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Where did it hit you?

Here are estimates of damage in Lebanese pounds suffered during the 16 years of civil war

- ✓ Apartment complex and houses about 503.2 billion;
- ✓ Factories, nearly 57.9 billion;
- ✓ Schools and educational institutions, about 62 billion;
- ✓ Hospitals 3.87 billion;
- ✓ Public and government buildings 14.3 billion;
- ✓ Tourist centres 29,87 billion.

**BILLION
DOLLAR
DAMAGE**

LEBANON'S Housing Ministry has made public for the first time a survey putting the total cost of damage inflicted on property during the 16-year civil war at approximately \$1 billion.

The survey said 46,600 buildings, 778 factories, 496 schools, 100 hospitals, 364 public buildings, 383 hotels and tourist centres and 18,630 stores and shops were damaged in the gunbattles fought on Lebanese territory since 1975. The report said more than 35 percent of the losses were inside Beirut's old commercial district which lies along the frontline that separated the Muslim and Christian sectors of the Lebanese capital.

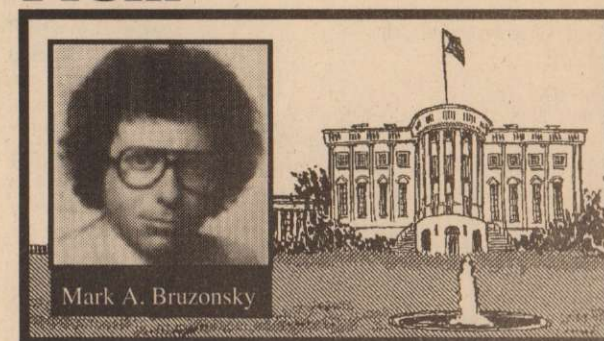
The report listed the Lebanese pound cost as follows: ● apartment complex and houses about 503.2 billion pounds; ● factories, nearly 57.9 billion; ● schools and educational institutions, about 62 billion; ● hospitals 3.87 billion; ● public and government buildings 14.3 billion; ● tourist centres 29,87 billion.

WILL THE US GO THE SOVIET WAY....

**AMERICA'S
YELTSIN!**

IT'S JERRY BROWN!

From



Washington

JERRY Brown isn't going to be president. He's not even going to be vice president. In fact, he's not even likely to be governor again.

Still, Jerry Brown -- former governor of the nation's most populous state, California, just as was Ronald Reagan before him -- is by far the most interesting phenomenon in American politics in a rather long time.

Just listen to him:
 "There is only one party in America.... There are, of course, two major political organisations with different names, but at their core they are the same. They share the same world view and they serve the power of the same private interest, which in return finance the campaigns of both. Without two parties to choose from there is no choice. And without choices there is no democracy, and where there is no democracy there is no freedom. There is only a system which entertains us with illusions."

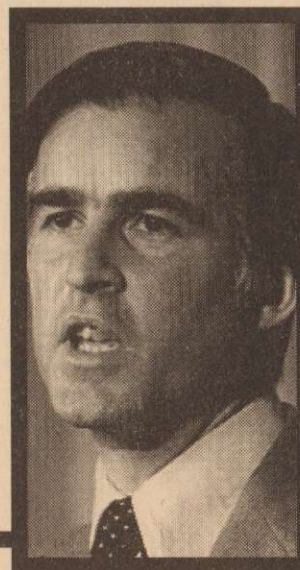
Now of course Brown's own fantasy, his own illusion if you will, is that he's going to really be able to do something about this American political arrangement of which he now constantly rants. Not likely ... at least not until there is real depression here; not until the American system is itself far closer to collapse than seems likely even with all the problems playing the US these days.

But then, who a few years ago was predicting the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the resignation of Mikhail Gorbachev, and the enthronement of Boris Yeltsin?

TRUTHS

AND

ILLUSIONS



JERRY BROWN

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ment of Boris Yeltsin?

Maybe Brown has even come to pattern in some ways after Yeltsin -- another energetic, self-believing, self-propelled political man, this one thrown out of the Soviet political system only to become resurrected as architect of a new order when that system finally came crashing down on itself. That Jerry Brown must have mo-

ments envisioning himself as a future American Yeltsin, as America's eventual saviour if and when the system itself comes apart, seems rather likely.

There are others like Brown in American politics -- he's not completely unique.

Lyndon Johnson's attorney general at the Justice Department, Ramsey Clark, long ago jetti-

soned his establishment credentials and shares many of Brown's concerns and beliefs. And at times Jesse Jackson has leaned towards some of Brown's populist themes. Furthermore, both Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan got themselves elected as "Washington outsiders" who were going to shake up the system....

But Brown is the only American politician with high name recognition who has been elected to major office and who is now going around the country attacking the very foundations of the American political order.

Just listen to this born-again politician:
 "There's no opposition party in America! Democrats are no opposition!"

'Slaves were counted as only three-fifths of a human being. Most of America's homeless cit-

commercial district as follows: 884 houses and apartments, 11 schools and universities; six hospitals 22 tourist centres, 13 government buildings and 9,947 stores. The report recommended that an all embracing plan for reconstruction and repatriating all families which fled their homes during the fighting, be laid down.

Housing Minister Muhammad Beydoun said that the ministry was working on a three-dimensional plan to rebuild what was destroyed, repatriate war displaced families and solve the housing crisis which has emerged as a result of the rising cost of living, inflation and low salaries. Beydoun added that the ministry has worked out a formula to rebuild demolished houses and to repatriate refugees to their homes. He said the plan did not only cover the residents of Mount Lebanon, but also families who fled from Israel's self-proclaimed "security zone" in south Lebanon. He said the ministry was now busy collecting data about these people to determine their precise whereabouts so they may be included in the project.

Housing

Beydoun said his ministry was also concerned with the ongoing housing crisis facing newly-weds. He said young couples today face maximum difficulty in finding a home with an affordable price or rent. The country as a whole was in need of more than 300,000 residential units to meet public demands. He added that people of limited income cannot afford today's real estate costs and rent, a factor adding to a worsening social instability in Lebanon.

The minister underlined the need to organise the relationship between the landlords and tenants. He was referring to a problem which emerged during the civil war whereby living costs went up while old leases remained unchanged, thus radically cutting rents. This pushed landlords to offer new apartments for sale instead of rent.

He said the government could lend families money at a low interest rate to enable them to buy the houses they have been living in for a long time under an old lease. He said securing the funds should not be a big problem for the government, since, according to the ministry's survey, there are only 120,000 rented houses in the country.

Beydoun said that fund currently available at the state treasury and the central bank are not sufficient to cover all the ministry's housing projects. He said the Housing Ministry would be receiving about L£40 billion from money saved in subsidising flour, which would be sufficient to rebuild 6,000 residential units and help some 3,000 tenants to buy their houses.

The minister made the point that the government would be relying primarily on the projected International and Arab Fund for Reconstruction in Lebanon, as well as loans and contributions from Arab and European countries.

He complained that a delegation from the state-run Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR), which toured European countries recently requesting assistance, did not deal with the housing problem. He added that contacts were underway between the Housing Ministry and the Arab Fund for Economic Developing requesting help to finance projects for rebuilding houses destroyed during the war.

He revealed that the ministry asked for a \$10 million loan to build residential districts containing about 1,500 housing units which will have their own electricity and water resources plus a school and a public clinic. He said the first such project would be carried out in the suburbs of Beirut.

Beydoun said that the government had decided to raise the maximum amount of a loan for rebuilding a house for each applicant to about L£12 billion, which he said, is adequate for a 100-square metre apartment. This decision is only the beginning and many other steps would follow to boost reconstruction.

Concerning the reconstruction of Beirut's old commercial district, Beydoun said the Housing Ministry was mainly concerned with residential facilities.

Most of America's homeless citizens are in danger of not being counted at all! HOMELESS

Do they ring the bell?

By Bruce Casino

A BILL now in Congress would remedy Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher's summer overruling of a Census Bureau recommendation to upwardly adjust the 1990 census.

Bipartisan sponsors of the legislation have appealed to Mosbacher to reverse his position. They seek an adjustment to correct the five percent minority undercount which the Census Bureau acknowledges.

This is a needed first step in correcting the serious undercount of minorities in the census. It does not, however, address the gross undercount of the nation's homeless. The homeless were not included in the Census Bureau's post-enumeration survey which provides the scientific basis for the proposed adjustment.

What transpired on a single evening in March 1990 -- the 1990 Street and Shelter Night, or S-Night in the parlance of the Census Bureau -- shows that the traditional head-count approach favoured by Mosbacher is woefully inadequate when it comes to enumerating hard-to-count persons such as minorities and the homeless.

The S-Night results were often ludicrous. Are there really 75 times as many homeless on the street in Birmingham, Alabama, as there are in Richmond, Virginia? Are there real-

ly no homeless persons in Wichita, Kansas, and only one in Rochester, New York? Are there really 16 times as many homeless in San Diego as there are in Washington, DC, where only 131 were counted?

One resident commented he believed there were 131 homeless persons on his block alone.

Studies have repeatedly shown that two-thirds of the homeless sleep concealed to avoid victimisation. The bureau was fully aware of this. Yet, in localities where the bureau did count, it made a deliberate decision to exclude from its head count all of the hidden homeless -- those sleeping in automobiles, abandoned buildings, bushes, dumpsters, roofs, caves, or those concealed by tarps, cardboard boxes, or shanty structures.

The bureau attempted to count only the homeless in the open at certain pre-identified street and shelter sites. As the bureau acknowledged, the quality of the lists of these sites, provided by local governments, varied a great deal from one locale to another.

Even at these pre-identified sites the head count was a failure. Most of the homeless were missed, according to studies commissioned by the bureau in New York, Los Angeles, Phoenix, New Orleans, and Chicago. And another bureau-

commissioned study found that the bureau failed to identify and count half of the shelters in the areas surveyed.

In addition to the obvious implications for the need to use a scientifically sound estimating technique in achieving a reasonably accurate census, S-Night also raises an important constitutional issue. The constitution requires a decennial census of "the whole number of persons" in the US. Yet the bureau's enumeration of the homeless took place in only 5,000 of the 39,000 governmental units in the nation. No enumeration whatsoever was undertaken in the overwhelming majority of small cities, towns, and rural areas.

Because of this, only 80 homeless persons were counted on the street or out of doors in the whole of six largely rural states where counting did take place.

Prior to the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, slaves were counted as only three-fifths of a human being. Most of America's homeless citizens are in danger of not being counted at all.

Congress should recognise that the allocation of scarce funds for the homeless using the S-Night figures would be grossly unfair. Those areas where more of the homeless stay in shelters, where the lists

provided to the bureau were more complete, or where the weather was better on S-Night would be favoured. The small town and rural homeless would be essentially ignored. The hidden homeless would be treated as though they did not exist.

The undercount of the homeless will also skew redistricting of electoral seats and result in the annual misallocation of more than \$40 billion of federal programmes distributed on the basis of the census -- including many programmes which assist in alleviating homelessness.

Threatened with litigation by the National Law Centre on Homelessness and Poverty, the bureau issued a disclaimer acknowledging that the count "was not intended to, and did not, produce a count of the 'homeless' population of the country". The bureau, however, remains adamant that it will not disseminate even its own five-page disclaimer with the actual S-Night figures provided to states and researchers.

The lessons of S-Night need to be acknowledged in the debate over the validity of the head-count methodology. Congressional action would prevent the misuse of the S-Night figures and ensure that the dramatic flaws of S-Night are not repeated.--CSM

"There's difference between truth and verbal cellophane. This is about providing a catalyst for change, a vehicle of empowerment, to allow people to be effective. Currently, American politics stifle people from being effective. That's because, in the words of Jefferson and Madison, a minority has gotten control of the process through money.... You can make all the speeches you want about crime for health care or whatever. The fact is that the system is so rigged that none of those rhetorical dreams can ever be realised."

"I said I will speak the truth," Brown recently told a student crowd at the University of Iowa as quoted in an insightful article by Marc Cooper published in *The Village Voice* in late December. "And I know of what I speak", Brown continued. "I am of this system. I know how it works. And it's all a big illusion. Other Democrats come to you and say, 'all we have to do is get rid of George Bush and everything's going to be OK'. But that's a message brought to you by the same one percent elite that has bought BOTH parties. That's the big illusion here. Bush is not the only problem!"

The phenomenon of Jerry Brown in American politics actually does have some similarities, though far outweighed by the obvious differences, to that of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

For Jerry Brown has become a man both disowned by the American establishment that gave him birth as well as made cynical towards his former ways. Furthermore, rather than go softly and write his memoirs, Brown, like Yeltsin, has chosen instead to fight back by taking on the very system of money, privileges, and power, from which he arose. Like Yeltsin, Brown wants to bring down the old order and head up the new.

If you believe what he keeps saying -- and not everyone does -- Jerry Brown, a child of the American political establishment, truly has decided in the later years of mid-life that it's not just desirable, but vitally necessary, to bring the whole corrupt system to its knees and rebuilt American politics in a populist mould.

Unlike Yeltsin, though, Brown faces a far greater hurdle. The system Brown is deriding is not nearly as rotted from within, not nearly as economically and spiritually impoverished, as the one Yeltsin has just brought to collapse. Many problems, true enough, and problems of considerable complexity and difficulty. Yet American politics, and the economic system it serves, have proved far more flexible and far more resilient than the Bolshevik experiment ever had a chance to be.

Still, as writer Cooper sums things up after spending quite some time on the campaign trail with Brown:

"Jerry Brown speaks the truth about our political process more openly, more adamantly, and more single-mindedly than any other candidate in the presidential race, really more than any other American politician with a publicly recognisable name."

Jerry Brown may not be headed to elected office, and he probably won't be able to emulate Boris Yeltsin's historic overthrow of his political system. But Jerry Brown is shaking the foundations of American politics and along they way a few fruits are falling from the trees.