

FOIA Marker

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National Security Council - African Affairs

Frazer, Jendayi

Stack:	Row:	Sect.:	Shelf:	Pos.:	FRC ID:	Location or Hollinger ID:	NARA Number:	OA Number:
V					35022	47776		NSC 0785

Folder Title:

MCA (Millennium Challenge Account) [3]

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
052	Timeline	Timeline...	1	05/17/2002	P5;
053	Agenda	MCA Steering Group Meeting	1	05/21/2002	P1/b1; P5;
054	List	[List]	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
055	Report	Option 1	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
056	Report	Option 2	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
057	Report	Option 3	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
058	List	[List]	5	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

COLLECTION TITLE:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Frazer, Jendayi

FOLDER TITLE:

MCA (Millennium Challenge Account) [3]

FRC ID:

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

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059	List	[List]	3	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
060	Email	Re: MCA... - To: Randall Kroszner, William Melick - From: Catherine Downard	1	05/21/2002	P1/b1; P5;
061	Report	Proposed Uses...	8	05/17/2002	P5;
062	Report	Questions...	2	05/17/2002	P5;
063	Report	MCA Outreach Strategy	5	N.D.	P5;
064	Report	Possible NGO Questions on MCA	6	N.D.	P5;
068	Report	[Africa]	1	N.D.	P5;

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069	Cover Sheet	[Human Development Index] - To: Karl Rove, Barry Jackson - From: John Rendon	1	06/07/2002	P5;
072	List	Table 3	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
073	Chart	[MCA]	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
075	Report	[MCA]	6	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

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Email	Re: MCA... - To: Randall Kroszner; William Melick - From: Catherine Downard	1	05/21/2002	P1/b1; P5;

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National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Frazer, Jendayi

FOLDER TITLE:

MCA (Millennium Challenge Account) [3]

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Report	Proposed Uses...	8	05/17/2002	P5;

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Report	Questions...	2	05/17/2002	P5;

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Report	MCA Outreach Strategy	5	N.D.	P5;

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Report	Possible NGO Questions on MCA	6	N.D.	P5;

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Sub-Saharan Africa: Lagging Far Behind (U)

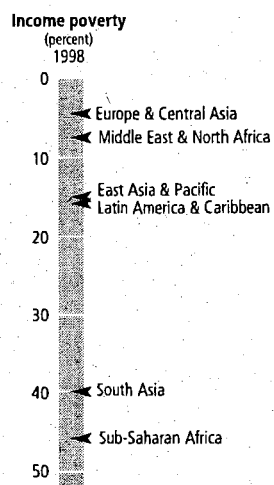
The 2001 UN Human Development Index depicts the magnitude of the plight facing Sub-Saharan African countries as they struggle to gain ground on the rest of the world. The Index attempts to measure quality of life using figures such as real GDP per capita and rates of adult

literacy and life expectancy. The only Sub-Saharan African country ranked in the top half of the Index is Mauritius^a—an island nation with a population of 1.2 million; Sub-Saharan Africa's other 760 million people live in countries in the bottom half. (U)

[illegible]

^aNot enough data were available to rank Liberia and Somalia, which would be near the bottom, and Seychelles and Sao Tome, which would be somewhere in the middle. (U)

Figure 1

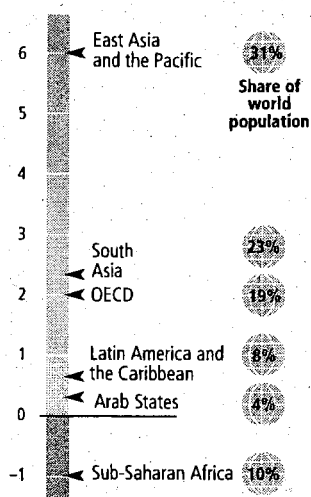


Note: Data refer to World Bank regional classifications and show the share of the population living on less than \$1 a day (1993 PPP US\$).
Source: World Bank 2001c.

Figure 2

Income growth varies among regions

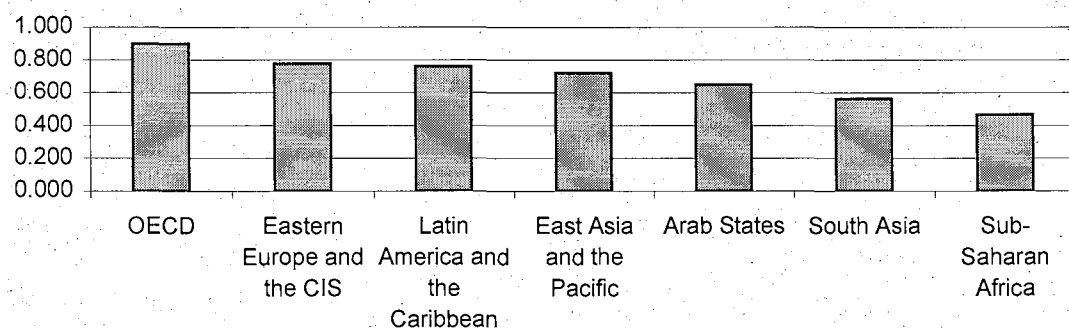
GDP per capita annual growth rate (percent), 1975-99



UN Human Development Index (HDI)

Note: Index scores from 0 to 1, with 1 being the best.

HDI: Regional Comparison



	1999 HDI Score
OECD	0.900
Eastern Europe and the CIS	0.777
Latin America and the Caribbean	0.761
East Asia and the Pacific	0.719
Arab States	0.649
South Asia	0.564
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.467
Developing countries	0.647
Least developed countries	0.442
High income	0.926
Middle income	0.740
Low income	0.549
World	0.716

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	[Africa]	1	N.D.	P5;

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Cover Sheet	[Human Development Index] - To: Karl Rove, Barry Jackson - From: John Rendon	1	06/07/2002	P5;

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when a crumbling economy, a decaying Cold War security structure, and an ethnic-Albanian insurrection against the Serbs in Kosovo combined to intensify ethnic strife and create conditions favorable to greater violence.

Conditions favorable does not signify inevitability, only a strong possibility if policymakers ignore the evidence. Yugoslavia was not so intractable or complex that Margaret Thatcher could not have stopped the war from spreading into Bosnia with the angry rap of her handbag at any of several NATO meetings in 1991 or early 1992, had she still been the British prime minister.

Since early warning is a *sine qua non* of crisis prevention, and because individual circumstances such as the Conservative party coup that toppled Thatcher from power in 1990 cannot be foreseen, foreign policy must be the art of intelligently organizing what information can be foreseen, so as to provide a framework, albeit indistinct, for future events—that is the lesson of Machiavelli's "anxious foresight."

What can be foreseen is what changes slowly or not at all: climate, the resource base, the pace of urbanization, interethnic relations, the strength of the middle class, and so on. One reason the United Nations keeps track of literacy and fertility rates (and then ranks countries in a "Human Development Index" according to such factors) is that they are descriptive of the present and instructive of the future.

The canceled second round of Algerian elections in January 1992 was not the cause of Algeria's Islamic terrorism and civil conflict but merely its "beginning." The causes include the astoundingly high rates of population increase and urbanization for decades prior to 1992, so hordes of frustrated, unemployed young

males overwhelmed the cities and shantytowns.² There was also the reinvention of Islam in a modern and impersonal urban setting, giving it an ideological severity it lacked in the villages. These circumstances could easily have alerted policymakers to Algeria's increasing tendency for conflict.

In 1989, when the Berlin Wall fell, an analyst relying solely on the evidence of history, culture, and geography could have anticipated the condition of former Warsaw Pact countries a decade later. Before World War II and the Red Army flattened Eastern Europe, the Protestant-Catholic lands of eastern Germany, Poland, Hungary, and western Czechoslovakia—all once part of the advanced Habsburg empire—had boasted large and vibrant middle classes. Industrial production in western Czechoslovakia rivaled that of England and Belgium. Not so in the Eastern Orthodox Balkan nations and Russia, burdened by centuries of Byzantine, Ottoman, and czarist absolutism, where middle classes were tiny specks amid vast peasant populations. Of those poorer nations, Russia was always the worst off, its social fabric rent by more decades of communism than the Balkans, and its problems further complicated by sheer size, ethnic diversity, and proximity to the least stable parts of Asia. Not surprisingly, by 2000, the order of economic development in Eastern Europe was roughly what it had been prior to World War II, with the northern, ex-Habsburg part of the region the most prosperous, the Balkans further behind, and Russia in the worst condition. Croatia, meanwhile, befitting the destiny of a marchland between Central Europe and the Balkans, was torn by Balkan violence in the 1990s, but is now moving toward civil society faster than its southern neighbors.

There are exceptions to this historical and cultural pattern: Serbs,

who are worse off than many urban Russians; ethnic-Hungarian Catholics in northern Serbia, who are worse off than Orthodox Romanians in Bucharest; and, most dramatically, Greece—an Eastern Orthodox, Balkan nation that ranks ahead of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary on the United Nations Human Development Index.³ But Greece's escape from communism and Balkan underdevelopment required an American-backed counterinsurgency against communist guerrillas, followed by \$10 billion in Truman Doctrine aid (in 1940s dollars) for a country of only 7.5 million people, and gross interference by the Central Intelligence Agency in Greece's domestic politics through the 1950s.

The benefits of using historical and cultural models to glimpse the future are obvious, but so are the drawbacks. What if the Truman administration had abandoned Greece? In the late 1940s, Eastern Orthodox Greece was economically backward, without a traditional middle class, torn by civil strife, unexposed to the Western Enlightenment, and geographically and spiritually closer to Russia than to the West. History and geography clearly suggested that helping Greece was a lost cause. Yet, it succeeded. And as expensive as U.S. intervention in Greece turned out to be, it was cheap compared to the cost in American defense outlays and human suffering had Greece become a Soviet satellite in 1949.

The collapse of the Soviet Union is another argument against what Isaiah Berlin dismissed as "historical inevitability."⁴ No matter how infirm the Soviet system was, the spectacle of a continental empire crumbling quickly on its own, with no invading army to instigate it, had few precedents in history. It was this dramatic, unforeseen conclusion to the Cold War that led one of Berlin's colleagues to declare: " 'Inevitability' has rather a bad track record."⁵

A stirring argument against inevitability is the *Shi ji*, or *Records*

of the *Grand Historian*, by Sima Qian, the Thucydides of ancient China, whose history of the Qin and Han dynasties includes many passages like this:

Chen She, born in a humble hut with tiny windows and a wattle door, a day labourer in the fields and a garrison conscript, whose abilities could not match even the average . . . led a band of several hundred poor, weary soldiers in a revolt against Qin. . . . The weapons which he improvised from hoes and tree branches could not match the sharpness of spears and battle pikes; his little band of garrison conscripts was nothing beside the armies of the Nine States. . . . Qin [was] a great kingdom and for 100 years made the ancient eight provinces pay homage at its court. Yet, after it had become master of the six directions . . . a single commoner [Chen She] opposed it and its seven ancestral temples toppled. . . .⁶

If the future were really discernible, political science would enjoy more respect than it does, and determinism—the belief that historical, cultural, economic, and other antecedent forces *determine* the future of both individuals and nations—would not be such a disreputable word. Wars have seldom been won by fatalism, and battlefield victories against great odds have regularly changed the direction of history. "One of the perennial infirmities of human beings," writes the late British historian Arnold Toynbee, "is to ascribe their own failure to forces that are entirely beyond their control."⁷ A great leader needs some sense of idealism and possibility. Machiavelli's *Prince* has endured partly because it is an instructional guide for those who do not accept fate and require the utmost cunning to vanquish more powerful forces.

Yet, it hardly follows that policymakers should ignore all factors, objective and subjective, that forewarn them of crises, and which may prevent them.

Determinism has been argued about since the Greek Stoics identified two seemingly contradictory notions: individual moral responsibility and "causation"—the belief that our acts are the unavoidable result of a chain of prior events.⁸ It was the determinism of the medieval Catholic Church, which believed that history had a single direction and purpose, that Machiavelli revolted against. Twentieth-century history makes determinism the pithiest philosophical issue facing policymakers today, for behind the errors of Marxism and other follies lay the error of reading from the past too narrowly into the future.

While Marxism is the classic case of a determinist philosophy, determinism was also a factor in the appeasement of Nazi Germany in the 1930s. Appeasement revealed the danger of a narrow fixation on power—who has it and who doesn't—which puts one in the awkward position of seizing it oneself or knuckling under. To wit, the pro-appeasement editor of *The Times* of London, Geoffrey Dawson, asked, "If the Germans are as powerful as" people say, "oughtn't we to go with them?"⁹ Chamberlain believed Hitler's rearmament was a troubling but inevitable outcome of Germany's industrial capacity, its large and dynamic population, and its strategic position at the heart of Europe. Thus, the Nazi leader could not be stopped.

Unlike the respectable and upright Chamberlain, Churchill was a drinker and surrounded himself with a "disreputable crowd of

roués."¹⁰ It was precisely such a personality, unstable and overbearing, that was an antidote to Chamberlain's fatalism. Churchill's exuberance and sentimentality regarding the British empire made it impossible for him to imagine an outcome that the British prime minister did not help shape. Thus, he grasped the illogic of Chamberlain's attitude toward Hitler, which nullified the influence of Chamberlain himself.

Churchill was by nature a pluralist: someone who believes that many things (particularly his own actions) interact, and that no one thing *determines* the future. Like Ronald Reagan, another leader who proved more clairvoyant than the foreign affairs mandarin that disdained him, Churchill was blessed with a moral passion—a "clean hatred"—that proved more effective than Chamberlain's pragmatism and fatalism.¹¹ Reagan's first inaugural address might have been lifted from Churchill: "I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing."

It may have seemed irrational for Reagan to believe in the 1980s that the Cold War was temporary and that the Berlin Wall would collapse. Reagan thereby exposed another characteristic of determinism: that of being overly rational, a flaw to which policy analysts and other experts are especially prone. A merely rational man might not have challenged Hitler the way Churchill did.

Whereas Churchill and Reagan represented strategic and moral decisiveness against considerable odds, in 1993 President Clinton appeared to represent the fatalism of the appeasers by failing to intervene in the former Yugoslavia to stop war crimes committed by Bosnian Serbs against Bosnian Moslems.

Some of the strongest criticism against Clinton's failure to inter-

Twenty-Five (25) least livable countries

according to the Human Development Index (United Nations)

1. Sierra Leone: – 30% are Muslim of total population 4,717,000 (1999 UN Estimate)
2. Niger: 90% are Muslim of total population 10,400,000 (1999 UN estimate)
3. Burundi: 1% are Muslim of total population 5,930,800 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)
4. Burkina Faso: 50% are Muslim of total population 11,892,000 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)
5. Ethiopia: 45% to 50% are Muslim of total population 60,967,400 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)
6. Mozambique: 4 Million are Muslim of total population 17,242,240 (2000 official estimate)
7. Guinea-Bissau: 45% are Muslim of total population 1,263,300 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)
8. Chad: 50% are Muslim of total population 7,760,300 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)
9. Central African Republic: 15% are Muslim of total population 3,515,700 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)
10. Mali: 80% to 90% are Muslim of total population 10,960,000 (1999 UN estimate)
11. Rwanda: – 1% is Muslim of total population 8,337,000 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)
12. Malawi: 13% are Muslim of total population 9,933,868 (census results 1998)
13. Guinea: 85% are Muslim of total population 7,610,900 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)
14. Gambia: 90% are Muslim of total population 1,381,500 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)
15. Eritrea: Muslim population ?? 4,142,500 population (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)

16. Benin: 15% are Muslim of total population 6,516,600 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)

17. Angola: Muslim population ??? most likely very small of 11,486,700 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)

18. Senegal 94% of the total population is Muslim (1988 census) – population 9,278,617 (official estimate 1999)

19. Cote d'Ivoire: 60% are Muslim of total population 16,190,100 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)

20. Zambia: 24% to 49% are either Muslim or Hindu of total population 9,872,000 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)

21. Democratic Republic of the Congo: 10% are Muslim of total population 51,978,800 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book)

22. Uganda: 5% are Muslim of total population 21,620,000 (1999 UN estimate)

23. Tanzania: 98% of Zanzibar is Muslim and about 1/3 of the mainland population is Muslim -- population of 32,793,000 (1999 UN estimate) (** estimated population of Zanzibar in 1995 was 456,934)

24. Mauritania: 100% are Muslim of total population 2,598,000 (1999 UN estimate)

25. Sudan: 70% are Sunni Muslim of total population 35,530,400 (98-99 CIA World Fact Book / 2000 estimate)

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
List	Table 3	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Frazer, Jendayi

FOLDER TITLE:

MCA (Millennium Challenge Account) [3]

FRC ID:

35022

OA Num.:

NSC 0785

NARA Num.:**FOIA ID and Segment:**

2015-0285-F

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 advise 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]

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

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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Chart	[MCA]	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

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Sub-Saharan Africa: Lagging Far Behind (U)

The 2001 UN Human Development Index depicts the magnitude of the plight facing Sub-Saharan African countries as they struggle to gain ground on the rest of the world. The Index attempts to measure quality of life using figures such as real GDP per capita and rates of adult

literacy and life expectancy. The only Sub-Saharan African country ranked in the top half of the Index is Mauritius^a—an island nation with a population of 1.2 million; Sub-Saharan Africa's other 760 million people live in countries in the bottom half. (U)

High human development	Medium human development	Low human development
1. Norway	49. Trinidad and Tobago	127. Pakistan
2. Australia	50. Latvia	128. Togo
3. Canada	51. Mexico	129. Nepal
4. Sweden	52. Panama	130. Bhutan
5. Belgium	53. Belarus	131. Laos
6. United States	54. Belize	132. Bangladesh
7. Iceland	55. Russia	133. Yemen
8. Netherlands	56. Malaysia	134. Haiti
9. Japan	57. Bulgaria	135. Madagascar
10. Finland	58. Romania	136. Nigeria
11. Switzerland	59. Libya	137. Djibouti
12. Luxembourg	60. Macedonia	138. Sudan
13. France	61. Venezuela	139. Mauritania
14. United Kingdom	62. Colombia	140. Tanzania
15. Denmark	63. Mauritius	141. Uganda
16. Austria	64. Suriname	142. DRC (Kinshasa)
17. Germany	65. Lebanon	143. Zambia
18. Ireland	66. Thailand	144. Central Asian
19. New Zealand	67. Fiji	145. Senegal
20. Italy	68. Saudi Arabia	146. Angola
21. Spain	69. Brazil	147. Benin
22. Israel	70. Philippines	148. Eritrea
23. Greece	71. Oman	149. The Gambia
24. Hong Kong	72. Armenia	150. Guinea
25. Cyprus	73. Peru	151. Mali
26. Singapore	74. Ukraine	152. Rwanda
27. South Korea	75. Kazakhstan	153. Mali
28. Portugal	76. Georgia	154. Central Asian Republic
29. Slovenia	77. Maldives	155. Chad
30. Malta	78. Jamaica	156. Guinea-Bissau
31. Barbados	79. Azerbaijan	157. Mozambique
32. Brunei	80. Paraguay	158. Eritrea
33. Czech Republic	81. Sri Lanka	159. Burkina Faso
34. Argentina	82. Turkey	160. Burundi
35. Slovakia	83. Turkmenistan	161. Niger
36. Hungary	84. Ecuador	162. Sierra Leone
37. Uruguay	85. Albania	
38. Poland	86. Dominica	
39. Chile	87. China	
40. Bahrain		
41. Costa Rica		
42. The Bahamas		
43. Kuwait		
44. Estonia		
45. United Arab Emirates		
46. Croatia		
47. Lithuania		
48. Qatar		

Shaded countries are part of Sub-Saharan Africa.

^a Not enough data were available to rank Liberia and Somalia, which would be near the bottom, and Seychelles and Sao Tome, which would be somewhere in the middle. (U)

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Report	[MCA]	6	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

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