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Reflections by
Carol Aarhus

March 1, 1991

This is a great time to be living in Washington. Even more so, this is a great time to be an American. I am 22 years old, and Operation Desert Storm was the first war I had ever experienced. I had only ever heard second-hand stories of the tragedies during Vietnam, World Wars I and II, and read textbook accounts of other battles in which our country fought. Never in my life did I think I would have friends and neighbors sent into combat halfway around the world.

January 16th found me anxious and tense. The United Nations deadline had passed, and there were mixed feelings throughout the country. Although many people supported the war and President Bush, the loudest voices we heard were those opposing the United States presence in the Persian Gulf.

It was a rainy day in Washington, and there was an eerie calmness in the air. One of the speechwriters and I were restless, so we went for a walk on the grounds. We sensed that something was going to happen, and happen soon. We talked at length about what the war could do to change the course of the world's progress. Was this going to hurt America? Was this going to hurt our future? How many soldiers could we lose? Would there be a draft? It was frightening, yet strangely exciting, to be so close to the pulse of the world.

Following our walk, we went back into my office and turned on ABC World News Tonight. During Gary Shepard's taped message from Baghdad, Peter Jennings broke in with a live report from Mr. Shepard. As we heard the anti-aircraft fire shooting into the sky, and the bombs hitting the ground, we knew the war had begun. Like frightened children in a thunderstorm, we amassed in the main office, where we were told the war had begun, and that Marlin would hold a press briefing at 7:10 to make it official. I guess there was comfort in numbers, because there were twenty of us in one office with our eyes glued to the television set.

I called my fiance and my family in Pennsylvania. We were distressed, because each one of us knew someone who was in the military, already stationed in the Gulf. With the advanced technologies of television, the war was brought into our lives round-the-clock. It was something we just couldn't ignore. It was something that, for the soldiers' sake, we had to support.

In preparation for the President's Thanksgiving visit with the troops, one of my fellow research assistants went on a pre-advance to Saudi Arabia. He brought each of us a little vial of sand from the desert. It sits prominently on my bookshelf, a constant reminder of the men and women who fought for the rest of us.

I don't think anyone can truly classify themselves "pro-war". However, when I watched the President address the nation from the Oval Office, I knew that Operation Desert Storm was the right thing to do. My heart went out to the President, who in WWII was shot down and lost two of his best friends in losing his wingmen. He knows first-hand what war is like. He knows about casualties and deaths and the atrocities of battle. Still, he had the strength to do what was right for our country.

After listening to the protestors and walking by their anti-war and anti-Bush signs every day, it was heartening to come "home" for weekends to Mount Wolf, and see the tremendous amount of support that small town, as well as the rest of the county, put forth for our troops. I don't think I saw one house that didn't have a yellow ribbon on the door, or an American flag hanging proudly from the porch.

Kuwait has been liberated. Seeing the first pictures from Kuwait City was an experience I'll never forget. We can only share in the joy of the Kuwaiti people. As President Bush said, "This is not a time of euphoria; certainly not a time to gloat." We didn't "win". No one wins in war. America had casualties, as did members of the allied coalition. Casualties meaning not only the men and women who lost their lives in the desert, but their families and friends, who every day for the rest of their lives will have an ache in their heart for the loss of their loved one.

What we did do was meet all the objectives we set out to meet. We achieved the ultimate. We liberated Kuwait. And without the strong guidance and intelligence of our President, we may have had an even greater menace to face in the years to come.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 10, 1991

MEMORANDUM TO PUBLIC AFFAIRS DIRECTORS

FROM: KRISTEN GEARA
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: PERSIAN GULF

Enclosed for your use and distribution are three statements on the Persian Gulf situation. First, a transcript of the video President Bush sent to the community of nations united against Iraqi aggression. Second, Secretary Baker's statement and press conference from Geneva yesterday. And third, President Bush's statement and press conference from the White House yesterday.

I hope this information will be helpful, and do not hesitate to call our office at 456-2483 if you have any questions.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release January 8, 1991

MESSAGE BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS UNITED AGAINST IRAQI AGGRESSION

THE PRESIDENT: More than five months ago, in the early morning hours of August 2nd, Iraqi forces rolled south and the rape of Kuwait began. That unprovoked invasion was more than an attack on Kuwait, more than the brutal occupation of a tiny nation that posed no threat to its large and powerful neighbor. It was an assault on the very notion of international order.

My purpose in speaking to you, the people of countries united against this assault, is to share with you my view of the aims and objectives that must guide us in the challenging days ahead.

From the center of the crisis in the Middle East, to people and countries on every continent, to the families with loved ones held hostage, to the many millions sure to suffer at the hands of one man with a stranglehold on the world's economic lifeline, Iraq's aggression has caused untold suffering, hardship and uncertainty.

In the more than five months since August 2nd, Iraqi troops have carried out a systematic campaign of terror on the people of Kuwait -- unspeakable atrocities against men and women, and among the maimed and murdered, even innocent children.

In the more than five months since August 2nd, Iraq's action has imposed economic strains on nations large and small; among them some of the world's newest democracies at the very moment they are most vulnerable. And yet, Iraq's aggression did not go unchallenged.

In the five months since August 2nd, the world has witnessed the emergence of an unprecedented coalition against aggression. In the United Nations, Iraq's outlaw act has met a chorus of condemnation in 12 resolutions with the overwhelming support of the Security Council. At this moment, forces from 27 nations -- rich and poor, Arab and Muslim, European, Asian, African and American -- stand side by side in the Gulf, determined that Saddam's aggression will not stand.

We're now entering the most critical period of this crisis. For the past five months, Saddam has held the world and the norms of civilized conduct in contempt. In the next few days, Iraq arrives at a deadline that spells the limit of the civilized world's patience.

Let me be clear about the upcoming deadline. January 15 is not a "date certain" for the onset of armed conflict; it is a deadline for Saddam Hussein to choose, to choose peace over war.

The purpose of declaring this deadline was to give Saddam fair warning: Withdraw from Kuwait, without condition and without delay, or -- at any time on or after that date -- face a coalition ready and willing to employ "all means necessary" to enforce the will of the United Nations.

Every one of us, each day of this crisis, has held out hope for a peaceful solution. Even now, as the deadline draws near, we continue to seek a way to end this crisis without further

MORE

conflict. And that is why, back on November 30, I offered to have Secretary Baker travel to Baghdad to meet with Saddam Hussein. And that is why, even after Saddam failed to respond, failed to find time to meet on any of the 15 days we put forward, I invited Iraq's Foreign Minister to meet with Secretary Baker in Geneva on January 9th.

In Geneva, we will be guided by the will of the world community -- expressed in those 12 U.N. resolutions I mentioned a moment ago. I didn't send Secretary Baker to Geneva to compromise or to offer concessions. This meeting offers Saddam Hussein a chance -- possibly the final chance -- before the U.N. deadline to resolve by peaceful means the crisis that he has created.

Saddam may seek to split the coalition, to exploit our sincere desire for peace, to secure for himself the spoils of war. He will fail -- just as he has failed for more than five months.

I know that pressures are now building to provide Saddam some means of saving face, or to accept a withdrawal that is less than unconditional. The danger in this course should be clear to all. The price of peace now on Saddam's terms will be paid many times over in greater sacrifice and suffering. Saddam's power will only grow, along with his appetite for more conquest. The next conflict will find him stronger still -- perhaps in possession even of nuclear weapons and far more difficult to defeat. And that is why we simply cannot accept anything less than full compliance with the United Nations dictates: Iraq's complete and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait.

I began by saying that Iraq's action was more than an attack on one nation -- it is an assault on us all, on the international order we all share. We who have witnessed in this past year an end to the long years of cold war and conflict. We who have seen so much positive change, stand now at a critical moment, one that will shape the world we live in for years, even decades, to come.

The key now in meeting this challenge is for this remarkable coalition to remain steadfast and strong. If we remain in the days ahead nations united against aggression, we will turn back not only the actions of an ambitious dictator, we will, as partners, step forward toward a world of peace.

Thank you, and may God bless all of you.

END

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the Assistant Secretary/Spokesman
Geneva, Switzerland

For Immediate Release January 9, 1991

PRESS CONFERENCE
BY
SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES A. BAKER, III

Intercontinental Hotel
Geneva, Switzerland
Wednesday, January 9, 1991

SECRETARY BAKER: Ladies and Gentlemen, I have just given President Bush a full report of our meeting today. I told him that Minister Aziz and I had completed a serious and extended diplomatic conversation in an effort to find a political solution to the crisis in the Gulf. I met with Minister Aziz today not to negotiate, as we have made clear we would not do--that is, negotiate backwards from United Nations Security Council resolutions--but I met with him today to communicate. And communicate means listening as well as talking. And we did that, both of us.

The message that I conveyed from President Bush and our coalition partners was that Iraq must either comply with the will of the international community and withdraw peacefully from Kuwait, or be expelled by force.

Regrettably, ladies and gentlemen, I heard nothing today that, in over six hours, I heard nothing that suggested to me any Iraqi flexibility whatsoever on complying with the United Nations Security Council resolutions.

There have been too many Iraqi miscalculations. The Iraqi government miscalculated the international response to the invasion of Kuwait, expecting the world community to stand idly by while Iraqi forces systematically pillaged a peaceful neighbor. It miscalculated the response, I think, to the barbaric policy of holding thousands of foreign hostages, thinking that somehow, cynically doling them out a few at a time would somehow win political advantage. And it miscalculated that it could divide the international community and gain something thereby from its aggression.

So let us hope that Iraq does not miscalculate again. The Iraqi leadership must have no doubt that the 28 nations which have deployed forces to the Gulf in support of the United Nations have both the power and the will to evict Iraq from Kuwait. If it should choose--and the choice is Iraq's--if it should choose to continue its brutal occupation of Kuwait, Iraq will be choosing a military confrontation which it cannot win and which will have devastating consequences for Iraq.

I made these points with Minister Aziz, not to threaten but to inform. And I did so with no sense of satisfaction, for we genuinely desire a peaceful outcome. And as both President Bush and I have said on many occasions, the people of the United States have no quarrel with the people of Iraq. I simply wanted to leave as little room as possible for yet another tragic miscalculation by the Iraqi leadership.

And I would suggest to you, ladies and gentlemen, that this is still a confrontation that Iraq can avoid. The path of peace remains open, and that path is laid out very clearly in 12 United Nations Security Council resolutions adopted over a period of over five months. But now the choice lies with the Iraqi leadership. The choice really is theirs to make. And let us all hope that that leadership will have the wisdom to choose the path of peace.

Q: What do your allies plan to do next to bring this message home?

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, you say what do the allies plan to do next? I think it's important for everyone to note that this is a coalition. This is not Iraq versus the United States. This is Iraq versus the international community. This happens to have been the first time that we've had an opportunity to find agreement on meeting, U.S. and Iraq. So I don't know what the next steps are, Jim. I do know this, that time is running on, as I said a day or so ago. After five months and 12 United Nations Security Council resolutions, it seems to me that it is almost evident that the time for talk is running out. It's time for Iraq to act, and to act quickly by getting out of Kuwait.

But this is a coalition, and we are seeking to implement solemn resolutions of the United Nations. And so perhaps there may be a way that the Secretary-General of the United Nations could use his good offices here, in the remaining six or so days that we have left.

I will say that -- I have already mentioned that I didn't hear anything that to me demonstrated flexibility. Nor did I hear any new proposals. But I would like to take note of the fact that the Minister did restate their proposal that the United States pick a day for him to come to the United States, and Iraq pick a day for me to go to Baghdad. Those of you who have been traveling with us know what our answer is to that. We have given it over the past four or five days, and I gave it to the Minister tonight. We offered 15 separate days for a visit to Baghdad. The President of the United States made the proposal for face-to-face discussions. We are glad that Iraq accepted this one because we did have six hours, during which we could make our position known to them and they could make their position known to us.

But as far as next steps are concerned, it seems to me that, because we are talking about a coalition and we are talking about implementing resolutions of the United Nations, that perhaps there could be--I don't know what the position of the government of Iraq would be on this--but perhaps there would be some room for us to seek the use of the good offices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Q: Mr. Secretary, did the Iraqi Foreign Minister reiterate his demands for what he calls justice and fairness for the Palestinians? And was there any wavering in the U.S. position, as you may have expressed it to him, that the two issues are not related, are not linked?

SECRETARY BAKER: No, there was -- he expressed his position. There was no change in our position, which is that the two issues are not linked. I did make the point that I don't think many people believe that Iraq invaded Kuwait in order to help the Palestinians. And if they did, it was another miscalculation because it hadn't helped the Palestinians. I think most people believe that Iraq invaded Kuwait for Iraq's own aggrandizement. And I think most people realize that Iraq is trying to use the Palestinian issue to shield its aggression against Kuwait, which, in my view at least, remains an obstacle to broader peace in the region rather than a catalyst for achieving that broader peace.

And I made the point, as well, that rewarding Iraq's aggression with a link to the Arab-Israeli peace process would really send a terrible signal, not only to genuine peacemakers in the region but also to other would-be aggressors at what we think is a defining moment in history.

Q: Mr. Secretary, are you willing--is the United States willing--to talk again to Iraq before the January 15 deadline? And did you discuss with the President the possibility that you may still go to Baghdad?

SECRETARY BAKER: I had already discussed that with President Bush, and I had already told you what our view was, and the President himself, I think, said there will be no trip to Baghdad. The proposal which he originally made was in effect rejected by Iraq. We offered 15 separate days. They continued to insist upon only one, the 12th of January, which we think was and still is an obvious effort to avoid the deadline of January 15. And we are not interested in that. We think this deadline is real, and our coalition partners think the deadline is real. I reported fully to the President, of course.

Q: Could you run through for us -- You spoke for six hours. Could you give us a sense of how the discussions evolved over those six hours: what did you begin with, what did he counter with, why did you feel it necessary after two hours to call the President?

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, we broke for lunch. And I think this meeting is sufficiently important that I should call the President. And so I did, just as I did as soon as we were finished.

I began by saying that I was here not to negotiate but to communicate, as I've just told you. That I was here for a serious dialogue in an effort to find a political and peaceful solution, but that they should not expect that we would be prepared to walk backwards from U.N. Security Council resolutions, that the terms of those resolutions had already been set. And I told the Minister I wanted to handle the meeting in whatever way he wanted, and I gave him the choice and he chose for me to go first, just as I gave him the choice as well as to how to report to you, and he suggested that I come down here first.

So that's how we got where we are here tonight. But let me say that I talked to him about how we saw the situation, about the history of the Security Council resolutions, about what I thought could happen in the event of observance of those resolutions, and what I feared would happen in the event of Iraq's non-observance of those resolutions. He then presented the position of the government of Iraq, and he will be down here in a few moments and he can -- now we can't run through six hours of dialogue here, or nobody else will get to ask any questions.

Q: How detailed were you about the extent of force that would be used against Iraq if it does not comply with the U.N. resolutions by January 15?

SECRETARY BAKER: I didn't get into things that would properly be in the realm of operational security matters. I hope I effectively made the case with respect to what, at least, our opinion was of the 28-nation multinational force that is there in the Gulf.

Q: Mr. Secretary, is the United States interested in any sort of phased withdrawal, be it one supervised by the United Nations? And if this withdrawal begins by January 15, will the United States guarantee there will be no military attack on Iraq?

SECRETARY BAKER: Let me say--I should have said this in answer to Tom's question--I assured the Minister that if they implement the United Nations resolutions and if they withdraw from Kuwait and permit the restoration of the legitimate government of Kuwait, that I could assure him that there would be no military action by the United States. And that I felt that there would, under those circumstances, be no military action by any other elements of the international coalition.

On the first question, the United Nations resolutions speak for themselves. We are not here -- After all, we are part of an international coalition. We are part of 28 countries--even more countries that have been helping financially and economically--and it is not up to us to walk backwards from solemn resolutions of the United Nations.

Q: Mr. Secretary, you have said in the past that you would seek approval for the use of force at the highest levels. Are you now at that stage in the process in which you will be seeking the use of force from other governments?

SECRETARY BAKER: No, but the clock is ticking on, and I made that point to the Minister today. As far as we are concerned, we have not taken -- the President of the United States, who alone in our executive branch, under our system, can make that decision, has not taken that decision. And I am not aware that any other governments have.

Q: Mr. Secretary, in the remaining six days before the U.N. deadline, would you welcome an initiative by some other European allies, or even Arab countries such as Algeria, that would perhaps include sending a European foreign minister to Baghdad to seek a peaceful resolution?

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, this is an international coalition--let me say it one more time. And therefore, as I have just indicated to you, it's an international coalition seeking to implement solemn resolutions of the world's peacekeeping and security body. And therefore, there might, it seems to me, be some useful purpose served by perhaps the Secretary-General's good offices.

But I said last night and I have said for months, we welcome any and all diplomatic efforts to solve this crisis peacefully and politically. We want it solved peacefully and politically. I am disappointed, of course, that we did not receive any indications today whatsoever of any flexibility in the position of Iraq.

So we would welcome any and all diplomatic efforts. We do think if they are efforts by members of the international coalition, that the message should be uniform, as it has been for five months, and it should not be a mixed message. But we want a peaceful and political solution.

Q: Mr. Secretary, can you tell us -- you keep saying you saw no indication of flexibility. Did the Foreign Minister actually tell you that Iraq intends to keep Kuwait and will not withdraw from Kuwait?

SECRETARY BAKER: He did not make that statement, but he did not indicate that there was any chance that they would withdraw. But I did not see, frankly, any flexibility in their position. You can ask him questions when he gets down here.

Q: Mr. Secretary, did you discuss in answer to any of the discussion about the problems raised elsewhere in the Middle East, by the Iraqi Foreign Minister--did you discuss the efforts the United States has made in the past to seek Arab-Israeli peace, to persuade Iraq that the United States was serious--genuinely interested in resolving those problems?

SECRETARY BAKER: Yes, we went through a good bit of the history of the personal efforts that I made for 14 months to bring about a dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis. We went through the experience of the United States in bringing about the Camp David Accords and in bringing about peace between Israel and Egypt. We had a full discussion of that issue, a complete discussion of it.

I want to make it clear that I made it very clear throughout that there would be no linkage here of that issue to Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. And we would not agree, as a condition of their withdrawing, to any subsequent specific steps to be taken with respect to that. But we did have -- they brought it up and we had a very full discussion.

Q: What was your answer?

SECRETARY BAKER: We disagree. We frankly disagree with respect to that, as I think you know. And I have already told you why I think linkage is a bad idea. I think that it will not tend to promote peace in the region. It will tend to be read as a reward for aggressors and it would jeopardize future peace in the region.

Q: Mr. Secretary, what did you tell the Foreign Minister about the willingness of the American people to go to war and the impact, the political pressure, on the President's decision-making?

SECRETARY BAKER: I said don't miscalculate the resolve of the American people, who are very slow to anger, but who believe strongly in principle, and who believe that we should not reward aggression, and that big countries with powerful military machines should not be permitted to invade, occupy and brutalize their peaceful neighbors.

Q: Mr. Secretary, you've told us what you didn't hear. You didn't hear any flexibility and you told us that there was quite a bit of discussion of history. Could you tell us what you did hear--did you hear justifications from the Foreign Minister? Did you hear a repeat of what they've been saying in public for some time?

SECRETARY BAKER: I heard some things that I quite frankly found very hard to believe, but I'll let him go into the detail here. But I heard, for instance, that their action in invading Kuwait was defensive in nature, that they were being threatened by Kuwait. And I will tell you the same thing I told the Minister, which is, I find it very hard to believe that any nation in the world will believe that.

Q: Mr. Secretary, even though you did spend six hours here today talking to Foreign Minister Aziz, in the past five and a half months you haven't had much contact with Iraq. What's to prevent the historians of this conflict from concluding that there was a failure of diplomacy here--we slid toward war without trying?

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, there've been a lot of conversations with the leadership of Iraq, all to no avail. The Secretary-General's already had one failed mission. There have been any number of Arab efforts to solve this crisis, all to no avail. There have been efforts by others, other Western governments. The Soviet Union has tried very hard; they've had

meetings. We have now had a meeting. And so, you know, people can write whatever they decide they might want to write. But the truth of the matter is, we have been very--I think, the international coalition--very responsible and measured in our approach to this. We have not, as some might suggest, gone off half-cocked. We have gone through the United Nations, patiently, working for consensus within the Security Council. And it is only after five and a half months and the passage of 12 Security Council resolutions that we find ourselves at the point of use of force.

So I think there's been more diplomacy exercised in this crisis than in almost any that I can think of. And the one thing I would ask you all not to do is to equate diplomacy and appeasement. We made that mistake in the Thirties. At least for our part, we don't intend to make it again.

Q: In a sense, two questions: did the Foreign Minister suggest Iraq might withdraw from Kuwait if there were linkage as, let us say, the French have suggested, or others have suggested? And if he did, is linkage, the principle of linkage, and insistence on that principle, a reason for the loss of lots of lives?

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, I don't think he said that explicitly. I think perhaps it was implicit in his comments. But he'll be here, and you can ask him. But it's more than just the principle of linkage, as I understand their position. There would have to be agreement to conferences and that sort of thing, that get you beyond just the simple fact of linkage.

Q: Mr. Secretary, did Minister Aziz make a specific proposal under which Iraq would get out of Kuwait, however unacceptable it was to you--was there a specific proposal?

SECRETARY BAKER: No, there was no specific proposal. He restated the positions that Iraq has stated publicly in the past. He defended their action in invading and occupying Kuwait. He explained how he feels that was justified. AAd again, he'll be down here and you can ask him yourself.

Q: Mr. Secretary, you made it clear that you were not going to Baghdad. But did you and the Foreign Minister talk about future diplomatic contacts at your level between the United States and Iraq, or did this one six-and-a-half-hour meeting represent the completion of diplomatic initiatives by the United States?

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, we will maintain our diplomatic contacts through our charge in Baghdad until the twelfth of January. I asked for and received the personal assurance of the Minister that Joe Wilson and the four other Americans in our embassy there will be permitted to leave Baghdad on January 12, and will not be restrained from so doing.

Q: Mr. Secretary, your mood, if I may say, seems pretty somber at this point. Can you kind of describe your state of mind and your mood after what has occurred today?

SECRETARY BAKER: Somber. You've got it.

Q: Are you advising evacuation?

SECRETARY BAKER: I am not saying that. I am telling you that we had asked for and received assurances for our remaining five diplomatic personnel to leave on the 12th of January, which is a date that you all know is very close to the January 15 deadline and happens to be the date that Iraq has been insisting on for three weeks for the meeting.

Q: What about other Americans, Sir?

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, I think most all Americans are out of Iraq. All that want to leave are gone, as far as I know.

Q: Mr. Secretary, can you tell us now about the letter from President Bush? Was it in fact in Arabic? What was the tone of it? Did it contain graphic military scenarios intended to intimidate?

SECRETARY BAKER: I regret to inform you that the Minister chose not to receive the letter from President Bush. He read it, very slowly and very carefully, but he would not accept it. Nor would the Iraqi embassy in Washington accept an Arabic courtesy translation. You will have to ask the Minister why he did not accept the letter. My own opinion, for what it's worth--and it's only an opinion--was that he came here only authorized to accept a letter that walked away from the United Nations resolutions, which is something that we cannot, and of course, will not do.

Q: Have you discussed the possibility of convening the United Nations again to discuss the Gulf crisis? You know that President Mitterrand has proposed that most probably a new discussion is possible, it might be helpful. Have you discussed this eventuality with the Iraqi Minister?

SECRETARY BAKER: No, it did not come up in my meeting today with the Iraqi Minister. I did speak to that question and to that issue a day or so ago, and I believe that President Bush has spoken to it as well. I don't know what an additional Security Council meeting at this stage could do. Because what we are talking about here is faithful implementation of resolutions of the Council, the last one of which says that if Iraq does not withdraw by midnight on January 15, force can be used to effect that withdrawal. We have had 12 resolutions of the United Nations Security Council...

Q: But what President Mitterrand is suggesting...

SECRETARY BAKER: I can't answer your question. I would refer you to President Mitterrand. But I have just said that perhaps there would be some utility in trying to use the good offices of the Secretary General.

Q: Do you have any reason to believe there is any way to avoid a war as of right now?

SECRETARY BAKER: Yes, I hope there is. There has been no decision taken for that eventuality. And I would simply refer you to my opening statement, where I made the point that I hope we do not have yet one more miscalculation by the government of Iraq. I would also refer you to the statements which President Bush and I and other members of the coalition have made over the course of the last several days or weeks, and which I repeated today to the Minister--not in a threatening way, but simply so that he would know where our head is, and how we feel and what we think. And that is, that this January 15 deadline in our minds, is real. Iraq can choose to believe that or not, but it is real in our minds and in the minds of our coalition partners. We hope that they will believe that we think it's real, and that they will act to implement the solemn resolutions of the United Nations.

Q: Mr. Secretary, would you regret that you would have still liked to go, even on the 12th, and meet, instead of Mr. Tariz, Saddam himself? Still a difference of three days.

SECRETARY BAKER: The 12th -- We've said for the last three weeks, the 12th of January was unacceptable to us because it is just an effort to avoid the deadline. It's obvious that's why the 12th was originally suggested. We have said for a long time that date is unacceptable to us. It remains unacceptable to us.

Q: Mr. Secretary, did you spell out your vision of what the Gulf would look like if they withdrew peacefully? In other words, some of the restrictions that you have talked about that must be imposed upon Iraq, even if they did withdraw. Did you lay that plan out for him in some way?

SECRETARY BAKER: Yes, I did in my original presentation this morning. I don't have time to go through all of that with you now, but that falls right in the category of the assurance that there would not be military force used against Iraq by the United States if they withdrew from Kuwait and permitted the restoration of the legitimate government of Kuwait.

Q: Did you talk about the nuclear weapons, the chemical weapons, the size of the Iraqi military--things that are a concern to many in the Western coalition, beyond the occupation of Kuwait?

SECRETARY BAKER: We had a full discussion of questions about weapons of mass destruction. I pointed out the interest of the United States, as we have expressed before, in addressing that issue and addressing that subject. And we talked about the presence, the multinational presence there, and the fact that President Bush has said that we do not desire nor want a permanent military ground presence in the Middle East--I mean in the Gulf. That we want to see our troops come home just as fast as the security situation will allow. Those are the kinds of things that we discussed, as you might expect.

Q: Mr. Secretary, could you please just describe to us the point at which the meeting broke off--why and how did it happen? Was it that you finished it off? Did Mr. Aziz finish off, or was there just nothing to talk about anymore? Please describe that.

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, it was simply a case, I think, that after over six hours of discussion we both had pretty well made the points that we had come to make, and that was it. I don't believe that there was anything left unsaid. He said everything I think he came to say, and I had said everything that I had come to say. I think frankly it lasted longer than many of you might have anticipated at the beginning.

Q: Mr. Secretary, you mentioned that you are going to pull back the American diplomats. Were you also asking Iraqi diplomats to leave the United States on January the 12th?

SECRETARY BAKER: No, we will ask the Iraqi government to draw down their diplomatic presence in the United States on the 12th. But as I indicated to the Minister, we would be willing to permit the presence of a small diplomatic contingent in Washington.

Q: Mr. Secretary, do you feel that if you would have accepted the fact of the linkage, there could have been a proposition of Iraq retiring from Kuwait?

SECRETARY BAKER. I don't know. Why don't you ask the Minister that, because when you say "accepted linkage," I'm not at all sure exactly what you mean. Do you mean if we had indicated a willingness to go to an international conference to handle the question in the Middle East? Ask him the question. It would be very interesting.

You know what our position has been for a long time. It would set an extraordinarily unfortunate precedent, we think, and would not in the long run contribute to peace in the region, but would contribute to instability because aggressors would be be seen to be rewarded for their aggression. Something we simply cannot consider.

Q: Mr. Secretary, was there any single issue on which the difference between the United States and Iraq was narrow during this six and a half hours?

SECRETARY BAKER: Well let me say that I think that the discussion, as I have already indicated, was a serious one. I think that the tone of it was as good as you could expect under the circumstances. We weren't pounding the table and shouting at each other. It was a very reasoned, and I think, responsible discussion by two diplomats who really would like to find a peaceful and political solution to this problem. But I've already said to you, I did not detect flexibility in the position of Iraq, as they have stated it over the past several days.

Again, I invite you to my opening statement. We still have six days. I just hope that they will think about this meeting, that they will focus on it, that when Foreign Minister Aziz gets back and reports to his President, that perhaps there could be some change in their position. But there cannot be a negotiation here, because the terms of the United Nations Security Council resolutions were worked out in the debate in the United Nations. And the international coalition is bound to those resolutions.

One last question.

Q: Mr. Secretary, would you be willing to meet Saddam somewhere else apart from Baghdad if you...?

SECRETARY BAKER: That was not discussed. It has never been proposed by Iraq. The Iraqi proposal, as you know, for some weeks has been "we pick a date for Baker to come to Baghdad, you pick a date for Aziz to come to Washington, and we'll work it that way." That's been out there for a long long time. There's never been any suggestion of the other.

Thank you.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release January 9, 1990

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT

The Briefing Room

3:55 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: I have a brief opening statement and then I will take a few questions.

I have spoken with Secretary of State Jim Baker, who reported to me on his nearly seven hours of conversation with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz. Secretary Baker made it clear that he discerned no evidence whatsoever that Iraq was willing to comply with the international community's demand to withdraw from Kuwait and comply with the United Nations resolutions.

Secretary Baker also reported to me that the Iraqi Foreign Minister rejected my letter to Saddam Hussein -- refused to carry this letter and give it to the President of Iraq. The Iraqi Ambassador here in Washington did the same thing. This is but one more example that the Iraqi government is not interested in direct communications designed to settle the Persian Gulf situation.

The record shows that whether the diplomacy is initiated by the United States, the United Nations, the Arab League or the European Community, the results are the same, unfortunately. The conclusion is clear: Saddam Hussein continues to reject a diplomatic solution.

I sent Secretary Jim Baker to Geneva not to negotiate, but to communicate. And I wanted Iraqi leaders to know just how determined we are that the Iraqi forces leave Kuwait without condition or further delay. Secretary Baker made clear that by its full compliance with the 12 relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions, Iraq would gain the opportunity to rejoin the international community. And he also made clear how much Iraq stands to lose if it does not comply.

Let me emphasize that I have not given up on a peaceful outcome -- it's not too late. I've just been on the phone, subsequent to the Baker press conference, with King Fahd, with President Mitterrand -- to whom I've talked twice today -- Prime Minister Mulroney and others are contacting other coalition partners to keep the matter under lively discussion. It isn't too late. But now, as it's been before, the choice of peace or war is really Saddam Hussein's to make.

And now I'd be glad to take a few questions.

Q Mr. President, you said in an interview last month that you believe in your gut that Saddam Hussein would withdraw from Kuwait by January 15th. After the failure of this meeting today, what does your gut tell you about that? And in your gut, do you believe that there's going to be war or peace?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't misrepresent this to the American people. I am discouraged. I watched much of the Aziz press conference, and there was no discussion of withdrawal from Kuwait. The United Nations resolutions are about the aggression against Kuwait. They're about the invasion of Kuwait, about the liquidation of a lot of the people in Kuwait, about the restoration of the legitimate government to Kuwait. And here we were listening to a

45-minute press conference after the Secretary of State of the United States had six hours worth of meetings over there, and there was not one single sentence that has to relate to their willingness to get out of Kuwait.

And so, Terry, I'd have to say I certainly am not encouraged by that, but I'm not going to give up. And I told this to our coalition partners -- and I'll be talking to more of them when I finish here -- we've got to keep trying. But this was a total stiff arm. This was a total rebuff.

Q Let me follow up on that. Let me follow up. Have you decided in your mind to go to war if he's not out of there by the 15th?

THE PRESIDENT: I have not made up my decision on what and when to do. I am more determined than ever that the United Nations resolutions including 678 is implemented fully.

Yes, Helen?

Q Mr. President, Aziz made a pledge that he would not make the first attack. Would you match that? And also, what's wrong with a Middle East conference if it could avoid a bloody war?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I wouldn't make it. And we oppose linkage. The coalition opposes linkage. And the argument with Saddam Hussein is about Kuwait. It is about the invasion of Kuwait, the liquidation of a member of the United Nations, a member of the Arab League. And it has long been determined by not just the Security Council, but by the entire United Nations that this is about Kuwait. And that is the point that was missing from his explanations here today. And so there will be no linkage on these items. And that's been the firm position of all of the allies, those with forces there, and, indeed, of the United Nations -- the General Assembly.

Q So you feel free to attack?

THE PRESIDENT: -- so when he talked about his allies there, I don't know who stood up at the General Assembly of the United Nations and stood against the resolution that so overwhelmingly passed condemning Iraq. So there will be no linkage, put it that way.

Q Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, Brit.

Q Tariq Aziz, on the subject of the letter, suggested that it was rude in its use of language and somehow inappropriate to a diplomatic communication. I wonder, sir, if you are willing to release the letter, now that it has been -- it's run its course, apparently? And if, whether you are or not, would you characterize it for us and tell us what it said?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let me first describe why I wanted to send a letter. It has been alleged, fairly or unfairly, that those around Saddam Hussein refuse to bring him bad news or refuse to tell it to him straight. And so I made the determination that I would write a letter that would explain as clearly and forcefully as I could exactly what the situation is that he faces. The letter was not rude. The letter was direct. And the letter did exactly what I think is necessary at this stage.

But to refuse to even pass a letter along seems to me to be just one more manifestation of the stonewalling that has taken place. We gave him 15 dates for the Secretary of State to meet with him. And he's off meeting with Mr. A and Mr. B and Mr. C and has no time for that.

So the letter was proper -- I've been around the diplomatic track for a long time -- the letter was proper, it was

direct, and it was what I think would have been helpful to him to show him the resolve of the rest of the world -- certainly of the coalition.

In terms of releasing it, Brit, I haven't given much thought to that. It was written as a letter to him. But let me think about it. I might be willing to do it; I might not. I just don't know. If I thought it would help get the message out to him in an indirect way maybe it makes some sense, although we've been saying essentially the same thing over and over again that was in the letter.

Q Well, Mr. President, was the refusal by the Ambassador here to even accept the letter -- was that prior to or simultaneous with the refusal of Tariq Aziz? I mean, is it your impression --

THE PRESIDENT: I think it was after he had made that -- I think it was after the letter had been rejected at the table there in Geneva. Just one more effort to try to get this direct communication to him. I'm not sure on that, but I believe that's correct.

Q Mr. President, there are reports that you are considering a call-up of up to a million reservists to reinforce the forces that are serving in the Persian Gulf. What can you tell us about that?

THE PRESIDENT: I can tell you nobody has ever suggested that to me.

Q Is there any reserve call-up being contemplated at this point?

THE PRESIDENT: I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll ask the Secretary of Defense to respond to that question when I get finished here.

Q Can you tell us what your attitude now is about the use of force resolution that you asked for yesterday with the Congress?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I had a good meeting with certain members of Congress. I've talked to all four leaders this afternoon -- Senator Mitchell, Senator Dole, Speaker Foley, Congressman Michel -- I talked to him in person here. And I'm not sure where it stands. We are -- I am anxious to see and would certainly welcome a resolution that says we are going to implement the United Nations resolutions to a tee.

I don't think it's too late to send a consolidated signal to Saddam Hussein. And I think that would be a consolidated signal. I think it would be helpful still. I've told the congressmen back in December, as I think I told everyone in this room, that I would have welcomed a resolution back then, provided it would send this solid signal. But if it can do it today, I would welcome it.

So I don't know exactly where it stands, but I know that there is a good feeling up there. I think people see that the American people are supportive of the policy of this country. I think they see that we have tried the diplomatic track. I hope they know that I am as committed to peace as anyone. But I hope they also know that I am firmly determined to see that this aggression not stand. And I think they're backing me in that.

So maybe that ingredient, which hasn't always been quite as clear as it is now, will help as this debate, proper debate, goes forward in the Congress.

Q Do you think you need such a resolution? And if you lose it, would you be bound by that?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I need it. I think

Secretary Cheney expressed it very well the other day. There are different opinions on either side of this question, but Saddam Hussein should be under no question on this -- I feel that I have the authority to fully implement the United Nations resolutions.

Q And the question of being bound -- the second part of that?

THE PRESIDENT: I still feel that I have the constitutional authority -- many attorneys having so advised me.

Q Sir, I want to ask you about Francois Mitterrand. But Wyatt's question opens up a whole area. Let me just ask you, you talk about you don't want this to be another Vietnam.

THE PRESIDENT: It won't be another Vietnam.

Q If the Congress of the United States refuses to give you a resolution that -- refuses to even give you a Gulf of Tonkin-type resolution, how can you go to war?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think they're going to refuse.

Q Okay. Let me ask you about Francois Mitterrand. You say the --

THE PRESIDENT: There have been 200 -- I'll just repeat for the record that there have been a lot of uses of force in our history and very few declarations of war. But I have tried. I have done more consultation with the Congress than any other president. Some of these Democratic members have told me that. And I have tried to reach out to them in various ways, and I will continue to do it, because I want to see a solid front here as we stand up against this aggressor.

Q Let me ask you about that solid front --

THE PRESIDENT: And I think it enhances the peace. I really believe, John, that he is living under a delusion. I think he doesn't think that force will be used against him. I think he's misinterpreted the debate. I also think he's under a delusion about what would happen if a conflagration breaks out. I believe that firmly, and I've had many, many people whom I respect tell me that. So I would hope that what we're talking about here would dissuade him from that.

This is a follow-up.

Q You've said that the coalition is united against any linkage on the Palestinian question. You've talked to Francois Mitterrand twice today. But in public he says he is for this international peace conference, and he seems to have no objection at all if Saddam Hussein wants to use that as a fig leaf to pull out of Kuwait. You do have an objection. Mitterrand also says that apparently the European Community foreign ministers are going to meet with Aziz apparently in Algiers. What if they go in there and say, well, we have no objection to an international peace conference on the Mideast?

THE PRESIDENT: The foreign ministers of the EC have been very solid, and so has President Francois Mitterrand, that there will be no linkage. So you're asking me a hypothetical question that I won't have to answer because he's not going to do that.

Q He said today he disagrees with you on the international peace --

THE PRESIDENT: The French government and the United States government over the years have had some differences on how the best way to bring peace to the Middle East is. We had a very active initiative underway by Jim Baker. But that doesn't have anything to do with the invasion of Kuwait. And Francois Mitterrand knows that

it doesn't have to do with the invasion of Kuwait and the aggression against Kuwait. And I know he knows this. And he's been very forthright about it.

But, yes, he's very frank in saying countries have a different approach to how you solve another very important problem. And we've never -- I would simply refer you back to what I've said on that subject. I think you were with us over in the joint press conference with President Gorbachev when I addressed myself to this. But I am going to avoid linkage.

I listened to that Aziz meeting, and all he tried to do is obfuscate, to confuse, to make everybody think this had to with the West Bank, for example. And it doesn't. It has to do with the aggression against Kuwait -- the invasion of Kuwait, the brutalizing of the people in Kuwait. And it has to do with a new world order. And that world order is only going to be enhanced if this newly-activated peacekeeping function of the United Nations proves to be effective. That is the only way the new world order will be enhanced.

Q You say that Saddam Hussein doesn't understand yet. Why not a meeting face to face? Why refuse any meeting face to face?

THE PRESIDENT: Because he's had every opportunity. And he keeps -- we finally said this is the last step. We tried 15 dates in Baghdad. We tried to set up these meetings. And now we tried this one, and there wasn't one single reason to make me think that another meeting between the United States and Saddam Hussein would do -- and the Iraqis would do any good at all. If I felt it would, fine. But it will not.

I talked to the Secretary General of the United Nations today, and there is a chance that he might undertake such a mission. Certainly we'd have no objection. There's one other reason -- and I cite that because this is not Iraq against the United States. It is Iraq against the rest of the world. It is the United Nations that passed 12 resolutions, not the United States. It is the General Assembly of the United Nations -- a 100-plus countries standing solidly against the dictator. And therefore, it doesn't need to be a bilateral negotiation here. We tried that. And we were stiff-armed by an intransigent foreign secretary.

And so the answer is, if diplomacy can be effective now, let's keep it in the context in which these resolutions were passed. And I would hope that maybe it would have an effect, but I'd have to level with the American people, nothing I saw today -- nothing -- leads me to believe that this man is going to be reasonable. So back to Terry's question, I'm less -- I have less of a feeling that he'll come around. But we ought to keep trying. We ought to keep trying right down to the wire.

Q You've repeated the "keep trying." You've cited the Secretary General of the United Nations. Secretary of State Baker cited him three times. What exactly could his mission be if there is no alternative to what Secretary Baker --

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not sure. Maybe the whole -- what would a mission of Jim Baker have been? It might have been to convince the man that he is up against an immovable force. He's up against something that is not going to yield. He is up against a situation under which there will be no compromise; and there will be none. But because, you see, Ann, I go back to my point, I don't think he has felt this up until now -- on both points. I don't think he's felt that force will be used against him and I think he has felt that if it were, he'd prevail. He's wrong on both counts.

Q Mr. President, there have been reports that Saddam believes that if it comes to war, even if he's driven out of Kuwait militarily, he can survive in power. Is he wrong?

THE PRESIDENT: I think he's wrong on all of his

assumptions about what would happen if it came to war -- God forbid.

In the middle, and back here. And then we've got three more, and then I've got to go. These -- Ellen.

Q Would he be killed, Mr. President? Would he be killed if it came to war?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not going to answer that. I don't know the answer to that question.

Q Mr. President, you seem to have ruled out further diplomacy as a --

THE PRESIDENT: No, you missed what I said, ma'am -- Ellen, about the Secretary General, possibly. The EC has tried -- I'll get back to you. Let me finish this one train of thought and then I'll come to your question -- the EC has tried, and, indeed, we see Aziz say, no, he wouldn't meet with the foreign ministers. You've seen President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria to try.

I told the congressmen, I want to see us go the last step for peace. I want to use everything at my power to encourage people to try. And, indeed, there have been. Arab League has tried. Over and over again, people have tried. And they run up against the same answer. I remember the speculation that came out here in our papers in this country about a visit by a French delegate that was going over there. The hopes were raised. Nothing happened. So I just had to argue with the premise because there has been a lot diplomacy and there may be more.

Now, excuse me for interrupting you.

Q Sir, you seem to be very skeptical that further diplomacy would work. And yet you've said here today that you haven't given up on a peaceful solution. I wonder where it is you find this hope for a peaceful solution?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not sure I have great hope for it. But I think when human life is at stake, you go the extra mile for peace. And that's what we have tried to do. And I will continue to think of reasons -- I told President Mitterrand, I said, look, if you think of a new approach, or I do, please, let's one or the other get on the phone and try. But we remain determined that these resolutions are going to be complied with. I am very concerned that sanctions -- I know sanctions alone aren't going to get this job done. And so we're pushing here, and that's what the Baker meeting with Aziz was about. I'm not going to give up, though.

Karen.

Q A lot of people, in looking at the situation, on the outside will say, there must be more than this. There must be some back-channel diplomacy. There must be something going on. You can't be rushing headlong into war this way. Can you tell us that there is nothing, that it is what appear to be getting -- that Saddam isn't going to move and we're going to war?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not going to use that phrase. I am going to say, if Saddam doesn't move, we are going to fully implement Resolution 678. And it will be fully complied with.

But I wish I could tell you I'm more hopeful. There is no back channel. We've tried it directly. I've had to level, and properly so, with our coalition partners as to what I'm doing, and they've leveled with us -- leveled with the United Nations Security Council members who are not involved in the coalition with force; for example, the Soviets. A lot of avenues have been tried. But I can't tell you that there's any hidden agenda out there, secret negotiations -- there is not. And it wouldn't be right for us to be off telling you one thing openly here and then going around behind the corner with some secret channel. So I would like to say if

there's any feeling that that's happening, it isn't happening.

Q So the entire hope for peace then rests on Saddam backing off from his --

THE PRESIDENT: And it has since August 2nd -- exactly. Because this aggression is not going to stand. And there's an awful lot at stake in terms of the new world order that it doesn't stand. And there's a lot at stake in terms of a lot of human life in Kuwait that it doesn't stand. And there's a lot at stake in terms of how the coalition looks at this that it doesn't stand. So it won't.

Q Mr. President, you said that when you first proposed high-level talks between Iraq and the United States that it was because you were convinced the message had not gotten through, had not gotten across. Are you now convinced that the message had gotten across?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I did listen carefully to Mr. Aziz, who I thought spoke quite well. I didn't agree with what he was trying to do, obviously, to confuse the issue by refusing to discuss the point at hand, which is the invasion of Kuwait, but I thought he did it well. (Laughter.) I thought he kind of sent a signal that they do understand what's up against them, but I still don't believe that they think the world coalition will use force against them. I may be wrong, but that's what I think in here. And I also still believe, as I said earlier, that he somehow has this feeling that he will prevail or that he will prolong. This will not be that. I've heard some wild predictions on this horrible human equation that might be involved if force were used, and I would say I don't agree with some who are arguing the loudest because it's putting the worst case out in terms of loss of human life; I must say that. I don't know. I think Aziz understands it, but I'm not sure that Saddam Hussein does.

Q If I could follow, Mr. President --

THE PRESIDENT: A follow-up question. I'm sorry, I'm going to have one more, and then Charles -- I told him, and then I'm leaving. Thank you very much, though.

Q When you were listening to Foreign Secretary Aziz, did you get any kind of particular feelings of anger or --

THE PRESIDENT: No, I didn't. I thought it was a very rational presentation, but wrong. I must say, I thought his style was good. From talking to Jim Baker, I thought he -- I mean, when I talked to Jim, he said, look, the man presented his case. Clearly, we didn't agree with it. I thought he was quite complimentary of the way the Secretary of State did it. So the atmospherics, I think, were all right, but he doesn't have it. He doesn't understand it. At least from what he said, he doesn't. Because this is not about some other question of linkage. This is about the invasion and the aggression about Kuwait -- the dismantling of Kuwait, the brutality about Kuwait. So I didn't get a sense of security from listening to that. But I will say that I thought that he presented his views in a reasoned -- reasonable way. He had a tough agenda. He had some tough talking points there. He works for a tough man.

Q What exactly are you trying to convey here to Saddam Hussein on what he does have to lose? Is it the decimation of his society? Is it the liquidation of his military? Is it losing his own power? Can you be specific on that?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't be more specific, but I can be -- that he will get out of Kuwait, and he will get out of Kuwait entirely, and he will get out of Kuwait without concession. That, I think, is the underlying part of the message.

Q Mr. President, aa question on Israel. Tariq Aziz was emphatic that if Iraq is attacked, Israel will be attacked. What are your obligations to Israel? Are you prepared to fight a war

throughout the Middle East?

THE PRESIDENT: That is too hypothetical a question for me to answer. We are prepared to do what we need to do to implicate -- to fully implement 678. And I would think that he'd think long and hard before he started yet another war. There is one war on -- that's his war against Kuwait. That's his aggression against Kuwait. And I don't think he wants to start another one. So I'm not going to buy into that hypothesis that the United States would obviously feel that that was a most provocative act, most provocative.

Q If I may, I don't believe it was a hypothetical question. The question was, what are your obligations to Israel?

THE PRESIDENT: We have friends all over the world. We have friends in this coalition. And I'm determined that the United States will fill our obligations there. Clearly, if a friend in that area was attacked, wantonly attacked for no cause whatsoever, not only the United States, but I think many people around the world would view that as a flagrant provocation. And I'll leave it stand right there.

Thank you all very much. Thank you.

Q Secretary Cheney --

SECRETARY CHENEY: The question as on possible additional reserve call-up authority. Under the authority that we're currently using, I'm authorized by a delegation of the President to use up to -- to call up to 200,000 reservists for up to 180 days. That authority for some of those reservists who have been called begins to expire in February. And so what we currently have in the works is a provision that would use a different provision of the statute to allow us to keep reservists on active service for as long as two years and to call under that provision up to one million additional reservists. We have no intention of calling one million reservists, but that's the provision that's available for me to be able to extend those people in critical skills whose services are now being utilized and whom we would like to keep for the period of times that we don't have to release them immediately back to the reserve status.

Thank you all very much.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END 4:25 P.M. EST

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HEADLINE: CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITS; POWER SHIFTS IN 200-YEAR BALANCING ACT

BYLINE: By DAVID G. SAVAGE, Times Staff Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

When James Madison placed his name on the Constitution exactly 200 years ago today, he thought the Constitutional Convention was making itself crystal clear on one key matter -- the relative duties of Congress and the President.

Madison, one of the document's chief drafters, observed years later that he believed the Constitution invested Congress with the authority to make policy and the President with the duty of carrying it out.

Although the document drafted in Philadelphia by the 55 Founding Fathers has survived remarkably well for two centuries, it has not worked out exactly as Madison envisioned. In two most vital areas -- foreign affairs and the power to make war -- modern practice has turned Madison's formulation on its head. Now, it is the President who makes the policy, and Congress is often left with little more to do than criticize and complain.

North's View on President

The summer's Iran-contra hearings helped to demonstrate how far the locus of power has shifted. Lt. Col. Oliver L. North bluntly declared that the President had an inherent constitutional power to conduct foreign policy as he thought best, even if it meant carrying out secret operations in defiance of the will of Congress.

"This idea wasn't the invention of an obscure Marine colonel," said University of Wisconsin historian Stanley Kutler. "One of the worst cliches of modern constitutional history is the notion that the President was given absolute control over foreign policy . . . . There is nothing in the literature of the Constitution that sustains that proposition."

Yet, if a modern-day President can sometimes exercise almost total power on a de facto basis, the checks and balances built into the Constitution -- as well as the nation's overall political system -- continue to exert a restraining influence. Sooner or later, even the most assertive occupant of the Oval Office has felt compelled to seek public -- in practice, congressional -- support for his policies.

Sees Need for Consensus

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"We still have a democratic tradition in foreign policy which says: If you want to undertake a major initiative, you need a democratic consensus," UCLA history professor Robert Dallek said. "The President can act, but, for his policy to endure, he has to have the support of Congress and the country."

Unquestionably, delegates to the Constitutional Convention wanted the new national government to have sufficient authority to carry out an effective foreign policy. "They wanted to make sure the government had the necessary power to defend itself," Georgetown University Prof. Walter Berns said.

During the Revolutionary War, the Continental Congress often could not pay its beleaguered troops because it lacked the power to collect taxes from the states. After the war, several states established what amounted to their own foreign policies by setting up special trading relationships with European nations or negotiating treaties with Indian nations.

It was apprehension about such paralysis and division that led the delegates of 1787 to seek a stronger national government.

Not Long on Specifics

They devoted much less time to a careful consideration of who would control the new powers -- the Congress or the President, although no scholars today believe that the Founding Fathers meant to give exclusive, unfettered authority in the field of foreign affairs to the President.

On Aug. 17, 1787, for instance, during one of the few recorded debates on the war-making power, the delegates changed the wording of a draft that gave Congress the power to "make war" to a power to "declare war." This slight rephrasing, delegate Edmund Randolph of Virginia said, would allow the President the necessary power "to repel sudden attacks."

In anything other than extreme emergencies, it was assumed, Congress would set the policy, and the President would implement it.

"They conceived of Congress' being the dominant branch," said Charles Lofgren, a history professor at Claremont McKenna College. "In the area of war-making, they assigned the power to Congress in every case short of the President acting in obvious self-defense."

'Shared Responsibility'

"In the broader area of foreign relations, it is a more shared responsibility," Lofgren added. "The problem is that the line between the conduct of foreign policy (which is the President's responsibility) and the making of foreign policy becomes awfully indistinct."

In Article I of the Constitution, Congress was given "all legislative powers." Further, "Congress shall have the power to . . . provide for the common Defence; . . . to regulate Commerce with foreign Nations; . . . to declare War . . . and make rules concerning Captures on Land and Water; . . . to raise and support Armies; . . . to provide and maintain a Navy; . . . to make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces; (and) to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions."

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The related powers of the President were stated more briefly. Article II says the "executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States." Moreover, "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States when called into actual Service of the United States . . . .

"He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, . . . (and) appoint Ambassadors."

Congress Controls Purse

If the President did not carry out the policies of Congress, the Constitution included two other grants of power to rein him in. First, Congress controlled the purse strings. "No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law." Second, the House of Representatives "shall have the sole Power of Impeachment."

As former Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) commented: "The ultimate power is Congress: They can remove him; he can't remove them."

Still, it did not take long for this seemingly clear conception to run into a jarring reality.

And it was not a President eager to move toward war, but rather one interested in preserving peace, who first declared a foreign policy without approval from Congress. In 1793, Britain and France went to war, and many American merchant seamen assumed that the United States would come to the aid of its former ally, France. But President Washington wanted to keep the new nation out of the conflict and feared a move by American ships to aid the French. Without waiting for word from Congress, which was on a recess, he proclaimed the nation's neutrality on April 22, 1793.

What today sounds like an innocuous move set off a constitutional crisis. "The Republican press howled that France and freedom had been betrayed (and Washington) had finally revealed this itch for monarchy," Washington's biographer James Thomas Flexner said.

Two allies from the convention, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, the chief authors of the Federalist Papers in 1787, this time took to the public press on opposite sides of the issue.

Hamilton, a believer in a strong executive, said Washington's move was correct because he was merely proclaiming U.S. foreign policy. "The legislative department is not the organ of intercourse between the United States and foreign nations. The second article of the Constitution . . . establishes this general proposition, that 'the executive power shall be vested in a president,' " Hamilton wrote.

Madison contended hotly that this unilateral move by Washington rests on a "principle . . . which strikes at the vitals of the Constitution."

"In no part of the Constitution is more wisdom to be found than in the clause which confides the question of war or peace to the legislature, and not to the executive department," Madison wrote.
"Those who are to conduct a war (presidents) cannot in the nature of things,

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be proper or safe judges, whether a war ought to be commenced, continued or concluded.

"War is in fact the true nurse of executive aggrandizement," Madison continued. "In war, a physical force is to be created, and it is the executive will which is to direct it . . . . In war, the honors and emoluments of office are to be multiplied, and it is the executive patronage under which they are to be enjoyed. It is in war, finally, that the laurels are to be gathered, and it is the executive brow they are to encircle.

"The strongest passions and most dangerous weaknesses of the human breast -- ambition, avarice, vanity, the honorable and venial love of fame -- are all in conspiracy against the desire and duty of peace."

In the end, Washington defused the dispute by submitting the Neutrality Proclamation for approval by Congress. But the patterns and the essential arguments were set. Ever since, when a crisis -- real or perceived -- arises, the President acts. When controversy ensues, his defenders cite Hamilton's arguments. Madison speaks for those who favor a restrained executive. And often, as Washington did, presidents seek ways to obtain Congress' blessings for their actions -- if only retroactively.

When the Southern states seceded and Confederate forces attacked Ft. Sumter in 1861, President Abraham Lincoln organized a war effort without consulting Congress, which was in recess. He raised an army and a navy and found the funds to pay for them, all seemingly in clear violation of explicit clauses of the Constitution. Lincoln said he was acting under his powers as commander in chief. And no one questioned that he faced a true emergency.

Lincoln, a lawyer, later offered this rationale: "Measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation."

While Lincoln foresaw the destruction of the union, Franklin D. Roosevelt some 80 years later perceived a threat to all of Western democracy. In 1940, with Britain barely hanging on against Nazi Germany, Roosevelt decided to "lend" the British 50 aging destroyers in exchange for a "lease" of certain naval bases. Congress was consulted, but Roosevelt did not ask for a vote on the "lend-lease" deal until a year later.

"Roosevelt was a manipulator, but he was also very cautious," said UCLA historian Dallek, an expert on Roosevelt. "He was very sensitive to the democratic tradition . . . the need to bring Congress along."

Just a generation before, Woodrow Wilson's presidency had been destroyed at the end of World War I when he negotiated a treaty at Versailles, including creation of the
League of Nations, that went beyond what the Senate would accept. Roosevelt was not about to make the same mistake, Dallek said.

Four years before the lend-lease deal, the President's legal powers had been given a boost from an odd and obscure Supreme Court ruling. In the early 1930s, Bolivia and Paraguay were at war, and Congress adopted a resolution calling for an embargo of U.S. weapons going to the belligerents. Roosevelt carried out the resolution through an executive order. The Curtiss-Wright Export Co., charged

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with violating the ban, appealed to the Supreme Court, contending that the embargo was illegal.

The Supreme Court upheld the President's order in 1936. Although the court clashed repeatedly with Roosevelt over economic matters, the "nine old men" nevertheless issued a broad defense of executive power. Going beyond the case at hand, Justice George Sutherland issued an opinion that at one point declared the "exclusive power of the President as the sole organ of the federal government in the field of international relations."

Reminder Usually Left Out

This ruling, in U.S. vs. Curtiss-Wright Export Co., has been cited repeatedly by advocates of a strong presidency, from Roosevelt in 1940 to Oliver North during the Iran-contra hearings. What is usually left out, however, is Sutherland's reminder that the President's power to act is, in the first instance, "an authority vested in the President by an exertion of legislative power."

A year after the lend-lease deal, Roosevelt did something no President has done since. The day after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, he went to Congress and got a declaration of war.

In 1950, Harry S. Truman sent troops into combat in Korea without consulting Congress. In 1962, John F. Kennedy set up a naval blockade to intercept Soviet ships off Cuba, again without taking time to get congressional backing. Both presidents said their actions were responses to emergencies.

In 1965, Lyndon B. Johnson sent troops into the Dominican Republic to quell rioting there. Later that year he began a massive troop buildup in Vietnam after having the previous year gained congressional approval of the Tonkin Gulf resolution, a broadly worded measure allowing him to respond to an attack on an American destroyer and to repel "further aggression."

In 1970, President Richard M. Nixon sent troops across the border of Vietnam into Cambodia to attack bases used by the North Vietnamese army. This extension of the war was justified as a self-defense measure undertaken by the commander in chief.

Many historians and political scientists make two points about this growth in presidential assertiveness:

-- First, a world of nuclear missiles and instantaneous communications virtually mandates that power rest with one person, not 535 members of Congress.

-- Second, Congress has failed to speak clearly on foreign policy.

"It is somewhat by default that the executive has taken prominence," said Lofgren of Claremont McKenna College. "Congress didn't deal very effectively with the Vietnam War, for example. Congress still has the ultimate authority. Nothing runs without money. And there is impeachment."

Although Congress did not declare war in Korea or Vietnam, it funded both efforts, Lofgren noted.

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In 1973, Congress tried to reassert its authority through the War Powers Resolution, enacted over Nixon's veto. Under the measure, a President must report to Congress within 48 hours after deploying troops in a hostile situation. If, within 60 days, Congress does not authorize their deployment, he must withdraw them.

Presidents since Nixon have reported to Congress when they have deployed military forces abroad as required by the War Powers Act, but they have also contended that they need not do so. For example, when Congress in 1982 authorized President Reagan to keep U.S. troops in Beirut for 18 months, Reagan accepted the authorization but said it did not "revise the President's constitutional authority to deploy United States armed forces."

Congress Blocks Funds

In the aftermath of Vietnam, Congress blocked the Gerald R. Ford Administration from intervening on behalf of anti-communist forces in Angola, and it has on several occasions voted to stop U.S. aid to the contra forces in Nicaragua.

Thus, 200 years after the drafting of the Constitution, the division of powers between Congress and the President in the area of foreign policy is still in active dispute. All that is clear, according to scholars and legal experts, is that the President at some point must seek public and congressional support for the actions he takes.

The growth of "the imperial presidency since World War II" has threatened to destroy the Constitution's balance in the area of foreign policy, UCLA's Dallek said, but experiences such as the Vietnam War and the Iran-contra affair have provided important checks on the presidency.

Must Give an Account

The Constitution "cannot define the exact point at which the law of Congress must give way to executive privilege," said Berns of Georgetown University. The President "has extraordinary powers to act, but the President is obliged to give an account of how he exercises those powers."

"That's what Lincoln did and Roosevelt did, but not Reagan," Berns said, referring to the Administration's secret arms sales to Iran, the diversion of funds to the contras and the profound political damage suffered by a popular President when those activities were finally subjected to public scrutiny.

TYPE:
Non Dup

SUBJECT:
CONSTITUTION (U.S.); SEPARATION OF POWERS; CONGRESS (U.S.); PRESIDENT (U.S.); UNITED STATES -- FOREIGN POLICY

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TO: ALL WRITERS/RESEARCHERS
FR: ED McNALLY
RE: SEE B.B.'s FOOTNOTE, BELOW...

THE WHITE HOUSE

January 4, 1991

Dear Sergeant Bargo,

I was touched by your lovely letter and your eloquent expression of concern and gratitude for the children in our country who have been so supportive of our men and women in the military.

I thank you very much for your suggestion. It would be wonderful if every child could know how much his or her small expression of support means.

Thank you so much for writing.

With all best wishes,

Warmly,

Barbara Bush

I will talk to G. Bush about doing something.

THE WHITE
WASHIN

Staff Sergeant Janet Bargo
149-46-8028
330th Trans CTR (MCC)
Attention: 146th Trans DET
Operation Desert Shield
APO NY 09657

(Please send a copy of this letter to G.B's speech writers -

Joan Rollins

1.

Spartan

5 Nov 90

Dear Mrs Bush,

I am writing this not only as a soldier, but as a mother of two, also.

I am an Army Reservist from Orlando, Florida whose unit was activated on 20 September 1990. We arrived in Saudi Arabia on the 5th of October. My unit is small, but we are very prepared to do our job.

My main reason for writing to you is because I would really like to see the children of our country recognized for their support of all the soldiers, sailors, marines and air force personnel here in Saudi Arabia. Every day since the day I arrived, I have watched soldiers go through boxes of "any soldier" mail. The amount of mail that arrives here is

astronomical. The letters come from all over the United States and from all ages. But, the kids write and say the things that are so innocent and caring Don't get me wrong, though, all the mail is appreciated I've written as many letters back to these kids, but I can't possibly answer them all. And, I know not all of them get answered. I have tried every day since I've been here to think of a way that they all could know how much their letters mean to all of us.

I don't know how anyone else feels, but as for me I am here because I believe in my country. I believe we are the best nation in the world and I want my own children to grow up and feel the same way. My two daughters support my obligation, although its hard for them with me away. It was hard enough to leave them, but even harder to explain why and that

was the possibility that something could possibly happen to me. My children are my life and the future is theirs.

I don't know if there is anything you can think of doing, but there must be. I wrote to my local newspaper and asked that they thank the children of Orlando, FL publicly. I hope they do.

I'm not sure that you will see this or read this as you probably have a personal secretary, but I appeal to whoever reads this to please do all you can to get this to the right person. It would mean so much to know that the kids knew they were contributing so much to us all.

With Deepest Respect,
SSG Janet Barge
US ARMY

SSG JANET BARGO
149-46-8028
330th TRANS CTR (MCC)
ATTN: 146th TRANS DET
OPERATION DESERT SHIELD
APO NY 09657

FREE MAIL

MRS BARBARA BUSH
C/O WHITE HOUSE
PENNSYLVANIA AVE
WASHINGTON, DC 20500

FYI

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the Assistant Secretary/Spokesman

For Immediate Release PR NO. 209

STATMENT BY
THE HONORABLE JAMES A. BAKER, III
SECRETARY OF STATE
BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
WASHINGTON, D.C.
DECEMBER 5, 1990

America's Strategy in the Persian Gulf Crisis

Mr. Chairman:

Today, I come before you for the third time since August 2 to discuss Iraq's continuing occupation of Kuwait.

I have come here to consult with you because a very dangerous dictator -- armed to the teeth -- is threatening a critical region at a defining moment in history. He must be stopped -- peacefully if possible, but by force if necessary.

I would like to focus my prepared remarks on three aspects of the situation:

One, on explaining the President's strategy;

Two, on detailing the reasons that preparations for the possible use of force -- and indeed a willingness to use force, if necessary -- remain essential to achieving a peaceful resolution; and

Three, on presenting the compelling interests we have in seeing Saddam Husayn's brutal aggression undone.

Strategy

From the outset, the international community has rallied behind four objectives:

First, the immediate, complete, and unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait;

Second, the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government;

Third, the release of all hostages; and

Fourth, a commitment to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf.

The President has stated repeatedly that we want to achieve these objectives peacefully. He has also made clear that we seek to achieve them at least cost to ourselves and the other members of the international coalition.

From the outset, our strategy to achieve these objectives has been to make Saddam Husayn pay such a high price for his aggression that he would quit Kuwait. We have aimed to impose costs on Saddam for his aggression by taking increasingly harsh steps on a continuum of pressure and pain -- politically, economically, and militarily. On this continuum, economic sanctions and military preparations are not alternatives, but reinforcing and escalating steps of the same strategy.

Notwithstanding our desire for peace, from the outset we have proceeded with the full realization that if these objectives cannot be achieved peacefully, we must be prepared to use force, given the vital interests at stake.

Thus, starting on August 2, an international coalition led by the United States began to impose costs on Iraq for its aggression.

The day of the invasion the Security Council passed Resolution 660, calling for an immediate Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. When this effort and the diplomatic efforts of the Arab League were summarily rejected by Saddam Husayn, on August 6 the Security Council imposed mandatory economic sanctions to increase the pressure on Iraq and make it pay greater costs for its aggression. The hope was that by isolating Iraq politically and economically, Saddam Husayn would withdraw.

While these diplomatic and economic steps were being taken, military forces were deployed in the region to deter further aggression and to support the Security Council Resolutions. As of now, twenty seven nations have joined in this truly unprecedented multinational force.

To date, the international coalition has had considerable success in isolating Iraq and making it pay high costs for its occupation of Kuwait. We regret the pain this causes innocent citizens of Iraq, a people with whom we have no quarrel.

But the question before us now is whether the costs we impose on Saddam Husayn through sanctions alone will be high enough to cause him to withdraw peacefully from Kuwait.

We have to face the fact that, four months into this conflict, none of our efforts have yet produced any sign of change in Saddam Husayn. He shows no signs of complying with any of the Security Council Resolutions.

Instead, he seems to be doubling his bets. He has tried to make Kuwait part of Iraq, systematically looting and dismembering a sovereign Arab state. He has been terrorizing the population, his soldiers committing unspeakable crimes against innocent Kuwaitis. He has called for the overthrow of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia and President Mubarak of Egypt. He has threatened to rain terror and mass destruction on his Arab neighbors and on Israel. He has been playing the cruelest of games with hostages and their families and with our diplomats in Kuwait.

Preparing for War to Achieve Peace

After serious and sobering consultations, the United Nations Security Council last Thursday passed by an overwhelming majority a twelfth Resolution -- one that authorizes all necessary means, including the use of force, to eject Saddam from Kuwait after January 15, 1991. In passing this Resolution, the international community is giving Saddam yet another chance -- indeed, one last chance -- to come to his senses.

In passing Thursday's Resolution, the international community sends Saddam the following clear message: "We continue to seek a diplomatic solution. Peace is your only sensible option. You can choose peace by respecting the will of the international community. But if you fail to do so, you will risk all. The choice is yours."

To ensure that Saddam understands this choice, the President has invited the Foreign Minister of Iraq to Washington and has directed me to go to Baghdad.

Put bluntly, this is the last best chance for a peaceful solution. If we are to have any chance of success, I must go to Baghdad with the fullest support of the Congress and the American people behind the message of the international community.

Let me be clear: This meeting will not be the beginning of a negotiation over the terms of the United Nations Resolutions. Those terms are clear: a complete, immediate, and unconditional Iraqi withdrawal; the restoration of the legitimate Kuwaiti government; and the release of all foreign nationals.

Nor is this the beginning of a negotiation on subjects unrelated to Iraq's brutal occupation of Kuwait. I will not be negotiating the Palestinian question or the civil war in Lebanon. Saddam did not invade Kuwait to help the Palestinians. He did it for his own self-aggrandizement. As Eduard Shevardnadze has said, you do not enslave one people to free another.

Put simply, my mission to Baghdad will be an attempt to explain to Saddam the choice he faces: comply with the objectives of the Security Council or risk disaster for Iraq.

To give substance to these words, the President has directed the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and me to work with the other members of the international coalition to reinforce the multinational force in the Gulf and coordinate its efforts. Our aim is to ensure that if force must be used, it will be used suddenly, massively, and decisively.

Do the troop reinforcements and the Security Council Resolution mean that war is inevitable? Surely not. There is a peaceful outcome possible -- one that does not reward aggression -- and everyone, including Saddam, knows what it is. He can choose peace by withdrawing unconditionally from Kuwait and releasing all hostages.

He will not make that peaceful choice, however, unless he understands that the alternative to peaceful compliance is to be forced to comply. That is the message we are trying to send him. That is the meaning of the steps the international community has taken over the past month. It is not a new strategy but rather a continuation and reinforcement of the strategy we have pursued since August.

I know that some here and throughout the country are uneasy about the prospects of war. None of us wants war. Not you. Not the President. Not me. None of us have sought this conflict, and we are making every attempt to resolve it peacefully, without appeasing the aggressor.

I know the arguments of those who believe that time and the economic embargo alone will work to resolve this conflict peacefully. But we have to face some hard facts.

If sanctions are to succeed, they must do more than hurt Iraq economically. They must hurt Saddam so much that he changes his behavior and withdraws from Kuwait. That is the criteria of success by which sanctions must be judged.

In considering the role of sanctions in our strategy, we need to ask ourselves:

> Can economic sanctions alone compel a dictator like Saddam to make the politically difficult choice of withdrawing from Kuwait?
>
> Absent a credible military threat, will Saddam take the Security Council's actions seriously?
>
> Is there anything in Saddam Husayn's history that could lead us to believe that sanctions alone will get him out of Kuwait?

Let me try to answer these questions, based on the results so far. After four months of a stringent embargo, no one doubts that sanctions are having some effect on the Iraqi economy. But we have to face the difficult fact that no one can tell you that sanctions alone will ever be able to impose a high enough cost on Saddam to get him to withdraw. So far, all available evidence suggests that they have had little if any effect on his inclination to withdraw.

That's in part because Saddam, to a considerable extent, can decide who in Iraq gets hurt by them. And you can bet the Iraqi people will feel the pain first and most deeply -- not the Iraqi military or Saddam himself. Saddam has a long history of imposing great pain and suffering on the Iraqi people. It is not new for him to impose economic sacrifices on the Iraqi people in pursuit of his ambitions.

We need to remember who we are trying to get out of Kuwait. Saddam is a ruthless dictator. He has an inflated sense of Iraq's leverage and a high pain threshold. Saddam undoubtedly believes he can endure economic sanctions. However, surely he understands more acutely the consequences of military force.

Waiting not only gives Saddam time to break the sanctions, but it imposes costs on us.

As we wait, Saddam will continue torturing Kuwait, killing it as a nation.

As we wait, he will continue manipulating hostages, attempting to break the coalition.

As we wait he will continue to fortify Kuwait, to build chemical and biological weapons, and to acquire a nuclear weapons capability.

As we wait, he expects other issues to deflect our attention, weaken our resolve, and dissolve the international coalition.

And as we wait, the burden of Saddam's crime weighs heavier on the world.

That is why we must make credible our preparations to use force.

The international community has clearly agreed that force will not be used before January 15 of next year, provided Saddam does not provoke a response. Thus, Mr. Chairman, we need to remind ourselves that for now, no one is making a decision about going to war. Indeed, in asking me to go to Baghdad, the President has made it clear that he will use the next six weeks to exhaust all diplomatic opportunities.

Yet to support these diplomatic efforts, Mr. Chairman, the President has also made it clear that we need continued support for our military preparations to make credible an offensive option to liberate Kuwait. While not prejudging any decision whether force should be used sometime after January 15, I can state unequivocally that failure to continue preparations now has at least three dangerous consequences.

First, it would undercut our diplomatic leverage by removing the other alternative to a peaceful withdrawal: use of force. It would send Iraq exactly the wrong message -- that is, "Continue to play for time. You will have lots of it because the Security Council Resolution is just a bluff. The international coalition is not even preparing the option to use force, let alone take that option." That is a message we must not send.

We must show Saddam that time is not on his side. He needs to know that even if he believes he can withstand the sanctions, and he may be right in this belief, we can and will impose even greater costs on him through the use of force if necessary.

Second, failure to prepare a credible offensive military option would only tend to reaffirm the status quo and legitimize to some the brutal occupation that Saddam is now carrying out against Kuwait and its people.

Third, failure to prepare adequately now would mean that should conflict come, we would be irresponsibly risking greater casualties -- putting the lives of those young Americans already on the front lines in the Persian Gulf at greater risk than they need be. The President will not stand for that. And neither will the American people.

What's at Stake

Mr. Chairman, we do not proceed along this path unaware of the dangers and risks involved. But let there be no doubt, that succeeding in this endeavor -- hopefully in peace, if necessary by force -- is in the vital interest of the American people.

It is often said that there has been no clear answer given to the question of why we are in the Gulf. Much of this results from the search for a single cause for our involvement, a single reason the President could use to explain why the lives of American men and women should be put in harm's way in the sands of Arabia or the seas around it and in the air above it.

Mr. Chairman, let us stop this search. Let us be honest with ourselves and with each other. There are multiple causes, multiple dangers, multiple threats. Standing alone, each is compelling. Put together, the case is overwhelming.

Put bluntly: A very dangerous dictator -- armed to the teeth -- is threatening a critical region at a defining moment in history.

It is the combination of these reasons -- who is threatening our interests, what capabilities he has and is developing, where he is carrying out aggression, and when he has chosen to act -- that make the stakes so high for all of us.

Let me explain.

Strategically, Saddam is a capricious dictator whose lust for power is as unlimited as his brutality in pursuit of it. He has invaded two neighbors, is harboring terrorists, and now is systematically exterminating Kuwait. Saddam uses poisonous gas -- even against his own people; develops deadly toxins; and seeks relentlessly to acquire nuclear bombs. He has built the world's sixth largest army, has the world's fifth largest tank army, and has deployed ballistic missiles.

Geographically, Saddam's aggression has occurred in a political tinderbox that is crossroads to three continents. His success would only guarantee more strife, more conflict, and eventually a wider war. There would be little hope for any effort at peace-making in the Middle East.

Economically, Saddam's aggression imperils the world's oil lifelines, threatening recession and depression, here and abroad, hitting hardest those fledgling democracies least able to cope with it. His aggression is an attempt to mortgage the economic promise of the post-Cold War world to the whims of a single man.

Morally, we must act so that international laws, not international outlaws, govern the post-Cold War world. We must act so that right, not might, dictates success in the post-Cold War world. We must act so that innocent men and women and diplomats are protected, not held hostage, in the post-Cold War world.

Historically, we must stand with the people of Kuwait so that the annexation of Kuwait does not become the first reality that mars our vision of a new world order. We must stand with the world community so that the United Nations does not go the way of the League of Nations.

Politically, we must stand for American leadership, not because we seek it but because no one else can do the job. And we did not stand united for forty years to bring the Cold War to a peaceful end in order to make the world safe for the likes of Saddam Husayn.

These then are the stakes.

If Saddam is not stopped now, if his aggressive designs are not frustrated, peacefully if possible, or if necessary by force, we will all pay a higher price later.

As the Security Council did last Thursday, this Congress and the American people must tell Saddam Husayn in unmistakable actions and words:

"Get out of Kuwait now or risk all."

Mr. Chairman, now -- more than at any time during this conflict -- we must stand united with the world community in full support of the Security Council Resolutions.

Simply put, it is a choice between right and wrong.

I believe we have the courage and fortitude to choose what's right.

Thank you.

* * * * * *

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 26, 1990

TO: Administration Officials

FROM: OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
Room 195 OEOB, Ext. 2483

For your information and use.

PRESIDENTIAL WIRE.....November 26, 1990

The Persian Gulf

Remarks by the President at Thanksgiving Dinner with American Troops in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

November 22, 1990

"Last August 2nd, this brutal dictator set out to wipe another country from the face of the Earth. And Kuwait, a little, tiny country, awoke to the flashing guns of cold-blooded troops, to fire and ice of Saddam Hussein's invasion. Now Kuwait is struggling for survival -- an entire nation ransacked, looted, held hostage. Maybe you can strike a name from the maps, but you can't strike a country from the hearts of its people."

"We've all heard of atrocities in Kuwait that would make the strongest among us weep. It turns your stomach when you listen to the tales of those that have escaped the brutality of Saddam, the invader. Mass hangings. Babies pulled from incubators and scattered like firewood across the floor. Kids shot for failing to display the photos of Saddam Hussein. And he has unleashed a horror on the people of Kuwait."

"And let me say this: Those who would measure the timetable for Saddam's atomic program in years may be seriously underestimating the reality of that situation and the gravity of the threat. Every day that passes brings Saddam one step closer to realizing his goal of a nuclear weapons arsenal. And that's why more and more, your mission is marked by a real sense of urgency.

"You know, no one knows precisely when this dictator may acquire atomic weapons, or exactly who they may be aimed at down the road. But we do know this for sure: He has never possessed a weapon that he didn't use. What we're confronting is a classic bully who thinks he can get away with kicking sand in the face of the world."

For more information, please contact the Office of Public Affairs at 202/456-2482.

PERSIAN GULF

Excerpts from Secretary Baker's statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

"I have come here to consult with you because a very dangerous dictator -- armed to the teeth -- is threatening a critical region at a defining moment in history. He must be stopped -- peacefully if possible, but by force if necessary."

"Put bluntly, this (the meetings between the U.S. and Iraq) is the last best chance for a peaceful solution. If we are to have any chance of success, I must go to Baghdad with the fullest support of the Congress and the American people behind the message of the international community.

"Let me be clear: This meeting will not be the beginning of a negotiation over the terms of the United Nations Resolutions. Those terms are clear: a complete, immediate, and unconditional Iraqi withdrawal; the restoration of the legitimate Kuwaiti government; and the release of all foreign nationals.

"Nor is this the beginning of a negotiation on subjects unrelated to Iraq's brutal occupation of Kuwait. I will not be negotiating the Palestinian question or the civil war in Lebanon. Saddam did not invade Kuwait to help the Palestinians. He did it for his own self-aggrandizement. . . .

"Put simply, my mission to Baghdad will be an attempt to explain to Saddam the choice he faces: comply with the objectives of the Security Council or risk disaster for Iraq."

"Our aim is to ensure that if force must be used, it will be used suddenly, massively, and decisively.

"Do the troop reinforcements and the Security Council Resolution mean that war is inevitable? Surely not. There is a peaceful outcome possible -- one that does not reward aggression -- and everyone, including Saddam, knows what it is. He can choose peace by withdrawing unconditionally from Kuwait and releasing all hostages."

"I know that some here and throughout the country are uneasy about the prospects of war. None of us want war. Not you. Not the President. Not me. None of us have sought this conflict, and we are making every attempt to resolve it peacefully, without appeasing the aggressor."

"We need to remember who we are trying to get out of Kuwait. Saddam is a ruthless dictator. He has an inflated sense of Iraq's leverage and a high pain threshold. Saddam undoubtedly believes he can endure economic sanctions. However, surely he understands more acutely the consequences of military force.

"Waiting not only gives Saddam time to break the sanctions, but it imposes costs on us.

"As we wait, Saddam will continue torturing Kuwait, killing it as a nation.

"As we wait, he will continue manipulating hostages, attempting to break the coalition.

"As we wait he will continue to fortify Kuwait, to build chemical and biological weapons, and to acquire a nuclear weapons capability.

"As we wait, he expects other issues to deflect our attention, weaken our resolve, and dissolve the international coalition.

"And as we wait, the burden of Saddam's crime weighs heavier on the world.

"[W]e need to remind ourselves that for now, no one is making a decision about going to war. Indeed, in asking me to go to Baghdad, the President has made it clear that he will use the next six weeks to exhaust all diplomatic opportunities."

"[W]e do not proceed along this path unaware of the dangers and risks involved. But let there be no doubt, that succeeding in this endeavor -- hopefully in peace, if necessary by force -- is in the vital interest of the American people.

"It is often said that there has been no clear answer given to the question of why we are in the Gulf.

". . . let us stop this search. Let us be honest with ourselves and with each other. There are multiple causes, multiple dangers, multiple threats. Standing alone, each is compelling. Put together, the case is overwhelming."

"**Strategically,** Saddam is a capricious dictator whose lust for power is as unlimited as his brutality in pursuit of it.

"**Geographically,** Saddam's aggression has occurred in a political tinderbox that is crossroads to three continents. His success would only guarantee more strife, more conflict, and eventually a wider war.

"**Economically,** . . .His (Saddam's) aggression is an attempt to mortgage the economic promise of the post-Cold War world to the whims of a single man.

"**Morally,** . . .we must act so that right, not might, dictates success in the post-Cold War world.

"**Historically,** we must stand with the people of Kuwait so that the annexation of Kuwait does not become the first reality that mars our vision of a new world order.

"**Politically,** we must stand for American leadership. . .we did not stand united for forty years to bring the Cold War to a peaceful end in order to make the world safe for the likes of Saddam Hussein.

"**These then are the stakes.**

"If Saddam is not stopped now, if his aggression designs are not frustrated, peacefully if possible, or if necessary by force, we will all pay a higher price later.

"*Simply put, it is a choice between right and wrong.*"

Washington, D.C.
December 5, 1990

Excerpts from Secretary Baker's statement before the House Foreign Affairs Committee

"Let me say that we do not as yet -- have government-to-government confirmation of that (reports that the government of Iraq plans to release all hostages). . . .assuming that it is correct, let me react to it.

"First of all, I think we should acknowledge that this is a welcome and significant development, but we do want to see it actually happen.

"Secondly, let me say that it does not lessen, nor should it lessen, our determination that Iraq's aggression against Kuwait must be reversed by full implementation of all of the Security Council resolutions.

"And, third, Mr. Chairman, I think that this is a sign that our strategy of diplomatic and military pressure is working. It seems to me no coincidence that this announcement comes just one week -- just one week -- after the international community has authorized the use of force."

Washington, D.C.
December 6, 1990

For further information, please contact the White House Office of Public Affairs at 202/456-2483.

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USA TODAY

August 20, 1990, Monday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS

LENGTH: 563 words

HEADLINE: Father mourned as patriot, peacemaker

BODY:

The first U.S. soldier to die in the Persian Gulf was remembered Saturday as a patriot and a peacemaker. About 300 people attended the funeral in West Covina, Calif., of Air Force Staff Sgt. John Campisi. Campisi, 31, a father of four children ages 4 to 9, was hit by a military truck on a darkened Saudi runway last week. He was an aircraft mechanic at Offutt Air Force Base, Neb.

'Voices' from home

Some U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia will be getting special greetings from folks back home. Satellite Music Network, based outside Chicago, spent the weekend taking song requests and recording messages to be broadcast to soldiers overseas. ''The phone lines haven't stopped ringing,'' says the network's Dean Richards. ''People are just calling up with these really emotional messages and you can hear their voices cracking.'' Most requested song: Lee Greenwood's God Bless the USA.

'Release Me' - a new rendition

Singer Englebert Humperdinck Saturday welcomed Champaign, Ill., businessman Michael Saba back home with a special concert rendition of his hit song Release Me. The song was playing at the Baghdad hotel where Saba was staying when Iraq invaded Kuwait. Saba says he heard the song and decided it was time to go. Humperdinck, who read Saba's account in USA TODAY, sent a limo to Saba's home and introduced him at the Merrillville, Ind., concert.

No reservations needed

It's a lot easier to get a window booth these days at Joann's Pantry, in Martinsburg, W.Va., a lunchtime favorite of the West Virginia Air National Guard's 167th Tactical Airlift Group. ''A lot of our regulars are over in the Middle East,'' said restaurant manager Bob Garza. The unit has shipped at least 194 volunteers to various locations.

Minnesotans do their part

Iraq's Saddam Hussein is having a rough go in Minneapolis, where the Metropolitan Transit Commission is telling him to take a hike by encouraging motorists to double up. The commission put ads picturing Saddam in the Star Tribune and Pioneer Press to persuade riders to use public transit or car- pool. ''Stop pumping him up,'' the ads say.

Florida prisoners offer service

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Some enterprising Florida prison inmates have volunteered to serve in Saudi Arabia in exchange for a pardon if they survive. The 14 state inmates of the Cross City Correctional Institution have written President Bush with their request. But officials don't seem to be taking them seriously. ''Sounds like they've been watching too many movies,'' says Bob Macmaster of the Department of Corrections.

Gas masks are hot export item

Gas mask sales are up, surplus stores report. The orders for gas masks - one in Chico, Calif., was for 500,000 - are apparently coming from abroad. Iraq, which used poison gas against Iran, has threatened U.S. troops with chemical warfare. ''I would say it's all going to the Middle East,'' says John Lane of Chico's International Surplus Wholesalers.

Flags, flags and more flags

And if flag sales are any indicator, people in the USA are experiencing a new wave of patriotism. But they aren't just buying American flags. Stan May, owner of Falls Flag & Banner Co. in Akron, Ohio, says sales of the Iraqi flag are 10 times higher than usual. Kuwaiti flag sales also are up, from two or three a month to 22 since the beginning of August. American flag sales? They've tripled.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO; b/w, Reuters (Oil War, U.S. Military, Jenny Campisi, Charlene Campisi)

CUTLINE: AT FUNERAL: 4-year old Jenny Campisi and mother Charlene

SUBJECT: OIL; WAR; ARAB

NOTES: Ribbon Label; THE OIL WAR; FAMILIES FEARS FOR LOVED ONES; 1 FIRST; 8 FINAL

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19 December 1990

IRAQ/OCCUPIED KUWAIT

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS SINCE 2 AUGUST

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NOTE ON SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

This document has been compiled principally on the basis of interviews conducted by Amnesty International with scores of people who fled Kuwait between August and November 1990. Most of these interviews were carried out in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and the United Kingdom, with a smaller number of people in the United Arab Emirates, Egypt and Iran also being interviewed. Most of the interviewees are Kuwaiti nationals, but they also include Bahrainis, Saudis, Lebanese, Egyptians, Palestinians, Indians, Filipinos, Britons and Americans. Among them are former detainees, the families of victims of extrajudicial executions and of those who have "disappeared", eyewitnesses and medical personnel. Amnesty International has also relied on information emanating from persons who have remained in Kuwait, and who include both Kuwaiti and foreign nationals. In respect of some of the torture allegations made, the organization has sought the medical opinion of forensic pathologists and doctors in the United Kingdom with experience in the examination of torture victims.

All Kuwaiti nationals interviewed requested that their identities not be revealed for fear of reprisals by Iraqi forces against members of their families still in Kuwait. Some Western and Arab nationals have made the same request, also fearing for the safety of their relatives or friends in hiding in Kuwait or in detention in Iraq. Hence their names have either been omitted altogether or, in some cases, changed in order to prevent identification. The exceptions to this are: 1) several former detainees whose names are mentioned in Section 3 of this document, and 2) the ten victims of extrajudicial executions (and in some cases torture) whose names are cited in Section 6. These cases have either already been submitted to the United Nations, or authorization to reveal their names has been obtained by Amnesty International. The names of over 1,027 other detainees and "disappeared" persons received by Amnesty International are not being made public at this stage.

1. INTRODUCTION

Widespread abuses of human rights have been perpetrated by Iraqi forces following the invasion of Kuwait on 2 August. These include the arbitrary arrest and detention without trial of thousands of civilians and military personnel; the widespread torture of such persons in custody; the imposition of the death penalty and the extrajudicial execution of hundreds of unarmed civilians, including children. In addition, hundreds of people in Kuwait remain unaccounted for, having effectively "disappeared" in detention, and many of them are feared dead. To date, an estimated 300,000 Kuwaitis have fled their country, as well as several hundred thousand foreign nationals working in Kuwait. Their accounts of the abuses they have either witnessed or experienced have received worldwide media coverage. This document details some of these abuses, confining itself to those violations which fall within Amnesty International's mandate.

Amnesty International takes no position on the conflict in the Gulf, and does not condone killings and other acts of violence perpetrated by the parties to the conflict. What concerns the organization are human rights violations taking place in that context. Those violations which have been reported since 2 August are entirely consistent with abuses known to have been committed in Iraq over many years, and which have been documented by Amnesty International in its numerous reports. Iraq's policy of the brutal suppression of all forms of internal dissent continues to be implemented, and the people of Iraq remain its victims. Amnesty International has repeatedly placed such information on the public record, and regrets that until the invasion of Kuwait, the international community did not see fit to apply serious pressure in an attempt to put an end to these abuses.

2. DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 2 AUGUST

Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait on 2 August. In his 17 July speech, sixteen days before the invasion, President Saddam Hussain attacked Kuwait's royal family for damaging the Iraqi economy through forcing down the price of oil by exceeding its OPEC production quota. He also accused Kuwait of taking Iraqi crude worth U.S.$2.4bn from the Rumaila oil field and demanded the writing-off of U.S.$12bn in war loans owed to Kuwait.

Immediately after the invasion, Iraq announced that a nine-man 'Provisional Free Kuwait Government' had been set up. It was headed by Colonel 'Ala' Hussain 'Ali, said to be a Kuwaiti national. However, less than a week later, on 8 August, the transitional government was dismissed and Iraq announced the annexation of Kuwait. By 28 August, Kuwait was

declared to be Iraq's 19th province, while the border area with Iraq was incorporated as an extension of the province of Basra. 'Ali Hassan al-Majid, Iraq's Minister of Local Government and a cousin of President Saddam Hussain, was appointed as its governor. In 1987 - 1988, he had held responsibility for law and order in the northern Kurdish provinces of Iraq.

On 2 August, the United Nations (UN) Security Council adopted Resolution 660, which condemned the invasion of Kuwait and called for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal. On 6 August, economic sanctions were imposed on Iraq in accordance with Security Council Resolution 661. Between 9 August and 29 November, nine other resolutions were passed, the most recent of which, Resolution 678 passed on 29 November, authorizes the use of force to secure Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait and sets 15 January 1991 as the date by which this should occur. Resolution 670 of 25 September condemned "...the treatment by Iraqi forces of Kuwaiti nationals, including measures to force them to leave their own country and mistreatment of persons and property in Kuwait in violation of international law." Resolution 674 of 29 October urged Iraq to refrain from violating the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention, and to "immediately cease and desist from taking Third-State nationals hostage [and] mistreating and oppressing Kuwaiti and Third-State nationals..."

To date, Iraq has not implemented any of the Security Council resolutions, although it announced on 6 December that all detained Western nationals would be released. Aside from the perpetration of those human rights violations documented in this report, widespread destruction and looting of public and private property was carried out. Most critical of these has been the looting of medicines, medical equipment and food supplies. The massive scale of destruction and looting which has been reported suggests that such incidents were neither arbitrary nor isolated, but rather reflected a policy adopted by the government of Iraq. According to information received, this policy caused embarrassment on the part of some Iraqi soldiers who were called upon to implement it. A number of people who had fled Kuwait told Amnesty International that Iraqi soldiers had apologized to them for the destruction of their country, stating that they were led to believe that they had been deployed in order to thwart an external attack on Kuwait. A Kuwaiti doctor specialising in occupational medicine described to Amnesty International the looting and destruction of al-Shu'aib Industrial Centre where he had worked. On the fourth day after the invasion, members of Iraq's Republican Guards had apparently destroyed medical equipment, thrown files on the floor and torn down photographs of the Amir of Kuwait. The doctor said: "I went into the dental clinic, which was also completely destroyed. I noticed that on one of the walls of the clinic the following words were written in large letters: "Dear Kuwaiti doctors - we are sorry but we are under orders."

Since occupying Kuwait, Iraqi forces are reported to have meted out collective punishments against the local population in retaliation for armed attacks against them. Several incidents were reported involving the burning or blowing up of homes in districts where Iraqi soldiers had been killed. A night curfew was imposed in Kuwait City at the start of the invasion remained in force until 23 November. Filming and photography are prohibited, and the offices of all newspapers and magazines have been closed down. The Iraqi authorities took over the printing presses of *al-Qabas*, one of Kuwait's daily newspapers, to issue their own newspaper, *al-Nida'*. At least three *al-Qabas* employees, two Lebanese nationals and one Egyptian, were arrested on 25 August reportedly for refusing to cooperate with the Iraqi authorities. In September and October the Iraqi Government issued a series of regulations aimed at completing the 'Iraqization' of Kuwait. These regulations required Kuwaitis to take up Iraqi identity papers in lieu of existing Kuwaiti documents; to replace Kuwaiti car number plates with Iraqi ones; to change the clock to correspond to Iraqi time (previously there was an hour's difference between the two countries); and to use Iraqi rather than Kuwaiti currency (initially parity of the Iraqi dinar with the Kuwaiti dinar was enforced, the harder Kuwaiti currency being worth 20 Iraqi dinars before the invasion. Subsequently, Iraq declared that only its own currency was legal tender). A number of districts, streets and public buildings were renamed, particularly those which carried the names of members of Kuwait's Al-Sabah family.

Since 2 August, Iraq has denied the media access to Kuwait. More importantly, it has denied access to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). In the first week of September, ICRC President Cornelio Sommaruga visited Baghdad and held three meetings with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz. The terms of a possible agreement defining the ICRC's operating procedures were discussed. In keeping with the ICRC'c mandate to act in the event of international armed conflict on the basis of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, one of the organization's main objectives was to provide protection and assistance, in both Iraq and Kuwait, to the various categories of civilians affected by the events. The ICRC did not succeed in obtaining the Iraqi Government's authorization to launch an operation in Iraq and Kuwait for the victims of the crisis. The government has given no reason for its refusal to grant ICRC access.

Similarly, Iraq has failed to respond to appeals on behalf of victims of human rights violations in both Iraq and Kuwait launched by various non-governmental organizations, including Amnesty International. On 3 August, the organization appealed publicly to the Iraqi Government on behalf of Iraqi exiles living in Kuwait who were reported to have been arrested immediately following the invasion. There are grave fears for their lives as they risk torture and execution in Iraq. On 23 August, Amnesty International expressed its concerns to the Iraqi Government about a wide range of human rights

violations, including continuing arbitrary arrests, rape, summary executions and extrajudicial killings. The organization stressed that the arrest and continued detention of Western nationals was contrary to fundamental internationally recognized standards of human rights, and urged the immediate and unconditional release of all such detainees. It requested that their names and whereabouts be made known, and that they be granted immediate and regular access to consular officials. Amnesty International called upon the Iraqi Government to take immediate steps to prevent incidents of rape by Iraqi forces, to investigate such incidents and to bring those responsible to justice. The organization also expressed its concern about the extension of the scope of the death penalty to include looting and the hoarding of food. In response to the execution in the third week of August of several people said to have been found guilty of looting, Amnesty International urged the government to refrain from carrying out any further executions. It also asked under what laws the executions had been carried out and for details of any legal proceedings followed in their cases. Finally, the organization expressed grave concern about the extrajudicial killings of unarmed civilians, including children, by Iraqi forces. It urged the Iraqi Government to take urgent steps to prevent further such killings, to investigate those incidents which had occurred and to bring those responsible to justice.

On 29 August, Amnesty International sent urgent appeals to the government on behalf of six Kuwaiti men, all Shi'a Muslims aged between 18 and 26. They had been arrested on 3 August after taking part in a demonstration in the al-Sulaibikhat district of Kuwait City. Reports received by Amnesty International indicated that the six detainees had been transferred to Baghdad for detention. On 3 October, Amnesty International once more expressed its concerns in a public statement about the widespread abuses being perpetrated by Iraqi forces in Kuwait, including mass arrests, torture under interrogation, summary executions and mass extrajudicial killings.

The Iraqi Government failed to respond to any of Amnesty International's appeals. However, on 3 October Iraq's embassy in London issued a public statement commenting on Amnesty International's own statement issued the same day. The embassy did not deny that human rights abuses had taken place, but dismissed Amnesty International's statement as "an embarrassment to the practice of reporting" [see Appendix E for text of the Iraqi Embassy statement]. Further comment on the human rights situation in Kuwait since 2 August came from President Saddam Hussain during an interview broadcast on British television on 12 November. The following is an extract from that interview [other extracts from which are quoted in sections 3 and 5]:

Interviewer: How can you justify the atrocities committed by Iraqi troops in your name ?

President Hussain: Have you seen these atrocities yourself ?

Interviewer: I have not seen them, but let me quote you some reports, Mr. President. One report speaks of scores of people being tortured and hanged at Kuwait University for opposing the annexation of their country. Another report speaks of 15-year-old boys being shot. An American woman married to a Kuwaiti talks about a pregnant woman being disembowelled. These reports have been coming out of Kuwait for some time. Do you know about these reports ? Do they worry you ? Have you heard about them ?

President Hussain: What is certain is that I have not heard of any such acts. It is possible that, in the same way that the Western media is trying to fill the minds of people everywhere, every day, with lies about the situation ... it is also possible that some false reports may come out of Kuwait, claiming the sorts of things you have described. But let me say something to you. There is now, in the province of Kuwait, an instruction which is valid: whoever opens fire at our soldiers, they will open fire in return. They will shoot to kill ...

Interviewer: Mr. President, these reports of atrocities, you see, are encouraged by the fact that you have sealed off Kuwait from the rest of the world. Why don't you let us go in and see for ourselves whether these reports are true ?

President Hussain: You are partly right in what you have said. But you must undoubtedly remember that now the province of Kuwait is a military target for the American forces there and the forces allied to them .... So [the province of Kuwait] and its approaches in the province of Basra are now being prepared as a fully-fledged battlefield for the confrontation of a possible invasion. And you know that, under such circumstances, countries usually take measures preventing journalists from approaching military zones. And the British public, for example, knows these facts because it has lived through that during the Second World War."

In this document, Amnesty International once again calls upon the Iraqi Government to implement the following recommendations as a matter of urgency:

1. Grant immediate access to the International Committee of the Red Cross to enable it to provide protection and assistance to civilians in Kuwait and Iraq under the terms of the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

2. Release immediately and unconditionally all detainees held solely on account of the non-violent expression of their conscientiously held beliefs or on account of their nationality.

3. Ensure that all detainees are granted their internationally-recognized rights to challenge the legality of their detention before a court, and to receive a trial which meets the requirements of fairness set forth in international human rights and humanitarian law.

4. Make known the whereabouts of all detainees and grant them immediate access to their families, legal counsel, medical doctors and consular officials.

5. Initiate prompt and impartial investigations into reports of torture and extrajudicial killings (including the ten cases referred to in this document), the results of which should be made public. Military and security personnel and other public officials found responsible should be brought to justice.

6. Conduct a prompt, thorough and impartial investigation into all reports of "disappearances" and bring to justice those responsible. Inform the families immediately of the arrest and keep them informed of the whereabouts of detainees at all times. Detainees should only be held in official known detention centres, a list of which should be widely publicised.

7. Refrain from extending the scope of the death penalty and taking immediate steps to ensure no further executions are carried out; provide information of the legal basis for those executions already carried out and details of any trial proceedings followed in those cases.

3. ARBITRARY ARRESTS, DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL AND "DISAPPEARANCES"

Under the circumstances prevailing in Kuwait since 2 August, it has been virtually impossible to estimate the number of people arrested by Iraqi forces after the invasion. In the absence of any official figures from the Iraqi Government, and its denial of access to detainees by any international humanitarian organization, Amnesty International is not in a position to give any precise figures. The organization has attempted to build up a general picture of the situation through information provided by former detainees and eyewitnesses, as well as through statistics provided by governments whose nationals were transferred from Kuwait and held in Iraq. A number of Kuwaiti sources estimate the number of detainees to be over 10,000, a figure which cannot be substantiated in the absence of further information. By November 1990, Amnesty International had received the names of over 875 Kuwaiti nationals said to be in Iraqi custody, both civilians and military personnel. The majority are believed to be held in prisons and detention centres in Iraq - notably at Basra, Baghdad and Mosul, and a smaller number in Kuwait City. Among them are eleven Kuwaiti diplomats who were stationed at Kuwait's embassy in Baghdad and its consulate in Basra at the time of the invasion. Amnesty International has also received the names of 152 others, all Kuwaiti men between the ages of 19 and 50 whose fate and whereabouts are unknown. They include both civilians and military personnel who are presumed to be in detention, although there are fears that some may have been killed or executed by Iraqi forces. In addition there are hundreds of Western nationals apprehended in Kuwait and who, as at 6 December, remained in detention in Baghdad and in other undisclosed locations in Iraq and Kuwait.

In the first days of the invasion, Amnesty International received reports that hundreds of Kuwaiti military personnel were rounded up and held in makeshift detention centres in Kuwait City. The detainees included members of the armed forces, the navy, the police force and security forces. Those who were not seized immediately after the invasion continued to be sought by Iraqi troops, and in some instances were arrested from their homes. Numerous eyewitnesses stated to Amnesty International that Iraqi army vehicles patrolled residential areas, looking for the homes of military personnel. The relatives of military personnel being sought were sometimes themselves arrested and tortured during interrogation in order to reveal their whereabouts. The majority of detained military personnel are reported to have been subsequently transferred to Iraq. Official Kuwaiti sources estimate their number to be between 6,000 - 7,000.

Although the majority of those arrested were Kuwaitis, among the detainees were also stateless persons living in Kuwait known as the *'bidun'* [literally 'without', ie. without

nationality. They include Arabs from neighbouring countries, some of whom have lived in Kuwait for over 25 years, but neither they nor their children born in Kuwait had the right of permanent residence and were denied basic political and civil rights]. Apart from Western nationals who were rounded up and taken to Iraq [see below], the detainees included Syrians, Lebanese, Egyptians, Bahrainis, Saudi Arabians, Indians and Pakistanis. Arab nationals who were detained were largely from those countries whose governments had adopted a position on the invasion of Kuwait considered 'hostile' by Iraq. However, Amnesty International is aware of several cases involving the detention of Jordanians (largely Palestinians) who had refused to cooperate with Iraqi forces in Kuwait or who had been suspected of opposition activities. In two cases brought to the organization's attention, the detainees were reported to have been subjected to torture [see Section 4 below].

Also reported to have been arrested in the first days after the invasion were scores of Iraqi exiles who had been living in Kuwait for a number of years. According to Amnesty International's information, many of those arrested are said to be Shi'a Muslims with suspected links to the opposition group *al-Da'wa al-Islamiyya* (Islamic Call), membership of which has been a capital offence in Iraq since 1980. The organization has received the names of several of them, who were said to have been arrested in the Bnaid al-Gar district of Kuwait City. Their fate and current whereabouts are unknown. They are believed to have been taken to Iraq where they face continued detention and risk torture and execution.

The widespread arrest of civilians began to be reported in the second and third weeks of August following, on the one hand, the emergence of an opposition movement in Kuwait and, on the other, the adoption by Iraq of the so-called 'human shield' policy involving the detention of Western nationals. According to reports emanating from people fleeing the country, groups of Kuwaitis and other nationals seized weapons and ammunition stored in police stations in several districts of the city, leading to sporadic armed clashes with Iraqi troops which lasted several weeks. Among those who participated in the armed resistance against Iraqi troops were said to be Egyptians, Palestinians and other Arab nationals, as well as a number of Kuwaiti Shi'a Muslims who had previously formed part of Kuwait's internal opposition. They are said to include former political prisoners who, prior to the invasion, had been serving terms of imprisonment in Kuwait Central Prison. The number of civilian and military casualties on both sides resulting from these clashes is unknown.

However, opposition to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait also took other forms. For example, in the second week after the invasion, leaflets calling for continued opposition to the occupation began to appear in the streets of Kuwait. These leaflets included *al-Sumud al-Sha'bi* (Popular Resistance) and

Sarkha (The Cry). Other forms of non-violent opposition to the Iraqi occupation included the raising of the Kuwaiti flag; putting up photographs of the Amir of Kuwait, Shaikh Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah and the Crown Prince, Shaikh Sa'ad al-'Abdallah; writing anti-Iraq slogans on the walls; shouting *"Allahu Akbar"* [God is Greater] from the rooftops; going out onto the streets after curfew and, where possible, non-compliance with the various orders issued by Iraqi forces. Among those arrested in August and September, apparently for non-cooperation with the Iraqi Government, were former members of Kuwait's National Assembly (parliament): Mubarak al-Duwaila; Khaled Sultan al-'Issa (also a member of the Islamic Heritage Society); Khaled al-Wasmi; and 'Abd al-Karim al-Juhaidli (also a member of the recently formed National Council). One of them, Khaled Sultan al-'Issa, was held for 29 days, principally in Basra. According to information received by Amnesty International, his beard was shaved off and he was subjected to beatings and electric shocks.

Opposition to the occupation developed into a form of 'civil disobedience' from mid-September, following the issuing of a series of regulations by the Iraqi Government aimed at completing the 'Iraqization' of Kuwait [see Section 2 above]. The refusal to comply with such orders led to the arrest of civilians who had not participated in any armed resistance against Iraqi forces. Civilians were also arrested for non-compliance with other types of regulations introduced in Kuwait, such as the ban on growing beards which came into effect in the first week of September. Several men interviewed by Amnesty International said they had been stopped at checkpoints solely because they had beards, though none of them could offer a logical explanation as to why that should constitute an offence. One 30-year-old Kuwaiti entrepreneur who left his country on 16 September said:

> "... those who had beards were ordered to shave them off. Punishment for non-compliance consists of plucking the beard with pliers or some other unspecified punishment. Several arbitrary regulations of this kind have been introduced, but they did not take the form of official decrees. The problem for us was that we did not learn of these regulations until we encountered troops at the checkpoints. They would inform us what the latest regulation was, but by that time, it would be too late because we may have unwittingly committed the 'offence' in question. I know of cases of people who have had their beards plucked, including elderly religious men who traditionally wear a beard."

Amnesty International has received the details of several such cases, involving the public humiliation of both young and elderly men and their subsequent detention for refusing to

shave. The Iraqi authorities in Kuwait have themselves failed to explain why the growing of beards has been made illegal.

The following is a description of the general pattern of arrests as described in a memorandum prepared by officials of the Kuwaiti Red Crescent, dated 23 October:

> "The daily arrests and the attacks on citizens became [widespread]. People could not move about freely, even to carry out essential tasks, for fear of being arrested or killed (or of disappearing). Raids on homes became a daily occurrence, which people could expect at any time. The arrest and torture of people was something which threatened every individual. Young men were shot near their homes and in front of their families, and this method was used by the occupiers to terrorize the people and to eliminate the young men on the pretext that they worked in the resistance... there were no fair trials for these people. On the contrary, the arrests, interrogation, torture, punishments and killings were carried out in an arbitrary and whimsical manner, decided upon by intelligence agents and others in the occupying forces..."

According to reports received, in the first two weeks of the invasion most arrests were carried out in the streets. In the third week, Iraqi forces began entering peoples' homes more frequently. In some cases the intention was not to carry out an arrest but to force individuals to return to work. A lecturer in political science at Kuwait University, in her mid-50s, told Amnesty International that Iraqi soldiers came to her home in the Sabah al-Salem district on 25 August and insisted that she return to work. She argued, pointing out that there were no students to teach. Here she continues her story:

> " A few days later, on 28 or 29 August, they came back. This time they searched the entire house. There were eight of them, carrying weapons, and they arrived at eight in the morning. The children were still having breakfast. They asked, "Do you have weapons? Do you have foreigners here?" We said no. Before leaving, they threatened that if a single shot was fired from our house they would blow it up. They were registering the names of all foreigners in peoples' homes, including Indians and other Asians. They said that if any of these foreigners escaped, they would arrest us and take us to Baghdad."

Kuwaiti nationals arrested from their homes were invariably taken to the police station in the district where they lived. Some remained there throughout their period of detention, while others were moved to different places of detention in Kuwait City. Those detainees who were neither released nor executed at that stage were subsequently transferred to Iraq. The vast majority of police stations in Kuwait City have been used to hold detainees, as have the Juveniles Prison (*Sijn al-Ahdath*) in the district of al-Firdos and the Deportations Centre (*Markaz al-Ib'ad*) in the district of al-Shuwaikh. No information has been received which indicates that Kuwait Central Prison (*al-Sijn al-Markazi*) in the district of al-Sulaibiyya has been used since the invasion to hold detainees. The prison is believed to have remained empty since 3 August, when an estimated 1,500 common law prisoners and some 50 sentenced political prisoners fled. One of these former political prisoners who subsequently fled to Iran told Amnesty International that much of the prison had been destroyed through fire in the first two weeks of August.

Public buildings as well as private homes have also been used to hold detainees. They include the *Muhafazat al-'Asima* [City Governorate] building on al-Hilali Street; the faculties of Law and Literature of Kuwait University; government ministry buildings; Dasman Palace and Nayef palace; sports clubs (such as the Olympic Club in al-Nugra and al-Kadhima Sports Club in al-'Udailiyya; the building housing the Economic Development Fund (*Sanduq al-Tanmiya al-Iqtisadi*) in the district of al-Mirgab; and schools (such as 'Abdallah al-Salem Secondary School). The Iraqi Embassy building on al-Istiqlal Street has also been used as a place of detention. Private homes used for the same purpose have included those previously owned by members of the ruling al-Sabah family. Military buildings used to hold detainees include the Police Academy, al-Liwa' al-Sades military base on the al-Jahra' road and the 'Ali al-Salem base near the border with Saudi Arabia. Most former detainees interviewed by Amnesty International who were transferred to Iraq reported that they were taken to Basra. Although in many cases they were not in a position to specify the prison or detention centre, some said they were held in the Deportations Prison (*Sijn al-Tasfirat*) and the State Security Prison (*Sijn al-Amn al-Siyyasi*). Others said they were also held briefly in police stations in other nearby towns, including al-Zubair and Safwan. Several thousand detainees are currently reported to be held in prisons in Baghdad and Mosul, but Amnesty International has been unable to verify their numbers or obtain information on their places of detention. Most are said to be military personnel.

A 27-year-old Kuwaiti office employee who fled his country in mid- September told Amnesty International of a former detainee whom he spoke to following his release:

> "As you know there is a shortage of food in peoples' homes. The resistance would

> sometimes take food to the mosques, where people could go to eat. A young man was arrested by the Iraqis in al-Shamiyyeh district. He was carrying a leaflet distributed by the resistance, which said that 'supplies' were to be taken to the mosques and gave details of the plan. The Iraqis probably thought that this meant military supplies rather than food. They arrested the man and tortured him by breaking his ribs. He was 26 years old and was arrested on Tuesday 11 September".

A Kuwaiti journalist who fled his country on 20 August told Amnesty International of an incident which took place in mid-August:

> "I know of the case of Khaled... [surname withheld by Amnesty International], who worked as a telephone operator in the Kuwaiti army. He lived in al-Sulaibiyya. He was arrested by the Iraqis with two others. He was a *'bidun'* and the other two were Kuwaitis. They were taken to Bayan police station. They were arrested because they had raised the Kuwaiti flag on their car. When we asked about them at the police station, the Iraqis told us that Khaled was going to be transferred to Baghdad. But I saw him the following day when he was released. He had marks all over his body from having been beaten. He could not walk normally as he had been subjected to *falaqa* for a prolonged period...."

A former detainee, a 31-year-old Kuwaiti, said that he was stopped at a checkpoint on 23 September and accused of stealing his own car. He was held for five days, initially in a school in the district of Salwa and later at al-Shuwaikh Security Directorate (*Mudiriyyat Amn al-Shuwaikh*). According to his testimony, he was slapped, punched and beaten with a hosepipe for one hour, and threatened with the rape of his mother. He said he was interrogated eleven times about opposition activities. Upon being released his car was returned to him, stripped of everything inside it. Another former detainee, a 23-year-old labourer, told Amnesty International that he was arrested on 8 October:

> "The day before there had been an attack on Iraqi soldiers. The Iraqis were stopping all cars and taking people away. I was told to board a bus near the checkpoint, together with 12 or 13 others. The bus took us to Bayan police station. I was held there for three days and interrogated about the resistance. Then they took me to a school,

> where I was interrogated by two officers and two soldiers. They applied electricity to my chest, head and arms. I felt paralysed for nearly three days. They also poured an acid-like liquid on my back and used a pincer-like device which they placed around my fingers and tightened. I was released one week later after my friends paid a bribe."

Among the children interviewed by Amnesty International was a 16-year-old Kuwaiti boy, a student at al-Farwaniyya Secondary School. He was arrested on 1 October after violating the night curfew:

> "I was taken to al-Rabia police station and put in a cell with four others. I was held for five days, and interrogated daily, usually at about 3pm. I was asked about my father, brothers and friends. During interrogation, a second person would come in and punch me or beat me with a belt. Each session usually lasted about half an hour. After five days my left arm was marked with the letter H using a hot skewer. I was told that if I got into any more trouble it would mean certain death. Then I was released and told to go home."

Incidents such as these, as well as the prevailing climate of fear, also took their toll on the younger children. Here, a Kuwaiti housewife in her late thirties who left the country at the end of August described to Amnesty International one aspect of this:

> "As a result of these tactics, the children were in a permanent state of fright. Many of them developed a stutter and could not talk normally. Others began suffering from uncontrolled urination. We tried to cure their stutter by taking them up on the rooftops with us where we shouted *Allahu Akbar* in protest at the Iraqi invasion. At first the children had difficulty in getting the words out, but we urged them to shout at the top of their voices. After several attempts, some of them regained normal speech."

The vast majority of former detainees interviewed by Amnesty International stated that they were not brought before any judicial authority throughout their detention period, and had remained in the sole custody of arresting and interrogating officials. Almost all were held incommunicado and were routinely denied visits from family, friends, lawyers or doctors. Although some detainees were accused of specific

offences, no 'official' charges as such were brought against them, even though in some cases the interrogating officials informed them of the punishment 'by law' for the offences they had committed. For example, several of those interviewed had been accused of 'illegal entry' into Kuwait (this pertained largely to Kuwaitis who entered the country after the invasion, either to assist their families in fleeing or to participate in the opposition against Iraqi forces). In some of those cases, the detainees were informed that the punishment for 'illegal entry' was five to eight years' imprisonment. As far as Amnesty International is aware, however, such punishments have not been codified in law. At the same time, detainees accused of offences said to be punishable by long term imprisonment have often been released within days or weeks. The decision to release appears to be as arbitrary as the decision to arrest. Amnesty International received details of the following incident from a group of Kuwaitis reporting directly from Kuwait on 10 November:

> "In the district of al-Faiha' an [Iraqi] officer asked to enter the cooperative society without standing in the queue. The young men from the society told him to wait for his turn. In the evening the same officer returned, accompanied by a number of soldiers. They took five of the young men who worked at the cooperative society to the police station and charged them with stealing cars belonging to the municipality. An order was issued to detain them for 15 days in order to bring them to trial in Basra. But after an offer of 'presents' (a video and television) and the issuing of a letter from the municipality confirming that the cars had been given to the cooperative society, the young men were released."

Of the scores of people interviewed, only four former detainees stated that they had been brought before a judge, three of them in Iraq and the fourth in Kuwait. A 23-year-old Kuwaiti student [name withheld by Amnesty International] arrested in the third week of September in al-Salmiyya, stated that he was held for eighteen days, first in Kuwait City and then in Iraq. He had not been in Kuwait when the invasion took place, but had returned to help his family leave. He stated that he was tortured throughout his detention period, including with electric shocks. After two days' detention in Kuwait City, he was taken to Basra and held for one week in a place he described as the 'offices of Iraqi intelligence'. Here he continues his story :

> "After that I was transferred by bus to an ordinary prison. The drive was about 15 minutes. I was told I had to pay for the bus fare, which I did with the little money I had on me. In the prison I was held in a

> large hall, where there were hundreds of detainees. I remained in the prison for eight days, and then 32 of the detainees were summoned for trial. I was one of them. We were taken to another building which had a sign on the outside saying 'Basra Court'. We sat in a waiting room, and then each of us was brought before a judge individually. I didn't know whether he was really a judge, but the sign on the door of his office said 'The Judge'. He wore civilian clothes. There was also an officer in the room, taking notes. I was before the judge for three minutes altogether. He asked me for my name and why I had returned to Kuwait. The charge against me was entering the country illegally (when I was first arrested I was accused of espionage). Then the judge asked me to sign a statement, the contents of which I was given no opportunity to read. He warned me that if I was caught again I would be executed. I was taken back to the waiting room while the other detainees went through the same process. When it was over, we were taken back to the prison where they gave us back our identity documents and released us. A few of us took a taxi as far as Safwan, and from there entered Kuwait."

Another 23-year-old Kuwaiti [name withheld by Amnesty International], formerly in the armed forces, was arrested at a checkpoint in al-'Ardiyya on 12 August. He stated that one of his neighbours had informed Iraqi soldiers at al-Firdos police station that he had hidden weapons in the basement of his home. He was held in Kuwait City for ten days until his interrogators, a captain and a first lieutenant, "said they would release me in exchange for a television, a video machine and video cassettes. Another Iraqi soldier at the station also told me to bring perfumes, a suitcase and a car tyre." Following his release he left Kuwait for Saudi Arabia and then returned on around 4 September when he was arrested again with five other Kuwaitis who had entered Kuwait with him. They were all held for six days in al-Jahra' police station and then transferred to Basra, where they were taken to the Deportations Prison *(Sijn al-Tasfirat)*. The following is his account of what happened later:

> "We were put in a cell measuring 4 x 3 metres where there were already other detainees: nine Iraqis, two Syrians and four Jordanians. The Iraqi detainees were wearing army uniforms. They had been accused of looting. The two Syrians had been accused of carrying false car documents. We stayed there for three days without being interrogated, but occasionally

> the guards would show us other detainees who had been tortured, just to frighten us. On the third day they took the six of us, together with the Syrian and Jordanian detainees, to police headquarters in Safwan. We travelled by car, and they asked us to pay the fare for the journey. We were told we were going to be executed. [In Safwan] we were put in a cell where about sixty people of various nationalities were held. A while later an Iraqi man appeared. He said he was a lawyer and identified himself as ... [name withheld by Amnesty International]. He said to us he could secure our release in return for 4,000 Iraqi dinars per person. None of us had asked for a lawyer. He had come of his own accord, looking for cases. We said we had Saudi riyals, which the lawyer said he would accept. He then advised us that when we were brought before the judge, we should say that we had returned to Kuwait in order to look for our sheep. At 6pm that evening an Iraqi officer, known as Ra'ed, interrogated the six of us. He asked us what we had to say to explain our situation. The lawyer was present during the session. We repeated what he had instructed us to say. At 7am the following morning we were taken on foot to the court in Safwan. The judge did not speak to us, but wrote something down and then informed us that we were being released. The whole process barely lasted one minute. I don't know what happened to the Jordanian and Syrian detainees. They were still being held when we left."

As mentioned earlier, it was not possible to determine in many cases the reasons behind the release of detainees. However, three essential preconditions appear to apply in most cases. Firstly, detainees are required to sign statements declaring their allegiance to President Saddam Hussain and the Iraqi Government, and their agreement to cooperate with the Iraqi authorities (principally by acting as informers). Secondly, release was invariably accompanied by the payment of bribes. Many former detainees and relatives of detainees told Amnesty International that they had to pay sums of money and provide certain goods requested by the interrogating officials. In this regard, the goods most in demand have been television sets and video machines, although, as the case mentioned above demonstrates, other requests may be made. One 17-year-old former detainee said that his interrogators offered him his release in exchange for an Indian or Filipino woman [see Appendix A2]. Thirdly, detainees are required to provide detailed information on themselves and their

relatives, such as that described below by a Red Crescent doctor released from detention on 11 October:

> "Upon release, the Iraqis asked us to provide detailed information about our families. They wanted the names, addresses and professions of my own immediate family, my brothers and sisters, my brothers-in-law and my paternal uncles and their families. When all this information was written down, we were made to sign an undertaking that if we talked about what happened to us, members of our families would be harmed, and that the penalty was death. They also asked us for information about any past political activity and any period spent in detention. They even took down information on our educational qualifications. The statement we were made to sign also said that all the information we had provided was correct, and that if any of it proved false, the penalty was death. We also had to undertake to inform the Iraqis of any political crimes we heard about."

A number of people interviewed by Amnesty International also stated that detainees who had been badly mutilated as a result of torture were either kept in detention, prevented from leaving Kuwait or executed. This appears to be a more recent development, prompted in all likelihood by widespread media coverage of human rights abuses being perpetrated by Iraqi forces in Kuwait. The 17-year-old former detainee mentioned above, who was released in early October, stated that just prior to release:

> "... they transferred us to *Muhafazat al-'Asima* where we were examined. I hid the traces of torture on my body in order to avoid being executed, because anyone who has clear traces of torture on his body or is suffering from permanent damage is executed."

Families were given no official notification of the arrest, place of detention and subsequent movement of detainees, and had to obtain such information through their own efforts. During the first two weeks of the invasion, relatives of detainees routinely enquired about them with Iraqi military personnel who had taken charge of the local police stations. In some instances, the families were told that the detainees had been transferred to Iraq, and that all further enquiries should be made to the authorities there. However, in the vast majority of cases, Iraqi forces denied having the detainees in their custody. Those arrested had therefore effectively "disappeared" in detention, and their families remained ignorant of their fate and whereabouts until

they had either been released or executed. In the latter case, the bodies of the victims would either be found in the streets of Kuwait City, or else dumped outside their homes [see section 6].

As incidents of arrests and killings multiplied from mid-August, the families of those who had "disappeared" became increasingly reluctant to make enquiries about them for fear of being arrested themselves. A 31-year-old Kuwaiti doctor told Amnesty International of one such case:

> "The young man [a Kuwaiti, name withheld by Amnesty International] went to enquire about his cousin who was held in al-Rigga police station. When he kept insisting he was taken inside the police station. He was stripped of his clothes and told to pray. When he kneeled down they started kicking and beating him. He was suspended from a fan for several hours and was told to sit on a bottle. He was released several days later with a message to everyone, that this is the punishment for those who ask about any detainees. He was in a very bad psychological state. This happened in the first week of September."

Instead, the families of detainees turned for help to the Red Crescent, to whom many of the bodies found in the streets were being referred. A member of the Red Crescent's administrative council described the situation to Amnesty International:

> "In the early days of the invasion, we tried to raise with the Iraqis the cases of detainees as well as those who had disappeared. There were many such cases in Kuwait. When a young man steps out of his house, there is a likelihood that he will not return. The families of the disappeared tried to enquire about them with the Iraqis in all possible places, but to no avail. So they used to come to the Red Crescent in the hope that we had some information. Prior to the invasion, the Kuwaiti Red Crescent had professional links with the Iraqi Red Crescent, and we tried to use those connections in order to obtain information about the detainees. We were not successful in this. All we could do was to ask the families to write down for us the names and details of those missing, in case we should come across them in the future....."

On 16 September, six Red Crescent workers were arrested by Iraqi soldiers. They were taken away from their premises on the pretext that they were to attend a meeting with the Iraqi Minister of Health who was visiting Kuwait. Instead, they were taken to Nayef Palace, which is being used as a detention centre. They were held there for 26 days. Following their release, the Red Crescent headquarters were closed down, and Iraq subsequently announced that the Iraqi and Kuwaiti Red Crescent societies had been merged.

The following is a father's account of his attempts to find one of his sons, Hassan, a 24-year-old teacher. He was arrested from his home on 16 September, together with his younger brother, 'Abdallah, a student aged 18. 'Abdallah was brought back nine days later and shot dead in front of his parent's home [see Section 6 below], while Hassan remained in detention. The father, a Kuwaiti aged 53, told Amnesty International how he tried to find him [the names of both sons have been changed to prevent identification]:

> "When I returned to my house after the burial [of 'Abdallah], a Palestinian whom I did not know came up to me and asked if I was the father of ... (mentioning the names of my other sons who were in the armed forces). When I replied yes, he warned me: "Your sons were in the armed forces. You had better escape or they will come after you." So I spent the next week in hiding, moving from house to house and sleeping in different places. Then I felt I must look for my son, Hassan. I enquired about him everywhere. I went to the police stations in al-Rigga, al-Ahmadi, al-Sabahiyya Khaitan, but I did not find him. At one of these police stations the Iraqis asked me if I was a Kuwaiti. I said yes, and they mocked me: "Your sons are the sons of Jaber and Sa'ad" [referring to the Amir of Kuwait and the Crown Prince]. Finally, I was told he was at *Markaz al-Ib'ad* [the Deportation Centre]. When I went there, the soldiers told me that they would release Hassan in exchange for a television, a video and 500 dinars. So I went home and returned with these items. I was kept waiting for several hours. At 3.15 in the afternoon Hassan was brought out. He could not walk, the soldiers were carrying him. I put him in the car and took him to the home of my brother-in-law in al-Rumaithiyya. Hassan had been badly tortured and his face was swollen from having been beaten. I did not dare to take him to any of the hospitals. So we waited, and at the first opportunity we left Kuwait..."

A 24-year-old Kuwaiti, formerly a lieutenant in the National Guard, describes below how he learned of the fate of his father who, according to a former detainee held with him at al-Firdos police station, had been transferred to a hospital. The father had been arrested in the district of al-Sabahiyya in late August on suspicion of taking part in opposition activities:

> "When [the former detainee] told me that my father was in hospital, I went looking for him in the hospitals but I couldn't find him. I looked in the cemeteries but I couldn't find him. Then I was advised to go to al-Amiri Hospital where ... photographs of the dead [had been taken]. There, I saw a photograph of my father. There were traces of beatings on his head, an open wound in his stomach and the skin on his face was flayed. I left the hospital with my cousin, and we came across a checkpoint near al-Hamra Cinema. [The soldier] told us to produce identification and asked me why I was crying. My cousin replied that my father had died. The soldier said that it was no problem that my father had died. My cousin told him that my father was more honourable than any Iraqi..."

Both the former lieutenant and his cousin were arrested at this point and held for five days.

THE DETENTION OF WESTERN AND OTHER FOREIGN NATIONALS

The information in this section relates to the period up to 6 December, when President Saddam Hussain announced that all detained Western and other nationals were to be released and allowed to leave Iraq. Developments after 6 December are not referred to in this document.

On 19 August, seventeen days after the invasion, the Iraqi authorities ordered all Western foreign nationals in Kuwait to assemble in three hotels in Kuwait City - the Regency Palace, the Meridien and the International Hotel. They announced that these nationals may be transferred for detention at key military and industrial sites in order to deter military attacks against Iraq. Although none were actually detained on that day, the announcement marked the beginning of what is now commonly referred to as Iraq's 'human shield' policy. On 20 August, British and French government sources confirmed that 82 Britons and six French nationals were moved from hotels in Kuwait and taken to unknown destinations. In addition, some 200 British and American nationals who had also been transferred from Kuwait to Iraq were detained in several

hotels in Baghdad. On 21 August, the Iraqi authorities confirmed that some foreign nationals had been transferred to military sites in Iraq.

Subsequently, hundreds of foreign nationals were rounded up in Kuwait City and taken to Iraq. They included French, British, American, Australian, German, Dutch, Belgian, Scandinavian and Italian nationals, as well as Japanese nationals. Hundreds of others of these and other Western nationalities who were either working in or visiting Iraq at the time were also detained in hotels in Baghdad or transferred to undisclosed locations. In the third week of August, the Iraqi authorities announced that some 13,000 Western, Soviet and Japanese nationals would not be permitted to leave Iraq or Kuwait until United States troops withdrew from Saudi Arabia and the sanctions against Iraq were lifted. Nevertheless, up until 6 December, several hundred of these foreign nationals were allowed to leave Iraq, largely following visits by former heads of state and political leaders from countries including Britain, France, the United States, Austria, Germany, Japan and the Soviet Union. The majority remained in Iraq, however, and were dubbed 'guests' by the host country. The precise numbers of those among them who, at the time of writing, were detained in strategic military and industrial installations, were not known. According to one estimate, some 600 British, Japanese and American nationals were being held at an estimated thirty sites in both Iraq and Kuwait, while up to 2,000 Western nationals remained in hiding in Kuwait [figures compiled by the Associated Press news agency].

The Iraqi authorities have said nothing to suggest that these foreign nationals are being held on grounds other than their nationality. President Saddam Hussain recently reaffirmed that they have not been charged with any offence. In an interview broadcast on British television on 12 November, he said the following:

> "If you ask these guests, whom you call hostages, who have returned to Britain: did Iraq ask anything of you in return for lifting the restrictions on travel... they will reply that nothing [was asked]. Therefore... they are not hostages. And if you ask them: did Iraq charge you with anything or interrogate you, they will reply no. Therefore they are not imprisoned, and the description of detention and imprisonment does not apply to them..."

Semantics aside, however, it is beyond doubt that these detentions are arbitrary and violate international human rights norms. Furthermore, all foreign nationals detained since 2 August have been denied consular access. Foreign diplomats in Kuwait were themselves stripped of diplomatic

immunity when the Iraqi authorities announced that all embassies in the country should cease to operate by 24 August.

Scores of Western nationals took refuge in their embassies in Kuwait City in the third week of August when the 'human shield' policy began to be implemented, but most remained in hiding elsewhere. A group of British and American nationals who, at the time of writing, were in hiding in Kuwait described their situation thus in a report they had compiled dated 6 November:

> "We have been in hiding at various locations for over three months. We never go outside and the only daylight we see is by peeping round a curtain. As for escape, that is totally impossible. We would have to get through as many as six checkpoints manned by armed Iraqi soldiers to reach the desert. Even if we got that far, which is very unlikely, we face the prospect of being shot without warning by soldiers in and around Kuwait."

One British national was in fact shot dead on 11 August as he tried to cross the Kuwaiti - Saudi Arabian border [see Section 6 below]. The situation became more precarious with the introduction of the death penalty for harbouring Western nationals on 25 August. Several Kuwaiti former detainees interviewed by Amnesty International stated that during interrogation, they were questioned on the whereabouts of foreigners. Many others reported that Iraqi soldiers conducted house-to-house searches looking for foreigners, and that in some cases violence was used to detain them. On 5 September an American national, Miles Hoffman, was reported to have been shot in the arm while trying to evade capture from his home. Also in early September, a British man and his Filipino wife were allegedly beaten prior to their arrest. An account of that incident, as well as a general description of the situation, is provided by a British woman who had been living in Kuwait and whose husband remained in hiding there. She told Amnesty International in October:

> "Our home was in al-Fahahil ... we heard lots of stories. I knew a British guy with a Filipino wife, he's about 35 or 40 years old. The Iraqis broke into their flat while they were in hiding in the back room. It was between 1 and 3 September. They kicked the wife in the chest and her husband was badly beaten around the head. I think she's here now [in the United Kingdom], but he's a hostage ... My husband and I were in hiding almost from the beginning. We went out only if it was absolutely necessary. Eight days after the invasion we moved from our flat because it became unbearable. We were

> afraid the Iraqis would come, so we moved southwards. Someone told us they were picking up Brits in house-to-house searches ... Now the situation is much worse. I got a letter from my husband on Friday, it was dated 25 September and was smuggled out of Kuwait. He says there's an atmosphere of despair. He seems to think the soldiers are getting ready to move in, and it's a lot more tense than when I was there. He says they're picking up more Brits, and mentioned that at least twenty more were picked up last week. He's back to hiding in the attic now ... The Palestinians were helping with food, but they can't help any more because they don't have money ..."

The 6 November report quoted earlier, which had been sent to Amnesty International (among others), gives further details about the situation of some of the Western nationals:

> "We have to report that the American Embassy is now totally out of touch with the situation in Kuwait and the conditions under which its people and ourselves are surviving. They are virtually powerless to help us in any way. For us in hiding, it means that for our daily needs we have to rely totally on the goodwill and capabilities of the Kuwaiti people, whose patience is wearing very thin ... An additional problem in respect of our security is now getting close. All Kuwaitis will become non-persons in their own country on November 25 ... unless they register themselves for Iraqi citizenship. Those not complying will become fugitives from Iraqi justice in their own country and, like us, will have to go into hiding. Many others will take the opportunity to leave the country if possible before November 25th ... This will leave many of us in hiding without protection. It will assuredly force large numbers of us to give ourselves up, as there will be nobody to supply us with food."

The 25 November deadline for the taking up of Iraqi identity documents has since been extended by one month. An earlier report sent in mid-October by the same group of British and American nationals gave details of the case below, which highlighted the predicament of Western nationals in hiding who required medical attention:

> "A Scotsman in hiding in Kuwait City was rushed to a hospital with a perforated ulcer. He had been reluctant to expose

himself for fear of capture, despite his condition. Unfortunately the man died in the hospital. His body has still not been released by the Iraqis for burial."

4. TORTURE AND ILL-TREATMENT OF DETAINEES

In the period August to November, Amnesty International interviewed scores of detainees who stated that they had been tortured while in the custody of Iraqi forces. The majority of the victims were Kuwaiti males between the ages of 16 and 35, some of whom still bore marks of torture on their bodies when interviewed. Amnesty International has also received numerous other testimonies from the families of torture victims, the doctors who examined them and, in the cases of those who died, the people who buried them. Some have also given accounts of the torture and ill-treatment of women generally, who are said to have been subjected to beatings and rape. The methods of torture and ill-treatment said to have been used by the Iraqi forces since 2 August are listed in detail at the end of this section.

Iraqi forces at all levels appear to have been involved in the infliction of torture on detainees. They include ordinary soldiers from Iraq's regular army, senior military personnel, and agents of Iraqi intelligence and the security forces. Based on the information it has received and the interviews it has conducted, Amnesty International believes that torture is being systematically used during interrogation, both in order to extract information and as punishment. It is during this period that torture is described at its most brutal, when the interrogation methods used by Iraqi forces have frequently resulted in permanent physical or mental damage. The condition of detainees under such circumstances is compounded by their deprivation of medical treatment while in custody and, following their release, by the almost total absence of medical facilities.

Two categories of detainees appear to have been targetted for particularly severe torture: actual or suspected members of the Kuwaiti armed forces, National Guard, police and security forces, and individuals suspected of having participated in armed resistance against Iraqi forces. However, others have been tortured for involvement in non-violent activities such as peaceful demonstrations (in the early days of the invasion), writing anti-Iraq slogans on walls, possessing opposition leaflets and raising the Kuwaiti flag. In large measure, torture in these cases was aimed at punishing such acts of defiance. It was also aimed at extracting information about the identity of persons involved in opposition activities, the locations of such activities, and the whereabouts of individuals or families being sought by

the Iraqi authorities. In other cases, the objective was to force detainees to cooperate with the Iraqis after release by acting as informers. Coupled with that was forcing them to make statements against the Kuwaiti ruling family and government and making declarations of allegiance to Iraq's President Saddam Hussain. Finally, the sheer brutality of the torture inflicted on detainees was designed to terrorize the population at large and to discourage others from expressing in whatever form their opposition to the Iraqi presence in Kuwait.

Appendix A of this document contains the testimonies of eight Kuwaiti men and youths who stated to Amnesty International that they had been tortured at the hands of Iraqi forces [their names have been withheld at their own request]:

A1. A former interrogator in his early 30s, arrested on 22 September after being found in possession of a leaflet giving information on chemical weapons. He was detained for one week, principally at al-Farwaniyya police station, and subjected to beatings, kicking, burning of the skin and sexual torture.

A2. A 17-year-old student arrested in early September after being found in possession of a gun and leaflets containing information on weaponry. He was detained for 36 days in several detention centres in Kuwait City and later in Basra and subjected to beatings, mock execution, *falaqa* [beatings on the soles of the feet], electric shocks and threatened with sexual torture.

A3. A 32-year-old office clerk arrested on 3 August as he returned home after buying foodstuffs from the local cooperative society. He was detained for five days at al-Sulaibiyya police station and subjected to beatings and electric shocks, and was shot in the leg at point blank range.

A4. A 22-year-old student arrested on 24 August following house-to-house searches in the district of al-Rawda. He was detained for eight days in al-Rawda and al-Farwaniyya police stations, and subjected to beatings, kicking, and *falaqa*. Cigarettes were extinguished on his body and his leg was slashed with a knife.

A5. A 38-year-old man arrested on 5 September after another detainee allegedly revealed that he was active in the armed opposition. He was detained for one week at the Kuwait General Staff headquarters in the district of al-Shuwaikh and later in Basra. He was subjected to beatings, mock execution, exposure to hot and cold temperatures, electric shocks and suspension from a rotating fan.

A6. A man in his 30s arrested twice, in the third week of August and later on 20 September and accused of being a

member of the Kuwaiti armed forces and of having participated in opposition activities. He was held for four days in a school and at al-Jahra' police station and subjected to beatings, kicking, electric shocks and the placing of heavy weights on his body.

A7. A 23-year-old student arrested around 22 September after returning to Kuwait to assist his family in fleeing the country. He was detained for eighteen days in several detention centres in Kuwait City and later in Basra. He was subjected to beatings, whipping, exposure to cold air and to the sun for prolonged periods, as well as electric shocks.

A8. A 31-year-old man arrested on 14 September at his home during a *diwaniyya* [a traditional male gathering where social and political issues are discussed]. He was detained for three weeks at al-Farwaniyya and al-Jahra' police stations as well as a private home in Kuwait City, and later in Basra. He was subjected to beatings, electric shocks, mock execution, was forced to watch his relatives being tortured and was himself tortured in front of them.

Numerous other testimonies have reached Amnesty International, from which only a selected few are published in this document. The following is an extract from the testimony of a Kuwaiti former detainee held in al-Kadhima Sports Club. Here he describes the condition of other detainees held with him, including that of a 13-year-old boy:

> " .. One of the soldiers led us into the squash court, and we saw many Kuwaitis of different ages, ranging between 13 and 45. Some of them had fainted from torture. I sat next to a 13-year-old boy whose body looked blue. I asked him, "What have you confessed to?" He said: "My crime was to shout *Allahu Akbar* at every oppressor, and I was tortured with electricity for four days. The skin on my back was peeling and I can only sleep while sitting." There was another young man who was unable to stand or hold anything because the skin on his hands and feet had split and peeled from being tortured with flames. Worse than that, I saw one of the young men from the resistance whose finger and toenails had been extracted, and whose body was blue from [the application of] electricity. He had become blind because they had used a kind of caustic substance to torture him. He was barely alive, unaware of what was happening around him. [Then he told me who he was and said], "Take care of my parents because I am their only son and they have no one in the

> world except me". I asked him, "Why have you done this?" So he said, "There is nothing more precious to me than my father and mother, except my country ...If Kuwait is thirsty I will water it with my blood". He started singing, "I am a Kuwaiti", and I started crying, not from fear but because of the situation we were in..."

A 38-year-old Kuwaiti housewife told Amnesty International of the case of her neighbour's son, an 18-year-old Kuwaiti boy accused of distributing leaflets:

> My neighbour's son ... [name withheld by Amnesty International] was arrested at the end of August in the district of al-Surra, where he lived. It was Friday night, after the evening prayers. He was detained for about ten days. His mother went to al-Surra police station to look for him, but the Iraqis told her he was not there. Ten days later he was released. He had been held at al-Farwaniyya police station. I went to my neighbour's house to see them. Her son could not speak or walk normally. He had been sexually assaulted and electricity had been applied to his penis. They also applied electricity to his ears and lips, and suspended him from his feet."

One of six Red Crescent workers held in Nayef Palace for 26 days in September and October described to Amnesty International what he had witnessed:

> "During our stay there, we used to see other detainees when we left our cell to go to the toilet. I saw about 30 or 40 people every day. Most of them appeared to have been beaten or otherwise tortured. The soldiers routinely kicked the detainees in the stomach, causing maximum damage with their heavy army boots. On one occasion I saw a man who was urinating blood, presumably due to a haemorrhage of the kidney. His facial hair had been plucked out and his fingernails pulled out. I saw an old man aged about 60, and a young boy aged about nine. Another detainee I saw was being forced to walk after having been subjected to *falaqa*. He was limping and screaming from the pain. His face and clothes were covered with blood....."

[None of the Red Crescent workers were subjected to physical torture while in detention, having been told by their guards that they were being held in a "five-star-jail"].

A 24-year-old former detainee [name withheld by Amnesty International] who suffers from a physical handicap told of how he and others with similar disabilities had also been tortured:

> "I was with the resistance working in one of the districts of Kuwait. A detainee had given my name to the Iraqis. The soldiers arrested me from my home in al-Da'iyya at about midnight [in August]. They dragged me from my bedroom and took me to the local police station. The first day they beat me severely with a cane. I was held for ten days altogether, first at al-Da'iyya police station and then at *Sijn al-Ahdath* (the Juveniles Prison) in al-Firdos. The only food I was given was hard bread. Some of the detainees at the police station were minors, aged about 14 or 15. I heard the screams of detainees being tortured. I was not subjected to electricity, only beatings. But my body was blue all over with bruises. An officer told me that I had been sentenced to death. I was beaten so hard that the aluminium rod which holds my calliper together broke (I suffer from paralysis of the right leg and have to wear a calliper constantly). In my cell there were two detainees, one aged 16 and the other 25. The younger one was handicapped - he was lame and used a crutch. He had been beaten on his face, which was blue with bruises."

A Kuwaiti businesswoman in her late 20s who ran a marketing firm prior to the invasion told Amnesty International what had happened to one of her employees, a 25-year-old Palestinian who holds a Jordanian passport [name withheld by Amnesty International]:

> "He went to Basra to sell electronic equipment in order to buy vegetables and fruit to bring back to Kuwait. He was arrested on 9 September after refusing to give the Iraqis some of the food he had brought back. His younger brother [name withheld] was arrested as well. They took them to al-Surra police station and held them for 4 - 5 hours. I saw [my employee] upon his release. He was in a terrible state, unable to walk. The soles of his feet were swollen. I saw marks of beating on his body and his hands were covered with

> scratches. He told me they had taken off his clothes, blindfolded him, and then beaten him for about an hour with canes and then with electric batons. Then he was kicked by four soldiers who wore heavy army boots. Before releasing him, they subjected him to Russian roulette [mock execution]. His brother received the same treatment."

Several former detainees told Amnesty International that Iraqis had been held with them in the same detention centre. A Kuwaiti student held at al-Farwaniyya police station in September [see Appendix A2] said:

> "They took me back to the al-Farwaniyya and threw me back in the same room where I stayed four days ... then they took us out of the room and brought in four Iraqi soldiers whose hair, eyebrows and moustaches had been shaved. The guards were beating them, saying that they were traitors and had brought shame upon their families ... ".

Another Kuwaiti student held at an Iraqi Intelligence centre in Basra in the third week of September [see Appendix A7] told Amnesty International:

> "[I was] put in a cell measuring 3 x 4 metres, together with about 25 other detainees. These detainees, from what I could gather, were all Iraqi civilians. One of them, aged 18, had been tortured with electricity. Another one had had his skin pierced with pins."

Amnesty International has also interviewed several doctors who, following the invasion of Kuwait, worked as volunteers in various hospitals. All of them stated that the bodies of victims of extrajudicial killings brought to the hospitals bore obvious signs of torture, some of them having been badly mutilated. Scores of these bodies have been photographed, and the photographs provide irrefutable evidence of the abuses committed by Iraqi forces [See Appendix D]. The following are two accounts provided by medical doctors to Amnesty International.

* Account provided by a 31-year-old Kuwaiti doctor [name withheld by Amnesty International] whose specialisation is occupational medicine. He volunteered his services at al-Ahmadi and al-'Addan hospitals in August and September, and stated in respect of the former hospital:

> "On average, five or six new bodies were brought to the hospital each day. All were males and most were in their 20s. Many bore marks of torture. Judging by the bodies

that I personally saw, the methods of torture being used included the extinguishing of cigarettes on the body; burning of the skin with heated metal rods; application of electricity; cutting off of the tongue and ear; gouging out of the eyes and the breaking of limbs. In most of these cases, the immediate cause of death appeared to be a single shot in the back of the head or, in a few cases, a shot in the ear or mouth. I also saw the body of a middle-aged man who appeared to have been strangled with a rope. Most of the victims were Kuwaitis, but among those whom I came across were five Egyptians and one Iranian. Some of the victims had also had their fingernails extracted, and others had swollen feet with pockets of pus as a result of being subjected to *falaqa* for prolonged periods. Some had marks round their ankles, consistent with having been suspended upside down. One had been shot in the thigh. Those burned with heated implements had white marks on the affected areas, with black spots on them. One of the Egyptians I saw had been shot at point blank range in his hand, which looked as if it had been torn to pieces. Some had had their beards plucked out ....."

* Account provided by a Kuwaiti medical doctor in his early 40s [name withheld by Amnesty International] who examined the bodies of victims at the Red Crescent headquarters between August and October:

"I personally examined about 60 bodies. In addition to the shot through the back of the head, some of them also bore marks of torture, such as burns on various parts of the body. Some had broken limbs, others bore signs consistent with having been beaten with heavy implements. One victim had clearly had his beard plucked out, and others had had their finger and toenails pulled out. I came across three people who had been tortured with electricity on their genitals and back, and three others who had had cigarettes extinguished on their eyeballs. In some cases the immediate cause of death was not a bullet, but torture. One such body which I examined had no bullet wounds. The victim had been kicked and beaten extensively. His name was ... [name withheld by Amnesty International], aged 20, from al-Sulaibikhat. He had been arrested

> in early September while distributing food from the cooperative society to peoples' homes. His body was found lying in the streets ten days later..."

Several doctors also informed Amnesty International that Iraqi officials forced them to issue death certificates in respect of some victims, giving an incorrect cause of death. For example, the doctors would be forced to state that the victims had died of internal bleeding instead of torture or bullet wounds. According to one Red Crescent worker, this happened at al-Farwaniyya, al-Amiri, al-'Addan and Mubarak hospitals.

All the torture victims referred to thus far in this document have been males. Although a number of former detainees interviewed by Amnesty International stated that they had either seen women held with them in the same detention centre or had heard their screams, none was able to provide detailed information on their treatment while in custody. Female detainees were, in most cases, held apart from the men, either in separate cells or in different sections of the detention centre or prison. One passing reference to a female detainee was provided by one of the Red Crescent workers detained in Nayef Palace in the period mid-September to mid-October:

> "All the detainees I saw in Nayef Palace were males. However, late one evening I saw a woman being brought in. She was pregnant and was carrying a suitcase. I don't know her nationality, but she was Western. She was taken into the officers' room. Later I heard screams, and I think they were those of a woman. I don't know what happened to that woman, I didn't see her again."

On the basis of the information received by Amnesty International, it was not possible to determine the extent to which the torture methods described above were used on women. Apart from psychological torture, such as having to watch their sons being shot [see Section 6], the prevalent form of torture used on women has been rape. By its very nature, this form of torture makes the victims, as well as their relatives, reluctant to talk about it. A number of men interviewed said they knew of cases of rape, but refused to reveal the names of the victims even in confidence.

In this context, it has proved difficult to verify or substantiate the numerous reports of rape emanating from Kuwait since 2 August. In the first week of August, a British Airways stewardess was reported to have been raped by an Iraqi soldier on board a bus outside the Regency Palace Hotel in Kuwait City. One of the hotel's employees informed Amnesty International that the stewardess, a British national, was

raped as she was about to accompany passengers to another hotel. Most incidents of rape reported in the first three weeks of the invasion, however, suggested that Asian women were the prime targets, particularly Indian and Filipino domestic servants. Eyewitnesses stated that they had seen some of these women being dragged out of their employers' homes by Iraqi soldiers, presumably for the purpose of raping them. One such account is that of an Indian male cook who, together with an Indian maid identified as Mary, was employed by a Kuwaiti family at the time of the invasion. He told Amnesty International:

> "On 2 August, early in the morning, my boss received a telephone call. Immediately afterwards the family started packing their belongings. Then they called Mary and me and told us that they were leaving for London. My boss gave us the keys to the house and a few gold coins, told us to take care of ourselves and left. For one week we stayed alone in the house. Then about ten or fifteen Iraqi soldiers in two military vehicles arrived. They decided to take everything in the house, and ordered Mary and me to load the vehicles. This took two hours. When we finished, two of the soldiers told Mary to go with them. Mary said to them, "Please, I am not coming with you, please help me". She was crying too much when she said this. The soldiers pushed her into one of the vehicles beside the driver while pointing a gun at her. Then one of them turned round to me and hit me in the chest with the butt of his machine gun. I didn't see Mary again."

Such reports were rife in Kuwait, and although the actual extent of such incidents is impossible to assess, they gave rise to a climate of very real fear among the Asian women. A 37-year-old Filipino staff nurse who was visiting Kuwait at the time of the invasion told Amnesty International:

> "[In August] there were about 20,000 Filipinos sheltering at our embassy in Kuwait. Some were inside the building, and the others were in three unfinished buildings nearby. Among them were housemaids who were alone and scared, their employers had been away on holiday. They were all scared, having heard stories of rape. I don't think they were safe even at the embassy - there were only seven officials working there."

Since early September, Amnesty International has received reports that increasingly, Kuwaiti and other Arab women have

been raped by Iraqi military personnel, although some cases were reported earlier. According to Egyptian diplomatic sources, three Egyptian air stewardesses were raped at the Meridien Hotel on 3 August. An Egyptian female nurse working at Mubarak Hospital until early September told Amnesty International that she knew of several Arab women admitted to the hospital after being raped. She stated that she had personally participated in carrying out gynaecological tests on one of them, a Palestinian woman in her early 20s, and that the tests were positive. The nurse said that when she arrived at the hospital (in mid-August) the woman was hysterical, having apparently been taken to the district of Hawalli, raped by five soldiers and then thrown out onto the street. She also said that the previous day, a Kuwaiti woman was admitted to Mubarak Hospital, having been raped by Iraqi soldiers at her home in al-Salmiyya. A Kuwaiti doctor who had been working for the Red Crescent told Amnesty International that he knew of fifteen incidents of rape in al-Jahra', fifteen in al-Rigga and three others at the Maternity Hospital. The victims were of various nationalities, including Arab women. In another case, an Egyptian doctor working at al-Sabah Hospital told Amnesty International of a case he knew of:

> "I know of one Kuwaiti lady in al-Jabiriyya who has a 19-year-old daughter... I'm sorry I can't tell you the names, they're from a very prominent family. It was at the end of August... the daughter went out to get some food. Three Iraqi soldiers and one officer followed her and wanted to rape her. They followed her inside her villa. When the mother saw them she pleaded with them not to rape her as she was only a virgin. She asked them to rape her instead of her daughter, so they did."

A Kuwaiti woman [name withheld by Amnesty International] who left her country on 29 November stated that Iraqi soldiers had threatened to rape her and her sister in front of their brother, a journalist who had been arrested on suspicion of involvement in opposition activities. The woman gave this as her reason for fleeing Kuwait, and she gave details of cases of rape she knew of. These included the rape of four Kuwaiti girls in front of their father in al-Rumaithiyya in mid-November. She also reported seeing a young Kuwaiti woman being held while completely naked at Sabah al-Salem police station during the two weeks prior to 29 November. She had apparently been repeatedly raped by Iraqi soldiers there.

A Kuwaiti gynaecologist and obstetrician working at the Maternity Hospital who left Kuwait in mid-November reported on two rape victims she had personally examined:

> "A Jordanian girl aged about 20 was raped by five Iraqi soldiers. She told me that they had abducted her when she left her building

to go to the grocers. They abducted her, raped her and then threw her onto the street. She was later found by some Kuwaiti boys who brought her to the hospital. When I examined her I found her vagina swollen from extensive penetration. She was also scratched and bruised on her face, back and hands. She was hysterical."

"[On 11 November] when I was in the casualties ward, the Iraqi police brought me two girls. The first was a 22-year-old *bidun* and unmarried. She told me that while they were sleeping in their home at 6am, Iraqi soldiers came and gathered them in the upper floor. They took her down to the ground floor, where an Iraqi soldier raped her anally several times. When I examined her, I found an injury 4cm. long from the anal opening to the vagina. She needed five stitches. I also noticed bruises and injuries on her body due to resistance. Then she told me that the Iraqis also brought her older sister and assaulted her. So I examined her sister, who was 26 years old and married. I found that she had been raped vaginally and anally. She told me that they had raped her and then stole her family's money and gold. I have heard of many cases of this kind, but they did not come to the hospital because of the shame."

METHODS OF TORTURE AND ILL-TREATMENT

The following are details of allegations of torture and ill-treatment which have been made to Amnesty International since 2 August , some of which are supported by medical evidence and photographic material [see Appendices C and D]. These reports are entirely consistent with methods of torture and ill-treatment known to have been used in Iraq over many years, and some of which are also supported by medical evidence [see in particular Amnesty International's report entitled "Torture in Iraq 1982-1984", published in April 1985, and the organization's annual reports].

It should be noted that not all of the methods listed below are said to have been widely used since 2 August. Those methods which have been alleged only in a few cases brought to Amnesty International's attention are marked with an asterisk (*).

1. Beatings on all parts of the body, involving punching, slapping, delivering Karate-style blows and kicking

with heavy army boots. Implements used for beating include canes, metal rods, whips, steel cables, hosepipes, rubber truncheons and rifle butts.

2. *Falaqa*: prolonged beating on the soles of the feet. Sometimes the detainee is then forced to walk or run.

3. Suspending the detainee by the feet, or by the arms which are tied behind the back.

4. Beating the detainee while suspended from a rotating fan in the ceiling.

5. Breaking of the arms, legs or ribs; dislocating elbow and shoulder joints.

6. Lifting the detainee high up in the air and then dropping him, sometimes resulting in the fracturing of bones.

7. Applying pressure to the fingers with a clamp-like instrument.

8. Slashing the face, arms or legs with knives.

9. Extracting finger and toenails.

*10. Boring a hole in the leg, apparently with a type of drilling tool.

11. Cutting off of the tongue and ear.

12. Gouging out of the eyes.

*13. Castration.

*14. Hammering nails into the hands.

15. Piercing the skin with pins or staplers.

16. Shooting the detainee in the arm or leg at point blank range, followed by deprivation of the necessary medical treatment.

17. Rape of women (including virgins) and young men.

18. Inserting bottle necks, sometimes when broken, into the rectum.

*19. Tying a string around the penis and pulling it tightly.

*20. Pumping air using a pipe through the anus, particularly of young boys.

21. Applying electricity to sensitive parts of the body, including the ears, lips, tongue, fingers, toes and genitals. Sometimes the detainee is doused with water prior to the administration of electricity. The electrical instruments used include electric batons as well as wires fitted with clips (like those used to recharge car batteries but smaller in size).

22. Burning various parts of the body, including the genitals, with domestic appliances such as electric irons, with heated metal rods, or with a naked flame.

23. Extinguishing cigarettes on the eyeballs or on various parts of the body, including the genitals, nipples, chest and hands.

24. Pouring hot and cold water alternately over the detainee.

25. Placing the detainee in a cold, air-conditioned room for several hours, and then immediately into a heated room.

*26. Pouring an acid-like substance onto the skin.

27. Pouring caustic substances onto the eyes, causing blindness.

28. Plucking facial hair, particularly the beard, with pincers or pliers.

29. Placing heavy weights on the detainee's body.

30. Spitting into the detainee's mouth.

31. Exposing the detainee to the sun for several hours at a stretch without water.

32. Subjecting the detainee to mock execution. This includes holding the head below water to the point of near suffocation; going through the motions of execution by firing squad; and holding a gun to the to the head or in the mouth and pulling the trigger.

33. Forcing the detainee to watch others being tortured, or to hear their screams.

34. Raping or torturing the detainee's relatives in his or her presence; threatening the detainee with such acts.

35. Threatening the detainee with torture methods such as the electric chair [*al-Kursi al-Rajjaj*], or with death by immersion in an acid bath.

36. Deprivation of medical treatment.

37. Deprivation of sleep, food, water, fresh air and toilet or washing facilities.

38. Degrading the detainee by using obscene language or insults.

5. THE DEATH PENALTY

Within a month of the invasion of Kuwait, Iraq's Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) had passed resolutions introducing the death penalty for three offences: on 11 August for the hoarding of food for commercial purposes; on 14 August for looting; and on 25 August for the harbouring of Western nationals. On 20 November, the RCC reaffirmed in a new resolution that the hoarding of food was punishable by death, apparently in response to the growing effects of the internationally-imposed economic sanctions on Iraq.

In line with its usual practice, the Iraqi Government has refrained from making public the number of people executed for these capital offences, although some executions for looting have been officially confirmed [see below]. In this context, it is impossible to assess the extent of the application of the death penalty since the invasion. Furthermore, the information available to date does not enable Amnesty International to assess the extent to which such executions can be considered as 'judicial'. In other words, whether the alleged offender had been granted the opportunity to defend himself against the charges against him, including having access to a defence lawyer, and whether his conviction had been secured following trial procedures which met international standards for fair trial. In the context of the widespread abuses perpetrated by Iraqi forces in Kuwait, which reveal a total disregard for the most fundamental human rights principles, it is Amnesty International's view that the likelihood of any alleged offender receiving a fair trial under such circumstances is indeed remote. In arriving at this conclusion, Amnesty International also takes into account Iraq's past and current record vis-à-vis the conduct of trials in its own courts. The organization has over a number of years expressed its concerns to the Iraqi authorities about unfair trial procedures which failed to meet not only internationally recognized standards for fair trial, but also those standards set out in Iraq's own domestic legislation. Such deficiencies apply in death penalty cases as well, where defendants have been repeatedly denied access to a defence lawyer while in pre-trial detention, denied the opportunity to speak in their own defence in court or to call witnesses on their behalf, and denied the opportunity to appeal against a death sentence which, in many cases, had been secured on the basis of "confessions" extracted from the defendants under torture. The unfairness of these procedures is most apparent

in trials before Iraq's permanent and temporary (ad hoc) special courts, whose decisions by law are final and not subject to appeal [for further details, see Amnesty International's report entitled "The Death Penalty in Iraq: Legal Aspects", published in June 1987]. The RCC's Resolution No. 322, which introduced the death penalty for looting on 14 August, provided that such cases will be heard before a special court, whose decisions are also final and not subject to appeal.

To date, Amnesty International has not received any information suggesting that any death sentences have been passed or carried out on individuals accused of hoarding food. Reports that a Kuwaiti man was executed in early September for harbouring a Western national remain unconfirmed. The person in question was said to be among the thousands of Kuwaiti military personnel arrested by Iraqi forces, and may have been executed for other reasons. At least 18 executions for looting, however, have been officially confirmed by Iraq. The first known case was reported on 16 August, two days after the offence became punishable by death. The body of a man said to be an Iraqi soldier was found hanging from a crane in al-Hilali Street, opposite the *Muhafazat al-'Asima* building [see Appendix D for photograph]. Initial reports suggested he had been publicly hanged, but subsequent accounts from eyewitnesses who saw the body indicated that he had been shot first and then his body was later hung in public as an example to others. The following is one such account given to Amnesty International by a Kuwaiti housewife in her late 30s:

> "I saw his body that morning [16 August], suspended from a crane near *Muhafazat al-'Asima*. There was a placard round his neck which read: "This is the punishment for those who steal the riches of the people". Another placard with the same message was placed on the ground beneath the suspended body, together with the goods he was supposed to have stolen. The man had been shot first, and then his body was hung. It remained there for two or three days. His photograph was published in *al-Nida'*."

Another person, a Kuwaiti man in his late 20s, told Amnesty International that he had been present when the body was taken down. He stated that there were several bullet wounds on the body, suggesting that the victim had first been executed by firing squad. The body was removed by the Red Crescent for burial. The name of the victim is not known, and neither is it known whether he had received any form of trial prior to execution. A former lecturer at Kuwait University in her mid-50s remarked to Amnesty International:

> "They said he was guilty of looting, but that was probably a pretext. How can they execute him for looting when they are all

> looting openly? I saw myself, on the way from Kuwait to Baghdad, fourteen lorries carrying televisions and other electrical equipment. Maybe that person was an honourable man who dared to say "no" to them, and was executed for it."

According to information received by Amnesty International, the photographs of ten other men said to have been executed for looting were shown on Iraqi television between 17 and 21 August. Among them were Iraqi, Kuwaiti, Egyptian and Syrian nationals. The university lecturer (mentioned above) told Amnesty International:

> "In the days immediately after the [16 August] execution, Iraqi television announced that others had been executed for looting. They showed their photographs on television. I saw four or six of them. One of them was an Egyptian national employed by the Kuwait Oil Company. A maternal cousin of mine recognized him, but I don't recall his name. On 18 August they showed on television the photograph of another of those executed. He was a Kuwaiti from the al-Hajiri family, also accused of looting. I don't know his first name. On 20 August they showed on television the photographs of other looters."

Her account was consistent with those given by several other people interviewed by Amnesty International, including that of a Kuwaiti businesswoman in her late 20s. She also told Amnesty International that one of the Kuwaitis executed was from the al-Hajiri family, that he was 17 years old and was arrested after leaving a *diwaniyya* and later accused of looting. Further confirmation that executions for looting have been carried out since the invasion of Kuwait was provided by President Saddam Hussain in an interview broadcast on British television on 12 November. In response to a question on human rights violations posed by the interviewer, President Saddam Hussain stated that:

> " ...any Iraqi from Baghdad who steals or robs from a house in the province of Kuwait, and is caught red-handed, will be tried. Iraqi law provides for the death penalty in a case of this kind. A number of Iraqis from the province of Baghdad, or they may have been from the province of Basra or maybe from other provinces, were executed because they stole from the homes of the people in Kuwait. This has happened. Why does the British press not talk about this ? Because it reflects the just aspect of our position..."

On 30 November, seven men were publicly hanged in Kuwait after being accused of looting. Iraqi television announced that they had stolen large sums of money in Iraqi dinars, jewellery and electrical appliances from homes in Kuwait. One of Iraq's daily newspapers, *al-Jumhuriyya*, reported on 1 December that the seven were hanged in the presence of their victims, who were said to have identified them. The names and nationalities of those executed are not known, nor is it known whether they had been tried.

A number of Kuwaitis and other nationals interviewed by Amnesty International firmly believe that ostensibly criminal offences, such as looting, were used by the Iraqi authorities as a pretext to execute individuals suspected of 'political' offences. In other words, individuals who had taken part in opposition activity against Iraqi forces in Kuwait. In that context, scores of hangings were alleged to have been carried out on the grounds of Kuwait University in late August and early September, while other executions by firing squad were reportedly carried out, sometimes in public, in residential districts of Kuwait City [See Section 6]. Other categories of people feared to have been executed since 2 August are Iraqi soldiers who attempted to desert from the army after their deployment in Kuwait, and Iraqi exiles living in Kuwait and suspected of membership of the opposition group *al-Da'wa al-Islamiyya* (Islamic Call). Iraqi law provides for the death penalty for both these offences.

6. EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTIONS

> "From the middle of August, an average of four or five bodies were brought daily to our centre, but on some days there would be as many as ten. All the victims were male and were of varying ages, the youngest being about 16. However, on 18 August the body of a 12-year-old girl was brought in. Many of the male victims whose bodies I examined had been shot in the back of the head at point blank range, and as such their jaws had been shattered. The usual pattern was that the Iraqis would bring the detainee back to his home and ask his family to identify him. Once he had been identified, the Iraqis would shoot him in the back of the head, right in front of his family."

This pattern of deliberate killings, described to Amnesty International by a doctor working for the Red Crescent, was repeated time and again in accounts provided not only by medical personnel working at several hospitals in Kuwait, but also by the relatives of victims and others who had witnessed

such killings. According to Amnesty International's assessment of the situation, hundreds of extrajudicial executions reported since 2 August were carried out in the manner described above. However, many other victims were said to have been executed by firing squad, sometimes in public, apparently without prior legal proceedings. Others, including infants, have been killed through the deliberate deprivation of essential medical treatment.

During the first few hours of the invasion, an unknown number of Kuwaiti military personnel were reported to have been killed in the context of armed clashes with Iraqi forces. In the ensuing month, many civilians who took up arms against Iraqi forces were killed in similar circumstances, and their numbers are also unknown. However, all the cases referred to below involve killings which, according to Amnesty International's information, clearly took place outside the context of armed conflict. The victims include both civilians and former military personnel who were unarmed at the time of their deaths, and who appear to have been deliberately targetted.

The majority of victims of extrajudicial executions brought to Amnesty International's attention have been Kuwaitis, but the organization has also received reports of the killing of other nationals, including Egyptians, Iranians, Pakistanis and one British national. Most of the Kuwaiti victims were males in their early 20s, although among them were minors below the age of 18. Some were as young as 15. With the exception of two cases mentioned later in this document, it does not appear that women have been killed in the same manner. Although Amnesty International has received reports of at least five women being lined up and shot in public, it has not been able to confirm this nor to obtain their names and details of the circumstances surrounding their deaths.

Again, as with those who have been arrested or who have "disappeared" in custody, it is impossible to ascertain with any real certainty or accuracy the number of people deliberately killed by Iraqi forces in Kuwait since 2 August. In the context of denials by the Iraqi Government of any knowledge of such atrocities, and having denied the International Committee of the Red Cross and journalists access to Kuwait, it is only possible to arrive at a general estimate. Based on the information it has received from a wide range of sources, including the scores of people it has interviewed, Amnesty International believes that the number of extra-judicial killings runs into hundreds, and may well be over 1,000. Incidents of such killings relate largely to the period mid-August to mid-October, although killings before and after that period have also been reported.

The range of 'offences' which have led to these mass deliberate killings is wide and varied. Apart from persons known or suspected of having participated in armed opposition,

others are reported to have been extrajudicially executed for reasons including: trying to flee Kuwait; possessing hunting rifles and other weapons of a 'non-military' type; giving medical treatment to suspected opposition activists; refusing to allow the removal of medical equipment from hospitals; 'neglecting' Iraqi patients requiring medical treatment; carrying large amounts of money; participating in peaceful demonstrations; carrying the Kuwaiti flag or photographs of the Amir of Kuwait; writing or distributing leaflets critical of the Iraqi presence in Kuwait; and refusing to publicly demonstrate allegiance to President Saddam Hussain. In a few cases, people have been deliberately killed as they were in the process of delivering food from the cooperative societies to peoples' homes.

There is no indication whatsoever, based on the information gathered by Amnesty International to date, that people arrested for these kinds of offences were actually formally 'charged' or received any form of trial prior to execution. On the contrary, some of them were apparently led to believe that they were to be released. The following is an extract from the testimony of a 19-year-old Kuwaiti student who survived an attempted execution by firing squad, and gave Amnesty International an account of what happened. He had been arrested on 11 September after failing to hand over to the Iraqi authorities arms he said he had possessed prior to the invasion. After a two-week detention period at a private house in al-Jahra', during which he was subjected to torture, he and other detainees were told that they were to be released:

> "...on the last day [ie. 24 September] at 2.30 in the morning, a captain came and told us that the President had ordered the release of all the detainees. [He] said that they were going to release us in groups, and called out the names of twelve people. I was one of them."

According to his account, they were taken to Dasman Palace where they were told they were going to be driven to their homes. The 19-year-old student and two other detainees [whose names below have been changed by Amnesty International to prevent identification] were led into a car:

> "We were all still blindfolded and handcuffed, but as we approached the district of al-Faiha' the soldiers removed Samir's blindfold so that he could direct them to his home. But when we arrived there, they told us all to get out of the car. Muhammad and I asked why, because we didn't live there. They made us get out of the car anyway, blindfolded Samir again and made us stand at the doorstep of a house. I realised at that moment that we were going

to be executed. I remember it was just after dawn prayers. The first shot was fired and I heard Samir fall to the ground. Two bullets grazed my head but neither of them penetrated my skull. I fell to the ground, and when Muhammad was shot he fell down on top of me. The soldiers then came up to us, took the blindfolds and handcuffs and went away. They must have believed we were all dead.

"My head was bleeding profusely. I crawled over to Samir and raised his head, trying to revive him. I thought he had been pretending, just like me. Then I saw the bullet hole in his head, and just at that moment he died. I couldn't believe what was happening. I went over to Muhammad and found him dead too. I managed to drag their bodies over to one side and recited a short prayer for them. Then I started walking. I didn't know where I was going, but I was afraid the soldiers would come back...."

He was able to get medical assistance, and fled Kuwait some three weeks later [his full testimony is reproduced in Appendix B].

As this student's testimony shows, and as described in Section 4 of this document, victims of extrajudicial killings were invariably also victims of torture. Many of the cases known to Amnesty International involved the suspects being arrested and detained for several days or weeks, during which time their families remained ignorant of their fate and whereabouts. The detainees were routinely tortured while in custody, and then publicly shot outside their homes after a member of their family had identified them. Two Kuwaiti brothers were arrested on 9 September after weapons and a pistol silencer were found at their home in the district of al-Nuzha. They were initially held at al-Kadhima Sports Club and then at the Iraqi Intelligence Centre in al-Jahra' municipality. The younger brother, an 18-year-old student, told Amnesty International that he was held for three days and tortured through constant beatings. Here he recounts what happened to his brother, who was aged 19 [the names of both brothers are withheld by Amnesty International]:

"My brother...had been held with me in al-Jahra', but they did not release him. He was held for 36 days and then, in mid-October, they brought him back to our house. When we saw him he was still alive. They threw him down on the doorstep and then shot him in the head with a gun fitted with a silencer. He was handcuffed at the time. We called an ambulance which took him to al-

> Amiri Hospital, but he was already dead. He had also been severely tortured. His feet were covered with blue bruises, and his body lined with marks caused by extensive beating. There was a deep hole in his thigh which appeared to have been caused by some sort of drilling tool. Electricity had been applied to parts of his body. Late that afternoon we buried him in al-Rigga cemetery. The Iraqis had earlier made it known that public mourning for the dead would not be permitted. Nevertheless, people came to our house to offer their condolences."

In other cases, Iraqi soldiers apparently did not wait for the detainee to be identified before killing him. Such was the case of another 18-year-old Kuwaiti student whose father, aged 53, told Amnesty International of the circumstances of his death [the names below have been changed to prevent identification]:

> "The Iraqis came four times to our house. They were searching for Kuwaitis who had been in the armed forces. I have seven sons, five of whom were in the army. My two younger sons are Hassan, a teacher aged 24, and 'Abdallah, a student aged 18. Since the invasion, Hassan had been working as a volunteer in the cooperative society in our district, and 'Abdallah was helping to bury the dead in al-Rigga cemetery. Each time the soldiers came, they searched the whole house. On the fourth occasion, which was on 16 September, they arrested Hassan and 'Abdallah. Before taking them away, the soldiers hit Hassan with a metal rod in his stomach until the skin was cut and he started to bleed. They threw 'Abdallah on the ground and stepped on him with their army boots. For eight days we knew nothing of their fate and whereabouts. Then, on the ninth day, they brought 'Abdallah back. It was eight o'clock in the morning, and I had just finished the morning prayers. I heard the doorbell ring, followed by two gunshots. I ran down and opened the door. I saw 'Abdallah lying down on the ground. His eyes were bound with a black cloth. He had been shot in the head and had died instantly. We took him to the cemetery for burial."

As mentioned earlier in this document, some of the 'offences' for which people have been extrajudicially executed by Iraqi forces had no connection whatsoever with membership

of the Kuwaiti armed forces, or with suspected acts of armed or even non-violent resistance. Reports received by Amnesty International indicate that these killings were arbitrary in the extreme, and that decisions to shoot were often taken on the spot by soldiers or officers without prior clearance from their superiors. A lecturer in political science at Kuwait University told Amnesty International about the killing of a male relative of hers in such circumstances:

> "During the first few days of the invasion, there was a lot of pressure on the bakeries to keep up supplies of bread to the people. On the fourth or fifth day my relative, who was 45, was queuing outside a bakery in al-'Umairiyya. An Iraqi soldier from the Republican Guards was also there. My relative could not control himself. He started shouting at the soldier, saying: "You have ruined our lives, why did you come?" The Iraqi soldier shot him dead there and then, in front of everyone."

In another incident, a Kuwaiti man was reported to have been killed in similar circumstances at a checkpoint, apparently for carrying Kuwaiti currency. The following is an eyewitness account of his execution given to Amnesty International by a Lebanese engineer working for the Kuwait Oil Company:

> "On 17 October I was on duty in the al-Ahmadi area near the main office of the Kuwait Oil Company. I was in my car. There was a man in front of me in a blue Mazda. He came to a checkpoint. I remember it was about 4pm because I was supposed to be on duty and I was already running late. I was thinking 'please don't let this guy be a Kuwaiti', because they really give the Kuwaitis hell. The soldiers took him out of his car. I opened the window of my car so I could hear what was going on. 'What's your nationality?' they asked him. 'I'm a Kuwaiti', he answered. 'Where's your wallet?'. As he was reaching for his wallet one of the Iraqis pushed him and pulled it out. They found Kuwaiti currency, 150 dinars. 'You've got that dog Jaber's money [referring to the Amir of Kuwait]'. The Kuwaiti was going to explain [why he had the money] when the soldier pushed him hard, making him stumble, and then he sprayed him with bullets with his machine gun. Within a few seconds a pickup truck drove up - they must have been waiting there, as if they knew. The Kuwaiti had fallen to the ground on his back. Three soldiers grabbed him

> like a rubbish bag and dumped him in the truck, and then disappeared. I asked one of the soldiers what had happened, and he said, 'the bastard had that dog Jaber's money'. He then asked me where I was from, so I told him I was Lebanese. He said, 'Don't worry, we'll free your country from the bloody Syrians, they're next...' I went to al-Ahmadi Hospital to look for the man whom they had killed, and then to al-'Addan Hospital where I asked if a body had been brought there. No one knew anything about it."

Information gathered by Amnesty International indicates that incidents of such killings, which began in earnest in mid-August, continued and increased in September and October. In addition to those detainees who were shot outside their homes after identification by relatives, others were reported to have been killed in police stations or other places of detention where they were held. One 32-year-old Kuwaiti office clerk told Amnesty International that a detainee held with him at al-Sulaibiyya police station in August was shot dead in front of him during a torture session [see Appendix A3]. In such cases, the bodies of the victims would invariably be thrown out onto the streets or dumped in rubbish bins. A former member of the Kuwaiti armed forces in his early 30s told Amnesty International that, prior to leaving Kuwait in mid-September, he had volunteered to collect bodies off the streets for burial. He stated that:

> "On average, about 20 or 30 bodies were found daily in the period starting beginning of September. In each district I covered I would find five or six bodies, although there were days when none were found. These districts included Bayan, Sabah al-Salem, Qurtuba, al-'Umairiyya and al-Rawda."

Passers-by who came across these bodies would also take them to one of the hospitals or to the cemetery. As the killings continued, however, people were said to have become too frightened to remove the bodies for fear that even this might be interpreted as an act of resistance. Instead, passers-by would contact the Red Crescent or call an ambulance. One of the Red Crescent's staff who left Kuwait in mid-October told Amnesty International:

> "After a while there were so many bodies that there was no more room at the morgue of the nearby Mubarak Hospital. We began putting some of the bodies in the large hospital refrigerators normally used to store food. Families would come looking for missing relatives in the morgues and refrigerators. Most of the bodies were

> buried in al-Rigga cemetery. We buried about 30 or 40 bodies in each grave."

A Kuwaiti doctor volunteering at al-'Addan and al-Ahmadi hospitals told Amnesty International:

> "A number of unidentified bodies remained in the morgues of several hospitals for a long period without anyone claiming them, to the point that the morgues were packed with bodies. This coincided with the fleeing of the cemetery employees and the necessity for each family to dig the graves of those it had lost. But some of the young men volunteered and took charge of the cemetery (washing the bodies, digging the graves and praying for the dead). Some Afghan workers were also hired to dig graves. Al-Rigga cemetery was used instead of al-Sulaibikhat cemetery, which had been turned into a military zone early on in the invasion."

The Red Crescent worker quoted above described later developments:

> "....towards the end of September/beginning of October, even the burial operations became risky. The Iraqis had stolen the equipment used for burial, even the shrouds used to wrap the bodies. Some of the volunteers who were in charge of digging the graves were arrested. Among them was.....[name withheld by Amnesty International]."

A former member of the Kuwaiti armed forces who left Kuwait on 12 October told Amnesty International that his brother had been one of the volunteer grave-diggers. Through him, he learned that on 7 or 8 October, Iraqi forces had taken control of al-Rigga cemetery. "After that", he said, "some families who took the bodies of their relatives for burial there were made to pay 100 Iraqi dinars for each body buried."

In addition to paying for the burial of these victims, reports were also received that some families had been made to pay for the bullets used to execute them. In one case, two Kuwaiti brothers aged 18 and 19 [names withheld by Amnesty International] were shot dead in front of their homes in al-Khaldiyya on 4 October after reportedly refusing to lower the Kuwaiti flag from their home. Their parents were asked to pay the price of the bullets used to kill them - in this case 15 Iraqi dinars each. In other cases reported, the sums of money being asked were 70 or 100 dinars per person. This practice of asking families to cover 'state expenses' for executions is common in Iraq and has been documented by Amnesty

International over a number of years. In some instances the sums of money requested have been as much as 500 Iraqi dinars, apparently to cover the costs of coffins and transportation of the bodies as well as ammunition. The practice of instructing the families of victims not to hold public mourning is also common in Iraq. According to reports received, Iraqi forces have tried to enforce such instructions in Kuwait since 2 August, apparently without much success.

CASE EXAMPLES

Below are the details of ten identified victims of extrajudicial executions who died in the period 8 August - first week of October. Accounts of the circumstances of these deliberate extrajudicial killings have been provided by eyewitnesses or people who subsequently saw their bodies, some of whom were interviewed by Amnesty International.

1. SANA' AL-NURI: a 25-year-old law student at Kuwait University. According to eyewitness reports, she was killed on 8 August when Iraqi troops fired at a group of some 35 women demonstrating peacefully in al-Jabiriyya against Iraq's annexation of Kuwait. Another woman in her mid-20s was also reported to have been killed in the same incident, as well as two boys aged 13 and 16 who died after being shot in the head and heart respectively.

2. DOUGLAS CROSKERY: a middle-aged British businessman who was shot dead by Iraqi soldiers on 11 August near the Kuwaiti border with Saudi Arabia as he was trying to flee the country. Two other British men travelling with him who did succeed in crossing the border stated that they had witnessed the killing. British Embassy officials in Kuwait lodged an official protest to the Iraqi Government over the incident, and made attempts to recover the body. The British Foreign Office has confirmed that Douglas Croskery's body has not been handed over to their officials to date.

3. MAHMOUD KHALIFA AL-JASSEM: a writer on Islamic affairs in his early 30s, living in the al-Salmiyya district of Kuwait City. According to information provided to Amnesty International by medical personnel of the Red Crescent, his body had been found in a rubbish bin and was brought to their headquarters at the end of August. Two doctors who examined his body stated that he had been tortured prior to execution: his beard had been plucked out, his toenails extracted and his body bore burn marks consistent with the use of a hot metal implement. The reasons for his arrest and execution are not known.

4. AHMAD QABAZARD: an employee of the Department for the Protection of Personalities (*Idarat Himayat al-Shakhsiyyat*)

of the Ministry of the Interior. He was a Shi'a Muslim in his late 30s, and held the rank of captain. According to reports received, he was arrested for the possession of opposition leaflets. In the first week of September (exact date unknown) he was brought back to his house in al-Jabiriyya. The house was reportedly set on fire by Iraqi soldiers, who then shot Ahmad Qabazard in the back of the head. Amnesty International interviewed two Kuwaiti men who stated that they had seen his body subsequently. According to their accounts, it had been badly mutilated: the left ear had been severed and the right eye gouged out; the finger and toenails had been extracted; his body was burned with cigarettes in several places; and nails had been hammered into his hands.

5. MUBARAK FALEH AL-NOOT: aged 44, Head of the al-'Ardiyya cooperative society and President of the Numismatics Society. According to several accounts, including those of eyewitnesses, he was publicly shot by firing squad outside al-'Ardiyya cooperative society on 7 September, apparently for refusing to take down a photograph of the Amir of Kuwait and to replace it with one of President Saddam Hussain.

6. SALEH HUSSAIN: age and profession unknown; he was arrested on 2 September at a *diwaniyya* in the al-Sabahiyya district of Kuwait City, together with seven other Kuwaiti men. According to reports received, he was brought back to his house on 8 September and publicly shot in the presence of his mother, brothers and neighbours. A medical doctor told Amnesty International that his body bore extensive burn marks consistent with the use of electricity and hot metal rods (on his back, stomach and hands). Cigarettes had also been extinguished on his body.

7. BADR RAJAB: age unknown, employed as an administrator with the al-Sabahiyya cooperative society. He was married and had eight children. His body was found in a rubbish bag in the al-Sabahiyya area on 8 September. According to reports received, his hands had been tied and his head wrapped in the flag of Kuwait. He had been shot twice in the head, just above the ear. The reasons for his execution are unknown; when arrested, he had just left his house, apparently to make arrangements for the setting up of a new bakery in the district.

8. ADEL DASHTI: age unknown, he was employed in the public relations department at al-'Addan Hospital. According to several accounts received by Amnesty International, on 9 September several wounded Iraqi military personnel were brought to the hospital for treatment, one of whom, an officer, died the same day. In retaliation, five of the hospital's administrative staff, including 'Adel Dashti, were reportedly lined up and shot on the hospital's premises. Iraqi military personnel had allegedly accused the hospital of neglect.

9. DR. ABD AL-HAMID AL-BALHAN: age unknown, he was the administrative director of the Hussain Makki Jum'a Centre for the Treatment of Cancer. His body was brought in off the streets to the Red Crescent headquarters in the third week of September. One Red Crescent doctor who saw his body told Amnesty International that it bore marks of torture as well as a bullet wound in the head. According to several doctors, he had been arrested and executed for refusing to cooperate with Iraqi forces in the removal of medical equipment from the centre where he worked. This is borne out by the account of a Kuwaiti family interviewed by Amnesty International, one of whose members had been receiving cancer treatment at the centre and was still there when Dr. al-Balhan was arrested. They reported that he had hidden some medical equipment in the centre's basement in order to prevent it being stolen by Iraqi troops.

10. DR. HISHAM AL-'UBAIDAN: an obstetrician in his late 30s working at the Maternity Hospital. His body was brought to the Red Crescent headquarters in the first week of October. According to accounts received, he had been arrested on 1 October after Iraqi forces learned that he had been treating people who had taken part in resistance activity. According to an Egyptian doctor interviewed by Amnesty International, Dr. al-'Ubaidan was shot outside his home several days later, and had been tortured while in detention, including with electricity.

In addition to killings by execution and torture described thus far in this document, a number of other deaths resulting from deprivation of medical treatment have been reported. These have occurred in the context of the widespread looting of medicines and medical equipment carried out by Iraqi forces in Kuwait since 2 August. According to information made public by Kuwait's government-in-exile, as well as by eyewitnesses, most of the principal general and specialist hospitals in Kuwait have been looted, with much of their equipment being transferred to Iraq. The majority of deaths reported in this context appear to have resulted from the non-availability of medical treatment, compounded by the exodus of medical personnel out of the country. Nevertheless, a number of other deaths have apparently resulted from the deliberate deprivation of medical treatment, including the disconnection of life-support machines from patients. On the basis of the information received, Amnesty International believes that such deaths are tantamount to extrajudicial killings. The victims are said to include both infants and adults.

The following is a general account of the situation in Kuwait's hospitals as described by a 33-year-old Kuwaiti banker who left the country on 16 September and was subsequently interviewed by Amnesty International:

> "Conditions in the hospitals are very bad. Medicines are no longer available. The Iraqis looted the hospitals and took away even vital machines which were keeping some of the patients alive. At some hospitals they no longer admit Kuwaitis, only Iraqis. Many Kuwaitis are afraid to go to the hospitals anyway. They are mostly treated in their homes by Kuwaiti, Egyptian and other doctors working as volunteers. We heard of several cases where patients died after being deprived of medical treatment. One woman died after the dialysis machine she was connected to was switched off and looted. Another woman at al-Sabah Hospital died in similar circumstances. She had just had a lung operation and was in the process of recovering."

In some cases, Kuwaitis were apparently denied medical treatment altogether. A number of medical personnel reported that when Kuwaitis were brought to the hospitals, Iraqi soldiers stationed there would check whether they were suffering from natural diseases or complaints as opposed to wounds sustained during armed clashes. In the latter cases the would-be patients were either not admitted or were subsequently denied treatment. One such example was provided by a Kuwaiti doctor who left the country on 16 September:

> "At al-Razi Hospital there was a young Kuwaiti man who was wounded and his condition was critical. His parents came to me and said that he was dying. So I ran to the wing [of the hospital to which he had been admitted], and I saw that his condition was indeed critical. I noticed that his oxygen supply had been cut off. So I switched it on again and he began to improve. I made a protest about his treatment, so one of the Iraqi doctors took me aside and [warned me against saying anything]. The following day the young man died because the oxygen supply had been switched off again."

Another Kuwaiti doctor provided information on the case of a detainee [name withheld by Amnesty International] who was ill at the time of his arrest and required constant treatment. As he was said to have been tortured while in custody, however, it remains unclear whether the immediate cause of death was torture or deprivation of medical treatment. The victim, a Kuwaiti aged 48, was an administrator at al-Fintas cooperative society.

> "He was arrested on 24 August just as he was leaving his house. During his detention at Iraqi intelligence headquarters in al-Fintas his relatives tried to convince the Iraqis of the importance of his taking medicines. But the Iraqis refused to pass on the medicines to him, and threatened to arrest his relatives if they asked about him again. Their reply was: "If he is alive you will find him, and if he is dead you will find him." He died on 26 August and was buried on 27 August without his family knowing about it. His body had been taken to al-Amiri Hospital and, according to the medical report, there were marks of torture on his stomach and back, and bruises on his forehead. He was buried in al-Rigga cemetery, where the young men [grave-diggers] identified him. His son and cousin identified him from a photograph at al-Amiri Hospital on 11 September, a day after they were themselves released from detention."

In other cases, Kuwaitis and other nationals suffering from natural but chronic complaints reportedly died after doctors were forced to give priority to Iraqi patients. A doctor working for the Red Crescent told Amnesty International:

> "In the early part of the invasion, the Iraqis prevented ambulances from taking wounded Kuwaitis to the hospitals. Eyewitnesses in hospitals reported that in some cases Iraqi soldiers ordered doctors to give priority treatment to fellow Iraqis at the expense of Kuwaiti and other patients. I know of two Kuwaiti men who died as a result of medical neglect in these circumstances...[names withheld by Amnesty International]. Both were under intensive care at al-Amiri Hospital. One of them suffered from a heart condition."

Several cases of this kind were reported to Amnesty International, the information in large part being provided by doctors working at the hospitals where the deaths occurred. Among the victims were three patients [names withheld by Amnesty International] who died after life-support machines had reportedly been disconnected and looted. Two of them suffered renal failure: a Jordanian woman and a Kuwaiti businessman at Hamad al-'Issa Centre for Kidney Transplants [part of al-Sabah Hospital]. The third case was that of a Kuwaiti woman under intensive care at the Cardiac Unit of al-Sabah Hospital and who died of cardiac arrest.

In addition, over 300 premature babies were reported to have died after Iraqi soldiers removed them from incubators, which were then looted. Such deaths were reported at al-Razi and al-'Addan hospitals, as well as the Maternity Hospital. According to a Red Crescent doctor:

> "Premature babies at the Maternity Hospital died after Iraqi soldiers took them out of the incubators. This happened in August, in the early days of the invasion. A total of 312 babies died in this way. I personally took part in the burial of 72 of them in al-Rigga cemetery."

Another doctor working at al-'Addan Hospital, whose brother was a volunteer grave-digger, reported that 36 premature babies were buried in one day alone in August. An eyewitness account of such deaths at al-'Addan Hospital was provided by a 15-year-old Kuwaiti girl, who testified before the United State Congressional Human Rights Caucus on 10 October:

> "The second week after the invasion, I volunteered at the al-'Addan Hospital... I was the youngest volun- teer. While I was there, I saw the Iraqi soldiers come into the hospital with guns, and go into the room where 15 babies were in incubators. They took the babies out of the incubators, took the incubators and left the babies on the cold floor to die. It was horrifying."

A Kuwaiti doctor working at al-Razi Hospital (quoted earlier on in this section) told of other cases he knew of:

> "There is a woman I know who for a long time did not bear children. This year she gave birth to quadruplets - three boys and a girl. The babies were put in incubators because they were born in the seventh month. Two hours after the birth, the woman was told to leave the hospital. The next day she received a telephone call from the hospital, telling her to come and take her babies. She said she could not take care of them as they needed special care and nutrition. So they said to her 'As you wish'. The woman rushed to the hospital and found her babies out of the incubators. She took them home, and the following day they died."

APPENDIX A: TESTIMONIES OF EIGHT TORTURE VICTIMS

TESTIMONY A1

A former interrogator in his early 30s, arrested on 22 September after being found in possession of a leaflet giving information on chemical weapons. He was detained for one week, principally at al-Farwaniyya police station in Kuwait City and subjected to beatings, kicking, burning of the skin and sexual torture.

"I was arrested on 22 September, just as my family and I had set off for Saudi Arabia. We live in Kifan. We were driving through al-'Umairiyya when we were stopped at a checkpoint. The Iraqis searched the car, and found a leaflet giving information about chemical weapons. They took me to al-'Umairiyya Primary School, where I was blindfolded and left for one day. Next day I was taken to al-Farwaniyya police station, where I used to work as an interrogator before the invasion. It was about 11.30am. I was blindfolded and handcuffed. Almost immediately they began hitting me, and I was subjected to beatings on the soles of my feet (*falaqa*). They burned my skin with a hot metal rod. The interrogator kept asking me about the leaflet found in my car, and I denied knowing anything about it.

The following day I was beaten once again. This time they used a cane, an electric cable and another wooden implement with which they hit me on my rib cage until one of my ribs was fractured. The soldiers also kicked me on the pelvis with their army boots. By that time my body was blue with bruises, and my nose was bleeding. Then they tied a string around my penis and asked me to "confess" as they pulled the string tighter. They threatened me with execution, and with the rape of my sister. Then one of the officers said, "Bring the bottle". They spread my legs and began inserting the top of the bottle into my anus.

In the evening they locked me up in a filthy cell on my own. The dishdasha I was wearing was covered with blood. There was also blood in my urine. I was left in the cell for three days, and then they took me to al-Jahra' police station. I was beaten there once again, and this lasted for about one hour and a half. An officer there threatened me with the electric chair (*al-Kursi al-Rajjaj*). After the torture came to an end, they forced me to insult the [Kuwaiti] government and to declare allegiance to Saddam. They told me I must cooperate with them, and I had to sign a statement to that effect before I was finally released."

TESTIMONY A2

A 17-year-old student arrested in early September after being found in possession of a gun and leaflets containing information on weaponry. He was detained for 36 days in several detention centres in Kuwait City and later in Basra and subjected to beatings, mock execution, *falaqa*, electric shocks and threatened with sexual torture.

[He was arrested by Iraqi special forces at a checkpoint at Khaitan Bridge, near Khaitan Sports Club, at 3pm in the afternoon. He was found in possession of a gun and 150 copies of a leaflet containing instructions on the use of rockets and explosives. The leaflet contained the official stamp of the Kuwaiti National Guard].

"They took hold of me quickly and began hitting me. They locked me up in the boot of my car for about half an hour, then they took me out and tied me up with a rope with my hands behind my back". [Several other military personnel then arrived.] "They put me back in the boot of my car and placed a tyre over my chest and took me to Khaitan police station. There, they took me out of the car and led me to an office where there were seven lieutenants. On the way to the office they kicked me and hit me with their hands. They threatened me with death and torture if I did not tell them where I had got the gun and leaflets and who my friends were. In the pockets of my trousers they found emblems used by the Iraqi Special Forces and the emblem used by the Iraqis on their hats. They asked me about who the members of the resistance were, and whom I had killed and where. I insisted on saying one thing, that I had got the emblems from some soldiers as a souvenir and that I came across the gun and leaflets by chance. I said I was passing by close to the National Guards building in al-Khaldiyya were I saw the gun and leaflets. They did not believe me. They had bound my eyes so that I could not see anything. The soldiers kicked me as they passed by me.

After that they removed the blindfold. The officer had with him four soldiers carrying their weapons, which were Kalashnikov machine guns. The officer told me, "Pray for your soul because you are going to be executed", and he gave orders to the four soldiers to load the guns and fire. They loaded, but when they pulled the trigger it turned out that the ammunition was blank. The officer told me to smile and that it was my luck that the ammunition was defective. He was laughing. They took me to a room where there were about fifteen Iraqi soldiers. [The officer] said to them, "He is the one who carried out yesterday's operation and killed our comrades". So they started beating me up, they kicked me, punched me and slapped my face and beat me with canes. This lasted from five o'clock until nine o'clock in the evening. I saw the clock pointing to nine in Abu Khaled's office. He is in charge of the police station and his rank is that of major. He asked me "How are you? Answer me regarding the gun and the

leaflets". I gave him the same answer, so he ordered them to take off all my clothes except for my shorts. Then he started hitting me with a black rubber stick, and every time I stepped away from him the other officers hit me with an electric baton.

After that they blindfolded me and hit me in the same way. Then they subjected me to *falaqa* on my feet until they turned blue. ... I was subjected to electric shocks for a brief period and I felt my body tremble and fell to the floor. I was able to see a little through my blindfold which was white and was raised a little over my eyes. [The officer] placed a wire on my nipple and stuck it on. Then he took hold of the other end and applied electricity four times. I lost consciousness, and when I came round I was being whipped. [The officer] then applied electricity to my toes while repeating "Confess and tell us what you know"... [Then one of them] came in and put a bottle of whisky on the table. They brought a bucket with a sponge in it... He gave orders to remove my shorts and to place the bottle in my anus. So I said I would confess .... and I repeated what I had said before. He asked me about the leaflets, and I said that I had seen the leaflets in my car but I did not know who was distributing them."

[He was then asked about named individuals and families, where they lived or where they could be found. He said he did not know. He was also asked about the locations of resistance activity. He gave the names of two districts where he knew there was no such activity].

"They told me that if I brought them an Indian or Filipino woman they would release me. They laughed among themselves and two of them carried me (for I was unable to stand up) back to the cell and gave me back my clothes which I put on... After three days they transferred me to a house [a private house belonging to a member of the al-Sabah family]... There were Indians and Kuwaitis with me. There was one guard standing over us. There were two women there, one was elderly and the other about 25 years old. At noon they took me to another place which I believe was the Iraqi Embassy in Kuwait... I was handcuffed and blindfolded. They asked me the same questions while beating me with a stick. I did not change my answers. They took me back to Khaitan police station and put me in the officers' room with them. They were laughing and making jokes. In the evening they transferred me to al-Farwaniyya police station... They told me it would only be for two days and then I would be released. The following evening after interrogation and beating they returned me to Khaitan police station... When we arrived at Khaitan they told me that I was to be released tomorrow and that they had my release papers, and in fact I saw these papers bearing my name. At midnight I was summoned by Abu Khaled, the head of the police station, who said to me that the statements I had made were not acceptable. He tore up the release papers...

They took me back to al-Farwaniyya and threw me back in the same room where I stayed four days... then they took us out of the room and brought in four Iraqi soldiers whose hair, eyebrows and moustaches had been shaved. The guards were beating them, saying that they were traitors and had brought shame upon their families. We were put in another room... for fifteen days and then they transferred four of us to the district of al-Jahra'... they beat us up for the whole day... they pierced our skin with pins... and forced us to dance... Then I was told, "You will be dead tomorrow. Write a letter to your family. What sort of execution do you want, electric, by shooting or by hanging?". A soldier said, "We have a new method which is the acid bath, or else we can knife them until they die..."

[Eventually] I was transferred with twenty others to Basra. They led us into a building and made us stand in the corridors... they subjected us to the worst forms of torture... there were four women there... I heard their screams and cries. After the interrogation and beating I was told that my name was not [registered with them]. So I stayed one day in Basra and then they transferred me back to the Municipality Building in al-Jahra' [in Kuwait]... and then they transferred me with 30 others to the Juveniles Prison [in the al-Firdos district of Kuwait]... In the Juveniles Prison there were 160 detainees, among them ... [names withheld by Amnesty International]. The charge against many of them was the distribution of food (meat and chicken) to the people. [After spending a further three days in the municipality building in al-Jahra'] they transferred us to *Muhafazat al-'Asima* where we were examined. I hid the traces of torture on my body in order to avoid being executed, because anybody who has clear traces of torture on his body or is suffering from permanent damage is executed. After the examination was over we had to give an undertaking to cooperate with the Iraqi authorities. Then I was released."

TESTIMONY A3

A 32-year-old office clerk arrested on 3 August as he returned home after buying foodstuffs from the local cooperative society. He was detained for five days at al-Sulaibiyya police station in Kuwait City and subjected to beatings and electric shocks, and was shot in the leg at point blank range.

"On 3 August, the second day of the invasion, I was supposed to take one of my children to the hospital in al-Farwaniyya for a check-up. When I arrived there I was prevented from entering. I tried to go to a pharmacy, but the roads were closed. In the afternoon I went to the cooperative society in our district to get some foodstuffs. On the way back to my home I was stopped by Iraqi soldiers. They took the milk and other food I had bought, blindfolded me and took me to al-Sulaibiyya police station.

When I entered the police station, I was taken into a room where about 70 Kuwaitis were held. There were young boys among them, below the age of 18. I recognized a friend of mine among them, and I understood that he had been arrested in circumstances similar to mine. Each detainee was interrogated individually. I was told to wait my turn.

There were three officers in the interrogation room when I went in. One asked the questions, another took notes and the third stood by the door, holding a gun. I was asked for my nationality card. Then the officer asked me, "Are you happy with the situation [ie, the situation in Kuwait] in which you find yourselves?" I replied : "Yes, we are fine". The officer then said, "We are here to help you in the uprising". When I replied that there had been no uprising, the officer standing by the door hit me on the head with his rifle. I was immediately taken to another room where I was subjected to torture for about one hour. They applied electricity to my fingers and genitals, and I was beaten with sticks. My friend whom I had seen earlier was brought into the room. One of the officers said "Execute them", but another officer replied, "No, only one of them". So they shot my friend there and then, in front of me. They shot me in my left leg. I received no treatment for the wound until my release five days later.

I was returned to a cell measuring 2 x 3 metres. Several Kuwaiti detainees were there, all of whom bore marks of torture. They gave us dry bread to eat. Five days later I was summoned again. I was told that if I tried to leave Kuwait I would be executed. I was asked to put my fingerprint on a piece of paper containing a prepared statement and then I was released. When I returned to my house I found that the Iraqis had stolen most of its contents. Apparently, in my absence, they had gone to the house and told my wife that I had decided to give away our possessions. When my wife objected, one of the Iraqis hit her. They took our furniture and even my wife's wedding ring. Eight days after my release, my family and I left for Saudi Arabia.

TESTIMONY A4

A 22-year-old student arrested on 24 August following house-to house searches in the al-Rawda district of Kuwait City. He was detained for eight days in al-Rawda and al-Farwaniyya police stations, and subjected to beatings, kicking, *falaqa*; cigarettes were extinguished on his body and his leg was slashed with a knife.

"I was arrested on 24 August. Iraqi soldiers were searching all houses in the area where I lived (al-Rawda) and arresting a number of men. It was a Friday and I was at home. They knocked on the door and when I opened it they arrested me. I was put in the back of a lorry together with others who

had been rounded up. We were not allowed to talk to each other. We were taken to al-Rawda police station. I was put in a cell measuring 3 x 5 metres together with eight other detainees. We were all blindfolded and our hands and feet tied. For a while I also had a rope put around my neck, and which was tied to the ceiling. We remained in the cell for two days, during which we were beaten by guards. Groups of four or five guards would enter the cell and start hitting us with their hands, and sometimes they kicked us with their heavy army boots. They threatened us with electrical torture. I knew one of the detainees in my cell. His name is ... [name withheld by Amnesty International], a Kuwaiti aged about 24. His father was a lieutenant in the National Guard. He was beaten very badly and suffered broken legs as a result. They only gave us bread to eat.

On Sunday morning I was taken to another room. Two Iraqis, both with the rank of captain, interrogated me. One of them asked the questions and the other tortured me. I was asked to name people who were active in the resistance. When I said I did not know anyone in the resistance, they threatened that they would arrest my two younger brothers (aged 14 and 15). One of them began beating the soles of my feet with a cane, and then he forced me to walk around the room. He also extinguished cigarettes on my upper left arm and on the left side of my chest, traces of which are still apparent. He also cut my left thigh with a knife.

After that I did not return to the cell. I was put in a car (a Toyota Saloon) and driven to al-Farwaniyya police station. I was put in a room which contained torture equipment. It was mainly electrical equipment, wires and electrodes like those used to recharge car batteries but smaller in size. I was told to sit down, and I was left alone for about one hour. I did not know what was happening, but I could hear screams from nearby rooms. There was a lot of blood on the floor, particularly in the corners of the room. After one hour I was taken to the airport. A Palestinian in the Iraqi army, with the rank of lieutenant, came with us. When we arrived at the airport an Iraqi officer took me to a toilet and said to me, "This is where Kuwaitis belong". I was made to stay in the toilet for about a quarter of an hour. Everything was broken. While waiting I noticed some discarded uniforms previously worn by Kuwaiti Airways stewardesses. I could hear the sounds of people screaming even here at the airport.

I was then taken to an office, where the Palestinian lieutenant and the Iraqi officer were seated. I was asked again about whom I knew in the resistance. I refused to give any information. The Iraqi officer then put a gun to my head and said while laughing, "You are about to die". They then brought a video camera, and gave me a piece of paper which contained statements against the [Kuwaiti] government. For example, it said that the government was corrupt and that the Kuwaiti people had been oppressed until their liberation by

Iraq. They told me to memorise the statement in preparation for filming. After the filming was over, they asked me to cooperate with them as an informer. I told them I could not do that if they used the film because the resistance would not trust me. They agreed not to use it and allowed me to telephone my family. My mother and brother came to the airport to collect me. The Iraqi officer and the Palestinian lieutenant came with us, and we dropped them off at al-Salmiyya police station. The Palestinian lieutenant told me to return to al-Farwaniyya police station that evening and bring him babies' milk. When I went there with the milk, I was detained for another two days. I was kept in an office, not a cell, and I was not tortured again.

After my release, I returned home. The Iraqis kept contacting me to make sure that I had not fled, and to threaten me that if I failed to cooperate with them they would arrest my family. They said they would also arrest me and take me to Fao. I managed to leave Kuwait almost three weeks after my release. At the Kuwaiti-Saudi Arabian border I was told to turn back, as no males were being allowed to leave. I gave one of the soldiers 100 Iraqi dinars and some cigarettes and he let me through."

TESTIMONY A5

A 38-year-old man arrested on 5 September after another detainee allegedly revealed that he was active in the armed resistance. He was detained for one week at the Kuwait General Staff headquarters in the al-Shuwaikh district of the city and later in Basra. He was subjected to beatings, mock execution, exposure to hot and cold temperatures, electric shocks and suspension from a rotating fan.

"I was arrested on about 5 September. A treacherous person in al-Jabiriyya informed about me. I was in the armed resistance. On the day of my arrest I was armed and travelling in one of the cars used by the resistance. I was alone. I was stopped at a checkpoint. One of the Iraqi soldiers asked me: "Are you ....[he mentioned my name]?". I realised that they knew about me and I drove away at top speed. The soldiers began shooting. At the next checkpoint there were about 30 soldiers. I did not stop and they pursued me. They fired in the direction of my car, as a result of which one of the tyres was punctured. The soldiers caught up with me and dragged me out of the car. They tied my hands and feet and blindfolded me with a piece of green cloth.

I was taken to the Kuwait General Staff headquarters in al-Shuwaikh, where the blindfold was removed. I was brought before an Iraqi captain. Without asking me any questions he started hitting me Karate-style, then he said, "Execute him". This was about 8 o'clock in the evening. I was beaten for about a quarter of an hour, and then taken into a courtyard

where I saw a firing squad consisting of three soldiers. An officer read out the charges against me: he accused me of treason against my country and of having stolen arms and ammunition. The soldiers then pointed their rifles at me; I was still without a blindfold. One shot was fired, deliberately missing me. The officer said, "Stop, the interrogation is not over".

They locked me up in a room for about one hour. Then I was taken to another room which had four air conditioning units. I was practically naked, wearing nothing except a *sirwal* [inner clothing]. They turned on the air conditioning and left me there for several hours, until dawn. Then they took me to another room which was very hot.

After that I was interrogated. They asked me questions about the resistance, they wanted information about the cells within the resistance, the names of activists, etc.. They also tried to force me to make statements against the (Kuwaiti) ruling family. I remained silent. At 7.30am the following morning, I was blindfolded and pushed into a car. During the drive I was occasionally beaten. When the blindfold was later removed, I found myself in Basra in Iraq. I was taken to a detention centre where both men and women were held. Almost immediately I was subjected to lashing with a whip. Then two officials brought me some food, which consisted of bread and tea, and they gave me a cigarette. One of them spoke to me in a brusque and harsh manner, the other was polite. The official who spoke harshly told me that I must confess to being a member of the National Guard, to being in the resistance, etc. He said that if I confessed, I would be given Iraqi nationality and if I didn't confess I would be executed within half an hour. Then he left the room. The polite officer then advised me not to confess. I replied that I had nothing to confess to. While this was going on I could hear the sounds of women screaming under torture.

After a while three men entered the room. One of them carried a bucket of very hot water. First they beat me up by using Karate blows until I lost consciousness. Then all three men lifted me up in the air and dropped me on the ground. My head hit the ground and my jaw broke as a result. By that time I was bleeding profusely and vomiting blood. At this point they immersed my head in the hot water about six or seven times, all the while ordering me to confess. I repeated that I would not confess. Then they left me unconscious. After several hours another group of men entered the room. One of them attacked me with a sharp implement, cutting my face and arms. Then they beat me with hosepipes and electric cables. After that they gave me two pills to swallow, which they called 'confession tablets'. These pills were supposed to calm me down, but they did not seem to have any effect on me.

Then they put me in a cell on my own. The room measured about 2 x 3 metres and had a small window. The following day

they tortured me with electricity. First they poured water on my body and then applied the electricity. Then they placed electrodes on my toes and genitals. I was taken for interrogation once again. Finally one of them said that there was no use in interrogating me further and that I was to be prepared for execution. However, they took me to another room which had a fan in the ceiling. I was turned upside down and my ankles were tied to the fan, which was then switched on. I spun around two or three times and then I was taken down. I was taken back to the cell and left alone for two days.

After that I was put in a car and driven back to Kuwait. I was taken to the *Mudiriyyat al-Amn al-'Amn* (General Intelligence Directorate), close to Nayef Palace, which is now a detention centre. I was made to sign various papers and was then released. After my release I was warned by various people that I was under surveillance and that I would be re-arrested and executed. So I fled Kuwait and went to Saudi Arabia."

TESTIMONY A6

A man in his 30s arrested twice, in the third week of August and later on 20 September and accused of being a member of the Kuwaiti armed forces and of having participated in opposition activities. He was held for four days in a school and at al-Jahra' police station in Kuwait City, and subjected to beatings, kicking, electric shocks and the placing of heavy weights on his body.

"I was first arrested during the third week of August, in a residential area. It was in the middle of the day, about 12 o'clock. I was alone in my car, and I was stopped by soldiers. They ordered me out of the car and accused me of being in the resistance. They took me to a school which had been turned into a military barracks. I was taken into a large hall, where I saw about 100 Kuwaiti detainees. All were men and were hardly wearing any clothes. They were surrounded by guards.

The following day I was taken to the police station, where I was tortured. Three officers interrogated me. They asked for my personal details. I was kicked and beaten with a rifle butt. They accused me of being in the army and in the resistance. The interrogation session lasted for several hours. Then they took me to another room, where they applied electricity to my hands, feet and genitals. I fainted as a result of the electric shocks. I was then interrogated once again. They asked me the same questions. One of them punched me in the mouth with his elbow, and one of my teeth broke as a result.

They took me to a large cell, where I was held on my own. The beating continued intermittently throughout the day and

night. I was beaten particularly on my back. The soldiers stepped on me with their heavy army boots and they placed heavy weights on my body. The following morning one of the officers came to fetch me. He gave me a cigarette and then told me to start walking. I thought he was going to shoot me since he was carrying a machine gun. He told me to go to the bathroom, where I found a friend of mine. He had paid a sum of money in exchange for my release. I left the police station with him.

My second arrest was on 20 September. I was held for six hours. I was arrested in al-Jahra', again as I was driving a car. They interrogated me again, asking the same questions as before. I was beaten and insulted. I was released in exchange for a sum of money. Two others detained with me were released in the same way.

TESTIMONY A7

A 23-year-old student arrested around 22 September after returning to Kuwait to assist his family in fleeing the country. He was detained in several detention centres in Kuwait City and later in Basra. He was subjected to beatings, whipping, exposure to cold air and to the sun for prolonged periods, and electric shocks.

"I was not in Kuwait when the invasion occurred, but went there in order to get my family out. I was arrested in mid-September, in al-Salmeh district. First I was taken to 'Ali al-Salem [military] base, close to the border with Saudi Arabia, where I was left on my own for about three hours. No one talked to me. Then I was taken to *al-Liwa' al-Sades* [military base on the al-Jahra' road]. I was put in a room where the air-conditioning was switched on. They left me there overnight without a blanket, and I was shivering from the cold. I was not given any food. The following day I was interrogated. They asked me to tell them where the American forces were stationed, where the resistance in Kuwait was based, etc. I was being interrogated on my own, but after it was over they took me with two other detainees to the Iraqi Embassy in Kuwait City. We were taken in an open car, accompanied by two soldiers. At the embassy we were left for three hours in the sun, without food or water. Then an officer arrived and took us back to *al-Liwa' al-Sades*. From there we were taken to Basra in a lorry loaded with goods stolen from Kuwait. These were mainly refrigerators and office equipment.

In Basra we were taken to the offices of the Iraqi *Istikhbarat* [Intelligence]. As soon as we entered we were blindfolded. The Iraqis started whipping and beating the three of us. They took us down some stairs into a basement. Although I was blindfolded, I managed by looking downwards to see scores of detainees who were also blindfolded and

handcuffed. The three of us who arrived together were put in a cell measuring 3 x 4 metres, together with about 25 other detainees. These detainees, from what I could gather, were all Iraqi civilians. One of them, aged 18, had been tortured with electricity. Another one had had his skin pierced with pins. We could hear cries and screams all the time. The whole basement was stifling - there was no ventilation whatsoever. We were constantly beaten. The food we were given was foul, and the water was warm and salty. We were allowed to go to the toilet once a day only.

I remained in that cell for about one week. Then I was summoned for interrogation. I was taken upstairs, blindfolded and handcuffed. One person interrogated me, and another person whipped me. The questions were mainly related to the specific locations of American forces in Saudi Arabia and the centres of resistance in Kuwait. The interrogation lasted about five minutes. Then I was taken to another room, still blindfolded and handcuffed. I was subjected to electric shocks on my right ear and chest.

After that I was transferred by bus to an ordinary prison. The drive took about 15 minutes. I was told I had to pay the bus fare, which I did with the little money I had on me. I was held in a large hall, where there were hundreds of detainees. I remained in the prison for seven or eight days, and then 32 of the detainees were summoned for trial. I was one of them. We were taken to another building which had a sign on the outside saying 'Basra Court'. We sat in a waiting room, and then each of us was brought before a judge individually. I didn't know whether he was really a judge, but the sign on the door of his office said 'The Judge'. He wore civilian clothes. There was also an officer in the room, taking notes. I was before the judge for three minutes altogether. He asked me for my name and why I had returned to Kuwait. The charge against me was entering the country illegally (when I was first arrested I was accused of espionage). Then the judge asked me to sign a statement, the contents of which I was given no opportunity to read. He warned me that if I was caught again I would be executed. I was taken back to the waiting room while the other detainees went through the same process. When it was over, we were taken back to the prison, where they gave us back our identity documents and released us. A few of us took a taxi as far as Safwan, and from there entered Kuwait."

TESTIMONY A8

A 31-year-old man arrested on 14 September at his home during a *diwaniyya* . He was detained for three weeks at al-Farwaniyya and al-Jahra' police stations as well as a private home in Kuwait City, and later in Basra. He was subjected to beatings, electric shocks, mock execution, was forced to watch

his relatives being tortured and was himself tortured in front of them.

"At 2.30am 45 soldiers broke into my house. As well as my own family, my father and brothers and my in-laws were there. We were twelve in all: eight Kuwaitis, three Indians and one Yemeni [names withheld by Amnesty International]. The soldiers separated the men from the women and made the men lie on the floor face down with their hands above their head. The house was searched and a picture of the Amir was found, as well as the Kuwaiti flag. We were told this was a capital offence. They took the men in a bus and confiscated the cars. They also took our jewellery, watches and money.

They took us to al-Farwaniyya police station and put us into two cells. At 9pm the next evening the interrogation began. We were blindfolded and handcuffed behind the back before interrogation. We were accused of being in the resistance. There was usually one interrogator and two guards present. The interrogator said he was not convinced by our answer which was denial of involvement. After 15 minutes, the beatings began. They tied a wire to my two middle fingers and an electric current switched on for 4 to 5 seconds. The same questions were again repeated. My father was then called in. I was forced to watch him being kicked and beaten by a lieutenant called Hani. Then they called in my son. I was beaten in front of him in order to get him to confess. This went on from 9 o'clock until 1.30 in the morning.

I was returned to my cell. I was unable to lie on my back for two days. Interrogation continued twice daily at 11am and 2.30am. They used a nylon hose to beat us because it does not leave any permanent marks. I was prodded with an aluminium stick which had an electrified end. On the third day they threatened to bring in my wife and beat her in front of me. My brother-in-law was subjected to *falaqa*.

In all there were about fifty people in the two cells at al-Farwaniyya. We had very little food, and we were allowed to go to the toilet only twice a day. After seven days they subjected me to mock execution. The interrogator put a gun to my head and pulled the trigger. He then put it into my mouth and pulled the trigger again. I was then forced to sign papers based on my interrogation. On Monday at 4pm we were taken in three cars to al-Jahra' police station. We were put in one cell - eight of us plus four others (the three Indians and the Yemeni had been released). We were told not to speak to each other.

Interrogation began at 9pm. There were no beatings, just questions about previous statements. Next day I was called in at 11am, blindfolded. The blindfolds were removed - I could see cane sticks and electric wires. I was told to confess, and when I refused I was beaten with the sticks. After two days the rest of the family was released. Next day I signed various papers and was taken in a bus with seven others to a

house in al-Jahra' district. It was about 6pm. We were taken down to the basement. This house seemed to be a security centre. The guards wore civilian clothes, not military. There were about 15 prisoners - four of them Palestinians. The guards beat us they passed by. After five hours they moved us into cells. There were three cells on the ground floor holding 85 prisoners - 35 in one and 25 in each of the two others.

Food was rare. We were allowed to go to the toilets twice daily. Beatings were continuous. Sick people were seen by a doctor who came every two or three days to give tranquilisers. We were interrogated twice daily in a separate room. The guards had electrified sticks and used them to wake up the prisoners throughout the night, according to their mood. We were usually interrogated by seven people, each session lasting about half an hour, followed by a one hour torture session. They beat us with hoses and applied electric shocks with their sticks.

At the end of the week I was taken with eight other detainees [names withheld by Amnesty International] in a bus to Basra. First we were taken to *Sijn al-Amn al-Siyassi* (State Security Prison). There were many Iraqis held there, mostly members of *al-Da'wa al-Islamiyya*. On the first day I was held in solitary confinement. They tortured me by pulling out a toenail from my right foot, extinguishing cigarettes on my hand, and applying electricity to my body using wires as well as an electric prod. The next day I was put in a cell with 14 other detainees. One died of a heart attack, he was given no medical help. I was interrogated once daily. After eight days I was forced to sign various papers, the contents of which I had not seen, and taken back to al-Jahra' on my own. I stayed there for six hours, and then I was handed over to my father. I had lost over 20 kilos in weight."

[His wife told Amnesty International of how soldiers came to their house the day after his arrest and beat her up along with their two daughters, in order to force them to confess that he was involved in opposition activities. They put a gun to the head of one of her daughters and threatened to shoot her. Then they slapped her and threw her to the ground.]

APPENDIX B: TESTIMONY OF A SURVIVOR OF AN ATTEMPTED EXECUTION

TESTIMONY B

A 19-year-old student arrested on 11 September after failing to hand over weapons to the Iraqi authorities. He was detained for two weeks at a private house in al-Jahra' and subjected to torture. He survived an attempt to execute him by firing squad on 24 September [the names below have been changed to prevent identification]:

"I was arrested on 11 September. The Iraqis first came looking for me at my home in the district of al-Rawda, but I was not there. I was at a *diwaniyya* in a nearby house. So the soldiers came there and arrested me and another person. First they took me to al-Kadhima Sports Club, where I remained for about two hours. Then they took me to a private house in al-Jahra', where I was held for two weeks. I was put in a room with other detainees. We were 32 altogether in that room, but I estimate that there were about 120 detainees in the whole house. They were all males of varying ages. There were young boys aged 14 or 15, and men as old as 80.

For the first days I remained in that room. I was handcuffed and blindfolded the whole time, as were all the others. They gave us no food. There was even nothing to lean on to rest my body. I was not interrogated during those three days, but we were all subjected to constant beatings and kicking by the guards. They used to come into the room and threaten us: either you confess, or else we have 22 officers here in this house to deal with you. Then after three days I was called for interrogation. The Iraqis had found weapons in my home, which I had had before the invasion. They repeatedly asked me why I had failed to hand over the weapons to them. During the interrogation I was blindfolded and beaten repeatedly. Then I was handcuffed and suspended by the hands from the ceiling. After that they applied electricity to various parts of my body, including my chest. Apart from questioning me about the weapons, they also asked if I knew any foreigners and where they were hiding. Also, if I knew of the whereabouts of any diplomats, members of the armed forces and members of the al-Sabah family. They asked me about specific individuals whom they named. I didn't know any of them except for one, who was a major in the Kuwaiti army, but I did not reveal that to them.

I was interrogated several times over the next four days. It was always the same questions and the same torture. If I said anything which contradicted what I had said in an earlier interrogation session, the torture would become more severe. In the final week of my detention, there was no more interrogation, but the usual beating of all the detainees continued. Then, on the last day [ie. 24 September] at 2.30

in the morning, a captain came and told us that the President had ordered the release of all the detainees. Some of the detainees in the room with me, especially the old men, thanked him. The captain said that they were going to release us in groups, and called out the names of twelve people. I was one of them.

They blindfolded us and tied our hands behind our backs. We were taken onto a bus and then driven to another place, where two more people boarded. Then they took us to Dasman Palace. I knew we were because one of the other detainees was able to see a little from below his blindfold. At Dasman Palace we remained on the bus for about half an hour. Then an officer came and told us we were going to be taken to our homes. I was led into a car with two other detainees, Samir, a 23-year-old officer who lived in the district of al-Faiha', and Muhammad, aged 23 or 24, who lived close to me in al-Rawda (I don't know his profession).

We were all still blindfolded and handcuffed, but as we approached the district of al-Faiha' the soldiers removed Samir's blindfold so that he could direct them to his home. But when we arrived there, they told us to all get out of the car. Muhammad and I asked why, because we didn't live there. They made us get out of the car anyway, blindfolded Samir again and made us stand at the doorstep of a house. I realised at that moment that we were going to be executed. I remember it was just after the dawn prayers. The first shot was fired and I heard Samir fall to the ground. Two bullets grazed my head but neither of them penetrated my skull. I fell to the ground, and when Muhammad was shot he fell down on top of me. The soldiers then came up to us, took the blindfolds and handcuffs and went away. They must have believed we were all dead.

My head was bleeding profusely. I crawled over to Samir and raised his head, trying to revive him. I thought he had been pretending, just like me. Then I saw the bullet hole in his head, and just at that moment he died. I couldn't believe what was happening. I went over to Muhammad and found him dead too. I managed to drag their bodies over to one side, and recited a short prayer for them. Then I started walking. I didn't know where I was going, but I was afraid that the soldiers would come back. I was looking for someone to help me, but it was dawn and the streets were empty. I started feeling faint, so I went up to a house and knocked on the door. No one answered, but the door was not locked and I went in. As I was looking for a telephone an old man and three women came out of one of the rooms. The man asked me what I wanted, so I told him what had just happened. At first he didn't believe me. I told him where the two bodies were, and he went to look for himself. When he came back he said I could stay with them.

I stayed for three days. One of the old man's daughters was a nurse, and she treated me as best she could. Then I

called my family and my father came to collect me. I learned that, in my absence, he had been looking for me. After paying a sum of money to an Iraqi officer at a police station in the 'Abdallah al-Salem district, he was told that I had been executed. My father had then gone looking for my body in the hospitals. At Mubarak Hospital he found my name on a list of executed people. So my family naturally thought I was dead, and they were receiving mourners at our home. They couldn't believe I was still alive. I found them at home crying.

Of course I couldn't stay with them at home, in case the Iraqis found out that I was still alive and came after me again. So I went into hiding until, some three weeks later, I was able to leave Kuwait ..."

APPENDIX C: EXTRACTS FROM MEDICAL REPORTS

The information below relates to Photographs 1 to 9 in Appendix D. It consists of extracts from a) a medical report from a British doctor with experience in the examination of victims of torture and, b) the written medical opinion of a prominent British forensic pathologist.

PHOTOGRAPHS 1,2 AND 3

These are photographs of the bodies of three unidentified persons. The bodies were found in the streets of Kuwait City and brought to the headquarters of the Red Crescent in the period late August/early September. Amnesty International interviewed the doctor who took these photographs. He stated that the victims had been tortured (beaten and burned) prior to their execution. There was no autopsy examination. The following is the medical opinion of the British forensic pathologist:

Photograph 1
There is clearly a lot of blood soaking the body which has most likely arisen from either a wound to the head, neck or chest. A striking feature of the photograph is the dark staining of the hands which may represent oil (or a similar substance) or alternatively burns.

Photograph 3
This is a view of the top of the head together with the forehead. There is an obvious gaping wound which extends from the left side of the forehead, just in front of the hairline, backwards towards the top of the head. The scalp is torn open in the front half of the wound and beneath it can be seen white skull. The back half of the wound shows loss of scalp and skull and there is brain tissue hanging out. Over the forehead at the front end of the wound it has an arc shape and from this the main wound which is linear passes backwards. I interpret this as most likely a tangential gunshot wound which has barely penetrated the skull. The arc shape at the front of the wound is likely to be the entry and, running backwards from this, the bullet has merely penetrated the scalp; then in the most posterior part of the wound it has also penetrated the skull and torn the brain. It is not possible to say what the range of fire was other than that it was either a contact wound or fired from a range of greater than 1m. There are clearly some marks to the face but it is impossible to say whether these are injuries or dried blood stains.

PHOTOGRAPHS 4 TO 7

These show the traces of torture still apparent on the bodies of three Kuwaiti men [identities withheld] who fled to Saudi Arabia in late September. No medical report has been

provided. The following is the medical opinion of the British forensic pathologist:

Photograph 4
The man in this photograph shows prominent bruising to the right side of the forehead and the right eye which might either represent a fall or a blow. The most significant injuries from the point of view of interpretation are those to the right upper arm and adjacent right chest. These comprise at least three and possibly four loop shaped injuries made up of two parallel lines (similar to curving railway lines in appearance). This is a forensic classic and is produced by blows from a rope or electrical flex or similar object which has been doubled up to form a loop. There is no doubt therefore that this man has been assaulted. It is significant that the three or four blows are very localised to the outside of the right shoulder since this implies that he was not moving in an attempt to escape the blows at the time they were struck. This might imply that he was unconscious or semi-conscious as a result of his head injury or alternatively that he was in some way physically restrained or that he was psychologically restrained by fear. The injuries appear fresh and are likely to be only a few days old.

Photograph 5
This appears to be the back of the same man as in photograph 4. There are irregular purple bruises over the left shoulderblade area. These are blunt force injuries produced either as a result of a fall or one or more blows.

Photograph 6
This man has extensive healing injuries to the face particularly involving the right side of the forehead and right cheek together with the right upper eyelid and the bridge of the nose. There appear to be some minor scabs over the left cheek. There are surgical sutures in the wounds and this together with the general appearance suggests that the injuries are less than two weeks old at the time of photography. Healing injuries are difficult to interpret but the appearances suggest a series of lacerations ie tears to the skin produced as a result of blunt force. In practice this means that of either a fall or blow. The pattern of injuries would be consistent with either a very heavy fall onto the nose and right side of the face or alternatively a series of blows with a blunt object, for example a baton or a riflebutt.

Photograph 7
This elderly man shows some small irregular scabbed injuries to the inside of his right elbow. One of these appears to have prominent puckering of the skin around the margin which is common in the healing of skin injuries where there has been a loss of surface tissue. The original injuries are likely to have been abrasions or lacerations, ie. scrapes or tears of the skin produced by blunt force trauma, ie. either through a fall or a blow. This would be an unusual location for an

injury produced in a fall although the possibility cannot be discounted.

PHOTOGRAPH 8
This shows traces of torture on the arm of a 22-year-old Kuwaiti student whose testimony appears in Appendix A4 of this document. The victim was examined by a British doctor on 9 November, and the following are extracts from his medical report:

ON EXAMINATION
There are nine 1cm circular scars, recently healed, arranged in a cluster on the outer aspect of the left upper arm. There is a single similar one on the adjacent area of the left chest.
There are two tiny, recently healed scars on the outer aspect of the left arm and a single one on the right arm.
There is a recent 2cm transverse linear scar on the front of the left thigh and a similar 1cm scar close by.

COMMENTS
He states that the nine circular scars on the left arm and the single one on the chest were caused deliberately by cigarettes.
He attributes the tiny recent scars on both arms to scratches inflicted during interrogation, the scabs of which have only recently finally separated.
He states that the recent linear scars on the left thigh were inflicted deliberately with a razor blade.

OPINION
The circular scars on the left arm and chest are characteristic of cigarette burns. Their appearance is of injuries which have healed only a few weeks ago. Their distribution in a symmetrical cluster-pattern could only have been deliberate. I have no hesitation in asserting that they were inflicted deliberately by cigarettes within the past three months.
The tiny scars on both arms are compatible with scratch-marks which have recently healed. Their appearance fits his story.
The two linear scars on the left thigh are clearly recent and would fit in with his statement that they were caused by a razor blade.

PHOTOGRAPH 9
This shows the facial view of a 28-year-old Kuwaiti man [identity withheld], the victim of an attempted extrajudicial killing interviewed by Amnesty International. According to his testimony, Iraqi soldiers shot him on 24 August as he had just finished distributing food from the local cooperative society to peoples' homes. He stated that soldiers started firing at him as soon as they saw him, and he ran away. One of the bullets penetrated his neck, exiting at the mouth. He suffered serious damage to the jaw and was fortunate to survive. He was admitted to Mubarak Hospital for preliminary

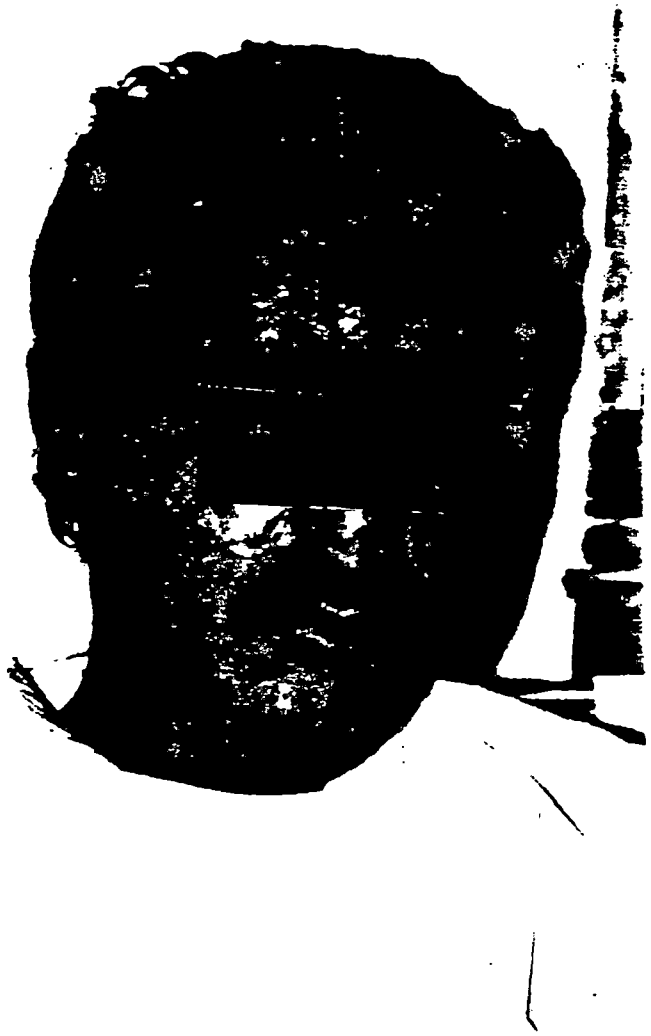
treatment, and subsequently underwent surgery at a hospital in Saudi Arabia. The following are extracts from the written medical opinion of the British forensic pathologist, based on three photographs provided by Amnesty International:

"There is a circular scar on the back of the neck on the left side consistent with the description given as a bullet wound inflicted one and a half months previously. It is impossible to say with certainty that it is a bullet wound but if it is then it is likely an entry wound. A wound in this site would not necessarily strike the spinal column and, depending upon direction of the wound track, not necessarily be lethal... The obvious lesion is to the left lower face where their is a healing injury with loss of the left half of the lower lip and a large scarred area involving the left side of the chin. A part of this scarred area shows the absence of a beard. There is also a scar passing in an arc shape from the lateral margin of the left nostril around the left cheek to the point of the chin on the left side... [This] apparently shows small dots along its margin which likely represent surgical suture marks suggesting that whatever the underlying condition this man has had surgical treatment. It is not possible to state conclusively that this damage to the lower face was the result of trauma rather than natural disease. However taken together [with the other photographs examined, the injuries shown in this photograph] would be consistent with a gunshot entry to the back of the neck on the left side with an exit through the left side of the face and resultant disruption of the face probably including the jaw, which was then repaired surgically."

The organization subsequently received his medical records, which confirmed the nature of his injuries.

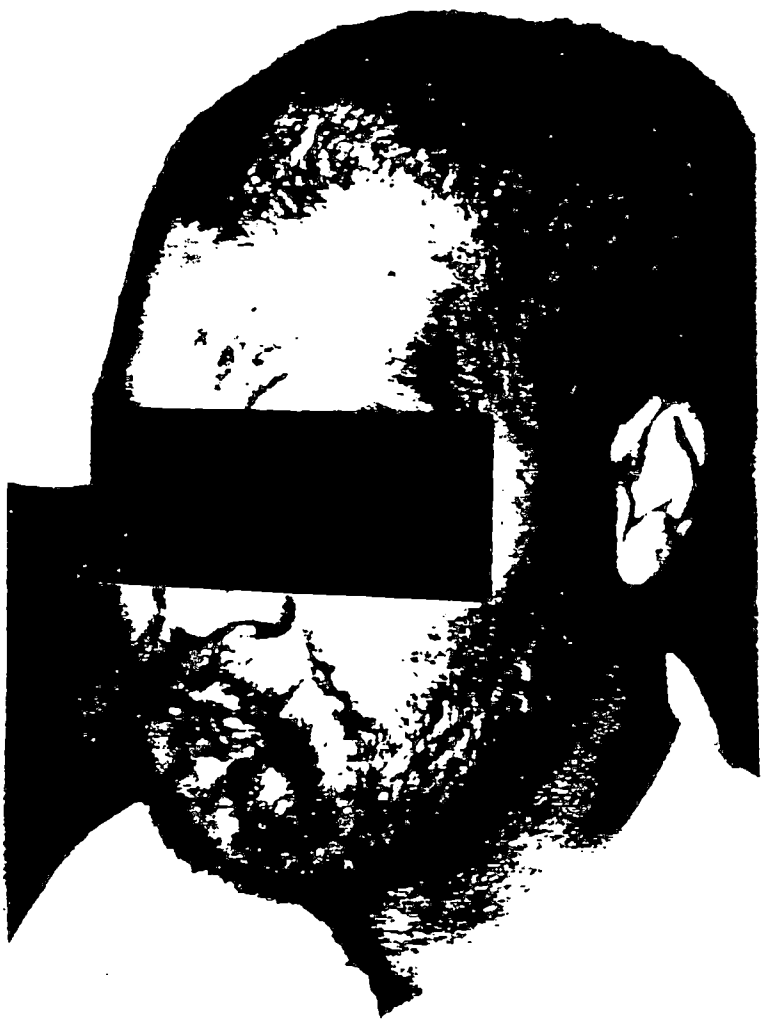
APPENDIX D: PHOTOGRAPHS OF VICTIMS OF TORTURE AND EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTION

1



6

8



10. The body of a man said to be an Iraqi soldier executed for looting on 16 August. This body was publicly hung from a crane in Kuwait City.

APPENDIX E

EMBASSY OF THE
REPUBLIC OF IRAQ
21 QUEEN'S GATE,
LONDON SW7 5JG

STATEMENT BY THE IRAQI EMBASSY

Once more, Amnesty International has resorted to its unenviable lip-service in matters related to Iraq. Perhaps, what is most regrettable on this occasion is that the end product of its service concerns a country where the entire population is now the victim of illegal armed embargo on all necessities for their livelihood, including food and medicine with the intention of starving its people and exposing their children to diseases. But our past experince with the Amnesty shows that no humane motives towards Iraq could have galvanized Amnesty into action.

However, we find it regrettable that under the present circumstances in the concerned area any outsider would have the audacity to give credibility to todays so called report by Amnesty International.

Yet, on our part, we renew our advise to the Amnesty on the need to approach an official Iraqi representation and examine their so called " testimonies" as one-sided stories would only further expose the intentions of those involved in this lip-service by the Amnesty . The opportunity to witness the situation on the ground remains open for the Amnesty. Absence of representative officers of the Amnesty and lack of evidence to its reports on Iraq renders its recent report an embarassment to the practice of reporting, and Amnesty itself is in no better position in this regard.

LONDON, October 3, 1990

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release February 13, 1991

FACT SHEET

DESERT SHIELD

CY 1990 Foreign Commitments to the United States

- The degree of cooperation and responsibility sharing among the coalition partners is remarkable. The commitments of our partners towards Desert Shield costs (see table) are strong testimony to the solidarity and the resolution of the coalition.
  - For 1990, commitments totaled $9.7 billion or 88 percent of incremental U.S. costs of $11.1 billion incurred between Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2 and the end of the year.
  - Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and UAE are covering 62 percent of the costs; Germany, Japan, and Korea 26 percent.
- Over 70 percent of the foreign commitments is in cash; specific U.S. Central Command requests for in-kind contributions account for the remainder.
  - In-kind assistance from the Gulf countries consists of food, fuel, water, facilities, and transport for U.S. forces.
  - Japanese in-kind assistance consists of equipment, including purchase of U.S. made products - computers, vehicles, and construction equipment.
  - German in-kind assistance includes equipment, e.g. chemical detection vehicles, heavy equipment transporters.
- As of February 7, $7.1 billion of the $9.7 billion in foreign commitments had been received; $5.3 billion of that was in cash. The remaining $2.6 billion should be received soon, primarily in the form of cash reimbursement.

- more -

- For instance, over $1 billion in future receipts from Saudi Arabia will cover the costs of enroute transportation since the start of the second deployment (November 8, 1990). DoD will provide Saudi Arabia a statement of costs soon, which is necessary before the Saudis can provide reimbursement.

- The remaining Saudi commitment will cover in-theatre expenses for food, building material, fuel, and other support, once DoD provides its aggregated expenses.

- U.S. Central Command has informed Germany, Japan, and Korea of requirements for in-kind support. These countries have agreed to provide this support, which is in the process of being delivered.

# # #

DESERT SHIELD: CY 1990 FOREIGN COMMITMENTS TO THE U.S. 1/

(Millions of U.S. Dollars)

	Commitments	Receipts			Future Receipts
		Cash 2/	In-kind	Total	
GCC STATES	6,845	4,136	971	5,107	1,738
SAUDI ARABIA	3,339	766	854	1,620	1,719 3/
KUWAIT	2,506	2,500	6	2,506	0
UAE	1,000	870	111	981	19 3/
GERMANY	1,072	272	568	840	232 4/
JAPAN	1,740 5/	866	206	1,072	668 4/
KOREA	80 6/	50	11	61	19 4/
OTHERS	3	0	3	3	0
TOTAL	9,740	5,324	1,759	7,083	2,657

U.S. Share of CY 1990 Incremental Costs	1,354

Total CY 1990 Incremental Costs	11,094

1/ Data compiled by OMB. Sources of data: Commitments for August - December 31 -- Defense, State, Treasury; Cash received--Treasury; Receipts and value of in-kind assistance -- Defense; Total cost for August - December 31 -- Defense.

2/ $1 billion has been released from the Defense Cooperation Account to Defense in accordance with the FY '91 Appropriations Act.

3/ Reimbursement from Saudi Arabia and UAE awaiting bill from Defense. Saudi cash reimbursement includes enroute transportation through December for the second deployment and in-theater expenses for food, building materials, fuel, and support.

4/ In-kind assistance from Germany, Japan, and Korea. Orders made and receipt of goods expected soon.

5/ Japan pledged $260 million to other coalition forces for total contributions of $2 billion.

6/ Korea pledged $15 million to other coalition forces for total contributions of $95 million.

2/07/91

EDITORIAL

BY DAVID GERGEN
EDITOR AT LARGE

THE BARBARITIES OF HUSSEIN

As part of his propaganda war with the United States, Saddam Hussein has flung open the doors of hospitals in Baghdad to put hungry babies on display for American television cameras. But he has systematically barred Western journalists from a peek into hospitals in Kuwait. He has his reasons, it turns out.

Secret U.S. government cables, obtained by *U.S. News,* reveal shocking acts of brutality practiced by the Iraqis against innocent citizens at Kuwaiti hospitals. The cables are based upon eyewitness accounts from Kuwaiti doctors and others traumatized by what they have seen. Among their allegations:

■ On the sixth day of their invasion, Iraqi soldiers reportedly entered the Adan Hospital in Fahaheel looking for hospital equipment to steal. They unplugged the oxygen to the incubators supporting 22 premature babies and made off with the incubators. All 22 children died.

■ The next day, at the same hospital, Iraqi troops brought in a badly injured captain and soldier for treatment. When told both men had died, the troops accused hospital employes of killing them and shot five on the spot. Two days later, the Iraqis cut off water to the hospital.

■ At the intensive-care unit of the Mubarak hospital, Iraqis reportedly cut off the oxygen and IV drip supporting the 75-year-old mother of a Kuwaiti cabinet minister. "They just let her die," said one witness.

■ At one psychiatric hospital, Iraqi troops were said to have turned 250 mental patients, drug addicts and others into the streets. They also evicted 280 to 300 patients at the physiotherapy hospital near the Sulaibikhat roundabout to make way for a military headquarters. Some 80 Kuwaitis were kicked out of a dialysis facility at another hospital.

■ In a bizarre incident, witnesses said Iraqi soldiers settled near Kuwait's national zoo, expelled the zoo keepers and left the animals without food and water for over three days. They then let the animals out of their cages and "started having fun shooting and killing them." A lion managed to escape and ran to a nearby neighborhood where it bit an 11-year-old girl on the shoulder. She could not get proper treatment, developed a secondary infection and died a few days later.

These cruelties are part of a broader pattern of murder and repression unleashed by Saddam Hussein upon his neighbors. Kuwaiti citizens fleeing in terror tell of widespread looting of their hospitals: Blood, frozen plasma, organ-transplant equipment, surgical theaters, X-ray machines, CAT scans, and ultrasound machines have all been stripped away. Homes are ransacked. Rapes and executions are common. Families are thrown out of the country without their papers, their homes taken over by Iraqis imported from the North. Clearly, Hussein is intent upon depopulating the nation of its own people and replacing them with his own.

Of late, the United States and its many allies have entered a tense war of nerves with Hussein. Perhaps a diplomatic solution can be found that will spare lives while also shearing Hussein of his power; unfortunately, the fact that more Iraqi troops are pouring into Kuwait suggests that bloodshed is the more likely outcome. But it could be weeks, even months away. Innocent Kuwaitis should not have to wait that long for relief.

'The U.S. must press forward to build a dossier of war crimes for possible trials after this conflict is resolved'

America and her friends should mobilize through the United Nations to demand that the International Committee of the Red Cross be permitted to enter Kuwait immediately to investigate the plight of its citizens and to offer humanitarian help. The Red Cross already has a team in Baghdad, sent there to check on prisoners of war from the Iran-Iraq War, but Hussein has turned down its request to go to Kuwait.

The press also bears a responsibility to ensure that our readers and viewers get a full story. Too often, we become conveyor belts for the propaganda and photo opportunities of governments, even bloody tyrants like Hussein. We must keep digging and reminding our audiences of the truths behind this awful man.

Finally, the U.S. must press forward to build a dossier of war crimes for possible trials after this conflict is resolved. Hussein and the men who knowingly carry out his orders must know now, not later, that to persist in these barbarities places them in personal jeopardy. "The worst crime of all," as Justice Robert Jackson said at Nuremberg, is to plot and wage aggression upon innocent people. ■

TEXT OF LETTER TO CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 8, 1991

Dear Congressman Michel:

The current situation in the Persian Gulf, brought about by Iraq's unprovoked invasion and subsequent brutal occupation of Kuwait, threatens vital U.S. interests. The situation also threatens the peace. It would, however, greatly enhance the chances for peace if Congress were now to go on record supporting the position adopted by the UN Security Council on twelve separate occasions. Such an action would underline that the United States stands with the international community and on the side of law and decency; it also would help dispel any belief that may exist in the minds of Iraq's leaders that the United States lacks the necessary unity to act decisively in response to Iraq's continued aggression against Kuwait.

Secretary of State Baker is meeting with Iraq's Foreign Minister on January 9. It would have been most constructive if he could have presented the Iraqi government a Resolution passed by both houses of Congress supporting the UN position and in particular Security Council Resolution 678. As you know, I have frequently stated my desire for such a Resolution. Nevertheless, there is still opportunity for Congress to act to strengthen the prospects for peace and safeguard this country's vital interests.

I therefore request that the House of Representatives and the Senate adopt a Resolution stating that Congress supports the use of all necessary means to implement UN

Security Council Resolution 678. Such action would send the clearest possible message to Saddam Hussein that he must withdraw without condition or delay from Kuwait. Anything less would only encourage Iraqi intransigence; anything else would risk detracting from the international coalition arrayed against Iraq's aggression.

I am determined to do whatever is necessary to protect America's security. I ask Congress to join with me in this task. I can think of no better way than for Congress to express its support for the President at this critical time. This truly is the last best chance for peace.

Sincerely,

Representative Robert Michel
House Republican Leader
H232 Capitol
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

FYI:

GOOD MATERIAL ON POST-DESERT STORM.

CASUALTIES LISTED BY STATE + DEMOGRAPHICS.

-CC

MEMORANDUM FOR CORRESPONDENTS

No. 131-M
March 14, 1991

Desert Storm #58

FACT SHEET

OPERATION DESERT STORM CASUALTIES

As of March 8th, when the demographics for this report were put together, there were a total of 182 servicemembers killed in Operation Desert Storm. Listed below are the numbers and percentages by gender and race.

o Group	# of Deaths	% of Those Who Died
Male	176	97%
Female	6	3%
Caucasian	142	78%
Black	27	15%
Hispanic	8	4%
Asian	1	less than 1%
Others	4	2%

o Group	% of Total Desert Storm Population
Male	94%
Female	6%
Caucasian	66.1%
Black	24.5%
Hispanic	5%
Asian	2.1%
Others	2.3%

-END-

CASUALTIES
1400 13 Mar

TOTAL = 210
Names of killed, non-hostile = 85
Names of killed in action = 123 (MIA to KIA = 5)
Died of Wounds Received in Action = 2

Names of missing = 21, Missing Repatriated = 12
POWs Repatriated = 9
Missing - Returned to Unit = 2
Returned to U.S. Control = 2

91 MAR 15 A10:49

NAME	STATUS (Blue Top #,Date)	RANK/CAUSE	SERVICE	TOWN	AGE
ALABAMA					
Godfrey,Robert G.	65-3/4 KIA	CWO/UH-60**	Army	Phenix	32
Hutto,John W.	62-3/2 KIA	PFC/hostile	Army	Andalusia	19
Jarrell,Thomas R.	71-3/6 NH	SPC/gunshot	Army	Alexander City	20
Poole, Ramono L.	7-1/20 NH	SRA/nat cse	Air Force	Muscle Shoals	22
Satchell, Baldwin	12-1/24 NH	Sgt/Veh	Army	Courtland	31
Wilbourn,James N.	49(68)-2/25 KIA	Capt/AV-8	USMC	Huntsville	29
ARIZONA					
Felix, Eliseo	24(25)-2/3 KIA	LCpl/clst bmb(FF?)	USMC	Avondale	19
Noline, Michael A.	13-1/26 NH	PFC/Veh	USMC	Phoenix	20
Pack, Aaron A.	50-2/25 KIA	Cpl/artillery	USMC	Phoenix	22
ARKANSAS					
Eichenlaub, Paul R., II	34-2/14 KIA	Capt/EF-111	Air Force	Bentonville	29
Mason,Steven G.	62-3/2 KIA	SPC/Scud	Army	Paragould	23
Whittenburg,Scotty L.	62(71)-3/2 NH	Sgt/no info	Army	Carlisle	22
Wieczorek,David M.	67-3/4 KIA	PFC/mine	Army	Gentry	21
CALIFORNIA					
Cooner, Michael R., Sr.	13-1/26 NH	SSgt/Veh	USMC	Freemont	32
Crockford, James F.	47-2/24 NH	PO3C/ CH46	Navy	Venice	30
Crumby,David R.,Jr.	59(64)-3/1 KIA	Sgt/hostile	Army	Long Beach	26
Foreman, Ira L.	36(38)-2/18 NH	Sgt/Veh	Army	Sacramento	30
Haws, Jimmy D.	42-2/21 KIA	Sgt/in Vulcan	Army	Travers	28
Hoage, Adam T.	47-2/24 NH	PFC/grenade	USMC	Corona	19
Jenkins, Thomas A.	18-1/31 KIA	LCpl/Lav(FF?)	USMC	Mariposa	20
Kramer,David W.	68-3/5 KIA	PFC/hostile	Army	Palm Desert	20
Kutz,Edwin B.	62-3/2 KIA	Sgt/hostile	Army	Sunnymeade	26
Lindsey,Scott J.	71-3/6 KIA	SPC/no info	Army	Diamond Springs	27
Mitchell,Adrienne L.	55-2/27 KIA	Pvt/Scud	Army	Moreno Valley	20
OBrien,Cheryl L.	68-3/5 KIA	Sgt/UH-60*	Army	LongBeach	24
Paulson, Dale L.	34-2/14 NH	Spec/gunshot	Army	Sacramento	36
Stokes,Adrian	67-3/4 KIA	Sgt/hostile	Army	Riverside	20
Swartzendruber,George R.	67-3/4 KIA	WO/UH-60*	Army	SanDiego	25
Tapley, David L.	29-2/7 NH	SFC/Veh	Army	Winton	39
COLORADO					
Dillon,Young	59(64)-3/1 KIA	Sgt/hostile	Army	Aurora	27
CONNECTICUT					
Arteaga, Jorge I.	26-2/4 NH	1 LT/B-52	Air Force	Trumbull	26
Beaudoin,Cindy M.	65-3/4 KIA	Spec/mine(w/dr)	Army	Plainfield	19
Butts,William T.	63-3/3 KIA	SSgt/UH-60**	Army	Waterford	30
Hughes,Robert	63-3/3 NH	CWO/CH-47	Army	Vernon	35
Sylvia, James H.	27-2/6 NH	Cpl/Veh	USMC	Putnam	23
DELAWARE					
McCoy,James R.	59-3/1 KIA	Cpl/hostile	Army	Wilmington	29

FLORIDA					
Daugherty,Robert L.,Jr.	60(64)-3/1 NH	PFC/ammo explosion	Army	Hollywood	20
Garvey,Philip M.	65-3/4 KIA	CWO/UH-60**	Army	Pensacola	39
Hatcher,Raymond E.,Jr.	68-3/5 NH	SSgt/ammo explosion	Army	Monticello	32
Powell,Dodge R.	60-3/1 KIA	Sgt/hostile	Army	Hollywood	28
Robson,Michael R.	57-2/28 NH	SSgt/UH-1	Army	Seminole	30
Rodriguez, Eloy A.,Jr.	45-2/23 NH	MSgt/Blackhawk	Army	Key West	34
Sanders, Henry J., Jr.	37-2/17 NH	First Sgt/Veh	Army	Cocoa	42
GEORGIA					
Jones, Phillip J.	48-2/25 KIA	Cpl/hostile	USMC	Atlanta	21
Reichle, Hal H.	45-2/23 KIA	CWO/OH58	Army	Marietta	27
Walker, Charles S.	21-2/2 NH	PFC/gunshot	Army	Jonesboro	19
Worthy,James E.	53-2/27 KIA	Spec/SCUD	Army	Albany	22
GUAM					
Damian,Roy T.,Jr.	71-3/6 KIA	SPC/hostile	Army	Toto	21
HAWAII					
Allen, Frank C.	19-1/31 KIA	LCpl/Lav(FF?)	USMC	Wianae	22
IDAHO					
Moller,Nels A.	59-3/1 KIA	Sgt/hostile	Army	Paul	23
ILLINOIS					
Cooper, Charles W.	43-2/22 NH	Capt/Blackhawk	Army	St. Charles	33
Cormier, Dale Thomas	35-2/15 NH	Capt/F-16	Air Force	Crystal Lake	30
Crask, Gary W.	5-1/20 NH	Spec/bunker collapse	Army	Cantrall	21
Hurley, Patrick R.	45-2/23 NH	SgtMaj/Blackhawk	Army	New Douglas	37
Porter,Christian J.	57-2/28 KIA	LanceCpl/hostile	USMC	Wood Dale	20
INDIANA					
Anderson, Michael F.	46-2/23 NH	CWO/Blackhawk	Army	Frankfort	36
Lane,Brian L.	57-2/28 KIA	LanceCpl/hostile	USMC	Bedford	20
Miller,James R., Jr.	62-3/2 KIA	Spec/bomblet	Army	Decatur	20
Miller,Mark A.	57(71)-2/28 NH	PFC/bomblet explosion	Army	Cannelton	20
Reel, Jeffrey D.	42-2/21 NH	PFC/Veh	Army	Vincennes	21
Simpson,Brian K.	63-3/3 KIA	Cpl/Scud	Army	Indianapolis	22
IOWA					
Mills,Michael W.	56-2/28 KIA	Spec/Scud	Army	Jefferson	23
Nebeman,James F.	MFC 2/27 NH	Civ/ammo explosion	Army	Dewitt	37
Rennison,Ronald D.	60-3/1 KIA	SPC/Scud	Army	Dubuque	21
KANSAS					
Daniels, Michael D.	43(51)-2/22 KIA	Spec/OH 58	Army	Ft.Leavenworth	20
Davis,Marty R.	62(71)-3/2 KIA	PFC/hostile	Army	Salina	19
Middleton, Jeffrey T.	38(42)-2/19 KIA	Spec/(M1A2/GSR 113 FF)	Army	Oxford	26
Streeter,Gary E.	67-3/4 KIA	Sgt1C/UH-60*	Army	Manhatten	39
KENTUCKY					
Myers,Donald R.	71-3/6 NH	SPC/no info	Army	Paducah	29
Thorp, James K.	26-2/4 NH	Capt/UH1	USMC	Valley Station	30
Underwood,Reginald C.	58(75)-3/1KIA	Capt/AV-8B	USMC	Lexington	27
Wright,Kevin E.	68-3/5 NH	Spec/ammo explosion	Army	Louisville	22
LOUISIANA					
Stribling,Earl K.	75-3/11 NH	MAJ/nat cse	Army	Gilbert	35

MAINE

Winkley, Bernard S.	32-2/11 NH	CWO/Veh	USMC	Windsor	27

MARYLAND

Hailey, Garland V.	6-1/20 NH	SSgt/UH-60	Army	Baltimore	37
Lang,James M.	46-3/4 NH	LCpl/grenade	USMC	Pomfret	20
Randazzo, Ronald D.	43-2/22 KIA	Sgt/hostile	Army	Glen Burnie	24
Shaw,Timothy A.	56-2/28 KIA	PFC/Scud	Army	Suitland	21

MASSACHUSETTS

Auger,Allen M.	78-3/12 NH	Cpl/Veh	USMC	West Boylston	22
Burt,Paul L.	75-3/11 NH	Sgt/nat cse	Army	Hingham	24
Haggerty, Thomas J.	38(40)-2/19 NH	1Lt/gunshot	Army	West Harwich	26
Smith, Russell G.,Jr.	56-2/28 KIA	Sgt1C/hostile	Army	Fall River	44

MICHIGAN

Beaz, Kurt A.	26-2/4 NH	Cpl/UH1	USMC	Garden City	22
Brilinski,Roger P.,Jr.	65-3/4 KIA	Sgt/UH-60**	Army	Ossingeke	24
Hansen,Steven	71-3/6 NH	SSgt/mine	Army	Ludington	28
Hill,Timothy	62-3/2 KIA	SPC/hostile	Army	Detroit	23
Howard,Aaron W.	62-3/2 KIA	PFC/hostile	Army	Battle Creek	20
Palmer,William E.	59-3/1 KIA	Spec/hostile	Army	Hillsdale	23
Shaw,David A.	48(64)-2/25 NH	SSgt/nat cse	USMC	S.Harrisville	33
Tommanen,Thomas R.	76-3/12 NH	LCpl/bunker collapse	USMC	Milford	22

MINNESOTA

Joel,Daniel D.	69(74) 3/5 NH	Cpl/veh	USMC	Delavan	23
Bentzlin, Stephen E.	18-1/31 KIA	Cpl/Lav(FF?)	USMC	Yellow Meadow	23
Jones, Glen D.	55-2/27 KIA	SPC/Scud	Army	Grand Rapids	21
Rush, Scott A.	5-1/20 NH	PFC/bunker collapse	Army	Blaine	19
Welch, Lawrence N.	37-2/17 NH	Sgt/nat cse	Army	Chisholm	41

MISSISSIPPI

Allen,Michael R.	53(57)-2/27 NH	SSgt/nat cse	Army	West Point	32
Garrett,Mike A.	71-3/6 NH	SSgt/CH-47	Army	Laurel	31

MISSOURI

Bimco, Scott F.	39-2/19 NH	Cpl/Drowned	USMC	St. Louis	21
Cohen,Gerard A.	62-3/2 NH	PFC/unloading accident	Army	St. Louis	30
Casten,William T.	8(78)-1/21 KIA	LT/A-6	Navy	St. Louis	27
Farnen,Steven P.	52(57)-2/26 KIA	Spec/Scud	Army	Columbia	Unk
Heyman,David L.	68-3/5 NH	Spec/unloading accident	Army	Hazelwood	28
Lee, Richard R.	30-2/9 NH	CWO/UH1	Army	Independence	36
Mobley,Phillip D.	62-3/2 KIA	SPC/hostile	Army	Blue Springs	26
Trautman,Steven R.	56-2/28 NH	Spec/helo accident	Army	Houstonia	21

MONTANA

Cronquist,Mark R.	75-3/11 NH	Spec/gunshot	Army	Colombia Falls	20

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Hector, Wade E.	44-2/22 NH	Spec/Veh	Army	Newport	22
Plasch,David G.	71-3/6 KIA	WO1/UH-60*	Army	Portsmouth	23
Ritch, Todd C.	44-2/22 NH	Spec/Veh	Army	Charleston	20

NEW JERSEY

Mongrella, Garett A.	19-1/31 KIA	Sgt/Lav(FF?)	USMC	Belvidere	25
Rossi,Marie T.	63-3/3 NH	Maj/CH-47	Army	Oradell	32

Russ, Leonard A.	34-2/14 NH	Sgt/gunshot	Army	Pleasantville	26
Talley, Robert D.	40(42)-2/19 KIA	Pvt/(M1A2/GSR 113 FF)	Army	Newark	18
Wade,Robert C.	59-3/1 KIA	PFC/Scud	Army	Hackensack	31
NEW MEXICO					
Hart, Adrian J.	30-2/9 NH	Spec/Veh	Army	Albuquerque	26
NEW YORK					
Ames, David R.	42-2/21 NH	SSgt/gunshot	Army	Schuyler	30
Clark, Otto F.	51-2/26 NH	MSgt/Blackhawk	Army	Corinth	35
Cotto, Ismael	19-1/31 KIA	CPL/Lav(FF?)	USMC	Bronx	27
Fajardo,Mario	56-2/28 KIA	Capt/hostile	Army	Flushing	29
Hein,Kerry P.	60-3/1 NH	WO1/UH-1	Army	Sound Beach	28
McCarthy, Eugene	24-2/3 NH	Maj/AH-64	USMC	Brooklyn	35
Murphy,Joe	77-3/12 NH	1SG/veh	Army	Roosevelt	47
Ortiz,Patbouvier E.	65-3/4 KIA	Sgt/UH-60**	Army	Ridgewood	27
Rivera, Manuel, Jr.	10-1/23 NH	Capt/AV-8B	USMC	Bronx	31
Snyder, David T.	18-1/31 KIA	LCpl/Lav(FF?)	USMC	Erie	21
Stone,Thomas G.	55-2/27 KIA	SPC/Scud	Army	Falconer	20
Swano, Peter L., Jr.	22-2/2 NH	Spec/nat cse	Army	Salem	20
Witzke,Harold P., III	62(71)-3/2 KIA	SSgt/hostile	Army	Caroga Lake	28
NORTH CAROLINA					
Chapman, Christopher, J.	43-2/22 NH	Sgt/Blackhawk	Army	Charlotte	25
Harris,Michael A., Jr.	56-2/28 KIA	SSgt/hostile	Army	Pullocksville	26
Jackson, Kenneth I.	36(38)-2/18 NH	PFC/Veh	Army	Concord	22
King,Jerry L.	56-2/28 KIA	PFC/hostile	Army	Winston Salem	20
Lake,Victor T.,Jr.	60-3/1 NH	Cpl/grenade	USMC	Jacksonville	22
McKnight, Bobby L.	36(38)-2/18 NH	Spec/Veh	Army	Dallas	52
Olson,Patrick B.	53-2/27 KIA	1Lt/OV-10	Air Force	Washington	25
Perry,Kenneth J.	56-2/28 KIA	Spec/hostile	Army	Lake Waccamaw	23
Ware, Bobby M.	9-1/22 NH	Spec/Veh	Army	New Bern	21
NORTH DAKOTA					
Olson, Jeffry J.	26-2/4 NH	Capt/B-52	Air Force	Grand Forks	27
OHIO					
Applegate,Tony R.	68-3/5 KIA	Sgt/hostile	Army	Portsmouth	28
Cash,Clarence A.	62-3/2 KIA	Spec/hostile	Army	Ashland	20
Dwyer, Robert J.	31(57)-2/9 KIA	LT/F/A-18	Navy	Worthington	32
Edwards, Jonathan R.	24-2/3 NH	Capt/AH-64	USMC	Terrace Park	34
Kamm,Jonathan H.	65-3/4 KIA	SSgt/UH-60*	Army	Mason	25
Kidd,Anthony W.	63-3/3 KIA	Spec/hostile	Army	Lima	21
Lumpkins, James H.	19-1/31 KIA	LCpl/Lav(FF?)	USMC	New Richmond	22
Spellacy,David M.	54(77)-2/27 KIA	Capt/OV-10	USMC	Columbus	28
OREGON					
Linderman, Michael E., Jr.	18-1/31 KIA	LCpl/Lav(FF?)	USMC	Douglas	19
Dailey,Michael C.,Jr.	67-3/4 KIA	PFC/bomblet	Army	Klamath Falls	19
Wedgewood,Troy M.	73-2/7 KIA	Spec/hostile	Army	The Dalles	22
PENNSYLVANIA					
Atherton,Steven E.	56-2/28 KIA	Apec/Scud	Army	Nurmine	26
Bolliver,John A.	55(64)-2/27 KIA	SPC/Scud	Army	Monongahela	27
Boxler,John T.	56-2/28 KIA	Sgt/Scud	Army	Johnstown	44
Bruce,William C.	63-3/3 NH	Spec/CH-47	Army	Fountain Hill	24
Clark, Beverly S.	55-2/27 KIA	SPC/Scud	Army	Armagh	23
Connelly,Mark A.	67-3/4 KIA	Maj(Dr.)/mine	Army	Lancaster	34
Cooke, Michael D.	47-2/24 NH	Cpl/grenade	USMC	Willow Grove	22
Craver,Alan B.	59-3/1 KIA	Sgt/Scud	Army	Penn Hills	32
Gillespie, John H.	36(40)-2/18 NH	Maj (Dr.)/Veh	Army	Philadelphia	34
Hollen,Duane W.,Jr.	57-2/28 KIA	Spec/Scud	Army	Bellwood	24

**UH-60 Ft. Rucker

MISSING-REURNED TO UNIT

Bush,David	68(72,73)-3/5	Spec	Army	Hyattsville,MD	21
Rickett, Crystal L.	68(72,73)-3/5	SSgt	Army	Detroit,MI	31

RETURNED TO U.S. CONTROL

Jeffries,Lem R.	75(77)-3/11	PVT	Army	St. Louis,MO	32
Rice,Kevin R.	75-3/11	1Lt	Army	Unknown	27

Keough, Frank S.	55-2/27 KIA	SPC/Scud	Army	North Huntington	22
Madison, Anthony	55-2/27 KIA	SPC/Scud	Army	Monessen	27
Mayes,Christine L.	55-2/27 KIA	SPC/Scud	Army	Rochester Mills	23
Siko,Stephen J.	57-2/28 KIA	Spec/Scud	Army	Latrobe	24
Waldron,James E.	60-3/1 KIA	LanceCpl/hostile	USMC	Jeannett	
Walls,Frank J.	56-2/28 KIA	Spec/Scud	Army	Hawthorne	20
Wolverton,Richard V.	52-2/26 KIA	Spec/Scud	Army	Latrobe	24
PUERTO RICO					
Vega Velazquez,Mario	43-2/22 NH	Sgt/Blackhawk	Army	Ponce	35
TENNESSEE					
Fiedler,Douglas L.	59(64)-3/1 KIA	Spec/hostile	Army	Nashville	22
Graybeal,Daniel E.	57-2/28 NH	1Lt/UH-1	Army	Johnson City	25
Tatum,James D.	56-2/28 KIA	Spec/Scud	Army	Athens	22
Valentine,Roger E.	68-3/5 KIA	Pvt/hostile	Army	Memphis	19
TEXAS					
Alaniz,Andy	63-3/3 KIA	Spec/hostile	Army	Corpus Christi	20
Bradt, Douglas L.	34-2/14 KIA	Capt/ EF111	Air Force	Houston	29
Butler,Tommy D.	63-3/3 KIA	Spec/bomblet	Army	Amarillo	22
Collins,Melford R.	53-2/27 KIA	PFC/hostile	Army	Uhland	34
Delgado,Luis	56-2/28 KIA	Spec/hostile	Army	Laredo	30
Garza, Arthur O.	13-1/26 NH	LCpl/Veh	USMC	Kingsville	20
Haddad, Albert G., Jr.	26-2/4 NH	Cpl/UH1	USMC	Denton	22
Hawthorne,James D.	60-3/1 KIA	Sgt/hostile	USMC	Stinnett	24
Herr, David R., Jr.	26-2/4 NH	Capt/UH1	USMC	Ft. Worth	28
Montalvo,Candelario	65-3/4 DWRA	Sgt/mine	USMC	Eagle Pass	25
Murray, James C.,Jr.	68-3/5 KIA	PFC/hostile	Army	Conroe	20
Stephens,Christopher H.	63-3/3 KIA	SSgt/hostile	Army	Houston	27
Walker, Daniel B.	19-1/31 KIA	LCpl/Lav(FF?)	USMC	Flint	20
Winkle,Corey L.	59(64)-3/1 KIA	PFC/hostile	Army	Lubbock	21
UTAH					
Rollins, Jeffrey A.	37-2/17 NH	Sgt/Veh	Army	Bountiful	23
Stephenson, Dion J.	18-1/31 KIA	PFC/Lav(FF?)	USMC	Davis	20
VIRGINIA					
Carr,Jason C.	68-3/5 KIA	Sgt/UH-60*	Army	Halifax	24
Gay,Pamela Y.	79/3/13 NH	PFC/veh	Army	Surrey	19
Gentry,Kenneth B.	62-3/2 KIA	Sgt/hostile	Army	Ringgold	32
Gregory, Troy L.	53-2/27 DWRA	LCpl/landmine	USMC	Richmond	21
Morgan,Donald	62-3/2 NH	SSgt/unloading accident	Army	Ford	30
Plunk,Jerry	56-2/28 KIA	1Lt/hostile	Army	Vinton	25
Tiller,Donaldson P.,III	68-3/5 KIA	1Lt/UH-60*	Army	Miller School	25
Williams,Jonathan M.	56-2/28 KIA	Cpl/Scud	Army	Portsmouth	23
Zeugner,Thomas C.M.	62-3/2 KIA	Maj/hostile	Army	Petersburg	36
WASHINGTON					
Belas,Lee A.	65(71)-3/4 KIA	Sgt/UH-60*	Army	Port Orchard	22
Cooper, Ardon B.	42-2/21 KIA	PFC/hostile	Army	Seattle	23
Costen, William T.	8(78)-1/21 KIA	LT/A-6	Navy	St. Louis	27
Douthit,David Q.	63-3/3 KIA	Sgt/hostile	Army	Tacoma	24
Hodsen, Eric D.	26-2/4 NH	1LT/B-52	Air Force	Malaga	27
Morgan,John K.	67-3/4 KIA	WO/UH-60*	Army	Bellevue	28
WEST VIRGINIA					
Bongiorni,Joseph P., III	55-2/27 KIA	SPC/Scud	Army	Morgantown	20
Kirk, Reuben G., III	17-1/30 NH	PPC/Veh	Army	Dunlow	19
WISCONSIN					
Schroeder, Scott A.	18-1/31 KIA	PFC/Lav(FF?)	USMC	Milwaukee	20
Scott,Brian P.	56-2/28 KIA	Sgt/hostile	Army	Park Falls	22

Strehlow,William A.	60(64)-3/1 KIA	Sgt/mine	Army	Kenosha	27

WYOMING

Davila,Manuel M.	67-3/4 KIA	Spec/hostile	Army	Gillette	22

NO HOME-OF-RECORD AVAILABLE

Bartusiak,Stanley W.	60-3/1 KIA	CPL/Scud	Army	Unknown	34
Delagnesu,Rolando A.	56-2/28 KIA	Cpl/Scud	Army	Unknown	30
Fitz,Michael L.	59-3/1 KIA	Pvt/bomblet explosion	Army	Unknown	18

*UH-60 Ft. Riley
**UH-60 Ft. Rucker

PRISONER-OF-WAR (no home-of-record given per DoD policy) - **REPATRIATED**

Acree, Clifford M.	4(14,70)-1/19	LtCol/OV-10	USMC	Seattle,Wash	39
Eberly, David W.	6(14,70)-1/20	Col/F-15E	Air Force	Brazil,IN	43
Fox, Jeffrey D.	41(70)-2/20	LtCol/OA-10	Air Force	Fall River,MA	39
Griffith, Thomas E., Jr.	6(14,66)-1/20	Maj/F-15E	Air Force	Sparta,N.J.	34
Hunter, Guy L.	4(14,70)-1/19	CWO/OV-10	USMC	Moultrie,GA	46
Roberts, Harry M.	6(14,70)-1/20	Capt/ F-16	Air Force	Savannah,GA	30
Slade, Lawrence R.	11(16,66)/-1/23	LT/F-14	Navy	Wayland,MA	26
Tice, Jeffrey Scott	6(14,70)-1/20	Maj/F-16	Air Force	Sellersville,PA	35
Zaun, Jeffrey N.	2(14,66)-1/18	LT/A-6	Navy	Cherry Hill, N.J.	28

MISSING (no home-of-record given per DoD policy)

##Bland, Thomas C., Jr.	20-2/1	LT/AC130	Air Force	N/A	26
##Blessinger, John P.	20-2/1	SSgt/AC130	Air Force	N/A	33
##Buege, Paul G.	20-2/1	SMSgt/AC130	Air Force	N/A	43
##Clark, Berry M.	20-2/1	Sgt/AC130	Air Force	N/A	26
Connor, Patrick K.	28-2/7	LT/A-6	Navy	N/A	25
Cooke, Barry T.	28-2/7	LTCdr/A-6	Navy	N/A	35
##Galvan, Arthur	20-2/1	Capt/AC130	Air Force	N/A	33
##Grimm, William D.	20-2/1	Capt/AC130	Air Force	N/A	28
##Harrison, Timothy R.	20-2/1	SSgt/AC130	Air Force	N/A	31
##Hodges, Robert K.	20-2/1	TSgt/AC130	Air Force	N/A	28
Holland, Donnie R.	3-1/18	Maj/F-15E	Air Force	N/A	42
##Kanuha, Damon V.	20-2/1	Sgt/AC130	Air Force	N/A	28
Koritz, Thomas F.	3-1/18	Maj/F-15E	Air Force	N/A	37
##May, James B. , II	20-2/1	MSgt/AC130	Air Force	N/A	30
##Oelschlager, John L.	20-2/1	SSgt/AC130	Air Force	N/A	28
Phillis, Stephen Richard	35-2/16	Capt/A-10	Air Force	N/A	30
##Schmauss, Mark J.	20-2/1	SSgt/AC130	Air Force	N/A	30
Speicher, Michael S.	1-1/17	LTCDR/F-18	Navy	N/A	33
Turner, Charles J.	8-1/21	LT/A-6	Navy	N/A	29
##Walters, Dixon L., Jr.	20-2/1	Capt/AC130	Air Force	N/A	29
##Weaver, Paul J.	20-2/1	Maj/AC130	Air Force	N/A	34

MFC Mar 6 C-130 Crash Site Located

MISSING-REPATRIATED

Andrews,William F.	56(70)-2/28	Capt/F-16	Air Force	Syracuse,NY	32
Berrymun, Michael C.	15(70)-1/31	Capt/AV-8B	USMC	Cleveland,OK	28
Cornum,Rhonda L.	67(70)-3/4	Maj/Dr. UH-60 **	Army	Freeville, N.Y.	36
Dunlap Troy A.	68(70)-3/5	Spec/UH-60 **	Army	Massac,IL	20
Lockett, David	20(66)-2/1	Spec/ Veh	Army	Bessemer,AL	23
Nealy, Melissa A.	20(66)-2/1	Spec/Veh	Army	Grand Rapids,MI	20
Sanborn, Russell A.C.	33(70)-2/11	Capt/AV-8B	USMC	DeLand,FL	27
Small, III, Joseph J.	54(70)-2/27	Maj/OV-10	USMC	Racine,WIS	39
Stamaris,Daniel J.,Jr.	68(70)-3/5	SSgt/UH-60 **	Army	Boise,Idaho	31
Storr, Richard D.	23(70)-2/3	Capt/A-10	Air Force	Spokane,WA	29
Sweet, Robert James	35(70)-2/16	1LT/A-10	Air Force	Philadelphia,PA	24
Wetzel, Robert	2(66)-1/18	Lt/A-6	Navy	Metuchen, N.J.	30

BLOODSHED IN LITHUANIA
Gorbachev Sends in the Troops

Newsweek

January 21, 1991 : $2.50

THE PATH TO WAR

'We'll Win, But Why Rush?'

By America's Most Decorated War Hero

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INTRODUCING AMERICAN

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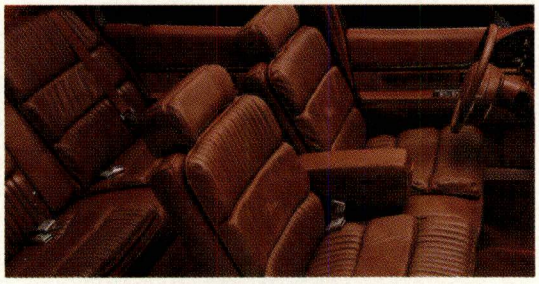

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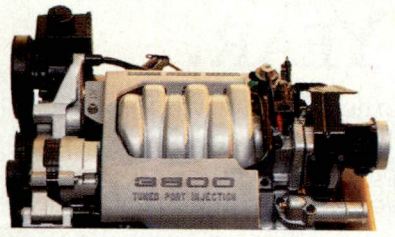

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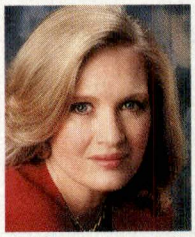

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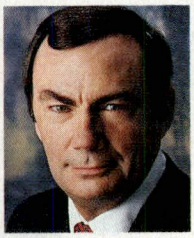


SAM DONALDSON

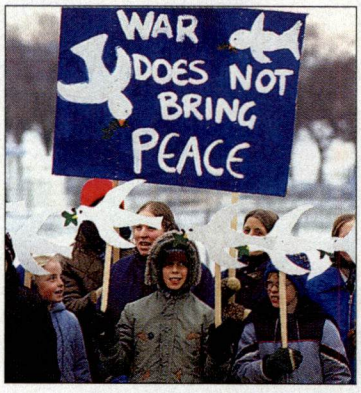
ABCNEWS

Newsweek

American troops get acclimated to conditions in the harsh Saudi desert

Treading Down the Path to War

War loomed closer last week. With the failure of the Geneva talks between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz, the room for diplomacy became painfully small. President Bush told Saddam Hussein he would pay "a terrible price" for not leaving Kuwait, and asked Congress to support him. Both House and Senate authorized force without further congressional deliberation, and the administration seemed inclined to push for an attack soon after the Jan. 15 U.N. deadline. But were the allied forces ready? Army officers on the ground wanted to wait. Retired U.S. Army Col. David H. Hackworth, America's most decorated living soldier over two wars, was in Saudi Arabia for NEWSWEEK taking a sounding of his own. The allied forces would win with superior firepower, he found. But lack of readiness among ground forces would increase casualties. His conclusion: why rush it? **Special Report: Page 14**



An antiwar protest in Washington

Lithuanian deserters from the Soviet Army

Bloodshed in Lithuania

Mikhail Gorbachev has evidently concluded that only the threat of force can hold the Soviet Union together. With little warning last week, Soviet troops moved into Lithuania, the most restive of the country's independent-minded republics. Tanks patrolled the streets; shots were fired. It looked like the beginning of a serious crackdown. **International: Page 38**

Letters to the Editor should be sent to NEWSWEEK, *444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022, and subscription inquiries to* NEWSWEEK, *The* NEWSWEEK *Building, Livingston, N.J. 07039.* NEWSWEEK **(ISSN 0028-9604),** *January 21, 1991, Volume CXVII, No. 3, is published weekly, $41.08 a year, by* NEWSWEEK, *Inc., 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022. Second Class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices.*
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The Goodyear Eagle GA Touring Radial. It now comes with a $47,000 stamp of approval.

In not much more than a year, the Eagle GA Touring Radial has become one of the most successful tires in Goodyear's history.

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GOODYEAR

The best tires in the world have Goodyear written all over them.

R & R

Who Needs Bob Hope?

Call it Operation Bump-and-Grind. NEWSWEEK has learned that British strippers may perform for U.S. troops aboard one of five cruise liners chartered by the military as floating entertainment centers. The ships will be moored off Bahrain—well away from the front lines and the confines of Saudi Arabia's Muslim law. An English "entertainment agency"—it specializes in topless strip-o-grams—says the American Embassy in London contacted it before Christmas about supplying the gyrating ladies, one of whom says she'll perform as "a naughty nurse." The embassy denies any connection with the venture. ■

Direct from London: A strip club

CALIFORNIA FAX

Senate Seats

With two Senate seats opening in '92, California Democratic strategists plan to have former San Francisco mayor **Dianne Feinstein** run for the "short seat" vacated by GOP Gov. **Pete Wilson.** It's short because the winner in a '92 special election against newly named GOP Sen. **John Seymour** will have to run again in '94. The Dems think Feinstein can raise money for two campaigns. Other contenders, including Rep. **Barbara Boxer** and former governor **Jerry Brown,** could bid for the "long" seat being vacated by Sen. Alan Cranston.

White House control and high-profile surrogates: Bush and Sununu

EXCLUSIVE

Looking Ahead to '92

Before the gulf crisis took his total attention, President Bush had begun to consider his re-election effort, NEWSWEEK has learned. The model he'll follow: Richard Nixon's 1972 campaign. After studying the four postwar campaigns of GOP incumbents, aides say, Bush found Nixon's—with the obvious exception of Watergate and its "dirty tricks"—the best example of good management mixed with a strong message.

That means the campaign will likely be tightly controlled by White House chief of staff John Sununu—and the president himself. In fact, aides say, Sununu may eventually leave the White House for a full-time campaign job. Like Nixon, Bush is expected to rely heavily on high-profile "surrogates," including such cabinet favorites as EPA's William Reilly, newly named Lamar Alexander at Education and Lynn Martin at Labor. Secretary of State James Baker, Bush's '88 campaign chief, is likely to be busy with foreign affairs. ■

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

Gulf Edition

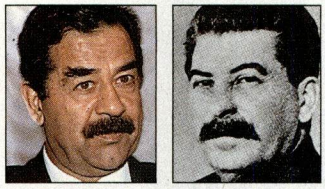
Consider Vietnam years as gulf-war weeks. In other words, the first week is 1965, the second week is 1966, etc. By the fourth week, 1968, antiwar fever will be rampant.

PLAYERS		Conventional Wisdom
George Bush	↓	Not persuasive enough. A house divided against itself can't fight a war.
Saddam Hussein	↓	Fight—or suffer a coup after capitulating. You're dead meat either way.
The Israelis	↔	Sure, some missiles might slip through, but worth it to get rid of Saddam.
The U.N.	↑	After so much humble pie, these are salad days on the East River. Enjoy.
The Palestinians	↑	Backed wrong horse, but war or not, peace conference is more likely.
The Congress	↔	Sincere but late. Be it resolved: Congress declares ambivalence.

THE SOVIETS

All in the Family?

Here's a new one: Saddam Hussein is Joseph Stalin's grandson. That's what the Soviet magazine Sobesednik printed. According to this tall tale, Stalin's son Jakob was taken prisoner by the Nazis during World War II. When the Soviets captured a German general, the Germans offered a prisoner swap, but Stalin refused to trade the general for his son, who died in captivity. This much has been verified. The new twist has Jakob not dying, but escaping the Nazis



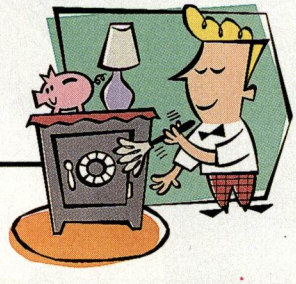
Look-alikes: Saddam, Stalin

and making his way down the Continent to the Middle East, where he settled in a small village in Iraq, married a peasant woman and fathered a son the world knows as Saddam Hussein. One hole: Saddam was born in 1937, two years before World War II began. ■

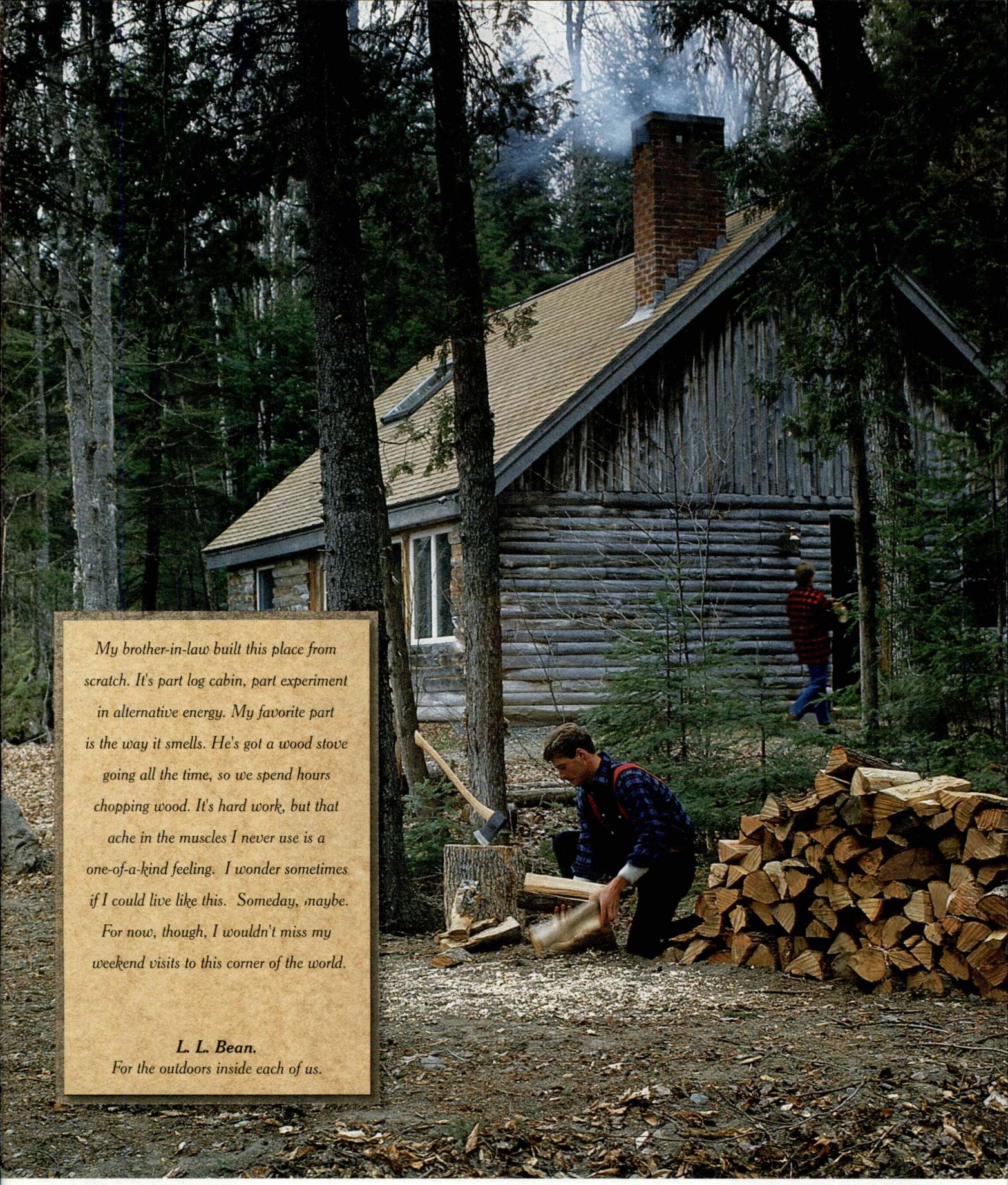
MONEY

Safe Stash

Bank-wary New Englanders may not be stuffing their money into their mattresses. But they are stashing it at home—in safes. Since the recent collapse of the Bank of New England, safe companies report sales are booming—running from 10 to 25 percent ahead of last year. Business is especially brisk in Rhode Island, where the governor closed 45 local banks and credit unions. One popular safe is a new digital wall unit with a push-button combination that sells for $200. ■



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: IRA SCHWARZ, VIENNAREPORT—SYGMA, CULVER PICTURES, CHIP WASS, FRILET—SIPA



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JUSTICE

Execution Date

In 1979, Joe Giarratano was sentenced to die in Virginia's electric chair after confessing that, in a drunken fog, he killed two women. But he may be innocent—so say many legal experts, editorialists and such unlikely allies as conservative columnist James Kilpatrick. Now NEWSWEEK has learned that Norfolk Commonwealth Attorney Bill Rutherford has requested an official hearing this week to set an execution date. Such hearings almost always result in a date being set about 30 days later. Giarratano's supporters say his confessions conflict with evidence suggesting another man committed the crimes, and that Giarratano was incapable of certain acts of violence because his arm is partially paralyzed. Gov. Doug Wilder can expect a political firestorm over the case, which his office is reviewing. ■

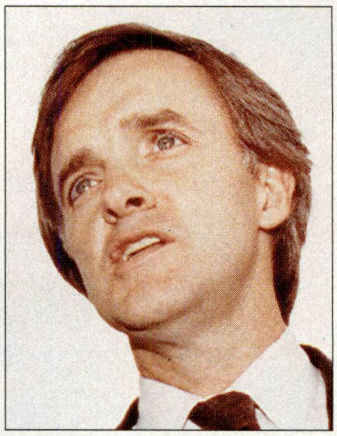
Giarratano

THE ECONOMY

Paper Losses

The printing presses at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing are running ever faster. But you wouldn't know it from the money supply, which is growing at a snail's pace. The reason: a growing share of America's money has gone abroad. Last year the nation had a $22 billion increase in outstanding notes—50 percent more than the Federal Reserve issued in 1989. Fed officials suspect up to two thirds of the new bills are finding their way to places like Hungary, Argentina and the Philippines, where inflation-weary locals prefer to use dollars. ■

Keep them coming: New bills



Oratory that may come back to haunt them in '92: Nunn, Kerrey

POLITICS

The Price of Principle

The debate over Iraq produced something rare on Capitol Hill: congressional leaders actually speaking from the heart. The bold oratory may, however, be used against Democratic presidential hopefuls in '92. Their party has lost five of the last six presidential elections, in part because it was seen as weak on national security—and the outcome of the gulf crisis may determine their fates. Rep. Richard Gephardt and Sens. Sam Nunn, Bob Kerrey and Lloyd Bentsen came down against the immediate use of force. Sen. Al Gore may have made a calculated move to the right by supporting President Bush. Possible scenarios:

Negotiated settlement: Bush gains all the credit. One nightmare has GOP consultant Roger Ailes juxtaposing Iraq's allies at the United Nations with Dems who resisted force.

EDUCATION

Out of Bounds: The University of the District of Columbia, for planning to ask convicted cocaine possessor Marion Barry to teach criminal justice. Barry, who didn't run for re-election last year after his indictment on drug charges, would earn $17,000 for a half-year of teaching. The criminal-justice department is the third UDC slot Barry supporters have tried to secure for the former mayor. ■

Quick, decisive win: Political disaster. Even hawkish Dems may be labeled wimps. If troops clean up, so does Bush.

Another Vietnam: Ironically, the Dems' best hope lies with a calamitous war effort, which would ruin Bush. Still, they could be accused of aiding Saddam by sending mixed signals before shooting began. ■

Bad trip: The Marla and The Donald

TRUMP WATCH

Out in the Cold

Donald Trump and Colorado don't mix. Last year he lost a wife there. This year he tried to stay an extra week at his rented digs in Telluride, but management told him it was booked. Town gossip has it that The Donald is considering building a house in the ski town, but the locals aren't exactly ecstatic. Trump's companion was Marla Maples, who a local said was "decked head to toe in endangered species." When Trump tried to pay for dinner with American Express, the waiter told him they didn't take AmEx. ■

ENVIRONMENT

A Hotline for Tree Huggers

The capital consultants behind Washington's popular Hotline, a daily news digest for political junkies, will soon begin a computerized Greenwire for the enviro-conscious. Subscribers will get daily excerpts of science and popular magazines, newspapers and the publications of environmental groups such as Greenpeace and the Sierra Club. Aimed at corporations, lobbyists, law firms and the media, the service will cost about $3,000 a year.

NED ZEMAN *and* LUCY HOWARD
with bureau reports

BUZZWORDS

There is official military talk and then there is real military talk. Here's a bit of GI gulf-speak.

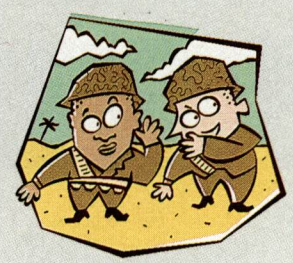
BMOs: Black Moving Objects, meaning Saudi women in traditional black dress.

Semper Gumby: Marine slang for "always flexible," playing off Semper Fi.

Rumint: Rumor intelligence, which is about the only information soldiers get.

Saudi cool: What GIs get when they bury their canteens several inches in the sand.

REMFs: Rear Echelon Motherf---ers. A term used by those on the front line to describe those who aren't.



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Nissan Motor Corporation in U.S.A.

NISSAN

Decade of Doubt

Having read your prognosis for the '90s ("The Age of Anxiety," SPECIAL REPORT, Dec. 31)—war, racial polarization, global warming, crime and financial instability—I feel like the soldier you photographed slumped against his gun: weary. And the decade has just begun.

ROB SIMONSON
Eugene, Ore.

• • •

So today's conservatives have a problem with quotas, do they ("Quotas")? What did they think during the first half of the century, when de facto quotas were widely used to keep Jews, blacks, women and other minorities out of jobs and medical and law schools? Jesse Helms, where were you in the 1930s when we needed you?

MARTIN BLINDER
San Anselmo, Calif.

• • •

You're on the mark when you argue that the specter of global climate change requires unprecedented international cooperation ("Survival"). However, your assumption that all of us on the planet are equally responsible for—and vulnerable to—the catastrophe that greenhouse warming could bring is troubling. Roughly 20 percent of the world's population, living primarily in the richest countries, will be responsible for most of that warming: their disproportionately high energy consumption is perturbing atmospheric systems. The poor, however, who constitute the remaining 80 percent of the planet's population, may well suffer the worst consequences of global warming. Those, at least, who depend most on rain-fed agriculture and who populate lowland delta regions vulnerable to even a mild rise in sea level will be at special risk.

MICHAEL MANIATES, *Assistant Professor*
Department of Geography
Radford University
Radford, Va.

• • •

How can a man in an oval office paint himself into so many corners? Leading the country means more than reading—or kicking—various parts of the anatomy ("Leadership"). Before any killing starts, George Bush should offer, at the very least, some serious statesmanship.

DENZEL FERGUSON
Bates, Ore.

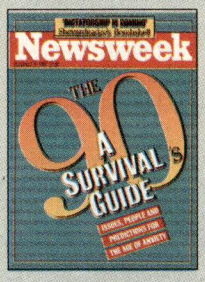
State Replies

Your claim in "Cracking the Major" (PERISCOPE, Nov. 19) that American Special Forces Maj. Eric Buckland was "pressured by . . . State Department officials" to recant his earlier claim to foreknowledge of the November 1989 Jesuit killings in El Salvador is a total fiction. The fact of the matter is that no State Department official was present either when Major Buckland made his claim on Jan. 11 or when he retracted it on Jan. 18. Nor did any State Department official have any contact with the major between those two dates. Moreover, Major Buckland was reinterviewed by Defense Department and FBI officials this past Nov. 29 and affirmed that he was not pressured by a State Department official or any other government official to change his story.

LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER
Deputy Secretary of State
Washington, D.C

MAIL CALL

Looking Ahead



Not everyone agreed with NEWSWEEK'S *arguments in "The Age of Anxiety," our Dec. 31 cover package on what to expect in the 1990s. A teacher criticized "Brainpower," which stated that a major function of schools is to preserve America's position in the world economy. "Our public schools have a far wider mandate," he wrote. "The school is essential to the formation of citizens capable of sustaining a democracy." Another reader balked at our geopolitical essay "Force." "Instead of second-guessing a president who has done everything possible to gain international support against Iraqi aggression," he wrote, "you should be writing about the true villain [Saddam Hussein]."*

Weighing the Enemy

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan devotes most of his essay ("How America Blew It," MY TURN, Dec. 10) to the first half of his 11-year-old prediction—that the Soviet empire will disintegrate. But he brushes over the second half of that prediction—that when the Soviet Union goes, the world could blow up with it. This might still happen. With the increasing chaos in the Soviet Union, it's quite conceivable that Gorbachev could lose power to a dictator who would not scruple to use the nation's tremendous military arsenal. If that should happen, we'll still need the capability to look a dictator in the eye and not blink. Without the weapons Moynihan implies are unnecessary, this democracy may succumb to a dictator's blackmail.

BORIS LANDA
Columbia, Mo.

• • •

Perhaps Moynihan is right: perhaps the United States did spend too much on military defense from the 1960s onward. Nonetheless, our military expenditures have played a comparatively small part in our large federal debt. For the past 30 years, defense spending has averaged 6.8 percent of our gross national product. It was more than 9 percent in the early '60s. The big growth in spending has been in social welfare. Federal, state and local social expenditures accounted for 10.3 percent of the GNP in 1960. By 1987 this figure had grown to 18.4 percent. Yet can we say that we are a better educated, better housed or a more healthy country? I think not—and that, to me, is how America "blew it."

MICHAEL WARDER, *Executive Vice President*
The Rockford Institute
Rockford, Ill.

• • •

With due respect to Senator Moynihan, I'll take a pass on his national-security tips and continue to heed the somewhat broader advice of another well-known thinker, William Shakespeare, who wrote in "Henry V," "In cases of defence 'tis best to weigh / The enemy more mighty than he seems."

JOHN BONACCORSI
Philadelphia, Pa.

IUDs and Safe Sex

In comparing the newly approved Norplant device to other methods of birth control ("A Birth Control Breakthrough," MEDICINE, Dec. 24), you noted correctly that the IUD is not recommended for women who are under 25 or who aren't involved in long-term, monogamous relationships. The reason, however, is not that the IUD increases the risk of pelvic inflammatory disease, as your article suggests. IUDs simply fit better and remain in place more consistently in women over 25. Women with more than one sexual partner, meanwhile, are at an increased risk for pelvic inflammatory disease whether they use an IUD or not.

HERBERT P. BROWN, M.D., *Chairperson*
Association of Reproductive Health Professionals
San Antonio, Texas

Letters to the Editor, with the writer's name and address and daytime phone number, should be sent to: **Letters Editor, Newsweek, 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022** or faxed to: **(212) 350-4120.** Letters may be edited for reasons of space and clarity.

How gender plays a role in the roles we play.

Look beyond the most innocent children's games and you can discover complex perceptions about gender. Perceptions that may have little to do with physical differences. And much to do with tradition and cultural values.

The season premiere of Smithsonian World will explore how gender affects how we see ourselves. How others see us. And how it shapes our human identity. We'll also examine the social, cultural and economic impact of answering to gender stereotypes on the one hand, and questioning their relevance on the other.

How do gender roles evolve? Are they a privilege? Or a prison? What's their effect on how individual achievement is measured?

Watch "Gender: The Enduring Paradox," proudly brought to you by Southwestern Bell. It'll be broadcast January 23 at 8 p.m. on PBS. Check your local listings.

And see how the roles we play for fun can become the roles we play forever.

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Millions of Americans Can't Read This...

They can't read this ad, this magazine, a recipe or first-aid instructions.

The Girl Scouts are doing something about it. Our nation-wide Girl Scout service project, "Right to Read," is reaching out to people in our communities who can't read and write.

If you would like to help, call your local Girl Scout council.

GIRL SCOUTS

Space for this message contributed by Newsweek Inc.

Overheard

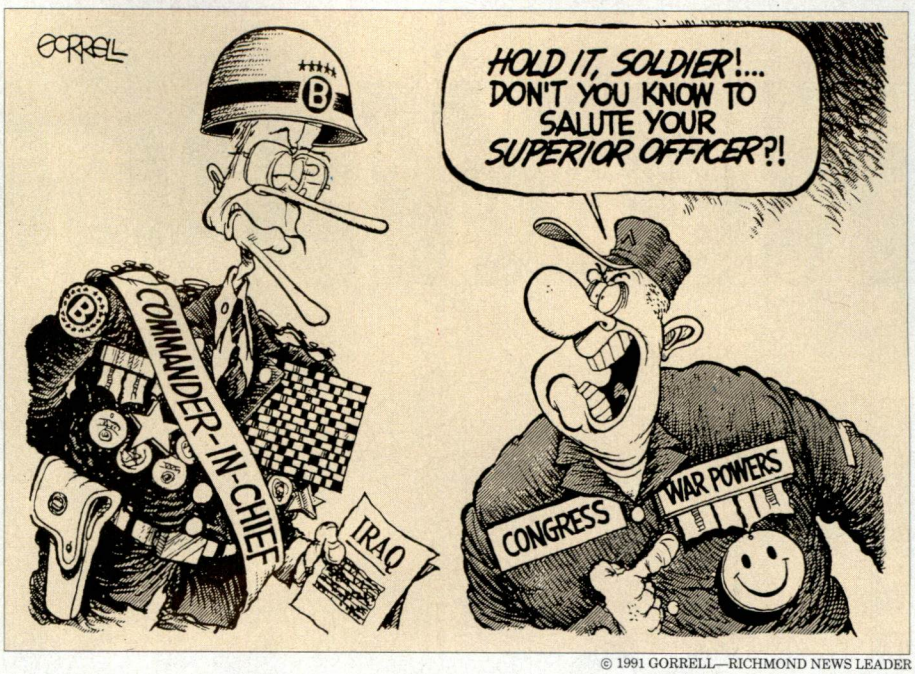
"I'm not indecisive. Am I indecisive?"
St. Paul, Minn., Mayor JIM SCHEIBEL, *responding to charges that he can't make up his mind*

• • •

"Corporately, we believe in orgasms."
NBC Entertainment president WARREN LITTLEFIELD, *on the opening scene of the new drama "Sisters," in which women discuss sexual fulfillment*

• • •

"I do mind being described as flaky, particularly by somebody like Fred Barnes, who makes a living being flaky."
Nebraska Sen. BOB KERREY, *responding to the political commentator's assessment of him*



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"He picks his nose. I saw him pick his nose lots of times."
JIM-JIM, *5, on working with Arnold Schwarzenegger in "Kindergarten Cop"*

• • •

"She's shrunk lately, just like George Burns. Nancy's gotten older before our eyes, and she's shrunk out of meanness. Oh, she's a mean woman."
Fashion guru MR. BLACKWELL, *mastermind of the yearly "Worst Dressed List," on Nancy Reagan*

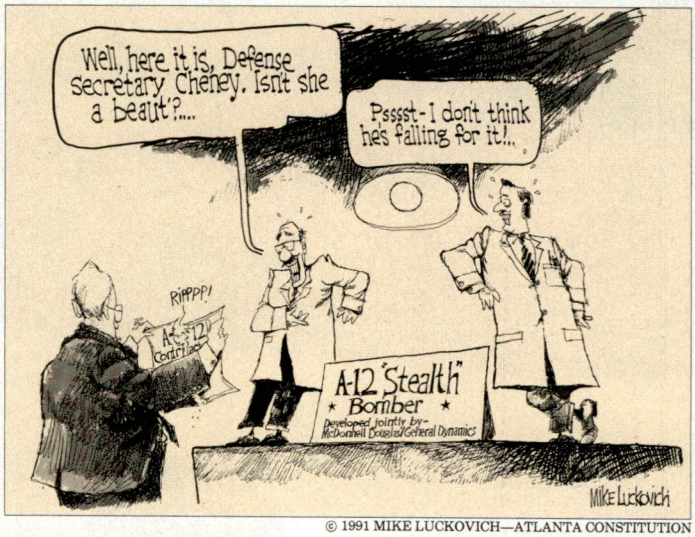
• • •

"Yes, Dick and I disagree on some issues. I am not a pantywaist myself."
U.S. Information Agency Director BRUCE GELB, *on his feud with Voice of America Director Richard Carlson*

"You may think the president is all-powerful, but he is not. He needs a lot of guidance from the Lord."
BARBARA BUSH, *discussing her husband's handling of the Persian Gulf crisis with schoolchildren*

• • •

"I can only ask the question of whether you would want this guy working on your pets."
Wisconsin Veterinary Board attorney WAYNE AUSTIN, *on why he doesn't want veterinarian Michael Person to regain his license. Person lost it after he was convicted of manslaughter for killing his roommate and her boyfriend.*



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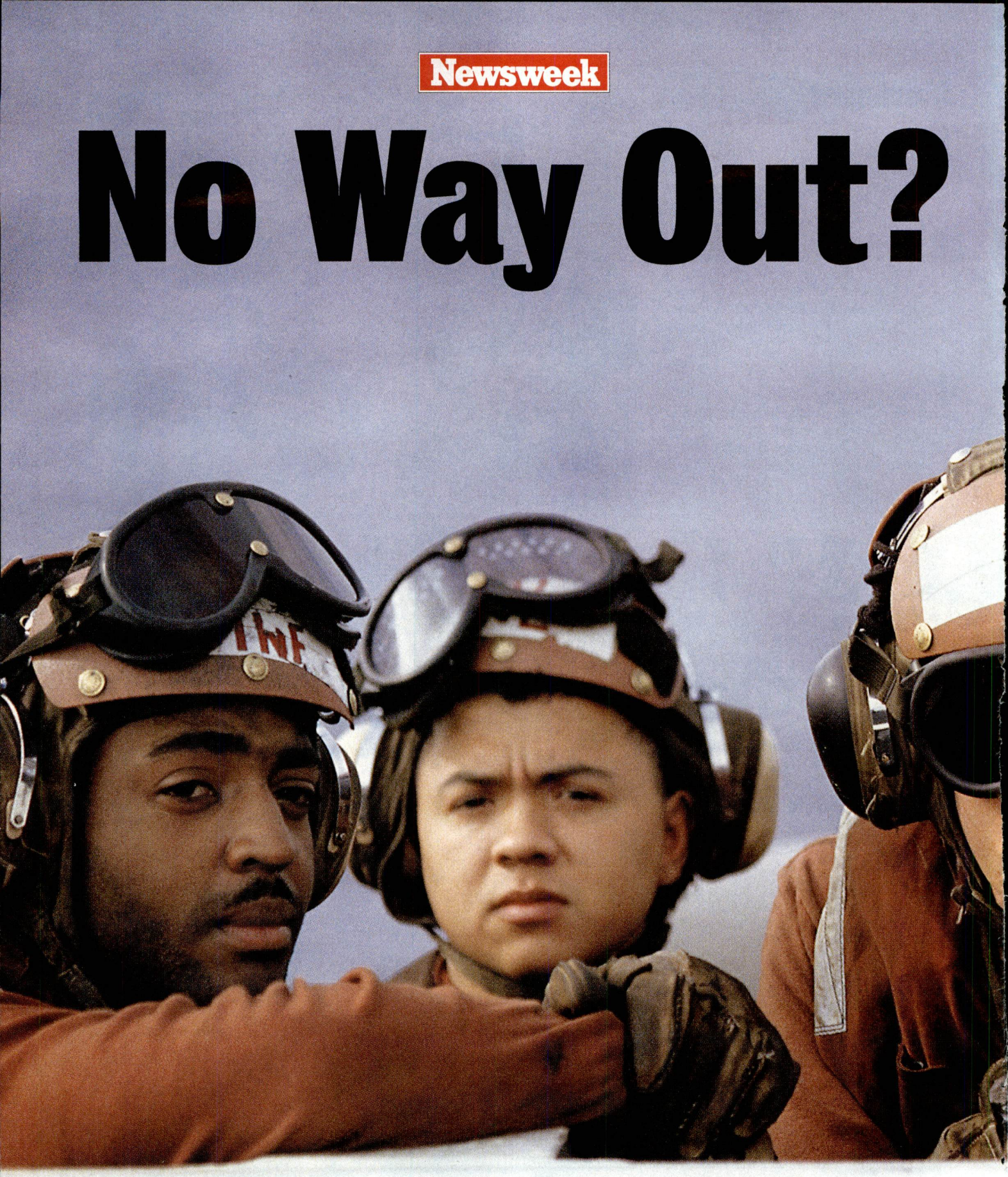
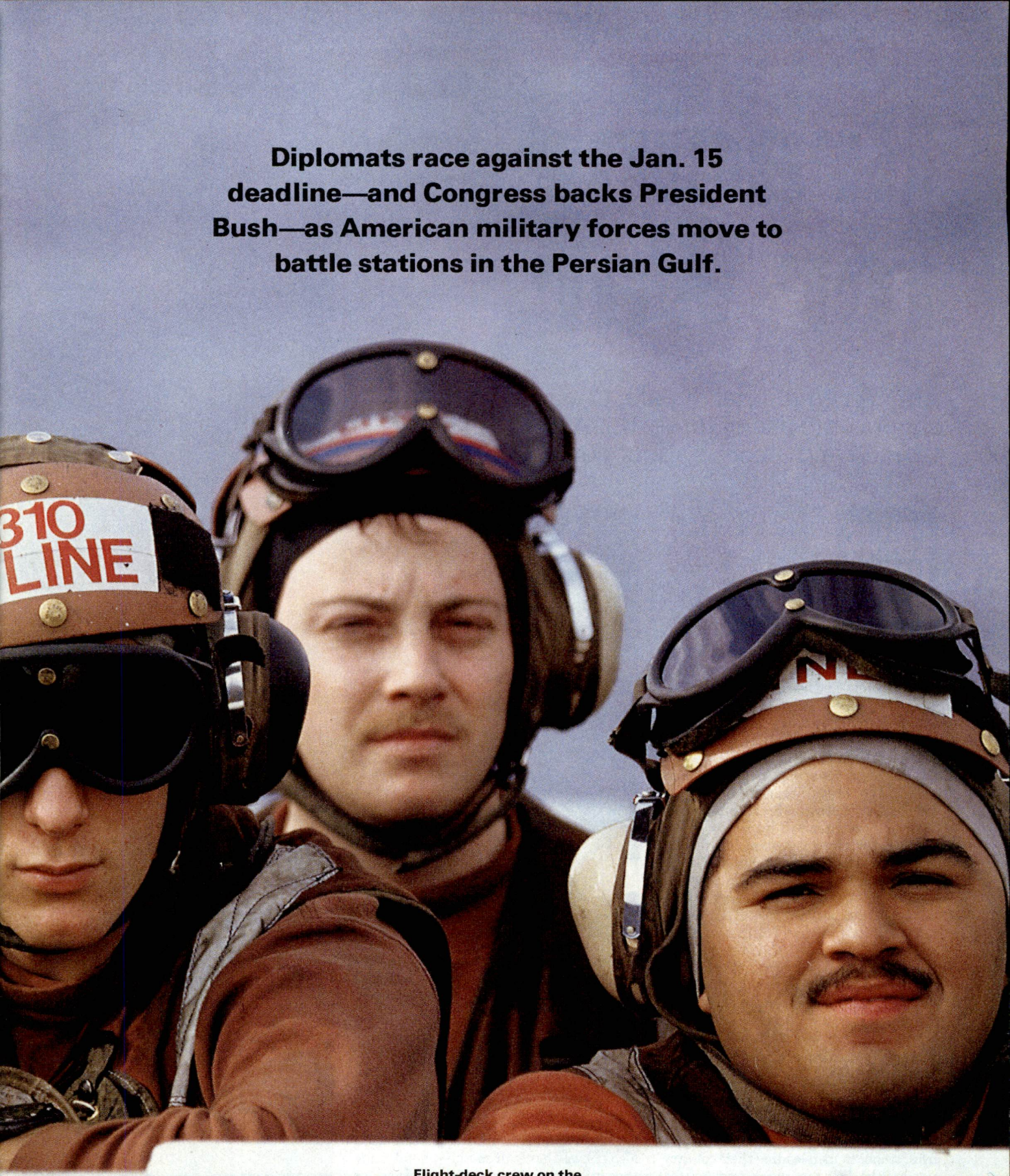
Newsweek

No Way Out?



Diplomats race against the Jan. 15 deadline—and Congress backs President Bush—as American military forces move to battle stations in the Persian Gulf.



Flight-deck crew on the USS Theodore Roosevelt

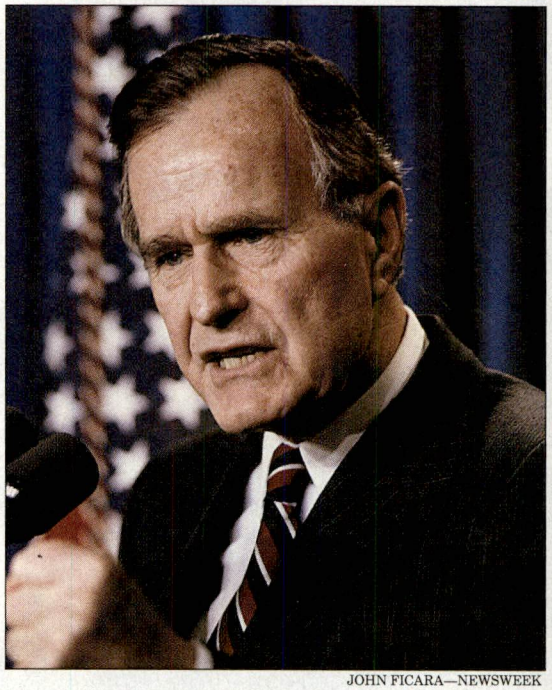
LES STONE—SYGMA

Bracing for War

After an emotional debate, Congress votes to support the use of force. But Americans are divided and anxious about conflict in the gulf.

CRISIS IN THE GULF

Susan Jordan got the bad news the same way millions of Americans did: on the tube from Geneva and in the gloom engraved on Secretary of State James Baker's face. Watching and waiting from her home in Stroud Township, Pa., she had permitted herself the hope that Baker and Tariq Aziz might somehow resolve the Kuwait crisis—that they would emerge from their meeting with a plan that would bring her son Samuel, a 21-year-old Marine, home from Saudi Arabia. Her hopes began to fade as she watched Baker describe his encounter with the Iraqi Foreign minister in deeply pessimistic terms. They vanished when Baker said Tariq Aziz refused to accept George Bush's letter to Saddam Hussein. That's it, she thought; war is inevitable now. And as she had so many times before, Jordan began to calculate the frightful costs of America's involvement in the Persian Gulf—aware as never before that her son might soon be one of them.



JOHN FICARA—NEWSWEEK

President Bush after Baker and Aziz failed to reach an agreement, in Virginia friends and families bid loved ones a tearful farewell

Americans everywhere were steeling themselves for war in the Persian Gulf last week. There was no jingoism and no war fever, and there was precious little recognition that the notion of Pax Americana, so easily discarded in the aftermath of Vietnam, was being dusted off and updated for a dangerous new era. There was only Bush and Saddam Hussein, two powerful, stubborn men leading their countrymen to the brink of war—and 370,000 young Americans now hunkered down along the Persian Gulf, waiting to launch an attack that would surely bring unimaginable destruction to the ancient lands of the Middle East. As the clock ticked down the last few hours to K (for Kuwait) Day, a reluctant and anxious nation seemed ready to pay the price of stopping Saddam Hussein. The latest NEWSWEEK Poll shows that 62 percent of the U.S. public now supports the use of force if Iraq refuses to withdraw from Kuwait. But the same poll also shows that half of those supporting the military option have reservations about it and that 48 percent of the national sample want Bush to wait longer before attacking Iraq.

The root questions about Bush's policy in the gulf crisis—why there? why now? why

LES STONE—SYGMA

LES STONE—SYGMA

us?—echoed across America all week long. They were the pivotal issues in an emotional debate in Congress that ultimately gave Bush a de facto declaration of war. By 67 votes in the House and 5 votes in the Senate, Congress granted Bush the authority to use force in the Persian Gulf, despite vehement arguments from Democrats that the U.N. embargo against Iraq should be allowed more time to work. Although the White House was forced to lobby hard, there was little doubt about the outcome. Congress, preoccupied with the deficit and the fall elections, had waited too long to grapple with this most critical of issues. As a result, members of both houses were forced to recognize that a defeat for Bush within days of the U.N. deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait would have devastating consequences not only for U.S. policy in the gulf, but for the international coalition against Saddam Hussein as well.

Running scared: At the weekend, the last hope of avoiding war seemed to rest on U.N. Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar's eleventh-hour mission to Baghdad (page 20). But the finality of the Baker-Aziz breakdown, followed by the congressional vote and Bush's repeated warnings to Iraq on Saturday afternoon, had touched off something approaching a national war scare. Stocks tumbled—the Dow Jones industrial average lost nearly 65 points for the week—and investors poured a record $16.4 billion into safe-haven money-market funds. Commodity traders prepared for a shutdown of the U.S. spot oil market in the event of panicky price fluctuations. Rumors of sudden gasoline price increases swept Rapid City, S.D., and the U.S. arm of British Petroleum prepared thousands of OUT OF GAS signs for its stations. Some firms restricted overseas travel by their employees and major airlines were drawing up plans for the emergency use of their jumbo jets by the military.

The Justice Department, the FBI and the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service acted to avert possible terrorist attacks on U.S. soil, and the State Department advised U.S. citizens to leave certain Middle Eastern nations, including Israel. The INS prepared to photograph and fingerprint all foreign visitors entering the United States on Iraqi or Kuwaiti passports. An FBI effort to interview a sample of Arab-Americans, presumably to detect terrorist conspiracies, set off outrage among the Arab-American communities in California and Michigan. FBI officials argued that the inquiries were legal and merely precautionary. But leaders of U.S. Arab and Muslim groups charged that the bureau's tactics were in themselves discriminatory and that they posed the risk of inflaming a vigilante mood against Arab-Americans. "People have called and said, 'If one person loses his life in the gulf crisis,

you're dead'," said Yousef Salem, a spokesman for the United Muslims of America.

War jitters swept college campuses and stoked the smoldering embers of the U.S. peace movement. In Washington, demonstrators were hauled away by police after shouting "No blood for oil!" and "No war for Bush!" during a speech by Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia. The fact that Nunn, who is chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, is a leading proponent of the go-slow approach in the gulf seemed to make no difference. Vietnam vet Ron Kovic, author of "Born on the Fourth of July," took part in a Los Angeles peace demonstration that led to fistfights. Antiwar organizations planned demonstrations in Washington, and leading labor and religious groups opposed Bush's gulf policy with newspaper ads. The talk on campus was how to avoid active duty with the military (though the draft was abolished in 1973) and some students were said to be contemplating emigration to Canada. Protesters at Wayne State University in Detroit even revived the old chant "Hell no, we won't go!"—although it was less than clear that anyone had asked them to.

Cheaper oil: Veterans of the peace movement think public support for the use of force in the gulf is shallow and very fragile. There can be no doubt, from NEWSWEEK's polling and interviewing last week, that millions of Americans are still unsure of the national purpose and deeply frightened by the threat of war. "It scares me," said Rob Buist, 27, of Oakland, Calif. "I can't see one life wasted for this war." Vietnam vet Jonathan Graham of Clarinda, Iowa, resented the idea of a war for cheaper oil and said he didn't "understand what the United States is doing anymore." Others, like former Iraqi hostage Eugene Hughes of Albuquerque, N.M., said, "Most of the people I talk to say 'Let's go in and get it over with'." Barbara Lyons of Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., said her chapter of Operation Homefront, a support group for families with relatives on active duty in the Middle East, reacted with "total fear and anger" to the breakdown of the Baker-Aziz talks. Lyons, whose son James is a Marine, said she is reluctantly backing the president. "It's what my kid chose to do," she said. "My kid is backing [Bush], and I'm backing my kid."

The nation's doubts were clearly portrayed during last week's congressional debate. Scheduled by the leaders of both houses, the event itself was darkly historic—arguably the bluntest, most open debate on the issues of peace and war since World War II. Democrats, building on Nunn's credibility in military affairs, pushed a resolution that urged continued reliance on diplomacy and the U.N. economic sanctions against Iraq. Warning there was little assurance that a war with Iraq would be the short, low-casualty adventure that many predict, Nunn said it was still "reasonable" to believe that sanctions would force Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. "It should not be a war in which Americans do the fighting and dying while those who benefit from our effort provide token help and urge us on," said Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell. "How many young Americans will die? . . . And the truly haunting question will be: did they die unnecessarily? For if we go to war now, no one will ever know if the sanctions would have worked . . ."

The administration won, in the end, with ample bipartisan support in the House and 10 Democratic votes in the Senate. One of the defecting Democrats, Sen. Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut, conceded that it was "no easy thing" to cast a vote that could lead to war. But, Lieberman argued, "our final, best chance for a truly peaceful end to this crisis . . . is to send a clear and unequivocal message to Saddam Hussein that the American Congress and the American people

Mixed Feelings

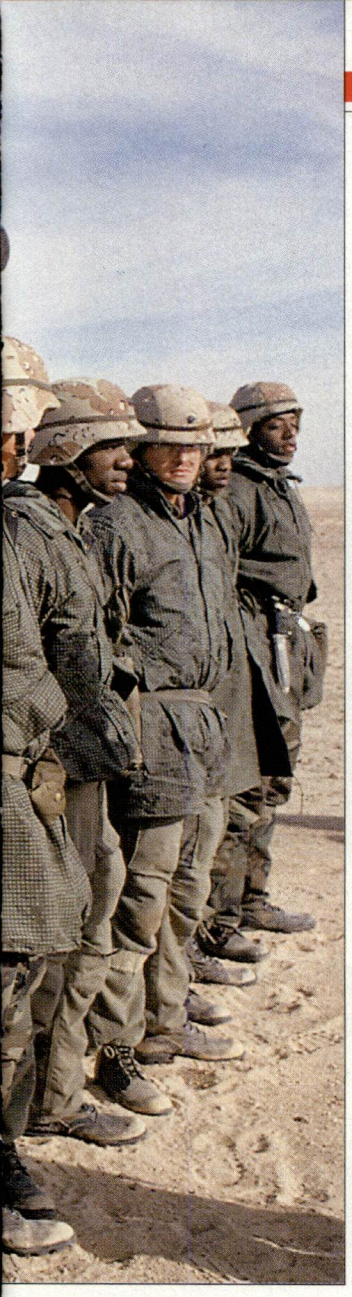
As the expectation of war grows, so does support for U.S. military action—but half those who support combat admit they have reservations. Most Americans know—or know of—someone mobilized for gulf service.

Should U.S. forces engage in combat with Iraq if Iraq refuses to leave Kuwait and restore its former government?

	Current	8/10/90
Percent saying yes	**62%**	**42%**

Do you feel strongly about your position on engaging in combat, or have some reservations or a lot of reservations? (Among those saying "Yes" to combat):

49%	Feel strongly
40%	Have some reservations
9%	Have a lot of reservations



PHOTOS BY PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

In the Saudi desert, American troops go through maneuvers in preparation for all-out war against Iraq

How likely do you think it is that U.S. forces in and around Saudi Arabia will become engaged in combat?

	Current	1/4	8/10/90
Very likely	66%	50%	29%
Somewhat likely	24%	32%	45%
Not too likely	4%	11%	17%
Not at all likely	3%	4%	5%

Do you personally know someone, or do you know someone with a *family member*, who has been sent to the Persian Gulf region or has been called up to join U.S. military personnel there?

60% Personal friend/relative
12% Relative of a friend

For this NEWSWEEK Poll, The Gallup Organization interviewed a national sample of 751 adults by telephone Jan. 10-11. The margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points, Some "Don't Know" and other responses not shown. The NEWSWEEK Poll © 1991 by NEWSWEEK, Inc.

KEVIN LARKIN—AFP

A protester outside the White House

ple stand shoulder to shoulder with our president at this critical moment of confrontation." In the House, Democratic James Bilbray of Nevada put the same case more strongly. Denying Bush the military option could actually cause war, Bilbray said, adding that "our only hope is that by giving the president the right to use force, he will not have to use that force."

That paradox—the essence of U.S. defense strategy over the past 45 years—has never been accepted by many Americans, and it may prove to be mistaken in the Persian Gulf. But Bush and Congress were gambling that what had worked in the past would work once again—and an anxious nation knew the die had been cast.

TOM MORGANTHAU *with* ELEANOR CLIFT *in Washington,* SHAWN D. LEWIS *in Detroit,* TODD BARRETT *in Chicago,* LAUREN PICKER *in New York and bureau reports*

GERARD MALIE—AFP

Talks in Geneva reached impasse soon after the handshake, as Iraqi Foreign Minister Aziz (left) was on a short leash from Baghdad

The Edge of the Abyss

War was drawing near, but congressional solidarity may make Saddam think again

In a game of brinkmanship, it helps to know precisely where the brink is. Last week some people thought Saddam Hussein was playing the game. His Foreign minister showed no sign of flexibility at the last-chance meeting in Geneva—"a total stiff-arm," complained George Bush. But there was hopeful speculation that Saddam might offer some sort of compromise just before the deadline this Tuesday, or even a face-saving day or two after it. If so, Saddam could stumble over the edge of an abyss before his ploy takes effect. Again and again last week, Secretary of State James Baker warned that time was running out. "We pass the brink at midnight, Jan. 15," he told U.S. airmen in Taif, Saudi Arabia. If Saddam does not at least start to withdraw from Kuwait by then, war could break out very quickly.

After Congress voted last Saturday to authorize the use of force, Bush insisted that he had not yet decided to go to war. By late last week, NEWSWEEK learned, no single date for the start of hostilities—K-Day, as some of the troops were calling it—had been selected. Instead, there was a series of dates, beginning not long after Tuesday's deadline and extending into the middle of February. "It's all scenario driven, and the president hasn't settled on one date yet," said a well-informed source in Washington. The Pentagon, still not fully prepared for a ground war, favored one of the later dates. But Bush himself told reporters that he would be inclined to act "sooner rather than later."

CRISIS IN THE GULF

The sudden war scare prompted foreign diplomats to evacuate Baghdad, while Westerners fled other potential battlegrounds, notably Israel. There was a flurry of last-minute interventions by would-be peacemakers: France, Germany, Algeria, Jordan, the Soviet Union—even Zambia and the Nordic countries. None of them made much headway, and most were happy to step aside for the intermediary of last resort, United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. Promising nothing, but invoking "my moral authority," Pérez de Cuéllar flew off to Baghdad to talk to Saddam over the weekend. American officials fretted that at the last minute, some partial concession by Saddam might split the alliance arrayed against him and undercut the deadline. "If Saddam is moving on the 15th, of course the president can't go to war," said one U.S. official. But the possibility of being pre-empted by last-gasp diplomacy or by Iraqi stalling also could persuade Bush to launch his attack soon after the deadline passes.

War could be just what Saddam wants. According to one school of thought, the Iraqi dictator may calculate that he stands to gain more from a brave defeat in Kuwait than from backing down before the deadline (page 22). Despite the obvious risks to his regime and his own person, he may believe that a losing but short-lived war against the hated Americans will make him the hero, and hence the leader, of the Arab world. Last week Saddam's government insisted that it would present no new peace initiative after the deadline. Saddam said he was ready for "a showdown between the infidels and the true believers," boasting that the high-tech Americans and their allies would be defeated by battle-tested Iraqi "soldiers carrying rifles and hand grenades." And his Foreign minister, Tariq Aziz, said after meeting

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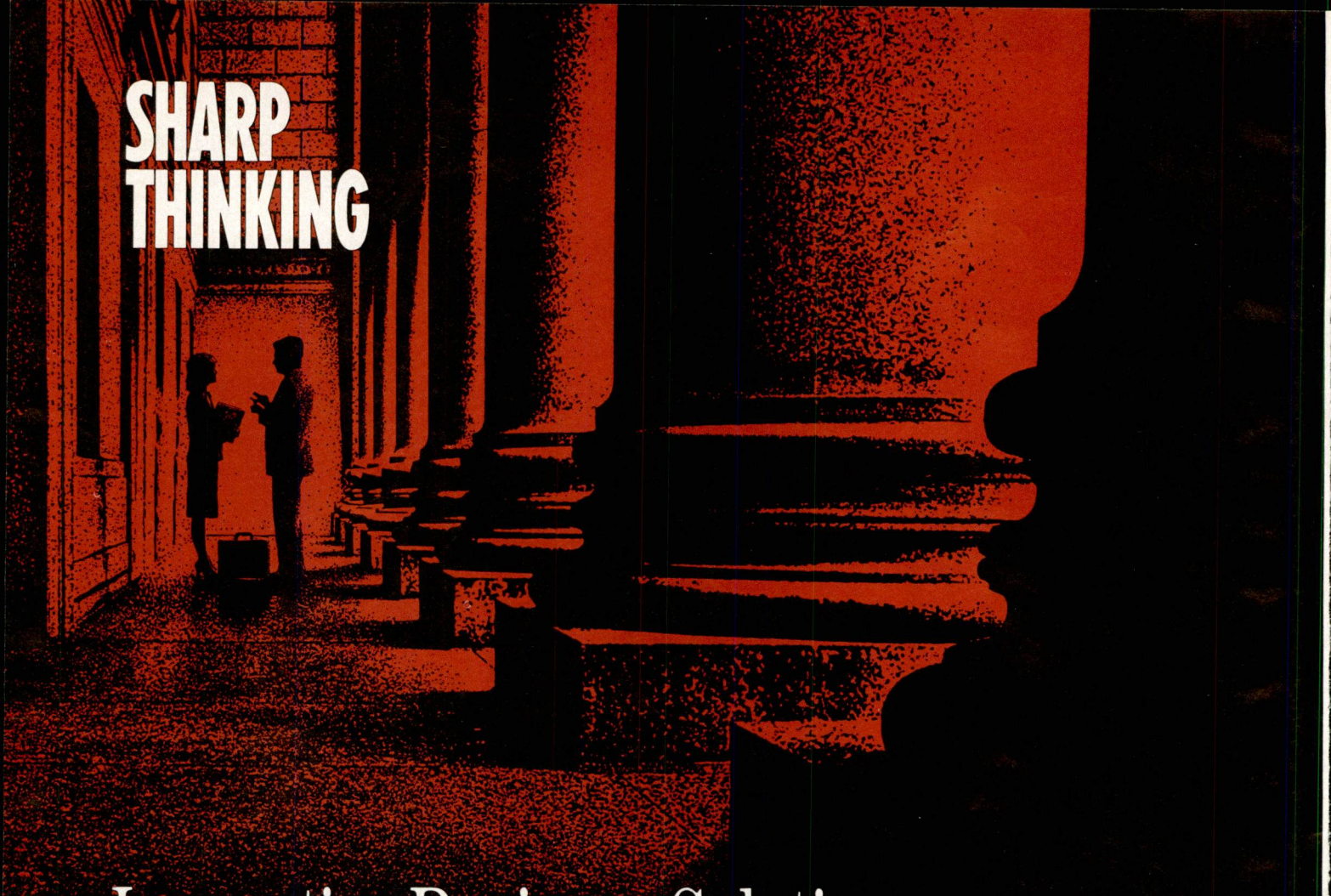

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with Baker that if war broke out in the Persian Gulf, Iraq "absolutely" intended to expand the conflict by striking Israel. Israeli leaders huddled last week to consider their response if attacked (page 30).

Aziz and Baker both went to Geneva determined not to give an inch. They both succeeded. After an awkward handshake requested by photographers, the meeting went on for six and a half hours, encouraging many anxious onlookers in the global village to hope that progress was being made. But the two men were talking past each other. Baker directed his remarks to Saddam, warning that if the Iraqi dictator stayed in Kuwait, he faced military disaster and that there could be no face-saving compromise or change in the deadline. Aziz seemed to be addressing an Arab audience, including his hard-line masters back in Baghdad. Baker's inner circle had hoped for a surprise offer from Aziz—perhaps an unacceptable one, but at least something that would indicate flexibility. Instead, they heard only a familiar litany of Iraqi grievances. The meeting lasted until both sides were talked out.

Face the consequences: "I'm not trying to threaten," Baker said more than once. "I simply want you to understand the consequences." He portrayed them starkly: Iraq had to get out by the 15th or face a conflict it cannot control. "Don't think this is going to be a war you can . . . fight on your terms," he was quoted as saying. Another participant in the talks said Baker was "very cool throughout. He understands that you have more impact if you're not histrionic." Baker showed irritation only once. When Aziz claimed that the Iraqis had to invade Kuwait because the Kuwaitis were threatening them, Baker retorted: "That's ridiculous." As he had in the past, the secretary satisfied one of Saddam's key demands by making it clear that Iraq would not be attacked if it withdrew from Kuwait. But once again he rejected a face-saving Iraqi condition: that resolution of the gulf crisis be linked specifically to an international conference on the Palestinian problem.

The depth of the impasse became apparent when Aziz refused to accept a letter from Bush to Saddam, reading a copy of the message and claiming afterward that, to his eyes, it was not written in sufficiently "polite language." For the rest of the meeting, a brown envelope containing the original of Bush's letter lay on the table between Aziz and Baker, beneath the photocopy that had been read by the Iraqi Foreign minister. When the two sides broke for lunch, Baker posted a guard over the letter. At the end of the day, the secretary asked Aziz if he was sure that he did not want to carry the message to Saddam. "I'm sure," Aziz replied, and Baker finally retrieved the envelope.

At a press conference later, Bush insisted: "The letter was not rude. The letter was direct. And the letter did exactly what I think is necessary at this stage." When the letter began to leak to the press, the White House released the full text, which seemed far from rude. "We stand today at the brink of war between Iraq and the world," it began, respectfully. Balancing carrot and stick, it assured Saddam that by complying fully with U.N. resolutions, "Iraq will gain the opportunity to rejoin the international community. More immediately, the Iraqi military establishment will escape destruction." The strongest language, such as it was, came in a warning that Iraq should not resort to chemical or biological warfare, terrorism or destruction of Kuwait's oil facilities. "You and your country will pay a terrible price if you order unconscionable acts of this sort," Bush wrote.

Should the issue of Israel's occupation of the West Bank, and creation of a Palestinian state there, become part of an overall diplomatic solution to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, or should it be treated as a separate issue?

78% Separate issue
11% Part of diplomatic solution

In his own remarks to Baker, Aziz never mentioned an attack on Israel, sources said afterward. The threat came later, during a press conference, and appeared to be designed primarily for Arab consumption. During a long session with reporters, Aziz never mentioned the word "Kuwait," blandly referring to Iraq's invasion of the emirate as "what happened on the second of August." He insisted that the crisis in the gulf could be resolved by an "Arab solution," the terms of which he did not specify.

Aziz is a competent diplomatic technician, and his session with Baker was workmanlike. But as a Christian who does not belong to Saddam's inner circle, he has no authority to act independently. Real clout seemed to reside with a man who sat alongside him, taking notes and saying nothing. That enigmatic figure was Barzan Ibrahim Hassan al-Tikriti, Saddam's half brother, a former head of Iraqi intelligence who now serves as ambassador to the U.N. agencies in Geneva. Tikriti has a fearsome reputation. "He has literally killed hundreds of people with his own hands," charged a senior Arab official who has extensive contacts in the Iraqi government. "From Geneva, he runs the whole terrorist operation of Iraq." Although Tikriti apparently had some sort of falling-out with Saddam in the early '80s, he now seems to be trusted enough to serve as Aziz's watchdog. "He wouldn't leave Aziz for a minute," said the Arab official. "I think [Aziz] was not allowed to say anything. I think he was not trusted to see Baker alone. If he had, perhaps he could have hinted to Baker what paths to take."

After the meeting, Iraq continued to insist on firm linkage between the gulf crisis and the Arab-Israeli dispute. "If the Americans want this problem resolved, they must put Palestine first," Saddam told a gathering of Islamic scholars in Baghdad. Although it supports an international conference on the Palestinian problem under "appropriate" conditions, the Bush administration continues to resist direct linkage, a position strongly supported by the American public (chart). Washington is likely to change its tune only if a key ally, such as Saudi Arabia or Egypt, abandons the allied position that Saddam must withdraw from Kuwait without conditions. So far, the Arab allies are standing

GREG GIBSON—AP

House leaders like Republican Bob Michel helped Bush prevail

firm. Most of them even acknowledge Israel's right to strike back if it is attacked by Iraq, as long as the retaliation is in proportion to the attack. "The fact is," says a senior Arab diplomat, "most of us are simply too committed on the ground to turn around against the United States, even if we were inclined to. I think we'd see an Iraqi airstrike, and even an Israeli response, for what it was—a sideshow to the main event."

Peace plans: After Geneva, the main event suddenly seemed imminent, and other negotiators jumped into the search for a settlement. The European Community, led by the French, attempted to come up with its own peace plan. Jordan's King Hussein was in perpetual motion, trying to put together some offer, any offer, to avert a conflict. Algeria proposed itself as an intermediary. "It's my profound conviction that Saddam Hussein does not want war. He wants to negotiate," said Algerian Foreign Minister Sid Ahmed Ghozali, who visited Baghdad with his president last month. On Friday, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev called Bush to offer a new peace plan. Bush credited Gorbachev with "thinking innovatively," but administration officials said the Soviet proposal consisted mostly of old components in a new package.

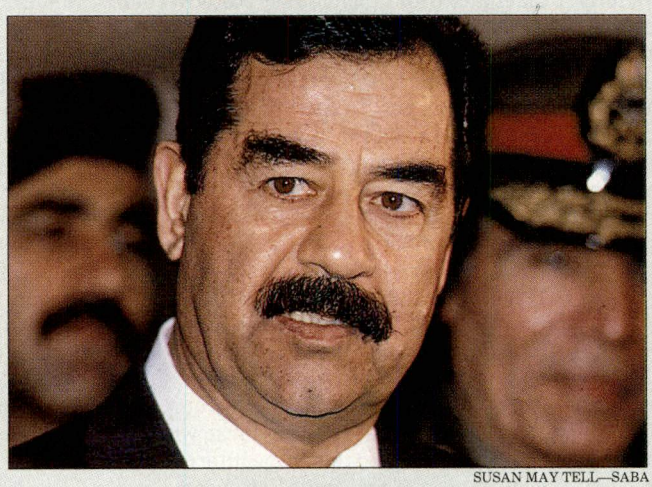
After two days of crisscross diplomacy, most of the mediators stood down in favor of Pérez de Cuéllar. The U.N. secretary-general had no leeway to negotiate with Saddam. "I'm going to listen to what he has to say to me, and of course I'm going to say something, but without going beyond the resolutions of the Security Council," he told reporters in Paris. Pérez de Cuéllar could assure Saddam that Iraq will not be attacked if it withdraws from Kuwait. Bush and his allies have said so many times. He could say that Western troops will leave Saudi Arabia and that a U.N. peacekeeping force will replace them. Bush said again last Saturday that he does not want U.S. ground troops to be stationed in the region. Pérez de Cuéllar could pass along a promise from the Europeans that they will try to arrange an international

Not Just a Case of Trying to Save Face

War. The word may not sound so bad to Saddam Hussein these days. He may in fact see it as his last chance to come out ahead in the current crisis. By taking on a superpower and holding out for weeks or even months, he would have gone into the ring with the champ. No one expects him to win. Fighting well is enough. Survival would be a triumph.

These are not simply the calculations of pride and emotion. They are made from an Arab perspective—much of it quite pragmatic—that the White House is either reluctant to concede or may not comprehend. "If there is no war and [Saddam] withdraws, then he looks like a coward, an idiot, who's lost everything," says an Arab envoy who has dealt with the Iraqi dictator personally on dozens of occasions. "He is thinking, 'If I go to war, there is a chance that I will survive it, and at least I will be looked on by the Arabs as a hero who went against the whole world because of right, of justice'."

American policy begins with the idea that Saddam will want above all to save his own skin. Hence the efforts to convince him that force is really in the offing. "We have always believed and still believe that [the threat of war] is the best chance we have for peaceful withdrawal," a senior U.S. official said after the Geneva talks.



SUSAN MAY TELL—SABA

There were few incentives for Saddam to settle early

But the status quo ante holds little allure for Saddam. He pillaged Kuwait to get cash. The low price of oil was wrecking his plan to build an army rivaling Israel's while continuing with his country's economic development. He was drowning in debt. Merely to return to the situation before Aug. 2, as Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz put it, "means that we will be threatened, we will be boycotted and serious political and psychological and media campaigns against us will continue. So what's the difference?"

In fact, things would be worse. Iraq's economy has been frozen since August, earning nothing. Oil prices will plunge if there is peace. Finally, Saddam would face hundreds of thousands of soldiers with no jobs and nothing to do but look at where he went wrong. By any standards there are few incentives to accept this kind of peace.

Arab world: There are, however, ample precedents for a victorious defeat in the Arab world. Egypt lost militarily in the Suez War of 1956 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973, but Presidents Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat made enormous political gains simply by taking on superior forces. A senior adviser to Secretary of State James Baker says Baker warned Aziz against such thinking: "Don't think this is going to be a war you can dictate or fight on your terms."

But from Saddam's vantage, the framework to fight and survive may already be taking shape. Neither the U.N. resolutions nor most of Washington's European and Arab allies support a war to crush Iraq. By threatening to attack Israel, meanwhile, Saddam has elicited constant assurances that Israel will not enter the war unless provoked. Thus the war could be limited to Kuwait and strategic targets inside Iraq. Conversely, he could execute his threats, hit Tel Aviv and spread the conflict throughout the region. In that case, warns Algerian Foreign Minister Sid Ahmed Ghozali, "the whole region will be invaded with humiliation and despair, and that will impact on the political situation of each country."

If Saddam is half as confident as sources close to him suggest, he may well believe his troops can hold out for a matter of weeks, perhaps longer, inflicting ever higher casualties on American and allied troops. Eventually Iraq would be forced out of Kuwait, but at that point the allies might be happy to declare victory and go home, allowing Saddam to stay in power. "That certainly may be [Saddam's] next calculation," says one well-placed Iraqi source, "or his next miscalculation."

CHRISTOPHER DICKEY *in Geneva and* MARGARET GARRARD WARNER *with Baker*

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conference on the Mideast this year. But he could not give Saddam the formal linkage that the Iraqi leader seems to need to cover a retreat from Kuwait, if only because he has no authority to guarantee that the United States or Israel will attend a peace conference.

'The new Saddam': Talking to reporters last Saturday, Bush seemed to signal that he would support a peace conference, as long as it is not tied to Iraqi withdrawal. "I simply want to see us avoid what is known as linkage," he explained. The crucial endgame question may turn out to be whether Saddam will accept a wink and a nod on the issue, or risk war by holding out for a formal assurance. Amatzia Baram of Haifa University, an Israeli expert on Iraq, thinks Saddam has become more unpredictable since the end of his eight-year war with Iran. "The old Saddam would have withdrawn from Kuwait, even unconditionally, to spare Iraq and himself," says Baram. "The new Saddam is even more of a gambler than before, and he seems to be more desperate, which makes it more difficult to gauge which way he will go."

Bush acknowledged last week that it was already too late, logistically, for Saddam to pull more than half a million men out of Kuwait by Tuesday night. But he insisted that the Iraqi dictator has to start "a massive, rapid withdrawal" by then if he wants to avoid war. One of the president's top advisers worries that Saddam "seems to believe we lack the nerve to use military force . . . He also believes if it comes to force, he can somehow ride it out." Now that Bush has demonstrated domestic and international support for his uncompromising stand, Saddam may think again. This week gives him just enough time to make the hard choices that can head off a war—or lead him to his doom.

RUSSELL WATSON *with* MARGARET GARRARD WARNER *in Baker's party,* CHRISTOPHER DICKEY *in Geneva,* SCOTT SULLIVAN *in Paris and* ANN MCDANIEL, JOHN BARRY *and* THOMAS M. DEFRANK *in Washington*

Why 'Linkage' Doesn't Connect

ALFRED—SIPA

Did the Palestinians commit a blunder siding with Saddam?

When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait last Aug. 2, he said nothing about doing it for the Palestinians. In fact, many Palestinians living in Kuwait fled the onrushing Iraqi troops. But facing worldwide condemnation, Saddam quickly realized that his best chance to divide the opposition was to pose as the champion of the Arab dispossessed. This revived a hardy diplomatic concept called "linkage"—in this case, connecting withdrawal from Kuwait to a commitment to a Mideast peace conference to settle the festering Palestinian problem. Most of the gulf allies have long favored such a conference. Even the United States has embraced the idea, with reservations. But strongly backed by American public opinion (NEWSWEEK Poll, page 21), the alliance refuses to reward Saddam by connecting Kuwait to the larger issues of Mideast peace. By some lights, the best hope for peace is to replace that "link" with a "wink"—an implicit rather than an explicit deal.

With thousands of casualties imminent, many people in Europe and the United States are starting to ask what's wrong with an informal accommodation. But the idea is fraught with complications. It assumes Saddam views a peace conference as a priority. More likely, he simply wants to save face by being seen to have won something—which a knowing wink doesn't really accomplish. Who will go beyond such subtle signals to the unambiguous concession that Saddam seeks? Even such aspiring dealmakers as France and Algeria have made it clear that unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait must come first.

Ironically, the best hope for a Mideast conference may be for the United States to fight and win. Big wars usually end in peace conferences, and Washington would undoubtedly pressure Israel to be cooperative. The United States would also control the agenda, which would probably include, at long last, the Palestinian question, whether or not Israel chose to attend. Conversely, should war be averted, Israel would no doubt continue to boycott any conference.

Bad analogy: While such intransigence hampers peace, it should not lead to the kinds of fallacious analogies sometimes heard between Iraq and Israel. According to this convenient argument, the two countries have a rough moral equivalence. Both occupy the territory of neighbors in defiance of U.N. resolutions. Palestinians and their supporters argue that while Iraq's aggression may lead to a U.S. attack, Israel's aggression leads only to continued U.S. support.

By the standards of logic and history, such theoretical "linkage" is deeply flawed. Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, however objectionable now, was the result of a war launched against it by Arab aggressors. The analogy would work only if Saddam's annexation came after mighty Kuwait had attacked tiny Iraq, not the other way around. Israel says it has held on to those territories for defensive purposes because its Arab neighbors (other than Egypt) continue to refuse to abide by U.N. Resolution 242 and fully recognize its right to exist. Iraq, obviously, has no such problem with recognition. In fact, the United States has explicitly pledged not to destroy it (if it withdraws from Kuwait), a promise most Arabs have yet to make to Israel.

Had they not sided with Saddam Hussein, the PLO might now be closer to the peace settlement it seeks. As onetime Israeli Foreign minister Abba Eban once said, the Palestinians rarely "miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity." More fundamentally, the mere fact that Iraq and Israel exist in the same region does not by definition connect them. As war nears, they are bound together only by the need of a cynical Iraqi leader to toy with the genuine hopes of the Palestinian people in order to achieve a last-ditch distraction.

JONATHAN ALTER

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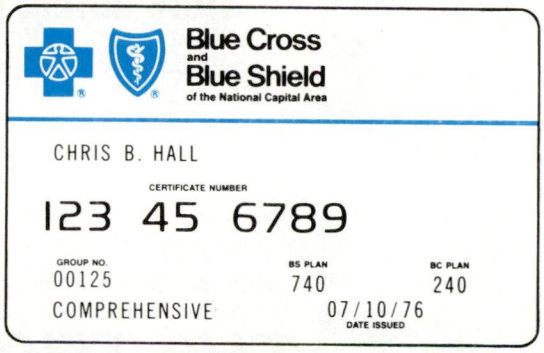

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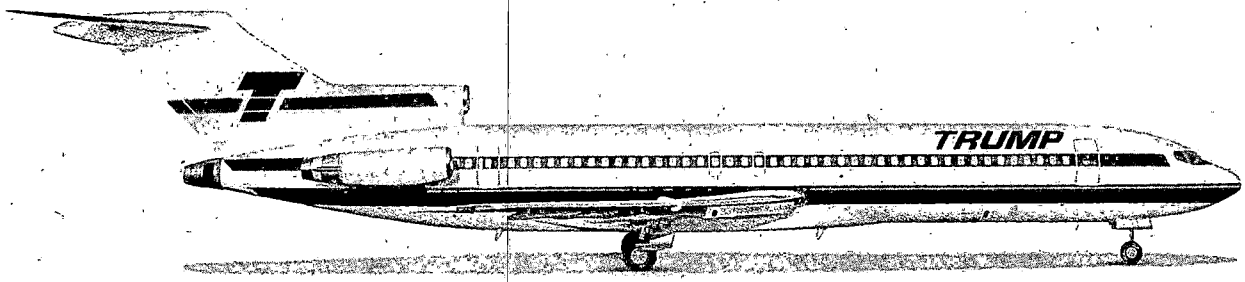

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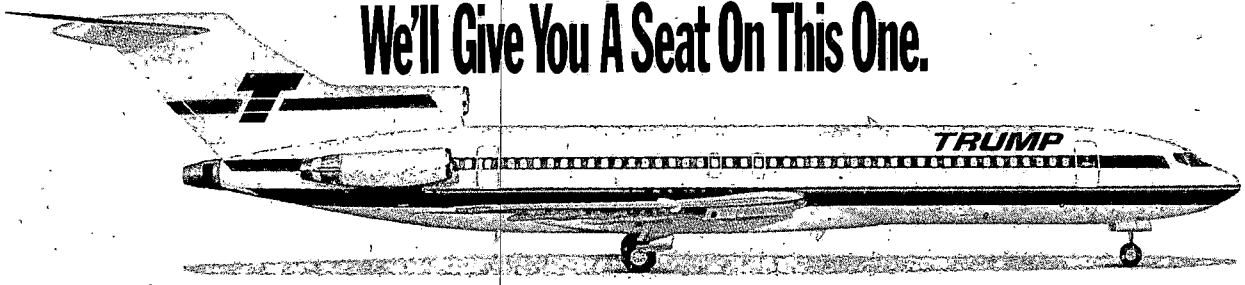

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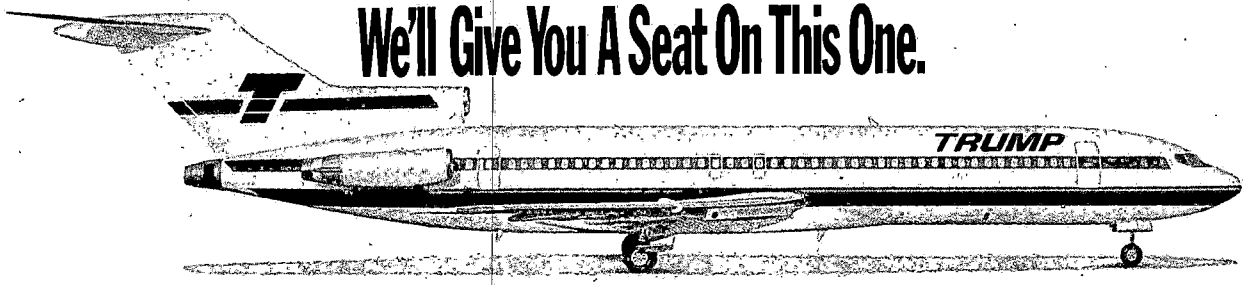

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DCM/2

'Fire on the Other Side'

Why the Japanese don't think this is their war

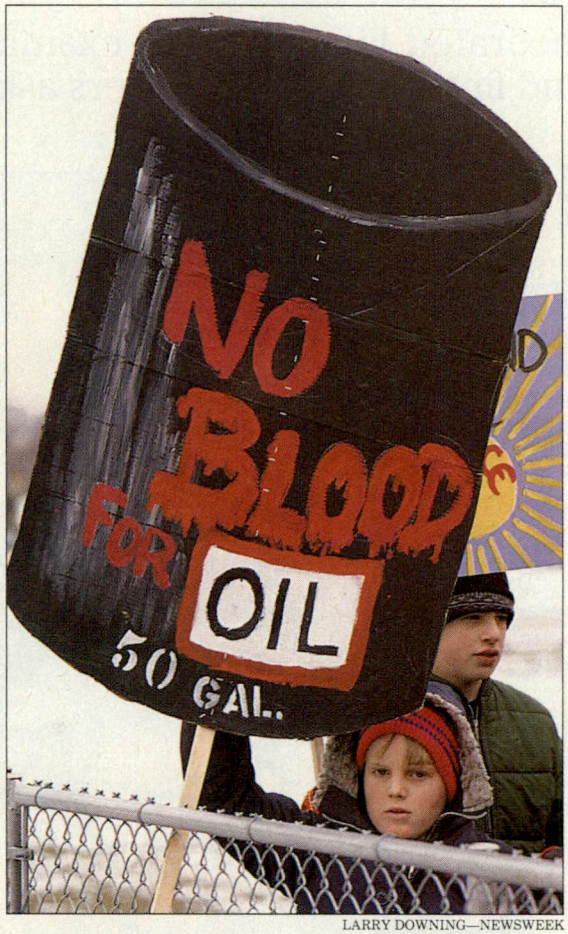
Since the beginning of the gulf crisis it has become a familiar and increasingly bitter question: if war comes, will American soldiers die defending oilfields that are even more vital to others? It is asked now most often and most pointedly of Japan, a nation with virtually no indigenous oil reserves which relies on the Middle East for 70 percent of its supply. Tokyo, critics say, should be especially grateful for Operation Desert Shield. Instead, its monetary assistance seems grudging, its gratitude almost nonexistent. As Rep. James Traficant of Ohio sputtered on the House floor last week: with 400,000 Americans preparing for war in the Saudi desert, "the Japanese are selling hot dogs at Yosemite Park. Think about it."

In Tokyo they are thinking about it, and they can't believe what they're hearing. What's apparently accepted as a fact among many in Washington—that, economically at least, this is Japan's war as much or more than it's America's—is viewed on the other side of the Pacific as a simplistic and dangerous misreading of reality. The notion that the Japanese have the most at stake in the gulf "is not a rational argument but an argument based on emotion," says Tomoharu Washio, senior research fellow at the International Institute for Global Peace, a Tokyo think tank associated with former prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone.

As far as the Japanese are concerned, any rational analysis leads to the opposite conclusion: that it can cope economically with almost any oil-price scenario better than the United States can. The only situation that's plainly a nightmare for Japan is a sustained supply disruption in the gulf, which few in Tokyo (or anywhere else) expect, even in the event of wide-scale war. "Any scenario short of that we can deal with," says a Japanese official in Washington.

Japan's confidence is rooted in three fundamental facts, all of which Tokyo believes Americans understand only poorly, if at all. They are:

■ Oil reserves, no matter how vast, are worthless unless brought to market. Simply put, many in the Japanese government believe privately that whoever presides over Kuwait's oil, including Saddam, has to sell it. Few high-ranking Japanese leaders will say it publicly, but most would agree with the pungent assessment of Tokyo business consultant James C. Abegglen: "If [Saddam] doesn't sell [oil] to Japan, what's he going to do, drink it? He did not invade Kuwait to turn the oil off. He invaded Kuwait to increase oil income."



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

A protest in Washington questioned U.S. motives

CRISIS IN THE GULF

■ Energy efficiency matters as much as dependency. If oil is available but at a higher price, everyone gets hurt a little bit, including Japan. But the relative damage for individual nations can vary greatly. What matters critically is how much energy a nation requires to fuel its economic output, and in this no one disputes that Japan has an edge over its industrial competitors. Since 1973 it has relentlessly implemented conservation policies that have paid off. During the first Arab embargo, oil provided nearly 80 percent of Japan's energy. By 1986, that had fallen to just 56 percent. Today, Japan's economy produces 81 percent more real output for the same amount of energy than it did in 1973. It uses about 30 percent less energy, relatively, to fuel its homes, cars, appliances and buildings than the United States. Its edge in manufacturing plants is even bigger, in part because it has invested so heavily in new factories and equipment over the last three years. Overall, the Japanese economy is twice as energy efficient as America's. In short, the Japanese are probably right when they say they can cope better with higher prices.

■ Japan's economy was stronger than its competitors' going into the next oil shock. "Japan is rather confident of its financial resources to absorb an oil-price hike if it happens," says Yoichi Funabashi, a respected economics columnist for the Asahi Shimbun. For good reason. On Aug. 2, when Saddam stormed into Kuwait, the United States was already slouching toward recession, and Bonn had just been handed the bill to overhaul 40 years of industrial ineptitude in East Germany. But in Japan, despite a stock-market slump, growth was and remains strong, with both inflation and unemployment low. While a war-induced oil-price hike—say, to $45 or $50 per barrel—will almost certainly deepen and prolong the slump in the United States, in Japan the worst that's expected is slower growth. "If war breaks out and lasts more than a few months, we'll have a growth recession," says Yoshio Suzuki, an economist at Nomura Research Institute. A "growth recession" means the economy still grows, but slowly—1 or 2 percent a year. This year in the United States, 1 or 2 percent growth would look good.

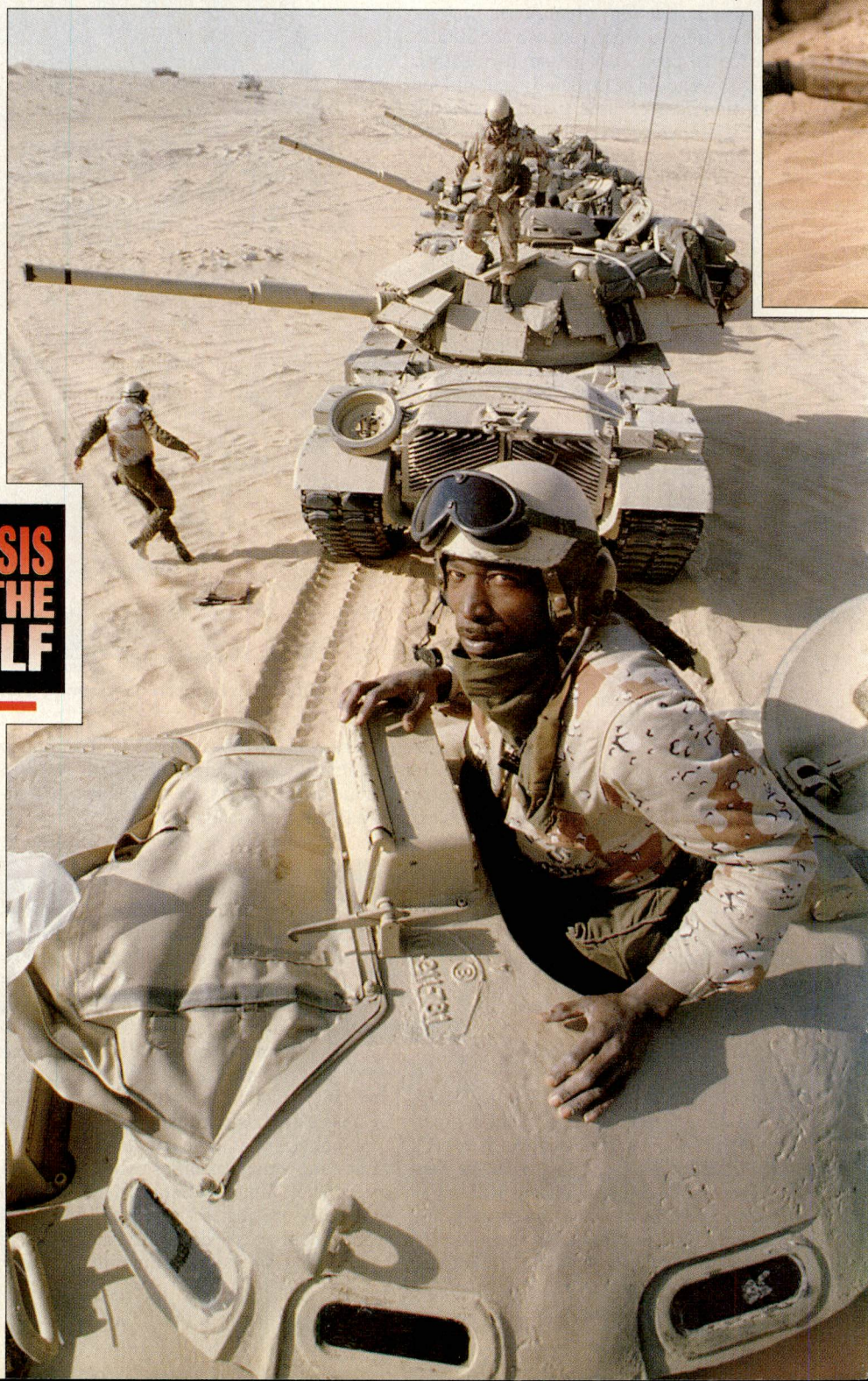
The Japanese government remains hesitant to voice these arguments aggressively. To do so, most believe, would only increase tension over Japan's role in the gulf when things are already tense enough. "War in the gulf would be the worst-case scenario for U.S.-Japan relations," says Washio. The contrast now in the atmosphere between the two countries could not be more striking. Across the United States, everyone braces for a war that seems inevitable. In Japan, many don't believe war is necessary—and they certainly don't believe it's Japan's war. "The gulf crisis," said a 34-year-old Tokyo "office lady" last week, "is like looking at a fire on the other side of the river."

BILL POWELL *with* BRADLEY MARTIN *and* HIDEKO TAKAYAMA *in Tokyo*

'We'll Win, But . . .'

America's most decorated living soldier examines the readiness of forces in the gulf and finds field commanders asking: what's the rush?

BY COL. DAVID H. HACKWORTH



Never has such force been assembled on so small a battlefield. If war comes to the Persian Gulf, more than 1 million soldiers will clash across a front no larger than Massachusetts. A 6,400-square-mile ring of fire will contain 15,000 armored vehicles and 4,000 artillery pieces. In the skies above: 2,500 combat aircraft, including squadrons of B-52 bombers and an array of fighters and fighter-bombers versus French-built Mirage and Soviet MiG fighters. According to military analyst David Evans, who is here covering the war, "it will be the biggest armored battle in history." Combat aircraft will create over Kuwait "a partial eclipse of the sun."

CRISIS IN THE GULF

But are the allies ready? After spending two weeks in the gulf with old Army colleagues, I have some answers. Last month Lt. Gen. Calvin A. H. Waller, the deputy commander of Operation Desert Shield, raised hackles in Washington when he bravely said that U.S. troops would not be ready to go on the offensive until mid-February. President Bush seems to be leaning toward a much earlier attack, perhaps within days of the Jan. 15 U.N. deadline for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. But taking out Saddam Hussein's battle-hardened Army will not be a "quick, massive and decisive" fight, as Vice President Dan Quayle promised here two weeks ago during a PR blitz reminiscent of his National Guard tour as an official publicist. It could take up to six months, according to Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, Desert Shield commander. My own estimate is in between: a best-case scenario suggests victory within 30 days.

History is filled with examples of impatient politicians pressing their generals to act before units are ready. Civilian leaders

The author retired from the U.S. Army in 1971, after a 25-year career including service in Korea and Vietnam. He won 110 medals. His 1989 memoir "About Face" was an international best seller.

PHOTOS BY PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

Troops were toughened with live-fire training (above), a soldier took a break (left), a tank exercise got underway

often think their commanders are too conservative. This is partially true. But senior military leaders are all too aware of the stakes of modern battle. In an all-out Persian Gulf conflict, casualties won't be 200 Americans dead a week, as in Vietnam. They will be more like 200 dead an hour in the opening round—more if fuel-air explosives and chemical weapons are fired. Ultimately, no matter what the date of "K-Day" (for Kuwait), the assembled multinational force will win because of its unparalleled striking power. But preparedness minimizes casualties. Many field commanders are in effect asking the president: what's the rush?

The concept of operation favored in the field begins with a massive air campaign, which could go for 30 days. The goal: to establish control of the skies and to destroy Saddam's retaliatory capability. This means demolishing the Iraqi Air Force and air defenses. The Scud extended-range-missile sites are essential targets, too. Bombing and rocket attacks will seek to cripple Iraq's system of command and control. Then the air attack will turn to pulverizing Saddam's ground forces, acre by bloody acre.

In this phase, the allied ground forces would avoid decisive combat. They would engage the Iraqi Army only enough to pin it down. And they would be prepared to fight a mobile defense if Saddam's Republican Guard lashes out in the attack. Only after air power had done its work would ground forces move in to mop up. The envisioned battle, says Maj. Martin Stanton, an expert on desert fighting now based with the Saudi Army, is "the kind of war we have been practicing at Fort Irwin [the Army Desert Warfare Center] for a decade . . . Saddam has put all his eggs in one sandbox that's easy to clobber." After seeing a videotape of the firepower available, Army Capt. Jack Pagano said, "I'm convinced that if Saddam Hussein knew what he was up against he'd walk rather than fight."

That is the plan. But nothing in combat ever goes according to plan. Murphy's Law says that if things can go wrong, they will—and those who have seen war firsthand consider Murphy an optimist.

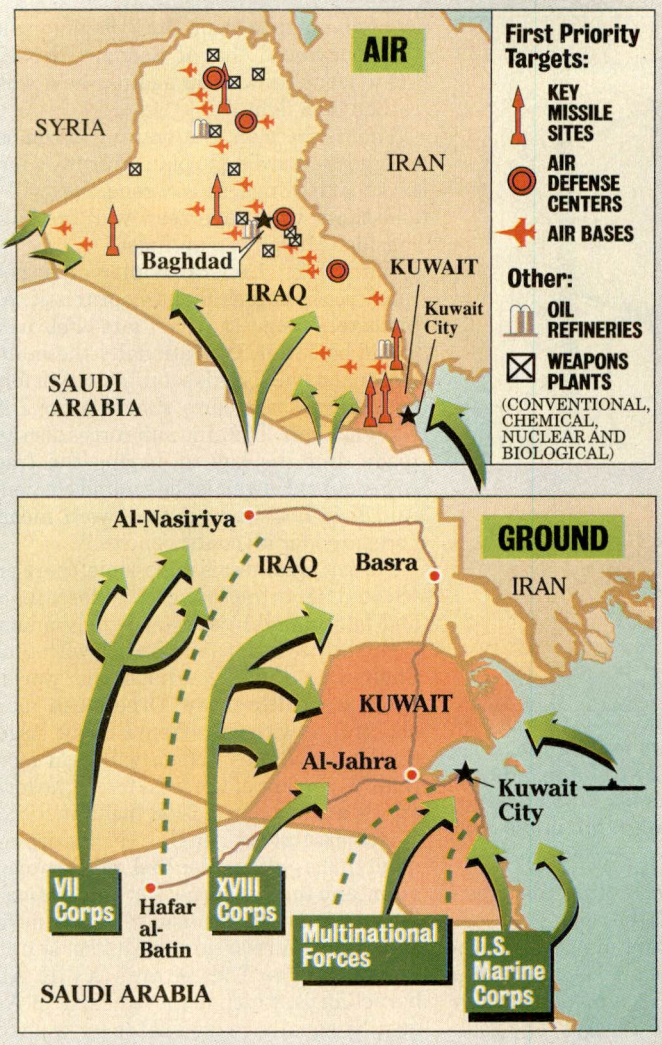
If anything, General Waller's mid-February ready-date is slightly optimistic. All indicators suggest that late February would be better. Operationally the multinational naval force is set to go, except for a temporary spare-parts shortage for U.S. Navy aircraft. The allied air forces also are ready. But the key to driving the Iraqi Army out of Kuwait is the ground element. And it is not ready if that word means "prepared for all contingencies."

Perfect readiness is impossible: there are 18 countries in the U.N. ground-force team, and fighting abilities vary widely among them. Some, such as the British with their Challenger tanks (perhaps the world's best), are battle-sharp. Others are more doubtful, as with units from Kuwait. As for the United States, which will field more than 70 percent of the total force, the level of preparation depends on the unit.

Locked and cocked: The U.S. Marine deployment to the gulf was a model military operation, and the leatherneck grunts are leaning forward in their foxholes. I have never seen American warriors in a higher state of readiness. The U.S. Army's XVIII Airborne Corps, which deployed early in August, is equally ready except for a heavy mechanized division now in transition training after exchanging older Abrams tanks and Cobra attack helicopters for more advanced models. The balance of the XVIII Corps, the 82nd Airborne Division, the elite 101st Air Assault Division and the crack Sixth French Division is like the Marines: locked and cocked.

The linchpin of the ground force is, however, the U.S. VII Corps. This three-division, European-oriented armored force was deployed only on Nov. 8, to give General Schwarzkopf an "offensive option." Then it was delayed in passage by inadequate sealift and bad weather. It must undergo training to adjust to conditions completely different from the good roads and rolling terrain of Western Europe. Even its vehicles need work: their black and green paint stands out against the desert sand like charcoal eyes on a snowman. Commanders from units in the gulf since August say VII Corps needs another month to prepare for the knockout punch it will be asked to deliver.

Command and control among 18 nations also is a problem. So is logistics. Planners have performed a miracle in virtually moving a modern city of half a million people 12,000 miles, setting it down in the Saudi



When 'K-Day' Comes

The decision on an attack to recover Kuwait may hinge on allied politics. "It's all scenario driven, and the president hasn't settled on one date yet," says a well-informed Washington source. But if President Bush believes the coalition is starting to weaken, he may decide to strike soon after expiration of the United Nations' Jan. 15 deadline for Iraqi withdrawal. The first phase of the action would almost certainly take place in the air, as allied warplanes seek to destroy Iraqi air defenses, missile sites and unconventional weapons facilities (left). If ground forces are asked to take part in this phases, three options seem most likely:

Option 1: Ground forces with the exception of VII Corps (still getting ready) conduct limited holding attacks in the border area. These pin the Iraqi Army down while massive Air Force and naval air bombardment of strategic targets proceeds—some 1,800 sorties a day. The bombing stops every three days to allow for peace negotiations.

Option 2: The air and naval bombardment opens the campaign. On the fourth day, U.S. Marines strike into southern Kuwait by land and stage an amphibious assault on the eastern coast. Multinational forces move toward central Kuwait, and XVIII Corps sweeps north along Iraq's border with Kuwait, then turns toward Kuwait City to pin the Iraqis down.

Option 3 (shown, left): Essentially the same as Option 2, except that VII Corps is pressed into action. On the seventh day, VII Corps crosses into Iraq headed for the town of Al-Nasiriya. The goal: to cut off the Iraqis' escape route, exposing them to further punishment from the air.

desert and getting it running in only five months. Still, until recently the forces were hobbled by the Pentagon's disgraceful neglect of essential items like spare parts, ammunition, rations and fast-moving ships to get the stuff there. Had Saddam's forces attacked Saudi Arabia any time between August and October, U.S. forces might well have been humiliated. Now the fighting units have their basic level of supply and depots are rapidly filling with the stocks required to support an offensive. Once the 300 cargo ships still en route arrive, Schwarzkopf will have Bush's "offensive option" in hand.

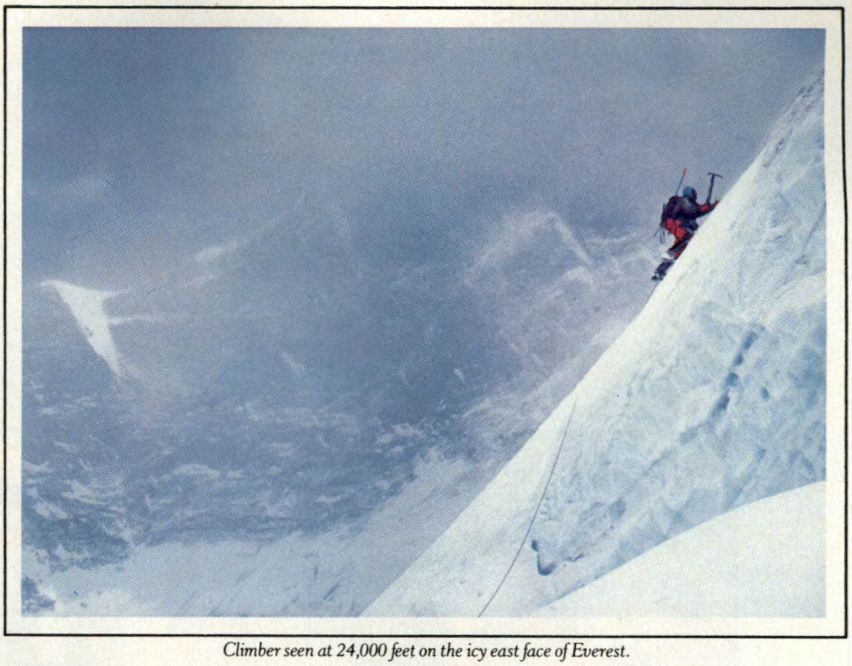
Halfway courses: Even so, senior officers here feel pressure from their commander in chief to meet a political timetable rather than a military one. This has forced them to consider a number of possible halfway courses of action, or C/As, as they are known in the soldiering trade. I have boiled them down to the three I think most probable. All assume an attack date soon after Jan. 15.

In the first option, on K-Day all ground forces except the still-unready VII Corps would conduct limited holding attacks designed to pin the Iraqi Army down while air and naval forces would conduct a massive bombardment against selected targets in both Iraq and Kuwait. The tank-heavy First Cav Division would be held in Central Command reserve. The bombing campaign would pause every three days for a stab at peace negotiations. This option would be the cheapest in terms of casualties.

Option two: on K-Day our forces would strike Kuwait and Iraq with a massive air and naval bombardment. Then on K plus 3 the U.S. Marines' Expeditionary Corps would conduct a holding attack from the south toward Wafra in southern Kuwait and simultaneously conduct an amphibious assault along the east coast of Kuwait (map). Also on K plus 3, the multinational Arab Army would conduct a holding attack from the south toward Al-Jahra in central Kuwait. The U.S. XVIII Corps would conduct a sweeping attack north along Iraq's border with Kuwait, then slash into Kuwait along a broad front toward Kuwait City, aiming to pin down the Iraqis and increase their vulnerability to air bombardment. The American VII Corps would be in mobile reserve behind the Arab Army, fitting out and preparing to react to an Iraqi counterstroke. The First Cav Division would be in theater reserve.

The third course is identical to the second, except that divisions of the American VII Corps would attack on K plus 6 into Iraq, to the vicinity of Al-Nasiriya, a town on the Euphrates River in southern Iraq. This would cut off the Iraqi defenders' escape route. The First Cav Division would remain in reserve.

A common element in each scenario is a heavy reliance on air power. Back in Washington, the Pentagon's air-power cult, with an eye on post-gulf budget cuts, has been singing the refrain that planes can do the job all by themselves. This kind of thinking was prevalent in Vietnam, where 6 million tons of bombs didn't work. Nor does it consider that Iraqi air defenses are battle tested if relatively primitive. In open desert, the air-power solution sounds good. But seasoned ground officers are skeptical.



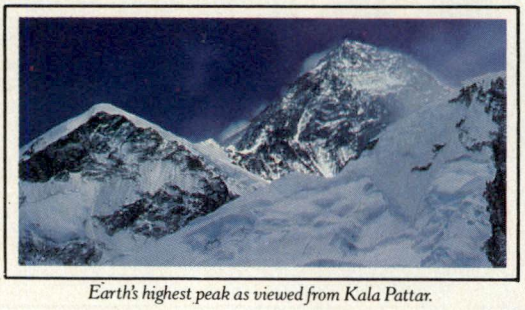
Climber seen at 24,000 feet on the icy east face of Everest.

The Inexhaustible Challenge of Everest.

Tibetans had long called it Chomolungma, "Goddess Mother of the World," but it wasn't until 1852 that British surveyors identified it as the highest point on the planet. Thirteen years later the mountain was renamed for Sir George Everest, Surveyor General of India from 1830 to 1843.

To early climbers, the great peak was doubly remote. Its sheer height made it as inaccessible as the mountains of the moon. Moreover, Tibet barred outsiders until 1920, and Nepal prohibited access until 1951.

The southern route was at last successfully climbed by Sir John Hunt's expedition in 1953. On the day that Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay stood together on the roof of the world,

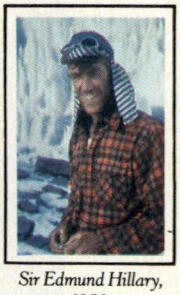


Earth's highest peak as viewed from Kala Pattar.

it seemed Everest could challenge man no longer.

But there were still untried climbing techniques and untried routes. In 1963, the American Expedition was the first to ascend the west face and, in 1978, climbers achieved the first ascent without oxygen tanks, beginning the so-called "purist" approach.

One thing that cannot change is the simple fact of Hillary and Tenzing's breakthrough success. In its honor, 35 years later almost to the day, another team put a man on the summit of Everest. Unlike their famous predecessors, they climbed without extra oxygen and established a new route up the treacherous east face.



Sir Edmund Hillary, 1953.

Although they traveled different routes by different means, both teams marked the times of their historic Everest ascents with Rolex Chronometers.

As an interesting footnote to history, Tenzing's son reports that his father's timepiece continues to run in excellent condition.

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PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

A medical team practiced treatment of battle injuries at a desert field hospital

Schwarzkopf calls it "a bunch of hoo-hah," recalling how Viet Cong soldiers would "just pop up" from their heavily bombed bunkers once the planes returned to their bases. Says Col. Bob Harkens of the XVIII Airborne Corps, who fought at much-bombed Dak To in 1967 and again at Hamburger Hill in 1969: "The only way an army buys real estate and wins wars is with infantry on the ground."

Moreover, the aircraft arrayed in the gulf are the wrong mix of aircraft. There's an overabundance of Top Gun planes that fly too fast and don't stick around long enough to provide effective close air support to the units on the ground that will be needed to knock out the Iraqi force of more than 10,000 armored vehicles. There are fewer than 200 of the lumbering but lethal A-10 tankbusters affectionately known to ground warriors as "wart hogs." Lt. Col. Bill Pitts, an A-10 pilot here, says, "The A-10 is like an ugly girl at an all-boys school: she's not much to look at but everyone likes to have her around."

Meanwhile, the Iraqis should give a good account of themselves against air attack. Their air-defense system has a large inventory of surface-to-air missiles, reportedly including U.S.-made shoulder-fired Stingers purchased during the Reagan administration and hundreds captured from the Kuwaiti Army, plus antiaircraft artillery. The Iraqi Army also employs a tactic used by the Vietnamese and the Iranians, in which each soldier shoots in a fixed direction during an air attack. The idea is that you can't run through rain without getting wet. The aircraft flies into a steady stream of bullets. Simple, but efficient. More than 10,000 U.S. helicopters and airplanes were lost in Vietnam mainly because of this poor man's air defense. Another major possible limiting factor of air power is visibility. If Iraqi forces torch the oil wells, refineries and pipelines in Kuwait, a thick blanket of black smoke will hamper all air activity.

Smartest ever: The men and women of our armed forces in the gulf are the smartest ever fielded. All have a high sense of duty and are inspiring to see. Few want to fight, but there is no question that fight they will. Pfc. Scott Rogers of the Airborne sums up the view of most: "We're all volunteers and fighting comes with the job." The trouble is that for the most part, from rifleman to battalion commander, these dedicated soldiers and Marines have never seen war. And in my judgment they haven't yet been made hard enough physically and mentally to survive the horror of potential combat with Iraq's veteran Army.

Nor are they trained well enough for what is ahead. One day last week a soldier tossed a live fragmentation grenade without pulling the pin. He was made to do it again. This time, seemingly panicked, he pulled the pin, but held the ticking grenade for two seconds before tossing it, creating a few anxious moments for NEWSWEEK photographer Peter Turnley, standing only a few feet away. It was the first grenade he's thrown since arriving in August. The next day an antitank gunner blew off his leg and wounded four other soldiers. He thought the live round he was training with was a dummy round. The day after that a Marine crew fired nine SMAW (a direct-fire bunker buster) rounds into a simulated enemy bunker position and got only one possible hit.

With the approach of K-Day, the training has gotten tougher. But the shortage of ammunition has kept it from being close to the real thing. Live-fire training kicked off only in November. Before that the infantrymen sang out, "Bang! Bang!" on exercises, like kids playing war on the back lot. Many battalion-level leaders here complain that there is not enough artillery fired "danger close" to prepare their men for the crucible of combat. They rightly say that a well-trained soldier is confident and that leads to competence, which is vital to survival on any battlefield. Only 3,000 rounds of artillery have been used during training since August.

The leadership is professional, spirited, willing and able. They're tactically competent and head and shoulders better than any group of small-unit leaders I've seen in the past 45 years. Their biggest fear is not the enemy or the tough job ahead. It's that American military power will be restricted by politicians and our national resolve at home won't hang in there until the job is done. Few trust members of Congress. Marine Cpl. Melvin Blazer, referring to Vietnam, said, "I just hope this time they just turn us loose and let us win."

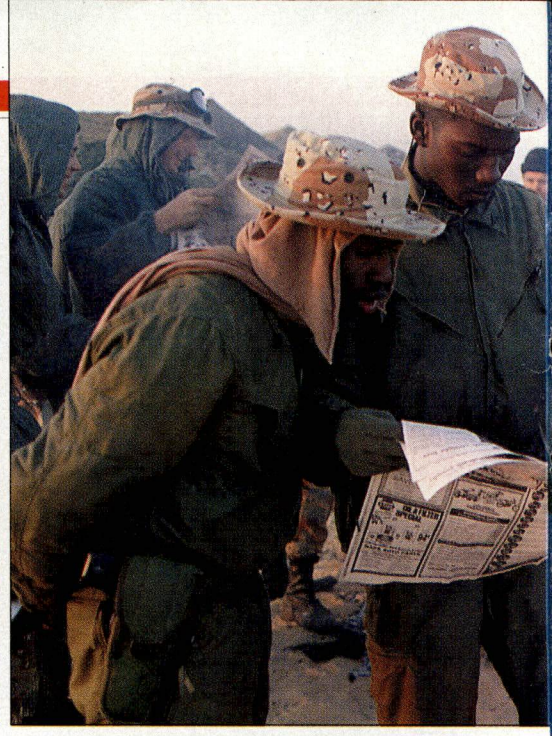
GAMMA—LIAISON

Iraqi soldiers took rifle practice at a range outside Baghdad

Field officers worry, too, about their equipment. Much of the Buck Rogers gear assembled in the desert is overcomplicated and undertested. A parachute major told me, "We have great soldiers and mediocre gear." There is the Maverick air-to-ground antitank missile, for example. Many say it won't work over a battlefield ablaze with burning tanks and other vehicles; the heat would confuse the missile's infrared guidance system. Other antitank systems are equally questionable. The man-portable Dragon

LES STONE—SYGMA

Navy pilots aboard the aircraft carrier Theodore Roosevelt were headed for the gulf

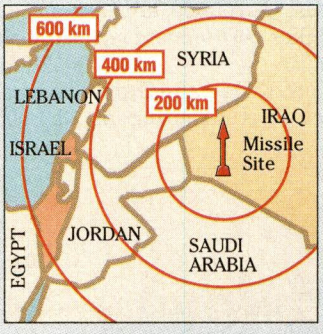


Soldiers of the Eighth Tank Battalion took time

and AT-4 are called "paint scratchers" by the troops because they won't penetrate the frontal armor of Iraq's main-battle tank, the Soviet-built T-72. The vehicle-mounted TOW (tube-launched, optically tracked, wire-guided missile), which is the main antitank surface weapon, leaves the "gunner hanging out to fry," as one old sergeant explained. The gunner must remain exposed atop the vehicle, eyeballing the target as the missile thunders home—as long as 15 seconds. One second with your head sticking up on a flat desert shooting gallery can feel like several lifetimes. There may also be a reliability problem. During a recent shoot, 12 TOW missiles were fired. Two were duds, four missed and only six missiles slammed into the stationary old cars used as targets. French forces here have the Milan, which allows the gunner to fire from the prone position. It proved to be a brilliant antitank weapon recently in Chad and served the British well in the Falklands. Yesterday the French Foreign Legion's Second Regiment fired nine Milan rounds and got eight hits. I suspect that our warriors don't have this effective system

'We Know How to Remove Their Appetite'

So what else was new? When Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz said last week that Iraq "absolutely" would attack Israel if war broke out in the Persian Gulf, it only underscored what most Israelis already knew: the Jewish state could all too easily be drawn into the conflict. The grim preparations were already well underway. Israelis bought bottled water and canned goods by the armload. Gas masks were everywhere. Almost overnight, "Chemical Warfare: A Family Defense Manual" became a best seller. Television, glutted with "survival" shows about sealing windows and storing food, offered a new Hebrew jingle: *Ata muhan, ata mugan* ("If you're prepared, you're protected"). And while thousands of foreigners and locals crammed Ben-Gurion International Airport, hoping to exit Israel before Jan. 15, the military was calling up reservists on an accelerated schedule and canceling leaves.



Symbolic strike: The more critical preparations were out of sight. Deep in the bowels of the Kiria—"the Compound," a walled complex in central Tel Aviv—military leaders were pondering their response to the Iraqi threat. Would the Iraqis stage a symbolic strike with only a handful of their more than 100 missiles targetable on Israel? Did they contemplate a massive launch? What warheads would they use—conventional explosives? Or did they have the ability to deliver chemical weapons by missile? In any case, it was a worrisome prospect. "These are ballistic missiles, and once they are launched there is no way to stop them," said a high-ranking Israeli officer. Concerned that Israel might decide on a pre-emptive attack against Iraqi missile sites—and risk splitting the allied coalition in the gulf—the White House sent Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger to Jerusalem last week. His brief: to take Israeli hard-liners off the boil.

In fact, a pre-emptive attack seemed unlikely, though Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir refused to rule one out. As Israeli military leaders see it, pre-emption brought victory in the 1967 Six Day War; inability to pre-empt in the 1973 Yom Kippur War was costly. In any case, Israeli practice when attacked is to retaliate swiftly and in kind. "If Iraq acts," warned Gen. Avihu Bin Nun, head of the Israeli Air Force, "we will know not only how to defend ourselves but also how to respond in a way that will remove their 'appetite'."

Israel's options are relatively narrow. If Iraq made a small-scale launch of perhaps a half dozen warheads, the Israelis might choose to ride it out. The Iraqis cut down on the Soviet-designed Scud's payload, in order to extend its range. Iraqi warheads carry only about 550 pounds of explosives—less than 10 percent of the firepower of a modern warplane, noted Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens

PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

out after breakfast to catch up with the news from home

because it was not made in the U.S.A.

The Abrams M-1A1 tank—our top battlefield armor—zooms along at 45 mph and takes bumps like a Cadillac on a smooth road. It will outgun and outrun the T-72. But it is a fuel guzzler—a real liability in a roadless terrain where wheeled resupply vehicles will encounter difficulties. And a 1989 live-fire test showed that the tank's electronics are vulnerable. They shut down if hit by shot or shrapnel. Moreover, there is no full-track mobile air-defense vehicle to protect the Abrams and its stablemate, the Bradley Armored Vehicle. Finally, there is the sand: it's as fine as talcum power and quickly clogs moving parts, sealed electrical systems and eyes. The whirling winds create sandstorms and electrical disturbances that cause havoc to man and material and reduce visibility to zero. Tank brigades have been known to be lost in "brownouts" (dust storms) for hours.

These conditions have already created havoc. The pervasive and stinging sand has frosted and eroded optical equipment, aircraft windshields and canopies. Fighter aircraft, helicopters, tanks, vehicles and weapons have all been affected. Sand tears at the engines and rotors like sandpaper. Filters must be changed daily rather than monthly, engine life is reduced by two thirds, and engines and power packs must be changed at a much more frequent rate. If war comes, the tempo of operations will only increase. A Marine Corps report said that the long hours caused by the never-ending maintenance requirements "are driving the Marines into the dirt."

Still, these are soluble problems. Given more time and experience, most of them—like the chipping and eroding of helicopter blades that was an early critical flap—will be fixed. But more time may be something our forces don't have. And this would be a blow to allied efficiency. In war, victory normally goes to the side which is the less inefficient of two inefficient forces bumping against each other. And an immutable corollary is that the lower the efficiency, the higher the casualties.

The Marine Corps commandant, Gen. Al Gray, recently cautioned about jumping off before being set. "What's the hurry here?" he asked. "Time is on our side, not Saddam's." In World War II, it took four years to free France. Ike didn't land at Normandy until he was ready, regardless of the insidiousness of Nazi Germany or the pressure of politicians.

Long ago the French statesman Talleyrand observed that "War is far too grave a matter to entrust to the military." This may have been true when Napoleon was in charge, but in 1991 the relationship between politicians and generals has been turned inside out. The American generals in Saudi Arabia have the patience to wait until they're ready. Now it appears that the politicians in Washington have a new charge: fire when ready, or fire when not. ■

last week. Saddam Hussein "cannot harm us seriously," Arens said on television. "Damage is limited from Iraqi missiles." Even the prospect of a low-level chemical strike appears not to alarm the government. Israeli intelligence has indications that Iraq does have the ability to mount chemical warheads on missiles, but the containers are "too small to cause anything but localized damage," said one intelligence official. The jerry-built warheads might not even survive the stress of launching. "It is conceivable that the actual bulk of the warhead would do more damage than the chemicals," the official said.

Sufficient warning: A massive launch is another matter. The Kiria is monitoring satellite photos of Iraq missile sites for the telltale signs of a launch preparation—the fueling process is thought to require between 16 and 24 hours. Israel would probably have sufficient warning to send in its Air Force. That's why pre-emption is still a live option. And that's what has Washington alarmed. The gulf coalition would probably survive a strictly limited Israeli retaliation for an Iraqi attack. Egypt and Saudi Arabia have told Washington they would look the other way. "Every country has a legitimate right to defend itself," Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak said in a CNN interview last week. But Syria took strong exception to any Israeli response. An Israeli first strike would almost certainly alienate the Arab allies. Eagleburger arrived in Jerusalem with assurances that Iraqi missiles aimed at Israel are a high-priority target for American airplanes if war breaks out. Still, it is not Israel's style to renounce any tactic or weapon. In addition, the relationship between Washington and Israel has been under strain, with predictable impact in the military sphere. "While there has been a considerable improvement in intelligence assistance and information exchange," said military commentator Zeev Schiff, "neither the United States nor Israel wants full operational coordination, which would require full disclosure of operational plans." Aggravating the situation is Israel's traditional lone-wolf posture. "We will decide how to answer if Saddam Hussein makes the error of attacking us," said an Israeli military official. "In any case, this is a matter we have discussed only with ourselves."

TOM POST *with* THEODORE STANGER *in Jerusalem and* MARGARET GARRARD WARNER *in Cairo*

'If you're prepared, you're protected,' said Israeli television

JACQUELINE ARZT—BLACK STAR

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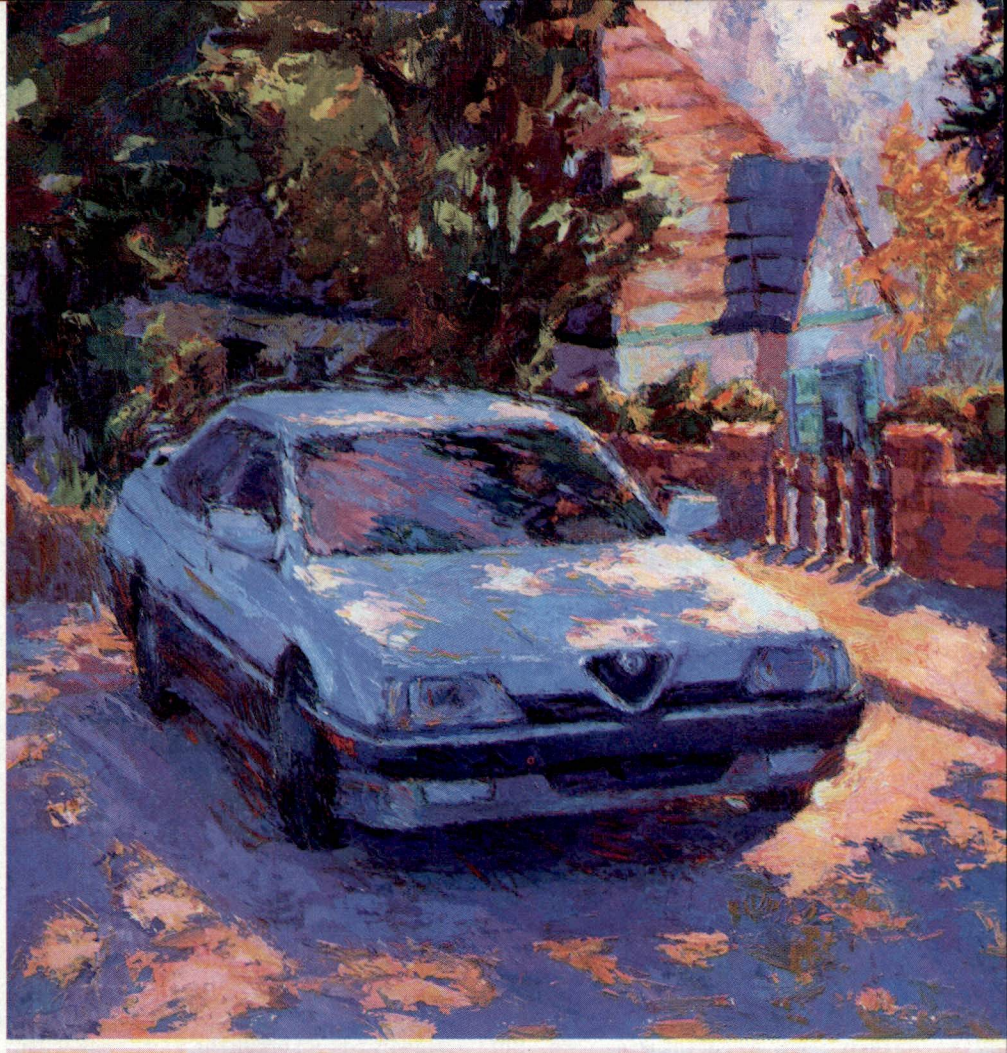

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Air Power Faces Its Biggest Test

The allies' first strike will come from the skies

CRISIS IN THE GULF

The sign at a U.S. airfield in Saudi Arabia says it all: SEND US IN TO KICK SOME OR SEND US HOME TO GET SOME. Fighter jocks have always been a gung-ho breed. But as war looms, the confidence of American pilots in the Persian Gulf is soaring. At one frontline air base in Saudi Arabia, pilots of the 71st Tactical Fighter Squadron have already designed a symbol to paint on their fuselages after each Iraqi jet they shoot down: a neat triangle of green and red, two colors of the Iraqi flag. The notion that Iraqi pilots might be doing the same with red, white and blue hasn't occurred to the U.S. airmen. "You respect any [enemy] pilot," says Capt. Greg York. "But I respect our technology and I respect our pilots. We are better."

The can-do spirit is even stronger in Washington. To Air Force brass, war with Iraq is a long-sought opportunity to demonstrate the decisive role of air power in modern warfare. Iraq's own Air Force is relatively weak. In the treeless desert, Iraq's troops could be exposed to relentless aerial pounding. Best of all, a successful air war might obviate a ground assault on dug-in Iraqi troops in Kuwait—thus sparing the United States thousands of casualties. And if what the administration wants is not merely to drive Iraqi forces out of Kuwait, but also to destroy Saddam's missile facilities and nuclear-, biological- and chemical-weapons plants, then only air power can do that.

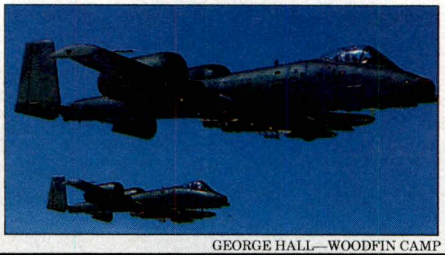
But could air power force Iraqi troops out of Kuwait? "Only armies hold territory" is the mantra of U.S. Army commanders—who happen to include Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Gen. Colin Powell and Desert Shield commander Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf. To land warriors, air power has been oversold almost since the Wrights raced down the sand at Kitty Hawk; it didn't break the Viet Congs' will to fight, they say, and it won't break the Iraqis'. As one U.S. tank-war officer in Saudi Arabia put it: "You can shoot down all the MiGs you want, but if the enemy tank commander has a beer in your officers' club, you lost the war." Air-war advocates counter that after a sustained air campaign, Saddam will be cut off from his demoralized troops. As one senior Saudi diplomat said: "If the Iraqi troops in Kuwait are bombarded day after day, what choices will they have? If they remain, they will get killed. If they come south into Saudi Arabia, they will be killed. Their only choice is to move back into Iraq."

The outcome of a war—and billions of dollars in future Pentagon budget authority—could hinge on which service winds up carrying the brunt of combat against Iraq. The squabble came to a head last September, when Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Michael J. Dugan was fired for publicizing his case for massive air assault. But lately Dugan's ideas have made something of a comeback. In a classic Pentagon compromise, the two strategies have been merged: U.S. plans now call for massive airstrikes of varying duration, to be followed by ground attack. American generals settled on this

LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

F/A-18A

SERVICE: Navy
MISSION: Fighter, coastal bomber
COMBAT RANGE: 460 to 630 miles
ARMAMENT: 2 Sidewinder and 2 Sparrow missiles, 20-mm cannon; assortment of air-to-ground weapons, including Harpoon and Maverick missiles



GEORGE HALL—WOODFIN CAMP

A-10 Thunderbolt

SERVICE: Air Force
MISSION: Close support tank-killer
ENDURANCE: 2 hours at 230 miles from base
ARMAMENT: 30-mm 7-barrel cannon plus up to 6 Maverick and 2 Sidewinder missiles

BILL GENTILE FOR NEWSWEEK

Tornado GR-1

SERVICE: British, Italian and Saudi Air Forces
MISSION: Anti-airfield, antitank strikes
COMBAT RANGE: 875 miles
ARMAMENT: Cluster bombs (JP233 anti-airfield; MW-1 antitank), or four 1,000-pound bombs

GEORGE HALL—WOODFIN CAMP

B-52G

SERVICE: Air Force
MISSION: Bomber
COMBAT RANGE: 3,680 to 5,550 miles
ARMAMENT: 51 Mk.82 2,000-pound bombs

plan after realizing that a frontal assault on dug-in Iraqis, even with the extra ground forces President Bush ordered in on Nov. 8, would be nearly suicidal. Those Iraqi defenses—and the armored divisions in reserve behind them—will first have to be hammered from the air.

The other assumption behind the Pentagon's new thinking about air power is that there will be calls for a cease-fire—perhaps from the United Nations, conceivably even from Saddam Hussein—soon after a war breaks out. The White House wants Saddam's military machine crippled before the peace offensive begins. So the order from Bush, to which the allies have agreed, is that the initial air attack on Iraq will be sudden and massive, as Dugan envisioned. American warplanes will be assigned to destroy not just Iraq's Army, but its entire defense resources. Iraq's nuclear-, biological- and chemical-research facilities are early targets (map, page 28), say U.S. and British sources. High on the list also are Saddam Hussein and his Baath Party leadership. If all goes according to plan, carrier-based A-6 jets from the Mediterranean will destroy Saddam's Scud missiles before he has a chance to fire them at Israel or Saudi Arabia. The A-6s and British Tornadoes will also strike Iraqi power stations and cripple Iraq's national electrical grid.

ALAN LANDAU—BLUE THUNDER PICTURES

EF-111A

SERVICE: Air Force
MISSION: Jamming air-defense radar
COMBAT RANGE: 1,032 miles
ARMAMENT: none

Will it work? On paper, at least, the 1,300-plane allied aerial armada in the gulf, capable of flying at least 1,800 sorties per day from six U.S. aircraft carriers and almost 30 bases in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey and Cyprus, seems unbeatable. Essentially the same force that NATO arrayed against the Soviet bloc in Central Europe, it represents a 40-year effort to negate the Warsaw Pact's numerical advantage through advanced technology. But the Iraqis have only about 650 operational jets, of which only between 65 and 75 are top-of-the-line Soviet models. The allied air forces face good defenses by Third World standards, but nothing like the forest of Soviet surface-to-air missiles in the Warsaw Pact. American warplanes will move in "force packages," which incorporate the specialized capabilities of some of the most advanced aircraft and missiles in the world:

- Striking at night, F-117A Stealth fighters will hit Saddam's four air-defense centers and his six key long-range early-warning radars.
- F-15s can spot enemy aircraft on radar 80 miles away and bring them down with missiles from a range of 40 miles.
- A single AWACS plane flying over Saudi Arabia at 29,000 feet can track aircraft taxiing on runways north of Baghdad, then direct allied aircraft to intercept the incoming raid.
- One British or Italian Tornado ground-attack jet can, in a single pass, put 60 bomb craters in a runway, at the same time scattering 430 mines to kill the repair crew. Tomahawk cruise missiles, fired from U.S. cruisers and destroyers in the upper gulf or in the eastern Mediterranean, will follow up.
- EF-111A Raven defense-suppression aircraft jam long-range radars using 10 separate high-powered jamming transmitters. Flying high over Saudi Arabia, the EF-111A will jam Iraqi long-range radars and fly flank guard for deep-penetration strikes against targets far inside Iraq.
- F-4G Wild Weasels will seek to knock out Iraqi SAMs using radiation-homing Shrike or HARM missiles, plus 750-pound cluster bombs, which shred radar antennae and their support vehicles.

All of this assumes, of course, that the vaunted but little-tried U.S. technology works as advertised. The Stealth fighter missed undefended targets in Panama, due to pilot error. In a ground assault, U.S. forces may find themselves relying most heavily on the Vietnam-era B-52 bomber and A-10 tank-killer, a low-tech, slow-flying but punishing airplane. Some A-10 pilots worry that the fast-flying F-15E and the Army's gadget-laden Apache helicopter will be of little use against Iraqi tank columns—and the Iraqis may be able to mount an effective low-tech air defense using concentrated machine-gun fire and thick smoke from burning Kuwaiti crude. Interservice wrangling may have been papered over at the top, but not in the field. "We're not only fighting against Saddam Hussein here," one Air Force officer in Saudi Arabia says. "The Army won't let the Air Force win this one, especially with an Army man in overall command." Rep. Les Aspin, the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, observes the air-first, ground-second plan means "advocates of air power will get a full opportunity to see if air power alone can win the war." If it can, war with Iraq could revolutionize U.S. military thinking—and utterly devastate Saddam Hussein.

CHARLES LANE *with* JOHN BARRY *in Washington and* RAY WILKINSON *in Saudi Arabia*

RICHARD DREW—AP

Since the invasion of Kuwait on Aug. 2, oil markets have been in constant turmoil

Saddam Is No Profit Maximizer

The fight is over oil's power and not its price

BY ROBERT J. SAMUELSON

Should it come, the war will not be about cheap oil—but about preventing oil power from being tragically misused. We have not sent nearly 400,000 Americans to the Persian Gulf to defend crude at $18 a barrel. They are there to keep Saddam Hussein from controlling two thirds of global oil reserves and from using that control to blackmail the industrial world and make Iraq a nuclear power.

The case for fighting Saddam now is, simply put, that he will be harder to fight later. And should last-minute diplomacy avert war, the success will be temporary unless it leads to effective measures to check Saddam's military strength and provide security in the gulf.

Because war is so awful, we must be clear that our purpose is worthy. The stakes are more important than a few cents on gas prices or restoring the Emir of Kuwait. Nor are we defending opposition to all aggression, no matter how brutal. A president who did that would be "impeached after the first crisis in which there were significant U.S. casualties," as Foreign Policy editor Charles William Maynes says.

Well-being: What we are doing is maintaining access to the oil on which the world depends. The aim involves, as most Americans intuitively grasp, a high-minded pragmatism. It is an effort to sustain the well-being of billions of people, ourselves included. We import half our oil, but even self-sufficiency would not fully insulate us from turmoil in the gulf. Our prosperity is heavily tied to countries that inevitably need the gulf's oil.

If price were all that mattered, we could rely on the market. Even for producers, excessively high prices don't maximize profits. They drive away buyers by promoting conservation and inducing new oil production. If Iraq controlled most Persian Gulf oil, it would maximize its revenues at a price of no more than $25 a barrel, estimates economist William Niskanen of the Cato Institute. Significantly, that's lower than today's price.

The trouble is that Saddam isn't a profit maximizer. He doesn't merely want to rip us off: an infuriating, but relatively mild, indignity. Saddam's ambitions are "to dominate the Arab world . . . and ultimately to turn Greater Iraq into a global military power," as Daniel Yergin writes in his compelling history of oil, "The Prize."

To cede him control of the gulf would compound his potential for havoc. Would he dole out oil at favorable prices to countries that delivered nuclear or military hardware? Would he foment and finance more terrorism? With his treasury replenished, might he simply stop Persian Gulf shipments for a few months to win Western support for his political agenda? Might he decide that oil at $60 a barrel suited his politics, even though it might not be "profit maximizing"?

No one can say exactly. But a stronger Saddam would not be less threatening. Although we may not know much about him, we know enough. He relishes war and uses every weapon in his arsenal. ("Weakness doesn't assure achieving the objectives required by a leader," he said last year.) What else do we need to know? A stronger Saddam would guarantee new wars in the Mideast: with Israel, the only question may be who would strike first. But Syria and Iran would also be obvious targets.

Just because the consequences aren't predictable doesn't mean we should wait until they occur. War or political chaos could involve a huge loss of life (probably 500,000 or more died in the Iran-Iraq War) and cripple oil production. Even now, Iran's output is only about half its level before the shah fell in 1979. And in the 1990s, the world will depend more on gulf oil, says Bernard Picchi of Salomon Brothers. Production will slip in some big fields outside the region: Prudhoe Bay, the North Sea and Mexico. Meanwhile, demand from developing countries is rising.

Shooting war: For the United States, the cost of fighting now would be huge. In fiscal 1991, the price of maintaining U.S. forces in the gulf, without fighting, is put at $30 billion. A shooting war could inflate that figure by tens of billions. On a daily basis, some analysts think the cost could range between $500 million and $1 billion. (A caveat: this doesn't mean a year-long war would cost $365 billion. A war probably wouldn't last that long and, if it did, the intensity of early fighting—and costs—would not.)

CRISIS IN THE GULF

This crisis, however, cannot be ended by either a late diplomatic settlement or a decisive military victory. There would be a sigh of relief and probably good economic news. Oil prices might drop. That would act like a tax cut that might cushion the recession, says Philip Verleger Jr. of the Institute for International Economics. Yet, the basic problem would remain of bringing stability to an unstable region.

At best, this will be difficult. The passions of Arab nationalism have been stirred once again. The legitimacy of the rich gulf states has been shaken, because so many Arabs are so poor. The Palestinian issue festers. Our position in the region founders on the contradiction between our oil interests and our support for Israel. We have differences with the Europeans and Japanese. Our capacity to provide permanent security is unclear. Too large a military presence might abet political instability. Too little might not work.

The true cost of war will be measured by its dead. The issue today is whether a horrible war now will reduce the risk of a more horrible war later. But this cannot comfort a grieving parent or child. Unless we can win the peace, war's sacrifices will be in vain. ■

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Saddam and Bush: The Words of War

Should the Americans become embroiled, we will make them swim in their own blood, Allah willing.

—SADDAM HUSSEIN,
to the leaders of the ruling Baath Socialist Party

If we get into an armed situation, [Saddam] is going to get his ass kicked.

—GEORGE BUSH,
to congressional leaders

Even the rhetoric of their threats is worlds apart. Saddam sounds like a ninth-century holy warrior preparing to battle the infidel. Bush sounds like a high-school football coach on the eve of the Big Game. Their idiomatic speech is useful for rallying troops and bracing their countrymen. But it makes diplomacy that much more difficult: neither side, listening to CNN, can know precisely how to take the measure of each other's anger. Their language helps them prepare for war, but it also helps make war inevitable.

Saddam's war rhetoric is like the gold-braided uniform he has recently donned: formal and imperial. He wants to evoke the golden age of Arab conquest, the Abbasid Empire of the ninth century. It was the territorial high-water mark of the Muslim world, which stretched from Morocco to the Khyber Pass, with its capital in Baghdad. Saddam borrowed his ghoulish threat to make the Americans "swim in their own blood" word for word from Al-Tabari, the Herodotus of the Arab world who chronicled the jihads of the Abbasid Empire. These tales are not merely ancient history to Iraqis. When Saddam vowed, "We will burn the ground under their feet," Iraqi schoolboys understood immediately that he was referring to a battle depicted in the Koran, when Arabs drove back an infidel army by hurling huge fiery stones from on high.

PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

A last quiet moment in Saudi Arabia

The battlefield evoked by Bush has yard markers and goal posts at either end. To Westerners, war has long been seen as rather sporting. At the Battle of the Somme in World War I, British officers went over the top kicking a soccer ball as they charged into the German machine guns. In America, sports and war clichés have become so thoroughly confused that "Monday Night Football" sounds like "Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo," as quarterbacks throw bombs and dodge blitzing linebackers. Bush is well versed in the argot of sports. White House aides report that he has lately been reading "Friday Night Lights," H. G. Bissinger's account of the high-school football mania in Odessa, Texas, where Bush lived for a decade after he graduated from Yale. To be sure, Bush's football metaphors can be somewhat quaint. When Bush accused Saddam of "stiff-arming" his diplomatic overtures, he was thinking of an offensive weapon last used with effect when they played with leather helmets in the Yale Bowl.

War leaders once used more exalted language. In Abraham Lincoln's speeches could be heard the cadences of the King James version of the Bible, while Winston Churchill on the floor of Parliament was Shakespearean in the richness and elegance of his metaphors. American generals have at times reached for high-flown rhetoric. Dwight Eisenhower called D-Day "The Great Crusade, this great and noble undertaking." But Adm. William (Bull) Halsey's rhetoric was more typical. On a large sign on the damaged bow of the cruiser Honolulu, Halsey had painted: KILL JAPS. KILL JAPS. KILL MORE JAPS.

During World War II George Bush was a 20-year-old naval aviator on a carrier in the Pacific trying to carry out Admiral Halsey's orders. Like other callow young Ivy Leaguers, he had to learn how to talk like a salty sailor, which meant to swear. Profanity is the lingua franca of fighting men. Without the word "ass," wrote historian Paul Fussell in "Wartime," "military discourse would be virtually dumb." When a mechanic working on a bomber in World War II threw down his wrench and cried, "F---! The F---ing f---ers f---ed!" his buddies understood perfectly that he had stripped a bolt and skinned his knuckles.

Marital spat: True, Bush has approached Churchillism at moments. "This will not stand!" he vowed when Saddam first invaded Kuwait. Bush is said to be reading Martin Gilbert's biography of Churchill at war, though White House aides say he's only through the first 50 pages. More often, Bush sounds like one of the country-and-Western tunes he likes to hum along to as he nibbles pork rinds. Bush's declaration to Saddam, "I've had it!" sounds more like a marital spat than Henry V's St. Crispin's Day speech at Agincourt.

Bush probably sounds no different from his own troops. In a democratic age, the true rhetoric of war is fashioned by those who actually have to fight. The ground soldiers who slog through combat are young and not necessarily literary. In World War II, the GI's favorite reading material was the comic book. In the Saudi desert, young American soldiers echo the culture they come from: Friday-night football, MTV, Saturday afternoon at the mall. They express themselves in the modern American way: by the T shirts they wear. Macho T shirts are sprouting all over the gulf, on sale in bazaars and PXs from Dhahran to Al-Khobar. The themes, predictably, revolve around rock and roll and sneaker commercials, with a morbid twist. One shirt is patterned after the ubiquitous Hard Rock Cafe insignia, a round, yellow escutcheon that says: KUWAIT, HARD LUCK CAFE. Another is patterned after the Nike shoe ads. In the script of the Nike logo, it says: NUKE IRAQ: JUST DO IT. Not all that funny, perhaps. But then neither is war.

HOWARD FINEMAN *and* EVAN THOMAS

Bloodshed in Lithuania

Moscow sends in the troops—killing at least 13 and wounding more than 100

The tanks moved out at 2 a.m. Sunday. They roared into downtown Vilnius under cover of a citywide blackout. They plowed into a crowd of hundreds of Lithuanian nationalists outside the state radio and television complex; troops fired tear gas and shot their machine guns into the air. "I saw one man practically sheared in half," said a volunteer who had rushed to help defend the tower in response to a broadcast appeal by President Vytautas Landsbergis. "They are beating people, they are beating women!" said a journalist watching from inside the building. One tank fired a blank cannon round into the crowd to blast a path. After about 20 minutes, commandos broke in through ground-floor windows. Radio Vilnius, which had been broadcasting around the clock, said transmissions were being interrupted "by crude military force." "If you hear silence, you will know we have been occupied," said an announcer as troops stormed through the halls. Then silence.

ALIK KEPLICZ—AP

Shades of Budapest, 1956? *Lithuanian nationalists demonstrate against Moscow's control*

At least 13 people were reportedly killed and more than 100 injured. "How could they do this?" sobbed a man as residents took to the streets shouting, "Lithuania, Lithuania." Helicopters clattered overhead and scattered explosions were heard. Landsbergis and his top aides gathered in the barricaded Parliament building. Buses and trucks were positioned to block a tank advance, and thousands of supporters—some armed with rifles or gasoline bombs—vowed to resist any assault. Parliament declared Sunday a day of mourning and asked residents to raise flags with black ribbons and ring church bells. The legislators also designated Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas, traveling in Poland, as head of state in the event the elected government is toppled. But the National Salvation Committee, a clandestine, pro-Kremlin group, claimed to have taken over. "We are your leaders," members shouted over loudspeakers.

In the aftermath, the Army imposed an overnight curfew, banned demonstrations and strikes and named a military commandant to oversee the new rules. Vilnius residents were barred from leaving the capital without having their documents checked. Pro-independence forces planned to defy the regulations by continuing their round-the-clock vigil in the square outside Parliament and by conducting a general strike Monday. For the Soviets, that established the legal groundwork for tanks to roll either against Parliament or against the strikers. Military officials and the Soviet news agency Tass cited appeals by the puppet "Salvation Committee" as the reason for the measures, indicating that they soon would formally recognize it as the legitimate government. "It will not be long," said Lithuanian Communist Party ideology secretary Juozas Jarmalavicius. "Of course, the committee can count on victory."

The moves crushed hopes that a military crackdown launched two days earlier had been mainly an exercise in saber rattling. First to fall was the headquarters of the Lithuanian National Guard. Soviet troops wheeled up in armored vehicles and rushed the building. Young guardsmen doused the invaders with fire hoses but fled when soldiers responded with warning bursts of automatic-rifle fire. Next an armored column moved on the

ALEKSANDER ZEMLIANICHENKO—AP

A sudden show of force: *Soviet troops on guard in the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius*

Arc of Crisis

Of the Baltic republics, Lithuania is the most restive—and the most vulnerable.

gei Akhromeyev, told NEWSWEEK (box). The implication: that the generals will help keep Gorbachev in power only so long as he preserves Moscow's authority.

Lithuania is a test of Gorbachev's resolve. Last week's sudden show of force was the biggest since the republic declared independence a year ago and came just a day after Gorbachev demanded "immediate measures" to comply with Soviet laws—or else. Many Lithuanians feared the moves were a prelude to full presidential rule, backed by martial law. Neighboring Latvia denounced the move as "military terror." It likened the deepening repression to Moscow's 1956 invasion of Hungary. The Soviet military responded by announcing that 2,000 additional paratroopers were being sent to Latvia.

'Provocative' excalation: Even as war loomed in the Persian Gulf, George Bush marshaled his Soviet experts. The escalation in Lithuania, he told Gorbachev by phone Friday, was "provocative and counterproductive." The weekend bloodshed prompted even stronger condemnation. The use of force "tragically contradicts the basic principles" espoused by Gorbachev, said Secretary of State James Baker. In a thinly veiled warning that U.S. food aid could be affected, he added: "Enduring U.S.-Soviet cooperation, indeed partnership, depends upon continued reform." Baker said he had sent a series of messages to lame-duck Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. Meanwhile, NATO allies were meeting in emergency session in Brussels to discuss the crackdown. And in Luxembourg, European Community leaders strongly condemned "the bloody events" and demanded to know who had given the order to attack. Belgian Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens said the community should reconsider its $1 billion aid package to the Soviet Union.

In Moscow, Russian President Boris Yeltsin warned that the attacks in Lithuania "can cause the escalation of violence in this and other regions and unleash large-scale civil conflict." Still, the generals clearly were intent on teaching the nationalists a lesson. Demands for independence and the shoddy treatment of Soviet troops stationed in the Baltics have enraged the top brass. The Army newspaper Krasnaya Zvezda chronicles a daily government Press House. But a radio alert brought out thousands of Lithuanians intent on defiance. Air-raid sirens wailed in the capital for the first time since World War II. The Soviets fired gunshots over the nationalists' heads, then unleashed clouds of tear gas. A man was shot in the face after pouring water over a Soviet colonel, and six others were less seriously wounded. In all, six strategic police and military buildings were taken, including the main railroad station and telegraph office. Landsbergis phoned Mikhail Gorbachev. But an aide said the Soviet leader was at lunch and would not take the call.

Last week's crackdown is only the latest display of the Soviet military's new political muscle. Its leaders are especially determined to keep the country's independent-minded republics from leaving the Soviet Union. "It is the armed forces that ensure stability and permit the president to carry on his normal activities," Gorbachev's chief military adviser, Marshal Ser-

galaxy of outrages against Soviet servicemen. Local authorities have denied housing permits to officers, forcing them to live in tents. Military men complain their children have been spat upon; convoys have been pelted with stones and, on occasion, gasoline bombs. Last year Lithuania's breakaway Parliament decreed that its citizens needn't serve an "occupation army." Almost immediately, thousands of Lithuanian soldiers went AWOL; now only one draftee in 10 reports for duty. Desertion rates also soared in other dissident republics. "When is the government going to protect us, our honor and dignity?" one senior officer reportedly told Gorbachev during an acrimonious meeting last November.

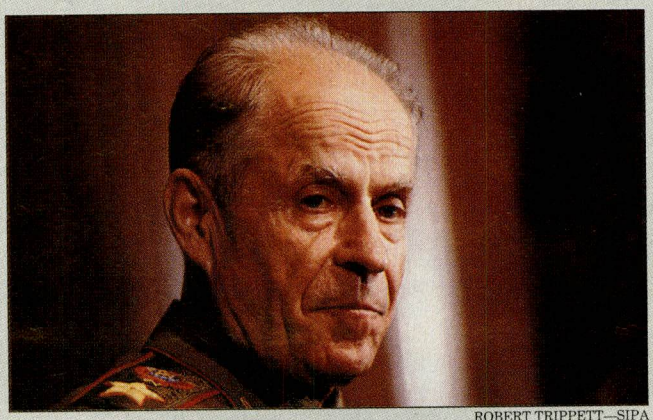
Military leaders have grown surprisingly harsh in criticizing Gorbachev, and not only for his handling of the Baltics. As the generals see it, Gorbachev slashed the officer corps and brought in unreliable civilian strategists who preach "reasonable sufficiency"—a doctrine of more modest weapons spending that is anathema to the old guard. They accuse him of "losing" Eastern Europe, the buffer zone won so dearly in World War II. And they question his letting a reunified Germany stay in NATO.

Evasions of treaty: Such doubts have emboldened the generals to take matters into their own hands. Under the Conventional Forces in Europe treaty signed in Paris last November, thousands of Soviet weapons in Central Europe were to be destroyed. Instead, the Army moved 8,000 tanks across the Urals to Soviet Asia and attached three motorized infantry divisions to naval forces exempted from the treaty. When Secretary of State Baker asked Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze about the evasions in December, a well-placed source told NEWSWEEK, Shevardnadze claimed to know nothing about them. "If what you say is true, we are cheating," he said. Moscow hard-liners applaud the generals' apparent chicanery. As the onservative newspaper Sovetskaya Rossiya writes, the military had been forced to "somehow repair the errors of diplomacy."

U.S. officials also worry that recent moves by the Soviet military could jeopardize the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), originally intended to be signed

A Soldier's Soldier Speaks Out

As fears of a Soviet crackdown in the Baltics deepened last week, Gorbachev's military adviser, Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, met with NEWSWEEK'S *Moscow bureau chief Fred Coleman. Akhromeyev, 67, former chief of staff of the armed forces, is one of the most respected—and outspoken—figures in the Soviet military establishment. Strait-laced and straightforward, he is known as a soldier's soldier, a ferocious defender of the armed services and, as he puts it, the "socialist state." He recently warned that "nationalist-minded elements" are out to "wreck" the country, and insists that the Soviet Army might be used to prevent the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Excerpts:*



ROBERT TRIPPETT—SIPA

'The armed forces ensure stability': *Marshal Akhromeyev*

On the end of the cold war:

Everyone in the world is happy about that, including me. But U.S. policy is contradictory. I don't understand why under present conditions the Americans preserve a military organization like NATO and refuse to carry on reductions of naval forces—while the Soviet Union is reducing all other kinds of arms. Let's be frank. The initiative for preserving the North Atlantic Treaty Organization comes not from the European countries, but from the United States.

We are also not happy that the United States still believes our Baltic republics entered the Soviet Union unlawfully. Problems remain between the Soviet Union and the United States. What do we do? We should improve our relations on the basis of realism.

On the danger of civil war:

I don't see a danger. Do you think the president would impose martial law, consciously understanding this would lead to civil war? I think the opposite. He can impose martial law only to prevent an armed confrontation.

On the use of force in the Baltics:

The Soviet Army will never go so far as to open fire on civilians. There are so many other ways to fulfill the decisions of the supreme bodies of power [e.g., an economic blockade, the threat of military force or the declaration of presidential rule].

On draft dodgers and deserters:

At present, it is impossible to create a professional, all-volunteer army in the Soviet Union. The conscription laws must therefore be fulfilled. [By refusing to enforce the draft] some of the republics are trying the patience of the president. It is not unlimited.

On the creation of regional militias:

President Gorbachev will not allow any republic to violate the Constitution by forming an independent army. We certainly support the president on this question.

On Gorbachev and national unity:

The main problem is to preserve the integrity of our country. An officer swears an oath to serve the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, his motherland. When the integrity of the country is endangered, an officer is very much concerned. He turns to the president, who also gave an oath on the Constitution to preserve the integrity of the country.

On the threat of a military coup:

All the talk about a military coup in our country is a lie. I'm sure nothing like that will happen. Our armed forces will not organize a coup d'état. They will be loyal to the president while he is in office, and will not allow anyone to act against him by unlawful methods.

At the same time, it is the armed forces that ensure stability and permit the president to carry on his normal activities. But, of course, the president himself must also take action to ensure stability—and not only take decisions but ensure their implementation. If he needs the help of the armed forces of the Soviet Union, within the framework of the Constitution, the armed forces are ready to help him.

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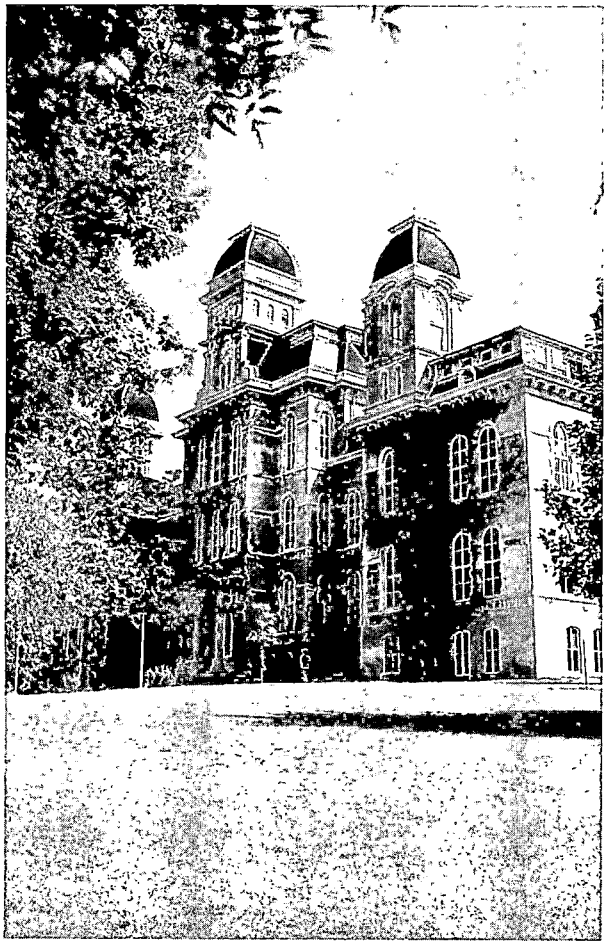

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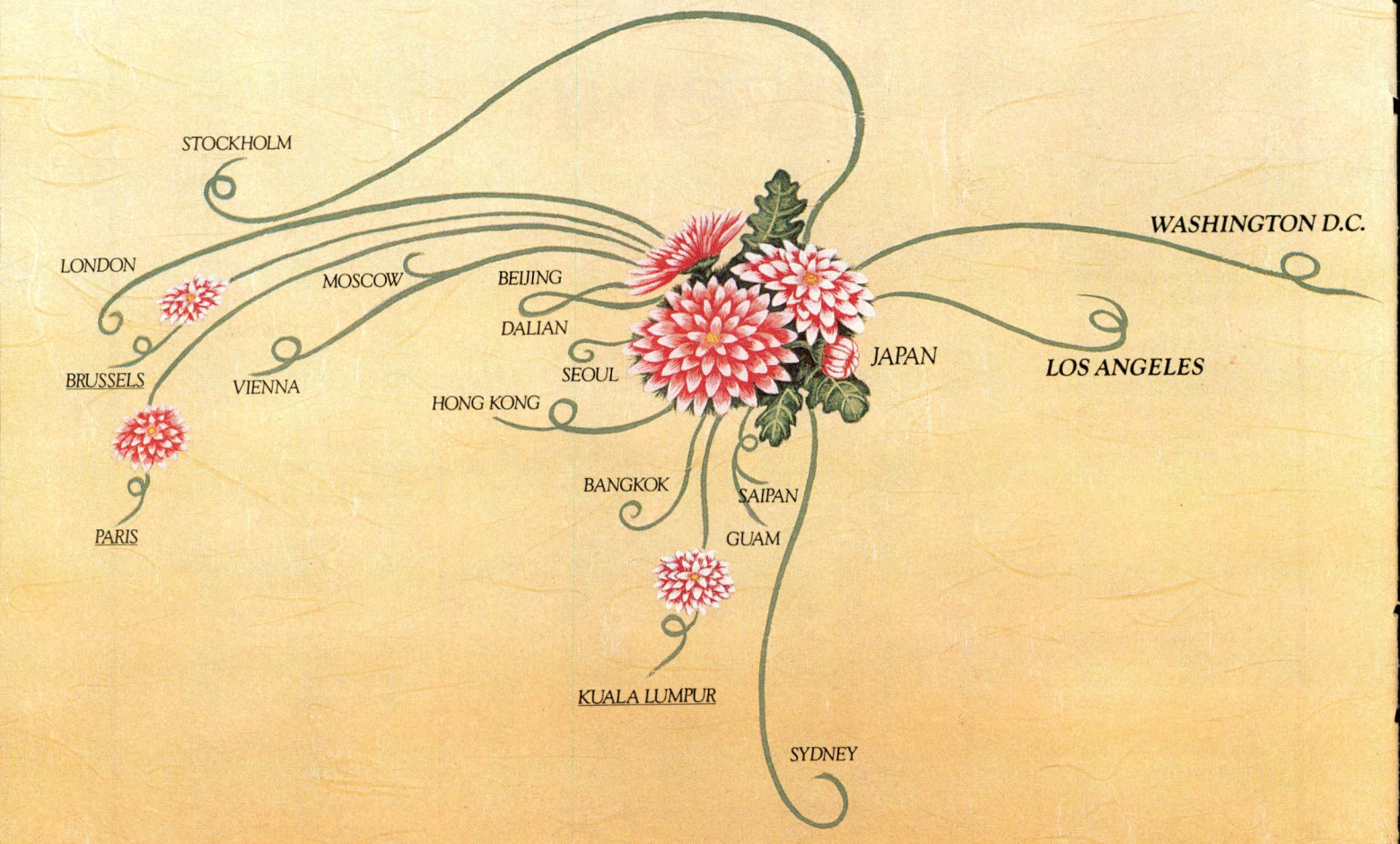

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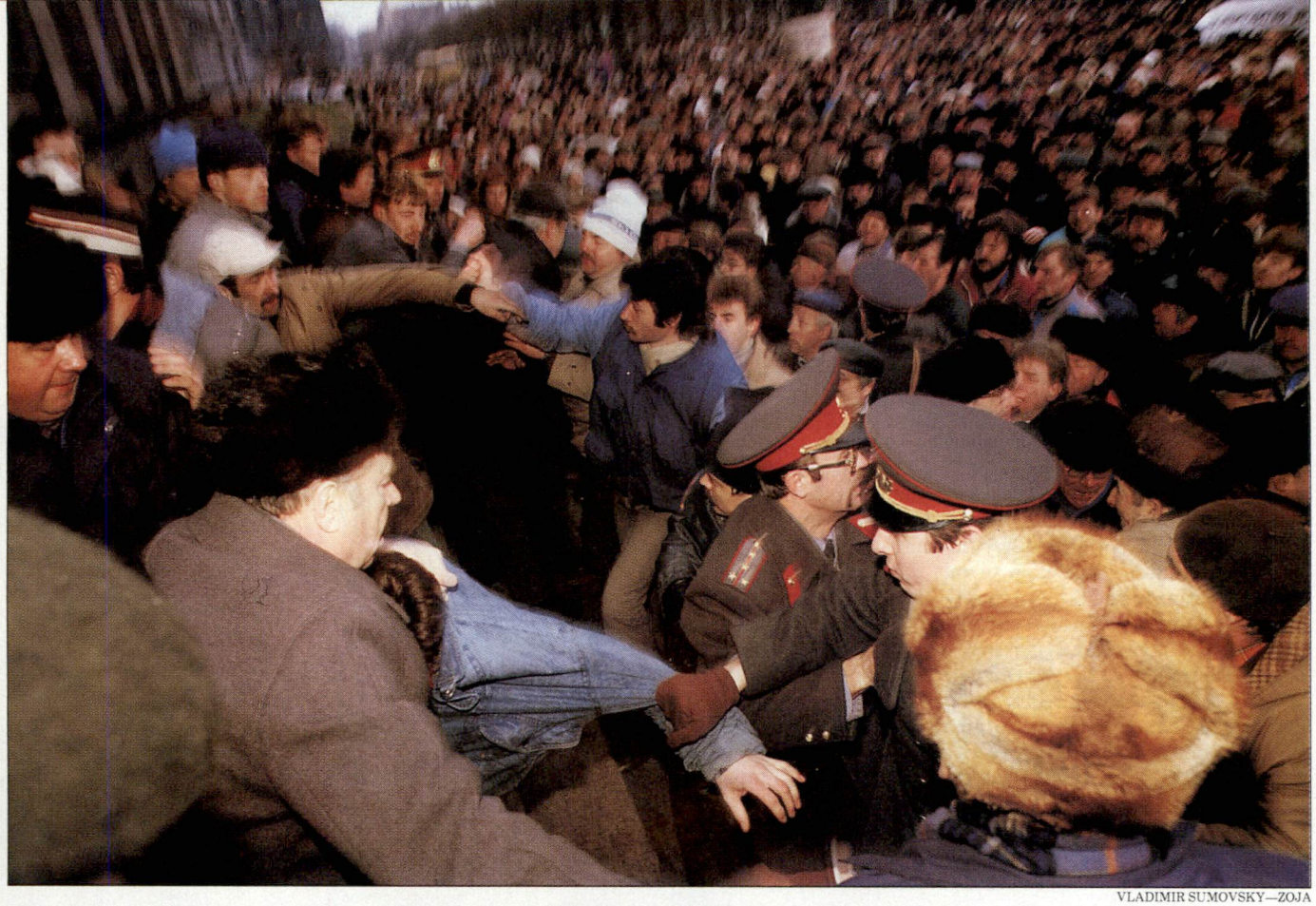


VLADIMIR SUMOVSKY—ZOJA

In the Baltics, the Kremlin is relying on appeals for order by an anti-separatist faction: *Pro-Soviet demonstration in Riga*

at a February summit in Moscow. NEWSWEEK has learned that Soviet negotiators recently stunned their U.S. counterparts by announcing plans to dig extra silos for SS-18 missiles—the U.S.S.R.'s largest—slated to be reduced by half under START. The generals also want to link approval to an American commitment to scrap Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, a position that Moscow's negotiators long ago abandoned. The summit likely will be postponed.

Moscow's backpedaling raises questions about who is in charge in the Baltics. Some suggest the generals presented Gorbachev with an ultimatum. Others, including some Western diplomats, speculate that the Army may have acted unilaterally in the latest bloodshed in Lithuania. The assault came just hours after presidents of other Soviet republics attending a meeting of Gorbachev's Federation Council in Moscow told reporters that the president had promised no more military force would be applied for the time being and appointed a delegation to seek a political solution. It was the second such about-face. Earlier, both Akhromeyev and Chief of Staff Mikhail Moiseyev had denied that more troops would be sent to the Baltics—just days before thousands of paratroopers were deployed. Kremlinologists are studying recent appointments for clues to Gorbachev's strategy. Hard-liners appear ascendant. The conservative commander of the Army's elite airborne troops, Col. Gen. Vladislav Achalov, was recently named deputy minister of Defense. His units would likely spearhead any new repression. Boris Pugo, former head of the KGB in Latvia, became Interior minister. His new deputy, Gen. Boris Gromov, a rising star who commanded Soviet forces in Afghanistan, reportedly runs Moscow's Baltic operation. Thousands of new troops have been reassigned to his command, presumably to enforce order.

COURTESY CNN

'Crude force': *Injured nationalist in Vilnius*

'In sync': Washington finds itself in an uncomfortable dilemma. The United States has never recognized Soviet sovereignty over the Baltics, nor can it overlook a crackdown. Yet it needs Moscow's support in the gulf. Perhaps coincidentally, Gorbachev phoned George Bush on Friday, the day of the first clashes. The two leaders mainly discussed gulf diplomacy, Bush said, adding: "We remain in sync." But when it came to Lithuania, the president was blunt in his condemnation. "Gorbachev knows my position," said Bush.

The words had little apparent effect. Within hours the Soviets shut down a liberal television program and sharply restricted the nation's only independent news agency. "We're seeing a coup. But in a country as big as ours it doesn't take just an hour, like in Haiti," said Yevgeny Dodolev, host of the banned "Vzglyad" TV show. If the generals have their way, the next step could be to declare martial law in Lithuania, disband its legislature, disperse the crowds around Parliament—and do the same in Latvia, Estonia and other breakaway republics. All while the world looks elsewhere.

TOM MASLAND *with* FRED COLEMAN *in Moscow,* CARLA GRUODIS *in Vilnius and* JOHN BARRY *in Washington*

Why Our Banks Are Hurting

The problems run deeper than the bad loans that sank Bank of New England

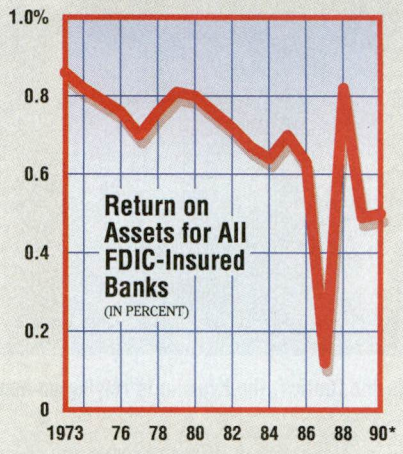
Bank runs were supposed to be a thing of the past. But when word went out Jan. 4 of more dismal results at Bank of New England, anxious depositors lined up, pulling out $1 billion in 48 hours. By the time federal regulators stepped in to put the nation's 21st largest banking company out of its misery, the bill facing the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation had mounted to $2.3 billion. How much worse can things get for the banks? FDIC chairman L. William Seidman had little cheer to offer. "So much," he said, "depends on how deep the recession is."

The nation's third costliest bank failure increases the likelihood of quick action to refinance the federal insurance fund, which could run out of money by 1992. But bolstering the FDIC will not resolve bankers' long-term problem: finding a way to make money. Bank of New England bet too heavily on New England real estate; fully 37 percent of its loan portfolio consisted of warehouses, office buildings and shopping centers. But its woes, and the banking industry's, are not due to real estate alone. Bank profits have been on the skids for a decade (chart). Even a quick end to the recession will not reverse the trend.

Fifteen years ago bankers still joked about operating by the 4-6-4 rule: take money from depositors at 4 percent interest, lend it out at 6 percent and be on the golf course by 4 o'clock. That era is long gone. Money-market funds now bid aggressively for depositors' money. Corporate treasur-

A Steady Slide

Bank-industry profits have fallen in all but five of the last 17 years.



SOURCE: FDIC
*1990 ESTIMATE FROM SNL SECURITIES, VA.

A run of $1 billion in 48 hours: *Lining up at Lynn, Mass., Bank of New England branch*
LISA BUL—AP

ers shift surplus cash at the touch of a button, rather than letting it sit idle in the bank. The result: high-interest time deposits have soared, while balances in checking accounts, the banks' main source of low-cost funds, barely grew during the 1980s.

The lending side is suffering, too. Companies needing money find it cheaper to sell commercial paper—short-term I.O.U.s—on Wall Street. That business has quadrupled in a decade. Junk bonds and loans from the likes of General Electric Capital Corp. also siphoned off customers. The intense competition to raise deposits and to lend them has squeezed the banks from both sides.

Through the booms and busts of the 1970s, banks regularly earned about 80 cents a year for each $100 of loans and investment securities on their books. Profits have dropped steadily ever since. In 1990, analysts estimate, the industry earned less than 50 cents on each $100 in assets—for the third time in four years. The large money-center banks have fared the worst. To make up for the flight of corporate customers, they have bet heavily on the high returns promised by one risky fad after another: developing countries, leveraged buyouts, suburban office parks. The results have been disastrous.

This would be just another hard-luck story if banks were like other businesses. But because the federal government insures bank deposits, the banks' problems are the public's problems. Unless banks generate profits, they cannot build the capital cushion they need to protect depositors if loan losses mount—increasing the odds that the FDIC will have to pick up the tab.

No gold mine: Can more deregulation solve the problem? Large banks and the Bush administration think it can. Their top priority: altering the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933, which separates the banking and investment-banking industries and keeps banks from underwriting stocks and bonds. "It's difficult to attract customers when you can only sell them a couple of the things they're interested in," explains Cory Strupp, assistant counsel at Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. "They want to talk to somebody who can sell them everything they want." Yet while a few banks might profit if Glass-Steagall were changed, it would hardly be a gold mine: the securities industry as a whole has been losing money.

A more important reform is repeal of the McFadden Act, which bars a bank in one state from opening branches in another. That also would override state laws like Colorado's, which limits banks to a single office. Most states already allow at least some out-of-state banks to buy local banks. But carefully crafted laws in 17 of them keep the big New York and California banks out. Full interstate banking would lift those barriers. That will not help profits if management is weak: Bank of New England never managed to find the savings it expected from buying 23 banks in two and a half years. Nationwide branching would, however, reduce vulnerability to the regional real-estate collapses that bankrupted many Texas banks in the 1980s and sped Bank of New England's demise.

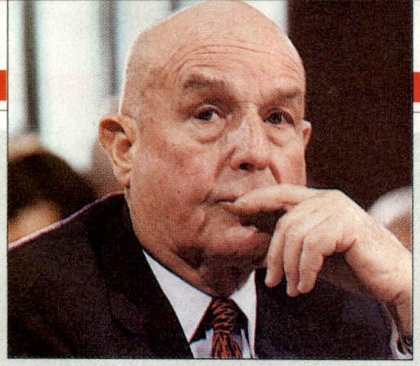
The administration is contemplating one other measure to strengthen the banks: allowing nonfinancial companies to buy them. But marrying banks and big business poses troubling questions about the concentration of economic power. In any case, industry won't pump money into banking so long as manufacturing offers a better return. Asks New York investment banker Felix Rohatyn, "Why bankrupt Ford by having them go into the banking business if the banking business is fundamentally not viable?"

Tough on newcomers: A piece of re-regulation that is not on the administration's list may get a hearing, too. Some experts want the government not to charter new banks unless they can prove a need for their services. That was the rule until 1980, when deregulation made it easy to open a bank. "To keep handing out charters at the same time the government keeps closing down institutions doesn't make for a very stable situation," argues former Federal Reserve governor H. Robert Heller.

Writing off banking altogether is premature. Nearly 90 percent of the banks in the United States made money in 1990, and some were highly profitable. Boston's State Street Bank & Trust Co., headquartered around the corner from Bank of New England, boosted earnings 13 percent in the first nine months of 1990 by emphasizing its strength: processing deposits and withdrawals for mutual funds. Banc One Corp. in Columbus, Ohio, which encourages its 52 banks to operate autonomously in order to spread risk and hold managers accountable, has done so well that its stock-market value exceeds Citicorp's. And Citicorp itself isn't a write-off: the ailing giant earned $829 million in 1990's first three quarters from its strong consumer-banking franchise.

Some experts even foresee a banking resurgence. "With the collapse of the junk-bond market, a number of borrowers who were bypassing banks no longer have that option," says Richard Herring of the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. Local households, small businesses and medium-size corporations will remain the banks' bread and butter. "Those who have that expertise will make money," predicts Robert Eisenbeis of the University of North Carolina. "The need is there."

Painful as they are, hard times are just what the industry may need to boost profits. Its cost controls have been lax for decades. Bank of New England is a classic



Little cheer to offer: *FDIC's Seidman*

PHOTOS BY WALLY McNAMEE—NEWSWEEK

In the dock: *The Senate's Riegle*

How's My Bank?

Comparing stock prices to assets shows which banks the market thinks are healthy. Here are five now in—and five out—of favor.

WEAK BANKS

BANK	SIZE*
MNC Financial, Inc.	$27.2
MidLantic Corp.	$23.9
Southeast Banking Corp.	$14.6
Shawmut National Corp.	$24.5
Riggs National Corp.	$7.6

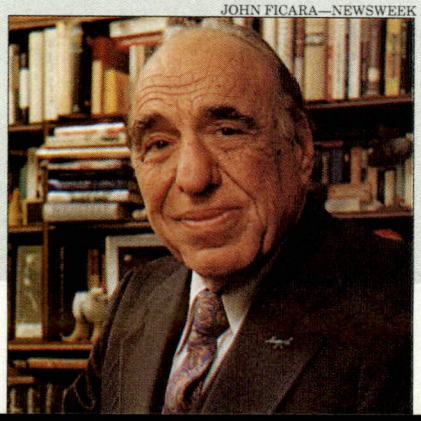
STRONG BANKS

BANK	SIZE*
Fifth Third Bancorp	$7.7
Banc One Corp.	$28.4
First Hawaiian, Inc.	$5.6
First Wachovia Corp.	$24.7
State Street Boston Corp.	$11.6

*ASSETS IN BILLIONS SOURCE: SNL SECURITIES

Under challenge: *The House's Gonzalez*

JOHN FICARA—NEWSWEEK



example: after taking charge last March, chairman Lawrence Fish was able to slash operating expenses by nearly one quarter and end the confusion that allowed loan applicants rejected by one branch to borrow from another.

At the start of the 1980s, banks' personnel expenses were 1.8 times profits; by 1989, payroll was 3.3 times profits. And despite wide use of cash machines and electronic deposits, banks have been adding 1,000 branches a year. David B. Humphrey of the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond found that the worst-run banks spend up to 30 percent more delivering their product than the best-run banks of the same size. "The largest scope for profit increase could be cost reduction," Humphrey says. Henry Kaufman, the New York economist, agrees. "There has to be a weeding out of the marginal participants," he says. By the end of the 1990s, many of the country's 12,500 banks may have disappeared.

That shrinkage is inevitable, but the political difficulties are daunting. Congress may not have the stomach for a major restructuring of the system. Senate Banking Committee chairman Donald Riegle Jr. is in the Ethics Committee dock over his links to the savings and loan scandal and may face pressure to resign his chairmanship. House Banking Committee chairman Henry Gonzalez of Texas had trouble facing down a stiff challenge to his leadership just last month. Whether that power vacuum strengthens the administration's hand on banking matters—or makes action more difficult—is an open question.

The betting in Washington is that Congress will concentrate on raising money for the FDIC, leaving aside more controversial problems—including the future shape of the banking industry. But the issue cannot be avoided for long. Pressure is mounting for the federal government to invest money in banks that are weak in order to keep them from failing. If it doesn't find a way to make banks more profitable, the government may find more of them on its hands.

MARC LEVINSON *with*
CAROLYN FRIDAY *in* BOSTON

Is This Just a Recession—Or the 'Big D'?

BY RICH THOMAS

Collapsing banks. Panicked consumers. Bleak economic forecasts. The recession of 1991 is starting to look ominously different from the six slow-motion recessions we've had since the end of World War II. In a single stroke, the fall of the Bank of New England put more assets ($22 billion) into bankruptcy than all 169 of last year's bank crashes combined. And for anyone who remembers the long bank lines of the 1930s, it raises a distressing question: could we be headed for another "Big D"—the first depression in more than 50 years?

The bank crisis isn't the only worrisome difference from past recessions. The speed of the collapse is another. In just three months consumer confidence has plunged to levels normally seen only at the bottom of a recession. More important, overall consumer income shrank in the fourth quarter last year. That usually happens only in the deepest of recessions, and then only after months of decline. Finally, there is the war scare, a massive depressant not present in the earlier declines.

Yet the banking crisis is clearly the most ominous threat. To be sure, most banks avoided the excesses of real-estate lending that brought down the BNE. But the FDIC admits that a couple hundred more banks with $50 billion in assets will fail this year alone. Several of the nation's biggest banks are borderline, and David Cates, a respected analyst with Ferguson & Co., has compiled his own list of 1,500 banks that are vulnerable to failure. They hold a staggering $1.2 trillion in insured deposits—40 percent of all banking assets.

GATES—FREDERIC LEWIS

Disturbing parallels: *At a distressed bank in 1929*

Does that mean we're in for a repeat of the 1930s? "The parallels are there, but I don't think so," says Barry Eichengreen of the University of California, Berkeley. Eichengreen and other historians insist that government spending, unemployment and deposit insurance and other stabilizers built into the economy since the 1930s will avert a disaster. "The Great Depression was caused by a collapse of the whole banking system," says Eichengreen. "Depositors today know that they'll get back 100 cents on the dollar no matter what. So banks fail; depositors don't."

The cost to taxpayers of this commercial-bank crisis could still be enormous. The Bush administration and the banks are talking about an additional $25 billion needed at the FDIC right now—a sum they are trying to raise from healthier banks, not the taxpayers. But that's based on assumptions about future bank-failure rates that seem wildly optimistic. "It's going to cost taxpayers $50 billion to $75 billion before this bank crisis ends," says David Hale of Kemper Financial Services.

Even if the bailouts avert a depression, the economic outlook is grim. The most common expert view has the recession ending in the second quarter, with a good rebound starting in the summer. But the conventional wisdom has underestimated the force of this recession from the start. The Federal Reserve Board can push more funds into the banks, but consumers and businesses already tapped out on too much debt aren't going to be in the market for new loans. As Richard Fisher, of Fisher Capital in Dallas, says, "the normal Federal Reserve pump priming that is now underway is going to suck a lot of air."

The credit crisis promises to make this recession both deeper and longer than the experts forecast—and the eventual recovery slower. After the seven fat years of the 1980s, are we now in for the proverbial seven lean years? Probably not. "But seven quarters?" says Hale. "Distinctly possible."

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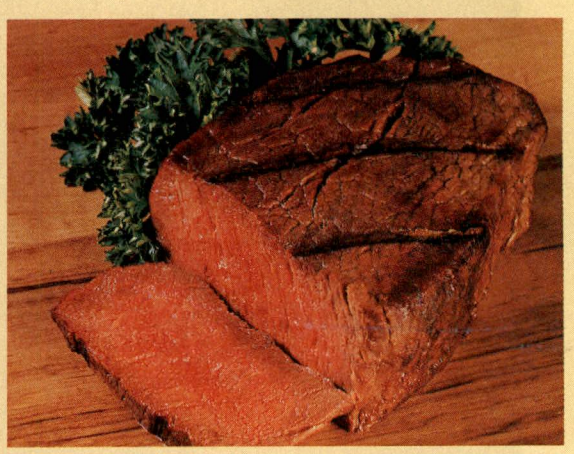

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On the Wings of Bankruptcy

For airlines, chapter 11 ain't what it used to be

MAILLAC—REA-SABA

Counting on business to stay firm despite the filing: *Pan Am chairman Thomas Plaskett*

A funny thing happened after Pan Am Corp. filed for bankruptcy protection last week: nothing. Passengers and travel agents couldn't care less. Bookings didn't drop, the phones didn't ring off the hook, travel agents didn't cancel or advise against flying the carrier. What a change from the old days, when filing for bankruptcy protection meant something, like scaring the heck out of people. Who would fly a troubled airline, the thinking went, when maintenance might be jeopardized? When Braniff International filed for chapter 11 in 1982, "People went bananas," recalls Florida travel agent Carol Moss. "Now, people are apathetic. They're so used to it."

Sad but true. Following Eastern and Continental, Pan Am is the third major U.S. carrier to tumble into chapter 11 in less than two years. Pan Am's financial troubles, aggravated by the recession and Persian Gulf fears, gave it little choice but to seek court protection from creditors. But it is also counting on business staying firm despite the filing. When Continental entered chapter 11 in December, bookings dropped about 20 percent the first day; but now, says spokesman Art Kent, "we've been flying at or above the levels we had last year at this time."

Pan Am's strategy to assure the public is becoming commonplace in the industry. It took out full-page ads in major newspapers explaining its filing. Travel agencies were singled out for stroking. Pan Am chairman Thomas Plaskett met all week with travel agents and later headed to Frankfurt to calm European agents (who tend to be less sanguine about bankruptcy). Thomas Cook Travel agency was dispatched a two-page fax from Pan Am outlining its decision. It worked. Says Cook vice president Henry Blinder, "We're confident they've taken the necessary steps to ensure our travelers will be protected."

Of course, there's nothing like low fares to keep even ailing carriers' planes full. Agent Moss said she had a client who wanted to fly only Delta—until she found a cheaper fare on Eastern. Says Moss, "People will travel on the carrier that will take them where they want to go at the lowest possible price."

Bankruptcy filings don't hurt as much these days for another reason: passengers don't have much choice about which carrier to fly. Deregulation has meant fewer airlines and flights to specific destinations. For example, the huge number of Continental flights out of Newark's airport often limits passengers to that carrier.

On the whole, the three airlines would still rather be in Philadelphia than chapter 11. They all remain in dire financial shape, particularly Eastern, whose image was already tarnished by labor strife. Continental might emerge from bankruptcy proceedings, thanks partly to its strong domestic routes. If Pan Am survives, it might be a shell of itself. At the end of the week, the bankruptcy judge gave the airline a reprieve by approving a $150 million loan and the sale of its London routes to United Airlines. But other carriers, including Delta, Northwest and TWA, are circling to buy some or all of Pan Am's assets. (The recent takeover bid by TWA's Carl Icahn seems to have been shelved.) "It really has been business as usual," said a Pan Am spokesman. Unfortunately for the airline, business as usual may not be good enough.

LARRY REIBSTEIN *and* DODY TSIANTAR

Gloomy Wall Street's '$23 Million Man'

These are supposed to be the dog days of Wall Street, right? Investment bankers are getting fired, salaries and bonuses are being slashed, firms are cutting departments. Well, things aren't exactly gloomy for one young bond trader at Salomon Brothers Inc. The investment firm confirmed last week that Lawrence Hilibrand, 31, was paid an astonishing $23 million in salary and bonus last year. The Wall Street Journal labeled him SALOMON'S $23 MILLION MAN, noting that his compensation was more than what most chief executives make in a year.

Why is Hilibrand worth so much? He's not a master-of-the-universe investment banker, cutting billion-dollar deals for million-dollar commissions. Instead, he trades bonds as part of a tiny arbitrage group, betting billions of dollars on slight price differences between securities. Using complex mathematical formulas, Hilibrand and his colleagues obviously bet right last year. They produced profits of some $400 million for Salomon. Better yet, they had negotiated a pay deal with Salomon management giving them 15 percent of any trading profits, or $60 million. Salomon chairman John Gutfreund was described as embarrassed by Hilibrand's paycheck. Some of Salomon's investment bankers, the stars of the 1980s, were seething. Their bonuses were cut about 20 percent, reflecting the recent slowdown in big takeovers. Yet as Hilibrand proved, there's always money to be made on Wall Street.

It's a Small, Small World

A wide new array of handheld electronic products—from datebooks to the Bible—takes off

Pocket-size gadgets bring new life to a sluggish

The latest revolution in consumer electronics is, well, tiny. But the potential impact may be enormous. Last week's Winter Consumer Electronics Show in Las Vegas—one of the largest trade shows in the world—featured a plethora of handheld products that do everything from keeping your schedule to quoting the Gospel, chapter and verse. For now, in the world of electronics, small is beautiful. And it looks as if these compact cases filled with computer chips are here to stay.

The recession notwithstanding, about 70,000 retailers and distributors (the show is closed to the public) jammed miles of convention aisles in Las Vegas over the weekend scouting out the latest gadgets. "Even if business is soft," said Marianne Taylor, who owns a stereo store in Tennessee, "you can't get left behind." But it's a dry season for consumer electronics, which thrives on new products. For the most part, the usual suspects were on view. The much-touted digital audio-tape recorders and high-definition television remained out on the horizon, costly or just plain unavailable. The one new product category taking off was what gadget sellers generically call pocket-size.

The term is broad, because the capabilities of the little machines range from translating Spanish to helping doctors prescribe drugs. Franklin Electronic Publishers sells a raft of handheld gadgets, including three $400 versions of the Bible (including the King James and the Revised Standard editions), in a sleek black plastic case a third the size of the printed version. Why spend $400 for a Bible? Because it has typewriter-style keys and some intelligence. Suppose you vaguely recall a verse containing "valley . . . shadow . . . death," but can't remember where it's from. Just type those words and the electronic Bible immediately delivers the 23rd Psalm. The New Jersey-based firm may have struck the absent-minded-clergy market; it has already sold 50,000 electronic Bibles in six months. Last week in Las Vegas both Franklin and New York-based Selectronics Inc. introduced electronic encyclopedias: 6-inch by 6-inch, 12-ounce machines with a small keyboard. If you ask for "Einstein," you get not only his biography but the entries on the theory of relativity and the 1976 avant-garde opera

High-Tech Help for the Misdirected

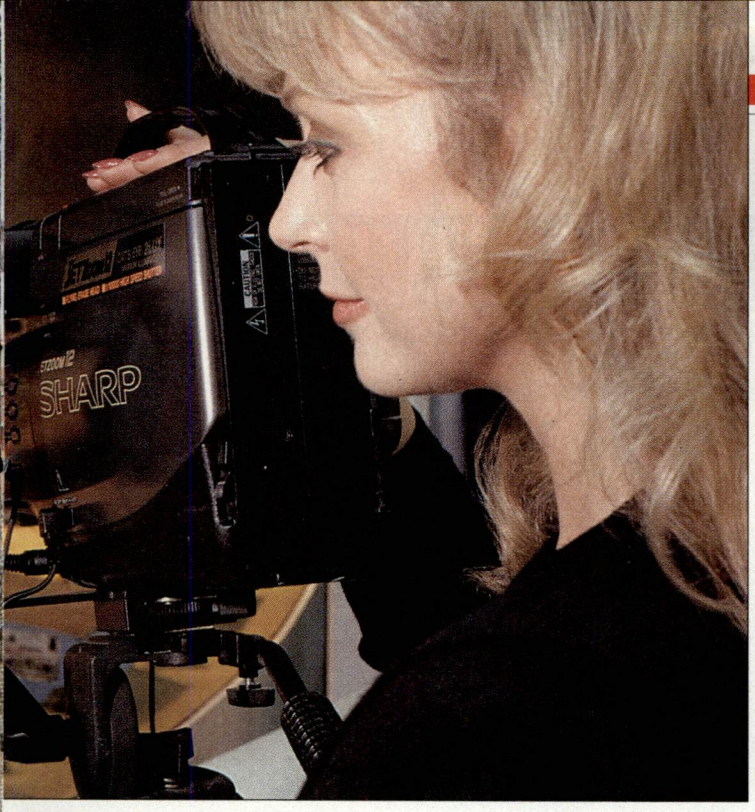
Ask any woman: even the most liberated man, lost on the road, is loath to pull over and request directions. But technology may come to the rescue. In Las Vegas last week, two manufacturers showed off electronic road maps that may be standard equipment by the end of the decade.

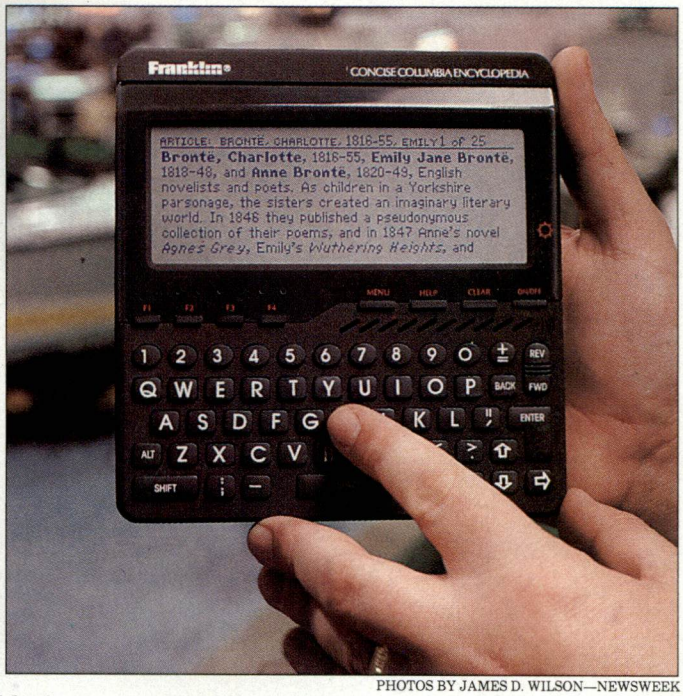
These maps are displayed on what are essentially small (4 inches by 4 inches) television screens that not only show the local roads, but also track your vehicle's position. They're even better than the guy at the gas station: a precise on-screen arrow continually shows your location, even on a two-lane blacktop in Iowa. Future versions will also give advice about the most efficient route to travel, and recommend hotels and restaurants.

The first electronic map will reach the American market early next year from the German firm Blaupunkt. It employs tiny sensing elements on your car's tires, plus an electronic compass, to determine position and speed. The maps are recorded on compact discs, similar to musical discs, with sufficient storage ability that all of Germany, down to alleys, can be held on a single CD. Discs for the United States will soon be available; a handful will be enough to cover the continent. But the Blaupunkt TravelPilot is a luxury, initially priced at $3,500; each CD map, $100. The first customers will probably be salespeople often on the road in unfamiliar towns.

Satellite signals: An alternative approach, shown in Las Vegas by Japanese manufacturer Pioneer Electronic Corp., determines your automobile's position not by its wheels, but by receiving signals from global positioning satellites. The earth is ringed with 17 such satellites, now used by the Department of Defense and ships at sea, with seven more scheduled for launch by 1992. The Pioneer system, which features a bright color screen, already sells 1,000 units each month in Japan, at about the same premium price as the Blaupunkt. But there's a bonus: the Pioneer electronic map can also play musical CDs through your car's stereo. Pop out your compact-disc map, pop in Aerosmith. Pioneer has set no introduction date for the United States, but by the mid-'90s, electronic maps will almost certainly be an option on luxury cars—and the next automotive craze after the cellular telephone. Just don't try talking on your car phone while looking at your electronic map as you're doing 60 on the interstate. It's probably safer to stop at the gas station and ask directions.

M. R.



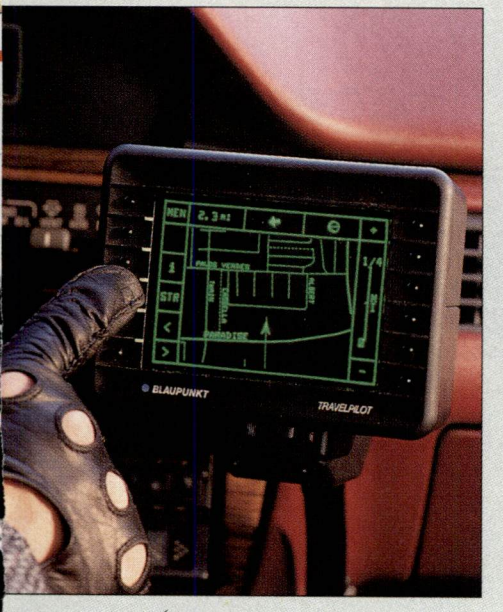


PHOTOS BY JAMES D. WILSON—NEWSWEEK

market: *Sharp's video camera with detachable color monitor, Franklin's 12-ounce encyclopedia-at-your-fingertips*

"Einstein on the Beach." Another new handheld, aimed at people trying to learn English, translates from Spanish to English—then speaks, to indicate the proper pronunciation.

The most sophisticated of the new gadgets combine the attributes of address book, Filofax, calculator, notebook and telephone directory. Both Casio Inc. and Sharp Electronics Corp. make similar devices, with keyboards, small screens and the ability to reprogram themselves using software on a plastic insert the size of a credit card. One $80 program turns the little computer into an expense-account ledger—you type in expenses as you travel, then transfer the results to your office computer via a small cable. Another program lists the best vintages of wine. Yet another delivers a complete travel guide to a dozen American cities. You can type in "San Francisco, Downtown, French Restaurants," and the Casio will almost instantly serve up a list of just those establishments. Both machines, costing under $300, approach the capabilities of laptop computers—except, of course, that the screens and keyboards are smaller.



One for the road: *Blaupunkt map*

Spelling corrector: Manufacturers are still discovering new possibilities in the melding of electronics and publishing. Selectronics announced a forthcoming electronic version of the Physicians' Desk Reference, the standard doctors' guide to prescription medicine. The same firm offered a pocket-size translator programmed by Berlitz. Not much larger than a credit card, the TriLingual can almost instantly translate nearly 40,000 words and 900 phrases between English, Spanish and French.

Two technical advances led to the shrinking of consumer electronics. One is the increasing memory and power of computer chips. A new spelling corrector introduced in Las Vegas last week contains 80,000 words and will recognize phonetic attempts—it knows that your spelling "sensashunal" probably means "sensational." Yet the device is no larger than a credit card and weighs less than two ounces. (Hint for the college bound: just the thing to have up your sleeve when you write the essay questions on your SAT.)

The second breakthrough involves so-called flat-screen technology. Once computer information could be viewed only on the bulky cathode-ray tube found in most current televisions. Then came pocket calculators, with a single and often barely readable line of type. But Japanese manufacturers moved forward quickly with flat-screen color displays. At the Consumer Electronics Show, for example, Sharp showed a tiny color monitor, no larger than a cigarette box, that attaches to a video camera, allowing amateur videographers to watch their work. The same company also displayed a flat screen 14 inches wide—the precursor of televisions that hang on the wall like a painting. Such a set will accelerate the miniaturization of technology. Its electronics will be smaller than a brick, hidden away, tuned by a remote control.

Not everything is shrinking in the consumer-electronics business. Last year sales of the $3,000-plus "home theater," combining big-screen television and stereo surround sound, grew 22 percent. Will such big price tags go over in 1991? "We're one industry that isn't terrified by rising gasoline prices," says Gary Shapiro, a group vice president of the Electronic Industries Association. "When prices rise, people stay home and entertain themselves." But it remains to be seen whether this year's jittery consumers will fork out big bucks to view Tom Cruise nearly life size on big-screen television. They can, of course, opt instead to buy a nice electronic Bible.

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MEDIA

When Is a Quote Not a Quote?

Justices hear the Malcolm case—as the press hides

Who else but writer Janet Malcolm could offer up such a miserable conundrum to the always-smug, ever-righteous press: defend the outer limits of the First Amendment or avoid the obloquy of siding with a journalistic pariah? In a key case before the U.S. Supreme Court this week, virtually all the press has chosen the safe way: it has abandoned her.

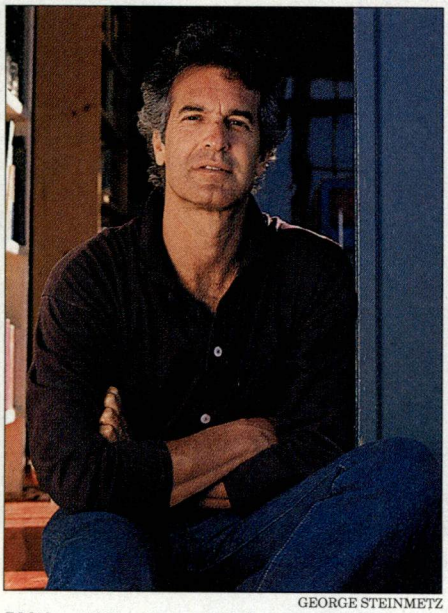
Last March Malcolm enraged other writers when she argued in The New Yorker that every journalist is "a kind of confidence man" who engages in "seduction and betrayal." The two-part article examined the poisoned relationship between author Joe McGinniss and "Fatal Vision" killer Jeffrey MacDonald. The trouble was that Malcolm—in either hypocrisy or self-delusion—never bothered to mention that her thesis could have applied to herself.

Eight years earlier Malcolm spent more than 40 tape-recorded hours interviewing Jeffrey Masson, a psychoanalyst, about his controversial views on Freud. Based on the conversations, she eventually wrote a New Yorker series and then a book for Knopf. Soon after publication Masson accused Malcolm of a mortal journalistic sin—deliberately making up quotes for him. He filed a $10 million suit, contending that the phantom quotes skewered his reputation. Among them: colleagues thought of him as an "intellectual gigolo," and his hope of turning the Freud Archives in London into a place of "sex, women, fun." Malcolm denied that she had made anything more than minor changes in Masson's words. While the alleged quotes are not on the tapes, Malcolm has maintained they were made in unrecorded parts of conversations. Lower federal courts never ruled on Masson's charges. Instead, they dismissed the libel suit on the ground that, even if Malcolm had put words in Masson's mouth, the words didn't alter the basic truth of what Masson said elsewhere.

Now the Supreme Court hears the appeal (although it, too, won't actually consider if Malcolm made anything up). In a case that could cut across the court's ideological fault lines, the justices must decide if doctored quotes, by themselves, may be sufficient evidence of the recklessness that libel plaintiffs must prove. If they are—and Masson's suit is revived—the case will go to trial. It's a vital First Amendment question because it could reorder how journalists do their job: how much judicial second-guessing will there be of *all* quotes?

NANCY CRAMPTON

How far may a journalist go? *Malcolm*



GEORGE STEINMETZ

Did the writer put words in his mouth? *Masson*

Despite its importance, Malcolm is going it virtually alone. "There was a lot of ambivalence," says John Kiernan, a First Amendment lawyer in Manhattan. "Who wants to write a brief when the unstated premise is that we endorse false quotes?" In most press cases, the Big Media circle up the delivery wagons to protect their own by writing amicus curiae (friend of the court) briefs. Yet only Time, the American Civil Liberties Union and an array of media trade groups, movie studios and biographers (including Edmund Morris) are assisting Malcolm. In a libel case last year, more than 20 organizations—including the big dailies, wire services and networks—signed an amicus brief. Even unsavories get support—as when Hustler was sued by Jerry Falwell. "Normally they hold their noses and sign no matter what," says Michael McDonald of the conservative Center for Individual Rights, which filed a brief for Masson.

Turning editors off: Lawyers for Malcolm had hoped that influential newspapers would sign on with one of the four amicus briefs that circulated. One industry brief in particular was targeted for newspapers, but it turned editors off in part by explaining the exigencies of taking accurate notes in interviews. NEWSWEEK has learned that at least five news organizations—The New York Times, The Washington Post (which owns NEWSWEEK), the Chicago Tribune, Knight-Ridder and Hearst Publications were asked to sign on. All refused and in the end only The Point Reyes Light, a small, respected California weekly, joined. "This was not happenstance and oversight," says one prominent media lawyer who was consulted about the brief. (Such unattributed quotes are another questionable journalistic device, but that's another story.)

Only the newest of the New Journalists would suggest that outright invention between the quote marks is legitimate. Garbled syntax, "ers" and "ums," sentences without end, are reasonable gray areas for the reportorial cleanup crew. But doing much more inside the " " violates convention and punctuation—and amounts, as a dissenting lower-court judge observed, to lying in print. Mr. Lincoln wasn't the litigious type, but he likely would have had problems with a reporter whose Gettysburg story included this quote, "Oh, it was about 90 years ago, give or take three . . ."

The immense difficulty with that conclusion is figuring out a way to write it into constitutional law. Not all ethical misdeeds deserve to be punished by multimillion-dollar verdicts. Is there really a way to deter what Janet Malcolm stands accused of doing without imperiling other subjective judgments endemic to the craft? Journalists routinely must whittle down to the essence of a quote. Only presidents and Dodger managers speak in sound bites. What of the words left out at both ends of the quotation marks? What of the whole sentences omitted? And, most troubling, what of the writer's own words that adorn the quote? The road from the simple-seeming Malcolm case to those hypothetical others isn't so long.

DAVID A. KAPLAN *with* BOB COHN *in Washington*

DESIGN

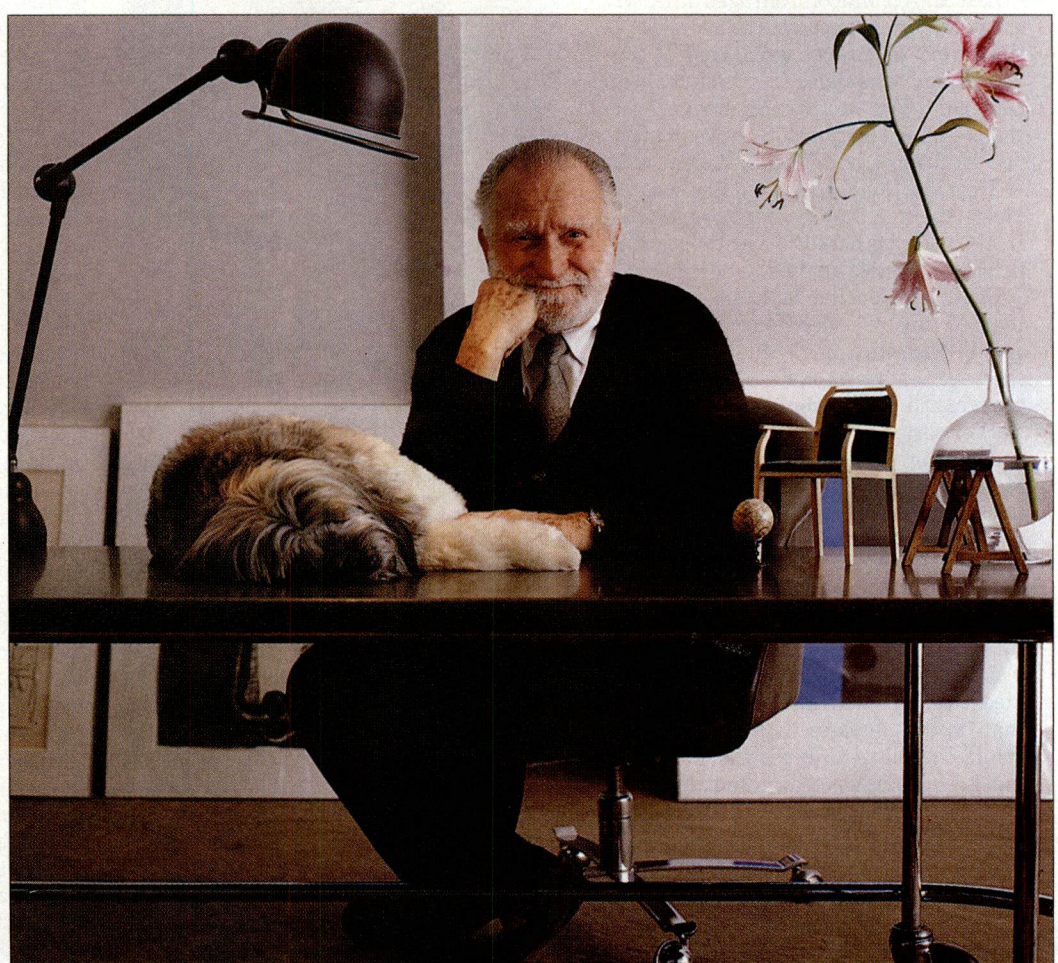
Chair Man of the Boards

From a master of austere interiors, a new line that softens the edges of those hard days at the office

BY MAGGIE MALONE

Ward Bennett is a hands-on designer. Four summers ago in Maine, he came upon a simple turn-of-the-century wooden chair and, finding it unusually comfortable, transformed it into a ready-made full-scale model. Taking out the tools of his trade—strips of reed, pieces of bamboo—he began bending, tying and nailing them to the chair. "Only by working with the materials, only by bending the reed could I get a new form," Bennett says. The result: the glamorous Wraparound chair that, for many, is the high point of his new 22-piece collection of furniture for Geiger International.

After several years in eclipse, Bennett is back in the design spotlight. His new chairs, desks, tables and credenzas, introduced at the International Design Center of New York's fall showcase, were the hit of the season. The slightly reduced scale of the collection responds to the trend to shrinking executive offices—and to the increasing number of smaller, female executives—in the '90s. The pieces are elegantly crafted and residential enough in look that cross-over sales should be excellent. Because of Bennett's concern for the environment, maple, ash, birch and cherry were used instead of endangered tropical woods such as mahogany and rosewood. For the high-end furniture market, the prices are fairly moderate—most of the chairs cost around $1,350, the tables around $6,000.



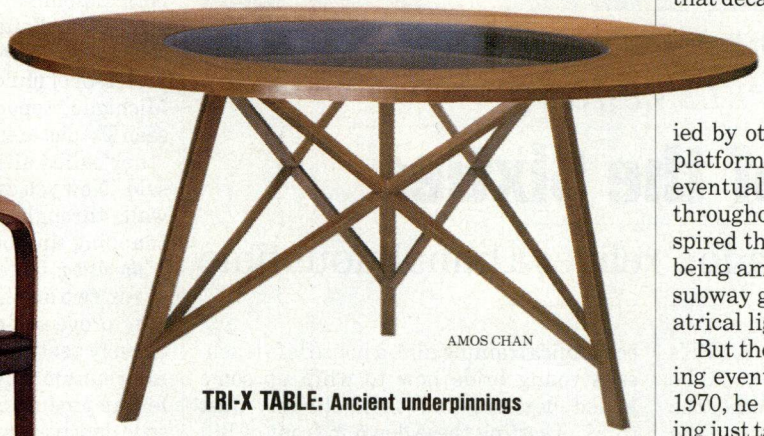
TED HARDIN

WARD BENNETT: In his Manhattan apartment with a sleeping Mishka and a small model of the Ledoux chair

The new furniture is far warmer and more expressive than the austere contemporary look that is Bennett's hallmark. The dramatic Wraparound chair was inspired by an evening dress by Vionnet; the subtly arched Ledoux desk and chair by that 18th-century architect's Gates of Paris. Bennett's fascination with the French method of bracing towers from within led to the Tri-X table's cross-braced legs and to the cruciform cutout of the Belvedere chair. The Bridge sofas and chairs rest on an arching framework similar to those that underpin bridges throughout France. By translating these ancient structural devices into appealing, viable forms, Bennett has come up with truly original work. Design critic and free-lance curator Martin Filler says, "Ward never does versions of other things. He just doesn't think that way. He's the one who's

AMOS CHAN

BRIDGE SOFA: Elegant arches



AMOS CHAN

TRI-X TABLE: Ancient underpinnings

TED HARDIN

WRAPAROUND: Glamorous straps

BELVEDERE: Cruciform cutout

AMOS CHAN

always knocked off by other designers."

Bennett has surprised, even confounded, the design world before. To some, he is an "artistic genius" and a "wise guru"; others call him "egotistical." With almost no formal training, the 73-year-old designer has been amazingly versatile, confidently taking on office and apartment interiors, flatware, crystal, textiles, luggage, even whole houses, including landscaping and swimming pools. Several patterns of his stainless-steel flatware for Sasaki are top sellers at Bloomingdale's and are in the permanent collections of the Smithsonian's Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York and the Museum of Modern Art. Bennett recently agreed to refurbish a stucco-clad concrete house in East Hampton, N.Y., that he designed both inside and out in the late '60s. He'll also create a tennis court, a second pool and a guest pavilion for the house's new owner, Jann Wenner, publisher of Rolling Stone magazine.

That's a pretty hefty project for a septuagenarian. But Bennett's a hard worker who's been on his own from the age of 13. He left New York in the early '30s and began traveling the globe, earning his living as a fashion illustrator and studying art and design informally with such masters as Brancusi and Le Corbusier. He may have learned the most, Bennett says, from seeing their homes and studios, how they lived. Back in New York, he studied sculpture but gave it up in the late '40s to design interiors. He formulated a minimalist philosophy that reflected his strong interest in Far Eastern religion and the ideas of such writers as Thoreau. "Our life is frittered away by detail . . . Simplify, simplify," remains a favorite Bennett quote.

No-frills style: Many designers say that Bennett's heyday was in the early '60s, when he devised everything from conference rooms to cutlery for David Rockefeller's vast, art-filled Chase Manhattan headquarters in New York City (their no-frills style may have fallen out of fashion, but the rooms don't look dated even today). Bennett's serene environments were much sought after by the moneyed set during that decade. His work became highly influential. When he built Turkish banquettes into the walls of a room and covered them with carpeting, the concept was copied by other designers and led to built-in platform seating, conversation pits and, eventually, the U-shaped sofa so popular throughout the '60s and '70s. Bennett inspired the high-tech movement as well by being among the first to use such items as subway grating, hospital fixtures and theatrical lighting in interiors.

But the manic pace of freelance decorating eventually gave Bennett an ulcer. By 1970, he was refusing most jobs. "Decorating just takes too much time," he now says. "I don't like to get involved with people and their families, with choosing a pink." He began to focus on his line of chairs for Brickel Associates. Spurred on by a back injury that he suffered while skiing, Bennett always focused on making chairs that "truly support the human anatomy." He has designed more than 150 of them in his career. His "pull-up" model, a sleek barrel-shaped chair, usually upholstered and trimmed generously with wood, is one of the most widely copied pieces of furniture ever, says critic Filler, who did extensive research on it in 1985 in order to include it in that year's Whitney Museum show on 20th-century American design.

Bennett and Brickel parted company in the late '80s—a break the designer had desired for some time. Now he is free to work for anyone he wants to. Since 1984, Bennett has spent some five months each year in a small *pied-à-terre* in Paris—the other months are divided between his apartment atop the Dakota on Central Park in Manhattan (two rooftop servants' rooms that he bought in 1963 for $7,000) and a studio in East Hampton. He plans his days around yoga, friends, his dog Mishka, the arts—but most of all, he continues to design. With new furnishings for the offices of Rolling Stone on his mind, this complex legend in his own time says happily, "I think I'm better than I've ever been." ■

JACK ROSEN

A generation that took long hair as its flag and rock as its anthem: *Earth Day celebration*

TELEVISION

In Search of the Sixties

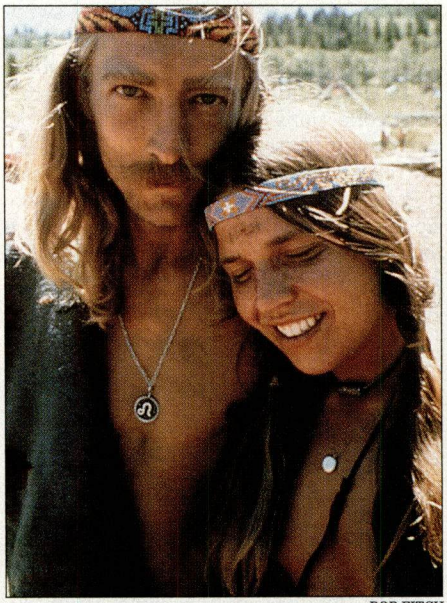
A grabby PBS 'megadoc' relives a tumultuous time

If television titles were actionable, PBS's "Making Sense of the Sixties" could be sued for breach of promise. Whether the 1960s were, as the program attests, "the most tumultuous period since the Civil War," they've certainly managed to defy all attempts at definitive sense making—and this six-hour documentary proves no exception. Nonetheless, it is, as they used to say, a trip. Come to think of it, "Making Sense of the Sixties" very much resembles the decade it revisits: challenging, passionate, tragic, hilarious and always, even from this distance, remarkably unsettling.

There's also one welcome dissimilarity. Unlike most of the folks who brought us the '60s, the show's creators planned their every move. They interviewed scores of the decade's activists (was there ever a more verbal generation?) and unearthed lots of never-before-telecast footage from underground filmmakers (or a time that bequeathed grabbier visuals?). Then they took a major risk. The "megadoc," which will air over three straight nights starting Jan. 21, opens with an exhaustive examination of . . . the '50s.

It's an inspired stroke. To re-enter an era when females and males assumed roles decreed at birth, fear of communism was employed to smother dissent, bigotry was institutionalized and the rules of adolescence were inviolate ("Obey authority, control your emotions, fit in with the group and don't even *think* about having sex") is to discern the seeds from which the counterculture sprang. In an outtake from a home-economics training film, a housewife teaches a young bride how to whip up some jellied desserts and then chirps: "Just think of setting these down in front of Bill and saying, 'Bill, look, I made these myself!'" Digest that one, Betty and Gloria.

The documentary is even more adept at showing how the tactics of the civil-rights movement were imitated by Vietnam War protesters, women's libbers, environmentalists, gays, the handicapped, Hispanics, Native Americans, even counterdemonstrating hard hats ("Love it or leave it"). As for the celebrated youth rebellion, it's all here—with long hair for its flag and rock as its anthem. Communes. Consciousness-raising groups. Love-ins and be-ins. Tie-dye bell bottoms and LSD highs. Tune in, turn on and drop out. Or as one child of the '60s, filmmaker Oliver Stone, translated that message: "Have no fear, make no plans, test and enjoy the limits of life." Doubtless, some viewers under 30 will come away feeling deprived.



BOB FITCH

Tune in, turn on and drop out: *Hippie couple*

What's most intriguing is to watch how television itself became one of the story's lead characters. You might say this was the first revolution to be interrupted by commercials. Whether transmitting images of Woodstock or Carnaby Street, the tube both disseminated and legitimized the do-your-thing Zeitgeist. It also was first to sound the retreat. Frithjof Bergmann, a professor of philosophy at the University of Michigan, reports that once parents had seen TV pictures of the Kent State killings, "they called all the [campus] radicals and said, 'Now you come right home.' You could walk through Ann Arbor and hear the snapping shut of suitcases all over town."

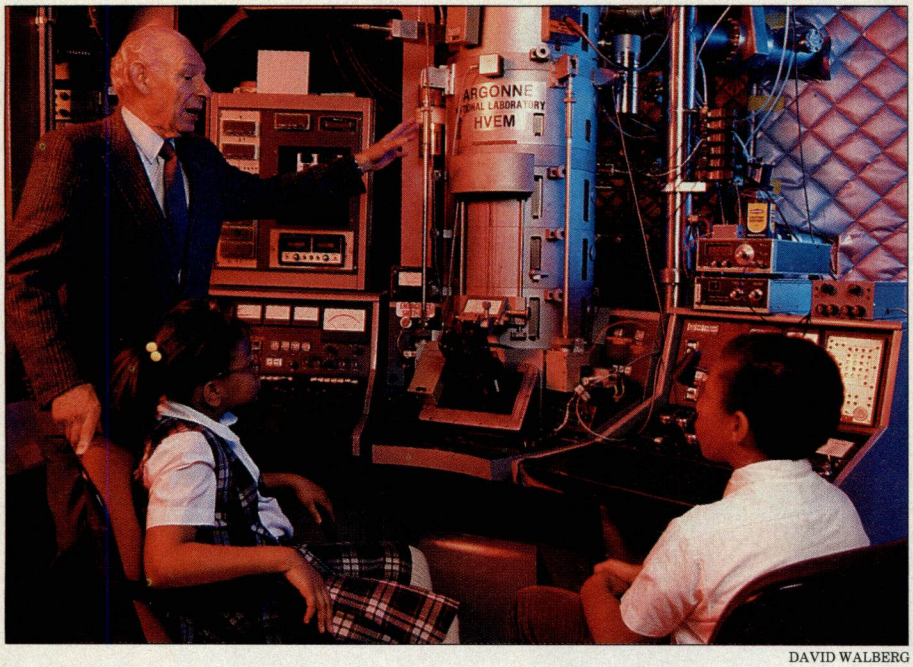
No vision: Unfortunately, PBS's decision to run two one-hour episodes each evening may prove self-defeating: this series is so densely textured that viewers may suffer informational overload. And assigning different producers and writers to each episode deprives the documentary of the kind of unifying vision Ken Burns brought to "The Civil War." Still, coexecutive producers Ricki Green and David Hoffman know how to grab our attention. While we're still chuckling over a bizarre fashion, an ex-member of the Weathermen pops up with a chilling tale. During one of the radical group's meetings, a lengthy debate ensued over whether all newborn white babies should be murdered to reduce the population of the "oppressive" establishment. "At that point," he incredulously recalls, "it seemed like a relevant framing of an issue."

The documentary arrives at a time when its subject is undergoing some revisionist debunking. (BUMMER, sneers the cover of a recent issue of The New Republic. "The grasping, bourgeois, uptight soul of the 1960s.") The show's own assessments of the decade's legacy are as varied as the witnesses who deliver them. Curiously, even the most diametrically opposed ring true. "[The era] forced America to look in a mirror," proclaims a former civil-rights worker. "The legacy was the election of Richard Nixon," counters a conservative with equal satisfaction. It's a debate likely to rage until the last '60s survivor smokes his final joint. For now, few will challenge the verdict of Carl Ogelsby, once president of the Students for a Democratic Society: "We had us a time."

HARRY F. WATERS

A Spark for Little Explorers

A new PBS series makes science education fun



DAVID WALBERG

Farewell to soporific lectures: *Chicago students on a field trip at Argonne*

The little explorers sit, transfixed, in a nuclear-research lab where ordinary field trips do not tread. Harold Myron, an Argonne National Laboratory physicist, has posed the most crucial of questions: "Did your true love give you gold? Or mere brass?" Twenty-six children record data as an X-ray fluorescence spectrometer—a machine so sophisticated that some physics grad students never encounter it—analyzes the necklace in question. Connie Taylor has spent two months preparing her inner-city Chicago pupils for this moment. Using new classroom materials as unorthodox as they are exciting, Taylor's seventh graders have readied themselves not just to identify the elemental components of jewelry but to work with something quite rare back in Holy Angels Parish: a *scientist.* The bond is instant. "Look at these faces," Taylor murmurs. "There's been a spark."

Farewell to soporific lectures on Madame Curie. Farewell, too, to textbooks and memorization as the unchallenged pillars of science education. Next Sunday night, PBS launches a brisk, 13-part series, "The New Explorers." The episodes let viewers taste the thrill of the knowledge chase with 13 different scientists: this is "Nova" with an adrenaline rush. And there is even life after television. The 13 shows will be recycled in schools nationwide as one part of a holistic, three-pronged approach that also includes imaginative classroom tools and working visits like those that Connie Taylor's students have already made to a place like Argonne. The goal of "The New Explorers" is to make stars of scientists, the oft-portrayed nerds who, the project asserts, lead pretty fascinating lives. A subtler goal is to lure minority students in particular to careers in the hard sciences, where they're woefully underrepresented.

"The New Explorers" sprang from a chance meeting in the spring of 1989. Chicago television anchorman Bill Kurtis, who has his own production company, had completed a series on scientists for his CBS affiliate. He vaguely hoped to see his work used in an educational setting. Argonne director Alan Schriesheim had just been asked by James Watkins, head of the U.S. Department of Energy, to seek out groundbreaking science-education projects that DOE might fund. Soon Argonne, a DOE lab famed for its energy research, began recruiting Chicago zoos, museums and other institutions to "adopt" one of Kurtis's episodes. Working with specialists from the institutions, teams of teachers extracted the scientific principles from each video and assembled 13 thick workbooks of corresponding classroom exercises. Each institution also agreed to host "working" field trips for students who had viewed its adopted videotape and marched through its accompanying workbook.

Kurtis's "New Explorers" videos are vivid catalysts. In the first we meet Mark Plotkin, a young ethnobotanist studying how primitive Indians extract medicines from exotic plants in the jungles of Surinam. In later episodes we join a treetop ornithologist who is nose-to-beak with baby eaglets in Ontario and dive with environmental engineers tracking pollutants at 1,000-foot depths in Lake Superior. The accompanying workbooks are imaginative: no cutting articles out of newspapers. "We kept asking what the scientist does that children can do," says Argonne physicist Sam Bowen. For example, some of the 20,000 Chicago youngsters who have already served as "New Explorers" guinea pigs have rebuilt their classrooms as miniature rain forests. Because science teachers often lack specialized training, the workbooks are designed to be self-explanatory. A few Chicago instructors have found ways to make "New Explorers" more than a learning supplement. After adding her own materials to one workbook, Connie Taylor substituted the resulting alloy for one quarter of the year's regular curriculum. "With this much advance knowledge of atomic structure," Taylor says, "the kids move through their science texts in half the time."

Schmooze time: Expeditions outside the classroom include informal schmooze time between scientists and kids. Curious students come to see that the pros were once much like themselves—often in the doghouse with parents for tearing apart radios or spilling noxious compounds on the linoleum. Questions tend to range from the practical ("How did you pay for college?") to the more practical ("Did you ever flunk anything?"). Not every community has world-class research institutions willing to accept little explorers, but the program's designers think teachers in any locale can find a worthy substitute. "The point is to introduce kids to someone who works with science," Bowen says. "It doesn't matter whether that happens at a museum, a chemical company or the local soil-test office."

One allure of "The New Explorers" is its cost. Any school is free to tape the PBS programs and buy a full set of workbooks for $130. Organizers hope the project will mushroom; Kurtis is already hustling sponsors to back 13 more episodes. Breathing life into science education is its own reward, but Argonne's Sam Bowen recently got another. Word filtered back that the project had inspired a Chicago student to become a biologist. The victory was especially sweet: before experiencing "The New Explorers," she'd considered becoming a lawyer.

JOHN MCCORMICK *in Chicago*

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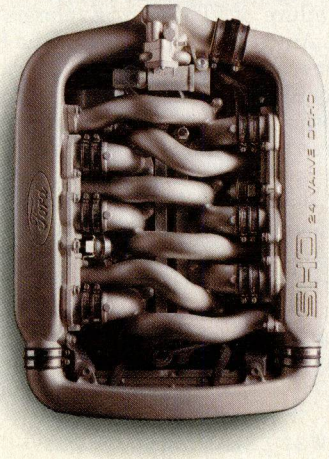

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ENTERTAINMENT

Drop the Kid, Then Shop

Cartoons as babysitters

DAVID WALBERG

Sign here for Bugs Bunny: *No more shopping with a 40-pound human ball and chain*

Like any self-respecting 3-year-old, Sean Morgan of Chicago prefers watching Popeye to shopping with his mom. When he heard that a Kids Only Cartoon Theater was coming to the shopping center in nearby Evergreen Park, Ill., he was first in line. Now, a Kids Only veteran, he nonchalantly trades in a brief life history for a bar-coded ID card, and a safety beeper for his mom. Armed with a cup of popcorn, he's ready to catch up with his favorite characters on the big screen. Two hours later his mother, 22-year-old Tracy Morgan, returns and exchanges the beeper for her son.

The days of shopping with a 40-pound human ball and chain may be over. Since three Kids Only theaters first opened in Illinois and Arizona two months ago, some 5,000 children have been mesmerized by videos of vintage Bugs Bunny and Daffy Duck. American Cartoon Theaters of Rolling Meadows, Ill., plans to launch as many as 40 more mall-based movie houses nationwide this year. The potential market is huge: about half of the 172 million adult Americans who visit a shopping center at least once a month say they tend to go with their families, according to the International Council of Shopping Centers.

These families inspired entrepreneur Daniel Slater, who dreamed up the kids-only theaters—complete with low-to-the-ground toilets. For $3 an hour, children 3 to 12 years old can settle into their pint-size chairs. Theater staff members beep the parents when children grow sick or uncontrollable—or are left for longer than two hours. The theaters will hand over children only to the adults who brought them. Parents must show ID when they drop their child off; when they pick him up, their beeper number must match the one stamped on their child's hand.

Safe idea? Despite the beepers, bar-coded ID cards and video monitors at the front of the theater, not everyone thinks Kids Only is a good, safe idea. "You'd be surprised how much can happen in two hours," says child-care consultant Patti Hathcoat. Company officials carefully say they're providing "supervised entertainment," not child care. But regulators in California want the theaters licensed as day-care centers. "We have to be concerned about the quality," says Barbara Reisman, executive director of the New York-based Child Care Action Campaign. The theaters show classic cartoons; they've banned ads, violent previews and Bart Simpson. Still, says Reisman, "you're basically talking about a different form of watching television as a babysitting arrangement." She also wonders whether two staff members can adequately supervise up to 95 boisterous children.

Despite those concerns, drop-off child services may be the wave of the future—kids love them, and parents who can't find babysitters are relieved not to have to drag reluctant shoppers around with them. Most of them can all too easily identify with the two Chicago moms who recently dropped off their children at a Kids Only theater, rounded the corner by nearby Taco Bell and yelled, "Yippee, we're free!"

KAREN SPRINGEN *in Evergreen Park*

TRENDS

A Better Deal: Cards of Color

James Foster does a great card trick that involves no sleight of hand. At a friendly game of bid whist, he brings out a seemingly ordinary deck, then waits for the payoff: a startled player will almost invariably say, "Hey, these faces are black!"

With their striking African-American images, these cards definitely don't get lost in the shuffle. Foster and H. Russell Smith, both Detroit attorneys, came up with the idea after one of their weekly card games, when Foster said, "I'm tired of playing with jacks, queens and kings that don't look like us." They formed the company Blacks Factor and two years ago began manufacturing decks whose face cards reflect the various features, hairstyles and fashions of African Americans. (The jokers are masks.) Smith regrets that the cards have only one skin hue: "I would like to have displayed the vast variety," he says, but the cost was prohibitive.

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Currently, the cards are available by mail order or at shops in a handful of cities, but Smith and Foster hope to expand the market, particularly in areas with sizable black populations. Annual sales are 5,000 and growing. "It's another way of reflecting our own culture," says Clara Villarosa, who orders 100 decks at a time for Denver's Hue-Man Experience Bookstore. Not surprisingly, the cards are a hit; at $4.50 to $6 a pack, they're a great, well, deal.

ATTITUDES

Archie Bunker, Alive and Well

Stereotypes die hard

It's been 25 years since the height of the civil-rights revolution, but a new survey on ethnic attitudes reveals that Archie Bunker is alive and well in America. The study, conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, asked individuals in 300 U.S. communities to rate blacks, Hispanics, Jews, Asians and whites on several characteristics. The chief finding? Stereotypes die hard. More than three quarters of the respondents say blacks are more likely than whites to "prefer to live off welfare." A majority believes that blacks are more likely to be lazy, violence prone, less intelligent and less patriotic. Hispanics are viewed just as poorly. The most surprising revelation is the degree to which negative stereotypes of minorities cross color lines. Surveyors report that roughly a third of blacks and Hispanics rated their group below whites in intelligence. Tom Smith, associate director of the research center, suggests that may reflect "self-hate imposed by the beliefs of the dominant culture."

Smith says that civil-rights efforts over the past quarter century have concentrated on reforming policy, not reshaping attitudes. "The changes brought on by civil rights legislation, voting rights statutes and equal-opportunity bills . . . have had the highest priority." The attitudes have been shaped by deep-rooted factors, Smith says, including "childhood acculturation" and the images of hopelessness sent to white America from the ghetto. Lawrence Bobo, a professor of sociology at UCLA who helped formulate the survey, blames the de facto segregation in American cities for permitting negative images to flourish. "Stereotypes are common because of the disproportionate concentration of blacks and Hispanics in certain areas," he says.

The report's authors do, however, find a few signs of hope. The survey suggests that whites are becoming more receptive to mixed neighborhoods and interracial marriages. "Negative images are in decline among better-educated and younger Americans," says Smith. He thinks the climate is right for using the classroom as a battleground against racial prejudice. "Focusing on education and stressing such concepts as cultural pluralism and tolerance may be the best route," he says. With enough effort, Archie Bunker may one day become a stereotype of the past.

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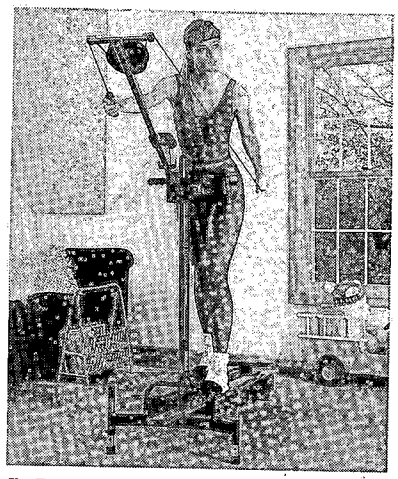

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The Disembodied Director

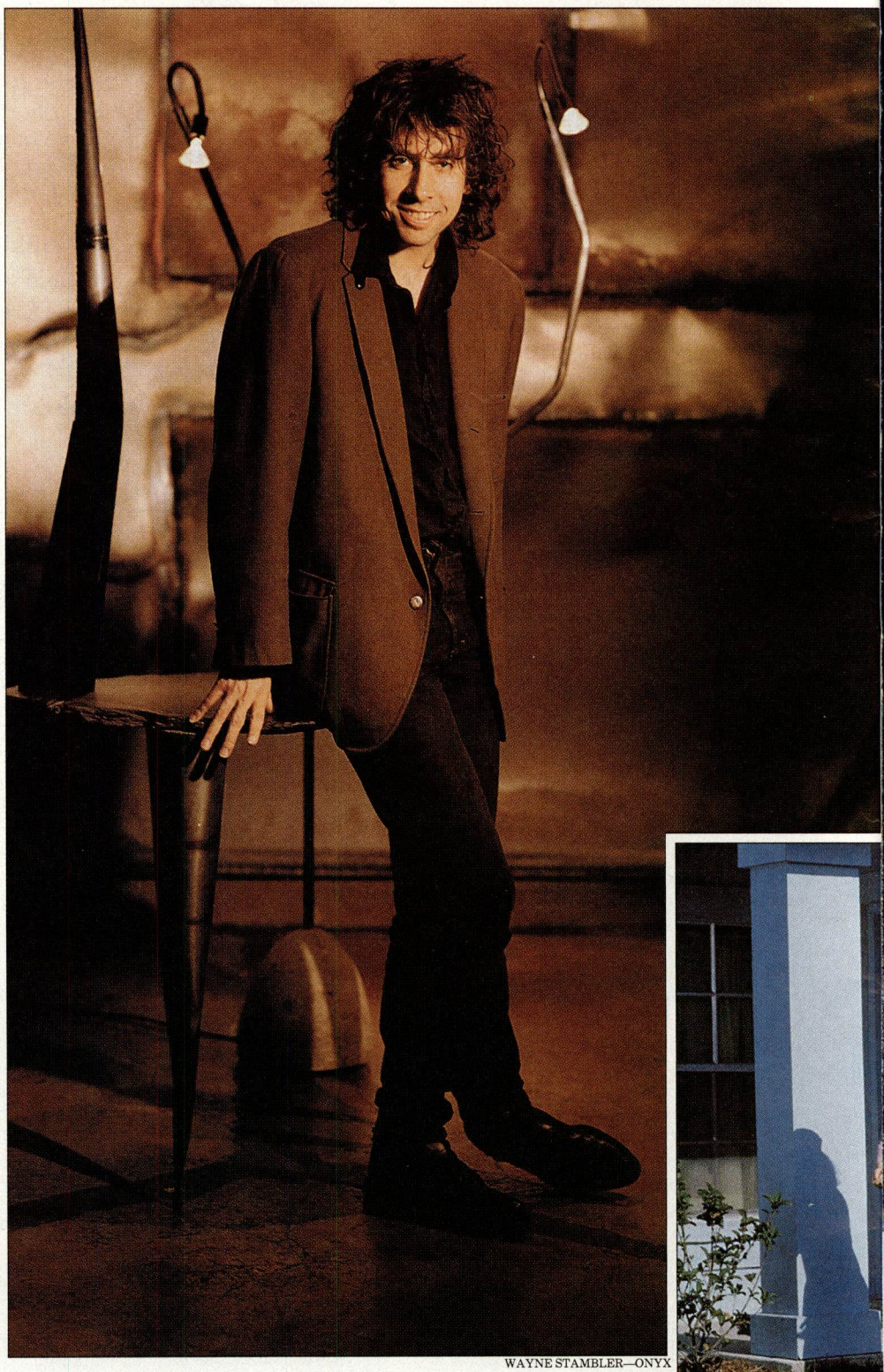
Maybe Tim Burton isn't twisted. Maybe he's as sane as they come.

Bill Burton, the father of the young man who created "Edward Scissorhands," "Batman," "Beetlejuice" and "Pee-wee's Big Adventure," was trying to explain the early warning signs of his son's peculiar "vision." It seems that when the Burtons redecorated the back room in the family's Burbank, Calif., house, Tim came to inspect the site. Looking out the back window, he contemplated a gray wall with a stack of lumber and a dead tree leaning against it. "God, you've got a great view!" said Tim. "My wife and I looked at each other," Bill recalls. "It was just a dead tree against a gray wall. But he was deadly serious."

Tim Burton is now 32, and without doubt the most successful director his age in the world. "Edward Scissorhands," a comic and melancholy Frankensteinian fairy tale about a boy with shears for hands, is well on its way to being the fourth Burton hit in a row (it has grossed close to $40 million so far), and "Batman," as everyone knows, made so much money so fast ($406 million in theaters around the world and an additional $150 million in video sales) it practically redefined what a hit could be.

This success does not exactly fill Burton with joy. "To me the success doesn't have much to do with the movie itself. If it hadn't been 'Batman' and I'd made the exact same thing . . ." Characteristically, he doesn't finish the sentence, but it's clear he thinks it was the "Batman" mystique, not the movie, that drew in the crowds. It freaked him out when he'd go to Hollywood parties and people would say, " 'Oh, you must be incredibly happy.' As if my happiness was based upon that. If it ever got to that it would be a sad life indeed. All that Hollywood hype—it's depressing. It's dangerous. I could never embrace it. I wish I could embrace it a bit more. I often question why I make movies because I hate showing them, I don't get enjoyment out of sitting with an audience, it takes me a couple of years to look at something I've done—now the Pee-wee movie is the only one I can enjoy."

When Burton talks about the movie business, success, life in Hollywood or his childhood, three words repeat themselves with a regularity that would perk up the ears of any dime-store shrink: "scary," "dangerous" and, most frequent of all, "disembodied." As in "Why does every-



WAYNE STAMBLER—ONYX

thing feel disembodied to me?" which is how he describes his childhood in suburban Burbank and which is the feeling that he was trying to capture in the surreally tacky interiors of the tract homes in "Edward Scissorhands."

These are the classic words of the alienated artist. Indeed one's first, superficial impression of the black-clad director, with his unkempt tangle of dark hair and drooping eyelids, seems to confirm the stereotype of a morose outsider. This is a guy, after all, who grew up on horror films and made the cemetery down the street his playground. A guy whose childhood idol was the Vincent Price of ghoulish Roger Corman B movies. A kid who woke up howling in terror from nightmares and started at 12 making 8-mm movies about Christmas trees that turn into monsters.

The paradox of Tim Burton is that he is probably the sanest, best-adjusted alienated artist in Hollywood. To quote him is to misrepresent him, for you can't hear the shot of laughter that accompanies his angst-filled speculations, or see the spark that animates the eyes. "He's not full of darkness," explains his good friend Glenn Shadix, an actor Burton cast in "Beetlejuice." "He's laughing at the darkness." Friendly, funny—and said by all who've worked with him to be unflappable under the pressure-cooker conditions of filming—Burton doesn't seem to have a pretentious bone in his body. It may of course be that only someone who is radically alienated from the Hollywood scene could *qualify* for sanity. "People do things in Hollywood that in organized crime you'd be killed for," Burton says. "It is the Wild West." "He hasn't changed in the past five years," attests Shadix. "He works at not taking things too seriously."

WALT DISNEY CO.

In surreal suburbia: *(Clockwise from left) Portrait of the artist as a young dog, on the 'Scissorhands' set with Price and Depp; Wiest and Depp, (top right) doggie passion in 'Frankenweenie'*

PHOTOS BY ZADE ROSENTHAL

Love letters: There are directors actors hate, and ones they admire, but the testimonials that gush from Burton's charges are in a special league. "My performance is like a love letter to Tim," swoons Johnny Depp. "There is just something about him. When I look into his eyes there is a force that just grabs you." Here's Winona Ryder: "I would do anything for Tim Burton. I would bring him water or be the coffee girl on one of his sets just to be with him. He's the most incredible filmmaker I've ever met. There is not another person on this planet like him." Caroline Thompson, the "Scissorhands" screenwriter: "He is the most articulate person I know but I couldn't tell you a single complete sentence he has ever said. This script is my love poem to Tim Burton."

Even in backstabbing Hollywood, it's hard to find anyone who will knock this guy. Veteran Dianne Wiest also fell under his spell: "I don't know anyone I've responded to in this way. People love him. I really love him. I would do *anything* for him. When I think of Tim Burton it's a feeling, not a thought. I feel somehow there is so much pain and thankfully so much talent with which to express it. His is an absolutely unique and innocent point of view about the world."

Does this sound as if she were describing Edward Scissorhands himself? "Tim is Edward," says Vincent Price, though here things get a little fuzzy. Thompson cautions against such a literal interpretation of the movie. She insists she based the character, which Burton invented, on her deceased dog Ariel. "It's more the portrait of the artist as a young dog." When Burton first discussed the character with her, back in 1985, "there was an instant clarity. It was the perfect metaphor for how many of us feel. It's more than feeling like an outsider, it's feeling dangerous ... yearning to touch and knowing when you do, you destroy." Burton himself feels much of the character is built on Johnny Depp: "He's more that character than anything else he's done. There's a sadness about Johnny I just respond to—and I find it kind of funny." Though he'll allow that there are "things" in Edward "that are very strong for me," he denied it's a self-portrait. "That would be very pretentious of me. I couldn't have done it. I had to look at Edward and be able to laugh at him."

Macabre humor: "Scissorhands," which folds Burton's ambivalent personal feelings about the surreal disconnectedness of suburbia into a fairy-tale form, isn't the first time he's been inspired by "Frankenstein," which he deems his favorite story. In his mid-20s, when he was working, unhappily, as an animator at Walt Disney, he made a 30-minute short called "Frankenweenie." This auspicious black-and-white film, about a boy who brings his dog back to life not once but twice, is a kind of dry run for "Scissorhands." His bold, neoprimitive graphic style was evident from the start, along with a macabre streak of humor and an uneasy sense that the surface gregariousness of middle-class life can quickly turn threatening. But though there are

dark intimations in all his work, Burton's vision is essentially comic: from the demented playground of Pee-wee to the demonic toy-shop surrealism of his haunted-house fantasia "Beetlejuice" to the pastel Gothic fancies of "Scissorhands," Burton constructs alternate worlds with the playfulness of a boy building multimillion-dollar model kits. "What distinguishes Tim as a director," explains Denise Di Novi, the president of his production company, "is that he makes movies that are very off-center and yet very accessible to the public. It's just who he is. He is a combination of light and dark . . . he has a childlike sweetness. His is a different darkness from David Lynch's. It's not horrific, ugly or even disturbing. It's more Grimm's fairy-tale dark."

Other features: After much internal debate, he has decided after all to direct "Batman 2." The sequel's script will be written by Daniel ("Heathers") Waters, and Bo Welch will most likely replace Anton Furst as the production designer. Rumor has it that Catwoman and the Penguin will pop up in this one. Burton's company—which is basically just Burton, Di Novi and two secretaries—is also coproducing with Steven Spielberg's Amblin a half-hour animated TV series called "Family Dog," and they are working on an animated feature for Disney called "Nightmare Before Christmas," about a skeleton's desire to be part of the holidays. Burton wrote it himself. His work as an artist (he's fond of clowns as a subject) will appear in book form, and there are several other features in various stages of development, to say nothing of the "Beetlejuice" Saturday cartoon.

Bill and Jean Burton's strange little boy has ridden his nightmares straight to the top. It's not a place where he feels at home. "I have always felt lucky I didn't have a specific goal. I have a built-in safety mechanism that protects me from doing things for the wrong reasons," he says, not boastfully but with the self-knowledge that he will always remain someone "on the edge of things." His personal alienation has been considerably assuaged by marriage: he met his German wife, Lena Gieseke, an artist, while filming "Batman" in London. "I enjoyed living in London. There was a wonderful unhealthy atmosphere that I felt so comfortable with." He and his wife now live in the Hollywood Hills, where they have converted their living room into a studio where both of them can paint and sketch together. He may have "a very disembodied feeling right now." He may feel ill at ease in grimly health-conscious L.A. He may find the world of Hollywood unreal. But as a self-described "cheerful depressive," he's on friendly terms with his demons. Somehow one knows that when he looks out his window, the view is still great.

DAVID ANSEN *with* DONNA FOOTE *in Los Angeles*

CLIVE BARDA

A motormaniac in bilious green: *Rhys Jones as Toad*

THEATER

The Toast of London Town

Mole, Rat, Badger & Co.

English children are notoriously well behaved, so the kids who call out advice to the actors in **The Wind in the Willows** do so not raucously but with grave concern. At the National Theatre, Alan Bennett's stage version of Kenneth Grahame's 1908 classic is just about the hottest ticket in London. The Olivier, largest of the National's three houses, has practically become a theme park, a thinking tot's Disneyland for the adventures of Mole, Rat, Badger and Toad. Throats of all ages emit sounds of delight as the vast stage, turntable wheeling, elevator rising and falling, becomes a road, a railway, a river, Mole's underground condo, Rat's shipshape galley, Badger's clubby study, Toad's stately home.

There's also a barge, a van, a locomotive and a sporty red roadster. Toad, one of literature's first motormaniacs, can't resist joyriding in somebody else's car and he winds up in jail. This leads to the political dimension of the story as his estate, Toad Hall, is taken over by a rabble of weasels, stoats and ferrets. For kids these squatters are just mean slobs, but for Grahame they embodied his fear of the forces of anarchy and revolution. Alan Bennett gives these furry Bolsheviks a nice contemporary twist: his weasels plan to turn Toad Hall into a leisure center.

Bennett handles such touches with a lightness that adds to the fun for wised-up adults and doesn't spoil it for kids. A self-styled "old-fashioned liberal," Bennett nonetheless has great affection for the conservative Grahame's utopian fantasy that embraces the old, pastoral England and rejects the smoke and stress of the modern world.

Michael Bryant, one of planet Earth's best character actors, plays Badger as the ultimate squire, oozing benevolent authority from his velvet collar to his checked spats. Richard Briers's Rat has the blazer and the bearing of a naval officer (he is, after all, a water rat). David Bamber's Mole is an eager, duffel-coated north-of-England schoolboy, and Griff Rhys Jones brings a goon-show bluster to his Toad, a low-calorie Falstaff in bilious green plaid knickers.

Richard Eyre, director of the National Theatre, at first wanted Bennett to write a play that would weave together Grahame's life and his masterpiece. "But I couldn't do it," says Bennett. "His life was a terrible story. His mother died when he was 5. His dad was an alcoholic. He had a troubled marriage and his son, Alastair, was born blind in one eye and committed suicide at 20 by lying across a railway track."

Bennett, a butcher's son, never read "Wind in the Willows" as a child. Books like that or "Alice in Wonderland" looked too "forbidding" in their leather bindings at the local library. "I'd say, 'That looks like a classic, so I'm not going to read it'." Instead he read comics. But he grew up to go to Oxford and became one of the four university wits—the others were Jonathan Miller, Dudley Moore and Peter Cook—whose satirical revue "Beyond the Fringe" in the early '60s changed the shape of comedy on both sides of the Atlantic.

Bennett, the least famous of the four, is arguably the most gifted as actor, comic, director and prolific author of plays ("Single Spies"), TV drama ("Talking Heads") and movies ("Prick Up Your Ears"). Once, at a dinner with Prime Minister Harold Wilson, Bennett identified himself as one of the "Fringe" men. The P.M. looked at him sternly and said: "I don't remember you. You weren't one of the original four." Bennett felt, he said, "like Trotsky when he was cut out of the history of the revolution." If "Wind in the Willows" comes to the United States (producers, including Lorne Michaels of "Saturday Night Live," have made inquiries), Bennett will get the international fame that has so far eluded him.

JACK KROLL *in London*

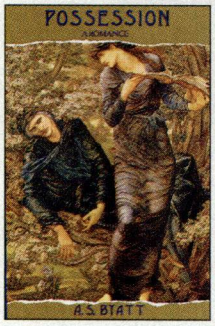
Why Byatt Possesses

A most unusual success

MATT KAVANAGH—IRISH TIMES

This season's surprise: *The good-looking, best-selling novel and its author*

Once every year or so, the book world hunkers down to consider a phenomenon: an intelligent novel, in which ideas and literary references are batted about, that somehow manages to become a best seller. It happened to D. M. Thomas's "The White Hotel" and Umberto Eco's "The Name of the Rose"—and yet, it isn't supposed to happen. Publishers launch these novels with a caution that's matched only by that of bookstore buyers.



This season's phenomenon is A. S. Byatt's "Possession: A Romance," a long and demanding English novel that concerns the grip with which the past controls the present—specifically the hold that the Victorian era continues to exercise on our contemporary sensibilities. Random House put it out in October, with a modest printing of 9,000 copies. Later that month, "Possession" won England's prestigious Booker Prize. As of last week, there have been eight printings totaling 77,000 copies of "Possession" in America—an extraordinary quantity for a book of its specific gravity. It perches on best-seller lists and everyone's best-of-the-year list.

"It hasn't peaked yet," says Amy Rhodes, a marketing director at Random House. "Word of mouth is only now beginning to come through. Before Christmas, you couldn't find anybody who had read it. It's an intimidating book to contemplate, but not to read." The Booker Prize helped: even if American readers aren't familiar with it, booksellers are, and they press the Booker winners on their customers.

Margaret Maupin, who buys new fiction for Denver's Tattered Cover bookstore, was at first equally cautious: "Oh no," she said. "This isn't for everyone. It's a very literary book. You'd have to be a Victorian scholar to understand it all." She ordered five copies; by last week she had sold 142.

What makes the novel so attractive? Its plot is easily summarized: two rather arid young English scholars discover a hidden cache of letters implying a totally unsuspected love affair between two Victorian poets. At the very least, the letters demonstrate an epistolary courtship of ideas. What more may have occurred?

One of Byatt's eminent Victorians, Randolph Henry Ash, is a major poet who, like Browning, wrote dramatic monologues. His verse has a declaiming aspect to it—just what you'd expect from a Victorian male. The other, Christabel LaMotte, is a recluse who lived with another woman. Her verse is more "feminine"—short, glancing lines somewhat like Christina Rossetti's. Christabel was well aware of her ambiguous position as a woman of letters and as a maid sequestered in a tower. She wrote a long poem about the imprisonment of Merlin by the sorceress Vivien. As "Possession" progresses, we watch Ash falling under Christabel's spell. Byatt isn't content to quote snatches of "Victorian" poems and letters; she gives us the works. Not three or four love letters, but 50 pages of love letters. Not just snatches of poems, but Ash's poems running 8 and 10 pages. She gives us two of Christabel's prose fables in their entirety, and she invents diaries by other writers. It's exhausting, but it's all utterly convincing.

Another reason for the book's success, both Margaret Maupin and Amy Rhodes agree, is its striking jacket, dominated by pre-Raphaelite Edward Burne-Jones's lush painting of the seduction of Merlin. Beyond that, "Possession" has a compelling plot: her story concludes with her modern characters converging on a midnight grave robbery. With its intricate thematic reflections, "Possession" is as solid and entertaining a novel as has been seen in years.

PETER S. PRESCOTT

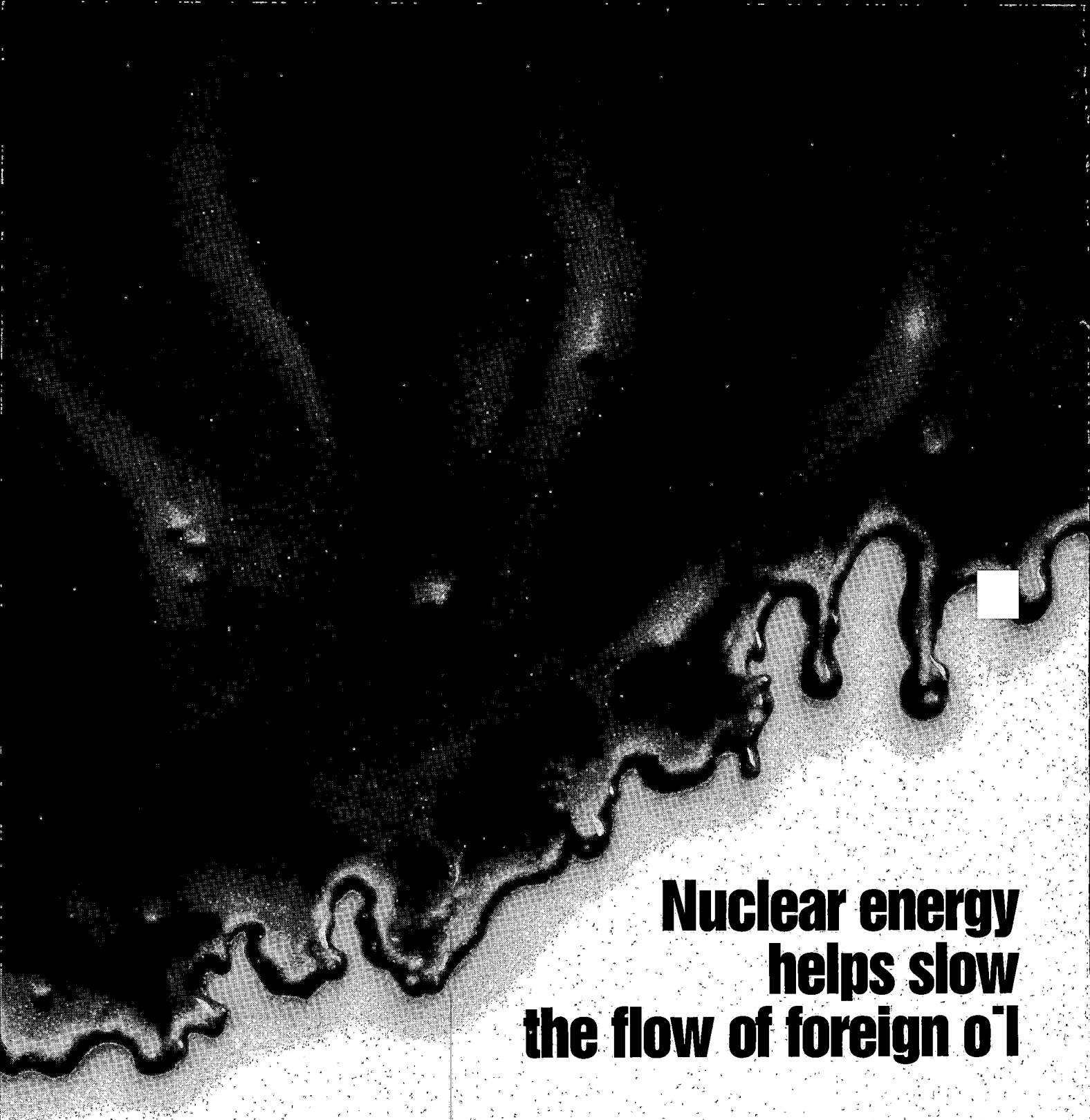
INTERVIEW

Out From Sister's Shadow

Winning both the Booker Prize, Britain's most prestigious literary award, and the Irish Times-Aer Lingus International Fiction award can do wonders for a writer's self-esteem. Sure, the $80,000 in prize money is swell, but "the very best thing about them," says A. S. Byatt, 54, is that they've freed her from the shadow of her younger sister's greater reputation. "I've suffered quite badly from being thought of as Margaret Drabble's sister, and therefore expected to write books like hers, which I don't do."

Even Byatt will "now and then" admit that her four earlier novels were "too densely written." The problem, she says, came from being torn between writing, teaching and motherhood. "Possession" is the first book she wrote without interruption. "That's why it reads easier. I was actually able to make my own rhythm, hold everything balanced in my head." And now Byatt can use her new wealth to create the ideal environment for writing another. She'll build a swimming pool for her second home in France, and refuse, for a year, "to do anything anyone else asks me to do."

JENNIFER FOOTE *in London*



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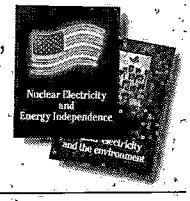

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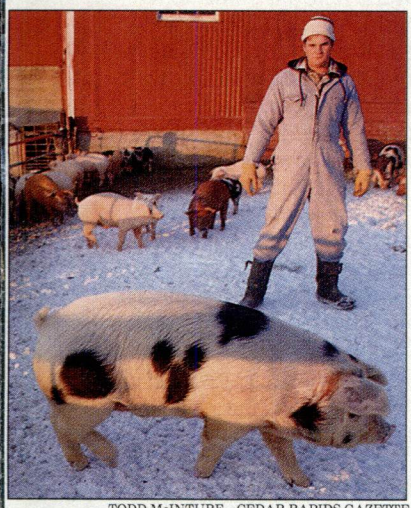
M-I-C, K-E-Y, E-I-E-I-O!

Fans of agricultural aberrations—and who hasn't thrilled at a rutabaga that looks like Harry S. Truman?—may have noticed that farm phantasmagoria has fallen into a rut. Recently Disney acquired two cows with Mickey Mouse markings. Now the company has similar news about a pair of pigs. The Iowa hogs, purchased for an undisclosed sum last week and earmarked, as it were, for exhibit at the theme parks, have a common mother and, of course, the corporate symbol that's all the rage among livestock these days. "A fellow is sending a letter about a horse," says a Disney spokesman.



TODD McINTURF—CEDAR RAPIDS GAZETTE

Earmarked for greatness: *Pig*

TERRY O'NEILL—SYGMA

No business like show-within-a-show business: *Anderson at crossroads*

Another 'Twin Peaks' Mystery

Trick question of the week: who was Erika Anderson in "Twin Peaks"? She did appear in a dual role, yet the answer, technically, is no one. Why? Because Anderson, a former Helmut Newton model, portrayed Emerald and Jade on the soap opera "Invitation to Love," which everyone in Twin Peaks watches. In "Zandalee," due out in April, Anderson got what she calls "a baptism by fire" as the star of a steamy flick that features Nicolas Cage and Judge Reinhold.

Hot New Oldie

His father started it all with "Give Peace a Chance." Now, at the urging of '60s-ish rocker Lenny Kravitz, John Lennon's 15-year-old son, Sean, has given the song new, gulf-crisis-inspired words. A record and video featuring a "We Are the World" mix of pop stars and rap singers are scheduled for release Jan. 15. Sure, it's only rock and roll, but as Noel Coward said, "Strange how potent cheap music is."

BOB GRUEN—STARFILE

A son rises to the occasion: *Sean flanked by Yoko Ono and Kravitz*

TRANSITION

HEATING UP: The Earth. Last year was the warmest one the planet has seen since record-keeping began more than a century ago, according to reports released in New York and London last week. The heat wave may be no more than a natural variation in global climate, but some experts read the new figures as evidence that the greenhouse effect is upon us.

By analyzing temperature readings from 2,000 land-based weather stations, scientists at the New York-based Goddard Institute for Space Studies came up with a global average of 59.8 degrees Fahrenheit for 1990. That's eight tenths of a degree higher than the 1951-1980 average, and more than a full degree above the average from the 1880s. The seven warmest years of the 20th century have all occurred since 1980, according to the Goddard group, and global temperatures have risen faster since the 1960s than at any other time on record.

Two British groups studied 1990 readings from land and sea and reached similar conclusions. The British scientists, at the University of East Anglia and at the British Meteorological Office, found that 1990 was the warmest year since 1850, and that the past decade has produced six of the seven warmest years since 1850.

STABBED: In the chest, the **Rev. Al Sharpton**, controversial black activist; at a protest rally in Bensonhurst, a predominantly white Brooklyn neighborhood that has been the scene of racial confrontations for more than a year, Jan. 12. Police, who arrested a white man in connection with the attack, said the wound did not seem to be life-threatening.

IDENTIFIED: As a **van Gogh,** a previously unknown still-life painting worth at least $500,000 found hanging on an elderly Wisconsin couple's wall; by the Rijksmuseum, in Amsterdam, Jan. 9.

MEG GREENFIELD

The Hardest Judgment Call

This isn't a time for name-calling. The choice in the gulf is easy only for those who are faking it.

The people who run the government—in Congress, the administration and the military—are currently having to make the hardest, most agonizing judgment calls I can remember. Will people on both sides of the gulf question grant each other the presumption of good faith in having arrived at their positions? Or will the outcome—whatever it is—lead to a familiar orgy of scapegoating with cries of "appeaser," "warmonger" and the rest? The answer depends on how we decide to think about the crisis—and each other—in the days and weeks ahead. If the capacity of the American political system to function effectively is not itself soon to become a victim of the crisis, a few things will have to happen and a few premises to be accepted.

The first of these premises is that just about everybody engaged in the argument hoped to prevent war and also to eliminate the aggressive threat posed by Saddam Hussein. The dispute has been over how to achieve both ends. The people in Congress who argued for the military buildup and for giving the president the authority to fight did so because they thought this was the best way of forcing Saddam to stand down *without* a war. Those who took the other side believed that the administration would act recklessly on this grant of power and that the cost in lives plus the widespread regional instability and violence that might well ensue would not be justified; they also believed that the sanctions, diligently imposed, would do the trick. I don't say that all the arguments on the two sides were either elevated or even honest, but by and large this is what the fight at home has been about.

It is ironic that the United States, so often over recent years accused of having an invincibly bloodthirsty nature, is in fact a country that almost always reveals a deep and broad streak of something akin to pacifism when it comes right down to it. We know how to talk about war only when it is a many-times-removed possibility. When it becomes a more immediate threat, the same range of reservations always emerges: there will be terrible death and destruction, it is essentially somebody else's battle to fight in the first instance, the aftermath will be worse than the present, and—sometimes, but only tangentially this time—the United States has either no right, no national interest or no moral standing that warrants intervention.

To these traditional concerns have been added the post-sputnik and post-Vietnam worries about our competence both as warriors and as diplomats. The Soviets' successful lofting of the first space satellite in 1957 marked the beginning of a long series of American crises of confidence in our own vaunted technological superiority; and this anxiety was fed in the following decades by a series of failures in various military and scientific enterprises, so that the sardonic prediction that "it probably won't work" is now pretty commonly expressed about any such activity we are asked to embark on. When the military lay out their expectations, people begin to snigger. Vietnam played its central part in all this, too, as have various lesser misadventures along the way: the disaster of the Desert One rescue mission undertaken by the Carter administration, for example, and the relatively high cost and unsatisfactory results of other supposedly small, sure-thing operations.

All this has been complicated by our awareness of the battles to which we commit our forces. It is not just that television has long since perfected its capacity to bring home the awful suffering of distant war. It is also the nature of what it brings. This winter a lot of Americans saw the PBS pictorial narrative of the Civil War, and last year there were movie re-creations of it. People were struck by the fearful mismatch of weaponry with fighting tactics: the explosives were way too powerful for the tiny distances between fighters who were better positioned for swordplay than for firearms exchanges. Likewise, one looks with horror at the arsenals in place in the gulf region, considering the vulnerability of soldiers and civilians alike to their ferocious powers. The last war that looked traditionally tin-soldier heroic was the Falklands War, and that impression lasted only for a few dockside moments when the pennant-decked ships sailed off to the rousing accompaniment of brass bands; when the music stopped, the whir of Exocet missiles was heard.

Threat of war: So, if anything, the revulsion has become greater in recent years, and this, fed by doubts about the administration's intentions, has made it even harder for people to face up to the policy of using the threat of war as a means of achieving peace. Peace of course could always be achieved by acquiescence in Saddam's expansion and his production of genocidal weapons. The threat of war was employed, in concert with the economic sanctions, to get him to back off without warfare. We appear to be increasingly divided over the wisdom of pursuing this classic policy. We are, after all, still arguing over whether the Reagan years' defense policy and its toughness at the arms negotiations did or did not play a key part in the Soviets' backing down on so many of their cold-war positions. A lot of people are easy about engaging in this kind of risky power politics only when the whole thing seems academic.

I have been on the side of those who felt Saddam had to be credibly threatened and that letting him have his way this time would inevitably lead to a worse confrontation later, would bring on war, not prevent it. It is an uncomfortable, tenuous and hard-arrived-at stand for me—the argument against it has points of great merit, and, most important, the arguers against it include people I greatly respect and who are found in this debate in an unaccustomed place. In fact, the classic liberal/conservative, hawk/dove configuration has been smashed by the Iraq events, and it is this that gives me hope that, however the struggle in the gulf turns out, American political discourse will not degenerate into its own kind of bloodbath. Too many traditional foes are on the same side and too many traditional friends pitted against each other. To me that suggests people who are serious and sincere. This is not an occasion for name-calling. The only people for whom the judgment—either way—can have been simple are those who were faking it, those who were leaving out the other half of the deadly equation.

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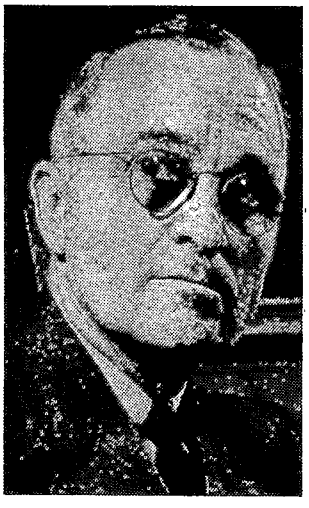

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FUEL COSTS
CAPI-TAL CONSTRAINTS
OPERATING COSTS
MAINTENANCE COSTS
EQUIP-MENT INVESTMENT
DISSATISFIED CUSTOMERS
DOWN-TIME
MISSED DELIVERIES
STOP
STOP
DORET