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001. email	Douglas P. Ryan to [list] at 22:19:51.00. Subject: Y2K News, Japan, 9/19/99. [partial] (3 pages)	09/18/1999	P3/b(3)

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ARMS Email SystemRECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Cwalsh@worldbank.org (Cwalsh@worldbank.org [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 2-SEP-1999 11:10:29.00

SUBJECT: Development News Thursday, September 2, 1999

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TEXT:

This summary is prepared by the External Affairs Department of the World Bank.

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RUSSIAN OFFICIALS FAULT US POLITICS FOR SCANDAL FUROR.

Russian officials yesterday blamed the uproar over the money-laundering scandal

involving the Bank of New York on US politics, saying it could delay disbursement of additional IMF aid, reports the Wall Street Journal Europe (p.2). Meanwhile, Dow Jones reports that the Russian ruble tumbled against the dollar for a third day today due to low demand for the Russian currency and increasing concern that the IMF may delay disbursing money from a crucial loan.

Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov and others offered Moscow's strongest defense yet in the scandal that has further tarnished Russia's reputation and provoked stern resistance in Washington to funding more aid to Moscow, continues the WSJE piece.

"This is an attempt to manipulate unconfirmed facts to cast a cloud on our nation," Ivanov is quoted as saying. Allegations that Russians may have laundered up to \$15 billion, including IMF funds, are part of a plot by "certain circles who don't want Russia to reassert its role as a great power," the foreign minister said.

Ivanov's comments came as US Treasury Secretary Lawrence Summers said in an interview in USA Today that his government would not support payment of new aid by the IMF to Russia at the end of this month "without adequate safeguards to assure that any funds disbursed are properly," the Financial Times

reports. The Washington Post (p.A29) adds that Summers' comment, which roiled Russian financial markets, appeared to contradict assurances by IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus.

Meanwhile, the US Treasury said yesterday, however, that Summers' comments did not indicate the US was seeking to delay further IMF lending to Russia. It would be premature to make any judgment as to whether Russia will meet the conditions for that disbursement, a Treasury spokeswoman is quoted as saying. The US continued to insist that adequate safeguards were in place under the current program and adequate accounting for past lending, she added.

Further, the Clinton Administration said yesterday that it wants assurances that international financial aid already sent to Russia has not been lost to corruption, but stopped short of calling for a halt in future loans to Moscow from the IMF, reports the New York Times (p.A1).

Seeking to defend the Administration's policy of supporting aid to Russia and to defuse an issue that could have political ramifications for Vice President Al Gore, Treasury Department officials and John D. Podesta, the White House chief of staff, said the Administration wanted to be certain that no money loaned to Russia by the Fund had been moved surreptitiously out of the country, continues the NYT story.

"We want to make sure that the IMF money is going to reform-oriented projects," Podesta said yesterday in an appearance at the National Press Club.

"The IMF, in its latest lending, has instituted additional safeguards, but we want an accounting of the ways the IMF money has been spent." The Washington Times (p.A4) also reports.

The Wall Street Journal (p.A4) adds that amid growing concern about the security of foreign aid flowing to Russia, the Clinton administration sent a team to Moscow in May to assess whether there are adequate controls to prevent theft of US food aid.

The Fund has said it will release a report later this month re-examining its relations with Russia's central bank, but has echoed comments from Russian government officials that no IMF money was misappropriated in the Bank of

New York affair. Russia is ready to provide the US with fresh explanations on how it spent loans from the IMF, Agence France-Presse reports a senior government official said yesterday. "The funds allocated to Russia by the IMF have already been checked by international auditors," said Alexander Livshits, minister without portfolio in charge of ties with the G7 nations. "But if they want to check them again, there's no problem," Livshits said on NTV.

Central bank governor Viktor Gerashchenko reiterated yesterday that IMF money was used properly? and said any delays in the disbursement of IMF funds beyond September 20 would probably force the finance ministry to borrow externally to cover its debt payments, the FT continues. Reuters adds that analysts say a halt to IMF loans could have a huge impact on other funds for Russia, on talks on debt rescheduling, and on the state of the Russian economy.

"If the IMF were to hold that next tranche, then the World Bank would also stop lending and the Japanese government would have to retract its loan offer made yesterday, and it would mean that debt negotiations were put on ice," an analyst is quoted as saying. "They really could push Russia into major default."

French President Jacques Chirac noted yesterday there were no "certainties" that Russia misappropriated IMF loan money, but warned that if evidence was discovered showing it had, France and its partners should discuss further action, AFP says in a separate report. "If the investigations confirm that there were funds that were misappropriated, which is not yet the case, then France and, I imagine, Canada will discuss with its partners, notably the IMF and the EU, what should be done," the French president said after a meeting in Ottawa with Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. Chirac added that so far "Russian authorities have shown an irreproachable use of the aid they have been granted."

Meanwhile, France also called for at least a basic minimum of rules governing tax havens worldwide in the wake of the Russian money-laundering scandal, says AFP in a separate report. Organized crime by mafias, particularly in Russia

and in Eastern Europe has taken on proportions unheard of even a few years ago,"

French Justice Minister Elisabeth Guigou is quoted as saying in Le Figaro (p.1).

The upcoming summit of EU heads of state should address this sensitive topic, Guigou said.

France has repeatedly called for tighter control of tax havens in recent months, with Economy Minister Dominique Strauss-Kahn going so far as to threaten to ban financial dealings with Caribbean and Pacific tax havens if they do not become more cooperative, notes AFP.

WORLD BANK SAYS MORE CORRUPTION SCANDALS IN INDONESIA.

The World Bank said that other cases similar to the Bank Bali scandal were likely to surface in Indonesia, Reuters reports. "The amount of corruption in

Indonesia is enormous, there is complete consensus on that issue, and the logical consequence is that we will have other difficult cases," World Bank Vice

President for East Asia and the Pacific Jean-Michel Severino is quoted as saying

yesterday. "I have no clue what they are going to be, but I know they are going

to be difficult cases," he added. "This is why the Bank Bali issue is a very

important precedent-setting problem."

Severino reaffirmed the World Bank's position that it would not provide budgetary support to Indonesia if the Bank Bali case was not satisfactorily resolved. "We have been very clear that if this case was not satisfactorily

resolved we would not continue to provide budget support to the government," he

said. "What is important is that whatever government is in place, they have a

commitment to act on this issue," Severino said, adding that the jury was "still

out" in terms of the Bank's assessment of how the Indonesian government was handling the Bank Bali situation. "The government has committed to doing a certain number of things. They should report soon on the results of the Pricewaterhouse audit. We'll see then."

A dispute between Indonesia and its international donors would be devastating,

says Reuters, but powerful forces may be keen to scupper the Bank Bali probe,

whatever the cost to relations with the IMF. It is not just political figures

who are at risk, says the story, noting that analysts say the central bank

may
also have several skeletons in the cupboard and could obstruct
investigations.

The news comes as Asia Pulse reports that the Indonesian State Audit Board (BPK) has completed an audit on the central bank in connection with the Bank Bali scandal, but will submit the results to the House of Representatives on September 7, as requested by the House leadership. BPK chairman Satrio B. Joedono noted that the board would not make the results of its audit public because this was for the House leadership, and not the BPK, to decide.

In other news, the World Bank said it was ready to move in East Timor whatever the political outcome of the Indonesian province's independence referendum, Reuters says in a separate report. "We are ready to move in East Timor whatever the political outcome and will adapt our programs to it," Severino is quoted as saying. "We feel ready to help East Timor if ever the independence solution is on the table. We have already thought of how this could be done with the international community and the Indonesian government."

He added that the World Bank had been in contact with the political parties in East Timor. It was difficult to say, however, how much the World Bank would lend to East Timor, Severino said. The institution had not done a "technical assessment" on needs in the province and the extent of help would also depend on what was forthcoming from other external agencies.

Separately, the Washington Post (p. A36) reports the governor of East Timor tried to siphon more than \$700,000 of public funds into a campaign against the province's independence from Indonesia, according to World Bank officials and Indonesian government documents.

But World Bank officials said that their own inquiry and an Indonesian investigation found no evidence that the governor succeeded in diverting either World Bank loans or Indonesian public funds. Soares declined to take phone calls seeking comment.

The World Bank provided about \$1.5 billion to Indonesia last year. In May, its executive board approved an additional \$600 million loan to help shore up Indonesia's foreign currency reserves, says the article.

Bank officials said they began the inquiry after an English translation of

Soares' proposed budget was circulated on the Internet along with a letter falsely implying that the World Bank had approved the governor's planned use of the money.

"There has been no evidence presented to date linking our money to the militias, just allegations," said Peter Stephens, a spokesman for the World Bank. He added that the Bank considers its loans essential to stabilize the economy and ward off hunger in Indonesia.

Soares's budget apparently was leaked by someone in his office to non-governmental organizations active in Indonesia. They circulated it on the Internet and began firing off letters to senior World Bank officials asking to stop the diversion of money.

Stephens said the Bank demanded an investigation by the Indonesian government, and Bank officials also asked Soares to confirm that the budget was authentic. Soares "never came back to us denying it," said Jacqueline Pomeroy, a World Bank economist in Jakarta, says the article.

Some diplomats and international relief workers, however, continue to question the World Bank's ability to prevent abuses in its anti-poverty program. "Our concern all along has been for the World Bank money to truly provide a social safety net, not fund militias or political campaigns," said Seth Amgott, as spokesman for Oxfam. "The Bank says it is now on the case. The test will be whether the funds benefit the lives of poor people in Indonesia and East Timor."

TURKISH BUSINESS, AID GROUPS WANT QUAKE AID MONITORED.

Turkey's private sector and aid groups are seeking independent monitoring of earthquake aid amid donor fears that the government could mismanage funds, Reuters reports. "I have been contacted by many international groups," leading industrialist Ishak Alaton is quoted as saying. "There is a fear that this money will not reach the people who need it.

"Public confidence in Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit's government slumped after the devastating quake which killed more than 14,000 people, says the story.

Critics say it was ill-prepared to cope with the disaster and did too little too late to save lives. "Will earthquake aid be used to feed contractors close to the government, build new houses and seats for MPs and purchase official cars for the pashas?" wrote columnist Enis Berberoğlu in the mainstream daily *Hürriyet*.

In contrast to the apparent paralysis in state-run emergency services, the private sector and volunteer groups took a leading role after the quake, effectively controlling relief efforts, says the story. Now business and civil aid groups say they would like an independent monitor in charge of quake aid, which is flooding in from home and abroad. "We are in favor of an independent, transparent management which instills trust and is not out to create profit," said Korhan Gumus of the Civil Society Coordination Center, which includes most non-profit groups working for quake relief.

The main crisis center said last week domestic aid had reached \$44.4 million, while foreign countries had pledged around \$50 million. The IMF is to visit Ankara next week to discuss a \$330 million emergency loan, notes the story, while the World Bank has earmarked \$300 million. The UN said Turkish officials estimated quake damage to be around \$10 billion.

DEBT CRISIS IN ECUADOR DRAWS GLOBAL SCRUTINY.

Though Ecuador has never been a major investment destination, the country's debt crisis is being closely followed by global policymakers, reports the *Wall Street Journal Europe* (p.14). At issue is how Ecuador reworks its towering \$13 billion debt burden, and the interplay between the country's public creditors, like the IMF, and holders of Ecuador's bonds. The outcome could affect bond trading and borrowing costs for developing countries.

Ecuador is wrangling for a \$400 million loan package from the IMF, which would trigger the release of \$800 million in other loans, the story notes. But, says Reuters, the word from Washington to investors is: Don't expect a plan to save Ecuador from financial collapse on the backs of the IMF, the World Bank, and the

IDB. Last week, continues the WSJE, an IMF official said a critical element of Ecuador's program would be a "comprehensive approach to official and private-sector creditors to secure the necessary financing."

Bankers warn that the IMF's approach could alienate private lenders, the story says. "This is likely to be counterproductive for the goal of mobilizing private financing, both for Ecuador and for other countries," Institute of International Finance Director Charles Dallara is quoted as saying. "We have a market that needs confidence-boosting measures, not confidence-eroding measures."

Meanwhile, the New York Times (p. C2) reports that the Treasury Department and IMF remain fixated on Ecuador's problems for reasons that go beyond the ordinary duty to help out a distressed country. This week Ecuador became the first country to skip interest payments on Brady bonds - bonds issued by Mexico, Ecuador and other Latin countries during the debt crisis of the late 1980s and 1990s.

But Gary Hufbauer of the Institute for International Economics warned that if the IMF did not handle the situation carefully, Ecuador's problem could soon become Brazil's, Argentina's and even sub-Saharan Africa's, says the article.

IMF MEDICINE MAY NOT WORK ON PAKISTAN.

The IMF's seal of approval for Pakistan, expected to be granted in a letter of intent in the next few days, is the latest in a series of international rescue measures to resurrect the country's battered economic confidence, reports the Financial Times (p.4). The letter would precede a decision by the Fund's executive board later this month which should recommend disbursement of a \$280 million tranche from a \$1.56 billion loan agreed last year, says the story. But many analysts are skeptical that an IMF-led rescue can translate into an economic recovery.

The reasons for the pessimism, above all, include the fallout from Pakistan's treatment of foreign investors in the 19 private power projects agreed five years ago. The government has only relented in the past few months from its claims of corruption in these projects, under pressure from the World Bank. But

businessmen say that new agreements on future tariffs for all of the power projects have yet to be concluded.

In other news, a team of World Bank experts will be arriving in Pakistan by the end of September to help restructure the customs and income tax services into the Pakistan Revenue Services (PRS), reports Asia Pulse. The restructuring is being undertaken to create a new, more efficient service of tax collectors.

Also in this edition: KUALA LUMPUR AVOIDS CAPITAL FLIGHT.

KUALA LUMPUR AVOIDS CAPITAL FLIGHT. A day billed as Malaysia's moment of reckoning with the international financial community, the easing of controversial capital controls imposed a year ago at the height of the country's economic crisis, passed off without drama yesterday, reports the Financial Times (p.4). Malaysia's state bank said that \$328 million of portfolio funds were repatriated during the day, an amount it described as small [in light of previous government estimates] that \$1.3 billion to \$1.8 billion might leave the country as a result of the removal of a 10 percent exit tax on portfolio investments made before September 1 last year.

Meanwhile, AFP notes, IMF Asia-Pacific Director Hubert Neiss said yesterday that capital controls had played only a marginal role in bringing economic recovery to Malaysia. "Taking Malaysia out of the crisis has come through other areas, macroeconomic and structural," Neiss is quoted as saying. "Controls only played a marginal role."

In other news, the Kuala Lumpur Society for Transparency and Integrity is attending the meeting of the World Bank High Level Anti-Corruption Group for the East Asia and Pacific region, reports the New Straits Times (Malaysia). The New York Times (p. C1) also reports.

Separately, Japanese finance adviser Eisuke Sakakibara, former German finance official Heiner Flassbeck, and a World Bank official among others lambasted the current financial system for allowing the reversal of large capital flows to destabilization economy, and called for a new "paradigm" to replace it, reports Dow Jones.

A World Bank senior adviser, Amar Bhattacharya, also blasted the current global financial system for the excesses that it permits, reports the story.

"It creates an amplification of the boom, and often leads to a bust," he said.

"It acts as magnifier of the good, the bad, and the ugly."

Bhattacharya noted that capital controls can indeed help restore an economy to health after a crisis in which large capital outflows have played a major role.

"Controls can play a role as Malaysia has shown," he said, noting that they afforded the country some breathing space as foreign investors withdrew funds from Asia's currency and stock markets.

He called on international organizations to adopt "a more nuanced approach" to dealing with economies in crisis.

BRIEFLY NOTED?..The World Bank has approved a \$44.5 million loan to support the Romanian government in its efforts to close 29 uneconomic mines in a socially and environmentally sustainable manner, reports the Journal of Commerce (p. 6).

The IMF lifted one set of sanctions against Sudan, praising Sudanese efforts to cut its massive arrears to the Fund and urging the African country to press on with reforms, reports the Journal of Commerce (p. 4).

Korea's chaebols and their sprawling businesses have been blamed for the nation's financial crisis, which forced the country to seek a \$58 billion bailout package arranged by the IMF in December 1997, reports the Wall Street Journal (p. A8).

Poland released another round of disturbing macroeconomic numbers, fueling worries that Eastern Europe's smoothest-sailing economy is hitting rough seas, reports the Wall Street Journal (p. A13).

Right now, Mexico's economy is Latin America's most stable. Fueled by buoyant US demand for manufactured exports and a strong rebound in the price of oil, the country's biggest single export, it is on track to grow by 3% this year, reports

the Wall Street Journal (p. A11).

China's economy has proved remarkably resilient so far. But World Bank representative Pieter Bottelier was right a couple of years ago to call China's banking system a "time bomb," reports the Wall Street Journal (p. A14).

ARMS Email SystemRECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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SUBJECT: Early Report 9/9: EAST TIMOR/APEC

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TEXT:

The situation in East Timor--where violence and deportations of East Timorese citizens continue unabated, and where the UN mission has postponed its withdrawal from the capital, Dili, until tomorrow--once again remained the primary focus of editorialists in Asia and Europe. Opinionmakers in Asian capitals emphasized the urgent need for foreign intervention to "stop the slaughter" of innocent Timorese, but were not hopeful that the U.S.--which many saw as "key" to any peacekeeping operation in East Timor--was likely to become involved militarily. In Europe, leading papers focused on the "impotence" of the UN and the passivity of the international community. Following is a regional breakdown of views:

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC: In available commentary from Jakarta, independent Media Indonesia, in a major deviation from its stance in previous days, stated that Jakarta's imposition of martial law in East Timor "must end immediately, and authority for East Timor must be transferred to the UN as soon as possible." In Australia, which has led the push in recent days for an international force to be dispatched to East Timor, dailies expressed extreme disappointment at the U.S. decision "not to commit to a force of willing countries under UN auspices." This, these dailies held, "points to [the U.S.] lack of interest in the region and a disregard for its...relationship with Australia." Analysts in Malaysia and the Philippines held that the U.S. was unlikely to intervene in East Timor, given U.S. business' "immense investment" in Indonesia. One Manila daily added, however, that "sometimes Americans shock the world and surprise themselves by fits of real altruism, decency, and self-sacrifice."

EUROPE: Europeans offered sharp criticism of the UN for "going AWOL" on East Timor, and of the "international community" writ large for limiting

itself thus far to "calls for appeasement to the Indonesian government" which, according to Paris's Catholic La Croix, are "but a drop of rhetoric in a sea of interests and excuses." Paris pundits agreed that the "UN's responsibility in the tragedy...is monumental," and further held that "the responsibility lies with the nations of the UN Security Council." In keeping with a Moscow pundit's view that "all eyes are on the U.S.," several focused on its response to events in the province. Papers in Italy and Germany suggested that the "Clinton Doctrine," by which the U.S. "proclaimed that human rights are more important than national sovereignty" is "dying on the streets of Dili." Portuguese papers also weighed in with their views, lamenting both the "passivity" and "foot-dragging" of the international community and "the incompetence of the UN."

RUNUP TO APEC: REGIONAL SECURITY, ECONOMIC STABILIZATION

In the runup to this weekend's APEC meetings in New Zealand, Chinese papers drew attention to APEC as an opportunity to improve U.S.-Chinese ties, and to note unresolved issues surrounding China's WTO accession and Taiwan. A Philippine observer saw APEC as having helped "mitigate...economic volatility" in the region. A Thai paper saw APEC as yet facing a "quandary" on "trade liberalization," while a Malaysian daily criticized Washington's failure to support an Asian Monetary Fund.

EDITORS: Katherine Starr, Kathleen J. Brahney, Bill Richey

EAST TIMOR: HOW TO END THE 'GENOCIDE'?

INDONESIA: "Under Threat Of Foreign Pressure"

Independent Media Indonesia contended (9/9): "We must discern between true and rational nationalism and nationalism that is manipulated by a specific interest. Therefore, we continue to insist that Indonesia, and especially the military, cease its management of the East Timor issue. The imposition of martial law must end immediately, and authority for East Timor must be transferred to the UN as soon as possible. If necessary, it need not wait until the General Session of the People's Consultative Assembly."

"Rejection Of Foreign Troops Understandable"

Ruling Golkar Party's Suara Karya noted (9/9): "The United States, Britain and Canada reacted cautiously to Australia and New Zealand's calls for military involvement. They have firmly refused to deploy any troops with peacekeeping forces. What about the UN itself? Its stance, reflected by the United Nations Security Council, is similarly prudent.... Currently, Indonesia seems to believe involving UN forces would only aggravate existing aggressions."

AUSTRALIA: "The New Reality Of Our U.S. Ties"

An editorial in national business Australian Financial Review judged (9/9): "The U.S. decision not to strongly back an Australian mission [in East Timor] should not come as a great surprise.... But after backing U.S. operations in other parts of the world in the past, Australians have every reason to feel let down. Comparisons with the solitary U.S. intervention

in Haiti might provide a nice excuse on Capitol Hill. But they don't do justice to the reality that Australia is involved in a serious conflict with Indonesia which could have strategic implications for the U.S. global security framework."

"Danger Of Aiming Too High"

Sydney's tabloid Daily Telegraph pointed out in an editorial (9/9): "The Australian government has raised public expectations of a swift rescue of the East Timorese which it cannot deliver.... The danger for the government is that it will be seen to have exceeded its international leadership capacity.... Australia must now sit back and wait in undisguised impotence for others to decide what will happen in the agonized province. The United States, the United Nations and Indonesia itself will set the pace."

"Our Allies Ignoring The Call"

The populist Daily Telegraph carried this editorial (9/8): "The reluctance of the United States to commit to a force of willing countries under the banner of the United Nations to stop the bloodshed in East Timor points to a lack of interest in the region and a disregard for its long-standing relationship with Australia. If America decides not to participate, it would have failed its ally, the region and the cause of democracy, making the task of the group of willing nations more difficult."

NEW ZEALAND: "A Spoiler At The Party"

Christchurch's moderate Press emphasized (9/9): "The government's well laid plans for the APEC summit are in danger of being thrown awry. East Timor, whether on the official agenda or not, is threatening to dominate the gathering and skew its outcome.... New Zealand as the summit's host has good reasons for working hard to ensure that peace is restored promptly in East Timor. To allow the bloodshed to continue into next week would inflame public opinion against APEC. People worldwide would be dismissive of the region's leaders discoursing on

the profitable advantages of free trade while seeming unable to stop the extermination of a race of people in their backyard.... The tangible expression of this urgency is the present meeting of foreign ministers in Auckland, [which] has the potential to put together the sort of force needed if peace is to be re-established in East Timor."

HONG KONG: "Timor's Sad Reality"

The independent South China Morning Post's editorial maintained (9/9): "The pending evacuation of the United Nations compound in Dili only highlights the impotence of the world body in resolving this conflict.... Nonetheless, the sad reality is that there probably are no better options which the world is prepared to pursue. The new international order has been of little help to the terrorized inhabitants of East Timor. And that leaves them at the mercy of the marauding militias."

MALAYSIA: "Where Has The 'International Policeman' Gone?"

Under the above headline, government-influenced, Chinese-language Sin Chew Jit Poh declared (9/9): "Not too long ago, the United States, as leader of NATO, played the role of 'international policeman' by bombing Kosovo under the flagship of protecting human rights. But in the case of East Timor, Indonesia has gone against the decision of the U.N. and occupied the place for more than 24 years. NATO countries are just not as concerned about East Timor.... In the past 30 years, Western countries have given the Soeharto government enormous military assistance. In the eyes of the West, Indonesia is a strong force to prevent the spread of communism, and it is also a rich energy resource for the West. With this background, it is understandable that these Western countries will not interfere deeply with the East Timor crisis. The United States should in fact pay more attention to the development in East Timor; East Timor has become the world's worse massacre."

PHILIPPINES: "Stop The Slaughter"

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"An Empty Promise?"

Centrist Recklinghaeuser Zeitung commented (9/9): "Once again, we see that human rights can be achieved only under certain circumstances, and only if the situation allows. If this is to be changed, the UN needs at last a well-equipped, effective intervention force legitimated by international law.... Only then will the promise that the United States and NATO made after their victory in Kosovo become reality: The world will not allow innocent civilians to be murdered. If something doesn't happen soon, that promise will prove empty."

ITALY: "Clinton Doctrine Dying In Streets Of East Timor"

Left-leaning, influential La Repubblica (9/9) carried this piece from Jakarta by Pietro Veronese: "The Clinton Doctrine, born less than six months ago, is dying in the streets of Dili, East Timor. By promoting the war in Kosovo, America had proclaimed that human rights are more important than national sovereignty. But, notwithstanding these statements, nobody is in a hurry to intervene in East Timor to stop the massacres. The United Nations has decided to leave the island.... The United States issues warnings, the UNSG condemns (the violence), the UNSC holds emergency meetings....APEC foreign ministers consult in New Zealand.... But the massacres continue."

"The United States: Never Under The UN Flag"

Cesare De Carlo noted from Washington in La Nazione/Il Resto del Carlino/Il Giorno conservative syndicate (9/9): "As everybody knows, the UN moves only if the United States moves, and the United States--as explicitly indicated by Defense Secretary Cohen--has no intention, whatsoever, of moving."

"A Short Circuit Between Superpowers And UN"

An article in the news analysis section of provocative, classical liberal daily Il Foglio (9/9) held (9/9): "The short circuit between the diplomacies of the superpowers and the UN over East Timor is not new: Once again, what emerges is the hesitation of the Security Council, stemming both from Beijing's announced opposition (to the deployment of an international peacekeeping force) and, to an even larger extent, from the U.S. State Department's intention to stay out of UN initiatives."

RUSSIA: "UN's Prestige Is On The Line"

Official government Rossiyskaya Gazeta (9/9) ran this by Andrei Bychkov in Jakarta: "The UN is acting dubiously. Strangely, it believes that the Indonesian government can ensure security and order in East Timor. Jakarta's track record in that area doesn't exactly look good. Observers point out that the UN has its prestige on the line. So far, it has been unable to protect those whom it urged to take part in the referendum."

"All Eyes Are On U.S."

Aleksandr Timofeyev pointed out in reformist Vremya-MN (9/9): "The UN is ready to support sending a peacekeeping force to East Timor, but nobody wants to act contrary to Jakarta's will. All eyes are now on Washington. Without its approval, such an operation would be impossible politically and technically."

SPAIN: "An Unwillingness To Get Involved"

Conservative ABC commented (9/9): "What is really sad is not the UN's inoperativeness to which we have all grown accustomed, but rather the international community's unwillingness to involve itself in East Timor.... To trust Indonesia to maintain security and wait to see whether the imposition of martial law will restore order is to recast irony into sarcasm."

RUNUP TO APEC: REGIONAL SECURITY, ECONOMIC STABILIZATION

CHINA: "U.S.-China Summit New Starting Point For Bilateral Ties"

Ma Shikun and Zhang Yong said in the official, English-language China Daily (9/9): "James Sasser, former U.S. ambassador to China, said that the forthcoming summit between President Clinton and President Jiang Zemin in

New Zealand will be a new starting point for the improvement of bilateral ties. The former ambassador is optimistic about the meeting, saying it will be a successful summit since the two presidents have good personal relations with each other."

"Talks On WTO Entry Resumed"

Liu Weiling said in the official English-language China Daily (9/9): "China and the U.S. have resumed negotiations on China's accession to the WTO but whether a deal will emerge depends 'to a large extent' on the United States, Chinese President Jiang Zemin said at a press conference in Australia.... Jiang called the Taiwan issue a 'very sensitive' issue in the China-U.S. relationship and said that U.S. arm sales to Taiwan 'is an act which is totally incomprehensible to the Chinese people.'"

NEW ZEALAND: "ANZUS Will Be The Ghost At The Feast"

Largest circulation, moderate New Zealand Herald had this by Terence O'Brien, former ambassador and foreign affairs commentator (9/9): "The ANZUS treaty will be the ghost at the feast.... [President Clinton's] welcome decision to better the political relationship is recognition that to confine effective partnership with the United States only to those countries that are in operational military alliances with Washington would restrict his options and possibilities.... This country's policy reflects the essential logic of nuclear non-proliferation which is the central issue, both countries agree, of the global security agenda. Our policy strengthens the UN non-proliferation norms. That raises problems for the American doctrine of extended nuclear deterrence."

MALAYSIA: "Wanted--A Common Asian Voice"

The government-influenced, English-language Business Times ran this editorial (9/9): "The Asian Monetary Fund idea, which did not materialise because of Washington's stern opposition and Tokyo's sensitivity that it not rile the United States, could have made short work of the regional crisis.... If East Asian countries had been united enough to push through the establishment of the AMF...the currency crisis...could have been nipped in the bud...and Asia would not have had to surrender its fate to the IMF and World Bank in Washington, the APEC forum, or the Group of Seven industrialised countries."

PHILIPPINES: "APEC Helping Mitigate Economic Volatility"

Columnist Al Dizon wrote in leading BusinessWorld (9/9): "The APEC meeting got underway this week in Auckland with the perennial brickbat...that it has become ineffective, too slow, and in fact a talkshop that can not really do much.... There may or may not be an iota of truth to anti-APEC claims but one thing is certain: that it is helping much to strengthen the region's capacity to mitigate the effects of economic volatility.... APEC can boast of an outstanding track record in its capacity building and advocacy in these areas."

THAILAND: "In With A Bang, Out With A Whimper"

Yindee Lertcharoenchok and Jeerawat Na Thalang observed in the independent, English-language Nation (9/9): "This year APEC is facing a quandary, and if it fails to get back to tackling issues at its core subject of trade liberalization and market reform, it may not deserve to exist."

GERMANY: "America's APEC Interests"

Right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine featured this commentary (9/9) by Washington correspondent Carola Kaps: "The U.S. administration is still a long way from writing off APEC.... The American government's lasting esteem for APEC is based on its belief that the organization has been instrumental in ensuring that the countries hit hardest by the financial crisis have retained their trust in liberalization and open markets, not closed their borders or withdrawn from the global trade and financial system."

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FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION EARLY REPORT

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, WASHINGTON DC 20547

USIA

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND MEDIA REACTION

Bill Richey, Branch Chief Media Reaction, (202) 619-6511 Ann Pincus, Director

Archived at: www.usia.gov/products/medreac.htm

Thursday, September 9, 1999

EAST TIMOR: HOW TO END THE 'GENOCIDE'?

The situation in East Timor--where violence and deportations of East Timorese citizens continue unabated, and where the UN mission has postponed its withdrawal from the capital, Dili, until tomorrow--once again remained the primary focus of editorialists in Asia and Europe. Opinionmakers in Asian capitals emphasized the urgent need for foreign intervention to "stop the slaughter" of innocent Timorese, but were not hopeful that the U.S.--which many saw as "key" to any peacekeeping operation in East Timor--was likely to become involved militarily. In Europe, leading papers focused on the "impotence" of the UN and the passivity of the international community. Following is a regional breakdown of views:

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC: In available commentary from Jakarta, independent Media Indonesia, in a major deviation from its stance in previous days, stated that Jakarta's imposition of martial law in East Timor "must end immediately, and authority for East Timor must be transferred to the UN as soon as possible." In Australia, which has led the push in recent days for an international force to be dispatched to East Timor, dailies expressed extreme disappointment at the U.S. decision "not to commit to a force of willing countries under UN auspices." This, these dailies held, "points to [the U.S.'] lack of interest in the region and a disregard for its...relationship with Australia." Analysts in Malaysia and the Philippines held that the U.S. was unlikely to intervene in East Timor, given U.S. business' "immense investment" in Indonesia. One Manila daily added, however, that "sometimes Americans shock the world and surprise themselves by fits of real altruism, decency, and self-sacrifice."

EUROPE: Europeans offered sharp criticism of the UN for "going AWOL" on East Timor, and of the "international community" writ large for limiting itself thus far to "calls for appeasement to the Indonesian government" which, according to Paris's Catholic La Croix, are "but a drop of rhetoric in a sea of interests and excuses." Paris pundits agreed that the "UN's responsibility in the tragedy...is monumental," and further held that "the responsibility lies with the nations of the UN Security Council." In keeping with a Moscow pundit's view that "all eyes are on the U.S.," several focused on its response to events in the province. Papers in Italy and Germany suggested that the "Clinton Doctrine," by which the U.S. "proclaimed that human rights are more important than national sovereignty" is "dying on the streets of Dili." Portuguese papers also weighed in with their views, lamenting both the "passivity" and "foot-dragging" of the international community and "the incompetence of the UN."

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In the runup to this weekend's APEC meetings in New Zealand, Chinese papers drew attention to APEC as an opportunity to improve U.S.-Chinese ties, and to note unresolved issues surrounding China's WTO accession and Taiwan. A Philippine observer saw APEC as having helped "mitigate...economic volatility" in the region. A Thai paper saw APEC as yet facing a "quandary" on "trade liberalization," while a Malaysian daily criticized Washington's failure to support an Asian Monetary Fund.

EDITORS: Katherine Starr, Kathleen J. Brahney, Bill Richey

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INDONESIA: "Under Threat Of Foreign Pressure"

Independent Media Indonesia contended (9/9): "We must discern between true and rational nationalism and nationalism that is manipulated by a specific interest. Therefore, we continue to insist that Indonesia, and especially the military, cease its management of the East Timor issue. The imposition of martial law must end immediately, and authority for East Timor must be transferred to the UN as soon as possible. If necessary, it need not wait until the General Session of the People's Consultative Assembly."

"Rejection Of Foreign Troops Understandable"

Ruling Golkar Party's Suara Karya noted (9/9): "The United States, Britain and Canada reacted cautiously to Australia and New Zealand's calls for military involvement. They have firmly refused to deploy any troops with peacekeeping forces. What about the UN itself? Its stance, reflected by the United Nations Security Council, is similarly prudent.... Currently, Indonesia seems to believe involving UN forces would only aggravate existing aggressions."

AUSTRALIA: "The New Reality Of Our U.S. Ties"

An editorial in national business Australian Financial Review judged (9/9): "The U.S. decision not to strongly back an Australian mission [in East Timor] should not come as a great surprise.... But after backing U.S. operations in other parts of the world in the past, Australians have every reason to feel let down. Comparisons with the solitary U.S. intervention in Haiti might provide a nice excuse on Capitol Hill. But they don't do justice to the reality that Australia is involved in a serious conflict with Indonesia which could have strategic implications for the U.S. global security framework."

"Danger Of Aiming Too High"

Sydney's tabloid Daily Telegraph pointed out in an editorial (9/9): "The Australian government has raised public expectations of a swift rescue of the East Timorese which it cannot deliver.... The danger for the government is that it will be seen to have exceeded its international leadership capacity.... Australia must now sit back and wait in undisguised impotence for others to decide what will happen in the agonized province. The United States, the United Nations and Indonesia itself will set the pace."

"Our Allies Ignoring The Call"

The populist Daily Telegraph carried this editorial (9/8): "The reluctance of the United States to commit to a force of willing countries under the banner of the United Nations to stop the bloodshed in East Timor points to a lack of interest in the region and a disregard for its long-standing relationship with Australia. If America decides not to participate, it would have failed its ally, the region and the cause of democracy, making the task of the group of willing nations more difficult."

NEW ZEALAND: "A Spoiler At The Party"

Christchurch's moderate Press emphasized (9/9): "The government's well laid plans for the APEC summit are in danger of being thrown awry. East Timor, whether on the official agenda or not, is threatening to dominate the gathering and skew its outcome.... New Zealand as the summit's host has good reasons for working hard to ensure that peace is restored promptly in East Timor. To allow the bloodshed to continue into next week would inflame public

opinion against APEC. People worldwide would be dismissive of the region's leaders discoursing on

the profitable advantages of free trade while seeming unable to stop the extermination of a race of people in their backyard.... The tangible expression of this urgency is the present meeting of foreign ministers in Auckland, [which] has the potential to put together the sort of force needed if peace is to be re-established in East Timor."

HONG KONG: "Timor's Sad Reality"

The independent South China Morning Post's editorial maintained (9/9): "The pending evacuation of the United Nations compound in Dili only highlights the impotence of the world body in resolving this conflict.... Nonetheless, the sad reality is that there probably are no better options which the world is prepared to pursue. The new international order has been of little help to the terrorized inhabitants of East Timor. And that leaves them at the mercy of the marauding militias."

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its military assistance...the World Bank and the IMF could put the loans that Indonesia wants so badly on ice, and UN members could draw down their diplomatic relations until Indonesia finally agrees to the deployment of an international force in East Timor. Sanctions don't work, you say? That may be true for autistic regimes like Saddam

Hussein's and Milosevic's, but Indonesia and its president, Habibie, are very interested in economic cooperation with the West. So a tough embargo could force Jakarta to give in. The downside of sanctions is that they require time, so they would come too late for many Timorese."

"An Empty Promise?"

Centrist Recklinghaeuser Zeitung commented (9/9): "Once again, we see that human rights can be achieved only under certain circumstances, and only if the situation allows. If this is to be changed, the UN needs at last a well-equipped, effective intervention force legitimated by international law.... Only then will the promise that the United States and NATO made after their victory in Kosovo become reality: The world will not allow innocent civilians to be murdered. If something doesn't happen soon, that promise will prove empty."

ITALY: "Clinton Doctrine Dying In Streets Of East Timor"

Left-leaning, influential La Repubblica (9/9) carried this piece from Jakarta by Pietro Veronese: "The Clinton Doctrine, born less than six months ago, is dying in the streets of Dili, East Timor. By promoting the war in Kosovo, America had proclaimed that human rights are more important than national sovereignty. But, notwithstanding these statements, nobody is in a hurry to intervene in East Timor to stop the massacres. The United Nations has decided to leave the island.... The United States issues warnings, the UNSG condemns (the violence), the UNSC holds emergency meetings.... APEC foreign ministers consult in New Zealand.... But the massacres continue."

"The United States: Never Under The UN Flag"

Cesare De Carlo noted from Washington in La Nazione/Il Resto del Carlino/Il Giorno conservative syndicate (9/9): "As everybody knows, the UN moves only if the United States moves, and the United States--as explicitly indicated by Defense Secretary Cohen--has no intention, whatsoever, of moving."

"A Short Circuit Between Superpowers And UN"

An article in the news analysis section of provocative, classical liberal daily Il Foglio (9/9) held (9/9): "The short circuit between the diplomacies of the superpowers and the UN over East Timor is not new: Once again, what emerges is the hesitation of the Security Council, stemming both from Beijing's announced opposition (to the deployment of an international peacekeeping force) and, to an even larger extent, from the U.S. State Department's intention to stay out of UN initiatives."

RUSSIA: "UN's Prestige Is On The Line"

Official government Rossiyskaya Gazeta (9/9) ran this by Andrei Bychkov in Jakarta: "The UN is acting dubiously. Strangely, it believes that the Indonesian government can ensure security and order in East Timor. Jakarta's track record in that area doesn't exactly look good. Observers point out that the UN has its prestige on the line. So far, it has been unable to protect those whom it urged to take part in the referendum."

"All Eyes Are On U.S."

Aleksandr Timofeyev pointed out in reformist Vremya-MN (9/9): "The UN is ready to support sending a peacekeeping force to East Timor, but nobody wants to act contrary to Jakarta's will. All eyes are now on Washington. Without its

approval, such an operation would be impossible politically and technically."

SPAIN: "An Unwillingness To Get Involved"

Conservative ABC commented (9/9): "What is really sad is not the UN's inoperativeness to which we have all grown accustomed, but rather the international community's unwillingness to involve itself in East Timor.... To trust Indonesia to maintain security and wait to see whether the imposition of martial law will restore order is to recast irony into sarcasm."

RUNUP TO APEC: REGIONAL SECURITY, ECONOMIC STABILIZATION

CHINA: "U.S.-China Summit New Starting Point For Bilateral Ties"

Ma Shikun and Zhang Yong said in the official, English-language China Daily (9/9): "James Sasser, former U.S. ambassador to China, said that the forthcoming summit between President Clinton and President Jiang Zemin in New Zealand will be a new starting point for the improvement of bilateral ties. The former ambassador is optimistic about the meeting, saying it will be a successful summit since the two presidents have good personal relations with each other."

"Talks On WTO Entry Resumed"

Liu Weiling said in the official English-language China Daily (9/9): "China and the U.S. have resumed negotiations on China's accession to the WTO but whether a deal will emerge depends 'to a large extent' on the United States, Chinese President Jiang Zemin said at a press conference in Australia.... Jiang called the Taiwan issue a 'very sensitive' issue in the China-U.S. relationship and said that U.S. arm sales to Taiwan 'is an act which is totally incomprehensible to the Chinese people.'"

NEW ZEALAND: "ANZUS Will Be The Ghost At The Feast"

Largest circulation, moderate New Zealand Herald had this by Terence O'Brien, former ambassador and foreign affairs commentator (9/9): "The ANZUS treaty will be the ghost at the feast.... [President Clinton's] welcome decision to better the political relationship is recognition that to confine effective partnership with the United States only to those countries that are in operational military alliances with Washington would restrict his options and possibilities.... This country's policy reflects the essential logic of nuclear non-proliferation which is the central issue, both countries agree, of the global security agenda. Our policy strengthens the UN non-proliferation norms. That raises problems for the American doctrine of extended nuclear deterrence."

MALAYSIA: "Wanted--A Common Asian Voice"

The government-influenced, English-language Business Times ran this editorial (9/9): "The Asian Monetary Fund idea, which did not materialise because of Washington's stern opposition and Tokyo's sensitivity that it not rile the United States, could have made short work of the regional crisis.... If East Asian countries had been united enough to push through the establishment of the AMF...the currency crisis...could have been nipped in the bud...and Asia would not have had to surrender its fate to the IMF and World Bank in Washington, the APEC forum, or the Group of Seven industrialised countries."

PHILIPPINES: "APEC Helping Mitigate Economic Volatility"

Columnist Al Dizon wrote in leading BusinessWorld (9/9): "The APEC meeting got underway this week in Auckland with the perennial brickbat...that it has become ineffective, too slow, and in fact a talkshop that can not really do

much.... There may or may not be an iota of truth to anti-APEC claims but one thing is certain: that it is helping much to strengthen the region's capacity to mitigate the effects of economic volatility.... APEC can boast of an outstanding track record in its capacity building and advocacy in these areas."

THAILAND: "In With A Bang, Out With A Whimper"

Yindee Lertcharoenchok and Jeerawat Na Thalang observed in the independent, English-language Nation (9/9): "This year APEC is facing a quandary, and if it fails to get back to tackling issues at its core subject of trade liberalization and market reform, it may not deserve to exist."

GERMANY: "America's APEC Interests"

Right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine featured this commentary (9/9) by Washington correspondent Carola Kaps: "The U.S. administration is still a long way from writing off APEC.... The American government's lasting esteem for APEC is based on its belief that the organization has been instrumental in ensuring that the countries hit hardest by the financial crisis have retained their trust in liberalization and open markets, not closed their borders or withdrawn from the global trade and financial system."

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TEXT:

Not since the crisis in Kosovo has a single issue--the situation in East Timor--provoked such a steady outpouring of editorials in papers from around the world. As it has since the results of the referendum on autonomy for East Timor were released just a week ago, commentary has remained heavy. The vast majority of writers continue to express extreme dismay over the world's "inaction" vis-a-vis the plight of the East Timorese, who are facing mass deportation, slaughter and widespread arson and looting at the hands of armed militias--reportedly acting with impunity despite Jakarta's imposition of martial law in the province earlier this week. While many analysts reiterated earlier criticism of the UN for its "impotence" in resolving the "problem" of East Timor, a far greater number aimed their sights at the U.S., charging that Washington was quick to intervene in Kosovo for humanitarian reasons--and without the blessing of a UN resolution--but not in East Timor. "The Clinton Doctrine, born less than six months ago, is dying in the streets of Dili, East Timor," proclaimed Rome's influential, left-leaning La Repubblica, echoing the sentiments of roughly one-third of the editorials filed for this report. "By promoting the war in Kosovo, America had proclaimed that human rights are more important than national sovereignty," that paper averred, "but...no one is in a hurry to intervene in East Timor to stop the massacres." Some dailies in the region decried ASEAN's "immoral silence" on the issue, while others urged Indonesia to take appropriate action "for its own good," to avoid becoming a "pariah state" in the international arena. Following are highlights in the commentary:

'LESSONS MUST BE DRAWN FROM KOSOVO': The predominant theme among editorialists overseas was that the U.S.' "reluctance to commit to an intervention force" in East Timor was in direct contravention to its stated policy of "new internationalism"--according to which human rights would supersede sovereignty--used in connection with the air campaign against Serbia. Summing up the predominant view, London's independent weekly Economist argued that the "Western countries that could not tolerate mass murder in Kosovo...[but] so readily tolerate it in 'insignificant' East Timor" might be in for a rude awakening if the East Timor example causes the UN to "collapse in disrepute like the League of Nations."

AUSTRALIANS 'LET DOWN' BY U.S.: In Australia, papers saw the U.S. as "failing its ally [Australia] and the region" by not committing U.S. troops for a peacekeeping force in East Timor. Voicing a particular sense of betrayal, the liberal Sydney Morning Herald averred: "Recent events have reinforced the very obvious point that the relationship is not so 'special' to the Americans." The business-oriented Australian Financial Review suggested that Australia should begin to try to build a regional defense commitment "via ASEAN," because, should problems arise, "the U.S. ain't gonna be there."

INDONESIAN VIEWS: In contrast to most available commentary from Jakarta, independent Media Indonesia urged that "authority for East Timor be transferred to the UN." The government-oriented Indonesian Observer also took a unique view, asserting that there was no historical proof that East Timor "had ever been part of Indonesia."

EDITOR: Kathleen J. Brahney

EDITOR'S NOTE: This survey is based on 75 reports from 33 countries, September 7 - 10. The following editorial excerpts are grouped by region; editorials from each country are listed from the most recent date.

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

INDONESIA: "Why Australia Insists Upon Deploying Troops To East Timor"

Leading, independent Kompas contended (9/10): "While Indonesian security forces attempt to bring order to East Timor, Australia impatiently continues pressuring the UN to dispatch peacekeeping troops to East Timor. Prime Minister Howard has stated his conviction that the United States will soon join any multinational force. Howard's certainty raises a question, since the United States has consistently displayed reluctance to respond to [Australia's] call. Howard stated that his belief is based upon a telephone conversation with President Clinton."

"Anticipating International Community Impatience"

Independent Suara Pembaruan held (9/9): "In the context of a loss of trust [in Indonesia] and a desire to protect the East Timorese who have voted for segregation from Indonesia, some friendly countries are insisting that the UN deploy peacekeeping forces in East Timor. It will be difficult to make that wish come true. Entering East Timor, which still belongs to Indonesia, will provoke controversy and charges of violations of Indonesian sovereignty. The United States, Britain--and even Australia--have signalled through diplomatic channels their hesitance to interfere by deploying troops to East Timor. U.S. Defense Secretary William Cohen has maintained that, while the United States does not yet find it necessary to send peacekeeping troops, it is monitoring the situation.... The important matter is not a competition for peacekeeping troops, but a cooperative restoration of peace in East Timor. This task is in the hands of the Indonesian security apparatus."

"Machiavelli Is Alive And Well"

According to the government-oriented, English-language Indonesian Observer (9/10): "It would have been expedient if the UN was in a position to take the necessary steps immediately for the implementation of the takeover of power by the winners of the referendum.... Can anyone imagine how much more blood will flow between now and the...general session of the People's Consultative Assembly?... There is not one single historical document available which attests the truth of the Indonesian claim that East Timor has ever been a part of Indonesia."

"Under Threat Of Foreign Pressure"

Independent Media Indonesia contended (9/9): "We must discern between true and rational nationalism and nationalism that is manipulated by a specific interest. Therefore, we continue to insist that Indonesia, and especially the military, cease its management of the East Timor issue. The imposition of martial law must end immediately, and authority for East Timor must be transferred to the UN as soon as possible. If necessary, it need not wait until the General Session of the People's Consultative Assembly."

"Rejection Of Foreign Troops Understandable"

Ruling Golkar Party's Suara Karya noted (9/9): "The United States, Britain and Canada reacted cautiously to Australia and New Zealand's calls for military involvement. They have firmly refused to deploy any troops with peacekeeping forces. What about the UN itself? Its stance, reflected by the United Nations Security Council, is similarly prudent.... Currently, Indonesia seems to believe involving UN forces would only aggravate existing aggressions."

AUSTRALIA: "PM Cool As Emotions Flare"

The liberal Sydney Morning Herald's noted (9/10): "A lot of the old emotion has gone from the Australia-U.S. relationship.... Recent events have reinforced the very obvious point that the relationship is not so 'special' to the Americans when they are called on to deliver something they believe does not greatly serve their national interest."

"U.S. Alliance Raises Questions"

An editorial in the conservative Brisbane Courier Mail contended (9/10): "Australia...has always made it clear to the United States that so far as relations with Indonesia were concerned, we knew best. When earlier this year Americans suggested that they and we should jointly begin planning for a peace-keeping operation in East Timor, we snubbed them."

"Why U.S. Said No To Sending Any Ground Troops"

The national business Australian Financial Review (9/10) had this observation from its Washington correspondent, who opined: "The shock over U.S. troops should mean Australia becomes less sentimental about its relationship with the United States. Maybe Australia will waiver next time it is asked to join a far-flung international peacekeeping force. And if Australia wants to be an enforcer of human rights in the region it is going to have to put more resources into defense and try and build a regional commitment via ASEAN. Because the United States ain't gonna be there."

"The New Reality Of Our U.S. Ties"

An editorial in the national business Australian Financial Review judged (9/9): "The U.S. decision not to strongly back an Australian mission [in East Timor] should not come as a great surprise.... But after backing U.S. operations in other parts of the world in the past, Australians have every reason to feel let down. Comparisons with the solitary U.S. intervention

in Haiti might provide a nice excuse on Capitol Hill. But they don't do justice to the reality that Australia is involved in a serious conflict with Indonesia which could have strategic implications for the U.S. global security framework."

"Danger Of Aiming Too High"

Sydney's tabloid Daily Telegraph pointed out in an editorial (9/9): "The Australian government has raised public expectations of a swift rescue of the East Timorese which it cannot deliver.... The danger for the government is that it will be seen to have exceeded its international leadership capacity.... Australia must now sit back and wait in undisguised impotence for others to decide what will happen in the agonized province. The United States, the United Nations and Indonesia itself will set the pace."

"Our Allies Ignoring The Call"

The populist Daily Telegraph carried this editorial (9/8): "The reluctance of the United States to commit to a force of willing countries under the banner of the United Nations to stop the bloodshed in East Timor points to a lack of interest in the region and a disregard for its long-standing relationship with Australia. If America decides not to participate, it would have failed its ally, the region and the cause of democracy, making the task of the group of willing nations more difficult."

NEW ZEALAND: "A Spoiler At The Party"

Christchurch's moderate Press emphasized (9/9): "The government's well laid plans for the APEC summit are in danger of being thrown awry. East Timor, whether on the official agenda or not, is threatening to dominate the gathering and skew its outcome.... New Zealand as the summit's host has good reasons for working hard to ensure that peace is restored promptly in East Timor. To allow the bloodshed to continue into next week would inflame public opinion against APEC. People worldwide would be dismissive of the region's leaders discoursing on the profitable advantages of free trade while seeming unable to stop the extermination of a race of people in their backyard.... The tangible expression of this urgency is the present meeting of foreign ministers in Auckland, [which] has the potential to put together the sort of force needed if peace is to be re-established in East Timor."

CHINA: "No Violence In East Timor"

Chen Yali commented in the official English-language China Daily, (9/10): "One more day of anarchy in East Timor, as we have witnessed, means more bloodshed.... The international community may help in stabilizing the situation in East Timor if the Indonesian government so demands. But before a request is made, any outside intervention should take caution so the infringement upon national sovereignty that was obvious in the Kosovo

case is not repeated."

JAPAN: "U.S. Not Enthusiastic About Military Intervention In East Timor"

Liberal Asahi's Washington correspondent Nishimura observed (9/10): "[U. S.] officials are concerned that the U.S. military intervention in the East Timor crisis will not only draw strong nationalistic reactions from both the Indonesian military and people but also destabilize Indonesia's political and economic situation."

HONG KONG: "Timor's Sad Reality"

The independent South China Morning Post's editorial maintained (9/9): "The pending evacuation of the United Nations compound in Dili only highlights the impotence of the world body in resolving this conflict.... Nonetheless, the sad reality is that there probably are no better options which the world is prepared to pursue. The new international order has been of little help to the terrorized inhabitants of East Timor. And that leaves them at the mercy of the marauding militias."

MALAYSIA: "Where Has The 'International Policeman' Gone?"

Under the above headline, government-influenced, Chinese-language Sin Chew Jit Poh declared (9/9): "Not too long ago, the United States, as leader of NATO, played the role of 'international policeman' by bombing Kosovo under the flagship of protecting human rights. But in the case of East Timor, Indonesia has gone against the decision of the UN and occupied the place for more than 24 years. NATO countries are just not as concerned about East Timor.... In the past 30 years, Western countries have given the Soeharto government enormous military assistance.... Indonesia is... a rich energy resource for the West. With this background, it is understandable that these Western countries will not interfere deeply with the East Timor crisis."

PHILIPPINES: "Habibie/Wiranto Regime Is U.S.-Backed"

Teddy Casino asserted in the top-circulation financial Business World (9/10): It's the United States that gives the Indonesian military advice. Note that ever since [Indonesia's annexation], the United States has turned a blind eye towards East Timor and the excesses of the Soeharto fascist dictatorship."

"UN Intervention Needed"

The anti-administration, second leading Philippine Daily Inquirer (9/10): "The only way to stop the carnage and the reversal of the election process by Indonesia is for an international peacekeeping force, under UN auspices, to be deployed in East Timor."

"Stop The Slaughter"

Liberal Today's editorial averred (9/9): "It is time for international alliances and organization to cut the crap on allowing Indonesia some time to prove that its martial law can restore order in East Timor.... The

deadline should not even have been 48 hours. An armed, international peacekeeping force should have been at the ready--and its presence visible to everyone--right before the referendum of August 30.... Remember that when it invaded East Timor in 1975, Jakarta used as a pretext the need to keep the peace because, it said, the non-stop battles between armed political groups had bred virtual anarchy in the place. Well, the policeman has failed to keep the peace despite occupying the island for 24 years. It has lost all moral authority to stay there."

"Time For ASEAN To Be Part Of The Solution"

Leading financial Business World front-paged this commentary (9/9) by Walden Bello: "It is imperative that the international community acts to prevent an act of cleansing on the scale of Bosnia and Kosovo.... ASEAN must call an emergency meeting of its foreign ministers to condemn the Indonesia government's abetting the massacre and offer police and troops from its member countries--with the exception of Indonesia--to serve as the core of the UN peace-keeping mission. This must be made even without the Indonesian government's approval.... ASEAN has long been part of the problem. It must now be part of the solution."

"ASEAN Should End Its Immoral Silence"

University of the Philippines Professor Alex Magno expressed this view in the independent Manila Standard (9/9): "[ASEAN's] immoral silence in the face of Jakarta's brutal machinations in East Timor cannot continue--or we lose the trust of the East Timorese people. The independence of East Timor is now an accomplished fact. All that Jakarta could do is to postpone the inevitable for as long as possible--or reduce East Timor into a howling wilderness."

"Don't Expect The U.S. To Get Involved"

Publisher Max Soliven told readers of the third leading Philippine Star (9/9): "Don't expect...America's president, Bill Clinton, to dispatch his forces (as he did in Kosovo) to save the despairing East Timorese.... American business has an immense investment of more than \$7 billion in Indonesia, not counting their huge stake in the Indonesian oil and petroleum industry.... Of course...sometimes, Americans shock the world and surprise themselves by fits of real altruism, decency, and self-sacrifice. In many American hearts, despite the greed and shamelessness of nearby Wall Street, the Statue of Liberty still lifts her inspiring lamp in New York harbor beside the Golden Door."

SINGAPORE: "Timor And The Law"

The pro-government Straits Times said (9/10), "As with Kosovo, the humanitarian disaster shaping up in East Timor again dramatizes the legal and moral dilemma confronting nations which want to help end the massacre.... The UN does not recognize Indonesia's annexation of the former Portuguese colony, yet it insists on legal niceties before it will dispatch a force."

"Largely, this is because the world acknowledges that Indonesia has done more for the Timorese in 23 years than Portugal did in four centuries of indolence. Also, acting without a mandate sets a bad precedent for unwarranted interventions. This says something about the mixed feelings that East Timor inspires. It is not unalloyed repugnance, such as Kosovo was, yet the carnage cannot go on. Indonesia can do itself a favor by ending the insanity quickly, but the shadows are lengthening."

SOUTH KOREA: "America's Two Faces"

Business-oriented Joong-Ang Ilbo commented (9/10): "Last March, when leading the air campaign against the former Yugoslavia, the United States declared a so-called 'new internationalism,' under which America insisted human rights supersedes sovereignty. The same America and the UN, however, are just watching the bloodshed in East Timor.... The United States is taking a totally different position in just five months."

"Another Kosovo"

According to independent Dong-A Ilbo (9/9): "Directly and indirectly, Indonesia's military has begun an ethnic cleansing to get rid of pro-independence East Timorese.... Murders, lootings, arson and forced deportations are taking place there, repeating what Serbs did to Albanians during the Kosovo conflict.... Forced deportations are feared to be carried out more systematically now with martial law in effect. That is because foreign troops cannot intervene as long as martial law is in effect."

THAILAND: "Jakarta Must Do The Right Thing"

The lead editorial of the top-circulation, moderately conservative, English-language Bangkok Post stated (9/10): "The (Indonesian) military will be making a serious error of judgment if it thinks it can engineer a genocide in East Timor and get away with it.... [Indonesia's] actions in East Timor can destroy her international credibility and relegate it to pariah state--Mr. Habibie, meet Mr. Milosevic of Yugoslavia. It is in (Indonesia's) best interest to stop the killing now, allow international peacekeepers in and keep to the agreement to give East Timor its independence."

"Violence In Timor Must End"

The lead editorial of elite, business-oriented Krungthep Turakij commented (9/9): "We oppose President B.J. Habibie's staging of a political farce by announcing martial law, curfews and a release of pro-independence forces leader, Xanana Gusmao. They were only meant to deceive the world community and ease its pressure while Indonesia continues to deny international forces' intervention to help improve the situation there.... The UN must intervene before it is too late."

VIETNAM: "The Indonesian Government And 'International' Pressure"

An editorial in Thanh Nien (Young People), the forum of Vietnam's Union of Youth Societies, asked (9/10): "Can the [appointment of] General Kiki

Syahnakri [to oversee] East Timor be viewed as an attempt being made by the Indonesian government to re-establish order there? It is reasonable to say that the upgrading of the East Timor governor is an effort of Indonesia's government to avoid granting an international 'peacekeeping' force the access to East Timor because such a move is no less than giving away part of it sovereignty."

EUROPE

PORTUGAL: "Dili Is Still Burning"

In another in a series of commentaries in center-left O Publico, Adeline Gomes stressed (9/10): "Dili is still burning. Thousands and thousands of Timorese have fled to the forests and mountains. Not one single militia leader has been detained.... Still, in the last few hours the Vatican is speaking for the first time of genocide... and appealing to the Security Council to approve the deployment of a peace-keeping force...[and] the United States is suspending military cooperation with Indonesia.... Seven days later, a faint ray of hope."

"Timor: Act While There Is Still Time"

Foreign policy analyst Alvaro Vasconcelos held in center-left O Publico (9/10): "The dispatch of an international force cannot wait for this political cleansing to be completed.... The lessons of Bosnia and Kosovo must be drawn on to pressure the international community to act while there is still time.... Continuing to rely only on Habibie or on General Wiranto would be to count on a weak and transitory authority."

"The Silence"

Jose Manuel Fernandes penned this editorial in center-left O Publico (9/9): "The silence descends on us.... And we are ashamed: of our impotence, of the hypocrisy of the powerful, of the inaction of this world we are part of, of the incompetence of the UN. We are ashamed to realize that we have arrived at the end of the 20th century without being able to prevent another genocide."

"Days Of Our Death"

Columnist August Santos Silva observed in center-left O Publico (9/9): "What hurts the most, during these days of horror, is the deference the so-called international community is showing to the Indonesian dictatorship. Actually, this is not a new situation: The passivity, the foot-dragging, and the timidity have been responsible or complicit in various massacres, in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America or the Balkans.... If we do not want to mobilize at the right time, which is now, the otherwise formidable weapons at our disposal to pressure Jakarta--political intimidation by the United States, economic sanctions and retention of

funds by the IMF and World Bank, tough diplomacy by the UN, the EU and the Vatican, an international boycott--we will get around to Timor on Indonesia's terms and conditions."

"As Soon As Possible"

In center-left O Publico, Jose Ribeiro e Castro asked (9/9): "How long is 'as soon as possible'? This is the question being asked in Portugal and by the world in solidarity with Timor.... What is happening, before the eyes of the world, is a shocking, ignoble and cowardly act of piracy, conducted by the Indonesian soldiers against a homeland which is integral in its will and being.... How much more time, how much more blood, how much more suffering do the world powers require?"

"A Story Of Shame"

In centrist Diario de Noticias, former Foreign Minister Victor de Sa Machado opined (9/9): "What's left to us... in the face of the impossibility...of...[our] sending a rapid reaction force to Dili is to hope that the Australian people will do this for us."

BRITAIN: "Rein In The War Horses"

The conservative Times declared (9/10): "Jakarta is alive with rumors of army coups. Nor does General Wiranto, the defense minister, control all army factions; many in East Timor are loyal instead to the son-in-law of the deposed President Soeharto, during whose authoritarian reign East Timorese independence could never have been discussed. To stop Indonesia's fragile elite fragmenting now, it makes sense to let its leaders seek to preserve what unity they can, and to continue to pitch any intervention that may become necessary as an offer of assistance to the Jakarta leadership rather than as a threat."

"The Tragedy Of East Timor"

The independent weekly Economist's editorial argued (9/10): "In itself, East Timor does not amount to much...but even tiny places can become significant. If the world fails the East Timorese again, the consequences will be felt far beyond the fringes of South-East Asia. This is not just a little local matter, but a mess that could have far-reaching effects if it is not soon put right.... If the UN collapses in disrepute like the League of Nations, the prospects of finding international solutions for international problems--such as the spread of weapons of mass destruction--will simply vanish. Perhaps then those Western countries that could not tolerate mass murder in Kosovo will wonder why they could so readily tolerate it in 'insignificant' East Timor."

"Island Of Victims"

The conservative Daily Telegraph had this lead editorial (9/9): "Nearly a quarter of a century ago, East Timor was left in the lurch by its colonial master, Portugal. Tragically, history is now repeating itself, as the UN evacuates its foreign staff from the island, leaving the population once

again to the mercies of the Indonesian army and its supporters....
Presented with the opportunity of doing something effective about the territory, the UN has been found sadly wanting."

"UN Goes AWOL"

The centrist tabloid Express said in its lead editorial (9/9): "First Kosovo, now East Timor. Just what is the UN doing and what is it for now? For those who argue that the UN is dead and that America is the new world policeman, yesterday's flat refusal by the United States to consider using its troops in the Far East should have put paid to that idea. The people of East Timor must be protected. But that protection must be based on international law. The United States, Britain and other countries who have bypassed the UN should put all their efforts into reviving it."

FRANCE: "World Strategy Vs. The Fate Of A People"

Dominique Bromberger told listeners of government funded France Inter radio (9/10): "Of course, the United States has no intention of risking the lives of its soldiers for a handful of Timorese... In fact, what the United States wants is Jakarta's agreement to an international intervention force, because Indonesia is the cornerstone of U.S. strategy in Southeast Asia.... Indonesia's disintegration or a reversal of the country's alliance would represent for the West, but mostly for the United States, a danger of such magnitude that the fate of East Timor's population in comparison is very secondary."

"Agony"

Bruno Frappat maintained in Catholic La Croix (9/9): "The UN is leaving East Timor, for Indonesia the road is clear.... The UN has once more proven its two-sided weakness.

"It has power only if the consensus of the Security Council grants that power; it has a generous heart but no means to act on that generosity.... Indonesia for its part has proven its duplicity. With its apparent approval for the elections and its systematic repression, cowardice and cynicism have reached a new high. As for the international community, the calls for appeasement to the Indonesian government are but a drop of rhetoric in a sea of interests and excuses."

"The UN Challenged"

Left-of-center Le Monde argued in its editorial (9/9): "The Indonesian army and its ways are well known.... It would be easy to say, we told you so, but what is happening today in East Timor was predictable. And should have been predicted. By organizing the elections, the UN was implicitly protecting the voters during the elections but also after. And this is where it failed.... The UN has come out of this affair humiliated and discredited.... And when the UN is incriminated, it is not so much Kofi Annan who is the target...but the Security Council. The UN was instrumental in its own failure because it accepted that the referendum would be tied to a promise of non-intervention.... The Security Council will not vote on one, we can count on a Chinese veto for that. Can the UN continue to

function with this dichotomy: promoting human rights but not having the means to see that they are respected? The UN's future depends on the answer."

"The UN's Responsibility"

Alain Duhamel told listeners on privately run RTL radio (9/9): "The UN's responsibility in the tragedy of East Timor is monumental.... And that means the responsibility lies with the nations represented in the Security Council.... When the killings began, the UN's impotence became patent. But the UN has no excuse because it knew exactly who it was dealing with. It knew perfectly well that the Indonesian army refused the notion of independence for East Timor. Yet, they let things happen.... Intervention is an exceptional procedure.... What has become the norm is what is happening in Southeast Asia today: It is the Chinese veto, in other words, the interests of military dictatorships."

GERMANY: "Escapism"

Werner Adam observed in right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine (9/10): "In Indonesia every passing day feeds suspicions that the military has effectively taken over from President Habibie. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that the orgy of violence...could continue if the military did not want it to. Once again, the UN is supposed to be responsible for everything, but the organization was only allowed to implement the referendum, not given the means to stop the terror."

"The Next Genocide"

Centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich carried the following lead editorial by Stefan Ulrich (9/9): "The international community must react to the orgy of violence in East Timor with rapid sanctions that extend to the threshold of military intervention. The United States should cancel its military assistance.... The World Bank and the IMF could put the loans that Indonesia wants so badly on ice, and UN members could draw down their diplomatic relations until Indonesia finally agrees to the deployment of an international force in East Timor. Sanctions don't work, you say? That may be true for autistic regimes like Saddam Hussein's and Milosevic's, but Indonesia and its president, Habibie, are very interested in economic cooperation with the West. So a tough embargo could force Jakarta to give in. The downside of sanctions is that they require time, so they would come too late for many Timorese."

"An Empty Promise?"

Centrist Recklinghaeuser Zeitung commented (9/9): "Once again, we see that human rights can be achieved only under certain circumstances, and only if the situation allows. If this is to be changed, the UN needs at last a well-equipped, effective intervention force legitimated by international law.... Only then will the promise that the United States and NATO made after their victory in Kosovo become reality: The world will not allow innocent civilians to be murdered. If something doesn't happen soon, that

promise will prove empty."

"Is U.S. Being Cynical Or Realistic?"

Right-of-center Nuernberger Zeitung stressed (9/9): "Madeleine Albright made unmistakably clear that Indonesia is not Kosovo when she said that Washington is not considering intervening against the will of the Indonesian government. Depending on where you stand, this can be viewed as either a cynical or a realistic position."

ITALY: "We Should Feel Ashamed About Massacres In East Timor"

An editorial in provocative, classical liberal Il Foglio (9/10): "At the same time when the news was spreading about the massacre of the Caritas people in East Timor and the Vatican was issuing its desperate cry, the Americans indicated yesterday with brutal sincerity that they have no intention of jeopardizing the stability of an area which is economically and politically strategic for world peace and development with a unilateral military intervention. Two hundred million Indonesians, and the economic chain of which they are a part, do not allow us to consider East Timor as an Asian Kosovo, and different and clear geopolitical factors prevent a similar approach on the part of the main Western superpowers--a double

standard which is natural in history and which is independent of any moral rules.... In any case, the point now is to understand whether either a limited intervention to provide humanitarian assistance or an initiative to exert political-diplomatic pressure on Indonesia are possible in order to stop the massacre at once. There is nothing else we can do for the time being."

"Retreat Of The UN"

Alberto Pasolini Zanelli made these points in leading, rightist opposition Il Giornale (9/10): "Very rarely has the legal, political and moral picture been as clear in the history of UN interventions.... The situation in Timor is by far simpler than in Kosovo.... But while the legal picture is clear, political doubts remain. Why has the UN failed to timely prevent the insurrection of armed gangs which was totally predictable? And what about the credibility of this organization, which obtains results only when it is supported by the military strength of America and the European allies?"

"Clinton Doctrine Dying In Streets Of East Timor"

Left-leaning, influential La Repubblica (9/9) carried this piece from Jakarta by Pietro Veronese: "The Clinton Doctrine, born less than six months ago, is dying in the streets of Dili, East Timor. By promoting the war in Kosovo, America had proclaimed that human rights are more important than national sovereignty. But, notwithstanding these statements, nobody is in a hurry to intervene in East Timor to stop the massacres. The United Nations has decided to leave the island.... The United States issues warnings, the UNSG condemns (the violence), the UNSC holds emergency meetings.... APEC foreign ministers consult in New Zealand.... But the massacres continue."

"The U.S.: Never Under The UN Flag"

Cesare De Carlo noted from Washington in La Nazione/Il Resto del Carlino/Il Giorno conservative syndicate (9/9): "As everybody knows, the UN moves only if the United States moves, and the United States--as explicitly indicated by Defense Secretary Cohen--has no intention, whatsoever, of moving."

"Short Circuit Between Superpowers And UN"

An article in the news analysis section of provocative, classical liberal daily Il Foglio (9/9) held (9/9): "The short circuit between the diplomacies of the superpowers and the UN over East Timor is not new: Once again, what emerges is the hesitation of the Security Council, stemming both from Beijing's announced opposition (to the deployment of an international peacekeeping force) and, to an even larger extent, from the U.S. State Department's intention to stay out of UN initiatives."

"Sanctions Would Not Be Enough"

Ennio Caretto noted from Washington in centrist, top-circulation Corriere della Sera (9/9): "Australia and Portugal support the deployment of an international peacekeeping contingent.... Beijing and Moscow have distanced themselves from such a hypothesis.... The Clinton administration appears uncertain.... In the very short run, the most likely outcome is the adoption of political, economic and military sanctions against Jakarta.... But these measures would not be sufficient. And they would not be enough to avert an armed intervention in East Timor, unless Indonesia gives up repression."

RUSSIA: "UN's Prestige Is On The Line"

Official government Rossiyskaya Gazeta (9/9) ran this by Andrei Bychkov in Jakarta: "The UN is acting dubiously. Strangely, it believes that the Indonesian government can ensure security and order in East Timor. Jakarta's track record in that area doesn't exactly look good. Observers point out that the UN has its prestige on the line. So far, it has been unable to protect those whom it urged to take part in the referendum."

"All Eyes Are On U.S."

Aleksandr Timofeyev pointed out in reformist Vremya-MN (9/9): "The UN is ready to support sending a peacekeeping force to East Timor, but nobody wants to act contrary to Jakarta's will. All eyes are now on Washington. Without its approval, such an operation would be impossible politically and technically."

AUSTRIA: "Military Interests"

Gerhard Plott judged in liberal Der Standard (9/7): "Now the Indonesian government has to admit that it has lost control of the military and the police; even ministers are calling for UN troops. And the generals under army chief and Defense Minister Wiranto do not care what the government wants or says.... The military is afraid that in East Timor, the giant Indonesian regime might start to break apart: Now East Timor, followed by Western New Guinea, then Aceh, and eventually nothing will be left of the splendor and the glory of the formerly omnipotent army. What do human rights or democracy count compared with the power of the Indonesian military? Nothing. But the UN should have known this before the referendum and sent peace troops."

BELGIUM: "U.S., International Community Reluctant To Act"

Asian affairs writer Philippe Paquet opined in conservative Catholic La Libre Belgique (9/10): "'We can do it now, we can do it tomorrow if necessary, elsewhere, in Africa, or in Central Europe.' Of course, last June 22, Bill Clinton was addressing NATO troops at Skopje airport, and it is a fact that East Timor is rather distant from the Atlantic Alliance's traditional theatre of operations. But we believed we understood that the American president was abolishing the borders of humanitarian diplomacy, that he was making the right to intervene universal. Yet, after one week of violence in East Timor, the United States and the international community are more than ever reluctant to make it end."

"Intervening For Humanitarian Reasons"

Diplomatic correspondent Pierre Lefevre opined in independent Le Soir (9/9): "It is very unlikely that the UN would give its green light. China, which has a veto right at the UN Security Council, is, especially since Kosovo, fiercely opposed to any kind of Western military intervention, all the more so in its close neighborhood. Tibet and Taiwan should not be given ideas. The United States itself will hesitate before ruffling Beijing. It is at last beginning to see the end of the serious cooling of U.S.-Chinese relations following the bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade. Under American business circles' pressure, the United States has just started the negotiations again with China which should soon lead to its joining the WTO.... An intervention in East Timor which China would not endorse would undoubtedly compromise this strategic evolution."

DENMARK: "Only UN Can Save East Timor"

Center-left Aktuelt concluded (9/9): "The best thing that could happen in East Timor is for the Indonesian regime to swallow its pride and request the deployment of UN peacekeepers. A strong UN presence, coupled with massive international aid, is the only way of giving East Timor a fair chance."

IRELAND: "Betrayal And Humiliation"

The moderately conservative Irish Times asserted (9/9): "Yesterday was one

of the most humiliating and depressing days in the annals of the United Nations, when it announced the withdrawal of its mission to East Timor.... [Indonesia's leaders] are clearly vulnerable to economic sanctions but also adept at turning such threats back against international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank, the many banks and multinational companies with a stake in Indonesia and the governments that support them.... Those states which now refuse to act were the very ones that supported the act of self-determination.... The credulity of these states, and of the UN secretary general in allowing the Indonesian military take responsibility for security, has been starkly exposed by the careful long-term planning that has gone into this subversion of international law. Angry denunciation of the betrayal.... The maximum political, economic and moral pressure must now be directed at the Indonesian government."

MALTA: "East Timor Tragedy"

Maltese-language, Catholic weekly *Il-Gens* observed (9/10): "We believe that the international community cannot just resort to words and take no serious or concrete action. The international community has guaranteed a referendum and now should also safeguard the result and ensure its implementation.... The international community has various means of putting pressure--i.e., diplomacy, the IMF, the World Bank--to avoid a genocide. There is a moral and grave obligation to use these methods in order to stop East Timorese people from being killed as they are being right now."

THE NETHERLANDS: "Non-Intervention Is Iron Law In Southeast Asia"

Influential *NRC Handelsblad* of Rotterdam held (9/9): "Whether it is forest fires, financial crises or violent repression of peoples, the Asian countries appear time after time unable or unwilling to intervene to restore order in their region. Strong regional organizations are lacking. Informal consultations without 'loss of face' are preferred.... The only real power in Asia is the United States. In the past it has demonstrated that it will intervene unilaterally (Korea, Vietnam). Even now the Asian nations like to take refuge under the defense umbrella of the United States...but it is Washington which determines whether intervention is of major American interest. In the case of East Timor, the answer is 'no.' 'We cannot and do not want to be the policeman of the world,' said Defense Secretary William Cohen yesterday."

NORWAY: "An Impotent UN"

Conservative *Aftenposten* (9/10) commented: "It is a nearly impotent UN the world is experiencing these days, while the violence and murders spread in East Timor--in the wake of the UN-observed referendum on independence for this region.... With its role during the referendum, the UN has contributed to expectations that now are turning out to be dangerous--because no one up to now has been prepared to help East Timor."

SPAIN: "International Pratfall"

Barcelona's centrist *La Vanguardia* observed (9/10): "It is true that one should not intervene in a country's internal affairs unless the affected

country requests intervention. But it seems incongruous that the Western powers have not taken action for humanitarian reasons as was done in Kosovo, and without the UN's blessing.... And it seems highly irresponsible to invite a people to participate in a referendum, and then abandon them to face the results."

"An Unwillingness To Get Involved"

Conservative ABC commented (9/9): "What is really sad is not the UN's inoperativeness to which we have all grown accustomed, but rather the international community's unwillingness to involve itself in East Timor.... To trust Indonesia to maintain security and wait to see whether the imposition of martial law will restore order is to recast irony into sarcasm."

SWEDEN: "The East Timor Dilemma"

Independent, liberal Dagens Nyheter featured this commentary (9/9) by foreign editor Per Ahlin: "There is talk of a catastrophe, a fiasco for the UN in East Timor, a turnabout of the perspectives. Suddenly the UN holds the responsibility, not Indonesia.... The [UN's] handling of the matter, before, during, and after the Timor elections leaves a great deal to be desired.... The evacuations last Wednesday were a distressing event. Credibility now is at stake. The UN must have the preparedness to intervene; the organization must be able to uphold international peace and security. But the question is how. Today every alternative seems to be equally poor. The dilemma of the international community is painful and very apparent."

SWITZERLAND: "Who Is In Charge In Jakarta?"

Centrist regional Basler Zeitung carried this piece by its Hong Kong correspondent (9/10): "Does General Wiranto still have the military competence to bring peace and quiet to East Timor?... Many...suspect that the military is purposefully delaying taking charge in East Timor, until the expulsions have gone so far that the settling of loyal Indonesians will establish a new reality [on the ground.] The question who really holds the power in Jakarta becomes ever more pressing. The inability of President Habibie [to do anything about] the debacle in East Timor has weakened his political position irreparably....

"In [Jakarta's] conservative media, an anti-foreigner mood is definitely noticeable. The hurdles for a diplomatic intervention to help East Timor are being set higher and higher."

SOUTH ASIA

INDIA: "Time And The West"

The centrist Times of India opined (9/10), "There can be no two views on the question that law and order in East Timor has to be restored and that the militias be disarmed.... [But] the international community's response is still determined by the exigencies of policies of the major powers. Such rank opportunism in the application of human rights standards raises

suspensions that intervention in the domestic affairs of nations in the name of humanitarianism--after having encouraged authoritarianism--is to legitimize something which is in contravention of the UN Charter."

"Indonesia On The Brink"

The right-of-center Indian Express stated this view (9/10): "The case for international intervention in East Timor on humanitarian grounds has grown with every day that Jakarta has failed to protect the people from the militias.... Paradoxically, the near-collapse of Indonesia politically and economically, makes international military intervention even more problematic. The job may no longer be only to protect the East Timorese but to hold Indonesia together. And is the UN prepared to do that?"

"Terror In Timor And The Interventionist Urge"

Senior assistant editor Siddharth Varadarajan opined in the centrist Times of India (9/9):

"As East Timor slips further into a chaos scripted by the Indonesian army, the international community must once again confront the troubling question of whether armed intervention is a valid response to the violation of human rights. After Iraq, Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, Bosnia and Yugoslavia, Indonesia is the seventh sovereign country in recent years to be told to allow foreign 'peace enforcement' troops onto its soil--or overflights in its airspace.... If the United States, which has propped up the Indonesian army all these years really wants to force Jakarta to curb the militias, it should suspend its links with the Indonesian army and announce an end to all arms exports to that country. This, however, it is unprepared to do as it will lose a lucrative market and push Indonesia and China closer together. And yet...after NATO's aggression in Yugoslavia, the Chinese are bound sharply to react to anything which smacks of the unilateral use of force by the West in their own 'backyard'. If anything, the world should have acted decisively when Indonesia invaded East Timor 24 years ago. Using force now will not make up for past wrongs. It will only compound the original sin."

"Stop The Violence"

An editorial the centrist Hindu argued (9/9): "The UN Assistance Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) needs a peacekeeping force to hold the island together. It must liaise with the Indonesian government to ensure that the new People's Consultative Assembly or parliament ratifies the independence vote and empowers East Timor.... Once a popular government is installed in due course in Dili, East Timor will have to integrate with ASEAN. Greater interaction with the region and massive doses of investment from not just East Asia, but Europe and the United States will be imperative to bring peace, employment, industrialization and human resource development to this new island-state. Until that is achieved, there is bound to be pain and tension in East Timor. More than anything else, the independence vote and the transition will be a model and trend-setter for many other territories."

PAKISTAN: "East Timorese Turbulence"

In the editorial view of Karachi's independent national Dawn (9/9): "If there is resistance [on the part of Indonesia] to a foreign presence in the troubled territory more problems can be anticipated. Many of Indonesia's neighbors are disturbed at the turn of events and might be inclined to send in their forces even without a UN sanction. But that would be setting a dangerous precedent which should be avoided. The UN involvement should continue, and Indonesia should find it in its own interest to resolve the problem as fast as it can."

BANGLADESH: "East Timorese Nightmare"

The independent, English-language Daily Star concluded (9/9): "The United States, Australia, Portugal, France and Britain have...voiced support for a UN peace-keeping force in the beleaguered island. However, we hope that...President Habibie's government would immediately take steps to rein in the militias, leading the way for the verdict of the referendum on East Timor's independence to be respected."

"Referendum Should Be Last Word For East Timor"

Pro-government, Bangla-language Banglar Bani's editorial pointed out (9/9): "There is a strong demand for sending an international force under the supervision of the UN to East Timor before it becomes a killing field like Bosnia or Kosovo.... Together with the international community, we also demand taking appropriate measures to end violence and killing, and restore order in the island."

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

CANADA: "Intervening In East Timor"

Editorialist Guy Taillier remarked in Montreal's liberal Le Devoir (9/9): "The UN...has made mistakes that are so grave [in East Timor] that they border on criminal irresponsibility.... An urgent peacekeeping force is called for, preferably with the approval of Jakarta, on which pressures...[such as] commercial sanctions if necessary...should be multiplied. The stakes are to defend a population punished for having freely taken the decision to make independence.... Western hesitations is worrisome at the very least...especially since Dili is slowly turning into a Pristina.... The West is acquiring a conscience but it is still possible to buy it off. The Indonesian regime had paid in advance."

ARGENTINA: "Two, Three, Several Kosovos"

Alfredo Grieco y Bavio drew these conclusions in leftist Pagina 12 (9/9): "It was easy to recognize an Indonesian version of Kosovo in this story.... The KLA looks like the Timorese guerrilla's distant brother. And Jakarta's methods aimed at favoring a pro-Indonesian minority anticipated those of Belgrade: organizing death squadrons."

BRAZIL: "The Poor, The Rich And The UN"

Readers of liberal Folha de Sao Paulo saw this editorial (9/9): "Timor's case demonstrates very well the UN's ineptitude in resolving international conflicts. The UN expects Indonesia to accept the presence of a peace force at a moment when it is already clear that its army acts deliberately in connection with the anti-independence militias in a scorched earth strategy."

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EAST TIMOR: 'CLINTON DOCTRINE DYING ON THE STREETS OF DILI'

X' hp x (#Not since the crisis in Kosovo has a single issue the situation in East

Timor provoked such a steady outpouring of editorials in papers from around the

world. As it has since the results of the referendum on autonomy for East T

imor were released just a week ago, commentary has remained heavy. The vast ma

jority of writers continue to express extreme dismay over the world's "inaction

" visavis the plight of the East Timorese, who are facing mass deportation, sla

ughter and widespread arson and looting at the hands of armed militias reportedl

y acting with impunity despite Jakarta's imposition of martial law in the provi

nce earlier this week. While many analysts reiterated earlier criticism of the UN for its "impotence" in resolving the "problem" of East Timor, a far greater number aimed their sights at the U.S., charging that Washington was quick to intervene in Kosovo for humanitarian reasons and without the blessing of a UN resolution but not in East Timor. "The Clinton Doctrine, born less than six months ago, is dying in the streets of Dili, East Timor," proclaimed Rome's influential, left-leaning La Repubblica, echoing the sentiments of roughly one third of the editorials filed for this report. "By promoting the war in Kosovo, America had proclaimed that human rights are more important than national sovereignty," that paper averred, "but...no one is in a hurry to intervene in East Timor to stop the massacres." Some dailies in the region decried ASEAN's "immoral silence" on the issue, while others urged Indonesia to take appropriate action "for its own good," to avoid becoming a "pariah state" in the international arena. Following are highlights in the commentary:

'LESSONS MUST BE DRAWN FROM KOSOVO': The predominant theme among editorialists overseas was that the U.S.' "reluctance to commit to an intervention force" in East Timor was in direct contravention to its stated policy of "new internationalism" according to which human rights would supersede sovereignty used in connection with the air campaign against Serbia. Summing up the predominant view, London's independent weekly Economist argued that the "Western countries that could not tolerate mass murder in Kosovo...[but] so readily tolerate it in 'in significant' East Timor" might be in for a rude awakening if the East Timor example causes the UN to "collapse in disrepute like the League of Nations."

AUSTRALIANS 'LET DOWN' BY U.S.: In Australia, papers saw the U.S. as "failing its ally [Australia] and the region" by not committing U.S. troops for a peacekeeping force in East Timor. Voicing a particular sense of betrayal, the liberal Sydney Morning Herald averred: "Recent events have

reinforced the very obvious point that the relationship is not so 'special' to the Americans." The business-oriented Australian Financial Review suggested that Australia should begin to try to build a regional defense commitment "via ASEAN," because, should problems arise, "the U.S. ain't gonna be there."

INDONESIAN VIEWS: In contrast to most available commentary from Jakarta, independent Media Indonesia urged that "authority for East Timor be transferred to the UN." The government-oriented Indonesian Observer also took a unique view, asserting that there was no historical proof that East Timor "had ever been part of Indonesia." EDITOR: Kathleen J. Brahney

EDITOR'S NOTE: This survey is based on 75 reports from 33 countries, September 7-10. The following editorial excerpts are grouped by region; editorials from each country are listed from the most recent date.

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

X hp x (# INDONESIA: "Why Australia Insists Upon Deploying Troops To East Timor"

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Leading, independent Kompas contended (9/10): "While Indonesian security forces attempt to bring order to East Timor, Australia impatiently continues pressuring the UN to dispatch peacekeeping troops to East Timor. Prime Minister Howard has stated his conviction that the United States will soon join any multinational force. Howard's certainty raises a question, since the United States has consistently displayed reluctance to respond to [Australia's] call. Howard stated that his belief is based upon a telephone conversation with President Clinton."

"Anticipating International Community Impatience"

Independent Suara Pembaruan held (9/9): "In the context of a loss of trust [in Indonesia] and a desire to protect the East Timorese who have voted for segregation

ation from Indonesia, some friendly countries are insisting that the UN deploy peacekeeping forces in East Timor. It will be difficult to make that wish come true. Entering East Timor, which still belongs to Indonesia, will provoke controversy and charges of violations of Indonesian sovereignty. The United States, Britain and even Australia have signalled through diplomatic channels their hesitance to interfere by deploying troops to East Timor. U.S. Defense Secretary William Cohen has maintained that, while the United States does not yet find it necessary to send peacekeeping troops, it is monitoring the situation.... The important matter is not a competition for peacekeeping troops, but a cooperative restoration of peace in East Timor. This task is in the hands of the Indonesian security apparatus."

"Machiavelli Is Alive And Well"

According to the government-oriented, English-language Indonesian Observer (9/10): "It would have been expedient if the UN was in a position to take the necessary steps immediately for the implementation of the takeover of power by the winners of the referendum.... Can anyone imagine how much more blood will flow between now and the...general session of the People's Consultative Assembly?... There is not one single historical document available which attests the truth of the Indonesian claim that East Timor has ever been a part of Indonesia."

"Under Threat Of Foreign Pressure"

Independent Media Indonesia contended (9/9): "We must discern between true and rational nationalism and nationalism that is manipulated by a specific interest. Therefore, we continue to insist that Indonesia, and especially the military, cease its management of the East Timor issue. The imposition of martial law must end immediately, and authority for East Timor must be transferred to the UN as soon as possible. If necessary, it need not wait until the General Session of the People's Consultative Assembly."

"Rejection Of Foreign Troops Understandable"

Ruling Golkar Party's Suara Karya noted (9/9): "The United States, Britain and Canada reacted cautiously to Australia and New Zealand's calls for military involvement. They have firmly refused to deploy any troops with peacekeeping forces. What about the UN itself? Its stance, reflected by the United Nations Security Council, is similarly prudent.... Currently, Indonesia seems to believe involving UN forces would only aggravate existing aggressions."

AUSTRALIA: "PM Cool As Emotions Flare"

The liberal Sydney Morning Herald's noted (9/10): "A lot of the old emotion has gone from the Australia-U.S. relationship.... Recent events have reinforced the very obvious point that the relationship is not so 'special' to the Americans when they are called on to deliver something they believe does not greatly serve their national interest."

"U.S. Alliance Raises Questions"

An editorial in the conservative Brisbane Courier Mail contended (9/10): "Australia...has always made it clear to the United States that so far as relations with Indonesia were concerned, we knew best. When earlier this year Americans suggested that they and we should jointly begin planning for a peacekeeping operation in East Timor, we snubbed them."

"Why U.S. Said No To Sending Any Ground Troops"

The national business Australian Financial Review (9/10) had this observation from its Washington correspondent, who opined: "The shock over U.S. troops should mean Australia becomes less sentimental about its relationship with the United States. Maybe Australia will waiver next time it is asked to join a far-flung international peacekeeping force. And if Australia wants to be an enforcer of human rights in the region it is going to have to put more resources into de

fense and try and build a regional commitment via ASEAN.
Because the United States ain't gonna be there."

"The New Reality Of Our U.S. Ties"

X` hp x (#

An editorial in the national business Australian Financial Review judged (9/9)

: "The U.S. decision not to strongly back an Australian mission [in East Timor

] should not come as a great surprise.... But after backing U.S. operations in

other parts of the world in the past, Australians have every reason to feel le

t down. Comparisons with the solitary U.S. intervention in Haiti might provide

a nice excuse on Capitol Hill. But they don't do justice to the reality that

Australia is involved in a serious conflict with

Indonesia which could have str

ategic implications for the U.S. global security framework."

X` hp x (#

"Danger Of Aiming Too High"

Sydney's tabloid Daily Telegraph pointed out in an editorial (9/9): "The Austr

alian government has raised public expectations of a swift rescue of the East T

imorese which it cannot deliver.... The danger for the government is that it w

ill be seen to have exceeded its international leadership capacity.... Austral

ia must now sit back and wait in undisguised impotence for others to decide wha

t will happen in the agonized province. The United States, the United Nations

and Indonesia itself will set the pace."

X` hp x (#

X` hp x (# "Our Allies Ignoring The Call"

The populist Daily Telegraph carried this editorial (9/8): "The reluctance of

the United States to commit to a force of willing countries under the banner of

the United Nations to stop the bloodshed in East Timor points to a lack of int

erest in the region and a disregard for its longstanding relationship with Aust

ralia. If America decides not to participate, it would have failed its ally, t

he region and the cause of democracy, making the task of the group of willing n

ations more difficult."

X` hp x (#
X` hp x (#

NEW ZEALAND: "A Spoiler At The Party"

X` hp x (#

Christchurch's moderate Press emphasized (9/9): "The government's well laid plans for the APEC summit are in danger of being thrown awry. East Timor, whether or on the official agenda or not, is threatening to dominate the gathering and skew its outcome.... New Zealand as the summit's host has good reasons for working hard to ensure that peace is restored promptly in East Timor. To allow the bloodshed to continue into next week would inflame public opinion against AP EC. People worldwide would be dismissive of the region's leaders discouraging on the profitable advantages of free trade while seeming unable to stop the extermination of a race of people in their backyard.... The tangible expression of this urgency is the present meeting of foreign ministers in Auckland, [which] has the potential to put together the sort of force needed if peace is to be reestablished in East Timor."

X` hp x (#

X` hp x (#CHINA: "No Violence In East Timor"

Chen Yali commented in the official Englishlanguage China Daily, (9/10):

"One more day of anarchy in East Timor, as we have witnessed, means more bloodshed.

... The international community may help in stabilizing the situation in East Timor if the Indonesian government so demands. But before a request is made, any outside intervention should take caution so the infringement upon national sovereignty that was obvious in the Kosovo case is not repeated."

X` hp x (#

JAPAN: "U.S. Not Enthusiastic About Military Intervention In East Timor"

Liberal Asahi's Washington correspondent Nishimura observed (9/10): "[U.S.] officials are concerned that the U.S. military intervention in the East Timor crisis will not only draw strong nationalistic reactions from both the Indonesian

military and people but also destabilize Indonesia's political and economic situation."

X' hp x (# HONG KONG: "Timor's Sad Reality"

The independent South China Morning Post's editorial maintained (9/9): "The ending evacuation of the United Nations compound in Dili only highlights the impotence of the world body in resolving this conflict.... Nonetheless, the sad reality is that there probably are no better options which the world is prepared to pursue. The new international order has been of little help to the terrorized inhabitants of East Timor. And that leaves them at the mercy of the marauding militias."

MALAYSIA: "Where Has The 'International Policeman' Gone?"

Under the above headline, government-influenced, Chinese-language Sin Chew Jit Poh declared (9/9): "Not too long ago, the United States, as leader of NATO, played the role of 'international policeman' by bombing Kosovo under the flagship of protecting human rights. But in the case of East Timor, Indonesia has gone against the decision of the UN and occupied the place for more than 24 years. NATO countries are just not as concerned about East Timor.... In the past 30 years, Western countries have given the Soeharto government enormous military assistance.... Indonesia is... a rich energy resource for the West. With this background, it is understandable that these Western countries will not interfere deeply with the East Timor crisis."

PHILIPPINES: "Habibie/Wiranto Regime Is U.S.-Backed"

X' hp x (# Teddy Casino asserted in the top-circulation financial Business World (9/10): "It's the United States that gives the Indonesian military advice. Note that ever since [Indonesia's annexation], the United States has turned a blind eye towards East Timor and the excesses of the Soeharto fascist dictatorship."

"UN Intervention Needed"

The antiadministration, second leading Philippine Daily Inquirer (9/10):

"The only way to stop the carnage and the reversal of the election process by Indonesia is for an international peacekeeping force, under UN auspices, to be deployed in East Timor."

"Stop The Slaughter"

X' hp x (#

X' hp x (#Liberal Today's editorial averred (9/9): "It is time for international alliances and organization to cut the crap on allowing Indonesia some time to prove that its martial law can restore order in East Timor.... The deadline

should not even have been 48 hours. An armed, international peacekeeping force

should have been at the ready and its presence visible to everyone right before

the referendum of August 30.... Remember that when it invaded East Timor in 1

1975, Jakarta used as a pretext the need to keep the peace because, it said, the

nonstop battles between armed political groups had bred virtual anarchy in the

place. Well, the policeman has failed to keep the peace despite occupying the

island for 24 years. It has lost all moral authority to stay there."

"Time For ASEAN To Be Part Of The Solution"

Leading financial Business World frontpaged this commentary (9/9) by Walden Be

llo: "It is imperative that the international community acts to prevent an act

of cleansing on the scale of Bosnia and Kosovo.... ASEAN must call an emergency

meeting of its foreign ministers to condemn the Indonesian government's abett

ing the massacre and offer police and troops from its member countries with the

exception of Indonesia to serve as the core of the UN peacekeeping mission. Thi

s must be made even without the Indonesian government's approval.... ASEAN has

long been part of the problem. It must now be part of the solution."

"ASEAN Should End Its Immoral Silence"

University of the Philippines Professor Alex Magno expressed this view in the independent Manila Standard (9/9): "[ASEAN's] immoral silence in the face of

Jakarta's brutal machinations in East Timor cannot continue or we lose the trust of the East Timorese people. The independence of East Timor is now an accomplished fact. All that Jakarta could do is to postpone the inevitable for as long as possible or reduce East Timor into a howling wilderness."

"Don't Expect The U.S. To Get Involved"

Publisher Max Soliven told readers of the third leading Philippine Star (9/9):

"Don't expect...America's president, Bill Clinton, to dispatch his forces (as he did in Kosovo) to save the despairing East Timorese.... American business has an immense investment of more than \$7 billion in Indonesia, not counting their huge stake in the Indonesian oil and petroleum industry.... Of course...so sometimes, Americans shock the world and surprise themselves by fits of real altruism, decency, and self-sacrifice. In many American hearts, despite the greed and shamelessness of nearby Wall Street, the Statue of Liberty still lifts her inspiring lamp in New York harbor beside the Golden Door."

Xhp x (# SINGAPORE: "Timor And The Law"

The pro-government Straits Times said (9/10), "As with Kosovo, the humanitarian disaster shaping up in East Timor again dramatizes the legal and moral dilemma confronting nations which want to help end the massacre.... The UN does not recognize Indonesia's annexation of the former Portuguese colony, yet it insists on legal niceties before it will dispatch a force.

"Largely, this is because the world acknowledges that Indonesia has done more for the Timorese in 23 years than Portugal did in four centuries of indolence. Also, acting without a mandate sets a bad precedent for unwarranted interventions. This says something about the mixed feelings that East Timor inspires. It is not unalloyed repugnance, such as Kosovo was, yet the carnage cannot go on. Indonesia can do itself a favor by ending the

insanity quickly, but the shadows are lengthening."

SOUTH KOREA: "America's Two Faces"

X` hp x (#

Businessoriented JoongAng Ilbo commented (9/10): "Last March, when leading the air campaign against the former Yugoslavia, the United States declared a social led 'new internationalism,' under which America insisted human rights supersede s sovereignty. The same America and the UN, however, are just watching the bloodshed in East Timor.... The United States is taking a totally different position in just five months."

X` hp x (#

"Another Kosovo"

According to independent DongA Ilbo (9/9): "Directly and indirectly, Indonesia's military has begun an ethnic cleansing to get rid of proindependence East Timorese.... Murders, lootings, arson and forced deportations are taking place there, repeating what Serbs did to Albanians during the Kosovo conflict.... Forced deportations are feared to be carried out more systematically now with martial law in effect. That is because foreign troops cannot intervene as long as martial law is in effect."

THAILAND: "Jakarta Must Do The Right Thing"

The lead editorial of the topcirculation, moderately conservative, Englishlanguage Bangkok Post stated (9/10): "The (Indonesian) military will be making a serious error of judgment if it thinks it can engineer a genocide in East Timor and get away with it.... [Indonesia's] actions in East Timor can destroy her international credibility and relegate it to pariah state. Mr. Habibie, meet Mr. Milosevic of Yugoslavia. It is in (Indonesia's) best interest to stop the killing now, allow international peacekeepers in and keep to the agreement to give East Timor its independence."

"Violence In Timor Must End"

X` hp x (#

The lead editorial of elite, businessoriented Krungthep Turakij commented

(9/9)

: "We oppose President B.J. Habibie's staging of a political farce by announcing martial law, curfews and a release of proindependence forces leader, Xanana Gusmao. They were only meant to deceive the world community and ease its pressure while Indonesia continues to deny international forces' intervention to help improve the situation there.... The UN must intervene before it is too late."

X' hp x (# VIETNAM: "The Indonesian Government And 'International' Pressure"

X' hp x (#

An editorial in Thanh Nien (Young People), the forum of Vietnam's Union of Youth

Societies, asked (9/10): "Can the [appointment of] General Kiki Syahnakri [

to oversee] East Timor be viewed as an attempt being made by the Indonesian government to reestablish order there? It is reasonable to say

that the upgrading of the East Timor governor is an effort of Indonesia's government to avoid granting an international 'peacekeeping' force the access

to East Timor because such a move is no less than giving away part of its sovereignty."

EUROPE

PORTUGAL: "Dili Is Still Burning"

In another in a series of commentaries in centerleft O Publico, Adeline Gomes

stressed (9/10): "Dili is still burning. Thousands and thousands of Timorese

have fled to the forests and mountains. Not one single militia leader has been

detained.... Still, in the last few hours the Vatican is speaking for the first

time of genocide... and appealing to the Security Council to approve the deployment of a peacekeeping force...[and] the United

States is suspending military cooperation with Indonesia.... Seven days

later, a faint ray of hope."

"Timor: Act While There Is Still Time"

Foreign policy analyst Alvaro Vasconcelos held in centerleft O Publico (9/10):

"The dispatch of an international force cannot wait for this political cleansing to be completed.... The lessons of Bosnia and Kosovo must be drawn on to pressure the international community to act while there is still time.... Counting to rely only on Habibie or on General Wiranto would be to count on a weak and transitory authority."

"The Silence"

Jose Manuel Fernandes penned this editorial in centerleft O Publico (9/9):

"The silence descends on us.... And we are ashamed: of our impotence, of the hypocrisy of the powerful, of the inaction of this world we are part of, of the incompetence of the UN. We are ashamed to realize that we have arrived at the end of the 20th century without being able to prevent another genocide."

"Days Of Our Death"

Columnist August Santos Silva observed in centerleft O Publico (9/9): "What hurts the most, during these days of horror, is the deference the so-called international community is showing to the Indonesian dictatorship. Actually, this is

not a new situation: The passivity, the footdragging, and the timidity have been responsible or complicit in various massacres, in Africa, in Asia, in Latin

America or the Balkans.... If we do not want to mobilize at the right time, which is now, the otherwise formidable weapons at our disposal to pressure Jakarta

political intimidation by the United States, economic sanctions and retention

of funds by the IMF and World Bank, tough diplomacy by the UN, the EU and the

Vatican, an international boycott will get around to Timor on Indonesia's terms and conditions."

"As Soon As Possible"

In centerleft O Publico, Jose Ribeiro e Castro asked (9/9): "How long is 'as

s
oon as possible'? This is the question being asked in Portugal and by the
worl
d in solidarity with Timor.... What is happening, before the eyes of the
world
, is a shocking, ignoble and cowardly act of piracy, conducted by the
Indonesia
n soldiers against a homeland which is integral in its will and
being.... How m
uch more time, how much more blood, how much more suffering do
the world powers
require?"

"A Story Of Shame"

In centrist Diario de Noticias, former Foreign Minister Victor de Sa Machado
o
pined (9/9): "What's left to us... in the face of the
impossibility...of...[ou
r] sending a rapid reaction force to Dili is to hope
that the Australian people
will do this for us."

BRITAIN: "Rein In The War Horses"

The conservative Times declared (9/10): "Jakarta is alive with rumors of
army
coups. Nor does General Wiranto, the defense minister, control all army
factio
ns; many in East Timor are loyal instead to the soninlaw of the
deposed Preside
nt Soeharto, during whose authoritarian reign East Timorese
independence could
never have been discussed. To stop Indonesia's fragile
elite fragmenting now,
it makes sense to let its leaders seek to preserve
what unity they can, and to
continue to pitch any intervention that may
become necessary as an offer of ass
istance to the Jakarta leadership rather
than as a threat."

"The Tragedy Of East Timor"

The independent weekly Economist's editorial argued (9/10): "In itself, East
Timor does not amount to much...but even tiny places can become significant.
I
f the world fails the East Timorese again, the consequences will be felt far
be
yond the fringes of SouthEast Asia. This is not just a little local
matter, bu
t a mess that could have farreaching effects if it is not soon put
right.... I

f the UN collapses in disrepute like the League of Nations, the prospects of finding international solutions for international problems such as the spread of weapons of mass destruction will simply vanish. Perhaps then those Western countries that could not tolerate mass murder in Kosovo will wonder why they could so readily tolerate it in 'insignificant' East Timor."

"Island Of Victims"

The conservative Daily Telegraph had this lead editorial (9/9): "Nearly a quarter of a century ago, East Timor was left in the lurch by its colonial master, Portugal. Tragically, history is now repeating itself, as the UN evacuates its foreign staff from the island, leaving the population once again to the mercies of the Indonesian army and its supporters.... Presented with the opportunity of doing something effective about the territory, the UN has been found sadly wanting."

"UN Goes AWOL"

The centrist tabloid Express said in its lead editorial (9/9): "First Kosovo, now East Timor. Just what is the UN doing and what is it for now? For those who argue that the UN is dead and that America is the new world policeman, yesterday's flat refusal by the United States to consider using its troops in the Far East should have put paid to that idea. The people of East Timor must be protected. But that protection must be based on international law. The United States, Britain and other countries who have bypassed the UN should put all their efforts into reviving it."

FRANCE: "World Strategy Vs. The Fate Of A People"

Dominique Bromberger told listeners of government funded France Inter radio (9/10): "Of course, the United States has no intention of risking the lives of its soldiers for a handful of Timorese... In fact, what the United States wants is Jakarta's agreement to an international intervention force, because

Indonesia is the cornerstone of U.S. strategy in Southeast Asia....
Indonesia's disintegration or a reversal of the country's alliance would represent for the West, but mostly for the United States, a danger of such magnitude that the fate of East Timor's population in comparison is very secondary."

"Agony"

Bruno Frappat maintained in Catholic La Croix (9/9): "The UN is leaving East Timor, for Indonesia the road is clear.... The UN has once more proven its twofold weakness.

"It has power only if the consensus of the Security Council grants that power; it has a generous heart but no means to act on that generosity.... Indonesia for its part has proven its duplicity. With its apparent approval for the elections and its systematic repression, cowardice and cynicism have reached a new height. As for the international community, the calls for appeasement to the Indonesian government are but a drop of rhetoric in a sea of interests and excuses."

"The UN Challenged"

Leftofcenter Le Monde argued in its editorial (9/9): "The Indonesian army and its ways are well known.... It would be easy to say, we told you so, but what is happening today in East Timor was predictable. And should have been predicted. By organizing the elections, the UN was implicitly protecting the voters during the elections but also after. And this is where it failed.... The UN has come out of this affair humiliated and discredited.... And when the UN is incriminated, it is not so much Kofi Annan who is the target...but the Security Council. The UN was instrumental in its own failure because it accepted that the referendum would be tied to a promise of nonintervention.... The Security Council will not vote on one, we can count on a Chinese veto for that. Can the UN

continue to function with this
dichotomy: promoting human rights but not having
the means to see that they
are respected? The UN's future depends on the answer."

"The UN's Responsibility"

Alain Duhamel told listeners on privately run RTL radio (9/9): "The UN's responsibility in the tragedy of East Timor is monumental.... And that means the responsibility lies with the nations represented in the Security Council.... When the killings began, the UN's impotence became patent. But the UN has no excuse because it knew exactly who it was dealing with. It knew perfectly well that the Indonesian army refused the notion of independence for East Timor. Yet, they let things happen.... Intervention is an exceptional procedure.... What has become the norm is what is happening in Southeast Asia today: It is the Chinese veto, in other words, the interests of military dictatorships."

GERMANY: "Escapism"

Werner Adam observed in rightofcenter Frankfurter Allgemeine (9/10): "In Indonesia every passing day feeds suspicions that the military has effectively taken over from President Habibie. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that the orgy of violence...could continue if the military did not want it to. Once again, the UN is supposed to be responsible for everything, but the organization was only allowed to implement the referendum, not given the means to stop the terror."

"The Next Genocide"

Centrist Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich carried the following lead editorial by Stefan Ulrich (9/9): "The international community must react to the orgy of violence in East Timor with rapid sanctions that extend to the threshold of military intervention. The United States should cancel its military assistance.... The World Bank and the IMF could put the loans that Indonesia

wants so badly
on ice, and UN members could draw down their diplomatic
relations until Indones
ia finally agrees to the deployment of an
international force in East Timor. S
anctions don't work, you say? That may
be true for autistic regimes like Sadda
m Hussein's and Milosevic's, but
Indonesia and its president, Habibie, are very
interested in economic
cooperation with the West. So a tough embargo could fo
rce Jakarta to give
in. The downside of sanctions is that they require time, s
o they would come
too late for many Timorese."

"An Empty Promise?"

Centrist Recklinghaeuser Zeitung commented (9/9): "Once again, we see that
hum
an rights can be achieved only under certain circumstances, and only if
the sit
uation allows. If this is to be changed, the UN needs at last a
wellequipped,
effective intervention force legitimated by international
law.... Only then wi
ll the promise that the United States and NATO made
after their victory in Koso
vo become reality: The world will not allow
innocent civilians to be murdered.
If something doesn't happen soon, that
promise will prove empty."

"Is U.S. Being Cynical Or Realistic?"

Rightofcenter Nuernberger Zeitung stressed (9/9): "Madeleine Albright made
un
mistakably clear that Indonesia is not Kosovo when she said that Washington
is
not considering intervening against the will of the Indonesian government.
Dep
ending on where you stand, this can be viewed as either a cynical or a
realisti
c position."

ITALY: "We Should Feel Ashamed About Massacres In East Timor"

An editorial in provocative, classical liberal Il Foglio (9/10): "At the
same
time when the news was spreading about the massacre of the Caritas
people in Ea
st Timor and the Vatican was issuing its desperate cry, the

Americans indicated yesterday with brutal sincerity that they have no intention of jeopardizing the stability of an area which is economically and politically strategic for world peace and development with a unilateral military intervention. Two hundred million Indonesians, and the economic chain of which they are a part, do not allow us to consider East Timor as an Asian Kosovo, and different and clear geopolitical factors prevent a similar approach on the part of the main Western super powers a double standard which is natural in history and which is independent of any moral rules.... In any case, the point now is to understand whether either a limited intervention to provide humanitarian assistance or an initiative to exert political diplomatic pressure on Indonesia are possible in order to stop the massacre at once. There is nothing else we can do for the time being."

"Retreat Of The UN"

Alberto Pasolini Zanelli made these points in leading, rightist opposition *Il Giornale* (9/10): "Very rarely has the legal, political and moral picture been as clear in the history of UN interventions.... The situation in Timor is by far simpler than in Kosovo.... But while the legal picture is clear, political doubts remain. Why has the UN failed to timely prevent the insurrection of armed gangs which was totally predictable? And what about the credibility of this organization, which obtains results only when it is supported by the military strength of America and the European allies?"

"Clinton Doctrine Dying In Streets Of East Timor"

Left-leaning, influential *La Repubblica* (9/9) carried this piece from Jakarta by Pietro Veronese: "The Clinton Doctrine, born less than six months ago, is dying in the streets of Dili, East Timor. By promoting the war in Kosovo, America had proclaimed that human rights are more important than national sovereignty. But, notwithstanding these statements, nobody is in a hurry to intervene in East Timor to stop the massacres. The Un

ited Nations has decided to leave the island.... The United States issues warnings, the UNSG condemns (the violence), the UNSC holds emergency meetings.... APEC foreign ministers consult in New Zealand.... But the massacres continue."

"The U.S.: Never Under The UN Flag"

Cesare De Carlo noted from Washington in *La Nazione/Il Resto del Carlino/Il Giorno* conservative syndicate (9/9): "As everybody knows, the UN moves only if the United States moves, and the United States as explicitly indicated by Defense Secretary Cohen has no intention, whatsoever, of moving."

"Short Circuit Between Superpowers And UN"

An article in the news analysis section of provocative, classical liberal daily *Il Foglio* (9/9) held (9/9): "The short circuit between the diplomacies of the superpowers and the UN over East Timor is not new: Once again, what emerges is the hesitation of the Security Council, stemming both from Beijing's announced opposition (to the deployment of an international peacekeeping force) and, to an even larger extent, from the U.S. State Department's intention to stay out of UN initiatives."

"Sanctions Would Not Be Enough"

Ennio Caretto noted from Washington in centrist, top circulation *Corriere della Sera* (9/9): "Australia and Portugal support the deployment of an international peacekeeping contingent.... Beijing and Moscow have distanced themselves from such a hypothesis.... The Clinton administration appears uncertain.... In the very short run, the most likely outcome is the adoption of political, economic and military sanctions against Jakarta.... But these measures would not be sufficient. And they would not be enough to avert an armed intervention in East

Timor, unless Indonesia gives up repression."

RUSSIA: "UN's Prestige Is On The Line"

Official government Rossiyskaya Gazeta (9/9) ran this by Andrei Bychkov in Jakarta: "The UN is acting dubiously. Strangely, it believes that the Indonesian government can ensure security and order in East Timor. Jakarta's track record in that area doesn't exactly look good. Observers point out that the UN has lost its prestige on the line. So far, it has been unable to protect those whom it urged to take part in the referendum."

"All Eyes Are On U.S."

Aleksandr Timofeyev pointed out in reformist VremyaMN (9/9): "The UN is ready to support sending a peacekeeping force to East Timor, but nobody wants to act contrary to Jakarta's will. All eyes are now on Washington. Without its approval, such an operation would be impossible politically and technically."

AUSTRIA: "Military Interests"

Gerhard Plott judged in liberal Der Standard (9/7): "Now the Indonesian government has to admit that it has lost control of the military and the police; even ministers are calling for UN troops. And the generals under army chief and Defense Minister Wiranto do not care what the government wants or says.... The military is afraid that in East Timor, the giant Indonesian regime might start to break apart: Now East Timor, followed by Western New Guinea, then Aceh, and eventually nothing will be left of the splendor and the glory of the formerly omnipotent army. What do human rights or democracy count compared with the power of the Indonesian military? Nothing. But the UN should have known this before the referendum and sent peace troops."

BELGIUM: "U.S., International Community Reluctant To Act"
X hp x (#

Asian affairs writer Philippe Paquet opined in conservative Catholic La Libre Belgique (9/10): "'We can do it now, we can do it tomorrow if necessary, elsewhere here, in Africa, or in Central Europe.' Of course, last June 22, Bill Clinton was addressing NATO troops at Skopje airport, and it is a fact that East Timor is rather distant from the Atlantic Alliance's traditional theatre of operations. But we believed we understood that the American president was abolishing the borders of humanitarian diplomacy, that he was making the right to intervene universal. Yet, after one week of violence in East Timor, the United States and the international community are more than ever reluctant to make it end."

"Intervening For Humanitarian Reasons"

X` hp x (#

Diplomatic correspondent Pierre Lefevre opined in independent Le Soir (9/9):

"It is very unlikely that the UN would give its green light. China, which has a

veto right at the UN Security Council, is, especially since Kosovo, fiercely o

pposed to any kind of Western military intervention, all the more so in its clo

se neighborhood. Tibet and Taiwan should not be given ideas.

The United States

itself will hesitate before ruffling Beijing. It is at

last beginning to see

the end of the serious cooling of U.S.Chinese

relations following the bombing o

f the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade. Under

American business circles' pressure,

the United States has just started the

negotiations again with China which shou

ld soon lead to its joining the

WTO.... An intervention in East Timor which Ch

ina would not endorse would

undoubtedly compromise this strategic evolution."

DENMARK: "Only UN Can Save East Timor"

Centerleft Aktuelt concluded (9/9): "The best thing that could happen in East

Timor is for the Indonesian regime to swallow its pride and request the deploym

ent of UN peacekeepers. A strong UN presence, coupled with massive internation

al aid, is the only way of giving East Timor a fair chance."

IRELAND: "Betrayal And Humiliation"

The moderately conservative Irish Times asserted (9/9): "Yesterday was one of the most humiliating and depressing days in the annals of the United Nations, when it announced the withdrawal of its mission to East Timor.... [Indonesia's leaders] are clearly vulnerable to economic sanctions but also adept at turning such threats back against international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank, the many banks and multinational companies with a stake in Indonesia and the governments that support them.... Those states which now refuse to act were the very ones that supported the act of selfdetermination.... The credibility of these states, and of the UN secretary general in allowing the Indonesian military take responsibility for security, has been starkly exposed by the careful longterm planning that has gone into this subversion of international law. Angry denunciation of the betrayal.... The maximum political, economic and moral pressure must now be directed at the Indonesian government."

X hp x (# MALTA: "East Timor Tragedy"

X hp x (#Malteselanguage, Catholic weekly IlGens observed (9/10): "We believe that the international community cannot just resort to words and take no serious or concrete action. The international community has guaranteed a referendum and now should also safeguard the result and ensure its implementation.... The international community has various means of putting pressurei.e., diplomacy, the IMF, the World Bankto avoid a genocide. There is a moral and grave obligation to use these methods in order to stop East Timorese people from being killed as they are being right now."

THE NETHERLANDS: "NonIntervention Is Iron Law In Southeast Asia"

Influential NRC Handelsblad of Rotterdam held (9/9): "Whether it is forest fires, financial crises or violent repression of peoples, the Asian countries appear time after time unable or unwilling to intervene to restore order in their region. Strong regional organizations are lacking. Informal

consultations without 'loss of face' are preferred.... The only real power in Asia is the United States. In the past it has demonstrated that it will intervene unilaterally (Korea, Vietnam). Even now the Asian nations like to take refuge under the defense umbrella of the United States...but it is Washington which determines whether intervention is of major American interest. In the case of East Timor, the answer is 'no.' 'We cannot and do not want to be the policeman of the world,' said Defense Secretary William Cohen yesterday."

X` hp x (# NORWAY: "An Impotent UN"

X` hp x (#

Conservative Aftenposten (9/10) commented: "It is a nearly impotent UN the world is experiencing these days, while the violence and murders spread in East Timor in the wake of the UN-observed referendum on independence for this region... . With its role during the referendum, the UN has contributed to expectations that now are turning out to be dangerous because no one up to now has been prepared to help East Timor."

SPAIN: "International Pratfall"

Barcelona's centrist La Vanguardia observed (9/10): "It is true that one should not intervene in a country's internal affairs unless the affected country requests intervention. But it seems incongruous that the Western powers have not taken action for humanitarian reasons as was done in Kosovo, and without the UN's blessing.... And it seems highly irresponsible to invite a people to participate in a referendum, and then abandon them to face the results."

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"An Unwillingness To Get Involved"

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Conservative ABC commented (9/9): "What is really sad is not the UN's inoperativeness to which we have all grown accustomed, but rather the international community's unwillingness to involve itself in East Timor.... To trust Indonesia to maintain security and wait to see whether the

imposition of martial law will
restore order is to recast irony into
sarcasm."

SWEDEN: "The East Timor Dilemma"

Independent, liberal Dagens Nyheter featured this commentary (9/9) by foreign
editor Per Ahlin: "There is talk of a catastrophe, a fiasco for the UN in
East
Timor, a turnabout of the perspectives. Suddenly the UN holds the
responsibil
ity, not Indonesia.... The [UN's] handling of the matter, before,
during, and
after the Timor elections leaves a great deal to be desired....
The evacuation
s last Wednesday were a distressing event. Credibility now is
at stake. The U
N must have the preparedness to intervene; the organization
must be able to uph
old international peace and security. But the question is
how. Today every al
ternative seems to be equally poor. The dilemma of the
international community
is painful and very apparent."

SWITZERLAND: "Who Is In Charge In Jakarta?"

X` hp x (#

Centrist regional Basler Zeitung carried this piece by its Hong Kong
correspon
dent (9/10): "Does General Wiranto still have the military
competence to bring
peace and quiet to East Timor?... Many...suspect that
the military is purpose
fully delaying taking charge in East Timor, until the
expulsions have gone so f
ar that the settling of loyal Indonesians will
establish a new reality [on the
ground.] The question who really holds the
power in Jakarta becomes ever more
pressing. The inability of President
Habibie [to do anything about] the debacl
e in East Timor has weakened his
political position irreparably....

"In [Jakarta's] conservative media, an antiforeigner mood is definitely
noticea
ble. The hurdles for a diplomatic intervention to help East Timor are
being se
t higher and higher."

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SOUTH ASIA

INDIA: "Time And The West"

The centrist Times of India opined (9/10), "There can be no two views on the question that law and order in East Timor has to be restored and that the militia as be disarmed.... [But] the international community's response is still deter mined by the exigencies of policies of the major powers. Such rank opportunism in the application of human rights standards raises suspicions that interventio n in the domestic affairs of nations in the name of humanitarianismafter having encouraged authoritarianismis to legitimize something which is in contraventio n of the UN Charter."

"Indonesia On The Brink"

The rightofcenter Indian Express stated this view (9/10): "The case for inter national intervention in East Timor on humanitarian grounds has grown with ever y day that Jakarta has failed to protect the people from the militias.... Para doxically, the nearcollapse of Indonesia politically and economically, makes in ternational military intervention even more problematic. The job may no longer be only to protect the East Timorese but to hold Indonesia together. And is t he UN prepared to do that?"

"Terror In Timor And The Interventionist Urge"

Senior assistant editor Siddharth Varadarajan opined in the centrist Times of India (9/9): "As East Timor slips further into a chaos scripted by the Indonesian army, the international community must once again confront the troubling question of whet her armed intervention is a valid response to the violation of human rights. A fter Iraq, Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, Bosnia and Yugoslavia, Indonesia is the seve nth sovereign country in recent years to be told to allow foreign 'peace enforc ement' troops onto its soilor overflights in its airspace.... If the United Sta tes, which has propped up the Indonesian army all these years really wants to f orce Jakarta to curb the militias, it should suspend its links with the Indones ian army and announce an end to all arms exports to that country. This, howeve

r, it is unprepared to do as it will lose a lucrative market and push Indonesia and China closer together. And yet...after NATO's aggression in Yugoslavia, the Chinese are bound sharply to react to anything which smacks of the unilateral use of force by the West in their own 'backyard'. If anything, the world should have acted decisively when Indonesia invaded East Timor 24 years ago. Using force now will not make up for past wrongs. It will only compound the original sin."

"Stop The Violence"

An editorial the centrist Hindu argued (9/9): "The UN Assistance Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) needs a peacekeeping force to hold the island together. It must liaise with the Indonesian government to ensure that the new People's Consultative Assembly or parliament ratifies the independence vote and empowers East Timor.... Once a popular government is installed in due course in Dili, East Timor will have to integrate with ASEAN. Greater interaction with the region and massive doses of investment from not just East Asia, but Europe and the United States will be imperative to bring peace, employment, industrialization and human resource development to this new islandstate. Until that is achieved, there is bound to be pain and tension in East Timor. More than anything else, the independence vote and the transition will be a model and trendsetter for many other territories."

PAKISTAN: "East Timorese Turbulence"

In the editorial view of Karachi's independent national Dawn (9/9): "If there is resistance [on the part of Indonesia] to a foreign presence in the troubled territory more problems can be anticipated. Many of Indonesia's neighbors are disturbed at the turn of events and might be inclined to send in their forces even without a UN sanction. But that would be setting a dangerous precedent which

ich should be avoided. The UN involvement should continue, and Indonesia should find it in its own interest to resolve the problem as fast as it can."

BANGLADESH: "East Timorese Nightmare"

The independent, Englishlanguage Daily Star concluded (9/9): "The United States, Australia, Portugal, France and Britain have...voiced support for a UN peacekeeping force in the beleaguered island. However, we hope that...President Habibie's government would immediately take steps to rein in the militias, leading the way for the verdict of the referendum on East Timor's independence to be respected."

"Referendum Should Be Last Word For East Timor"

Progovernment, Bangladeshi language Banglar Bani's editorial pointed out (9/9): "There is a strong demand for sending an international force under the supervision of the UN to East Timor before it becomes a killing field like Bosnia or Kosovo Together with the international community, we also demand taking appropriate measures to end violence and killing, and restore order in the island."

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

CANADA: "Intervening In East Timor"

Editorialist Guy Taillier remarked in Montreal's liberal Le Devoir (9/9): "The UN...has made mistakes that are so grave [in East Timor] that they border on criminal irresponsibility.... An urgent peacekeeping force is called for, preferably with the approval of Jakarta, on which pressures...[such as] commercial sanctions if necessary...should be multiplied. The stakes are to defend a population punished for having freely taken the decision to make independence.... Western hesitations is worrisome at the very least...especially since Dili is slowly turning into a Pristina.... The West is acquiring a conscience but it is still possible to buy it off. The Indonesian regime had paid in advance."

ARGENTINA: "Two, Three, Several Kosovos"

Alfredo Grieco y Bavio drew these conclusions in leftist Pagina 12 (9/9):

"It was easy to recognize an Indonesian version of Kosovo in this story....
The KL A looks like the Timorese guerrilla's distant brother. And Jakarta's methods aimed at favoring a proIndonesian minority anticipated those of Belgrade: organizing death squadrons."

BRAZIL: "The Poor, The Rich And The UN"

X` hp x (#Readers of liberal Folha de Sao Paulo saw this editorial (9/9): "Timor's case demonstrates very well the UN's ineptitude in resolving international conflicts. The UN expects Indonesia to accept the presence of a peace force

at a moment when it is already clear that its army acts deliberately in connection with the antiindependence militias in a scorched earth strategy."

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

ARMS Email SystemRECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Paul D. Glastris (CN=Paul D. Glastris/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:13-SEP-1999 17:03:57.00

SUBJECT: a chapter from my book...

TO: rdefer@us.ibm.com (rdefer@us.ibm.com [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

...which Robert Kaplan has already written

SEPTEMBER 199

8

Romania longs for the West, and the West needs
Romania more than it knows

by Robert D. Kaplan

ONE of the largest and most passionate crowds
President Bill Clinton has ever drawn was in Bucharest, where he
stopped for an eight-hour visit on July 11 of last year.
Though crowds of comparable size had greeted him in Ireland and
Africa, the Romanian crowd was unique, because American officials
did not expect it. In fact, they worried that the people
who would come to greet Clinton on that frying-hot afternoon on
dusty, treeless avenues in the Romanian capital would be too
few, and even hostile. Only three days before, at a summit of
the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Madrid, the
American-led alliance had decided not to admit Romania in the first
wave of its post-Cold War expansion but to admit Romania's
historical adversary, Hungary.

Yet hundreds of thousands of people packed the wide
boulevards from Piata Universitatii, where Clinton
spoke, to
Piata Romana, a mile away, shouting "NATO, NATO" in
ecstasy -- more people than at Clinton's stop the day
before in
Poland, a country that along with Hungary and the Czech
Republic had just been accepted into NATO. In an
interview
last spring at the Cotroceni Palace, in Bucharest, the
Romanian
President, Emil Constantinescu, said about the
strength of the
showing for Clinton, "In World War Two, American planes
bombed Romania [an ally of Nazi Germany through 1944].
Some American pilots were shot down. What did the
villagers
do? They hid the pilots." Constantinescu exclaimed,
waving his
hands, "It was absurd. The villagers protected at
their own,
grave risk the very men who had bombed them. This
can't have
happened very often in the history of aerial
bombardment.
Whatever America does, Romanians love you, because
America represents the West, to which we know we
belong. In
the late 1940s, naive as it may sound to you, Romanians
literally watched the skies, waiting for American
planes to
rescue them from Russian communism. When the Americans
didn't come, we were brutally separated from the West
for
decades."

For Romanians, Constantinescu and others told me,
Clinton's
visit symbolized nothing less than the closing of that
dark
historical chapter, which continued beyond the fall of
the Berlin
Wall. Gorbachev-style Communists carried out the
December
25, 1989, execution of the Stalinist dictator Nicolae
Ceausescu
and his equally sadistic wife, Elena, who had reduced
the
caloric intake of many Romanians to less than what it
had been
during the First World War enemy occupation. Those

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Communists held power until 1996, when Constantinescu, geology professor, was elected President. He rammed historic reconciliation treaties with neighboring Ukraine, began to liberalize the economy, and filled staff positions of the Romanian military with young, English-speaking officers. He was Romania's first of state since the corrupt and politically disastrous II ascended the throne in 1930. Clinton's appearance podium with Constantinescu -- and his vow before Romanians that "the door to NATO is open ... and we you walk through it" -- has, in a part of the world and dates are remembered pathologically, assumed the a sacred trust.

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It is the purpose of many presidential trips abroad to vague hopes and obscure intractable local realities, come as no surprise if Clinton has made a vow that he fulfill. But this is no routine promise. Clinton's people of Romania -- the largest and most populous the Balkans, with one foot in Central Europe and the the Black Sea -- is linked to issues at the very core international relations: the growing but as yet economic and social split in Europe between the Protestant West and the Orthodox East; Russia's new aggression, as expressed through organized crime and monopolies; the American need for reliable bases near Middle East and the adjacent oil-rich regions of the Caspian Seas; the disparate legacies of communism in ex-Soviet bloc countries; the question of "national

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and its uses in foreign policy; and, most important,
appetite for hegemony. It is hegemony, and hegemony
that has always accomplished the immoderate ambition of
establishing one's political system throughout much of
-- something that both liberals and conservatives
intend to do.

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WHEN I entered Romania by train from predominantly
Catholic Hungary last spring, the shock of crossing
was greater than it had been during the Cold War.
Hungary's deeper roots in Central Europe and its
market-oriented reforms of the 1960s through the 1980s,
Communist Hungary had been far more prosperous than
Communist Romania. But since the fall of the Berlin
Hungary's economic acceleration has been so much
Romania's that the difference simply cannot be bridged
foreseeable future. Since 1989 the total foreign
Hungary has been \$18 billion; in Romania it has been \$3
billion. Thus with more than double Hungary's
Romania garnered only a sixth as much foreign
money. Even as Debrecen, in eastern Hungary, is
forest of chrome-alloy shingles, advertising foreign
machines, and computer-program providers, the Romanian
side of the border is characterized by unpaved roads,
mounds of garbage, rusting and deserted factories, and
with missing roofs. When my train stopped a few miles
the Romanian border, an official slipped into the
and put the paper towels and toilet paper into his
When I changed \$80, I received an inch-thick stack of
cheapened local currency. As the train moved deeper
Romania, I observed a primitive and heartrending
had changed little since my previous visit, eight

hordes of Gypsies washing their clothes along
riverbanks, and
peasants with pitchforks riding in horse-drawn wooden
carts.
Everywhere were the heirlooms of Ceausescu's Stalinism
--
hideous industrial complexes marked by rust, pebbly
concrete,
and polluting chemicals, set beside the grinding
reality of
subsistence agriculture.

In Cluj, the city where I got off the train in the
region of
Transylvania, I saw a sprinkling of cellular phones,
satellite
dishes, flashy boutiques, and private security guards.
But more
meaningful as a sign of modernization were individual
people.
Communism, by denying individuality, fortified national
stereotypes, turning Romanian streets into a sea of
suffering
expressions like those of icons. Now the Romanian
population
was less archetypal. I noticed would-be hippies, caf?
types,
nouveaux riches, sports enthusiasts, and so on, who by
choosing their own self-images -- however derivative
they may
seem to us -- were launching a humanistic assault on
the
determinism of national character. The women, with
their
fashion consciousness, seemed far ahead of the men.

These changes, however, are taking place in Romania at
a
much slower pace than in former Communist republics of
be
Central Europe such as Hungary and Slovenia, and must
national
understood against an imponderable degree of ethnic
investment
consciousness, a near absence of significant foreign
wasteful
outside Bucharest and Timisoara, and a monstrously
infrastructure.
and environmentally destructive Communist-era
Each of these factors is a drag on development.

Cluj, for instance, is a city predominantly of Orthodox
Romanians and Catholic and Protestant Hungarians, who
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course of this century's wars have each occupied the
territory. The twice-elected mayor, Gheorghe Funar, is
Romanian nationalist who during an interview with me
pin of the ultra-nationalist organization Vatra
("Romanian Hearth"). Funar denied the very existence
1.5 million Hungarians in Transylvania, telling me
people were merely Hungarian-speaking Romanians
about their loyalty. The mayor's antics, which have
removing Hungarian street signs and painting park
the loud colors of the Romanian flag, have made Cluj a

In place of a
peasantry, I found
Italianate fashions
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Westerners who are upbeat about Romania do not often
venture beyond Bucharest. Indeed, the city has changed
dramatically in the eight years since I last saw it.
forbidding Stalinist city whose populace, in baggy,
mud-colored clothes, looked like a terrified
a lively metropolis of people wearing modish
(including lots of black leotards and tight leather
young couples kissing passionately in the street,
casinos, private money changers, and countless shops
sidewalk stands selling compact discs and books --
from Israeli pop music to Mein Kampf. In place of dowdy
restaurants offering the Communist-era fare of greasy
cutlets and plum brandy there were intimate
by young people offering nouvelle cuisine. Topless
common, and sexy Brazilian soap operas dominated local
television. Particularly pervasive were cell phones --
product for hustler economies -- whose beeping filled
caf?s. In the 1980s under Ceausescu it was forbidden
so much as a typewriter into Romania.

"There are no limits with the Romanian nouveaux riches," Ioana Ieronim, a poet and former diplomat who is a close friend, told me. "We were just like this in the interwar period; we Romanians are resourceful, adaptable, but too often given to exaggeration. Romanians think of themselves as completely Western, and most of them have no sense of what separates Romania and the West. This is the consequence of our many years of isolation. Without an awareness of our own values, we may appear as some pseudo-cosmopolitan ?migr?s in a new global world -- Latin-Byzantine clones of the West. One often meets a crassness and directness, which is an outburst of 'freedom' after decades of repression." Ioana told me that she had seen a young, beautiful, rather revealingly dressed young woman trying to "buy" a young professional man. "Indifferent to the other people in the office, quite openly she hoped to persuade him to consent to a sexual relationship with her by explicitly promising to put at his disposal her connections in the world of power -- political and professional -- even to the point of specifically naming these connections."

Though Romanian is a Latin language, the vast majority of Romania's 22 million people are Eastern Orthodox Christians. Except among the Hungarians and the Romanian elite in Transylvania, there was never an Enlightenment here.

"When we buy computers, CDs, and clothes now," Horea-Roman Patapievici, a leading Romanian philosopher and historian, told me, "we borrow the material consequences of the West without grasping the fundamental values that created such technologies in the first place." But isn't this, I thought, how all cultural infusions begin -- superficially? For example, in a country that has exhibited some of the most bestial

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of anti-Semitism, Jews are now somewhat favored as a
symbol, because they represent a cosmopolitanism to
the younger generation aspires. Ladislau Gyemant, a
at Babes-Bolyai University, in Cluj, told me that when
was offered recently as a foreign language, hundreds of
students, only a handful of whom were Jewish, signed
up.

STILL, my overwhelming impression after weeks of
travel last
was of
Egypt, with
that is
my train

spring through this variegated and mountainous country
a place drifting from the Communist Second World to the
Third World. Romania is a less extreme version of
a mass of peasantry and a precocious consumer class
limited mainly to a few districts of the capital. As
entered Bucharest from the north, I saw miles of
corrugated-metal squatter settlements as bad as many in
Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

A case in point is the politics. In the period after
Constantinescu's election and continuing through
Clinton's visit
Romania was a
Monetary
promised.
Party --
balked at
Prime
meetings lasting
did not
budget was
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it was a mantra of international observers that
democratic success story. Then the government missed
deadline after deadline, set by the International
Fund, for privatization and the other reforms it had
Elements of the President's own National Peasants'
not to mention Funar and others outside the party --
Constantinescu's reconciliation package with Hungary.
Minister Victor Ciorbea's penchant for cabinet
as long as eighteen hours in which nothing was decided
alleviate investors' fears. Inflation soared, and a
delayed. Last April, Ciorbea resigned; the new Prime
Radu Vasile, has been stymied by divisions within the

Peasants' Party and also by malignities across the political spectrum, within and between parties. Many of my Romanian friends worried openly about "Bulgarizarea"--ungovernability of the kind Bulgaria briefly experienced during the first months of last year.

Interviews I conducted with Romanian analysts, foreign diplomats, and Western businessmen elicited near-unanimous agreement that the problem is one not of this or that policy or minister but of "national character" -- resulting less from geography and history than from the sociological legacy of Ceausescu's communism. Silviu Brucan, long a leading figure in the Romanian Communist Party, and Dorel Sandor, a Bucharest policy wonk, explained how Ceausescu, by not allowing a reform wing of the Communist Party or any dissent whatsoever, utterly destroyed the Romanian political elite and even the mechanism for another to emerge. The consequence, Sandor said, is "a nation of weak, fuzzy institutions and coffeehouse politics, where, despite the names of the political parties, there are no ideas, only personal vanity and intrigue."

For instance, he said, Romanian liberals are "not the center-right economic reformers that define liberal groups elsewhere in Europe"; they are "pocketbook liberals, concerned with short-term profit, who don't want foreign competition to threaten their new wealth."

Whereas in Hungary 70 percent of the banks have already been sold to foreigners (because, the Hungarian economist Laszlo Csaba told me, "it forces local institutions to run forever on international standards"), privatization in Romania is a record of delays, often followed by demands that only minority shares be offered to non-Romanians. "Our politics is all intrigue," Patapievici told me, explaining that part

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is the Orthodox habit of communicating traditions
than through written texts, which makes everything
negotiable. A Western financial expert said
is still a peasant society with a peasant suspicion
off what is conceived of as the national patrimony."
is not disseminated but jealously guarded. A
that whereas his office in Hungary's capital,
a new roll of fax paper every other day, because of
information sent to him by Hungarian ministries, in
roll of fax paper lasts him a month.

What underlies all this, everyone I interviewed told
way or another, is that beyond the President and a few
ministers there is nothing but wood: almost no one in
government's bureaucracy, they said, is even remotely
competent or potentially employable by a Western firm.
Though this is a problem in most of the formerly
societies of Central Europe, the degree of ineptitude
Romania, where the annual per capita income of \$1,545
even half that in Poland.

THE widening gulf between predominantly Catholic
like Poland and Hungary and Orthodox ones like Romania
Bulgaria is a complex matter of history, culture, and
position. Although it is true that Communist regimes
Balkans were often more destructive than those in
Europe, the nature of those regimes was partly
local history and culture in the first place. Whereas
was a center of the Hapsburg Empire, which saw the
modernism in the persons of Sigmund Freud, Gustav

and others, Bucharest lay within the less enlightened,
and poorer, Byzantine and Ottoman realms. In fact, if in
1989 I had based a ten-year prediction of these countries'
economic performance solely on their relative economic
positions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, I would
have been clairvoyant. Romania shows that no country begins with
a clean slate.

Take religion: "Orthodoxy never offered a moral
alternative to the Romanian state, as the Catholic Church did in
Poland," Patapievici told me. "Orthodoxy is not an active
principle, like Catholicism or Protestantism. Rather, it is passive and
contemplative, separated from and therefore tolerant
of the physical world and its political order -- whatever
that order may be." Stelian Tanase, a political scientist and a
magazine editor, told me, "In Orthodoxy only God takes risks. We
don't." Father Iustin Marchis, a reform-minded cleric
of the Stavropoleos Church, in Bucharest, said, "Eastern
Orthodoxy puts one's relationship with God ahead of that with the
community. We can't join a global system until we
regain our identity as a nation, which is partly Eastern.
Communism deformed it."

Americans may not feel comfortable with such cultural
interpretations, but the fact that the three countries
that have just been accepted into NATO all belong to the
Catholic and Protestant West reflects how undeniable cultural
interpretations are except in the abstract. Indeed, by consummating
this expansion, NATO has re-created a variation on the Holy
Roman Empire, and also the borders dividing the
Hapsburg and Ottoman Empires -- true civilizational divides.
Romanians know on which side they want to fall. Their

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was violated by Russia three times in the nineteenth
alone, and they know how vulnerable they will be if
accepts this emerging division of Europe -- while, of
officially denying that it exists. There is no
here, as
there is in the Czech Republic, for instance, about
NATO. Constantinescu told me, "We see NATO as
representing a set of values and standards peculiar to
which we want: high economic performance, a civil
and a well-functioning democracy." The President
"The hardest thing about the years since the fall of
Wall and the emergence of a competitive environment
discovery that we are not all equal. Some are more
than others, some harder-working, some in better
acquire wealth. Economic development in Europe and
was carried out with the utmost toughness, with
prisons and the excesses of the Wild West. To say that
equal is an insult to our individuality. It is
opportunities for advancement be equal. Communism was a
reaction against this hard truth. It seduced us into a
only in equality but also in rule by the least
us -- the proletariat. Similarly, we did not start
baseline as Hungary and Poland. Our problems as a
far more complex. It is going to take us a lot more
least we are fully democratic -- just look at our
is precisely because our situation is more fragile
the understanding of NATO and the IMF."

In fact, the real debate about NATO is about the
Even without NATO membership, Poland, the Czech

Western Republic, Hungary, and Slovenia are secure within the acceptance community, because their reforms almost guarantee public into the European Union at some point. But despite that statements to the contrary, no one seriously expects to the Romania and other Orthodox countries will be admitted the West EU anytime soon. NATO is all these countries have if Eurocrats in is not to lose them again. Romanians intuit that the likely to Brussels have little backbone, and that if anyone is is why take a chance on them, it will be the Americans. That seizure of hundreds of thousands of them greeted Clinton in a Romania and joy. In poor and isolated Balkan countries like resisted the Bulgaria, which, unlike the former Yugoslavia, have totemic descent into tribalism, NATO is seen as the ultimate organized symbol of Western civilization. Membership would have a crime, with its Russian imperialist undercurrents.

A student at Babes-Bolyai University poignantly expressed the fear of what will happen should Romania continue to lag behind Central Europe and once again be denied NATO membership. Her professors and classmates nodded in agreement as she spoke. I will paraphrase:

"Romanians know that Russia will never really be democratic. We know that our enterprises are worth little and that our society, as in the 1930s, is without ethics. Our new aristocracy is the nomenbratura -- the spoiled children of the former Communist elite, which stole state assets after 1989. You Westerners will tire of us. You tell us we must privatize, but it is the mafia and the Russians who buy our companies. A

major
Romanian oil company was put on sale, but nobody in the
West wanted it. It was sold to Lukoil, a Russian
company. This
is how the Russians will eventually own our country
again.
You'll see -- the Russians will operate through third
parties in
Europe, so your experts will be able to deny our
fears."

Her remarks were very Romanian in their cynicism and
their
exaggeration, and also in their acute insight --
insight of a kind
rare in Americans, who generally prefer not to look
too deeply
into the harsh reality of many societies.

The Russian company Lukoil has in fact sold a small
interest in
itself to the American company ARCO and in the future
may
sell more -- an example of how the global economy
dilutes the
economic imperialism that the student was worried
about.

Moreover, hard evidence for Russian involvement in the
Romanian economy and local crime networks is, so far,
meager. Nonetheless, as one Western executive in
Bucharest
told me, "Doing business here by Western standards is
difficult.
Everything depends on politics. Without Constantinescu
behind
you nothing happens. No one here likes decisions. No
one
really knows who owns the casinos, the Athenaeum Palace
Hotel.
Too much is obscure, and that does not make for a good
impression. When Romanians do sell an enterprise, they
sell
merely to the highest bidder who meets the rate of
extortion.
They don't investigate the buyer's background. That
adds
another layer of uncertainty concerning who owns what.
And
it's not like in the thirties, when the Jewish,
German, and Greek
business communities set some reasonable standards --
they're
all gone."

What has been called Romania's "Franco-Ottoman system" may thus limit the amount of Western investment -- and

it is Western investment, more than aid or philanthropy,

that will transform the culture. International corporate values

often reflect Western values. One European executive here

told me, "We indoctrinate our staff with the company ideology -- integrity, respect, teamwork, and professionalism. We

tell them that our policy is to pay our taxes and do no special

favors for friends. Romanians like titles. I tell my Romanian

staff not to call me Mister anything, and to confront me with any

problem they have. Western managers are not aloof. This is how

you change Romania: success depends on Western ownership." Others told me that they worry that the business

climate offers a better opportunity for shady groups of the kind

linked to Russia's new oligarchs -- groups that have already made headway in Bulgaria.

The poverty and crime that obtain in Russia and

elsewhere in the former Soviet Union are so real to Romanians that

their attitude toward their ethnic compatriots in the largely Romanian-speaking former Soviet republic of Moldova, on Romania's eastern border, has undergone a sea change.

When I visited Romania in 1990, reunification with Moldova

was popular politically. Now it is much less so, and not

just because of the Russian-speaking minority in Moldova that would complicate any reunification scenario. The chaos in

the former Soviet Union simply scares Romanians. A Romanian friend whose mother lives in Poland drives to see her twice a

year on a route that passes through Hungary and Slovakia,

rather than taking the shorter way, through Ukraine. He told me

that Ukraine, and Moldova, too, are netherworlds of awful

roads, where if you leave your car unattended for a moment,

it is likely

development to be stolen. The dramatic drop in the level of
the apparent when I crossed from Hungary to Romania is
eastern duplicated when crossing from Romania to Ukraine or
anchored in daily Moldova. Random crime is much rarer in Romania than in
experience. former Soviet Union; Romanians' distrust of their big
neighbor is not just ethnic and historical but

need It would seem that Romania needs us much more than we
Romania. But that is not entirely the case.

of the IN Bucharest I spent a full week talking with members
military. "The secular institution Romanians respect most -- the
terms of Romanians are ahead of other armies in the region in
assume efficiency," an American Army officer and Balkan expert
partly a stationed in Germany told me. "Their top guys always
military to the blame and don't punish officers below them. It's
Their factor of Latin honor. The civilians say we need the
in Greece, or run things, but the Romanian armed forces say no way.
forbidden desire to stay clear of politics is purer than it is
exists in certainly than it is in Turkey. Romanian officers are
to belong to political parties. In reality, democracy
Romania because of the restraint of the military."

doing The Pentagon also likes the Romanians because they are
from a large, what it tells them to: transforming their military
to badly educated force more suited to manual labor than
organized along fighting into a smaller, better-trained force
the flexible, Western command lines. The Nazis considered
and when Romanian military among the fiercest of Axis troops,
aggressiveness of Romania switched sides, in August of 1944, Allied
commanders were equally satisfied with the

Romanian soldiers. The Romanian military's attitude toward America is no less enthusiastic than it was toward the two sides it fought for during the Second World War. During the Iraq crisis last March the chief of the Romanian general staff, Division General Constantin Degeratu, told me, "We have given the United States overfly rights and the use of several air bases. We stand by the U.S. We are ready to take part in any operation. I gave [chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Henry H.] Shelton full assurances. We understand exactly your problem with Iraq."

The decades-long experience of living under communism (Ceausescu's Stalinism in particular), along with the insecurity of being on the fringe of the Western world, has made Romanians, who offer the visitor Oriental coffee and decorate their walls with Byzantine icons, passionately pro-American. Even intellectuals speak of Ronald Reagan with reverence. This is in marked contrast to the climate of Western Europe, where public opinion about the United States is usually skeptical. In crisis situations the public in France, Italy, and elsewhere looks for the slightest inconsistency in U.S. policy in order to deny its validity. Given that the Middle East is a region of major oil reserves, aging dictators, high unemployment among young males, high absolute rises in population, and increasing urbanization with dwindling water supplies, the recent Iraqi crisis may be but prologue for military emergencies there in the twenty-first century. Romania, closer to the Middle East than most other European countries, is a natural "forward" base for us -- especially because the level of sympathy for the United States may surpass even that in Western Europe

immediately

after the Second World War. In democracies, remember, security policy is ultimately tied to public opinion.

At a time when oil power in the Middle East is moving north, from the Arabian peninsula to the Caspian Sea, the strategic importance of friendly Balkan countries like Romania and Bulgaria -- so close to the Black and Caspian Seas (and to Turkey, whose vast water supplies give it increasing leverage over water-poor Arab states) -- cannot be overemphasized.

Iulian Fota, an assistant secretary in the Romanian Ministry of Defense, was blunt: "Russia's strategy," he told me, "is to fully re-create a sphere of influence through the former Soviet Union and Bulgaria and then work with France, Iran, and Greece to limit U.S. power in the Middle East. Opposing that will be Turkey and Israel. We can help them. Once Caspian Sea oil starts flowing to Europe across the Black Sea, Romania's international-security profile will grow. Romania is no longer on the periphery of Europe. It is in the middle of a volatile new region between Europe and the Caspian." General Degeratu put it like this: "Romania is the only country in Europe between the two great regions of instability and uncertainty -- the former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union. For the sake of stable. We need NATO more than any other country in Europe."

My week of interviews included a dinner with ample plum brandy and wine, at which several members of the military gave me two messages between the lines. The first confirmed what the American officer in Germany had told me: the army hates politics, perhaps because of the Brownian motion it observes at

careers cabinet meetings. It sees NATO as a source of good
the West, and decent wages, improved training and equipment, and
military access to international networks -- seminars, trips to
The and so on. NATO is thus an escape valve for the
Europe in should Romania stagnate politically and economically.
Transylvania second was that Romanian officers are terrified of a
second which NATO expansion ends at the Hungarian-Romanian
border and the ethnically divided region of
Vadim becomes a cultural and political battleground. This
prepared message constitutes a warning: Romania is on the edge;
Hungarians, nationalists like Mayor Funar, in Cluj, and Corneliu
Tudor, the head of the Greater Romania Party, are
with tirades of hate against minorities, particularly
should the West disappoint Romania again.

analyst Stelian The West ignores this warning at its peril. As the
fascism, to Tanase told me, "We Romanians are adaptable: to
prevailing communism, to global capitalism, to whatever the
are model seems to be in Europe." The possible influences
hierarchical various. From the Russian East come systematized,
likelihood criminal groupings. And from the European West the
seems. For of borderless prosperity is less certain than it
continue example, should Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front
others in the its march to legitimacy in France, Romanians and
troubled formerly Communist countries of Europe could
suddenly have another model. Le Pen visited Romania in
November of 1997 as the guest of Vadim Tudor.

perhaps The late 1990s, in other words, offer a rare and
At the fleeting moment for bold statesmanship in the Balkans.
richer and beginning of the Second World War, Bucharest was
more cosmopolitan than Athens. And today, with all its

problems, Romania is still more salvageable than was
Greece
at the war's end. Riven by civil conflict and lacking
a modern
bourgeoisie, Greece seemed hopeless. But Washington
acted
boldly and yanked it into NATO. Whatever problems
Greece
has caused the alliance are minor compared with what
they
would have been had the Truman Administration been less
aggressive.

Romania is now crucial to Europe's new map, much as
Greece
was in the late 1940s. If NATO accepts Romania's large
civilizational
Orthodox Christian population, the dangerous
divide resulting from economic trends and the first
stage of
NATO enlargement could be bridged.

Of course, I may be naive. In the late 1940s, with men
like
George Marshall, Dean Acheson, and Loy Henderson
running
our foreign policy, America was both Eurocentric and
hegemonic. Today it is neither. Yet listening to the
Romanians
and the Bulgarians, as I did for weeks, reveals that
American
Eurocentrism and hegemony are precisely what people in
the
Balkans yearn for -- even if they don't like to admit
it.

Watching Romania is often agonizing. Progress is
everywhere,
even as the divide with Central Europe widens. I saw
villages
where, through democratic processes and despite the
lack of
records after fifty years, parcels of land have been
returned to
their rightful owners, yet rural poverty of a kind
unknown in
Hungary still obtains. I saw quiet, patient street
demonstrations
by medical workers in Cluj who are paid \$50 a month. I
saw a
new wave of young entrepreneurs encroaching on
rapacious
ex-Communist business barons. The yearning for the
West is

with deep. At the opera in Bucharest I sat in a drafty hall
listening to scratchy acoustics among an enthusiastic audience
shoes Puccini and Verdi arias performed by soloists in worn
and tuxedos.

to Democracy will take Romania only so far. Its proximity
society Russia, and the way in which communism deformed its
reliable Western and made a wreck of institutions, necessitate a
Clinton's legacy security umbrella. Without that security, Bill
may include the redivision of Europe. At the moment,
Romania's people have his pledge that he won't let
that happen.

Atlantic. Robert D. Kaplan is a contributing editor of The
Ghosts: A He is the author of six books, including Balkan
Journey Through History (1993) and An Empire
Wilderness: Travels Into America's Future (1998).

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CREATION DATE/TIME:18-SEP-1999 22:19:51.00

SUBJECT: Y2K News, Japan, 9/19/99

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TEXT:
Friday September 17 10:03 PM ET
US Military Has Y2K Drill in Japan

TOKYO (AP) - U.S. jets roared over Japanese beaches and amphibious assault vehicles stormed ashore Friday as the Navy and Marines tested their readiness for the so-called Y2K computer glitch.

In the drills, which will continue until Sept. 26, the forces will advance the dates inside computers running ships, airplanes and other equipment, the U.S. Seventh Fleet said.

As the reset clocks roll over from Dec. 31 to Jan. 1, Marines will be besieging beaches in Okinawa, the release said. More than 50,000 U.S. troops are stationed in Japan. About two-thirds are concentrated in Okinawa, about 1,000 miles southwest of Tokyo.

The exercise will also involve destroyers, helicopter carriers and food and oil supply vessels, said fleet spokesman Lt. Jeff Davis. More than 5,000 people will participate.

There is widespread concern around the world that computers will grind to a halt at midnight, New Year's Eve, because of a programming bug that may confuse the year 2000 with 1900.

The Navy hopes the test will find any weak links in systems that coordinate everything from automatic bank teller machines aboard ships to computers that help navigate at sea, said Davis.

Though some of the ships carry missiles, the drills won't involve live fire, said Davis. He said nuclear weapons will not be involved.

Less than 5 percent of the Navy's equipment is sensitive to the Y2K bug, he added.

Sunday, September 19, 1999
IMF To Offer Y2K Loans For Emerging Markets

WASHINGTON (Nikkei)--Japan, the U.S. and major European nations have reached a basic agreement to set up a special loan facility at the International Monetary Fund to help emerging markets deal with possible financing difficulties caused by fears over the millennium computer bug, diplomatic sources said Saturday.

The move is aimed at discouraging investors from abruptly withdrawing their money from emerging markets to take refuge in developed nations, and from avoiding financial turmoil over the year-end.

The loan facility will likely be approved at the meeting of the Group of Seven nations' finance ministers and central bank governors next Saturday and the conference of the IMF Interim Committee on the following day, the sources said.

It is feared that another massive fund exodus from emerging markets might cause turmoil in international financial markets as the economies of Asia, Russia and Latin America have yet to fully recover from the financial crisis that erupted from 1997.

Developed nations such as Japan, the U.S. and European countries have almost completed work to deal with possible contingencies inside their borders resulting from the millennium bug. The proposed IMF loans would go to emerging-market nations that request help under conditions set by the IMF. The facility would be a temporary measure and is expected to be introduced in October or November, according to the sources.

(The Nihon Keizai Shimbun Sunday edition)

Daily News

Japan, US Help Nations With Y2K
By Martyn Williams, Newsbytes.
September 19, 1999

The Japanese government will propose to the US government shortly that the two countries work together to help small and developing nations tackle the year 2000 computer problem, according to a report in the Nihon Keizai Shimbun.

A plan to send computer experts to developing nations to help the countries ensure they face no Y2K related problems in the critical areas of finance, electricity, telecommunications, transportation and medical operations is currently being finalized by Japan, said the newspaper.

The experts will not only diagnose problems but also help nations fix their systems. The two countries may also offer aid to developing nations to help them ensure critical systems are Y2K compliant before the end of this year.

It will be proposed by Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi when he meets US President Bill Clinton when they meet at the upcoming APEC summit in New Zealand in September. Y2K will be high on the agenda at the summit which will take place on September 12 and 13.

Excerpt from the APEC Leaders Declaration, Auckland, 9/13/99, in http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/apec/1999/leader_dec.html#y2k:

THE AUCKLAND CHALLENGE
APEC ECONOMIC LEADERS' DECLARATION
AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND
13 SEPTEMBER, 1999

"In a little over 100 days, APEC economies will face the challenges and risks of the century date change. Intense activities in economies and throughout the region have lessened risks but more cooperative planning must occur. We recognise that global interdependence means we must continue our efforts to prepare, accelerate cross-border contingency planning, and enhance transparency about readiness as a matter of the highest priority. We adopt the APEC Y2K 100 Days Cooperation Initiative to intensify cooperation for responding to potential Y2K events. We agree to share information and expertise about Y2K impacts on critical infrastructures during and after the date change. "

The initiative statement (from Susan Leibbrandt):

Supporting details (e-mail from Susan Leibbrandt, State, East Asian and Pacific Affairs Bureau, Office of Economic Policy) from the APEC Ministerial and Senior Officials meetings:

Final Leaders Language

In a little over 100 days, APEC economies will face the challenges and risks of the century date change. Intense activities in economies and throughout the region have lessened risks but more cooperative planning must occur. We recognise that global interdependence means we must continue our efforts to prepare, accelerate cross-border contingency planning, and enhance transparency about readiness as a matter of the highest priority. We adopt

the APEC Y2K 100 Days Cooperation Initiative to intensify cooperation for responding to potential Y2K events. We agree to share information and expertise about Y2K impacts on critical infrastructures during and after the date change.

Eleventh APEC Ministerial Meeting Joint Statement

All APEC economies have an important stake in the region's state of Y2K preparedness. With the new millennium just over 100 days away, strengthening cooperation among APEC economies is of the utmost urgency. Ministers recognize the critical importance of improving regional preparations across borders to ensure continuity of economic activity through to 2000. They welcomed ongoing efforts in APEC economies and called on APEC to accelerate activities focused on readiness preparedness, risk assessment and contingency planning. Ministers endorsed the recommendations of Senior Officials to bolster plans to minimize potential disruptions through continued information exchange, public disclosure, confidence building measures, enhanced engagement with business, the public and technical agencies, and cooperation on risk assessment and mitigation. They stressed that the time remaining must be used to plan for responding to potential disruptions emphasizing the electricity, maritime shipping and health sectors. APEC economies will continue coordination across sectors and across borders to determine priorities for the remaining 100 days. Ministers emphasized the urgent priority of bolstering global arrangements for responding to potential Y2K failures.

Ministers also welcomed the many cooperative activities already being undertaken within APEC, led by Australia, Canada, Japan Singapore and the United States, in three main areas:

- ú Information exchange and preparedness assessment including: The APEC, Y2K Symposium and the APEC Y2K week, both held in April; the establishment of an APEC Y2K website; networks of Y2K contact points; and a questionnaire on readiness in key sectors;

- ú Cross-border contingency planning including Y2K risk assessment tool kit and contingency planning workshops being held in Thailand (September), Peru (October) and Korea (November);

- ú Intensive exchange of knowledge and know-how in critical sectors: an energy sector meeting (Tokyo 27-28 September 1999).

Conclusion

Since last year's meeting in Kuala Lumpur, APEC has undertaken activities to augment the work of individual economies to enhance the region's Y2K preparedness and contingency planning. This is being achieved through contingency planning workshops, cooperation on risk assessment, the APEC Y2K website, the preparedness questionnaire, the expert network of contacts, and the planned energy sector meeting. The development and implementation of these tools will continue to give APEC member economies a means to collectively respond to Y2K priorities and to identify areas for work in the remaining months leading up to the millennium date change.

Recommendations:

Now that there are only about 100 days left before the new millennium, strengthening cooperation on Y2K between member economies is a matter of increased urgency. Therefore, Senior Officials recommend that Ministers call on APEC economies to:

- ú Continue efforts within economies to remediate, test and improve systems;

- ú Bolster regional contingency plans for continuity of operations across the region through public disclosure, information sharing and Y2K risk assessment workshops;

- ú Accelerate contingency planning across borders to ensure regional economic continuity;

- ú Support the efforts of national Y2K coordinators within economies to encourage readiness and transparency;

- ú Continue information sharing and dissemination, through bilateral exchanges, the network of contacts and APEC fora, and make use of all appropriate means, including the APEC website to continue this information exchange and dissemination of best practices between public and private sectors;

- ú Plan for potential disruptions by examining existing international and regional resources to respond to Y2K emergencies and to develop or establish cooperative arrangements to further this goal;

- ú Share information on Y2K events within member economies in the New Year period through existing international information-sharing mechanisms such as the International Y2K Cooperation Centre and other international

organizations;

- ú Pledge support to meaningful confidence building measures, such as cooperative observation testing;

- ú Broaden engagement of the private sector to disclose Y2K preparations; and

- ú Instruct officials responsible for these key sectors to continue coordination to address possible contingencies and to take steps to ensure that potential disruptions are minimized

Q: What is the APEC Y2K 100 Days Cooperation Initiative?

A: Japan and the U.S. proposed this joint initiative to focus activities on Y2K preparations among APEC economies. This initiative calls on all APEC economies to use the time remaining to exchange expertise and experience on potential Y2K-related risks. The initiative reinforces national efforts in APEC economies to encourage readiness and transparency. APEC economies are encouraged to:

- Share expertise on contingency planning,
- Use networks of experts in key sectors to exchange information to reduce disruptions, and

- Participate in a global reporting system to exchange information on Y2K failures, building on existing resources such as the International Y2K Cooperation Center.

As a part of this initiative, Japan will host an Energy Experts Meeting in Tokyo on 27th and 28th September on the occasion of the Asian Regional Meeting of the International Y2K Cooperation Center. Peru and Korea will host workshops to emphasize contingency plans for cross-border preparations for potential disruptions. These cooperative efforts reinforce national activities by emphasizing cross-border preparations for critical sectors.

Thursday September 16 4:34 PM ET
Activists Push Y2K Nuclear Pause
By Jim Wolf

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - Environmentalists and arms control activists call it a modest proposal -- a kind of Year 2000 insurance policy for the world.

Power down the 433 nuclear reactors worldwide. De-alert the 5,000 nuclear-tipped missiles that the United States and Russia keep on hair-trigger status.

In a word, observe a year-end, 48-hour atomic ``holiday" to avoid the remote possibility of nuclear disaster during the technology-challenging year 2000 rollover.

``It could be a matter of life and death," said Yumi Kikuchi, coordinator of a growing international grassroots campaign for a ``World Atomic Safety

Holiday, or Y2K WASH.

Speaking at a news conference Thursday, Kikuchi and fellow activists ticked off reasons for a "managed phase-down" of reactors to standby, to be completed by Dec. 30.

"Rather than risk potentially catastrophic malfunctions with nuclear weapons and at nuclear facilities because of the Y2K problem, just give them the weekend off," said Michael Mariotte, executive director of Nuclear Information and Resource Service, a watchdog group in Washington.

"It's a no-brainer," added John Steinbach, co-author of *Deadly Nuclear Radiation Hazards USA*. "It's like insurance."

The movement for a year-end pause in atomic business as usual began in Japan, where 52 highly automated nuclear reactors dot a landscape the size of California.

Kikuchi, a 37-year-old concert flutist and mother of two, said petition drives were getting under way in Japan and the 30-odd other countries with nuclear power infrastructure.

Backers of the move argue that the United States should lead the way not because it is particularly vulnerable to Y2K-related disruptions of its 103 reactors, but because it would set a precedent for countries that are.

"Ukraine, Russia, Japan, China, India -- these are all countries that may face severe Y2K difficulties," said Mariotte, who faults the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission's Y2K readiness standards for plant operators here.

Kikuchi and a fellow Tokyo-based activist, Gen Morita, were given a chance to deliver their message Thursday afternoon to staff members of the special Senate Committee on the Y2K glitch.

"It's an initial meeting. We'll hear what they have to say," said Don Meyer, a spokesman for the bipartisan panel headed by Utah Republican Robert Bennett and Connecticut Democrat Christopher Dodd.

Meyer said the committee was concerned about nuclear safety during the century change, when the Y2K coding glitch could cause ill-prepared computers to crash.

But he said the panel was wary of any group using Y2K fears to push an unrelated agenda such as anti-nuclear power or nuclear disarmament, which fall outside its mandate.

The nuclear holiday campaigners say reactors are at risk because they typically depend on offsite power to run their safety systems. The State Department said Tuesday that Russia and Ukraine were among countries whose power grids could be knocked out by the Y2K glitch.

In one of 196 updated consular information sheets designed to alert U.S. travelers of risks, the State Department said Ukraine, home of the world's worst nuclear reactor accident in 1986 at Chernobyl, seems "unprepared to deal with the Y2K problem."

The British Foreign Office, in its Y2K advisories Tuesday, advised against all "nonessential travel" to Ukraine over the new year and early January "until the situation becomes clearer."

Next week, Kikuchi and fellow activists are taking their campaign to Berlin, where the G-8 industrialized powers will meet to discuss Y2K contingency planning.

She is prepared with an answer to any suggestion that Ukraine, Russia or any other country is too dependent on nuclear power to switch it off during the rollover.

"Which is better?" she says, "to have radioactivity all over the place -- or to be freezing for a day. You have a choice."

The United States and Russia agreed Monday to jointly staff a temporary military post in Colorado to watch for any Y2K-related false-missile alarms. But no move was announced toward taking missiles off hair-trigger alert.

The shared Center for Strategic Stability and Y2K "will reduce the chance that a turn-of-the-millennium computer error will create an end-of-the-year security incident," Defense Secretary William Cohen said.

US Takes Heat for Y2K Warnings
by Declan McCullagh, Wired News

3:00 a.m. 16.Sep.99.PDT

The US State Department warned this week that American travelers may encounter Y2K problems abroad over the New Year. But other governments don't trust Uncle Sam's technological readiness and are advising their residents to be wary of travelling to the United States.

Canada said Wednesday that anyone heading south around 1 January could find themselves stranded by the Year 2000 problem -- the so-called Millennium Bug.

A Canadian foreign ministry study into how 50 countries are tackling the Y2K glitch said the US air traffic control system was lagging in dealing with the problem.

"Air carriers and larger airports are making significant progress, but local airports and transit services in small communities and rural areas are not doing so well," the study said. "Some smaller airlines have only completed 55 percent of their risk assessments."

"Thirteen percent of hospitals are Y2K compliant with approximately 84 percent reporting that they will be ready for Y2K by the end of the year," it said.

A top official in the US Congress' General Accounting Office is also concerned.

Joel Willemsen said that many of the Federal Aviation Administration's air traffic computers at one point had been ready for Y2K -- but may not be any longer.

A recent White House report simply says: "All FAA systems -- including air traffic -- were certified as being fully Y2K compliant in July 1999."

But that doesn't tell the whole truth. The FAA has been updating its computers since then, making some 967 system changes, Willemsen said.

Those unrelated programming efforts could affect the systems' Y2K readiness. "They say they're going to track down each one of those and see if there's a Y2K impact," he said.

In Congressional testimony this spring, US government auditors cautioned that the nation's air traffic control systems are scattered around hundreds of locations, and some have been customized. That makes fixes more difficult.

The British report on the state of US readiness also said small airports and health facilities were at risk.

Canadian foreign ministry spokesman Mike O'Shaughnessy said 25 more country assessments would be ready by the end of September.

The Canadian study also indicated there could be problems in a number of other countries, especially Ukraine, where 85 percent of the telecommunications network was susceptible to Y2K problems.

It said many Ukrainian commercial banks had not set timetables for completion of Y2K preparations and had not even established contingency plans.

"There is a lack of financing available to remediate (remedy) or replace noncompliant systems," the report said.

In Romania there was "a low comprehension" of the Y2K problem while efforts to fix the glitch in Pakistan were hampered by a lack of resources.

The US State Department said that in Ukraine "there may be a risk of potential disruption in all key sectors," but claimed Romania was on-track.

"Countries should respond to these releases by providing more detailed readiness information through the remainder of the year," the International Y2K Cooperation Center -- created by the UN and the World Bank -- said in a statement.

The White House has published many reports on its Web site, but the president's Y2K council meets behind closed doors and is exempt from open-government laws.

See a video report dated 9/16/99 on Japan Airlines' Y2K readiness in <http://cnn.com/TRAVEL/NEWS/9909/16/japan.Y2k/>:

VIDEO

CNNfn's Lorraine Hahn reports on the Y2K readiness of JAL.

Windows Media 28K 80K

Year 2000 in Japan Bug What bug

Economist, 9/4/99

Year 2000 in Japan TO BE on the safe side, East Japan Railway is thinking about halting all its trains a few minutes before midnight on December 31st. Japan Travel Bureau, the country's biggest travel agent, is refusing to book customers on flights that will be airborne at the time. Japanese manufacturers and retailers, heavily dependent upon computerised just-in-time delivery systems, are beginning to fear the worst. NEC, an electronics group, intends to store an unprecedented two weeks' worth of computer parts so that its factories do not miss a beat in the new year. Hospitals across Japan have started training staff on how to use manually operated equipment such as artificial respirators.

Less than five months before computers confront the millennium bug, officialdom in Japan has suddenly realised that the country is horribly ill-prepared. The world's second-biggest industrial economy comes below countries such as Hungary, Chile and Thailand in the 'preparedness index' put out by Warburg Dillon Read, an investment bank, on the basis of research by Gartner Group, a consultancy. The government has flipped from confidence to panic. The prime minister, Keizo Obuchi, is chairing a crisis-management group, and officials are appealing to the public to take their own precautions.

Since Japan computerised its banks, businesses, hospitals, schools and government offices much later than did America, more of the software in use in the country today is 'Year 2000-compliant' and can be expected to roll the millennium over correctly. Even so, recent studies suggest that a disturbing number of Japanese companies are woefully behind in their efforts to fix what faulty software they have.

As elsewhere, the biggest laggards are small firms. In Fukushima in northern Japan, the prefectural government asked 15,000 local firms about progress. Only one in seven bothered to reply, and half of those thought they were immune to the bug. Of those that realised they were at risk, little more than a third had amended their software, a

quarter were working on the problem, and the rest had yet to get round to it.

But it is the lack of urgency among large firms and public services in Japan that has horrified the central government. Only a fifth of the 2,000-or-so hospitals designated as crucial by the prefectural authorities have debugged the software for computerised medical equipment and records. Fewer than a tenth have put together contingency plans in case things go wrong.

The Tokyo Stock Exchange (TSE) and the Japan Institute of Certified Public Accountants have been trying to bully Japanese companies into revealing what they have done to protect themselves against the millennium bug. For the first time, listed companies in Japan had to report details of their Year 2000 remedial work in the short-form annual reports that they published in late May. Garry Evans of HSBC Securities in Tokyo has analysed disclosures by some 298 large firms listed on the TSE , and found that most had started late and provided only scanty details of their progress. Around 8% of the firms had completed their Year 2000 work when the reporting period ended in March; 46% said they expected to have done so by this month.

Many of the companies did not start work until late last year. The most disturbing case was Nippon Steel, Japan 's biggest steel maker, whose top managers had not heard of the Year 2000 problem until a year ago. And the most embarrassing was Nintendo, a videogame maker and one of Japan 's highest-profile high-tech companies, which Mr Evans judges to be in danger. On the basis of their own reports, Mr Evans concludes that 30% of the companies examined are behind in their efforts to purge the millennium bug from their computers.

If the rest of corporate Japan is no better, what might this do to the country 's struggling economy? It should provide a boost in the fourth quarter, says Mr Evans, as firms stock components before the end of the year. Kathy Matsui of Goldman Sachs reckons that the Year 2000 effect could add 0.3% to Japan 's GDP growth in 1999. But then destocking and disasters could subtract 0.6% in 2000. Come January 1st, Japan 's failure to do more will be a good test of whether everyone else was right to have worried so much after all.

Gartner: The world is getting ready for Y2K

By Nancy Weil
InfoWorld Electric

Posted at 11:34 AM PT, Aug 17, 1999

Some countries are reporting such remarkable progress in year-2000 remediation that their assessments should not be believed,

according to market researcher GartnerGroup.

For its final World Status report regarding preparations globally for the year-2000 computer problem, which was released Tuesday, Gartner found that "many countries and industry sectors appear to show a level of progress in three months that it took others a year or more to achieve." The suspicion is that these countries are exaggerating their progress in order to allay the concerns of their trading partners.

"The level of self-reporting bias has escalated to the point at which self reporting has become less reliable," the report said. "The effect is particularly noticeable in the developing world, where GartnerGroup analysts have become aware through many other sources of the sudden engagement of governments and trade associations that have realized that developed trading partners are likely to scale back operations where there was seen to be little willingness to tackle the problem."

However, Gartner researchers also found "remarkably, no longer are there any countries that have made no remediation at all. Every government covered in the report has made some compliance effort." Overall, countries and industries globally have made good progress and Gartner analysts remain "cautiously optimistic" about how the world's computers will handle the date change.

For the final assessment, Gartner took into account the underlying dependence on technology, energy, and trade in various countries. The research considered a variety of indicators for possible risk, including IT spending as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP), electricity and energy consumption, number of computers and telephone lines per 100 inhabitants, and the ratio of trade-to-GDP, among other assessments.

Based on that analysis, Gartner found that Russia has the highest risk for year-2000 failures, said Lou Marcoccio, vice president of Gartner's year-2000 research. India is in second place for risk, followed by a cluster of countries including Venezuela, Norway, Japan, Taiwan, Finland, and "even the U.S., for that matter" because of its reliance on technology, energy and trade, he said.

Parts of China, including Hong Kong and the city of Shanghai, have made "tremendous progress," Marcoccio said, noting that Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, and parts of western Europe continue to make significant strides toward year-2000 remediation. Germany, which had been a laggard, has "basically at this point nearly caught up to France and a number of large countries in western Europe," Marcoccio said. "That's exceptional news and exceptionally good news."

Argentina, Mexico, Indonesia, and Hungary, by comparison, are less dependent on technology, communications, energy, and trade and so are, therefore, at less risk.

The flow of products traded with countries deemed most at risk is likely to be imperiled as a result of the year-2000 computer problem, Marcoccio said, suggesting that all it takes to assess likely problems is

to look at the countries and think about what goods come from them.

The year-2000 computer problem is occurring because most older software code was written with a two-digit date field that might interpret the "00" in 2000 as "1900" and therefore fail to make correct calculations. The effect of that could be anything from relatively minor glitches to system crashes.

Computer failures because of the date change will increase in the fourth quarter of this year, Marcoccio said, noting that's in part because there will be as many as 800 times more transactions in that quarter that deal with 2000 dates. Failures will continue to increase, peaking with the actual date change on Jan. 1, 2000, and continuing for months after.

"Failures will continue to occur through all of 2000," Marcoccio said, adding that the number of failures won't diminish appreciably until the third quarter of next year and that some will occur into 2001.

In terms of specific industries, health care, oil, semiconductor, and retail all have shown significant improvements, as have chemical processing and the airlines, Marcoccio said. The hotel and entertainment industries continue to lag, as do medical and law offices.

Remediation isn't foolproof, however. Gartner estimates that 5 percent to 9 percent of code will still be defective even after remediation and testing.

Next year, Gartner expects failures will continue to occur because of defective code, as well as because applications will freeze the first time they try to run in 2000. Noncompliant packaged software on the market will also be a problem, as will running of noncompliant archived data on compliant systems, and running code that wasn't adequately tested.

"A complete cycle covering most transactions will take most of one full year to complete, so it will take one full year to uncover most code and data defects," according to a statement released by Gartner Tuesday, detailing highlights of the findings.

Additional details and an updated assessment of remediation by country and industry will be provided by Gartner during its upcoming Symposium/ITxpo conference, Oct. 11 to 15 in Lake Buena Vista, Fla. Marcoccio will offer an update on what is likely to occur on Jan. 1, and also will provide suggestions for what the general public should do to prepare.

"When you're talking about the U.S., panic is going to be a key contributor issue when it comes to what happens, especially around Jan. 1," Marcoccio said Tuesday.

Some shortages of perishable food, batteries, flashlights, and the like will occur regionally just as happens during storms, "only we're having a global storm," he said, noting that because Jan. 1 falls on a Saturday, some countries will celebrate the holiday the day before, while

others celebrate the following Monday.

Although there won't be real shortages of heating oil and gasoline, for instance, people deciding to fill fuel tanks in their homes and cars will lead to localized shortages, Marcoccio said.

A spate of films are expected to be released toward the end of the year in which disaster scenarios related to Jan. 1 are key to the plots and those are likely to cause some panic, he said. Also problematic could be computer viruses that some miscreants have said they will unleash around Jan. 1.

In terms of real computer failures, though, Marcoccio said that he expects that at least in the United States that the date change will pass relatively unnoticed, with problems related to panic causing turmoil. However, "I think the panic is going to be much less," he said, adding that he expects utilities and banks will step up efforts to educate the public and to allay fears.

Gartner analysts do not think there will be a global recession as a result of the year-2000 computer problem, Marcoccio said.

GartnerGroup Inc., based in Stamford, Conn., is at www.gartner.com.

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September 17 10:03 PM ET

<H2>US Military Has Y2K Drill in Japan</H2><!-- TextStart -->

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<P>TOKYO (AP) - U.S. jets roared over Japanese beaches and amphibious assault

vehicles stormed ashore Friday as the Navy and Marines tested their readiness

for the so-called Y2K computer glitch.

<P>In the drills, which will continue until Sept. 26, the forces will advance

the dates inside computers running ships, airplanes and other equipment, the U.S. Seventh Fleet said.

<P>As the reset clocks roll over from Dec. 31 to Jan. 1, Marines will be besieging beaches in Okinawa, the release said. More than 50,000 U.S. troops are stationed in Japan. About two-thirds are concentrated in Okinawa, about 1,000 miles southwest of Tokyo.

<P>The exercise will also involve destroyers, helicopter carriers and food and oil supply vessels, said fleet spokesman Lt. Jeff Davis. More than 5,000 people will participate.

<P>There is widespread concern around the world that computers will grind to a halt at midnight, New Year's Eve, because of a programming bug that may confuse the year 2000 with 1900.

<P>The Navy hopes the test will find any weak links in systems that coordinate everything from automatic bank teller machines aboard ships to computers that help navigate at sea, said Davis.

<P>Though some of the ships carry missiles, the drills won't involve live fire, said Davis. He said nuclear weapons will not be involved.

<P>Less than 5 percent of the Navy's equipment is sensitive to the Y2K bug, he added.<!-- TextEnd --><!-- YNEWS:/STORY --><!-- YNEWS:FOOTER --> </P></DIV>
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<DIV>Sunday, September 19, 1999
<!--SH1-->IMF To Offer Y2K Loans For Emerging Markets<!--EH1--><!--SBT-->
<P>WASHINGTON (Nikkei)--Japan, the U.S. and major European nations have reached

a basic agreement to set up a special loan facility at the International Monetary Fund to help emerging markets deal with possible financing difficulties caused by fears over the millennium computer bug, diplomatic sources said Saturday.</P>

<P>The move is aimed at discouraging investors from abruptly withdrawing their money from emerging markets to take refuge in developed nations, and from avoiding financial turmoil over the year-end.</P>

<P>The loan facility will likely be approved at the meeting of the Group of Seven nations' finance ministers and central bank governors next Saturday and

the conference of the IMF Interim Committee on the following day, the sources said.</P>

<P>It is feared that another massive fund exodus from emerging markets might cause turmoil in international financial markets as the economies of Asia, Russia and Latin America have yet to fully recover from the financial crisis

that erupted from 1997.</P>

<P>Developed nations such as Japan, the U.S. and European countries have almost

completed work to deal with possible contingencies inside their borders resulting from the millennium bug. The proposed IMF loans would go to emerging-market nations that request help under conditions set by the IMF. The

facility would be a temporary measure and is expected to be introduced in October or November, according to the sources.</P>

<P>(The Nihon Keizai Shimbun Sunday edition)</P><!--EBT--><!-- Corporate Profiles None --></DIV>

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News
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face=arial,helvetica,tahoma,sans-serif size=4>Japan, US

Help Nations With Y2K
<FONT
face=arial,Helvetica,tahoma,sans-serif size=2>By Martyn

Williams, Newsbytes.
<FONT
face=arial,Helvetica,tahoma,sans-serif size=2>September

19, 1999

<P>The Japanese government will propose to the US
government shortly that the two countries work together

to help small and developing nations tackle the year
2000 computer problem, according to a report in the
Nihon Keizai Shimbun.</P>
<P>A plan to send computer experts to developing nation

to help the countries ensure they face no Y2K related

problems in the critical areas of finance, electricity,

telecommunications, transportation and medical
operations is currently being finalized by Japan, said

the newspaper.</P>

<P>The experts will not only diagnose problems but also

help nations fix their systems. The two countries may

also offer aid to developing nations to help them ensur

critical systems are Y2K compliant before the end of
this year.</P>

<P>It will be proposed by Japanese Prime Minister Keizo

Obuchi when he meets US President Bill Clinton when the

meet at the upcoming APEC summit in New Zealand in
September. Y2K will be high on the agenda at the summit

which will take place on September 12 and

13.</P></TD></TR></TBODY></TABLE></TD></TR></TBODY></TAB

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<P>Excerpt from the APEC Leaders Declaration,
Auckland, 9/13/99, in http
://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/apec/1999/leader_dec.html#y2k:</P>

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<DIV align=center>THE AUCKLAND
CHALLENGE
APEC ECONOMIC LEADERS' DECLARATION</DIV>

<P>AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND
13 SEPTEMBER, 1999 </P>

<P>"In a little over 100 days, APEC economies

will face the challenges and risks of the century date change. Intense activities in economies and throughout the region have lessened risks but more

cooperative planning must occur. We recognise that global interdependence means

we must continue our efforts to prepare, accelerate cross-border contingency planning, and enhance transparency about readiness as a matter of the highest

priority. We adopt the APEC Y2K 100 Days Cooperation Initiative to intensify cooperation for responding to potential Y2K events. We agree to share information and expertise about Y2K impacts on critical infrastructures during

and after the date change. "</P></DIV>

<DIV>The initiative statement (from Susan Leibbrandt):</DIV>

<DIV> </DIV>

<DIV>Supporting details (e-mail from Susan Leibbrandt, State, East

Asian and Pacific Affairs Bureau, Office of Economic Policy) from the APEC Ministerial and Senior Officials meetings:</DIV>

<DIV> </DIV>

<DIV>Final Leaders Language

In a little over

100 days, APEC economies will face the challenges and risks
of the century

date change. Intense activities in economies and throughout
the region have

lessened risks but more cooperative planning must occur. We
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date change.

Eleventh APEC Ministerial Meeting Joint Statement

All APEC economies have an important stake in the region's state of Y2K
preparedness. With the new millennium just over

100 days away, strengthening
cooperation among APEC economies is of the utmost urgency. Ministers
recognize the critical importance of improving regional preparations across
borders to ensure continuity of economic activity through to 2000. They
welcomed ongoing efforts in

APEC economies and called on APEC to accelerate
activities focused on readiness preparedness, risk assessment and contingency
planning. Ministers endorsed the recommendations of Senior Officials to
bolster plans

to minimize potential disruptions through continued information
exchange,

public disclosure, confidence building measures, enhanced
engagement with

business, the public and technical agencies, and cooperation
on risk assessment and mitigation. They stressed that the time remaining
must

be used to plan for responding to potential disruptions emphasizing the
electricity, maritime shipping and health sectors. APEC economies will

continue coordination across sectors and across borders to determine
priorities for the remaining 100 days. Ministers emphasized the urgent

priority of bolstering global arrangements for responding to potential Y2K

failures.

Ministers also welcomed the many cooperative activities already being
undertaken within APEC, led by Australia, Canada, Japan, Singapore and the
United States, in three main areas:

· Information exchange and preparedness assessment including: The APEC, Y2K

Symposium and the APEC Y2K week, both held in April; the establishment of a

APEC Y2K website; networks of Y2K contact points; and a questionnaire on
readiness in key sectors;

· Cross-border contingency planning

including Y2K risk assessment tool kit
and contingency planning workshops

being held in Thailand (September), Peru
(October) and Korea (November);

· Intensive exchange of knowledge and know-how in critical sectors: an energy
sector meeting (Tokyo 27-28 September 1999).

SOM Chair's Report on the Year 2000 Problem

Conclusion

Since last year's meeting in Kuala Lumpur, APEC has undertaken activities to
augment the work of individual economies to enhance the region's Y2K
preparedness and contingency planning. This is being achieved through
contingency planning workshops, cooperation on risk assessment, the APEC Y2K
website, the preparedness questionnaire, the expert network of contacts, and
the planned

energy sector meeting. The development and implementation of
these tools will continue to give APEC member economies a means to
collectively

respond to Y2K priorities and to identify areas for work in the
remaining

months leading up to the millennium date change.

Recommendations:

Now that there are only about 100 days

left before the new millennium,
strengthening cooperation on Y2K between member economies is a matter of
increased urgency. Therefore, Senior

Officials recommend that Ministers call
on APEC economies to:

· Continue efforts within economies to remediate, test and improve systems;

· Bolster regional contingency plans for continuity of operations across the
region through public disclosure, information sharing and Y2K risk assessment
workshops;

· Accelerate contingency planning across borders to ensure regional economic
continuity;

· Support the efforts of national Y2K coordinator

within economies to encourage readiness and transparency;

Continue information sharing and dissemination, through bilateral exchanges, the network of contacts and APEC fora, and make use of all appropriate means, including the APEC website to continue this information exchange and

dissemination of best practices between public and private sectors; Plan for potential disruptions by examining existing international and regional resources to respond to Y2K emergencies

and to develop or establish cooperative arrangements to further this goal; Share information on Y2K events within member economies i

n the New Year period through existing international information-sharing mechanisms such as the International Y2K Cooperation Centre and other international organizations; Pledge support to meaningful

confidence building measures, such as cooperative observation testing; Broaden engagement of the private sector to disclose

Y2K preparations; and Instruct officials responsible for these

key sectors to continue coordination to address possible contingencies and

to take steps to ensure that potential disruptions are minimized

Cooperation Initiative? A: Japan and the U.S. proposed this

joint initiative to focus activities on Y2K preparations among APEC economies. This initiative calls on all APEC economies to use the time

remaining to exchange expertise and experience on potential Y2K-related risks. The initiative reinforces national efforts in APEC economies to encourage readiness and transparency. APEC economies are encouraged to: Share expertise on contingency planning; Use networks of experts in key sectors to exchange information to reduce disruptions, and Participate in a global reporting system to exchange information on Y2K failures, building on existing resources such as the International Y2K Cooperation Center. As a part of this initiative, Japan will host an Energy Experts Meeting in Tokyo on 27th and 28th September on the occasion

of the Asian Regional Meeting of the International Y2K Cooperation Center. Peru and Korea will host workshops to emphasize contingency

plans for cross-border preparations for potential disruptions. These

cooperative efforts reinforce national activities by emphasizing cross-border preparations for critical sectors.

YNEWS:/SECTION -->!-- YNEWS:STORY -->!--
Yahoo TimeStamp: 937514101 -->B>Thursday

September 16 4:34 PM ET

<H2>Activists Push Y2K Nuclear Pause<!-- MediaEnd --> </H2>

<P>By Jim Wolf

<P>WASHINGTON (Reuters) - Environmentalists and arms control activists call it a modest proposal -- a kind of Year 2000 insurance policy for the world.

<P>Power down the 433 nuclear reactors worldwide. De-alert the 5,000 nuclear-tipped missiles that the United States and Russia keep on hair-trigger status.

<P>In a word, observe a year-end, 48-hour atomic ``holiday" to avoid the remote possibility of nuclear disaster during the technology-challenging year 2000 rollover.

<P>``It could be a matter of life

and death," said Yumi Kikuchi, coordinator of a growing international grassroots campaign for a ``World Atomic Safety Holiday, or Y2K WASH.

<P>Speaking at a news conference Thursday

, Kikuchi and fellow activists ticked off reasons for a ``managed phase-down" of

reactors to standby, to be completed by Dec. 30.

<P>``Rather than risk potentially catastrophic malfunctions with nuclear weapons and at nuclear facilities because of the Y2K

problem, just give them the weekend off," said Michael Mariotte, executive director of Nuclear Information and Resource Service, a watchdog group in Washington.

<P>``It's a no-brainer," added John Steinbach, co-author of Deadly Nuclear Radiation Hazards USA. ``It's like insurance."

<P>The movement for a year-end pause in atomic business

as usual began in Japan, where 52 highly automated nuclear reactors dot a landscape the size of California.

<P>Kikuchi, a 37-year-old concert flutist and mother of

two, said petition drives were getting under way in Japan and the 30-odd other

countries with nuclear power infrastructure.

<P>Backers of the move argue that the United States should lead the way not because it is particularly vulnerable to Y2K-related disruptions of its 103 reactors, but because it would set a precedent for countries that are.

<P>``Ukraine, Russia, Japan, China, India -- these are

all countries that may face severe Y2K difficulties," said Mariotte, who fault
s

the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission's Y2K readiness standards for plant operators here.

<P>Kikuchi and a fellow Tokyo-based

activist, Gen Morita, were given a chance to deliver their message Thursday

afternoon to staff members of the special Senate Committee on the Y2K glitch.

<P>`It's an initial meeting. We'll hear what they have

to say," said Don Meyer, a spokesman for the bipartisan panel headed by Utah

Republican Robert Bennett and Connecticut Democrat Christopher Dodd.

<P>Meyer said the committee was concerned about nuclear

safety during the century change, when the Y2K coding glitch could cause ill-prepared computers to crash.

<P>But he said the panel was wary of any group using Y2K

fears to push an unrelated agenda such as anti-nuclear power or nuclear disarmament, which fall outside its mandate.

<P>The nuclear holiday campaigners say reactors are at

risk because they typically depend on offsite power to run their safety systems

.
The State Department said Tuesday that Russia and Ukraine were among countries

whose power grids could be knocked out by the Y2K glitch.

<P>In one of 196 updated consular information sheets designed to alert U.S. travelers of risks, the State Department said Ukraine,

home of the world's worst nuclear reactor accident in 1986 at Chernobyl, seems

`unprepared to deal with the Y2K problem."

<P>The British Foreign Office, in its Y2K advisories Tuesday, advised against all `nonessential travel" to Ukraine over the new year and early January `until the situation becomes clearer."

<P>Next week, Kikuchi and fellow activists are taking their campaign to Berlin, where the G-8 industrialized powers will meet to discuss Y2K contingency planning.

<P>She is prepared with an answer to any suggestion that

Ukraine, Russia or any other country is too dependent on nuclear power to switch it off during the rollover.

<P>`Which is better?," she says, `to have radioactivity all over the place -- or to be freezing for a day. You have a choice."

<P>The United States and Russia agreed Monday to jointly

staff a temporary military post in Colorado to watch for any Y2K-related false-missile alarms. But no move was announced toward taking missiles off hair-trigger alert.

<P>The shared Center for Strategic Stability and Y2K `will reduce the chance that a turn-of-the-millennium computer error will create an end-of-the-year security incident," Defense Secretary William Cohen

said.<!-- TextEnd --> </P>

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 face="Arial, Helvetica, sans-serif">US Takes Heat for Y2K Warnings
by Declan McCullagh, Wired News

3:00 a.m. 16.Sep.99.PDT
<!-- START_OF_BODY -->The US State Department warned this week
 that American travelers may encounter Y2K problems abroad over the New Year. But
 other governments don't trust Uncle Sam's technological readiness and are advising their residents to be wary of travelling to the United States.
 </P>
 <P>Canada said Wednesday that anyone heading south around 1 January could find themselves stranded by the Year 2000 problem -- the
 so-called Millennium Bug.
 <P>
 <P>A Canadian foreign ministry study into how 50 countries are tackling the Y2K glitch said the US air traffic control system was
 lagging in dealing with the problem.
 <P>"Air carriers and larger airports are making significant progress, but local airports and transit services in small communities and rural areas are not doing so well," the
 study said. "Some smaller airlines have only completed 55 percent of
 their risk assessments."
 <P>"Thirteen percent of hospitals are Y2K compliant
 with approximately 84 percent reporting that they will be ready for Y2K by the
 end of the year," it said.

<P>A top official in the US Congress' General Accountin
g
Office is also concerned.

<P>Joel Willemssen said that many of the Federal
Aviation Administration's air traffic computers at one point had been ready for

Y2K -- but may not be any longer.

<P>A recent White House report simply says: "All FAA

systems -- including air traffic -- were certified as being fully Y2K compliant

in July 1999."

<P>But that doesn't tell the whole truth. The FAA has

been updating its computers since then, making some 967 system changes,
Willemssen said.

<P>Those unrelated programming efforts could affect the

systems' Y2K readiness. "They say they're going to track down each one of

those and see if there's a Y2K impact," he said.

<P>In Congressional testimony this spring, US governmen
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auditors cautioned tha

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the nation's air traffic control systems are scattered around hundreds of
locations, and some have been customized. That makes fixes more difficult.

<P>The British
report on the state of US readiness also said small airports and health
facilities were at risk.

<P>Canadian foreign ministry spokesman Mike
O'Shaughnessy said 25 more country assessments would be ready by the end of
September.

<P>The Canadian study also indicated there could be
problems in a number of other countries, especially Ukraine, where 85 percent o
f

the telecommunications network was susceptible to Y2K problems.

<P>It said many Ukrainian commercial banks had not set

timetables for completion of Y2K preparations and had not even established
contingency plans.

<P>"There is a lack of financing available to
remediate (remedy) or replace noncompliant systems," the report said.

<P>In Romania there was "a low comprehension"

of the Y2K problem while efforts to fix the glitch in Pakistan were hampered by

a lack of resources.

<P>The US State Department <A

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<TD colSpan=2> <FLY>Year 2000 in Japan TO BE on the safe side, East Japan Railwa

y

is thinking about halting all its trains a few minutes before midnight on December 31st. Japan Travel Bureau, the country's

biggest travel agent, is refusing to book customers on flights that

will be airborne at the time. Japanese manufacturers and retailers,

heavily dependent upon computerised just-in-time delivery systems.

are beginning to fear the worst. NEC, an electronics group, intend

S

to store an unprecedented two weeks' worth of computer parts

so that its factories do not miss a beat in the new year. Hospitals

across Japan have started training staff on how to use manually operated equipment such as artificial respirators.

<P>Less than five months before computers

confront the millennium bug, officialdom in Japan has suddenly realised that the country is horribly ill-prepared. The world's second-biggest industrial economy comes below countries such as Hungary, Chile and Thailand in the "preparedness index" put out by Warburg Dillon Read, an

investment bank, on the basis of research by Gartner Group, a consultancy. The government has flipped from confidence to panic.

The prime minister, Keizo Obuchi, is chairing a crisis-management

group, and officials are appealing to the public to take their own

precautions.

<P>Since Japan computerised its banks, businesses, hospitals, schools and government offices much later than did America, more of the software in use in the country today

is "Year 2000-compliant" and can be expected to

roll the millennium over correctly. Even so, recent studies suggest

that a disturbing number of Japanese companies are woefully behind

in their efforts to fix what faulty software they have.

<P>As elsewhere, the biggest laggards are

small firms. In Fukushima in northern Japan, the prefectural government asked 15,000 local firms about progress. Only one in seven bothered to reply, and half of those thought they were immune

to the bug. Of those that realised they were at risk, little more

than a third had amended their software, a quarter were working on

the problem, and the rest had yet to get round to it.

<P>But it is the lack of urgency among larg

firms and public services in Japan that has horrified the central

government. Only a fifth of the 2,000-or-so hospitals designated as

crucial by the prefectural authorities have debugged the software

for computerised medical equipment and records. Fewer than a tenth

have put together contingency plans in case things go wrong.

<P>The Tokyo Stock Exchange (TSE) and the

Japan Institute of Certified Public Accountants have been trying to

r

big

until late last year. The most disturbing case was Nippon Steel, Japan's biggest steel maker, whose top managers had not heard

was Nintendo, a videogame maker and one of Japan's highest-profile high-tech companies, which Mr Evans judges to be in

30% of the companies examined are behind in their efforts to purge

“If the rest of corporate Japan is no better, what might this do to the country’s struggling economy? It should provide a boost in the fourth quarter, says Mr

Matsui of Goldman Sachs reckons that the Year 2000 effect could add

disasters could subtract 0.6% in 2000. Come January 1st, Japan's failure to do more will be a good test of whether everyone else was right to have worried so much after all.

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world is getting ready for Y2K

By

Nancy Weil
InfoWorld Electric

<P><I>Posted at 11:34 AM PT, Aug 17,
1999 </I>
Some countries are reporting such
remarkable progress in year-2000 remediation that their assessments

should not be believed, according to market researcher GartnerGroup
.

<P>For its final World Status report regarding preparations global
y
for the year-2000 computer problem, which was released Tuesday,
Gartner found that "many countries and industry sectors appear

to show a level of progress in three months that it took others a

year or more to achieve." The suspicion is that these countries
s
are exaggerating their progress in order to allay the concerns of

their trading partners.
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<P>"The level of self-reporting bias has escalated to the point
at which self reporting has become less reliable," the report

said. "The effect is particularly noticeable in the developing

world, where GartnerGroup analysts have become aware through many

other sources of the sudden engagement of governments and trade
associations that have realized that developed trading partners are

likely to scale back operations where there was seen to be little

willingness to tackle the problem."
<P>However, Gartner researchers also found "remarkably, no
longer are there any countries that have made no remediation at all

Every government covered in the report has made some compliance effort." Overall, countries and industries globally have made

good progress and Gartner analysts remain "cautiously optimistic" about how the world's computers will handle the date change.

<P>For the final assessment, Gartner took into account the underlying dependence on technology, energy, and trade in various

countries. The research considered a variety of indicators for possible risk, including IT spending as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP), electricity and energy consumption, number

of computers and telephone lines per 100 inhabitants, and the ratio

of trade-to-GDP, among other assessments.

<P>Based on that analysis, Gartner found that

Russia has the highest risk for year-2000 failures, said Lou Marcoccio, vice president of Gartner's year-2000 research. India is

in second place for risk, followed by a cluster of countries including Venezuela, Norway, Japan, Taiwan, Finland, and "even

the U.S., for that matter" because of its reliance on technology, energy and trade, he said.

<P>Parts of China, including Hong Kong and the city of Shanghai, have made "tremendous progress," Marcoccio said, noting

that Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, and parts of western Europe continue to make significant strides toward year-2000 remediation.

Germany, which had been a laggard, has "basically at this poin

nearly caught up to France and a number of large countries in western Europe, " Marcoccio said. "That's exceptional new

and exceptionally good news."

<P>Argentina, Mexico, Indonesia, and Hungary, by comparison, are less dependent on technology, communications, energy, and trade and

so are, therefore, at less risk.

<P>The flow of products traded with countries deemed most at risk i

likely to be imperiled as a result of the year-2000 computer problem, Marcoccio said, suggesting that all it takes to assess likely problems is to look at the countries and think about what goods come from them.

<P>The year-2000 computer problem is occurring because most older

software code was written with a two-digit date field that might interpret the "00" in 2000 as "1900" and therefore fail to make correct calculations. The effect of that

could be anything from relatively minor glitches to system crashes.

<P>Computer failures because of the date change will increase in the fourth quarter of this year, Marcoccio said, noting that's in part because there will be as many as 800 times more transactions in that quarter that deal with 2000 dates. Failures will continue to increase, peaking with the actual date change on Jan. 1, 2000, and continuing for months after.

<P>"Failures will continue to occur through all of 2000,"

Marcoccio said, adding that the number of failures won't diminish appreciably until the third quarter of next year and that some will occur into 2001.

<P>In terms of specific industries, health care, oil, semiconductor and retail all have shown significant improvements, as have chemical processing and the airlines, Marcoccio said. The hotel and entertainment industries continue to lag, as do medical and law offices.

<P>Remediation isn't foolproof, however. Gartner estimates that 5 percent to 9 percent of code will still be defective even after remediation and testing.

<P>Next year, Gartner expects failures will continue to occur because of defective code, as well as because applications will freeze the first time they try to run in 2000. Noncompliant package

software on the market will also be a problem, as will running of noncompliant archived data on compliant systems, and running code that wasn't adequately tested.

<P>"A complete cycle covering most transactions will take most of one full year to complete, so it will take one full year to uncover most code and data defects," according to a statement released by Gartner Tuesday, detailing highlights of the findings.

<P>Additional details and an updated assessment of remediation by country and industry will be provided

by Gartner during its upcoming Symposium/ITxpo conference, <U>Oct. 11 to 15 </U>in Lake Buena Vista, Fla. Marcoccio

will offer an update on what is likely to occur on Jan. 1, and also

will provide suggestions for what the general public should do to

prepare.

<P>"When you're talking about the U.S., panic is going to be a

key contributor issue when it comes to what happens, especially around Jan. 1," Marcoccio said Tuesday.

<P>Some shortages of perishable food, batteries, flashlights, and

the like will occur regionally just as happens during storms, "only we're having a global storm," he said, noting that

because Jan. 1 falls on a Saturday, some countries will celebrate

the holiday the day before, while others celebrate the following Monday.

<P>Although there won't be real shortages of heating oil and gasoline, for instance, people deciding to fill fuel tanks in their

homes and cars will lead to localized shortages, Marcoccio said.

<P>A spate of films are expected to be released toward the end of

the year in which disaster scenarios related to Jan. 1 are key to

the plots and those are likely to cause some panic, he said. Also

problematic could be computer viruses that some miscreants have sai

they will unleash around Jan. 1.

<P>In terms of real computer failures, though, Marcoccio said that

he expects that at least in the United States that the date change

will pass relatively unnoticed, with problems related to panic causing turmoil. However, "I think the panic is going to be much less," he said, adding that he expects utilities and bank

will step up efforts to educate the public and to allay fears.

<P>Gartner analysts do not think there will be a global recession a

a result of the year-2000 computer problem, Marcoccio said.

<P>GartnerGroup Inc., based in Stamford, Conn., is at www.gartner.com.

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