

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: "Joe R. Golowka" <joeg@ieee.org> ("Joe R. Golowka" <joeg@ieee.org> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:18-SEP-2000 22:00:26.00

SUBJECT: [radyouth] Fw: Robots seek Capital

TO: Anarchism <Anarchism@egroups.com> (Anarchism <Anarchism@egroups.com> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Northern Coalition for Peace and Justice <NCFPJ-Discussion@egroups.com> (Northern Coalition for Peace and Justice <NCFPJ-Discussion@egroups.com> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: libertarian Socialism <libertarian-socialism@egroups.com> (libertarian Socialism <libertarian-socialism@egroups.com> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Radical Youth <radyouth@egroups.com> (Radical Youth <radyouth@egroups.com> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Marxist-Humanist Forum listerv <mhf-list@venus.soci.niu.edu> (Marxist-Humanist Forum listerv <mhf-list@venus.soci.niu.edu> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

Scott Beale (CN=Scott Beale/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

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A Post-Scarcity society comes another step closer.

Joe R. Golowka
JoeG@ieee.org

"I am for socialism, because I am for humanity." - Eugene V. Debs
----- Original Message -----
From: "Lisa & Ian Murray" <seamus@accessone.com>
To: <pen-l@galaxy.csuchico.edu>
Cc: "Lbo-Talk@Lists. Panix. Com" <lbo-talk@lists.panix.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 17, 2000 10:29 PM
Subject: Robots seek Capital

> [full article at <http://www.iht.com/IHT/TODAY/MON/FPAGE/robot.2.html>]
>

> Paris, Monday, September 18, 2000
> The Robot Revolution Is on the Way
> > From Cyberpooches to Nursebots, Devices Are Entering Everyday Life
>
> By Curt Suplee Washington Post Service
>
> WASHINGTON - In Cambridge, Massachusetts, a larger-than-life-size android
> named Cog locks its video eyes on the faces of visitors while smoothly
> slithering a Slinky toy from hand to hand.
> At the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, a gregarious,
self-propelled
> gizmo that looks like a glorified vacuum cleaner has taken visitors on
tours
> of the museum.
>
> In Pittsburgh, a faceless but matronly "nursebot" named Flo briskly
> answers questions, such as "Hey, Flo! What's on NBC tonight?"
>
> After decades of promises, hopes and disappointments, it appears that the
> long-awaited "robot revolution" may at last be under way.
>
> Around the globe, quasi-autonomous devices have become increasingly
common
> on factory floors, hospital corridors and farm fields. Scores more are in
> development or for sale.
>
> Physicians can use robotics to aid in ultraprecise bone and brain
surgery.
>
> Affluent parents can pick up a Sony cyberpooch to amuse the kids or an
> ottoman-sized, video-equipped "AmigoBOT" to follow and monitor them
while
> they play. The Pentagon is researching a dozen ways to put robots in the
> battlefield, from self-driving vehicles to swarms of tiny surveillance
> robots that would pool their information to create a comprehensive,
> multiangle view of combat zones. And this autumn, the first interactive
> robot baby dolls will hit toy stores.
>
> Just last month, researchers at Brandeis University announced a major
> milestone: a computerized system that automatically creates, evolves,
> improves and builds a variety of simple mobile creatures without any
> significant human intervention.
>
> The rise in robot technology has been fueled by several factors,
including
> spectacular advances in computer power, miniaturization of components,
the
> availability of inexpensive sonar, infrared or laser sensors,
improvements
> in speech-recognition and voice-generation technology, and - perhaps most
> important - the emergence several years ago of a new paradigm for
designing
> quasi-autonomous objects.
>

> "For 30 years, we've had no results to speak of," said Hans Moravec, a
> pioneer in artificial intelligence at Carnegie Mellon University in
> Pittsburgh. "But that's all going to change in the next 10 years."
>
> In the near future, it is not unreasonable "to imagine multiple robotic
> devices in every business, home and office," says James Hendler, head of
> the University of Maryland's Autonomous Mobile Robotics Laboratory who is
> now working at the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency.
>
> Mr. Moravec and several other experts are convinced that exponential
growth
> in computing power may soon put robotic systems within reach of the kind
of
> brainpower that could ultimately put humanity out of business.
>
> "Over the next several decades, machine competence will rival - and
> ultimately surpass - any particular human skill one cares to cite,"
wrote
> Ray Kurzweil, inventor of computerized speech-recognition, reading and
music
> systems, in his new book, "The Age of Spiritual Machines: When Computers
> Exceed Human Intelligence."
>
> The emergence of these new creatures, Mr. Kurzweil wrote, "will be a
> development of greater import than any of the events that have shaped
human
> history."
>
> Whether sheer computer power can translate into genuinely human
capability,
> however, is a hotly debated matter. A true android of the R2D2 variety
> featured in the Star Wars films - that is, an autonomous robot that can
make
> lots of decisions for itself, handle unfamiliar surroundings and
situations,
> and converse usefully with people - may be a very long way off.
>
> One major obstacle is that scientists have not yet created a device that
can
> do what any young child does automatically: recognize grandma when she's
> wearing sunglasses, has a new haircut, and is standing in a crowd with
her
> face turned aside.
>
> By the age of 2, any human can see the difference between a hole in the
> floor and a black spot painted on the floor.
>
> Thanks to miniaturization of the kinds of infrared, laser-light and
> ultrasound sensors widely used as range finders for consumer cameras,
> today's robots can discern the distance to the object accurately. But so
> far, robots have no dependable way to tell a hole from a spot, much less
a
> boy from a girl.
>

> Another impediment to rapid progress, experts say, is that until the late
> 1990s, the price of components has been so high that few have been able
to
> do the kind of creative, blue-sky research that often produces
> breakthroughs.
>
> That is changing. Small muscle-like motors and miniaturized joints are
> becoming less expensive all the time, and the spread of video cameras,
laser
> devices and ultrasound range-finder technologies has driven down the cost
of
> items once thought exotic.
>
> "I feel like we're on the cusp," said Rodney Brooks, director of the
> Artificial Intelligence Laboratory at the Massachusetts Institute of
> Technology.
>
> Even if robots do not become as ubiquitous as the PC, less grandiose but
> extremely useful goals are being achieved.
>
> Carnegie Mellon has devised self-directing tractors that harvest around
the
> clock in California, combining location information from global
positioning
> sensors with video image processing that identifies rows of uncut crops.
>
> In the long run, many planners are assuming that demand for personal-care
> robots is bound to explode as the population ages and the cost of nursing
> home care (already averaging \$50,000 a year) continues to increase.
>
> "Seniors may be prone to forget to take their medications or therapies,
and
> caregivers may be too overworked to remember," said Nicholas Roy, one of
> the developers of Flo, the nursebot. But "these are the sorts of tasks
that
> computers and robots are really good at."
>
>

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: "Joe R. Golowka" <joeg@ieee.org> ("Joe R. Golowka" <joeg@ieee.org> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:19-SEP-2000 18:39:07.00

SUBJECT: [radyouth] Fw: Fall of Communism sparks job growth

TO: Northern Coalition for Peace and Justice <NCFPJ-Discussion@egroups.com> (Northern Coalition for Peace and Justice <NCFPJ-Discussion@egroups.com> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: libertarian Socialism <libertarian-socialism@egroups.com> (libertarian Socialism <libertarian-socialism@egroups.com> [UNKNOWN])
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CC: Radical Youth <radyouth@egroups.com> (Radical Youth <radyouth@egroups.com> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Marxist-Humanist Forum listerv <mhf-list@venus.soci.niu.edu> (Marxist-Humanist Forum listerv <mhf-list@venus.soci.niu.edu> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

Scott Beale (CN=Scott Beale/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
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Joe R. Golowka
JoeG@ieee.org

"I am for socialism, because I am for humanity." - Eugene V. Debs
----- Original Message -----
From: "Yoshie Furuhashi" <furuhashi.1@osu.edu>
To: <lbo-talk@lists.panix.com>
Sent: Tuesday, September 19, 2000 10:49 AM
Subject: Fall of Communism sparks job growth

> >Date: Tue, 19 Sep 2000 09:27:50 -0400
> >To: marxism@lists.panix.com, pen-l@galaxy.csuchico.edu
> >From: Louis Proyect <lnp3@panix.com>
> >Subject: [PEN-L:2045] Fall of Communism sparks job growth
> >
> >NY Times, Sept. 19, 2000
> >
> >The Oldest Profession Seeks New Market in West Europe

>>
>>By ROGER COHEN
>>
>>DUBI, Czech Republic - Early this summer, Pavlika, a young Bulgarian woman,
>>boarded a bus in Varna on the Black Sea coast and traveled westward to this
>>town on the Czech-German border, where she now stands on the road in
>>vampish boots and a skirt so short it leaves little to the imagination.
>>"Work," she says simply, a helpless smile spreading across her broad face.
>>"Work, that is why I came. In Bulgaria, there was no way to make money."
>>
>>Prostitution is an old trade but not an honored one, so Pavlika prefers not
>>to give her family name. At the age of 21, she has plenty of company. Dubi
>>now forms the center of a five- mile sex strip leading to the border where
>>bars have names like "Libido" or "Kiss" or "Alibi" and young women loiter
>>on every corner.
>>
>>About 70 percent of the prostitutes are foreign, most of them from
>>Bulgaria, Belarus, Ukraine and Russia, said Vladimir Kriz, the Dubi police
>>chief. He said several hundred women cater to "sex tourism" from Germany -
>>the ugly face of the economic divide that scars the land where the cold war
>>died. Many of the women end up here because it is easier and cheaper to get
>>a Czech visa than one to a European Union country.
>>
>>Average wages are \$110 a month in Russia, three times that in the Czech
>>Republic, more than fifteen times that in the European Union. No wonder a
>>tide of more than one million migrants, a growing number of them women, is
>>washing up each year on the European Union's borders and within them.
>>
>>Communism put women to work; post-cold-war capitalism does not necessarily
>>do so. More than 60 percent of Russia's unemployed are women. A Russian
>>girl called Luda, in a bar in southern Spain, put the West's lure simply:
>>"One-zero-zero- zero," she said laughing, "instead of one-zero-zero" - the
>>chance to earn \$1,000 a month instead of \$100.
>>
>>But the laughter can be short- lived, promised money illusory and the human
>>cost high. Scratch the surface in the Dubi area and a world of violence,
>>xenophobia, disease and misery is revealed.

> >

>>At the orphanage in nearby Teplice, Jirina Rajtrova, brisk in white
>>uniform, points to three babies in a large bed and says two of them,
Adam

>>and Lucia, were born to local prostitutes. Of the 55 infants under her
>>care, half are children of prostitutes. "You see," she said, "There are
>>regular clients for pregnant women." Mr. Kriz, the police chief, said he
>>last saw "some pregnant girls working" several months ago.

> >

>>As for child prostitution, Jiri Voralek, the chief of police in nearby
>>Usti, says nine pimps are being prosecuted in three cases this year
>>involving 12 children. "The youngest was 9," he said.

> >

>>Those are extreme cases. But, generally, moral codes are loosening in a
>>Western European society that is ever more mobile and bereft of the old
>>constraints that church, community and steady jobs provided. Wealth is
>>widespread, but so is alienation; sex has been commercialized like
>>everything else. Fast money is in; so is fast sex.

> >

>>Central and Eastern Europe are far poorer, their once sealed borders now
>>open, their sense of what Bernd Burgfeldt, a Berlin police officer,
called

>>the "Golden West" still full of illusions, their young women liberated
but

>>often idle - and desperate.

> >

>>For the sex trade, the balance of supply and demand could scarcely be
>>better. Women have been coming to this border town for several years,
and

>>the influx shows no sign of abating. "Between the two parts of Europe,
the

>>business of trafficking for sexual exploitation is booming," said Bjorn

>>Clarberg, director of the "Illegal Immigration and Human Beings Group"
at

>>the European Union's joint police force, Europol. "It's an industry now
>>worth several billion dollars a year."

> >

>>Irene Freudenschuss-Reichl, an Austrian activist working to curb that
>>business, estimates that half a million women from Eastern Europe and
the

>>former Soviet Union are being shipped abroad each year.

> >

>>At Frankfurt an der Oder, on the German-Polish border, Mirko Heinke, a
>>senior border guard official, said about 60 percent of the 681 people
>>apprehended so far this year were women, with the largest numbers from
>>Russia, Ukraine and Moldova. In Berlin, Mr. Burgfeldt put the number of
>>prostitutes in the city at close to 7,000, "most of them from Eastern
>>Europe, women who have poured in since the fall of the wall."

> >

>>Some move westward without illusions, convinced, however reluctantly,
that

>>prostitution for a wealthier clientele is the only way to feed their

>>families and fashion a future. Others come deluded, lured into thinking

>>that they will work as babysitters or barmaids, forced into unpayable

debt,
>>deprived of all freedom in the end.
>>
>>Pavlika, the Bulgarian prostitute, saw no alternative to her current work
>>on the E-55 highway. Her parents are dead, killed in a car crash when she
>>was 16 and still at school. She took a succession of odd jobs, but they
>>were insufficient to support her 10-year-old sister. Hardship. Dead ends.
>>Vague dreams of "getting married and maybe living in Germany."
>>
>>She stops talking, abruptly, says she has to work. The going rate is about
>>\$35 for 30 minutes, or about half the price over the border in Germany.
>>Hence the steady stream of German cars.
>>
>>Pavlika takes a wad of notes out of a bag. She hands them to her pimp. Like
>>others around here, he has a look: track suit, Adidas sneakers, gold chain,
>>sleeves short enough to reveal the bulge of his muscles.
>>
>>Leona, 19, works in the nearby Bihac bar, an upscale brothel owned by
>>Bosnian immigrants. She is a Ukrainian girl from Uzhgorod; she seems
>>desperate, to judge by whispered confidences. Unlike Pavlika, she is in the
>>second category of women, those deceived, trafficked and ultimately trapped.
>>
>>She came westward believing that she would work as "a gardener or some
>>normal work." But upon arrival this summer her passport was taken. She was
>>told she had been "sold" to the bar where she now works. She has no money,
>>she says. Her gaze is vacant.
>>
>>"Money, money, money, money," says Natasha from Brest, Belarus, who is
>>sitting next to her. "There is none for young women in Belarus. There is
>>none in Ukraine. We are here because we can get a Czech visa for \$25. A
>>German one is much more difficult, much more expensive."
>>
>>But many women do get into Germany, some illegally, some with three-month
>>tourist visas arranged by the gangs that bring them. Barbara Erritt, a
>>social worker, says about 1,000 women a year are coming to Berlin from
>>countries further east to work temporarily as prostitutes. She tries to
>>help the casualties.
>>
>>Their stories tend to resemble one another. The women may be teachers or
>>farm laborers or unemployed, ages 18 to 30. Often they have one or two
>>children to support. They receive an offer of temporary work and good
>>earnings in the West. Even an au pair in Berlin may earn several times the
the

>>wage of a teacher in Kiev.
>>
>>Travel and visas are arranged for \$800 to \$1,000 - the women's debt to the
>>gangs that organize their transportation and work. After arrival, passports
>>and any money are taken and the women are deposited, often in groups of
>>four or more, in small, guarded apartments. Then they are told what their
>>real job is to be.
>>
>>The Berlin tabloid newspaper, BZ, advertises them daily: "The best from
>>Moscow," "Sweet, fresh Poles," "New! Ukrainian Pearls." Some are taken to
>>work in clubs or brothels; others are driven to clients' homes.
>>
>>The average rate in brothels is about \$75 a half-hour, but no more than a
>>tenth of that reaches the women's pockets. The women have to buy food and
>>pay rent from their earnings, and so the debts mount.
>>
>>"The women are terrorized," said Ms. Erritt, who has helped about 30 of them
>>in the last two years. "They are often unable to pay off their debts.
And
>>they are paralyzed, afraid to go the police, terrified the gangs will do
>>something to a member of their family back home if they try to escape."
>>
>>Prostitution is not illegal in Germany, if confined to designated urban
>>areas. But trafficking in women, and their exploitation, is illegal; so,
>>too, is working with a tourist visa or with none at all. Mr. Burgfeldt, the
>>police officer, said he had 20 staff members fighting prostitution rackets,
>>with limited success.
>>
>>The trade in women from the East has spread throughout Europe and is
>>increasingly well organized. The Russian-German and Ukrainian-German
>>mafias that dominate the business are an outgrowth of the long Soviet
>>presence in East Germany. Their networks are old, slick, flexible and
>>elusive. Everywhere, women are reluctant to testify because they are
>>afraid; without them convictions are almost impossible to get.
>>
>>"If they are going to testify, these women need witness protection, new
>>names, new passports, assurances they can remain in Germany," said Cornelia
Cornelia
>>Bihrlé, an expert on illegal immigration. "But German authorities will not
>>provide this. And the mafias are often much more sophisticated than the
>>police or the border police."
>>
>>For Dr. Hana Duchkova, an expert on sexually transmitted diseases at Usti

>>Hospital, the collapse of Communism and the order it imposed have been a
>>"recipe for many problems." Foreigners have no medical records, and
spread
>>disease. Cases of syphilis at the hospital are up to 134 so far this
year
>>from 59 in 1999, she said, heaping blame on foreigners and a large Gypsy
>>population she described in disparaging terms.
>>
>>One young Gypsy woman on the highway said she was 19 and had been put to
>>work at age 15 by her family. On a good day, she could make about \$150.
>>With a tattoo of a rose on her upper arm and a ravaged look in her big
>>brown eyes, she seemed a waif broken before she could live.
>>
>>Under the former Communist government, Gypsies had jobs, however menial,
>>and overt racism was repressed, although a contentious program involving
>>paid sterilization also existed. The women here from Belarus, Bulgaria,
>>Russia and elsewhere would also have had jobs.
>>
>>"Poverty was not the same in Communist societies," said Mr. Burgfeldt of
>>the Berlin police. "What we are facing now is people moving because of
the
>>poverty they face."
>>
>>Bara Rempertova, 26, who is Czech, sells her body voluntarily on the
>>highway. At least, it is "voluntary" work in the sense that it is the
only
>>work she has been able to find that allows her to make what she called
"a
>>reasonable living." After six years, she plans to stop next year.
>>
>>"I met a German here who is now my stable boyfriend and he wants to
marry
>>me," she explained. "He understands why I have to do this. If things
work
>>out, I plan to go and live with him in Germany."
>>
>>
>>Louis Proyect
>>
>>The Marxism mailing-list: <http://www.marxmail.org>
>
>

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: "Denny, David A" <DennyDA@state.gov> ("Denny, David A" <DennyDA@state.gov> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:21-SEP-2000 16:42:29.00

SUBJECT: 9-21-00 state press guidances

TO: PA Guidances Group <PAGuidancesGroup@state.gov> (PA Guidances Group <PAGuidancesGroup@state.gov> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

Katherine A. Brown (CN=Katherine A. Brown/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
Note: Some recipients have been dropped due to syntax errors.Please refer to the "\$AdditionalHeaders" item for the complete headers.

<<09-21-00 FINAL GUIDANCES>>

David Anthony Denny
Office of Press Relations
Bureau of Public Affairs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647 -- 2492
dennyda@state.gov

- 09-21-00 FINAL GUIDANCES.doc===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

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

TEXT:
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GUIDANCES CONTENTS THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 2000

STATEMENTS I
ran US disappointed in appeals decision
Sec. Albright Travel to Iceland, Franc
e
Department Release of Foreign Relations book

AFRICA Burundi Nairobi Summit
ends
Sierra Leone Peacekeeping mandate extended

EAST ASIA Burma Aung San Suu
Kyi update
China Decision in Zhang Hongbao case
Indonesia Plan to disarm mili
tias
Secretarys meeting with envoy
International relief in West T
imor
Philippines Hostage update, Schilling broadcast
Vietnam Secretarys meeti

ng with FM

EUROPE Germany Child abduction cases
Russia Chechnya update

LASER sale to Iran
Spain Politician killed
Turkey US Congress & Armenian genocide

MIDDLE EAST Iran Decision on appeal of Iranian Jews
US tour of Foreign Minister
Iraq UN sanctions regime

MEPP Status of negotiations

SOUTH ASIA Afghanistan Taliban campaign for UN seat

WEST HEMISPHERE Colombia Last American
hostage released
Cuba Downed plane, migration talks
Haiti Presidential campaign, OAS mission
Peru Military backs Fujimori decisions

MISCELLANEOUS Economics IMF-World Bank meetings in Prague
Visas Pending action in US Senate

OTHER
TODAY WAS A REGULAR PRESS BRIEFING
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office of the Spokesman

For Immediate Release
2000/1023

September 21, 2000

STATEMENT
GIVEN BY RICHARD BOUCHER, SPOKESMAN

IRAN APPEALS DECISION

The United States is disappointed that today's appeals court decision in Iran does not overturn all of the convictions imposed on the ten Iranian Jews on July 1. We also are disappointed that the Iranian Government has not released any of the ten defendants from prison.

The United States has previously condemned, and continues to condemn, the process by which 13 members of the Iranian Jewish community were tried and ten sentenced without benefit of internationally recognized due process. The decision of the appeals court today reinforces our long-standing concerns about the manner in which the Iranian courts conducted this case. We, like the rest of the international community, continue to be concerned by Iran's judicial practices in this and other cases.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the
Spokesman

For Immediate Release
2000/1024

September 21, 2000

STATEMENT BY RICHARD BOUCHER, SPOKESMAN

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT TO TRAVEL TO ICELAND
AND FRANCE

Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright will travel to Iceland and France from September 30 to October 2.

In Iceland on September 30, the Secretary will discuss cooperation on NATO, European and Security Defense Identity (ESDI), international peacekeeping, and the bilateral defense relationship, as well as expanded trade opportunities with Alaska.

On October 1, the Secretary will travel to Bordeaux, France to meet with former Prime Minister and Mayor of Bordeaux Alain Juppe and open the newest American Presence Post in France. In Paris on October 2, she will take part in a Ministerial meeting with France and the European Commission on foreign policy issues, and hold bilateral meetings with French officials. Drafted: EUR/PPA:Kbyrnes x7-8341

Cleared: EUR/FO:
Cries ok

EUR/NB:Dgraze (info)
EUR/NB:Asilski ok
EUR/WE:DvanCleve ok

EUR/PPA:Pfrayne ok
EUR/AGS:Rbell ok

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office
of the Spokesman

For Immediate Release

September 21, 2000

2000/1022

S
STATEMENT BY RICHARD BOUCHER, SPOKESMAN

RELEASE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS VOLUME
ON
SOUTHEAST ASIA REGION, 1964-1968

The Department released today Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, volume XXVII, Mainland Southeast Asia; Regional Affairs. This volume is part of the ongoing official published record of American foreign policy during the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson. The volume documents U.S. policy toward countries on the periphery of the war in Southeast Asia and presents documentation on the two main regional organizations, the Australia-New Zealand-United States pact (ANZUS) and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).

The Johnson administration focussed its effort in ANZUS on encouraging Australia and New Zealand's participation in the war in Vietnam. In return Australia attempted to involve Washington in the defense of Malaysia in anticipation of the British withdrawal from East of Suez. As SEATO became a weaker organization, President Johnson boldly tried to create a Mekong River development organization along the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The plan never lived up to Johnson's expectation, but it did help launch the Asian Development Bank.

Covered in depth in this volume are U.S. relations with Cambodia and its leader Prince Sihanouk who sought to guarantee Cambodia's neutrality, but found his country increasingly drawn into the conflict in South Vietnam. The other main compilation documents U.S. relations with Thailand, and the United States' staunch ally during the Vietnam conflict. The main themes of U.S.-Thai relations during 1964-1968 were joint military planning in the event of the fall of Laos, military aid and reform, the insurgency in Thailand's northeast, and planning for elections in 1969.

Nine additional volumes in the Foreign Relations series cover the Southeast Asia region for the 1964-1968 period: Volumes I-VII on Vietnam; volume XXVI on Indonesia, Malaysia-Singapore, Philippines; and volume XXVIII on Laos. Of these volumes V-VII and XXVI will be published later in 2000 and in 2001. Volumes I-IV were published in 1992-1998 and volume XXVIII in 1998.

Office of the Historian
Bureau of Public Affairs

United States Department of State

September 21, 2000

The consequences of the war in Vietnam and Laos for U.S. relations with neighboring Southeast Asian states not directly involved in the conflict, as well as for the regional mutual defense organizations, are the focus of the documentary volume, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, volume XXVII, Mainland Southeast Asia; Regional Affairs, release

d today by the Department of State. The volume documents U.S. policy toward countries on the periphery of the war in Southeast Asia.

The two regional comp

lations concentrate on the Australia-New Zealand-United States pact (ANZUS) and the Southeast Treaty Organization (SEATO). U.S. efforts in the ANZUS concentrated on encouraging the deployment of Australian and New Zealand troops to Vietnam, thus demonstrating that the war was not exclusively an American and South Vietnamese one. In return Australians sought to involve the United States in the defense of Malaysia and Singapore in anticipation of Britains projected withdrawal from East of Suez. During 1964-1968 SEATO proved to be a weakening regional grouping, too diverse and too conflicted to agree on a unified strategy for defending Southeast Asia.

Despite the lack of a strong regional consensus abo

ut the war in Southeast Asia, President Johnson boldly proposed economic development of the area when he asked the U.S. Congress to make a \$1 billion investment in the area in order to develop the Mekong River as a source for food, water, and power. Although this enterprise never lived up to Johnsons expectations of becoming a Southeast Asian version of the TVA, it helped create the Asian Development Bank.

A small compilation of documents on Burma highlights U.S. effo

rts to engage the Burmese leader, Ne Win, diplomatically even as Burma withdrew into isolation and the Burmese Way to Socialism. Ne Wins State visit to Washington was a means of assuring the Burmese leader that the United States did not view Burmese nonalignment as counter to U.S. interests in Southeast Asia.

Long

compilations on Cambodia and Thailand reflect the importance of those nations for U.S. policymakers as the war in Vietnam escalated and dominated U.S. foreign policy in the region. In early 1964 Cambodian Prince Sihanouk, in the face of the growing war, desperately sought an international guarantee of Cambodian neutrality and territorial integrity in order to insulate Cambodia from the fighting and to resolve long-standing border problems with South Vietnam and Thailand. The failure of his efforts, which Sihanouk attributed to U.S. influence, and escalating incursions of U.S. and South Vietnamese forces into Cambodia in hot pursuit of Viet Cong forces, caused Sihanouk to break diplomatic ties with the United States.

The problem of North Vietnamese/Viet Cong use of Cambodian

territory was a concern in both Washington and Saigon. The Central Intelligence Agency, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Department of State debated the best way to encourage Cambodia to prevent the North Vietnamese/Viet Cong from using Cambodian territory as a sanctuary for its operations against the South Vietnamese forces. The Department recommended reconciliation with Sihanouk; the JC S, citing the danger to U.S. troops in Vietnam, sought President Johnsons approval to carry the war to the sanctuaries. By the end of the Johnson administration there was still no military/civilian consensus on either the significance of Cambodia to the Viet Cong/North Vietnamese war effort in South Vietnam or an agreed strategy to resolve the problem.

Thailand also became drawn into the wa

r in South Vietnam and Laos. With the deterioration of non-Communist forces in Laos, Thailand and the United States engaged in joint military consultations and bilateral contingency planning. Thailands airfields provided vital bases for the U.S. air war in Southeast Asia. An ongoing dispute between the State and Defense Departments about military aid for Thailand ensued. The State Department wanted to reward the Thais for their integral and vital role; the Defense Department wanted to make increased aid dependent on reform of the Thai military

and more attention to the local insurgent threat in Thailand's northeast.

During the Johnson administration the Thais began to gear up to hold elections under a new constitution. The ruling military/civilian alliance sought U.S. assistance and advice in creating a government political party which won the elections held in 1969.

The Office of the Historian has prepared a summary of the volume. For further information, contact David S. Patterson, General Editor of the Foreign Relations series, at (202) 663-1127; fax: (202) 663-1289; e-mail: history@state.gov. The texts of the volume, the summary, and this press release will soon be available on the Office's Web site: www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/index.html. Copies of volume XXVII can be purchased from the Government Printing Office. Please use the form below or order from <http://bookstore.gpo.gov/sb/sb-210.html>.

Foreign Relations, 1964-1968, Volume XXVII Mainland Southeast Asia; Regional Affairs

(This is not an official statement of policy by the Department of State; it is intended only as a guide to the contents of this volume.)

Since 1861, the Department of State's documentary series Foreign Relations of the United States has constituted the official record of the foreign policy and diplomacy of the United States. Historians in the Office of the Historian collect, arrange, and annotate the principal documents comprising the record of American foreign policy. The standards for the preparation of the series and the general deadlines for its publication are established by the Foreign Relations of the United States statute of October 28, 1991 (22 USC 4351, et seq.). Volumes in the Foreign Relations series are published when all the necessary editing, declassification, and printing steps have been completed.

The documents

in this volume are drawn from the centralized indexed files of the Department of State and the decentralized Bureau, Office, and other lot files of the relevant Departmental units. The volume also includes records from the Department of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency. In addition, the editor made extensive use of the Presidential and other papers at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, Texas. Access to the recordings of President Johnson's telephone conversations at the Johnson Library resulted in the inclusion of transcripts or summaries of several of his conversations with senior U.S. policymakers, which help to document more fully the President's active engagement in Southeast Asia.

Almost all of the documents printed here were originally classified. The Information Response Branch of the Office of Information Programs and Services, Bureau of Administration, Department of State, in concert with the appropriate offices in other agencies or governments, carried out the declassification of the selected documents.

The war in Vietnam and the secret conflict in Laos dominated U.S.

foreign policy toward Southeast Asia during the administration of Lyndon Johnson. The fighting also had serious repercussions for U.S. relations with neighboring states not directly involved in the conflicts. This volume presents documentation on U.S. policy relating to Southeast Asian nations on the periphery of the war in Vietnam. It contains two regional compilations. One focuses on the Australia-New Zealand-United States Treaty Organization (ANZUS); the other on the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and economic development in Southeast Asia. The rest of the volume covers bilateral relations with Burma, Cambodia, and Thailand. The following is a summary of the most important of the issues.

ues covered. Parenthetical citations are to numbered documents in the text.

ANZUS and the Defense of Southeast Asia

The compilation has three principal the

mes: the formal ANZUS consultative relationship, which is presented in brief coverage of ANZUS Council meetings; the growing personal relationship and collaboration between President Lyndon Johnson and Australian Prime Ministers, especially Harold Holt, and to a lesser extent New Zealand Prime Minister Holyoake; and Australia's desire to consult with the United States in anticipation of the British withdrawal from East of Suez, which was projected for the 1970s.

The ANZU

S Treaty with its provisions for yearly meetings of Foreign Ministers was created to reassure the Australians and New Zealanders against the threat of a resurgent Japan. As the Cold War developed in Asia, Communism and China became the focus of ANZUS. Given Australia's and New Zealand's distance from mainland Asia, the Chinese threat was mostly a theoretical, or at least, a long-term one. ANZUS meetings were often leisurely one-day affairs characterized in most cases by discussion of generalities. (7, 45)

Far more important to President Johnson was

the combat support Australia and New Zealand could provide in South Vietnam, thus demonstrating that the war was not exclusively an American and South Vietnamese one. At the 1965 Washington ANZUS meeting, Johnson encouraged New Zealand to send troops, although given the size of New Zealand military forces and its existing commitments in Malaysia, the force sent to Vietnam was only token. (6) In 1968 when he faced a stagnant economy and an upcoming election, Prime Minister Holyoake asked that New Zealand's past support for the United States in Vietnam be reciprocated with better economic relations, especially improved access for New Zealand meat in U.S. markets. (42-44)

Australia's participation in the

Vietnam war was considerably larger than New Zealand's. In March 1966 Australia agreed to send a self-contained force of 4,500 troops to Vietnam. (11) This major commitment impressed Johnson and helped nurture a growing close personal relationship with Prime Minister Harold Holt. (15, 18, 19, 23, 25-28) The accidental drowning death of Holt moved President Johnson to travel to Canberra for the memorial service in which he eulogized Holt to the Australian Cabinet and reaffirmed the U.S.-Australian relationship. (35) U.S.-Australian relations remained close after Holt's death, but did not have the same intimacy under Prime Minister John Gorton. (36-38)

The most significant issue covered in the compilation

is the desire of Australia to consult with the United States over the defense of Malaysia and Singapore in anticipation of Britain's projected withdrawal from East of Suez. In early January 1966 the British Labour Government informed its allies that it could no longer afford world-wide commitments. The result was a joint U.S.-Australian effort to try to convince the British to reverse the policy. (12, 13, 15, 17, 21-25) As British determination to withdraw became increasingly clear, Australia initiated a series of discussions with the United States on possible U.S.-Australian policy options. (29, 30, 32)

The Joint Chiefs of

Staff (JCS) advised Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara that the United States should support a continuing Australian and New Zealand presence in Malaysia and Singapore, but should not assume any of Great Britain's commitments nor station U.S. troops there. (33) While encouragement of Australia's defense of Malaysia and Singapore might raise questions of the application of the ANZUS Treaty, the JCS recommended close consultation without offering a "blanket guarantee." (37) When Prime Minister Gorton met with the President and Secretary of Defense C

Clark Clifford, U.S. officials encouraged him to keep Australian forces in Malaysia and Singapore as part of an enhanced regional role. (38, 39)

Southeast Asia

Region

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was traditionally the focus of U.S. regional policy toward Southeast Asia. During 1964-1968, however, SEATO suffered from such inherent dilemmas and weaknesses that it was increasingly ineffective in rallying its members to the collective defense of South Vietnam or Laos. The marginalization of SEATO is the first theme of this compilation. The second theme is regional economic development as propounded by President Lyndon Johnson in his April 1965 proposal for a vast scheme of economic development for Southeast Asia underpinned by development of the Mekong River.

SEATO's

Weaknesses became all too evident during its Council meeting in April 1964 when members failed to agree on even a public affirmation of the war in South Vietnam. The French pressed for neutralization of Southeast Asia on the grounds that the effort to save South Vietnam was doomed. (47-49) Although not prepared to withdraw from SEATO, France was increasingly unwilling to play a positive role and reduced its participation to observer status. (54) The British Labour Government, for its part, was adamantly opposed to any SEATO public language that could be construed as committing Britain to supply military forces to South Vietnam. (64, 72)

The problems of SEATO were highlighted for President Johnson in April 1967 when the Council met in Washington. Special Assistant Walt Rostow informed the President that the activist Asian members, Thailand and the Philippines, felt that French "foot dragging," combined with reduced interest of Pakistan and Britain, threatened to "sap SEATO's vitality." (89) When the President met with SEATO Ministers he spoke encouraging words about the organization, but no amount of Presidential rhetoric could patch over the basic flaws. (90) SEATO was an organization whose membership was too diverse to agree on a unified strategy for defending Southeast Asia.

The other major issue relating to SEATO was how

it would relate to the Johnson administration's bold dream for economic development of South Asia. The scheme coalesced in the spring of 1965. (56-59) The President announced the concept in Baltimore on April 7 when he asked the U.S. Congress to make a \$1 billion investment in the area. The President envisioned the Mekong River as providing "food, water, and power on a scale to dwarf even our own TVA." Johnson appointed former World Bank President Eugene Black to head the effort. (60, 61)

Black became the point man for the enterprise, and its accomplishments are documented through his reports to President Johnson. (65, 71, 83, 95) Black's effort was multifaceted, but its principal manifestation, apart from dams in Laos and Cambodia, was his assistance in creating the Asian Development Bank. The bank was able to obtain funds mostly from Asians themselves, especially the Japanese. (67, 80, 92) By the end of the Johnson administration, however, the spread of war in Indochina doomed Johnson's grandiose development plans for the Mekong River, but the Asian Development Bank and the idea of Asian economic cooperation was a lasting legacy.

Burma

The Burmese withdrawal into

isolation and the "Burmese Way to Socialism" left the United States with very little diplomatic leverage in the Union of Burma. The principal U.S. objective was to assure the Burmese political/military leader, Ne Win, that the United States was in no way out to get him. (97, 99) The Johnson administration took advantage

ntage of hints from Burmese officials and invited Ne Win and his wife to Washington for a State visit in September 1966. As Chief of Staff of the Burmese Army, Ne Win had come to the United States during the Eisenhower administration and had suffered some personal slights. The visit to the White House with President Johnson at his most charming and expansive was a means of erasing those past indignities and reassuring the leader that the United States did not see Burmese nonalignment and independence as counter to U.S. interests in Southeast Asia. (100-102)

Cambodia

In early 1964 Prince Sihanouk, head of state and chief of state of Cambodia in all but name, was determined to hold an international conference that would guarantee Cambodian neutrality and territorial integrity. Sihanouk feared the growing insurgencies in Laos and South Vietnam, but his foremost concern was the threat he perceived to Cambodia from Thailand and South Vietnam. (105, 108) Sihanouk flirted with the idea of a quadripartite conference (Cambodia, South Vietnam, Thailand, and the United States) to agree upon neutrality, but he added so many unacceptable preconditions that the United States was hesitant to agree. Sihanouk interpreted this hesitation as opposition and abandoned the idea. (109-114) To punctuate its dissatisfaction, Cambodia encouraged and directed violent demonstrations which resulted in the sacking of the U.S. Embassy in Phnom Penh. (115-117)

In a letter to British Foreign Secretary R.A. Butler, Secretary of State Dean Rusk suggested that while Sihanouk's desire to reaffirm Cambodia's neutrality and territorial integrity was a legitimate objective, he also wanted to pillory South Vietnam (and indirectly the United States) for incursions into Cambodian territory in pursuit of Viet Cong forces and to "rub the noses of the Thai" in French colonial treaties and an International Court of Justice decision, which supported Cambodia's position in border disputes with Thailand. (121)

The issue quieted down when Sihanouk announced he would visit France for almost 2 months. (127) While Sihanouk was temporarily retreating from a conference, he continued the pressure on South Vietnam by taking the issue of South Vietnamese border incursions to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). The United States was not opposed to a UN role in policing the Cambodian-South Vietnamese border, believing that it might discourage Viet Cong use of Cambodian territory. (131-133, 137) The result of the UNSC effort was a Security Council resolution establishing a three-person commission to visit Cambodia and South Vietnam. (134) When the commission made its initial report, the United States was disappointed that it was too pro-Cambodian and made no mention of the Viet Cong. Sihanouk, however, formally rejected the findings of the mission on the grounds that they were not sufficiently pro-Cambodian. (142, 144)

U.S.-Ca

mbodian relations deteriorated. In late summer 1964 the White House States considered using a private intermediary to express to Sihanouk U.S. concern about the state of relations and to offer friendly and frank private discussions instead of diplomacy by press release and public speeches. (138, 139) The Department of State concluded that it could not hurt to use a more informal channel of communication to Sihanouk, but insisted that the intermediary not undercut the influence of newly-appointed Ambassador Randolph Kidder. (141) The private intermediary met with Department of State officials responsible for Cambodia and agreed to send a personal letter to Sihanouk based on Department of State key points. (142, 144)

The intermediary plan apparently had little success as Sihanouk refused to accept Kidders credentials and the Ambassador-designate returned to W

ashington. In November 1964 the Embassy in Phnom Penh feared that Sihanouk was about to break relations with the United States. To avoid that, the United States suggested that Sihanouk's trusted adviser, Son Sann, should meet with a special representative of the President, Philip Bonsal, in New Delhi. The Cambodians agreed, but the talks failed to lead to any improvement in relations. (146-150)

The year 1965 did not begin any better. Despite hints that Cambodia wanted to continue a dialogue with the United States (152) and some renewed interest in an international conference (153, 154), South Vietnamese incursions into Cambodian territory and a mistaken U.S. bombing of Cambodian territory exacerbated relations to the point that, in early May 1965 Cambodia broke diplomatic ties with the United States.

Part of the reason for the rupture of relations sprang from Sihanouk's belief that the United States was supporting his opponents, especially the Khmer Serei (Free Khmers) and his particular bete noir, their leader Son Ngoc Thanh, who was in exile in South Vietnam. There was skepticism at the White House and Department of State about Son Ngoc Thanh. As National Security Council (NSC) staffers told McGeorge Bundy, "State is properly skittish as this guy has the political future of Harold Stassen but drives Sihanouk crazy." Only very limited U.S. contacts with Son Ngoc Thanh took place, although the United States was less able to control Thai and South Vietnamese support of the Khmer Serei. (157, 172)

Far more dangerous to Cambodia than Khmer Serei dissidents was the problem of Viet Cong use of Cambodia and the pressure building in Washington and Saigon to attack the enemy in its sanctuaries. (159, 160) President Johnson resisted requests from General William Westmoreland for hot pursuit authority, but he did allow firing into Cambodia in self-defense. (160-162, 164, 165)

The problem of Cambodia's relation to the Viet Cong was an issue in both Washington and Saigon. The Central Intelligence Agency concluded that Cambodia was "not a witting or willing accomplice in Viet Cong operations in Cambodia." Sihanouk would like more control over Cambodia's 600-mile border with South Vietnam, but Cambodia did not have the ability to enforce its authority. (170) The Joint Chiefs of Staff were convinced that both Sihanouk and the United States could do more. Secretary of Defense McNamara presented a JCS proposed program of intensified intelligence coverage of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong activities in Cambodia, a diplomatic and psychological campaign to encourage Cambodia to curb the Viet Cong, increased surveillance and interdiction of seaborne infiltration, covert paramilitary and overt cross-border operations, low-level reconnaissance, and hot pursuit. (171)

Concerned about the momentum building against Cambodia, President Johnson asked Senator Mike Mansfield, Sihanouk's closest friend in the U.S. Government, to pass a message to the Prince to stop Viet Cong raids in South Vietnam. (173) The Department of State also believed the JCS program was too radical and might push Cambodia into active hostility against South Vietnam and the United States. The State Department favored a more cautious and gradual approach on the grounds that Cambodia was already doing as much as it could to impede the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese. Given Cambodia's neutrality and need to placate China, Sihanouk could hardly be expected to join South Vietnam in military operations against the Viet Cong. (176, 180) There was also consensus among the White House staff that the "hard line" toward Cambodia was a mistake. (182) President Johnson asked the NSC staff to brainstorm "imaginative initiatives" on Cambodia. The result was a program of "fresh ideas" which favored persuasion and encouragement rather than the coercive approach recommended by the

e JCS. President Johnson received the NSC proposals enthusiastically and passed them to the Department of State for comment and recommendations. (183)

In resp

onding to these new ideas, the Department of State noted that much of what was recommended was already being done. For example, it had tried to expand ICC coverage of the border, but had been stymied by the Soviet Union. Efforts to discourage Thailand's and South Vietnam's support of the Khmer Serei were ongoing. State agreed with the NSC staffers' idea of a presidential letter delivered by special emissary and favored more unofficial visits and private contacts. While the United States should strive to reestablish diplomatic relations with Cambodia, forcing the pace too quickly could prove to be counterproductive. (185)

After

June 1966 the United States embarked on a cautious program of reconciliation attempts with Sihanouk. Ambassador Chester Bowles talked to Cambodia's Ambassador to India, Nong Kimny. (187-189) There were hints that Sihanouk was interested in a dialogue. (196, 197) In spring 1967 the Department of State sent a message through the Australians informing Sihanouk of the U.S. desire for better relations and expressing concern about Viet Cong/North Vietnamese use of Cambodia. (201, 203, 204) Not all of the U.S. Government was convinced that the "soft line" to Cambodia was right. In December 1966 the JCS stated that VC/NVN use of the Cambodian sanctuary constitutes a clear and present danger" and recommended additional air and ground reconnaissance of Cambodia, hot pursuit, and public exposure of enemy use of Cambodian sanctuaries. (198)

The U.S. intelligence community

did not share the "clear and present danger" analysis of the Joint Chiefs, believing that denying the enemy the use of Cambodia would not itself constitute a decisive element in winning the war in South Vietnam. The intelligence analysts did conclude that the Cambodian sanctuary provided a considerable military and psychological advantage and would be used more frequently during the coming year. (199, 200) A Joint State/Defense/CIA study group worked on the problem in early 1967 and recommended approval of stepped-up air reconnaissance and limited on-the-ground cross-border intelligence-gathering operations, codenamed Daniel Boone, but suggested that high-risk and provocative operations be delayed until the result of diplomatic initiatives to Sihanouk could be assessed. (205)

In autumn 1967 the Department of State continued diplomatic and public pressure on Cambodia to inhibit Viet Cong/North Vietnamese use of Cambodia. (209, 212)

At the same time, it approved measures to expand Daniel Boone operations. (210, 211) When General William Westmoreland, U.S. Commander in Vietnam, requested permission to attack large concentrations of enemy troops resting in Cambodia in December 1967, the administration, with departing Secretary McNamara taking the lead, did not approve. (214-217)

The question of temporarily invading or bombing

Cambodia caused serious disagreement within the Johnson administration. Ambassador at Large Averell Harriman made an impassioned plea against it, drawing an analogy with the German invasion of neutral Belgium in 1914. (221) Westmoreland renewed his request for B-52 bombardment, claiming that the United States was missing an opportunity to hit a vulnerable enemy in jungle areas along an ill-defined border. Westmoreland believed that the operation could be kept secret. (222) In the face of these conflicting recommendations, the President held firm to a stepped-up program of diplomatic pressure on Cambodia rather than attacking the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese on Cambodian territory. (223-225)

In J

anuary 1968 the Johnson administration authorized a high-profile mission to Cam

bodia headed by Ambassador to India Chester Bowles for face-to-face discussions with Sihanouk. (226) Although the results of the meetings were intangible, Bowles believed that the corner had been turned and U.S.-Cambodian relations would improve. (227, 229, 230) Bowles optimism was offset by the CIA belief that as long as Cambodia was unable to control its territory, it could not crack down on Viet Cong/North Vietnamese use of Cambodian sanctuaries. CIA concluded that the Viet Cong/North Vietnamese were increasingly relying on Cambodian territory for sanctuary, base areas, infiltration of personnel, and as a source of rice and supplies and estimated that increasing amounts of war materiel were being routed through southern Cambodia. (233) With major battles between North Vietnamese and U.S. forces raging in the central highlands of South Vietnam, Westmoreland again asked for authority to bomb the enemy in the tri-border area of Cambodia. He was again refused. (234)

In July 1968 the Cambodian Navy captured a U.S.

Army utility landing craft that had strayed into Cambodian waters. Eleven U.S. soldiers and one South Vietnamese policeman were detained. (239) After the earlier North Korean seizure of the Pueblo, the Johnson administration moved quickly to downplay this incident and obtain release of the detainees. (240, 242, 243)

) The President sent Eugene Black to Cambodia in the hopes that he could facilitate release of the detainees, reiterate U.S. concern about Viet Cong/North Vietnamese use of Cambodia, and offer a general statement from the United States expressing respect and recognition of Cambodia's borders provided it would lead to resumption of diplomatic relations. Sihanouk did not meet with Black. The White House assessment was that his mission was a failure. (244, 246-248)

The Joint

Chiefs of Staff suggested harassment of Cambodia river traffic as a means of coercing Sihanouk to release the U.S. detainees. Both Secretary of Defense Clifford and Secretary of State Rusk rejected this idea as counterproductive. (251)

) In December 1968 the United States received hints that Cambodia was prepared to release the American detainees if Sihanouk received a personal message from President Johnson. (255) The message was dispatched and the Americans were released on December 23. (260)

In late 1968 the Johnson administration had failed to reach a consensus on the significance of Cambodia to the Viet Cong/North Vietnamese war effort in South Vietnam. General Creighton Abrams, Westmoreland's successor as U.S. Commander in Vietnam, believed Cambodia had surpassed Laos as the principal supply infiltration route. The Central Intelligence Agency took the opposite view. (252, 263) The U.S. military continued to argue for authority to attack enemy bases in Cambodia. (254, 261) Almost everyone in Washington agreed that Cambodian sanctuaries were of increasing importance to North Vietnam, but there was no consensus that attacking them would result in a military advantage worth the disruption of U.S.-Cambodian relations. In its last days, the Johnson administration was not inclined to make such a decision. The fate of U.S. policy toward Cambodia was left to Richard Nixon's administration.

Thailand

The

central theme of this compilation is the growing collaboration between Thailand and the United States to combat the threats posed by the wars in Laos and South Vietnam. In early 1964 the United States considered introducing U.S. troops into Thailand (as was done in 1962) to both send the North Vietnamese a message and to reassure Thailand. (264) The U.S. military successfully opposed this use of military forces for political ends. (265, 269) Thai leaders also had strong reservations that another U.S. deployment would have any practical effect. (268, 270)

Instead of deploying U.S. troops, the United States and Thailand instituted joint military consultations and bilateral planning in the event the North Vietnamese and their Pathet Lao allies overran the Mekong towns of Laos. (272, 274-276, 280, 282) In addition, the Thais continued to play a small but important role in the defense of non-Communist Laos by training anti-Communist tribal guerrillas, providing artillery support and pilots for the Lao air force, and training Lao forces in Thailand. (278) Even more important was the growing use of Thai bases for U.S. bombing campaigns in Laos and South Vietnam.

Military as

sistance provided another way to reassure the Thais and repay them for their cooperation. Ambassador to Thailand Graham Martin, supported by the Department of State, suggested that since Thailand was increasingly "an integral and vital part of our current operational military complex in SE Asia," the United States should consider Thai requests for additional aid in the context of the U.S. effort in Southeast Asia. (287, 288, 291) The Department of Defense took a different view, suggesting that increased military aid for Thailand should not come at the expense of aid to Vietnam. (289, 290) Furthermore, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara believed that the U.S. Country Team was not encouraging Thailand to orient sufficiently its military program toward counterinsurgency nor insisting on balanced military forces. Organized on conventional military lines, Thai military forces were only at 56 percent strength. McNamara refused to recommend continued high cost military assistance to Thailand until Thailand made basic military reforms and he could be sure that U.S. money would be spent effectively. (294)

The Department of State responded that since the Thai army was "the base of the whole regime" and also comprised the separate power bases of Thai political/military leaders Thanom Kittikachorn and Charusathien Praphat, the army was bound to have more officers than needed and be ineffective in its use of resources. (295, 296) Ambassador Martin promised military reform and offered to "stake his career on it" provided that the "infinitesimal" cost of Thai military assistance "add ons" were approved. The Department prepared to defend additional military assistance to Thailand by engaging Secretary Rusk in the debate, but it needed evidence that Thailand would undertake specific reforms. (298)

The

difference of opinion between the State and Defense Departments on additional Thai military assistance reached a boiling point in August 1965. State insisted and Defense reluctantly agreed that the Thai political situation required an immediate decision on the level of the FY 1966 military assistance package so that the information could be passed to the Thais. McNamara agreed. (299-302) The issue of military aid levels was an ongoing one, however, since military assistance was a yearly decision. In May 1966 Rusk and McNamara discussed differences over increases on the U.S. military assistance program to Thailand in future years and whether the United States should provide helicopters and crews for use in the Thai counterinsurgency effort. (297)

In August 1966 Rusk and McNamara were

still far apart. State reported that the Embassy in Thailand was recommending \$70 million for FY 1967. Defense favored \$44-45 million. (319, 322) The issue was referred to President Johnson who approved a figure of \$60 million for FY 1967. The President accepted the Department of States view that Thailand's cooperation in permitting bases and facilities to U.S. forces engaged in combat in Vietnam had irrevocably aligned it with the United States and created the expectation of a special relationship. Increased military assistance would allow the Thais to build up their own conventional forces strength, help to repair relations with Washington soured by U.S. Congressional criticism, and eliminate the Tha

i belief that they needed a bilateral defense treaty with the United States. (329)

McNamara remained a critic of Thailand's use of U.S. military aid because he perceived in Thailand's military a lack of interest in combating the nascent Communist insurgency in northeast Thailand. While U.S. assessments of the Communist threat were not alarmist, there was growing concern in Washington. Virtually all U.S. intelligence analysis stressed that Thailand's social and economic stability and long history of independence gave it a strong edge against the insurgency, but the United States became increasingly involved in consultation and support of Thailand's counterinsurgency effort. (303, 307, 310, 311, 313, 328, 344, 352)

Thailand's contribution to the Vietnam war expanded greatly during the second half of the Johnson administration, especially the U.S. Air Force's B-52 bombing campaigns originating from Thailand. (341, 342) By mid-1967 there were 40,000 U.S. military personnel in Thailand, and Thailand had 2,500 combat troops fighting in South Vietnam. In the second half of 1967 President Johnson pressured Thai leaders for an additional 10,000 troops. (350, 356, 357) After negotiations on the "requirements" for the additional troops, a deal was finalized in a memorandum agreed upon by McNamara and Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman. Thailand obtained a number of concessions from the United States: equipment and overseas pay for the 10,000 going to Vietnam, an option on a Hawk missile battery, and a \$15 million yearly increase in the planned military assistance program for Thailand in FY 1968 and 1969. (363-368)

The final theme of the compilation concerns the beginning of Thailand's political transition from military dictatorship to representative government and the military/political leaders' efforts to prepare themselves for national elections under a new constitution. Their first step was the organization of a political party for which they sought secret U.S. financial assistance. In late 1965 Secretary Rusk approved a plan in principle to supply the monetary assistance requested and President Johnson endorsed it. The program was not immediately initiated because the new constitution was not completed and promulgated until the second half of 1968, and elections were postponed until February 1969. In August 1968 Thai officials reopened the issue of financial electoral assistance. Secretary Rusk authorized the operation on the grounds that President Johnson had approved it in 1965 and the situation in 1968 was unchanged. (304-306, 376, 383, 396-400, 404, 407, 408) In 1969 the government party won a slim plurality in the elections for the elected lower assembly (the Senate was appointed by the King), and it soon garnered support from many independent assemblymen who were elected.

AF Press Guidance
September 21, 2000

Burundi: Nairobi Summit Ends As Participants Prepare for Next Steps in the Burundi Peace Process

Q. What is the USG reaction to the discussions in Nairobi on a cease-fire in Burundi between the rebels and the insurgents?

A. THE D

ISCUSSIONS IN NAIROBI MARKED ANOTHER STEP IN THE COMPLEX BURUNDI PEACE PROCESS NEGOTIATIONS. REBEL DELEGATIONS FROM THE TWO MAJOR INSURGENT GROUPS ATTENDED T

HE SUMMIT. ONE OF THE REBEL LEADERS LED HIS DELEGATION. WE REGRET THAT THE OTHER REBEL LEADER DID NOT ATTEND. WE HAVE LONG PRESSED FOR THE REBEL GROUPS TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THE PEACE PROCESS AND TO COME TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE AND SIGN THE PEACE ACCORD. WE ARE NOW CALLING ON ALL REBEL ORGANIZATIONS TO SUSPEND HOSTILITIES AND TO BEGIN UNCONDITIONAL CEASE-FIRE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE BURUNDIAN GOVERNMENT.

Q. Where does the peace process go from here?

A. FURTHER MEETINGS TO DISCUSS ISSUES IN THE PROCESS WILL TAKE PLACE IN ARUSHA SEPTEMBER 25-28. THE REBELS ARE PARTICIPATING IN THE PROCESS AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE M WILL CONTINUE. WE WELCOME THE SIGNING OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT IN NAIROBI BY THE THREE REMAINING HOLDOUT TUTSI PARTIES, WHICH COMPLETES THE SIGNING OF THE ACCORD BY ALL NEGOTIATING PARTIES IN THE PEACE PROCESS. THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE PEACE PROCESS AND WILL CONTINUE TO REMAIN ENGAGED.

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GUIDANCE
September 21, 2000

SIERRA LEONE: EXTENDING PEACEKEEPERS MANDATE

Q:
Facts and comments on the September 21 Washington Post report that India will withdraw its contingent from the UN Mission in Sierra Leone, at least in part because the UN plans to replace the Missions Indian force commander? Who should the new commander be?

A:
INDIA ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY IT PLANS TO PHASE ITS WITHDRAWAL FROM THE UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION IN SIERRA LEONE TO ALLOW THE UN TIME TO IDENTIFY REPLACEMENT TROOPS.

THIS UN ANNOUNCEMENT REFLECTS AN INDIAN DECISION ALREADY KNOWN TO THE UN AND THE US. THE UN IS ALREADY APPROACHING OTHER POTENTIAL TROOP CONTRIBUTORS.

WE ARE WORKING HARD WITH THE UN, TROOP CONTRIBUTORS AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO ENSURE THAT THE UN MISSION IN SIERRA LEONE HAS THE ASSETS IT NEEDS TO FULFILL ITS JOB.

[IF ASKED:]

I REFER YOU TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA FOR THE REASON FOR INDIA'S DECISION.

IF INDIA DOES WITHDRAW ITS FORCE, THE FORCE COMMANDER WOULD CHANGE. THE FORCE COMMANDER MUST BE A CITIZEN OF ONE OF THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES.

Q: Facts and comment on press reports that the Security Council extended the mandate of the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) but did not increase the number of troops? Is it true that the UN has delayed deployment of additional troops because member states have not pledged sufficient soldiers? What about the British Permanent Representative's remark that this step was taken to allow for U.S. budgetary concerns?

A:
THE U.S. JOINED OTHERS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF THE UN MISSION IN SIERRA LEONE UNTIL DECEMBER 31.

THE TROOP STRENGTH REMAINS THE SAME (13,000), AS DO THE FORCES MANDATED TASKS.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS CONSIDERING A RESOLUTION THAT WOULD EXPAND THE AUTHORIZED SIZE OF THE UN MISSION IN SIERRA LEONE FROM 13,000 TO 20,500, AND PROVIDE FOR A MORE ROBUST MANDATE. SECRETARY-GENERAL ANNAN RECOMMENDED THIS EXPANSION IN HIS REPORT OF AUGUST 24.

THE UN IS ACTIVELY SEEKING ADDITIONAL TROOPS, TO BE READY TO RESPOND IF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AUTHORIZES AN INCREASE IN THE MISSION'S SIZE.

THE U.S. SUPPORTS THIS STEP.

[IF ASKED:]
THE MISSION'S MANDATE WAS EXPIRING. IT WAS NECESSARY TO EXTEND IT WHILE DISCUSSIONS ON THE EXPANDED MANDATE CONTINUE.

EXTENSION UNTIL DECEMBER 31 DOES NOT PREVENT THE SECURITY COUNCIL FROM VOTING ON AN EXPANDED MANDATE BEFORE THAT TIME; IT SIMPLY PERMITS ADEQUATE TIME FOR PLANNING.

Q: What do these developments mean for the success of the UN Mission in Sierra Leone? What is the U.S. doing to help?

A:
BRINGING PEACE TO SIERRA LEONE IS AN ENORMOUS CHALLENGE.

we believe that the international community is taking the steps necessary to build a mission READY TO TAKE ON THIS TASK.

THE U.S. IS working with t
he UN to strengthen THE UN MISSION; we are supporting British efforts to TRAIN
THE new Sierra Leonean army. we ARE trainING and equipING up to seven West Afr
ican battalions FOR SERVICE AS PEACEKEEPERS IN SIERRA LEONE.

cONTEXT: C
ountries contributing troops to the UN Mission in Sierra Leone notably India a
nd Jordan are very reluctant to participate in an operation with a significant
ly strengthened mandate; India is withdrawing its troops and Jordan may do so.
On the other hand, West African troop contributors are insisting on a more rob
ust mandate as a condition of their participation. Clashes between the Indian
force commander, Major General Vijay Jetley, and his Nigerian commander, also p
lay a role in Indias decision. Secretary-General Annan asked both India and Ni
geria for higher-ranking nominees to replace Jetley, arguing that a larger UNAM
SIL needed a more senior commander. India to a large extent is using the reque
st to replace Jetley as an excuse for withdrawal.

The Security Council on Sept
ember 20 extended the current mandate, with no additional tasks, until December
31, to allow time for negotiations and recruitment of additional contributors.
The U.S. strongly preferred an extension until December 31: this allows the UN
to send us a substantial bill for the mission at current levels, which we can
meet with FY2000 funds set aside for the UN Mission in Sierra Leone. A shorter
period would mean a smaller bill, which would force us to carry FY2000 funds i
nto FY2001, with a real risk that Congress would reduce our FY2001 appropriatio
n. British UN Permanent Representative Sir Jeremy Greenstocks remark that the D
ecember 31 allows the U.S. Congress to consider financing for the Mission is an
inaccurate representation of our concerns.

Drafted:IO/PHO:DMOdel
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SL PG 00September21

Cleared: IO:WBWood OK
IO/PHO:GGray ok
A
F/W:TRyan OK
USUN/W:KWard (INFO)
USUN NY:Agrunder ok
IO/UNP:M
james (info
SA:TAndrews ok
P:RMeyer ok
EAP PRESS GUIDANCE
(REVISED)
September 21, 2000

CHINA -- IMMIGRATION JUDGE'S DECISION IN ZHANG
HONGBAO CASE

Q: What is the State Department's reaction to the decision by a
n Immigration Judge in Guam to deny asylum to Zhang Hongbao but to permit him t
o remain in the U.S. under the terms of the Convention Against Torture?

A: --
AS A MATTER OF POLICY AND PRACTICE, WE DO NOT COMMENT ON SUCH ISSUES. YOU SH
OULD CONTACT THE INS.

(IF ASKED)

Q: Does this mean that the Immigration Jud
ge rejected the Chinese Government's claim that Mr. Zhang committed serious non
-political crimes in China, including rape?

A: -- WE DEFER TO THE INS.

C
ontext: According to reports from the Hong Kong based "Information Center of H
uman Rights and Democratic Movement in China," an INS Immigration Judge in Guam
denied political asylum to Zhang Hongbao, the leader of the Zhong Gong qigong
/spiritual movement. However, the judge reportedly also ruled that Zhang could
not be returned to the PRC under the Torture Convention, which prohibits the r
epatriation of people to countries which practice torture. INS has confirmed
the judges ruling, but is still trying to determine if an appeal has been filed
. In any case, we do not comment on asylum cases, but defer questions to INS.
The Chinese have mounted a full-court press to get Zhang returned to China a
nd we expect that the Chinese will criticize sharply the ruling.

Press Guidanc
e on the Zhang Hongbao case

P:/P/CM PRESS GUIDANCE/092100 Zhang Hongbao

Draft
ed: EAP/CM: EDKagan 09/21/00

Cleared: EAP:SORoth
EAP:DJohnson

EAP/CM:JKe

ith

EAP/CM:DSSedney

DRL/BA:SO'Sullivan

DRL/CRA: DPerry Elby

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L/CA:CBrown

PRM:PLewis

EAP PRES
S GUIDANCE
September 21, 2000

INDONESIA PLAN TO DISARM MILITIAS?

Q: What is your reaction to the Indonesian government's plan to disarm the militias in West Timor?

A: ---- WE ARE ENCOURAGED THAT THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT HAS FOR THE FIRST TIME SET A TIMETABLE FOR DEALING WITH THE MILITIAS.

-- AS WE HAVE STATED REPEATEDLY, THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA MUST MOVE QUICKLY AND DECISIVELY TO DISARM AND DISBAND THE MILITIAS OPERATING OUT OF WEST TIMOR AND TO HOLD THEM ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEIR VIOLENCE, WHICH HAS TAKEN THE LIVES OF INDONESIAN CITIZENS AS WELL AS UNITED NATIONS RELIEF WORKERS. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL CLOSELY WATCH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF INDONESIA'S PLAN. WE LOOK FOR RESULTS, NOT RHETORIC.

-- WE HAVE WARNED THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT THAT FAILURE TO DEAL DECISIVELY WITH THE MILITIAS COULD HARM INDONESIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

-- WE URGE INDONESIA TO WORK WITH THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL TO SET THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL MISSION TO WEST TIMOR TO INVESTIGATE THE SECURITY SITUATION THERE, ESPECIALLY THE MURDERS OF UNHCR WORKERS EARLIER THIS MONTH.

CONTEXT: Indonesian envoy Bambang Yudhoyono briefed the UNSC September 20 on the GOI's plan for dealing with the militias. The plan calls for a period of voluntary arms surrender until September 24 to be followed by weapons seizures. After the GOI's many previous pledges to control the militias, Security Council members expressed skepticism about the GOI's commitment. Yudhoyono refused to agree to a date for the UNSC mission, which Indonesia sees as interference in its internal affairs. On September 18, Secretary Cohen told President Wahid that failure of the GOI to end militia violence in West Timor could jeopardize continued economic assistance to Indonesia. Indonesia currently receives billions of dollars in assistance from the IMF, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and bilateral assistance programs.

CLEARANCES

EAP:SORoth

EAP:RFitts, Acting ok

EAP/PIMBS::EReddick

EAP/P:KNBailes ok

P:BMcilhenny ok

D:TCynkin

DRL

:Jwulff ok

S/CT PRESS GUIDANCE

Thursday, September 21, 2000

PHILIPPINES:

UPDATE, SCHILLING BROADCAST

Q: Any reaction to the broadcast on Philippine

Radio of hostage Jeffrey Schilling's statement calling for an end to the assault on the terrorists holding him?

A: -- WHILE WE CANNOT VERIFY WHETHER THE VOICE IN THE BROADCAST IS ACTUALLY MR. SCHILLING'S, THE DEPARTMENT REGARDS ALL STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO HOSTAGES IN CAPTIVITY TO HAVE BEEN MADE UNDER DURESS.

Q:

Please provide an update on the assault by the Government of the Philippines on the Abu Sayyaf Group terrorists?

A: -- THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT CONTINUE ITS OPERATION AGAINST THE ABU SAYYAF GROUP ON JOLO ISLAND IN THE SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES. WE ARE WATCHING THE SITUATION CLOSELY.

-- WE UNDERSTAND THAT THERE ARE RISKS INHERENT IN ANY OPERATION LIKE THIS. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY CONDEMNED THE HOSTAGE-TAKING THAT THIS TERRORIST GROUP HAS UNDERTAKEN, AND WE HAVE REPEATEDLY CALLED ON THE TERRORISTS TO RELEASE THE HOSTAGES UNHARMED.

-- THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT IS IN CHARGE OF EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THIS SITUATION.

-- IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE TO COMMENT FURTHER WHILE THE OPERATION IS UNDERWAY.

Q: Have you

been in touch with Mrs. Schilling?

A: -- THE DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY MANILA HAVE MAINTAINED CONTACT WITH JEFFREY SCHILLING'S MOTHER THROUGHOUT THIS ORDEAL.

Dr

after:S/CT:JReap

X78682

Cleared:S/CT:MSheehan/EHull

EAP/PIMBS:CCa

stro

EAP/P:KBailes

CA/OCS:KWalkin

EAP PRESS GUIDAN

CE

September 21, 2000

INDONESIA MEETING WITH ENVOY

Q: What can you tell us

about Secretary Albright's meeting today with Indonesian Coordinating Minister
and Presidential Envoy Bambang Yudhoyono?

A: ---- THE SECRETARY MET WITH MINIS

TER YUDHOYONO TO FOLLOW UP ON HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE
INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT'S PLAN FOR DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM OF THE VIOLENT MILI
TIAS IN WEST TIMOR.

-- THEY ALSO DISCUSSED THE TIMING OF A SECURITY COUNCIL MIS
SION TO WEST TIMOR.

CONTEXT: Indonesian envoy Bambang

Yudhoyono briefed the UNSC September 20 on the GOIs plan for dealing with the
militias. The plan calls for a period of voluntary arms surrender until Septem
ber 24 to be followed by weapons seizures. After the GOIs many previous pledge
s to control the militias, Security Council members expressed skepticism about
the GOIs commitment. Yudhoyono refused to agree to a date for the UNSC mission
, which Indonesia sees as interference in its internal affairs.

Drafted:EAP/

PIMBS:KMLang 7-2931

P/p/pimbs press guidances/S meeting guidance.doc

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EAP:SORoth

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P:KNBailes ok

P:BMcilhenny ok

D:TCynkin

DRL:Jwulff ok

EAP Press Guidance

September 21, 2000

BURMA: A
UNG SAN SUU KYI

Q: What is happening between Aung San Suu Kyi and Burmese authorities? Has she left Rangoon?

A: --OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT AUNG SAN SUU KYI IS AT THE RANGOON TRAIN STATION ATTEMPTING TO BOARD A TRAIN FOR MANDALAY. BURMESE SECURITY FORCES HAVE PREVENTED HER FROM BOARDING. BURMESE AUTHORITIES HAVE ALSO BARRED FOREIGN DIPLOMATS AND INTERNATIONAL MEDIA FROM ENTERING THE TRAIN STATION.

-- WE DEPLORE THE REPEATED AND HEAVY-HANDED ATTEMPTS BY THE BURMESE GOVERNMENT TO RESTRICT AUNG SAN SUU KYI'S FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

- AS WE HAVE SAID MANY TIMES BEFORE, FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IS A BASIC HUMAN RIGHT RECOGNIZED IN NUMEROUS INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND INSTRUMENTS. WE URGE THE BURMESE AUTHORITIES TO UPHOLD ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS UNDER THESE CONVENTIONS AND INSTRUMENTS AND STOP THIS VIOLATION OF AUNG SAN SUU KYI'S HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO ENGAGE IN A DIALOGUE WITH THE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED OPPOSITION.

Con
text: Aung San Suu Kyi left her home and went to the central train station in Rangoon on September 21. She went to the platform at track 1 where trains for Mandalay embark. Large numbers of Burmese government and security officials are also in the station, and foreign diplomats and media have been prohibited from entering. Trains leaving for Mandalay have apparently been rerouted to track 2, and it is impossible to get from track 1 to track 2 without exiting the station. NLD activists told Charge Clapp that if Aung San Suu Kyi is not able to board a train tonight, she will go home and return tomorrow.

p/p/bcltv press guidances/assk train 1

drafted: EAP/BCLTV:DSchlaefer ok
x70056 09/21
/00

cleared: EAP:SRoth (ok)
EAP/BCLTV:NSilver ok
EAP/BCLRV:DRasmussen

ok
DRL:SO'Sullivan (ok)
PRM PRRESS GUIDNACE
September 21, 2000

UPDATE ON
N FOOD CRISIS AND INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORTS IN West Timor

Q: Please provide an update on the international relief efforts in West Timor?

A: - INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS WITHDREW STAFF FOLLOWING SEPTEMBER 6, BRUTAL MURDER OF THREE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES EMPLOYEES, BUT DID NOT REMOVE FOOD STOCKS AND OTHER SUPPLIES.

- GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA, WORKING WITH THE INDONESIAN RED CROSS, HAS AMPLE CAPACITY TO DELIVER FOOD TO THOSE PERSONS IN WEST TIMOR WHO ARE IN NEED.

- U.S. IS FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS IN WEST TIMOR, BUT WITHDRAWAL OF INTERNATIONAL STAFF LIMITS ABILITY TO GET DETAILED INFORMATION.

BACKGROUND

ROUND: About 270,000 people left East Timor in September 1999, many of them forced out by militia members on losing side, the pro-Jakarta faction, who killed people and destroyed property before leaving East Timor themselves. 170,000 people have returned to East Timor. Until the brutal murder of three UN High Commissioner for Refugees employees in West Timor, the international community and the government of Indonesia shared responsibility for providing food to the people who remained in West Timor. Following those murders, almost all international workers left West Timor. They did not remove the food stocks and other supplies which they had brought to West Timor as part of the relief effort.

Our Embassy staff has spoken with most of the relief organizations and has compiled an inventory of the food stocks available in West Timor at the time of the pullout. The Government of Indonesia has substantial food stocks in West Timor - particularly rice, the staple of the people's diet - and on other islands, which the Government can quickly provide. The Indonesian Red Cross continues to operate in West Timor as do a large number of Indonesian military and police units. There is ample capacity to deliver food to the people in West Timor who are unable to purchase food for themselves. A significant number of the people who left East Timor and remain in West Timor were employed by the Government of Indonesia and continue to receive compensation from the government.

Drafted by JMBracken PRM/AAA Ext. 3-1063

Cleared: Akreczko PRM ok
MJMCKelvey P

RM/AAA ok

AJury PRM/PRP ok
KLang EAP/PIMBS ok
DHunter PRM/MCE

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EUR GUIDANCE
SPAIN
September 21, 200
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SPANISH POLITICIAN KILLED NEAR BARCELONA

Q: What is your reaction to the s
hooting this morning of a Spanish politician in Sant Adria de Besos?

A: WE
STRONGLY CONDEMN AND DENOUNCE THOSE

RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SHOOTING OF JOSE LUIS
RUIZ CASADO THIS MORNING IN SANT ADRIA DE BESOS, SPAIN.

THE PERPETRATORS OF
THIS TERRORIST ACT MUST BE
BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

THE UNITED STATES EXTENDS O
UR DEEPEST SYMPATHIES TO THE FAMILY OF MR. RUIZ CASADO AND TO THE SPANISH PEOP
LE .

Context: A town coun
cilor of the ruling Popular Party was shot dead today (9/21) in an attack, acco
rding to police, by suspected Basque terrorists. The attack occurred in the co
astal town of Sant Adria de Besos, just north of Barcelona, where Jose Luis Rui
z Casado, 42 years old, married with two children, was one of two Popular Party
members on the town council. He died immediately after he was shot in the bac
k of his neck near his home at approximately 8 a.m. The latest shooting comes
amid a major crackdown by French and Spanish police on ETA. French police last
weekend arrested 16 people, including Ignacio Gracia Arregi, whom Spanish auth
orities consider the leader of ETA's military wing. Spanish police arrested 20
accused ETA members a week ago. The shooting also coincides with the planned
visit of Spanish President Aznar to Barcelona today.

Drafted: EUR/ PPA:K
Byrnes

Cleared: EUR/WE:Asundquist ok
EUR/PD:Gberbena ok
EUR/PPA:Pfrayne
ok
S/CT:Jreap ok

EmbMadrid: ok
EUR GUIDANCE
TURKEY
September 21, 2
000

TURKEY: Passage in House Subcommittee of Armenian Genocide Resolution

Q
: How do you react to the vote in the House subcommittee on a resolution concerning the Armenian genocide?

A: THE ADMINISTRATION OPPOSES PASSAGE OF THIS RESOLUTION AND REGRETS THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S VOTE. PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS - BOTH DEMOCRAT AND REPUBLICAN - HAVE OPPOSED SIMILAR PROPOSED LEGISLATION IN THE PAST.

WE BELIEVE HISTORIANS RATHER THAN LEGISLATORS SHOULD DEAL WITH THIS ISSUE. WE ARE PREPARED TO FACILITATE EFFORTS BY TURKISH AND ARMENIAN EXPERTS, ALONG WITH ACADEMICS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES, TO EXPLORE THEIR COMMON HISTORY.

THE RESOLUTION CALLS FOR THE TRAINING OF FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS AND OTHER EXECUTIVE BRANCH EMPLOYEES INVOLVED WITH HUMAN RIGHTS, ETHNIC CLEANSING AND GENOCIDE BY FAMILIARIZING THEM WITH THE "ARMENIAN GENOCIDE." THE MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS IS ALREADY COVERED IN THE CAUCASUS ADVANCED AREA STUDIES, TAUGHT BY AMBASSADOR HARRY GILMORE, OUR FIRST AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA, AND IN THE TURKEY ADVANCED AREA STUDIES COURSES, TAUGHT BY DR. SABRI SAYARI, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF TURKISH STUDIES AND A RESEARCH PROFESSOR AT GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY.

IF THIS RESOLUTION IS ADOPTED BY THE FULL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, IT MAY COMPLICATE OUR EFFORTS TO BRING PEACE AND STABILITY TO THE CAUCASUS AND HARM OUR RELATIONS WITH TURKEY, OUR STRATEGIC PARTNER IN THE REGION.

WE THINK THE BEST TRIBUTE WE CAN OFFER TO THE EVENTS OF THAT TRAGIC PERIOD IS TO WORK TOWARDS REGIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

IT IS IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST THAT IMPORTANT BILATERAL TIES WITHSTAND THIS RESOLUTION.

AS PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID IN HIS STATEMENT ON ARMENIA REMEMBRANCE DAY LAST APRIL 24, "I CALL UPON ALL AMERICANS TO RENEW THEIR COMMITMENT TO BUILD A WORLD WHERE SUCH EVENTS ARE NOT ALLOWED TO HAPPEN AGAIN."

Q: What are the next steps for this resolution?

A: THIS RESOLUTION IS NON-BINDING, WHICH MEANS THAT IT IS INTENDED TO GIVE THE "SENSE OF THE HOUSE" ON THIS ISSUE.

THE RESOLUTION HAS BEEN VOTED OUT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SUBCOMMITTEE

TTEE OF THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE. THE FULL COMMITTEE MUST NOW VOTE ON IT. IF THE FULL COMMITTEE VOTES IN FAVOR, IT WILL GO TO THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FOR A VOTE BY THE FULL HOUSE.

September 21,
2000

Turkey Guidance: Passage of Armenian Genocide Resolution

drafted: Embassy

Ankara

clearance: EUR/SE: Akorky (ok)
EUR/PPD: Darnett (ok)
EUR/PPD: Pfra

yne (subs) EUR/PPD: Mscott (ok)
EUR/SE: Tzuniga-Brown (ok)
H: Jstepanc

huk (ok) P: Ltepper (ok)
S/P: Ppatrihos (ok)
DG: Mmurphy (ok)
EUR/C

ACEN: Sbowman (ok)

CA Press Guidance

Thursday, September 21, 2000

GERMANY:

Child Abduction Cases

Do you have any reaction to this mornings Washington Post article about Germanys efforts on child abduction cases?

-- THE U.S.-GERMAN

WORKING GROUP THAT HAS BEEN REVIEWING THIS ISSUE HAS MET TWICE IN THE PAST THREE MONTHS.

-- ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR CONSULAR AFFAIRS MARY RYAN AND OTHER U.S. OFFICIALS TRAVELED TO BERLIN IN LATE JUNE.

-- GERMAN OFFICIALS CAME HERE IN LATE JULY.

-- NEXT WEEK, A GROUP OF U.S. OFFICIALS WILL AGAIN BE TRAVELING TO BERLIN FOR FURTHER CONVERSATIONS.

-- THESE DISCUSSIONS ARE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT AS WE WORK TOGETHER WITH GERMANY TO IMPROVE THE OVERALL OPERATION OF THE HAGUE CONVENTION ON CHILD ABDUCTION.

-- MORE PROGRESS NEEDS TO BE MADE.

WE HOPE THE UPCOMING TALKS CAN MOVE THIS FORWARD.

IF ASKED ONLY

What about
the suggestion in the article in the Post that the State Department has been
slow in petitioning the German government for action on these cases?

-- OUR
OFFICE OF CHILDRENS ISSUES TAKES IMMEDIATE ACTION TO MOVE THESE CASES TO THE AP
PROPRIATE GERMAN AUTHORITIES AS SOON AS THE REQUIRED APPLICATION AND DOCUMENTAT
ION ARE RECEIVED FROM THE U.S. LEFT-BEHIND PARENTS.

-- IN NO WAY DO WE SIT ON
THESE CASES OR DELAY IN FORWARDING THEM TO GERMANY EXPEDITIOUSLY.

Context:

The Metro Section of todays Washington Post included an article about Germany
s efforts to improve its handling of International Parental Child Abduction (IP
CA) cases. U.S. Reps Steve Chabot (R-OH) and Nick Lampson (D-TX) are both quot
ed as being pleased with the progress Germany has made thus far but noting that
more progress still needs to be made. We agree. However, we completely dispu
te the allegation by German Deputy Justice Minister Hansjorg Geiger, who is in
Washington for related talks with Attorney General Reno, that the State Departm
ent (read: CAs Office of Childrens Issues) has somehow hindered Germanys abilit
y to act on these cases by not forwarding parents applications in an expeditiou
s manner. We believe that, IF ASKED, the briefer should make clear that we do
not delay in our handling of these cases, and that we refute this allegation.
We note that we have had two rounds of working group-level discussions on the o
verall IPCA issue with German officials since June, and that a third round will
take place in Berlin next week.

Note 1: Rep. Chabot, joined by Ohio Rep. Rob
ert Portman, will meet with Secretary Albright at 4:30 this afternoon on an IPC
A matter involving Austria. CA Acting A/S Amb. Maura Harty will be in attendan
ce at this meeting.

Note 2: If a question arises concerning the ongoing Inter
national Judicial Conference on Child Abduction that has been taking place this
week, please direct reporters to the press conference to be held this afternoo
n at 3 p.m. in the Loy Henderson Conference Room.

DRAFTED: CA/P: CJLamora (ok
)

EUR/AGS: (ok, as per KMByrnes)
EUR/PPA: KMByrnes (ok)

APPROVED:
CA:MHarty (ok)
NEA Press Guidance
Thursday, September 21, 2000

IRAN: DECISION
ON IN APPEAL OF IRANIAN JEWS

Q: Are you satisfied by the appeals courts decision? Do you plan further action on behalf of the Jews? Will you call on Iran to pardon them?

--We are disappointed that the Iranian courts did not overturn all of the convictions and release all of the defendants.

--We still have all of the same concerns about the manner in which the Iranian courts conducted this case. These concerns were reinforced by the statements made by chief defense attorney Ismail Nasseri concerning death threats reportedly made by the Iranian Government.

--The Government of the United States has condemned the process by which 13 members of the Iranian Jewish community were tried and ten sentenced without benefit of internationally recognized due process.

--We, like the rest of the international community, continues to be concerned by Iran's judicial practices in this and other cases.

--The United Nations Human Rights Commission has mandated a Special Representative for Iran, who has documented these problems in detail through his annual reports. Our annual Human Rights Reports, a variety of Human Rights NGOs, and other nations have reached the same conclusions. We will continue to work with our allies, the UN, NGOs and others to pressure Iran to change these practices.

--(If pressed on pardon) We have seen press reports alluding to Supreme Leader Khamenei's ability to issue pardons to those convicted under Iranian law. Only the accused in this case can determine whether they will appeal for a pardon. We have no information about their intentions.

Q: Are further appeals possible for the Jews? What about parole?

--We have seen press reports indicating that no further appeals are possible. However, only the Iranian courts can determine whether further appeals will be made.

--We also have seen reports indicated that Iranian prisoners are eligible for parole after having served two-thirds of their sentences. Again, that is a question that only the Iranian judicial system can decide.

Q: How does this decision affect U.S. relations with Iran?

--Our policy toward Iran remains unchanged.

unchanged. We continue to view with grave concern Iran's ongoing support for terrorism, its pursuit of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), its position on the Middle East Peace Process, and its poor human rights record.

--Our offer of an unconditional dialogue with Iran still stands. We do not view the offer of a dialogue to discuss our mutual concerns as inconsistent with a policy of maintaining pressure to reform Iranian behavior. To the contrary, the two policies are reinforcing.

--That said, we never rule out any options for responding to new developments.

Q: Given that the Iranian Jews remain in prison, why hasn't the Administration reversed its March initiative to ease restrictions on food and carpet imports from Iran and to facilitate academic and cultural exchanges with Iran?

--The March initiative included only limited, specifically targeted measures designed to reach out to the Iranian people and demonstrate our good will toward them. The sanctions regime against Iran remains in place.

--We do not view these limited efforts to reach out to the Iranian people as inconsistent with our policy of maintaining pressure to reform Iranian behavior.

--(If pressed on sanctions): Although press reports indicate that further legal appeals cannot be made, this is still an on-going legal process. The defendants possibly could be eligible for parole or clemency. The Speaker of the Iranian Parliament has indicated a willingness to have the legislature take up the issue of clemency. Consideration of any measures in response to today's decision would be premature.

Q: What about press reports of a secret deal between Israel and Iran, made with the help of the U.S. Ambassador to Egypt? Doesn't the fact that some of the convictions were annulled and the Jews' sentences reduced indicate that a deal was made?

--We have seen these reports.

--The U.S. Ambassador to Egypt was not involved in any negotiations between the Israeli and Iranian Governments.

--The annulment of two of the three original convictions and the reduction in sentences imposed on the defendants indicate only that the Iranian court recognized that judicial irregularities occurred in their cases.

Q: How have friendly nations -- especially in Europe -- responded to the decision? Does resolution of this case clear the way for other nations to expand relations with Iran?

--The United States and the international community have been gravely concerned about the Iranian government's denial of due process to these and many other defendants in the Iranian legal system.

--Trial procedures in Iran's revolutionary courts have been criticized both in Iran and around the world. These Iranian Jews are only the latest victims of such proceedings, which have included intellectuals, journalists, members of the Baha'i minority, and others.

--Given Iran's continuing, acknowledged human rights problems, the international community is unlikely to rush toward expanded relations with Iran on the basis of only one judicial case.

Q: What has the Administration done on this case? Do you see a link between international pressure and the Iranian courts' decision in this case?

--President Clinton and Secretary Albright have personally and consistently raised the matter with their counterparts around the world, urging other leaders and nations to press this issue in their discussions with Iranian officials. The result has been a steady level of pressure upon the Iranian government from nations around the world to assure safe treatment and a fair process in this case. While Iranian officials initially stated the defendants faced death penalties, they later dropped this line, and released 3 of the 13 on bail.

--The United States Government also led a push to highlight this case during the annual meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission in April. The result was a renewal of the mandate of UNHRC Special Representative Maurice Copithorne.

-Throughout the case, the United States joined other nations and international human rights groups in condemning the process and insisting that the defendants be accorded due process of law.

Drafted: NEA/NGA:JPOLASCHIK, et al
7-7227
Doc:NEANGA/POLASCHIKJA/PRESS GUIDANCE/APPEAL REVISED 9-21B

CLEARED:
NEA/NGA:PDIBBLE/BHANSON - ok
NEA/NGA:DBLOME - ok
NEA/PPD:DSREEBNY
NEA:NWA
LKER
P:JLAPENN - ok
DRL:RNORMAN/MCIVIC - ok

NEA Press Guidance
Thursday,
September 21, 2000

MEPP: STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS

Q: Anything new to tell us about the peace process?

--ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATORS HELD DISCUSSIONS TODAY.

--OUR PEACE PROCESS TEAM IS IN CLOSE AND REGULAR CONTACT WITH BOTH PARTIES.

Q: Is Dennis Ross traveling to the region? Are negotiators coming here?

--DENNIS IS CONSTANTLY COMMUNICATING WITH BOTH PARTIES.

--I HAVE NO TRAVEL ANNOUNCEMENTS IN EITHER DIRECTION TO GIVE YOU.

Q: How is Secretary Albright involved? Did she make any phone calls on the peace process on Tuesday?

--SECRETARY ALBRIGHT REMAINS CLOSELY INVOLVED IN OUR EFFORTS TO ADVANCE THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS.

--THE SECRETARY HELD A NUMBER OF MEETINGS WITH ISRAELI, PALESTINIAN, OTHER MIDDLE EASTERN AND WORLD OFFICIALS WHILE IN NEW YORK EARLIER THIS MONTH, TO DISCUSS BEST WAYS FOR ADVANCING THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS.

--THE SECRETARY WAS ALSO A KEY PARTICIPANT IN THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING ON TUESDAY TO REVIEW THE STATUS OF THE PROCESS.

Q: (IF ASKED) But did she make any phone calls to Israeli, Palestinian, or other Middle East leaders on Tuesday?

--NO. SHE DID HAVE CONVERSATIONS YESTERDAY AND TODAY WITH ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER SHLOMO BEN-AMI.

Q: Are you working on a bridging proposal to present to the two sides, as reported? What about the purported Albright bridging document published in an Israeli newspaper this week?

--WE ARE WORKING WITH BOTH SIDES TO FACILITATE THEIR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A PEACE AGREEMENT. WE REMAIN PREPARED TO DO WHATEVER WE CAN TO HELP THE PARTIES TO MOVE FORWARD.

--AS I'VE SAID BEFORE, WE ARE NOT GOING TO GET INTO A DISCUSSION OF DETAILS CONCERNING SPECIFIC PROPOSALS OR IDEAS.

--WE CONTINUE TO LOOK TO THE PARTIES TO MAKE THE TOUGH DECISIONS THAT WILL LEAD TO A LASTING PEACE IN THE REGION.

Q: The President recently

y said the parties are dealing with the press of time. Is there a calendar deadline by which an agreement must be reached?

--THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY ARE COMMITTED TO FACILITATING THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS AS LONG AS THEY ARE IN OFFICE.

--THERE IS A WINDOW OF REAL OPPORTUNITY RIGHT NOW, AND WE HOPE THE PARTIES WILL WORK TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF IT.

Q: Anything more on the Presidents Tuesday meeting with the peace team, to review the status of the process and consider next steps by the U.S.?

--NO. AS I SAID YESTERDAY, THE PRESIDENT MET WITH THE PEACE TEAM ON TUESDAY AND REVIEWED THE STATUS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

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Clearances:NEA/IPA: Jwalles -ok
SMEC: Dross/Amiller
-ok

NEA Press Guidance
Thursday, September 21, 2000

IRAN: U.S. TOUR OF FOREIGN MINISTER

Q: How was the Iranian Foreign Minister able to travel to Boston and Los Angeles? Was his visa amended to allow this travel?

--FOREIGN MINISTER KHARAZZI REQUESTED A WAIVER OF VISA RESTRICTIONS SO THAT HE COULD SPEAK AT HARVARD AND UCLA.

--AFTER REVIEWING THE REQUEST, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE APPROVED IT.

Q: Is he the most senior Iranian official to travel in the U.S., since the revolution in Iran?

--HE IS THE MOST SENIOR IRANIAN OFFICIAL TO TRAVEL OUTSIDE OF NEW YORK, IN THE UNITED STATES, SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

Q: Why was his request approved?

--OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS, WE HAVE FACILITATED A NUMBER OF IRANIAN OFFICIALS TO EVENTS AIMED AT FOSTERING DIALOGUE AND PEOPLE TO PEOPLE EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND IRAN. THE TRIP BY FOREIGN MINISTER KHARAZZI IS CONSISTENT WITH THIS POLICY.

Q: Is this connected to Secretary Albright's parti

cipation with Kharazmi in the recent 6+2 meeting on Afghanistan, and her attendance at President Khatami's UN speech?

---- THE SECRETARY ATTENDED THE OPENING SESSION OF THE DIALOGUE AMONG CIVILIZATIONS MEETING SPONSORED BY SECRETARY-GENERAL ANNAN. PRESIDENT KHATAMI SPOKE AT THIS SESSION.

--SECRETARY ALBRIGHT ATT

ENDED AS A DEMONSTRATION OF THE UNITED STATES' SUPPORT FOR THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S INITIATIVE, and to listen to President Khatami's opening presentation. PRESIDENT KHATAMI HAS PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN PLACING THE DIALOGUE ON THE UN AGENDA.

--THE SECRETARY ATTENDED FRIDAY'S 6+2 MEETING AS PART OF OUR EFFORTS TO BRING PEACE TO AFGHANISTAN.

--THE SECRETARY PLANNED NO INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS OR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, AND NONE TOOK PLACE.

DRAFTED: NEA/PPD-D

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CLEARANCES: NEA/NGA BHanson

IO/UNP Kboesel (info)

CA/PA Pkokal

IO Press Guidance

Thursday September 21, 2000

Question:

What is your reaction

to reports that Iraq and others are working to undercut the UN sanctions regime on Iraq?

Answer:

AS LONG AS THE IRAQI REGIME FAILS TO MEET ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, SANCTIONS WILL REMAIN IN PLACE.

THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE UN OIL-FOR-FOOD PROGRAM WHICH ALLOWS IRAQ TO SELL OIL FOR THE PURCHASE OF FOOD, MEDICINE AND OTHER HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES. THAT PROGRAM IS MEETING THE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF THE IRAQI PEOPLE.

THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION NOTED THIS MONTH THAT THE SITUATION IN THE NORTH OF IRAQ, WHERE THE UN OPERATES LARGELY FREE OF SADDAM'S INTERFERENCE, HAS SEEN MARKED IMPROVEMENTS IN CHILDREN'S NUTRITION. SIMILAR IMPROVEMENTS WOULD OCCUR ELSEWHERE IN IRAQ IF THE IRAQI REGIME WOULD ALLOW OIL FOR FOOD TO OPERATE TO ITS MAXIMUM POTENTIAL.

IRAQ HAS NOT ALLOWED UN HUMANITARIAN EXPERTS TO ENTER THE COUNTRY TO ASSESS THE SITUATION AND LOOK AT WAYS TO MAKE THE PROGRAM OPERATE MORE EFFICIENTLY.

THE FACT THAT THE IRAQI REGIME IS MAKING AN EFFORT TO UNDERCUT SANCTIONS IS AN INDICATION OF THEIR EFFECTIVENESS.

SS. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, UNDER U.S. LEADERSHIP, WILL REJECT THESE EFFORTS.

Question:

What about claims that the sanctions regime is eroding and that some countries are re-establishing relations with Iraq and breaking the flight embargo?

Answer:

SANCTIONS REMAIN EFFECTIVE. THE UN CONTROLS ALL BUT A SMALL AMOUNT OF IRAQ'S OIL REVENUES. SADDAM'S ACCESS TO MONEY IS LIMITED TO SMUGGLING AND LEAKAGE FROM THE OIL FOR FOOD PROGRAM. WE ARE GETTING GOOD COOPERATION FROM OUR COALITION PARTNERS IN ENFORCING THE SANCTIONS .

THE RUSSIAN FLIGHT WHICH TRAVELED TO BAGHDAD EARLIER THIS WEEK WAS APPROVED BY THE SANCTIONS COMMITTEE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SANCTIONS REGIME. THE SANCTIONS COMMITTEE DECIDED THAT THE FLIGHT WAS HUMANITARIAN IN NATURE AND WAS THEREFORE IN KEEPING WITH THE SANCTIONS REGIME. THE SANCTIONS COMMITTEE HAS AN ESTABLISHED PROCESS FOR EXPEDITIOUSLY APPROVING SUCH FLIGHTS.

IF ASKED: THE RUSSIANS HAVE ASKED TO MAKE ANOTHER FLIGHT. THE SANCTIONS COMMITTEE HAS NOT YET APPROVED IT.

Question:

What about the award to Kuwait for damage done by Iraq during the Gulf War?

NEXT WEEK IN GENEVA, THE UN COMPENSATION COMMISSION TAKES UP A NUMBER OF COMPENSATION DECISIONS, CALLED AN AWARD BY THE COMMISSION, TO THE KUWAIT PETROLEUM CORPORATION (KPC). THE AMOUNT OF THE AWARD (\$16 BILLION) REFLECTS A PART OF THE HUGE DAMAGE DONE BY IRAQ DURING ITS OCCUPATION OF KUWAIT. THE EXPERT COMMISSIONERS RECOMMENDED APPROVAL OF THIS COMPENSATION.

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USUN/W:Kward (info)
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NP:PO
EVANS OK
P:JLAPENN OK

IO Press Guidance
September 21, 2000

TALIBAN C
AMPAIGN FOR AFGHANISTAN UN SEAT

Question: What is your view of the Taliban's
claim to the Afghanistan seat at the United Nations.

Answer:

FOR THE PAST
SEVERAL YEARS, WITH U.S. SUPPORT, THE UN CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE HAS DECIDED TO
DEFER THE QUESTION, THEREBY LEAVING THE SEAT WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF MR. RA
BBANI.

THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE HAS NOT YET MET THIS SESSION BUT WE ANTICIPAT
E THE OUTCOME WILL BE THE SAME THIS YEAR.

[IF ASKED:]

THE U.S. DOES NOT FAV
OR ANY AFGHAN FACTION. WE ARE WORKING WITH THE UN AND OTHER CONCERNED COUNTRIE
S TO HELP THE AFGHANS ESTABLISH A BROAD-BASED DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD
RECEIVE INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION.

Context: The Rabbani faction continues t
o hold the Afghan seat at the United Nations. The Taliban, according to a New
York Times Crossette article, has sent a high-level delegation to the UN in New
York City to assert the seat is rightfully theirs since they control the major
ity of Afghan territory. We favor no change on the seat until such time as a b
road-based, representative government emerges in Afghanistan.

Drafted: I
O/PPC:EArrizabalaga x7-7938
(IO Press Guidance 9-18-00)

Cleared: IO:WWood OK

IO/UNP:L Viguerie ok
NEA/SA/RA:L Scensny ok
USUN/W:K Ward (Info)
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WHA PRESS GUIDANCE
September 21, 2000

PERU: MILITARY BACKS PRESID
ENT FUJIMORIS DECISION TO CALL NEW ELECTIONS, DEACTIVE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

Q
: Reaction to statement of support by Peruvian military for President Fujimoris
decision to call new elections, remove intelligence adviser Montesinos? React
ion to continued rumors of a coup?

A: WE WELCOME THE STATEMENT BY THE PERUVI
AN ARMED FORCES AFFIRMING THEIR SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT FUJIMORI AND FOR MAINTAI
NING CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER IN PERU.

THE GOVERNMENT OF PERUS PROPOSAL FOR A CO
NSTITUTIONAL PROCESS FOR NEW ELECTIONS IN SIX MONTHS IS A POSITIVE STEP TOWARDS
STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY IN PERU.

WHETHER OR NOT PRESIDENT FUJIMORI REMAI
NS IN OFFICE UNTIL A NEW PRESIDENT IS INAUGURATED SHOULD REFLECT THE WILL OF TH
E PERUVIAN PEOPLE. IT IS ESSENTIAL, HOWEVER, THAT PRESIDENT FUJIMORI USE HIS R
EMAINING TIME IN OFFICE TO PUT IN PLACE DEMOCRATIC REFORMS RECOMMENDED BY THE O
AS MISSION IN PERU, ESPECIALLY THOSE REGARDING THE CONDITIONS FOR FREE AND FAIR
ELECTIONS.

Q: Whereabouts and legal status of Montesinos? Will you call
for his arrest?

A: THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU HAS SAID MR. MONTESINOS IS IN LIMA
BUT NOT UNDER ARREST. WE NOTE THAT PRESIDENT FUJIMORI HAS SAID THAT SCANDAL SU
RROUNDING MR. MONTESINOS WILL BE INVESTIGATED WITH DUE PROCESS.

(IF PRESSED
ON CALLS FOR ARREST): THE LEGAL STATUS OF MR. MONTESINOS IS AN ISSUE FOR THE G
OVERNMENT OF PERU AND THE PERUVIAN JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES TO DETERMINE.

Q: What
can you tell us about the visit to Peru of Canadian OAS Perm Rep Peter Boehme a
nd OAS Secretary General Gavirias chief of staff?

AMBASSADOR BOEHM AND FERNAN
DO JARAMILLO, CHIEF ADVISER TO THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES SECRETARY GE
NERAL GAVIRIA, ARE CURRENTLY IN PERU TO ASSESS THE STATUS OF THE OAS-LED DIALOG
UE ON DEMOCRATIC REFORM. THEY WILL ALSO BE CONSIDERING WAYS IN WHICH THIS DIAL
OGUE CAN SUPPORT PERUVIAN EFFORTS TO ENSURE A DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION OF POWER.
THE OAS-SPONSORED TALKS WILL RESUME TOMORROW.

Context: The Peruvian militar
y high command, with support from all the services and the national police, iss
ued a statement late on September 20 announcing its support for President Fujim
oris decision to call new elections and deactivate the National Intelligence Se
rvice (SIN). The deactivation of the SIN amounts to a defacto ouster of intell
igence adviser Vladimiro Montesinos, who precipitated the political crisis when
he was caught on video bribing an opposition-elected Congressman to defect to
the governments alliance.

The statement is designed to dispell rumors of a p
ower struggle between Fujimori and Montesinos, who has close allies in the arme
d forces. Montesinos fate remains unclear; the GOP says he is in Lima but not
under arrest. Fujimori has stated that Montesinos will be investigated with d
ue process.

The political opposition has called for Fujimoris immediate r
esignation and for new elections within four months. In a public speech Septem
ber 19, however, Fujimori said he would remain in office until a new president
is inaugurated in July 2001, following elections to be held in March.

Canad
ian Ambassador to the OAS Peter Boehme and OAS Secretary General Gavirias chief
of staff Fernando Jaramillo arrived in Lima September 20 for several days to a
ssess the OAS dialogue on democratic reform.

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Drafted: WHA/AND: E Weigold 7-4177 9/21/00
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red: WHA/AND: P Chicola ok
DRL: P Higgins ok
P: W McIlhenny
ok
S/P: T Piccone ok
D: R Gilchrist ok
USOAS: R Miles ok
WHA/PA: A Koss ok
WHA PRESS GUIDANCE
September 21, 2000

HAITI P
RESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN; OAS MISSION

Q. What are your views on the opening of Haiti's presidential election campaign? Why is Haiti moving ahead with this election despite concerns with irregularities in previous elections?

A. Haiti's constitution requires the holding of the presidential election on the last Sunday of November. In preparation for that election, Haitian authorities have announced a schedule that includes a campaign period for presidential candidates and candidates seeking open senate seats.

However, the United States and others among the international community have indicated to the Government of Haiti that, absent meaningful action to address serious irregularities in elections earlier this year and to restore the credibility of the electoral council, we will not support the November 26 elections, financially or through observation missions.

We urge the Government of Haiti and opposition parties to cooperate with the Organization of American States (OAS) to resolve difficulties arising from the May 21 contest and set the stage for a good presidential election, one in which the U.S. and the rest of the international community could support.

Q. What is the Organization of American States (OAS) doing to address Haiti's electoral impasse?

A. OAS Assistant Secretary General Luigi Einaudi will, at the request of the Government of Haiti, travel to Haiti on September 22 to facilitate a dialogue among the country's political forces.

The OAS-led effort is in accordance with an August 4 OAS Permanent Council resolution that called for a special mission to identify options for resolving electoral issues and for strengthening democracy in Haiti.

Context: Local authorities have stated on several occasions that the government of Haiti plans to stand behind the results of disputed May elections, despite domestic and international criticism and threats, and proceed with presidential and legislative elections on November 26. However, there have been recent signs that these same authorities may be willing to address the more egregious irregularities associated with the May elections.

OAS Secretary-General Cesar Gaviria led an August 17-20 mission to Haiti mandated to attempt to find a solution to the current impasse. While that mission's efforts yielded no immediate results, a follow-on visit September 15-16 by OAS Assistant SYG Einaudi led to a proposed roundtable dialogue scheduled to begin on September 25.

U.S. officials have also visited Haiti to urge political players to cooperate with the OAS. NSC Senior Director Arturo Valenzuela and Special Envoy Tony Lake visited Haiti September 15-17 and Special Haiti Coordinator Don Steinberg is currently in Port-au-Prince.

The Secretary met with Haitian P

resident Prval at the UNGA on Sept. 8 and urged the Government of Haiti to address our ongoing election concerns. The Secretary also hosted meetings with the Friends of Haiti group (Sept. 13) and CARICOM (Sept. 19) on the margins of the UNGA as part of the ongoing multilateral approach toward Haiti.

Searahwg

/press guidance/2000/9-21-00 prez elect, oas mission

Drafted: WHA/HWG:WPMurphy

(ok)

Cleared: WHA:LGutierrez (ok)

WHA/HWG:DLinskey (ok)

USOAS:RMiles

(ok)

DRL/BA:CSibilla (ok)

WHA/PA:AKoss (ok)

NSC:CHollis (info)

D

:RGilchrist (ok)

CA Press Guidance (untasked)

Wednesday, September 20, 2000

VISA WAIVER PROGRAM Action Pending in the U.S. Senate

Do you have any comm

ent on the fact that the Senate has not yet acted on legislation to make the Visa Waiver Program permanent?

-- ENACTMENT OF A PERMANENT VISA WAIVER PROGRAM
IS A KEY LEGISLATIVE PRIORITY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

-- WE ARE QUITE PLEASED THAT THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PASSED ITS VERSION OF THE BILL IN APRIL.

-- WE HOPE THAT THE SENATE WILL ACT SIMILARLY BEFORE THE END OF THE CURRENT SESSION.

Why is this legislation so important to the Department of State?

-- THE VISA WAIVER PROGRAM HAS BEEN INVALUABLE IN PROMOTING U.S. TRAVEL AND TOURISM, ENHANCING RELATIONS WITH PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES, AND ALLOWING THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO DEPLOY SCARCE RESOURCES MORE EFFICIENTLY.

-- IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE (INS) STATISTICS REFLECT THAT 55 PERCENT OF ALL BUSINESS AND PLEASURE TRAVELERS TO THE UNITED STATES SOME 17 MILLION PEOPLE PER YEAR ENTER THE COUNTRY UNDER THE VISA WAIVER PROGRAM.

-- ACCORDING TO MOST RECENT TRAVEL INDUSTRY DATA, FOREIGN VISITORS TO THE U.S. GENERATED \$ 95.6 BILLION IN DIRECT EXPENDITURES LAST YEAR, DIRECTLY SUSTAINED 1.1 MILLION JOBS FOR WORKING AMERICANS, AND INDIRECTLY SUPPORTED MILLIONS MORE.

What is the history of the Visa Waiver Program?

-- THE VISA WAIVER PROGRAM WAS CREATED BY CONGRESS IN 1986 AS A WAY TO ALLOW BUSINESSPEOPLE AND TOURISTS FROM CERTAIN DESIGNATED COUNTRIES TO TRAVEL TO THE U.S. WITHOUT A VISA IF THEY PLAN TO REMAIN FOR 90 DAYS OR LESS.

-- TRAVELERS FROM JAPAN AND THE UNITED KINGDOM BEGAN COMING TO THE U.S. UNDER THIS PROGRAM IN 1988.

-- SINCE THAT TIME, THE PROGRAM HAS EXPANDED TO INCLUDE THE CITIZENS OF 29 NATIONS. (Note to briefer: List attached.)
Visa Waiver Pilot Program (VWP)
29 Participating Countries, as of September 2000

Andorra
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brunei
Denmark
Finland
France
Germany
Iceland
Ireland
Italy
Japan
Liechtenstein
Luxembourg
Monaco
The Netherlands
New Zealand
Norway
Portugal
San Marino
Singapore
Slovenia
Spain
Sweden
Swi

tzerland
United Kingdom
Uruguay

Context: Legislation is pending in the Senate that would re-authorize and make permanent the Visa Waiver Pilot Program (VWP), which was enacted by Congress in 1986. VWP allows citizens of designated countries to enter the United States for business or tourism without a visa if they intend to remain for less than 90 days. Current authority for VWP ended April 30, 2000. Since the beginning of the current Session, Congress has been considering legislation to continue the program. The Department strongly supports such a measure. The House voted in favor of a permanent Visa Waiver on April 11. Passage in the Senate has been delayed repeatedly, mostly for reasons entirely unrelated to the VWP bill itself. Because it enjoys wide bipartisan support, the bill has been used to leverage other, less popular measures. Currently it is Judiciary Committee Chairman Hatch (R-UT) who is not moving the bill so it can be packaged with other issues. Since April 30, INS has been paroling Visa Waiver travelers into the country; INS has indicated to CA that it cannot continue to do so indefinitely.

The U.S. travel and tourism industry asserts, and we concur, that a failure to enact a permanent Visa Waiver Program before the end of the current session could have a serious economic impact. For our part, the customer service and resource consequences are enormous. Over the short to medium term, there is simply no way with current resources we would be able to staff-up our embassies and consulates to issue visas to the 17 million travelers who come to the U.S. each year visa-free. CA estimates it would take three years and \$130 million to re-staff and provide necessary infrastructure for large-scale visa issuance in waiver countries.

DRAFTED: CA/P:CJLamora (ok),
7-2114

CA/P: CRHuggins (ok)

CLEARED: CA/VO/F/P: DDarnell (ok)
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GCavin (ok)

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Contents for the issue sent Thursday, September 21, 2000:

Non-Books R Us: Scholastic to Open Bookless Boutiques in Toys R Us

Esteemed Guest from the West: Harry Potter Lands in China

Reviews You Can Use: Wine, "In-Betweenness" and Mangos

Book Sense Bestseller Lists: Hardcover Fiction and Nonfiction

Media Mentions

This Weekend on Book TV: Live from New York, Book Country!

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Non-Books R Us: Scholastic to Open Bookless Boutiques in Toys R Us

Scholastic is establishing boutiques in 1,215 Toys R Us and Imaginarium stores worldwide. Rollout is set for fall 2001. The boutiques will feature Scholastic-branded arts and crafts materials, activity toys, puzzles, games, building and construction products, role-playing items, school supplies and electronic learning aids. Books will not be featured in the program.

Approximately 40 products are expected to be in next year's launch, and Deborah Forte, Scholastic executive v-p and head of Scholastic Entertainment, said she hopes to expand that figure to 150 within the next few years. All the products will be developed exclusively for the Toys R Us boutiques, although Scholastic will have the right to distribute them through selected distribution outlets.

"This is a branding initiative that we see as a way to connect with families at retail with products that will support children's learning," Forte told PW.--Jim Milliot

Esteemed Guest from the West: Harry Potter Lands in China

Boy wizard Harry continues to cast his spell on the book world--now reaching as far as China. On October 6, state-owned People's Literature Publishing House will release the Chinese translations of the first three of J.K. Rowling's books about Harry. The titles will be issued as a boxed set with an initial print run of 600,000, the largest print run ever for trade books in China, according to a report by the Associated Press.

As might be expected, Harry Potter, or Ha-li Bo-te, as the name translates in Chinese, is the subject of a big publicity push, too. People's Literature sent sample chapters from Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone to bookstores, distributed them to more than 1.2 million elementary and secondary schools and ran chapter 12 in the China Children's News. The publishing house is developing a Harry Potter Web site for young readers as well.

Harry has proven just as popular in China as he is in 35 other countries that publish his books. Some pirated translations from Taiwan have already appeared in China. To keep counterfeit Chinese versions off the market, People's Literature has worked to keep its official translation secure, has printed the books on special, distinctive paper and kept word of the boxed-set's packaging design under wraps.

In news from Japan, Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets was released by Say-zan-sha Publications on Thursday, September 14. The first book in the series, Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone, has sold 840,000 copies in Japan since its release in December 1999.--Shannon Maughan

Reviews You Can Use: Wine, "In-Betweenness" and Mangos

Joanne Harris, author of the best selling, delicious little gem Chocolat, now serves Blackberry Wine (Morrow, \$24), about which Catherine Davidson,

in the San Francisco Chronicle, writes: "This novel conjures its magic from a more pungent and earthy brew: potatoes and berries mixed into bottles of homemade wine. The wine is so lyrical that the novel is narrated by a bottle of it, imported and vintage, worldly-wise and all-knowing. It accompanies its owner, Jay Mackintosh, as he travels through time and space, ending up in the same French village as the heroine of Harris' previous novel."

The story begins in London where Jack is dealing with writer's block, earning his living by cranking out middling science fiction. We read of his teenage experiences in Yorkshire and his first brush with magic, which is intertwined with an extraordinary character named Joe Cox. The setting then moves to a farm in France where he returns to his roots.

"Those who enjoyed *Chocolat* may find this novel a bit less addictive at first. They may also discover the taste growing on them, bringing them back for one more sip, filling their heads and, ultimately, offering a hearty sort of satisfaction." Which is exactly what every good bottle of wine--and book--should do.

The Blood Runs Like a River Through My Dreams by Nasdijj (Houghton Mifflin, \$23), the memoir of a man whose mother was a Navajo storyteller and father a white cowboy will hit readers between the eyes--and in the heart.

Washington Post reviewer Christopher D. Ringwald states: "The story of his life is often a study in the state of in-betweenness: being half Navajo and half white; adopting a losing a son; struggling to survive as a writer, a friend or simply as a human being. It is an evocative, hypnotic and painful work. Much as a drumming circle or meditative chanting may bring participants to an altered state, Nasdijj's repetitious, episodic style taps a deeper consciousness. The reader is gradually lulled into the author's recollected life, a world more true for its dreamlike nonlinear quality." In one of the most moving parts of the book, Nasdijj writes about his son, who suffered from fetal alcohol syndrome: "He was a little brown guy with lungs. When Tommy was an infant, he'd cry louder than a coyote wails against the moon. I can still hold both his cowboy boots with one hand."

From the Baltimore Sun comes a review of a fascinating book dealing with brain injury. Where is the *Mango Princess*? (Knopf, \$24) by Cathy Crummins details her life with her husband, Alan, after he is hit in the head by a speedboat.

"The damage was to the front part of his brain, the area that controls emotions, personality and judgment. The back region, the brain stem that runs the body's physical parts, was untouched. When he awakened five days later, Forman believed he was 12 and back in Brooklyn. He knew his name and his wife's name. And he asked for the *Mango Princess*. His daughter? His wife? No, the *Mango Princess*, he insisted. He had just been talking to her."

The book chronicles the difficult, sometimes despairing days that followed as he recovered. Some days, only her sense of humor got her through. Forman is now working part-time in an attorney's office and on regaining his

former knowledge of law. "As for the Mango Princess? The couple's daughter, 11-year old Kelly, thinks the Mango Princess was up in heaven and told her dad to come back to his family. Crimmins says she isn't so sure it wasn't 'some woman he met at a business conference! I do know, he always liked the Caribbean and tropical fruits.'"--Judi Baxter

Book Sense Bestseller Lists: Hardcover Fiction and Nonfiction

Following are two categories from the Book Sense Bestseller Lists for the week ending Sunday, September 17, as collected from 350 independent bookstores. Please go to the ABA Web site (<http://www.bookweb.org/booksense/bestsellers/>) for the complete lists and a new feature: the previous week's rankings and weeks on the list for each book.

Also, exclusively for PW Daily, are more On the Rise books in addition to the ones that appear on the printed list that runs in next Monday's Bookselling This Week.

Hardcover Fiction

1. The Blind Assassin by Margaret Atwood (Doubleday/Nan A. Talese, \$26)
2. The Bear and the Dragon by Tom Clancy (Putnam, \$28.95)
3. Shattered by Dick Francis (Putnam, \$25.95)
4. Winter Solstice by Rosamunde Pilcher (St. Martins, \$27.95)
5. Open House by Elizabeth Berg (Random, \$23)
6. When We Were Orphans by Kazuo Ishiguro (Knopf, \$25)
7. Morgan's Run by Colleen McCullough (S&S, 28)
8. Pagan Babies by Elmore Leonard (Delacorte, \$24.95)
9. The Sky is Falling by Sidney Sheldon (Morrow, \$26)
10. Purple Cane Road by James Lee Burke (Doubleday, \$24.95)
11. Friend of the Earth by T.C. Boyle (Viking, \$24.95)
12. Julie and Romeo by Jeanne Ray (Harmony, \$21)
13. Friendship Cake by Lynne Hinton (HarperSanFrancisco, \$20)
14. Girl with a Pearl Earring by Tracy Chevalier (Dutton, \$21.95)
15. Nora, Nora by Anne River Siddons (HarperCollins, \$25)

Hardcover Nonfiction

1. Nothing Like It in the World: The Men Who Built the Transcontinental Railroad 1865-1869 by Stephen Ambrose (S&S, \$28)
2. Who Moved My Cheese? An Amazing Way to Deal with Change in Your Work and in Your Life by Spencer Johnson (Putnam, \$19.95)
3. Tuesdays with Morrie by Mitch Albom (Doubleday, \$21)
4. Body for Life by Bill Phillips and Michael D'Orso (HarperCollins, \$26)
5. Me Talk Pretty One Day by David Sedaris (Little, Brown, \$22.95)
6. It's Not About the Bike: My Journey Back to Life by Lance Armstrong (Putnam, \$24.95)
7. Eating Well for Optimum Health by Andrew Weil M.D. (Knopf, \$25)
8. In the Heart of the Sea: The Tragedy of the Whaleship Essex by Nat Philbick (Viking, \$24.95)
9. Life on the Other Side by Sylvia Browne (Dutton, \$23.95)
10. In a Sunburned Country by Bill Bryson (Broadway, \$25)

11. I Love You, Ronnie by Ronald and Nancy Reagan (Random, \$24.95)
12. Flags of Our Fathers by James Bradley (Bantam, \$24.95)
13. Island of Lost Maps: A True Story of Cartographic Crime by Harvey Miles (Random, \$24.95)
14. The Art of Happiness by the Dalai Lama (Riverhead, \$23.95)
15. Sell Out by David Schippers (Regnery, \$27.95)

On the Rise

- 24 Dream Catcher by Margaret A. Salinger (Washington Square, \$27.95)
27. The Unexpected Legacy of Divorce by Judith S. Wallerstein (Hyperion, \$24.95)

This past week has been a big week for Book Sense. But more on that in a moment. The bestseller data gathered this week saw a dramatic number of new books on the move up, particularly 76 picks. I do hasten to add that it wasn't just the 76 status that did this; great books + great marketing by the publisher + your support = success. All three things combined means increased sales for you and deserving authors, more of whom are noticing, too.

The 76 successes of this week:

Plainsong goes to #1 in paper, nosing out other indie fave Poisonwood Bible after a long, long run. But I bet these two will now trade places week in and week out.

Also a 76 pick in cloth and paper: Roddy Doyle's A Star Called Henry debuts at #11; New Yorker ad tk.

Margaret Atwood's new novel goes #1 in hardcover fiction, on the heels of great reviews and ads.

Ishiguro's latest debuts at #6.

Big news on the fantasy front. Potter strong as ever, but look for Amber Spyglass to make a big splash October 10! Already, the paperback AND hardcover of book one, Golden Compass, are back in our top 20 on the kids' list! (88 of the 100 stores who won the brilliant RH contest are indies.) After Amber, for a slightly more adult reader (but that line is sure getting blurry), look for big things for Orson Scott Card. The Ender books are big indie favorites (and just recently, now among mine, too), and a new book is due soon. (A galley of it is mailing from here to all 1,150 stores with Book Sense.) And Tor has reissued Ender's Game in a \$3.99 mass market, down from \$6.99, with a \$4 off offer on it and the new hardcover. Great! This reissue popped back onto our mass list at #46.

What else is moving up, besides the On the Rise picks noted on the new list?:

Hardcover nonfiction:

#25. Creating the Not So Big House (Taunton, \$35, 1561583774)--the first book was a 76 pick last year; a future franchise?

#34. Hirohito and the Making of Japan (Harper, 006019314X)--up from #81 last week

#40. Inextinguishable Symphony by Martin Goldsmith (Wiley, 0471350974)--also one of our NPR underwriting titles.

Great new trade paper fiction to watch:

#24. 0385720114. Map of Love by Ahdaf Soueif

#31. 0156011654. Last Life by Claire Messud--76 pick

#42. 0375704027. Norwegian Wood--a Murakami in original paper

#47. 156512295X. New Stories of the South--Algonquin

#58. 0679783180. Charterhouse of Parma--the new translation now in paper

#87. 0316782653. Dangerous Husband--a wickedly dark novel from Back Bay

New nonfiction paper:

#55. 0060957360. Best American Science Writing 2000

#58. 0688174353. Reader's Choice: 200 Book Club Favorites

#89. 1574322044. Schroeder's 2001 Antiques

And about that big news? Well, your work on all things related to Book Sense is paying off in publisher and media attention!:

* The Book Sense Bestseller List makes it debut in the New York Review of Books on stands now.

* Len Vlahos was on NPR yesterday AM; GREAT exposure for Book Sense and BookSense.com? and traffic to .com spiked big time right away!

* The New York Times ran a story last week on the increases many independents are having, way ahead of other reported figures.

As for new resources at your disposal:

* The Book Sense Store Directory is now on line for booksellers only, for quick reference for your customers about where the Book Sense Gift Certificates are redeemable!! Yes, you have the paper versions, updated and mailed to you quarterly, but here it is, searchable by state AND grouped geographically so you can print out a listing of all stores in a three or four state area. Go to

<http://www.bookweb.org/booksense/marketing/3651.html>

(Publishers: This is a store-only restricted area, for a number of reasons. But you can search stores by zip code at booksense.com.)

Lastly, I can't resist a few random comments:

* The quote of the week is from Larry Kirshbaum about the new business school mantra, now that the .com start-up balloon has deflated a bit: B2B now means 'Back to Banking'.

* Most underreported cultural phenomenon of last week: the Latin Grammys! It was great; my daughter and I both loved it, from the new performers to the oldtimers to the commercials en espanol!

* Really tired of USA boosterism on NBC; did they show the Australian swimmers having the last laugh on the arrogant Americans??

All for now, before I turn into Andy Rooney.

Media Mentions

In advance of his appearance as the grand marshal for New York Is Book Country fair this weekend, celebrity chef Emeril Lagasse will appear on the Rosie O'Donnell Show to promote his latest bestselling cookbook Every Day's a Party (Morrow, \$25). He can be seen regularly on his own nightly show on the Food Network, Emeril Live, as well as each week on Good Morning America.

Also tomorrow, the former host of NPR's Performance Today, Martin Goldsmith will talk to NPR's Diane Rehm about his new book, The Inextinguishable Symphony: A True Story of Music and Love in Nazi Germany (Wiley, \$24.95). The book chronicles the romance between Goldsmith's parents, both Jewish musicians. PW said, "As much a tribute to the power of music as it is a Holocaust memoir, this book tells a deeply affecting story of a love that survived the terrors of WWII."

At 9 p.m. tomorrow, Friday, September 22, archaeologist Zahi Hawass will appear on the Discovery Channel's Discovery News to explain the events documented in Valley of the Golden Mummies (Abrams, \$49.50), a fascinating chronicle of how a real-life Indiana Jones discovered hundreds of 2,000-year-old mummies in the Egyptian Desert.

Lastly, on Monday, September 25 Diane Rehm will interview political advisor David Gergen about his new book, Eyewitness to Power (S&S, \$24.95), which gives an insider's account of the workings of the Nixon, Ford, Reagan and Clinton administrations. PW said, "While some may debate Gergen's assessments, his own eye for detail and knack for narrative are to be admired. He brings to life the everyday world of the presidency and provides telling portraits of these fallible yet fascinating leaders."

This Weekend on Book TV: Live from New York, Book Country!

Book TV airs on C-Span2 each weekend from 8 a.m. Saturday to 8 a.m. Monday and focuses on history, politics and the business of books. The following are highlights from this weekend's schedule (all times Eastern):

Saturday, September 23

8 a.m. Children's Books: From Barnes & Noble in Indianapolis, Ind., Journalist and author Bob Schaller discusses his new children's series, X-Country Adventures (Baker Book House). Each novel in the series is based on solving a mystery or riddle involving a different state's historical characters, treaties and geography (re-airs 12 noon).

7 p.m. Encore Booknotes: From September 1996, author Monica Crowley discusses her book on President Nixon titled Nixon Off the Record: His

Candid Commentary on People and Politics.

8 p.m. Biography on Book TV: Author Jeremy Bernstein talks about Dawning of the Raj: The Story of the British Empire in India and of the Man Who Planted Them. The even was hosted by Explore Bookstore in Aspen, Colo. (re-airs Sun at 11 p.m.)

11 p.m. History on Book TV: Martin Lipset discusses the book he co-authored with Gary Marks, It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States. He examines the factors responsible for preventing socialism from developing into a powerful political force in America. The event took place at Olsson's Books & Records in Washington, D.C. (re-airs Sun. at 8 p.m.)

Sunday, September 24

This weekend Book TV will deliver live coverage of the New York Is Book Country festival and include live interviews with a variety of authors, including Leslie Chang, Gwenda Blair, Michael Skakun and the editor of the New Yorker Book of Political Cartoons, Robert Mankoff. In addition to interviews, Book TV will take a roving camera along 53rd and Firth Avenues to conduct on-the-spot coverage of fair vendors and visitors.

One of the highlights will be a cooking demonstration and book signing by New York is Book Country grand marshal and celebrity chef Emeril Lagasse whose five cookbooks have now sold more than 2 million copies. The event will take place at the Barnes & Noble in Rockefeller Center at 12 Noon.

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, Volume XXVIIMainland Southeast Asia; Regional Affairs

(This is not an offici

al statement of policy by the Department of State; it is intended only as a gui
de to the contents of this volume.)

Since 1861, the Department of States docum
entary series Foreign Relations of the United States has constituted the offici
al record of the foreign policy and diplomacy of the United States. Historians
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stablished by the Foreign Relations of the United States statute of October 28,
1991 (22 USC 4351, et seq.). Volumes in the Foreign Relations series are publ
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been completed.

The documents in this volume are drawn from the centralized in
dexed files of the Department of State and the decentralized Bureau, Office, an
d other lot files of the relevant Departmental units. The volume also includes
records from the Department of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency. I
n addition, the editor made extensive use of the Presidential and other papers
at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, Texas. Access to the recordings of
President Johnsons telephone conversations at the Johnson Library resulted in
the inclusion of transcripts or summaries of several of his conversations with
senior U.S. policymakers, which help to document more fully the Presidents acti
ve engagement in Southeast Asia.

Almost all of the documents printed here were
originally classified. The Information Response Branch of the Office of IRM Pr
ograms and Services, Bureau of Administration, Department of State, in concert
with the appropriate offices in other agencies or governments, carried out the
declassification of the selected documents.

The war in Vietnam and the secret
conflict in Laos dominated U.S. foreign policy toward Southeast Asia during the
administration of Lyndon Johnson. The fighting also had serious repercussions
for U.S. relations with neighboring states not directly involved in the conflic
ts. This volume presents documentation on U.S. policy relating to Southeast Asi
an nations on the periphery of the war in Vietnam. It contains two regional com
pilations. One focuses on the Australia-New Zealand-United States Treaty Organ
ization (ANZUS); the other on the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and
economic development in Southeast Asia. The rest of the volume covers bilate
ral relations with Burma, Cambodia, and Thailand. The following is a summary o
f the most important of the issues covered. Parenthetical citations are to num
bered documents in the text.

ANZUS and the Defense of Southeast Asia

The comp
ilation has three principal themes: the formal ANZUS consultative relationship,
which is presented in brief coverage of ANZUS Council meetings; the growing pe
rsonal relationship and collaboration between President Lyndon Johnson and Aust
ralian Prime Ministers, especially Harold Holt, and to a lesser extent New Zeal
and Prime Minister Holyoake; and Australias desire to consult with the United S
tates in anticipation of the British withdrawal from East of Suez, which was pr
ojected for the 1970s.

The ANZUS Treaty with its provisions for yearly meetings
of Foreign Ministers was created to reassure the Australians and New Zealander

s against the threat of a resurgent Japan. As the Cold War developed in Asia, Communism and China became the focus of ANZUS. Given Australia's and New Zealand's distance from mainland Asia, the Chinese threat was mostly a theoretical, or at least, a long-term one. ANZUS meetings were often leisurely one-day affairs characterized in most cases by discussion of generalities. (7, 45)

Far more im

portant to President Johnson was the combat support Australia and New Zealand could provide in South Vietnam, thus demonstrating that the war was not exclusively an American and South Vietnamese one. At the 1965 Washington ANZUS meeting, Johnson encouraged New Zealand to send troops, although given the size of New Zealand military forces and its existing commitments in Malaysia, the force sent to Vietnam was only token. (6) In 1968 when he faced a stagnant economy and an upcoming election, Prime Minister Holyoake asked that New Zealand's past support for the United States in Vietnam be reciprocated with better economic relations, especially improved access for New Zealand meat in U.S. markets. (42-44)

A

ustralia's participation in the Vietnam war was considerably larger than New Zealand's. In March 1966 Australia agreed to send a self-contained force of 4,500 troops to Vietnam. (11) This major commitment impressed Johnson and helped nurture a growing close personal relationship with Prime Minister Harold Holt. (15, 18, 19, 23, 25-28) The accidental drowning death of Holt moved President Johnson to travel to Canberra for the memorial service in which he eulogized Holt to the Australian Cabinet and reaffirmed the U.S.-Australian relationship. (35) U.S.-Australian relations remained close after Holt's death, but did not have the same intimacy under Prime Minister John Gorton. (36-38)

The most significant is

sue covered in the compilation is the desire of Australia to consult with the United States over the defense of Malaysia and Singapore in anticipation of Britain's projected withdrawal from East of Suez. In early January 1966 the British Labour Government informed its allies that it could no longer afford world-wide commitments. The result was a joint U.S.-Australian effort to try to convince the British to reverse the policy. (12, 13, 15, 17, 21-25) As British determination to withdraw became increasingly clear, Australia initiated a series of discussions with the United States on possible U.S.-Australian policy options. (29, 30, 32)

The Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) advised Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara that the United States should support a continuing Australian and New Zealand presence in Malaysia and Singapore, but should not assume any of Great Britain's commitments nor station U.S. troops there. (33) While encouragement of Australia's defense of Malaysia and Singapore might raise questions of the application of the ANZUS Treaty, the JCS recommended close consultation without offering a "blanket guarantee." (37) When Prime Minister Gorton met with the President and Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, U.S. officials encouraged him to keep Australian forces in Malaysia and Singapore as part of an enhanced regional role. (38, 39)

Southeast Asia Region

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was traditionally the focus of U.S. regional policy toward Southeast Asia. During 1964-1968, however, SEATO suffered from such inherent dilemmas and weaknesses that it was increasingly ineffective in rallying its members to the collective defense of South Vietnam or Laos. The marginalization of SEATO is the first theme of this compilation. The second theme is regional economic development as propounded by President Lyndon Johnson in his April 1965 proposal for a vast scheme of economic development for Southeast Asia underpinned by developme

nt of the Mekong River.

SEATO's weaknesses became all too evident during its Council meeting in April 1964 when members failed to agree on even a public affirmation of the war in South Vietnam. The French pressed for neutralization of Southeast Asia on the grounds that the effort to save South Vietnam was doomed. (47-49) Although not prepared to withdraw from SEATO, France was increasingly unwilling to play a positive role and reduced its participation to observer status.

(54) The British Labour Government, for its part, was adamantly opposed to any SEATO public language that could be construed as committing Britain to supply military forces to South Vietnam. (64, 72)

The problems of SEATO were highlighted for President Johnson in April 1967 when the Council met in Washington. Special Assistant Walt Rostow informed the President that the activist Asian members, Thailand and the Philippines, felt that French "foot dragging," combined with reduced interest of Pakistan and Britain, threatened to "sap SEATO's vitality." (89) When the President met with SEATO Ministers he spoke encouraging words about the organization, but no amount of Presidential rhetoric could patch over the basic flaws. (90) SEATO was an organization whose membership was too diverse to agree on a unified strategy for defending Southeast Asia.

The other major

issue relating to SEATO was how it would relate to the Johnson administration's bold dream for economic development of South Asia. The scheme coalesced in the spring of 1965. (56-59) The President announced the concept in Baltimore on April 7 when he asked the U.S. Congress to make a \$1 billion investment in the area. The President envisioned the Mekong River as providing "food, water, and power on a scale to dwarf even our own TVA." Johnson appointed former World Bank President Eugene Black to head the effort. (60, 61)

Black became the point man

for the enterprise, and its accomplishments are documented through his reports to President Johnson. (65, 71, 83, 95) Black's effort was multifaceted, but its principal manifestation, apart from dams in Laos and Cambodia, was his assistance in creating the Asian Development Bank. The bank was able to obtain funds mostly from Asians themselves, especially the Japanese. (67, 80, 92) By the end of the Johnson administration, however, the spread of war in Indochina doomed Johnson's grandiose development plans for the Mekong River, but the Asian Development Bank and the idea of Asian economic cooperation was a lasting legacy.

Bur

ma

The Burmese withdrawal into isolation and the "Burmese Way to Socialism" left the United States with very little diplomatic leverage in the Union of Burma.

The principal U.S. objective was to assure the Burmese political/military leader, Ne Win, that the United States was in no way out to get him. (97, 99) The Johnson administration took advantage of hints from Burmese officials and invited Ne Win and his wife to Washington for a State visit in September 1966. As Chief of Staff of the Burmese Army, Ne Win had come to the United States during the Eisenhower administration and had suffered some personal slights. The visit to the White House with President Johnson at his most charming and expansive was a means of erasing those past indignities and reassuring the leader that the United States did not see Burmese nonalignment and independence as counter to U.S. interests in Southeast Asia. (100-102)

Cambodia

In early 1964 Prince Sihanouk

was head of state and chief of state of Cambodia in all but name, was determined to hold an international conference that would guarantee Cambodian neutrality

and territorial integrity. Sihanouk feared the growing insurgencies in Laos and South Vietnam, but his foremost concern was the threat he perceived to Cambodia from Thailand and South Vietnam. (105, 108) Sihanouk flirted with the idea of a quadripartite conference (Cambodia, South Vietnam, Thailand, and the United States) to agree upon neutrality, but he added so many unacceptable preconditions that the United States was hesitant to agree. Sihanouk interpreted this hesitation as opposition and abandoned the idea. (109-114) To punctuate its dissatisfaction, Cambodia encouraged and directed violent demonstrations which resulted in the sacking of the U.S. Embassy in Phnom Penh. (115-117)

In a letter to British Foreign Secretary R.A. Butler, Secretary of State Dean Rusk suggested that while Sihanouk's desire to reaffirm Cambodia's neutrality and territorial integrity was a legitimate objective, he also wanted to pillory South Vietnam (and indirectly the United States) for incursions into Cambodian territory in pursuit of Viet Cong forces and to "rub the noses of the Thai" in French colonial treaties and an International Court of Justice decision, which supported Cambodia's position in border disputes with Thailand. (121)

The issue quieted down when Sihanouk announced he would visit France for almost 2 months. (127) While Sihanouk was temporarily retreating from a conference, he continued the pressure on South Vietnam by taking the issue of South Vietnamese border incursions to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). The United States was not opposed to a UN role in policing the Cambodian-South Vietnamese border, believing that it might discourage Viet Cong use of Cambodian territory. (131-133, 137) The result of the UNSC effort was a Security Council resolution establishing a three-person commission to visit Cambodia and South Vietnam. (134) When the commission made its initial report, the United States was disappointed that it was too pro-Cambodian and made no mention of the Viet Cong. Sihanouk, however, formally rejected the findings of the mission on the grounds that they were not sufficiently pro-Cambodian. (142, 144)

U.S.-Cambodian relations deteriorated. In late summer 1964 the White House States considered using a private intermediary to express to Sihanouk U.S. concern about the state of relations and to offer friendly and frank private discussions instead of diplomacy by press release and public speeches. (138, 139) The Department of State concluded that it could not hurt to use a more informal channel of communication to Sihanouk, but insisted that the intermediary not undercut the influence of newly-appointed Ambassador Randolph K. Kipper. (141) The private intermediary met with Department of State officials responsible for Cambodia and agreed to send a personal letter to Sihanouk based on Department of State key points. (142, 144)

The intermediary plan apparently had little success as Sihanouk refused to accept Kipper's credentials and the Ambassador-designate returned to Washington. In November 1964 the Embassy in Phnom Penh feared that Sihanouk was about to break relations with the United States. To avoid that, the United States suggested that Sihanouk's trusted adviser, Son Sann, should meet with a special representative of the President, Philip Bonsal, in New Delhi. The Cambodians agreed, but the talks failed to lead to any improvement in relations. (146-150)

The year 1965 did not begin any better. Despite hints that Cambodia wanted to continue a dialogue with the United States (152) and some renewed interest in an international conference (153, 154), South Vietnamese incursions into Cambodian territory and a mistaken U.S. bombing of Cambodian territory exacerbated relations to the point that, in early May 1965 Cambodia broke diplomatic ties with the United States.

Part of the reason for the rupture of relations sprang from Sihanouks belief that the United States was supporting his opponents, especially the Khmer Serei (Free Khmers) and his particular bete noir, their leader Son Ngoc Thanh, who was in exile in South Vietnam. There was skepticism at the White House and Department of State about Son Ngoc Thanh. As National Security Council (NSC) staffers told McGeorge Bundy, "State is properly skittish as this guy has the political future of Harold Stassen but drives Sihanouk crazy." Only very limited U.S. contacts with Son Ngoc Thanh took place, although the United States was less able to control Thai and South Vietnamese support of the Khmer Serei. (157, 172)

Far more dangerous to Cambodia than Khmer Serei dissidents was the problem of Viet Cong use of Cambodia and the pressure building in Washington and Saigon to attack the enemy in its sanctuaries. (159, 160) President Johnson resisted requests from General William Westmoreland for hot pursuit authority, but he did allow firing into Cambodia in self-defense. (160-162, 164, 165)

The problem of Cambodia's relation to the Viet Cong was an issue in both Washington and Saigon. The Central Intelligence Agency concluded that Cambodia was "not a witting or willing accomplice in Viet Cong operations in Cambodia." Sihanouk would like more control over Cambodia's 600-mile border with South Vietnam, but Cambodia did not have the ability to enforce its authority. (170) The Joint Chiefs of Staff were convinced that both Sihanouk and the United States could do more. Secretary of Defense McNamara presented a JCS proposed program of intensified intelligence coverage of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong activities in Cambodia, a diplomatic and psychological campaign to encourage Cambodia to curb the Viet Cong, increased surveillance and interdiction of seaborne infiltration, covert paramilitary and overt cross-border operations, low-level reconnaissance, and hot pursuit. (171)

Concerned about the momentum building against Cambodia, President Johnson asked Senator Mike Mansfield, Sihanouks closest friend in the U.S. Government, to pass a message to the Prince to stop Viet Cong raids into South Vietnam. (173) The Department of State also believed the JCS program was too radical and might push Cambodia into active hostility against South Vietnam and the United States. The State Department favored a more cautious and gradual approach on the grounds that Cambodia was already doing as much as it could to impede the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese. Given Cambodia's neutrality and need to placate China, Sihanouk could hardly be expected to join South Vietnam in military operations against the Viet Cong. (176, 180) There was also consensus among the White House staff that the "hard line" toward Cambodia was a mistake. (182) President Johnson asked the NSC staff to brainstorm "imaginative initiatives" on Cambodia. The result was a program of "fresh ideas" which favored persuasion and encouragement rather than the coercive approach recommended by the JCS. President Johnson received the NSC proposals enthusiastically and passed them to the Department of State for comment and recommendations. (183)

In responding to these new ideas, the Department of State noted that much of what was recommended was already being done. For example, it had tried to expand ICC coverage of the border, but had been stymied by the Soviet Union. Efforts to discourage Thailand's and South Vietnam's support of the Khmer Serei were ongoing. State agreed with the NSC staffers idea of a presidential letter delivered by special emissary and favored more unofficial visits and private contacts. While the United States should strive to reestablish diplomatic relations with Cambodia, forcing the pace too quickly could prove to be counterproductive. (185)

After June 1966 the United States embarked on a cautious program of reconciliation attempts with Sihanouk. Ambassador Chester Bowles talked to Cambodia's Ambassador to India, Nong Kimny. (187-189) There were hints that Sihanouk was interested in a dialogue. (196, 197) In spring 1967 the Department of State sent a message through the Australians informing Sihanouk of the U.S. desire for better relations and expressing concern about Viet Cong/North Vietnamese use of Cambodia. (201, 203, 204) Not all of the U.S. Government was convinced that the "soft line" to Cambodia was right. In December 1966 the JCS stated that VC/NVN use of the Cambodian sanctuary constitutes a clear and present danger" and recommended additional air and ground reconnaissance of Cambodia, hot pursuit, and public exposure of enemy use of Cambodian sanctuaries. (198)

The U.S. intelligence community did not share the "clear and present danger" analysis of the Joint Chiefs, believing that denying the enemy the use of Cambodia would not itself constitute a decisive element in winning the war in South Vietnam. The intelligence analysts did conclude that the Cambodian sanctuary provided a considerable military and psychological advantage and would be used more frequently during the coming year. (199, 200) A Joint State/Defense/CIA study group worked on the problem in early 1967 and recommended approval of stepped-up air reconnaissance and limited on-the-ground cross-border intelligence-gathering operations, codenamed Daniel Boone, but suggested that high-risk and provocative operations be delayed until the result of diplomatic initiatives to Sihanouk could be assessed. (205)

In autumn 1967 the Department of State continued diplomatic and public pressure on Cambodia to inhibit Viet Cong/North Vietnamese use of Cambodia. (209, 212) At the same time, it approved measures to expand Daniel Boone operations. (210, 211) When General William Westmoreland, U.S. Commander in Vietnam, requested permission to attack large concentrations of enemy troops resting in Cambodia in December 1967, the administration, with departing Secretary McNamara taking the lead, did not approve. (214-217)

The question of temporarily invading or bombing Cambodia caused serious disagreement within the Johnson administration. Ambassador at Large Averell Harriman made an impassioned plea against it, drawing an analogy with the German invasion of neutral Belgium in 1914. (221) Westmoreland renewed his request for B-52 bombardment, claiming that the United States was missing an opportunity to hit a vulnerable enemy in jungle areas along an ill-defined border. Westmoreland believed that the operation could be kept secret. (222) In the face of these conflicting recommendations, the President held firm to a stepped-up program of diplomatic pressure on Cambodia rather than attacking the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese on Cambodian territory. (223-225)

In January 1968 the Johnson administration authorized a high-profile mission to Cambodia headed by Ambassador to India Chester Bowles for face-to-face discussions with Sihanouk. (226) Although the results of the meetings were intangible, Bowles believed that the corner had been turned and U.S.-Cambodian relations would improve. (227, 229, 230) Bowles' optimism was offset by the CIA belief that as long as Cambodia was unable to control its territory, it could not crack down on Viet Cong/North Vietnamese use of Cambodian sanctuaries. CIA concluded that the Viet Cong/North Vietnamese were increasingly relying on Cambodian territory for sanctuary, base areas, infiltration of personnel, and as a source of rice and supplies and estimated that increasing amounts of war materiel were being routed through southern Cambodia. (233) With major battles between North Vietnamese and U.S. forces raging in the central highlands of South Vietnam, Westmoreland again asked for authority to bomb the enemy in

the tri-border area of Cambodia. He was again refused. (234)

In July 1968 the

Cambodian Navy captured a U.S. Army utility landing craft that had strayed into Cambodian waters. Eleven U.S. soldiers and one South Vietnamese policeman were detained. (239) After the earlier North Korean seizure of the Pueblo, the Johnson administration moved quickly to downplay this incident and obtain release of the detainees. (240, 242, 243) The President sent Eugene Black to Cambodia in the hopes that he could facilitate release of the detainees, reiterate U.S. concern about Viet Cong/North Vietnamese use of Cambodia, and offer a general statement from the United States expressing respect and recognition of Cambodia's borders provided it would lead to resumption of diplomatic relations. Sihanouk did not meet with Black. The White House's assessment was that his mission was a failure. (244, 246-248)

The Joint Chiefs of Staff suggested harassment of Cambodia river traffic as a means of coercing Sihanouk to release the U.S. detainees. Both Secretary of Defense Clifford and Secretary of State Rusk rejected this idea as counterproductive. (251) In December 1968 the United States received hints that Cambodia was prepared to release the American detainees if Sihanouk received a personal message from President Johnson. (255) The message was dispatched and the Americans were released on December 23. (260)

In late 1968 the Johnson

administration had failed to reach a consensus on the significance of Cambodia to the Viet Cong/North Vietnamese war effort in South Vietnam. General Creighton Abrams, Westmoreland's successor as U.S. Commander in Vietnam, believed Cambodia had surpassed Laos as the principal supply infiltration route. The Central Intelligence Agency took the opposite view. (252, 263) The U.S. military continued to argue for authority to attack enemy bases in Cambodia. (254, 261) Almost everyone in Washington agreed that Cambodian sanctuaries were of increasing importance to North Vietnam, but there was no consensus that attacking them would result in a military advantage worth the disruption of U.S.-Cambodian relations. In its last days, the Johnson administration was not inclined to make such a decision. The fate of U.S. policy toward Cambodia was left to Richard Nixon's administration.

Thailand

The central theme of this compilation is the growing collaboration between Thailand and the United States to combat the threats posed by the wars in Laos and South Vietnam. In early 1964 the United States considered introducing U.S. troops into Thailand (as was done in 1962) to both send the North Vietnamese a message and to reassure Thailand. (264) The U.S. military successfully opposed this use of military forces for political ends. (265, 269) Thai leaders also had strong reservations that another U.S. deployment would have any practical effect. (268, 270)

Instead of deploying U.S. troops, the United

States and Thailand instituted joint military consultations and bilateral planning in the event the North Vietnamese and their Pathet Lao allies overran the Mekong towns of Laos. (272, 274-276, 280, 282) In addition, the Thais continued to play a small but important role in the defense of non-Communist Laos by training anti-Communist tribal guerrillas, providing artillery support and pilots for the Lao air force, and training Lao forces in Thailand. (278) Even more important was the growing use of Thai bases for U.S. bombing campaigns in Laos and South Vietnam.

Military assistance provided another way to reassure the Thais

and repay them for their cooperation. Ambassador to Thailand Graham Martin, supported by the Department of State, suggested that since Thailand was increas-

singly "an integral and vital part of our current operational military complex in SE Asia," the United States should consider Thai requests for additional aid in the context of the U.S. effort in Southeast Asia. (287, 288, 291) The Department of Defense took a different view, suggesting that increased military aid for Thailand should not come at the expense of aid to Vietnam. (289, 290) Furthermore, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara believed that the U.S. Country Team was not encouraging Thailand to orient sufficiently its military program toward counterinsurgency nor insisting on balanced military forces. Organized on conventional military lines, Thai military forces were only at 56 percent strength. McNamara refused to recommend continued high cost military assistance to Thailand until Thailand made basic military reforms and he could be sure that U.S. money would be spent effectively. (294)

The Department of State responded that since the Thai army was "the base of the whole regime" and also comprised the separate power bases of Thai political/military leaders Thanom Kittikachorn and Charusathien Praphat, the army was bound to have more officers than needed and be ineffective in its use of resources. (295, 296) Ambassador Martin promised military reform and offered to "stake his career on it" provided that the "infinitesimal" cost of Thai military assistance "add ons" were approved. The Department prepared to defend additional military assistance to Thailand by engaging Secretary Rusk in the debate, but it needed evidence that Thailand would undertake specific reforms. (298)

The difference of opinion between the State and Defense Departments on additional Thai military assistance reached a boiling point in August 1965. State insisted and Defense reluctantly agreed that the Thai political situation required an immediate decision on the level of the FY 1966 military assistance package so the information could be passed to the Thais. McNamara agreed. (299-302) The issue of military aid levels was an ongoing one, however, since military assistance was a yearly decision. In May 1966 Rusk and McNamara discussed differences over increases on the U.S. military assistance program to Thailand in future years and whether the United States should provide helicopters and crews for use in the Thai counterinsurgency effort. (297)

In August 1966 Rusk and McNamara were still far apart. State reported that the Embassy in Thailand was recommending \$70 million for FY 1967. Defense favored \$44-45 million. (319, 322) The issue was referred to President Johnson who approved a figure of \$60 million for FY 1967. The President accepted the Department of States view that Thailand's cooperation in permitting bases and facilities to U.S. forces engaged in combat in Vietnam had irrevocably aligned it with the United States and created the expectation of a special relationship. Increased military assistance would allow the Thais to build up their own conventional forces strength, help to repair relations with Washington soured by U.S. Congressional criticism, and eliminate the Thai belief that they needed a bilateral defense treaty with the United States. (329)

McNamara remained a critic of Thailand's use of U.S. military aid because he perceived in Thailand's military a lack of interest in combating the nascent Communist insurgency in northeast Thailand. While U.S. assessments of the Communist threat were not alarmist, there was growing concern in Washington. Virtually all U.S. intelligence analysis stressed that Thailand's social and economic stability and long history of independence gave it a strong edge against the insurgency, but the United States became increasingly involved in consultation and support of Thailand's counterinsurgency effort. (303, 307, 310, 311, 313, 328, 344, 352)

Thailand's contribution to the Vietnam war

r expanded greatly during the second half of the Johnson administration, especially the U.S. Air Forces B-52 bombing campaigns originating from Thailand. (341, 342) By mid-1967 there were 40,000 U.S. military personnel in Thailand, and Thailand had 2,500 combat troops fighting in South Vietnam. In the second half of 1967 President Johnson pressed Thai leaders for an additional 10,000 troops. (350, 356, 357) After negotiations on the "requirements" for the additional troops, a deal was finalized in a memorandum agreed upon by McNamara and Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman. Thailand obtained a number of concessions from the United States: equipment and overseas pay for the 10,000 going to Vietnam, an option on a Hawk missile battery, and a \$15 million yearly increase in the planned military assistance program for Thailand in FY 1968 and 1969. (363-368)

The final theme of the compilation concerns the beginning of Thailand's political transition from military dictatorship to representative government and the military/political leaders' efforts to prepare themselves for national elections under a new constitution. Their first step was the organization of a political party for which they sought secret U.S. financial assistance. In late 1965 Secretary Rusk approved a plan in principle to supply the monetary assistance requested and President Johnson endorsed it. The program was not immediately initiated because the new constitution was not completed and promulgated until the second half of 1968, and elections were postponed until February 1969. In August 1968 Thai officials reopened the issue of financial electoral assistance. Secretary Rusk authorized the operation on the grounds that President Johnson had approved it in 1965 and the situation in 1968 was unchanged. (304-306, 376, 383, 396-400, 404, 407, 408) In 1969 the government party won a slim plurality in the elections for the elected lower assembly (the Senate was appointed by the King), and it soon garnered support from many independent assemblymen who were elected.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office of the Spokesman

For Immediate Release
2000/1022

September 21, 2000

STATEMENT BY RICHARD BOUCHER, SPOKESMAN

RELEASE OF *FOREIGN RELATIONS* VOLUME
ON SOUTHEAST ASIA REGION, 1964-1968

The Department released today *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1964–1968, volume XXVII, Mainland Southeast Asia; Regional Affairs. This volume is part of the ongoing official published record of American foreign policy during the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson. The volume documents U.S. policy toward countries on the periphery of the war in Southeast Asia and presents documentation on the two main regional organizations, the Australia-New Zealand-United States pact (ANZUS) and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).

The Johnson administration focussed its effort in ANZUS on encouraging Australia and New Zealand's participation in the war in Vietnam. In return Australia attempted to involve Washington in the defense of Malaysia in anticipation of the British withdrawal from East of Suez. As SEATO became a weaker organization, President Johnson boldly tried to create a Mekong River development organization along the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The plan never lived up to Johnson's expectation, but it did help launch the Asian Development Bank.

Covered in depth in this volume are U.S. relations with Cambodia and its leader Prince Sihanouk who sought to guarantee Cambodia's neutrality, but found his country increasingly drawn into the conflict in South Vietnam. The other main compilation documents U.S. relations with Thailand, the United States' staunch ally during the Vietnam conflict. The main themes of U.S.-Thai relations during 1964-1968 were joint military planning in the event of the fall of Laos, military aid and reform, the insurgency in Thailand's northeast, and planning for elections in 1969.

Nine additional volumes in the *Foreign Relations* series cover the Southeast Asia region for the 1964-1968 period: Volumes I-VII on Vietnam; volume XXVI on Indonesia, Malaysia-Singapore, Philippines; and volume XXVIII on Laos. Of these volumes V-VII and XXVI will be published later in 2000 and in 2001. Volumes I-IV were published in 1992-1998 and volume XXVIII in 1998.

**Office of the Historian
Bureau of Public Affairs
United States Department of State**

September 21, 2000

The consequences of the war in Vietnam and Laos for U.S. relations with neighboring Southeast Asian states not directly involved in the conflict, as well as for the regional mutual defense organizations, are the focus of the documentary volume, *Foreign Relations, 1964-1968*, volume XXVII, Mainland Southeast Asia; Regional Affairs, released today by the Department of State. The volume documents U.S. policy toward countries on the periphery of the war in Southeast Asia.

The two regional compilations concentrate on the Australia-New Zealand-United States pact (ANZUS) and the Southeast Treaty Organization (SEATO). U.S. efforts in the ANZUS concentrated on encouraging the deployment of Australian and New Zealand troops to Vietnam, thus demonstrating that the war was not exclusively an American and South Vietnamese one. In return Australians sought to involve the United States in the defense of Malaysia and Singapore in anticipation of Britain's projected withdrawal from East of Suez. During 1964-1968 SEATO proved to be a weakening regional grouping, too diverse and too conflicted to agree on a unified strategy for defending Southeast Asia.

Despite the lack of a strong regional consensus about the war in Southeast Asia, President Johnson boldly proposed economic development of the area when he asked the U.S. Congress to make a \$1 billion investment in the area in order to develop the Mekong River as a source for food, water, and power. Although this enterprise never lived up to Johnson's expectations of becoming a Southeast Asian version of the TVA, it helped create the Asian Development Bank.

A small compilation of documents on Burma highlights U.S. efforts to engage the Burmese leader, Ne Win, diplomatically even as Burma withdrew into isolation and the "Burmese Way to Socialism." Ne Win's State visit to Washington was a means of assuring the Burmese leader that the United States did not view Burmese nonalignment as counter to U.S. interests in Southeast Asia.

Long compilations on Cambodia and Thailand reflect the importance of those nations for U.S. policymakers as the war in Vietnam escalated and dominated U.S. foreign policy in the region. In early 1964 Cambodian Prince Sihanouk, in the face of the growing war, desperately sought an international guarantee of Cambodian neutrality and territorial integrity in order to insulate Cambodia from the fighting and to resolve long-standing border problems with South Vietnam and Thailand. The failure of his efforts, which Sihanouk attributed to U.S. influence, and escalating incursions of U.S. and South Vietnamese forces into Cambodia in hot pursuit of Viet Cong forces, caused Sihanouk to break diplomatic ties with the United States.

The problem of North Vietnamese/Viet Cong use of Cambodian territory was a concern in both Washington and Saigon. The Central Intelligence Agency, the Joint

Chiefs of Staff, and the Department of State debated the best way to encourage Cambodia to prevent the North Vietnamese/Viet Cong from using Cambodian territory as a sanctuary for its operations against the South Vietnamese forces. The Department recommended reconciliation with Sihanouk; the JCS, citing the danger to U.S. troops in Vietnam, sought President Johnson's approval to carry the war to the sanctuaries. By the end of the Johnson administration there was still no military/civilian consensus on either the significance of Cambodia to the Viet Cong/North Vietnamese war effort in South Vietnam or an agreed strategy to resolve the problem.

Thailand also became drawn into the war in South Vietnam and Laos. With the deterioration of non-Communist forces in Laos, Thailand and the United States engaged in joint military consultations and bilateral contingency planning. Thailand's airfields provided vital bases for the U.S. air war in Southeast Asia. An ongoing dispute between the State and Defense Departments about military aid for Thailand ensued. The State Department wanted to reward the Thais for their "integral and vital" role; the Defense Department wanted to make increased aid dependent on reform of the Thai military and more attention to the local insurgent threat in Thailand's northeast.

During the Johnson administration the Thais began to gear up to hold elections under a new constitution. The ruling military/civilian alliance sought U.S. assistance and advice in creating a government political party which won the elections held in 1969.

The Office of the Historian has prepared a summary of the volume. For further information, contact David S. Patterson, General Editor of the *Foreign Relations* series, at (202) 663-1127; fax: (202) 663-1289; e-mail: history@state.gov. The texts of the volume, the summary, and this press release will soon be available on the Office's Web site: www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/index.html. Copies of volume XXVII can be purchased from the Government Printing Office. Please use the form below or order from <http://bookstore.gpo.gov/sb/sb-210.html>.

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TO: Brian A. Reich (CN=Brian A. Reich/OU=OVP/O=EOP@EOP [OVP])
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TO: Anne M. Edwards (CN=Anne M. Edwards/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Kristen A. Triggs (CN=Kristen A. Triggs/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [OMB])
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TO: Victoria L. Valentine (CN=Victoria L. Valentine/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Sean P. O'Shea (CN=Sean P. O'Shea/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Sarah E. Gegenheimer (CN=Sarah E. Gegenheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Matthew T. Schneider (CN=Matthew T. Schneider/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Michele Ballantyne (CN=Michele Ballantyne/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Melissa M. Murray (CN=Melissa M. Murray/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Mark A. Kitchens (CN=Mark A. Kitchens/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Kimberly S. Anderson (CN=Kimberly S. Anderson/OU=OA/O=EOP@EOP [OA])
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TO: Gordon Li (CN=Gordon Li/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: gamble-bennett@dol.gov @ inet (gamble-bennett@dol.gov @ inet [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Erin K. Greer (CN=Erin K. Greer/OU=OVP/O=EOP@EOP [OVP])
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TO: Elliot J. Diringer (CN=Elliot J. Diringer/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Elizabeth E. Baylor (CN=Elizabeth E. Baylor/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: David B. Stockwell (CN=David B. Stockwell/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])
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TO: Daniel R. Wilson (CN=Daniel R. Wilson/OU=OMB/O=EOP@EOP [OMB])
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TO: Beth Nolan (CN=Beth Nolan/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Anne W. Bovaird (CN=Anne W. Bovaird/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
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TO: Alexander N. Gertsen (CN=Alexander N. Gertsen/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
CNN Larry King Live
Aired September 21, 2000 - 9:00 p.m. ET

Why Do Women and Men Vote Differently?

LARRY KING, HOST: Tonight, Al Gore and George W. Bush -- Bush are happily married men, but they're courting other women on the campaign trail. Here to talk about the very important women's vote, Karenna Gore Schiff, one of her dad's closest campaign advisers, and Condoleeza Rice, senior foreign adviser to George W. Bush. Joining us for a roundtable discussion, author/activist Dr. Maya Angelou -- she's in Winston-Salem -- country superstar Loretta Lynn in Nashville, talk-show host Sally Jessy Raphael in New York, actress and entrepreneur Bo Derek in Montreal, and in Washington, Democratic Senator Mary Landrieu of Louisiana, Republican Congresswoman Mary Bono of California.

They're all next on LARRY KING LIVE.

There is a gender gap in this country, and there's a difference in the way women vote and men vote. And that's our topic for tonight.

We're going to begin -- our panel will join us in a little while -- with Karenna Gore Schiff, Al Gore's daughter and one of the chief campaign advisers. She is their eldest daughter. It's her second visit to this program.

Why do you think more women at this point, according to the polls, favor your father?

KARENNA GORE SCHIFF, GORE CAMPAIGN ADVISER: I think that women are really rallying to my father's campaign because what he's offering are really substantive, detailed proposals that will help them raise kids and achieve their dreams, get equal pay for equal work, and have their freedom of choice defended. He's really getting across a message that appeals across a wide spectrum of people, and women are sure a part of that.

KING: And what do you think caused the turnaround, because before the Democratic convention, George Bush was ahead among women?

SCHIFF: I think people are just more focused on the issues now. This campaign has been really long, and it's now the home stretch. I think there are 47 days left and counting, and people are starting to think about, OK, what exactly are these with two guys offering and who's going to really help me when it comes time to add up the budget, figure out if I can afford to send my child to college, figure out about caring for an older parent, and then achieving my own entrepreneurial dreams. There are a lot of women who are really out there and want to do it all and are stretched thin, and they deserve more help from our political leaders.

KING: Why do you think, Karenna -- and it is true -- that there is a woman's vote and a man's vote and they vote differently?

SCHIFF: Well, it's interesting. Women have outnumbered men as voters in every presidential election since 1964, and the gender gap in 1996 was 17 percent. So there is something to the idea that there's a women's vote, but it's also true that things that used to be considered women's issues are now at the center of the national agenda. And I think that's fantastic that we have the candidates...

KING: Like?

SCHIFF: Well, like daycare, affording daycare is a huge issue in this country. And choice, that is at stake in this election and really deserves a lot of attention and thought. Those are serious national issues.

KING: So it is OK to you when both candidates, your father and the governor, play directly to women, going on a program like "Oprah," which probably has 95 percent women viewership?

SCHIFF: Well, absolutely. I'm really excited that women are -- have the power that they do in national elections, and you know, they still, we women, still disproportionately bear the, well, the challenge of raising children and caring for aging parents. And so debates about Social Security and

Medicare and education
and daycare really have a special appeal for women.

And what my dad is offering is a plan that will be sure
to give them the help they
need to have the opportunities for their families.

KING: As a woman -- I'm asking you not to speak for all
women -- but as a
woman, taking this step back, does sometimes, even with
your father and the
governor, does it look like pandering?

SCHIFF: Well, I don't think so. You know, on the
campaign trail, there are so
many people that come up and express their concerns and
needs. An I've met
people, and I know my father has met many women, who
say: Listen, I'm trying
to make ends meet. I've got trouble, really. I'm working
two jobs, and still I'm
not going to be able to send my child to college. And I
think it's great that he is
looking them straight in the eye and telling them
exactly what he offers.

My dad, within a balanced budget and paying down the
debt by the year 2012,
will be sure to make investments in education and health
care, and also give
those targeted tax cuts for raising kids and caring for
seniors that people in the
country really need.

KING: On the other election, in the state you're in now,
in New York, Hillary is
in the lead in the polls, and people are crediting it to
women who were offended
by the way Congressman Lazio acted in the debate.

Were you offended?

SCHIFF: Well, I'm really focused on the issues they're
discussing, to be honest,
and so to me it's more important what laws they want to
see passed and where
they want to see federal funding go or not go, and those
are the things that I'm
going to base my vote on.

KING: So your totally issue-related? Lazio walking
across to the podium didn't
mean anything to you?

SCHIFF: I really am issue-related, and I don't know if -- I feel I have a lot in common with other young women regarding that. I think that people are sort of sick of spin and cynicism and hyperanalysis, and I really want to know exactly what it means to them in their daily lives.

KING: And I know you keep on top of polls and things. What percentage of the women's vote in this country do you think your father will got on November 7th?

SCHIFF: Oh, I am not a political professional, so I won't hazard a guess.

KING: What do you hear?

SCHIFF: What do I hear? To be honest, I'm really hearing much more about how hard it is to add up the bill at the end of the day and how people really want more help from our political leaders. I'm sorry I can't answer it for you, but I'm hoping that women will rally and get out to the polls, and things are looking pretty good.

KING: How's the baby?

SCHIFF: The baby's great. How's your family?

KING: They're fine. Thanks, Karenn. Always good seeing you.

SCHIFF: Thank you so much, Larry.

KING: Karenn Gore Schiff, one of the main campaign advisers to her father.

Our panel will join us. Later, we'll Condoleezza Rice. She's the senior foreign policy adviser to George Bush. She'll give us the other side of the picture, women relating to the Republican governor of Texas.

The panel assembles. It's three against three. We'll be right back.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP, "THE OPRAH WINFREY SHOW")

OPRAH WINFREY, HOST: Oh, you have a dot.com...

AL GORE, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: On the Internet, yes, that's right.

WINFREY: OK.

GORE: I don't have a magazine or a publishing house or...

(LAUGHTER)

WINFREY: Touche, OK.

GORE: I don't even -- I don't have red boots.

(LAUGHTER)

WINFREY: Yes.

(APPLAUSE)

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: Six outstanding diverse women represent our panel. They are in Winston Salem, North Carolina, Dr. Maya Angelou, the author, educator and activist, a supporter of Vice President Gore. In Nashville, the famed Loretta Lynn, entertainer, business woman, a supporter of Governor Bush. In New York, Sally Jessy Raphael, the famed TV talk show host of her own program, a supporter of the vice president. In Montreal, Bo Derek, actress and business woman. She attended the GOP convention and is a Bush supporter. And in Washington, our two elected officials: Senator Mary Landrieu, a Democratic of Louisiana and a supporter of Al Gore, and of course, Congresswoman Mary Bono, a Republican of California, a supporter of George Bush.

Let's start with Loretta Lynn. Why should woman vote for Governor Bush, Loretta?

LORETTA LYNN, MUSICIAN: Why should women vote for Governor Bush? Well, I've known Governor Bush for a long time, and not only is he a great man, but he is a smart man, and he has a great heart. And I

just think that he will be
one of the greatest presidents we've ever had. And I
heard him say something
about, you know, the name of the Bush, he's worried
about that, because of his
daddy being Bush too.

I say his daddy was one of our greatest presidents, but
he didn't get his chance
to prove everything. I think that he will be a great
president, because he's going
to be fighting for us. And he's going to build up the
military, which we need very
bad. And I know because I've been doing the USO tours.
And there are so many
things that he wants to do.

KING: We'll get to a lot of them.

Dr. Angelou, why do you -- what's the other side of the
coin? Why should
women vote for Al Gore? MAYA ANGELOU, POET/AUTHOR: Well,
he's a man
who has skipped the bonds. He really is a man who cares
about men and
women. And I love Loretta Lynn herself.

LYNN: Thank you.

ANGELOU: But I disagree with her position. I know that
Al Gore is a man who
cares about America and that makes me happy.

KING: Bo Derek, what's the other side of the coin from
your viewpoint? Now,
given the understanding that in current polls, Gore is
leading significantly among
women -- and if he stays ahead in the polls, it's
because of the women's vote --
what's the other side?

BO DEREK, ACTRESS: I think the other side for me, I
think, so many of Vice
President Gore's programs lean toward socialism, which
to me, looking at our
country against other countries, I don't think socialism
works. And our
programs are already so -- they're just these big
monsters. If you look at
education, we do keep throwing more tax dollars into it.

It doesn't get any better. I think it has to be
reformed. I think Social Security, for
us to be making one and two percent on our

contributions, our hand earned
money, is just insane in today's economy. The economy is
great. And I think
things like Social Security, but especially education --
and Governor Bush has
proven in Texas that he's made great achievements in all
these, in health reform
and in education.

And I think that he has a proven track record...

KING: Has he...

DEREK: ... and that to apply that nationally would be
fantastic for all of us.

LYNN: Yes. And Bo, how many women voted for him in
Texas? Over half of
them.

DEREK: Well, but, in reelection, so that...

LYNN: Yes.

DEREK: ... he had proven -- he had proven himself. He
got 67 percent of the
women -- of the female vote.

(CROSSTALK)

LYNN: That's right.

KING: Sally, all right, the women in Texas like him.
What's the other side of the
coin, Sally Jessy Raphael?

SALLY JESSY RAPHAEL, TALK SHOW HOST: I don't -- yes, I
don't
understand the women in Texas liking him; 26 percent of
all kids in Texas are
living below the poverty line. That doesn't look very
good for women's issues.
It's third up from the worst state in the Union.

And as to education, that doesn't make a heck of a lot
of sense. Most education
in our country is local education funded by local real
estate taxes. I don't see
how either of their educational programs are going to
affect until -- are going to
affect much until we nationalize the schools, have them
as a federal project.

Why vote for Gore? For me, one thing that is extremely

important -- I come
from a generation that remembers back alleys and coat
hangers. I think it's
freedom of choice. And that's where it stands. The
second thing is day care.
Third thing would be education for our kids. Fourth:
women that -- we only get
three-quarters of every man's salary for doing the same
job. I mean, I can go on
and on.

KING: All right.

Mary Bono, why is the governor, if he certainly has an
appeal to women, not
getting it across?

REP. MARY BONO (R), CALIFORNIA: You know, I think, first
of all, we are
seeing post-convention bounce. There's no question in my
mind that the
governor's message will come across to the women voters.
First of all, I think,
as we have heard the other panelists say, there are
problems here that are
inherent with what Al Gore is talking about.

He's talking about bigger government. We, as women,
don't believe that the
government has all of the answers. It's time to send
control of education home.

As Sally Jessy Raphael just talked about, she talked
about it being a local issue. I
have got to tell you, the Democrats don't look at it
like a local issue.

Al Gore seems to think -- and the Democrats seem to
think -- that what we can
do in Washington to save our problems -- to solve our
problems. We believe
send it home.

KING: But -- do you think, Mary, it's still a bounce off
a convention this far after
a convention?

BONO: Well, yes, I still do to some respects. I have to give a lot of
credit to the
Democrats -- the convention. It was beautiful. It was
well done. Every celebrity
in the world was out there. You know, now it comes down
to the issues that --
it's going to come down to the debates. And for me, it's
our opportunity to talk

about what we believe we ought to do on the local levels.

Let's send government home. And let's, you know, quit having this notion of a bigger federal government will solve all our problems.

KING: Senator Landrieu, are you...

LYNN: Larry, can I interrupt?

KING: Hold it. Hold it. I've got Senator Landrieu in her.

LYNN: OK. Go ahead.

KING: Senator Landrieu, are you surprised that there is such a thing as a women's vote?

SEN. MARY LANDRIEU (D), LOUISIANA: Not at all. Women have their own opinions just like men have. And they are most certainly entitled to them. But we want to say to my friend, the congresswoman, if this is a convention bounce, it's the longest bounce in history. And it's going to bounce us right to victory in the election.

I think, clearly, women are beginning to focus on this race and see Al Gore as a leader that they trust, that has the right experience and depth and knowledge of domestic and international issues, and a man who is speaking to things they care about, which is this government working for them, with them, meeting them halfway in all of the many roles that women have to play today.

And I think it's really, Larry, about as simple as that. And it's reflecting in polls from one part of the country to another in many different age groups. And I'm very happy for it, and think that women are actually leading the way.

KING: All right. We are going to break and then we're going to round robin this.

I'm only going to ask, since we're in different cities, to please not over-talk each other. And we'll try to get everybody to get the same amount of time and get

their message across.

George Bush opened up to Oprah Winfrey earlier this week about the birth of his twin daughters and his wife's determination after she became ill during the pregnancy.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GOV. GEORGE W. BUSH (R-TX), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: She got on the airplane, she said, "These babies are going to be born healthy." She had that West Texas determination. I'm kind of tearing up about it a little bit, because it was such a powerful statement by a mother who said these children will come to be. It was such a resolute, powerful statement of motherhood.

And when the babies came, and she was healthy, and they were healthy, it was a fabulous moment. And I'll never forget it. It was a defining moment.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: Bo Derek, the perception is that the health has a great effect on women and that Gore is ahead on that issue. What's your reaction? Health.

DEREK: Well, I saw Governor Bush present his prescription drug plan last week. And I thought it was very -- it made a lot of sense. There's much more choice involved. I'm -- I really fear getting thrown into another big -- my health program -- getting thrown into another big government bureaucracy. I want choice. I want things on a local level. And I think those are very important issues. And that really separates, I think, Governor Bush from Vice President Al Gore.

KING: Dr. Angelou, doesn't big government -- don't you have a little fear of it?

ANGELOU: Well, I tell you what I have most fear of: the idea of separate and

rule, divide and conquer. One of the things that Al Gore offers us is a chance to come together, not to stand apart and point fingers. I really like the man, because he says you may be Democratic, you may be a Republican, you may be independent, you may have no identification, but let us come together to make this country more than it has been, which is these yet to be United States.

KING: Loretta, do you think...

ANGELOU: That's what I like.

KING: Loretta, do you think the party -- your party and the governor is a little out of sync on the choice aspect?

LYNN: Yes...

KING: Choice versus the right to life?

LYNN: Well, what'd you say now?

KING: Do you think Governor Bush is -- the thinking of the Republicans is in the minority among women in America with regard to choice?

LYNN: Yes. You know what I think? I think that they should look over that. I don't think that ought to be in the middle of politics at all. I think...

KING: But it's there the plank of your party's....

LYNN: I know it, honey, but it shouldn't be. I'm just saying what I think. But I think that if the women in this country would think very hard before they vote, that they would say this: A single woman with children is only making 22,000 and paying the same taxes that a lawyer would pay if he was making \$220,000. Now this is not right.

Gore -- Bush is trying to work this out where they don't have to do can that, and Bush is also fixing it where the couples getting married, and that's -- morals have to start at the White House. And I think...

KING: The question, though -- the question was do you think pro- Choice

shouldn't be in the discussion?

LYNN: No, I do not.

KING: But it is, is it not, Sally?

RAPHAEL: You're darn right it is. What the heck was she talking about when it comes to taxes?

LYNN: Well...

RAPHAEL: It's absolutely impossible that somebody earning 22,000 is the same as a lawyer or anyone...

KING: She means percentages.

LYNN: A single mother, a single mother.

RAPHAEL: Oh in percentages, yes.

LYNN: Yes.

RAPHAEL: OK, I'll give you that.

LYNN: OK, honey.

RAPHAEL: But you know, you don't have a -- but you don't have choice to decide whether choices is up for grabs. It's up for grabs. I mean...

LYNN: I know it's up from grabs but I'm trying to grab it.

RAPHAEL: It's terribly important. Do you want a bunch of men -- Loretta, do you want a bunch of men telling us what to do with our bodies? Is that what you want?

LYNN: I ain't never had nobody tell me.

RAPHAEL: Exactly, exactly.

LYNN: But then I've never come up against that.

RAPHAEL: A vote for Bush is a bunch of men telling us what we can and cannot do with our bodies.

LYNN: Well, I just think...

KING: Let me get a break on that note, come back and get the thoughts of our elected officials. We'll be hearing from Condoleeza Rice in a while. We'll also be taking your phone calls on this very important topic: women and the 2000 election.

This is LARRY KING LIVE. Dick Van Dyke, tomorrow night. Don't go away.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: Congressman Bono, is the choice versus the right to -- the right-to-life an issue in the campaign and does it help Gore with women?

BONO: Well, you know, of course, it's an issue in the campaign. Women do care about this issue. Whatever side you are on, it's an important issue for us.

But it's very unfortunate when people try to turn this into scare tactics and basically to say what was just said by Sally Jessy Raphael.

This is not something that's really going to play as heavily as the Democrats would like to make it be. Governor Bush has said time and time again he wouldn't have a litmus test for who he would appoint to the Supreme Court.

That in itself, I think -- he has said, you know, good people can disagree on this issue, and that is what he has said and I take him for his word at that.

KING: Do you disagree with the plank of your party on the subject, though, Mary?

BONO: Yes, I do. I'm happy to say that like Loretta Lynn I disagree with that

plank. I personally wish that we could adopt a platform that simply says we

ought to do -- and both parties can agree to it -- we ought to do all that we can

that's within our powers to reduce the number of abortions. That's a noble quest,

and it's something we can talk about and we can accomplish.

Both sides can come together on that. That's what we ought to talk about.

LYNN: Well, honey, they should use the pill. Nowadays, they've got the pill.

KING: Senator Landrieu, is this a fair issue?

LANDRIEU: It is most certainly...

KING: Because Mary says the governor has said he wouldn't make it a litmus test. That means he'll appoint Supreme Court judges on -- on their capabilities, not asking them how they would vote on choice. So your fears may be unwashed.

LANDRIEU: Well, I don't think the majority of people in this country believe that based on his record and his statements. But let me just say it's a very important issue. But Larry, as I've said on this program before many times, this issue is very, very important to women. I think it's one of the reasons why Al Gore is moving ahead, but there are many other reasons.

We were talking earlier about health care. You know, women still are the primary health care givers in this nation. They not only care for themselves, children, spouses, aged parents. Men are helping more with that, but women, I don't think anyone would deny, they want a health care system that works. They want -- they don't want the system run by HMOs. They want to make sure their doctors have the say in treatment. They want to make sure that prescription drugs is there.

And they hear Al Gore speaking of these things and making commitments that he can actually pay for, and they like that, and that's one of the reasons they're moving toward him: because they need a health care system that's better and that works for their children and their families.

DEREK: Bo Derek, I asked this earlier of Vice President Gore's daughter. From both sides, do you think that both candidates, and the vice presidential candidates as well, tend to pander to women?

DEREK: I wouldn't say pander, but don't forget women are the majority, and I think that they're being intelligent by reaching out and making themselves understood to women voters.

At the same time, I would encourage women to vote. Women in our history have suffered so much to give us this right, and I think it's really sad, pathetic that we don't care enough to vote. Not enough of us do.

And I've always said that if we got together and voted -- even without organizing -- I think we would vote similarly on so many issues. We could rule the free world.

KING: You have no problems with them, though, with them going on "Oprah" and "Regis" and the like? You don't think that's just a deliberate play to appeal to the women voter, period?

LANDRIEU: Larry, could I say something there? Could -- I don't mean to interrupt you, Bo.

KING: Yes, OK.

ANGELOU: I would like to say something, too.

LANDRIEU: I don't mean to interrupt Bo.

ANGELOU: I'd like...

LANDRIEU: But I would like to say something that, you know, Larry, you're a wonderful interviewer, but I find it hard to respond to this question. If guys went to a boxing match -- I know some women like boxing -- but a lot of guys like it or car pool or something like that, you wouldn't say they were pandering to the male vote.

ANGELOU: Thank you.

LANDRIEU: Just because they go on "Oprah Winfrey," I mean, women -- but Larry, women are real voters. Our vote counts just as much as men and so I don't think it's at all pandering.

KING: I would say, though, if both, if both candidates.

Mary...

LANDRIEU: It's reaching out, which is a smart political thing to do.

KING: Mary, I meant it this way. If both candidates were to appear on Monday

Night Football, that would be playing to the male vote, yes. Obviously, sure.

LANDRIEU: And candidates do that, but nobody says they're pandering to men.

They're just being smart about reaching out because men....

ANGELOU: That's true.

KING: But I would ask that...

LANDRIEU: ... listen to things differently.

KING: If they went on "Monday Night Football," I would ask if they were pandering to the male vote.

LANDRIEU: Well, I don't know if you'd use the word "pandering."

KING: It's a fair question.

ANGELOU: No.

LANDRIEU: I think you'd say, are they reaching out to men. And they're reaching out to women. Thank goodness someone's reaching out to us, and we're reaching back for Al Gore.

ANGELOU: And let me say. Let me say...

KING: Let me get a break. We'll talk -- we'll come back in a minute, May. Hold it. We'll come right back.

This LARRY KING LIVE. We'll talk with Condoleeza Rice and then resume with our panel. Don't go away.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: She has quickly become one of the more -- best-recognized women on the American political scene. She is Condoleeza Rice.

She's the senior foreign policy adviser to George W. Bush, former special assistant to President Bush for national security affairs. She comes to us from Palo Alto, California.

Why should women support your candidate?

CONDOLEEZA RICE, SENIOR BUSH POLICY ADVISER: Women should support Governor Bush because he has plans for America that will strengthen the United States, that will make it possible for the American people to have choices in their lives.

We've been through a period of very big government, and Governor Bush is talking about returning to the American people some of their money through tax cuts so that you can make the decision about whether or not you want to invest that money or enrich your child's life or how you'd like to spend it.

He's talking about improving the Social Security system so that younger workers have a choice to defer a little of their money and manage it better for higher returns. He's talking about educational choice so that parents who are trapped in bad schools for their children can get them out of those schools and into a better environment.

He really believes in people, and I think that women, when they really focus on this issue, they will see that he is someone who trusts them to make choices in their lives. KING: Why, Condoleeza, do you think thus far, according to the polls, he is behind and that the women also voted for Bill Clinton the last two times out as well?

RICE: I think there are a lot of other factors involved in the '96 election, an incumbent, an economy that was in pretty good shape.

Obviously, right now, we're going through a period of time where the American people are just beginning now to focus on this election, and I think, Larry, that when they really focus on this election, when women really focus on this

election, they're going to see that Governor Bush's plan for a set of programs that permit real choice, that permit opportunities that can be chosen by women, that you're going to see them turning toward him.

I know that this is a man that I trust completely. I've watched him as a son and a father and a husband, but I've also worked with him in an environment, a work environment, and I know how much he respects women.

Some of the highest-ranking women -- some of the highest-ranking people in his administration in Texas have been women. And I certainly worked with him in a quite nontraditional field, and I can tell you he is comfortable with women in the workplace. He respects them. He listens to their opinions, not because they're women, but because he thinks they're smart. And I think that that is going to be very important to American women as well.

KING: He was ahead and then the -- after the Democratic convention was behind. Do you think that's because of the way Gore laid out the issues on the night he spoke? Do you think that turned it?

RICE: I believe with Representative Bono that we are still looking at something of a post-convention period here, but I also believe that we're about to go into a more intensive period where the candidates will have a chance to lay out their programs.

The debates are going to be very important, and Governor Bush will make his case, and I really do believe you're going to start to see American women respond to that case.

KING: I did not mean to give the panel the impression that I thought it was pandering. I just was asking the question whether it was pandering.

Do you think that whether the male candidates go to a football game or go to Oprah Winfrey's show that is pandering for one gender or the other?

RICE: The important thing is to go where the voters are, and I see nothing wrong with going on "The Oprah Winfrey Show." I enjoy the show. I watch it from time to time. I have a lot of male friends who watch it, too, and I hope he goes to "Monday Night Football" and then talks to the audience there. Anyway that you can reach the American voter, whether male or female, it's important to try to do it. KING: Now, what's the key issue, as you see it? And obviously, there is a women's vote. Do you agree with that?

RICE: Apparently, there is something of a gender vote, but I would just emphasize that women come in a lot of different shape, sizes and circumstances. There are women entrepreneurs who care a lot about regulation and business out here in the Silicon Valley, care about tort reform. There are women who are struggling as single parents and care a lot about getting some of their tax dollars back so that they can do better for their families. They're women across the spectrum.

And so there may be something of a gender vote, but let's remember that women come in a lot of different circumstances.

KING: Do you think the choice question hurts your candidate with regard to women?

RICE: I believe that the choice issue is not playing as heavily as the Democrats would like, because Governor Bush has said that while he is personally pro-life and would like to try to persuade the American people that that's the appropriate way to think about life, that he is himself -- he recognizes in a democracy it is a matter of persuasion, that the country is not ready to change this law. And his judicial appointments, as was said in a piece in "The New York Times" recently, have been exactly as he said his Supreme Court appointments would be.

They have not been "litmus test" appointments. It has been difficult to tell where these Texas judges would come down on issues. They have

not been ideological
in the way that they have voted.

I believe he's handled this issue -- I myself am
personally pro-choice and believe
that we can come together around important issues about
which we agree: partial
birth abortion and the need for adoption -- that
abortion should be fewer is
something that we all share.

KING: And do you think, Condoleezza, women will turn out
in big numbers on
November 7th?

RICE: I certainly hope that women will turn out in big
numbers on November
7th. I hope all the American people will turn out in big
numbers.

There's a lot at stake in this election. It's the first
post-Cold War election, really, in
which we have a chance to think about America's role in
the world. It's the first
time that we can think about really reforming and
revising some of the important
programs, like Social Security and Medicare. It's time
to really fix public
education so that Americans all have a future.

There's a lot at stake. We have to turn out.

KING: Thanks, Condoleezza. Always good seeing you. We'll
be seeing a lot of
you.

RICE: Good to see you, too, Larry. Take care.

KING: Condoleezza Rice from Palo Alto, California. Our
panel reassembles. We'll
include your phone calls right after this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

LAURA BUSH, WIFE OF GOVERNOR GEORGE W. BUSH: In Texas,
where
people know him the best, he carried the women's vote,
even when he ran
against Governor Richards, and then much more of the
women's vote, of
course, last time in his re-election. So I think -- I
suspect that in the end he'll get
a lot of the women's vote.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: Sally Jessy Raphael, apparently that kiss on the night of the speech mattered. Did it, and why?

RAPHAEL: Oh, it definitely did. It did because in a way it was him being relaxed and genuine and romantic and faithful to his wife, and those were the things that the American women were worried about. They didn't, you know -- he did away with the taint of Clinton.

Married a long time. First thought: Go kiss your wife. So, that's very good. That's very good.

Let me tell you why I think Bush is not going win.

KING: Hold on. I'll come back there. I'll come back.

RAPHAEL: OK.

KING: Loretta Lynn, was that kiss -- did that kiss impress you?

LYNN: No, it didn't impress me one bit.

KING: Why not?

LYNN: I would like to say that the morals in this country are so bad right now, if George Bush don't get in -- and I'm telling you -- I just think it says the morals (UNINTELLIGIBLE) are going to go further down.

KING: Yes, but you're not -- you're not questioning Vice President Gore's morals with regard to his wife?

LYNN: Well, he didn't get out there and act like Gore and kiss his wife like that. I mean, there's a place to kiss, and there's a place not to.

KING: All right. You think it was out of place?

LYNN: I thought it was out of place.

KING: What did you think, Dr. Angelou? ANGELOU: I thought it was romantic.

LYNN: If it was behind the door.

ANGELOU: Well, now, I think that we've gone so far from romance, and with people telling people don't be romantic, that young men and women today are saying to each other: "Hey, my name is Joe, your name is Flo. You've got 15 minutes?"

I think it's time to reintroduce romance not just into our bedrooms and our parlors, but even into moments like this when we have panels. We ought to reintroduce romance.

I think the Gores are right on time.

KING: Bo Derek, what do you think?

LYNN: But the Bible says -- the Bible says get behind your bedroom door.

KING: The Bible says that?

ANGELOU: Well, it didn't say that about kissing.

LYNN: Yes, the Bible says whatever you do in your bedroom ain't none of nobody's business.

ANGELOU: It didn't say that about kissing, Ms. Lynn.

LYNN: Well, that's got a lot to do with it.

KING: We're really hearing here.

(CROSSTALK)

KING: Bo Derek, did it impress you?

DEREK: You know, it impressed me in one way. It impressed me that he was introducing his wife, Tipper, as his wife, his lover, his soul mate, and not a political partner. And you can understand what I'm getting at. But I think he did separate his relationship with his wife from that of Bill and Hillary Clinton. And I appreciated it.

KING: Which was important for him, do you think?

DEREK: I appreciated it. I liked it.

KING: Did you like it, Mary Bono?

BONO: Thank you for asking me. I've been really anxious to talk about kissing.

LYNN: Come on, Mary.

BONO: No, I'm thrilled.

LYNN: Stay on my side.

BONO: I'm not. I've got my only version here.

First of all, I don't for a moment doubt the love between Al and Tipper Gore.

And I've seen it. And I don't doubt that. But I also believe that that kiss was scripted. You know, there is no question that he knew what -- how it would play after he did it. There -- he knew that people would see this as, you know, a good thing.

I knew when Sonny used to give speeches and he would get out there and he would talk about his love for me, and you know, these things. And women would come up to me and they would say, "Oh, you're so lucky, honey, to have a wonderful man." And if Sonny would forget to mention my name during a speech, they would come up to me afterwards. And they'd say, "Oh, you poor thing."

So I think politicians know that it -- that it plays well. I'm sorry, we are ready to see a little kiss like that in public. And I think that he knew that women would see it as romantic and loving. And he knew exactly what it would do.

(CROSSTALK)

KING: Senator Landrieu, what did you think?

LANDRIEU: I can't believe we are spending so much time talking about this, Larry, but, but

(CROSSTALK)

LANDRIEU: I would say that I thought it was spontaneous.
And I could -- you
could almost tell because Tipper seemed quite surprised
herself. But, you know,
it's been a series of things, not just the kiss. It was
the video. It's the speech. It's
the message. It's the real budget that works. It's the
plan for health care and
education. I just don't think that women would be so
riveted by just one thing.

It's a series of things, just like men look at a series
of things. And that was kind
of an interesting opening. But, you know, what's come
after that is some very
tough, interesting issues that women are following and
care about, because they
want what's better for their families. And they want
their country to be strong.

(CROSSTALK)

KING: Let me get a call in.

Fayetteville, Arkansas, hello.

CALLER: Hi, Larry.

KING: Hi.

CALLER: On the issue of education...

KING: Yes.

CALLER: ... don't you think that actions speak more
loudly than words? If Al
Gore believes in public education so much, why did his
children and Bill Clinton's
children all get educated in private schools, whereas
George W. Bush's were
educated there in the public school system?

KING: Sally?

RAPHAEL: I have no idea why they chose to do that. I
just think the idea of the
both of them talking about education is ridiculous. For
example, I think Loretta
said we have to return this to a local issue. Good, then
we will have rich kids'
schools in West Port and poor kids' schools in Harlem.

I mean, it has to be nationalized. We can't base the
income for schools on real

estate taxes, as a sign of wealth anymore.

KING: Well, are you annoyed, though

(CROSSTALK)

KING: Don't interrupt. Sally...

LYNN: My kids went to public schools. I had a bunch of them.

KING: The question was, Sally, was, are you offended that he is pro-public school, but his children went to private school? The Bush children went to public school.

RAPHAEL: I'm not offended by that at all.

KING: No?

RAPHAEL: I think it's every parent's right to get the best education they can for their children. And I want the best education for all of our children in America.

(CROSSTALK)

KING: One at a time. Dr. Angelou, go.

ANGELOU: I must state that not all the children in Harlem -- I mean, when you say Harlem and all the poor children come from Harlem, that is not so. And I will not have it said. I must

(CROSSTALK)

RAPHAEL: You are correct, Maya, I apologize.

ANGELOU: Thank you.

KING: All right. We will take a break and come back with more. And we'll even find out reasons why they think their candidate will win. So Sally can find out why she thinks Bush will lose, and Bo can tell us why she thinks he will win, and more on women's issues, as we continue after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: There are nine women in the United States Senate, 65 in the House of

Representatives. More than 90 women hold statewide elective offices. About 23 percent of statewide -- of state legislatures in America, 23 percent are women. They are 52 percent, I believe, of the population.

Seal Beach, California, hello.

CALLER: Hi Larry. Thanks for taking my call.

My question is for Representative Bono. I'm really concerned about the environment. And it seems to be a non-issue for the Republicans. I didn't hear the environment mentioned once during the whole Republican Convention.

KING: And women are as interested in that as men -- Mary.

BONO: There's no question. You know, and first of all, I think the governor did come out in a strong way and talk about the environment not too long ago. And he talked about, again, taking funding and putting it towards our national parks, which have been neglected for too long, that the current administration has been spending money on buying more land.

Instead, we ought to take that money and put it towards fixing up the national treasures that we already have. So Governor Bush did talk about that. He talked about finding ways to work in concert with people to help the environment. And, you know, I -- just to say, as far as a Republican and the environment goes, I personally, in my district, have two big districts -- two issues I've been working on.

One has been saving the Salton Sea. And another one has been the establishment of the Santa Rosa, San Jacinto National Monument. So there are issues we care about. But the way I approached it, the way I believe Governor Bush would as well, is to sit down and realize that people can come together on these issues, have the Sierra Club sit down with the developers, find common ground, and do what it is in the best interests of all people.

And it can be done that way if you approach it from that point of view.

Governor Bush has made those statements. And I believe he will be very, very strong on the environment.

KING: Senator Landrieu, the perception is that the soft issues -- health, education -- health and education -- appeal to women, and perception that the harder issues, defense, world policy, appeal to men -- appeal to men. Do you accept that?

LANDRIEU: Well, I think that the polls reflect that if you -- that men are maybe somewhat more knowledgeable and interested. But, frankly, that's changing, because, you know, women are concerned about budgets. They understand the relationship between domestic and international policy. Women want a strong, I think, and secure military.

There are now two of us: one Republican and one Democratic woman on the Senate side. And, you know, I find, as I visit with more women, Larry, about this issue, that they are very concerned about the readiness of our troops. You know, you may recruit a soldier, but we retain a family. So the issues of good housing and health care for the military, they want our country to be strong, fight when we have to.

And women are getting much more comfortable talking about those issues. And it's important to them.

KING: Bo Derek, do you feel out of place in Hollywood as a Republican, since most of the community is Democratic?

DEREK: No, it's never been an issue for me. It really hasn't. There are plenty of Republicans. But there are lots of Democrats. But I've never found it to be a problem.

KING: Loretta Lynn, do you have full confidence that Bush can get the women vote?

LYNN: I sure do. And I think one of the things that is a great -- one of the greatest things I think is he's going to put money back into the pockets of the people that are working, working people. He's giving money back to them that they deserve.

And I think when it comes to the military, the military's way down. And when Clinton got in, he closed how many bases? And I have been doing USO tours, and believe me, these boys are in need. A lot of them are on food stamps.

KING: That was a bipartisan commission that closed bases, though.

LYNN: Was it?

KING: Yes.

LYNN: That was after Clinton got in.

KING: Yes, but it was -- OK.

LYNN: OK. I don't know about that, but I think the boys deserve more than what they're doing -- getting.

KING: Sally, you were going to tell us -- we want to get everybody in the panel to get a final word in, but I've got to take one more break. But you were going to tell us why you think Bush is going to lose, Sally.

RAPHAEL: Yes. I think he's going to lose. You asked me at the very beginning one of the most important issues of the campaign. I said the abortion issue.

Here you have a whole group of Republican women, even one of his own advisers, all of them saying, I'm pro-choice and yet I'm for Bush. The guy's going lose on that alone.

KING: We'll take a break and come back with our final thoughts from everybody. We'll try to get everybody in, too, on this edition of LARRY KING LIVE. Don't go away.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: We're approaching an hour here, and we want to give everyone a final statement. Obviously, this is going to be a very, very, very important issue, the women's vote.

So we'll start with Dr. Angelou. Why should women -- and if we could each take about 25 seconds -- vote for Al Gore?

ANGELOU: I think that women are often accused of being silly and bimbos and forgetful, but most of us know that this is the best economy we have seen in 40 or 50 years. Women are very smart. We are the ones who deal with the pennies and the nickels and the dollars, and we know that Al Gore will continue something so brilliant -- he will continue us having some money in our pockets when we go to the marketplace.

KING: Loretta Lynn, why should they vote for George Bush?

LYNN: I think they should vote for George Bush because he's the smartest man, he's the best man to be the president of the United States. And I just think that -- I love the lady that just quit talking, but I still say that George Bush is -- would be the best president. Let's put it that way.

KING: You have no doubt. You know him well, don't you?

LYNN: No doubt in my mind. I've known him for 12 years.

KING: You know his father very well, too, do you not?

LYNN: Pardon?

KING: Don't you know the father very well?

LYNN: Oh, we fax each other every day.

(LAUGHTER)

KING: All right. Sally Jessy Raphael, why should they vote for Al Gore?

RAPHAEL: Because Gore is for women. He stands on the right side of the line as far as all the major things that concern women. I think

the guy is going to win. I
also think he's infinitely more experienced than Bush.

He's going to win.

KING: No doubt in your mind?

RAPHAEL: No doubt, no doubt in my mind.

KING: Bo Derek, why should they vote for Governor Bush?

DEREK: First, I think it's a new world order, a new
economy, everything's
changed. We must reform our government. It's old-
fashioned. It's stodgy, and
the programs aren't functioning.

As far as the abortion issue, I do think it's just a
matter of time before it is off
the Republican platform, before it's a non- issue, which
is I think where it should
be.

We're never going back. I don't care what the Supreme
Court says, I don't care
what the president says, I don't care what anyone says.
We are never going back
to those days when there was no choice.

KING: Senator Landrieu, why should they vote for Al
Gore?

LANDRIEU: Larry, I do believe that Vice President Gore
is going to win, and
he's been greatly helped and a wonderful partner in Joe
Lieberman, and they're
going to make a great leadership team for our nation,
because this country is in a
quite historic position. We have relative peace, great
prosperity. The economic
opportunities are just there.

And people are looking for a president that will help
expand opportunities for
more people, that will continue this growth, realizing
that we're not quite there
yet, progress needs to be made. And I think they see
that in this leader that can
actually deliver on that promise of opportunity, and I
think that's why he's going
to win.

KING: Congressman Mary Bono, why should they vote for
Governor George W.

Bush of Texas?

BONO: A funny thing, the senator just said the same thing I was going to say,
but about Governor Bush. I see it the same way. What she sees in Gore I see in
George W. Bush.

For me the biggest thing of all would have to be that it's time once again to
believe in people and that people can solve problems if the government would get
out of the way: get out of the way of the small business, let a small business man
or woman, you know, have an opportunity to make a living, you know, return
control back to parents and teachers in our schools, you know, start thinking
outside of the box with things like saving Social Security.

You know, but mostly look at the past 7 1/2 years. It has been partisan bickering
and fighting in Washington, D.C. We can get beyond that.

As the senator said, we're at the threshold now of new wonderful opportunities.
Let's move forward here and end the divisiveness that's been existing in
Washington for far too long.

KING: One other quick thing for our two elected officials: What are we going to
do about this oil thing, do you think, Senator Landrieu? Do you think the
president's going to tap into the reserves?

LANDRIEU: Well, Larry, I'm doubtful that that actually would help. I know
there was a statement made today. But I've been promoting, and many
Democrats and Republicans, a more aggressive domestic drilling program that
can be done in a more environmentally sensitive way. I think that would help.
There are lots of things.

But we can't rely on these sort of short term. It's got to be a much
comprehensive program, and that's one of the things we're going to work on in
the next Congress.

KING: And Mary, George Bush said he's going to get tough

with OPEC. Do you
think that can happen?

BONO: I think it has to happen, there's no question. We
have been at the fate
here of OPEC and their games and what has been going on.
And I think George

W. Bush would be, again, tougher with OPEC. But as the
senator said, it's time
once again to get ahead of the game here on this
platform. We've been asleep at
the wheel and we do need to address it.

KING: Thanks to all of your very much. See you tomorrow
night with Dick Van
Dyke. Willow Bay is here. Don't go away. Good night.

END

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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CREATION DATE/TIME:23-SEP-2000 00:40:59.00

SUBJECT: [radyouth] Fw: S26 Anarchist statement

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"Equality of political rights, or a democratic State, constitute in themselves the most glaring contradiction in terms. The State, or political right, denotes force, authority, predominance; it presupposes inequality in fact. Where all rule, there are no more ruled, and there is no State" - Mikhail Bakunin

----- Original Message -----

From: "Revolt lists.tao.ca id LAA04562" <revolt@newmail.net>

To: <a-infos-en@tao.ca>

Sent: Thursday, September 21, 2000 12:44 PM

Subject: (en) International anarchist statement for distribution in Prague (fr, de, Cs)

>
> _____
> A - I N F O S N E W S S E R V I C E
> <http://www.ainfos.ca/>
> _____

- >
- > Neither state capitalism nor private capitalism !
- > Ni capitalisme d'?tat, ni capitalisme priv?
- > Weder Staatskapitalismus noch Privatkapitalismus!
- > Ani st tn; ani soukrom_ kapitalismus!

- >
- > This statement is from the anarchist / libertarian
- > communist groups listed below who are taking part
- > in the S26 demonstration in Prague or who are
- > organising solidarity actions in their own
- > countries. These groups include

- >
- > Solidarita - ORA [Czech Republic]
- > Alternative Libertaire [France]
- > Workers Solidarity Movement [Ireland]
- > Federation of Anarchist Communists [Italy]
- > Bikisha Media Collective & Zabalaza Books
- > [South Africa]
- > Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists /
- > Federation des Anarcho-Communistes du Nord-Est
- > (NEFAC) [United States, Canada]

- >
- > This statement is on the web at
- > <http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/inter/s26.html>

> -----

- >
- > Neither state capitalism nor private capitalism !
- > For Freedom, Self-Management and Socialism!

- >
- > Stalinism and state capitalism - so called
- > communism - enslaved the countries of Eastern
- > Europe for decades. Their Moscow controlled
- > dictatorships plundered these countries for the
- > benefit of an aristocratic class which controlled
- > the state and which was every bit as contemptible
- > as the aristocracies of the former monarchies.

- >
- > Nowadays another dominating class of capitalists is
- > on top. However the system of domination and
- > exploitation remains the same. The majority of
- > people are excluded from the 'progress' announced
- > by private capitalism and the western leaders.

- >
- > The current International Monetary Fund and World
- > Bank meeting is a symbol of the control of the
- > international financiers and bosses of global
- > companies over the countries of the former soviet
- > block. This globalisation is based on the
- > globalisation of the exploitation of workers.
- > Capitalism is the system that ensures maximum
- > benefits for a tiny number of the worlds people by
- > imposing misery, joblessness, insecurity and a
- > degraded life on all the rest of us.

>
> We revolutionary anarchists and anarchist
> communists have no interest in who forms this
> dominating class. We fight against the very
> existence of this over privileged class that exists
> to the cost of the world's population. More and
> more people believe that capitalism is not
> inevitable - in [London*], Seattle, Washington,
> Davos, Millau and now Prague more and more people
> reject the rule of the market.
>
> We want a society based on equality, a class less
> society in which everyone contributes to the
> overall wealth according to their abilities and
> from which everyone receives according to their
> needs. We want a free society that is really
> democratic in all areas of life. This includes
> democracy in the workplaces, where decisions must
> be made by all wage earners. We want a society in
> which we all stand together, without borders.
>
> Let us all stand together to radically change this
> current society.
>
>
>
>
> -----
> News of interest to anarchist from Revolt
> <http://flag.blackened.net/revolt>
>
> *****
> ***** The A-Infos News Service *****
> News about and of interest to anarchists
> *****
> COMMANDS: lists@tao.ca
> REPLIES: a-infos-d@lists.tao.ca
> HELP: a-infos-org@lists.tao.ca
> WWW: <http://www.ainfos.ca/>
> INFO: <http://www.ainfos.ca/org>
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TEXT:
CNN Crossfire
Aired September 25, 2000 - 7:30 p.m. ET

Is the Clinton Administration Playing Politics With the
Strategic Petroleum Reserve?

ROBERT NOVAK, CO-HOST: Tonight, spies and lies on the campaign trail! Has one campaign been caught spying?

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

MARK FABIANI, GORE DEPUTY CAMPAIGN MANAGER: There's no evidence whatsoever that there's -- we know of any kind of a mole within the Bush campaign.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

AL GORE, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: ... first established...

(END VIDEO CLIP)

NOVAK: And has Al Gore been caught twisting the truth?

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

DICK CHENEY (R), VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Al Gore said he was there at the beginning of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. He wasn't. He wasn't even in Congress yet.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

ANNOUNCER: Live from Washington, CROSSFIRE. On the left, Bill Press; on the right, Robert Novak. In the crossfire, Senator Dick Durbin of Illinois, a Gore supporter, and Congressman Joe Scarborough from Florida, a Bush supporter.

DAVID NYHAN, GUEST HOST: Good evening. Welcome to CROSSFIRE. I'm David Nyhan of "The Boston Globe," sitting in for Bill Press.

Six weeks until show time and the presidential campaign is a tropical storm over Florida. The Republicans are so worried about the sunshine state's 25 electoral votes that in recent days Florida had not one, but two governors named Bush, plus their papa, campaigning there.

Texas Governor George W. bounced up a notch in the

CNN/"USA

Today"/Gallup tracking poll. The latest poll shows Bush with 47 percent, Gore with 44 percent.

Was that due to oil or snake oil, or was it the "Oprah" effect and Bush chasing Gore for female voters?

While Bush was out west today teaching voters about his education plan, Gore was in Florida unveiling his plan to improve Medicare for the 21 percent of Floridians over 65. Bush unveiled his Medicare plan last week, calling it -- quote -- a "medical moon shot" to cure so far incurable diseases. Is that a medical moon shot or political moonshine?

We turn from medicine to moles. Is there a spy inside the Bush headquarters in Austin? Can the FBI find out who sent the Gore campaign some of Bush's debate prep tapes?

Let's ask inspector Bob Novak.

NOVAK: Thank you. Good to have you with us, David.

Senator Durbin, let's get this secret agent stuff out of the way immediately. The Gore campaign has suspended some young fellow who says he was a mole in the Bush campaign. Now, he says he lied.

You're an ultimate insider. You know everything that's going on in the Gore campaign.

SEN. DICK DURBIN (D), ILLINOIS: This is getting good.

NOVAK: Do they have a spy in the Bush operation.

DURBIN: Well, let me tell you, Tom Downey is my friend, and he's the one, the former congressman, who received this information. And it strikes me that Tom, as close as he is to Al Gore and the campaign, would not have turned to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and turned over all the material if this were some sort of a plan to find information within the Bush campaign and bring it out.

No, I can't tell you where it came from. I don't think anyone knows.

NOVAK: You're sure there's not a mole? You're sure?

DURBIN: Well, I can't say for certain one way or the other.

NOVAK: All right.

DURBIN: But I'll tell you the young man who made the statement has now said he got a little caught up in the exuberance of the campaign.

NOVAK: Yes. You know, the big talk around Washington and around the country is this remarkable position by the president and vice president in releasing oil, a little bit of oil from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.

You know, back in February, the vice president was singing a different tune. Shall we listen to that tune?

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GORE: OPEC has such big reserves, all they would have to do is to cut back a little bit on the supply and they'd wipe out any impact from releasing oil from that reserve. But that will also be studied. It's not under active consideration right now.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

NOVAK: That's a pretty good argument against releasing from the oil reserve. What happened? Did he pass Damascus or something?

(LAUGHTER)

What happened?

DURBIN: I think what happened was the experience in the spring, at least in the Midwest, where we saw gasoline prices skyrocket a dollar a gallon and more in a short period of time, and it was clear that there was some gouging going on by some oil companies, at the minimum, maybe more. The Federal Trade

Commission's investigating it.

And I think the feeling is now we don't want to see that happen not only to gasoline prices again but to heating oil in this winter season. And so it's been suggested by the vice president, and what the president has done is to put some release of these oil reserves out there.

I think it's going to quell some speculation. From a political viewpoint, the Democrats are being proactive, dealing with an issue that a lot of families will be concerned about.

(CROSSTALK)

NOVAK: But it is politics. Go ahead, Joe.

REP. JOE SCARBOROUGH (R), FLORIDA: Well, you know, the amazing thing is that we hear Al Gore making a very studied observation six months ago when it wasn't his political best interests, but no dynamics changed. OPEC still has the oil. Secondly, now we're hearing that it's oil gouging consumers when you have the secretary of energy come to Capitol Hill last week saying it wasn't "Big Oil's" fault. It was market forces.

DURBIN: No, no.

SCARBOROUGH: There is a direct quote from the energy secretary to the...

DURBIN: Joe, you can quote Bill Richardson, but the Federal Trade Commission is investigating the oil companies.

SCARBOROUGH: He's the secretary of energy. Who are we supposed to quote when he says that it is not the oil companies but it's the market? DURBIN: Mr. Bush and Mr. Cheney are happy to see the oil companies wrack up these profits at the expense of consumers, Al Gore's not. I think that's the right position.

SCARBOROUGH: You need to talk to the secretary of energy, because he'll tell you you're wrong.

DURBIN: Well, the secretary of energy is not my source.

NYHAN: Bill Richardson is not here. He's not here, but you are.

SCARBOROUGH: Thank goodness for that.

NYHAN: Now, do you honestly think that the Republicans with a ticket of two guys from the oil industry can make hay with this oil price argument? You've already seen the price of crude oil today get knocked down still further. What the president did seems to have worked, at least in the short time.

SCARBOROUGH: Well, it obviously is too early to tell whether it's going to work or not, but I'll tell you what: We'll use Al Gore's clips to show that we can make the argument, because that's the same argument that they're making on the editorial pages of liberal newspapers like "The New York Times," moderate papers like "The Washington Post." We'll call them moderate today. And editorials across the country are saying this was nothing but political-year electioneering, and it's very obvious and blatant.

NYHAN: Congressman, you're a congressman from Florida.

SCARBOROUGH: Right.

NYHAN: You're a musician. You're a well-known..

SCARBOROUGH: Well-known musician. There you go.

NYHAN: ... rock'n'roll guy. And you've had a lot of politicians coming through your state. You had George Bush down and George W. down there for two days last week. He's sort of been pinned down in your backyard. He spent \$4 million since the Democratic convention, and you yourself were quoted in that newspaper you just mentioned, "The New York Times"...

SCARBOROUGH: Right.

NYHAN: ... as saying it would be, I think your phrase was "a devastating thing" if Bush were to lose Florida, because you've got a Senate fight and two House

races. Not one of your -- not your own, but two others.

SCARBOROUGH: Right, right. You've got two competitive House races.

NYHAN: What happened to Bush down there that he has to go home and take care of his base in Florida? SCARBOROUGH: Well, first of all, if he lost, it would be a disaster in the state of Florida. But secondly I told Rick Berke, who's a great writer...

NOVAK: He's a political writer for "The Times."

SCARBOROUGH: ... for "The New York Times" over and over again...

NYHAN: Close personal friend of Adam Clymer's, I understand.

SCARBOROUGH: Yes, and you know, he's...

DURBIN: Big time.

(LAUGHTER)

SCARBOROUGH: And Berke's a major league great reporter.

(CROSSTALK)

Exactly. But I told him over and over again there's no way Bush is going to lose the state of Florida. It's just not going to happen.

And you know what: I'm excited to see Al Gore and Joe Lieberman wasting time, wasting resources. They will not win Florida. We dominate -- we dominate the Florida house. We dominate the Florida Senate. We have the governor. We are so...

NYHAN: So why isn't your presidential candidate doing a little better? He's on his heels down there.

SCARBOROUGH: You watch. I guess some people liked the kiss in L.A. But you look at the polls that have...

NYHAN: Novak did. I...

SCARBOROUGH: I know he did. But that we've had an

incredible rebound.

I'll guarantee you next week, if a new Florida poll comes out, Bush will be up at least five, 10 points.

NOVAK: Senator, I want to get back to -- I just love this oil story, because it's just what Washington's all about.

SCARBOROUGH: It's great.

NOVAK: I asked you why he changed his mind, and you give me a lot of gobbledygook.

DURBIN: No. Bob, that's a good, cogent answer.

SCARBOROUGH: That was good gobbledygook.

NOVAK: But I -- but I want to give you the real answer, and it was given by a guy who knows a lot about oil, former -- not the former, the present governor of Texas. Listen to what he said for the reason for this change of heart by Bush -- by Gore.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GOV. GEORGE W. BUSH (R-TX), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Our opponent is talking about the SPR, the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. But he's using it as if it's the "strategic political reserve" to bail him out with 45 days to go before the election.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

NOVAK: That's what it's all about, isn't it, Dick, that...

DURBIN: No, it's not.

NOVAK: ... that suddenly, suddenly, this Gore lead has disappeared, and he -- and they have to do something.

It's all politics, isn't it?

DURBIN: Let me just tell you this, Bob. Bottom line is a lot of families care about the cost of heating oil, they care about the cost of gasoline, and they wonder if a

candidate is going to respond with something to help them. And you're not going to expect much of a response coming from George W. Bush and Dick Cheney.

They're in tight with the oil industry. That's the candidate of the oil industry for president, George Bush.

And so you can expect that they're going to make apologies when they're racking up profits at the expense of consumers. Our position has been to stand for the consumers.

(CROSSTALK)

NOVAK: Just one more thing on this oil thing. You know, I just love the -- Al

Gore because he says interesting things, and he said something that just boggled my mind. Could you listen to it?

DURBIN: Sure.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

Gore: I've been part of the discussions on the strategic reserve since the days when it was first established.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(LAUGHTER)

NOVAK: It was first established in 1975. That was before Al Gore was in

Congress. He was just -- he was working for "The National Tennessean."

Does he have a little bit of trouble adjusting to reality and is that something that's a problem for a president?

DURBIN: Bob, are we going to start pulling out quotes from president candidates?

NOVAK: Yes, you bet.

DURBIN: Malapropisms by George W. Bush?

NOVAK: Sure. We've been doing it.

DURBIN: Do we want to go into that kind of a battle?

NOVAK: Explain that to me.

DURBIN: Are you sure you want...

NYHAN: Senator, I can explain this to Bob.

NOVAK: Just a minute.

NYHAN: I can explain this to Bob, because when Bob started covering politics, people were burning with wood. But...

(LAUGHTER)

(CROSSTALK)

NOVAK: I want to -- I want to get an answer.

NYHAN: People from cold-weather states -- excuse me, Bob. People from cold-weather states wanted the price of oil brought down, and they wanted it brought down pronto.

(CROSSTALK)

Now maybe it was politically timed. Maybe they don't worry about it in Florida. But where he comes from and where I come from, it's big.

(CROSSTALK)

SCARBOROUGH: Gore doesn't have credibility, because he will lie there about this. He'll say he was there when he

(CROSSTALK)

SCARBOROUGH: He will do same thing -- well, he did.

(CROSSTALK)

SCARBOROUGH: He did it about "Love Story." He invented the Internet.

NOVAK: Give him a chance to answer.

(CROSSTALK)

SCARBOROUGH: The guy can't tell the truth.

DURBIN: The bottom line, he wasn't in Congress when that was created. I

know that. And you know that as well.

SCARBOROUGH: He said he was.

DURBIN: But he supported it over the years. And so he makes a little mistake.

(CROSSTALK)

DURBIN: You want to get into this battle of things that have been said by presidential candidates?

NOVAK: Why not?

(CROSSTALK)

DURBIN: I don't think you want to go there, Bob. I don't believe you want to go there.

NOVAK: OK, we are going to take a break. But tonight in our online vote -- this is -- this is terrific. Do you think presidential campaigns spy on each other?

Cast your vote at cnn.c/crossfire and -- I'm sorry: cnn.com/crossfire. And we will tell you the results later in the show.

When we come back, we will continue more about the interesting utterances of Al Gore, including a lullaby that his father sang to him in Tennessee.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

NOVAK: Welcome back to CROSSFIRE.

It is beginning to look a lot like NASCAR, with first Al Gore and then George W.

Bush jumping in front and bumping each other as they jostle for position. Will the last one to make a big racing mistake lose the presidency? We are talking to two ardent partisans, Democratic Senator Dick Durbin of Illinois and Republican Congressman Joe Scarborough of Florida.

David Nyhan, columnist and associate editor of the "Boston Globe" is sitting in for Bill Press -- David.

NYHAN: Thank you, Bob.

Joe, my old pal, Novak, the Inspector Clouseau of the conservative movement...

SCARBOROUGH: Right.

NYHAN: ... is making a big deal out of the so-called mole story...

SCARBOROUGH: Right.

NYHAN: ... where a low-level Gore operative admitted to embroidering to a reporter.

SCARBOROUGH: Right.

NYHAN: What if I told you, Joe -- being a seasoned politician, as you are -- that in 1986, Karl Rove, who was now Bush's campaign manager, was then running a campaign for the Republican candidate for governor in Texas? And a couple of hours before the only debate in the race, guess what? He discovers a supposed microphone, a bug, hidden in his office wall. And Rove blames the Democratic governor at the time for spying on his campaign.

And furthermore, it was so -- upset the Democratic governor's then-consultant that he claimed Rove did it deliberately. And that turns around that same consultant, Mark McKinnon, is now working for Bush. He is in Rove's payroll down there in Austin. Doesn't this echo a little bit -- resonate -- do you think this story is a phony? Or do you really buy it?

SCARBOROUGH: First of all, let me congratulate you on one of the longer questions I have received on CROSSFIRE.

NYHAN: I'm going to repeat it if you

(CROSSTALK) SCARBOROUGH: That's OK. That is OK. You know, the thing is, everybody is calling this guy a young kid, a low-level operative. The guy is like 28 or 29 years old. He is the associate to the political director. And if this had happened in any other campaign, the guy probably would have been fired.

I mean, the fact is, the guy has already been caught lying. He filed false affidavits, first of all, denying that it happened. Then, I forget what paper confronted him with e-mails that showed that actually he did do it. The Gore campaign

(CROSSTALK)

NYHAN: Joe, in Boston, we would say that's a case of lightning striking twice. How often does lightning strike twice in Florida? Isn't it just a little coincidental?

SCARBOROUGH: Actually, in -- I would call it a case of a high-level aide not telling the truth in the Gore campaign, having this bunker mentality. Nobody is talking about it. They have just disappeared. Gore is afraid to talk about it. His staff is afraid to talk about it. They are afraid to hold a press conference on it. They really have a bunker mentality.

I don't know, because I'm a political neophyte. I'm an outsider, man of the people, and all that.

DURBIN: How long are you going to use that story?

SCARBOROUGH: Well, I have been here six years -- only six years, but, you know... NYHAN: Bob, excuse me, is Joe's answer longer than my question?

NOVAK: I think he did it.

SCARBOROUGH: That is the way -- that is the way it works here now. But I have never seen a presidential candidate...

NYHAN: Joe, quick, before I lose you -- yes.

SCARBOROUGH: I have never seen a presidential candidate dodge press conferences like Al Gore has. It's amazing.

NYHAN: Before I lose you on this, your congressional leadership, the Republicans, have sent a letter today to White House pleading with President Clinton to do something on prescription drugs. Why is it that your Congress,

Republican-led, has not been able to do anything on the
-- what seems to me is
the biggest issue of campaign so far, prescription
drugs? That is a real issue.

SCARBOROUGH: Actually -- that is a real issue.

NYHAN: Why didn't the Congress do something with it?

SCARBOROUGH: Well, actually we passed a bill, which the
Democrats are
saying they don't want, because it doesn't do the three
things that Al Gore's bill
does. First of all, Gore's bill leaves seniors with no
choice. It is going to be
government-run HMO. That is what the Democrats want.

You basically, you can join when you're 64 1/2. And if
you don't join then, you
are forever kicked out. You have a government-run HMO.
You are going to be
going to Donna Shalala and the Department of HHS in
Washington. They
centralize it. You get no second chance. If you don't
join when you are 64 1/2...

NYHAN: Joe, where I come from, if the leadership a
letter to the president, it
means they're getting their butt kicked on the issue.

(CROSSTALK)

SCARBOROUGH: No, where I come from, we passed that bill.
And I hope the
Democrats will. And it doesn't take 10 years to
implement, like Al Gore's plan.

NOVAK: Senator, Senator, you...

DURBIN: Let's talk about prescription drugs.

SCARBOROUGH: I would love to, absolutely love to.

NOVAK: I know you do, but I ask the questions.

Senator -- Senator Durbin, you disappointed me terribly
on -- I hate -- hate to
say it -- on trying to explain Al Gore's fantasizing
about the strategic oil reserve.

But he said something else the other day that is even
more interesting. And I
want you to listen to it. (BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GORE: My father was one of the first commissioners of

labor in the state of
Tennessee. And our family came into public service by
that route. And, you
know, I still remember the lullabies that I heard as a
child.

(singing): Look for the union label.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

NOVAK: Now, that song was written when he was 27 years
old.

SCARBOROUGH: This guy is great.

DURBIN: He was still having trouble getting to sleep.

(LAUGHTER)

(CROSSTALK)

DURBIN: It was really "Rocky Top" his dad was singing to
him and he got
confused...

SCARBOROUGH: He's amazing.

NOVAK: Is that the only explanation you can give?

DURBIN: That's the best I can give you.

(LAUGHTER)

NOVAK: Now on a more serious -- in a very serious vein,
he said the other day
that the -- there is a difference of opinion on
prescription drugs. I will agree. One
wants to use a free market; one wants to use big
government.

DURBIN: That's the most objective analysis I've ever
heard.

NOVAK: Thank you.

(CROSSTALK):

SCARBOROUGH: ... call it socialism.

NOVAK: Yes, but the...

(CROSSTALK)

DURBIN: ... in the last show.

NOVAK: But the vice president said the other day that Governor Bush's plan -- quote -- "could run seniors through welfare" -- unquote. Is that fair to say that...

DURBIN: It is. NOVAK: How could it do that?

DURBIN: Let me tell you what: The first thing that Governor Bush wants to do is to turn this over to the states for four years. Twenty-two states have prescription drug plans. Illinois is one of them, covers a handful of drugs and a handful of diseases. Texas is not one of them. Texas doesn't even have a plan, and he wants to turn this back over to states.

And the states run them through on income eligibility, welfare standards. We think it should be a universal voluntary plan under Medicare, the same Medicare that covers Bob Novak and Joe Scarborough, myself, and every American.

NOVAK: I'm a -- I'm a senior. I'm the only -- I'm the only senior at this table. Well, there's two of us I think. But I -- I take seven pills a day. Do you think the government ought to pay for my pills? Now, seriously.

DURBIN: I can tell you that you're also under Social Security, you're under Medicare. It's a program...

NOVAK: I don't use Medicare. I don't use Medicare. I've never got a cent of Social Security.

DURBIN: But the bottom line is you're eligible. We decided it would not be a welfare program. It's an insurance program.

NYHAN: If you think that the co-pay issue is not big out there, seniors paying a lot on their co-pays, even insured, they're going to kill your guy.

NOVAK: Wait a minute. Do you think it's -- do you think it's fair for a hardworking person in Illinois to pay -- I can afford my own pills -- to pay for my pills? Do you really think that?

DURBIN: You're going back to the argument against Social Security. When FDR created it, he said it's going to be an insurance plan, not a welfare plan.

SCARBOROUGH: Now we're going against the plan that Hillary Clinton had on health care. Let me say something, it's very important about attacking these 22 states. Eleven of them are Democratic governors. So when Al Gore gets in trouble, he starts attacking his own. Now he's attacking Democratic governors, 11 of them...

DURBIN: No, that isn't...

(CROSSTALK)

Joe, you've got it wrong. You've got it wrong.

(CROSSTALK)

He wants to turn it over to the states to run the program. Does that sound like...

(CROSSTALK)

NOVAK: We're out of time.

SCARBOROUGH: Not saying that.

NOVAK: Last -- last word. Disagreement. I hate to see disagreement.

(LAUGHTER)

Thank you, Senator Dick Durbin.

DURBIN: Thank you.

NOVAK: Thank you, Congressman Joe Scarborough.

SCARBOROUGH: Thank you so much.

NOVAK: And Mr. Nyhan, the associate editor of "The Boston Globe" and I will be back with closing comments in a minute.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

NOVAK: And now the results of our online poll. We asked, "Do you think presidential campaigns spy on each other?" Ninety-three percent of you said yes.

Only 7 percent no.

David, you know, a lot of people, a lot of Democrats --
and I'm afraid a lot of
the outriders in the national media -- thought that this
-- this campaign was over,
they thought that Al Gore had a seven, eight-point lead,
he was going to get into
double digits. Suddenly, he loses his lead. It's even.
It's like 1960, but the
momentum is with George W. Bush.

They say how in the world can American people like
George W. Bush and the
answer is easy.

NYHAN: The real answer to the quiz is that allegations
of spying or what Gore's
lullaby or what his dog paid for arthritis pills doesn't
matter. You've got peace,
you've got prosperity, you've got prescription drugs. If
the seniors of America
think that Bush is going to save them at the drug
counter, they're wrong.

From the left, I'm David Nyhan, sitting in for Bill
Press. Good night from
CROSSFIRE.

NOVAK: From the right, I'm Robert Novak. Join us again
next time for another
edition of CROSSFIRE.

END

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CREATOR: Slate Magazine <delivery_sop@slate.com> (Slate Magazine <delivery_sop@slate.com> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:29-SEP-2000 16:24:37.00

SUBJECT: SLATE ON PAPER: Can a Candidate Pander Too Hard?; Slate Publishes Its First eBook; and More

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

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

September 29, 2000

Dear Reader:

Notes from this week's issue:

Can a presidential candidate pander too hard? According to Jacob Weisberg's Ballot Box, it has never happened, but Al Gore seems to be trying: "Gore stopped just short of inviting everybody on an all-expense-paid cruise--just a block away from the headquarters of the International Shuffleboard Association. But this afternoon's performance--like Gore's recent move to tap the Strategic Petroleum Reserve--raised an interesting political question. Is it possible for a presidential candidate to pander too much? In recent weeks, the Gore campaign has seemed like an experiment designed to answer that question."

<http://slate.msn.com/code/BallotBox/BallotBox.asp?Show=9/25/2000&idMessage=6124>

Does the New York Times deserve credit for its self-examination over the Wen Ho Lee case? According to Timothy Noah's Chatterbox, the answer is yes, even though the paper couldn't muster a full apology: "It isn't quite the apology Chatterbox asked for on Sept. 14 (the 'Times' calls it an 'assessment of the coverage'), and it's only a correction by insinuation (it appears on Page 2, just above the 'Corrections' column). Still, for an institution as impervious to criticism as the 'New York Times' to take any lumps at all must be judged an historic step in the right direction."

<http://slate.msn.com/code/chatterbox/chatterbox.asp?Show=9/26/2000&idMessage=6135>

Why is best-selling child-abuse memoirist Dave Pelzer so creepy? David Plotz's Assessment says he has turned unspeakable agony into mass entertainment: "Pelzer has described himself as the guy who 'makes child abuse fun.' He repeatedly refers to himself as 'Robin Williams in glasses.' His public appearances are manic and joking, filled with imitations of Arnold Schwarzenegger and Bill Clinton. He craves a career in standup comedy."

<http://slate.msn.com/Assessment/00-09-29/Assessment.asp>

Is the New Republic in Gore's pocket, or does it just hate Bush?

Mickey Kaus critiques several recent campaign pieces from the magazine in Kausfiles: "There was Jonathan Chait charging that 'today's GOP remains the most radical political party since World War II' (Barry Goldwater? George McGovern?) while simultaneously arguing that 'where Bush is given credit for his centrism, he is actually following his colleagues on the Hill.' There was Franklin Foer's criticism of the Bushes for thinking they might win black support even though they oppose the agenda of 'group rights that most black Americans ... think serves them best'--when the 'New Republic' itself has for decades vigorously opposed the agenda of group rights that most black Americans think serves them best."
<http://slate.msn.com/code/kausfiles/kausfiles.asp?Show=9/25/2000&idMessage=6126>

Also: Slate publishes its first eBook, a free compilation of Nicholas Lemann's influential profiles of Bush and Gore, originally published in "The New Yorker"; Emily Yoffe's High Concept gives the Myers-Briggs personality test to the presidential candidates; in The Earthling, Robert Wright explains what's wrong with the way politicians are debating the oil reserve issue; Michael Kinsley's Readme studies the ways in which politicians abuse the world "frankly"; And much more.

<http://slate.msn.com/ebooks/00-09-26/ebooks.asp>

<http://slate.msn.com/Concept/00-09-26/Concept.asp>

<http://slate.msn.com/Earthling/00-09-26/Earthling.asp>

<http://slate.msn.com/Readme/00-09-25/Readme.asp>

You can link from here directly to Slate's Table of Contents and all the Slate stories and departments not mentioned above:
<http://slate.msn.com>

Today's Papers;

<http://slate.msn.com/Code/TodaysPapers/TodaysPapers.asp>

Politics: Our politics portal brings you campaign stories from around the Web;

<http://slate.msn.com/code/politics/politics.asp>

The Week/the Spin: You are better off now than you were one year ago, says the Census Bureau, and more takes on the week's top stories;

<http://slate.msn.com/Spin/00-09-25/Spin.asp?Show=9/27/2000>

International Papers: Slobodan Milosevic is electoral dead meat, plus other news from around the globe;

<http://slate.msn.com/InterNatPapers/00-09-28/InterNatPapers.asp>

In Other Magazines: The lonely life of an Iraqi defector, plus what's in "Time," "Newsweek," etc.;

<http://slate.msn.com/OtherMags/00-09-25/OtherMags.asp?Show=9/27/2000>

Pundit Central: Slick Willie;

<http://slate.msn.com/code/PunditCentral/PunditCentral.asp?Show=9/24/2000&idMessage=6115>

Net Election: What will happen to the White House Web archive when Clinton leaves office?;

http://slate.msn.com/netelection/entries/00-09-27_90272.asp

Movies:

<http://slate.msn.com/MovieReview/00-09-29/MovieReview.asp>

Omnivore: Do people care about dead Germans? Plus other news in arts and culture;

<http://slate.msn.com/Omnivore/00-09-25/Omnivore.asp>

Crossword Municipal bonds: Free from Slate!;

<http://slate.msn.com/xword/00-09-25/xword.asp>

Cartoon Index: Hollywood violence under fire;

<http://slate.msn.com/CartoonIndex/00-05-09/CartoonIndex.asp>

Breakfast Table: Adrian Wooldridge and John Micklethwait dissect the day's news via e-mail;

<http://slate.msn.com/code/breakfast/breakfast.asp?Show=9/28/2000&idMessage=6155&idBio=201>

Moneybox: What is an Internet stock?

<http://slate.msn.com/code/Moneybox/Moneybox.asp?Show=9/28/2000&idMessage=6154>

Summary Judgment: What the critics thought of Madonna's "Music,"

Michael Chabon's "Amazing Adventures," etc.;

<http://slate.msn.com/SummaryJudgment/00-09-26/SummaryJudgment.asp>

The Book Club: Why even the most necessary divorces are tragic;

<http://slate.msn.com/code/BookClub/BookClub.asp?Show=9/27/2000&idMessage=6151&idBio=200>

Poem: "Casting," by Karen Holmberg;

<http://slate.msn.com/Poem/00-09-26/Poem.asp>

Damned Spot: The new RNC ads may be deceptive and nasty, but they're working;

<http://slate.msn.com/spot/00-09-26/spot.asp>

Dear Prudence: Get answers to your questions on morals and manners;

<http://slate.msn.com/DearPrudence/00-09-28/DearPrudence.asp>

Diary: You wouldn't believe what you see when you're an SAT tutor;

<http://slate.msn.com/diary/00-09-25/diary.asp>

News Quiz;

http://slate.msn.com/newsquiz/entries/00-09-27_90312.asp

Dialogues: James J. Cramer and Howard Kurtz debate the influence of financial news outlets;

<http://slate.msn.com/dialogues/00-09-26/dialogues.asp>

Explainer: Does Austria have a navy?;
<http://slate.msn.com/code/explainer/explainer.asp?Show=9/27/2000&idMessage=6143>

Sports Nut: Tuesday Morning Quarterback: Newton's Third Law of NFL Motion;
http://slate.msn.com/tagteam/entries/00-09-26_90189.asp

and The Best of the Fray;
<http://slate.msn.com/BestOfFray/00-09-27/BestOfFray.asp>

P.S. If you have friends (or, for that matter, enemies) who might be interested in Slate, please forward this newsletter to them.

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mso-font-pitch:fixed;
ms
o-font-signature:3 0 0 0 1 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:Marigold;
panose-1:0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:script;
mso-font-format:other;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:3 0 0 0 1 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:Marlett;
panose-1:0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-generic-font-family:auto;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:"Lucida Console";
panose-1:2 11 6 9 4
5 4 2 2 4;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:modern;
mso-font-pitch:fixed;
mso-font-signature:-2147482993 6144 0 0 31 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:"Comic Sans MS";
panose-1:3 15 7 2 3 3 2 2 2 4;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:script;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:647 0 0 0 159 0;}
@font-face
```

```

    {font-family:Impact;
    panose-1:2 11 8 6 3 9 2 5 2 4;
    mso-font-charset:0;
    mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
    mso-font-pitch:variable;
    mso-font-signature:64
7 0 0 0 159 0;}
@font-face
    {font-family:Georgia;
    panose-1:2 4 5 2 5 4 5 2 3 3;
    mso-font-charset:0;
    mso-generic-font-family:roman;
    mso-font-pitch:variable;
    mso-font-signature:647 0 0 0 159 0;}
@font-face
    {font-family:"Palatino Linotype";
    panose-1:2 4 5 2 5 5 5 3 3 4;
    mso-font-charset:0;
    mso-generic-font-family:roman;
    mso-font-pitch:variable;
    mso-font-signature:-536870009 1073741843 0 0 415 0;}
@font-face
    {font-family:"Trebuchet MS";
    panose-1:2 11 6 3 2 2 2 2 2 4;
    mso-font-cha
rset:0;
    mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
    mso-font-pitch:variable;
    mso-font-signature:7 0 0 0 19 0;}
@font-face
    {font-family:Webdings;
    panose-1:5 3 1 2 1 5 9 6 7 3;
    mso-font-charset:2;
    mso-generic-font-family:roman;
    mso-font-pitch:variable;
    mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}
@font-face
    {font-family:"Microsoft Sans Serif";
    panose-1:2 11 6 4 2 2 2 2 2 4;
    mso-font-charset:0;
    mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
    mso-font-pitch:variable;
    mso-font-signature:553663111 0 0 0 6
6047 0;}
@font-face
    {font-family:"Verdana Ref";
    panose-1:2 11 6 4 3 5 4 4 2 4;
    mso-font-charset:0;
    mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
    mso-font-pitch:variable;
    mso-font-signature:536871559 0 0 0 415 0;}
@font-face
    {font-family:"Georgia Ref";
    panose-1:2 4 5 2 5 4 5 2 3 3;

```

```

mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:roman;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:647 0 0 0 159 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:RefSpecialty;
panose-1:2 0 5 0 0 0 0 0 0 0;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-gener
ic-font-family:auto;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:"MS Reference 1";
panose-1:5 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-generic-font-family:auto;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:"MS Reference 2";
panose-1:0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-generic-font-family:auto;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147
483648 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:"Arial Special G1";
panose-1:5 11 6 4 2 2 2 2 2 4;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:"Arial Special G2";
panose-1:5 11 6 4 2 2 2 2 2 4;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:"Arial Narrow Special G1";
panose-1:5 11 5
6 2 2 2 3 2 4;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:"Arial Narrow Special G2";
panose-1:5 11 5 6 2 2 2 3 2 4;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-generic-font-family:swiss;

```

```
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:"Times New Roman Special G1";
panose-1:5 2 6 3 5 4 5 2 3 4;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-generic-font-family:ro
man;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:"Times New Roman Special G2";
panose-1:5 2 6 3 5 4 5 2 3 4;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-generic-font-family:roman;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:Rhubarb;
panose-1:0 0 4 0 0 0 0 0 0 0;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:auto;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:3 0 0 0 1 0;}
@font-face
{font
-family:"Andale Mono";
panose-1:2 11 5 9 0 0 0 0 0 4;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:modern;
mso-font-pitch:fixed;
mso-font-signature:647 0 0 0 159 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:"MS Reference Sans Serif";
panose-1:2 11 6 4 3 5 4 4 2 4;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:536871559 0 0 0 415 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:"MS Reference Serif";
panose-1:2 4 5 2 5 4 5 2 3 3;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-f
amily:roman;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:536871559 0 0 0 415 0;}
@font-face
{font-family:"MS Reference Specialty";
panose-1:5 0 5 0 0 0 0 0 0 0;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-generic-font-family:auto;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}
```

@font-face

{font-family:"Arial Narrow";
panose-1:2 11 5 6 2 2 2 3 2 4;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:647 0 0 0 159 0;}

@font-face

{font-family:"Arial Black";
panose-1:2 11 10 4 2 1 2 2 2 4;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:647 0 0 0 159 0;}

@font-face

{font-family:"Book Antiqua";
panose-1:2 4 6 2 5 3 5 3 3 4;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:roman;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:647 0 0 0 159 0;}

@font-face

{font-family:"Bookman Old Style";
panose-1:2 5 6 4 5 5 5 2 2 4;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:ro

man;

mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:647 0 0 0 159 0;}

@font-face

{font-family:"Century Gothic";
panose-1:2 11 5 2 2 2 2 2 2 4;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:647 0 0 0 159 0;}

@font-face

{font-family:"MS Outlook";
panose-1:5 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-generic-font-family:auto;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}

@font-face

{font-family:Verdana;

panose-1:2 11 6 4 3 5 4 4 2 4;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:536871559 0 0 0 415 0;}

@font-face

{font-family:"Wingdings 2";

```

panose-1:5 2 1 2 1 5 7 7 7 7;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-generic-font-family:roman;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}

@font-face
{font-family:"Wingdings 3";
panose-1:5 4 1 2 1 8 7 7 7 7;
mso-font-charset:2;
mso-generic-font-family:roman;
mso-font-pi
tch:variable;
mso-font-signature:0 268435456 0 0 -2147483648 0;}

@font-face
{font-family:Haettenschweiler;
panose-1:2 11 7 6 4 9 2 6 2 4;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:647 0 0 0 159 0;}

@font-face
{font-family:"Monotype Corsiva";
panose-1:3 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1;
mso-font-charset:0;
mso-generic-font-family:script;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:647 0 0 0 159 0;}

@font-face
{font-family:"\@Arial Unicode M
S";
mso-font-charset:128;
mso-generic-font-family:swiss;
mso-font-pitch:variable;
mso-font-signature:-1 -369098753 63 0 4129023 0;}

/* Style Definitions */
p.MsoNormal, li.MsoNormal, div.MsoNormal
{mso-style-parent:"";
margin:0in;
margin-bottom:.0001pt;
mso-pagination:widow-orphan;
font-size:12.0pt;
font-family:"Times New Roman";
mso-fareast-font-family:"Times New Roman";}

h3
{margin-right:0in;
mso-margin-top-alt:auto;
mso-margin-bottom-alt:auto;
margin-left:0in;
mso-pagi
nation:widow-orphan;
mso-outline-level:3;
font-size:13.5pt;
font-family:"Times New Roman";
font-weight:bold;}

```


a:link, span.MsoHyperlink
{color:blue;
text-decoration:underline;
text-underline:single;}

a:visited, span.MsoHyperlinkFollowed
{color:purple;
text-decoration:underline;
text-underline:single;}

p
{margin-right:0in;
mso-margin-top-alt:auto;
margin-bottom:0in;
margin-left:0in;
margin-bottom:.0001pt;
mso-pagination:widow-orphan;
font-size:10.0pt;
font-family:"Times
New Roman";
mso-fareast-font-family:"Times New Roman";}

span.fl1
{mso-style-name:fl1;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl3
{mso-style-name:fl3;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl4
{mso-style-name:fl4;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl5
{mso-style-name:fl5;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl6
{mso-style-name:fl6;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10
.5pt;}

span.fl7
{mso-style-name:fl7;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl8
{mso-style-name:fl8;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl9
{mso-style-name:fl9;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl10
{mso-style-name:fl10;

mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl11
{mso-style-name:fl11;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl12
{mso-style-name:fl12;
mso-
ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl13
{mso-style-name:fl13;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl14
{mso-style-name:fl14;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl15
{mso-style-name:fl15;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl16
{mso-style-name:fl16;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

p.fl2, li.fl2, div.fl2
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mso-margin-top
-alt:auto;
margin-bottom:12.0pt;
margin-left:0in;
mso-pagination:widow-orphan;
font-size:10.0pt;
font-family:"Times New Roman";
mso-fareast-font-family:"Times New Roman";}

span.fl17
{mso-style-name:fl17;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl18
{mso-style-name:fl18;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl19
{mso-style-name:fl19;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl20
{mso-style-name:fl20;
mso-ansi-
font-size:10.5pt;

mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl21

{mso-style-name:fl21;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl22

{mso-style-name:fl22;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl23

{mso-style-name:fl23;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl24

{mso-style-name:fl24;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl25

{mso-style-name:fl25;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl26

{mso-style-name:fl26;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl27

{mso-style-name:fl27;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl28

{mso-style-name:fl28;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl29

{mso-style-name:fl29;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl30

{mso-style-name:fl30;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl31

{mso-style-name:fl31;

mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl32

{mso-style-name:fl32;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl33

{mso-style-name:fl33;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;

mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl34

{mso-style-name:fl34;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl35

{mso-style-name:fl35;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl36

{mso-style-name:fl36;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-fon

t-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl37

{mso-style-name:fl37;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl38

{mso-style-name:fl38;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl39

{mso-style-name:fl39;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl40

{mso-style-name:fl40;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl41

{mso-style-name:fl41;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl42

{mso-style-na

me:fl42;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl43

{mso-style-name:fl43;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl44

{mso-style-name:fl44;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl45

{mso-style-name:fl45;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}

span.fl46

{mso-style-name:fl46;
mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;

```
        mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}
span.fl47
    {mso-style-name:fl47;
    mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
    ms
o-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}
span.fl48
    {mso-style-name:fl48;
    mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
    mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}
span.fl49
    {mso-style-name:fl49;
    mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
    mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}
span.fl50
    {mso-style-name:fl50;
    mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
    mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}
span.fl51
    {mso-style-name:fl51;
    mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
    mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}
span.fl52
    {mso-style-name:fl52;
    mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
    mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}
span.fl53
    {ms
o-style-name:fl53;
    mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
    mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}
span.fl54
    {mso-style-name:fl54;
    mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
    mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}
span.fl55
    {mso-style-name:fl55;
    mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
    mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}
span.fl56
    {mso-style-name:fl56;
    mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
    mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}
span.fl57
    {mso-style-name:fl57;
    mso-ansi-font-size:10.5pt;
    mso-bidi-font-size:10.5pt;}
span.msOlns
    {mso-style-type:export-only;
    mso-style-na
me:"";
    text-decoration:underline;
    text-underline:single;
    color:teal;}
```

span.msoDel
 {mso-style-type:export-only;
 mso-style-name:"";
 text-decoration:line-through;
 color:red;}

span.msoChangeProp
 {mso-style-type:export-only;
 mso-style-name:"";
 color:black;}

@page Section1
 {size:8.5in 11.0in;
 margin:1.0in .5in 1.0in .5in;
 mso-header-margin:.5in;
 mso-footer-margin:.5in;
 mso-columns:2 even .25in;
 mso-paper-source:0;}

div.Section1
 {page:Section1;}

/* List Definitions */

@list
 l0
 {mso-list-id:413211687;
 mso-list-type:hybrid;
 mso-list-template-ids:2132449278 1935556896 -814711708 -1344235922 2043473998
 1849614426 1792957350 1217566686 -878293312 -1296368878;}

@list l0:level1
 {mso-level-number-format:bullet;
 mso-level-text:\F0B7;
 mso-level-tab-stop:.5in;
 mso-level-number-position:left;
 text-indent:-.25in;
 mso-ansi-font-size:10.0pt;
 font-family:Symbol;}

ol
 {margin-bottom:0in;}

ul
 {margin-bottom:0in;}

-->

</style>

</head>

<body lang=EN-US link=blue v
 link=purple style='tab-interval:.5in'>

<div class=Section1>

<h3 align=center style='margin:0in;margin-bottom:.0001pt;text-align:center'>Slate.com</h3>

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