of Clinton's Patience"

Netanyahu critic Akiva Eldar wrote in independent Haaretz (3/4): "Defense Minister Arens told The Jerusalem Post yesterday that it would be difficult to drop the Lebanon Understandings.... Like Netanyahu, Arens realizes that...there is a limit to President Clinton's patience.... Perhaps they have also heard that if there is no withdrawal from the territories in the next few weeks, the president will speak his mind about Netanyahu's reliability even before Israeli elections. Mrs. Clinton will deliver her own hint in the way she plans her upcoming trip to the Middle East. Like her friend Madeleine Albright, the First Lady will skip Israel."

SYRIA: "Confusion"

Qasem Yaghi commented in government-owned Al-Thawra (3/4): "The exchange of accusations amongst Israeli leaders reflects their confusion....

Pressured by frustration and failure in South Lebanon, Israeli officials

are proposing to get out of this impasse; the strangest

proposal was made by Sharon, who suggested a delay in Israeli elections and formation of an emergency government to withdraw from South Lebanon. The Israeli parties rejected and ridiculed Sharon's proposal, saying that the proposal aimed to attract media attention and to hold Netanyahu responsible for aggravating the impasse in South Lebanon."

"Occupation Is The Cause"

Majed Mouwwad opined in government-owned Al-Thawra (3/4): "The American and Israeli efforts to modify the concept of the April Understanding Committee aim to dilute efforts for a real peace and to waste these efforts in a maze of unilateral and marginal measures.... Such efforts aim to abort UN resolution 425 and to weaken international consensus.... This does not suit the U.S. role in the peace process."

LEBANON: "Crisis Induced By 'Arnoun's' Annexation Not Over Yet"

A second-page editorial by Sarkis Naoum in mainstream An-Nahar argued (3/4): "The way 'Arnoun' was liberated raised questions.... Some believed that it was a spontaneous student's move, others thought that it was a...solution prepared by the United States to prevent Lebanon from resorting to the UNSC and protect the 'Monitoring Group.'... To put things in perspective we have to state the following facts: a) there is no doubt that the 2000 students who liberated 'Arnoun' took this step believing in their country;...b) the United States had a basic and very important role

in making the student's move a success; when the United States was 'informed' of the student's plans, it took initiative and exerted pressure on Israeli officials to prevent them from confronting this 'move' with violence;...c) Israel's compliance came about because of the 'forceful' American position;... d) there is a big difference between the circumstances surrounding 'Arnoun' and circumstances surrounding other villages in the security zone. The South Lebanese Army (SLA) is present in other villages and will use violence (upon Israeli orders) against a similar student's step;...e) in principle, the crisis induced by the annexation of 'Arnoun' has ended. However, it can be repeated because Israel is starting to believe that the 'April Understanding' agreement is not in its interest."

JORDAN: "Israel's Dilemma In South Lebanon"

Center-left, influential Al-Dustur stressed (3/4): "In-house discussions in Israel show that many political powers in Israel support the idea of an Israeli withdrawal from south Lebanon. The matter is so hot that it has become an ace card for Israeli prime ministerial candidates in their election campaigns.... There is no doubt whatsoever that the (end of the) Israeli occupation of south Lebanon is just a matter to time. Israel will have to eventually abandon its arrogance and give in to the fact that it is defeated in south Lebanon."

"Israeli Elections And Peace Northwards"

The centrist, influential among the elite English-language Jordan Times

judged (3/4): "There is a growing consensus in Israel that a secure and safe Israeli border in the north can never be realized without a peace pact with Syria. All the killing and destruction on both sides could have been avoided if only Israel took earlier note of the obvious and pursued peace with Syria, not only for the sake of the safety of its northern border but also for the benefit of its northeastern frontier with Syria. It is ironic that the Israeli prime minister has yet to comprehend that, without a comprehensive and just peace with all the Arab parties, the peace treaties it has concluded with Egypt and Jordan will continue to be strained. Sooner or later Israel will have to make peace with Syria and Lebanon, and the sooner this is done the better for all sides."

GERMANY: "New Path"

Left-of-center weekly Die Zeit of Hamburg noted (3/4): "A feeling of deja-vu has returned. The election campaign has begun in Israel, and fighting between the Hezbollah in southern Lebanon is becoming more intense. Three years ago, former premier Perez thought that a decisive strike against the Hezbollah could improve his image and his chances of being reelected. But this was of no use, and he lost the elections.

Another election campaign is taking place in Israel today. Up until now, Premier Netanyahu has been able to withstand all calls for a tougher policy in southern Lebanon. He knows that the voters would not support an

Israeli offensive in Lebanon not linked to a diplomatic initiative....

Everybody knows that a quiet border in the north depends on an agreement with the man who calls the tune in Lebanon: Syria's President Assad. He uses Hezbollah as a means of applying pressure, since he wants the Golan Heights back. However, an Israeli troop withdrawal would also put into question the presence of the Syrian army in Lebanon. The situation remains complicated."

CUBA AND THE EUROPEAN LEFT: 'TOO MANY SILENCES'

ITALY: "Human Rights, Too Many Silences"

Foreign affairs analyst Franco Venturini commented in leading, centrist Corriere della Sera about the European socialist parties convention that took place in Milan last Monday and Tuesday (3/4): "It is a pity, it is even scandalous, that the leaders of the European left devoted so little time and words to the defense of human rights...limiting themselves to (rightly) express the hope for a fair trial for Ocalan.... Would it really have been inappropriate...to denounce the repression of dissidents in Cuba or China?.... In order to respond to the abuses of dictators, it is necessary to define a policy and to find a point of equilibrium between the values of freedom and economic interests. A clear behavior is necessary that will not ignore the needs of realism but will reject those of cynicism. Squaring the circle is going to be tough for everybody. It is difficult for the United States, that has invested a lot on the evolution of the Chinese system. And it is difficult for the Holy See, that now has to draw bitter conclusions about the Pope's visit to Cuba.

"Deep Wound Between Italian Left And Lider Maximo"

Left-leaning, influential La Repubblica (3/4) commented: "Something has broken. Fidel Castro's latest crackdown...has opened a deep wound in relations between the Italian left and the lider maximo. Amid motions and appeals, documents and parliamentary interrogations...for the first time a strong request is emerging without reserve any more: respect human rights."

"Fidel Backtracks, Dissidents Released"

Omero Ciai wrote from Miami in PDS (leading government party) L'Unita' (3/4): "Fidel never changes. Smart as he is, he released almost all the dissidents arrested over the weekend.... The message has gone through, and it is useless to exaggerate.... Fidel must have realized the consequences of his decision: anger of the Vatican, postponement of the Spanish king's visit, cancellation of the Spanish-American summit.... Perhaps the four dissidents awaiting sentence also have some hope of avoiding punishment."

SPAIN: "Castro's Challenge"

Liberal El Pais noted (3/4): "After the brief parenthesis created by the Pope's historic visit, Castro's regime has once again clamped down. Hard on the heels of having strengthened laws against political dissent has come the farcical trial of four dissidents accompanied by the biggest round-up in years that bagged about 100 of the regime's critics. It is a

way of saying: 'Nobody move!'. And, of course, the one who has moved the
least is Castro." ##

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

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WPC
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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: OLCOTT_E (OLCOTT_E@a1.eop.gov [UNKNOWN])

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SUBJECT: 1999-4/25 POTUS and NATO leaders in DLC roundtable

TO: "/R=3\$=/C=US/ADMD=WESTERN UNION/O=ATT.COM/DD.ELN=62955104/"@mrx.eop.gov ("
"/R=3\$=/C=US/ADMD=WESTERN UNION/O=ATT.COM/DD.ELN=62955104/"@mrx.eop.gov [UNKNOWN])
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TO: "/R=OPUS/R=MRP/PR-L=AVUOEEOB/PR-U=TDIXON/FFN=Timothy Dixon/"@mr.eop.gov ("
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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 25, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN
DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP FORUM
THE THIRD WAY: PROGRESSIVE GOVERNANCE FOR
THE 21ST CENTURY

National Press Club Building

Washington. D.C.

5:21 P.M. EDT

MR. FROM: Good afternoon. I'm Al From, President of the Democratic Leadership Council.

Welcome to this historic forum, entitled "The Third Way: Progressive Governance for the 21st Century." We are honored today by the presence of so many international leaders of the Third Way. The Democratic Leadership Council is an idea action center, dedicated to developing Third Way philosophy and a Third Way governing agenda. We are gratified and amazed to see similar themes cropping up all over the democratic world.

Ten years ago this week, Governor Bill Clinton agreed to become chairman of the DLC. Many of the new Democrats' themes -- (laughter and applause) -- many of the new Democrats' themes and ideas developed during his chairmanship have defined the Third Way in America, and as President he has put them into action.

Shortly after the 1992 election, we were first visited by a member of the Shadow Cabinet, Tony Blair, who was beginning his efforts to modernize the Labour Party in the United Kingdom. How far we've come in just one decade. Today's event is the latest in a series of conversations on Third Way politics that began at Chequers in November 1997, and continued last year at the White House and New York University. Today, three key continental leaders are joining this global conversation.

And before I talk about what we're going to do today, I want to recognize the one American who has done more to get this conversation underway than any other, the First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton. (Applause.)

This forum comes against the backdrop of NATO's 50th anniversary celebration. It will focus on new social and political questions posed by economic change and globalization. Its purpose is to highlight the common values and priorities that motivate Third Way leaders as they seek to strike a new balance between the imperatives of economic dynamism and social justice. Whether they're called New Democratic, New Labor, or the New Middle, the values, ideas, and approaches to governing for the

Third Way are modernizing center-left politics around the globe.

They are grounded in a public philosophy that embodies fundamental progressive principles further by innovative ideas and modern means. The Third Way philosophy can be summarized this way: its first principle and enduring purpose is equal opportunity for all, special privilege for none. Its public ethic is mutual responsibility. Its core value is community. Its outlook is global and its modern means are fostering private-sector economic growth, today's prerequisite for opportunity for all, and promoting an empowering government that equips citizens with the tools they need to get ahead.

To lead our discussion, I'm honored to turn the program over to the man whose leadership has shaped the Third Way, the President of the United States. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Thank you very much. I'd like to begin just by expressing my profound gratitude to Al From, and to all the people at the Democratic Leadership Council for having the passion and the patience to work at this for years and years and years.

I, too, want to thank Hillary and the hearty band within the White House who keep us focused on the big ideas and values that got us here in the first place. And I'd like to say

a special word of thanks to my friend and aide, Sidney Blumenthal, for the work that he's done in trying to put this meeting together.

I would also like to just very briefly say how very much I admire the people who are here with me at this table today -- how much I have learned from them, how much I look forward to working with them at every opportunity. Wim Kok, from the Netherlands, actually was doing all this before we were. He just didn't know that -- he didn't have anybody like Al From who could put a good label on it. (Laughter.) But he was doing it, for years and years and years.

Tony Blair has made me long for a parliamentary system. (Laughter and applause.) Gerhard Schroeder had to wait even longer than I did -- (laughter) -- and was also a distinguished governor. And Massimo D'Alema has proved that you -- I think -- I'll make you a prediction here -- I think he is already proving that even in Italy, where governments tend to be like the flavor of the month for ice cream, that the right sort of politics can have a sustained long-term impact on some of the most wonderful people in the world. So I'm honored to be here with all of them.

I'd like to thank my friend and ally, Congressman Cal Dooley, who is out there; the Secretary of Transportation, Rodney Slater; the Secretary of the Army, Luis Caldera, who helped me in so many ways. And we're going to hear afterward from Lt.

Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, former Governor and Democratic Party Chairman Roy Romer; Mayor Wellington Webb of Denver; and Commissioner Michael Thurman. I thank them.

All of you know we've just finished a three-day NATO conference, celebrating the 50th anniversary of NATO, bringing in new members, celebrating an astonishing partnership with over 40 countries, including the countries of Southeastern Europe, all except for Serbia, and the countries of Central Asia in this amazing new group which, itself, is full of Third Way questions.

At our last luncheon, one of the members made a crack that we had five members of the last Politburo of the Soviet Union sitting around our table today. And another one said, yes, and a lot of the rest of us should have been on the Politburo, but we weren't. (Laughter.) And it was a picture of how much the world has changed.

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What gives rise to this kind of politics, when the old order is destroyed or when the realities of daily life or popular dreams can no longer be accommodated by a given set of political arrangements through a political debate? We see that in Southeastern Europe today, with the crisis in Kosovo, where the old choices between state stability and being consumed by ethnic hatreds, and what we're arguing for is a new integration based on the embrace of difference, not the oppression of it.

I would like to just pose a couple of questions, and then let our panelists take off. You heard Al From say that basically our lodestars have always been in the United States the concept of opportunity, responsibility and community. We worked on this for years. We tried to think of simpler and more complex ways to say what we stand for, but we've never done any better than that.

So I think I will just leave it there. But let me say, what could that mean in the present time? What is giving rise to all these people's elections? Why is this happening everywhere? It's not some blind coincidence. I believe it is because the social arrangements which were developed within countries and the international arrangements among them, which grew up from the Great Depression through the second world war, and then the Cold War, are no longer adequate to meet the challenges of the day.

And most of the parties of the right made a living by beating us in elections by saying how bad we were. And whatever -- we were always for more government and they were for less of it. And if you thought it was, by definition, bad, then less is always better than more.

So they had quite a run in the 1980s. And then it became readily apparent that that didn't really solve any problems. And that they were serious questions that demanded

serious answers. So I will just pose three, and then let our panelists go in whatever order they would like.

It seems to me that the great question that any political party that purports to represent ordinary citizens must answer is, how do you make the most of the economic possibilities of the global information economy and still preserve the social contract? What can governments do to help make sure that every responsible citizen has a chance to succeed in the global economy? And how can we discharge our responsibilities, as the leaders of wealthy countries, to put a human face on the global economy so that in other countries, as well, no one who's willing to work is left behind.

The second question I'd like to ask is, what is the nature of the social contract now, and how is it different from what it used to be? What does it mean? Are there entitlements that we should still have? Beyond entitlements, what are the empowerment issues of the social contract? What is the role of the private sector and the relationship of the government to it?

And, finally, what do we mean by the concept of community? Who's in, who's out? And how can we create a concept of both national and international community that is a more powerful magnet drawing people together than the awful magnets pulling them apart, rooted in racial and ethnic and religious difference throughout the world?

And I will leave with that. It is a cruel irony that in this world we're entering that we have always celebrated in our dreams as a place of unbelievable technological explosion, unbelievable scientific advance, unbelievable advances in health care, and using computer technology to empower people in small African and Latin American villages, for example, to learn things -- would be dominated by the most primitive hatreds in all of human history, those rooted in our basic fear of people who are different from us. How can we construct a community in which those forces pulling us together are more powerful than those tearing us apart?

There are hundreds of questions we debate all the time, but just about every question we debate falls within one of those three categories. And so having set it up like that, we have no agenda, and I'll just turn it over to our friends.

Mr. Blair, would you like to go first?

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: Thank you, Mr. President, and I think the first thing I would like to say is how delighted I am to take part in this event, and to thank Al From and the Democratic Leadership Council for having hosted it -- and I think, probably on behalf of all the leaders who attended this summit, to apologize to the people of Washington for the inconvenience that we've caused them. But it's just as well

we're not running for election here, but -- (laughter.)

I also want to say a word of thanks to the President as well. I believe what happened over these past few days will in time be seen as something quite historic. I think we have witnessed a little piece of history in these last few days. And I don't know about my other colleagues, but I found, when I was sitting round the table today with people from all sorts of different countries, who would have considered themselves in a different world, really, from us, a few years ago, there was something quite humbling about their desire to be part of our family -- about their tremendous innocence, in the best sense of the word, belief in the values of democracy and justice and freedom, and creating a better society and better world.

I think something happened this weekend that I think was remarkable, and it wouldn't have happened without the leadership and the vision of President Bill Clinton. And thank you for that. (Applause.)

On the Third Way, itself -- and as Ger Schroeder was saying to me on the way in, look, I haven't found the first two ways yet, so you tell me where the third one is, but -- (laughter) -- on the Third Way, itself, I think we start from one simple proposition. And I find this when I talk to people in no matter what part of the world we're in, which is why this idea of dialogue I think is so important.

All countries have different ways of coping with these two basic problems -- how you get economic prosperity in a world of economic globalization and massive technological change, number one; and number two, when societies are changing, families are changing, lifestyles are changing, the whole way that the people live their life in our society is changing, and how you provide social stability in these times. I think those are the two things that confront us always, the whole time -- how do you provide prosperity in this world of economic change, how do you provide stability in this world of social change?

Now, the way that I define the Third Way is this, that what I would call, really, if I could use British or European terms, what I would call the old left would have almost tried to resist change, would just have said, we don't like this change. And we became associated with high taxes, producer interests, big government. In terms of crime, for example, we were often perceived as simply soft on crime, indifferent to it, more worried about the rights of those committing crimes than those people that were victims of it -- and, basically, didn't appear to have answers to these problems of the future. That was the old left.

The new right that was produced in a sense as a sort of counter-revolution to that, in the '80s, thought the solution to everything was just get rid of government, just get it out -- as

little of it as possible, get rid of it all, economics of laissez faire and socially, often I think indifferent to what was actually breaking apart the bonds of society.

Now, I think that our whole process, really, for the center and center-left is a voyage of rediscovery. What is it that we're really, really about? And I believe what we're really, really about is the politics of community, summed up as Al From put it -- community, opportunity, responsibility.

And I think that, then, leads to four different parts from that, that derive from that basic principle. In other words, it's about reasserting ourselves as a party of values -- not as a party of fixed ideological or policy positions, but party values -- and then it's saying, well, how do you apply those values to these great economic and social changes.

I think there are four parts, as I say. I think, first of all, in economic terms, we define the new role for government.

And the role for government is not old-style corporatism or heavy-handed intervention, it's essentially about government's

role in promoting education, skills, technological advance, small businesses, entrepreneurship -- it's a role for government, but it's not the role that it used to be. And it's distinguishable, both from the old politics of heavy-handed intervention and some of the new right politics, which is laissez-faire.

In social terms, it's about the concept of a modern civic society. I'll tell you what my generation wants, I believe. We went through a period in the '60s where, if you like, people just sort of said, well, you do your own thing. I think want my generation and younger wants -- and I notice this with young people in my society, particularly today -- is they want a society that is free from prejudice, but not free from rules. So they want to make sure that the sexual and racial equality, that there isn't discrimination against people -- they don't actually believe that it's tolerable that old ladies are beaten up by young thugs.

So and neither do they believe it's tolerable that someone simply takes money off the welfare state and feels no sense of responsibility toward the society in which they live. So I think it's also, then, secondly, about a civic society based on rights and duties.

Thirdly, if you do believe in active community, you have to redefine and reinvent government. And this is what this administration here and Vice President Gore have done an immense amount in really pioneering work on. But all of us in our different ways are trying to reinvent the institutions of government. You do things differently, different mechanisms -- sometimes you use the voluntary sector, there will be partnerships between public and private sector; decentralized government will be done in a different way than it was before.

And the fourth area -- which is why I think it's good in a way that we are having this seminar, even though the whole of this weekend has been overshadowed by Kosovo -- because I think the fourth principle that derives from our belief in community, opportunity, responsibility, is a belief that this applies internationally as well as nationally. And, therefore, when we say what is happening in Kosovo is utterly unacceptable and we are not going to tolerate it, we will stand up to the rights of oppressed people there, that is every bit as much about our values as it is about strategic interest.

And so, internationally, I think we are people that are outward, not isolationists. And what I noticed with a lot of the talk on parts of the right in my country and other countries, is they increasingly retreat into a sense of national interest that I believe ultimately is contrary to national interest, because it seeks to shut nations off from each other in the world at large.

So I think, derived from a rediscovery of our essential values -- the belief in community, opportunity and responsibility as being the basis for that -- a derivation from those values in the economic, the social, the government, and the international sphere, adds up to practical policies in the end. It's an agenda of values and principles that ends up with practical policies that make a difference to the people whose lives we're looking after, and trying to help.

And a couple of other things, by way of finishing. The first is that I think it's really important in this that we understand that the people at the table are all in government. I mean, Bill, and Massimo and Ger and I have been in government a little bit shorter, I should say, but for Wim and Bill -- all of us, we've been doing these things. I mean, there's actually policy content to this. And the policy content is driven by these ideas and values, and that is very, very important. Because in the end what is important also is to give a sense of vision in which the values, the principles, and the policies form one seamless line.

And the other final comment is this: It is very important, in my view, for this whole project of renewal to be a dynamic project. Our center is a dynamic center. It's not a soggy center. It's not just the lowest common denominator between left and right. It is a genuine attempt to address the problems of the future according to the principles of justice. And I truly believe that it offers a new, different, radical and better way forward for politics in the 21st century. (Applause.)

PRIME MINISTER KOK: Thank you. Allow me, please, to join first Tony when he made his comments on this, this weekend, this NATO summit. The summit was, of course, overshadowed by what is still happening in Kosovo. And I think the outcome of the summit is encouraging, in terms of unity -- and not in an

unnatural way -- unity between the member states of NATO, in spite of the fact that there are, of course, nuances, because I very much understand the specific position where, for example, Italy and Greece are located so closely to Serbia and to Kosovo -- that makes a difference. But there's unity.

And on top of that, we have that very, very remarkable experience of having such a large family of 19 members and 23 other countries together around one and the same table. And that shows that in the new century, NATO will be as necessary as before, but will be a different, new NATO, based on the same values -- rule of law, justice, against crime, against inhumanity. We will do it in another way, in accordance with the new situation. And I'm most happy that we're under your leadership here.

Having said that, I come to the item of today -- as you said yourself, Bill, we put it into practice without having the label on it, the Third Way. Sometimes I have the impression that the Third Way is a very broad Third Avenue, but -- (laughter) -- anyhow, it is symbolic for renewal.

And I like the approach very much, because -- well, I am Prime Minister of a relatively small European country, only 16 million people. An open economy, very dependent on international trade, a high share of our national income is exported and imported. So we became perhaps earlier aware of the

necessity to change and to adapt some other larger economies in Europe and outside Europe. And I'm proud to be a citizen of a country where we have a very high social standard.

I think we belong together with the Scandinavian countries, to the countries who have the highest level of social benefits, which is good, but, if you are not very careful, dangerous at the same time. Because in these modern times, people do not just -- must have the right to be protected if they need to be protected, in terms of social standards, of social care; but people also must feel the urgency of responsibility. Opportunities is one thing, responsibility is the other thing. And solidarity, in fact, has two aspects. People who cannot take care of themselves must be protected in a decent way.

But the taxpayer -- that's also the average worker and worker family -- must know that what he or she is paid is dealt with in an appropriate way, by those who get the money. So, participation and responsibility is as important as solidarity. We have -- solidarity is a two-way Third Way -- a two-way road. (Laughter.)

So what we did, what we had to do is renewing the social system, not by breaking down these walls of social standards, but by activating social security policies, bringing people from welfare to work, and making people responsible for their own decisions, and also being, in community terms, being

straight-forward. Because you have rights, but also responsibilities.

I'm like Tony Blair, very much in favor of taking change as reality, because we are living in a world -- an interdependent world, where change is a must. New technologies are not only a danger for some people, but offer opportunities and possibilities, and these can be translated into new possibilities.

What that means to the government must be an empowering government offering the tools to people on the basis of equal opportunities to make the best out of their life. But then we must be very keen, of course -- when we use the word community, we must know that there are not only winners, that too many people also in my country -- and it will not be different in other European countries or here in the United States -- who will never be the winners because of technological change. Where empowerment and where the modern possibilities of training and education are not possible anymore.

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So we have only a community if the winners feel responsible for the losers and make -- give the best possible opportunities for those who cannot afford to follow the rhythm and the speed of technological change to have a good living. And this is true for the national case. It is also true for the

international case.

We have, again, in the international world, of course, to stress what we have to do in terms of giving help and showing solidarity with the poorer countries. But they must also be in the possibility to do so. So that relief for the countries in the most miserable financial situation -- in African countries, for example, is a must. If we don't do so, give them the possibility to get rid of their debts, because they pay more money on interest rates because of the debt than they even earn, then the spiral is going all the time deeper and deeper. That's also community and that is done in my approach also, part of our approach.

And my final word is, let's not forget the ecological aspect of what we are doing, because the quality of our lives, and the quality of our future, will be based not only on the basis of material progress -- on profits, or salaries, or whatsoever -- we want to have a world for our children and our grandchildren that is really worthwhile. And that means that we must be prepared, in our own economies and altogether -- and quite often it can be better done in the international field than just nationally -- to pursue policies that are not always popular, but are necessary to prepare a better world for the next generation.

Thank you. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Gerhard?

CHANCELLOR SCHROEDER: Well, the search for a Third Way has got historical reasons, or historical origins. People have put the question, I think even longer than ten years ago -- I mean, some of us have been working for ten years or more -- but with us, is there an alternative to neoliberalism on the one hand side, and some kind of orthodox state socialism on the other hand?

That is the reason why people have started for a Third Way, because both of those tracks have been discovered to be misorientations and -- well, misguided ways. People who are dealing with the question of a Third Way will have to answer the questions as to how one can lead developed industrial societies, industrial countries, successfully in the new millennium.

And I think if we're looking for an answer to that question then it makes sense to deal with the things that already exist in our world. For example, we've got the Southeast Asian model. Possibly, if you look to Southeast Asia you can see it most obviously what I mean.

That model is based upon the fact that capital has accumulated in the hands of only a very few; access to education has been restricted to very few; and the wide areas and the wide

masses of the working populous have been forced to forego their participation in wealth, education and affluence through political means.

I would like to say that one of the origins, the root causes for the Asian crisis is to be found right there. The European model has a completely different one. After the second world war people tried to venture upon a path that they called social market economy in Germany where they tried to emphasize the word "social," and that was not based upon the wider masses of the population, the worker, foregoing their just share for prosperity within their society and their just share of education. But it was based upon participation and involvement of the working masses.

They were given their fair share of prosperity within their society. And if you ask yourself what could be the flesh to the bone of the Third Way, then I think we have to go back to those roots. For me, Third Way means participation of as many as possible. Participation in the values that the society holds precious, but also regarding vocation, training, education, et cetera.

And whenever I am involved in a discussion of the Third Way, then I'm normally doing it in such a way that I say we need to make sure that as many people as possible can participate in, can share in the opportunities, but also responsibilities within

the society. And I think if that is understood, if we are talking about participation and co-determination within that society -- and I think that holds true for women as well as for men -- then I think you have found a definition for the Third Way that ties with itself, within itself. I think you then only have to go in and determine what does that mean in the individual detail.

And I would like to respond to a few of the questions that President Clinton just put, and I'll try to answer them. I, by the way, also think that the experience with systems that promise to make mankind happy and lucky have shown that the true magic formula here doesn't exist, and that in real life one has to go in and run an experiment to keep the good things and then throw away what's bad. I think trial and error is an important principle here. It seems to become ever more important when we see how complex these industrialized societies are these days.

But let me come back to those questions the President has said, which economic opportunities are the ones that we can grab; which ones can we use. I think that is a good question in this context. And I think there would be a general answer to that question, but it needs formulating in detail as well. If we tried to provide economic opportunities for as many people as possible, we need economic growth.

But the question is, what is economic growth within our

environment under our circumstances. My proposition will be that growth in economic terms is an increase in knowledge and an increase in skills. That is, I think, what holds true for our society today.

And that leads me to what I think is the crucial question here -- how can we make sure that we keep all people and all parts of our society up and running, and keep them involved in the offer of knowledge and education. Because only if we manage to do so can they partake in the prosperity thereof as well.

So we need an utmost degree of education and training available to as many people as possible. But it's not just something that is demanded by humanity, but it makes economic sense. Because I think if economic growth and prosperity in the future is more knowledge-based than ever, and if new products are going to be even more knowledge-based and skills-based than they ever have been in the past, then I think the criterion that will decide about the fate of a society, fate of a country in a positive or negative sense will be exactly that.

The second question that was put to us -- what is, sir, the relationship between justified demands within a society and the responsibilities -- I think in market economies today, we do not have a legal right, but certainly a moral right, an entitlement, I should rather say, to education and work, a job afterwards. If that holds true, though, then that should be

balanced by the responsibility to then also do work thereafter.

And he also holds the responsibility to undergo vocational training and make the effort.

You may be too young or you may be too old; in that case, it's up to your society to look after you and protect you, but it has to be very obvious. And that is really where our Social Democrats made mistakes in the past. It has to be obvious. And that is really where democrats made mistakes in the past. It has to be very obvious that just as Wim just said, solidarity is a two-way street, it is not a one-way street. Solidarity means the that person has to do whatever they can for themselves and their family. And only if they fail or are entirely unable to do so, only then does solidarity within the society mean that that society has to look after him and care for him.

I think that the demands that we are faced with from our citizens, that there are very obvious responsibilities. On the other hand, we really need to implement that. And I think he who does not comply with his duties and responsibilities should lose his original entitlement to the solidarity, namely, the support by the state. I think that is justice. It is a justified model, because otherwise, the people who bring the performance, the people who earn the money will finally say they're no longer ready to support the weak ones.

The third thing we need to do is that we need to come to some common-sensical ration between private factors on the one hand side and public factors on the other. And if you look at America -- I think our European tradition is a little different from yours. Here in the U.S. it always went without saying that the private sector was the prior one and it was strong and it was seen positively. And I think if we had a healthier relationship and in Europe and Germany, between the private sector and the public sector -- I think if we adopt some of the things you have done here in America in that field, then we could certainly gain. And I think possibly in a similar way, Americans could gain from taking over some of our educational approaches.

And I think the vocational training system, for example, we had in Germany -- for quite a long time it was debated -- also, in America -- whether some of that should be taken to and be brought to the U.S. I remember that Mrs. Clinton very much thought about creating a health sector that wasn't meant to be very similar or the same as in Germany or in Europe, but to adopt certain components that were already in existence in Europe.

So I think we can really learn from one another here, and I think as to this healthy relationship between the private sector and public sector, Germany can certainly learn a lot from America -- certainly when it is about the question of the flexibility of the markets. And in the markets I include the

labor market, as well. But if I understand Europe as one thing, then I think that degree of flexibility is difficult. Because, I mean, in Europe you have all the different languages. I mean, you can see my English is just not good enough to get across to you what I want to say. So that is something that does factually restrict mobility across Europe. And also the very different state cultures and traditions are dividing factors to some degree.

But nevertheless, I think the high degree of flexibility that you have here in America, the flexibility, and the dynamism, of course, arising from it, and the momentum, is something that we would like to share with you. I think we do not just need a new relationship between the private sector and the public sector. But if you want to put it like that, on the vertical level we need the same things.

Let me explain. Even if there are certain responsibilities that lie within the responsibility of the state, the state is not necessarily the same as the field of politics. So if you tell the state that those are crucial tasks to be looked after the state -- hopefully, less than the state was supposed to be doing in the past, but still -- then the question still is on which level of that state are those different tasks looked into.

In Germany, we've got this principle of subsidiarity. That is, by the way, something that is also important for Europe.

And the principle behind that term is easy. So everything and anything that can be decided very close to the people can be decided and should be decided there. And that makes sense because the closer the decision to the persons affected by it, the more easy to understand, the more direct, the more close. And I think the more removed the decision-making body is, the more difficult to find the legitimation for that decision-making process, and the more difficult for the people affected to understand it.

So the principle of subsidiarity means that the tasks that can be done by a local authority should not be transferred to the next level or the second next level, but they should have actually been taken on the local authority level. And there yet again, I think we can learn a lot from America because this is a very well-developed addition here in this country.

And I think if we make ourselves aware of the fact that the Third Way means letting as many people as possible participation in the haves and in the say within their society, and then break that down on to the different detailed levels, then I think that the Third Way must never be understood as a closed circle or as a closed system that we just put on to our people as if we were putting on a hat, but as a context that needs to be open, stay open to change.

Because I think the worst thing we could do, that we

take our dynamically changing society, our dynamically changing environment, with an economy that develops dramatically -- it skyrockets in some areas -- that we apply static systems to it. That was the reason why state socialism was doomed to fail in the first place, because those two can never go together.

So if we then understand the Third Way as an open system, then we also understand that the right tool to develop it further is dialogue and learning from one another. And that's what we're trying to do here. (Applause.)

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PRESIDENT D'ALEMA: First of all, let me tell you that this meeting of NATO leaders has been a great success, and this wasn't at all to be taken for granted. This summit was held during hard times because a war is a war. It is a burden to bear, even when this war is waged with very good motivations and with very great belief in these motivations.

We have come out of this summit more united, more determined, and there are differences, but they are differences in the tones that were used. But we do have a common strategy, and this strategy aims at achieving a just peace. We said, and we stated at the summit that we shall not rest at peace until these people who have been deported and humiliated go back to their homes. We intend to use both force and politics to achieve this goal. Then some of us maybe threaten the use of force more,

and others are stressing the use of politics, rather. But this is not really a division among us.

Italy is right there, very close to the scene -- we're a front-line country. But Italy is not outside the action that is being carried on. We have 42 aircraft; we have helicopters engaged; we have 5,000 troops in Bosnia, Macedonia and Albania; we have 2,000 Italian civilians who are assisting and providing relief to refugees in Albania; we have ships doing the work, together with the other forces of the Atlantic Alliance. We have been there right from the start and we shall be there to the end. (Applause.)

This is something that I wanted to say. There's a saying between Germans and Italians, according to which Germans love Italians and Italy; whereas Italians respect Germans and Germany. I have answered to those who reminded me of this expression -- I find the Germans very lovable. And I do think that Italians must be respected, or must learn to become respectable. (Laughter and applause.)

This is very important for me. Italy's a serious country when it takes up an engagement, and a commitment; even when such commitments have to be taken with a heavy heart, as in this circumstance.

The Third Way, in my opinion, is a major cultural

challenge, first of all. In the course of this century, we have experienced open democratic societies -- very dynamic ones, very competitive ones. But these societies also have suffered a sickness -- social injustice. In these societies, it is easy to race towards success, but at the same time in these societies, those who do not make it dropped out, and they are left at the margins.

At the same time we've had other experiences, societies that were able to develop systems of solidarity and social protection, but through heavy bureaucratic systems in such a way that these systems have, in fact, slowed down development, dynamics and the possibility of attaining success.

The Third Way is the effort to find a meeting point between the positive aspects of these two major experiences. Is it possible to have a dynamic economics and the society based on solidarity? I think it is. But this is a challenge. There is no prescription that you can write down for this. It is an attempt, an effort that is pursued day after day. The Third Way is not an ideology. The answers are to be found day after day and have to be tried and tested. The need for a Third Way is the result of a crisis of ideologies, not of the victory of ideologies.

So I like to raise this issue also when talking about values and cultures. The idea of social solidarity in the 20th

century all too often was accompanied by the idea of authoritarianism. And freedom, all too often, has shown the face of inequality. And the conflict between these values has left a deep mark on the 20th century. It has even been an armed conflict, the conflict between solidarity and freedom. If we intend to open up the way to a new age, we must find a peaceful coexistence between solidarity and freedom.

I think that this approach to the issue has also got something to do with the question of the dialogue between Europe and America. America, after all, has been and is the great dynamic country, being dynamic and the country of progress. West Europe in different ways has experienced systems of solidarity through authoritarianism in Eastern Europe and through democracy in the West, but with some bureaucracy involved in the West, too.

For geographic reasons maybe, Tony Blair is sort of a bridge between these two cultures and these two experiences. But I think this is an important and positive role to play. And I think he is performing this role, and will perform this role, effectively if he involves the whole of the European left in this dialogue. This is a problem. This is a question. I think we Europeans should not be divided. I think we should move towards this new cultural challenge united.

I'd like to say a few things on the questions that were asked -- I'm trying to be a bit more precise in my answers, but

let me say -- in order to win this challenge, probably we'll need less national government, less central government, but greater governance over local processes. I think the direction of our efforts -- when we talk of crisis of community, well the crisis is of national communities, particularly when it is accompanied by an ethnic and religious view of what the national community is. But our leverage should be local communities, should be the actual physical community among people. The living community of people -- because solidarity, as it is developed at that level is less bureaucratic, less cumbersome.

And we should introduce a notion of a global community, as well. After all, what have these new friends who have opened up to the dialogue with the West and with America told us? They have told us that if we wish to guarantee peace, we should give these people a chance, an opportunity of development and growth. They have told us that we cannot be content with just giving opportunities to the individuals who live within our societies; that is not enough. We have a larger responsibility there. We must give opportunities to people, and we should have a global view of responsibility and community.

In the official fora, I expressed no congratulations or words of thanks to the President of the United States. Maybe that was too official. I'd like to say a few words here, sincerely speaking, with great sincerity. In these days, we have been successful because President Clinton didn't just talk the

language of force and determination, he also has spoken words of hope. And I think we shall be successful if we keep this hope alive, and if we feed it through concrete choices.

In a few days, we shall meet in the G-7. We will have to talk about debt of the poorer countries. Tomorrow, there will be the discussion on the interim committee of the Monetary Fund. I think the real challenge of the Third Way is to take action, take decisions, which are difficult. It was difficult to decide to go and fight for Kosovo. We should show the same determination when we decide to pardon the debt of the poorest countries that will never be able to pay back because they're too poor. We should show the same determination and force in taking the decisions that are needed to seed hope. And that's what I wanted to say.

Thank you. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I should say that the Prime Minister is a good friend of the man who is now the most famous Italian in America, Roberto Benini. And after his performance at the Academy Awards, you have both affection and respect.

(Laughter.)

I would just like to try to comment on a couple of things, to maybe make the conversation somewhat more specific and sort of segue into the participation of our other American leaders here.

If you look at this whole Third Way challenge, in America, for the Democratic Party it meant we had to prove we could manage the economy in an intelligent way and then deal with the whole question of social justice. And in our country those questions basically meant three things. One is what to do about the poor and how to have a welfare system that empowered people who could take care of themselves, but also took care of people who could not take care of themselves -- first question.

The second question, how to deal with the fact that we had phenomenal economic growth, but increasing inequality. That inequality had been increasing for quite a long time -- partly because of government policies, partly because the new economy gives such a wage premium to education and skills.

And the third question, to my mind, in many ways the most important, how can this country with all of its phenomenal success and low unemployment -- the lowest unemployment in 30 years -- and now finally rising wages again, how can we strike the right balance, a better balance between work and family -- give families the support they need to raise their children, take care of their parents, have the time they need, have the child care, the health care they need, and still maintain the economic dynamism. What is the right balance?

Now, for Europe, it goes the other way. I wish Prime

Minister Jospin were here from France. Very interesting --

France has had economic growth averaging over 3 percent for the last three or four years, but their unemployment rate hasn't gone below 11 percent, I think -- something like that. Any way, still in double digits. And we know from our own experience that when unemployment -- I mean, when growth can be sustained above 2.5 percent in an industrial society, normally the unemployment will go down until it bottoms out at around, at least around 6 percent -- even without going over 3 percent.

So the European question is, how do you get growth manifested in jobs and not give up your social solidarity. In America the question is, how do we keep all this growth -- we love it -- and get a little more stability for families, and make sure we have done what we should for the poorest of our communities and our people; and try to make sure that Americans who do work and carry the load in this country have a chance to have more of the growth in terms of their personal wealth and well-being.

So to some extent we are crossing. Now, I mention that to just give you a couple of specific examples. Gerhard Schroeder mentioned the German job training system. We sort of copied a lot of elements of that and tried to amend it for America in setting up our school-to-work program in 1993, because the Germans do the best job of moving people from -- who do not go on to university for four years -- moving most people into the

workplace with modern skills so they can claim a higher wage.

And in our country, we have -- John Sweeney, the head of the American labor movement -- the labor apprenticeship programs -- a lot of the labor training programs do a good job of that, but as a society, we don't do as good a job of that. So we're trying to improve that.

Another interesting example -- how do you deal with the fact that more and more people are working at home, more and more people are working in flexible work environments, you're going to have more and more part-time jobs -- how is that consistent with maintaining a kind of social safety net. I would argue that the Netherlands have done the best job of that. Wim Kok's country has the highest percentage of voluntary part-time workers in all of Europe -- that is they choose to do so. And they've worked out an agreement, which maybe he would like to talk about, so that even the part-time workers earn, on a pro-rata basis, their vacation -- annual vacation, and have retirement and health care and other things -- they have the social protections, and there it makes them more willing when necessary to take part-time work. This is a big deal.

When I became President in America, there were 3 million people making a living primarily out of their own home, for example. When I was reelected, there were 12 million. Now there are 20 million, in only two years. So this economy is

going to, if you will, atomize a lot. It's going to get a lot more diverse, and kaleidoscopic. So we'll have a lot of challenges to face in having the proper sense of social safety net.

And then, as I said, the most important thing is getting it right between work and family, since I think we would all admit that the most important job of any society is raising children as well as possible -- something we are even more burdened with in the moment, that conviction.

So I just throw those ideas out. These are things that are going on in other countries, something that we're battling with here constantly. And I wonder if any of you would like to comment on that.

PRIME MINISTER KOK: Well, perhaps I could say a few words about responsible choices one has to make, individually and collectively, in terms of what do we do with our economic growth?

First of all, of course, we have to create economic growth, and be able to keep that speed of growth on a qualitatively acceptable basis, as I said before, because the quality of the environment and ecological aspects are not just somewhere things in the margin, they are part of the heart of the matter.

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But I think responsible choices made by workers and by trade unions and responsible leadership in companies and enterprises are necessary elements for good government policies in this respect, because there's quite of a lot of choice for people to be made between what do we do with our prosperity. Do we translate growing prosperity into higher salaries for those who have already the job, the insiders? Or are we prepared to use part of the growing prosperity for extension of the number of jobs.

In my country there has indeed been a remarkable growth of the number of jobs, also part-time jobs, but different from, I suppose, in the past. In Germany these part-time jobs are equal. I mean, there are equal rights for those who have a part-time job compared to those who have a full-time job. In Germany the system was in the past that those who have a part-time job got less social security rights, for example; that makes, of course, quite a difference.

Having said that -- and this is my final remark -- on work and family, I think people should, of course, take their own responsibility in making the choice between two earners in households -- men and women -- man and wife both want to have a job, and they have a choice, of course, how to deal with raising children.

But it's of key importance that we offer opportunities for workers, not only for women, but also for men, to have the possibility to combine working with having enough leisure time for taking care of not only raising children, but also for those who are sick -- and elderly people, for example. And there, the word "flexibility" gets quite a new phenomenon. In the past flexibility, which is a dirty word in the ears of quite some Europeans, or just an instrument for employers, for entrepreneurs who -- just to organize work in a flexible way. But the workers had to wait and see what happened to them.

But flexibility should also be to the benefit of workers, if they have the free choice to organize leisure time and working time in a way where they cannot only earn their money, as a worker, but also be responsible for children and elderly people if they want to take care of them. And there labor agreements, at least in my country, are becoming more flexible. And government policies are based on, for example, fiscal stimulus to those who want to take leave -- people can, for example, make use of special arrangements organized by government policies, to make it possible to combine having young children, working and taking care of the children.

So there a lot can be done in the triangle of clear government policies, responsible trade unions -- but responsibility does not mean that you are just weak and soft -- that can only be the case in the case where also employers and

entrepreneurs take their responsibility. Because in a community-sense approach, everybody must be responsible, not only the weakest, but also the strongest, who know that it's in their benefit to work into the direction of a better society.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Anyone else want to talk?

CHANCELLOR SCHROEDER: Just one aspect, if I may, because I think we might have neglected that aspect of it. I agree fully with what's Wim Kok said and what the American President said as to the need for internal reform. I have just realized how difficult that is. I mean, seen against the background of very specific traditions that my party, that our society has grown used to, there is one aspect that I believe to be very important in this respect.

We've been talking about alternatives. And that is the international aspect of politics, of policies. I am not saying that now with an eye to the United States of America or the countries represented here. But when I look to the countries in the Third World and to the newly industrialized countries that tend to be so much stronger than the poorest countries in the world, here the international development, the internationalization, globalization of the economies of the financial markets create a situation where the political achievements that you have brought about in your own society is

being destroyed by these developments.

International, financial speculators can destroy an economy. We've seen that in Asia. And the consequence of what we've seen there was that the international financial institutions that have to come into play -- that is to say, the stronger countries have to make their contribution, which they generally do because it is in their very own interest -- and that economies are being supported by international financial institutions who pay for the liberties of the speculators in the international markets. One of the causes by the crisis, for example, that has set us back in our economic development.

So the internationalization of economies -- and we should not try to counter that trend, nor to stop it or to block it, It's something that develops, information technologies contribute to that -- but this internationalization, this globalization of the economies, should it not be followed and accompanied by an internationalization of our policies, when we look to economic policies, for example.

And I think that it was last, but not least, the American President -- but it was also others who submitted proposals as to how to cope with the activities of these speculators and international financial markets that can destroy the whole economy. As I say, the internationalization of politics is important and we have to begin not with trying to control financial markets, but trying to make them more

transparent and trying to coordinate common action on the part of the various governments concerned and affected.

We have to include the private business community in this endeavor. Of course they should have their liberties, the freedom of choice and the freedom to take decisions that they consider right. But we should bear in mind that our efforts can be destroyed overnight, whereas we are not able to respond in an appropriate manner.

And that brings us to a somewhat curious situation, a difficult situation. The people in the countries in which we are in power politically, they expect of us that we take care of these developments and these matters. And we, at the same time, are not able to solve them or to deal with them at the national level. So there is this big gap between the responsibility that we are burdened with by the people -- especially when it comes to international developments -- and the objective means and possibilities that we have to act.

So what we need is to counter that, if we want to remain credible in the policies that we pursue. And that is a very important thing, the importance of it should not be underestimated. We've decided -- "we," the industrialized nations of the world, the G-7, the G-8 -- want to talk about it in Cologne, and to take decisions in that respect. Of course, we will not be able to conclude that ban, but at least we want to

make headway here, because I think otherwise we will be in a very difficult credibility situation, we will not be credible to our very own people.

And, now, when we think about the instruments at our disposal in the international and the national arena, then we realize that it is going to be the quality of political leadership; and the quality of political leadership will become dependent on the credibility of governments, dialogue will become a determining factor. And, therefore, politicians will also have to adapt to the changes in time.

The success of politicians will be measured in their success to participate in dialogue, their ability to participate in dialogue.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Let me just say very briefly, I think when we meet in Germany in the next few weeks with the G-8, I hope we will ratify a number of changes to the global financial system that I believe will be adopted by the international financial institutions and other bodies that will avoid having another financial crisis like the one we saw in Asia that we have all worked so hard to keep from spreading to Latin America and elsewhere.

And it really is a classic Third Way problem, because what happened was, in the last 50 years after World War II when

the so-called Bretton Woods instruments were developed, the IMF, the World Bank and others, designed to promote global trade and global investment, with the explosion of technology and the explosion of trade, more and more money had to move around the world.

And then as always happens, there came an independent market in money, unrelated to the trade and investment. So that now every year, every day, there will be about \$1.5 trillion in trade per day in goods and services, and the amount of money that moves -- excuse me, \$1.5 trillion a day in trade and money, which is roughly 15 times the daily volume of trade in goods and services. And that's the basic problem. So we don't have a framework that has the right incentives to keep that from getting out of hand and collapsing economies, protecting people from their own foolishness, as well as from the foolishness of investors.

But I think we can make some changes and keep the growth going, and get rid of the problems, which is obviously the kind of balance we've been striving for.

PRESIDENT D'ALEMA: I wanted to go back to the very interesting issue which concerns the relationship between employment, work on one hand, family life, spare time and education. I think one of the greatest social issues in our society, and social problems in our society is how to reorganize

the relationship between work and family life in a freer way.

The relationship between work and time, the time we each use for our own personal life, for our family life, for the people we love, for the things we love to do -- our hobbies -- and the time we use for our education.

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In the new -- known for this -- (inaudible) -- social model that characterizes our present societies, these aspects of our lives should be organized according to a relationship which is increasingly free. And we should create opportunities where individuals can, themselves, take the decision how to organize time and the use of time in their lives.

If at one point in their lives they wish to stop -- for example, we have introduced in Italy a piece of legislation -- women or men to take leave from work for a certain amount of time in the form of parental leave to look after their children. And this is an entitlement for both women and men, because up to now in a patriarchal society, such as the one we live in, the problem of the correct relationship between work and family has been a burden only on women's shoulders. Either women are excluded from work or working women are oppressed by the double burden of work and family and caring. And this is not right.

I think this is a problem, too. We can no longer concede social issues as though they had no gender attached to

them. Because this is a very selfish way, in our perspective and in the perspective of the gender which is represented on this side of the table, this is a very selfish approach to social issues and no longer an adequate one. I am convinced that we should promote a freer way to organize the use of time. The time for education need not necessarily occupy the first part of a person's life. Indeed, technology innovation requires life-long learning and continuing education and life-long learning and adapting to new knowledge.

And one more comment on this point: in the culture of individuals is today the biggest form of social protection you can ever conceive, at a time of mobility and technology innovation. Ensuring the people are educated and have skills is the biggest form of social protection you can ensure in a society. Whoever is highly educated and has high-skills will spend these assets on the labor market. Those who do not have these assets will be cut off and excluded. Culture is the most important form of social inclusion, and I think we should invest in culture.

And not just technical and vocational skills. Here, the left should fully recover and revalue the value of the human sciences, of the fundamental aspects of culture, because technical knowledge and skills become obsolete -- technology changes. But what really matters is being able to learn, learning how to learn. And this is the basic cultural foundation

that will help an individual to be able to quickly learn, to become a learner.

And we have discovered that the educational systems that develop these fundamental skills are more solid and sustainable and lasting than the educational systems that push people too early towards technical and specialized knowledge and learning. I think this is a very big problem here and a rather new one, compared to the old approach to social protection measures.

This is one of the key issues that should be developed if a Third Way culture is to deal with welfare systems and reform.

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: I'll be really brief, because I can see Al itching to get to the microphone there. There are just two points I want to make, arising out of this discussion.

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The first is that all the problems that we have been discussing, I think what is different about this political approach is the idea that these problems can best be addressed and governed through a concept of active community. And I mean that in this particular sense, that our position is that enterprise and justice can live together, and that actually in today's world, they have to. Because economically, we are in an

Information Age where there is a premium on knowledge, and therefore you have to invest and develop the potential of all the people to be economically successful. So that is the way that we will succeed in the future.

And, socially, because unless people have some part in society, then this idea of opportunity and responsibility going together just doesn't work. They need the two things happening, otherwise, it doesn't work. This whole notion of community, then, breaks apart. So I think that concept of act of community, based on opportunity/responsibility is absolutely critical to this.

And in the '80s, all the way through the '80s -- I remember this -- when we allowed, certainly in the British Labour Party, the choice to be put by the right you either voted for yourself or you voted for everyone else for a sort of nice society. And we all thought, well, that's a really great program. Then they'd all go into the polling booth and they'd go, I think I'll vote for myself. (Laughter.) And of course, the whole essence of our politics today, this is a foolish choice.

If you live in a community that's broken apart, if you actually don't have a society in which there is opportunity for everyone, we all lose as a result of that. A simple thing to say, but it is actually true today because of the economic social

circumstances in which we live. So that's why I think this new political approach is so important, and we've got to give real substance to it in the times ahead.

And the second point I want to make was really about what we're doing here today. And I know it would be nice -- I think on another occasion we would maybe take questions from everyone and have a real discussion and all the rest of it. But it is remarkable that all five of us are here, sitting here discussing these issues. This would not have happened some years ago. And I think it is mightily long overdue, because here we are all engaged, all leaders of governments engaged in this conflict in Kosovo in which we believe and in which we will persevere -- and, you know, it is easier for us to be solid together if, at the same time, we are actually discussing ideas that Europe and the United States of America don't think of themselves in completely different contexts. But we have, actually, some sharing of common experiences and common ideas.

And I think one of the best things that can come out of these types of discussions, and why I think it's good that everyone is here -- because in a sense, I mean, Massimo is right. For us, in a way, it's perhaps easy -- you know, the British, both in respect of America and in respect of Europe. Sometimes it's not all as easy for America in respect to Europe, or for other Europeans in respect to America.

But actually, what we have in common is infinitely more important than what divides us. And we are, in our own ways, in the European Union and the United States of America, we are the key to a modern, free, democratic world, prosperous world. We are the key to that. And the fact that we're here, I think, is good and it's significant. And thank you all for coming along. (Applause.)

MR. FROM: Thank you very much, Mr. President. This was just incredible, I think. But as Prime Minister D'Alema said, for the Third Way to endure, Third Way ideas must improve the everyday lives of ordinary people. And that's why for the second part of this forum we've asked four new Democrat innovators from state and local government in the United States to frame our discussion with brief presentations about ideas that have worked in their jurisdictions.

After they've finished, then I'll turn it back over to you, Mr. President, for a discussion among your colleagues.

First, Lieutenant Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend of Maryland has pioneered efforts to bring all resources of local communities together to fight crime and drug abuse. Lieutenant Governor Townsend.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR TOWNSEND: Thank you, Al. And I want to congratulate you. (Applause.) Al, I want to

congratulate you for the work you've done for more than a decade to bring about the Third Way. And, obviously, I want to thank President Clinton for his leadership for the Democratic Party, that has made us such a strong party. Thank you, Mr. President.

Thank you for that question. Obviously, the issue of crime and violence has very much been on our minds this weekend -- and it's really more than an issue, it's been a human tragedy of enormous dimensions. But what has been hopeful, is American's reaction to that tragedy. I send my comfort and sorrow to the families of Littleton, Colorado. But what Americans understand is that we do not want an ideological answer. They want results. They want to know what can make a difference. How can we, first, make sure that we don't have guns in the hands of children. And let me just describe three things that we're doing in Maryland.

First of all, we believe that kids aren't born bad, violence is a learned behavior, so that we as adults have a responsibility to teach kids right from wrong and personal responsibility, a sense of kindness and generosity and an ability to solve problems without violence, but through talking and learning and understanding. And we're the first state to do a statewide character initiative, and we're having good results.

Two, we want to make sure that we keep guns out of the hands of children, and we're the first state to do a statewide initiative that targets traffickers in guns, to make sure that we

use the same energy that we'd use to go after illegal drug dealers, to go after illegal drug -- guns, traffickers.

And, third, we have to child-proof our guns. It is now easier to shoot a gun than it is to open an aspirin bottle. That is outrageous, and we want to make sure that we can have child-proof guns in Maryland next year. But we want to use that same Third Way approach for other issues.

Let me just give you, quickly, two facts. First of all, 50 percent of all crime occurs in three percent of our neighborhoods. Second fact, between 50 and 60 percent of all drug, of all cocaine and heroin use used in the United States is used by people on parole and probation.

Those facts lead to two things. First of all, we have to target our high-risk neighborhoods. We've done that through our Hot Spots program that targets 36 neighborhoods with more government resources -- police, probation officers, prosecutors -- but in partnership with citizens. And just as you have said throughout this panel, it is absolutely imperative that we engage citizens, that we get people to believe that they can work with the police, that they can identify the drug dealers, that they can testify in court, that they can join the community watch groups, that they can volunteer in the after-school programs so that they have a role.

The results are good. Across the United States we reduced crime 2 percent, in Maryland 7 percent; in our Hot Spots, the highest crime communities, we've reduced it 12 percent.

Second, the issue of making sure that we're targeting those people who are most apt to get in trouble through drugs, we've made sure that everybody on parole and probation is tested twice a week for drugs. If they test positive there is a series of graduated sanctions, and there is treatment.

Already we have had results that show up to 80 percent reduction in drug use. The idea is, you don't deal with these issues ideologically. You deal with them practically, what gets results. And what's good about getting results, when you start government, is you encourage a sense of hope and confidence that government can work, that we can solve our problems together and that we can initiate a sense of trust in one another, in ourselves and in what we try to do and accomplish with one another.

Thank you. (Applause.)

MR. FROM: Governor Roy Romer, former Governor Roy Romer of Colorado, has gained a national reputation as an education reformer. Governor Romer?

GOVERNOR ROMER: Mr. President and fellow heads of

state, all of you emphasized how crucial education is to that opportunity. The economy is increasingly global, it's changing from an industrial-based to an information-based economy. Therefore, one of the first steps that we're doing in Colorado and many other states in this country is to clearly define what a youngster needs to know and be able to do, setting standards.

Secondly, we're saying clearly how good is good enough. And in that endeavor, we are very much partners with you, because we need to not only arrive at that definition of what you need to know and be able to do, but we need to benchmark it against the world in which we're involved.

But it's just not enough to set standards and have accurate assessments. We need to think clearly in our education reform and we're doing that in many states in this country, as to how we improve the learning experience. And, again, we're partners. To be frank, you do a much better job in 6th, 7th and 8th grade math than we do in this country. You have defined the curriculum better. And we know that you perform better as a result of that. We need to learn together how we can share not just standards and assessments, but how you improve teacher quality, how you improve the organization of time, how you improve the curriculum of the schools, how you involve the parents and the community in that endeavor.

Third, technology is going to blow us away. It is just

unbelievable what kind of new learning experiences we are going to have by virtue of technology. And that is a global issue. The employers who are going to hire our children are global in the main way. But the technological aspects are just simply absolutely fascinating.

The final comment I want to make is this: that when we have new ways of learning, particularly beyond high school, which are at a distance, or through a CD-ROM or through interactive computer software, we're going to have to develop a certification of competency, a process of certifying skills so that they can be relied upon by an employer, but also so that any student can say, test me on what it is that I really know, not where I sat in the classroom or what kind of a brand name of the school.

And here is a particularly unique thing for the Third Way -- because if we can establish together truly what it is that person, as an adult, needs to know and be able to do to be a network engineer; and then we open up the free market to say, who can best provide that learning experience, go for it -- that is something that will be absolutely, it will be opening the opportunity of learning and education opportunity worldwide. For example, it's unique -- in Europe, you often have an overcentralized form of administration of education. In our country, we have an overly dispersed system. And as we work together, we have so much to gain by continuing this dialogue.

But just let me conclude, four things. One, we need to set standards and assessments that are really honest, that give people true opportunity. Secondly, we need to have a way to share better ways of enabling that learning experience to occur. Third, we ought to take advantage of the size and the scale of technology. And, fourth, the certification of competency will free the marketplace to provide something that we, as a society, do.

Final comment, as the Prime Minister of Italy has said, technical education is not enough. Culture is tremendously important. I come from a state that is living through the agony of that imbalance.

Thank you. (Applause.)

MR. FROM: Mayor Wellington Webb of Denver presides over a city with an unemployment rate of 3.4 percent, which is virtually unheard-of for a major city in America. He's going to tell us his secret. Mayor Webb?

MAYOR WEBB: I wish I could box it up. Let me say first that it's a pleasure to be here. Our philosophic view of governance for our city is neither left nor right. It's based upon the pragmatism of being able to govern the people that live in our municipality. And it's based principally on six principles.

The first is the foundation for our community and our city. The foundation for that is, one, the fiscal discipline and appropriate stewardship of the dollars that we govern for the constituents in our city. The second part of that is to enhance the basic city services that we provide in a business-like way that the customer is right and changing the attitudes of public employees to a business-like approach.

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Based upon that, we have four pillars that we build our city on. The first one is public safety. No city can survive if the people that reside in that city do not feel safe -- they'll move. It's not a gender issue, a class issue, or it's not a race issue. People are going to protect their families. The second one is kids in schools, and we separate that to some degree. Even though mayors that do not have responsibility for public education, we believe that what happens to the children in our cities is directly linked to the educations that those children provide.

In many instances it means that mayors need to involve themselves in investing in public education and fighting for public education and at the same time, work with the kids in their municipalities, which in many cases may mean job opportunities, employment opportunities, career opportunities.

The third part is -- the third pillar -- what do you do to enhance the livability of your city, to make it more competitive against other cities that you compete with for business. We believe it's parks and open space, cultural activities -- whether it's sports teams, symphony, ballet or whether it's dance or whatever those amenities are -- to build upon our ability to enhance the quality of life because we believe people move to cities and they're taking corporations and businesses with them, where all they need is a telephone and a computer in order to operate those businesses out of major cities around the country.

The last point is economic opportunity for all. We believe in order to enhance that and how we do that, that has worked for us, is business and labor and government and neighborhood organizations sit down together and we empower the citizens of our city to help allow them to make the decisions of what's appropriate for bond issues, for future programming in our cities. Then they feel empowered because it's not coming from the top, down. It's the bottom and the top sitting down together jointly, making decisions that will enhance the community as a whole.

We believe that that provides a sense of community. We believe that's one of the reasons that people have moved in our city, mainly because of the quality of life. Our crime rate has dropped 28 percent in the last seven years. Our employment has

gone down to 3.4 percent. And our population has grown because we believe, one, people feel safe; number two, they have amenities to enjoy; and, number three, they feel their kids will have a quality education; and, four, they have the ability to live, work and play in the municipality in which they now live. (Applause.)

MR. FROM: Labor Commissioner Mike Thurman of Georgia developed the model system for moving welfare recipients into jobs. And Prime Minister Blair, it's such a model system that New Labour is bringing him over in a couple of weeks to tell you how he did it. Commissioner Thurman?

COMMISSIONER THURMAN: I bring you greetings from the great state of Georgia. And, first, I would like to take this opportunity to thank President Clinton for his leadership in moving us forward, and transforming and reforming America's welfare and public assistance system. Because of the devolution of authority back to states like Georgia, I'm happy to report today that more than 67,000 families in Georgia have moved from welfare to employment. (Applause.)

I'm happy to report that because we now have opportunity, authority to create and design and implement locally driven welfare systems, we've also saved the taxpayers of Georgia over \$250 million in the process. Much of this money, under the leadership of former Governor Isaiah Miller and now Governor

Barnes, has been reinvested in child care, in drug rehabilitation training, we now have a statewide system of teen pregnancy prevention centers.

And we've also innovated a very new process. We understand that welfare reform is not just about women and children, that males have a major role to play. And through our Fatherhood Initiative, we've taken non-supporting fathers, provided them training, provided them with jobs, taught them the values of responsible parenthood, and 84 percent of those fathers are now working, supporting their children and participating in their lives.

I am very delighted to hear these five great leaders say that they are also concerned, in the midst of a global economy that is growing and expanding, also concerned about the plight of those who are now left behind without skills, and in many ways without hope. Ultimately, the Third Way -- really, our society -- will be judged not by how those at the top profit; but ultimately we will be judged by the quality of life of those who struggled at the bottoms of our society. (Applause.)

As President Clinton has said many times, that you repair a leaking roof not when it's raining, but you must repair it while the sun is shining. This is the perfect opportunity to provide additional skills and additional training, to teach the value and the dignity of work, and to make sure that the millions

who are now working poor will have the skills needed to find jobs that will provide sustainable income for themselves and their children. I only encourage you to continue to believe in the Third Way, because the Third Way has proven to be the right way.

Thank you. (Applause.)

MR. FROM: Mr. President, you've just heard four of the great innovators at the state and local level in America. I turn it back to you for the discussion, as you want to take it.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Well, let me say, first of all, I want to thank all four of them for speaking here today and for the work they do. And they're all friends of mine and was sitting here feeling like, sort of like a proud father or something. I'm so proud of my friendship of many years with Governor Romer; and Mayor Webb, who did so much to help me become President; Kathleen Kennedy Townsend -- we're glad your mother is here -- Ethel, welcome. There is no Lieutenant Governor in America who has had remotely the impact that she has had on the lives of her constituents. It's a stunning thing in many ways.

And I think Mr. Thurman can speak for himself.

(Laughter.) But I'm really proud of him, as well. (Applause).

You see -- the reason -- let me just say, one of the reasons that I so much love the DLC and I was so proud of hearing

them talk is that for most of us, including those of us at this table, the stories you just heard -- that's why we got in politics. And then when you become the leader of a country and you're arguing about what's in some bill, or what is the debate before the Parliament or the Congress -- if you're not careful, the debate gets very abstract and very frozen and very wooden, and very meaningless to the people that put you in this position in the first place.

And the further you get away from your constituency -- and I think sometimes our friends in the press almost contribute to this in a way, because they have difficulties, too. You know, they have to write a complicated subject, and they've got to get a headline out of it. Or they have to figure out how to take an issue that's going on, and how to put it into 15 seconds on the evening news.

But what you just heard is the ultimate test of whether ideas and our values and our work amount to a hill of beans. It's whether it changes the lives of people in concrete, positive ways. And, so, I just want to thank them and those whom they represent. And I'd like to give my fellow panelists here the chance to make any comments or ask any questions they'd like of those who just spoke.

Tony, do you want to start?

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: First of all, I thought they

were wonderful presentations. Indeed, all I was thinking was I just wanted to know how to go and register and vote for you. (Laughter.) But I guess that's not possible.

But you gave, just in short presentations, exactly what it's all about. And I think there are just two little things I would pick out of it, in a way.

The first is that you all had a faith that we could actually do things together and get results. That's quite important, I think, because that is a big difference -- that is a political point I want to make, too. That is saying history does not pose problems that humanity cannot solve. There are things we can solve and we can do things. That's important.

The second thing which I think is interesting about what the Third Way is about is that a lot of what you are talking about involves the element of a contract or a deal between people, and between government and citizens. In this sense, when you're talking about getting to grips with crime, you're talking about saying, look, we will give you help to get out of the position you're in; but it doesn't come without any responsibility attached to it -- you've got to do things, too. It means that when we're talking about public services -- and this is something we're stressing as a government of my country in education and health -- we're putting a big, new investment into education and our national health service.

But we are demanding fundamental reform and modernization in return. We are -- it's a quite difficult thing we're doing -- in relation to teacher contracts, in relation to public service efficiency, and what we're saying to people is, look, the days when you just thought, well, in comes the Labour government and here's the pot of money and you go away and spend it whatever way you want. We need to say what are the objectives, what are the results we want. We can sit down and work it out in partnership together, but it requires some give on all sides to get this thing done properly, because in the end, it's the results that do matter.

And I think what is interesting in all the four examples, in all the things that you're doing is this sense that that's what community is about in the end. It isn't just about giving a whole lot of money to something; it is about a genuine deal between people, a contract between people where there is mutual respect and benefit on both sides.

And in a way, what we're trying to do is -- and this is to pick up the point that the President was making -- about the press. See, I think the press often -- they can't get a handle on this because they say, well, look, you're either a liberal or you're a hardliner on law and order. You're either a taxer-and-spender, or you're a sort of slasher. You know, everything's got to be --

And, therefore, when people come along and say, well actually, no, that's not really the context in which we're operating anymore, people find it difficult to understand. But that is precisely what we're about. And I think -- you know, the interesting thing about the four presentations was that they -- quite apart from, it seemed to me, a fantastic policy agenda -- and, Mr. Thurman, you're not going to be the only one that's coming over to Britain to tell us all about it -- you know, quite apart from the fact there is an exciting policy agenda there, I think there is also a very clear demonstration of the link between what we're talking about in a general sense, and the practical, specific measures that can make a difference to people's lives. And I think that's a really exciting thing.

And in different ways, all these governments -- not running through all the policy agendas of all of us -- we are trying to do the same type of thing, in the face of the same problems. You know? And even us -- you know, everyone talks about the European education system, and we've got great examples of it along this table, in the national governments -- we've still got to do a lot more to reform our system, make it even better. You know, there's big change that's necessary all the way through.

So, anyway, I thought it was a fantastic presentation. And I think it's exactly the right balance between, if you like,

the values, but also the serious practical measures that you're taking. And if this is what the Democratic Leadership Council has brought about, well, you can be pretty proud of yourselves, too. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Anybody else want to talk?

PRIME MINISTER KOK: Well, perhaps a few words. The presentations we just got make clear what you can realize when you work with people, for people. And this is also true for the field of crime, because there is a lot of similarity between what we heard and what we experience at home, also in my country. And it's very important to strike a balance between prevention on one hand, providing better social conditions, better housing, job opportunities, get people out of the misery of not being able to participate; but at the same time, of course, also repression -- let people know that what is not allowed is not going to be tolerated, because if we are going to be too soft, we will never have a result.

And then, I think, what you heard is that we are not dealing with the problems in ideological terms, but in practical terms -- work for practical results. In the field of technology, all oriented on participation. And I was struck by what was said earlier this afternoon, a dialogue -- that's, indeed, a necessity for politicians, to have the dialogue with the citizens, the dialogue with the electorate; but also create a framework of

consensus.

I mean, we in the Netherlands, we are a little bit known about our so-called Polder Model. And of course we should not exaggerate that. That means that we have a kind of consensus society where we try at the community level, also at the national level -- we are not that large, so we can do it easily -- try to at least to convince each other and take common responsibility, take a community approach, even at the national level.

And my final point is that for some goals and targets you want to realize, the level of the federal states, or the level of the central government is far too high. And the presentations we got illustrate how much practical results, how many (inaudible) you can get at the local level. And sometimes even lower than the local level. But for other purposes, the national government, even the national government of a big, almost a continent like the United States, is not powerful enough. And there we have to shoulder together in order to tackle a number of common problems we have all over the world, and that brings us together also around this table, between the U.S. and Europe.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I just want to comment on one thing, because a lot of you talked about at what level something

should be done. We're having a huge Third Way debate here in this country that has many different manifestations related to how the federal government should give money to local governments in various areas. And it's very interesting. By and large, the Republicans will say -- and they really believe this -- that since we can't run law enforcement, for example, we should just set aside how much money we want to give and give it to local government and say, go enforce the law -- they'll lower crime. And the old motto would have been we would have passed a law which would have had 15 different programs, each with a different subcommittee chairman's name on it and said, go spend the money in this way.

Now, what I'm trying to do is to say, okay, we shouldn't tell you how to do things, but you have told us what works. Therefore, we should stop giving money for things that don't work and start giving money for things that do. So we say, if community police works, that's what we should do. If Kathleen's program works on testing parolees -- which, by the way, I'm trying to get enough money out of Congress to do that nationwide, just what she said, she's proved it's worked, right? So we don't tell them whether they should contract with people to do the drug testing or what they should do or exactly how they should do it. But I think we should say, look, in Maryland, this works, therefore, we'll give you the money if you do this. But we're not going to just give you the money, and you decide whether you want to waste it or not.

And that's the debate we're having. You know, because we're not trying to micromanage local government; but we are trying to take things that work and say, okay, if they work in Denver, or if they work in Georgia, if they work someplace else, we need to stop funding things that don't work, start funding things that do -- but we're not going to tell you how to do it, you figure out how -- but this is a thing that works, and so do it.

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And it's a big debate. And I urge you all to watch it this year. It'll play itself out in three or four different areas. And we may not win them all. But I think it's a very important debate to have, because it will be about the nature of the federal responsibility in a lot of areas in the years ahead.

Would anyone else like to talk before we adjourn?

Gerhard, do you want to say anything else? Massimo?

CHANCELLOR SCHROEDER: Perhaps just briefly to comment on the four contributions. We've seen four examples, examples for the principle of subsidiarity. We listened to the Mayor, to the representative of the Governor, who explained at what level things can be decided, what can be decided at the local level. And he said that what can be decided at that level ought to be decided at that level. Because we take it that it is easier to

find out what people find beneficial and what not if you stay close to the people and listen to them. That is what we understand by the principle of subsidiarity and we've had, we've listened to very good examples in that respect.

Of course, politicians can set a framework. The national government can set a framework. But if the citizens then don't have the right to film that framework in a responsible manner, to commit themselves -- and that is what we mean when we speak about community, not only to be interested in your very own person, in your very own interest, but to work for the community and its interest. And if we don't do that then all our political initiatives will be useless; because there has to be a kind of (inaudible) network of relations between the framework setting politicians at the federal or national level and those factors at the local level in the sense of community and community spirit.

And I think we've listened to very good examples, excellent examples of both of the points that I made. And those who act as citizens in that sense of the word can only be recommended, I believe.

PRESIDENT D'ALEMA: -- is that the answers that we are providing are very similar. The answers we're thinking about are very similar. We have similar experiences, too, that are moving along the same lines in cultural terms.

Let me just make an example. We have introduced reform in the educational system in Italy based on the principle of the autonomy of school institutions; namely, you have national curricula -- this is our public education system. But the management of the individual school is no longer something for the national government and the national public administration to deal with, put it in the hands of the community represented by teachers, students, pupils and their families.

What is the basic idea behind this? The idea is that whatever is government-owned is considered belonging to nobody. In Latin we say "Res nullo est"-- it doesn't belong to anyone. But we want to get people used to think that whatever belongs to the state is theirs. We have to put it in their own hands for them to feel it belongs to them. You have to give them responsibilities. And I'm sure our schools will operate better and there will be a certain degree of competition among schools -- the desire to make my school work better than that of the other neighborhood next door -- and this will improve the quality of the system, we hope.

Of course, we could tell a lot of stories here and we could tell about a lot of different experiences --there's no time for that. Why don't we promote direct communication at this level, among these experiences at the community level; so we four here belong to a movement. We meet occasionally, don't we, among

ourselves, in other fora. And this movement is a movement that, for example, has promoted a very beautiful conference of mayors, mayors belonging to the socialist international from all over the world. We hosted it in Italy -- of local authorities. And we had a beautiful discussion among local authorities from mayors from Latin American, from Europe, from many continents. Now, I wonder, shouldn't we create a form of communication with these extraordinary experiences you are telling us about, find direct form of communications between the experience we four belong to, the movement we four belong to, and your great experience.

There's a big problem here that would have to be discussed elsewhere. It concerns the words we use. There are words that in your civilization and your history sound difficult to understand or to accept. For example, we belong to the socialist international, and I'm aware that this word is somewhat sensitive here. And I can see that we have avoided pronouncing this word here. But we should prevail over this fear of words, because when we move from the words to the actual facts and the actual experiences, we discover that these experiences are much closer and more similar than they expected to be, and we should find a form of communication among these experiences that would make us all richer. That's all I have to say. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Thank you. Yes, I'm not sure I would even have you here, Massimo, if I were running for reelection. (Laughter.)

No, no. I'll tell you a serious story. Hillary and I went to Italy over a decade ago, and we were in northern Italy, and I met these Italian Communists who were anti-Soviet Union, pro-NATO, and pro-free enterprise. And I thought to myself, I've got to be very careful about what words mean, anymore. It was amazing. (Laughter.)

Let me introduce three more people who came here, and are just as tired as our panelists are, and they sat through this whole thing. I'd like to thank Cherie Blair, Rita Kok, and Doris Schroeder Kopf for being here. Thank you all three for coming, and being a part of this. (Applause.)

And let me say, I'm sure you all know that this was a very difficult, but profoundly important, three-day meeting we had of NATO. And all these leaders, I think, must be quite exhausted. We have worked very hard and tried to do the right thing on every front. But they cared enough about these ideas and the worldwide movement to try to achieve what we have worked on and believe in, in common, that they came here to be with us. And I think we owe them all a very great debt of gratitude and we thank them. (Applause).

MR. FROM: Thank you all. Thank you, President Clinton, Prime Minister Blair, Prime Minister D'Alema, Prime Minister Kok, Chancellor Schroeder for this unbelievably -- just unbelievable session. Our guarantee to you is that we're not

going to let the momentum you created tonight die.

I'm pleased to be able to report that the DLC's affiliated think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute, and the Smith Institute of London will launch a series of Third Way conversations to be held over the next year in the U.S. and in Europe.

This is a joint venture that will aim at getting a lot of the intellectual firepower involved in this conversation. And we're undertaking it because, as Prime Minister Blair told us at the first meeting at Chequers, we cannot be satisfied by winning political power, alone; we also need to win the battle of ideas. In the Information Age, more than ever, ideas will drive our politics. Ideas move nations. Men and women armed with good ideas can change the course of history. And I believe we've made a bit of history tonight.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

END

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TEXT:

Yesterday's celebration of the tenth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin

Wall prompted a flurry of editorials and commentaries overseas, with

pundits from Europe, Asia, Latin America and Canada ruminating about the

destruction of "one of the most potent symbols of our time." Beyond

acknowledging the Wall as the preeminent Cold War symbol, however, opinionmakers were divided on the ramifications of the Eastern bloc implosion and on its implications for world security in the intervening ten years. The outlook of a number of pundits in Europe and elsewhere was quite positive. Conceding that many problems remain and that this is "not the end of history, more a still incomplete chapter," these commentators stressed that there can be no doubt that--with the "victory of democracy over tyranny"--the world is a better place today than it was a decade ago. But a majority of other analysts was less sanguine. They contended that the "new world order" is "full of disorder," and that nations are no closer to "harmony" than they were during the Cold War. Many argued that, in fact, many "new walls" have been thrown up around the world--defined by the "resurgence of nationalism," "growth in social and economic inequality," and a "rampant" arms race. Criticism was aimed at the leading powers of the world--the U.S. superpower, as well as Europe--which were seen as only acting in their self-interests, and in danger of "losing the peace."

Regarding a reunited Germany, German and Belgian papers found that the optimism of the early years has eroded. Writers pointed out that poverty is high in the East, and that "inner-unity" in Germany remains merely a "catch-phrase," not a reality. Following are commentary highlights:

THE POSITIVES: A number of media voices agreed that, while problems remain, there is "more to celebrate than lament" on this tenth anniversary. Commentators stressed that first and foremost, with the fall of the Wall, came the fall of communism in Europe. They held that the world should rejoice that communism--a "doctrine...that willingly perverted the human longing for justice...[and] sacrificed human compassion"--has

been finally "consigned to the dumpster of history." Several observers also said that it is "worth remembering" that "we used to live in a world where the main framework for peace was a nuclear stand-off based on the threat of mutually assured destruction." Analysts spoke of the "lesson" that the fall of the Wall teaches: that "change is possible, even in the most unpropitious circumstances." Others pointed out that today, Eastern European societies offer "infinitely more opportunities for social and individual development than the contorted dictatorship[s]" of the past.

THE NEGATIVES: Many more analysts believed that the collapse of the East Bloc "did not yield a safer and more stable world." Critics found that, among other things: there are "more conflicts" in the world; nationalism is fueling instability; "justice" is meted out unequally; the leading powers are self-serving; relations among the former Cold War antagonists remain tense; the arms race is still alive; and crime and corruption have taken root ahead of democracy in the former communist states. An Italian daily ventured to say that "we did not understand that the fall of an empire would remove one of the pillars from the world that, for good or bad, had been maintaining the international order for 50 years." "Chaos prevails in the new world order that emerged from the ashes of socialist nations," one Mexican daily glumly concluded.

EDITOR: Diana McCaffrey

This survey is based on 35 reports from 12 countries, November 8-10.

Editorial excerpts are grouped by region; editorials from each country are listed from the most recent date.

EUROPE

GERMANY: "The Ones Who Shape Events"

Right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (11/10) carried a front-page editorial by Guenter Nonnenmacher: "It is part of the history of this event [the fall of the Wall] that a confidential relationship existed among the acting officials that was build up during many meetings and talks. If a miracle happened on November 9 and thereafter, then it was the fact that the enormous transformations in Europe took place without the eruption of violence. The historic change that took place during those days may have been pushed forward by 'structural' developments. However, without those who understood these changes or tolerated them, without those who seized the opportunity or suffered a defeat but then peacefully shaped things in negotiations, the situation could have developed differently."

"Pettymindedness Of The Past"

Centrist Leipziger Volkszeitung opined (11/10): "All mannered celebrations and all events happening on yesterday's November 9...conveyed one message: The jubilee day of 1989 was a day of democracy and a day of democrats. The politicians who have been in office since then have tried to make the best of the situation. But they did not even pass the first test: They did not have the strength and the courage to make November 9 the national holiday of Germany's democrats. They lacked confidence in the citizens, since the gift of unity would otherwise have turned into a common constitutional process that would have resulted in unity. Unfortunately, this

pettymindedness of the past has set standards today. How nice would it be if we only succeeded in taking along some of the joy about the courage of the past to the next millennium. Then we would have had more than impressive addresses at this day of celebration."

"False Assumptions"

Business Handelsblatt of Duesseldorf (11/10) had this to say: "Nobody seriously expected the sudden fall of the Wall. Nobody was prepared for the collapse of the GDR. What is even worse: The economic power and the efficiency of the East German economy had been drastically overestimated. This is why the need for the renewal of the dilapidated combines and co-ops was underestimated.... These basically false assumptions have characterized the developments and the mood until today. For a long time, East Germans were told that they would be able to reach the Western standard of living in a few years, while West Germans were told that nothing would change for them apart from a bigger weather map on the daily national evening newscasts. But both sides painfully witnessed that this was wrong."

"We Should Continue To Be Optimistic"

Right-of-center Ostsee-Zeitung of Rostock said (11/10): "The multi-media fuss surrounding the anniversary of the fall of the Wall had moved many Germans for weeks. Now this fuss is ebbing down. This quiet gives reason to think about the past ten years. Despite several disappointments or despite the fact that many people lost their jobs, we should continue to be

optimistic, since optimism will bring us forward; this is another lesson which the past months and years taught us.... Many things happened without the involvement of politics; they happened through the activities of people who did not give up. Now it is again time for those who openly narrow their views, who do not wait for miracles to come from the government but who want to find common solutions even though their approaches are different. And if politicians support them like yesterday, this will be all the better."

"In Spite Of Whining, Unity Has Succeeded"

Centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich maintained (11/9): "In spite of all the whining on both sides: [Germany's] unity succeeded. There is no other country in the world that experienced in such a brief period of time comparable economic change. But many people have mixed up the fever that was in the air at that time with the goal of growing together. This has resulted in sobriety, but also in the fact that every seventh German is wishing the Wall back. This is an unexpected but understandable reaction. Those who had lived for more than four decades in totally different social systems are unable to cope with such a transformation process overnight. The talk about 'inner-unity' is only a catchphrase. The people in the East and the West will keep their peculiarities, and this is desirable and stimulating. But what we do not have are politicians who act in an overall German way, primarily in West Germany."

"Miracles No, But Perhaps Greater Political Commitment"

Right-of-center Muenchener Merkur contended (11/9): "In the Fall of '89, freedom was like a drug. Together, the Germans wanted to achieve an unstoppable economic recovery, but in reality, the markets in Eastern Europe collapsed. The second economic miracle is still a long time in coming, and the Germans act as if they are whining and stymied. It is certainly true that nobody can achieve miracles, but we could have expected greater political commitment from quite a few politicians in dealing with problems in the East. Maybe, international contacts distracted the attention of our politicians for the East.... In other countries, people are looking with concern and with admiration at the gigantic reconstruction efforts in the East German Laender."

BRITAIN: "The Day The Wall Fell"

The liberal Guardian's editorial stressed (11/9): "The destruction of the Berlin Wall ten years ago is one of the most potent symbols of our time.... In hindsight, the fall of the Wall is viewed by many as the moment, more than any other, when Soviet-style authoritarianism was defeated and Western-style freedom triumphed. The full ramifications of the Eastern bloc's implosion are nevertheless still very far from being mapped or understood.... Europe after the Wall is a work in progress: not the end of history, more a still incomplete chapter. The certainties of ideological polarization and mutually assured destruction have been exchanged for the vexatious, exhilarating, often confusing gamble of freedom."

"Berlin's Children"

The conservative Times had this lead editorial (11/9): "The fall of the Wall, like that of the Bastille in 1789, sent up plumes of dust and debris that will take decades to settle. This was no 'end of history'; it was more as though Central European history, which Yalta had put on ice for 50 years, had been reheated at top speed in the microwave. Dormant quarrels, between and within nations and minorities, could again find outlets; it is remarkable that for the most part they have been controlled.... The picture is still confused, but contains many hopeful landmarks. If EU politicians can only grasp that frontiers in Europe may have less meaning, but nationhood is a pride newly recovered and entitled to respect, the second decade after the Wall's fall could see dynamic, and increasingly stable, European nations make the most of the links and loyalties that have historically bound them."

"Ten Years After: More To Celebrate Than Lament"

The centrist Independent ran this lead editorial (11/9): "The fall of the Berlin Wall was perhaps the most extraordinary political event that any of us are likely to witness in our lifetimes. An emblem of oppression was swept away.... The relative progress is just as remarkable as the fact that the challenges remain enormous.

"In the region formerly ruled by Moscow, the most obvious exception remains the former imperial power itself. Russia has scarcely come to terms with the loss of its political colonies. More importantly, it has little

understanding of what has gone so badly wrong.... The message of 1989--that change is possible, even in the most unpropitious circumstances--remains valid. Changes in Moscow helped unleash miraculous change in the rest of Eastern Europe. If Russians can believe in themselves, they may look forward to the return of the boomerang of democratic reform that they helped to launch, and the economic prosperity that it could bring in its wake."

"An Anniversary To Celebrate"

The independent Financial Times opined in its lead editorial (11/8): "Ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Europe is a risky place.

Domestically, it is struggling with sluggish growth, high unemployment, an aging population and political weakness--especially in its

heartland--Germany. On its borders, danger threatens from regional conflicts and from its wounded but still powerful neighbor, Russia. But on

this anniversary of one of the great weeks in the history of democracy, it is worth remembering that there are reasons for being optimistic about the

European outlook.... It is too easy to forget that we used to live in a world where the main framework for peace was a nuclear stand-off based on the threat of mutually assured destruction. There is much more to be done.

Labor and product markets need a further big dose of liberalization....

The institutions of the EU need to be reformed, both for the sake of its existing members and for those who must be allowed to join in the future.

Ways must be found of managing closer political union without submerging the nation state. But today let us celebrate the fact that Europe, and the world, is a far better place as a result of the events which took place ten

years ago this week."

FRANCE: "Waiting For The Dream"

Charles Lambroschini opined in right-of-center Le Figaro (11/9): "The West won the Cold War.... It was a victory of democracy over tyranny.... But soon after, the United States and its allies gave the impression of losing peace. The United States, which is today the only superpower, gives a contradictory image of itself, that of a giant hesitating between hegemony and isolationism.... Ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the 'new world order' is still trying to find itself, somewhere between the right to intervene and 'realpolitik.'... The only thing today which is not ambiguous is the law of the market: It is victorious everywhere one looks."

"A Short Memory"

Jacques Amalric judged in left-of-center Liberation (11/9): "The Gulf War served only to confirm America's gradual passage from the shared status of superpower, to the undisputed one of a hyperpower, closed to the notion of consultation, full of doubts about the UN and preoccupied only with defending its own national interests. Europe's shyness and selfishness do not help matters.... For lack of a European defense, which would require both funds and political courage, Europe prefers to call on the United States when fire breaks out as it did in Yugoslavia. Then, after the fact, Europe criticizes the United States for its hegemony and its desire to enlarge NATO. Europe then pleads in favor of multi-polarity, forgetting

Russia's disintegration and its two wars against Chechnya.... Ten years later, the new world order has given birth to disorder and new dangers. These are located primarily in Russia, but also in Asia.... The harmonious consensus of nations has not yet arrived."

"The New World Order: Slow Progress"

Dominique Bromberger told listeners of government-funded France Inter radio(11/9): "The planet has rarely been confronted with so many conflicts in such a short period of time. Conflicts which have reached a degree of barbarity we no longer imagined possible....

"After the fall of the Berlin Wall, we went through a period during which we thought there would be a new world order under the auspices of the UN. Then disorder took over, until the idea slowly emerged that freedom also needs its rules. From the right to intervene to international courts of law, the world is slowly designing its new order."

ITALY: "What Remains To Be Pulled Down"

A front-page commentary by Boris Bianchieri in centrist, influential La Stampa held (11/10): "Indeed, the new century risks looking like the old one. The United States has resumed the idea of the SDI...as in Reagan's times; Russia stated that if they use the SDI, all agreements on disarmament signed in the '80s risk being canceled. In the meantime, the American Senate did not pass the CTBT.... The war in Chechnya reminds us of the one in Afghanistan.... We say we have introduced ethics into

international law by proclaiming the rights of the individual above and beyond state sovereignty, and then we pretend not to see what's happening in the Caucasus. Indeed, men only renounce living with walls with difficulty. "

"The Responsibilities Of The West"

Sergio Romano commented on the front-page of centrist, top-circulation Corriere della Sera (11/10): "Communism was not defeated by the West, but by its own contradictions, failures and infamy. However, many European and American politicians believe that the Cold War was won thanks to two great principles: democracy and a market economy.... Then, the first temptation of the 'winners' was to take off the uniform and go back home. America was taken by one of its cyclical isolationist swings and got rid of the only man, George Bush, who had experience in foreign policy. Europe tried to bridle unified Germany.... But our democratic optimism trapped us. Everything that happened after the end of the Cold War took us by surprise. We did not understand that the fall of an empire would remove one of the pillars from the world that, for good or bad, had been maintaining the international order for 50 years. We did not foresee the resurgence of nationalism, the crash of multinational states, secession and wars of succession.... Could we have avoided all these? Perhaps not. But we might have discouraged ethnic nationalism, we might have opposed disintegration of national states with more convincing policies and, above all, we might have gradually transferred some responsibilities to maintain the international order of the UN. But the day when Clinton withdrew the American soldiers from Somalia we realized that from then on the UN would

be be powerless."

"But Politics Looks Back"

Centrist, influential La Stampa front-paged this commentary by Gian Enrico Rusconi (11/9): "In Berlin, three famous political pensioners (Kohl, Bush and Gorbachev) celebrate the tenth anniversary of the most important episode in their political careers: the fall of the Wall.... With its fall, it seemed as if a world of material and spiritual opportunities would open up.... But without the aggressive competition of Communism, the social democracies had to show concretely the compatibility between market rules and the policy of solidarity, the compatibility between freedom and social equity. And above all, they were to relaunch development in order to safeguard those 'social values' whose defense became a cause for resentment among many East Germans.... Indeed, the 'Left' in governments does not have that innovative and leading strength which today's politics in Europe needs."

RUSSIA: "A Brief Lull In The Cold War"

Neo-communist Slovo (11/10-11) editorialized on page one: "The fall of the Berlin Wall symbolized the end of the Cold War. Not for a long time, though. It was only a brief lull. Russia's action to suppress Chechen terrorists has caused a campaign of blackmail and threats of economic sanctions."

"Where's The Wall?"

Georgy Bovt argued on page one of reformist Segodnya (11/9): "The Berlin Wall fell because there really was no wall. A true wall stood, and is still standing, farther to the East. A strong and high wall is not on our borders but in our, Russians', heads."

BELGIUM: "American Embassy Is Test For German Friendship"

Berlin correspondent Jorn De Cock wrote in independent Catholic De Standaard (11/10): "Behind the stage where The Scorpions sang their 'Winds of Change' on the occasion of the Berlin Wall festivities, there was a big black gaping hole. Actually, the new American Embassy is to be erected there, but Berlin has held back the plans of the old ally for months. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the city of Berlin decided to give the old occupation forces an honorary place in the city's landscape. The United States was allowed to return to the honored spot near the Brandenburg gate where the U.S. delegation was situated before 1945. Ten years after the historic events of 1989, the site near the gate is still empty. According to the Germans, there is a very simple reason: Since the attacks against the U.S. Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, the Americans have been claiming a 30-meter security zone around the building. That means that the streets around the Brandenburg Gate should be moved, while the daily traffic jams are already unreal. 'There is some anger about the U.S. reflex to continue to behave like an occupation force,' Peter Strieder, leader of the Berlin Social-Democrats said last week. In the American view, Germany exploits the embassy as a symbolic dossier to settle

an account as an occupied country. The International Herald Tribune threw some oil on the fire last week: The newspaper discerns a line in several recent German acts. German politicians regularly demand the closure of a U.S. radar station near Munich. This year, Germany has also expelled three CIA spies. Reportedly, Berlin Mayor Eberhard Diepgen also behaved badly. On the occasion of the one-thousandth McDonald's, the IHT says, Diepgen sneered at U.S. Ambassador John C. Kornblum: 'Why don't you build a McDonald's near the Brandenburg Gate?' One of the mayor's spokesmen hurried to deny that. Will a new wave of anti-Americanism jeopardize the sacred ties of the past? Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder is trying to limit the damage and promised to make efforts to find a solution. The final decision on the Embassy, however, lies in the hands of the Berlin City Council--and Mayor Diepgen belongs to the Christian-Democratic CDU, i.e., Schroeder's principal competitor on the federal level. The mayor is very pleased with his current role of firebrand."

"Other Walls To Knock Down"

Chief editor Guy Duplat commented in independent Le Soir (11/9): "Ten years and in spite of the fall of the Communist block, peace has not emerged everywhere.... The new world order based on the universality of human rights was able to make Milosevic budge in Kosovo and the Indonesian militias yield in East Timor, but it was unable to prevent the Rwandan genocide or Chinese atrocities in Tibet. And this new world, built on the Wall's ruins, remains shamefully silent in confronting the atrocities of the Russian war in Chechnya."

"Collapse Of East Bloc Didn't Yield Safer, More Stable World"

Carl Pansaerts asserted in financial De Financieel-Economische Tijd (11/9):

"The collapse of the East Bloc did not yield a safer and more stable world.

Until the early 90s, most conflicts were not pushed to extremes because any conflict could degenerate into a confrontation between Moscow and Washington, between the East and the West. Now that that fear has gone, many conflicts escalate into full-fledged wars--as was clear in recent years in Kosovo, Bosnia and Central Africa."

"Society Prevailing In Central Europe Offers Indefinitely More Opportunities"

Axel Buyse opined in independent Catholic De Standaard (11/9): "The DDR and other communist experiments in Eastern Europe were wrecked by their incapacity to make the ideals which they preached come true. More importantly, the difference between the rigid official rhetoric and daily reality had become totally ludicrous. In the '50s, the communist regimes in Eastern Europe still could draw some legitimacy from the limited social mobility which they had achieved, from the promise of an egalitarian society, and from their relative economic success. By the middle of the '70s, the DDR had become a caricature of itself. The DDR was a state in which party officials preached against all types of fascism from roof tops while the country in all its structures reflected pure incarnation of

Prussian authoritarianism. It was a nation which forged its economic statistics and election results in a grotesque manner; which dealt with the environment and the health of its own citizens in a shameful way; a country where one could taste intellectual freedom only by withdrawing into one's deepest self. Any congenial spirit could be put under pressure by the Stasi. Squealing had become a citizen's duty. It is really remarkable that precisely such a brutal police state could or still can count on clemency from those who were continually criticizing everything in the West. It may indeed take another generation to fill the material and mental gaps between the East and the West. Nevertheless, despite all the transition problems and limitations, the type of society which now prevails in Central Europe offers infinitely more opportunities for social and individual development than the contorted dictatorship that the DDR was."

"Not Yet One Nation"

Frank Schloemer wrote in independent De Morgen (11/9): "The euphoria over the unification of both German states has long gone and has been replaced by every day reality--which is not so nice and which certainly is not that of flourishing landscapes promised by an overhasty Chancellor Kohl in 1989. Unemployment in the former DDR is high; there are major problems and many citizens in the new 'Lander'--as the former DDR is called now--consider themselves a kind of second-class citizen in a new country. It has often remained a strange land to them in which they still do not really feel at home after ten years. Many feel colonized by the West Germans and they do not accept that the last head of state of the DDR, Egon Krenz, was sentenced to six and half years in jail. Without feeling much sympathy for

the man, they believe that the West Germans are settling an account with the DDR's history. They view it as a revenge of the victors over a scapegoat. Germany has been reunited, but it is not one nation yet. A great celebration cannot conceal that."

"Changes Are Slow As A Trabant"

Roger Huisman opined in conservative Catholic *Het Belang van Limburg* (11/9): "The disappearance of the traditional East-West contrasts caused shock waves which are still shaking the world. The West no longer had to sustain moldered dictatorial regimes in the Third World to stop the march of communism. Those who think that the big division on the Old Continent has now been solved are totally wrong. Instead of the concrete Wall and the Iron Curtain, a new, invisible wall emerged which is at least as high, if not higher, than the old destroyed symbol of European division. On the other side of that wall, in the Wild East, people are struggling against lacerating poverty and social exclusion. Aside from a few exceptions, most East European countries are moving into the direction of the active prosperous state only at the speed of a Trabant (car). Several countries are now angling for a ticket for the European Union. In the interest of peace and security on this continent, they must not be kept in that cold and draughty waiting room for too long."

"Consequences Still Haven't Been Digested"

Mon Vanderostyne wrote in independent Catholic Het Nieuwsblad (11/9): "The fall of the Wall was such a far-reaching event that the consequences still haven't been digested today. It is true that the wages (in the former DDR) are now about...80 percent of those in West Germany, but unemployment remains twice as high and there is no coming to an end to the 'flight from the Republic.' Since 1989, 1.2 million people have left East Germany. Ten years after the fall of the Wall, Germany is the dominating power in Europe. But, in the Ossies' and the Wessies' heads, the wall is still there."

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA: "One Down, Many New Up"

Bosko Nacevski wrote in independent, liberal Makedonija Denes (11/9): "On this date, ten years ago, the most absurd building in history of mankind, the Berlin Wall, was demolished. A wall of steel and concrete, with a generous dose of genetic hatred and mental cruelty. The Wall fell down, and we all thought that we have released the good spirit from the lamp. But no, it seems that we can not live without walls and other barriers, creations of the 'new world order.' New walls and curtains, like the Shengen one, have risen to tie the human spirit. The world is still divided between the North and the South, rich and poor, powerful and weak. In reality, wall have just changed their appearance, no less chaotic, grotesque and fiercely inhuman."

JAPAN: "Search For A New World Order"

Top-circulation, moderate Yomiuri stressed (11/8): "Tuesday will mark the tenth anniversary of the demolition of the Berlin Wall--the event that brought an end to the Cold War.... During the ten years since the end of the Cold War, the world seems to be struggling to find a new order to guarantee stability, while coping with various political and social upheavals. Relations between the United States and its strategic partners, Russia and China, are not necessarily cohesive. No matter how many thorny problems they may face, these major nations will have to cooperate in resolving existing problems and creating a new world order in the 21st century."

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

ARGENTINA: "The Transformation Of The Old Communist Left-Wing"

Araceli Viceconti, on special assignment in Berlin for leading Clarin, commented (11/10): "The fall of the Berlin Wall had a decisive influence on the political map of the old left-wing in the former East Germany. Those Communists who, instead of crying over the ruins of the Wall and of the 'demolished Worker State', decided to go into politics, creating a vigorous force which is already part of German democracy: the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP).... In a series of recent regional elections, the DSP also managed to gain support...[as] the only left-wing alternative to the Social Democrat's and Green Party's centrist government.... But, leaving aside the left-wing's reconversion, the demolition of the 'Wall of

Shame' influenced the appearance of a dangerous phenomenon after Germany's reunification: right-wing violence, the skinheads who...keep carrying out

frequent attacks and aggressions against the foreign population.... The neo-Nazi movement seems to be growing like a juvenile subculture in some regions of Eastern Germany. Among the numerous explanations for this reality, people are talking about the GDR's totalitarian education but also about a sudden loss of values and referrals as a consequence of changes in the political system which did away with old parameters and set new ones."

BRAZIL: "Symbol Of Oppression's End"

The lead editorial in center-right O Estado de Sao Paulo read (11/9):

"Enormous transformations occurred in the European map practically without major conflicts, with the exception of what happened in former

Yugoslavia.... In all other European nations which were under Soviet domination, the population's standard of living has improved substantially.

And the current concern in most of these countries is no longer the consolidation of democracy and capitalism, but the building of a new continental architecture, politically and militarily linked to NATO and economically attached to the EU. A breath of freedom has changed Europe in a short 10-year period. Where there were police states there are today democracies working at full steam.... The fall of the Berlin Wall passed to history as an inaugural landmark of such transformations, which reflect mankind's uncontrollable longing for freedom."

CANADA: "Evil, Unavenged"

The conservative National Post editorialized (11/9): "Ten years after the Berlin Wall came down, we still need a Nuremberg trial to achieve justice for the victims of communism. If we do not get one, their murderers will enjoy a retirement--and the accomplices of their murderers a future--that they do not deserve."

"Utopia"

The mid-market Ottawa Citizen commented (11/9): "Communism has been consigned to the dumpster of history.... No doctrine this century so willingly perverted the human longing for justice, or so willingly sacrificed human compassion.... Totalitarian systems are created by idealists who hope to transform human existence by coercion.... Those who are found lacking can be dispensed with ruthlessly.... In short, Utopias require mass murder. If we can remember this lesson as we mark the anniversary of communism's collapse, perhaps we will depart this century having learned something valuable. If humbling."

"Fall Of The Wall"

In Quebec's English-language Gazette, regular columnist Lawrence Martin wrote (11/9): "Mikhail Gorbachev journeyed through his client-state countries of East Europe where Red Armies had crushed rebellions and he brought new gospels. One was that Moscow was no longer in the business of

dictating their affairs. The other was that their fossilized systems must give way to glasnost and democratization. He went to Berlin where he told the leaders that the massive Soviet military would not be deployed to prop up old dictatorships. In the end, nothing was left to stop the fall of the Wall. Many historical factors went into the shaping of the great moment. But essentially it was about one man who decided it was time to take the evil out of the empire."

"A Piece Of History"

In the conservative tabloid Ottawa Sun, national affairs columnist Mark Bonokoski commented (11/9): "Ten years ago, the East German government announced the loosening of travel restrictions; within 24 hours, hundreds had passed through the Berlin Wall to the freedom of the West.... Even back then, words failed to put it all in perspective, to give the moment the justice it deserved. In fact, they still do. The entire Soviet Union virtually crumbled that day. It merits more."

MEXICO: "Walls And Illusions"

Left-of-center La Jornada observed (11/9): "The tenth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall has brought about a paradoxical reality.... Those

who thought that capitalism would mean more freedom and prosperity have awakened to a cruel reality that has brought about myths and nostalgia about their past.... The naive concepts that violence and wars would end through a mythical democracy and that prosperity was just around the corner were proven wrong. After a decade, it is not clear yet whether Eastern Europe jumped to the First or the Third World from its Second World stand. On the one hand, armed conflicts have afflicted Russia, a number of former Soviet republics and also the former Yugoslavia. Mafias and foreign companies now own what used to be collective goods, and the bureaucrats are now mafia men or employees of foreign companies. Inequality grew in a brutal manner, and violence and misery did the same.... In addition, the free market is monopolized by large consortia.... On the other hand, the markets that industrialized countries wanted to conquer in the former Soviet bloc were also an illusion because of the brutal fall of the purchasing power throughout the region.... Gorbachev said yesterday that the situation has worsened during the ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Perhaps the current politicians are not capable of meeting the challenges of the next century."

"The New Walls"

Left-of-center La Jornada carried a column by Luis Hernandez Navarro (11/10): "Ten years of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of real socialism, the societies that emerged from the ashes of planned economies are far from resembling the well-being that encouraged those who promoted the fall of communism.... The end of the Cold War did not mark the end of wars. Quite the contrary, armed interventions have increased as

well as the fracture of national borders. The UN, which should have prevented and stopped all wars, has legitimized them. Further, without the threat of communism new enemies have emerged to justify the arms race: ethnic cleansing, Islamic fundamentalism, drug trafficking expansion, and the small list of dictators who occasionally dare to challenge 'the empire.' Russia is living proof of the failure of having blind faith in market forces and in the concept that businessmen would modernize the nation. Russia's wealth has steadily declined, the corruption of its leaders is a constant challenge to the international financial system, and the country is on the fast track to enter the Third World.... New walls have been built on the remains of the Berlin Wall. The progress made regarding individual freedom cannot conceal the growth in social and economic inequality, and the arms race is rampant in the world. Chaos prevails in the new world order that emerged from the ashes of socialist nations."

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day's celebration of the tenth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall prompted a flurry of editorials and commentaries overseas, with pundits from Europe, Asia, Latin America and Canada ruminating about the destruction of "one of the most potent symbols of our time." Beyond acknowledging the Wall as the preeminent Cold War symbol, however, opinionmakers were divided on the ramifications of the Eastern bloc implosion and on its implications for world security in the intervening ten years. The outlook of a number of pundits in Europe and elsewhere was quite positive. Conceding that many problems remain and that this is "not the end of history, more a still incomplete chapter," these commentators stressed that there can be no doubt that--with the "victory of democracy over tyranny"--the world is a better place today than it was a decade ago. But a majority of other analysts was less sanguine. They contended that the "new world order" is "full of disorder," and that nations are no closer to "harmony" than they were during the Cold War. Many argued that, in fact, many "new walls" have been thrown up around the world--defined by the "resurgence of nationalism," "growth in social and economic inequality," and a "rampant" arms race. Criticism was aimed at the leading powers of the world--the U.S. superpower, as well as Europe--which were seen as only acting in their self-interests, and in danger of "losing the peace." Regarding a reunited Germany, German and Belgian papers found that the optimism of the early years has eroded. Writers pointed out that at poverty is high in the East, and that "inner-unity" in Germany remains merely a "catch-phrase," not a reality. Following are commentary highlights:

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \fs22 \cf0 THE POSITIVES:

\plain \fs22 \cf0 A number of media voices agreed that, while problems remain,

there is "more to celebrate than lament" on this tenth anniversary. Commentators stressed that first and foremost, with the fall of the Wall, came the fall of communism in Europe. They held that the world should rejoice that communism--a "doctrine...that willingly perverted the human longing for justice...[and] sacrificed human compassion"--has been finally "consigned to the dumpster of history." Several observers also said that it is "worth remembering" that "we used to live in a world where the main framework for peace was a nuclear standoff based on the threat of mutually assured destruction." Analysts spoke of the "lesson" that the fall of the Wall teaches: that "change is possible, even in the most unpropitious circumstances." Others pointed out that today, Eastern European societies offer "infinitely more opportunities for social and individ

ual development than the contorted dictatorship[s]" of the past.

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\plain \fs22 \cf0 Many more analysts believed that the collapse of the East Bloc "did not yield a safer and more stable world." Critics found that, among other things: there are "more conflicts" in the world; nationalism is fueling instability; "justice" is meted out unequally; the leading powers are self-serving; relations among the former Cold War antagonists remain tense; the arms race is still alive; and crime and corruption have taken root ahead of democracy in the former communist states.

\plain \fs22 \cf0 An Italian daily ventured to say that "we did not understand that the fall of an empire would remove one of the pillars from the world that, for good or bad, had been maintaining the international order for 50 years."

\plain \fs22 \cf0 "Chaos prevails in the new world order that emerged from the ashes of socialist nations," one Mexican daily glumly concluded.

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\plain \fs22 \cf0 (11/10) carried a front-page editorial by Guenter Nonnenmacher: "It is part of the history of this event [the fall of the Wall] that a confidential relationship existed among the acting officials that was build up during many meetings and talks. If a miracle happened on November 9 and thereafter, then it was the fact that the enormous transformations in Europe took place without the eruption of violence. The historic change that took place during those days may have been pushed forward by 'structural' developments. However, without those who understood these changes or tolerated them, without those who seized the opportunity or suffered a defeat but then peacefully shaped things in negotiations, the situation could have developed differently."

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\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 Leipziger Volkszeitung

\plain \fs22 \cf0 opined (11/10): "All mannered celebrations and all events happening on yesterday's November 9...conveyed one message: The jubilee day of 1989 was a day of democracy and a day of democrats. The politicians who have been in office since then have tried to make the best of the situation. But they did not even pass the first test: They did not have the strength and the courage to make November 9 the national holiday of Germany's democrats. They lacked confidence in the citizens, since the gift of unity would otherwise have turned into a common constitutional process that would have resulted in unity. Unfortunately, this petty-mindedness of the past has set standards today. How nice would it be if we only succeeded in taking along some of the joy about the courage of the past to the next millennium. Then we would have had more than impressive addresses at this day of celebration."

\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 \fs22 \cf0 "False Assumptions"

\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 \fs22 \cf0 Business

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 Handelsblatt

\plain \fs22 \cf0 of Duesseldorf (11/10) had this to say: "Nobody seriously expected the sudden fall of the Wall. Nobody was prepared for the collapse of the GDR. What is even worse: The economic power and the efficiency of the East German economy had been drastically overestimated. This is why the need for the renewal of the dilapidated combines and co-ops was underestimated.... These basically false assumptions have characterized the developments and the mood until today. For a long time, East Germans were told that they would be able to reach the Western standard of living in a few years, while West Germans were told that nothing would change for them apart from a bigger weather map on the daily national evening newscasts. But both sides painfully witnessed that this was wrong."

\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 \fs22 \cf0 "We Should Continue To Be Optimistic"

\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 \fs22 \cf0 Right-of-center

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 Ostsee-Zeitung

\plain \fs22 \cf0 of Rostock said (11/10): "The multi-media fuss surrounding the anniversary of the fall of the Wall had moved many Germans for weeks. Now this fuss is ebbing down. This quiet gives reason to think about the past ten years. Despite several disappointments or despite the fact that many people lost their jobs, we should continue to be optimistic, since optimism will bring us forward; this is another lesson which the past months and years taught us.... Many things happened without the involvement of politics; they happened through the activities of people who did not give up. Now it is again time for those who openly narrow their views, who do not wait for miracles to come from the government but who want to find common solutions even though their approaches are different. And if politicians support them like yesterday, this will be all

the better."

In Spite Of Whining, Unity Has Succeeded

Centrist

Sueddeutsche Zeitung

of Munich maintained (11/9): "In spite of all the whining on both sides: [Germany's] unity succeeded. There is no other country in the world that experienced in such a brief period of time comparable economic change.

But many people have mixed up the fever that was in the air at that time with the goal of growing together. This has resulted in sobriety, but also in the fact that every seventh German is wishing the Wall back. This is an unexpected but understandable reaction. Those who had lived for more than four decades in totally different social systems are unable to cope with such a transformation process overnight. The talk about 'inner-unity' is only a catchphrase. The people in the East and the West will keep their peculiarities, and this is desirable and stimulating. But what we do not have are politicians who act in an overall German way, primarily in West Germany."

Miracles No, But Perhaps Greater Political Commitment

Right-of-center

Muenchener Merkur

contended (11/9): "In the Fall of '89, freedom was like a drug. Together, the Germans wanted to achieve an unstoppable economic recovery, but in reality, the markets in Eastern Europe collapsed. The second economic miracle is still a long time in coming, and the Germans act as if they are whining and stymied. It is certainly true that nobody can achieve miracles, but we could have expected greater political commitment from quite a few politicians in dealing with problems in the East. Maybe, international contacts distracted the attention of our politicians for the East.... In other countries, people are looking with concern and with admiration at the gigantic reconstruction efforts in the East German Laender."

BRITAIN: "The Day The Wall Fell"

The liberal

Guardian

's editorial stressed (11/9): "The destruction of the Berlin Wall ten years ago is one of the most potent symbols of our time.... In hindsight, the fall of the Wall is viewed by many as the moment, more than any other, when Soviet-style authoritarianism was defeated and Western-style freedom triumphed. The full ramifications of the Eastern bloc's implosion are nevertheless

s still very far from being mapped or understood.... Europe after the Wall is a work in progress: not the end of history, more a still incomplete chapter. The certainties of ideological polarization and mutually assured destruction have been exchanged for the vexatious, exhilarating, often confusing gamble of freedom."

Berlin's Children

The conservative

Times

had this lead editorial (11/9): "The fall of the Wall, like that of the Bastille in 1789, sent up plumes of dust and debris that will take decades to settle. This was no 'end of history'; it was more as though Central European history, which Yalta had put on ice for 50 years, had been reheated at top speed in the microwave. Dormant quarrels, between and within nations and minorities, could again find outlets; it is remarkable that for the most part they have been controlled.... The picture is still confused, but contains many hopeful landmarks. If EU politicians can only grasp that frontiers in Europe may have less meaning, but nationhood is a pride newly recovered and entitled to respect, the second decade after the Wall's fall could see dynamic, and increasingly stable, European nations make the most of the links and loyalties that have historically bound them."

Ten Years After: More To Celebrate Than Lament

The central

Independent

ran this lead editorial (11/9): "The fall of the Berlin Wall was perhaps the most extraordinary political event that any of us are likely to witness in our lifetimes. An emblem of oppression was swept away.... The relative progress is just as remarkable as the fact that the challenges remain enormous.

"In the region formerly ruled by Moscow, the most obvious exception remains the former imperial power itself. Russia has scarcely come to terms with the loss of its political colonies. More importantly, it has little understanding of what has gone so badly wrong.... The message of 1989--that change is possible, even in the most unpropitious circumstances--remains valid. Changes in Moscow helped unleash miraculous change in the rest of Eastern Europe. If Russians can believe in themselves, they may look forward to the return of the boomerang of democratic reform that they helped to launch, and the economic prosperity that it could bring in its wake."

720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \fs22 \cf0 "An Anniversary To Celebrate"

\plain \fs22 \cf0

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \fs22 \cf0 The independent

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 Financial Times

\plain \fs22 \cf0 opined in its lead editorial (11/8): "Ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Europe is a risky place. Domestically, it is struggling with sluggish growth, high unemployment, an aging population and political weakness--especially in its heartland--Germany. On its borders, danger threatens from regional conflicts and from its wounded but still powerful neighbor, Russia. But on this anniversary of one of the great weeks in the history of democracy, it is worth remembering that there are reasons for being optimistic about the European outlook.... It is too easy to forget that we used to live in a world where the main framework for peace was a nuclear stand-off based on the threat of mutually assured destruction. There is much more to be done. Labor and product markets need a further big dose of liberalization.... The institutions of the EU need to be reformed, both for the sake of its existing members and for those who must be allowed to join in the future. Ways must be found of managing closer political union without submerging the nation state. But today let us celebrate the fact that Europe, and the world, is a far better place as a result of the events which took place ten years ago this week."

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \fs22 \cf0 FRANCE : "Waiting For The Dream"

\plain \fs22 \cf0

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \fs22 \cf0 Charles Lambroschini opined in right-of-center

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 Le Figaro

\plain \fs22 \cf0 (11/9): "The West won the Cold War.... It was a victory of democracy over tyranny.... But soon after, the United States and its allies gave the impression of losing peace. The United States, which is today the only superpower, gives a contradictory image of itself, that of a giant hesitating between hegemony and isolationism.... Ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the 'new world order' is still trying to find itself, somewhere between the right to intervene and 'realpolitik'.... The only thing today which is not ambiguous is the law of the market: It is victorious everywhere one looks."

\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 \tx

720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \fs22 \cf0 "A Short Memory"

\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 \tx

720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \fs22 \cf0 Jacques Amalric judged in left-of-center

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 Liberation

\plain \fs22 \cf0 (11/9): "The Gulf War served only to confirm America's gradual passage from the shared status of superpower, to the undisputed one of a hyperpower, closed to the notion of consultation, full of doubts about the UN and

preoccupied only with defending its own national interests. Europe's shyness and selfishness do not help matters.... For lack of a European defense, which would require both funds and political courage, Europe prefers to call on the United States when fire breaks out as it did in Yugoslavia. Then, after the fact, Europe criticizes the United States for its hegemony and its desire to enlarge NATO. Europe then pleads in favor of multi-polarity, forgetting Russia's disintegration and its two wars against Chechnya.... Ten years later, the new world order has given birth to disorder and new dangers. These are located primarily in Russia, but also in Asia.... The harmonious consensus of nations has not yet arrived."

\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 \fs22 \cf0 "The New World Order: Slow Progress"

\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 \fs22 \cf0 Dominique Bromberger told listeners of government-funded France Inter radio (11/9): "The planet has rarely been confronted with so many conflicts in such a short period of time. Conflicts which have reached a degree of barbarity we no longer imagined possible...."

\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 \fs22 \cf0 "After the fall of the Berlin Wall, we went through a period during which we thought there would be a new world order under the auspices of the UN. Then disorder took over, until the idea slowly emerged that freedom also needs its rules. From the right to intervene to international courts of law, the world is slowly designing its new order."

\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 \fs22 \cf0 ITALY: "What Remains To Be Pulled Down"

\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 \fs22 \cf0 A front-page commentary by Boris Bianchieri in centrist, influential \plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 La Stampa

\plain \fs22 \cf0 held (11/10): "Indeed, the new century risks looking like the old one. The United States has resumed the idea of the SDI...as in Reagan's times; Russia stated that if they use the SDI, all agreements on disarmament signed in the '80s risk being canceled. In the meantime, the American Senate did not pass the CTBT.... The war in Chechnya reminds us of the one in Afghanistan.... We say we have introduced ethics into international law by proclaiming the rights of the individual above and beyond state sovereignty, and then we pretend not to see what's happening in the Caucasus. Indeed, men only renounce living with walls with difficulty. "

\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 \fs22 \cf0 "The Responsibilities Of The West"

\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 \fs22 \cf0 Sergio Ro

mano commented on the front-page of centrist, top-circulation

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 Corriere della Sera

\plain \fs22 \cf0 (11/10): "Communism was not defeated by the West, but by its own contradictions, failures and infamy. However, many European and American politicians believe that the Cold War was won thanks to two great principles: democracy and a market economy.... Then, the first temptation of the 'winners' was to take off the uniform and go back home. America was taken by one of its cyclical isolationist swings and got rid of the only man, George Bush, who had experience in foreign policy. Europe tried to bridle unified Germany.... But our democratic optimism trapped us. Everything that happened after the end of the Cold War took us by surprise. We did not understand that the fall of an empire would remove one of the pillars from the world that, for good or bad, had been maintaining the international order for 50 years. We did not foresee the resurgence of nationalism, the crash of multinational states, secession and wars of succession.... Could we have avoided all these? Perhaps not. But we might have discouraged ethnic nationalism, we might have opposed disintegration of national states with more convincing policies and, above all, we might have gradually transferred some responsibilities to maintain the international order of the UN. But the day when Clinton withdrew the American soldiers from Somalia we realized that from then on the UN would be powerless."

\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 \fs22 \cf0 "But Politics Looks Back"

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\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 La Stampa

\plain \fs22 \cf0 front-paged this commentary by Gian Enrico Rusconi (11/9):

"In Berlin, three famous political pensioners (Kohl, Bush and Gorbachev) celebrate the tenth anniversary of the most important episode in their political careers: the fall of the Wall.... With its fall, it seemed as if a world of material and spiritual opportunities would open up.... But without the aggressive competition of Communism, the social democracies had to show concretely the compatibility between market rules and the policy of solidarity, the compatibility between freedom and social equity. And above all, they were to relaunch development in order to safeguard those 'social values' whose defense became a cause for resentment among many East Germans.... Indeed, the 'Left' in governments does not have that innovative and leading strength which today's politics in Europe needs."

\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 \fs22 \cf0 RUSSIA : "A Brief Lull In The Cold War"

\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 \fs22 \cf0 Neo-communist

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 Slovo

\plain \fs22 \cf0 (11/10-11) editorialized on page one: "The fall of the Berlin Wall symbolized the end of the Cold War. Not for a long time, though. It was only a brief lull. Russia's action to suppress Chechen terrorists has caused

a campaign of blackmail and threats of economic sanctions."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \fs22 \cf0 "Where's The Wall?"

\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 \fs22 \cf0 Georgy Bo
vt argued on page one of reformist

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 Segodnya

\plain \fs22 \cf0 (11/9): "The Berlin Wall fell because there really was no wall. A true wall stood, and is still standing, farther to the East. A strong and high wall is not on our borders but in our, Russians', heads."

\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 \fs22 \cf0 BELGIUM: "American Embassy Is Test For German Friendship"

\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 \fs22 \cf0 Berlin co
rrespondent Jorn De Cock wrote in independent Catholic

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 De Standaard

\plain \fs22 \cf0 (11/10): "Behind the stage where The Scorpions sang their 'Winds of Change' on the occasion of the Berlin Wall festivities, there was a big black gaping hole. Actually, the new American Embassy is to be erected there, but Berlin has held back the plans of the old ally for months. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the city of Berlin decided to give the old occupation forces an honorary place in the city's landscape. The United States was allowed to return to the honored spot near the Brandenburg gate where the U.S. delegation was situated before 1945. Ten years after the historic events of 1989, the site near the gate is still empty. According to the Germans, there is a very simple reason: Since the attacks against the U.S. Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, the Americans have been claiming a 30-meter security zone around the building. That means that the streets around the Brandenburg Gate should be moved, while the daily traffic jams are already unreal. 'There is some anger about the U.S. reflex to continue to behave like an occupation force,' Peter Strieder, leader of the Berlin Social-Democrats said last week. In the American view, Germany exploits the embassy as a symbolic dossier to settle an account as an occupied country. The

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 International Herald Tribune

\plain \fs22 \cf0 threw some oil on the fire last week: The newspaper discerns a line in several recent German acts. German politicians regularly demand the closure of a U.S. radar station near Munich. This year, Germany has also expelled three CIA spies. Reportedly, Berlin Mayor Eberhard Diepgen also behaved badly. On the occasion of the one-thousandth McDonald's, the

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 IHT

\plain \fs22 \cf0 says, Diepgen sneered at U.S. Ambassador John C. Kornblum: 'Why don't you build a McDonald's near the Brandenburg Gate?' One of the mayor's spokesmen hurried to deny that. Will a new wave of anti-Americanism jeopardize the sacred ties of the past? Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder is trying to limit the damage and promised to make efforts to find a solution. The final decision on the Embassy, however, lies in the hands of the Berlin City Council--and Mayor Diepgen belongs to the Christian-Democratic CDU, i.e, Schroeder's principal competitor on the federal level. The mayor is very pleased with his current

role of firebrand."

\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 \fs22 \cf0 "Other Walls To Knock Down"

\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 \fs22 \cf0 Chief editor Guy Duplat commented in independent \plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 Le Soir

\plain \fs22 \cf0 (11/9): "Ten years and in spite of the fall of the Communist block, peace has not emerged everywhere.... The new world order based on the universality of human rights was able to make Milosevic budge in Kosovo and the Indonesian militias yield in East Timor, but it was unable to prevent the Rwandan genocide or Chinese atrocities in Tibet. And this new world, built on the Wall's ruins, remains shamefully silent in confronting the atrocities of the Russian war in Chechnya."

\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 \fs22 \cf0 "Collapse Of East Bloc Didn't Yield Safer, More Stable World"

\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 \fs22 \cf0 Carl Pansaerts asserted in financial

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 De Financieel-Economische Tijd

\plain \fs22 \cf0 (11/9): "The collapse of the East Bloc did not yield a safer and more stable world. Until the early 90s, most conflicts were not pushed to extremes because any conflict could degenerate into a confrontation between Moscow and Washington, between the East and the West. Now that that fear has gone, many conflicts escalate into full-fledged wars--as was clear in recent years in Kosovo, Bosnia and Central Africa."

\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 \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 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \fs22 \cf0 "Society Prevailing In Central Europe Offers Indefinitely More Opportunities"

\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 \fs22 \cf0 Axel Buysse opined in independent Catholic

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 De Standaard

\plain \fs22 \cf0 (11/9): "The DDR and other communist experiments in Eastern Europe were wrecked by their incapacity to make the ideals which they preached come true. More importantly, the difference between the rigid official rhetoric and daily reality had become totally ludicrous. In the '50s, the communist regimes in Eastern Europe still could draw some legitimacy from the limited social mobility which they had achieved, from the promise of an egalitarian society, and from their relative economic success. By the middle of the '70s, the DDR had become a caricature of itself. The DDR was a state in which party officials preached against all types of fascism from roof tops while the country in

all its structures reflected pure incarnation of Prussian authoritarianism. It was a nation which forged its economic statistics and election results in a grotesque manner; which dealt with the environment and the health of its own citizens in a shameful way; a country where one could taste intellectual freedom only by withdrawing into one's deepest self. Any congenial spirit could be put under pressure by the Stasi. Squealing had become a citizen's duty. It is really remarkable that precisely such a brutal police state could or still can count on clemency from those who were continually criticizing everything in the West. It may indeed take another generation to fill the material and mental gaps between the East and the West. Nevertheless, despite all the transition problems and limitations, the type of society which now prevails in Central Europe offers infinitely more opportunities for social and individual development than the contorted dictatorship that the DDR was."

Not Yet One Nation

Frank Schloemer wrote in independent

De Morgen

(11/9): "The euphoria over the unification of both German states has long gone and has been replaced by every day reality--which is not so nice and which certainly is not that of flourishing landscapes promised by an overhasty Chancellor Kohl in 1989. Unemployment in the former DDR is high; there are major problems and many citizens in the new 'Lander'--as the former DDR is called now--consider themselves a kind of second-class citizen in a new country. It has often remained a strange land to them in which they still do not really feel at home after ten years. Many feel colonized by the West Germans and they do not accept that the last head of state of the DDR, Egon Krenz, was sentenced to six and half years in jail. Without feeling much sympathy for the man, they believe that the West Germans are settling an account with the DDR's history. They view it as a revenge of the victors over a scapegoat. Germany has been reunited, but it is not one nation yet. A great celebration cannot conceal that."

Changes Are Slow As A Trabant

Roger Huisman opined in conservative Catholic

Het Belang van Limburg

(11/9): "The disappearance of the traditional East-West contrasts caused shock waves which are still shaking the world. The West no longer had to sustain moldered dictatorial regimes in the Third World to stop the march of communism. Those who think that the big division on the Old Continent has now been solved are totally wrong. Instead of the concrete Wall and the Iron Curtain, a new, invisible wall emerged which is at least as high, if not higher, than the old destroyed symbol of European division. On the other side of that wall, in the Wild East, people are struggling against lacerating poverty and social exclusion. Aside from a few exceptions, most East European countries

are moving into the direction of the active prosperous state only at the speed of a Trabant (car). Several countries are now angling for a ticket for the European Union. In the interest of peace and security on this continent, they must not be kept in that cold and draughty waiting room for too long."

Consequences Still Haven't Been Digested

(11/9): "The fall of the Wall was such a far-reaching event that the consequences still haven't been digested today. It is true that the wages (in the former DDR) are now about...80 percent of those in West Germany, but unemployment remains twice as high and there is no coming to an end to the 'flight from the Republic.' Since 1989, 1.2 million people have left East Germany. Ten years after the fall of the Wall, Germany is the dominating power in Europe. But, in the Ossies' and the Wessies' heads, the wall is still there."

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA:

"One Down, Many New Up"

(11/9): "On this date, ten years ago, the most absurd building in history of mankind, the Berlin Wall, was demolished. A wall of steel and concrete, with a generous dose of genetic hatred and mental cruelty. The Wall fell down, and we all thought that we have released the good spirit from the lamp. But no, it seems that we can not live without walls and other barriers, creations of the 'new world order.' New walls and curtains, like the Shengen one, have risen to tie the human spirit. The world is still divided between the North and the South, rich and poor, powerful and weak. In reality, walls have just changed their appearance, no less chaotic, grotesque and fiercely inhuman."

EAST ASIA

JAPAN:

"Search For A New World Order"

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\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 Yomiuri

\plain \fs22 \cf0 stressed (11/8): "Tuesday will mark the tenth anniversary of the demolition of the Berlin Wall--the event that brought an end to the Cold War.... During the ten years since the end of the Cold War, the world seems to be struggling to find a new order to guarantee stability, while coping with various political and social upheavals. Relations between the United States and its strategic partners, Russia and China, are not necessarily cohesive. No matter how many thorny problems they may face, these major nations will have cooperate in resolving existing problems and creating a new world order in the 21st century."

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

\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 \fs22 \cf0 ARGENTINA: "The Transformation Of The Old Communist Left-Wing"

\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 \fs22 \cf0 Araceli Viceconti, on special assignment in Berlin for leading

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 Clarin

\plain \fs22 \cf0 , commented (11/10): "The fall of the Berlin Wall had a decisive influence on the political map of the old left-wing in the former East Germany. Those Communists who, instead of crying over the ruins of the Wall and of the 'demolished Worker State', decided to go into politics, creating a vigorous force which is already part of German democracy: the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP).... In a series of recent regional elections, the DSP also managed to gain support...[as] the only left-wing alternative to the Social Democrat's and Green Party's centrist government.... But, leaving aside the left-wing's reconversion, the demolition of the 'Wall of Shame' influenced the appearance of a dangerous phenomenon after Germany's reunification: right-wing violence, the skinheads who...keep carrying out frequent attacks and aggressions against the foreign population.... The neo-Nazi movement seems to be growing like a juvenile subculture in some regions of Eastern Germany. Among the numerous explanations for this reality, people are talking about the GDR's totalitarian education but also about a sudden loss of values and referrals as a consequence of changes in the political system which did away with old parameters and set new ones."

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\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 O Estado de Sao Paulo

\plain \fs22 \cf0 read (11/9): "Enormous transformations occurred in the European map practically without major conflicts, with the exception of what happened in former Yugoslavia.... In all other European nations which were under Soviet domination, the population's standard of living has improved substantially.

And the current concern in most of these countries is no longer the consolidation of democracy and capitalism, but the building of a new continental architecture, politically and militarily linked to NATO and economically attached to the EU. A breath of freedom has changed Europe in a short 10-year period. Where there were police states there are today democracies working at full steam...

. The fall of the Berlin Wall passed to history as an inaugural landmark of such transformations, which reflect mankind's uncontrollable longing for freedom."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \fs22 \cf0 CANADA: "Evil, Unavenged"

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\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 National Post

\plain \fs22 \cf0 editorialized (11/9): "Ten years after the Berlin Wall came down, we still need a Nuremberg trial to achieve justice for the victims of communism. If we do not get one, their murderers will enjoy a retirement--and the accomplices of their murderers a future--that they do not deserve."

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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 \fs22 \cf0 The mid-market

\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 Ottawa Citizen

\plain \fs22 \cf0 commented (11/9): "Communism has been consigned to the dumpster of history.... No doctrine this century so willingly perverted the human longing for justice, or so willingly sacrificed human compassion.... Totalitarian systems are created by idealists who hope to transform human existence by coercion.... Those who are found lacking can be dispensed with ruthlessly.... In short, Utopias require mass murder. If we can remember this lesson as we mark the anniversary of communism's collapse, perhaps we will depart this century having learned something valuable. If humbling."

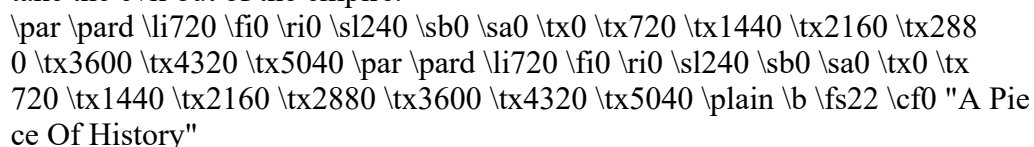
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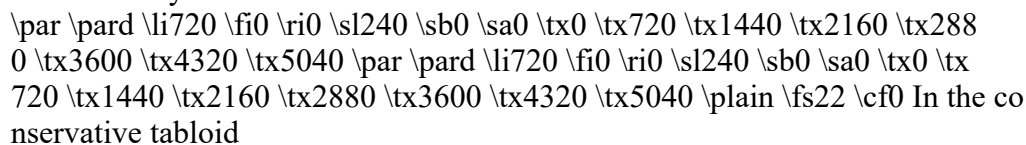
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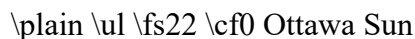
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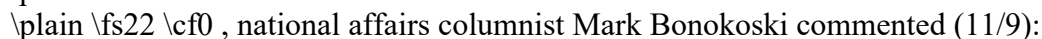
\plain \fs22 \cf0 , regular columnist Lawrence Martin wrote (11/9): "Mikhail Gorbachev journeyed through his client-state countries of East Europe where Red Armies had crushed rebellions and he brought new gospels. One was that Moscow

was no longer in the business of dictating their affairs. The other was that their fossilized systems must give way to glasnost and democratization. He went to Berlin where he told the leaders that the massive Soviet military would not be deployed to prop up old dictatorships. In the end, nothing was left to stop the fall of the Wall. Many historical factors went into the shaping of the great moment. But essentially it was about one man who decided it was time to take the evil out of the empire."

A Piece Of History"

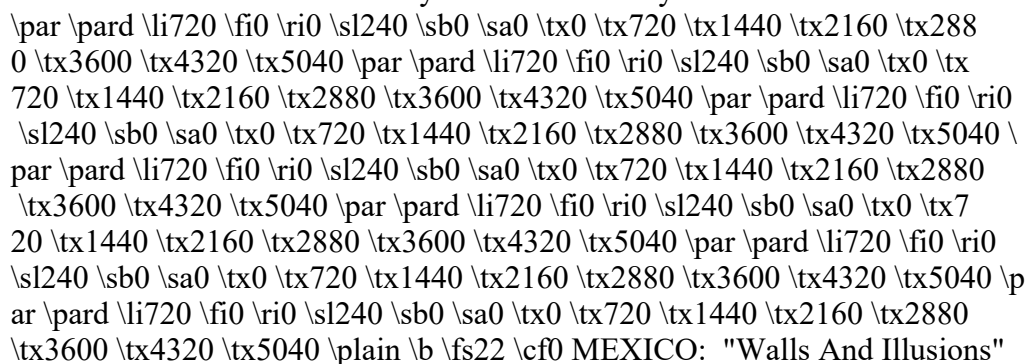
In the conservative tabloid

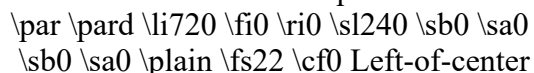
Ottawa Sun

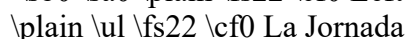
, national affairs columnist Mark Bonokoski commented (11/9):

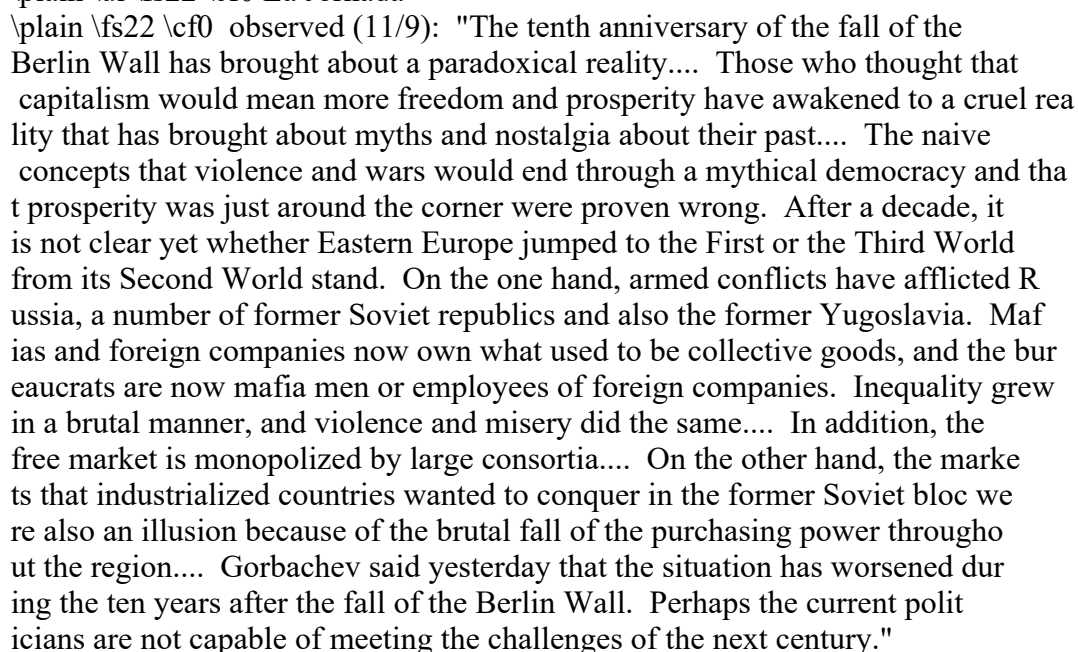
"Ten years ago, the East German government announced the loosening of travel restrictions; within 24 hours, hundreds had passed through the Berlin Wall to the freedom of the West.... Even back then, words failed to put it all in perspective, to give the moment the justice it deserved. In fact, they still do.

The entire Soviet Union virtually crumbled that day. It merits more."

MEXICO: "Walls And Illusions"

Left-of-center

La Jornada

observed (11/9): "The tenth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall has brought about a paradoxical reality.... Those who thought that capitalism would mean more freedom and prosperity have awakened to a cruel reality that has brought about myths and nostalgia about their past.... The naive concepts that violence and wars would end through a mythical democracy and that prosperity was just around the corner were proven wrong. After a decade, it is not clear yet whether Eastern Europe jumped to the First or the Third World from its Second World stand. On the one hand, armed conflicts have afflicted Russia, a number of former Soviet republics and also the former Yugoslavia. Mafias and foreign companies now own what used to be collective goods, and the bureaucrats are now mafia men or employees of foreign companies. Inequality grew in a brutal manner, and violence and misery did the same.... In addition, the free market is monopolized by large consortia.... On the other hand, the markets that industrialized countries wanted to conquer in the former Soviet bloc were also an illusion because of the brutal fall of the purchasing power throughout the region.... Gorbachev said yesterday that the situation has worsened during the ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Perhaps the current politicians are not capable of meeting the challenges of the next century."



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\plain \ul \fs22 \cf0 La Jornada

\plain \fs22 \cf0 carried a column by Luis Hernandez Navarro (11/10): "Ten years of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of real socialism, the societies that emerged from the ashes of planned economies are far from resembling the well-being that encouraged those who promoted the fall of communism.... The end of the Cold War did not mark the end of wars. Quite the contrary, armed interventions have increased as well as the fracture of national borders. The UN, which should have prevented and stopped all wars, has legitimized them. Further, without the threat of communism new enemies have emerged to justify the arms race: ethnic cleansing, Islamic fundamentalism, drug trafficking expansion, and the small list of dictators who occasionally dare to challenge 'the empire.' Russia is living proof of the failure of having blind faith in market forces and in the concept that businessmen would modernize the nation. Russia's wealth has steadily declined, the corruption of its leaders is a constant challenge to the international financial system, and the country is on the fast track to enter the Third World.... New walls have been built on the remains of the Berlin Wall. The progress made regarding individual freedom cannot conceal the growth in social and economic inequality, and the arms race is rampant in the world. Chaos prevails in the new world order that emerged from the ashes of socialist nations."

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Sean Wilentz (Sean Wilentz [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-NOV-1999 20:19:42.00

SUBJECT: Wilentz piece

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Liberalism is back -- maybe not in name, but in spirit and in substance.

The news has been in the political air for months, although few pundits have said so directly. Any doubts about the matter were banished by the results of the New York Times/[CBS?] survey of voters' attitudes, released last week.

That survey revealed that the electorate is fed up with the anti-government politicking that peaked in the Reagan-Bush era, and is eager to endorse sensible federal solutions to national problems. Each of what the respondents identified as the major issues of the day -- and most of the secondary issues -- break in favor of liberals and against conservatives. At the top of the list (picked by tk% of the respondents) is the provision of affordable health care, an issue that in recent months has centered on the expansion of Medicare payments to cover prescription drugs -- endorsed by liberals, opposed by conservatives. Next, at tk%, comes protecting the Social Security system, then tk, tk, and tk -- all areas where liberals have the advantage. With the permanent emergency of the Cold War long since passed, it seems that the American people are now chiefly interested in getting their federal government to advance the domestic common good.

The poll's findings underscore numerous recent signs that our politics have shifted firmly toward a new vital center after a long

period of conservative ascendancy. The strongest of these signs has been the Republican front-runner George W. Bush's effort to distance himself from the hard-right House Republicans and to proclaim himself a champion of "compassionate conservatism." Governor Bush still has a long way to go to explain what his slogan means -- but at the very least, it means that he and his advisers think there are some serious political deficiencies in '80s-style conservatism. And other politicians, of all stripes, appear to be getting the message about the voters' practical liberal drift. The Democratic presidential contender Bill Bradley has positioned himself ever-so-slightly to the left of his rival, Vice President Al Gore, by plumping down especially hard in favor of costly health-care reform. (Interestingly, while pro-Gore Democrats argue that Bradley's proposals might endanger Medicare -- a basic '60s-liberal program -- some Republicans have said nice things about the Bradley plan.) In the House -- a chamber of horrors for liberals since 1994 -- the Republican majority is suddenly falling all over itself to approve some sort of increase in the minimum wage, after years of arguing that such a raise would irreparably injure the economy.

Over in the Reform party, former GOP right-winger Buchanan is proclaiming himself the workingman's advocate (and making cozy with everyone from Teamster head James Hoffa, Jr. to the erstwhile Marxist-Leninist fringe candidate Lenora Fulani). Even the real-estate mogul and presidential aspirant Donald Trump has gotten into the act. On the same day that the Times poll showed him to be less admired than Linda Tripp, Trump announced a soak-the-rich tax proposal that comes straight out of the old Huey Long populist playbook.

The all-purpose explanation for the change is that flush times

produce more liberal outlooks. With plenty of money in their own pockets and in the government's coffers (so the explanation goes), Americans are more willing to back federal spending. But that economic determinist reading is superficial. What we are witnessing is nothing less than a revival of a liberal tradition that many observers had given up for dead, but which has assumed a new and chastened form

When last in bloom, between 1961 and 1965, liberalism achieved an amazing amount in a very short time. Using the powers of the federal government, liberals in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations effectively outlawed racial segregation and overturned the nation's racist immigration policies. Attempts to enact universal health care failed, but Medicare and Medicaid successfully augmented the reforms of the New Deal era.

Then, suddenly, the chances for reform evaporated. The escalation of the Vietnam war bitterly divided liberals. The midterm 1966 elections marked the first wave of a conservative backlash against the civil rights revolution and against the combined New Frontier/Great Society liberal impulse. In its place, Richard Nixon cultivated his

law-and-order, Southern strategy and built an anti-liberal majority that seemed to give the Republican party a lock on the presidency. The Watergate scandals caused a brief counter-reaction, which many Democrats interpreted as a vindication of liberal politics. But in the 1980's, Ronald Reagan and George Bush the elder revived the anti-liberal formula with a vengeance, smashing their opponents by ridiculing them as

L-word, tax-and-spend, San Francisco Democrats. With the Republican takeover of Congress in 1994, led by Newt Gingrich, the faint traces of liberalism that had helped elect Bill Clinton president two

years earlier seemed crushed once and for all.

What few people noticed, however, was that in the 1970 's and 1980 's, while liberals were taking on the chin at the polls, their earlier political achievements were becoming sacrosanct. Federally enforced civil rights (including protection for women under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act), Medicare, and more ' all hotly contested by conservatives in the early 1960 's ' remained political inviolable. Liberals and conservatives fought fiercely over affirmative action and the merits of racial gerrymandering ' but not over the basic justice of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Republicans and Democrats clashed (as they continue to do) over the funding and scope of Medicare, but not over the program 's basic legitimacy. What conservatives once condemned as creeping socialism became accepted as part of the American Way.

With this baseline of federal commitment firmly established, liberalism was never quite as weak as it seemed to be. One of the great ironies of the Reagan years was that, even though the President proved immensely popular (and national Democrats singularly unpopular), polls repeatedly showed the electorate standing well to the left of the administration on many leading domestic issues, from health care to education. Too many conservatives misread Reagan 's twin electoral triumphs (and Bush 's victory in 1988) as the consequences of a full-scale ideological and political conversion by the voters to their cause. Nothing of the kind had occurred.

What the voters may have liked best about Reagan 's politics, his uncompromising anti-communism in foreign affairs, hardly translated into liberalism 's demise. Until the Vietnam disaster, after all, liberalism

and anti-communism had gone hand in hand; and many of those quondam Democrats who switched to Reagan over foreign affairs remained, in their hearts, more liberal than not. After the collapse of communism and the Soviet Union, that underlying liberalism began resurfacing.

Liberalism's comeback, however, has also required an updating of liberal themes -- which has been Bill Clinton's signal success. By electing Clinton to the White House in 1992, the voters showed some revived interest in increasing federal spending -- what the Clinton campaign had called "putting people first." But the election also showed (in the 19% of the vote given to the upstart, Ross Perot) an abiding sharp concern about federal fiscal mismanagement. Some of the stigma attached to liberal Big Government in the late-1960s -- as a behemoth that stole from the productive many and gave to the lazy, shiftless minorities -- still remained. And in his first term, when Clinton fell on his face with his health care initiative and squandered public support, he looked like a dead political duck.

Yet instead of giving up, Clinton adapted. Disappointing both the traditional statist left and the free-market right, he reconciled fiscal responsibility -- and a balanced federal budget -- with increased federal spending on public investments. Rejecting the excesses of liberal multiculturalism, he revived an old-fashioned patriotic liberal rhetoric while standing firm on civil rights. On the domestic front, he abandoned outdated federal programs (notably welfare assistance programs dating back to the 1930s), while strengthening the Government's commitment to job training and widened educational opportunities for all. And in foreign affairs, he became the first Democratic president since Vietnam to rehabilitate liberal internationalism. In short, Clinton shattered

the conservative idea of government as America's problem and made federal action respectable once again.

Flushed with victory in 1994, right-wing congressional Republicans misread reality and thought that Reaganism had been reborn. So they forced a government shutdown in 1995, infuriating the voters. Undeterred by that fiasco, they pursued the impeachment and removal of President Clinton to the bitter end, despite rock-solid public majorities in the president's favor. Like lemmings, that have continued to pursue their fiercely conservative agenda of regressive tax cuts, across-the-board budget reductions, and isolationism in world affairs.

The latest polls suggest that, as a result of their misreading, the House Republicans may well lose their majority next year. And although Governor Bush's numbers are better, he has only just begun to separate himself from his party's baleful recent activities. If he is to win the presidency, he must move well beyond vague rhetoric and square himself with the voters on every single issue on which his conservative colleagues now stand discredited. And given his record, on everything from favoring federal tax cuts to tktktk, that may prove difficult.

But whatever the next twelve months brings, one thing is clear: the Reagan-Bush era is over. Republican nostalgia for that era is politically delusional. And if, as President Clinton once said, era of big government is over, a new era of liberal government activism, chastened by adversity, could well be just beginning.